

# WILLIAM RADCLYFFE (1770-1828)

## Genealogist and antiquarian in Yorkshire and London

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# PREFACE

The experience of spending a considerable proportion of the past few years in close communion with William Radclyffe, through the medium of his diaries, correspondence, and other personal relics, has never been less than absorbing; like any intimate human acquaintance, it has also often been challenging; and because his story involves elements of tragedy and injustice, and ends in something like disaster, it has sometimes prompted feelings of sympathy such as the scrupulous historian must endeavour to control. I am therefore most grateful to my supervisor, Dr. Kate Tiller, not only for retraining a mind which she must sometimes have found somewhat set in its ways, but, still more, for steadily advocating a discipline of cool objectivity, and persistently asserting the imperative need for breadth of academic perspective; if I have failed in those or other respects, it will not have been for want of guidance from her.

Other debts of gratitude in academic matters are owing to Dr. Lynsey Darby, ever patient and unfailingly helpful archivist of the College of Arms; Dr. Adrienne Sharpe and her colleagues of the Beinecke Library at Yale University; the staffs of the Bodleian and Rewley House libraries in Oxford, and the British Library in London; archivists in Sheffield, Doncaster, Barnsley and Wakefield, and the archivist of Westminster Abbey, all of whom are separately acknowledged in the text; my grandchildren Felix and Hermione, for investigating the remains of the Newburgh estate at Slindon; and my friends Sarah Wearne, Richard Sharp, William Weston, Alistair Beecher and Peter Forsaith for their advice and encouragement at various points along the road.

Still more personally, I must record my gratitude to Mrs. Susan Shilling, the owner of Radclyffe's diaries, for allowing me to hold them on indefinite loan, and to use them for

purposes of research. I am much obliged, also, to members of the Radclyffe family, particularly Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Courtauld, Mr. Nicholas Radclyffe, and the late Captain Charles Radclyffe, for the welcome they have given to my researches, and the kind assistance they have supplied.

Finally, and most personally of all, I acknowledge my gratitude to my daughter, Arabella, whose guidance has enabled me to make profitable use of my computer; and, lastly, to my wife, Annette, for her tolerant support, her willingness to sacrifice other and possibly more entertaining activities in favour of William Radclyffe, and, not least, for many judicious observations and thought-provoking interventions.

# INTRODUCTION

This thesis has its origins in the finding, by chance, of a previously unnoticed group of diaries written over the years 1803-1820 by William Radclyffe, a professional genealogist born in Yorkshire in 1770, who secured appointment in 1803 as Rouge Croix Pursuivant in the College of Arms in London. The discovery has prompted a study that discusses a range of themes in English social and local history of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, including relationships between metropolitan and provincial cultures, the development of a professional middle class, antiquarianism and changing attitudes to the study of history, tensions between tradition and reformism in the law and public administration, and the growth of a scholarly enthusiasm for Gothic art and architecture.

The thesis opens with an evaluation of the diary as a document. Alaszewski's 2007 study of diaries as sources for social research[1], together with more recent work by Heller (2009)[2], Whyman (2010)[3] and Tubman (2016)[4], provides a methodology which shows that Radclyffe's writings fall into more than one of the accepted categories of record-keeping. Thus there are innumerable memoranda concerning genealogical business, household matters, or details of journeyings; the later volumes contain lengthy sections which amount to an estate diary; troubles at the College of Arms occasionally give rise to carefully composed notes of contentious business; and, increasingly as the years pass, there are

[1] A. Alaszweski, *Using Diaries for Social Research* (London, 2006).
[2] B. Heller, *Leisure and Pleasure in London Society, 1760-1820* (unpublished Oxford D. Phil. thesis, 2009).
[3] S.E. Whyman, *The Pen and the People* (Oxford, 2010).
[4] H. Tubman, *The First Pre-printed Diaries* (unpublished Oxford D. Phil. thesis, 2016).

episodes of unintentionally revealing self-writing. The multi-faceted nature of the diaries is reflected in the sequencing of themes in the chapters of the thesis.

The driving force of the diarist's career, and in a real sense the spring of his identity, was his passionate concern with the facts of his own ancestry. The claims which he made about his descent during his lifetime have been peremptorily dismissed by Wagner in a now dated, but so far unchallenged, history of the College of Arms (1967)[5]. In order to arrive at a proper understanding of the diary's significance, therefore, it has been necessary to undertake a close examination of the facts of Radclyffe's origins in the North of England, through an exercise in family reconstruction (Chapter 2). It emerges from this analysis that the diarist was, indeed, a scion of a once-landed family, now in relatively obscure, though still respectable, circumstances, and who was exercising hard-won professional skills to regain status among the propertied classes. While Langford has remarked upon the significance of the theme of 'resurgent gentility' as a counterpoint to the rise of 'new money' in the social history of the early nineteenth century, this thesis uses the evidence of Radclyffe's diary to suggest that the two phenomena could actually collude, and so eventually reinforce each other; here the thesis converges with Corfield's (1995)[6] perception of the professions as wielders of social power. Similarly, the findings of Eastwood (1987)[7], Langford (1989 and 1991)[8] and Tadmor (2001)[9] on the significance of regional and provincial networks, and the social aspirations of their members, in the later part of the long eighteenth century, harmonise with the picture of professional life in the

[5] A.R. Wagner, *Heralds of England* (London, 1967).
[6] P.J. Corfield, *Power and the Professions* (London, 1995).
[7] D. Eastwood, *Government and Community in the English Provinces, 1700-1870* (Basingstoke, 1997).
[8] P. Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727-1783* (Oxford, 1989); *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman, 1689-1798* (Oxford, 1991).
[9] N. Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2001).

metropolis drawn by Wilson (2007)[10], White (2013)[11] and Light (2014)[12]. Radclyffe was always a Yorkshireman in London, but he was pleased to appear as at least a part-Londoner when in the North; the thesis uses the rich evidence supplied by the diary concerning an enclosure project near Worsbrough in the West Riding, where Radclyffe appears to have attempted to follow the example set by his great neighbours the Fitzwilliams of Wentworth Woodhouse, to show the impact of metropolitan ambitions on a social and economic environment which has previously been considered by Neesom (1993)[13] and Hey (2015)[14], only in its provincial aspects.

The details of Radclyffe's marriage and domestic life, and certain aspects of his emotional history, assume increasing importance during the course of the diary. The 'separate spheres' model of middle-class marriage in this period, as propounded by Davidoff and Hall (1987)[15] with support from Earle (1989)[16], Hunt (1996)[17], and (with qualifications) Black (2007)[18], has proved helpful as a starting-point from which to investigate the relationship between the diarist and his wife; but the warmth of the numerous references to family matters is interpreted in this thesis as pointing towards a much more emotion-laden understanding of the marriage relationship, broadly in line with, if not actually shaped by, the attitudes of the Romantic Movement which the diary reveals as an influence on other areas of Radclyffe's life. However, Elizabeth Radclyffe was an heiress, on a modest scale, and it seems that her status contributed significantly to her husband's aspirant self-identity.

[10] B. Wilson, *Decency and Disorder* (London, 2007).
[11] J. White, *London in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2013).
[12] A. Light, *Common People* (London, 2014).
[13] J.M. Neesom, *Commoners: Common Right, Enclosure and Social Change in England, 1700-1820* (Cambridge, 1993).
[14] D. Hey, *History of the South Yorkshire Countryside* (Barnsley, 2015).
[15] L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes, 1780-1850* (Chicago, 1987).
[16] P. Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class* (London, 1989).
[17] M.R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort* (Berkeley, 1996).
[18] J. Black, *Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 2007).

The marriage is considered principally in Chapter 2 as part of an extended exploration of the diarist's personality and motivation.

Radclyffe resided for about nine months of every year in London, though he also travelled widely in England and Wales, and spent as much time as he could in his native Yorkshire. The London passages of the diaries are examined partly in Chapter 2 and, in more depth, in Chapter 3. They are rich in information relevant to the social history of the capital at this period, and their depiction of Radclyffe's economically modest, but determinedly genteel, lifestyle in his role as a member of the 'new' class of gentleman-professionals casts supplementary light on recent work such as that of Schwarz (1990)[19], Wahrman (1995)[20], Wilson (2007)[21], Vickery (2009)[22] and Uglow (2014)[23]. In particular, the diary supplies details of frequent improvisation and self-help as part of the realities of middle-class life in rented housing in London at this period, suggesting a lifestyle a good deal less staid and comfortable than that implied by the generalisations of Cruickshank and Burton (1990)[24]. The record of Radclyffe's religious observances supplies information about the church-going proclivities of non-Evangelical people of the middling sort at this time, an area which has received comparatively little recent attention; the diarist appears to have gone on a religious journey which may have been influenced by the neo-Arminian soteriology recently examined in an article by Mark Smith (2012)[25].

Radclyffe's professional activities are explored principally in Chapters 3 and 4 of the thesis. The debate among historians including Perkin (1969)[26], E.P. Thompson (1974,

[19] L.D. Schwarz, *Social Class and Social Geography: the middle classes in London at the end of the eighteenth century* (Harlow, 1990).
[20] D. Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class* (Cambridge, 1995).
[21] B. Wilson, *Decency and Disorder* (London, 2007).
[22] A. Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors – At Home in Georgian England* (London, 2009).
[23] J.Uglow, *In These Times* (London, 2014).
[24] D. Cruickshank and N. Burton, *Life in the Georgian City* (London, 1990).
[25] M. Smith, 'The Hanoverian Parish – Towards a New Agenda', *Past and Present,* no. 216 (2012).
[26] H. Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880* (London, 1969).

1978)[27], Barry and Brooks (1994)[28], Corfield (1995)[29], Hunt (1996)[30], French (2000, in three separate articles)[31], O'Day (2000)[32], and F.M.L. Thompson (2001)[33], magisterially summarised by Perry Gauci in 2006[34], about the identity of the middle classes, with special reference to the nature and significance of emergent professionalism in England at the beginning of the nineteenth century, is not yet over; in this context, the thesis offers Radclyffe's diaries as a specimen of the type of instructive micro-history applauded by Gauci. The freedom of action which was available to Radclyffe and his professional contemporaries was still relatively limited. Radclyffe's own options can be seen in the diary to have been significantly dependent on the support and protection provided by five patron-figures, with each of whom he sought to cultivate a close relationship, in a manner which has been discussed by Bourne (1986)[35]. Analysis of some of these patron-client connections supplies pointers towards the formation of a political identity for Radclyffe, and also locates him in a social setting markedly different from that attributed to him by the only writer who has, until now, noticed his existence at any length (Wagner in 1967). In terms of party politics, however, the diary suggests that Radclyffe was circumspect in avoidance of close commitment to any one faction; he appears to have been Tory by temperament and in London society, but was careful also to live on good terms with the Whig grandees who were his neighbours in

[27] E.P. Thompson, 'Patrician society, plebeian culture', *Journal of Social History,* vol. 7, no. 4 (1974); 'Eighteenth-century English society: class struggle without class', *Social History,* vol. 3, no. 2 (1978).
[28] J. Barry and C. Brooks (eds.), *The Middling Sort of People* (Basingstoke, 1994).
[29] P.J. Corfield, *Power and the Professions* (London, 1995).
[30] M.R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort* (Berkeley, 1996).
[31] H.R. French, 'Social status, localism and "the middle sort of people" in England, 1620-1750', *Past and Present,* no. 166 (2000); 'The search for the "middle sort of people" in England, 1600-1800', *Historical Journal,* no. 43 (2000); '"Ingenious and Learned Gentlemen" – social perceptions, 1680-1740', *Social History,* vol. 25, no. 1 (2000).
[32] R. O'Day, *The Professions in Early Modern England* (Harlow, 2000).
[33] F.M.L. Thompson, *Gentrification and the Enterprise Culture* (Oxford, 2001).
[34] P. Gauci, 'Finding the middle ground in the eighteenth century', *History Compass,* vol. 4, issue 2, (2006).
[35] J.M. Bourne, *Patronage and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1986).

Yorkshire – an approach which was probably at least as 'typical of the time' as the partisanship which attracts more attention.

Radclyffe built his professional business around genealogy, investigated both as proof of inheritance rights and also as an aspect of antiquarian inquiry; he achieved national prominence in this speciality, exceeded all his colleagues at the College of Arms in the productivity of his researches, and was much in demand as a collaborator with the most eminent local historians of his day, including Joseph Hunter, Thomas Blore, Robert Surtees and Thomas Dunham Whitaker. Furthermore, Radclyffe's intense industriousness took him into various cognate fields of activity, such as the civil law business conducted at the obsolescent institution of Doctors' Commons, and the technicalities of legal draughtsmanship for the fledgling Civil Service; these are areas which have not yet been given much attention by modern historians, although O'Day has suggested the need for further research into the emergence of the attorney as a recognised professional, the development of the Civil Service has recently been mentioned by Knight (2014)[36], and the shaping of one of the Bills (the 1812 Parish Register Act) with which Radclyffe concerned himself has been examined by Basten (2007)[37].

The historiography of genealogy, narrowly defined, has until recently been characterised by specialist biographical studies of individuals. Fortunately, the larger subject area of antiquarianism, of which genealogy forms a component, has recently been rescued from neglect by the work of Rosemary Sweet, whose *Antiquaries* (2004)[38] not only provides a connected account of the activities of a host of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century researchers, but has transformed our understanding of the relationship of antiquarianism

[36] R. Knight, *Britain Against Napoleon* (London, 2014).
[37] S. Basten, 'From Rose's Bill to Rose's Act: a reappraisal of the 1812 Parish Register Act', *Local Population Studies,* no. 76 (2008).
[38] R. Sweet, *Antiquaries* (London, 2004).

to the pursuit of history in the modern sense. Sweet's perceptions have been usefully amplified in certain respects by Peter Lindfield, who seems however, to be more interested in the end of the long eighteenth century, as represented by Horace Walpole, than in the beginning of the nineteenth century and figures such as Radclyffe. The main theme of this thesis, which aims to trace Radclyffe's development from genealogist to antiquarian and aspirant Gothicist, and to evaluate the larger significance of that personal journey, owes much to Sweet's work – the more so, in that, as she makes no mention in *Antiquaries* of either Radclyffe or his friend and mentor in antiquarian matters, Edmund Lodge, she leaves a space for further inquiry. Chapters 5 and 6 outline the stages by which Radclyffe's activities, and the range of his sympathies, expanded from modest beginnings as a hitherto unnoticed contributor to Edward Miller's *History of Doncaster* (1804)[39], to make him a personality of what is now recognised as the opening of the scholarly phase of the Gothic Revival. The later years of the diary see him keeping company with the Gothicist draughtsman John Carter, the architects Salvin and Edward Blore, the topographers Daniel and Samuel Lysons, and – most significantly – Robert Surtees, and the creator of Bayons Manor, Charles Tennyson d'Eyncourt, with whom he mediaevalised in a manner which has been discussed by Girouard (1981)[40] and, more briefly, Lindfield (2016)[41]. This pursuit of mediaevalism no doubt had its origins in his preoccupation with his family's ancient history, the mainspring of his search for self-identity; but the diary shows it acquiring a significant momentum of its own, in response to the trends of intellectual fashion.

[39] E. Miller, *History of Doncaster* (Doncaster, 1804).
[40] M. Girouard, *The Return to Camelot* (London, 1981).
[41] P.N. Lindfield, *Georgian Gothic: Medievalist Architecture, Furniture and Interiors, 1730-1840* (Boydell and Brewer, 2016).

The College of Arms, as Radclyffe's residence and place of work, is the setting for much that is recorded in the diary, and Radclyffe's account of the institution, and his activities in it, provides a valuable case-study of an *ancien regime* institution in a changing environment. The existing historiography of the College is dominated by the work of Sir Anthony Wagner, whose *Heralds of England* devotes one chapter to an account of the office politics by which Radclyffe's position in the College was undermined. This thesis shows conclusively that Wagner's account is not only inadequate as an analysis of the evidence available when it was written, but that it must be regarded as completely superseded in the light of information derived from the diary and other sources not apparently examined by Wagner. Important work that has been done since the writing of *Heralds of England,* especially by Rubinstein (2000)[42], on the persistence of Old Corruption during the first two decades of the nineteenth century has cast a harsh new light on the development of this singular institution. Hoock (2003, in Burns and Innes)[43], makes a number of points very pertinent to institutions such as the College of Arms. Chapter 7 describes Radclyffe's dealings in the College, and outlines a case for seeing him as a frustrated reformer whose over-active impetuosity made enemies among his conservative colleagues and eventually led to a grave miscarriage of justice.

In overall terms, the diary presents Radclyffe as a man essentially of the eighteenth century – he was forty-five when his brother fought at Waterloo – who was making his way without noticeable diffidence among the opportunities of the early nineteenth century. While he devoted prodigious efforts towards the acquisition of a landed estate which gave him the status of a member of the county gentry, an enterprise which might be described as traditional in its motivation, he was prompt to enclose the neighbouring

[42] W.D. Rubinstein, 'The end of "Old Corruption" in Britain', *Past and Present,* no. 101 (2000).
[43] H. Hoock, 'Reforming Culture: National Art Institutions in the Age of Reform', in J. Innes and A. Burns (eds.), *Rethinking the Age of Reform* (Cambridge, 2003).

common and rent out the farmland that resulted, and no less quick to open a coal-mine and invest in a canal to carry its product. Throughout, in fact, themes of continuity and tradition compete, and sometimes collide, with motifs of change and disruption; so Radclyffe the lineage-proud herald engages aggressively in reforming activity which exasperates his colleagues at the College of Arms, and the gentleman-farmer of Darley Hall busies himself in London with proto-Chadwickian projects of governmental regulation. This busy mixture makes the diary aptly representative of the disturbed times in which it was written.

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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

*The following abbreviations are used throughout the thesis:*

Baines, E., *History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County of York*, Volume 1 – *West Riding* (Leeds, 1822): abbreviated to *Baines*.

Miller, E., *A History of Doncaster* (Doncaster, 1804): abbreviated to *Doncaster*.

Radclyffe, W., unpublished manuscript diary of 1803-20: abbreviated to *Diary*.

Sweet, R., *Antiquaries* (Hambledon and London, 2004): abbreviated to *Antiquaries*.

Wagner, A.R., *Heralds of England* (London, 1967): abbreviated, in footnotes only, to *Heralds*.

NB. All quotations from Radclyffe's diaries are given with spellings, abbreviations and punctuation as in the original.

# CHAPTER 1

## ANATOMISING THE TEXT

This chapter contains necessary factual material about the manuscript diary which supplies the principal evidence for this thesis, and which is otherwise effectively an unknown source.

……..

### Provenance

The diary was written by William Radclyffe during the years 1803-20. It is the property of Mrs. Susan Shilling, who has very generously lent it to me for purposes of research.

William Radclyffe died in 1828, and either then or at some subsequent date the diary passed into the hands of his son, the Rev. Henry Radclyffe; a number of pages have been annotated in pencil in a hand which has been identified as that of Rosanna Radclyffe, *née* Waite, Henry's wife[44].

Henry Radclyffe died in 1860, and his widow, Rosanna, in 1866. Inscriptions in an 1822 edition of Shakespeare's works which had been among their possessions, and are now in the possession of Mrs. Shilling, indicate that those books, together with the diaries, were inherited by Henry and Rosanna's daughter, Rose, who was born in 1853. Rose was staying in the household of her cousin Charles Radclyffe (he was the grandson of her

[44] For example, the diary entry for 10 July 1808, recording Henry's birth, is sidelined with her signature (see Figure 2, p. 323, top), and the same signature occurs inside the back cover of the 1813/14 volume.

grandfather's brother) at the time of her own death in 1871; the ownership of the diaries from that date is unclear.

In 1954 an elderly lady by the name of Mrs. Needham, a client of Mrs. Shilling's father, presented the whole collection of books to Mrs. Shilling, then a girl aged 12, as a 'prize' for winning a scholarship to St. Paul's Girls' School. Little is known about Mrs. Needham; she may have been a relative of the Radclyffe or Waite families, or a descendant of one of their dependants.

It was a good many years before Mrs. Shilling (as she now was) became aware that the diaries were, at least potentially, interesting. She lent them to the Library of University College, London, for a period in the 1970s, during which time it appears that no particular use was made of them, but one of the volumes (that for 1809-10) was lost[45]. Mrs. Shilling recovered the seven surviving volumes in 1982.

Knowing that William Radclyffe had been a member of the College of Arms, and a person of some significance in his day, Mrs. Shilling took the diary to the College in 2005; there it was authenticated, and the College expressed interest in acquiring it. Mrs. Shilling decided, however, to allow me to work on it, and I have held it on indefinite loan since that time.

## Physical state of the diary

The seven surviving volumes of the diary[46] are in very varied conditions; details are supplied in Appendices, Table 1, page 295.

[45] It is known to have been already in a fragmentary state and may have been thoughtlessly discarded as a consequence of its condition.

[46] For present purposes, the volumes are numbered as 1 to 8, with the missing volume treated as 5.

## Missing entries

Pages are missing from all but three of the surviving diary volumes, as set out in Appendices, Table 2, page 296.

It is entirely possible that some of these gaps are the consequence simply of wear and tear over 200 years; as remarked in Table 1, the stitching of several volumes is largely derelict. It is clear, however, that a good number of the missing pages were deliberately removed, by cutting or tearing of the paper. No single explanation seems appropriate for all these excisions equally. To judge from the various contexts, some of the missing pages dealt with controversies at the College of Arms; some were concerned with particular matters of business, such as the Jamaican estate claim, or Radclyffe's abortive attempts to secure a lease on Dilston Castle; those from 1819 would most probably have contained material relating to Radclyffe's dispute with his colleagues at the College; the gap in 1820 covers the period of his imprisonment at York; and some may have contained facts, such as the details of pedigrees, which Radclyffe wished to use in another setting. The document as a whole bears all the signs of having been maintained primarily as an aide-memoire, and of having been freely mined accordingly as a source of information for various purposes.

Who was responsible for the various excisions? – Radclyffe himself, in some cases, no doubt. But the sidelinings, and occasional notes, which can be attributed to Rosanna Radclyffe suggest that she had a particular interest in the Jamaican and Dilston matters, as well as in references to her husband Henry, which may have led her to make a portfolio of extracts for her own purposes. It is conceivable that some entries contained material that was subsequently considered at least potentially embarrassing, but there is absolutely nothing in what remains to suggest that there was a disreputable side to Radclyffe's life.

## Place of the diary in Radclyffe's system of record keeping

From numerous entries which occur at intervals throughout the entire sequence of volumes, it emerges that Radclyffe recorded his life-activities methodically and purposefully under different headings in different places.

There is ample evidence that he gave very detailed attention to money matters. The diary shows that he kept running notes of his incomings and outgoings in what he called an 'account book', which he tallied up and balanced every weekend, usually recording the fact in his diary; the results of the weekly accounting were transferred to a 'ledger', which in turn was checked and balanced at the end of every month. He (self-)audited his finances at the end of every calendar year. We have no way of knowing whether he operated a system which separated his domestic finances from his professional earnings and expenditures, or whether the management of Darley Hall was afforded a treatment distinct from his London business, but the pencil jottings noticed in Table 1, together with hints elsewhere, suggest that he was fully capable of compartmenting his finances, as he was other aspects of his life. Neither the account book nor the ledger, which would surely have given a thoroughly comprehensive picture of his way of life as well as of his professional practice, is known to exist today.

Radclyffe refers, more than once, to what he calls his 'Book of Ceremonies' – a title evidently borrowed from the College of Arms, where the protocols of state and other formal occasions are recorded under that heading. Radclyffe's 'Ceremonies' appears to have included records of events such as those connected with the Orders of the Bath and the Garter, the funerals of Nelson and the Younger Pitt, openings of Parliament, and various other state occasions in which Radclyffe himself had parts to play. It is possible to regret the disappearance of this 'Book of Ceremonies' for reasons other than those which

apply to the financial records; the generally mundane tone of the diary itself is occasionally varied by short bursts of descriptive writing which suggest that Radclyffe had as quick an eye for the unseemly and the ridiculous as for the picturesque and the splendid, and that he possessed also a certain flair for description which may well have found an outlet in his 'Ceremonies'.

The diaries are best understood as being primarily a running record of Radclyffe's business activity; they list his comings and goings, meetings and professional undertakings, and, not least, his incoming and outgoing correspondence. All these entries convey a strong impression of being 'memoranda', notes of the when and where of a busy professional life, kept for reference in case of need. But personal matters intrude frequently, and at times such as marriage, house-moving, or the death of children, they can become predominant. Radclyffe's own health problems – tooth-drawings, quinsies, a damaged foot, removal of a 'tumour' from the top of his scalp, and bowel problems coinciding with episodes of stress – are noticed in a manner which hints at stoically endured hypochondria. The weather, including some very extreme events, is given occasional, matter-of-fact attention. There are occasional passages of lively description, but Radclyffe rarely allows himself the indulgence of committing a reflection to paper.

As Hazel Tubman has shown in a recent D. Phil. thesis, many of Radclyffe's contemporaries made use of preprinted diaries; Radclyffe's use of the traditional blank form may suggest that he had leanings towards the journal, rather than the memorandum, style of writing. Tubman points out that 'Form was intended to, and did, shape use.'[47]

[47] H. Tubman, *The first pre-printed diaries: origins, development and uses of an information genre, 1700-1850* (unpublished Oxford D. Phil. thesis, 2016).

## Radclyffe's writing methods, handwriting, orthography and literary style

The diary contains an entry for every day; Radclyffe's self-discipline was absolute in this respect, and he was never without something to set down[48]. But there are numerous clear indications that he commonly wrote up a few days at a time, probably from a notebook kept separately – yet another item, therefore, in his self-writing apparatus. Among other results of this approach, he sometimes notes on the day of their happening events of which he could not have been aware at the time, for example when he minutes the fact of his father's death on 5 December 1807, and then, two days later, the arrival of the letter which actually gave him the information.

In 1803, and for a while thereafter, Radclyffe seems to have been at some pains to use a double page for each week, and even to end the first page with the end of a day; this resulted in some episodes of very cramped handwriting. As time went by, and life became fuller, the weeks burst the double-page envelope, and, in consequence, variations in his handwriting diminished somewhat. Breaks in the run of transfers from notes to diary can be detected by a change in the colour of ink, and by slight variations in the calligraphy. Both the pattern of composition, and the style of writing differ more frequently, and sometimes abruptly, when Radclyffe was travelling.

Some passages, particularly those concerning Radclyffe's family and professional afflictions, bear evidence of stress in the form of irregular handwriting, and in occasional errors; but the diary in general is notably orderly in appearance, style and tone, even at times when we know that Radclyffe was under heavy pressure. This appearance of equanimity suggests considerable self-control on the diarist's part, but it may also have

[48] 'The discipline of daily recording is considerable, and no-one would do it if they didn't feel they had to.' S. Brett, Introduction to *The Faber Book of Diaries* (London, 1987), p. xi.

been the result of an approach which consciously treated the diary as a possible source of 'evidence' for use in a context that was not entirely private.

Radclyffe's handwriting in the diary is small, sometimes (as when he is short of space) minute, but rarely difficult to read; it slopes regularly to the right. It is recognisably that of an educated person of the period, and varies little over the sequence of years[49]. For certain purposes, however, such as the lengthy obituary of his first son, composed in January 1808, Radclyffe employed a formal italic script which was quite different from his usual style.

The orthography of the diary presents few departures from the norms of the period, and suggests that Radclyffe had been competently schooled; he occasionally tangles unsuccessfully with an unfamiliar long word, and his attempts at Latin tags often go awry. There is a detectable sharpening and polishing of his use of language, in all respects, in the later volumes of the diary.

Radclyffe makes frequent use of abbreviations, and employs various standard formulae, such as 'lre' for 'letter'. Additions, interlineated in minute writing, appear occasionally; interestingly, they can refer to events of a significance which might have been expected to qualify them for immediate inclusion in the record[50]. It has to be assumed that these exceptional events were, indeed, so significant that they stood in Radclyffe's mind quite outside the run of ordinary business which he committed to his (presumed) notebooks. Such additions may therefore be seen as representing moments of compromise between the primary function of the diary as a register of business and its secondary role as a journal of general record.

[49] The handwriting of the diary is noticeably more mature than that exhibited in the Beinecke MS of 1798.
[50] For example, Radclyffe's election to the Society of Antiquaries, an honour which he prized highly.

Tubman has found that, contrary to some received wisdom, professional and middle-class diarists of this period rarely wrote in a 'literary' manner[51]. However, 'journal' writing occurs increasingly frequently in Radclyffe's diaries as the years pass, reflecting the growing importance in his life of family concerns and the increasing complexity of his professional career. Some 'journal' episodes, too lengthy to be quoted in this thesis, are of great interest: they include descriptions of a Garter ceremony at Windsor in April 1805, an expedition to the Lakes in August 1808, a visit to Lord Newburgh at Slindon and the Duke of Norfolk at Arundel in August 1811, a 'disgraceful' meeting of the College Chapter in July 1813, the proclamation of peace in June 1814, the Doncaster race meeting and county ball at Wentworth Woodhouse in September 1814, the funeral of Lord Newburgh in November 1814, a great housewarming at Darley Hall in July 1815, a visit to the Dowager Countess of Newburgh in 1817 and 1818, and a reception held by Queen Caroline at Brandenburgh House in November 1820.

Different environments evoked different moods in Radclyffe, and prompted him to different styles of diary-writing. It is relevant to note, therefore, that of the 5,831 daily entries which have survived, approximately 4,660 concern his doings in London, 845 relate to time spent in the country (mostly in Yorkshire, but partly also with friends and relations elsewhere, particularly on the Welsh borders), and 326 record episodes of travel. These categories cannot be distinguished from each other as sharply as the numbers may suggest, but they indicate sufficiently clearly the locations of Radclyffe's activity. What the numbers do not necessarily convey accurately is the relative importance to Radclyffe of the different habitats in which he wrote.

[51] H. Tubman, *The first pre-printed diaries* (unpublished Oxford D. Phil. thesis, 2016), p. 19.

## Record of journeys

Radclyffe was a hardy, even inveterate traveller, and his diaries contain a vein of material concerning his journeyings which would reward separate study. He used whatever wheeled transport was available, but often went on horseback, by boat, and sometimes on foot. His accommodation was frequently problematic, and sometimes bad. He was cheated once or twice, and stoically endured the loss of luggage. He met people whom he admired, and others whom he detested – like most travellers, he reacted to chance encounters with heightened spontaneity and intensity, and he records fleeting infatuations and passing furies with naïve candour.

The pattern of entries made while Radclyffe was on the road suggests that he relied on keeping quickly-jotted notes for several days at a time, before writing up the diary proper; hence he sometimes lost names or other details. The diary itself always travelled with him, probably in a portable writing box.

It will be sufficient for this thesis to note the bare outlines of his travels as he recorded them; see Appendices, Table 3, page 297. The place-names listed are chosen to give an indication of the direction of travel, rather than the objective of the journey. Some of the journeys were made rapidly, others were more or less lengthy tours, and others again represented the first and last stages of temporary relocations, especially from London to Darley Hall. It will be apparent that he was practically a seasonal commuter between London and Yorkshire, moving according to a pattern which was common among members of the provincial gentry whose business kept them for part of the year in the capital.

## Record of correspondence

Radclyffe was a prolific user of the Royal Mail, who did not hesitate to send considerable sums of money and items of value by post, as well as a great range of business and personal papers; his activity well illustrates Susan Whyman's favourable judgement on the postal service of the period[52].

Yearly totals of the numbers of outgoing letters and notes mentioned in the diary volumes are set out below; despite the appearance of precision, the figures are unavoidably approximate, and almost certainly understate the reality. Radclyffe notes the receipt of significantly more letters than he records answering, yet it is plain that he was a conscientious and generally prompt correspondent. Letters to his wife, to whom he wrote two or three times a week when they were apart, are scrupulously listed, and some categories of business correspondence are likewise itemised with care, notably his dealings over the Salwey trust, and his pursuit of the family's Jamaican inheritance. On the other hand, letters written in connection with his business as pursuivant, and also with his antiquarian activity, often feature in the diary by implication rather than by definite statement; this may have reflected the fact that they were often composed by stages, over a period of days or even weeks. The figures given in Appendices, Table 4 refer only to those letters of which the despatch is explicitly recorded. A standard – and maddeningly uninformative – formula which appears day after day in the diary is 'wrote varii'; Radclyffe can rarely have been far from his pen and inkpot; see Appendices, Table 4, pages 300.

The modest totals for each of the first three years in the sequence suggest the limitations in Radclyffe's business and social life at that stage of his career. It constrained his letter-

[52] S.E. Whyman, *The Pen and the People* (Oxford, 2009), p. 4.

writing, also, that he engaged during those years in some prolonged episodes of travel, of a solitary and quite adventurous kind.

Numbers of both incoming and outgoing letters increased from 1806 onwards, and Radclyffe began to develop important connections with antiquarians such as Blore, Whitaker and, from February 1808, Surtees; Hunter was already an established correspondent.

When the diary resumes after the gap of 1809/10, Radclyffe's professional activity can be seen to have matured significantly; this is not just a matter of the number of letters he receives and writes – there is altogether a new methodical briskness about the way in which he keeps his records, which suggests a mature man of affairs, adept (at least until 1817) at keeping his heraldic and genealogical practices, his private business and family concerns, and his antiquarian pursuits, all in play and, for the most part, in balance.

Radclyffe's increasing preoccupation with his Darley Hall estate (as well as with the Dilston project, which seems to have been largely excised from the diary) was matched by comparative neglect of his business at the College of Arms; this gave his ill-wishers room in which to concert plans against him which exploded in 1819/20.

It is striking that Radclyffe continued to maintain a considerable level of genealogical and antiquarian correspondence throughout the time of his tribulations, and continued it thereafter, to the extent of developing new contacts, for example with Lady Egremont[53].

On the evidence of the letters which he wrote to Robert Surtees and which survive at Durham, and those to Joseph Hunter which are in the British Library, Radclyffe's epistolary style was fluent, direct and vigorous even when he was dealing with the dry

[53] *Diary,* 24 October 1820; 1 November 1820; 27 November 1820, when he dined with Lady Egremont and a large and aristocratic party who evidently did not regard him as in the least disgraced.

bones of a pedigree; it is a speaking style, animated, informative, redolent with feeling, candid. It is consistent with, and even more eloquent than, the voice of the diary.

## Outline of contents

This thesis does not offer an edition of the diary – something which may be appropriate for another occasion; it will suffice here to supply a brief outline of the main topics and themes which it contains. Measured against the 'standard' categories of diary-content as defined by Andy Alaszewski[54], it offers some distinctive features.

From the opening of the first volume to the closing of the last, the diary supplies a record of Radclyffe's genealogical work and related activities; it is not a formal 'office register' or daybook, however – while clients are named, and research steps noted, there are very few descriptions of results, and there is little reference to finance. Lists of correspondents, both business and personal, appear frequently, but it seems likely that they are confined to names that held special significance.

Radclyffe's appointment to the College of Arms in 1803 opened for him a new field of activity, and the diary records, sometimes in considerable detail, both his work in the library and archives of the College and also his dealings with colleagues, and the increasing part which he took in the administration of College business. As with his private genealogical practise, Radclyffe records very little about the minutiae of his pedigree-making at the College, but the diary provides valuable insights into the workings of the College at this period.

[54] A. Alaszweski, *Using Diaries for Social Research* (Oxford D. Phil. thesis, 2009).

Journeys, on private and official business, feature largely in the diary, and Radclyffe's methodical pen sets out the stages of his travels, with notes of his accommodation and various happenings, with more freedom than he affords to the routine of his London days.

The *leitmotif* of the whole diary is Radclyffe's pursuit of the details of his own family pedigree; it is this which ultimately motivates his genealogical practice, his membership of the College of Arms, his travelling, and his social life; this pedigree is never discussed, let alone argued, in the diary – it is just there, as an ubiquitous fact.

Radclyffe's marriage to Elizabeth Marechale in 1804 initiated a record of family life which looms steadily larger as the diary progresses. The search for residences, the details of domesticity, and some at least of the delights and tribulations of married life gradually take centre-stage and turn what began as a record of business into something much more like the journal of a professional man. Accounts of the births, education and deaths of children reveal Radclyffe the man, often in poignant detail, and the tale of his wife's troubles with post-natal depression throws a shadow over the later narrative.

Professional ambition combined with the domestic imperative, under the almost mystic, over-arching theme of Radclyffe family pride, to impel the diarist towards the purchase (1812-15) of a Yorkshire property, Darley Hall near Worsbrough in the West Riding, and also, at much the same time, to attempt to acquire a lease on the ruins of an ancient Radclyffe stronghold, Dilston Castle in Northumberland. The first of these enterprises was successful, and the account of the rehabilitation of the Hall, and the creation of a small park and farm around it, occupy great tracts of the later diary volumes. The attempt on Dilston was a failure, and, what was worse, became the occasion of Radclyffe's ejection, engineered by conspiring colleagues, from the College of Arms.

The Dilston episode provides a focus for one further theme, which runs all through the diary but grows in importance particularly during the later years, namely Radclyffe's activity as a collector, connoisseur and antiquarian. This activity provides the key to most of his social life, and links him to the rich patrons whose support was critical to his career.

## The nature of the diary

In an appendix to an article published in *The Local Historian*[55], Kate Tiller lists a number of possible motives for diary-keeping, as follows:

> Record
> Aide memoire
> Description (events; places; people)
> Confessional
> Means of meditation
> Discipline
> Cultural norm
> Justification (to self; to others; to God)
> Giving meaning through permanence/defy transitory nature of life
> Escape

Few diaries, apart from the most rudimentary jottings, will be found so singular in their character that they do not derive motivation to some extent from more than one of these categories. Tubman finds that 'There was undoubtedly a blurring of categories of self-writing in the early modern period'[56], and for Radclyffe, the first two in Tiller's list, 'Record' and 'Aide Memoire', were evidently primary, equal and predominant throughout. He shows a tendency as the years go by to allow himself increasing liberty in the direction of all three of the suggested categories of 'Description'. There is nothing that can truly be described as 'Confessional', and barely anything that resembles 'Meditation' in

[55] K. Tiller, 'Telling it how it was?', *The Local Historian*, no. 39.3 (2009).
[56] H. Tubman, *The first pre-printed diaries* (unpublished Oxford D. Phil thesis, 2016), p. 24.

Radclyffe's account of his doings; but the remaining elements in the list raise some interesting questions.

The rigorous regularity and insistent patterning of the diary suggest strongly that Radclyffe was using it, perhaps unconsciously, as a means of regulating his life – thus 'Discipline'[57]. It is difficult to know what might have prompted such an urge in him; early conditioning would be a simple, perhaps over-simple answer. We might understand Radclyffe's need for (self-) discipline if we could be a little clearer about the 'Cultural norm' to which he paid obeisance; the impression that there was a conflict of loyalties between his Yorkshire gentry identity and his London professional *persona* blurs our perception of his motivations right up to the point, in 1819, where he appears to cut himself off from the College of Arms, with disastrous consequences.

Given the almost obsessional intensity with which Radclyffe pursued his search for certainty and completeness in his family pedigree, it might not have been surprising if he had employed his diary to lay out his agenda, if only to himself – to use his diary for 'Justification', in other words. In fact, there is practically no writing of that sort; Radclyffe was so completely secure in his Radclyffe identity that he found no need to write about it, or even to consider whether other people might doubt it. For him, it was just a matter of consuming pride, a source of infinite satisfaction, a treasure to be polished at every opportunity. He had no need for the 'ego-writing' described and analysed by Heller and others.

'Giving meaning through permanence' must be part of the motivation of any diarist, and Radclyffe was certainly possessed of a powerful drive in that direction; but, except on the

[57] '…diary-writing as perceived in this period … as a means of pragmatic self-management.' H. Tubman, *The first pre-printed diaries* (unpublished Oxford D. Phil. thesis, 2016), p. 27.

death of his first son, he hardly articulated it. It was an inner motivation, not one that he externalised.

As to 'Escape', the 'Aide memoire' function is so paramount that while it might well be the case that Radclyffe found satisfaction in confiding his life-details to the silent page, he only once consciously let himself go beyond the most tightly drawn bounds of discretion – there was no escape route via the diary. William Matthews has suggested that 'most diarists pose even to themselves'[58]; but when Radclyffe was writing, he wore an adamantine armour of self-control.

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In summary, close reading and analysis of Radclyffe's diary reveals a document, and a diarist, more complex than at first appears. Separated from the other components of the author's system of record-keeping, it supplies an incomplete picture of the man and his doings, but even the gaps in the pattern have value as evidence. It was not written for public consumption, but bears signs of having served as a 'quotable' record; hence it must be borne in mind that the diarist may have been selective in recording facts. It is practically devoid of conscious artificiality, and hardly ever falls into introspection, but it is suffused with a powerful sense of the personality of its creator.

[58] W. Matthews, 'Introduction' to *The Diary of Dudley Ryder* (London, 1939), quoted by M.R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort* (Berkeley, 1996), p. 10. Radclyffe's diary does not, of course, appear in Matthews' *Annotated Bibliography of British Diaries Written Between 1442 and 1942 (*London*,* 1950*);* it would certainly merit inclusion in a revised edition.

# CHAPTER 2

## SOCIAL AND LOCAL IDENTITIES

This chapter seeks to define the collection of 'identities' which together characterised William Radclyffe. His preoccupation with, and unwavering belief in, his own distinguished ancestry; the reality of the social standing of his immediate family; the circumstances of his professional career; the varying fortunes of his married life; his success in establishing himself as a country gentleman in Yorkshire; and his attempts to exploit his wife's inheritances – all these combine to form the picture of a complex, compartmented, multi-talented, personality.

The identities revealed by his self-writing were compatible rather than conflicting, and manifested themselves separately at different times and in different environments. Benjamin Heller has used the expression 'frame-switching' to describe 'bicultural individuals' ability to adapt to their surroundings based on their understandings of the normative expectations of those around them'[59]; it is a term that usefully defines some of Radclyffe's behaviour. A similar point is made by Henry French, when he notices that among emergent professionals of the early eighteenth century '...the projection of social identity, and particularly of gentility, was responsive to context'[60].

[59] B. Heller, *Leisure and Pleasure in London Society, 1760-1820,* unpublished Oxford D. Phil. thesis, 2009, p. 44.
[60] H.R. French, *'*Ingenious and learned gentlemen*', Social History,* vol. 25, no. 1 (Jan. 2000), p. 65.

Different elements in the Radclyffe *persona* can thus seem to match different stereotypes. His activity as a herald might seem to serve the requirements of the eighteenth-century aristocracy as it has been described by John Cannon[61], or by Lawrence and Jeanne Stone[62] - a tight and exclusive caste of wealthy landowners. But his own success in acquiring a Yorkshire estate can be seen as exemplifying the findings of such as Bill Rubinstein, Paul Langford and Francis Thompson, who have reasserted an earlier orthodoxy by showing that the charmed circle of aristocracy was not, after all, so rigidly defined as to exclude all incomers, and that the commercial, industrial and, increasingly, professional *arrivistes* of the time continued to mark their successes in the traditional way, by the acquisition of land. Further subtlety is added by Perry Gauci's observation, very pertinent to Radclyffe's case, that 'Most historians would now accept that social identity is a pluralistic, competitive and multi-layered concept, which defies easy linear development into "winners" and "losers".'[63].

……..

## The diarist's ancestry

It was an article of faith for William Radclyffe that his pedigree showed him, following his father's death, as the senior representative of a line which went by recorded stages straight back to Anthony Radclyffe, who died in 1595 and was the second son of Sir Cuthbert Radclyffe of Dilston in Northumberland. His diary, and, still more, his correspondence with his friends, shows that this conviction was absolutely central to his sense of self, and

[61] J. Cannon, *Aristocratic Century* (Cambridge, 1984).
[62] L. and J.C. Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite?* (Oxford, 1984).
[63] P. Gauci, 'Finding the Middle Ground: the Middling Sort in the Eighteenth Century', in *History Compass,* vol. 4, no. 2 (March, 2006), p. 234.

it supplies a *leitmotif* that runs through everything that is recorded about him[64]. He is a good example of a type identified by John Bourne: '…people of independent means, living in the style of the gentry and aspiring to their status…emerged in the eighteenth century…from the landless descendants of earlier landed families.'[65]

The fluctuating fortunes of the Radclyffe dynasty have attracted the attention of numerous writers[66]. The most authoritative and complete account of the entire clan is an exhaustive, if somewhat hagiographical, work by Charles Hampson, which came out in 1940[67]. Hampson's research can today be supplemented and corrected, but remains an essential source.

The family first appeared as feudal lordlings in Cumberland in the early mediaeval period. A Hapsburg-like talent for profitable marriages brought them, over several centuries, estates on both sides of the Pennines, in Lancashire and Cheshire, Northumberland, Durham and Yorkshire, and the title of Earls of Derwentwater, with a castle at Dilston, near Hexham.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century the Derwentwater estates extended in a strategically significant belt of some 41,000 acres across northern England, just south of the Scottish border. The holding included lands which were to become fabulously profitable by virtue of their mineral resources, but even before this came about, the agricultural returns in the reign of Queen Anne were loosely estimated as being around

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[64] He might be described as an example of a type identified by Naomi Tadmor, the champion of a lineage family; N. Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-century England* (Cambridge, 2001), Chapter 3.
[65] J.M. Bourne, *Patronage and Society in Nineteenth-Century England* (London, 1986), p. 88.
[66] Including Charles Lamb, 'The South Sea House', *Essays of Elia* (London, edn. of 1883); Robert Surtees, *History of Durham* (London, 1816); James Ellis, with John Fenwick, *A Genealogy of the Family of Radclyffe, of Dilston* (Newcastle, 1850); Sarah Smith Jones, *The Heirs of Dilston and Derwentwater* (Hexham, 1869); Frances Dickenson, *The Castle on Devil's Water* (Stocksfield, 1992).
[67] *The Book of the Radclyffes* (Edinburgh, 1940, privately printed). I am grateful to the late Capt. Charles Radclyffe, of Lew, who was until his death the senior member of the Foxdenton branch of the family, for allowing me to consult his own, annotated copy.

£20,000 annually. This gave the Radclyffes the name and status of the richest Roman Catholic family in the North. It was a distinction that proved fatal in the aftermath of the Risings of 1715 and 1745 when, alone among the attainted Jacobite leaders, the Derwentwaters were refused all amnesty; the 3rd and (*de jure*) 4th Earls were executed, their lands were forfeited to the Crown, and their title was irrecoverably extinguished.

The representative of the Derwentwater line, by collateral descent, during the first twelve years of the diary was the 5th Earl of Newburgh, of Slindon Park in Sussex, who recognised William Radclyffe as his kinsman and had extensive confidential dealings with him. The 10th Baron Petre, of Thorndon Hall in Essex, also acknowledged a relationship, by virtue of his own marriage to a daughter of the Derwentwater line. And the diarist could even claim a remote connection with the Howard Dukes of Norfolk, by way of the sixteenth-century Radclyffe Earls of Sussex – nor was that claim rejected, at least by the 11th Duke.

The diarist therefore entertained no *scintilla* of doubt about his own identity as the senior representative of a cadet branch of the Radclyffe line; his unhesitating belief in the fact is implicit in every entry of the diary. Perhaps it is not surprising that, reading between the lines of the Chapter Minutes of the College of Arms, one discerns pride of ancestry prompting him to *hauteur* among his colleagues, and encouraging a self-assertiveness which others might well have found hard to stomach. The diary, too, repeatedly reveals Radclyffe as peppery and quick to take affront. It was, in part, a style expected in the days of the wartime Regency; but the Radclyffe of the portrait now displayed in the College of Arms challenges the world like a mistrustful fighting cock, with bristling crest, imperious eyes, and the family's characteristic, fierce beak over the herald's gorgeous plumage (see Figure 1, title page). This, beyond doubt, was not an easy man.

## Reconstruction of the diarist's family

### 1) The social status of Radclyffe's immediate kinship group

> 'William Radcliffe[sic], born in 1770 at Wath in Yorkshire of a family settled for some time at Barnsley in that county, was bred up to the trade of a pastrycook and confectioner and kept a shop of that description for several years in Oxford Street…'[68]

If the supercilious tone adopted by Sir Anthony Wagner when introducing William Radclyffe at the beginning of Chapter XVI in his *Heralds of England* may be thought to fall somewhat short of complete objectivity, the discovery of Radclyffe's diary now allows a reassessment of his view.

William Radclyffe was, indeed, born on 10 January 1770, in Wath-upon-Dearne in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The parish register of Wath records William's baptism as having taken place in the parish church there on 8 February 1770, and describes his father, Edward, as a shopkeeper[69]. It has not been possible to ascertain exactly what Edward's line of business was at this time; in fact, we are fortunate to have even the bare word 'shopkeeper' to describe his activity[70]. Wagner's assertion that young Radclyffe was 'bred up to the trade of a pastrycook' repeats the sneer of a bullying lawyer at Radclyffe's trial in 1820; several previous generations of the family had traded as mercers in nearby Barnsley[71], and it may seem more likely that Edward kept a draper's shop. However, it has not been possible to establish the details of William's early upbringing[72].

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[68] *Heralds*, p. 450.

[69] *Wath-upon-Dearne Parish Registers (Christenings, Marriages and Burials), 1598-1779,* http://search.ancestrylibrary .com, accessed 12.10.12.

[70] Between March 1769 and March 1772 the church registers at Wath were kept with unusual care by someone who recorded the occupations of the fathers of a good many of the children baptised in the church.

[71] *Yorkshire Parish Records,* http://search.ancestrylibrary.com, accessed 21.08.13. The registers describe them as 'gentlemen', and they were married by licence rather than banns.

[72] P.J. Corfield has discovered 'tensions within emergent social stereotypes, as between the ethos of the "professional" and the "shopkeeping" middle class' at this time, but it is likely that such boundaries were

William was a son of his father's second marriage. Edward Robert Radcliffe (it seems appropriate to spell his name in the style which he himself favoured; most of his ancestors had used the 'y', but unlike his antiquarian-minded son, Edward may have leaned towards modernity) had been born on 8 September 1728, in Barnsley[73], but it was in Wath-upon-Dearne that he and his first wife, Ann Ellis, had four children, two of whom, Elizabeth (born in 1759) and Edward (born in 1760) died in 1761 and were buried on 25 and 27 May respectively[74]. Ann bore two more daughters, Ann (born in 1762) and Sarah (born in 1764), before she herself died and was buried in Wath on 8 June 1767[75]. Radclyffe transcribed the epitaph on her monument, possibly when he visited Wath in 1813, into a notebook which is now in the College of Arms: 'Near this place lyeth interred the body of Anne wife of Edward Radcliffe in this town who died 7th of June 1767 aged 29 years, in whom was centred the wife, the mother, the freend[sic]. Also two of her children viz. Elizabeth and Edward both of which dyed[sic] in their infancy in May 1761.'[76] The fact that the dead woman was commemorated by a wall monument is an indication of her husband's standing in the local community.

As his neighbours would have expected, the widower was quick to find a second wife to look after his two small daughters; he married Elizabeth Adamson, aged 21, in Mexborough parish church on 8 March, 1768[77], and took her back to Wath. We know little about her; she had at least one unmarried sister, who features frequently in the diary as

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less sharply defined in South Yorkshire. P.J. Corfield, 'Class in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *History* vol. 72, no. 224, p. 61.

[73] *Yorkshire Parish Records,* http://trees.ancestrylibrary.com, accessed 24.06.13. The *Survey of London, Monograph 16* (London, 1963), describes him as 'of Wath, and later of Doncaster and London'; I have been unable to find any evidence that he ever lived in London – though the name 'Radclyffe' occurs with some frequency in the London taxation records of the period. I believe the *Survey* has confused the father with the son.

[74] *Yorkshire Parish Records,* http://archives.ancestry.com, accessed 5.01.15.

[75] *Yorkshire Parish Records,* http://trees.ancestrylibrary.com, accessed 24.06.13.

[76] Archives of the College of Arms, London.

[77] *Yorkshire Parish Records,* http://search.ancestrylibrary.com, accessed 10.07.13.

'Aunt Adamson', and who lived in fashionable quarters of London such as Grosvenor Square, until her death on 14 December 1817[78]. There was also an 'Uncle John' Adamson, who appears occasionally in London but who probably lived in Yorkshire, since he wrote to Radclyffe on 21 May 1812 asking to have any timber that Radclyffe might be able to spare from his improvements at Darley Hall, for use on his own house; Radclyffe received news of his death on 1 February 1819. Perhaps the most significant fact about Elizabeth Adamson, for present purposes, is that Nathan Drake, an artist whose work was held in high esteem in the North-east at that time[79], made a full-length portrait of her in 1771; this portrait was in William's possession in 1816[80]. It is evidence of the social status, or at least the wealth, of her husband that she should have been portrayed by an artist who was much more than a journeyman.

There are references to other Adamson relatives, including an aunt of the diarist who was married to William Curtis of Maryknoll near Richards Castle on the Herefordshire / Shropshire border. Curtis of Maryknoll had a cousin of the same name who was a proctor in Doctors' Commons; he appears with great frequency in the diary as Radclyffe's legal collaborator, and also, with his wife, as a member of the Radclyffes' close social circle. Radclyffe was named as an executor of the will of Curtis of Maryknoll, a will which he first made in 1811 and revised by a codicil in 1823[81].

[78] *Diary*, 20 December, 1817. The news, received at Darley Hall in a letter from Radclyffe's sister, evoked one of the very few 'religious' references in the diary – 'Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord'.
[79] A number of Drake's works are to be found in York Art Gallery, and one is in the Wellington Museum at Apsley House; others are in private collections. He painted country houses and sporting scenes, as well as portraits. The portrait of Radclyffe's mother is first mentioned in the diary on 15 May 1813; I have not been able to trace it.
[80] *Diary*, 28 October 1816.
[81] TNA PROB 11/1673.

Some of these evidences of the Radclyffe-Adamsons' substantial middle-class status could not have been known to Wagner; however, he failed to investigate facts in parish registers which would have preserved him from some of his mistakes.

The five children of William and Elizabeth were all born and baptised in either Wath or their mother's home village, Mexborough, over the years to 1779. Two of the five, Thomas (born in 1771) and Charles (born in 1779) died in very early infancy, but the other three, Elizabeth (born in 1769)[82], William, the diarist, and Charles Edward (born in 1774)[83], survived to form a close-knit and patently ambitious group who all achieved very considerable success in life and who helped each other at every stage. Their older stepsister, Ann, may have been less forceful as a personality, but her marriage on 2 November 1786[84] to a Barnsley mercer (who practised also as an attorney), William Jackson, was to be of considerable significance to the diarist in the realisation of his ambition to acquire an estate in Yorkshire.

The closeness of the Radclyffe family is a prominent feature of the diary, and aptly illustrates several of the themes identified by Amy Harris in a recent important study[85]; in this respect, as in some others, the Radclyffes can seem to belong more to the structured rural society of the eighteenth century than to the increasingly atomised London of the Regency.

The surviving volumes of the diary contain little that illuminates the circumstances of Radclyffe's early life. Wath is mentioned only once: on 28 September 1813 Radclyffe records that he paused on a journey and 'baited in the house where I was born', a phrase that leaves it unclear whether or not this was, or had been, the paternal shop. By 1813, at

[82] *Yorkshire Parish Records,* http://archives.ancestry.com/Discoveries, accessed 3.09.14.
[83] *Yorkshire Parish Records,* http://archives.ancestry.com/Discoveries, accessed 3.09.14.
[84] *Yorkshire Parish Records,* http://interactive.ancestrylibrary.com, accessed 27.09.13.
[85] A. Harris, *Siblinghood and Social Relations in Georgian England* (Manchester, 2012).

least, he seems to have felt little loyalty to, or interest in, the place of his birth; rather, he appears at that time to have regarded Doncaster as his home.

The family moved to Doncaster at some point around 1779, and it was there that the diarist appears to have spent much of his childhood and youth, and where his mother died and was buried in 1790[86]. This time the elder Radcliffe was in no great hurry to remarry, but in 1797 he espoused a Lincolnshire girl, Sarah Hall[87], and, seemingly indefatigable, went on to father three more children – Sarah (born in 1799), Derwentwater (born in 1802) and Thomas Tindal, or Tyndale, (born in 1805, just weeks before Edward's own death in December)[88]. Derwentwater and Thomas both received help with their education from the diarist[89].

William, then in London, heard the news of his father's death on 7 December 1805; he hastened north for the funeral, but was disconcerted to find that it had taken place the day before[90]. He records a lonely visit to his father's freshly dug grave, and there is an empty space left in the diary for an obituary that was never written.

Radclyffe returned frequently to Doncaster, where his father's third family continued to live, in the years covered by the diary; but his attention shifted over time to the earlier Radclyffe base, Barnsley, where the husband of his older half-sister Ann, William Jackson, was a rising man. In 1804 Jackson gave his address as "Bankend, Barnsley"[91], a property

[86] *Yorkshire Parish Records,* http://trees.ancestrylibrary.com, accessed 24.06.13.
[87] *Yorkshire Parish Records,* http://search.ancestrylibrary.com, accessed 10.07.13.
[88] 'The Doncaster St. George burial register does contain details of the burial of Edward Radcliffe …He was buried on December 8 1805 and is described as gentleman, the cause of death was old age and he was 78 years of age' – information from Doncaster Archives, 23.3.16.
[89] Successive generations of male Radclyffes, down to the present day, have borne names drawn from a range traditional to the family; the choice of 'Derwentwater' attests belief on the part of the diarist's father in his inherited connection with the Dilston line; 'Tyndale' is harder to explain, but may have come from an element in the elder Radclyffe's third wife's Lincolnshire ancestry. A descendant of Thomas Tyndale, bearing the name 'Derwent', was killed in Flanders in 1917, fighting with the Australian army.
[90] *Diary*, 8 December 1805.
[91] Subscription list in *Doncaster*.

of which he would have been the lessee[92], but in late 1805 he purchased Keresforth Hall, on the slopes of Worsbrough Dale, where William enjoyed his hospitality on numerous occasions[93].

Two other marriages which are important as evidence of the family's status are those of William's older sister Elizabeth, and his younger brother Charles Edward.

It is likely that Elizabeth had accompanied William to London in 1790, and that the two of them had set up business together in Oxford Street[94]. Theirs must have been a quite well-funded enterprise, considering that it involved renting premises in a fashionable shopping district[95]; it seems permissible to speculate that she may have been the 'real' confectioner, while her brother paid the Land Tax for 226a Oxford Street. But this arrangement, if indeed it existed, would have come to an end after her marriage in 1795 to a very wealthy, elderly widower, John Salwey of Moor Park in Shropshire and Shorefield in Essex[96], who had a London residence at 39 Upper Berkeley Street. We do not know how Mr. Salwey met Miss Radclyffe, but it is possible that an introduction was made by Mrs. Curtis of Maryknoll, Salwey's neighbour in Herefordshire, who was an aunt of the Radclyffes. Their marriage, by licence, took place on 20 January 1795 at St. Marylebone church[97]. Elizabeth thus became the mistress of substantial properties in two counties, and was in a position to

[92] Bank End, as it was more usually spelt, was to become the epicentre of William Radclyffe's existence when he purchased it in 1812 and created a small estate around it.
[93] Keresforth is still in existence, though much changed.
[94] 'Throughout the century it was a truism, engraved into the national consciousness, that London was the true object of talent: "in most families of *England*, if there be any son or daughter that excels the rest in beauty or wit, or perhaps, courage, or industry, or any other quality; London is their north-star, and they are never at rest till they point directly thither"'. J. White, *London in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2012), pp. 91-2, quoting *The London and Westminster Guide,* Anon., 1768.
[95] A commercial property in Oxford Street would have commanded an annual rent of at least £50 in the early 1800s. 226a features in the Land Tax listings at a (notional) valuation more than twice as high as the figures for its (presumably residential) neighbours.
[96] Burke's *Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1833), pp. 152-156. Salwey's unmarried sister had an address in Oxford Street.
[97] Marriage bond dated 17 January 1795. Marriage register entry dated 20 January 1795. http://search.ancestrylibrary.com, accessed 12.07.13.

help her brother to abandon confectionery for the still sweeter delights of genealogy, his real passion.

This was no *mesalliance*; Wagner seems to imply that the story of Elizabeth's marriage trails a scent of Becky Sharp in *Vanity Fair*, but none of the evidence suggests that there was any resemblance of character between Elizabeth Radclyffe and Thackeray's adventuress. The diary clearly shows (admittedly only from the year 1803, when it commences, and thereafter) Radclyffes and Salweys associating and dealing as equals[98], and William Radclyffe was in due course to serve as principal executor of his brother-in-law's estates. Unquestionably, Elizabeth had made a good match, but the arms exhibited on the mourning escutcheon which her brother caused to be hung over John Salwey's tomb in the family church at Richards Castle indicated clearly – and apparently acceptably in the eyes of all parties – that the marriage did as much honour to the Salweys as it did to the Radclyffes[99]. Nor, apparently, did the Salweys object when Radclyffe set about reorganising the pictures which hung in their great mansion at Moor Park[100]. He had previously, in 1801/02, acted as something like a gentleman-agent for John Salwey, supervising works on the Moor Park estate[101].

The case of William's brother Charles Edward (usually known in the diary as Edward) is somewhat simpler, but equally informative about the Radclyffes' standing. He was a career soldier, who joined the ranks, probably as a gentleman volunteer, of the First, or Royal, Dragoons in 1794, served in the Duke of York's campaign in Flanders during that year, and was promoted from Serjeant, without purchase, to be adjutant of the regiment on

[98] See also Appendices, Table 1, p. 295, footnote 686, P.K. Roche.
[99] Figure 7, p. 16 in *Proprietary Rights*, unpublished M.Sc. dissertation, M. St John Parker, Oxford, 2013.
[100] *Diary*, 21 June 1803. Moor Park is now a preparatory school; the Salwey family still own land in the neighbourhood. (Orleton and Richards Castle Neighbourhood Plan 2011-2031, draft dated September 2016.)
[101] Rex v Radclyffe, Box File 1, Envelope 1, Item 3, Archives of the College of Arms.

11 October 1797[102]. He was further promoted Cornet in April 1799, Lieutenant in May 1800 and Captain in December 1804[103]. He went on to have a distinguished military career; he served with credit in the Peninsula, was promoted to Brevet-Major, and fought with conspicuous skill and gallantry at Quatre Bras and Waterloo, where he was badly wounded and won promotion to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. His career fitted a pattern characteristic of a small but elite group in the army of that time – only some 10% of officers were promoted from the ranks during the period 1793-1815, and most of them, unlike Radclyffe, were promptly retired after 1815 – and suggests that he was fully accepted by his colleagues in this crack, and socially exclusive, regiment of heavy cavalry. (The Royals were merged with the Royal Horse Guards in 1969 to form The Blues and Royals, the second regiment of the Household Cavalry.)

In 1800 Charles Edward married Mary Crockett, daughter of a wealthy and long-established family, of Shushions Manor in Staffordshire. Numerous entries in his brother's diary suggest that the Radclyffes and the Crocketts found no difficulty in meeting as social equals[104]. Col. Radclyffe's descendants have flourished as a county family, first in Hampshire and then in Norfolk, and today proudly possess his portrait, his Waterloo medal, and the musket ball which wounded him at Waterloo and remained to give him pain until his death in 1827 (see Figure 8, page 328).

To summarise so far, the Radclyffes of Barnsley and Doncaster appear at the opening of the nineteenth century as a well-established, tightly knit and at least moderately wealthy clan, who made marriages with other families of gentry status or better, and whose

[102] This promotion may have come by 'Colonel's purchase', in recognition of professional ability – suggestion from Prof. Jeremy Black, in conversation, 15.11.17; note, though, that Correlli Barnett points out that 'Officers brought forward men on personal and social grounds as well as professional. Gentlemen tended to choose gentlemen.' (C. Barnett, *Britain and her Army, 1509-1970* (Harmondsworth, 1974), p. 240.)

[103] *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* vol. 45, p. 730.

[104] E.g. *Diary,* 22-24 January 1805; 22-25 September 1816.

standing was not confined to their native Yorkshire. When all this is taken into account, it is not surprising that family connections and loyalties emerge from the diary as matters of special importance for its author, or that both his immediate and his extended family, and even the most distant – sometimes hypothetical – relatives appear as the objects of his eager interest and attention.

It is unfortunate that the limitations of Wagner's research caused him to misconstrue the significance of Radclyffe's interest in his ancestry.

2) The Yorkshire background – Doncaster and Barnsley

The geographical focus of Radclyffe's kinship loyalties was firmly located in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and particularly in the towns of Doncaster and Barnsley, together with the villages around them such as Wath, Mexborough, Brierley, Ravensfield, Silkstone, Thrybergh, and Worsbrough, with all of which his family had been connected at one time or another.

The whole of this area was fast becoming industrialised by the time of Radclyffe's death in 1828, but in the 1770s it was still a largely rural environment. The Barnsley coal seams had been useful to the inhabitants from mediaeval times, but until the late eighteenth century they were too deep to be worked seriously, and so were of modest significance when set against the agricultural wealth of the region, and the prosperity generated by the Yorkshire cloth industry together with its accompanying crafts and trades[105]. The landscape, hilly and well wooded but neither rugged nor wild, was studded with mansions of the nobility and seats of the gentry. There was a measure of truth, as well as fervent local patriotism, in the proud boast of the opening of Edward Miller's *History and*

[105] See R. Unwin, *An Industrial Dimension to Land Tax Studies: The Barnsley Coalfield 1690-1830,* in M. Turner and D. Mills (eds.), *The English Land Tax 1692-1834* (Gloucester, 1986).

*Antiquities of Doncaster and its Vicinity*, published in 1804, that 'The West-Riding of the County of York may be called an epitome of England, as whatsoever is excellent in the whole land may be found in proportion there.'[106]

Doncaster, with some 6,000 inhabitants, was the regional capital, and one of its particular glories. The modern historian, David Hey, says 'From the Middle Ages into the nineteenth century Doncaster was the wealthiest and most important town in South Yorkshire'[107]. When Robert Southey, writing in the character of an imaginary Portuguese nobleman, Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella, visited the place in the course of the travels which he recounted in *Letters from England*, first published to great applause in 1807, he had no difficulty in calling it 'one of the handsomest towns I have ever seen'[108]. Southey's verdict was verified in detail by Edward Miller in his 1804 account.

Miller's civic patriotism was rewarded with a handsome grant of £50 in September 1804. His praises may have erred on the side of fulsomeness, but it was none the less a matter of fact that Doncaster was a magnet for the rank, wealth and fashion not just of the West Riding, but of all Yorkshire[109]. The effects of the diarist's upbringing in this confident and cultivated environment are apparent in the interests and occupations of his later life, and illustrate the strength of provincial culture as a force capable of influencing life in the metropolis[110].

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[106] *Doncaster*, p. 5.
[107] D. Hey, A *History of the South Yorkshire Countryside* (Barnsley, 2015), p. 136.
[108] R. Southey, *Letters from England*, ed. J. Simmons (London, 1951), p. 263.
[109] In his near-contemporary diary, William Bagshaw Stevens, Headmaster of Repton and minor poet, writes of 'the bustling world of Doncaster'. *The Journal of the Reverend William Bagshaw Stevens,* ed. G. Galbraith (Oxford, 1965), p. 278. Stevens was closely acquainted, also, with the Bosviles of Ravensfield, for whom see below, Chapter 4.
[110] J. Rule, *Albion's People: English Society, 1714-1815* (London, 1992).

If Doncaster supplied formative influences to the young Radclyffe, and continued to draw him back in later years, the earlier home of his family in Barnsley came in due course to exercise an equally powerful pull.

The two towns were very different. An ancient market centre with no pretensions to grandeur, and lacking in historic status so that its church, though large and fine, was technically no more than a chapelry of Silkstone, Barnsley by the end of the eighteenth century had already developed a significant industrial activity, which began with metal trades, in particular wire-drawing, and moved into cloth-weaving and, rather distinctively, the manufacture of black glass bottles. Brayley and Britton, writing in 1812, credited Barnsley with 'about 4,000 inhabitants', and described the town as 'tolerably well built of stone; but from the smoke of its forges and engines, it is commonly called Black Barnsley'[111]. It is only fair to add that the inhabitants were touchy on the subject of this soubriquet, for which they claimed origins other than the grime of their atmosphere; Baines' *West Riding Directory* of 1822 was at pains to assert that it should really be 'Bleak Barnsley', from its exposed situation[112] – which we might feel did not improve matters all that much.

When William Radclyffe acquired Darley Hall, in the valley below Worsbrough, which itself lay below and south of Barnsley, it was to Barnsley that he went for most of his practical needs – household supplies, materials for his building works, professional services, and some of his hired labour. As late as 1831 the town could still be described in terms suggesting that it was the centre of a predominantly agricultural region: 'A market is held there every Wednesday, and fairs the Wednesday before February 28, May 13 and

[111] E.W. Brayley and J. Britton, *The Beauties of England and Wales*, Vol. XVI (London, 1812), pp. 814-815.
[112] *Baines*, p. 133.

October 11, for horses, horned cattle, etc…'[113] Although Baines' 1822 *Directory* listed 43 linen manufacturers, drapers and loom-makers (as against seven coal-masters and coal-merchants), the great preponderance of the tradesmen recorded were still at that date engaged in supplying the needs of an essentially agricultural neighbourhood. Above all, though, it was a town of 'small masters', and its socio-economic structure made it a hotspot of unrest during the Luddite years, as Edward Thompson and others have noted at length; Radclyffe does not mention this aspect of Barnsley in his diary, however.

When Radclyffe entered into possession of Darley Hall in March 1812 he seems to have settled enthusiastically into this milieu. He opened a coalmine, developed a stone quarry which he acquired when Worsbrough Common was enclosed (he had something of a tussle to persuade the former commoners that the quarry was now private property), and sold a piece of land to a canal company in which he took shares[114]. But the two halves of his life – small landowner in Yorkshire, socially aspirant antiquarian in London – perhaps fitted less and less well together in his later years.

3) Radclyffe in London – social geography

The record of Radclyffe's successive residences in London is instructive as evidence of the professional lifestyle of the period. It is therefore followed here in a little detail.

It seems most likely that Radclyffe came to London shortly after his mother's death in 1790. Certainly, the land tax returns for 1791 to 1795[115] show a William Radclyffe at 226a Oxford Street, where he was taxed on part of the premises, while another individual, Samuel Linley or Lindley, occupied 226 proper. (A diary entry for 3 January 1803,

[113] T. Allen, *A New and Complete History of the County of York,* Vol. III (London, 1831), pp. 322-333.
[114] *Diary*, 20 and 21 July 1814. I have described the development of the Darley Hall estate in my unpublished Oxford M.Sc. dissertation, *Proprietorial Rights* (2013).
[115] *London Land Tax Records,* London Metropolitan Archives, 1791-1798.

suggests that Lindley may have been a Sheffield man – was this a case of Yorkshiremen sticking together?)[116]. The property, on the north side of Oxford Street, midway between Portman Street and Quebec Street, was part of a recently built range which is clearly marked on the map of London created by Richard Horwood in 1795 and revised by William Faden in 1813[117]; 226a would have been a ground-floor shop. A trade directory for 1796[118] lists a William Radclyffe, confectioner, trading at 227 Oxford Street; the directory may have confused 226a with 227, and might in any case have been based on out-of-date information – the land tax returns do not record Radclyffe as occupying either of the numbers in Oxford Street after 1795.

Oxford Street, the western end of which had until recently been known as Tyburn Road[119], had in the early eighteenth century defined the northern boundary of London; but by 1803, following the surge of development unleashed by the Building Act of 1774[120], it had become the spine of a fast-expanding spread of splendid squares and handsome terraces built on land belonging to the Portman, Portland, Bedford and Southampton estates. This was the favoured *locale* of the period for fashionable living and luxury commerce[121]. It would have been an eminently suitable neighbourhood in which to engage in one of the more elegant branches of trade[122], and, still more important, it would have been an ideal

[116] The shop-plus-dwelling-plus-lodger arrangement was described as characteristic of London at this period, by Adam Smith: [because] 'A dwelling-house in England means everything that is contained under the same roof … A tradesman in London is obliged to hire a whole house in that part of the town where his customers live. His shop is upon the ground-floor, and he and his family sleep in the garret; and he endeavours to pay a part of his house-rent by letting the two middle storeys to lodgers'. A. Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (London, 1900), p. 93.
[117] Consulted in modern facsimile, *The A to Z of Regency London,* Intr. P. Laxton, Index J. Wisdom (London, 1985).
[118] J. M'Cullough, *The London Guide and Merchants Directory for the Year 1796* (London, 1796), p.150.
[119] J. White, *London in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2013), p. 30.
[120] J. Summerson, *Georgian London* (London, 1962), pp. 125-128 and Chapter 12.
[121] See e.g. L. Inglis, *Georgian London* (London, 2013), Chapter 7. For a lively mention of the pastrycook's trade, see Southey, *Letters from England,* ed. J. Simmons (London, 1951), p. 61.
[122] There is absolutely no mention of the confectionery episode at any point in the diary.

field in which to build up a network of valuable acquaintances. The land tax records show the area as richly populated by the aristocracy, gentry and professional classes[123].

At the other, easternmost, end of Oxford Street was an address which was of great importance to Radclyffe during 1803-05, namely that of his future wife's family, the Smiths, or Marechales[124]. The diary shows Radclyffe visiting Tottenham Court Road (the house was probably number 47, on the corner with the north side of Oxford Street) with great frequency during 1803-05. Three generations of Marechale / Smiths seem to have lived there together, until in March 1805 they moved to Pratt Street, in recently built Camden Town. There was a cluster of French *émigré* families living in the Tottenham Court Road at this time, and another group in Somers Town, close to Pratt Street[125].

Radclyffe himself appears to have felt well suited by the Marylebone lifestyle; certainly, when his confectionery episode came to an end, probably around 1795, he did not leave the district. A person of his name appears from 1796 as paying land tax on a property, 21 Grays Buildings, off James Street, just north of Oxford Street[126] and one block south of Portman and Manchester Squares. This occupancy lasted until 1829; Radclyffe died in 1828; it is possible, therefore, that the Grays Buildings property served him as a residence after he gave up the Oxford Street premises, and was subsequently retained as an investment. The whole of the site of Grays Buildings is now occupied by Selfridge's vast store.

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[123] J. Uglow, *In These Times* (London, 2014), p.115, cites V. Gatrell, *City of Laughter* (London, 2007), p. 70, as stating that '95 per cent of the Lords and 90 per cent of the Commons had houses in [this district] in the 1790s'.

[124] A lengthy entry in the diary for 13 April 1804 describes the descent of the Marechale family from 'Piers Marechale formerly of Normandy', a member of the minor nobility and probably a Huguenot *emigre*, who married a certain Mary Gibson of Berwick upon Tweed in the early years of the eighteenth century; Radclyffe's father-in-law seems to have been willing, like the family of Sir Walter Scott's wife, to discard his French origins.

[125] K. Carpenter, *Refugees of the French Revolution* (London, 1999), pp. 49 and 98-9.

[126] *London Land Tax Records,* London Metropolitan Archives, 1791-1798.

Although the diary as we have it now opens on 1 January 1803, there exist among the documents compiled for Radclyffe's trial in 1820 a number of legally accredited excerpts from a volume, no longer extant, covering 1801 and 1802[127], which indicate that during 1801 Radclyffe spent a number of weeks in Herefordshire and Shropshire, helping to manage the estate of his brother-in-law, John Salwey; this is confirmed by letters which he wrote to Joseph Hunter from Maryknoll, the home of his married aunt Curtis near the Salwey residence at Moor Park, on 2 May and 8 July1801[128]. The excerpts show that when Radclyffe returned to London on 5 November he took lodgings at 'Townson's' in Charlotte Street. He had no settled base in London, therefore, at this time. 'Charlotte' was a hugely popular name for streets in the capital at this time; Horwood's map of 1813 lists at least 14, including one which ran south-east from the brand-new Regent's Circus (now Park Crescent) towards the junction of Oxford Street and Tottenham Court Road.

At the time that the first surviving volume of the diary opens in 1803, however, Radclyffe refers to his residence as 'Baker Street'. It has not been possible to establish the number of the house, in which it is to be presumed, Radclyffe rented a set of rooms.

Baker Street, running north from Portman Square towards what was becoming the Marylebone Road, was at that time uniformly lined with new houses of the type classified under the 1774 Act as of the 'first rate' – that is to say, of four storeys above a basement[129], with a floor-area of more than nine hundred square feet, and a value of over £850. A number of these houses, built around the year 1789, survive today; their brown

[127] 'Rex v. Radclyffe', Box File 1, Envelope 1, item 3, Archives of the College of Arms.
[128] Letters *and Papers of Joseph Hunter*, 24.874, 14-17, British Library.
[129] J. Summerson, *Georgian London* (London, 1962), pp. 65-66. A visiting American, Richard Rush, who rented a house in Baker Street in 1817, wrote that 'In the basement, under the main body of the house, were a house keeper's room, butler's pantry, and other apartments, deriving light from the area upon the street, or the sky lights in the leaden roof' of an underground extension which ran beneath the garden and housed the kitchen. R. Rush, *A Residence at the Court of London*, *1817-1825*, quoted in D. Cruickshank and N. Burton, *Life in the Georgian City* (London, 1990), p. 53.

stock-brick frontages, elegant doorcases and windows, and restrained Coade Stone ornamentation, speak of an assured prosperity. According to a zonal map drawn by Summerson, Baker Street at that time marked the notional boundary of the area of fashionable dwellings to its west[130]. The fact of Radclyffe's residence in this highly desirable neighbourhood gives substance to the impression clearly conveyed by the opening entries of the diary, that he was already by 1803 an established and busy professional.

Radclyffe's appointment to the College of Arms in May 1803, and, still more, his marriage in August 1804, necessarily brought about alterations in his circumstances, through which it is not entirely easy to follow him. On 4 May 1803, five days after receiving notice that his application for a post as a pursuivant had been successful, he records a conversation with his influential brother-in-law, John Salwey, 'on my establishment'. One may guess that Salwey gave advice about the College lodgings to which Radclyffe would be entitled, and in fact the diary records a move into temporary accommodation on 14 May.

Radclyffe moved his belongings into the College of Arms on 11 July 1803. He evidently derived much satisfaction from possession of his rooms, which appear to have comprised a study or library, a dining room, possibly a kitchen in the basement, and at least one bedroom. They provided a gentlemanly setting for his genealogical practice, and appropriate housing for his library and collections, or at least a part of them; but the prospect of marriage changed the situation. He noted on 17 June 1804 that he had gone 'to Paddington & down the New Road to look for a house'; the expanding West End would have been the ideal locale for an aspiring professional.

[130] J. Summerson, *Georgian London* (London, 1962), p. 19.

The lodgings which he eventually found, however, and for which he signed an agreement with a Mr. Westley on 23 June, to take effect from the next day, were located in Wardrobe Terrace, in the City of London close to the College of Arms. This 'Terrace' is in fact a narrow and evidently ancient alley which still winds erratically round the church of St. Andrew's-by-the-Wardrobe; Horwood records it as Church Alley. As a setting in which to embark on married life, such a 'maze of dingy lanes and foul alleys'[131] must have represented a significant change in lifestyle for the Radclyffes: the mighty dome of St. Paul's is close by to the north, but its looming bulk cannot be seen from within the deep, blank-walled trench of the Terrace, and there is only a single building which seems at all likely to have been the house rented by the young couple. The Radclyffes had one half of the house, and the Westleys the other half.

The decision to move to the old City, rather than stay in the new West End[132], may have been hurried, but it represented a real prioritisation of professional considerations over modish values. It is possible to detect in Radclyffe's diary, however, and especially in his ardent advocacy of a project to move the College to a new building in the neighbourhood of what was to become Trafalgar Square, a persistent hankering for modernity[133]. The diary shows him constantly looking westwards, towards the Inns of Court, the Government offices, the Houses of Parliament, and above all towards the fashionable residences of St. James's, Mayfair and Marylebone.

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[131] So described by R.H. Barham; quoted in *The Life and Letters of the Revd. Richard Harris Barham, Author of the Ingoldsby Legends, by his Son* (London, 1870), Vol. 1, p. 180.

[132] The City had been losing population to Westminster since the opening of Westminster Bridge in 1750; see J. White, *London in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2013), pp. 45-47.

[133] Radclyffe's move to the City was not, however, a move down market in absolute terms; L.D. Schwarz has analysed taxation returns for the year 1798 to show that the ward of Castle Baynard, in which Wardrobe Terrace was situated, was one of the select parts of the 'City Within', the most prosperous area of the City of London, where more than 33% of the inhabitants fell into the top two tax-paying groups (£5 - £10 and over). L.D. Schwarz, 'Social Class and Social Geography: the middle classes in London at the end of the eighteenth century', in *The Eighteenth-Century Town, 1688-1820'*, ed. P. Borsay (Harlow, 1990), p. 322, fig. 1.

The diary supplies a considerable amount of detail about the setting-up of Radclyffe's first married household, and provides insights into the standard of living enjoyed by a young professional at this time. Transfers of furniture and chattels within the family network are frequent occurrences in the diary, and, taken together with records of secondhand purchases, point to a pragmatic approach to household arrangements. On 1 August, Radclyffe paid his battels at the College and collected various items of furniture given by his sister, and, symbolically, luggage belonging to Elizabeth. And then on 2 August after the wedding 'In the Evening accompanied by my Bride came home to my new Lodgings in Wardrobe Terrace when I took actual possession'. The final ambiguity is clearly deliberate.

As all too commonly happens, the effort involved in setting up the marriage home proved disproportionate to the comfort it brought. Relations with the Westleys, who had contracted to act in a housekeeping capacity, appear to have proved less than satisfactory, and on 6 September they 'declined waiting on us any longer than this day'. Diary entries for the autumn of 1804 suggest that the Radclyffes spent as much time as they could at the houses of friends, or travelling in the North.

On 23 February 1805 Radclyffe 'went with E.R. to look at and take the new Lodgings in St. Peter's Hill'. The Hill was, and is, the street running past the east side of the College of Arms; the house itself, a post-Fire building, was a victim of bombing in World War II. The letting presumably ran from the next quarter day, since the Radclyffes did not take up their tenancy until 2 April.

This time the preparations for moving were still more extensive. There were purchases of furniture and equipment (the Radclyffes visited auction sales, including that of the late Duke of Queensberry – 'Old Q.' – and were discriminating buyers of antique furniture and

items such as china and antique silver teaspoons[134]), including a new bedstead which was set up on 27 April; an 'old grate' was moved from the College to St. Peter's Hill on 9 May, and a replacement installed the next day[135]. The couple did not take up residence in St. Peter's Hill until 17 May, when Radclyffe was able to write 'Slept in our new Lodgings for the first time'; they appear to have been using the College rooms for the previous two and a half months, and were still moving furniture, including a sofa, out of the College on 20 May.

Whether the house itself was unsatisfactory, or whether Radclyffe's ambitions were expanding with his income (he was increasingly busy in both his genealogical and his paralegal capacities) the diary does not say, but both pressures probably combined so that before the end of 1805 he was looking around again. A diary entry for 4 November, following a trip to the North, hints at an impending move – 'accompanied E.R. home to St. Peters Hill where we took up our abode again till Christmas' – and on 2 December he engaged with a Mr. Stephens, a proctor in Doctors' Commons, 'to take his house to commence at Christmas Day'.

Perhaps because of the death of Radclyffe's father on 5 December, the deal was not completed until 25 February 1806, when Radclyffe took 1 Knight Rider Street, for £36 per annum, apparently for an indefinite term, at a quarter's notice given on either side. This is the first time that the diary gives specific details of this sort; the level of the rent suggests that the property was elderly, and perhaps in poor repair[136].

[134] *Diary*, 2 March 1805.
[135] Domestic heating arrangements were changing considerably at this time, thanks in large part to the innovative grate- and stove-designs of Count Rumford, for which see Cruickshank and Burton, pp. 75-79.
[136] House rents in London were usually calculated at 14 years' purchase. Superior houses on the Christ's Hospital estate in Westminster were being let at £50 per annum in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, but rents everywhere in London rose significantly after 1800. See Cruickshank and Burton, especially p. 245.

A later entry[137] reveals that Stephens was lessee, rather than owner, of 1 Knight Rider Street; then as now, the London property market was a many-layered affair. The street in question, an east-west thoroughfare running immediately to the north of the College, and bisected by the north-south Benet's Hill which ran past the west wall of the College, was probably neither more nor less desirable than St. Peter's Hill, but the property itself may have been more spacious – or the terms more advantageous for Radclyffe. He took a good deal of trouble over it; the diary records internal decoration work ('the Bed Rooms etc. coloured and whitewashed' on 10 March[138]), various purchases of furniture, 'Coppers and Oil Cloth' (19 March), linen and window blinds (25 April).

But still Radclyffe – or his wife – was not satisfied. Both the diary and the records of the College show that his business was developing, and his household was expanding likewise. So he was quick to snap up an opportunity which came his way early in 1808. The diary entry for 26 February suggests a degree of irritation at the receipt of unwelcome news: 'Isaac Miller called to inform me Mr. Stevens[sic] had assigned over to him Lease of this house with the Rents and profits thereto belonging'. But there is a hint of satisfaction about the following day's note: 'Mr. Hudson called to inform me of his intention of giving up the house he holds of the College at Midsummer next & to offer it me subject to taking his furniture by Valuation'. It seems unlikely that Hudson's offer was entirely fortuitous, but the diary preserves a bland silence on the matter.

The Hudson in question had been a tenant of the College for the past fifty years, and may have been the owner of a wharf which bore his name and which appears on Horwood's map a little to the east of Puddle Dock, due south of the Wardrobe site. His house was 20

[137] *Diary*, 26 February 1808: the new lessee was Isaac Miller.
[138] Internal decoration was being treated more adventurously, in terms of colour, in the early 1800s than had been customary during the preceding era of Palladian sobriety – see Cruickshank and Burton, pp. 180-189.

St. Peter's Hill, in the street running down the east side of the College[139]. On 24 March Radclyffe 'wrote a notice to Mr. Isaac Miller of Lewisham of my design of quitting this house in Knight Rider Street on or before Midsummer next, and to tell him he might call or send for ballance[sic] of Rent on Monday next then due sent maid with it ½ past 9 in morning to 2d post office'[140].

In fact, Radclyffe was acting a little too briskly: there were colleagues to be considered, and on 18 June Radclyffe amended his previous notice to Miller, saying now that he would leave Knight Rider Street at Christmas, in favour of Windsor Herald (Townsend) and Bluemantle Pursuivant (Martin). There must have been some delicate manoeuvring here: Martin was a friend, but Townsend was a very difficult man – 'a wasp', according to Radclyffe[141]. What was more, the rest of the Chapter seem to have been kept largely in the dark about what was going on.

Discussions with Hudson over the fixtures extended over the following weeks[142], and came to a conclusion in the first half of August. Hudson moved out on 12 August, and handed over the keys the following day; the Radclyffes moved in on Monday, 15 August, and the diary received an entry in ornamental script: 'Took my final possession in the College …'.

Radclyffe had notified the College Treasurer of the *fait accompli* on 12 August, and must have hoped that that was that. The next Chapter meeting did not fall until 22 October, and on that occasion, he swamped his colleagues with a mass of genealogical and heraldic

[139] Horwood's map, 14 D.c. However, there is something of a mystery here; Horwood's map shows No. 20 as a wedge-shaped property of insignificant size, whereas Radclyffe clearly felt that he had acquired a highly desirable residence, which he repeatedly described as being 'in the College'. The house was certainly College property, but the College archives, strangely, contain no details of the estate at this time. Is it possible that Faden's revision of Horwood's map in 1813 altered the numbering of the houses on St. Peter's Hill?

[140] Radclyffe was a frequent, even heavy, user of the Post Office, which was then situated close to the Royal Exchange.

[141] *Diary*, 2 April 1819, on the occasion of Townsend's funeral.

[142] A process familiar, at least until recent years, to the occupants of properties belonging to ancient institutions.

business – 19 pedigrees, several of huge complexity, all of which had to receive attention. On 17 November, however, a question was raised: 'by whose authority' had he taken possession of the Hudson house? His answer, to the effect that he had been advised by 'some of the members', clearly did not satisfy everyone, and must have contributed to the tensions which were developing on other fronts (see Chapter 7). However, on 1 December Chapter formally agreed that Radclyffe should occupy the property for a rent of £20 per annum, with responsibility for paying all taxes due[143]. He and his family were to remain in possession for the next 15 years[144].

The saga of Radclyffe's house movings, with accompanying domestic details, illustrates both the economic constraints and the aspirations to gentility which equally characterised the professional lifestyle. There is much about it, already, that seems strikingly modern.

4) Marriage and children

The 1803/04 volume of the diary opens in the middle of a businesslike record of a visit to Sheffield for purposes of genealogical research, from which Radclyffe returned to London on 7 January and went almost immediately to join 'E.M.' – Elizabeth Marechale – and her parents for tea in the French Huguenot quarter which was then to be found at the junction of Tottenham Court Road and Oxford Street.

We do not know how, or where, W.R. first met E.M. Born in 1781, she was eleven years younger than William, and it emerges from the diary that she had relations in South

[143] This was, clearly, a highly beneficial arrangement; the house was treated effectively as College premises, and Radclyffe enjoyed a member's privilege. The College archives are surprisingly silent on the matter of property rents and dealings, but figures given in J. Stephens, *London in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2012), p. 108, suggest that Radclyffe was paying significantly less than the market rates of 20 years earlier.
[144] Although the house seems to have met the Radclyffes' needs, the location never did; Radclyffe was a persistent campaigner in favour of moving the College of Arms, lock, stock and barrel, to the West End, and it is interesting to note that on 15 March 1816 he notes that he 'went forward to look at new Building in Cannon Row, and in Parliament Place'; these were not locations for resiting the College, but housing developments replacing ancient slums – and in fact the Radclyffes moved to Cannon Row when they eventually left St. Peter's Hill in 1823.

Yorkshire, on her mother's side, while her mother (or, possibly, her grandmother) also owned 'a fine piece of land' at Torpenhow, in Cumberland[145]; but she herself appears throughout as very much the Londoner. On the other hand, the diary shows, time and again, that Yorkshire people in the capital tended to seek each other out, and stick together, so the acquaintance may not have begun by chance. The diary's early references to Elizabeth suggest that she was a lively, sociable, fashion-conscious girl of rather independent temperament, who greatly enjoyed her shopping, theatre-going, and Sunday parades with the *haut ton* in Kensington Gardens and Hyde Park, and rode alongside Radclyffe on some of his journeyings.

It may have been Elizabeth's early bloom that captured Radclyffe's attention; the diary supplies no explicit rationale for the relationship, though there is strong evidence of mutual affection, and evidence also of shared, or at least compatible, interests. But it gradually emerges that Elizabeth was an inheritor, through her mother, of claims to property in Jamaica as well as the North of England. The realisation of these inheritances was to become one of the prevailing preoccupations of Radclyffe's life, and the vigour with which he pursued his campaigns suggests the possibility that his motivation towards marriage with Elizabeth may have been, at least, enhanced by her prospects as an heiress. The diary offers no evidence of a formal contract of marriage, but something of the sort would certainly have been drawn up[146].

An understanding had clearly been in place for a good many months before the beginning of 1803. Radclyffe spent most of his evenings in the Marechale/Smith household, and Elizabeth was equally evidently at liberty to spend time with him without formality of

[145] Radclyffe inspected it, when touring the North-West, on 1 September 1808 (*Diary*).
[146] See P. Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class* (London, 1989), pp. 194 and ff.

chaperonage[147]. There is in fact, an agreeably 'companionable' feeling about the record of their meetings and dealings in the period leading up to their wedding.

On Saturday, 28 July 1804 Radclyffe noted 'to E.M. settled with her for our Marriage on Thursday Morning next'. This was not so much a proposal as an administrative agreement; preparations for the event had been in hand since at least the previous autumn, when Radclyffe recorded buying furniture, china, glassware, curtains and ornaments with Elizabeth's advice, first for his rooms in the College of Arms and then for the lodgings in Wardrobe Terrace which they secured on 23 June 1804. A licence 'pro matrimonio' (as the diary has it, with mock-pomposity) had been obtained on 13 July. It appears that there was no significant parental involvement in the marriage arrangements, from either side; indeed, the Yorkshire Radclyffes seem to have been quite out of the picture at this stage.

At 34 and 23, the ages of the bridegroom and bride were only slightly above the averages calculated for wealthy and high-status couples of the middle class, by historians such as Peter Earle. The critical factor enabling the marriage was, of course, the success of Radclyffe's application for a post under royal warrant in the College of Arms.

The entry for the wedding day in Radclyffe's diary was a little fuller than usual, and he ornamented it with an elaborate heraldic shield on which he impaled the arms of Radclyffe with those of Marechale. It is one of the most artlessly descriptive passages in the diary.

The Radclyffes had five children altogether, two of whom died in early infancy and one in very early adulthood. In addition, Elizabeth suffered at least three miscarriages, and her medical history as recorded in the diary makes distressing reading.

[147] E.g. *Diary*, 9 June 1803, to Kensington and back; 10 July 1803, to Greenwich, returning by water; 22 October 1803, to the "private theatre" in Berwick Street; 11 March 1804, an 'airing' to Hampstead.

The first child, a son who was named William Marechale, was born on 21 August 1806, after a very long and painful delivery. The diary celebrates his arrival with a carefully drawn shield bearing a label of three points – the 'mark of difference' of an eldest son – and subsequent entries notice his early progress, his inoculations against the smallpox, and his first outings. He was a promising child, but he died, of an unspecified 'fever', on 23 January, 1808. The loss of his first-born son moved Radclyffe to an exceptional outburst of grief in his diary; employing a formal, and exquisite, calligraphy quite different from the rapid cursive hand of his usual entries, he described the event in a passage which makes piquant reading.

Elizabeth gave birth to a second son on 10 July 1808. There is a blank space in the diary which may have been intended for a commemorative paragraph[148]. He was baptised at St. Benet's on 6 November 1808, and named Henry Clifford – an allusion to one of the earliest noble links in the Radclyffe pedigree. He survived various illnesses and, after initial schooling in London and as a boarder in Barnsley, he attended Merchant Taylors' School, which was at that time in Suffolk Lane in the City, between 1817 and 1827[149]. His father was evidently proud of Henry, perhaps the more so as his *spes ultima generis*; he took him to the Chapel Royal to see the Prince Regent on Easter Day, 1814, and to Court at St. James's on New Year's Day, 1817. Later, when he himself was in trouble and distress, the relationship evidently became close, and a source of consolation to a man who may have been suffering from something resembling a nervous breakdown; the diary

[148] See Figure 2, p. 323.

[149] Whether or not he saw William Barrow's *Essay on Education* (published 1802), Radclyffe would have agreed with Barrow's assertion that a classical grounding was desirable, or even essential, for a boy destined for any form of career in public life, as opposed to trade or even provincial gentility; he insisted on a classical, rather than a commercial schooling for his half-brother Derwentwater. (*Diary,* 31 January 1814.) Various diary entries show that Radclyffe attached high importance to education. He went to some pains to visit a school kept by a French *emigre,* l'abbe Carron*,* in late 1805, and might have been considering provision for girls when he visited the school run by the well-known Richmal Mangnall at Crofton Hall, Wakefield, in October 1814.

records numerous expeditions with the boy including, notably, visits to City churches on Sundays. Henry was awarded a Parkin Exhibition to Pembroke College, Cambridge in 1827, and graduated B.A. in 1837. He subsequently became Vicar of St. Luke's, Kentish Town, and Domestic Chaplain to the Duke of Marlborough.

A third son, Edward Fitzwilliam[150], was born on 4 October 1810. He made due progress until 25 February 1816, when he was brought home to St. Peter's Hill from school suffering from a high fever; 'the fever having turned to Typhus'[151], he died three days later, on Ash Wednesday[152], 'in the arms of his astonished Father in the presence of his most afflicted mother and servant Anne !!!'. Two of the servants 'laid the body in the Drawing Room'. Edward was buried, in a white coffin, on 9 March.

Two blank pages in the diary may attest William's inability to cope with the severity of this new blow; everything in his temperament, and his professional activity, led him to attach the highest importance to the perpetuation of a family's male line, and he was plainly distraught at the loss of a second son.

The effects on Elizabeth, harder to discern, were still more profound; she may already have been approaching medical and psychological breakdown, and Edward's death apparently inflicted shattering damage. She had suffered miscarriages on 24 December 1811, 14 January 1814, and 16 August 1815, and between November of 1811 and September of 1812 (on a conservative estimate) she had been clinically depressed. At this new loss, 'My dear Bess as may be easily imagined from her natural disposition indulged her sorrow in the most poignant but almost silent grief'[153].

[150] Evidently in tribute to the Radclyffes' great neighbours in Yorkshire.
[151] *Diary*, 28 February 1816.
[152] It is unusual for Radclyffe to notice the Church festivals in his diary.
[153] *Diary*, 28 February 1816. Radclyffe's diary may be seen as offering a small contribution to a subject-area of social history which Amanda Vickery regards as insufficiently noticed: 'Witnessing the acute suffering of

But Elizabeth was already pregnant again, and produced a daughter, apparently rather suddenly, on 12 August 1816. There is remarkably little in the diary about this child – she is not even named at first, though she subsequently appears as yet another Elizabeth. She died in London in 1837.

There was still one more child to come, another daughter who was born at Worsbrough on 17 November 1818, baptised on 14 December[154], and given the distinctive name Ermingarde[155]. She had the chickenpox in August of 1820, and otherwise barely appears in the diary; she made a fashionable marriage in 1846 to a rich but obscure Liberal M.P., John Collett (1798-1856)[156], but became entangled in legal disputes over his will[157]; in 1859 she married again[158]; she was proclaimed a person of unsound mind by a commission in lunacy[159], and died in Brighton in 1873[160].

It is not easy to form a clear view of William's response to his wife's health problems. He seems to have been as insistently philoprogenitive as his father had been before him, and there is one entry in the diary that suggests that sexual relations continued even when Elizabeth was in deepest distress[161]. Yet he was unremitting, also, in recording his grief

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one's children was a virtually universal ordeal, capable of obliterating every other thought in the head of the near-helpless parent, yet, strangely, it is a test which merits barely a sentence in many accounts of genteel life and philosophy'. A. Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter* (Yale, 1998), p. 117. For post-natal melancholy, see Vickery, p. 107.

[154] *Diary*, 14 December 1818.

[155] The name is redolent of the 'mediaevalising' fashion that appears to have possessed Radclyffe at this time. It recurs in a later generation of Radclyffe relatives.

[156] *Register of St. George's, Hanover Square*, http://interactive.ancestrylibrary.com, consulted 22.07.2013.

[157] LA302, Thrupp v. Collett (No.1), Judgement, 1858.

[158] To Thomas White Goodrich, a man ten years younger than herself, who had soldiered in South Africa with a colonial cavalry unit before transferring, briefly, to a captaincy in the 4th Light Dragoons, following which he lived a life of ease as Ermingarde's husband until his death in 1872. *Steyning District Marriage Records*, http://search.ancestrylibrary.com, consulted 22.07.2013. Goodrich was a talented amateur artist, who recorded episodes of his service in the Xhosa Wars; an oil painting by him of his horse 'Charley', dated 1850, is in the National Army Museum.

[159] *London Gazette*, 8 April 1873.

[160] *National Probate Calendar (Index of Wills and Administrations) 1858-1966*.

[161] *Diary*, 15 January 1812.

and anxiety about her condition, and evidently missed her quite desperately when they were separated.

Elizabeth was in any case by no means a mere subordinate. When not ill, she appears to have enjoyed the frequent company of female friends, and to have had a social life of her own, shopping in the Strand and Bond Street, visiting theatres with her female relatives but without William[162], or going away for a few days at a time to stay with friends. She paraded with William at Court events, and on visits to grandees such as the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Newburgh, Lord Petre and Lord Fitzwilliam. And the diary makes it clear that she shared with William in the pleasure of acquiring Darley Hall, appearing as 'lady of the manor', and walking among the shrubberies and ponds and orchards of their demesne (see Figure 7, page 327).

The two of them spent a great deal of time together, and she took as much interest (or he believed she did, at least) in his genealogical discoveries, as he did in assisting around the house with painting jobs, furniture repairs, or the making of fruit cordials (a frequent occurrence, which they shared on what appear to have been equal terms). It seems reasonable to infer from the diary that the marriage relationship was sociable as well as sexual, strongly practical, and based on mutual respect. Such an interpretation would accord with the theory of 'separate spheres' propounded by Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall[163] and supported by various authorities such as Peter Earle (1989). Jeremy Black suggests that the general tenor of relations between the sexes in middle-class circles at this time 'was one of respect for separate functions and development'[164]; Margaret Hunt, however, has expressed doubts about such generalisations[165].

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[162] E.g. *Diary*, 23 March 1811.
[163] L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes, 1780-1850* (Chicago, 1987).
[164] J. Black, *Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 2007), p. xix.
[165] M.R. Hunt *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1680-1780* (Berkeley, 1996).

The end of Elizabeth's story is bleak. A letter which she wrote to Joseph Hunter[166] after her husband's sudden death speaks of financial difficulties; at some point subsequently her mind collapsed, and she spent the last years of her life in a state of certified insanity, in which she was supported by the generosity of her sister-in-law, Elizabeth Salwey[167]. Her burial took place at Armley, Leeds, on 12 March 1841, when her abode was registered as Darley Hall near Barnsley.

5) Domestic life in London and Yorkshire

The domestic arrangements of the Radclyffes emerge from the diary only occasionally and partially, but in general they accord with the findings of recent studies.

Paul Langford remarks that 'employment of a servant was one of the basic criteria of something approaching middle-class status' at this time[168], and the Radclyffes were certainly aiming at such a status, if not at something better. Benjamin Heller has provided much valuable context for this topic, particularly in Chapter 6 of his 2009 unpublished thesis; his comment on the patchiness of the evidence supplied by diaries is particularly pertinent to Radclyffe:

> 'When diarists used their diaries to keep track of social debts and credits, diaries contain detailed information about the nature of connections and the frequency of contact. But even when a sort of social accounting was going on, family members, servants, and employees might be left out of diaries because they did not offer social credit. Servants in particular were under-recorded. It is generally difficult to get a sense of the people who were omnipresent in diarists' lives.'[169]

[166] British Library, Hunter archive, 24.874.5, letter dated 21 September 1828.
[167] TNA reference PROB 11/1931/318.
[168] P. Langford, *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman, 1689-1798* (Oxford, 1951), p. 10, cited by H.R. French in 'The Search for the "middle sort of people" in England, 1600-1800', *Historical Journal* 43 (2000), p. 281.
[169] B. Heller, *Leisure and Pleasure in London Society, 1760-1820*, (unpublished Oxford D. Phil. thesis, 2009), p. 145.

The Radclyffes started their married life without servants of their own, and it appears that they did not set up house properly until they moved to Knightrider Street in February 1806. There Radclyffe records that 'Maid Mary Turner entered service' on 13 March 1806, and 'Betty the Servant Maid entered her service with E.R.' on 25 September in the same year. This Betty, whose surname was Watkins, did not last long, but was replaced by another Betty on 4 February 1807; at almost the same time, on 18 February, 'Ann the servant maid commenced service'[170]. Ann may have been unsatisfactory; she left after six weeks, on 2 April, and 'Sarah Kenneally arrived from Yorkshire to commence her service'[171]. Sarah was perhaps a stopgap – her employment ended on Christmas Eve, 1807. But the next recruit to the household, another Anne, whose name was Jenkinson, apparently became a fixture – she was given responsible roles with the children, escorting them on journeys without their parents, she was trusted to carry pearls to the jewellers[172], and she witnessed a will that Radclyffe wrote for a friend[173]. She is mentioned occasionally to the end of the diary.

The births, and deaths, of children, together with Elizabeth's increasingly precarious health, would have imposed frequent strains upon the domestic economy. A 'Nurse Hill' was in attendance during the time of Henry's birth in July 1808, and left on 8 August. Another individual who was evidently 'useful', but may have been more of a friend than a servant, was a Mrs. Codd, of Croydon, a slightly mysterious figure who sounds, if not quite Dickensian, somewhat like a character in *The Diary of Mr. Pooter*; she attended Elizabeth at her confinements and sadly frequent miscarriages, helped with the children

[170] 'They would employ servants, probably more than one since single-servant households went well below the level of the middling sort of people.' P. Earle, *The Middling Sort of People,* eds. J. Barry and C. Brooks (Basingstoke, 1994), p. 157.
[171] J. White, in *London in the Eighteenth Century (*London, 2012), pp. 93-94, draws attention to the numbers of young women who came to London throughout the period in search of domestic service.
[172] *Diary*, 8 July 1812.
[173] *Diary*, 13 September 1813.

when their parents were travelling, and sometimes features almost as a housekeeper, but was obviously of higher status than a domestic. The Radclyffes frequently visited her at her home (where they met her sister Mrs. Ladd), and William researched her family pedigree and wrote Mrs. Ladd's will. She was remunerated, or at least her expenses were paid, for some of her services. Other names which belong to female servants occur from time to time – Louisa[174], Fanny[175], and possibly also Stepney[176].

The diary says practically nothing about the servants' wages. An estimate made in 1796[177] for a 'small establishment in London' on the basis of 'order and regular expence, not of pinching economy', proposed 'Wages of 4 women servants, a housekeeper, a cook under her, a house maid and a lady's maid' totalling £58 a year; the Radclyffes probably did not have a housekeeper. Servants' wages altered little over the following decades. E.G. Bovill[178] suggests that in 1825 the going rate might have been 20 guineas for a lady's maid, and 7 guineas for a housemaid.

Perhaps rather surprisingly, William does not seem to have had a manservant of his own – though he made considerable use of Stepney, the College porter, as his messenger and general assistant. This may possibly say as much about his temperament as about his wealth; his diary shows, again and again, that there was a great deal of the solitary about him – he travelled alone, whether in the wilds of Wales, the moors of the North, or the fens of Lincolnshire, and his labours in archives and muniment rooms were hardly less lonely. In May 1808 he tried taking in an apprentice (as he termed him), a certain William Adamson, perhaps to oblige a connection of his Adamson aunt; but that did not work – the

[174] *Diary*, 10 May 1812.
[175] *Diary*, 13 September 1813.
[176] *Diary*, 13 September 1813; Stepney was the name of the College porter, who helped out on occasion; his wife may also have been pressed into the Radclyffes' service from time to time.
[177] Letter from Mary Berry to Gen. O'Hara, in *The Grace of Friendship,* ed. V. Surtees (Norwich, 1995), p. 206.
[178] E.W. Bovill, *English Country Life, 1750-1830* (London, 1962), p. 102.

boy played truant for a whole week after no more than a fortnight, and was 'dismissed' on 9 July.

Radclyffe perhaps found what he wanted, a biddable colleague whose skills were complementary to his own, when he recruited 'Mr. Dowse' in November 1813[179]. Dowse's name appears in the diary in various spellings, and, confusingly, it closely resembled that of one distinguished antiquarian who lived in Gower Street, and also another on whom Radclyffe called in Bath[180]. He was a herald-painter – that is, a painter specialising in heraldic work and related skills, including calligraphy and the care of documents – and he acted as assistant to Radclyffe in his genealogical and antiquarian business. Dowse was evidently 'staff' rather than 'guest', but he shared the table, accompanied the family to the theatre[181] and on other social occasions, acted as Radclyffe's agent in London when his principal was travelling or at Darley Hall, and was generally a valued member of the household – which must have felt quite crowded at times. In recruiting Dowse, Radclyffe effectively created an 'office' of his own, outside the College establishment. Specimens of Dowse's work which survive in the College archives show that he possessed painterly skills of an exceptional standard, combined with a real feeling for mediaeval idioms[182].

In sum, the Radclyffe establishment in London was never more than modest, so far as we can tell[183]; but it fits with Perkins' description of the lifestyle of an emergent professional

[179] He had been recommended to Radclyffe by 'Hon. Mrs. Knox'; Radclyffe took him 'into my house … as my Clerk at 70 Gns. Per An.' *Diary*, 20 November 1813.
[180] *Diary*, 3 March 1815. It has not been possible to establish any relationships between the three Dowses/Douses.
[181] They all went to see *Henry VIII* at Covent Garden on 7 February 1814. Radclyffe took Dowse as his guest to the Society of Antiquaries on 12 May 1814.
[182] Archives of the College of Arms, bound volume of copies of mediaeval Rolls of Arms, made (according to Sotheby's sale description pasted on inside front cover) by William Radclyffe, with arms emblazoned and four full-page illustrations by Thomas Dowse, one dated 1818. Dr. L. Darby, College Archivist, suggests that this volume has been little seen since it was purchased for £75 in 1971 by Sir Anthony Wagner.
[183] It seems, in fact, to have been below the usual level for a married professional with children, according to J. White, *London in the Eighteenth Century (*London, 2012), p. 228. But the diary may give a misleading impression, and the Radclyffes certainly drew on College resources.

in this period. Of course, the diary does not tell the whole story; Elizabeth, rather than William, would have managed the household arrangements, and in addition to Elizabeth's maids they must have had a cook, and possibly a lad; the daily dinners had to be prepared and served, the fires lit, and the water drawn. But there is barely a mention of life below stairs in William Radclyffe's fast-moving business diary – he would only have been concerned about such matters if they went awry.

The diary tells us very little about the things they ate and drank, though it records with appreciation gifts of game from friends and relations in the country[184], and indicates that William kept a well-stocked cellar[185]. 20 St. Peter's Hill was quite spacious, and the Radclyffes enjoyed entertaining there; they had 23 people to dinner on 1 May 1814, though the food had to be served in three different rooms, in very modern-sounding fashion.

When the Radclyffes established themselves at Darley Hall in 1811 they took Elizabeth's personal maid and a nurserymaid with them, but they also hired servants from the locality who probably stayed in residence when their employers went back to London: 'At Darley … Betty Bennett commenced her service today'[186], 'Mary Brown quitted here today'[187]. But the diary is even less informative about the internal arrangements of the Yorkshire establishment than it is about those of the London household. There is a plethora of information, sometimes in quite minute detail, about building works, enclosure clearances and plantings, gardening and pond-making, in all of which Radclyffe himself was strenuously involved; but the strictly domestic business of the kitchen, the laundry, the

[184] He received a 'Northumberland pie' on 23 December 1813, and despatched it at a New Year's Eve dinner the following week. Hares, pheasants, partridges came quite often in season, e.g. 3 January 1820 (*Diary*). The market sale of game was prohibited by law, so gifts from landowning friends were much appreciated.
[185] During July 1814 he laid down claret, madeira, several dozen of port, and '20 gall.' of homemade 'champaign' (*Diary*, 23 July 1814.)
[186] *Diary*, 1 October 1816.
[187] *Diary*, 24 November 1818.

cleaning and the lighting of fires was evidently not for the master's diary. By implication, at least, the record suggests that Elizabeth exercised complete authority over the household, at least when she was in health.

Amanda Vickery's detailed study of several Northern gentry families (with one of which, the Parkers of Browsholme, Radclyffe had many dealings) at a slightly earlier period than that covered by the diary suggests that they may have kept rather fewer resident servants in the country than would have been felt appropriate by their equivalents in London. She quotes one of her subjects as suggesting 'an ideal complement of about seven live-in servants – a number favoured by modest landowners nationwide'[188]. The Radclyffes were certainly more modest even than that; to hazard a guess, they may have kept, at most, three or four, while making use also of the services of cottagers living nearby – Radclyffe went to some pains in 1817 to rebuild a cottage next to the Hall, perhaps for use as servants' accommodation[189].

The picture so far as outdoor servants were concerned is not much clearer. There was at least one regular gardener at Darley Hall, with the suitable name of Adam. The family had the use of horses, and there was stabling, which would seem to imply the presence of, at least, a stable-lad, but precise evidence is lacking. The diary provides much detail about the hiring of labour for the work of enclosing and cultivating the land at Darley Hall, but ceases before the farm could have become productive.

The general impression of the family's life in Yorkshire as it appears from the diary is one of genteel self-sufficiency in the Northern style, rather than either grandeur or austerity. To judge from frequent diary entries, Radclyffe himself seems to have relished climbing the

[188] A. Vickery, *A Gentleman's Daughter* (Yale, 1998), p. 134.
[189] Servants' wages in the country are the subject of a lengthy note in A. Vickery, *A Gentleman's Daughter* (Yale, 1998), p. 321.

steep hill over Worsbrough Common, on horseback or on foot, to go shopping in Barnsley; whether Elizabeth was quite so keen on country life is more debatable – she sometimes returned to London in worse health than when she had left town.

## Radclyffe the landed gentleman

1) Darley Hall – acquisition, enclosure, development

This section makes use of material from my Oxford M.Sc. dissertation, *Proprietary Rights – Land as a Symbol of Status for a Yorkshireman of the Regency* (Oxford, 2013), in which Radclyffe's activities at Darley Hall are described, from evidence in the diary, at much greater length than is possible here.

William Radclyffe's purchase of Darley Hall, near Worsbrough, is recorded in documents dated 22/23 November 1813[190]; the back-history of this transaction is complicated. Darley was the name of a manorial sub-division of the large parish of Darfield, and Darley Hall was the seat of the lords of that manor[191]. The Darley estate was owned during most of the seventeenth century by a family of the name of Adams, the last of whose male heirs died in 1714 leaving the property to be divided between his two sisters. The younger sister, Martha, took the southern or 'downhill' half of the estate, including the Hall. From Martha, who married a man named Wood, Darley Hall passed to a grandson, Adams Wood, who died in 1793 having designated a group of relatives to inherit the property through a 'trust for sale'. Radclyffe's wife's mother, a niece of Adams Wood, was one of this group.

[190] Wakefield Registry of Deeds, 1814/FX/628/730.
[191] J. Hunter, *South Yorkshire – The History and Topography of the Deanery of Doncaster* (London, 1831), vol. 2, p. 293.

The major part of the land which went with Darley Hall was purchased, after 1793, by a neighbour, Frederick Vernon-Wentworth, of nearby Wentworth Castle. The house itself, with the remainder of the surrounding land, was occupied for a while by William Jackson and his wife Ann, elder half-sister of the diarist. Then, some time around 1810, and after what the diary indicates was prolonged discussion, it was decided that William Radclyffe should, with help from some of the family, buy out the trust and develop Darley Hall as a residence for himself.

The situation was further entangled by the part played by Adams Wood's principal trustee[192], a certain Charles Bowns. He was agent for the Parkins family who had inherited the northern, or 'uphill', part of the Darley estate from Martha Adams' older sister, and was agent also to the Vernon-Wentworths and other great landowners of the neighbourhood – a man of consequence, who issued £1 notes over his own name. He was tenant of the principal house on the hilltop; it was properly called Bank Top, while Darley Hall had the secondary name of Bank End – but Bowns decided to arrogate the grander sounding address for Bank Top, possibly on the grounds that 'Darley Hall' was the name of the manor-house and therefore belonged in the half of the manor that had been taken by Adams Wood's older daughter[193]. Bowns could not claim the rights of lord of the manor for himself, but he soon fell out with William Radclyffe over the occupancy of the manorial pew in Worsbrough church, and their relationship, which had initially been businesslike if not amicable, became increasingly embittered, to the point where Radclyffe threatened Bowns with legal action; in retaliation Bowns told lies about Radclyffe in

[192] In the memorial of lease and release which completed the sale transaction – see below, note 197 – Bowns was described as 'surviving devisee in trust for sale named and appointed in and by the last will and testament of Adams Wood late of Bank End'.

[193] Residents in the locality in 2015, however, had clear recollections of the rights of the matter – Darley Hall was at the bottom of the hill; the 1962 O.S. map of the district expressly identifies the house, which still stood at that date, as Darley Hall.

answer to enquiries made by a representative of the College of Arms in October 1817, with serious consequences for Radclyffe's reputation. Bowns died in 1818[194]; in his dealings with Radclyffe he is revealed as a recognisable type – a steward fattening himself on the by-profits of the estates entrusted to his care and strutting consequentially among the small gentry who were his neighbours. Radclyffe under-estimated his capacity for malignancy.

It is likely that Bowns was known to Radclyffe before the beginning of the period covered by the diary; an entry for 1 May 1805, 'spoke with Mr. Bowens[sic] of Bank Top now in Town', certainly suggests previous acquaintance. On 16 September 1807 Radclyffe was in Yorkshire and 'went to Bank Top Bank End', and he corresponded with Bowns during the course of 1808. Negotiations concerning the 'trust for sale' doubtless occurred during 1809/10.

On 21 September 1811 Radclyffe noted '…at Barnsley after breakfasting at Mr Jacksons took a walk to Mr. Bownds[sic] of Bank-top consulted with him on the interest of the co-heirs of John Wood late of Wakefield dec'd[195]'. On 16 October '…rec'd a note with abstr of Adams Woods will'. On 23 October '…with Mr. Helleley[196] at Dinner consulted with him on Bank End &c'. On 24 October '…at Barnsley took a ride with Mr. Jackson by way of Belvoir to Bank End, looked over the Land and premises there, and commissioned him to purchase it for me'. In these entries, and throughout the diary, Radclyffe emerges as preoccupied with historic rights (in this case under the will of Adams Wood), rather than with considerations of commercial advantage.

[194] 'his memory is still revered in the neighbourhood, and he is often spoken of with great respect' – J. Wilkinson, *Worsborough; its historical associations and rural attractions* (London, 1872), p. 178.
[195] This was the father of Adams Wood.
[196] Joseph Helleley of Brierley was Elizabeth Radclyffe's mother's cousin, and an influential figure in the Radclyffe clan around Barnsley.

The financing of the purchase was a complex matter. Radclyffe's diary records the sale of Navy Stock through the Bank of England, negotiations for contributions from various members of the family, the raising of a £1,000 loan from Sir Joseph Radcliffe of Milnes Bridge – in fact, a general mobilisation of resources. Pencil notes in the back of the 1811/12 volume provide a valuable summary of the result; see Appendices, Table 5, page 301.

Another set of figures suggests that Radclyffe calculated that he could make £236 per annum from letting the farm, as compared with £165 that might have been earned from investing the purchase money at 3½ per cent. He actually let less than the whole of the land, retaining several acres which he turned into pleasure grounds and paddocks for his own use.

The total extent of the purchase, which was described in detail in a memorial of a lease and release dated 22 and 23 November 1813, was 32 acres, 3 roods and 37 perches[197]. Radclyffe subsequently, in 1814, purchased from the Vernon-Wentworth estate a further 18 acres and 1 perch of land to the north of Darley Hall[198], and when Worsbrough Common was enclosed in 1817 he acquired 18 acres, 1 rood and 39 perches[199], to make up a total of some 68 acres – he had disposed of a small parcel of land on his southern boundary in 1814 to the Dearne and Dove Canal Company, a transaction which helped him with the transport of coal from the mine which he was opening on his estate[200]. In all, he acquired a property which put him on strictly comparable terms with other gentry families in the neighbourhood; he was now 'of Darley Hall'[201], and the diary shows both his delight

[197] This was the final confirmation of purchase. Wakefield Registry of Deeds, *1814/FX/628/730.*
[198] Wakefield Registry of Deeds, *1814/FX/675/782.*
[199] See *Proprietary Rights,* figure 36.
[200] The diary contains references from December 1818 onwards to 'my coal mines'.
[201] The proprietorial description was of supreme social importance – see P. Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People* (Oxford, 1988). Radclyffe appears to have deployed his territorial title more often in Yorkshire than in London.

in his status as a member of the landed elite[202], and his growing preoccupation with the development of his estate. He was not a profit-making agriculturalist, but he could be said to have achieved 'a comfortable country house and pleasure grounds suitable for retirement … an estate … whose rents might supplement the income of some more leisured occupation'[203].

The house itself was evidently in a poor state, and the farm buildings were no better. This, together with the project to enclose Worsbrough Common, presented a challenge which Radclyffe accepted with an eagerness characteristic of those enterprising gentry who at that time were winning the esteem of Arthur Young. Well before the final legalities of the purchase were accomplished, in fact from 12 June 1812 onwards, the diary is filled with references to plans for works of every sort, and actions to implement them. Workmen were hired locally, and Radclyffe supervised them with an intensity that must have been counter-productive at times – he drove them on in rain and cold, and at least one of his skilled men walked away from the job (but came back shortly afterwards). All the buildings were extensively reconditioned in stone, within and without; watercourses were cleared, access roads were remade or created from new, and boundary walls were rebuilt[204]; particular attention was paid to the refenestration of the front façade of the Hall, of which a pencil sketch survives in the diary for 1811/12[205]. A window on the staircase was fitted with specially made 'painted glass', which must surely have incorporated the Radclyffe arms.

[202] It is interesting that Radclyffe was insistent as designating himself 'gentleman' in all public documents, throughout the period under consideration; he might reasonably have claimed to be 'esquire', but may have taken pride in the more robust description. See P. Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People* (Oxford, 1988), p. 65.
[203] F.M.L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1963), p. 122.
[204] One stretch, possibly the work of a mason named William Shaw, survives today.
[205] The windows were glazed by George Fletcher at 2/6 per foot – *Diary,* 2 October 1812.

Interestingly, Radclyffe purchased a good deal of material while he was in London, some of it of a specialist sort such as locks and other ironmongery, but some also of a basic nature such as timber[206], and sent it up to Worsbrough by water – an insight into both the regional economy of the West Riding and the costs of transport at this time[207].

The diary record of the restoration and improvement of the house gives flashing glimpses, rather than a complete running film, of the works which Radclyffe commissioned and supervised with exigent care; given that the whole site (with the exception of parts of the outhouses, now converted into desirable cottages) has been completely flattened, it would be worth linking them with any other available evidence about the history of Darley Hall to form a record of what, if it had survived, would probably now be classified as a Grade II-Listed building.

The house was not ready for occupation until the summer of 1815. On 10 July Radclyffe 'Packd up divers houshold goods & with ER took them to Davison for him to send by Fresh water to Darley', and on 22 July 'Packed up a large Trunk with divers provisions &c & sent off to Cripplegate to go by water to Darley'. Then, on 29 July, '… came forward to Darley by post Chaise where we arrived about ½ past two oclock opened & unpacked the twelve large parcels sent here in April last by water carriage and commenced residence by sleeping and taking up our humble abode here for 1st time'. Unsurprisingly, the entry for the next day runs on '… being with the whole of my family much fatigued with yesterday's Exertions spent the day at home except taking a little walk with ER down the lane to look at the new Pond…'

It was all too much for Elizabeth, who suffered a miscarriage on 16 August. But there was an immense amount still to be done – papering walls, painting woodwork, repairing

[206] *Diary,* 11 July 1812.
[207] E.g. *Diary,* 11 June 1813.

furniture damaged in transit; Radclyffe shows himself a man of his hands, as well as a tireless supervisor – among other, similar entries we find that he 'Planned and cut the Turkey Carpet to the floor of the great Parlour'[208]. Such activities might have been found *infra dig*. in London, but they sat comfortably enough with the concept of gentility which prevailed in Yorkshire.

Work outside the house never ceased throughout the rest of the diary. When the outhouses had been rebuilt, there were gardens and an orchard to be laid out with paths, walled and planted, paddocks and a grove and two ponds to be made, and, in due course, attention to be paid to the tendency of the locals to trespass in the grounds[209]. Radclyffe delighted in giving names to the elements of his creation: Adams Wood, Beatrix Croft, Rouge Croix Close, Adams Chair, Ormshaws Lane and Shaw Close – the last three after men who worked on them. These 'outside' works are recorded in extensive and minute detail; the finicky antiquary and the ceremonious herald have been left behind in London, and Radclyffe is the quintessential landowner, buying and planting trees and shrubs by the hundred, writing to his friends about late roses and early apricots, lamenting ruinous rainfalls and delighting in frosty mornings:

> 'Die Dominica took divers walks in the Park and grounds with and without ER a very fine frosty day.'[210]

No selection of quotations can convey the sense of busy, delighted fulfilment that rises from the pages written at Darley Hall; Radclyffe was every bit a countryman in Yorkshire, however much he was a professional in London[211]. Although the diary rarely strays

[208] *Diary,* 18 August 1815.
[209] *Diary,* 12 January 1819.
[210] *Diary,* 3 January 1819.
[211] Though the diary records visits to the royal gardens at Kew and the Archbishop's garden at Fulham, as well as Radclyffe's delight at walking in the hayfields north of Hampstead and the market gardens south of the river.

towards introspection, its directness always conveys a strong sense of its author's identity, and in places it can also suggest a fairly high level of self-awareness.

Inextricably intertwined with his work on the house and its grounds, and providing even more formidable challenges and triumphant satisfactions, was Radclyffe's campaign for the enclosure of Worsbrough Common. He was one of the prime movers in this project, engaged in much tricky negotiation with other landowners and with the commoners, and acted at Westminster as principal agent in securing the Private Bill which authorised the division and sale of the land[212]; the Bill passed its final stage on 23 May 1817[213].

Radclyffe spent £1,196 on seven parcels of land from the enclosure division, amounting to 12 acres, 2 roods and 21 perches[214]. Having had the foresight some time previously to acquire a small property which carried Commoners' rights[215], he also received seven small plots totalling 4 acres, 3 roods and 18 perches in lieu of Common rights.

Worsbrough Common could hardly have been described as rich land; most of it sloped down a steep hillside, weedy, strewn with stones and partly overgrown with scrubby hawthorns. But Radclyffe set to with furious energy, hiring men to clear his ground, level it as far as possible, enclose it, erect fences and plant hedges, and build roads; at times he had up to twenty men, with horses and carts, engaged on this project, and he often joined them in their work. Radclyffe's record of the enclosure is of interest as detailed evidence for such a process from its inception to completion[216].

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[212] *Diary,* 5-12 May 1817.
[213] *Chronological Table of the Private and Personal Acts, 1817,* http://www.legislation.gov.uk, accessed 12.10.2012.
[214] Wakefield Registry of Deeds, *1821/HF/562/637.*
[215] *Diary,* 30 September 1817.
[216] I have examined these activities in my unpublished Oxford M.Sc. dissertation, *Proprietary Rights* (2013).

The objective of the enclosure, for Radclyffe, was to increase the acreage of the Darley Hall farm, and so enhance its letting potential. I have calculated elsewhere that, after allowance was made for plantations and other non-profitmaking land uses, he might have been able to let 60 acres of arable and pasture, which at five guineas an acre would have produced 300 guineas per annum. This would have been equivalent to purchase at 25 years, and more or less in line with the general run of agricultural land prices in 1820[217].

The Common also provided Radclyffe with a small stone-quarry (he had something of a tussle with former Commoners who were slow to realise that they could no longer take stone from it[218]), and, more important, the possibility of coal-mining, which he was not slow to exploit. We have no indication of profits made from either of these sources.

Even on a generous estimate, the Darley Hall estate could not have been a source of wealth to Radclyffe – but what was much more important to him, beyond doubt, was that it entrenched his status among the gentry, and gave him a stake in the county. He fits well into Paul Langford's model, as cited by Nicholas Rogers[219], of 'a pluralistic, propertied conservative order, in which substantial sections of the middling sort were co-sponsors of improvement' such as enclosure, canal-building, and other enterprises.

2) Social structures in South Yorkshire at the start of the nineteenth century

This section discusses, briefly, aspects of the social organisation of South Yorkshire – deliberately so defined, since it does not attempt to cover the whole of the West Riding – during the period covered by the diary.

The area of southern Yorkshire which appears on a map as an irregular lozenge with salient points at Sheffield and Huddersfield, Wakefield and Doncaster, and with Barnsley

[217] F.M.L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1963), p. 122.
[218] *Diary,* 29 August 1817.
[219] N. Rogers, in *The Middling Sort of People,* eds. J. Barry and C. Brooks (Basingstoke, 1994), p. 165.

at its near-centre, was the heartland of Radclyffe's Northern identity. Its characteristics have been well sketched in modern times by Alan Raistrick[220], whose approach stands in sharp contrast with that of Radclyffe's collaborator and friend, Joseph Hunter[221]. Still more pertinent for present purposes, however, are three near-contemporary sources dealing with the neighbourhood of Barnsley, namely Joseph Wilkinson's *Worthies of Barnsley and District*[222], the same author's *Worsborough*[223], and, most valuable of all in its mass of detail, the West Riding volume of Edward Baines' *Directory* of 1822[224]. These can be usefully supplemented by the historic Ordnance Survey maps of the area[225], which convey, indirectly, much information about the distribution of population and the workings of the local economy.

The organisation of society in the whole of the West Riding at the end of the eighteenth century was still powerfully clannish and traditionally structured. A part of the interest of the diary, therefore, is the light which it casts on the changes which were affecting social and economic relationships in the area in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

The social geography of South Yorkshire, as defined above, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century displayed great extremes of wealth which were further emphasised by social conventions which elevated the necessity of deference to extreme heights. But the 'horizontal' gap between dukes and beggars was not the only distinguishing feature of this

[220] A. Raistrick, *The West Riding of Yorkshire,* in the series *Making of the English Landscape* (London, 1970).
[221] J. Hunter, *South Yorkshire – the History and Topography of the Deanery of Doncaster,* 2 vols. (London, 1828), a fine piece of early nineteenth-century antiquarianism to which Radclyffe made important contributions as attested by his correspondence with Hunter.
[222] J. Wilkinson, *Worthies, Families and Celebrities of Barnsley and the District* (London, n.d.).
[223] J. Wilkinson, *Worsborough*[sic]*: its historical associations and rural attractions* (London and Barnsley, 1872).
[224] Baines.
[225] Cassini Historical Map, Old Series, *Map 110, Sheffield and Huddersfield* (Southampton, 2006).

society in the period: still more important were the 'vertical' variations in the social geography of the region.

Sheffield, where Radclyffe had numerous friends and relatives, had long been famous for its steel, which was worked by numerous master-craftsmen in small workshops; Baines' account emphasises the dispersed nature of their activity, and also the civic significance of the Cutlers' Company. Baines pays tribute to the fact that, historically, the development of the town had owed much to the Howard family, who had derived wealth, and a certain amount of political interest, from ownership of property in the town; but 'A spirit of improvement has for many years been in active exercise in the town of Sheffield'[226], and since 1802 the Duke of Norfolk had released much property 'with distinguished liberality towards the tenants and occupiers'[227]. The population (42,857 in 1821, up from 35,840 ten years earlier[228]) was predominantly a community of enterprising, often prosperous, artisans, and no feudal fiefdom. The reverse of the coin came into view at times of economic hardship, however, when the 'small masters' evinced alarmingly Jacobinical tendencies, which did not, however, find room in Radclyffe's diaries.

Huddersfield was a smaller place, with a population in 1821 of 13,284, but it too was growing fast – it had been only 9,671 in 1811[229]. Baines describes it as a market town, set in a 'barren and unproductive' landscape – but he swiftly goes on to point to the resources of coal and water-power which had 'raised it to the rank of one of the principal seats of the woollen trade in the kingdom'[230]. The factory era was about to transform Huddersfield, but Baines' occupational listings of the population shows clearly that in Radclyffe's time the woollen industry was still, to an overwhelming extent, in the hands of piece-workers in

[226] Baines, p. 294.
[227] Baines, p. 294.
[228] Baines, opening Index of Places and Population Returns, no page number.
[229] Baines, opening Index of Places and Population Returns, no page number.
[230] Baines, p. 204.

their cottages, which were scattered over a wide area. Economic conditions varied frequently and sometimes wildly, Luddism raged fiercely in the district for a while, and the diarist's friend Joseph Radcliffe of Milnes Bridge acquired a baronetcy for his activity in suppressing the disorder, particularly in the apprehension of the murderers of the millowner William Horsfall in April 1812.

Wakefield was smaller again, with 10,764 residents in1821, though here too there had been growth, from 8,593 in 1811. Baines (or a contributor) rated it highly – 'a large and opulent town delightfully situated'[231]. It was more of a market town than Huddersfield, with an extensive and rich agricultural hinterland, but Baines is careful to insist that 'Wakefield now, as in the time of Leyland[sic], still "standith by clothyng"'[232]. The burghers of Wakefield were evidently of a different type from either the proud artisans of Sheffield or the depressed piece-workers of Huddersfield: 'the manners of its inhabitants unite the honest frankness of the manufacturing character, with the urbanity and polish of those places, where the clack of the shuttle never breaks upon the ear of the stately citizen'[233].

For truly stately citizens, however, it seems that the population of Doncaster (8,544 in 1821, 6,935 in 1811) could not be beaten. Baines acknowledges Miller's *History* in a footnote[234], and then pays him the double-edged tribute of quoting him liberally without attribution, stressing the attractions of the town to the polite society of a large neighbourhood. For Doncaster was the gathering-place for all the wealth and beauty of the West Riding, and indeed of a far greater area – why, the Prince Regent himself came from London to Doncaster Races!

[231] Baines, p. 420.
[232] Baines, p. 424.
[233] Baines, p. 425.
[234] Baines, p. 167.

In the magnificently baroque Mansion House[235], the more coolly Palladian Town Hall and Theatre, and the elegantly Venetian grandstand of the famous racecourse[236], grandees such as the Dukes of Norfolk and of Leeds, the fabulously wealthy Earls Fitzwilliam of Wentworth Woodhouse, the Earls of Mexborough, the Viscounts Galway of Serlby Hall, the Vernons of Wentworth Castle, the Spencer Stanhopes of Cannon Hall near Barnsley, together with a host of gentry families in all their gradations of wealth and antiquity, met and mingled with burgesses who, on the evidence offered by Miller, were as proud of their civic status as any liveryman of London. Radclyffe's diary shows him to have been on terms with almost all the nobility mentioned above, and to have moved as among equals with dozens of the gentry families[237]. His diary presents a picture of cheerful civility, very different from that which seems to have been in the mind of G.E. Mingay, cited by N. Rogers, when he wrote of 'the servility of the lesser gentry and the complaisance of the farmers [which both] paid tribute to the landlords'[238].

The lords of the countryside who came to play in Doncaster were spending money that was not all derived from agricultural rents; many of them, led by the Fitzwilliams and their Wentworth relations, were already making great gains from the coalmines on their estates, and some were taking opportunities to invest in canals as well. The aristocracy of Yorkshire was as keen for profits as the varied citizens of the region's towns, and the rural areas between the towns were marked by increasingly diverse economic activity.

Worsbrough Vale, south and west of Barnsley, where Radclyffe established himself at Darley Hall, might have been chosen as an exemplar of a mixed economy, and society, in

[235] The subject of an article by R. Hastings in *Country Life,* June 14 2017, pp. 86-90.
[236] Plates in *Doncaster*, opposite pp. 141, 157, 159.
[237] E.g. the Diary entries for 26-29 September 1814 show him, with his wife and son, moving happily amid a galaxy of the (named) nobility and gentry at Doncaster Races, enjoying the spectacle of a balloon ascent, and attending 'the Dress Ball which was excessively brilliant and crowded'.
[238] Cited by N. Rogers in *The Middling Sort of People,* eds. J. Barry and C. Brooks (Basingstoke, 1994), p. 169.

the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Earl Fitzwilliam presided over the scene in august magnificence at Wentworth Woodhouse, where Mr. Radclyffe breakfasted with him and his family, immediately after a county election in which the Earl's son, Lord Milton, had won one of the seats[239]; a hard-pressed peasantry was (possibly) glad to be given winter work clearing and levelling Mr. Radclyffe's new enclosure on Worsbrough Common at a farthing a yard[240]; Mr. Horsfall, ironmonger of Barnsley, was pleased to vary his retail activity by renting Mr. Radclyffe's farm at five guineas an acre per annum; and on the western slope of the Vale, in his recently acquired mansion of Keresforth Hall, Mr. Edward Jackson, brother-in-law of Mr. Radclyffe of Darley Hall, occupied the middle ground.

Keresforth Hall was one of a number of small gentry holdings, mostly of no more than 50 acres, which were to be found scattered around Barnsley, many of them in the hands of families jealous of ancestries which stretched back into mediaeval times[241]. These small gentry were happy to derive their revenues from a range of activities which might have caused their social equivalents in the southern counties to wrinkle their noses in disdain: mills of all sorts, mines, ironworks and transport enterprises, along with a range of professional and frankly commercial pursuits, as well as agriculture, forestry and their various derivatives. When in 1872 Joseph Wilkinson came to publish his account of Worsbrough, with particular reference to its social and economic history, he chose to organise the greater part of his book by chapters focussed in each case on one of these petty estates[242].

[239] *Diary,* Sunday, 18 August 1807.
[240] *Diary,* 29 November 1817.
[241] Keresforth itself is mentioned in Domesday Book.
[242] J. Wilkinson, *Worsborough* (London, 1879). (Note: Wilkinson uses the spelling "Worsborough".)

In sum the social geography of South Yorkshire was a very varied affair, within which someone of Radclyffe's sort could move easily at various levels. It is possible to infer from his diary that he enjoyed a fuller social life there than he did in the sharply stratified class-structure of London.

## The Jamaican estate claim

One of the more obscure themes in the diary concerns a West Indian sugar plantation, of which the Radclyffes became part-inheritors in 1805. Their claim, like the connection with Darley Hall, came through Elizabeth's descent from the Wood family[243].

William Wood, born in 1722, was the younger brother of Adams Wood who lived in Darley Hall until his death in 1793; he probably died before Adams. Evidence of William Wood's activities as a sugar planter appear, briefly and occasionally, in Jamaican archive sources. He must have been connected, but it is not clear how, with John Adams Wood, who was born in 1783 (? in Bermuda) and died in Tavistock Square, London in 1836. One of John's slaves, Mary Prince, has left an account, which has become well-known, of her master's return to England.

It has not been possible to locate William Wood's will, but his plantation, together with other property, passed at some point into the hands of a certain George Harrison, 'of the City of Kingston, Merchant,' who died in November 1803, having made his will in July of the same year.

[243] N. Draper, in *The Price of Emancipation* (Cambridge, 2009), has demonstrated the extent to which ownership of slave-worked estates in the West Indies was a widespread form of heritable investment among the gentry of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century England, with 'a very marked concentration of slave-owners around Marylebone' (p. 180). Detail has been added to this account by Perry Gauci's recent study of William Beckford (Yale, 2013).

Harrison left money to 'my three reputed daughters Mary Harrison Grace Harrison and Elizabeth Harrison'; he left money also to 'the Children of my Sister Betty Smith of the Kingdom of Great Britain'; he bequeathed 'the rent of my Land in Cumberland in the Kingdom of Great Britain' to Betty Smith for her life, together with a sum of money at his death; and the rest of his estate he left to his son George. George the younger died in London in December 1804, aged eight – and prospects of West Indian wealth danced before the eyes of the Smith clan.

Harrison's will[244] is a most interesting document in many ways. Two of his executors were Joseph Timperon and William Peatt Litt, West India merchants in London and Liverpool respectively, and two of the biggest slave traders of the day[245]; there is evidence of the complexity of the partnership arrangements by which Jamaican planters of the time were able to produce and ship their sugar, and procure the slave labour which required constant renewal; and the internal relationships of the Harrison estate are partially illustrated by a clause providing for the manumission of 'my woman Slave Mary a Sambo and her daughter named Nancy Spencer'.

But the will leaves us unclear about the answers to two key questions: how did George Harrison come to inherit (for it clearly was a matter of inheritance) the Wood estate, and what was his relationship to Elizabeth Radclyffe's mother, Betty Smith (or Marechale), daughter of Josias Charlesworth?

[244] Copy document in archives of the College of Arms, London.

[245] http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estates accessed 16.08.18. Both Timperon and Peatt Litt feature in the database 'Legacies of British Slave-ownership', where the former is described as 'An elusive figure given his level of wealth'. The two men were partners in 14 slaving voyages between 1798 and 1808; in six of those voyages they were joined by Jonathan Harrison, George Harrison and John Hart. The formal partnership of Timperon and Peatt Litt was dissolved in 1804 (*The Law Advertiser,* 1804, p. 307, though Peatt Litt appears here to have been substituted by Dobinson, a third in the partnership); Radclyffe enquired carefully about this dissolution on 7 January 1813.

If the word 'sister' is understood as meaning 'sister-in-law', in accordance with common eighteenth-century usage[246], we have to find another Charlesworth girl to have married George Harrison; a possible candidate might be Rebecca Charlesworth, daughter of 'Jos. Charlesworth', born in the Charlesworths' home parish of Penistone, Yorkshire, in October 1753[247]. Prolonged search for a Harrison-Charlesworth marriage has yielded no results; however, the Kingston parish registers indicate that a child named George Harrison was born there in 1793, and *The Columbian Magazine* for 1797/98 contains a notice of the death in Kingston, Jamaica, in April 1797 of 'Mrs. Harrison, wife of Mr. George Harrison, merchant'[248].

Rebecca may be a reasonably safe candidate for the role of Mrs. Harrison; but even then we have to make the assumption that she had been the first inheritor of William Wood's estate, and perhaps also the assumption that she was the woman who died in Kingston in 1798.

There is insufficient documentary evidence to establish all these links in full detail, but the next stage is sufficiently clear from the diary. There were four female descendants of William Wood's younger sister Martha (three of them being married), and during 1805 they succeeded in making good a claim to shares in the proceeds of half of the Jamaican estate, the other half being in the hands of the late Harrison's partner, a man named Hart. Hart, however, died at the beginning of December 1805, and the ownership of the estate then became a matter of dispute.

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[246] For which see N. Tadmore, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-century England* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 134-5, and A. Harris, *Siblinghood and Social Relations in Georgian England* (Manchester, 2012).
[247] Yorkshire Parish Records, West Yorkshire Archive Service.
[248] http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Members/bcarib07.htm, accessed 25.05.15.

It is unlikely that Radclyffe harboured great expectations of a Jamaican inheritance when he married Elizabeth Marechale/Smith in 1804[249]; the long-delayed information of the elder George Harrison's death was of no special importance to the Smith women until it was supplemented by the news that Harrison's young son had also died. It then appeared for a while that each of the four could expect annual payments of £100[250], and several such payments in fact arrived. But disputes in Jamaica, perhaps over the ownership of the property, perhaps over its administration, perhaps both, evidently complicated the situation and led to lawsuits in both London and Jamaica. Radclyffe seems to have taken a lead in the matter, and fought on after the others had given up, but was ultimately unsuccessful; the tone of the diary entries suggests that he was embittered by the experience.

There is no indication that he was aware of the extent to which the terms of trade were altering against the sugar planters of the West Indies during the first two decades of the nineteenth century[251], but this was a factor which may well have operated to complicate disputes over the profits of the Harrison plantation. He has nothing to say in the diary about his feelings concerning the slave trade, which was an essential prop to the sugar economy of Jamaica; the achievement of his own county M.P., William Wilberforce, in bringing about the Act of March 1807 which outlawed the trade, effectively made it certain that there would be no West Indian fortune for the four Smith girls and their husbands.

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[249] Although on 13 April 1804 he mentions her connection to William Wood, in the course of a lengthy note about her ancestry.
[250] 'till the affairs of the Estate became settled' – *Diary,* 31 December 1804.
[251] E. Williams, *From Columbus to Castro* (London, 1970), Chapters 14, 16, 17, esp. pp. 281-282: 'Between 1799 and 1807, 65 plantations [in Jamaica] had been abandoned, 32 were sold under decrees of the Court of Chancery to meet claims against them, and in 1807 suits were pending against 115 others. In 1806 the price of sugar was less than the cost of production, and in 1807 the planter made no profit at all.'

In summary, the evidence supplied by the diary, when amplified by other sources, shows Radclyffe not merely as a versatile operator with many interests, but actually as a character with a number of traits so various that they can fairly be described as distinct identities : there is the metropolitan professional who when on his native heath becomes a thoroughgoing countryman; there is the decorative herald who spends weeks every autumn in solitary travel through the wilder parts of England and Wales; there is the practical man of his hands who metamorphoses effortlessly into a status-conscious member of the county gentry; there is the finicky genealogist (to be seen more clearly in Chapter 4) who demonstrates an aptitude for capitalistic enterprise; and there is the hot-tempered litigator who is also, and at all times, the uxorious and emotional family man.

# CHAPTER 3

## PROFILE OF A GENTLEMAN PROFESSIONAL

This chapter is principally concerned with the degree to which Radclyffe might be identified as one of the emergent professionals who have been presented as catalysts of social change during the opening decades of the nineteenth century. Edward Thompson[252], followed by Harold Perkin[253] and others in the Marxisant mode of the 1960s, identified such men as pioneers of a new class. Penelope Corfield refined our understanding of

[252] E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, 1968); 'Eighteenth-Century English Society', *Social History* no. 3, (1978), pp. 133-65; 'Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture', in *Journal of Social History* no. 8, (1974).
[253] H. Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880* (London, 1969), pp. 252-256.

eighteenth-century usages in the language of social distinctions in an authoritative article published in 1987[254]. More recently, Henry French has noted that some historians have antedated the process, by sifting out, within the broader category of 'middling' people in the eighteenth century, those who pursued 'knowledge-based' activities[255].

Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall offer a substantially different account of the phenomenon of emergent middle-class professionalism in their *Family Fortunes*. This powerful study of provincial realities in Birmingham, Essex and Suffolk covers ground that, geographically speaking, was not unfamiliar to Radclyffe; but the societies they depict, dominated by Evangelical religion and seen from a standpoint that avowedly attaches overwhelming importance to considerations of gender and family, seem far removed from Radclyffe's London. As they themselves remark, 'Regency London represented everything that was the opposite of serious middle-class life, particularly in its provincial guise'[256]. Their study has value, nevertheless, as highlighting the essentially *ancien regime* nature of Radclyffe's preoccupations, and perhaps also of his identity; he certainly had many of the attributes of a professional, but he was no proto-Victorian.

It is essential, in fact, to exercise caution when considering Radclyffe's activity and his status in relation to the broader class of 'middling people', as they have been defined by recent historians. He occupied a small and obscure niche in a social group the total strength of which has been estimated, with somewhat surprising preciseness, at 84,300 in 1803[257]. Thus, while his diary may offer supporting evidence for some of the perceptions

[254] P.J. Corfield, 'Class by Name and Number in Eighteenth-century England', *History,* vol. 72, no. 234, (Feb. 1987).
[255] H.R. French, 'The search for the "middle sort of people" in England 1600-1800', *Historical Journal* no. 43, (2000), p. 282.
[256] L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes* (Chicago, 1987), p. 152.
[257] Heads of households with professional occupations in England and Wales; figures from P.J. Corfield, *Power and the Professions in Britain, 1700-1850* (London, 1995), p. 29. M.R. Hunt, in *The Middling Sort* (Berkeley, 1996), p. 17, offers an estimate of 475,000 as a total for all 'middling people' in England and Wales in 1801.

advanced by recent social historians, it does not contain material sufficient to justify significant reinterpretation of their debates.

In this chapter, aspects of Radclyffe's lifestyle and domestic arrangements are examined both for the information which they supply about his personality, and also as indicators of his status; the narrowness of his social range, and his apparent non-involvement in public affairs are seen as possible aspects of a persistent provincialism. Particular attention is paid to his interest in music and drama, and to his religious practices. Finally, the realities of quasi-professional life in the period are set into context by a section dealing with patron-client relations.

## Lifestyle

Radclyffe's diary might be described, without undue exaggeration, as being constantly concerned with matters of communication, of every sort. It gives an impression of a life spent in an incessant quest for information, which was sought by interview, by letter, by research, and always by what would seem today an enormous expenditure of energy. His diary is instructive about the mode of life which his searchings entailed. But it is necessary to be wary in the use of descriptors for definitions of social status; as Henry French has pointed out, historians have latterly moved away from 'descriptions based on the isolation of "exterior" characteristics – whether of wealth, occupation or patterns of consumption. Recent studies have sought to define the group, and its social determinants, by isolating "internal" attitudes.'[258]

[258] H.R. French, 'Social Status, Location and "the middle sort of people" in England, 1620-1730' in *Past and Present,* no. 166 (2000), pp. 70-71.

London in the opening decades of the nineteenth century was still, for Radclyffe and for most of his fellow-citizens, a place largely defined by journeys taken on foot. So much was this the case that printsellers marketed cartoons which pretended to give advice to the unwary on the techniques of navigating the crowded pavements[259]. Radclyffe records as exceptional the times when he hired wheeled transport for longer journeys to places such as Limehouse or Hampstead[260]. Journeys by boat, up or down the river, seem to have been taken more by way of a treat than out of necessity[261]. He walked to visit archives and clients, to go shopping and deal with bankers – and at weekends, for a change, he might take 'a walk into the hay fields'[262], or along the South Bank through St. George's Fields from Southwark to Lambeth[263]. There is a strong impression of intense, bustling pedestrian activity, largely regardless of weather.

City hours, starting early and finishing with the evening, governed Radclyffe's daily timetable, rather than the late-morning risings and late-night junketings of the West End; this may be one of several examples of provincial habits persisting in his London lifestyle.

Some of his haunts are still not much changed, superficially at least: Hoare's bank in Fleet Street, the Inns of Court, Hatchard's bookshop (but sadly not Lackington's Temple of the Muses[264]), the wine-merchants and hatters in St. James's. But most of the great archive

[259] 'The Art of Walking the Streets of London' – four coloured etchings published by Thomas Tegg, January, 1818, reproduced in *London – World City, 1800-1840, Exhibition Catalogue*, (New Haven and London, 1992), Illus. 142, p. 309. More or less serious guides to walking in London had been issued at intervals since at least 1716, when John Gay published a poem under that title; see J. White, *London in the Eighteenth Century (*London, 2012), p. 118. White goes on (p. 224) to suggest that in the later years of the eighteenth century many middle-class Londoners travelled by hackney coach; but Radclyffe's diary seems to suggest the contrary.

[260] 'Middling men sometimes took coaches, but generally they walked where they needed to go.' B. Heller, *Leisure and Pleasure in London Society, 1760-1820,* unpublished Oxford D. Phil. thesis, 2009. See e.g. *Diary*, 4 April 1807; 29 August 1813.

[261] E.g. *Diary*, 10 July 1803; 27 June 1807; 30 July 1813.

[262] *Diary*, 23 June 1805.

[263] *Diary*, 16 July 1815. There was still much open land – gardens and tenter-grounds – on the south bank at this time.

[264] *Diary*, 7 March 1806.

depositories where he earned his bread and butter – Doctors' Commons, the Tower, the British Museum, the Palace of Westminster – have changed or gone; only the College of Arms itself preserves much of the form and content that Radclyffe knew.

The diaries enable us to track him with some precision as he visits the archives in the Tower or the British Museum, courts the Earl Marshal at Norfolk House or the Prince Regent at Carlton House, calls on clients in the West End or hobnobs with fellow-antiquarians at Somerset House. Then there are journeys to the Bull and Mouth inn to despatch a packet of books and papers by the mail coach[265], or to the canal wharfs to arrange for a 'parcel' (which meant something more like a packing-case than a packet) to go by inland waterway to Yorkshire, or to a different sort of wharf on London River to see about shipping a bulk cargo by sea along the East Coast[266]. He frequently visited the Treasury to negotiate on behalf of the College for a new location in Westminster[267], or the Bank of England to deal in stocks and bonds in Mr. Soane's austerely majestic halls, since largely destroyed[268]. The 'Jamaica Coffe-house'[269], where he went at intervals to inquire for news of his wife's wretchedly unsatisfactory inheritance in the West Indies[270], still has its City clientele, though they no longer deal in slave-grown sugar; and there are modern equivalents to his walk in the chilly dawn to the Swan with Two Necks to see a niece off to the North by coach[271].

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[265] *Diary*, 27 March 1813.
[266] E.g. *Diary*, 1, 3, 4, 10 April 1815. See J. White, *London in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2013), pp. 225-26.
[267] E.g. *Diary*, 19 March 1816.
[268] E.g. *Diary*, 19 January 1808; 20 June 1811.
[269] The popularity of the London coffee-houses had passed its zenith, but they still functioned as places of business, with individual specialities, as well as social centres. Radclyffe used them frequently, but does not appear to have been an *habitué* of any one in particular.
[270] E.g. *Diary*, 6 February 1805. 'The business of the City coffee-house was less coffee than information' – J. White, *London in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2012), p. 175.
[271] *Diary*, 29 June 1807.

Many of Radclyffe's hours were consumed in calling on people at their homes with letters, or requests for signatures, or demands for information – and, as often as not, finding them out. The practice of a genealogist involved much face-to-face interviewing of clients, followed by lengthy digging for documents; Radclyffe's working style therefore had to combine the urbanity of a gentleman with the solitary purposefulness of a scholar. It is a tribute to his energy, and his stamina, that he kept up the pace for at least the twenty years we know about, with only the rarest and briefest of breaks for illness. The high levels of physical activity entailed by his daily regime must have helped to keep him fit.

The Radclyffes' home life, so far as it can be deduced from indications in the diary, was neither impecunious nor extravagant; the impression is given that their ideal was elegance rather than grandeur. They purchased some of their furniture, and household goods such as china and glass, at auction rooms and house sales, without apparently feeling demeaned by the activity. There are occasional suggestions that they had a positive preference for antique items[272].

Radclyffe certainly cared about the quality of his environment; he recorded repairs and improvements executed in his College rooms at his request, episodes of painting and polishing, and, not least, the details of his own handiwork at weekends, when he might oil the locks on the doors, mend a picture frame, or order the contents of his cellar[273]. The care and arrangement of his books, pictures, and collections was a constant priority, and he was never quite satisfied with the disposition of his various treasures[274]. It seems that he was not at all averse to undertaking tasks that a contemporary gentleman of leisure would have left to his servants; but this should not be taken as evidence of economic stringency – there

[272] [Recent scholarship] 'is stressing ambivalence and diversity and patterns of middling-class consumption that differed self-consciously from those of elites'. M.R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort* (Berkeley, 1996), p. 6.
[273] E.g. *Diary*, 6 January 1807; 28 May 1811.
[274] E.g. *Diary*, 24 December 1811, 'spent afternoon on some domestic houshold[sic] concerns arranged ER's Jewels etc looked over my gold and silver cabinets etc'.

are sufficiently frequent references to the purchasing of luxury items and specialist goods from craftsmen such as silversmiths, watchmakers, seal-cutters, tailors, hatters, bootmakers, to confirm that this was a comfortably genteel household. Radclyffe seems to have had a positive preference for using his hands[275], an apparent liking for practicality which may have been a result of early training, or just the expression of Yorkshire temperament; it was not confined to his own domestic concerns, and does not appear to have been prompted by a need for economy – but it might be a trait which marks him out as a self-sufficient professional rather than a member of the leisured elite.

When at home, he spent a great deal of time at his desk. He did not meddle with the kitchen, the laundry, or other such matters, which were left to his wife and her servants – except in the making of fruit cordials, an operation which he conducted at intervals on a surprisingly large scale[276]; but he was essentially domesticated, in the sense that, business apart, his life was centred strongly on his wife and family. The lengthy periods during which Elizabeth's ill-health disrupted the family life are, accordingly, marked by a change of style and content in the diary, which sometimes makes distressing reading. At such times Radclyffe's activity suggests a driven attempt at sublimation.

## Friends and acquaintances

The Radclyffes' social life appears to have been moderate in style and scale, but quite active except at times when Elizabeth was unwell: William enjoyed taking his family and

[275] Notably at the College of Arms; see Chapter 7.
[276] 20 gallons of 'goosberry Champaign' on 3 July 1814. 19 March 1807: 'Mem. Had ½ Chest of Seville Oranges to make into wine @ 5.1.0 per chest.' 21 March 1807: 'In Official Waiting made the orange wine today at my appartments in the College assisted by E.R. Stepney the Porter and the maid servant'. (An interesting occupation for a Pursuivant In Waiting.)

friends to grand occasions in his official capacity[277], and there are numbers of references to the receptions, routs, and balls which played important parts in the social, and business, life of the time[278], but these were special events rather than frequent or routine. They had guests to breakfast, dinner and supper, and William, in particular, frequently dined out, especially with clients.

A detailed analysis of the couple's activities, both in London and elsewhere, makes it clear that kinship was of the first and last importance to both of them. Virtually everyone to whom they were at all close was, or was accepted as, related to one or the other of them, either by consanguinity or by marriage. To use the terminology employed by Naomi Tadmor[279], their social language was almost entirely 'the language of kinship'. The links might, as in the case of Mr. Briscall of Brasenose[280], be tenuous, and several generations old, but they mattered supremely.

At the upper end of the social scale, kinship gave them an *entrée* to Lord Petre's seat at Thorndon Hall, the Earl of Newburgh's at Slindon, and the great Fitzwilliam palace of Wentworth Woodhouse[281]. It entailed obligations, too, very noticeably so in the case of a

[277] E.g. on Easter Day, 10 April 1814.

[278] As examples, one of the first rewards of appointment to the College of Arms was a chance to attend a ball to mark a creation of Knights of the Bath, on 1 June 1803. On 19 April 1805, Radclyffe's father-in-law 'gave a Grand Ball to his young Friends' which went on until 7.30 a.m. the next morning. There is a note of a 'Quadrille Party' on 24 January 1811. On 28 June 1814 'to a Ball at Hatton House given by Mr. Edwards for his friends …stayed until past 5 oc in the morning when we took leave and came home to bed laid till nearly 11 oc.' Interestingly, one of the very last entries in the diary, on 27 December 1820, concerned a ball, 'where we stayed all night and returned home about 6 o.c.'

[279] N. Tadmore, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-century England* (Cambridge, 2001), Chapter 4. A similar point, linking family obligations to the theme of patronage, for which see section h) below, is made by J.M. Bourne: 'Family was at the centre of the world which patronage reveals. Family was pregnant with obligations, dilemmas and opportunities. None of these was restricted to the immediate family, but all extended to near relations and even distant kinsmen.' J.M. Bourne, *Patronage and Society in Nineteenth-Century England* (London, 1986), p. 97.

[280] See notes 454 and 455.

[281] 'Family was at the centre of the world which the pursuit of patronage reveals. Family was pregnant with obligations, dilemmas and opportunities. None of them was restricted to the immediate family, but all extended to near relations and even distant kinsmen.' J.M. Bourne, *Patronage and Society in Nineteenth-century England* (London, 1986), p. 97. Thorndon has been cut into flats; Slindon is a boarding school; efforts are being made to save Wentworth Woodhouse from complete dereliction.

bankrupt individual who flits in and out of the later volumes of the diary, a distant 'cousin' from Sheffield, by the name of Barnard[282]. But whereas in Yorkshire, the filaments of kinship were everywhere, and Radclyffe could seemingly call almost where he chose without warning, eat a dinner and stay the night (he must have carried a nightshirt and razor in his saddlebags), it is evident that in London the clan kept largely to itself, and viewed the metropolitan world with a certain reserve even when making the most of the opportunities it offered[283]. This is significant as an indicator of the extent to which the provincial culture to which Radclyffe owed an allegiance retained its identity among the alternative attractions of the metropolis.

The one couple who were notable exceptions to the 'kindred first' rule in London were the Lodges. Edmund Lodge, Lancaster Herald[284], was William's only real friend in the small, tight, jealous world of the College of Arms, and despite the differences in their backgrounds there was a real community of feeling between them. The friendship of the two men seems to have arisen from an affinity of disposition, which favoured the antiquarian rather than the specifically heraldic aspects of their work at the College of Arms. They and their wives were constantly in and out of each other's houses, and spent

[282] The Barnards of Sheffield appear in the diary from 1803 onwards. A junior member of the family, Daniel Barnard, ran into financial difficulties in 1814, and Radclyffe stood bail for him at a hearing in Westminster Hall on 7 February 1815. Frequent meetings and conversations followed, in which Radclyffe appears as, effectively, the manager of young Barnard's affairs. On 24 August 1816 he went to a meeting of Commissioners of Bankruptcy at Guildhall 'on DB's Dividends'. On 21 November Radclyffe paid a £200 Exchequer bill into Perring's bank on Barnard's account; on 25 March 1817 he audited Barnard's accounts; and he was discussing the case in Sheffield with Barnard's relations on 26 December 1817, and again on 23 January 1819. The scale of the financial failure was evidently considerable, and it is evidence of Radclyffe's standing that he was engaged as an administrator in the affair. These activities were clearly undertaken in the first case out of family loyalty, and demanded attention at a time when Radclyffe's own affairs were under severe pressure. M.R. Hunt observes on p. 24 of *The Middling Sort* (Berkeley, 1996) that '…kin-based loyalty helped to distribute [commercial] risk by placing a heavy load of guilt and community disapproval on those people who did not help relatives by paying their debts in time of dire need.'

[283] Amanda Vickery's study of genteel provincial life in the late eighteenth century similarly emphasises the primacy of family in the social activity of her subjects: 'Well over a third of social occasions and exchanges involved family members.' A. Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter* (Yale and London, 1999), p. 23.

[284] See Chapter 7.

innumerable evenings together, drinking tea and playing cards[285]. The two men frequently paired up at official occasions, and sometimes sallied out together to inns or coffee-houses; on 20 December 1805 Radclyffe noted that he and Lodge went together 'to see a fire in Queen Street'. At the beginning of September 1813 (at a time, as it happened, of particular tension in the College Chapter) the Lodges took first one and then the other of the Radclyffes' two small sons to stay with them for a day or two at Hampstead.

The friendship must have been put under great strain at the time of the legal assault on Radclyffe which culminated in the extraordinary proceedings at York Assizes in 1820; it is striking, and significant, that social relations resumed almost as soon as Radclyffe was at liberty and in London again.

There was no sharp distinction in Radclyffe's lifestyle between 'home' (where he worked on his 'collections' and entertained his clients), 'the office' (meaning the College of Arms), or 'archives' (a term which he hardly used, but which we can employ to cover anywhere he worked, from the British Museum to a parish vestry). In this sense his manner of living may seem less 'specialised' than the compartmented activity which came to characterise professional life later in the nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth; but modern technology has perhaps made 'working from home' resemble the pattern that Radclyffe followed, in certain respects at least. When the Countess of Shaftesbury or the Earl of Newburgh visited Rouge Croix and his wife[286], it was all one with the visits of Mr. Jeremy Bentham, Mr. George Rose, or Mr. John Wilson Croker.

Friends and relations from the provinces arrived frequently, sometimes in force (in which case they stayed in hotels), sometimes individually (in which case they might stay with the Radclyffes for weeks). They were likely to be taken to see what were called 'the Lions of

[285] *Diary*, 2 February 1814: 'Mrs. Lodge gave ER two paintings and some old [gold?] Chain'.
[286] E.g. *Diary,* 3 June 1806.

London' – the Tower, the Whispering Gallery of St. Paul's, or even the view from the top of the dome[287], and the Chapel Royal at St. James's[288]. On 27 June 1807 he led a party by water to admire Westminster Abbey and the House of Lords, and then the next day he escorted them to see the fashionables in Kensington Gardens, returning by way of the splendid new buildings of Cumberland Gate, Portman, Grosvenor, Berkeley and Leicester Squares.

The couple's social life was, of course, affected by Elizabeth's descent into ill health and depression, and so also was William's own state of mind and behaviour. It is clear that he aimed at a stoic imperturbability in the face of misfortune, and equally obvious that the route he chose by which to pursue this ideal was an escape into almost frenetic activity. It did not always work: on 13 December 1811, when Elizabeth, apparently on the edge of insanity, was handed over to the care of someone who may have been a mad-doctor near the City Road[289], the diary records 'spent rest of the day sorrowfully…retired to my Room miserably dejected'. At other times of particular stress he took to persistent drawing and redrawing of the plans of his little estate in Yorkshire. Occasional entries suggest that at such times he suffered gastric troubles which were probably nervous in origin[290].

Significantly, when actually living at Darley, he seems to have been able to shut out London almost entirely, even to the extent of neglecting legal moves which his opponents

[287] *Diary*, 22 June 1811. Southey gives a wonderfully evocative account of such a visit in Letter XVII of his *Letters from England* (London, 1951, ed. J. Simmons).
[288] *Diary*, 25 July 1813: Radclyffe took the Pickford ladies from Milnes Bridge (he seems to have had a particularly warm relationship with Miss Frances) to the Chapel Royal, where they sat with Captain Salwey; the congregation included Princess Charlotte, the Duke of Cambridge, the Earls of Harrowby and Chatham, and the Bishop of Winchester – 'or Salisbury'!
[289] It has not been possible to identify this doctor; the care of the mentally afflicted at this time remains obscure – W.L. Parry-Jones, in *The Trade in Lunacy: A Study of Private Mad-Houses in England in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (London, 1972), covers only a limited range of material.
[290] E.g. *Diary*, 25 June 1813, and early February 1817.

were making against him from 1816 onwards. A modern analyst might describe him as prone to 'compartmentalisation'.

## Recreations

The London lives of the diarist and his wife can seem, at a first reading of the diary, almost prosaic compared with the racy frivolities depicted by Pierce Egan in *Tom and Jerry*, or the morally ambivalent goings-on imagined by Thackeray in *Vanity Fair*. But the Radclyffes would have rubbed shoulders nonetheless with Corinthian Tom and Becky Sharp (or rather, George Cruickshank and Harriette Wilson), at the theatre (for which see below), and the social parade-grounds such as Kensington Gardens and Vauxhall[291]. The diary is lightly sprinkled with mentions of such pleasure-outings, but, as usual, there is little in the way of description or comment.

Radclyffe family parties assembled to admire fireworks displays for Wellington's victories[292], novelties such as James Sadler's ascent from Hyde Park in a hot-air balloon[293], and the display of a 'Lilliputian fleet' on the Serpentine[294]. More demurely, they were gratified by mingling with 'numerous people of fashion' during Sunday afternoon promenades in the royal parks[295]. There is more than a hint of disapproval, though, in the diarist's account of the behaviour of the crowds at great events such as the celebrations of Peace in 1814 and 1815[296] – and, still more, at the incompetence with which such events

[291] B. Heller has usefully summarised the considerable literature on London pleasure venues of this period in Chapter 3 of his unpublished D. Phil. thesis, *Leisure and Pleasure in London Society, 1760-1820.* For Vauxhall, see *Diary,* 20 June 1806 and 14/15 June 1811.
[292] E.g. *Diary*, 17 August 1812 for Salamanca, 5 July 1813 for Vittoria,
[293] *Diary*, 15 July 1814.
[294] *Diary*, 17 July 1814.
[295] *Diary*, 26 May 1805: 'went to Kensington Gardens where was a vast display of Fashionables'.
[296] Especially in entries for June and July 1814; Radclyffe's description of a grand dinner in the Egyptian Hall at the Mansion House on 7 July is scathing.

were staged[297]. He seems to have had a fair share of genteel contempt for the manners of the City[298].

Genteel he may have been, but as a professional rather than an aristocrat. Apart from his (probably social) enthusiasm for racing when in the country, Radclyffe was no Corinthian. He was not a hunting man (though he was certainly a competent horseman who did not hesitate to swim his horse across the River Don when he could not find a bridge[299], and once, by accident, while on a journey, got caught up in the coursing of 'a poor hare'[300]), nor a member of the Four-In-Hand Club, or of the assorted mobs of dukes and dustmen who followed the pugilists and were known as the Fancy. He would have had nothing in common with Pierce Egan's heroes, Tom, Jerry and Logic[301], and in fact that ebullient Irishman might quite possibly have found him a 'confounded bore'. (Interestingly, though, he 'read *Dr. Syntax*' on 27 December 1812 – perhaps as post-Christmas relaxation). He records joining the Cumberland Club[302], the socially select predecessor of the Royal Thames Yacht Club, but this was chiefly, it appears, for the pleasure of attending its annual dinners; the Club was at that time principally an association of the gentry of Cumberland, and Radclyffe probably wanted to advertise his own ancestral claims to membership of that county's elite. He also records attending a dinner of the Durham Club[303].

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[297] Letter VIII of R. Southey's *Letters from England* (London, 1951, ed. J. Simmons) pokes fun at the way in which such events were mounted in 1802; the account of ceremonies involving heralds tallies remarkably closely with episodes recorded by Radclyffe.
[298] *Diary*, 18 June 1814, 'improper conduct of several of the Aldermen' at a Guildhall banquet; here Radclyffe sounds very like the anonymous snob of 1744 quoted by J. White on p. 105 of *London in the Eighteenth Century (*London, 2012).
[299] *Diary*, 20 October 1811.
[300] *Diary*, 2 November 1816.
[301] For whom see J.C. Reid, *Bucks and Bruisers* (London, 1972). However, there are hints in the early years of the diary that Radclyffe may have frequented a faro table at the house of a certain Mrs. Ottley.
[302] *Diary*, 3 May 1804.
[303] *Diary*, 17 March 1813. 'Newcomers [to London] of the middling classes had county-based associations…': J. White, *London in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2013), p. 108.

Lawrence James asserts that the typical middle-class Londoner of this period 'will be a member of one or more all-male clubs and associations'[304], but Radclyffe does not fit into this stereotype, which perhaps indicates a rather solitary temperament. His belief in his aristocratic descent may also have operated to reinforce a 'lone wolf' tendency.

The weather was a topic more capable than most of stirring Radclyffe into commentary in his diary. 'Myst' so thick that it was dark at noon, making it impossible even to read without candlelight, let alone stir safely out of doors[305]; heat that reached 100 degrees in the shade[306]; cold so intense that the Thames froze over and a Frost Fair (the last ever held) was celebrated for several days on the ice[307] – all these, along with other meteorological episodes, rate special descriptions in the diary, and give perspective to certain modern preoccupations.

Such splashes of colour serve to heighten the diurnal, even mundane quality of the greater part of the text. Yet the diary is never really dull: its pace is too rapid for tedium, and it hints at a life lived under constant pressure, with private as well as public excitement possible at any moment. So prosaic lists of letters received and despatched mingle with a note of the assassination of Spencer Perceval[308], or the collapse of the bedroom ceiling on to William and Elizabeth sleeping below[309].

Some of the details are marked by sardonic humour: at the ceremonies surrounding the proclamation of peace on 20 June 1814, which Radclyffe attended 'dressed in Blue frock

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[304] L. James, *The Middle Class* (London, 2008), p. 168.
[305] *Diary*, 30 December 1813; this would have been what a later generation of Londoners called 'smog'.
[306] *Diary*, 12 and 13 July 1808. Radclyffe's record is confirmed by T. Allen in his *Panorama of London* (London, 1830), p. 6: 'On the thirteenth of July, 1808, the thermometer, in the open air, in the shade, and with a northern aspect, near St. James's park, rose to 94*; and in various parts of London, in the shade also, it varied from that degree upwards, to 103*. On the same day, in particular local situations, in the sun, the quicksilver rose to the extraordinary height of from 120 to 140 degrees !'
[307] Two souvenirs of the Frost Fair of January 1814 are pasted into the diary.
[308] *Diary*, 12 May 1812.
[309] *Diary*, 30 December 1815.

Hessian Boots sword and Military Hat all dressed with white Ribbands', Norroy King of Arms' horse was alarmed by the cheers of the crowd, and Norroy was thrown – but 'more frightened than hurt' – and taken away in a private carriage. On other occasions Radclyffe's disdain for the mob is made apparent: on 1 January 1815 he was walking with his brother in Manchester Street 'where I saw a great crowd assembled about the house where the infatuated imposture[sic] Johanna Southcott had lately died'; the gentlemen walked on.

There are entries which reward painstaking investigation: what might have prompted Radclyffe to take his wife to the West India Docks at Limehouse on 23 May 1807 to see the launch of a ship? Possibly the fact that the vessel in question turns out to have been H.M.S. *Elizabeth*, a 74-gun *Repulse*-class ship of the line. What did William say to his own Elizabeth as the battleship went down the slipway?

A significant element, for several years, in the Radclyffes' style of living was their enjoyment of a cottage at Prittlewell in Essex, which came to them under the will of John Salwey. It supplied a base, first of all, from which Radclyffe administered the winding-up of Salwey's Essex estate, and subsequently provided his family with a retreat where they enjoyed occasional holidays by the sea. 'The south end of the village of Prittlewell was already emerging as Southend-on-Sea, complete with Royal Terrace, following a visit by the Princess Charlotte and Caroline, Princess of Wales; by 1794 it already had "the romantic library, the elegant card-assembly, and coffee-rooms".'[310] Contemporary prints show an elegant, if miniature, version of the Prince Regent's Brighton – which the Radclyffes also visited on occasion. The diary describes these brief episodes of relaxation in a markedly changed tone, recording sea-bathing, walks on the strand, and mild

[310] R.J. White, *Life in Regency England* (London, 1963), p. 132.

sociability with such people as the rector of Prittlewell, in a style that almost suggests a *mise-en-scene* by Jane Austen.

Read carefully, Radclyffe's telegraphic prose does not always conceal deep emotions; and there are occasional touches, possibly accidental, of what might almost be called poetry – for example, on 5 September 1815 Radclyffe sallied forth from 20 St. Peter's Hill and 'went thro' Bartholomew Fair to Wilderness Row to seek a water Gilder'. Like many a Yorkshireman, Radclyffe presents a hard exterior which cannot completely disguise an underlying sensibility.

## Drama, music and the arts

Drama and music were both prominent in the pattern of London life at the beginning of the nineteenth century; the diary's record of the Radclyffes' theatre- and concert-going is therefore interesting on a number of counts; see Appendices, Table 6, page 302. First, and most obviously, it gives a flavour of the cultural life of London in the early 1800s. Next, by their choice of plays and music the Radclyffes tell us a little more about themselves. And thirdly, the timings of their visits to theatre and concert-hall amplify our understanding of the pressures and problems that were affecting them at different periods.

It is not possible to be absolutely certain of what Radclyffe went to see, or hear, on every occasion mentioned in the diary. Twenty-four entries probably refer to plays (two of them in provincial towns), and in addition we find seven outings to what might today be called 'shows'. And there are 17 probable or certain references to musical events, either concerts or recitals, or church services when the music was of notable splendour.

The diary is sparing of details and description, as usual; some entries record the venue but not the play or the actors, some just the play, some only the star of the night; there are no details about concert programmes. Fortunately, it is possible to fill up some of the gaps by reference to such sources as the Theatrical Register which appears in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, erratically but fairly fully in the first decade of the century, though only minimally in the second. What can never be supplied is the Radclyffes' own reaction to Kemble and Keane, Mrs. Siddons and Master Betty – though it is obvious that they were swept up in the wave of popular adulation of 'the young Roscius'[311], since Radclyffe went to see him not only in London but also at Stockport[312].

Interestingly, on the other hand, Radclyffe is occasionally explicit in appreciation, at least in general terms, of musical events, especially singing; this may suggest a greater affinity for music, even a degree of expertise. His feeling for music took him to concerts and performances on his own, whereas he hardly ever went to the theatre without his wife – and, indeed, she went to shows on one or two occasions with her female friends but without him. He appears to have had a particular fondness for the works of Handel, which he could well have learnt from Dr. Miller of Doncaster. It is interesting to note that on 24 February 1806, he bought music for his soldier brother Edward, and at another time when Edward was in London he 'met him in a music shop'.

The two visits recorded in 1807 and 1808 to operatic performances at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket perhaps tell us more than most of the other entries in Table 6 (see page 302) about the Radclyffes' social position and aspirations. Jennifer Hall-Witt has identified opera at the King's Theatre in this period as the preserve, and almost literally the property,

[311] Whose portrait hangs, rather surprisingly, in the hall of the Duke of Wellington's Apsley House in London.
[312] *Diary*, 9 September 1806; he arrived in the town at 5.00 p.m. and went almost immediately to the theatre.

of the aristocracy, who purchased boxes by subscription and regulated every aspect of the proceedings.

> 'The opera clearly sustained a high-status audience, even as the growing number of wealthy, but untitled, subscribers must have created a more competitive social climate. Perhaps as a result of this, from the 1780s appearance in an opera box became an important mark of prestige. …the newspapers acknowledged the importance of being seen at the opera by regularly printing lists of audience members from the 1780s to the 1820s…'[313]

The Radclyffes evidently enjoyed access to the elite, and were glad to be seen enjoying it, even if they were not themselves within the innermost circle.

If Radclyffe seems to attach almost as much importance to recording the leading actors whom he saw, as to identifying the plays themselves, this accords with the judgement of Paula Byrne, who writes of 'one of the intrinsic features of Georgian theatre – the orientation of the play towards the star actor in the lead role'[314].

When due allowance is made for the substantial *lacunae* in the diary, and also for the fact that Radclyffe habitually spent two or three months of every year travelling away from London, the record of attendances at musical and dramatic events suggests at least that the Radclyffes regarded theatre-going as an adjunct of elegant living, and that William, at any rate, enjoyed hearing good music. The animated activity of early married life is clear to see, as is a period of prosperous living in 1813-16. The prominence of Shakespearean productions reflects the popularity of 'the Bard of Avon' in the decades following his 'rediscovery' by Garrick in 1769. While one may suspect that the visits to theatres were largely motivated by Elizabeth's enjoyment of the social scene[315], and zest for spectacle (evident also in her clear liking for visits to Vauxhall, Kensington Gardens, Ranelagh, and

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[313] J.L. Hall-Witt, 'Opera and Elite Culture', in *Rethinking the Age of Reform,* eds. A. Burns and J. Innes (Cambridge, 2003), p. 229.
[314] P. Byrne, *The Genius of Jane Austen* (London, 2017), p. 54.
[315] In contrast to the horror with which others at the time viewed the theatre: see J. Uglow, *In These Times* (London, 2014), p. 493.

suchlike fashionable parade grounds), William's interest in music hints at an informed approach.

Apart from attendances at plays and concerts, the Radclyffes were regular visitors to the Summer Exhibitions of the Royal Academy, which were at that time held in Somerset House, alongside the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries. One year he went to the Exhibition twice, the second time with his son. There was a strong flavour of the social about these occasions, but Radclyffe had a marked interest in pictures as historical evidence; he notes time spent examining portraits in the houses which he visited on genealogical business, and he treasured portraits of his own family and those whom he claimed as ancestors, such as an early Radclyffe Earl of Sussex. He had his own, and his wife's, portrait painted twice; he also had a miniature picture made of one of his eyes, as a present for his wife[316]. He appears as knowledgeable about prints, and was active in organising the College's collection.

When all this is taken with other traits which are noticed elsewhere – his collecting activities, and particularly his developing interests in mediaeval architecture and stained glass – it becomes clear that there were elements of artistic sensibility in the Radclyffe *persona*; if he was not a dilettante, he was some little way towards being a connoisseur in more than one field. The cultural life of London may have been one of the attractions which drew him away from the Yorkshire that he evidently always regarded as his true home; his provincial and his metropolitan identities seem to have met happily in the theatre and the concert hall.

[316] *Diary*, 28 August 1813. This was a form of love-token which was popular at the time; the artist was Stevens, who painted the portraits of William and Elizabeth which are now in the College of Arms (see Figures 1 and 7).

## A self-sufficient mentality?

Regency society was rich in clubs and associations for men of all sorts and conditions; but apart from enjoying the kudos that accrued from membership of a small number of select groupings – the Antiquaries of London and Newcastle, the Cumberland Club, and gatherings of the *haut ton* at Doncaster Races – Radclyffe seems to have had little interest in public and semi-public sociability. He did not, unlike John Charles Brooke, join a City Livery Company or any other such association. Neither City nor national politics seems to have held any attraction for him; although he had frequent dealings with members of the political class, and with individuals in government service, there is no unambiguous indication that he himself engaged in any political activity. This may perhaps be seen as an aspect of his London identity as a professional – detached, specialised, non-partisan[317]. However, considering the vehement activity of the times through which he lived, such apparent neutralism is noteworthy[318].

The diary offers us no gossip of the sort that makes some of Radclyffe's contemporaries such as Creevey, Greville or Gronow so fascinating[319]. While he is far from unobservant, it is rare for him to record what he sees, and still more rare for him to indulge himself in a comment. The impression emerges, in fact, of a tightly ordered, intense personality, possibly one that had been brought up on the maxim 'Least said, soonest mended'. He was no stranger to ambition, but he felt no need to confide his ambitions to his diary. Perhaps

[317] When in Yorkshire, he mingled equally with Tories and Whigs; at the time of the hotly contested 1807 county election, he was staying at Wentworth Woodhouse, the seat of the Whig Fitzwilliam family.
[318] It is probably of little political significance that he had some sort of connection with the Duke of Gloucester, founding president of the Anti-Slavery Society; that he showed a close interest in the proceedings against Lord Melville; and that he had dealings with Speaker Abbot. But it may be worth noting that he worked for some time for the Home Secretary, Lord Harrowby, a noted Tory Evangelical.
[319] Heller notes the absence of scandal from diaries of this period as quite characteristic – the Creeveys and Grevilles were the exception, not the rule. B. Heller, *Leisure and Pleasure in London Society, 1760-1820* (unpublished Oxford D. Phil. thesis, 2009), p. 48.

there was an element of provincialism about his reserve[320]. So, although he saw, or was close to, numerous events which we now consider important or dramatic, his diary rarely goes beyond its primary function as a journal of bare record, and, furthermore, covers only events in which the writer himself had a part to play.

An early example of reticence comes in the absence of any mention of the general alarm aroused by the prospect of a French invasion in 1803, even though Radclyffe recorded joining the militia corps of Baynards Castle Ward on 30 July. When, after a quite intensive series of drills in the courtyard of the College of Arms, he resigned on 25 October, it was still without making reference to the origins of the crisis. We hear about the excitement of Sir Francis Burdett's election as M.P. for Westminster on 2 August 1804 chiefly because William married his Bessie on the day that the result was declared, and their honeymoon drive was free of tolls in consequence[321]. The strategic significance of the battle of Trafalgar is not noticed in the diary – but the event was important for Radclyffe because he was on ceremonial duty at Nelson's funeral on 6 January 1806. The visit of the Allied Sovereigns in June 1814 rates a lengthy entry because Radclyffe showed the Czar and his sister round the Tower of London[322]. Waterloo is celebrated only for the survival of

[320] Occasional turns of phrase in the diary suggest that he spoke with a Yorkshire accent. On 3 August 1816 Radclyffe writes 'In the Even'g a gaiterds with Sist. Salwey'; 'a gaiterds, or 'a gaitwards' is a North Country expression for accompanying someone part of the way on a journey.

[321] One would like to know more about Radclyffe's opinion of Sir Francis Burdett, who (if we accept the verdicts of M.W. Patterson in *Sir Francis Burdett and His Times* (Oxford, 1931) and J.R. Dinwiddy, 'Sir Francis Burdett and Burdettite Radicalism' in *History,* vol. *65*, no. 213 (Feb. 1980), pp. 17-31), might be thought to have a certain amount in common with Radclyffe – northern gentry descent from Jacobite stock, High Tory radicalism in politics, a disposition to favour Princess Caroline against the Prince Regent, support for Privilege as a protection against Power, and vehement hostility to 'Old Corruption'. Radclyffe also married an heiress, but she was not a Coutts.

[322] *Diary*, 22 June 1814: 'went to the Tower on the subject of Mauley whilst there His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia and his amiable little sister the Grand Dutchess of Oldenburgh came to visit the rary[sic] shows in the Tower accompanied them together with the Duke of Oldenburgh & Prince of Wurtemburgh Lord Yarmouth & Gen: Turnor their escort to the Horse Armory and other places in the Tower for about an hour and a half'. The Grand Duchess's notoriously impertinent charms evidently had their effect on the ever-impressionable Radclyffe; what is of greater interest is the fact that he was accepted as a suitable guide for the occasion.

Radclyffe's brother, who commanded a squadron of the Royal Dragoons in the great charge of the British heavy cavalry and survived though badly wounded[323]. And the scandal surrounding Queen Caroline features not as a crisis for the monarchy but simply, and quite briefly, as a cause of public disorders – though, unusually, there is a detailed account of a reception given by the Queen to a loyal deputation from the citizens of York at Brandenburgh House, at which Radclyffe was present as a somewhat supercilious observer[324].

We have to feel grateful, however, that Radclyffe allows us at least these partial glimpses; there is a near-total absence of any reference to most of the domestic happenings which are now signalised in history books – the madness of George III, the abolition of the slave trade, the Spa Fields Riots of 1816, Peterloo in 1819. Foreign affairs simply do not exist – not even the fall of Napoleon merits an entry.

So narrow a focus might be seen as indicative of a very high degree of self-absorption on the part of the writer; but it must be interpreted with caution – the diary's purpose was simply to record his own doings, in a businesslike way, and it could be presumptuous to infer value judgements from the absence of comment, or description, to be found in the account. It is undeniably irritating, though, that when he plays his small part in the ceremonies of the Court, and rubs shoulders with the royal Dukes[325], and the ladies of his

[323] *Diary*, 30 June 1815: '…. Mr. & Mrs. Curtis & John came to Dine with us, Sister Salwey came after Tea to inform us of the wound our brother Major R. had received in his Knee in the late Battle at Waterloo, accompanied her to Bedford Square homewards'.
[324] *Diary*, 24 November 1820. Here, for once, is a tinge of gossip, and a scent of Lady Charlotte Campbell (*Memoirs of the Times of George IV,* London, 1838).
[325] Radclyffe was on terms of acquaintance, if not familiarity, with the Duke of Gloucester in particular; among other evidence, such as his diary entry for 5 April 1813, Sheffield Archives Box 214 contains a note addressed to Radclyffe making an appointment for the Duke's representative to call on him at the College of Arms on 1 April 1823 – three years after his trial and disgrace.

family attend the Queen's drawing-room[326], we hear hardly anything even of the appearance of the great personages[327] before whom the Radclyffes bowed or curtseyed[328].

It is in the nature of the activity of diary-keeping that the diarist should memorialise what matters to him or her, and it would be unfair to condemn this diarist as more of a solipsist than most of the breed. But Radclyffe's reluctance, even inability, to prioritise importances, while it adds to the interest of reading, does undeniably enhance an impression of self-absorption – and this is important, because it was ultimately self-absorption which made the diarist fatally neglectful of the 'office politics' that poisoned the College of Arms.

Seen from another point of view, however, the diary's silence on 'contemporary' matters can actually enhance a reader's sense of the diarist's identity; Radclyffe is not just another 'figure of the Regency', or an 'individual caught up in the turmoil of the Napoleonic Wars' – rather, he is a man preoccupied with his personal affairs, and his self-portrait is made all the more vivid by its miniature scale.

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[326] *Diary*, 19 January 1807.

[327] The one notable exception is his drily restrained description of Queen Caroline at the Brandenburgh House reception on 24 November 1820: 'The Queen...appeared exceedingly made up about the Face, and her Dress not the most Courtly according to my English Ideas'.

[328] To judge from the number of diary entries concerning his tabard, sword and cocked hat, his rings, seals, watches, and jewelled badge of office, Radclyffe himself was something of a peacock, at least on state occasions; but there are hardly any remarks about the appearance of others, and we look in vain for anything to compare with such observations as those of the young American Benjamin Silliman, watching the nobility parading near St. James's Palace for the King's birthday in 1805: 'The ladies wore hoop petticoats…it was no small achievement to deposit one of the ladies safely in her coach'. (Quoted in R. and L. Adkins, *Eavesdropping on Jane Austen's England* (London, 2013), p.119.) Radclyffe was hard at work in the City on 4 June 1805.

## Religious observances

One aspect of the diary which is revealing of Radclyffe's temperament, and of his states of mind at different stages of his career, is the record that he kept of his religious observances. He solemnises every Sunday with a largely written 'Die Dominica' and records any attendances at church in his usual laconic fashion. The statistics of these entries are set out in Appendices, Table 7, page 304.

The figures show Radclyffe attending church relatively frequently during his courtship of Elizabeth, and in the early years of their marriage, almost always in her company. Whether the impulse came from her, or whether their churchgoing should be seen as a largely social activity which they enjoyed in each other's company, is not apparent. During this period Radclyffe attended only on Sunday mornings, and seems to have taken no particular notice of the religious festivals.

Later, when Radclyffe was becoming professionally established, and his wife was preoccupied with children and increasingly dragged down by ill health, their churchgoing diminished sharply. He very often travelled on business at weekends (something of which strict Evangelicals disapproved), and he visited churches for primarily antiquarian, not religious, reasons.

Then, towards the end of the period covered by the diary, when under the stress of the legal proceedings which culminated in his trial and imprisonment at York in 1820, Radclyffe became a frequent and evidently earnest church attender. His wife's health kept her at home, but he was usually accompanied to services by his young son Henry (who

eventually became an Anglican clergyman). Some of the entries for 1819 and 1820 betray a depth of religious emotion quite unlike anything found in the earlier years[329].

Whether during the 'social' years or the later 'earnest' period, the impression left by Radclyffe's record of his churchgoing is that it was of neither a 'sacramental' nor a 'confessional' sort. He says practically nothing about the services which he attended, but it looks as if his morning attendances were at Matins; in the later years he sometimes went to Evensong as well, but he never makes specific mention of a Communion service, nor does his diary offer anything resembling the exercises in self-examination which characterise Evangelical diaries of the period[330]. In the last months of the diary, he attended church on the great festival days – Easter, Ascension, Christmas; perhaps these were occasions for Communion, and the diary certainly suggests that they provoked serious thoughts. There are very few hints in the diary about private prayer or other religious practices, though 'Fast Days' ordered by the state are noted from time to time (without any indication of how they were observed, if at all). So far, Radclyffe might appear to have been a 'High Churchman' as described by Alec Vidler[331].

It might, however, be too easy to conclude that Radclyffe's religion was never more than a matter of convention. Censorious Victorian dogmatists deplored what they saw as the formalism of their Hanoverian predecessors, and their views prevailed over ecclesiastical historians for much of the twentieth century[332], but recent work by Peter Virgin and

[329] *Diary*, 27 June 1819: '…heard a most excellent Sermon from a Stranger on the necessity of frequent Prayer…'; 22 October 1820: 'heard an excellent discourse ably delivered from the Text "Enter not into Judgement with thy servant O Lord for in thy sight shall no man be justified"'.
[330] Notably, of course, those of the 'Clapham Sect' – of whom Radclyffe makes no mention.
[331] A.R. Vidler, *The Church in an Age of Revolution* (London 1961), Chapter 3.
[332] See, e.g., W.B. Whitaker, *The Eighteenth-century English Sunday: a study of Sunday observance from 1677 to 1833* (London, 1940), Ch. 7.

others[333] has initiated a process of reassessment; Arthur Burns finds strengths which have been overlooked in the realities of the institution itself[334], and Mark Smith has proposed a re-examination of actual pastoral activity at parish level in terms of the clash between neo-Arminian soteriology and the disruptive innovations of Evangelicalism[335]. It is just possible that Radclyffe's diary should be taken, in conjunction with his son's subsequent clerical career, as hinting at a private journey towards active belief.

Radclyffe evinced an interesting preference, particularly in the early years, for places of worship other than the parish churches of London. Whether this was because these chapels, proprietary or otherwise, offered 'better' services – more eloquent sermons, finer music – or whether it was because they were socially smarter, does not appear; one may suspect the latter, though music appears to have been a distinct attraction, as witness Radclyffe's fondness for the Foundling and Magdalen Hospital Chapels, as well as his liking for some of the great churches where services were well sung. It is interesting to speculate, considering the frequency of his attendances at the Chapel Royal and St. Paul's, that Radclyffe may have been an admirer of the music of Thomas Attwood, who was organist in both places at that period[336].

As noted in the table, not all of the chapels were Anglican establishments; visits are recorded to Roman Catholic, German Lutheran, and Nonconformist chapels, and on one occasion Radclyffe accompanied two of his ladies to see a Jewish synagogue (though not

[333] P. Virgin, in *The Church in an Age of Negligence* (Cambridge, 1989), takes issue with historians who have too readily accepted as true the strictures levelled by Victorian churchmen against their Hanoverian predecessors.
[334] A. Burns, 'English Church Reform Revisited' in *Rethinking the Age of Reform,* eds. A. Burns and J. Innes (Cambridge, 2003), p. 137.
[335] M. Smith, 'The Hanoverian Parish: Towards a New Agenda', in *Past and Present,* No. 216 (August 2012), pp. 79-105.
[336] Attwood (1765-1838) was taught by Mozart, who called him 'my favourite scholar'; the magnificently sombre *Dirge* which he wrote for Nelson's funeral in St. Paul's in 1806 would certainly have been heard by Radclyffe, who officiated at the ceremony.

on a Sabbath). Radclyffe's dealings with his patrons, the Earl of Newburgh and Lord Petre, brought him into close contact with the highest levels of Roman Catholic society, and it is clear from the diary that he moved easily in such circles. It is perhaps interesting in this context that he took the side of the Roman Catholic Sir Henry Englefield in the contested election for the Presidency of the Society of Antiquaries in 1812. His apparent willingness to cross denominational boundaries in a time of heated religious controversies is perhaps made to seem a little less remarkable by Margaret Hunt's suggestion, which has been confirmed by Peter Forsaith's researches, that religious eclecticism was typical of many Londoners of the middling sort[337].

When churches, rather than chapels, were the objective, Radclyffe spread his favours fairly freely around the City of London, but rarely ventured into the West End. He had a seat in the pew belonging to the College of Arms in St. Benet's, Paul's Wharf, and three of his children were buried in the graveyard there, but he attended only occasionally; perhaps there were colleagues in the congregation whom he was willing to avoid.

It may have been the merest coincidence, on the other hand, that some of the churches which he did patronise were ones with historical associations that might have made them particularly interesting to the antiquarian. For example, there are several references in 1819 and 1820 to 'St. Gregory by St. Paul's' and 'St. Faith' – neither of which, strictly speaking, had existed since the Great Fire of London; it must have been an antiquarian affectation to go on using the old names while attending the churches with which the erstwhile parishes had been amalgamated.

The picture of Radclyffe's religious observances in London is interestingly different from that of his practice when in the country, either while travelling for professional reasons or

[337] M.R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort* (Berkeley, 1996), p. 48. J. Uglow observes that 'Many believers were happy to sample different sects.' *In These Times* (London, 2014), p. 261.

when residing at Worsbrough. As mentioned above, Radclyffe had no apparent qualms about journeying at weekends, and once recorded examining church registers in a vestry on a Sunday without attending the service. When visiting friends and relations in the country, he would go to church if they did. When at Worsbrough, however, where he was one of the squirearchy, he fought to occupy a pew which he considered his by right, though he encountered bitter hostility to his claims from the presumptuous land-agent Bowns. His youngest child was baptised at Worsbrough, and he celebrated the memory of one of the extinct gentry families of the parish by presenting the church with an armorial window, which has since disappeared.

Radclyffe was evidently much gratified by the receptions which he encountered at several cathedrals where he had connections, and he wrote appreciatively of the services which he heard from the stalls of Canterbury, York, Lincoln, and Peterborough Cathedrals. He clearly did not share the aversion displayed by some of his contemporaries at the Society of Antiquaries, who were known to describe cathedrals as 'relicts of [popish] superstition'[338]. He noted also, perhaps with a touch of complacency, the courtesy he received when visiting Harewood House, where his Lordship's chaplain was most attentive, and where the service was performed with great taste, to the accompaniment of fine music[339].

[338] B. Nurse, 'John Carter, F.S.A.' in *The Antiquaries Journal,* vol. 91, (2011), p. 240.
[339] *Diary*, 18 October 1812.

## Patron-client relationships

Notwithstanding Harold Perkin's claims[340], there is ample evidence for the survival throughout the Regency years of earlier forms of socio-economic organisation, notably including the patron-client relationships which had been essential features of traditional hierarchy.

So it is important to notice that William Radclyffe's success as a professional depended heavily on approval and support from a succession of eminent and wealthy patrons. It might be argued that the particular fields in which he operated – genealogy, heraldry, antiquarianism – were by their nature likely to be organised in a conservative fashion; but that would be to apply the wisdom of hindsight to an arrangement which almost all of Radclyffe's contemporaries would have regarded as part of the natural order of things. In the words of J.M. Bourne:

> 'The essence of patronage is…inequality, reciprocity and intimacy. Patronage is a relationship between individuals of unequal status, wealth and influence, that the anthropologist J.A. Pitt-Rivers described as "lopsided friendship". Patronage involves a bargain, a mutually satisfactory exchange of goods or services, between patron and client. The bargain is the inspiration for the relationship and the reason for its perpetuation…Patronage is private and intimate, what Harold Perkin described as "the system of personal selection from amongst one's kinsmen and connections", a face-to-face relationship.'[341]

The relationship between Radclyffe and his patrons was quite straightforward: Radclyffe applied his talents to purposes which gratified his patrons' tastes and enhanced their public prestige, and they in turn rewarded him, both in monetary terms and by recommending

[340] H. Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880* (London, 1969). '…it was in the first five years of peace, between Waterloo and the Queen's Trial, that the vertical antagonisms and horizontal solidarities of class came for the first time, clearly, unmistakably, and irrevocably, to supplant the vertical connections and horizontal rivalries of dependency and interest.' (p. 209.) 'What characterised the emancipated professional men as a class was their comparative aloofness from the struggle for income.' (p. 256.)

[341] J.M. Bourne, *Patronage and Society in Nineteenth-Century England* (London, 1986), p. 45.

him to their friends, and also by promoting his career in areas which might have little to do with his principal expertise. Thus defined, the connection between patron and artist might seem almost banal; but there was subtlety, in that the patron undertook his role as a necessary function of his social position and not as a matter of choice, while the client had little hope of access to the benefits which his or her talents might deserve except through the good offices of the patron. The 11th Duke of Norfolk might have been about as unlikely a patron for William Radclyffe as the Prince Regent was for Jane Austen – but the relationships served, in each case, the interests of the parties involved.

Patronage did not have to entail servility on the part of the client; in every stage of his career, Radclyffe was careful to insist on his own status as a gentleman when dealing with his patrons, and it was of cardinal importance to him that the three principal noblemen whom he served accorded him, in each case, an acknowledgment of kinship. When writing of them in his private diary, he did not fail to employ the formalities, and even some of the flatteries, which were conventional at the time; but he never represents himself as a mere supplicant[342].

Five patrons feature in the diary, each of whom had a different relationship with Radclyffe. The Earl of Newburgh, the first in time, was by some way the most significant as regards his effect on Radclyffe's fortunes, and, so far as can be judged, the closest to Radclyffe in personal terms. The 11th Duke of Norfolk was much grander than the Earl, and might have been less congenial to Radclyffe as a character, but he exercised a critical influence over the diarist's fortunes in his capacity as Earl Marshal and head of the College of Arms. Lord Petre was, arguably, the patron who most failed to come up to Radclyffe's hopes. After the

[342] Radclyffe must have had what might be called 'presence'; although he regularly travelled unattended, and (on the evidence of the diary) with very little luggage, he seems to have been confident of his reception in cathedral closes, Oxford colleges, and great houses such as Greystoke Castle and Harewood, even when arriving without prior arrangement.

deaths, in turn, of all these noble relatives, Radclyffe found a partial replacement in the Earl of Harrowby, who was generous – indeed, rather pressing – with commissions of genealogical work, and welcomed him socially; but this was clearly a more distant connection. The last of the five, Charles Tennyson, on the other hand, may have appealed to Radclyffe – or vice versa – as a kindred spirit, an antiquarian enthusiast, a mediaevalist, and an inveterate contrarian and disturber of institutional peace.

1) The 5th Earl of Newburgh

The 5th Earl of Newburgh was the nearest representative in his generation of the family of Radclyffe of Dilston, Earls of Derwentwater. That earldom itself had been extinguished by attainder following the Jacobite uprisings of 1715 and 1745, but the last (titular) claimant had married a lady who was the inheritor of a Scottish earldom, that of Newburgh, which could be transmitted through the female line. The eldest son of that marriage inherited his mother's title in 1755, and after his death in 1788 it passed to his son, Anthony James Radclyffe. The possessions of the Radclyffe Earls of Newburgh comprised little more than a moderate estate at Slindon, in Sussex, which had been the inheritance of the 5th Earl's mother[343].

We do not know exactly when or how William Radclyffe first came into contact with the 5th Earl, but I have been fortunate to discover an important item of evidence which has loitered until now, unrecognised for its significance and in fact wrongly identified, in the Beinecke Library of Yale University, and which casts new light on the beginnings of Radclyffe's career, and in particular on his relationship with the Earl. (See Figure 3, page 323.)

[343] The house is now a school; what remains of the park is today in the care of the National Trust.

The document in question[344] comprises in total 189 pages of manuscript bound in contemporary boards, measuring 19cm x 12cm. The handwriting is in a style of penmanship which is recognisably that of the diarist, though less assured and mature in manner than the diary. It is catalogued, in accordance with the text of the title page, as 'Historical Memoirs of Some of the Radclyffe Family, by William Radclyffe, London, 1798'. Its authorship has been until now attributed to the husband of Ann Radcliffe, author of *The Mysteries of Udolpho* and other Gothic novels of the period; but there is nothing except the similarity of names to connect it in any way with the radical journalist.

The dedication[345] 'To the Right Honourable James, Earl of Newburgh etc' is couched in deeply respectful terms, making it plain that the writer is in the early stages of an acquaintance with the Earl (the diarist was 28 in 1798; his sister had married John Salwey in 1795); but page 2 of the text proper contains an unmistakable, though discreet, claim to consanguinity in the shape of a reference to 'our family'.

The corpus of the manuscript presents an account of the Radclyffe family's descent from its mediaeval origins, with particular reference to episodes that bestowed special lustre on the name – thus the FitzWalter connection, and the sixteenth-century Earls of Sussex, are given much prominence. The great physician and benefactor of Oxford, Dr. John Radcliffe, is claimed as one of the clan, with some supporting detail which might even now bear further investigation.

The writer acknowledges his debt to publicly available sources, but claims also to have taken 'pains' in making his own researches. The results are decidedly uneven, but not

[344] Cited as *William Radclyffe, Historical Memoirs of Some of the Radclyffe Family,* James Marshall and Marie-Louise Osborn Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. I am deeply grateful to Adrienne Sharpe and her colleagues at the Beinecke Library for their help in arranging for me to have access to this important and previously neglected document.
[345] Beinecke MS, p. iii.

contemptible when viewed as an exercise in the pious convention of family annals; there are extensive quotations from mediaeval charters and other sources, not always in translation, and authorities cited range from Leland and Dugdale through to Lodge (a significant choice[346]). The writer parades the scope of his personal investigations, which he says had taken him to archives in and around London, and to locations connected with the family in London, Yorkshire and Essex; however, he states that he had not been to Cumberland or Northumberland, and has had to rely on printed information (including, by a coincidence which may have misled the Beinecke cataloguer, Mrs. Radcliffe's *Tour to the Lakes of 1794*). He has transcribed memorial inscriptions, and claims to possess a 'small collection' of prints of subjects relating to the family.

The matter – all-important from a Radclyffe point of view – of the family's disastrous involvement in the Jacobite uprisings of 1715 and 1745 is given prominent, but cautious, treatment. The 5th Lord Newburgh's father had pressed a claim to the Derwentwater inheritance, with very limited success, and the subject was still immensely delicate. In fact, the document generally conveys a distinct impression of tentativeness on the part of the writer, as if he was anxious to gain the favour of the dedicatee without knowing for certain how best to impress him, while at the same time conscious of treading on potentially dangerous ground.

While the backbone of the text is, clearly, the Radclyffe line of descent, the approach is more broadly antiquarian than narrowly genealogical; the writer endeavours to set the outstanding figures in the family story into the context of their times, and marshals external authorities for that purpose, to some effect.

[346] Significant both as assisting identification of the writer as William Radclyffe the diarist, and also as showing him in contact with the College of Arms at least five years before his appointment as a member.

The document probably became part of Lord Newburgh's library; on the strength of an inscription inside the front cover, it seems that it passed at some point into the hands of the Eyre family, of Hassop in Derbyshire, who laid claim to the Newburgh title after the 5th Earl's death. William Radclyffe's diary reveals that he had extensive dealings with the Eyres.

For the purposes of this thesis, the Beinecke document is important first as identifying the starting-point of the diarist's connection with Lord Newburgh; it is apparent from the text that the acquaintance was of quite recent origin in 1798. The manuscript also helps to define the relationship between its writer and his dedicatee: it contains an overt claim to kinship, and also, even more explicitly, an appeal for patronage. Thirdly, we are given a tolerably clear picture of the writer's mode of thinking, the range of his interests, and his way of working; he goes well beyond the mere tracing of a family tree, he is concerned with causes and consequences, and his referential range shows the germ of a comparative technique which foreshadows his later development as an antiquarian (see Chapter 5)[347].

Whatever may have prompted his research in the first case, the manuscript is important, finally, as evidence of its writer's complete conviction, from an early stage in his career, of his identity as a Radclyffe of the Dilston line. Whereas Wagner attempts to portray him as an investigator who fell in love with his subject, Radclyffe shows himself as the inheritor of family lore. It is equally significant that the claim to kinship was, apparently, accepted without demur by the Earl of Newburgh, as early as 1798; the immediate after-history of the manuscript as a possession of the Eyre family suggests that they, similarly, regarded the diarist as one of the wider Radclyffe clan.

[347] Compare the quotation from Thomas Lyte on p. 149.

Whether it was his laborious investigations, or his equally laborious penmanship that principally commended Radclyffe to Lord Newburgh, the manuscript seems to have done its work in helping to establish him as the Earl's favoured provider of genealogical and heraldic information. In due course, if the diary can be taken at face value, he became, indeed, something much more, namely a confidential adviser on aspects of affairs which related to the disputed Derwentwater inheritance[348]. In this he seems – again according to the diary – to have been encouraged particularly by the Countess of Newburgh; she was a Webb, of a Jacobite family who had lived at Hatherop Castle in Gloucestershire in the early eighteenth century, and it had been a distant ancestress of hers who, as wife of James, 3rd Earl of Derwentwater, had allegedly prompted her husband into participating in the 1715 uprising, with results that were fatal for him and catastrophic for the family. Lady Newburgh appears to have laboured under a compulsion to try and reverse her predecessor's mistake.

The Earl himself was an apparently colourless personality who made little mark on his time; his portrait suggests a conventional, complacently corpulent representative of hereditary mediocrity. However, this may be an unduly severe verdict on a nobleman who commanded only limited resources of wealth, and had to bear an inheritance of suspicion as both a probable Jacobite and a declared Roman Catholic; it may have been understandable for Lord Newburgh to have maintained a low profile – even if by doing so he disappointed his wife.

Radclyffe's diary records dealings with the Newburghs or their affairs in 69 diary entries. This record is plainly incomplete, as well as varied; sometimes the entries are long,

[348] 'To the Earl of Newburgh Shaftesbury House by appointment, had a long conversation with him relative to the settling his Estates, and on another application to Government or rather to Parliament for an increase of his Annuity arising from the Derwentwater Estates in proportion to the annual revenues or their pecuniary value, which on my suggestion he requested me to consult Butler the Counsel on his behalf.' (*Diary*, 1 July 1812.) Radclyffe records at least four meetings with Butler thereafter.

sometimes short, mere references; sometimes they refer to letters between Radclyffe and his patron, sometimes to visits and conversations, sometimes to work undertaken and executed. On 27 April 1803 Radclyffe 'Dressed and went to Bath Hotel, saw Lord and Lady Newburgh had conversations varii on northern possessions'; notes of such discussions recur at intervals over the years. On 7 August 1811, Radclyffe visited Slindon and 'consulted Lord Newburgh on his annuity arising from the Derwentwater estates' – Newburgh was considering appealing for an increase. The Earl supported Radclyffe's own bid for Dilston Castle. Lord Newburgh called on Elizabeth Radclyffe, and Lady Newburgh presented her with a 'supberb[sic] Silver Tea Pot and Stand sent by her order from Rundle and Bridge'[349]; the Newburghs stayed with the Earl and Countess of Shaftesbury in London, and the Radclyffes visited them there. And there is a great deal about the Earl's unexpected death (see Figure 6, page 326), his funeral, and Radclyffe's role as master of ceremonies on that occasion[350]. The final impression is one of close connection, on a basis of mutual trust – a reality very far removed from the sneering insinuations hissed at Radclyffe by Nayler at the trial in 1820, and subsequently swallowed whole by the credulous Wagner.

The patron-client relationship did not totally expire with the Earl's death. The brief obituary notice, couched in elegiac terms, which promptly appeared in a number of London and provincial newspapers[351] was probably supplied by Radclyffe. On 5 December, however, an anonymous contributor to *The Morning Chronicle* opened a debate which quickly became a *cause celebre*, by asserting in a supplementary notice of the Earl

[349] *Diary*, 19 May 1814.
[350] *The Gentleman's Magazine* for January 1815 carried a long note signed W.R.R.C. (William Radclyffe Rouge Croix) which crisply corrected a number of statements contained in an obituary of the Earl which had appeared in the previous month; the note identified among the mourners at the funeral '…William Radclyffe, esq., a remote relative, who for many years had been honoured with his friendship and confidence'.
[351] E.g. *The Morning Chronicle,* 30 November 1814.

that ‘dying without issue the title devolves on his first cousin, Francis Eyre, Esq. of Hassop, Derbyshire, whose mother, Lady Mary Radclyffe, was sister to the deceased Earl’s father’. To this Radclyffe responded with a paragraph in *The Times* on 7 December, which he signed ‘R.C.’ (Rouge Croix), and in which he expounded a number of complexities surrounding the inheritances of the Newburgh title and the Radclyffe estates, and courteously pointed out that there was an Italian Princess, ‘Justinianini’, with a prior claim to the title. This evoked a very intemperate riposte in a letter to *The Times*, signed ‘J.J.D.’, on 9 December:

> ‘…a letter signed R.C….is so incorrect it is not easy to imagine the motive from which it could have proceeded…There is no such person in existence as Princess Justinianini…The Earldom is clearly vested in Francis Eyre…’

Radclyffe referred to J.J.D.’s letter in his diary on 9 December, when he said that he ‘wrote reply to J.J.D. lre [his standard abbreviation for ‘letter’] in the *Times* of this morning’. He also recorded discussion on the subject with the Duke of Norfolk on 10 December. The result was a formidably phrased counterblast to J.J.D. which was published in *The Times*, and was followed, still more cogently, by a magisterial article signed W.R.R.C. (William Radclyffe Rouge Croix) which occupied four full columns of *The Gentleman’s Magazine* for February 1815, summarising the matter in its various dimensions – the disposal of the Earl’s personal estate, the Derwentwater claims, and the succession to the Newburgh title. The article effectively, though in part by implication, adjudicated the Earl’s personal property to the Eyre family, the Derwentwater claims to Lord Petre, and the Newburgh title to the Princess Giustinianini. It is noteworthy that Radclyffe allowed himself to mention his own connection with Lord Newburgh in two places in this article[352].

[352] ‘…by a reference to [the Earl’s] will, it will be found, that he was pleased to bequeath a very considerable reversionary legacy to one of those members of his family, with whom he had been for a great many years

Radclyffe had carried out more than one genealogical commission for the Eyre family, but there is no trace in the diary of direct connection between him and the house of Giustinianini. It appears, therefore, that he took what might be called a rigorously professional view of the case concerning the title. In the event, the Eyre family profited from their presence in Britain to have their claim to the Earldom accepted, until it was disallowed by the House of Lords in 1858; thereafter the Giustinianini claim was made good, and the Newburgh title remains among the honours of that house to the present day[353].

The identity of J.J.D., the intemperate advocate of the Eyre claim, cannot be ascertained with certainty; it could possibly have been James Dallaway, F.S.A., (1763-1834), whose wife's maiden name was Jefferis. He was an able man, whose writings were, however, marked by cantankerousness and error; he served for 37 years as secretary to successive Earls Marshal, and was an authority on the history of heraldry[354]. If J.J.D. was, in fact, Dallaway, it would help to explain the active part which he played in the persecution of Radclyffe around the year 1820.

Radclyffe's involvement in the Newburgh title dispute has not been noticed until now.

2) The 10th Baron Petre

The Petre family of Thorndon Hall in Essex combined great wealth with a staunch adherence to Roman Catholicism; unsurprisingly, they were connected in kinship to several other eminent recusant dynasties, notably the Radclyffes of Dilston and Derwentwater, and the Howard Dukes of Norfolk.

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past in the habit of most intimate friendship.' (*The Gentleman's Magazine,* February 1815, p. 110.) 'Amongst the great number of mourners who attended [the funeral] … William Radclyffe, esq. a remote relative, who for many years had been honoured with his friendship and confidence.' (p. 111.)

[353] http://www.cracroftspeerage.co.uk/online, consulted 15.9.17.

[354] *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, online 2011, consulted 6.2.18).

The 9th Lord Petre was a princely magnate who rebuilt Thorndon Hall to a design by James Paine at a cost which contemporaries estimated at £250,000; the surrounding parkland was sculpted by 'Capability' Brown; Paine also built a town house for Petre in Park Lane. George III paid a visit to Thorndon in 1778, a mark of favour to a Roman Catholic nobleman which attracted much attention at the time; Petre subsequently figured as a leader of attempts to introduce legislation for Roman Catholic emancipation. The 10th Baron, who succeeded in 1801, cut much less of a dash than his predecessor, and we may suspect that Radclyffe found him something of a disappointment.

The diary entries concerning the Petre theme are to be found principally in the years 1804 and 1805. They show Radclyffe making his approach by way of the Howard connection, working on elaborate pedigrees of both the Howard and the Petre families which demonstrated their common descent from the Radclyffe line, and then embarking on a direct approach in a visit to Thorndon; business arising from the Salwey executorship took Radclyffe neatly into Petre territory in Essex. Diary references include the following:

> **3 April 1804** 'Consulting with Lord Petre relative to his descent from Radclyffes.'
>
> **6 April** Noted that Lord Petre has 'about 340' quarterings.
>
> **7 April** Conversation with Lord Petre about the £2,500 annuity from the Derwentwater estates which had been settled by Parliament on Lord Newburgh.
>
> **22 August** Journey, with Elizabeth (they had married on 2 August), to Thorndon Hall, 'the capital seat of the Right Hon. Robert Edward 10 Lord Petre Baron Petre of Writtle my very good and worthy friend, with whom and his amiable Lady I had Audience of Business relative to the entering the pedigree of his family in the College of Arms which he signed for that purpose this day in the drawing room of Thorndon'. Petre also commissioned an illuminated version comparable to that which Radclyffe had executed for Newburgh, which was to emphasise in particular the connection with the Howards. The Radclyffes dined with the Petres, then stayed overnight at the Eagle inn, Ingatestone.

On 23 August, after an early start, and some busy explorations of Petre monumental inscriptions in the churches of Ingatestone and Writtle, the Radclyffes returned to

Thorndon where they met the Petres as they were going out; so they took 'some refreshment in the Salloon[sic]', left Lord Newburgh's pedigree and 'a miniature portrait drawing by Virtue of James Earl of Derwentwater' for Lord Petre's 'examination and acceptance', and went on their way to Billericay and Southend.

After this promising start, and a second and even more stately visit in 1805 to deliver the product of Lord Petre's commissions, the acquaintance seems to have languished. The 10th Baron died in 1809, a year for which the relevant diary volume is missing, and we do not know, therefore, how Radclyffe may have marked the end of what had started as a promising connection. The 11th Baron succeeded as a youth of 16, and Radclyffe hardly speaks of him, although he records a series of conversations with the Dowager Lady Petre in February 1816 when he was mobilising his forces for a second attempt on Dilston.

The Petre episode is chiefly of interest as illustrating Radclyffe's methods in courtship of a patron. We see him driving himself tirelessly in preparatory work, shrewdly knotting together different strands of research, softening the target with preliminary attentions, then mounting his attack in style, with his pretty new wife fluttering at his side and his offerings of incense ready prepared. Perhaps, also, there is food for thought in the fact that if Petre was a patron who gave little to his client, Radclyffe appears to have been a client who asked little of his patron.

3) The 11th Duke of Norfolk

The third of Radclyffe's 'grandee patrons' was the hereditary head of the whole Roman Catholic interest in England – but was himself a Protestant (thereby perhaps providing negative evidence that religion was not a deciding factor in Radclyffe's choice of patron). Sprung from the Cumberland (Greystoke) branch of the Howard family, he succeeded to

the dukedom, and its vast estates in South Yorkshire, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, in 1786.

> '…a larger-than-life extrovert, coarse, aggressive, well-intentioned and generous; an Anglican, a Foxite Whig, friend of the Prince Regent, in taste a product of the Gothic North; Horace Walpole's "Solomon" and Creevey's "Jockey"…Unwashed, sodden with claret, bubbling with contradictory ideas, a feudal-republican, he passed through life surrounded by parasites and illegitimate children.'[355]

Radclyffe was no parasite, but there can be little doubt that the ducal byblows featured in his story, when they arrived to block his progress in the College of Arms. Otherwise, the diary records a busy and apparently close working relationship with the Duke, whom Radclyffe seems to have found affable and, perhaps, to some extent congenial. Despite his notoriously democratic enthusiasms, Howard pride was a prevailing force, and the Duke lived the part of a *grand seigneur* with total conviction. Between 1791 and 1815 he spent vast sums on the re-edification, in the 'Gothick' manner, of Arundel Castle[356], and it was there that he entertained Mr. and Mrs. Radclyffe on 7 and 8 August 1811 in a most high and honourable style, which the diarist recorded in unreservedly appreciative terms.

> 'Aug. 7…to Slindon with E.R.…consulted Lord Newburgh on his anxiety arising from the Derwentwater Estates gave him the Bulls Head Crest seal shewed him my collect'n of Radclyffe Prints returned to Arundel Castle to Dine & took up our abode for the Evening having introduced E.R. to his Grace the Duke of Norfolk this morning at his special request…slept in the Blue Velvet appartments being those over the Duke's private study and sitting room.
>
> 'Aug. 8 at Arundel Castle after breakfasting with all the dining party of yesterday…at which Mrs. R. presided left the Castle about 10…'

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[355] J.M. Robinson, *The Dukes of Norfolk* (Oxford, 1982), p. 171.

[356] Most of Duke Charles' work was swept away when the castle was still more comprehensively remodelled by the 15th Duke between 1890 and 1903. One of the lost elements was an octagonal Barons' Hall of 1806, which was the scene in 1815 of a great ceremonial celebration of the baronial achievement in compelling King John to seal Magna Carta. This historicist fantasy was almost certainly the origin of an undertaking which took up much of Radclyffe's time in the last five years covered by the diary, namely the creation of a richly illuminated record of the arms of the Magna Carta barons. This was probably intended in the first case as an offering to Duke Charles, but following that Duke's death Radclyffe was reduced to presenting 'my Magna Carta book' to Lord Sidmouth, on 8 July 1819, presumably in an attempt to interest the Home Secretary in the case which was by then looming.

In some ways still more significant was Radclyffe's attendance at a dinner given by the Duke at Norfolk House in St. James Square on 30 June 1812.

> 'Dined at 7 o.c. with the Duke of Norfolk in company Mr. Howard, his bro. Col. Howard, Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Eyre of Worksop and Mr. Hartin had varii conversation relative to the Catholics of Ireland to be the subject of debate in the house of Peers tomorrow (on which the Earl of Suffolk spoke also this morning to his Grace while I was there). His Grace as Earl Marshal conceded Gen'l Bentham's Memorial and signed the Warrant for his Patent of Coat Arms…'

It sounds as if this was a relatively serious occasion, at which Radclyffe can have been no more than a spectator – but a privileged one.

The Duke was a renowned bibliophile, and there are indications in the diary that he took a real interest in the holdings of the College of Arms, and supported Radclyffe in his endeavours as unofficial 'curator' of the records. He knew his heraldry, and moreover was willing to knock heads together in the College when bickering, which was endemic, showed signs of getting out of hand. What was more, he put work into Radclyffe's way.

> '25 Feb. [1806]…His Grace the Earl Marshal came to the College and offered me the Business of Percy Bish Shelley Esq. about being made a Baronet which I with pleasure accepted…'

This concerned the father of the poet. A great deal of business followed.

Clearly, Norfolk was of the first importance to Radclyffe's professional career and social standing, so it must have come as a bad shock when the Duke, apparently without giving warning, or perhaps taking much thought, intruded two of his bastards into the College, to the detriment of Radclyffe's chances of promotion (see Chapter 7). But the Duke's death, on 16 December 1815, was a vastly more serious blow. His successor, a Roman Catholic, acted through a deputy who turned out to be both indecisive and, so far as Radclyffe was concerned, unsympathetic, and the balance of power in the College tilted markedly; the principal beneficiary of the change was James Dallaway.

The importance of the patron-client relationship is shown clearly by the consequences of the deaths, in succession, of the three noblemen on whom Radclyffe had pinned his hopes. The diary indicates that Radclyffe was not slow to realise that his prospects in London had been impaired by the loss of his patrons; but he may not have grasped how far he had been left vulnerable to a malice of which he seems to have been surprisingly unaware until it was too late to oppose it. He took himself away to Yorkshire, to enjoy the pursuits of a country gentleman, when political considerations might have suggested that he should stay in the College and fight his corner.

Radclyffe did not always have to play the client; there appear to have been occasions when he was himself able to act the part, if not of patron, at least of Establishment 'fixer'. On more than one occasion he records delivering his opinion on honours, particularly knighthoods and baronetcies – probably with reference to the social acceptability of the candidate in question. Among numerous dealings with John Beckett, Under-Secretary of State in the Home Office, Radclyffe called on him on 6 January 1814 and 'left my opinion on Thompson's Knighthood'; we do not know what this opinion may have been, or who Thompson was. At another time, he was asked to deliver his view on a baronetcy for Capt. Broke of H.M.S. *Shannon*[357]. It is possible that Radclyffe was more significantly involved in the award of a baronetcy to his remote relative, Joseph Radcliffe of Milnes Bridge, in November 1813; he knew of the outcome well before Sir Joseph himself[358], and subsequently played a part in commissioning a portrait[359] of that resolutely reactionary Tory magnate.

[357] *Diary,* 9 August 1813.
[358] *Diary,* 4 August 1814.
[359] A remarkably unflattering work – Sir Joseph appears as grossly corpulent, overbearing and apparently brutal. Yet the diarist found him intelligent and amiable – and his sister, a frequent correspondent and keen gardener, even more so.

More oddly, he mentions being approached in January 1819 by Mrs. Olivia Serres, who lobbied him on behalf of a Mr. Barretto, who was seeking a baronetcy for himself. Radclyffe spent some time with Barretto, but found reasons (undeclared in his diary) for refusing help. Serres was an adventuress, well known for a while as a supporter of Queen Caroline; she may have been recommended to Radclyffe by Charles Tennyson, who had recently met Radclyffe at Mainsforth.

It is impossible to say whether Radclyffe really possessed influence in these cases, or whether he merely liked to think so. But once again the picture that emerges from the diary is that of a figure more complex, and active in more fields, than that painted by Wagner.

……..

The Radclyffe who emerges from his dealings with his patrons, and more generally from his manner of living in London, is one of a man of dynamic but distinctly traditional temperament, whose interests were deeply rooted in eighteenth-century cultural assumptions. His mode of life and his business habits accord with patterns discernible among the groups who have been identified as ‘new professionals’, but this in itself does not mark him as a figure of the nineteenth century.

There is, undeniably, an apparent inconsistency between Radclyffe’s quasi-professional behaviour in London and his landlordly, quasi-capitalistic life in Yorkshire. But this was just one of the contrasts that characterised his multi-faceted personality.

# CHAPTER 4

## PRIVATE PRACTICE

Sir Anthony Wagner concludes his account of Radclyffe's career by remarking that 'he was considered in general a skilful and reliable genealogist'[360] – which sounds very like the faint praise that is intended to damn. It is not within the scope of the present study to subject Radclyffe's pedigrees to technical criticism; but an examination of the evidence to be found in the diary – evidence which was not, of course, available to Wagner – will demonstrate the sheer scale of his activity, and indicate the thoroughness of his methods[361].

……..

### Approach and methods

The conventions of genealogical research were well established by the time that Radclyffe embarked on his career, and the College of Arms was the accepted, though unofficial, centre of expertise in the field. Wagner suggests that it was 'the passion for ancestry developed rather suddenly by the new men of the Elizabethan era'[362] that supplied the stimulus which prompted Robert Glover (1544-1588), Somerset Herald, to lead the way in developing techniques of research and rules of proof; these in turn supplied a basis for the mastery of Sir William Dugdale (1605-1686), Garter King of Arms.

[360] *Heralds,* p. 467.
[361] Radclyffe's work was trusted, and publicly applauded in the most unqualified terms, by such leading contemporary authorities as Thomas Dunham Whitaker, Robert Surtees and Joseph Hunter. Among other contemporary evidence of Radclyffe's standing, John Debrett (1753-1822), the publisher who set new standards of accuracy and completeness in recording the pedigrees of the nobility and gentry when he took over the activities of a predecessor, John Almon, after 1790, consulted Radclyffe as an authority on 13 February 1815, and sent him a complimentary copy of his 'new Edit of Barts' on 15 April of the same year.
[362] *Heralds, p. 208.*

Dugdale's intelligent interest in the past took him beyond the investigation of pedigrees into the study of antiquities for their own sake – the activity which became known as antiquarianism. Radclyffe trod a similar path, and his final enterprise was to have been a reworking of Dugdale's great study of Yorkshire.

In 1803, however, Radclyffe was just making his way as a genealogist, exploring other people's family histories on commission. We do not know exactly how long he had been so engaged, but the opening entries in the first extant volume of his diary show him in *medias res*:

> 'Die Saturn 1 Januarii 1803. Wrote some addition to Barbers pedigree Examined some of Sheffield Register, Called on George Asthton[sic] concerning his descent spoke with Mr. Revd. Geo. Smith Chief Clerke of Sheffield about certifying copies of Registers for Barbers pedigrees, went to tea & spent Evening at Revd. Jos. Evans.'

After attending chapel on Sunday, Radclyffe 'looked over some of my papers'; he was an inveterate checker and reviser. On Monday he interviewed a Deputy Parish Clerk, and had a meeting with an Attorney and Master Extraordinary in Chancery (he evidently took a certain, perhaps sardonic, pleasure in reciting these resounding titles), together with nine named relatives or connections of the Barber family 'to take their depositions…and the certifying the Barbers pedigree'. More enquiries followed during a social evening with the family.

Radclyffe interviewed the Barbers yet again on Tuesday (they must have felt that they were getting their money's worth), and paid the Revd. George Smith for 'certifying certificates' the previous day. He went on to collect £20 from George Ashton for work done, and then attended an auction where he purchased a number of MS pedigrees and other genealogical material. The next day he was off to London.

This crowded schedule typifies the style of Radclyffe's activity when he was genealogising 'on the road' in the provinces. The sheer pace at which he pursued his enquiries was matched by thoroughness in his operations: the diary shows it was his regular practice to check verbal testimony by prompt resort to documents wherever these were available, and he was equally brisk in pursuit of fees.

The pattern of Radclyffe's activity in London was every bit as crowded as it was in the provinces, but it took a different form, in which visits to archives predominated, and the extensive taking of verbal testimony was less frequent. This would sometimes have been because he was following up information garnered elsewhere; but sometimes it reflected the fact that he was dealing with a clientele in London who were often of higher social status, more likely to be possessed of ancestors who featured in the national archives, and perhaps not so readily available for extensive interviewing. Above all, Radclyffe's activities in the capital were likely to have been carried on within the conventions of the College of Arms, rather than falling under the heading of private practice.

The first diary entries made in London are as characteristic of Radclyffe's work methods as their predecessors made in Sheffield. On 7 January, he called on the sexton of St. Clement's Danes, on a lawyer in Lincoln's Inn, on his relative Curtis who was a proctor in Doctors' Commons, and on George Nayler at the College of Arms – all apparently in pursuit of the Barber case, and all in the course of one long morning. 8 January, a Saturday, was taken up with interviewing 'one of the presumptive heirs to Charles Barber & representative of Margaret Barber late of the Strand', and then 'To Heralds College by Appointment to consult on the Barbers Pedigree'. On Sunday he allowed himself a walk across the Park to Kensington with 'E.M.', followed by calls in Audley Square and at St. James's Palace before dinner with Elizabeth's family. Monday, 10 January, was his birthday, and he began it with a further assault on the Barber case; but this was frustrated

by the unavailability of the people he wanted to see, so instead he went to the British Museum[363], where he 'examined the Harl. MSS.for Ashton's Pedigree'. This hectic round was not an isolated burst of activity; on the contrary, the beat of business is sustained throughout the diary – he was always purposefully busy, and insistently rigorous in his demands for verifiable, and preferably documentary, evidence to serve his need.

An important aspect of Radclyffe's method was his habit of consulting with colleagues. His surviving correspondence with Hunter and Surtees is full of draft family trees accompanied by requests for comments and corrections; he conferred, similarly and at great length, with Edmund Lodge; and he was a busy follower of the rules of the College of Arms regarding verification of pedigrees – a matter on which he was occasionally critical of others who, in his opinion, were less punctilious[364].

Both the diary and his letters give the impression that Radclyffe was a man who thought with his pen; his drafts of family trees, in particular, are palimpsests of interlineations and lineated connections, accumulated as he applied the data of his notes to the diagrams depicting relationship.

Parish registers and church monuments were principal sources of information, and Radclyffe's papers are full of notes and transcriptions, some of which can now supply details that have otherwise been lost, such as an obituary of Dame Elizabeth Savile, who died in 1625 and whose monument was destroyed when Horbury church was rebuilt to the design of Carr of York in 1805. Radclyffe frequently busied himself in conserving, and arranging for rebinding, registers which he had been consulting, both in the College of

[363] Where the opening hours, for subscribing readers, were 10.00 a.m. to 4.00 .p.m. on Monday to Friday. (Arundell Esdaile, *The British Museum Library* (London, 1946), pp. 79-80.) 1803 was a year of important developments at the British Museum.

[364] Behaviour which must have been a source of irony at the time of his trial in 1820.

Arms and elsewhere; an example would be the Hartshead parish register for 1612-92, which he restored in 1811[365].

Distinctions between Radclyffe's approaches to London business and provincial business must not be overplayed; he himself might not have recognised them at all. But it seems to have been the case that the autumn expeditions that feature regularly in the diary were usually made in pursuit of pedigrees other than those which were subsequently registered at the College of Arms; and that when Radclyffe travelled in pursuit of information which was to be registered, he did so on an 'expenses' basis which was the subject of private agreement between himself and his client. This chapter will be devoted principally to Radclyffe's private, and therefore mostly provincial, practice.

A useful point at which to commence an examination of this private practice is the subscription list for Miller's *Doncaster*. Radclyffe's part in the production of this volume is described in Chapter 5. It is highly probable that he was involved in the collection of subscriptions to the publication, and analysis of the subscribers' names in comparison with the names recorded in Radclyffe's diary suggests the possibility, at least, that Radclyffe used the *Doncaster* list as a client-directory for his genealogical practice.

The list contains some 520 names[366], including several booksellers whose combined orders alone add up to 183 copies. It features two Dukes, six Earls, 13 Baronets and Knights, six Honourables, and 45 clergy. Lord Fitzwilliam, Lord Galway and Lord Harewood were all to play parts in Radclyffe's career, but the most significant names in the list, for present purposes, are those of the numerous gentry who also appear in the diary as actual or

[365] The title page is inscribed 'Collated and Prepared for re-binding by WILLIAM RADCLYFFE, Of Darley Hall in this County, Esquire, Rouge Croix Persuivant[sic] of Arms. Rebound at his Expence and under his immediate inspection in the College of Arms, London, 1811.' The diary records his activity in this connection on 18 and 19 July, 1811.

[366] Miller's *Psalms of David,* published in 1790, had a subscription list of over 2,500 names. (Cited in J. Black, *Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 2007), p. 93.)

potential clients. They include the families of Armytage of Kirklees, Bosvile of Ravenfield, Copley of Nether Hall, Edmonds of Worsbrough, Bacon Frank of Campsall, Gossip of Hatfield, Gally Knight of Langold, Maude of Wakefield, Spencer Stanhope of Cannon Hall, and Wentworth of Woolley. Their importance lay not merely in the commissions which they gave in due course, but, still more, in the introductions which they supplied to their friends and kindred throughout the North Country.

## In pursuit of gentry pedigrees

Underlying both the subscription list and the record of Radclyffe's genealogical work as it emerges from the diary is the theme of interrelationships between the gentry families of South Yorkshire, the subjects of Radclyffe's unremitting interest to the end of his days – and this in turn was dominated by his preoccupation with the ramifications of the Radclyffe clan. His explorations took him almost wherever Radclyffes had trodden in England over the previous six hundred years; and, importantly, they brought him into contact with dozens of possible relatives, almost all of whom wanted – or were persuaded to want – to have their pedigrees clarified by his researches (eg. see Figure 4, page 324, top). He must have worked hard to track down these 'branch members', though the diary gives little indication of his methods in that connection; he would certainly have used the town and county Post Office directories where these were available.[367]

Radclyffe's itineraries were pinned around visits to the houses of actual or putative relatives, and friends; the diary suggests that these visits would generally have been arranged beforehand by letter. Talk over dinner was often followed by an overnight stay,

[367] M.R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort* (Berkeley, 1996), pp. 185-88.

and then an inspection of the parish registers the next morning. Radclyffe was evidently capable of making himself agreeable; he frequently records joining in a round of evening entertainments – cards, dances, music – and more than once found himself pressed to stay longer than he had first intended. He seems to have been particularly well received in rectories and vicarages, where – by his own account – he engaged in antiquarian conversation.

In due course the route would lead him to a cathedral city or county town, where the findings gleaned from oral testimony and parish records would be compared with bishops' transcripts and registers of wills or property transactions. These latter episodes, of 'confirmatory research', might entail several days of concentrated, arduous work, from which Radclyffe was plainly glad to escape to the relaxations available to him in places such as York, Lincoln or Canterbury; he was noticeably appreciative of pretty female company in the evenings.

Around this rather agreeable-sounding framework were hung numerous conversations with parish clerks, churchwardens, sextons and 'local experts', not all whom were equally competent or helpful, and not all of whose records were equally well kept. There is an early reference, for example, to the 'wretched register' of Todmorden church[368], and on 25 August 1808 Radclyffe noted that the oldest register at Bolton was 'in a very decayed damp state'. Clashes with the custodians of records occurred occasionally; Radclyffe's description of one such, with the vicar of Bolton, leaves a regrettable impression of hot-tempered self-importance on both sides.

Despite such occasional difficulties, however, the overall impression conveyed by the diary affirms that most of the clergy whom Radclyffe encountered accepted that the

[368] *Diary,* 6 September 1803.

supplying of information relating to genealogical enquiries was part of their duty[369], for which they requested fees according to a regular tariff. For his part Radclyffe had no hesitation in exploiting his status as a member of the College of Arms.

## Research expeditions

Radclyffe's principal 'research' expeditions as recorded in the surviving diaries:

1 – 5 January 1803

15 August – 28 September 1803

3 October – 10 November 1804

7 – 27 January 1805

26 – 29 August 1805

7 September – 30 October 1805

8 September – 27 October 1806

21 August – 31 October 1807

20 August – 29 September 1808

(The volume of the diary for 1809 and 1810 is lost)

(The period from 1810 onwards is marked by the development of Radclyffe's plans for property ownership, which noticeably reduce the extent of his private genealogical practice)

12 August – 29 October 1811

16 September – 24 November 1812

21 September – 29 October 1813 (parts only)

1 September – 7 November 1814

16 February – 4 March 1815

1 October – 29 November 1815

22 – 25 June 1816

16 September – 14 November 1816

(Other considerations scatter and obscure the pattern of Radclyffe's private genealogical researches after 1816.)

[369] A relic of their historic function as clerical servants of government.

The sheer physical effort which must have been entailed by these forays, no less than their frequency, suggests that they were essential to Radclyffe's finances. It is very difficult, however, to gauge exactly what they meant in terms of product – how much profit accrued from how many searches. The evidence in the diary relating to fees and reclaimable expenses is scanty[370]. What is more, although the names are mentioned of a great many families, it is rarely possible to relate these to actual commissions, since the formation of one family tree might require the investigation of several different pedigrees, each of which could feature by name in the diary. Radclyffe did not feel it necessary to record connections, or to cross-reference his diary in any way. There will sometimes be a note to the effect that a particular job is finished; but there is rarely any indication of what happened next. The result is a welter of names which carry limited significance to the modern reader.

Given, therefore, that it is not possible to create a full statistical record of Radclyffe's activity as a private genealogist, it is necessary to resort to representative sampling. The following expeditions have been selected, in whole or in part, as illustrating Radclyffe's activities 'in context'.

15 August – 28 September 1803
26 – 28 August 1805
21 August – 19 October 1807
20 August – 29 September 1808
12 August – 29 October 1811
16 September – 24 November 1812
16 September – 7 November 1814
16 February – 4 March 1815

[370] See below, 'Money matters', p. 174.

**1803** Radclyffe's record of his journey to the North of England in the late summer of 1803 suggests that he was extending an already well-established pattern of activity. On this occasion he was largely concerned with Radclyffe origins in the North West; he visited, apparently for the first time, ancient seats of the family at Ordsall, Smithills[371], Chorley (Hall-on-the–Hill) and Todmorden, and interviewed numbers of bearers of the Radclyffe name[372]. But he was also expanding his researches, noted earlier, into the Barber and Ashton pedigrees, and embarking on new lines of investigation – not without difficulty in some cases: 'called on Mrs. Bagshaw of Ford, her husband being *non compos mentis*'.

During the course of six weeks he criss-crossed northern England between Manchester, Chester and Liverpool in the west and Leeds and York in the east. He travelled by wheeled transport of various types, by canal boat, on horse, and on foot; there are numerous evocative vignettes of his experiences. Between 20 August and 26 September, he recorded at least 68 different searches in registers, transcriptions from monuments, visits to archives, interviews, and sessions of pedigree-drafting. For the last two of these purposes he appears to have carried with him blank pedigree templates[373]; he may also have used some form of questionnaire. He was keen at all times to pick up new business: 'called on Mr. Geo. Foster received orders of him to prosecute his claim by preparing his pedigree to prove him among the next of kin to Mrs. Jane Bayley Deceased'[374]. It was not always plain sailing: he had a heated confrontation with the custodian of the Prerogative Office in Chester on 30 August, and a nasty dispute over travel expenses with a Mr. Peach of Sheffield on 26 September.

[371] The detailed description of Smithills is particularly interesting.
[372] Some of them, such as 'Mr. Ratcliffe in Brown Street, Manchester', seem to have been found rather accidentally.
[373] Indication from *Diary* 19 March 1804.
[374] *Diary,* 14 September 1803.

**1805** Radclyffe made a brief, but interesting, journey into Essex at the end of August 1805. It began with a visit to Thorndon Hall, the seat of Lord Petre, eminent Roman Catholic and distant relation, whom Radclyffe was courting for patronage[375]. He stayed the night at the Hall 'in Lord Stourton's apartments' – a mark of honour[376].

From Thorndon Hall Radclyffe went on to Copford Hall, the seat of the Harrison family, who were descended from that regicide whose grisly execution was witnessed by Samuel Pepys. Elizabeth Radclyffe was distantly connected by marriage to the Harrisons, with whom she shared a claim on a sugar estate in Jamaica. Radclyffe spent two days genealogising with them, at Copford and Coggeshall (which he visited 'in a Gigg' with a son of the house on 28 August), before returning to London on 29 August[377].

**1807** When Radclyffe travelled to his northern homeland in the autumn of 1807 he was accompanied by his wife and baby son, and the entries in his diary covering this journey are flavoured with domesticity in the form of visits to relations, tea-parties and dinners, and concerns about the child's health. Radclyffe managed, nonetheless, to maintain a high level of business activity; there are 57 references to searches, transcriptions and interviews of a genealogical (or sometimes rather antiquarian) nature, and the expedition began and ended with business meetings with Joseph Hunter, the last of which involved a settling of accounts.

A further, marked difference from the 1803 journey is to be found in the nature of the clientele: from the middle-class families of Sheffield, Radclyffe has moved on to the

[375] Some of the Radclyffe lines, particularly in Lancashire, had a recusant tradition, but the diarist's own, Yorkshire, branch of the family seems to have been solidly Anglican throughout the eighteenth century.
[376] The Stourtons, whose lineage went back to the Conquest, were part of a tight nexus of Roman Catholic nobility.
[377] Radclyffe subsequently had various dealings with the Harrison family, visited Copford Hall several times, and took an interest in young Haynes Harrison, with whom he had travelled to Coggeshall, at a time when the boy was a pupil at Charterhouse School.

county gentry of South Yorkshire – the Wentworths of Woolley, the Spencer Stanhopes of Cannon Hall, the Armytages of Thickhollings, the Beaumonts of Whitley, the Wentworths of Monks Bretton. The intensity of the socialising recorded in the diary must have been considerable, and the expedition concluded with a 'Grand Fete' at Wentworth Woodhouse on 20 and 21 October (the Radclyffes stayed overnight as guests of Earl Fitzwilliam) – an event which, to judge from the handwriting of the entry for the second day, left even the durable Radclyffe somewhat the worse for wear.

This journey is interesting for two incidental reasons: on 16 September Radclyffe 'visited Bank Top Bank End Worsbrough', and on 9 October he resumed earlier dealings with the Radclyffes of Foxdenton in Lancashire. These were names pregnant with significance for the future.

**1808** Radclyffe travelled alone to the North in the early autumn of 1808. After some preliminary investigations at Macclesfield and Bolton, he extended the range of his 1803 exploration of Radclyffe sites. He visited Greystoke and Derwentwater, where he viewed the Lake by moonlight, climbed the Castlerigg to the site of the Radclyffes' original fortress, and visited the Lord's Island with its tumbled ruins; then he crossed to Hexham in Northumberland – though, rather surprisingly, he makes no mention of visiting nearby Dilston. He also located and inspected 'five pieces of land' belonging to his mother-in-law, about which we do not hear much more in the diary, though they are mentioned in the will of George Harrison of Jamaica. He then spent a week with Robert Surtees at Mainsforth and around Durham, engaging in archaeological visits (Corbridge, the Wall) as well as genealogising, before going on to Pontefract.

It was the time of the Pontefract Races, and Radclyffe threw himself into the social scene with gusto, rubbing shoulders with an impressive array of the nobility and gentry in the

grandstand, at the 'ordinary' (where he was placed on Lord Pollington's left at the head of the table[378]), and at the Race Ball. There was purpose in his frivolity, though; a fortnight later he was breakfasting with the Earl and Countess of Mexborough, the parents of Lord Pollington, and taking notes of their pedigrees for a commission.

He recorded 43 searches or interviews over the whole period of the expedition – not his highest hit-rate, but still impressive given the distractions surrounding him.

**1811** Radclyffe's journey of 12 August – 29 October shows clearly the extent to which his practice had developed since 1803. Accompanied for part of the time by his wife, and travelling generally at a less frenetic pace than in earlier years, he began by spending ten days on business as an executor of the Salwey estate in Herefordshire, where he deliberated with evident pleasure on questions of enclosures and leases – a rehearsal for his own forthcoming enterprise in Yorkshire. Then came a week's touring around the North West, visiting Radclyffes in Chester, Liverpool, Manchester and Stockport[379], followed by an antiquarian and genealogical week[380] in County Durham with his friend Surtees. Almost all of the following three weeks was devoted to family concerns in Yorkshire before genealogical research resumed, intensively, with a visit to the archives at York in the second week of October. Then it was back to the neighbourhood of Barnsley until it was time to return to London at the end of the month. The genealogical component of these travels was effectively confined to the periods 27 August – 13 September and 6 – 23 October. During those weeks Radclyffe managed, nonetheless, to record the respectable total of 43 searches.

[378] Viscount Pollington was the courtesy title of the eldest son of the Earl of Mexborough. Radclyffe's Pollington had been elected as the (Tory) M.P. for Pontefract in 1807. His father's Irish peerage enabled him, also, to sit as (Tory) M.P. for Lincoln. The family seat was Methley Hall.
[379] There are clear indications that these scattered elements of the Radclyffe clan found no difficulty in accepting the diarist as one of their own.
[380] Which included a visit to Dilston.

The diary here conveys a strong sense that this was a man who felt he had arrived; he was established in a profession which satisfied him in every respect, took him into the higher ranks of society, involved him in business appropriate to a gentleman, and afforded him opportunities of pursuing civilised interests. His connections and contacts were now as much friends as they were clients. And he was actively preparing the ground for his own entry into the class of landed proprietors[381].

**1812** Radclyffe was away from London for two and a half months in the autumn of 1812, and the diary for those weeks signals yet another stage in his career. His genealogical practice had moved decisively to an elevated social level, and his primary purpose at this stage was research into the origins of the important, though only recently ennobled, family of Ryder, or Ryther[382]. Now, moreover, he carried himself as a member in his own right of the landed gentry, by virtue of his recent purchase of Darley Hall, in Worsbrough Vale. He was hotly in pursuit of the Ryder pedigree between 16 and 26 September, and again between 14 October and 6 November, but was completely immersed in Darley Hall business from 29 September to 13 October, and again from 7 to 28 November. Ryder enquiries monopolised the 46 searches which he recorded, almost all of which concerned documentary evidence; one may suspect that a good many of the 'conversations' which he mentioned in his diary were also of a genealogical nature, but there is a sharpness about the entries for this period which discourages speculation. However, the figure of 46 searches certainly underestimates the intensity of his activity, since it allows only one

[381] He opened enquiries about what was to become his Darley Hall estate on 21 September 1811.
[382] The Ryder family originated, as Radclyffe established, at Ryther in Yorkshire. Radclyffe had extensive dealings with both the Earl, his younger brother, Richard, and their families, among whom he would particularly have appreciated Lady Harrowby and her daughters, Lady Susan and Lady Mary, who were celebrated by Capt. Gronow in his memoirs as three of the most beautiful women in England (Gronow, *Reminiscences,* ed. N. Bentley*,* London*,* 1977).

entry for each of eight days spent in what was evidently arduous research in the ecclesiastical archives at York (19-27 October).

Radclyffe travelled fast and far on his Ryder mission. Between 16 and 26 September he made enquiries in Cambridge and Peterborough before going on to Norfolk (like others before and since, he lost his way around Wisbech); then it was back to Peterborough to transcribe charters in the cathedral library, by special request of the clergy there; by boat through the Fens, past Tattershall[383], to Lincoln; and across to the Don, which he forded on horseback to get to Barnsley and his estate at Worsbrough. Between 14 October and 6 November, he stayed at Harewood as an honoured guest, put in eight days of intensive research at York, and then crossed the Humber from Hull for a peregrination of some very empty country in North Lincolnshire[384]. He must have spurred his horse hard, to cover the miles he records, in so short a time.

There is an unmistakable flavour of consequence about Radclyffe's account of his travels in this year. He is sure of his status – he is a gentleman of means and position, authorised to make confidential enquiries on behalf of a great family. His findings would be registered in due course at the College of Arms, but his travelling expenses were a matter between himself and Lord Harrowby[385].

**1814** Radclyffe took his usual long autumn break away from London in the autumn of 1814 (1 September to 7 November), of which the first three weeks are of interest since they involved exploration of previously unvisited territory in East Anglia. He had become

[383] Tattershall Castle was a topic of interest to the Society of Antiquaries at that time – see J. Munby, in *The Antiquaries Journal,* vol. 94 (2014), pp, 253-289.
[384] His route appears to have taken him practically past the gates of my great-great-grandfather's farm.
[385] The Ryder pedigrees occupied much of Radclyffe's time in 1814, 1815 and 1816. Apart from work done in London, he conducted searches for the family in Oxford, Warwick, Coventry and Lichfield in the first week of October 1815 (twelve searches), and in Canterbury, Whitstable, Doddington and Sittingbourne in Kent at the end of June 1816 (eight searches). Needless to say, he also pursued Radclyffes in the course of these visits.

involved in the affairs of a family by the name of Bacon Frank; the Franks were of Campsall Manor in South Yorkshire, but the Bacons came from Norfolk, and a commission to investigate their pedigrees took Radclyffe, accompanied by Elizabeth, through Essex and Suffolk to Norfolk, where he based himself in Norwich but travelled widely both inland and along the coast to Cromer and Yarmouth. In the course of three weeks he made some 27 separate searches and spent six days working intensively in the cathedral archives at Norwich. As usual, he found Radclyffes to add to his collection, and he also extended his Ryder portfolio.

**1815** Radclyffe made a short journey into South Wales during February 1815. He had been commissioned to look into the pedigrees of the Carne and Turberville families, possibly also those of Mansel and Thomas – and, as usual, he managed to find a Radclyffe along the way (in Swansea). The diary account is notable for its unusually full descriptions of scenery and antiquities, and for the tone of slightly surprised admiration in which Radclyffe noted his impressions of Welsh hospitality, and Welsh society generally.

The expedition effectively began, and ended, in Bath, where Radclyffe spent time with Hunter and other antiquaries; it is a noticeable feature of his journeyings that he was keen to compare notes with colleagues whenever possible, and his extensive correspondence with Surtees and Hunter shows that his genealogising was approached in a very collaborative style.

Once in Wales (after an alarmingly stormy boat crossing of the Severn mouth) Radclyffe followed what was evidently a carefully prepared itinerary that allowed him to make substantial searches between 21 and 28 February. He had by now honed his technique, and was able to combine his researches with a good deal of socialising (he writes appreciatively of the Welsh ladies and their amiable manners), rapid journeys on

horseback along the coastal sands and across trackless hills, and a number of antiquarian visits to ruined castles. The episode accords well with the contemporary 'discovery' of the romantic grandeurs of Wales, and of the history of the Principality[386].

## The Foxdenton patent

Radclyffe's approach to his genealogical activity resembles, most strikingly, that of the Jacobean antiquary Thomas Lyte, as it has been described in a recent article, supplemented by Lyte's own words:

> 'an almost obsessive concern with ancestral origins, an anxious awareness of social mobility and an almost mystical belief in the unifying power of consanguinity, expressed most clearly in the introductory caption to the 1633 pedigree roll in which Lyte explains his reasons for compiling the manuscript "not for anye ostentation of birth or kinred….But only that those that are soe lately discended of one Parentage and from one Famelye ought not to be Strangers one to another For as it has pleased God to advance some of them to honour and worshippe soe some againe are humbled to a lowe & meane estate yet not to be despised for that they are discended of the same bloud and it may please God in a moment to raise them up againe".'[387]

Radclyffe's diary entries, and, still more, his correspondence, repeatedly evince his lively appreciation of the prominent roles which the various branches of his family had played in so many theatres of English history. We can only surmise how far his pride of ancestry may have broadened his historical awareness, and to what extent his evolution from genealogist to antiquarian may have been assisted by his researches.

[386] The diary shows that Radclyffe prepared carefully for his journeyings, by reading beforehand in topographical and historical works. On this occasion he may have used William Warrington's *History of Wales,* first published in 1786 and reprinted in 1788, 1791, 1805 and 1823. Thomas Love Peacock's *Headlong Hall* was not published until the year after Radclyffe's journey, but the diary conveys a faint scent of the novel's flavour.

[387] A. Hunt, D. Thornton and G. Dalgleish, 'A Jacobean Antiquary Reassessed: Thomas Lyte, Genealogy and the Lyte Jewel', in *The Antiquaries Journal,* vol. 96 (2016), p. 181.

But it is necessary to acknowledge that Radclyffe's preoccupation also generated risks for his own objectivity in the weighing of evidence. Any family historian may experience a temptation to believe in a particular pedigree link, or to accept an unverified statement, simply 'because it fits so well with everything else'; it was a temptation that must have weighed heavily at times on Radclyffe, as he tracked his name, year after year, through wastelands of disorderly archives and swamps of decaying parish registers.

Wagner believed that Radclyffe succumbed to this temptation on at least two important occasions. In one of these cases, the alleged Ravenfield forgery, Wagner himself appears to have taken insufficient care over the evidence, as I shall hope to demonstrate elsewhere. The other case, that of the Foxdenton patent, may usefully be considered here, since it probably does, indeed, show Radclyffe making errors of judgement at the beginning of his career as a private practitioner of genealogy – errors which subsequently created difficulties for him as a member of the College of Arms.

The Foxdenton episode began with a commission which Radclyffe undertook in 1802/03 for a distant connection, Robert Radclyffe, a representative of a branch of the family which had its seat at Foxdenton, near Oldham in Lancashire[388]. (It should be borne in mind that he would at this stage still have been working his way into the complexities and inter-connections of the various lines of Radclyffe descent – and the Foxdenton and Dilston lines have a good deal in common.) In the course of his investigations, he came across a patent of 1614 by which one William Radclyffe, gentleman, was appointed Clerk Remembrancer of the Court of Wards and Liveries. A William Radclyffe of the Dilston line had lived at the time that this patent had been granted – and the young genealogist

[388] I was fortunate enough to be able to make contact during the course of this research with the then senior surviving descendant of the Radclyffes of Foxdenton, Capt. Charles Raymond Radclyffe of Lew, a noted trainer and breeder of racehorses; William Radclyffe's elaborately illuminated scroll of the Foxdenton pedigree occupied a proud place on the wall of his hall (see Figures 5a and 5b, pp. 324 and 325). Capt. Radclyffe died on 1 February 2017, but his family have been kind in continuing to encourage my work.

promptly identified him, incorrectly, as the man in question. The attribution was not hidden; on the contrary, it was subsequently submitted to the College of Arms[389], and there accepted, after some inquiries had been made[390]. Only much later, when various aspects of Radclyffe's early work were being subjected to hostile scrutiny by the College, did an investigator[391] discover that the Clerk Remembrancer had actually been a member of the Foxdenton, and not the Dilston, line. Worse still, it emerged that the patent was missing from its place in the Foxdenton archives; Radclyffe had compounded his error of attribution by retaining the document in his own possession. He returned it with apologies and protestations of good intentions, but his opponents chose to present the matter as an attempt at theft.

The matter did not end there. What might have been described as a professional error, aggravated by something like improper appropriation of a document, was made to seem still more serious by the revelation that Radclyffe had referred to the patent in a pedigree which he had presented to Christ's Hospital when claiming kinship rights to a place on the Hospital foundation for his young half-brother, Derwentwater Radclyffe. That he should have acted thus was understandable given that the validity of the pedigree had up till then been accepted by the College of Arms; but his detractors exercised hindsight to interpret it as an attempt at deliberate deceit with intent to defraud. Robert Radclyffe was induced to give testimony which tended to support the College's view of the matter when Radclyffe was tried (though not for the Foxdenton business) at York in 1820.

Wagner viewed the Foxdenton episode from the standpoint of one who accepted without demur the verdict passed at York, to the effect that Radclyffe was a systematic fraudster.

[389] Chapter Minutes, 23 June 1804.
[390] *Diary*, 14/16 February 1807 and Chapter Minutes.
[391] George Frederick Beltz, at that time Portcullis.

Looked at objectively, however, and with due reference to timings, it may be seen as a distressing illustration of what can happen to a researcher who is willing to believe, and act on, what he thinks the evidence ought to show, rather than resting always on starkly indisputable fact[392]. The diary records the stages of the affair without suggesting anything more than embarrassment, or possibly annoyance at self-inflicted harm.

Radclyffe's mishandling of the Foxdenton patent was a conspicuous, but solitary, example of failure in a private genealogical practice which was otherwise sustained with credit over a period of a quarter of a century – until the debacle of 1820.

## Politics and personalities

Much attention has been paid recently, by Dror Wahrman and others, to the emergence of a recognisably 'middle-class' politics in the opening years of the nineteenth century[393]. It is worth considering Radclyffe's diary in the context of this discussion.

Radclyffe's own self-perception as a gentleman descended from aristocratic stock did not inhibit him from mixing on easy terms with such evidently 'middling' figures as Thomas Hudson, proprietor of the Grand Hotel in Covent Garden, the Becketts of Barnsley and Leeds, and indeed his own distant relative, William Radcliffe of Mellor, factory-owner and advocate of industrialism[394]. He found no difficulty in acknowledging his own ancestors'

[392] It should be added that Radclyffe offered as part of his defence that an elderly aunt of his who had died in 1801 had affirmed, as a matter of inherited family lore, that the patent had been awarded to an ancestor in the Dilston line.

[393] D. Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class, c. 1780-1840* (Cambridge, 1995).

[394] The diarist visited Radcliffe of Mellor in September 1805 at Stockport, where he was Mayor, Captain-Commandant of Volunteers, and owner of a large textile factory. He was famously connected with the development of a cotton-dressing machine, about which, and about his struggles as a manufacturer, he published a book in 1828. His mill was violently sacked by Luddites in 1812. He is noticed by E.P. Thompson in *The Making of the English Working Class,* pp. 304-05 and 619, though Thompson is confused about the spelling of his name.

history of activity in the Yorkshire cloth trade. But if he was content to locate himself, at least in part, in a middle-class social milieu, there is no evidence that he engaged in anything resembling middle-class political activity, or indeed political activity of any sort.

On the other hand, analysis of the names of his close acquaintances and clients shows a discernible, if discreet, patterning that amounts to evidence of a political identity. This in turn must have a bearing on Radclyffe's activity as a herald: did he act entirely as a defender of the existing order, or did he serve the needs of social evolution?

As with other aspects of his life, Radclyffe's politics, such as they were, had their foundations in his native Yorkshire, where his social associates ranged from the owners of small businesses in Barnsley, and small estates in the countryside around the town, through lawyers, clergy and other professional men, to the lesser and greater gentry, and above them the aristocratic grandees with whom he particularly liked to mingle[395].

The political map of the West Riding of Yorkshire in the early years of the nineteenth century was by no means simple. The Whig interest was headed, during his lifetime, by the 11th Duke of Norfolk, owner of much property in Sheffield, and Radclyffe's patron. The vast mineral wealth of the Fitzwilliam family of Wentworth Woodhouse, with its various offshoots, was possibly still more influential, and was buttressed by the landed estates and West Indian money of the Lascelles of Harewood. When Radclyffe acquired his own small estate of Darley Hall, in Worsbrough Vale, he became an immediate neighbour of more than one branch of the Fitzwilliams; he could not have afforded, even if he had wanted, to allow political considerations to complicate the negotiations in which he engaged over such matters as mining rights, exchanges of small parcels of land, and canal construction – and besides, the spreading pedigrees of the Fitzwilliams came as welcome grist to his mill.

[395] Especially at the great gatherings at Doncaster and Pontefract Races.

So he was happy to breakfast with the Earl, accept his hospitality at the great balls and dinners which His Lordship staged at the times of the Doncaster race meetings – and, perhaps, keep his politics in his pocket. He was similarly pleased to visit Harewood, where he was received, twice, with great affability – the music in His Lordship's church was particularly fine, he thought. No doubt the grandees maintained their dignity – Radclyffe refers on one occasion to having 'an audience' with Earl Fitzwilliam – but Radclyffe, too, had dignity enough to stand upon, and an entry for 24 June 1808, referring to breakfast with the Earl in London, suggests that he was on positively easy terms with that magnate.

Less powerful than either Fitzwilliam or Harewood, but still a substantial force for the Whigs in the West Riding, until his death in 1810, was Robert Monckton-Arundell, 4th Viscount Galway in the peerage of Ireland[396]. Radclyffe's connection with Lord Galway is of particular interest, as illustrating the fact that regional or neighbourly considerations could be more powerful than party affiliations in influencing social relationships at this time. The 4th Viscount was a hard-drinking character who had been on notoriously bad terms with his first wife. He had represented Pontefract (1780-83, and 1796-1802) and York (1783-90) in the Whig interest, and later supported a promising young man, Robert Milnes, in the Pontefract election of 1806. Milnes appears in the diary, first as having borrowed, or rented, the Radclyffes' cottage at Shorefield for a holiday (or perhaps his honeymoon) in the summer of 1808 – he married Galway's daughter in August. Milnes took Radclyffe to breakfast with Galway on 29 June 1808, when the party included the Earl and Countess of Mexborough, Tory grandees of the West Riding; Radclyffe lost no

[396] The Moncktons were an old Yorkshire family, and had property in the West Riding; their principal seat at this time, however, was Serlby, in the north of Nottinghamshire. When the 5th Viscount inherited, and decided to remodel Serlby, he employed the Doncaster architect William Lindley.

time in opening genealogical discussions with Lady Mexborough about her own family, the Delavals of Northumberland.

Milnes, who had started as a Whig, went on to have an exceptionally erratic career in the Commons until his retirement in 1818; he might be best described as an eccentric liberal Tory – much in the style of Radclyffe's later patron, Charles Tennyson d'Eyncourt[397]. One of Milnes' closest friends was William, Lord Lowther, later 2nd Earl of Lonsdale and one of the richest men in England; Lowther was recorded by Radclyffe as having dropped in to breakfast with him when Radclyffe was staying at the Armytage seat, Outwood near Wakefield, on 20 September 1811. Lowther was at that time M.P. for Cockermouth, and at the beginning of a political career which took him to Cabinet office under Wellington and Peel. The informal nature of their social contacts provides powerful evidence of the reality of Radclyffe's social status, and makes nonsense of the slurs propagated by his enemies at his trial, and swallowed whole by Wagner. In fact, Radclyffe appears to have been a good deal more than merely acquainted with the self-same gilded set that was depicted with longing snobbery by Disraeli in the opening pages of his novel *Coningsby*[398] – the prototypes of 'Young England'.

Quite apart from eccentrics such as Milnes or Lowther, there was no shortage of Tories to oppose the Whig supremacy in Yorkshire, the most important of whom was the Earl of Mexborough, the social lion of the Tory faction in the West Riding; Radclyffe appears to have been on quite close terms with Mexborough, and perhaps still more so with his son, Viscount Pollington. He did genealogical work for the family, and socialised with them at Doncaster Races and in London.

[397] See Chapter 6.
[398] Published 1844. The originals of the *Coningsby* characters were identified by a 'skeleton key' of 1844, amplified by a 'revised key' of 1845.

The most politically eminent of Radclyffe's grander clients, the Ryder brothers (Dudley, Lord Harrowby, and his brother Richard), had their family roots in the county and Radclyffe spent much time pursuing their genealogy there, but the majority of his meetings with them took place in London[399].

Apart from these Tory notables, the principal targets of Radclyffe's tireless search for clients were the country gentry of South Yorkshire, whose entangled family histories, many of which offered links with the Radclyffes, offered almost infinite scope for research. The various branches of the Beaumont family (of Hexham Abbey and The Oaks, of Bretton, and of Whitley Beaumont); the Becketts of Barnsley (a rising family of bankers and meritocrats); the Blacketts of Wylam and Wallington; the Bosviles of Gunthwaite and Ravenfield, with their links to the MacDonalds of the Isles; and in later years the Russells of Belsay and Brancepeth, together with their maverick relative from North Lincolnshire, Charles Tennyson – all these featured largely in Radclyffe's client-list, and all were, to varying degrees, Tory in their politics. Some of them were noticeably on the liberal wing of the party, favoured Roman Catholic Emancipation, and were opposed to the slave trade. William Wilberforce was, of course, an M.P. for the county, but although he subscribed to *Doncaster*, Radclyffe does not record any contact with him. On the other hand, Radclyffe saw a great deal of Walter Spencer Stanhope of Cannon Hall, near Barnsley, a close friend of Wilberforce who often stayed with him at Cannon Hall. Stanhope was decidedly on the liberal wing of the Tory party, and enjoyed a high reputation for the humanity with which he ran his estate. He invited Radclyffe to stay with him in the autumn of 1807, and possibly on other occasions also.

[399] Dudley Ryder, 1st Earl of Harrowby (1762-1847) was briefly Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in 1804-05, and Lord President of the Council 1812-27. He inherited the Barony of Harrowby from his father, and acquired an Earldom in 1809.

The Yorkshire magnate with whom the diarist had the closest connection, however, was Joseph Radcliffe (1744-1819) of Milnes Bridge, a wealthy landowner and magistrate, whose repression of Luddite rioters in 1812 earned him a baronetcy in 1813[400], and a reputation for harshness which has endured in the locality to the present day. He had been born Joseph Pickford, but his mother was a Radcliffe, and he inherited the handsome estate of Milnes Bridge House from an uncle on condition that he took the Radcliffe name. The degree of connection between the magistrate and the diarist seems to have been as uncertain to them as it is to us today, but they visited and stayed with each other on several occasions, and corresponded at length; it was in the library at Milnes Bridge, on 11 October 1816, that the diarist stoically underwent an operation to have a 'tumour' removed, by two surgeons, from the top of his scalp[401].

An assortment of contacts and connections appears when the field of Radclyffe's acquaintance is broadened beyond the West Riding – liberal Tories for politics, gentry families for society, and anyone available for genealogy. Even so, the diary offers some surprises, such as Radclyffe's apparent friendship with the formidable Earl St. Vincent, who consulted him professionally on 24 July 1805 but who appears thereafter in what appears to have been a largely sociable context. On 19 March 1813, for example, Radclyffe dined with the Earl before setting off on a journey into Essex, at a time when the old man had effectively retired from all public life, and when Radclyffe had no commission from him to require his attendance.

Other names, lesser in fame than St. Vincent's, extend the social range and reinforce the Tory identity of Radclyffe's lists of friends and clients. Sir Timothy Shelley, M.P., father

[400] Described by M.I. Thomas as 'an exceptionally able and successful magistrate…who appears to have worked ceaselessly, tirelessly and fearlessly throughout 1812 and to have been personally responsible for the apprehension and conviction of the principal figures of Yorkshire Luddism.' M.I. Thomas, *The Luddites* (Newton Abbot, 1970), p. 147.

[401] Probably a sebaceous cyst. George IV underwent a similar operation in 1821.

of the poet; Sir George Shiffner, M.P.; Robert Holt Leigh, M.P.; William Mellish, M.P., Governor of the Bank of England; Charles Abbot, M.P., son of a Headmaster of Abingdon, Speaker of the Commons, later 1st Lord Colchester; George Pretyman-Tomline, Dean of St. Paul's and (in plurality) Bishop of Lincoln – all were Tories.

Perhaps the most interesting group of Radclyffe's politically connected friends and associates in London was a remarkable quartet of 'new professionals': John Wilson Croker, George Rose, George Harrison and John Beckett.

Croker first appears in the diary (as 'Mr. Crocker') on 6 May 1803, when he was present at dinner with the Salweys and Radclyffe. The acquaintance evidently prospered, and on 30 November 1804 the diarist, accompanied by his soldier brother Edward, called on him at his lodgings in Scotland Yard. Croker was only 24 at this time, newly graduated in law, and not yet in the employ of government – rather, he was nursing ambitions of a literary nature. His fellow-lodgers in Scotland Yard included the witty Smith brothers, James and Horace, young lawyers like himself, whose satirical light verse still conveys the salty tang of the Regency theatre[402]. References to Croker in the later volumes of the diary suggest that the acquaintance was kept up, and acquired a business significance after Croker acquired office. Croker attempted to intervene on Radclyffe's behalf in the events leading up to his trial in 1820, but seems to have been out-manoeuvred by Radclyffe's principal enemy, George Nayler.

George Rose was approaching the end of his long and immensely influential career in public affairs when Radclyffe first had dealings with him, on 24 March 1812. This opening contact was probably the result of a circular which Rose had published shortly before, inviting comments on the 'Parish Register Bill … now pending'. Radclyffe's contribution

[402] The Smiths won fame with their *Rejected Addresses* (London, 1812) and *Horace in London* (London, 1813).

to the progress of this legislation, in which he had very good professional reasons to be interested, is described below. Although the correspondence which ensued went on for some months, it does not appear to have developed into anything resembling personal friendship; nevertheless, it is noteworthy that Rose, the ultimate Tory power-broker, was prepared to receive advice from Radclyffe on a matter of public policy.

George Harrison, who has been credited with principal responsibility for the professionalisation of the Treasury, and so laying the foundations of the Civil Service[403], was already well launched on his long career of prudent managerial activity in the inner councils of government, as Assistant Secretary to the Treasury, when Radclyffe called on him in Lincoln's Inn on 19 February 1806, probably to discuss the troublesome matter of Elizabeth Radclyffe's claim on part of a Jamaican sugar estate. Harrison (1767-1841) had been called to the Bar in 1800; his father, Thomas, had been Attorney- and Advocate-General of Jamaica, and George was thus well placed to advise Radclyffe on his wife's claim[404]. Radclyffe returned to Harrison a number of times over the months and years that followed, though the diary references need to be treated with some caution, since the same name was borne by the last owner of the plantation which was the subject of dispute, and also by one of Radclyffe's genealogical clients, Harrison of Copford Hall[405].

The fourth of Radclyffe's important official contacts illustrates the significance for his career of a Yorkshire connection which was powerful in London during the period of the diary. When Joseph Wilkinson published his hagiographic but scrupulously researched *Worthies of Barnsley and District* in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, he began

[403] R. Knight, *Britain Against Napoleon* (London, 2014), p. 327.
[404] A London book sale in 2015 included a volume published in 1786 in Kingston, Jamaica, containing the Acts of the Jamaican Assembly passed between 1770 and 1783, together with *An Abridgement of the Laws of Jamaica*; the copy was inscribed 'George Harrison Lincoln's Inn 1791'. The elder Harrison's name appears in the list of subscribers.
[405] All these Harrisons may have been related to each other – research continues.

his chapter on the Beckett family with the words 'Perhaps no existing family has been longer, more closely, or more influentially connected with Barnsley than that of Beckett'[406]. They were skilled craftsmen in the later seventeenth century, prosperous grocers in the mid-1700s, magistrates and bankers by 1800.

> 'During a long course of years John Beckett was principal partner in the Leeds Bank, and in that capacity rendered at all times the most essential services to the trades and inhabitants of Leeds and its vicinity. However sudden or trying the vicissitudes of the commercial world, the stability of "Beckett's Bank" was never suspected; but it was always in such emergencies the refuge of honest men, and the liberal supporter of the mercantile and manufacturing interests.'[407]

Contact between Radclyffes and Becketts would have been inevitable, and the diarist was quick to offer his services as an Officer of Arms when John Beckett[408] the banker and magistrate was awarded a baronetcy in 1813, for his activity in suppressing Luddism. Beckett's bank eventually became one of the principal components of today's Barclays bank.

The baronet had made a good marriage, with a daughter of Christopher Wilson, Bishop of Bristol, and bred a family who sustained and expanded on his own success. The eldest son, also called John, was born in 1775; after Cambridge and the Inns of Court he was appointed Under-Secretary of State for Home Affairs in February of 1806, probably on Earl Fitzwilliam's recommendation. Like Croker, Rose and Harrison, he came to seem indispensable to successive Tory ministries, and ended up as a Junior Lord of the Treasury. In 1817 he married a daughter of the 1st Earl of Lonsdale, another of Radclyffe's acquaintances.

Radclyffe clearly relished dealing with the Beckett family, especially at the time of the creation of their baronetcy in 1813. He researched their pedigrees, negotiated the grant of

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[406] J. Wilkinson, *Worthies of Barnsley and District (*London, n.d.), p. 63.
[407] J. Wilkinson, *Worthies of Barnsley and District (*London, n.d.), p. 73.
[408] 1743-1825.

their arms, and saw a good deal of them socially[409]. Their commission was valuable to Radclyffe not only for its monetary worth, but also, plainly, for the doors which it opened elsewhere. To the social historian, it demonstrates the process by which in the first decades of the nineteenth century the English governing aristocracy accepted and absorbed the new commercial and industrial money which was flowing from the North. The Becketts' progress up the social ladder may be seen as exemplifying the process of 'emulation' which Margaret Hunt describes as 'the central explanatory concept employed by eighteenth-century social historians in the postwar period'[410] to define the motivation of socially aspirant groups; she goes on to criticise what she regards as a frequently undiscriminating use of the concept, but there is no doubting its power among those who applied to Radclyffe and his colleagues for pedigrees and coats of arms.

To conclude, a survey of Radclyffe's political and personal contacts makes it possible to surmise that his sympathies lay with the Tories, particularly those of a liberal disposition, rather than with the Whigs; but that this was probably a matter of temperament rather than ideology. Rosemary Sweet might have had him in view when she wrote:

> 'The study of antiquities held a particular appeal to those of a conservative disposition: the solace of the past which had soothed the outright Toryism of an earlier generation of antiquaries was, by the end of the century, placating the anxiety of a generation whose sense of alienation was provoked by changes to the economic and social order as well as threats to the religious and political establishment.'[411]

In terms of social preferences, the diary makes it amply plain that Radclyffe revered ancient descent – his own, above all – but also that he was happy to assist rising men such as Ryder and the Becketts. He thus emerges as both defender of continuity and enabler of

[409] *Diary,* 4 September 1813, 'To breakfast with Mr. Secretary Beckett and his brother…'
[410] M.R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort* (Berkeley, 1996), p. 2.
[411] *Antiquaries,* p. 78.

evolution – whereas his colleagues at the College of Arms, Heard and Nayler, were intransigent in their snobbery[412].

Dror Wahrman's analysis of the emergence of a specifically middle-class politics does not seem, in the end, to have much to say about Radclyffe, if only because Radclyffe himself has so little to say about politics. It may be important to recognise that the period 1809-16 was, according to Wahrman, characterised by a lull in the use of middle-class political language[413]; it may be that Radclyffe is best seen as more of an observer than a partisan, a pragmatist in the Yorkshire style rather than a dogmatist.

## Around the fringes of the civil law

To identify Radclyffe as herald, genealogist in private practice, antiquarian, landlord and so forth as if these were separate, almost unconnected aspects of his life is, in one sense, to invent distinctions that he himself would, almost certainly, have found strange. In his diary the constant, rapid flow of allusive entries suggests strongly that all his busy activity was for him part of one seamless pattern. Radclyffe was not – either to other people or to himself – just a genealogist, or just an expert on heraldry, or just an antiquarian; he was a gentleman of moderate means, who derived a respectable, and increasing, income from his activity in public and private affairs, sometimes following his own interests and sometimes responding to the requests of others. It was an approach typical of the emergent class of professionals which supplied Radclyffe with one of his several identities, and illustrates

[412] 'Lament, lament Sir Isaac Heard,/Put mourning round thy page, Debrett,/For here lies one, who ne'er preferred/A Viscount to a Marquis yet….Heaven grant him now some noble nook,/For, rest his soul, he'd rather be/Genteelly damn'd beside a Duke,/Than sav'd in vulgar company.' (Thomas Moore, *Epitaph on a Tuft Hunter.)*

[413] D. Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 184-5. '…from about 1809 the language of "middle class" went into considerable hibernation for the better part of a decade.'

Henry French's suggestion that the eighteenth century saw the development of a 'melange of activities' which 'may have allowed individuals to move between social self-definitions according to context, in the same way that they moved between geographical areas'[414].

One of the most intriguing of Radclyffe's multifarious ploys had a distinct flavour of the law about it, and in today's terms might be called 'paralegal' activity. At first glance this branch of his business appears relatively trivial, and might be dismissed as amateur pettifogging, but closer examination suggests something more interesting.

I have found no evidence to show that Radclyffe ever undertook any formal training in the law; but this apparently did not stop him from accepting work in drafting wills, acting as an agent in matters of probate, representing parties involved in proceedings about insanity, and handling a range of formalities concerning inheritances and family matters, many of which would have meant dealings, as if he was an attorney, with courts of law, or at least with fully qualified lawyers. Rosemary Sweet suggests that there were numerous antiquarians 'who practised as lawyers without being attached to the Inns [of Court]'[415]. This is entirely congruent with Rosemary O'Day's assertion that 'There were other ways to become an attorney or solicitor than via apprenticeship as a clerk. The most straightforward way was to build up some connections and simply declare that you were competent to deal with their business and legal concerns'[416]. In fact, Radclyffe seems to have done just that. (It has been mentioned that he is known to have acted as agent for his brother-in-law John Salwey, on the latter's estate in Herefordshire, for a period before

[414] H.R. French, 'The search for the "middle sort of people" in England, 1600-1800', in *Historical Journal 43* (2000), p. 292.
[415] *Antiquaries,* p. 44.
[416] R. O'Day, *The Professions in Early Modern England, 1450-1800* (Harlow, 2000), p. 168. O'Day goes on to point out (p. 173) that the designation 'attorney' was assigned in the eighteenth century to practitioners in the civil law. Michael Lobban cites a petition presented in February 1729 by justices of the West Riding of Yorkshire complaining of the activities of unqualified practitioners; was Radclyffe following a path well-trodden by people from his home parts? (M. Lobban, in *Rethinking the Age of Reform,* eds. A. Burns and J. Innes (Cambridge, 2003), p. 116.)

1803.) It looks as if some of this work was undertaken *pro bono*, to assist friends and relatives; but some involved payment, and something resembling a professional-client relationship. Whether or not the fees so earned were important to Radclyffe is not clear; the flavour of the relevant diary entries suggests that this 'paralegal' business gave him sensations of power and esteem, as much as profit.

A passion for genealogy was always at the root of the matter, and, as Sir Anthony Wagner is at pains to demonstrate[417], the genealogical research which became the staple of the heralds' business from the sixteenth century onwards was often found essential in determining rights to disputed inheritances. As a consequence of this, and after the modification of ecclesiastical jurisdiction which occurred at the Reformation, members of the College of Arms became involved, at least marginally, in the operations of the civil law; they can be found acting as quasi-attorneys, handling procedures relating to a range of matters including the recording of births, marriages and deaths, rights of nomenclature and changes of name, wills and inheritances, wardships, and cases concerning insanity, as well as technicalities relating to rank, privilege and social status.

The *locus* of that branch of the civil law in which Radclyffe was particularly interested was Doctors' Commons, the small collegiate establishment almost opposite the College of Arms on St. Benet's Hill. Radclyffe's diary shows that he was an incessant visitor to Doctors' Commons even before he joined the College of Arms, and he had a particularly close connection with one of the proctors there, a member of the Curtis family of Maryknoll to whom he was related by marriage.

Doctors' Commons had been an important institution in its day, but by the beginning of the nineteenth century its functions were falling into desuetude as the operation of the civil

[417] *Heralds*, Chapter VI.

law was reorganised; it was famously derided by Charles Dickens in one of his *Sketches by Boz*[418], and became a byword for legal fatuity. It was dissolved by stages in the late 1850s (though it continued a notional existence as a corporation until the death of its last surviving member in 1912), and nothing of its buildings has survived. Strangely, it seems that it has never been adequately written about; it is mentioned briefly by the American, Roscoe Pound[419], and the only study devoted to its history, published in 1977[420], is a largely antiquarian account of its late mediaeval origins and its corporate activity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There is no account of the almost symbiotic relationship which Doctors' Commons appears to have had, for a period of time, with the College of Arms, which itself, as the seat of the Court of Chivalry was another institution of the civil law. And there has been no study of the proctors, as opposed to the advocates, of the College[421], still less of the penumbra of self-appointed attorneys such as Radclyffe who seem to have hovered on the outskirts of the institution. O'Day follows Squibb in suggesting that recruits to the profession of the civil law generally were drawn, in the eighteenth century, from a wide social background, and were often characterised by social ambitiousness; this might seem to have some relevance to Radclyffe's case, but it does not accord with the evidence now available about his actual status.

The reference to the High Court of Chivalry – which meant, of course, the College of Heralds – is significant. This court did, indeed, meet only occasionally – so much so that its sittings during the eighteenth century were confined to a few days between March 1732

[418] Second Series (London, 1836/7).
[419] 'The legal profession in England from the end of the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century', in *Notre Dame Law Review* vol. 19, no. 4, (1944), p. 315.
[420] G.D. Squibb, *Doctors' Commons: A History of the College of Advocates and Doctors of Law* (Oxford, 1977).
[421] The common law equivalents of proctors were solicitors, and of advocates, barristers.

and March 1737[422]; but the memory of its existence survived[423], and some wisps of lawyerlike status seem to have continued to flutter round the fringes of the heralds' tabards.

The following cases illustrate various aspects of Radclyffe's 'paralegal' activity, not all of which were properly matters of civil law.

As noted in the opening of this chapter, the very first entries in the diary, made four months before Radclyffe's appointment as Rouge Croix, show him hard at work collecting oral evidence for a pedigree which he was building for a family by the name of Barber, while at the same time opening up a new line of investigation concerning a family named Ashton. Subsequent entries make it plain that both of these cases involved claims to inheritances, and that the clients were not only employing Radclyffe to seek out the facts of their pedigrees, but were asking him for advice about the feasibility of their claims[424].

It is impossible to estimate from the diary entries how far Radclyffe may have gone in supplying such advice, but there are indications that he was unwilling to accept some commissions which were offered to him, on the grounds that the cases he was being asked to promote were insufficiently supported by the available evidence.

The death of his brother-in-law, John Salwey of Moor Park, at the beginning of June, 1803, opened up for Radclyffe, as one of Salwey's executors and a part-inheritor of the estate, a whole new dimension of duties and responsibilities, many of which had a strongly legal flavour. Apart from organising the funeral ceremonies (which he ordered with a

[422] *Heralds,* pp. 368-373.
[423] Thomas Rowlandson produced a print for Ackermann's *Microcosm of London* in 1808 which purported to depict the Court in session at that time.
[424] On 8 January there is a reference to advice given about 'presumptive heirs' in connection with the Barber pedigree, on 17 January to advice about 'Barber's claims', and on 17 August, 1803, to advice about claims arising from the Ashton pedigree.

wealth of heraldic solemnity that was archaic even by the standards of the College of Arms[425]), he involved himself with impressive promptitude in the execution of Salwey's will, which required the establishment of trusts, divisions of chattels and lands, terminations and renewals of leases[426] (including participation in the rituals of a manorial court at Prittlewell in Essex, which he found most interesting), and administration of a substantial landed estate, part of which was subject to an enclosure scheme. All of this involved much negotiation with the several branches of the Salwey family, the deceased's dependants (one of whom may have presented difficulties of some delicacy[427]), his tenants, other landholders with whom he had had dealings (notably the Bishop of Worcester), and tradesmen and professionals of every sort. The pressure of this business was heavy, especially to begin with, and involved Radclyffe in frequent dealings with bankers and solicitors on behalf of the trust; not all of the interested parties were easy to deal with, and Radclyffe had to answer at least three times in Chancery during the course of his executorship. The diary for 1820 shows him still active in trust business.

Although the discharge of these duties was arduous and time-consuming, it is plain from the way in which Radclyffe writes about them that he took pleasure in appearing as a man of affairs among landowners and their agents. He had, clearly, expected to undertake the role[428], and knew how to go about it. And, showing himself to be a man who never passed

[425] There are echoes of the fabulous ceremonial which surrounded the funeral of the Duke of Albemarle in 1670, an event recorded by George Sandford, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant, in a series of engravings which Radclyffe would very likely have seen at either the College of Arms or the Society of Antiquaries; I have a damaged copy of the Sandford engravings, formerly in the Society's library.
[426] *Diary*, 11 January and 11 June, 1805.
[427] *Diary*, 11 January, 3 and 6 April, 3 June, 5 August 1805; Miss Simpkinson was rather pressing in her requests for repayment of quite a substantial mortgage on the Salwey estate.
[428] Radclyffe's business connections with the Salwey family may have begun soon after his sister's marriage. Excerpts from an earlier, now lost, volume of the diary, which survive in the archives of the College of Arms, show him residing at Moor Park and acting as agent for John Salwey in matters to do with estate management and building works at the house.

up an opportunity, he made no bones about turning the acquaintances made in the course of his executorship into clients of his private genealogical practice.

No less significant than the Salwey connection, at least in Radclyffe's own eyes, was his involvement with the business affairs of the Earl of Newburgh. He really seems to have played an influential role in the Earl's – or perhaps still more the Countess's – attempts[429] to reopen a claim on the Derwentwater estates, and the Countess was active in lobbying for him in return[430]. His assiduity was rewarded by the bequest in Lord Newburgh's Will of the reversion of an annuity worth £2,000, to take effect after the death of the Countess, (who in the event outlived Radclyffe). Upon Lord Newburgh's unexpected death in September 1815, Radclyffe acted, at the Countess' request, as master of the funeral ceremonies; he recorded having much confidential conversation with the Countess while staying at the family seat, Slindon in Sussex, at that time, but Lady Newburgh went abroad shortly afterwards, and there is no record of later contacts. Radclyffe was, however, active in debating in the columns of *The Gentleman's Magazine* the complex question of the succession to the titular Earldom of Newburgh[431].

It appears from the diary that Radclyffe acted as an advisor on matters of inheritance to at least two other noble families, those of the 10th Baron Petre and the 6th Earl of Shaftesbury. The Shaftesbury connection seems to have arisen from the fact that Lord and Lady Newburgh were in the habit of staying with the Shaftesburys at their house off the Bayswater Road; there Radclyffe was accepted as a well-connected individual of good

[429] Particularly in 1803 and 1812.
[430] *Diary,* 1 May 1803 (Sunday). 'Called on the Duke of Norfolk, & Lady Newburgh, had conversation on my appointment [to the College of Arms] & at her request on Lord Newburgh's Estates in the County of Northumberland.'
[431] See p 124.

social standing whose opinion on practical, and possibly delicate, matters could be consulted without embarrassment on either side.

Radclyffe's activities in the houses of the nobility were, unquestionably, helps to his own advancement; but not all his 'paralegal' activity was about social climbing. The diary shows him engaged for some months in 1803 and 1804 in an apparently disinterested, and quite arduous, labour in London, concerning a certain Thomas Hudson, landlord of the Grand Hotel in Covent Garden. Mrs. Hudson appears to have been on very close terms with Radclyffe's fiancée, Elizabeth Marechale – one wonders if she might possibly have been Elizabeth's childhood nurse; to judge from one brief entry she was known to some of the Radclyffes' country relatives. The young couple frequently visited her in late 1803 and early 1804 to take tea with her, and sometimes saw her at other times. The Grand Hotel (the first, apparently, to bear such a title in London) was a large establishment, with stabling for 100 horses[432]; Hudson had been running it for a number of years, but now he was elderly, and in late June of 1804 Radclyffe recorded helping him to dispose of his business – almost immediately after which he died, and was buried on 14 July; again, Radclyffe seems to have been in charge of the arrangements – he paid the funeral bills on 18 July and thereafter. There is no indication that he gained any reward for his activity in this case.

Radclyffe most likely acted in the Hudson case out of sympathy for his *fiancée*'s old friends, but other diary entries suggest that he also acted as trustee for at least two other estates in which he does not appear to have had any previous personal or family interest. In March, 1817 he refused a request to undertake a trusteeship in a particularly difficult case

[432] J. Timbs, *Club Life of London* (London, 1866), vol. II.

involving the lunacy of an estate owner; he gave as his reason the lack of a guarantee for himself against financial liability.

Other examples of 'paralegal' activity include several diary entries which show Radclyffe writing wills for friends and acquaintances, including John Essex (20 May 1803), Mrs. Ladd (17 February 1811), a Mrs. Netherwood (13 September 1813), and William Curtis of Maryknoll (a codicil, on 20 September 1816[433]). His daily business as a genealogist would, of course, have given him a detailed knowledge of the forms and requirements of will-writing.

The scope of Radclyffe's 'paralegal' activity seems to have expanded as the years passed. He handled an increasing number of applications for changes of name, covering the stages from the giving of advice to the securing of permissions at the appropriate level (a royal warrant was required in some cases). He was given powers of attorney to act for various of his friends and clients, which sometimes involved financial dealings on a large scale. He acted as principal agent for a bankrupt kinsman, Daniel Barnard, and spent much time, throughout 1815-1817, dealing with bankers, creditors and lawyers on his behalf. He acted for a 'wretched woman', Mrs. Frank, of a Yorkshire family, who had to take steps to have her wealthy husband committed as a lunatic. And finally, but by no means least, he acted as Parliamentary agent for a group of petitioners (including himself) in their application for an Enclosure Bill for Worsbrough Common, in May, 1817.

Radclyffe was, quite clearly, engaged in what can reasonably be described as professional activity in London; what is not certain is whether he would have accepted the ascription of 'professional' for himself. His preferred self-description appears to have been

[433] P.R.O. Catalogue ref. Prob. 11/1673.

'…gentleman, of Darley Hall, an Officer of Arms'. Wagner makes no mention of the civil law functions of the College of Arms.

## Parliamentary draughtsman

Two episodes of Radclyffe's activity which were undertaken in his character as a herald and a member of the College are of interest on a general historical level.

On 24 March, 1812, Radclyffe noted 'Wrote to Rt. Hon. Geo. Rose on the subject of his Bill now pending in Parlia't relative to Paroc'l Registers'. Rose[434] evidently responded to Radclyffe's communication by inviting him to submit observations on the proposals which he had laid before Parliament in the previous year, and which had been debated in March, 1812. This was the beginning of a substantial dialogue between the two men, which went on through the next two months and evidently had some influence on the form of the Act which eventually came into force in January, 1813.

'Rose's Act', as it was known, has been the subject of a recent re-appraisal by Stuart Basten in *Local Population Studies*[435]. It was designed 'to tighten up what had appeared to many as an increasingly failing system' for the recording of births, deaths and marriages in England. It was criticised at the time for inadequacies – for example, in its treatment of Dissenters – but it was at least a first step towards more efficient administration of an

[434] George Rose (1744-1818) is chiefly remembered for his record as a staunch Tory 'fixer' and Treasurer of the Navy from 1807 to 1818; but his career is of more general interest, as illustrating the unity of administrative with political activity at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He served as Clerk of the Parliaments from 1788 to 1818, worked with Edward Jenner in 1807/08 to establish arrangements for mass vaccination against smallpox, and, as is shown by the Act which bears his name, was active in developing systems for the recording and measurement of population. He may perhaps be seen, alongside George Harrison and John Wilson Croker, as a prominent example of an emergent type, the professional in public affairs, a type with which William Radclyffe may have aimed to identify himself.
[435] 'From Rose's Bill to Rose's Act: A Re-appraisal of the 1812 Parish Register Act'. *Local Population Studies,* no. 76, Spring 2008.

important area of public information, and one which is, of course, of the first value to genealogists.

Basten remarks that 'Examination of Rose's letters and papers yields little evidence, regrettably, as to the precise motive behind why Rose initiated this particular Bill. Perhaps the fact that Rose "procured his act to be circulated through the country, courting objections and amendments to it" suggests an interest, rather than an expertise, in developing effective systems of parochial registration.' Radclyffe's papers do not give a precise indication of his contribution to the drafting process; but it may have been significant, since he recorded working on the Bill on 4, 6 and 7 April, after which he sent the draft back to Rose, who returned an amended version on 21 April about which Radclyffe consulted the Duke of Norfolk on 7 May[436].

It is ironical that the provisions of the Act relating to the care and custody of registers were to be painfully relevant to the charges brought against Radclyffe at York Assizes in 1820. But this was not the only episode which shows Radclyffe, quite improbably, apparently drawing attention to irregularities with which he was himself to be charged.

Radclyffe had other dealings with Rose in the years that followed 1812.

A second engagement with the legislative process occurred in 1815 and 1816, when Radclyffe recorded a series of meetings with his friend and colleague Edmund Lodge, Lancaster Herald, in connection with a Funeral Certificates Bill. The two heralds evidently saw this Bill as complementing the Parish Registers Act, by providing for a uniform and trustworthy record of funerals (as opposed to deaths). Unfortunately, they placed their proposals in the hands of Sir Egerton Brydges, M.P. for Maidstone, antiquarian, and

[436] There is no reference to Radclyffe in *The Diaries and Correspondence of the Right Hon. George Rose,* ed. the Revd. Leveson Vernon Harcourt, 2 vols. (London, 1860) – but neither is Rose's Act itself given any mention.

unsuccessful claimant to the Chandos peerage. Brydges was a man of talent and passionate temperament, who would nowadays be described as both delusional and obsessional; he made various efforts at legislation, which in his hands commanded less respect than their merits deserved, and the Funeral Certificates Bill was no exception. When he moved the second reading on 13 May 1816, it was blasted by a derisive assault from the Attorney General, Sir William Garrow, who implied that it represented an attempt by Brydges to redress the defeat he had sustained in his peerage claim. Brydges lost his temper, and with it the Bill, so that the efforts of Radclyffe and Lodge went for nothing.

Radclyffe had followed the Chandos case with close attention when it was heard by the House of Lords in 1803, and subsequently had various genealogical dealings with Brydges. Certain elements of the Chandos story resemble features of the case which was brought against Radclyffe in 1820.

It may be assumed that some, at least, of Radclyffe's contemporaries in the College of Arms were similarly engaged in various forms of private practice, but it seems likely that he went further than most of them. Radclyffe himself, in correspondence with Robert Surtees, implied that his success as a fee-earner had aroused the jealousy of his colleagues. Certainly, the impression left by a reading of the diary is that he was briskly avid for 'extra-curricular' work; but for present purposes the precise extent of the income so generated may be less important than the evidence which it offers, that professional qualifications at this period still mattered less than enterprise and energy.

## Money matters

There is ample evidence, in the diary and elsewhere among Radclyffe's documentary remains, of an almost compulsively orderly, methodical nature, and a passion for record-keeping. With regard to money matters, the diary contains only incidental information such as letters sent or received containing bank drafts, and occasional notes of exceptional transactions; otherwise, it is clear from numerous references that Radclyffe recorded his expenditures, as they occurred, in a cashbook which he cast up every Saturday evening, and that he kept the larger picture of his income and outgoings in a separate ledger, which he balanced at the end of every month and audited at the end of every calendar year [437]. Neither cashbook nor ledger has survived, and so we are left with tantalisingly little hard information about the diarist's finances.

The sources of Radclyffe's income appear to have been as follows:

- Fees earned by his genealogical practice, both private and public (i.e. in his capacity as a member of the College of Arms); this could entail extensive searches, not merely in the College archives but in record depositories all over the country, for which expenses would be payable in addition to the set fees. Fees were payable on registration of a pedigree in the College of Arms.
- Fees earned by his activity in armorial matters at the College – for example, devising coats in response to applications for grants of arms, and making the necessary arrangements for them to be approved.

[437] *Diary*, 31 January 1804; 28 December 1812.

- Fees for the creation of 'ornamental' documents and displays of armory and pedigrees; these could be very substantial affairs – elaborately illuminated parchments inscribed in the finest calligraphy, or work in silk and other expensive materials, richly boxed or framed and gilded.
- Income derived from 'paralegal' activities, trusteeships, etc.
- Rents from property, possibly in London and certainly in Yorkshire.
- Income from his wife's dowry and inheritances, particularly in Jamaica.
- Dividends from investments, principally government stock but also including shares in the Dove and Dearne Canal Company.
- (Possibly) profits from mining operations on the Darley Hall estate.

It has not been possible to come to any reliable or meaningful conclusions, in terms of figures, about the product of these various resources. Although the diary is rich in mentions of the names of actual and potential clients for Radclyffe's genealogical practices, both private and public, it rarely makes clear who actually commissioned him to do what, and leaves the matter of fees, with a single exception, entirely to one side. The same applies to his strictly heraldic, or armorial, work. Fortunately, the Chapter Minutes of the College of Arms supply precise, and presumably accurate, details of the pedigrees and grants of arms over which Radclyffe was engaged (see Chapter 7); but the Minutes are not concerned with financial matters in detail, and leave us none the wiser about the actual profits accruing to individual heralds.

A reliable contemporary source, John Feltham's *Picture of London for 1802*, gives a table of fees charged at the College of Arms as follows:

'Ordinary search – 5/-,
General search – 1 gn.,

New coat of arms – from 10 gns'[438]

A very few, obscure details in the diary[439] seem at first sight to suggest that Radclyffe may have owned property in London; but it may be that these entries concern Salwey properties, which he administered as executor of the estate. He certainly derived some income, quite legitimately, from this executorship, which took him at intervals into Essex and Herefordshire, but, once again, it is not possible to estimate amounts; would there have been many payments like the £20 which Radclyffe recorded drawing on 1 December 1812? In the absence of the account book, guesswork is unwarrantable.

Family property in Yorkshire was another source of income, and here we have just a little more evidence for the scale of affairs. On 11 May 1803, a day which saw various complex financial transactions, Radclyffe's brother-in-law Edward Jackson remitted a sum of £99 17s. Then on the following 4 June, Jackson remitted a further £25 10s. No explanation is attached to either sum, but later entries concerning the purchase of Darley Hall make it reasonably clear that the Radclyffe clan were willing to work together financially, and the monies remitted in 1803 were most probably either paid out or loaned from their collective resources to assist William as he took up his appointment at the College of Arms. Converted to modern values[440], they represent a substantial amount. Subsequent records of Radclyffe's correspondence with Jackson show that sums of money passed between them quite frequently, for a variety of purposes.

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[438] J. Feltham, *Picture of London for 1802,* 26th edition, London, p.56.

[439] E.g. on 15 January 1811 a reference to collecting a half-year's rent from a Mr. Bromyard at South Sea House, and occasional references to a property in Cecil Street, off the Strand.

[440] The difficulties of finding an appropriate multiplier for monetary values at the beginning of the nineteenth century are notorious; calculations created by Stephen Morley on the basis of figures drawn from J. O'Donoghue, L. Goulding and G. Allen, *Consumer Price Inflation Since 1750* (*Economic Trends No. 64),* pp. 38-46, supplemented by O.N.S. document *RPI All Items Percentage Change Over 12 Months 1949 Onwards,* suggest that a figure of x80 might give a very approximate indication of a possible order of magnitude. J. Uglow, *In These Times* (London, 2014), p. 94, however, cites the Bank of England as recommending a multiplier of 123 for 1793 prices.

Although the acquisition of Darley Hall was motivated as much by social as by business concerns, the estate was capable of generating income – on a larger scale, indeed, than Radclyffe could have envisaged when he purchased it – for this, see Chapter 2.

The Jamaican property, on which the Radclyffes had some claim through Elizabeth's relationship to the Harrison family, was evidently seen for some time as a potential goldmine. From September of 1806 onwards the diary records receipt of remittances from Jamaica, erratically paid, amounting to £100 per annum, but Radclyffe and his immediate relations clearly hoped to extract more. They were participants – it is not clear how – in a case which opened in the Court of the Privy Council in the Treasury on 8 January 1813, but which, however, collapsed almost as soon as it opened, due to what appears to have been a surprising and uncharacteristic failure of preparation by Timperon's counsel, Sir Samuel Romilly. Thereafter the affairs of the estate became mired in Chancery, until the decision was taken in 1816 to sell up the family's interest.

Finally, there was income from Government stock. Here again, there is no discovering how much Radclyffe owned at any given time. It is interesting to note, however, that he was prepared to use his stock holdings, and hence the Bank of England, much as one might today use a current account, drawing by selling and paying in by investing. It may have been the case, also, that he was able to offer his stock holdings as security against the loans that he took out from time to time to meet immediate needs, in particular the £1,000 that he borrowed from Sir Joseph Radcliffe of Milnes Bridge to help with the purchase of Darley Hall.

The Radclyffes seem to have lived moderately rather than extravagantly by the standards of their time. Their 'lifestyle ambitions' took the form of acquiring a modest gentry estate in Yorkshire, rather than a fashionable establishment in London. When they borrowed, it

was for short periods and for such purposes as the purchase of land. Radclyffe's diary suggests a thoroughly hardheaded and astute approach to financial management.

Because banking business involved visits, and since the diary was above all a record of meetings and movements, we are given quite a lot of information about the banks with which Radclyffe had dealings. 119 visits are recorded, and it seems reasonable to suppose that this number would be significantly higher if we had access to the missing sections of the diary.

19 of the references, heavily concentrated in the years 1803-11, involve Messrs. Biddulph, Ridge and Cocks (the order of the names varies; Radclyffe dealt principally with Mr. Ridge), whose premises were at 43 Charing Cross. This was where the Salwey trusteeship money was lodged, and Radclyffe had a great deal to do over the administration of those funds. A diary reference of 11 May 1803 suggests that Biddulph, Ridge and Cocks were chosen in a 'beauty parade' of five banks which were bidding to manage the Salwey business. Theirs was a relatively small bank, but it was eventually chosen for the Salwey business because it had connections in the Welsh borders[441]. Radclyffe's visits to them were often paired with meetings at the offices of Messrs. Strong, Still and Strong, a partnership of solicitors who handled the legal business of the estate. An entry of 13 June 1805, suggests the scale of these dealings; on that occasion Radclyffe paid in a draft for £400[442].

The Radclyffe family's own investments, which were mostly in 5% Navy Stock (there is one reference[443] to 'Reduced' 3% Stock) involved frequent visits to the Bank of England. The first reference of this sort comes on 5/6 December 1804, when Radclyffe records

[441] Evidence of the importance of provincial banking at this time.
[442] Perhaps £120,000 today.
[443] *Diary*, 10 March1812.

having his wife's 'fortune' transferred into his name. Thereafter the diary records at least 43 visits to the Bank, to receive dividends, or to sell or buy stock. Not all of these transactions directly concerned Radclyffe's own holdings: despite the transfer mentioned above, Elizabeth seems to have retained a certain sum in her own name[444]. Radclyffe's unmarried Aunt Adamson, who lived in London, and also his sister, the widowed Mrs. Salwey, several times carried out transactions which seem to have been for his benefit; and Radclyffe had occasion at least six times between 1816 and 1818 to exercise powers of attorney on behalf of friends or relations. The sums involved in these dealings were commonly of the order of £100 or £50, and thus were far from negligible; but the purchase of Darley Hall required an altogether different level of financing.

From 7 March 1812 onwards, Forsters and Lubbocks bank in Mansion House Street saw Radclyffe at fairly frequent intervals; there are eight mentions of this bank, and Radclyffe may have had an account there. Lubbocks had dealings with a widespread network of provincial banks, including banks in Hereford and Ludlow (Salwey territory), Birmingham and Leeds (both places where Radclyffe had family connections).

Wentworth's bank, at 25 Threadneedle Street, appears seven times in the later years of the diary. This was a bank with Yorkshire roots, in Wakefield, and Radclyffe appears to have used it particularly in connection with his agricultural activities at Darley Hall. Gosling and Sharpe, of 19 Fleet Street, had links with the Doncaster firm of Cook, Childers & Co., which was probably why Radclyffe visited them on 1 March 1813. He had many dealings with the Beckett family, who were bankers in Barnsley, but there is no record of his

[444] This was probably a 'separate estate' of the type identified by Margaret Hunt as popular with 'middling families' in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. M.R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort* (Berkeley, 1996), pp. 158-9.

visiting Glyn Mills & Co. at 2 Birchin Lane, although this was the London bank on which Becketts drew.

Other banks, some of them with names that are still famous, even if obsolete and submerged, feature occasionally, as for example when Radclyffe has to take money orders from clients to be redeemed where they had been issued. So we have Hoare's (13 May 1805), Child's (30 April 1812; 4 June 1813; 2 August 1814; 17 July 1816), Lord Dimsdale's (6 December 1813, for a loan of £200 for six weeks, and 20 January 1814), Hodsoll and Sir Walter Stirling's (27 July 1815), Wright's (11 May 1812, and 17 March 1813 for Salvin cheques, and 24 July 1815 and 20 September 1817 on Lady Newburgh's business) – among others. Finally, there are references also to provincial banks in Sheffield and Durham, as well as Wentworth's at Wakefield[445].

There are no indications in the diary that Radclyffe had trouble with any of these banks – no suggestions of accounts overdrawn, loans overdue or credit refused. On the contrary, the entries convey an impression that Radclyffe was able to deal easily and personally with the principals of the banks he mentions – Mr. Hoare, Mr. Child, Mr. Wentworth. Nor is there any hint of the phenomenon of bank failure, the dread of so many in the early years of the nineteenth century.

In this context, it is probably no more than coincidence that one of Radclyffe's clients was William Mellish, M.P., Governor of the Bank of England. But it is noticeable that Radclyffe's practice often brought him into contact with bankers; did he 'follow the money'? He certainly moved quite easily in the world of banks and bankers.

[445] Some details of banks used by Radclyffe are to be found in J. Uglow, *In These Times* (London, 2014), pp. 91-92.

If the diary is reasonably informative about Radclyffe's banking arrangements, the same cannot be said about the scraps of evidence which it supplies on the run of his income and expenditure. An entry of 4 January 1803 suggests that he was charging £20 for a pedigree at that stage of his career; but he sent an itemised bill to Robert Radclyffe of Foxdenton on 10 February 1806 for £105 10s. On 19 December 1813 he sent £70 to Robert Surtees, probably in consideration of expenses incurred by the latter in genealogical investigations on Radclyffe's behalf, which suggests that by that time he was operating in an altogether more expensive style.

He paid his landlady £5 for a quarter's rent on 24 June 1805; on 25 February 1806, he took 1 Knightrider Street at £36 per annum. He lent £25 to his parents-in-law on 19 February 1808. Liquidity was clearly not a problem when he borrowed £80 from his brother-in-law on 9 March 1811 and repaid it in full on 12 March. He borrowed £1,000 from Sir Joseph Radcliffe of Milnes Bridge on 11 May 1812 to buy Darley Hall, and £300 from J. Prescott on 16 October 1820 to buy a cottage at Worsbrough. He retained Mr. Dowse at 50 guineas a year – together, presumably, with his board and lodging.

Even if a multiplier of no more than 80 is applied to all these figures, it is apparent that Radclyffe was operating on a fairly considerable scale, for a professional man, by 1820. On that basis, the total cost of his Yorkshire estate was around £1,500,000 in modern terms, and he died solvent. It is a great shame that he records his occasional meetings with the tax commissioners in terms that are completely uninformative[446].

It is not possible, in the end, to draw any very precise conclusions about Radclyffe's annual income, or the extent of his fortune at death. Patrick Colquhoun, writing in 1803[447]

[446] E.g. 4 May, 1813, 'attended the Commissioners on official income, etc.' The Commissioners met the Heralds in Garter Heard's drawing room.
[447] P. Colquhoun, *A Treatise on Indigence* (London, 1803).

about the incomes of members of what might be called the professional classes, estimated that a headmaster or a college fellow might be in receipt of £600 a year, a 'superior' clergyman (not a bishop) £500, a lawyer (not a judge) £350, and a medical man £260. Whatever faith may be placed in these figures, they indicate at least a pecking order, and it is clear from his diary that Radclyffe considered himself, as a member of the College of Arms and thus of the Royal Household, at least approximately on a par with 'college fellows' and 'superior clergy'; he mentions headmasters only twice, and uninformatively. His ownership of Darley Hall was a different matter, and there are clear signs that he felt that it put him into a different category, even a different class, from that of professional fee-earners.

# CHAPTER 5

## THE MAKING OF AN ANTIQUARIAN

Rosemary Sweet opens her seminal study of eighteenth-century antiquaries with a robust assertion of their cultural significance:

> 'they were important actors in that explosion of print and ideas, that thirst for knowledge and understanding which some have called the British Enlightenment'[448].

She goes on to describe the later years of the century as a time in which earlier and well-established forms of antiquarian activity such as the collecting of curiosities, the

[448] *Antiquaries*, p. xiv.

excavating of ancient sites, and the copying of charters, evolved into a disciplined examination of the when, how and why of the past. It is the purpose of this chapter to consider how far Radclyffe was affected by this antiquarian activity, and whether or not he contributed to it in his own right. Evidence will be drawn principally from Radclyffe's diary, from his published writings, from his correspondence with the Durham antiquarian Robert Surtees, and from the implications of his dealings with other established figures in the same field such as Joseph Hunter and Thomas Whitaker.

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## Motivation and approach

The opening of the 1803 volume of his diary reveals Radclyffe as a practising genealogist engaged in paid research, usually in connection with claims which his clients wished to make on disputed inheritances; and he was persistently active also in pursuit of evidence of his own ancestry. Straightaway, therefore, we are faced with questions concerning his motivation: was he interested in the past for its own sake, or was his genealogical practice merely a means of funding research into his own family tree? And so far as the latter was concerned, was he driven by a prospect of profit, or by simple curiosity?

Analysis of the diary suggests strongly that Radclyffe enjoyed genealogy for its own sake; that in 1803, and over the years that followed, he was pleased to be able to fund his researches into the many branches of the Radclyffe family out of the profits of his commercial practice; and that proclamation of his Radclyffe identity, rather than any claim on the long-lost Radclyffe estates, was his driving motivation. But the later volumes also reveal the development in Radclyffe of a burgeoning passion for history as such, manifested first in an urge to collect relics of the past, and later in a growing interest in recording and interpretation.

Radclyffe's membership of the College of Arms gave him a standing which enabled him to combine the pursuit of profit with a respectable curiosity about the past. Still more significantly, status as a herald brought social advancement – or, as he preferred to see it, social recognition. Radclyffe was certainly aware that the practice of genealogy was rich in social rewards, and, furthermore, that the activities of antiquarianism were among the attributes of gentility.

We have little in the way of direct information about the influences which may have formed Radclyffe's earliest enthusiasm for antiquarian pursuits. The oddly belated mention of his death which appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1832[449] gives practically no useful biographical information, and the facts of his education have remained stubbornly obscure. If, as seems likely, his father moved to Doncaster with his family in or soon after 1779, William might have been sent to Doncaster Grammar School, but the school's pupil registers of the period have not survived[450]. Much the same is true of the grammar schools in Barnsley and Wakefield[451]. In the manuscript which Radclyffe presented to the Earl of Newburgh in 1798, he refers to the grammar school at Wakefield as being 'as famous as any in these kingdoms except those of Westminster, Winchester or Eaton[sic]'; this might perhaps suggest the pride of an alumnus - but that is speculation. He may have been sent to one of the independent academies which were rather favoured by the townspeople of Doncaster, as at other similar places, in that time[452]; the style of his record-keeping suggests a commercial, rather than a classical education, but he had a working knowledge

[449] *The Gentleman's Magazine*, June 1832, vol. 151, p. 613, extract from a review of J. Hunter's *Deanery of Doncaster*. It is possible that George Nayler (for whom see Chapter 7) acted to suppress any earlier notice; Nayler died in 1831.
[450] Communications from Carol Hill (Doncaster Archives), and Robert Steward (Archives of former Doncaster Grammar School), March 2016, with help from Sarah Wearne.
[451] At Wakefield, registers were kept only from 1814 onwards.
[452] See *The Martlet and the Griffen*, T. Hinde and M. St John Parker, chapter 5 (London, 1997).

of Latin[453]. He does not appear in the published lists of those who matriculated, or graduated, at either Oxford or Cambridge, although he had a distant family connection with Brasenose College, Oxford, where a Samuel Radcliffe, of the Todmorden line, had been Principal in the seventeenth century[454]; a cousin of the diarist, Samuel Briscall, was a Fellow of Brasenose throughout the period of the diary[455], and Radclyffe stayed with him on more than one occasion, in order to work on the Dugdale papers in the Bodleian Library.

The absence of information about Radclyffe's education is frustrating; Margaret Hunt's suggestions about the education of professionals in the later eighteenth century seem likely to be relevant to Radclyffe's case; but we do not know for certain[456].

## John Charles Brooke – a role model?

The most likely source of Radclyffe's antiquarian enthusiasm was an individual who died in 1794, and whom he may never have met, but whose doings were well known in West Riding circles, and particularly in Doncaster when Radclyffe was growing up there. This was John Charles Brooke (1748-1794), whose family had been established in Dodworth and Silkstone, a little to the west of Barnsley, for some two hundred years, mostly as gentleman-professionals – lawyers, doctors, clergymen. The Revd. John Brooke, who was

[453] Although he liked to use odd words of Latin in his diary, Radclyffe's command of the language seems to have been insecure – he perpetrates some appalling howlers. On the other hand, he records translating from the text of the Domesday Book (*Diary*, 8 August 1808), and when on a visit to Essex in March 1819, he was pressed by his hosts to stay longer in order to bring his expertise to bear on translating the foundation charter of Chelmsford Grammar School.

[454] Pedigree (the work of William Radclyffe) in T.D. Whitaker, *The Correspondence of Sir George Radcliffe* (London, 1810). See also Figure 4, p. 324.

[455] *Alumni Oxonienses, 1715-1886*, vol. 1 (London, 1887). A shield bearing a variant of the Radclyffe arms appears on the eastern gable of the college chapel.

[456] M.R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1780* (Berkeley, 1996), pp. 62-65.

buried at Silkstone in 1725, had 'distinguished himself as an antiquarian, and made large collections for the *History of the County of York*'[457]; he died childless, and his manuscripts 'passed into the hands of his great-nephew, John Charles Brooke, the Somerset Herald'[458].

John Charles' father died when the boy was seven, and his guardians sent him to London to be apprenticed to a chemist in Holborn; however, 'History, biography, genealogy, and heraldry were more pleasant to the youthful apprentice than attending the laboratory', and 'Having drawn a pedigree of the Howard family in a masterly manner, it procured him the patronage of the then Duke of Norfolk, who obtained him admission into the College of Arms.'[459] The circumstances of the appointment were a little more complicated than Brooke's admiring Yorkshire biographer was aware, or perhaps willing to admit; Brooke tried to buy a place in the College with an offer of £400, but his way was actually cleared by a death in the senior ranks, and he was appointed Rouge Croix Pursuivant in 1773. Another death allowed him to rise to the post of Somerset Herald in 1777. (Sweet, in *Antiquaries*, p. 48, appears to have overlooked the real circumstances of Brooke's rapid ascent of the ladder of seniority.)

Brooke's work as a herald, and the deposits of his papers which are to be found in the College of Arms and in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, merit a separate study; his reputation was sanctified by his early, shocking death[460] in a theatre stampede, whereas Radclyffe's was blasted by equally shocking disgrace in a court of law, but on closer acquaintance the two men seem entirely comparable. Examination of Radclyffe's diary, and in particular an analysis of Radclyffe's network of clients and professional contacts[461],

[457] Joseph Wilkinson, *Worthies, Families and Celebrities of Barnsley and the District* (London and Derby, c. 1880), p. 195.
[458] Diary of Ralph Thoresby, Leeds antiquary, cited in Wilkinson, p. 195.
[459] Wilkinson, *Worthies,* p. 200.
[460] *Felix opportunitate mortis*?
[461] See Chapter 4.

shows clearly that Radclyffe consciously set himself to emulate Brooke, and to follow lines of work which Brooke had opened but left unfinished – and indeed Radclyffe may in the end have been the more productive of the two.

There are grounds for surmising that Brooke's reputation began to impinge on Radclyffe's awareness well before Radclyffe joined the College of Arms, and even before he arrived in London. Brooke's mother was daughter of an Alderman who was four times Mayor of Doncaster between 1736 and 1751[462]; his older brother, William, an attorney (and Deputy Lieutenant of the West Riding) was living in Doncaster during the 1790s and was a subscriber to the first published work that we can associate with William Radclyffe[463]; and his aunt Anne married a certain Richard Fenton, who became Clerk of the Peace for the West Riding and agent for Lord Strafford, and lived at Bank Top near Worsbrough, a place that figures largely in Radclyffe's own history, until his death in 1788[464]. It is difficult, therefore, not to conclude that Brooke's reputation would have been known to young Radclyffe well before the date at which he began to engage in detailed study of Brooke's papers. Brooke's death on 3 February 1794 would certainly have been within the range of Radclyffe's personal knowledge; it occurred around the time that he (probably) gave up the confectionery business in Oxford Street, and it is not unreasonable to conjecture that it may have triggered the ambition to follow in Brooke's footsteps as Rouge Croix Pursuivant.

More than one aspect of Brooke's career and achievement might have appealed to Radclyffe. Brooke's example underlined the fact that apprenticeship to a trade was no barrier to subsequent advancement in the College of Arms[465]. As soon as Radclyffe began

[462] Wilkinson, *Worthies*, p. 198.
[463] Wilkinson, *Worthies*, p. 198.
[464] Wilkinson, *Worthies*, p. 396.
[465] The social origins of members of the College of Arms in the early nineteenth century are examined in Chapter 7.

to frequent the College himself, he had the opportunity to learn how Brooke had made skilful use of his talents for calligraphy and heraldic illustration to win the favour of the Duke of Norfolk, Yorkshire landowner and Earl Marshal – and Radclyffe, possessed of similar talents, used exactly the same tactic. Brooke had demonstrated that the practice of genealogy could enhance the social position of the genealogist himself – a matter of special importance to Radclyffe. And, not least, Brooke's eager, even predatory, pursuit of commissions had been so successful that he was reputed to have left £14,000 at his death[466].

All this is relevant to the development of Radclyffe's antiquarian identity if he was following Brooke as his role model. Brooke was highly esteemed as an antiquarian in his own time, and his acquaintance included many of the most eminent figures in the antiquarian community of the late eighteenth century, as appears from a letter[467] which he wrote on 12 April 1777 to the then doyen of them all, Richard Gough. And indeed, Brooke's reputation seems to have dazzled subsequent historians also. It is remarkable, to put it no more strongly, that Wagner's *Heralds of England* entirely ignores the extent to which Radclyffe and Brooke shared a common background.

Echoes of Brooke's activity occur repeatedly in Radclyffe's own career, both in small matters such as a brief flirtation with militia activity, and, more significantly, in programmes of work which clearly show Radclyffe picking up where Brooke had left off[468]. It may even be no accident that the 'Gothick' style of portrait by which Brooke

[466] Details of Brooke's will are given extensively in Wilkinson, pp. 218-221.
[467] 'I spent yesterday at Mr. Brander's, with Mr. Pegge, Sir Joseph Ayloffe, Grose, etc…Dr. Nash is in town.' Cited by Wilkinson, p. 207.
[468] The only really noticeable difference was that Brooke was (on the evidence of his laundry lists and toiletry inventories) a bachelor of the most fastidious kind, whereas Radclyffe was decidedly a married man and less of a dandy. Otherwise, Radclyffe never seems to have shown interest in membership of a City Livery Company, whereas Brooke was a Liveryman of the Ironmongers' Company (J.C. Brooke, Bodleian MS Eng. Lett. e. 98, Letter Book 3, letter of 4 May 1786).

celebrated his own success, and which now hangs prominently in the College of Arms, is echoed in the Gothic tracery which forms a background to Radclyffe's own, less honoured, picture (see Figure 1, title page).

Entries in the diary show that Radclyffe employed many hours during his months 'In Waiting' at the College of Arms in browsing through the papers and other remains left by Brooke, and that in due course he took it upon himself to become something like a curator of the Brooke archive. His activity in this connection fell into several phases. He explored what he called 'Brooke's Yorks. collections' at an early opportunity, during his first full month In Waiting, March 1804. This was entirely consistent with the pattern of his genealogical activity at that time, which was increasingly focussed on the gentry families of South Yorkshire. The first week of his next Waiting month, July of the same year, was spent 'chiefly on JCB Aspilogia'[469], from which he moved on to the papers of Brooke's friend Pingo, and 're-ordered' his MSS. Nor was this just a reading exercise: presses were cleared and reorganised, catalogues were compiled, and items by both men were prepared for binding[470]. The exercise evidently proved stimulating – Radclyffe went on to explore other caches of material and commission other work of a conservation nature[471].

Over the years that followed, Radclyffe worked on many of the leads in Yorkshire genealogy which had been laid down by Brooke, but his next recorded bout of specifically Brooke-related research in the College did not occur until 1815 (though there were probably other episodes, evidence for which has not survived the various mutilations of the diary for the intervening years). His interest during his Waiting Month in May of Waterloo

[469] 'two volumes…containing an important collection of engravings and drawings of mediaeval heraldic seals', A.R. Wagner, *The Records and Collections of The College of Arms* (London, 1952), p. 43.
[470] *Diary*, Saturday 13 July 1811: 'finished collating Pingo's MSS for binding, placed de novo MSS in the Press under the middle window lately occupied by Pingo's collect'n placed Dr. Peggs Derbyshire Collection wi' Dr. Cuerdons Lanc. Collect. at the top of the Press & replaced several Vol: which was bro't in by Gough the Book Binder having been repaired In the Ev'g repaired some of Hartsheads Reg'r.'
[471] See Chapter 7, section on Radclyffe's 'bursarial' activity.

year was focussed on prints, and he spent days reorganising a collection which had been made by Brooke, and which had been lying in the College since his death. This had results in February and March of the following year (not, this time, Waiting Months for Radclyffe) when he arranged for the sale of a number of these prints, together with some of his own, using the services of King, a well-known print-dealer of the time.

In May 1816, Radclyffe noted with evident satisfaction that he had succeeded in securing for the College what he called a 'portrait' of Brooke at a sale in Christie's auction rooms. It is not clear from the diary whether he made the purchase himself and then presented it to the College, or whether he was acting on behalf of the Chapter[472]. The object in question may actually have been a mezzotint; a painter named Thomas Maynard (1752-1812) is credited with making a portrait of Brooke which has since disappeared, but which was engraved by Edward Bell in 1794[473], and perhaps also by Thomas Milton in 1803. One or other of these engravings appears to have provided the model for the curious glass painting of Brooke which now hangs in the Earl Marshal's Court at the College of Arms[474]. Whatever it was that Radclyffe bought, he clearly thought it was something of a coup, and he followed it up by persuading Windsor Herald (Townsend) to hand over to the library a collection of Brooke's MSS which Townsend had apparently been hoarding for years, quite irregularly, in his own rooms[475].

Radclyffe's activities in the Brooke archive at the College are eloquent of his developing antiquarian interests; they stemmed from his desire to continue and extend Brooke's

[472] The College's Chapter Minutes make no mention of the matter.
[473] Catalogue of the National Portrait Gallery.
[474] Wagner asserts (caption to Plate XXXVIII in *Heralds*) that the glass portrait is 'probably a work of the glass studio of William Peckitt of York', and that it appears to have been taken from Milton's print of 1803. The Peckitt attribution may rest on the fact that Brooke is known to have had dealings of his own with Peckitt, but the derivation from a Milton print would in that case be impossible, since Peckitt's studio closed shortly after its owner's death in 1796. (See J.T. Brighton, *The Enamel Glass-Painters of York 1585-1795*, York D.Phil. thesis, 1978, Vol. III, pp. 257 and 287.)
[475] *Diary*, 28 May 1816.

genealogical researches in Yorkshire, but they led him into territories which Brooke had not reached. In the end, the wheel came full circle, in that at the time of his death, Radclyffe was working on a project to retread the ground of Dugdale's great Visitation of Yorkshire, and he had just issued a prospectus to that effect to the gentry of the county[476]; Brooke had had the same ambition before he, too, was cut off in his prime. The evidence of the last pages of the diary, however, suggests that Radclyffe might have approached the work in a more broadly antiquarian manner than the severely genealogical style followed by Brooke.

## Edmund Lodge – a sponsor

The names which occur in Radclyffe's diary almost from the opening of the surviving volumes suggest that he may have had knowledge of Brooke's 'client-lists' even before his own election to the College of Arms gave him unfettered access to Brooke's papers. Such knowledge could well have been supplied to him by Edmund Lodge, Lancaster Herald, who was Radclyffe's particular friend and who promoted his candidature.

Lodge (1756-1839) was a considerable antiquarian in his own right, whose three volumes of *Illustrations of British History, Biography and Manners in the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth and James I* (1791) not only established his name as a scholar, but to some extent broke new ground in methods of assembling, editing and interpreting documentary evidence. He does not feature in Sweet's study[477], but is

[476] Cited by Sweet as Bodleian MS Don.d.90, fol. 247 et seq. '…proposals for publication and appeals for subscription…were…part of a complex process of self-presentation to the reading public.' *Antiquaries,* p. 30.

[477] Despite her sapient observation that 'The scholarly attention devoted to eighteenth-century antiquaries…has seldom reflected their contributions to historical methodology or the construction of a national past, or their role in establishing any disciplines apart from that of archaeology.' *Antiquaries,* p. xv.

arguably a significant contributor to the process that she describes, by which antiquarianism developed into 'serious' history[478]; he receives some credit from Wagner[479]. Lodge's influence over Radclyffe may therefore have had an importance second only to that of Brooke.

*Illustrations*[480] is in fact a massive compilation of letters and other documents, transcribed from originals found in the College of Arms and the archives of various noble houses. Volume II, for example, 426 pages long, comprises 243 items, very fully and carefully indexed, covering a wide range of topics from high statecraft to Tudor methods of interrogation and statistics of wine consumption in the sixteenth century. The frequent and extensive notes amount to a running commentary on the content of the documents, and offer interpretations that are often acutely penetrating, though with little pretence at objectivity. Lodge was familiar with large tracts of continental, as well as British history, and enjoyed a detailed and sometimes intimate knowledge of the families whose archives he was exploring. It is relevant to note that the Illustrations include references to people and matters that were to be of concern to William Radclyffe ten years later[481].

A reference in the Beinecke manuscript of 1798 shows that Radclyffe was familiar with Lodge's *Illustrations* even at that early date, and further confirms the impression that the

[478] The appearance of *Illustrations* was greeted with enthusiasm by Horace Walpole, who wrote as follows to the Berry sisters on 26 May 1791: 'I shall lend you three volumes in quarto…with which you will be delighted. They are state letters in the reigns of Henry VIII, Mary, Elizabeth and James, being the correspondence of the Talbot and Howard families, given by a Duke of Norfolk to the Herald's Office, where they have lain for a century neglected, buried under dust and unknown, until discovered by Mr. Lodge, a genealogist, who to gratify his passion procured to be made a Persuivant[sic]. Oh! how curious they are. Henry seizes an alderman who refused to contribute to a benevolence, sends him to the army on the borders, orders him to be exposed in the front line, and if that does not do, to be treated with the utmost rigour of military discipline. His daughter Bess is not less a Tudor. The mean unworthy treatment of the Queen of Scots is striking; and you will find how Elizabeth's jealousy of her crown and her avarice were at war, and how the more ignoble passion predominated.' Quoted in *The Grace of Friendship,* ed. V. Surtees (Norwich, 1995), p. 103.

[479] *Heralds*, p. 452.

[480] Bodleian Weston RB MSS.

[481] E.g. notes in vol. II, p. 235 on Monks Bretton Priory, p. 241 on the manor of Brierley, p. 305 on the family of Beaumont of Whitley, p. 321 on the Lords Petre – all matters in which Radclyffe was keenly interested.

two men were acquainted well before Radclyffe joined the College of Arms. For present purposes, the special significance of the connection between the two men is the possibility, amounting to a near-certainty, that Lodge exercised a formative influence over Radclyffe's evolving awareness of the nature and uses of document-based historical research[482].

Lodge's historical technique, and his ability to deploy erudition on a large scale, were further demonstrated in the production, from 1823 onwards, of a 12-volume series of *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain*, a massive collection of fine engravings taken from carefully selected originals, each accompanied by a substantial essay of text which expressly eschewed 'vague and frothy' panegyric. Volume III, published in 1824, included at No. 7 a portrait of Thomas Radclyffe, Earl of Sussex during the reign of Elizabeth I, 'From the original of Sir Antonio Moro in the possession of William Radclyffe Esq.'. There are several references to this portrait in the diary; it is still in the possession of the family.

……..

To summarise so far: Radclyffe's interest in antiquarian matters seems unlikely to have been the product of educational influences, at least in the narrow sense. Rather, it is probable that he found inspiration in the achievements of a conspicuously successful individual of his own social type and from his own neighbourhood, whose career provided him with a model which he followed with considerable faithfulness. He was influenced further by a congenial spirit who was able to give him material assistance in securing entry to the College of Arms, and who may have helped to broaden his historical horizons. Such

[482] Another significant contemporary who was influenced by Lodge was the genealogist, M.P. and claimant to the Chandos peerage, Sir Egerton Brydges, who acknowledged his debt to Lodge for 'his conversation, and perhaps many hints and much light…'. Introduction to new edition of Collins' *Peerage,* ed. Brydges (London, 1812), p. xiv. Brydges collaborated with Lodge and Radclyffe in 1816 in an attempt to reform the law on the registration of funerals – see Chapter 4. His career bears some striking parallels with Radclyffe's; a comparative study of the two men could be interesting.

a pattern is consistent with the picture of eighteenth-century antiquarianism as drawn by Sweet, in which collaboration, emulation and patronage were more important in the development of individuals than were formal education or training.

## A first effort – *The History of Doncaster*

The first published exercise in antiquarian work which can be attributed to Radclyffe – leaving aside the 1798 manuscript – involved a collaboration with Dr. Edward Miller in the production of a history of Doncaster which was published in 1804[483], and sold in London by William Miller, the Doctor's nephew[484] and proprietor at that time of the premises in Albemarle Street which were later to become world-famous in the ownership of five generations of John Murrays[485]. (William Miller was himself regarded as the pre-eminent London publisher of his time[486].) The extent of Radclyffe's work in this connection has not been noticed until now; it seems appropriate to scrutinise it here in some detail, as being perhaps the seminal episode in his development as an antiquarian.

Edward Miller (1731-1807) was a musician who had a long and distinguished career as performer and composer. As a young man he had played the flute in Handel's orchestra; he was for 50 years the much-admired organist of St. George's, the great church of Doncaster; he 'discovered' and promoted William Herschel, polymathic musician and later Astronomer Royal; and his compositions of church music earned him a Doctorate of Music

[483] Printed in Doncaster by W. Sheardown.
[484] And, briefly, his son-in-law; William Miller married Mary, second daughter of Edward Miller, at Doncaster in 1790; Mary died in 1791.
[485] See H. Carpenter, *The Seven Lives of John Murray* (London, 2008), and J. Raven, *The Business of Books – Booksellers and the English Book Trade* (London, 2007).
[486] Miller published Scott's poems, but turned down Byron's *Childe Harold*. He sold his business to John Murray I in October 1812. There are occasional hints of Radclyffe's reading habits in the diary: he bought Ossian's poems from Miller on 16 June 1807, and spent the evening of 19 August 1813 reading Scott's *Rokeby*, which had been published in January of that year.

from Cambridge University. He was a considerable figure in Doncaster society, and acquired property in and around the town, including land at Wheatley, then an outlying hamlet, which was where he died; William Radclyffe's father also lived at Wheatley, and died there in 1805. Miller is the subject of a recent Ph.D. thesis by Christopher Roberts, of Leeds University[487].

It has been a source of puzzlement to generations of local historians that Miller should have decided, in his old age, to write a history of Doncaster; but perhaps it was just a variation of the memorialising impulse which had prompted Richard Gough, a century earlier, to write his *History of Myddle*.

Miller's *Doncaster* was a conservative piece of work. Handsomely printed in broad folio, it followed a pattern that had been developed earlier in the eighteenth century. It opens with a long and imposing list of subscribers[488], followed by a sketchy table of contents and a brief introduction, before launching into 25 pages on the general topography, geology and natural history of the district. Next come 112 pages of materials relating to the history of Doncaster, and a further 62 pages describing the town as it was in 1804. Pages 200 to 398 contain 'parish histories' of the district for ten miles around; they are of varying lengths and quality. 45 pages of very small print in an Appendix are filled with transcriptions, translated where necessary, of a number of 'Royal Charters and private Grants, Petitions, Decrees, etc., extracted from the Records of the Corporation of Doncaster'. A well-drawn map and eleven fine full-page copper engravings provide

[487] C. Roberts, *Music and Society in Eighteenth-Century Yorkshire* (Leeds University, 2016). Among Miller's pupils was the blind organist Francis Linley (1770/1-1800), who moved to London around 1790 and wrote some enchanting pieces for organ and for the flute (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*).
[488] See Chapter 4.

illustrative detail. There is no Index – a deficiency which Radclyffe remedied by privately writing one for his own use[489].

That is, perhaps, a rather bald summary of a work which is crammed with information, often thoroughly based on research, and marked by a real feeling for antiquity and a fine pride in the locality which it describes. But it is, undeniably, unsystematic in any but the most superficial sense, and lacking in any sort of purposeful analysis – a collection of materials and incidents, rather than anything that could properly be called history.

*Doncaster* would be a surprising achievement if it had been entirely the work of a septuagenarian organist; but analysis reveals that much of it was in fact assembled for Miller by others. Numerous clergymen and country gentlemen responded to the Doctor's invitation to send him information about their localities and their pedigrees, and their contributions were gracefully acknowledged in the 'Introduction'; but, more significantly, the Doctor employed at least two 'research assistants'.

One of these assistants was Joseph Hunter, described in the Introduction as 'of Sheffield'. Radclyffe himself was the other assistant whose name is mentioned in Miller's Introduction, and he is honoured by an entire paragraph of eulogy:

> 'After the general acknowledgement here made of information received from gentlemen in this neighbourhood, the author feels himself particularly bound to mention the name of WILLIAM RADCLYFFE, Esq. Rouge Croix Pursuivant of arms in the college of heralds: by his profound knowledge of heraldry, and indefatigable researches in the British Museum, the Herald's Office, and other archives of antiquity, the author has been enabled to rescue from oblivion the memory of many a British worthy; to develop many a dark inscription; and to ascertain a number of interesting events, which might not otherwise have appeared in this work.'

Radclyffe had only just attained the dignity of Rouge Croix Pursuivant when *Doncaster* was published; but no doubt Miller felt that the endorsement of a herald lent additional

[489] *Diary*, 29 April 1805.

lustre and authority to his own work. However, careful deconstruction suggests strongly that Radclyffe really contributed a great deal of original material to the text, so much in fact that he might reasonably have claimed to be a part-author – instead of which we have the slightly insistent repetition of Miller's own claim to authorship. It is therefore worth considering first how the collaboration may have come about.

Radclyffe repeatedly gives evidence in his diary of his fondness for music, and hints at some performing ability as a singer[490]; Miller was the paramount musician in the entire Doncaster region, and is known to have taken pupils[491]; Radclyffe's father was Miller's neighbour. In the circumstances, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that Miller may have taught Radclyffe, and, further, that a relationship founded on music might have led on to a shared enthusiasm for the antiquities of the rich neighbourhood in which both lived.

Whether or not this was the birth of the project, what Miller does not say in his Introduction is that Radclyffe was much more than a research assistant; but the diary for 1803 and 1804 provides ample evidence that it was Radclyffe who dealt with the printers and publishers in London, negotiated with printmakers over the illustrations, read and corrected proofs, and generally acted as Miller's agent in the capital, reporting back when he travelled north from time to time. He was clearly the junior partner, taking instructions from a much older, possibly rather difficult man who was not going to surrender the principal credit for the work. Unpicking his contributions to the text therefore becomes an intriguing exercise in detection.

Section, or Chapter, V, on 'The Ancient State of Doncaster and its Antiquities', features discussion of the relevant section of Domesday Book, translation and excerpting of a

[490] E.g. *Diary*, 19 November 1812: '…after Dinner &c Mrs. Wentworth & Miss Eyre played several Duets & Concertos on Pianoforte accompanied by Mr. Parker [of Browsholme] on Violincello and in some of Handel's songs I was requested to join as second [bass?] with vocal performers'.
[491] Information from Christopher Roberts, Leeds University.

number of mediaeval charters, a study of Leland's description of Doncaster, and an examination of various archaeological remains, together with genealogical material. Credit for the translations is given, elsewhere, to 'a celebrated antiquary', R.J. Tetlow[492]. Camden and Gough are among various authorities cited, and there is a striking insistence on documentary sources which is quite unlike the Doctor's breezily anecdotal style, and strongly suggests the work of a Lodge-influenced Radclyffe.

Section VI, 'Public and Private Grants, and Other Historical Events Relative to the Ancient State of Doncaster' is a scrappy assemblage, 32 pages long, of excerpts from a wide range of documentary sources relating to Doncaster and places in its vicinity, from the early Middle Ages to the seventeenth century. It is a disorganised jumble, but one which is the product of considerable research, much of it from documents which were at that time in the British Museum, but also in a variety of other archives[493]. Among the passages of genealogy there is an account[494] of part of the descent of a family by the name of Swift, which would have been of particular significance to Radclyffe[495], but hardly to anyone else.

Neither here, nor in the 45-page 'Appendix' of documents which concludes the book, is there any explicit attempt to draw conclusions from the material which has been so laboriously assembled. The charters are not treated as Coke, Cotton or Selden might have used them in the seventeenth century, for example to support a particular view of the origins of Doncaster's municipal government, or the legal foundations of property-holding

[492] Tetlow, variously described as 'of Knottingley' and 'of Ferrybridge', was an F.S.A., and a respected expert on ancient inscriptions.
[493] E.g. Doncaster charters, Close Rolls, parish registers, private collections, etc. The Harleian MSS, which Radclyffe consulted extensively, formed part of the founding endowment of the British Museum in 1753.
[494] *Doncaster*, pp. 53-55.
[495] Radclyffe became convinced that one of the Swift family had married a Radclyffe of his own line; a dispute over the evidence for this claim was to cause him immense trouble in later years.

in the region[496]. On the other hand, there is more than a hint of the approach which had been advocated at the beginning of the eighteenth century by Thomas Madox, and endorsed by subsequent authorities such as Nicolson and Gough, namely the use of an accumulation of documentary evidence as the foundation of an historical over-view[497]; again, this may be seen as reflecting the influence of Lodge over Radclyffe.

Section VII, on 'The Church and its Antiquities', shows distinct evidence of collaboration between Miller and Radclyffe. The former must have contributed the paragraphs on the organ and church music, together with anecdotes in an outspoken, personal style about the iniquities of Doncaster churchwardens of earlier years. Radclyffe is equally plainly the competent author of extensive passages of genealogy and (illustrated) heraldry; he may also have produced the account, with catalogue, of the large and important library. But whoever composed the architectural and archaeological description of the church was completely out of his depth[498].

Thomas Warton and James Bentham, significant figures in the developing study of mediaeval architecture at this time[499], are both cited in footnotes to Chapter VII, but it does not appear that the author(s) had benefited in understanding from either authority. There is the usual uncertainty about the relationship between Saxon and Norman architecture, and

[496] Q.v. *Antiquaries*, p. xix. But could the absence of commentary bear a different interpretation? See *Antiquaries*, p. 197.
[497] *Antiquaries*, pp. 15-17. 'The arrangement and the proper use of facts is history'; Gough, quoted by Sweet.
[498] The masonry of the east wall, for example, is dated with confident precision to 1071, on the evidence of 'a stone now in my possession' marked with that date; 'the present elegant tower' is ascribed to the reign of Henry III, since that was 'when a great number of our present churches were built'; 'the Saxon font…must have been introduced into the church some time after it was built' in (apparently) 1061 – with an accompanying illustration of an early fourteenth-century font.
[499] *Antiquaries*, pp. 258-60. Four other early contributors to an understanding of Gothic architecture were John Carter (1748-1817), John Britton (1771-1857), Thomas Rickman (1776-1841) and Augustus Charles Pugin (1762-1832). Radclyffe later had dealings with Britton.

vagueness about what came next; 'The Saracenic or Gothic…seems to have been introduced into England about the reign of King John'.

Section VIII, a collection of 'Memoirs of Eminent Men Born in the Town, or Residing in the Neighbourhood of Doncaster', is offered as an antidote to the 'uninteresting matter contained in part of the last section'. It is strongly anecdotal in style, but still grounded solidly on reading and documentary research, particularly when describing episodes in the Civil War.

Section IX, on 'The Present State of Doncaster', bears Miller's unmistakable stamp. He proclaims the civic glories of the town in terms that earned him a generous 'tip' from the Corporation, and gives a lively personal account of his dealings with Herschel; but there is also a great deal of laborious, research-based material in 'annals' style, suggestive of Radclyffe's technique.

The four sections of the gazetteer are uneven; like most exercises of the kind, they are a concoction of notes submitted by the clergy and landowners of the places concerned, and so tend to reflect the preoccupations of the contributors as well as the variations in their knowledge. Some are of particular interest, for one reason or another, in the context of a study of Radclyffe. The description of Ravenfield[500], a place which was to figure prominently in the proceedings at Radcyffe's trial in 1820, is very likely to have been supplied by the Revd. Thomas Bosvile, the brother of the squire; Radclyffe had numerous dealings with members of the Bosvile family, in Yorkshire and in London[501]. The entry for Wath-upon-Dearne[502], the place of Radclyffe's birth, is carefully historical. It contains a

[500] *Doncaster,* pp. 318-19.
[501] The Revd. Thomas Bosvile was a close friend of William Bagshaw Stevens, minor poet and melancholy Headmaster of Repton; see *Journal of the Rev. William Bagshaw Stevens*, ed. G. Galbraith, (Oxford, 1965). On 13 February 1794, Stevens noted that Bosvile's 'Brother has just taken Possession of Ravenfield Park, a Noble Place between Doncaster and Rotheram[sic]'.
[502] *Doncaster,* pp. 331-32.

reference to a 'Mrs. Jackson' as a principal property-owner in the place; Radclyffe's sister was married to a Mr. Jackson, at that time resident in Worsbrough. Worsbrough itself, where Radclyffe was to acquire an estate of his own, is given a well-documented history, beginning with praise of 'a beautiful tract of country called Worsbrough Dale, which may be called the garden of this part of the West-Riding of Yorkshire' – a description which, it must be said, rings sadly hollow today. The economy of Barnsley[503] is examined in some detail, with particular approval for 'the emulation and spirit of its present inhabitants'.

At the end of Section XII there are two non-topographical, indeed rather anomalous, entries which are certain to have been Radclyffe's work, and appear to have been arbitrarily inserted here. They are accounts of the Yorkshire antiquaries Roger Dodsworth (1585-1654) and John Burton (1710-1771). The first of these takes the form of an extended quotation from Richard Gough's *British Topography*, Vol. II, p. 295, which refers to Dodsworth's great collections, 'making all together one hundred and sixty-two volumes folio'. These were the materials that Radclyffe himself records studying on his visits to 'that grand repository of our ancient muniments', the Bodleian Library[504]. The note on Burton claims him as a native of Wakefield, whereas modern research states that he was born in Colchester[505]; his *Monasticon Eboracum* is frequently cited in *Doncaster*[506]. Radclyffe's familiarity with Gough, Dodsworth and Burton is evidence of the considerable extent of his antiquarian knowledge at this stage of his career.

The second item of special significance in the gazetteer is another reference[507], in the context of an account of Rotherham church, to the tomb of a certain Robert Swift,

[503] *Doncaster,* pp. 367-69.
[504] For example, on 4 October 1815.
[505] *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
[506] Radclyffe possessed his own copy, which featured in the sale of his library in 1828.
[507] *Doncaster*, pp. 357-58.

accompanied by a lengthy footnote giving details of the descent of the Swift family, which includes the claim that the Swifts were connected by marriage to the Radclyffes.

To summarise, the text of Doncaster, although not consistently scholarly, contains considerable amounts of material which are solidly based on documentary research; some of the most significant of these bear the clear stamp of Radclyffe's authorship, either because they are of a genealogical or heraldic nature, or because they would have required work in archives in London and Oxford which were not accessible to either Miller or the other researcher, Hunter.

If Radclyffe was, as the preceding paragraphs suggest, substantially responsible for sections of *Doncaster*, it might seem surprising that he was not given – or did not claim – more credit for his work at the time. The end-product, however, may not have been entirely to Radclyffe's liking. Credit for assistance with such an amateurish compilation might be one thing, but responsibility for authorship, even if only on a partial basis, quite another. This is speculation; but there is evidence elsewhere in the story of Radclyffe's career of a tendency, perhaps born of perfectionism, or of that particular kind of insecurity which can arise from consciousness of educational limitations, to hang back from commitment in print, and to prefer the part of minute researcher to that of bold protagonist[508].

Following its publication in 1804, *Doncaster* was the subject of a rather odd letter which appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine*[509]. The writer, who signed himself 'An Old Correspondent', remarked a propos a passage on page 252 of the book that 'Dr. Miller…seems…to be under some difficulty to discover the meaning of an inscription formerly at Edlington-hall in Yorkshire'. (The 'difficulty' concerned both the fragmentary

[508] Is this more generally an antiquarian trait?
[509] *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1805, vol. 2, pp. 795-96, September 1805,

state of the Latin verse inscription, and the correct interpretation of its allegorical and heraldic meaning.) The letter concludes 'I have hitherto delayed sending these observations, in the hope that the verses would, ere this time, have been explained by a friend of Dr. Miller, William Radclyffe, esq., Rouge-Croix pursuivant of arms, whose information in Yorkshire genealogy is much more extensive than that of the humble writer of this letter'. The 'Old Correspondent' could not have failed to notice that Radclyffe was fulsomely acknowledged in Miller's 'Introduction' as a significant contributor to the text. Could this have been a 'puff' inserted by Radclyffe himself?

*The Gentleman's Magazine* subsequently carried a substantial review of *Doncaster*, by an anonymous contributor[510]. In accordance with contemporary convention, the review samples the quality of the book by quoting lengthy excerpts; several minor inaccuracies are pointed out, perhaps more with the aim of demonstrating the reviewer's careful reading than because they are of any significance; the overall tone is tepid, and the essay concludes, damningly, 'We decline to press too hard on [such a] modest conclusion'. There is an implication, not explicit but tolerably clear, that *Doncaster* was to be seen as popular local topography, not serious antiquarian research – undemanding reading which would gratify the provincial gentry whose contributions composed a large part of its content. Perhaps the newly-appointed Rouge Croix felt relief at being able to distance himself from such a production.

……..

*The History of Doncaster* has been considered in some detail because it effectively launched Radclyffe on his antiquarian career – and because Radclyffe's part in its production has not until now been fully recognised. It is important also because it brought

[510] *The Gentleman's Magazine,* 1805, pp. 938-41.

Radclyffe into close contact and collaboration with Joseph Hunter – a connection which was to last until Radclyffe's death.

## Joseph Hunter – a research partner

Joseph Hunter (1783-1861), whose labours in the documentary field eventually made him a figure of national importance, was recruited, with Radclyffe, by Edward Miller of Doncaster to help with research for the volume of local history that the Doctor published in 1804. He would have been just 21 at the date of the publication of *Doncaster*, and was then still in the last months of his apprenticeship to a master-cutler in Sheffield; he was about to begin a course of theological studies at York, which would lead him to a position as a Unitarian minister in Bath from 1809; but throughout his life he was an energetic and enterprising antiquarian, who eventually won justified fame as Assistant Keeper of Public Records when the National Record Commission was set in 1833. The list of Hunter's published antiquarian and historical works is headed by a short study entitled *Who Wrote Cavendish's Life of Wolsey?*, which he published in 1815, and an advance copy of which he gave to Radclyffe, who called it 'elegant'[511]. But his first venture into print was probably the unattributed research that he did for Miller.

The diary for 11 May 1803 contains the first reference to Hunter as Radclyffe's working partner; he had sent Radclyffe five guineas from Mrs. Bann(?), probably a fee for genealogical research. The next diary reference to Hunter comes on 24 September, and thereafter the two men appear in frequent contact. There are numerous entries which relate to correspondence over the practicalities of genealogical investigations on which the two

[511] *Diary,* 7 April 1814.

men worked together, Hunter often playing the part of traveller while Radclyffe scoured the London archives and handled the official procedures at the College of Arms. Over time, the relationship developed a social dimension, and the two men visited and stayed with each other; when Hunter married, in December 1815, he brought his bride to London, where they were welcomed with festivity in St. Peter's Hill.

In addition to the evidence supplied by the diary, we have the benefit of a considerable quantity of Hunter's papers relating to his dealings with Radclyffe, which now form part of the Hunter archive in the British Library. These papers extend our knowledge of Radclyffe, as well as of Hunter, beyond the date at which the diaries cease, in 1820. It does not appear that Wagner used the Hunter archive when preparing his ill-considered chapter on Radclyffe. The documents in question include a commonplace book / diary for part of the year 1808; another covering the period 1810-1817; letters, both copies and originals, written by Hunter to Radclyffe and vice versa, the earliest of which was dated by Radclyffe from Maryknoll on 2 May 1801; and, not least, a poignant little group of letters written in July 1828 in which William Radclyffe's son, Henry, informs Hunter of his father's sudden death, and Elizabeth Radclyffe declares the practical difficulties under which she labours as a consequence and appeals for help.

Like the Durham archive which reveals Radclyffe's correspondence with Surtees, the British Library documents illuminate the diary and supply invaluable additional information. Case after case of genealogical inquiry, only briefly mentioned in the diary, is worked through and discussed in detail, from which it emerges clearly that a great part of Radclyffe's activity was private practice, undertaken outside the purview of the College of Arms. Radclyffe describes his ambitions, activities and problems at the College in his letters to Hunter with a candour that he denied himself in his diary. As the senior partner, he helps Hunter with introductions in London, and facilitates access to archives. In the

later years there was evidently some reversal of roles; but friendship and mutual regard remained to the end, and Hunter was among the very first to be informed of his friend's death.

For present purposes, one of the most significant features of the British Library papers is the evidence which they supply of the extent to which Radclyffe and Hunter described themselves, from a very early stage of their collaboration, as antiquaries. It is clear that they saw their antiquarianism, entirely at first and always largely, as genealogical in its methods and applications; but it is apparent also that their interests broadened over the years, to include the relics of the past, its artefacts and buildings, and that their perceptions were becoming 'historical'. Hunter's later career as the effective founder of the present National Archives is dimly but positively foreshadowed in the 28 years of his correspondence with William Radclyffe.

## The Society of Antiquaries of London

The development of Radclyffe's historical interests received further stimulation from the Society of Antiquaries itself, which is first mentioned in the diary on 3 February 1803. The brevity of the entry suggests that he might already have been familiar with the Society's rooms in Somerset House. He was himself put forward (by Francis Martin, Bluemantle Pursuivant) for membership on 23 January 1806, elected on 6 March and admitted on 20 March. This was at a time when, according to Joan Evans, 'The chief interests of the Society … lay in medieval church architecture'[512].

[512] J. Evans, *History of the Society of Antiquaries* (Oxford, 1956), p. 204.

Membership of the Society marked something of a graduation in Radclyffe's status as an antiquarian. Judgements vary about the frequency, and value, of the Society's activity at this time, but there is no doubt that the social tone was high[513], and there is a faint but detectable flavour of smugness about Radclyffe's references to it in the diary. It was also a notably quarrelsome community, and Radclyffe may have found it hard to hit the right note in the ensemble. A letter from the acidulated and intolerant Francis Douce, written to Thomas Kerrich on 26 September 1811, might well refer to Radclyffe:

> 'Pray let us have no more heralds like the last. They are in general the stupidest of all stupids, and the good memories they usually possess are an abomenable[sic] nuisance in good company'[514].

It is comforting to think that the elegantly arrogant George Nayler would have fallen equally with William Radclyffe under Douce's supercilious condemnation. It is perhaps significant that Radclyffe never ventured so far as to attempt a formal contribution to the proceedings of this assembly of social and (sometimes) scholarly snobs.

It looks as if Radclyffe used the Society principally for social purposes[515]; at the first meeting which he attended after his election on 5 March 1807, he was accompanied by a Mr. Adderley, with whom he had been dining[516], and he took other friends – Leake, Blackett, Dowse – from time to time. He made use on at least one occasion of the F.S.A.'s privilege of attending meetings of the sister-organisation, the Royal Society[517]. The meetings were useful occasions for making and cultivating antiquarian acquaintances, such

[513] Or even exclusive; see *Antiquaries,* p. 106.
[514] Cited Evans, pp. 219-20.
[515] He was, however, happy to receive the sets of fine architectural prints which were produced by the Society from time to time and distributed to Fellows, who often sold them on. See *Diary,* 30 May 1807.
[516] This could have been Charles Clement Adderley (1780-1818), the father of the first Lord Norton, and a noted M.F.H. of evangelical tendencies; see C.J. Apperley, *The Life of a Sportsman* (London, 1948), pp. 259-60; odd company for Radclyffe.
[517] See *Antiquaries,* p. 8.

as Archdeacon Eyre, Samuel Lysons and Sir Joseph Banks[518], with all of whom he records having conversations. And the letters 'F.S.A.' served as something like a passport to other antiquarian communities which he visited from time to time, such as those in Peterborough, Spalding and Lincoln.

Radclyffe recorded his attendances with apparent care; there were two in 1806, eight in 1807, four in 1808, (there are no diaries for 1809/10), nine in 1811, six in 1812, two in 1813, three in 1814, three in 1815, five in 1816, two in 1817, and just one recorded in 1818/1819 when the diary is much mutilated; the Society has no attendance lists of its own for this period.

The Antiquaries' Presidential election of 1812 was hotly contested between a seriously antiquarian (mediaevalist), Roman Catholic, Tory baronet, Sir Henry Englefield, and a dilettante (classicist), Protestant, Whig grandee, Lord Aberdeen. Radclyffe noted that he consulted with friends and colleagues – including the Duke of Norfolk, who was a supporter of Aberdeen – before casting his vote for Englefield. His preference for a genuine antiquarian, as Englefield was, coincided with his generally Tory disposition[519]. Radclyffe's decision to support Englefield is interesting also as setting him against his friend Lysons, but alongside the still more fastidiously mediaevalist, John Carter[520].

If the ordinary run of Radclyffe's work caused him to value the London Society for what would today be called its networking potential, his honorary membership of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle possibly meant something more significant about his scholarly

[518] Banks is remembered today chiefly as a scientist, but he also did important work as an antiquarian, particularly concerning his native Lincolnshire. Dai Morgan Evans, however, condemns Banks for his unprofitable politicking at the Society of Antiquaries. (D. Morgan Evans, 'Banks is the Villain!', in *The Antiquaries Journal,* vol. 89 (2009), pp. 337-63.)
[519] See B. Nurse, on the 1812 Presidential election, in *The Antiquaries Journal,* vol. 81 (2000), pp. 316-21. Also D.M. Evans, in *The Antiquaries Journal,* vol. 89 (2009), pp. 337-63.
[520] For Carter, see B. Nurse, 'John Carter F.S.A., 1748-1817', in *The Antiquaries Journal,* vol. 91 (2011), pp. 211-52.

standing, particularly in the North. He was one of the first to be awarded the compliment at the time of the Society's foundation in May 1813, and he treasured it highly; he showed the document recording his election to his friend Edmund Lodge on 20 May, and in February 1816 he set his painter, Dowse, to work on a specially illuminated pedigree of the Radclyffes of Dilston for presentation to the Society. He visited Newcastle on several occasions, but does not mention attending meetings of the Society.

## Antiquarian activities

In the Introduction to her *Antiquaries*, Rosemary Sweet writes of her subjects, with the barely-suppressed enthusiasm of a kindred spirit, as follows:

> 'Antiquaries were fired by a love of the past. Time and again we find them confessing their love of antiquity, their excitement at the discovery of some ancient manuscript or their delight in deciphering an institution. They were energetic researchers, travelling the countryside to excavate barrows, draw churches or transcribe manuscripts, recording their observations and their reading as they did so. They made copious collections of coins and antiquities and coerced their female relatives into making sketches or transcribing documents. They wrote to each other endlessly, exchanging information, making extracts, describing local antiquities, debating points of etymology or history'[521].

This was William Radclyffe, to the life – except that he was no excavator, and indeed seems to have been little interested in anything that had happened before the Saxon period[522]. His passion for genealogy was the primary force motivating his activity; it led him not only into hours of archival research, but also into solitary journeys of remarkable extent and, sometimes, serious difficulty – around the wilds of South Wales where there

[521] *Antiquaries*, p. xv.
[522] Although the diary records a visit to 'the Roman tresselated[sic] pavement Bath etc at Bignor' on 7 August 1811, and visits with Surtees to Corbridge and the 'Roman station' at Lanchester on 6 September 1811.

might be no roads at all, across the savage moors of Cumberland, Northumberland and Durham, and through the watery wastes of the undrained Lincolnshire Fens.

The co-operative aspect of antiquarian activity, as mentioned by Sweet, also featured largely in Radclyffe's life. He learnt his craft in part by assisting others in their researches, and we find him at the beginning of the diary, at the end of January 1803, checking details for Miller in the British Museum[523], and dealing with an engraver named Howlet about the prints for Doncaster; Howlet is credited with the engraving of two out of the eleven full-page etchings in the book, but he may also have been involved with the various small line drawings of shields, and other details. This mixture of research work which really underpinned texts produced by another, and business dealings with engravers, printers, and indeed publishers, on behalf a distant partner, was to be replicated several times over during the years that followed, in Radclyffe's collaborations with Edward Blore, Joseph Hunter, Thomas Whitaker, and above all, Robert Surtees. It need not detract from Radclyffe's merit that he did so much work in collaboration with others; but his preference for partnership rather than solo activity left his reputation vulnerable to diminution when he was overtaken by misfortune.

What might be termed 'signpost evidence' of Radclyffe's self-identification as an antiquary comes with his increasingly frequent references to 'my collections'. The word has to be interpreted with care, since it can refer to notes made in the course of genealogical research, or to the 'church notes' which the heralds collected for the College of Arms; sometimes, however, the 'collections' turn out to be medals, coins, prints and other such treasures.

[523] *Diary*, 26 April 1803.

The relics of Radclyffe's work have been so cruelly treated since his death that it is hard to form a precise estimate even of what he collected, let alone what merit it might have had. The disordered boxes of his papers, as they were when I inspected them in 2012 in the Sheffield Archives[524], might suggest a magpie approach to documents of all sorts, from the historic to the ephemeral – but, equally, they might hint at riches mislaid by uncaring successors. The Yorkshire Archaeological Society's archive at York contains a similarly miscellaneous assortment[525]. References in the diary to 'my collection of medals'[526] do not, unfortunately, tell us what these medals were, or how large was his collection. He appears to have assembled a portfolio of prints. But the catalogue of the sale of his library by Sothebys in December 1828[527] marks him as a connoisseur as well as an antiquary, and provokes thought about the wealth he had assembled by the time of his death. The impulse to collect was a notorious distinguishing mark of the antiquary, and one often ridiculed, not least (though affectionately) by Sir Walter Scott, in his well-known portrait of Jonathan Oldbuck[528].

Second only to the joy of collecting is the delight of displaying. On 2 September 1803, Radclyffe paid a visit to a Mr. Barrat Sadler of Manchester, whom he specifically describes as an antiquary, and 'look'd at some of his curious armorial collection'. Similar sessions occur frequently in the diary, most of all during a happy period around 1815/16 when the Radclyffes are found, evening after evening, taking tea with their neighbours the Lodges, playing cards, and 'talking of our collections'.

[524] Especially Sheffield Archives MD 208 and 2714 – 3166.
[525] Y.A.S. MSS. 87, 122, 144.
[526] *Diary*, Sunday 3 January 1813, "looked over my Coins and Medals". See also *Diary*, 7 December, 1813 (coins) and 18 May 1814 (seals).
[527] At the time of his death, Radclyffe's collections included groups of mediaeval manuscripts and charters, seals, seventeenth-century letters, early printed books, treatises on calligraphy, coins and medals, fragments of mediaeval glass, and portrait prints.
[528] Scott, *The Antiquary*, first pub. 1816.

The most popular forum of the period for the display and exchange of antiquarian information was undoubtedly the monthly *Gentleman's Magazine*. Mention has already been made of the somewhat tepid review given to *Doncaster* on its appearance in 1805; Radclyffe himself can be identified as the anonymous author of another review which appeared, in two parts, in July 1813 and February 1814, and which gave highly favourable notice to Thomas Blore's *History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland*, Vol. 1, Pt. 2, published in 1811. Radclyffe's diary shows that he had been heavily involved with Blore[529] in the preparation of this work, and the review has all the characteristics of a judicious 'puff'. More decisive as evidence of authorship, however, is the fact of a long and evidently unforeseen gap between the two parts of the review, for which 'serious illness' is offered as excuse; the period in question was marked by the serious illness – in fact, near-death – of Radclyffe's wife, Elizabeth.

Radclyffe's collaboration with Blore, a sound and painstaking worker[530], marked another stage in his development as a professional antiquarian, and in fact it was to prove the beginning of something still more significant, since it introduced Radclyffe to Thomas Blore's son Edward, a brilliant young draughtsman and architect who collaborated with Radclyffe in work at an important Gothic Revival site[531], Brancepeth Castle. In the meantime, it is interesting to note that at the same time that Radclyffe's review was being published, *The Gentleman's Magazine* carried an article about the usages of the words 'antiquary' and 'antiquarian'.

[529] Often described in the text as 'of Stamford', which is where Blore lived at this time; but the two men met in London. Blore sent Radclyffe a presentation copy of his monograph on the manor of South Wingfield on 17 March 1807, and the two corresponded thereafter about the history of Rutland; Radclyffe helped Blore to work in the College of Arms in 1814 on his projected history of Derbyshire.
[530] Blore's memorial stone in Paddington church says that his 'days were embittered and [his] life was shortened by intense application'.
[531] Radclyffe may have first met Edward Blore with his father on 7 April 1814; he spent the evening of 9 April at Edward's residence, 10 Upper Titchfield Street, looking at the young man's 'beautiful drawings'.

It is worth noting also that Radclyffe records meetings[532] with the prominent topographical artist J.C. Nattes (?1765-1834), with whom he appears to have been on good terms; Nattes was particularly esteemed for his depiction of antiquarian subjects.

We can thus say with some confidence that by 1815 or thereabouts the diary is providing evidence that Radclyffe was closely engaged with people whom we can recognise as members of the antiquarian community, that he was himself busy in certain fields of antiquarian activity, and that he identified himself as an antiquarian. What remains uncertain is the extent to which he possessed any real expertise beyond that of an arduous tracer of pedigrees. As Sweet is at pains to demonstrate, an expansion of sensibility to include awareness and understanding of the art forms of earlier periods was an essential stage in the growth of historical consciousness among antiquarians.

The 'genealogist' label adhered, with justification, to Radclyffe throughout the whole of his career; but the later years of the diary show that the range of his activities, as testified by his collaborators and acquaintances, developed considerably. Evidence to this effect comes from the record of his collecting activities, and from an analysis of the contents of his library.

It is difficult at first to distinguish clearly between purchases and inquiries which Radclyffe may have made for the furnishing of his apartments, and those which indicate an interest in antiques or curiosities for their own sake. He and his wife are repeatedly revealed as willing to buy second-hand from auction sales – thus on 6 March 1805, 'called at Steyning Lane to see some curious Furniture sold, Mrs. R. bought some Glass'. But an entry of 25 May suggests something different:

> 'went with Mr. Lodge's Catalogue to look at collection of Cabinet pictures to be sold in Conduit Street'; and, still more directly, on 17 June 1806, 'went to the sale

[532] E.g. *Diary,* 13 January 1807; 3 September 1807; 17 May 1813.

at Leverian Museum bought some Egyptian & Chinese Antique Figures and varii Antiques'[533].

Diary entries thereafter have Radclyffe visiting sale-rooms, especially Christie's and Sotheby's, regularly – it was principally a summer-time activity – and buying in small lots. He was interested in pictures and was a regular visitor (usually with his wife) to the Royal Academy's Summer Exhibitions in Somerset House; but he does not seem to have been a purchaser of paintings. Prints, on the other hand, he definitely collected and, from time to time, sold[534]; he seems to have been recognised as having expertise in this area, and in 1815/16 he was entrusted by the College with responsibility for reorganising, and partly selling off, J.C. Brooke's collection of prints, which he had previously liberated from Garter's torpid custodianship. It appears that he was interested especially in portrait and architectural prints – in each case, probably, as 'antiquarian evidence', rather than for their artistic or technical merit. It is interesting to note, however, that he was able to deal authoritatively over the prints for Miller's, Surtees' and Whitaker's books with engravers who included the eminent James Basire[535].

There are references to coin-collecting[536] – Radclyffe called on 'Young the Coin dealer' on 7 December 1813 – and purchases of antique china at Robbins[537]; Radclyffe certainly had the acquisitive instinct, but these appear to have been little more than bibelots by comparison with his main interests. He must have amassed significant quantities of coins, however, to judge from a diary entry which refers to 'my gold and silver cabinets'[538].

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[533] The Leverian Museum, one of the earliest collections of ethnographic materials, had been formed in 1775, in the first place to accommodate the trophies of Captain Cook's voyages; when it was broken up in 1806, 7,879 lots were sold over 65 days, amid much excitement.
[534] Relevant diary entries include 10 June 1811; 23 April 1814; 18 February 1815; 26 February 1816; 22 March 1816; several in January 1816; 11 May 1819.
[535] *Diary*, 16 April and 18 May 1811.
[536] 'Antiquaries were particularly conscious that coins, inscriptions and other monumental evidence had stronger claims to authenticity than written texts.' *Antiquaries,* p. 14.
[537] *Diary*, 14 June 1813.
[538] *Diary*, 23 December 1811.

He was a frequent purchaser of manuscripts, and sometimes borrowed them for copying[539]. His appetite for such documents appears to have been omnivorous, to judge by the randomness of the deposits now to be found in the Sheffield archives; they include wills, charters, records of manorial court proceedings, legal deeds, and, inevitably, genealogical material; but anything with the slightest Radclyffe connection was grist to his mill. He enjoyed visiting other antiquaries to inspect and admire their collections – among others, Sir Joseph Banks for his Lincolnshire MSS on 20 May 1814, Douce of Bath on 18 February 1815, and on 6 June 1817 a Mr. Gibbs (of the family who subsequently built Tyntesfield); and he enthused with the Bishop of Durham over 'a valuable record of his See which he had just recovered from Univ. of Oxon.'[540]. He revelled in the collections which he found in the great cathedral libraries at Canterbury, Peterborough, Lincoln, York and Durham, as well as the resources of London which he visited daily. He recorded purchases of his own at the Roxburghe and Townshend sales of 9-29 May 1812, and at other sales on 15 December 1813, 26 January 1816, and 3 June 1817 – almost certainly not the full tally of his purchases. As with his print collecting, he seems to have been interested in the MSS primarily for their contents as evidence in whatever cases he might be pursuing, rather than for any beauty they may have possessed.

There is one other area of collecting activity which marks Radclyffe out as more original than many of his colleagues, namely his interest in stained glass, for its heraldic content. This first appears quite early in the diary, on 17 June 1808, when he recorded attending a sale of what he (like other people at that time) called 'painted glass'. He notices glass in at

[539] As in September of 1807, when Mrs. Wentworth of Woolley Hall, near Wakefield, lent him two mediaeval MSS, originally from Monks Bretton Priory, which he copied over a period of three weeks. Examples of his copy-work which survive in the archives of the College of Arms are executed with the utmost precision and attention to calligraphic detail. In September 1812, when visiting Peterborough Cathedral, his copying of a manuscript in the library was so much admired that the clergy persuaded him to stay for several days to do more work of the same sort.

[540] *Diary*, 21 January 1811.

least some of the churches on which he makes notes (whereas other aspects, such as, for example, the woodwork of their roofs, attract no attention from him).

His interest seems to have been further stimulated by Whitaker's commission to him in March 1816 to supply a design for a window in Whalley church. He took his wife to see glass on 21 May 1816, perhaps as a prelude to what followed on 13 September – 'Planned & designed the subjects for the Painted Staircase Window for Darley'; the window was fixed on the staircase of Darley Hall on 7 February 1817. Dowse sent a 'Box of Stained Glass' (note the new usage) to Darley which arrived on 5 December 1818; this might have been in connection with another project, which is mentioned by Wilkinson[541]:

> '…he placed in the east window [of the Rockley chantry, at the east end of the north aisle of Worsbrough church] a shield of the arms of Sir Robert Rockley, impaling those of Fitzwilliam'.

The final, and by far the most significant of the diary's references to glass-related activity is a note of 4 June 1820: 'Mr. Collins called about Brancepeth Castle'. Collins was responsible for the stained glass which Matthew Russell and Charles Tennyson were planning for the Barons' Hall at Brancepeth, and it appears that Radclyffe – newly released from imprisonment in York Castle – was being consulted about the design.

## Radclyffe's library

> 'A private library is part of its owner's biography: the known facts of his life may help in the understanding of his choice of books. But the converse may also be true: his choice of books may add to the understanding of the known facts of his life – and for this purpose a purely statistical analysis of the contents of his library is inadequate.'[542]

[541] Joseph Wilkinson, *Worsborough: its historical associations and rural attractions* (London, 1879), p. 274.
[542] T.A. Birrell, 'Reading as a Pastime', in *Property of a Gentleman – the formation, organisation and dispersal of the private library, 1620-1920,* eds. R. Myers and M. Harris (Winchester, 1991), p. 118.

We are fortunate in having a significant amount of information about the contents of Radclyffe's library, which were sold at auction by Sotheby's over five days between 18 and 22 December 1828, five months after his death. The closely printed catalogue (which cost 2/-) covers 47 pages, and lists 1,410 items, not all of which are actual books – some are curios, or objects of art. The clarity of its evidence is only slightly obscured by the fact that the list includes 'the library of a gentleman'; this second, probably makeweight, element is not distinguished in any way from Radclyffe's collection, and we can only make carefully tentative guesses about where to draw lines.

The reason for the sale was almost certainly the fact that Radclyffe's widow was (on the evidence of a letter which she wrote to Hunter) short of ready cash after her husband's sudden death. Radclyffe's was a specialist's collection, and his only surviving son, Henry, had not followed him in that speciality; a number of the books were rare and valuable; and it was quite normal at the time for a library of this sort to be sold on after its owner's death – the library of his old friend and fellow-antiquary, the Revd. Daniel Lysons, was advertised as the next to go under the hammer according to the sale catalogue which is preserved in the Bodleian Library, though it does not appear as such in the auctioneer's marked copy which survives in the British Library.

There was one major item in the Radclyffe catalogue, however, the disposal of which might conceivably have given rise to some family feelings, namely 'An excellent mahogany bookcase'. This would almost certainly have been the 'large Book Case' which Radclyffe recorded buying from 'Edwards Broker' on 7 October 1803, and which he 'brought home' to the College of Arms and 'fix'd up' on 8 October; it was a big and perhaps complicated piece, which had to be adjusted on 10 October, and 'refixed & made complete' on 13 October. But thereafter it was obviously the centrepiece of the library, and accompanied the Radclyffes from one lodging to another. It is tempting to wonder whether

it might have been one of those in the Gothic style which the fashionable furniture-maker Bullock is known to have been building in the early 1800s[543]. The sale catalogue describes it in some detail: it was 8' 3" high by 8' long, and 2' wide; the upper part was glazed, in three parts, and the lower had a complex arrangement of tray slides[544] and drawers. It went for £16 10s.

Among the contents of the library as described in the catalogue, Radclyffe himself would possibly have given pride of place to the several items which featured hand-painted plates, executed in some cases on vellum, either by his own hand or that of his clerk and retained artist, Thomas Dowse. Another special interest of Radclyffe's appears in the shape of 'An extraordinary collection of works on Calligraphy, containing Thirty-Seven Treatises inlaid in 5 vol. folio.'; the 'treatises', which together fetched £8 15s., ranged in date from the seventeenth century to Radclyffe's own time, and, taken alongside evidence at the College of Arms, leave no doubt about the extent of Radclyffe's interest in this field. Both the 'illuminating' (as he liked to call it), and the calligraphy give Radclyffe a respectable place in the long line of heralds who have historically practised these skills. He would undoubtedly have been pleased to know that the highest price for a single item in the sale was commanded by his own work, a copy of Magna Carta in gold lettering, emblazoned and certified by himself; it was bought for £105 by 'Blackett' – probably Captain Blackett of Wylam, an old friend and collaborator, and member of a distinguished family in the North.

There are predictable quantities of works on or related to genealogy, though the bulk of the evidence for Radclyffe's activity in that connection lies in the form of the masses of notes

[543] George Bullock, c. 1777–1818.
[544] Perhaps these were Radclyffe's 'gold and silver cabinets'?

and pedigrees which are now scattered among archives in London, Sheffield, Birmingham, Durham and elsewhere.

The sale catalogue demonstrates convincingly that Radclyffe's interests in local history went well beyond what might have been considered necessary for merely genealogical research. A substantial group of materials relating to Yorkshire begins with a manuscript written by Robert Glover in the sixteenth century (£44 2s.), and runs on through Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* of the seventeenth century (£5 11s. 11d.), and Gent's eighteenth-century works on York, Ripon and Hull, to Hunter's *Sheffield* and Whitaker's *Richmondshire* emblazoned by Radclyffe (£24 3s.). Other cities and counties are also well represented[545], but, rather oddly, an eight-volume set of the 1784 edition of Grose's *Antiquities of England and Wales* appears as 'uncut' (£5)[546].

There is a certain amount of topical material, some of it of piquant relevance – such as an 1806 report of the Commissioners of Greenwich Hospital, an 1807 poll book for the county of York, and a 1784 report on *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales*.

Several items make a modern collector's mouth water – three volumes of Piranesi's *Veduti di Roma* (£14), a 1782 edition of the poems of Rowley (5s.), an uncut copy of Repton's 1803 *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (£6 6s.), a two-volume proof copy, folio, of Scott's *Border Antiquities* of 1814 (£7) – and 92 of Gillray's political caricatures (17s.)[547].

[545] E.g. Canterbury, by Gostling's *Walk*; more generally, quantities of maps, Kip's *Britannia Illustrata* (1709), Buck's *Antiquities* (3 vols., 1774).
[546] This and several other similar items reinforce the view of Radclyffe as well-endowed with the collector's instinct to cherish rather than employ.
[547] This is very possibly the set which now forms a part of the Egremont collection at Petworth; the Countess of Egremont had numerous dealings with Radclyffe from September 1816 onwards.

Radclyffe's somewhat heterogeneous approach to collecting is reflected in a section of the catalogue devoted to manuscripts: a number of seventeenth-century letters appear to have no common theme – unless, just possibly, they served as prelude to the group of items with evident Jacobite connections which reflect Radclyffe's preoccupation with his Derwentwater ancestry.

The diary gives occasional scraps of information about the origins of some of the books which later featured in the sale: on 16 January 1807, for instance, Radclyffe records purchasing *Don Quixote*, *Arabian Nights*, *Ossian* and *Holbein's Dance of Death Engraved by Hollar* from the bookseller William Miller[548]. It is a pity that he did not record the titles of the 'scarce books' which he bought at Leigh and Sotheby's sale on 18 December 1806.

The leavings of the 'Gentleman' whose books were mingled with Radclyffe's in the sale may, very probably, have been the large number of works on botany which are listed in the catalogue; but one would like to know whose were the 27 volumes of school books, and the copy of Lempriere's *Classical Dictionary*, which might have enlightened us on the mystery of Radclyffe's education[549].

The total raised at the Radclyffe sale was £1,163 1s. For purposes of comparison, an eleven-day sale in November 1828, of the library of the Rev. James Hews Bransby, of Audley, an antiquarian clergyman, had fetched £1,492 8s. 6d; the next four-day sale at Sotheby's, in January, 1829, of the library of a learned Canon of Christ Church, fetched £805 19s[550].

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[548] Miller held regular literary '*conversazioni*' during the autumn and winter months; these were ticketed events, which Radclyffe attended nine times between March 1805 and March 1808 (the volume of the diary covering 1809/10 is missing; 1811/12 was a period when Radclyffe's life was disrupted by his wife's serious illness, but he recorded a visit to Miller's establishment in January 1811). The purchases in January 1807 followed a *conversazione* three days earlier.

[549] Radclyffe recorded purchasing 'classics' at a Leigh and Sotheby's sale on 22 November 1806.

[550] The auctioneer's copies of these sale catalogues are housed in the British Library, where they have been consulted.

A postscript to the Sotheby's sale appears in a *Supplement to the Catalogue of English Theology*, published in February 1829 by W. Strong of Exeter, where is an entry for 'The Ecclesiasticall[sic] History of St. Thomas Archbishope[sic] of Canterbury, anon., 450 pp., gilt leaves, 2L 2s, Colloniae, 1639. Ownership history inc. William Radclyffe, Rouge Croix, Coll. of Arms – bookplate. It is altogether a singular curiosity.'

……..

Once he had become established at the College of Arms, Radclyffe was habitually in contact with several of the most eminent antiquarians of his time, especially in connection with matters concerning the history of North-Eastern England. He became, in fact a member of a well-defined circle, which included Surtees, Whitaker, Hunter, Raine and Eyre, and, rather separately, Thomas Blore; they corresponded frequently and met intermittently, and were active in publication. Within the group, Radclyffe appears consistently as not only contributing material for publication in the works of others, but also as playing significant roles in helping them to get into print. He earned respect for these activities, and dealt with other members of the circle as an equal. He was, of course – and not only in his own eyes – of very much the same breed as the squires and clerics written about by Rosemary Sweet:

> 'the most active antiquaries came from the ranks of the lesser gentry and those who merged with the professional classes'[551].

Although he spent much the greater part of each year in London, Radclyffe seems to have had cautious, perhaps even rather distant, relations with the London set of antiquarians such as Richard Gough (d. 1809), Sir Joseph Banks (d. 1820) or Sir Richard Colt Hoare and the other, sometimes self-important, luminaries of Somerset House. He remained a

[551] *Antiquaries,* p. 44.

Yorkshireman in London, and the whole thrust of his work was consistent with Rosemary Sweet's dictum that 'The geographical unit within which the gentleman antiquary was most likely to work and with which he would identify himself was the county history'[552].

# CHAPTER 6

## TOWARDS THE GOTHIC

This chapter considers the development of Radclyffe's antiquarian activity in the context of the contemporary understanding of mediaeval history, with particular reference to the emergent Gothic Revival movement. Evidence is taken from the diary and from Radclyffe's correspondence, both of which show him moving increasingly in a circle of antiquarians, architects and connoisseurs who were influential in refining the 'dilettante Gothick' of the late eighteenth century into the 'scholarly Gothic' of the early nineteenth century. It is suggested also that Radclyffe's own practice began to concentrate on pedigrees of the Middle Ages, and that he moved into genres of activity other than genealogy. In this respect, as in others which have already been examined, such as social attitudes and lifestyle, Radclyffe can be seen as an individual who was travelling with, if not ahead of, the tides of his times.

……..

[552] *Antiquaries*, p. 36.

## The Middle Ages through Regency eyes

The crudity of the architectural descriptions in *The History of Doncaster* has already been noted; despite the references to Warton and Bentham, the person, whoever it was, who wrote about Doncaster parish church plainly had a very limited understanding of mediaeval building.

The reassessment of mediaeval art forms which occurred in England from the mid-eighteenth century onwards has been well chronicled since the appearance of Kenneth Clark's seminal study, *The Gothic Revival*[553]. It was a process which required a considerable revision of aesthetic value-judgements: Rosemary Sweet remarks that

> 'Appreciation of mediaeval buildings was not high amongst educated circles at the start of…the period. It is a simple matter to find dismissive comments, even revulsion, directed at the nation's mediaeval fabric, the most conspicuous part of which was ecclesiastical'[554].

Sweet goes on to quote, as an example of the prejudice generated by classical acculturation, the opinion of the Scottish virtuoso Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, that the Goths

> 'introduced a bad manner not only in Architecture but in all other arts and sciences. We have been for upwards of 200 years endeavouring to recover ourselves from this Gothicism'[555].

Horace Walpole may have promoted a frisson-laden fashion for a certain quasi-mediaeval aesthetic, but the robustly realistic Richard Gough pointed out that Walpole had little to say about the technicalities of real mediaeval building, or about the history of its evolution. Gough himself owed much to the practical expertise of the architect James Essex (1722-

[553] First published in 1928.
[554] *Antiquaries*, p. 238.
[555] *Antiquaries,* p. 240.

84), who worked on the chapel of King's College, Cambridge[556], and on Ely and Lincoln cathedrals. Essex was the professional adviser also of James Bentham, canon and prebendary of Ely, whose account of that cathedral was for many years 'the most detailed and perceptive analysis of a mediaeval building published in the English language and was the starting point of almost every discussion of the origins of the pointed arch'[557].

By the last quarter of the century, sophisticated antiquarians were engaging in increasingly well-informed discussions about the dating of mediaeval buildings, the methods of their construction, and the merits of their designs, and their findings were widely published, for example in *Archaeologia*, the journal of the Society of Antiquaries of London which was launched by Gough, Jeremiah Milles and Charles Lyttelton in 1770. Between 1776 and 1784, *The Antiquarian Repertory* carried a number of important illustrated articles on architecture, especially by the prolific antiquary (and one-time Richmond Herald) Francis Grose, and the editor of the *Annual Register* for 1773 found no incongruity in printing, among the notes of current affairs, a lengthy extract from Grose's *Antiquities of England and Wales*, dealing with the distinction between Saxon and Norman building, and the likely origins of the pointed (or 'Saracenic') arch. Perhaps most influential of all were the essays and correspondence on architectural subjects[558] which featured prominently in successive issues of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, a publication which we know Radclyffe read and to which he contributed. The evolution of the Gothic style, in particular, was the subject of debate, which was often assisted by the fastidious analytical drawings of John Carter, Draughtsman to the Society of Antiquaries from 1784 and a Fellow from 1795.

[556] Where he designed the soberly splendid panelling that graced the walls of the sanctuary, until it was ruthlessly discarded in the 1960s.
[557] *Antiquaries,* p. 259.
[558] Especially concerning the highly controversial works of 'restoration', 'edification' and alteration which were conducted at various times in Westminster Abbey, Durham and Salisbury cathedrals, and elsewhere.

By the time that Radclyffe secured his *entrée* to antiquarian circles, a sophisticated appreciation of the refinements and techniques of Gothic architecture was being reinforced, increasingly frequently, by a mature historical awareness. Richard Gough's *History and Antiquities of Pleshey* (London, 1803), for example, makes use of original written sources as well as applying comparative method to the analysis of buildings, to produce an account of measured scholarship. John Milner's two-volume *History of Winchester* (1798 and 1809) is marked by sectarian (Roman Catholic) fervour, but demonstrates a deep understanding of the significance of architectural style as an expression of social realities. Thomas Dudley Fosbroke wrote in a more traditionally antiquarian manner, but his *History of Gloucester* (London, 1819) nonetheless showed the influence of his studies of monasticism in mediaeval England, and suggested the possibility of interpreting Gothic architecture in terms of the institutional life which had created it.

The first entry in the diary which allows us to judge the quality of Radclyffe's interest in historic buildings occurs when he describes a visit to the church at Harlow on 15 March 1803, 'in which there is a good collection of choise[sic] painted glass, part of some of the finest done in about A.D. 1510, a portrait of C I and his Queen, several monumental plates of Brass altogether a very singular eligant[sic] Church'. This suggests that Radclyffe's expertise did not at this stage reach far beyond the documents that he was studying so intensively; the attempt at a precise dating for the glass, in particular, reads as unconvincingly as the similar assertions about the masonry of Doncaster church[559]. It is worth noting, however, that Radclyffe went on to develop a genuine and lasting interest in stained glass; he collected fragments of mediaeval work, commissioned windows for

[559] Perhaps, though, it hints at a willingness to 'feel' for the age of a building – an essential, if dangerously mistake-prone, attribute of the architectural historian.

Darley Hall and Worsbrough church, and supplied designs for Thomas Dunham Whitaker and Matthew Russell (see page 240).

In April 1803, Radclyffe was in Yorkshire, and visited Barnborough Hall near Barnsley, the home of descendants of a branch of the family of Sir Thomas More; he was interested by the portraits which he was shown there, but his diary entry[560] suggests that he saw them merely as curiosities – his 'historical interest' was not yet awoken.

During six weeks of August and September 1803, Radclyffe toured Lancashire and Yorkshire, searching for his family's antecedents in documentary sources and actual sites, including Ordsall Hall and Smithills Hall near Salford[561], and Todmorden Hall[562]. His descriptions of these ancestral mansions are accompanied by suitable effusions of romantic feeling, but lack any architectural description; this is not in itself conclusive evidence of ignorance of such matters, but when such considerations are deeply embedded in an individual's thought-processes, it is difficult to keep them out of even the most private jottings.

An activity more prosaic than the nostalgic visiting of his family's lost properties, and one which may have been important to the development of Radclyffe's architectural awareness, was the compiling of what were called 'church notes'. Consciousness of the generally dilapidated state of the parish churches which housed their families' tombs and monuments had grown among the gentry in the later years of the eighteenth century, as the columns of *The Gentleman's Magazine* bore witness month by month, and had stimulated a polite interest in the recording of details about such historic fabrics before they tumbled

[560] *Diary,* 15 April 1803.
[561] Ordsall is described by Pevsner as 'The most important remaining timber-framed building in Salford'. N. Pevsner, *Lancashire: Manchester and the South-East* (London, 2004), pp. 636-39. The diary indicates that Radclyffe saw significant elements which have since been lost. For Smithills, see Pevsner, p. 169.
[562] At Todmorden a mediaeval timber building was very grandly encased in stone by the Radclyffe Earls of Sussex in the late sixteenth century.

into ruin[563]. It became a mark of gentility to engage in amateur surveying and sketching, and for the professionals of the College of Arms in particular, whose business took them around the country to record evidence from tombstones and to copy monumental inscriptions, the making of such notes was a standard activity. In Chapter 7 of her *Antiquaries*, Rosemary Sweet has demonstrated the significance of this process of recording, which accumulated the evidence on which the pioneers of the Gothic revival based their growing scholarship.

Radclyffe quickly fell into the pattern of his colleagues' activity, and quantities of his church notes, classified as such, survive in the archives of the College of Arms[564]. They show that he proceeded in the regular style, which involved scrupulous measurement of the basic dimensions of the building, superficial remarks on its construction, transcription of any noteworthy monumental inscriptions or the displayed details of parish charities, and references to associations with important families; evidence for the descent of the manor was seen, in this scheme of things, as more valuable than such matters as descriptions of carved rood-screens or analysis of the stages by which a tower had developed its height, and the role of the church in the story of the parish was no part of the project. This was a narrowly limited approach, therefore, hardly even 'antiquarian' in any full sense, and well short of 'historical'. Nonetheless Radclyffe was beginning to learn about mediaeval building as he took his measurements, and there are clear signs of development in his technique[565].

[563] The genre was gently satirised by Southey in his *Letters from England,* ed. J. Simmons (London, 1951), p. 348.
[564] College of Arms, Radclyffe Archive, vol. 5.
[565] E.g. his notes on Hemsworth church: 'Situated on a pleasant eminence commanding a fine view to the south. It is a neat structure consisting of a Middle and two side Ailes[sic] the Columns and Arches which are on the North side of this church are very ancient being entirely rude Saxon those on the south evidently of a later creation being of the Saracenic or Gothic Architecture, apparently about the time of Edward 1st'. (College of Arms, Radclyffe Archive, vol. 5, p. 55.)

Appointment to the College of Arms brought Radclyffe into contact with men who had studied aspects of mediaeval history, and mediaeval buildings in particular, to a degree which exceeded anything that he had himself attempted until then. George Nayler, for example, who appears to have treated Radclyffe as something like an apprentice for a while before relations between them turned sour, was a contributor on mediaeval subjects to the proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries[566], and a devotee of the visual glamour of mediaeval ceremonial[567].

Radclyffe's diary shows that his travels in the North during 1808, when he further improved his knowledge of his family's origins, did a great deal to stir his interest in ruined castles, other relics of the Middle Ages, and in fact the 'romance of history' in general. He rhapsodised over the beauty of Derwentwater by moonlight[568] and meditated on the strongholds of his ancestors:

> '…took a walk to the top of the little mountain Castle-Rig as well to view the Derwentwater as to explore that seate of the ancient residence of my remote ancestors; the summit has little else than a rock left on which the Castle stood all the rest of the Rigg is well covered with young oaks and other wood[569] – went from thence to the stable hill on the borders of the Derwent Lake cross'd by a boat to the Lords Island thereon examined the ruins of the old mansion now reduced to the foundations and rubbish out of which however grows an abundance of oak (young) and other timber – returned to Keswick and to Crosthwait where I finished my Radclivian search, …after dining at Keswick took post Chaise came pass'd near the foot of the mountain Skiddaw on the East and Bassenthwaite Water on the West and after leaving the vale of Keswick pass'd over a vast tract of Moor Land…'[570]

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[566] 5 November 1795, a drawing of a monument in the Tower of London; 29 March 1798, communication on the tomb of Alfred the Great; 13 November 1800, drawings of St. Stephen's Chapel; 7 November 1805, communication on the badges of Edward IV.

[567] As instanced in his epic depiction of the coronation of George IV.

[568] *Diary,* 30 August 1808.

[569] The diary's phrasing seems to suggest a conscious correction of the romantic meanderings of Ann Radcliffe, whose account of her 1794 visit to the same place had been the only source available to William Radclyffe when he composed his tribute to the family for the Earl of Newburgh in 1798 – see p. 120. The diary shows, elsewhere, that Radclyffe read Scott's poetry, but there are no explicit references either to the early Waverley novels or to the works of the Lakes poets; however, it is difficult to believe that Radclyffe's sensibilities were not stirred by the literary winds of Romantic enthusiasm.

[570] *Diary,* 31 August 1808.

The development of Radclyffe's sensibility can be traced further through the diary. The journey which he undertook in 1811, in the course of which he stayed in the cathedral precincts of Peterborough and York to work in their archives[571], provoked further expressions of interest in mediaeval history. And the account of his 1815 journey to South Wales (see Chapter 4) suggests that that expedition was, in part at least, a deliberate search for mediaeval antiquities.

The attempt to acquire and restore the ruins of Dilston Castle (see below) leaves no room for doubt that by 1810, at least, Radclyffe was a decided and enthusiastic mediaevalist – though at that stage not very skilled in technicalities. His particular interests seem to have focussed, unsurprisingly, on the heraldry of the Middle Ages; he began work – the diary does not say exactly when – on a project which was to engage him for the remainder of the diary years, a great illuminated display of the coats of arms of the Magna Carta barons. He also collected fragments of mediaeval stained glass, which he may have used to provide inspiration for the heraldic designs that he supplied for Whalley and Worsbrough churches and Brancepeth Castle.

Another significant step in Radclyffe's progress towards the Gothic was his employment, from November 1813, of the herald-painter Dowse. Examples of Dowse's work, executed to Radclyffe's orders, which survive in the College of Arms show that he was not merely an accomplished craftsman, but an artist with a real feeling for the aesthetic of the late Middle Ages. During the later diary years Radclyffe busied himself in collecting mediaeval manuscripts, some of which were illuminated, and he and Dowse engaged in the painstaking illumination of some of Radclyffe's own books – with results that commanded high prices when Radclyffe's library was sold at Sotheby's in 1828.

[571] And saw, from a distance, Tattershall Castle, which had recently been made famous by Sir Joseph Banks; Radclyffe recorded discussing Lincolnshire antiquities with Banks on 20 May 1814.

The contents of Radclyffe's library in themselves suggest the movement of Radclyffe's interests towards the Gothic. The principal example of this must be the volume of Dugdale's *Monasticon* of 1655, which displays the architectural glories of England's mediaeval monasteries in a detailed and scholarly style which had hardly been surpassed by the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Radclyffe moved towards the Gothic of his own volition, and in his own way; but it is likely that his interests were crystallised and made purposeful by one critical association, his friendship with Robert Surtees.

## Robert Surtees

Radclyffe was serving as 'Deputy in Official Waiting' at the College in June 1804, and was working on what he called a 'large armorial pedigree' of the Radclyffe family for Lord Newburgh[572], when 'Mr. Surtees of Mainsforth in Co. Dur. came to see Somerset'. Somerset was John Atkinson, who had succeeded John Charles Brooke in that office in 1794. Radclyffe's attention was evidently caught immediately; the diary entry runs on 'wrote varii on Surtees'. As the Officer of Arms currently In Waiting, Radclyffe had precedence in dealing with visitors, but he seems to have acted with much promptitude in appropriating Surtees, and any custom he might bring, to himself, and when the young man came back two days later their heads were soon close together over '…my large Armorial Pedigree…'.

[572] A project that had preoccupied him since 7 May, and was not finished until mid-August.

Surtees (1779-1834) was 25 years old at this time, but he had already amassed a considerable collection of materials on the history of northern England[573], and he evidently responded instantly to Radclyffe's genealogical expertise with its focus on the gentry families of the North-east. The diary goes on to note jubilantly that he 'undertook to execute a few commissions genealogic for me in Co. Durham'. This set the pattern for an acquaintance which ripened unto collaboration and intimate friendship, and was only ended by Radclyffe's sudden death in 1828.

Surtees had been born of a long-established family of Durham gentry, with a seat at Mainsforth not far from the city. He had a somewhat weak constitution and a sedentary, sensitive temperament, and after Christ Church, Oxford, and a brief experiment with the law, he settled into a life of scholarly seclusion on his estate, varied by occasional expeditions to London. His life was far from leisurely, however; he was a tireless collector of manuscripts and antiquities, a prolific correspondent on antiquarian matters, and the central personality in a group of historical and literary figures which included Sir Walter Scott and Sir Charles Tennyson. Publication of his magisterial *History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham* began in 1816; two more volumes followed before his death in 1834, and a fourth was published posthumously in 1840.

Robert Surtees and Joseph Hunter were, arguably, the pre-eminent antiquarians of the early nineteenth century, and it is significant that both were close and loyal collaborators of William Radclyffe. Surtees was a man of principle, a practising Christian (as, of course, was Hunter the Unitarian minister) who attended church every Sunday, taking his frequent house guests with him, as Radclyffe records on various occasions, and a generous philanthropist whose funeral was the occasion of expressions of sincere grief on the part of

[573] '…while a schoolboy…in his 15th year [he] began his collections for the history of his native county'. Obituary in *The Gentleman's Magazine,* April 1834.

large crowds of his tenants and dependants. The lifelong friendship and apparently unswerving support of this outstanding scholar and pillar of integrity must surely be seen as a powerful endorsement of William Radclyffe's own character and personality.

The evidence for Radclyffe's relationship with Surtees is to be found partly in the diary, and still more largely in the collection of Radclyffe's letters to Surtees, which the latter preserved with scrupulous care and which now rest in the great Surtees archive at Durham[574].

There are 247 diary entries which mention Surtees, together with numerous references to his books. Many of the entries record the receipt or despatch of letters. Others contain details of the visits the two men paid to each other; they spent time together whenever Surtees came to London[575], and Radclyffe stayed at Mainsforth for a week or more in each of September 1808, September 1811, October 1813, October 1814 and October 1816[576], sometimes with his wife with whom Mrs. Surtees formed what appears to have been a warm and sympathetic friendship. (Radclyffe shared with Surtees his anxieties about Elizabeth's health, including her descents into deep depressive melancholia.)

The two men carried out research for each other, almost continuously, and appear to have been scrupulous in meeting each others' expenses in this connection. Surtees may well have been responsible for Radclyffe's election as one of the first Honorary Members of the newly founded Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, in May 1813. Radclyffe for his part arranged access for Surtees to the British Museum[577]. They sent each other architectural and portrait prints relating to their respective researches, and Radclyffe bought books from the London market to send to Mainsforth. On more than one occasion, Radclyffe executed

[574] Durham University Archives, SUR 33.
[575] E.g. on 2, 4, 6 and 8 April 1811.
[576] The diaries for 1809 and 1810 are missing.
[577] *Diary,* 21 March 1811.

financial commissions for Surtees in London, for example with the Tontine office in January 1818.

Perhaps the most important evidence provided by the diary about the collaboration, however, concerns the part played by Radclyffe in the production of Surtees' *Durham*. The Introduction to Volume I pays generous tribute to his genealogical contributions[578], but the diary shows that he also served, in effect, as Surtees' representative for all practical purposes in dealing with the printer/publisher, Nichols, Son and Bentley of Red Lion Passage, Fleet Street – delivering material, reading and correcting proofs, negotiating with engravers, handling financial transactions, and generally acting as a combination of author's agent and publisher's editor. It was, in fact, the story of Miller's *Doncaster* all over again, but on a far greater scale and at a much higher level of scholarly significance. This is important on two counts: first, it shows that the book which was the making of Surtees' reputation owed its appearance in part to Radclyffe's endeavours; and second, the extensive and critically important mediaeval content of *Durham* can reasonably be seen as likely to have extended Radclyffe's understanding of mediaeval history.

The letters which passed between the two men go further than the diary in revealing the extent of the two men's long collaboration on antiquarian matters. They do not appear to have been the object of research until now, and were certainly not used by Wagner when he wrote about Radclyffe. It therefore seems worthwhile to analyse them in some detail.

The section of the Surtees archives which contains the Radclyffe letters (SUR 33) includes 366 numbered sheets (the numbering was Surtees' own work), comprising 104 distinct

[578] '[The author's] more particular acknowledgements are due…to his steady and zealous friend William Radclyffe Esq., *Rouge Croix,* whose indefatigable attention to the whole of the genealogical records introduced in the present volume has rendered the Author's distance from the press in this respect a matter of neither regret nor importance.' Introduction to *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham,* vol. I (London, 1816).

items. There are, in addition, (i) four unnumbered notes dating from 27 December 1825, 16 February 1826, 12 June 1826, and 4 June 1828 respectively, which may have been added to the archive by Surtees after Radclyffe's death; (ii) an unnumbered letter, the authorship of which can safely be ascribed to Radclyffe's brother Charles, writing from Paris in December 1815; and (now) (iii) an uncatalogued letter from William Radclyffe to Surtees which has been added to the archive by recent purchase at my initiative.

Eleven of the 104 items relate to Surtees' interest in the last of the Conyers baronets, who was in penury and for whom he raised a subscription to which Radclyffe contributed; one is a letter to Surtees from another herald, dated 23 March 1818, which refers to Radclyffe's 'unfortunate situation'; one numbered sheet is blank; and sheet 101 is missing. The remainder, together with a few unnumbered sheets, are all either written by Radclyffe or closely concern his affairs.

Much of the material is densely genealogical in nature – notes, pedigrees, transcriptions of wills or monumental inscriptions, varied by heraldic sketches and blazons. Almost all of it comes in the form of dated personal letters, which were often compiled in instalments. The majority of the letters were addressed to Mainsforth from the College of Arms, but the last two or three contain valuable evidence of Radclyffe's later addresses in London. Many bear the remains of their sealing, and several the evidence of franks from M.P.s or public officials.

Radclyffe's handwriting varies considerably over the sequence as a whole. He has what might be termed a 'regular' script, which is normally neater than that in which he writes his diary, but which sometimes degenerates into a scrawl. He appears to have written freely, with very few corrections or amendments; this hand always slants to the right. When transcribing a document he changes to a small, carefully formed, upright script

which is clearly intended to ensure maximum legibility, and cannot readily be recognised as his own work. Finally, his signature, when he deploys it, comes in a florid, ornamentally calligraphic manner which resembles the signatures of Elizabeth I. It is important to notice the variety of these scripts, in view of the assertions made against Radclyffe at his trial in 1820, to the effect that his handwriting was immediately identifiable.

The style of content, when it has anything of a personal flavour, develops noticeably over the sequence. The early letters are formal, as from a somewhat older professional of some standing to a younger person who is, however, a man of property; then, as scholarly relations grow, an easy informality pervades the exchanges of antiquarian information; a closer intimacy follows episodes of personal contact, and Radclyffe begins to write freely about health and money concerns ('…rather short of brass just now which you may readily conceive when I tell you that I have been obliged to raise the wind for £3,000 to clear an incumbrance off a lately established estate of my wife's in Yorkshire')[579]. In due course Radclyffe made Surtees privy to his most dearly held ambitions, with regard both to his schemes for the College of Arms and his ambitions in Northumberland, and in a series of epistles which become powerfully enthralling he discusses his plans for Dilston, his troubles with colleagues, and, eventually, the story of his trial, wrongful conviction and imprisonment.

Radclyffe the letter-writer clearly saw himself, and was seen by Surtees, primarily as a specialist in genealogy, an expert in establishing and setting out in due form the facts of family descent from generation to generation. Beaumont, Blackett and Blakiston, Collingwood and Craggs, Fenwick and Fletcher, Salvin, Shuttleworth, Tempest – scores of northern gentry names pile up in his notes and diagrams. He mostly confined himself,

[579] Letter of 24 December 1812, SUR 33/130-33.

with what we might feel was unnecessary rigour, to the construction of pedigrees; the occupations, the estates, the political activities of his subjects only rated mention if they affected the line of descent – because that was how he and Surtees had agreed he should proceed. But, of course, different sorts of evidence come into play, and the scope of research has a tendency to spread: seals, tombs, portraits, whole buildings might need to be considered as sources of information. So Radclyffe's range can be seen to widen perceptibly over the course of his correspondence with Surtees, whose own interests always extended far beyond the purely genealogical.

Against the background of this evolution, it is instructive to compare document SUR 33/73-76, a letter dated 12 October 1810, with the diary entries for August and September 1803. In each case, Radclyffe is writing about the residences of his mediaeval ancestors, but whereas in 1803 he contemplated them with little more than a degree of polite melancholy of the sort appropriate to a gentleman of cultured sensitivity, by 1810 he had become a proto-mediaevalist who envisaged the rebuilding of Dilston Castle, and fantasised about a celebration of baronial hospitality in beef and ale, in terms which would have evoked applause from Thomas Love Peacock's Mr. Chainmail[580].

Surtees for his part was not only an ardent mediaevalist, but keenly interested also in the history of the Radclyffe family[581], especially as it concerned their involvement in the Jacobite uprisings. He is credited in some quarters with the collection, in others with the actual composition, of the ballad known as *Derwentwater's Lament*, which he supplied in 1807 to James Hogg, 'the Ettrick Shepherd', who printed it in the second volume of his *Jacobite Relics*[582]. He warmly encouraged Radclyffe the diarist in his schemes for Dilston,

[580] T.L. Peacock, *Crotchet Castle,* first pub. 1832,
[581] Surtees' letter to *The Gentleman's Magazine,* bearing the date 13 December 1813, about a coat of arms quartering Radclyffe with Forster, was possibly a joint effort.
[582] Published in Edinburgh in 1821.

and plainly exercised a powerful influence over the development of Radclyffe's mediaevalising sympathies.

## The 'Mainsforth connection'

The decisive moment in Radclyffe's development from heraldic genealogist to Gothic Revivalist may have come in October 1816, in the course of a week-long stay at Mainsforth. On this occasion the usual pedigree-hunting was animated by the presence, at different times, of a small galaxy of antiquarians, who included James Raine[583] and others from Durham, an architectural party which included Edward Blore[584] and Anthony Salvin (both of whom were already on close terms with Radclyffe, to judge from the frequency with which they are mentioned in the diary), and some wealthy landowners including Matthew Russell of Hardwick and his brother-in-law Charles Tennyson. Surtees was working on his county history, and Raine was shaping a project on the city of Durham and Bamborough; Russell and Tennyson were to be collaborators in a seminal episode of the Gothic Revival in 1818-21, when Russell inherited and rebuilt Brancepeth, near Durham, the ancient fortress of the Nevilles; Salvin and Blore became pre-eminent in the rage for castle-restoration and castle-building that swept the country in the years that followed; and Tennyson went on to create the mighty neo-Gothic castle of Bayons Manor on the Lincolnshire Wolds during the 1830s and 1840s.

[583] Raine was a considerable figure in Northern antiquarian circles; he edited the posthumous volume of Surtees' *Durham.*

[584] Sir John Summerson, in *Architecture in Britain: 1530-1830* (Harmondsworth, 1953), p. 300, speaks of Blore as having been 'discovered' by Sir Walter Scott; the extent of the 'discovery' might be debated, but Scott's friendship with Surtees is a further indication that Mainsforth was a centre of 'Gothic antiquarianism' in the early 1800s.

The telegraphic style of the diary cannot entirely conceal the acute interest which this colloquy aroused in Radclyffe; the daily entries become a running narrative, with dates tacked on in the margin, and while Radclyffe concentrates on the record of his genealogical business, it is not hard to sense the breadth of the conversations that took place around the dining table and in the library at Mainsforth. Whether or not this was the point at which he consciously began to function as an antiquarian rather than merely a genealogist, he certainly appears to have extended the scope of his dealings with Blore and Salvin from late 1816 onwards. It seems that he made a contribution to the work at Brancepeth, possibly in the form of designs for the heraldic elements of the stained glass in the Barons' Hall[585]; the diary for January 1820 records meetings with Tennyson, who was the effective controller of the works at Brancepeth, followed by dealings with Collins, the eminent London glass-maker who is known to have executed the window[586].

The last months of the diary are studded with references to Radclyffe's long-running project for an illuminated compendium of arms of the Magna Carta barons, and a new undertaking in the same mediaeval genre, a display of the arms of barons who fought at Agincourt. Given his previous activities as 'director' of the funerals of John Salwey and the Earl of Newburgh, it may be thought likely also that he would have been involved in the grand ceremonies that occurred at Brancepeth at the time of Matthew Russell's death in 1822[587].

[585] The design of the Barons' Hall at Brancepeth may have owed something to the 11th Duke of Norfolk's Hall at Arundel. 'Its main feature was a large stained-glass window showing the Battle of Neville's Cross [1346]…Tennyson was responsible for commissioning this window, and all the other stained glass at Brancepeth. It was made in 1820-1 by William Collins of London, but the Neville's Cross window seems to have been based on a design by Thomas Stothard.' M. Girouard, *The Return to Camelot* (London, 1981), p. 72.

[586] *Diary,* 4 January 1820, 'Mr. Collins called about Brancepeth Castle'. See illus. in Girouard, p. 73. Girouard cites Collins as having charged £1,500 for the window in 1821 (note 14, p. 297).

[587] See illus. in M. Girouard, *The Return to Camelot* (London, 1981), p. 72.

The significance of the Mainsforth meeting continued to spread, like ripples, throughout the months and years that followed. The Revd. James Raine (1791-1858), librarian of Durham Cathedral, was a frequent correspondent, both before and after Radclyffe's trial; a visit from him on 23 December 1820 is one of the last recorded in the diary. The Ven. John Eyre[588], Archdeacon of Nottingham and Canon of York, a noted expert on the fabric and furnishings of York Minster and another participant at Mainsforth, proposed in 1823/4 that Radclyffe should consider an appointment as archivist at York; we do not know why this suggestion came to nothing.

The Revd. Thomas Dunham Whitaker (1759-1821) was not at Mainsforth in 1816, and the meeting may have been all the more peaceable in consequence, but he deserves mention in this context of Radclyffe's evolution towards the Gothic. He first met Radclyffe at the British Museum on 10 April 1807, according to the diary, and promptly thereafter enlisted Radcliffe's assistance in research for a revision of his history of Craven[589]; much correspondence ensued. Contact was renewed, and intensified, in 1814, and the years between then and 1817 saw Radclyffe acting for Whitaker much as he was doing, at the same time, for Surtees. Whitaker was working on the history of Leeds, and casting his net further across Yorkshire as well, and he was unremitting in his demands not only for pedigrees (his largest single commission was for 21 at one time on 10 June 1816) but also for help with illustrations, and in dealings with Nichols the printer. He enlisted Radclyffe's aid also to draft a design, presumably heraldic in nature, for a stained-glass window that he proposed to erect in Whalley church – another example of Radclyffe branching out into a 'new speciality'.

[588] Brother-in-law to Sir George Armytage of Kirklees, one of those Yorkshire gentry with whom Radclyffe had many dealings.
[589] *The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven* (1805, 2nd edition 1812).

Whitaker was a notoriously difficult man, self-important, ferociously reactionary in his opinions, and acerbically critical of others. It looks as if he exploited Radclyffe quite ruthlessly, and there is a nasty little tale which he told in the preface to his work on Craven, concerning Beaumont of Whitley and an unnamed herald, which reads very like a malicious and ungrateful sneer at Radclyffe. However, when he came to issue a prospectus for what eventually appeared as *Loidis and Elmete*[590], it included the following passage:

> '…no pedigree will be inserted in the following work which has not been either compiled, or at least revised and corrected, by one of the most skilful genealogists in the kingdom, William Radclyffe, Esq., Rouge Croix, so that each may be considered as having received the stamp of official authority'.

It was a testimonial which, coming from Whitaker, marked Radclyffe as a decided scholar, and no dilettante.

## Matthew Russell and Charles Tennyson

The Russells of Brancepeth were *nouveaux riches* at the beginning of the nineteenth century; William Russell, a Sunderland banker, became stupendously wealthy following a fortunate investment in coal-bearing land, and bought Brancepeth in 1796. His son Matthew (1765-1822), who was renowned as the richest commoner in England, married a daughter of George Tennyson, a shrewd and successful Grimsby solicitor who had acquired a substantial landholding on the Lincolnshire Wolds including a property known at that time as Bayons Hall, near Tealby. Matthew Russell, a larger-than-life character given to cheerful enthusiasms, was enraptured by what he saw as the romantic history of Brancepeth, which had endured much turbulence during the border warfare of the Middle Ages. Seized with mediaevalising passion, as soon as he inherited the castle in 1817 he set

[590] T.D. Whitaker, *Loidis and Elmete* (Wakefield, 1816).

about rebuilding it in as thoroughly Gothic a manner as the knowledge of that time allowed; he was reputed to have spent £120,000 on the project before his untimely death.

Russell was one of an interesting group of like-minded contemporaries who shared a heady mixture of great wealth, more or less radical, or at least contrarian, opinions on political matters (focussed for a while around support for Queen Caroline against George IV), and a romantic passion for what they believed had been the culture of the Middle Ages. They included, besides Russell and Tennyson, Thomas Wildman of Newstead Abbey (1787-1859); John Lambton (1792-1840) of Lambton Hall, first Earl of Durham; and Henry Brougham (1778-1868) of Brougham Hall, first Baron Brougham and Vaux. They vied with each other in the extravagance of their projects, and their architectural activities in particular played a part in reshaping the popular image of the Middle Ages.

Radclyffe was not wealthy enough for membership of this coterie; but he appears to have lived his later years at its periphery, or under its influence. It would be unwise to read too much into the unadorned appearances of names in the diary, but, with that *caveat*, it looks as if Radclyffe found no particular difficulty in meeting and dealing with rich men of Russell's type; his acquaintance with Robert Milnes and William Lowther[591] fits this pattern. Whether he bore himself as a Radclyffe whose ancestry enabled him to look any man in the eye, or as a free-standing professional who could take people as he found them, is an interesting question to which the diary offers no clear answer; perhaps there was an element of both.

Russell's works at Brancepeth were executed to the designs of John Paterson, a competent Edinburgh architect; but Charles Tennyson, who at this time had not yet inherited Bayons, was an intrusive, not to say overbearing influence. Tennyson (1784-1861), later Tennyson

[591] See p. 155.

d'Eyncourt, was a still more interesting personality than Russell, and one who was of much greater direct importance to Radclyffe – though much of that importance relates to the period of Radclyffe's life subsequent to the diary years. He was a complex, brilliantly talented man, extravagantly proud of a somewhat tenuous claim to descent from the mediaeval Barons d'Eyncourt, prodigal in his spending of the great wealth accumulated by his tight-fisted father, and endowed with a fair share of the manic-depressive temperament which manifested itself even more strongly in the family raised by his brother in the rectory at Somersby. His fiery nature led him into passionate commitments and frequent aversions, in both political and private life, and there are strong suggestions of a personality constantly in search of the consolations of fantasy. Mark Girouard, ignoring his extraordinary and ultimately unsuccessful political career[592], bravely calls him 'an antiquary, a bibliophile, a man of principle and honour'[593]; his descendant Sir Charles Tennyson has written of him as 'a true son of the Gothic Revival'[594]; his nephew Alfred, the Poet Laureate, who harboured a violent grudge against him for inheriting wealth that might have gone to Alfred's father, called him 'a considerable humbug'[595]; at the least, he was a Croesus in love with the past.

Although he was 14 years younger than Radclyffe, there seems to have been a rapport between them from the time of their first meeting at Mainsforth; perhaps the fact that each of them had a frequently ill wife formed part of the common ground. After Radclyffe's trial in 1820, it was Charles Tennyson who appears to have stepped forward as his patron

[592] Tennyson's political record is summarised by D.R. Fisher in vol. VII of *The House of Commons 1810-1832* (Cambridge, 2009). Tennyson was a passionate but premature advocate of numerous reform causes; M.B. Baer, in *The Biographical Dictionary of Modern British Radicals,* vol. 1, pp. 120-24, goes so far as to suggest that '…men such as d'Eyncourt provided a link between the masses of an industrialising society and the oligarchy which had ruled it in the past.'
[593] M. Girouard, *The Return to Camelot* (London, 1981), p. 104.
[594] Sir Charles Tennyson and Hope Dyson, *The Tennysons: Background to Genius* (London, 1974), p. 58.
[595] *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

until the diarist's sudden death in 1828. The evidence for Tennyson's patronage is to be found in letters which survive in the Surtees archive, in particular one of 30 May 1823: 'Our friend Charles Tennyson & myself have at times been castle building with a view to my future genealogical life'. More of the same is to be found in another letter written on 18 July[596]. It is possible that it was Tennyson who arranged for Radclyffe to move to lodgings in Westminster after he had negotiated the surrender of his position in the College of Arms, and he may also have been responsible for the location – and perhaps for the headstone, now lost – of Radclyffe's burial in the churchyard of St. Margaret's Westminster, against the north wall of the Abbey[597].

Apart from whatever material help he may have given to Radclyffe, Tennyson would unquestionably have been important as an influence in encouraging the movement of his thought and activity in the direction of antiquarianism with a mediaeval bent. The use of the phrase 'castle building' in the letter quoted above surely has resonances in this connection. Tennyson himself became one of the great castle-builders of the Gothic Revival after he inherited Bayons from his father in 1835; he transformed the modest manor house into a mighty fortress, the different elements of which, from ruined keep to glorious hall, conveyed the impression that it had evolved over centuries[598]. If Radclyffe had lived longer, he would surely have made some contribution to that glory.

The Tennyson-Radclyffe relationship is as shadowy as the Surtees-Radclyffe relationship is substantial, but it might have been even more fruitful if it had not been untimely ended. Perhaps a proper historical study of Tennyson d'Eyncourt himself might bring more to

[596] Durham University Archives, SUR 33/331-34 and 339-42.
[597] Information from the Archivist of Westminster Abbey.
[598] The total destruction of Bayons, the concept and the craftsmanship of which were both lauded by Pevsner in unqualified terms, was a supreme expression of twentieth-century vandalism; the castle was dynamited in 1965, and can only be seen now in elegiac photographs such as those in Thorold and Yates' *Shell Guide to Lincolnshire* (London, 1965).

light; he is a significant figure, who was under-rated in his lifetime, and has been unjustly neglected since his death.

## The Dilston Castle project

There was irony in the fact that the ending of Radclyffe's career at that essentially mediaeval institution, the College of Arms, came about with seeming inconsequence when he repeated an application, in which he had already failed once, to realise a mediaevalist fantasy by repairing the fragmentary ruins of an ancient Radclyffe stronghold at Dilston in Northumberland.

The remains of the first castle built at Dilston, or Dyvelstone, above the stream known as the Devil's Water, have been dated to the early twelfth century. This fortress was superseded by a tower house built about 1416 by William Claxton, and subsequently inherited by the Radclyffes of Derwentwater. The tower was considerably extended in the early sixteenth century, again at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and yet again when the family was at the peak of its prosperity around 1700, by which time it was known as Dilston Hall. The Hall was abandoned after the catastrophe of the 1715 Rising, and in 1765 the Commissioners of Greenwich Hospital, to whom the Derwentwater estates had been assigned by the Crown, gave orders for most of the buildings to be demolished; only the remains of the mediaeval tower, together with some elements of the sixteenth-century additions, and a separate chapel dating from the early 1600s, survived to excite the imagination of William Radclyffe at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Radclyffe appears to have paid his first visit to Dilston on 2 September 1808. He was on a tour of the North which had previously taken him to Cumberland, where Derwentwater in

its mountain setting had powerfully impressed him – the diary entry relating to his visit to the Lakes has been quoted earlier.

Family concerns next took a material turn when he inspected 'five pieces of land belonging to Mrs. Smith', his mother-in-law, at Torpenhow[599], where he stayed the night. On 1 September he travelled on horseback to Wigton, and by coach to Carlisle, then on by the mail to reach the White Hart at Hexham in Northumberland on the evening of 1 September. The next day he visited the Beaumonts[600] of Hexham Abbey[601], and 'took a walk over to Dilston took drafts there called at Corbridge inquired of Ratcliffes[sic] there; returned to dine and spend the rest of the day at the Abbey'[602].

It does not appear from the diary that, at this stage, Radclyffe had any more interest in Dilston than in any other of the family's former possessions. The conversations which he had from time to time with Lord and Lady Newburgh about their claims on the

[599] *Diary,* 31 August 1808.

[600] Thomas Richard Beaumont of The Oaks, Darton in Yorkshire, m. Diana, (illegit.) heiress of Sir Thomas Wentworth Blackett of Hexham Abbey and Bretton Hall. Mary Russell Mitford reported in 1806 that 'they received last year a hundred thousand pounds from their lead mines in Yorkshire; and they never make less than eighty thousand, independently of immense income from their other estates'. Captain Gronow noticed Mrs. Beaumont in his *Reminiscences* (Folio Society edition, p. 89): '…she became one of the leaders of the fashionable world in 1812. From that time to 1820, it was impossible, during the London season, to walk from St. James's Street to Hyde Park at a certain hour in the afternoon without seeing her and her daughters in her large yellow landau. Her style of living was most luxurious and full of ostentation. Her preference of a nobleman before a gentleman was shown in a manner that was perfectly ridiculous and evinced a great want of good sense and tact. Her fetes were thronged with the *grand monde*, and her system of excluding all but persons of rank amused the fashionable world; even men of talent and good family rarely got the *entrée* of her saloons.' Radclyffe's diary records many dealings with the families of Beaumont of The Oaks, and with the Blacketts of Bretton Hall; it is significant of his intermediate position between the worlds of aristocratic blood and ancient lineage on the one hand, and fee-charging professionalism on the other, that he seems to have been found acceptable to Mrs. Beaumont's charmed circle.

[601] Radclyffe was well aware that he was treading here on the scene of events which had been critically important to his family. The Abbey at Hexham had been the scene of a preliminary to the Pilgrimage of Grace when, on 28 September 1536, a party of royal commissioners, including Sir Cuthbert Radclyffe of Dilston, demanded the surrender of the monastery and were met by armed resistance. James, 3rd Earl of Derwentwater, made Hexham the base of his operations in October 1715, during the early stages of the Jacobite Rising of that year. The terse style of the diary entries gives no hint of any reflections that may have occurred to the writer in 1808, but both Sir Cuthbert and the 3rd Earl were the frequent subjects of Radclyffe's private genealogical researches.

[602] *Diary,* 1 September 1808.

Derwentwater estates might have planted ideas in his mind, but whereas the Newburghs dreamed of restitution, the project which eventually came to preoccupy Radclyffe seems to have been principally a product of his burgeoning interest in Gothic antiquity. It really appears to have been the mediaeval history of the castle that appealed to him, rather than its more recent associations; nowhere among the Radclyffe papers is there any hint that he was particularly interested in the Jacobite element of his ancestry[603]. In this he was unlike many of today's visitors to Dilston, who, it appears, venerate the place as the wellhead of the 'Fifteen. Radclyffe's papers supply no indication of an interest in Jacobitism as a political cause; there are occasional mournful reflections on the destruction inflicted on the Derwentwater line as a result of the family's loyalty to the Stuarts, but there are no expressions of sympathy for Stuart policies, or for the Roman Catholic religion. Radclyffe discussed with Lord and Lady Newburgh the (essentially chimerical) idea of their regaining the Derwentwater estates, and he indulged his own, private, mediaevalising fantasy about Dilston; but he offers no addition to the story of post-1745 Jacobitism as it appears in the work of Eveline Cruickshanks and Jeremy Black[604], or Paul Monod[605].

The loss of the diary volume for 1809-10 is made good in certain respects by the letters which Radclyffe wrote during those years to Robert Surtees, but even there we find no direct reference to Dilston before one in a letter dated 3 October 1810, from which it emerges that the two men had already discussed a form of 'memorial' to the Greenwich Commissioners which would present Radclyffe's request for a lease on the castle ruins and some adjoining land. Nowhere in the letters, however, or in the diary after it resumes in 1811, or in either of the two 'memorials' which he actually submitted to the

[603] The Greenwich Commissioners, however, may have formed a different impression of the motivation behind the applications which he laid before them.
[604] E. Cruickshanks and J. Black, eds., *The Jacobite Challenge* (Edinburgh, 1988).
[605] P. Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People* (Cambridge, 1989).

Commissioners, does Radclyffe state in detail what it was that he intended to do at Dilston, other than 'the rebuilding or repairing the Tower'[606].

His approaches to the Commissioners were necessarily shaped as proposals to lease a small acreage of land around the castle, but he made it clear that he was not interested in farming this land for profit, but simply wanted access to, and the opportunity to preserve, the ruins. The possibility of establishing himself within easy reach of his friend Surtees at Mainsforth was no doubt part of the attraction; more generally, the desire for a Northern residence may be seen as forming part of a larger process in Radclyffe's thinking, centred on the desire to enhance his standing in the regions where his family had had its origins. This process, which can perhaps be seen as something like a retreat from the London professional identity in favour of a reassertion of the landed gentry ideal, was effectively advanced by the acquisition of Darley Hall; this could have left Dilston as the realisation of a mediaeval fantasy – something, perhaps, to match the Gothic folly of walls and towers with which his Worsbrough neighbour Vernon-Wentworth had adorned the edge of the skyline above Darley Hall[607].

The best, albeit general, indication of his intentions for the castle occurs in a letter to Surtees dated 12 October 1810:

> 'having given you the sketch of my plan on this subject I wish you wou'd foster it with your friendship and assist me to bring it to maturity that amongst other pleasures I may ask Mrs. S. and yourself to eat Roast Beef with me in the Hall of Dilston Tower'.

A little later, on 15 November, after he had held conversations with friends in Whitehall and the Earl of Newburgh, he began another letter with two lines of optimistic doggerel:

> 'With Government's power and Newburgh's consent,

[606] Letter to Surtees, 12 October 1810.
[607] Illustrated in my Oxford M.Phil. dissertation *Proprietary Rights* (2013).

I'll rebuild the Tower far north of the Trent'.

The reference to 'Government's power' is interesting; Radclyffe hoped for support from the Lord Chancellor, Lord Eldon[608], whose brother John was his legal adviser, and he may have received encouragement also from his contact John Wilson Croker, who later intervened to query the difficulties placed in Radclyffe's way by the Greenwich Commissioners[609]. Newburgh had given his written 'consent' to Radclyffe's plan on the day of the letter to Surtees. It is noteworthy that the Earl found no difficulty in thus publicly endorsing his client's consanguinity with the main Radclyffe line, and saw him as a proper person to inhabit the ancient ancestral home[610] – a testimonial that may have backfired when one, at least, of the Greenwich Commissioners expressed the view that the attainted stock of Radclyffe should never be allowed back into Northumberland.

Radclyffe's financial position in 1810-11 was evidently strong. He must have had funds at his disposal sufficient to allow him to contemplate the extensive programme of expenditure which he outlined to Surtees, including the financing of a private Act of Parliament (to ease the way of the Greenwich Commissioners towards granting him a lease on Dilston, if they chose to do so), purchasing a lease of the land round the castle and, if necessary, paying off sitting tenants, and, finally, embarking on a programme of building works to render the ruins habitable – all of this at a time when Darley Hall was very much a project in hand. Dilston and Darley together confirm the impression conveyed by the diaries that Radclyffe's practice, both at the College of Arms and privately, had brought him a significant level of income, if not downright wealth.

[608] Letter to Surtees, 12 October 1810.
[609] College of Arms Chapter Minutes, 16 April 1817.
[610] Among other aspersions cast on Radclyffe at his trial, prosecuting counsel attempted to imply, sneeringly, that Newburgh's signature to the letter of endorsement might have been secured by fraud – a brazen fabrication that probably achieved its objective by leaving Radclyffe apoplectic with rage.

Radclyffe's Dilston project came to nothing, or worse than nothing, in the end – not only was he thwarted of his mediaeval fantasy, but his opponents in the College of Arms found a means of using his application to cast discredit on him, and ultimately to drag him into a legal tangle which ended disastrously for his career as a herald. The ruins themselves have continued to decay with little remission right up to the present day. Their historic associations have, periodically, excited interest and stimulated a certain amount of myth-making (and, at time, some dark practices). Although they now enjoy the supposed protection of listing as a Grade I historic building, they are owned by an organisation with priorities other than the restoration of ancient structures, and are considered to be at risk of further deterioration. One can only speculate about what Radclyffe might have done with them if his enterprise had succeeded; if he had secured the assistance of his friends Blore and Salvin, not to mention cash from Charles Tennyson, the results might have been decidedly interesting. As we have already seen, castle-restoration was becoming a fashionable activity in the early years of the nineteenth century, and Radclyffe's involvement, slight as it may have been, with the rebuilding of Brancepeth suggests ways in which his Dilston project might have flowered. It is interesting to note that he assumed, initially, that the climate of the times was such that the Greenwich authorities would have found merit in a scheme to preserve the Dilston ruins[611].

Of one thing only can we be quite certain – if the project had been allowed to go ahead, the Radclyffe banner would have been hoisted above the (supposedly) haunted turret of Dilston Castle.

[611] The Bishop of Durham, a fellow-antiquarian, encouraged his thinking along these lines, according to a letter from Radclyffe to Surtees of 21 January 1811.

# CHAPTER 7

## Radclyffe in the College of Arms

The story of Radclyffe's membership of the College of Arms runs all through the surviving volumes of his diary, from his appointment as a pursuivant to his disgrace in 1820. His function as an Officer of Arms is the most esoteric of his various identities, and a proper understanding of its importance requires some description of the activity as well as analysis of its significance. This chapter supplies a brief account of the state of the College at the beginning of the nineteenth century, followed by a summary of its membership in the period 1803-1820; its working routines, and arrangements for fees and other sources of income are outlined; Radclyffe's activity in what may be termed a 'bursarial' role is considered, as displaying his temperament and ability, and exemplifying the practical application of his antiquarian interests; and, lastly, the internal manoeuvrings or 'office politics' which came to a head, so far as Radclyffe was concerned, in 1820 are discussed, and compared with the account given in Wagner's *Heralds of England*.

These topics must in each case be seen in the context of contemporary demands for improvements in the functional efficiency of public institutions, which inevitably generated opposition between 'reformers' and 'reactionaries'; Radclyffe is seen as attempting to initiate a process of 'reform' at the College – and also, though less clearly, as advocating 'professionalism' in the management of public business. His dealings at the College of Arms appear, in fact, to have been consistent with the definition of professional behaviour offered by Rosemary O'Day:

> '…a profession is defined as a body of people who offer a service to clients on the basis of expertise; who ground their expertise and authority in a body of theoretical knowledge as well as practical skill; who claim a monopoly; who follow a code of

> ethics in performing their services; who have an internal organisation that disciplines its members; and who have a large degree of autonomy in their work...'[612]

It must be emphasised that it is not the purpose of this thesis to offer a study of the College of Arms in general (although the present Garter King of Arms has expressed the opinion, in a letter to the owner of the diaries, that 'the information in them gives a clear picture of the daily working life of an Officer of Arms in the early 19th century. I have not seen a similar account elsewhere.'[613]). Rather, it is the intention in this chapter to explore the influence of Radclyffe's membership of the College on the development of his activity as genealogist and antiquarian, and, by examining the part which he played in the affairs of the College, to offer some assessment of the impact made by the forces of reform on a highly conservative institution.

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## The College at the start of the nineteenth century

The College originated as a manifestation of the late mediaeval cult of chivalry, and it originally performed certain practical functions relating to warfare and diplomacy. It evolved, like other institutions of the royal Court, erratically and without the benefit of any coherent constitutional planning. Henry V established the office of the senior herald, Garter King of Arms, in 1415, and the College was incorporated by Richard III in 1483/84, but disputes between its members about status, authority, and above all fees, were endemic from the start. The creation of a new nobility in the sixteenth century promoted a role for the heralds as arbiters of social precedence – Wagner refers to what he calls the

[612] R. O'Day, *The Professions in Early Modern England, 1450-1800* (Harlow, 2000), p. 9.
[613] Letter from Thomas Woodcock, (then) Norroy and Ulster King of Arms and Librarian, to Mrs. S. Shilling, 9 May 2005.

Elizabethan 'pedigree craze'[614] – a role which was not diminished by the upheavals of the seventeenth century, and which had the fortunate side-effect of stimulating antiquarian interests among the members of the College. Antiquarianism became, in fact, an important occupation of the heralds during the eighteenth century, at a time when the assured supremacy of the Whig aristocracy brought little strictly heraldic business to the College. A more vigorous life returned, however, when, in Disraeli's words, the Younger Pitt 'created a plebeian aristocracy and blended it with the patrician oligarchy'[615]. The (partial) reshaping of the social order which ensued restored some importance to the heralds as arbiters of genealogical decorum, and Radclyffe's diary shows him and his colleagues acting in that capacity[616].

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the College was virtually a closed corporation. Only vestigially part of the royal household, its membership was effectively self-selected: of the 16 men who were Radclyffe's colleagues during 1803-20, three were close relatives of heralds of the preceding generation, two were illegitimate connections of the Earl Marshal who presided over the College, one had been the long-serving clerk and protégé of Garter Heard, and almost all of the remainder owed their places to nomination by colleagues. A fine example of this inbred community was John Doddington Forth, appointed Portcullis Pursuivant in 1780 when only some 20 years old on the strength of impressive aristocratic connections; he occupied his pursuivancy for 37 years in what appears to have been somnolent, or at least unproductive, passivity.

Privileged access was not the whole of the story, however. James Cathrow, later Cathrow-Disney, was the son of a haberdasher, who played the social game with such skill, as

[614] *Heralds,* p. 205.
[615] B. Disraeli, *Sybil, or The Two Nations (*London n.d., Nelson World's Classics), p. 28.
[616] See also P.J. Corfield, *Power and the Professions in Britain, 1700-1850* (London, 1995), Chapter 1.

Rouge Dragon Pursuivant and then Somerset Herald, that he was said to have run through three fortunes before he died. He exemplified a type of sharp-eyed aspirant quick to step into such openings as arose in the College from time to time, and so we find the sons of a vicar, a surgeon, and a coal-merchant making their way up the ladder of precedence in Radclyffe's time. All this is very much in accord with the mixture of privilege with opportunity which characterised English society at this time, as it is described by such modern authorities as Paul Langford[617], Ben Wilson[618], Jenny Uglow[619] or Amanda Vickery[620].

Wagner suggests, approvingly, that the open purchase of places in the College, which had occurred with some frequency in the eighteenth century, was no longer practised in the early 1800s. Possibly the last herald who actually bought his way into office was George Nayler, for whom see below. In reality, however, purchase was merely replaced by patronage, and 'Old Corruption', in one form or another, still ruled the College of Arms in Radclyffe's time. Radclyffe himself owed his appointment to the Duke of Norfolk, who acceded to solicitations from the Earl of Newburgh and John Salwey of Moor Park, all three of them acknowledging kinship with Radclyffe himself. The membership of the College is set out in Appendices, Table 8, page 305.

It must have been all the more disappointing for Radclyffe – and his diary gives clear indication of the bitterness of his reaction – when his prospects of promotion within the College were blocked, first in 1813 and then again in 1819, by the appointment, to positions higher than his in the pecking order, of young men whose chief qualifications were illegitimate descent from the Duke of Norfolk. Still more damaging to his prospects,

[617] P. Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People* (Oxford, 1989).
[618] B. Wilson, *Decency and Disorder* (London, 2007).
[619] J. Uglow, *In These Times* (London, 2014).
[620] A. Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter* (Yale, 1999).

however, was the loss, in quick succession, of both his patrons – the Earl of Newburgh in 1814 and the Duke of Norfolk in 1815; their deaths were hammer blows to his hopes, and it is very noticeable that thereafter Radclyffe's activity, as seen in his diary, is concentrated more and more on his estate in Yorkshire, and on his private antiquarian interests.

## Personalities

Charles Howard, 11th Duke of Norfolk (1746-1815)[621], presided over the College as hereditary Earl Marshal, with responsibility for the ceremonies of the royal Court. His conformity to the Church of England – unusual among the Howards, who were the senior recusant family of England – allowed him to play an active role in College affairs, and to participate generally in politics[622]. Radclyffe seems to have enjoyed his friendship as well as his favour, and there are frequent references in the diary to social as well as business visits to Norfolk House in St. James's Square. Duke Charles' successor, his cousin Bernard, was a Roman Catholic who was consequently obliged by the law as it then stood to delegate responsibility for College affairs to a Protestant deputy; he chose his brother, Henry Howard[623]. The removal of the robust authority which had been exercised by the 11th Duke allowed 'office politics' to surge up in the College, and neither the 12th Duke nor his brother proved capable of restraining the conflicts that followed.

In order of their seniority, the principal personalities of the College during this period were Heard, Harrison, Lodge, Townsend and Nayler.

[621] See also above, Chapter 3, 'Patron-Client relationships', section 3.
[622] He was a notably maverick Whig.
[623] Appointed March 1816. As a result of various inheritances and promotions his surname changed more than once; he died (1824) as Lord Henry Howard-Molyneux-Howard.

Isaac Heard's reign as Garter King of Arms began in 1784 and lasted for longer than any other before or since, for 37 years until his death in 1822. Wagner says that he 'possessed great charm and commanded much affection'[624], and indeed that he died 'a beloved and venerated figure'[625], though he qualifies this with the sub-acid judgement that he was 'not a man of first-class abilities'[626]. Heard was born in 1730, joined the navy at the age of 15 and served for six years, attempted a peacetime career in transatlantic trade, and joined the College in 1759, when he was recommended as 'a man of energy and integrity inclined to historical and antiquarian research'[627]. The recommendation proved apt: certainly, he retained his vigour into old age, quite exhausting his colleagues on a long and arduous journey in 1814 when he went to invest the King of the Netherlands and the Emperor of Austria with the Order of the Garter. Equally, his zeal in search of heraldic business, while it attracted some amused comment, never appears to have involved him in disreputable dealings. (Brooke reported that he was making as much as £600 per annum as early as 1772.) His obituary in *The Gentleman's Magazine* eulogised his public character in classic style:

> 'Few men have been more distinguished for urbanity of manners, habitual cheerfulness, and benevolence of heart. The elegant turn of his mind, and his extraordinary memory, which a long intercourse with polished society had richly stored, rendered him dear to a large circle of acquaintance; whilst the tenderness of his disposition, and the purity of his moral and religious habits, commanded the affectionate veneration of his domestics and private friends.'[628]

His reign over the College of Arms was marked by characteristics somewhat more subtle than those applauded by his obituarist. On the evidence of the Chapter Minutes, he managed his often contumacious colleagues with the feline skills of the courtier, often

[624] *Heralds,* p. 427.
[625] *Heralds,* p. 425.
[626] *Heralds,* p. 427.
[627] *Heralds,* p. 426.
[628] *The Gentleman's Magazine,* vol. 92, pt. 1, p. 469.

avoiding inconvenient decisions by judicious procrastination, smothering confrontation in blankets of suavity, and only occasionally unsheathing sharp claws from the velvet paw. In the diary, Radclyffe shows wary respect for him; a mention of the death, in College, of Lady Heard on 14 May 1808 is an interestingly personal touch. Heard's rule was essentially conservative, even reactionary in its reluctance to contemplate changes such as Radclyffe advocated with his scheme to acquire new premises for the College in the West End. Heard opposed the imperialistic ambitions of Nayler with supple tenacity until such time as he adjudged it expedient to accept an alliance with him in order to destroy the up-and-coming nuisance of Radclyffe. He was a quintessentially *ancien regime* figure.

George Harrison (1740-1821) was an attorney who had entered the College in 1767 and become Clarenceux King of Arms in 1803; it is tempting, if perhaps imaginative, to characterise him as a dry, long-memoried proceduralist. He held the offices of Register and Treasurer, and as such was influential in the conduct of College business. Radclyffe commenced his tenure at the College by quarrelling with him at first encounter, for reasons that remain obscure – the pages of the diary immediately following Radclyffe's first, angry, mention of the episode have been excised, and the quarrel was not allowed to disturb the tranquillity of the Chapter Minutes (written by Harrison himself). A careful search by the current College Archivist has not uncovered any trace of what was clearly, at the time, a vicious confrontation. When the greater dispute between Radclyffe and the College came to a head in 1819-20, Harrison assisted the prosecution by advancing money, apparently from his personal resources; we can only surmise as to whether he did so to gratify a long-harboured resentment[629].

[629] Wagner's reference to Harrison's action in 1819/20 *(Heralds,* p. 464) incorrectly describes him as Windsor Herald and Treasurer. This appears to be a confusion with another George Harrison, who was prominent in College business as Windsor Herald in the 1860s. The two Harrisons are incorrectly listed as one in Wagner's Index.

If Harrison was Radclyffe's opponent from the very start, the Lancaster Herald, Edmund Lodge (1756-1839), was his closest friend and associate in the College. The later volumes of the diary, in particular, show the Radclyffes living on terms of close and frequent sociability with the Lodges. They all went together in the evening of 5 July 1813 to see the illuminations in celebration of the battle of Vittoria; the two men accompanied each other to events such as the royal Drawing Room on 4 February 1813, and Lodge subsequently accompanied Radclyffe in search of a doctor when the latter was seriously unwell the next day, a Sunday; they visited the 'Circus' after dinner on 8 July 1815; and there are countless entries referring to tea (or sometimes 'coffe') and cards in the evenings (one rather thinks of the heralds of that time as whist players). The Lodges' College house appears to have had a pleasant garden, which Elizabeth enjoyed on 2 June 1813; but they also had a house of their own at Hampstead, of which the Radclyffes did not think quite so well – 'with E.R. by Coach 12 o.c. to Hampstead to dine and spend the day at Mr. Lodge Lancaster's Gloomy Lodgings' (29 August 1813). Of all the other members of the College of Arms, only Martin Leake, Chester Herald, seems to have been on anything like similar terms.

The Radclyffe – Lodge relationship was, clearly, one in which the personal merged with the professional. For example, the two men went together to meetings of the Society of Antiquaries, they checked each other's findings on a variety of pedigrees, and spent evenings together in April and May 1816 working on the drafting of what became known as Rose's Funeral Certificates Bill. Perhaps especially significant, for purposes of this study, are entries such as that for 4 January1815, which records them spending the evening together 'where we had some conversation on the very extraordinary Gazette of the Day relative to the enlarged Order of the Military Order of the Bath'. In the College's civil war, Lodge was an ally of Radclyffe, and one in whom the latter reposed considerable trust.

The bare facts of Lodge's career place him close to the centre of the College hierarchy throughout the years 1803-1823. He was a substantial scholar, and an able herald; but it is difficult to discern exactly what position he occupied in the internal politics of the College – there is a certain ambivalence in the picture that emerges, if often faintly, from the records. His portrait suggests a rather sleepy personality, who might have preferred comfort to combat.

Like most of his colleagues in the College of Arms, Lodge was of middle-class origins. His father was Rector of Carshalton, though Edmund himself was born in London, on 13 June 1756[630]. He made a start on a military career, but resigned his commission in 1773; he joined the College as Bluemantle Pursuivant in 1782, and was promoted to be Lancaster Herald in 1793, in circumstances that attracted notice at the time. The vacancy in the office of Lancaster was brought about by George Nayler, who prevailed upon the incumbent Lancaster Herald, Charles Townley, to accept payment for his resignation, thus initiating a shuffle up the ladder which allowed Nayler himself to join the College as Bluemantle. Lodge, for his part, appeared in 1793, as he later did in 1817, in a role that hovered uncomfortably between that of acquiescent bystander and compromised beneficiary of a dubious deal. At least he had the talents of a survivor; he became, first, Norroy King of Arms and then Clarenceux, before he died in 1838. However, Lodge might have been considered worthy of promotion in any case, on the strength of his previous activity as an antiquarian (see Chapter 5).

Relations between Lodge and Radclyffe were resumed after the latter returned to the College on 30 July 1820 and 'found all well'.

[630] Lodge's grandfather was Headmaster of the Royal Grammar School, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in 1732 (information from Dr. Richard Sharp). The Scott brothers, later Lords Eldon and Stowell, attended R.G.S. later in the eighteenth century, and Lord Stowell was Radclyffe's legal advisor.

Francis Townsend (1749?-1819), Windsor Herald from 1784, was conspicuous among the 'difficult' personalities who disturbed the peace of the College in the early nineteenth century; Radclyffe mentions his funeral on 2 April 1819, although he himself was at that time effectively excluded from the College[631]. He was an antiquary of some repute, and a keen genealogist with something of a taste for disputed pedigrees. Among other such matters, he busied himself with the famous Chandos peerage case, which was adjudicated amid great publicity in 1803; Radclyffe also took a keen interest in the Chandos affair, as the diary shows.

Although no friend of Nayler [632], Townsend was used by the latter in 1816-17 to carry out a review of the pedigree which Radclyffe had registered for his own family in 1801, with results that ultimately led to the forgery trial at York in 1820. He reported to the College in March 1817 in terms that can now be shown to have been as untruthful as they were extravagantly mordant – 'utterly destitute of any proof…it appears not to possess a single feature of authenticity…'[633]. He went on to commit a variety of more or less gross errors in the course of the investigation which he conducted into Radclyffe's case. Ironically, Townsend's own work on the Chandos case was to be almost as severely handled by G.F. Beltz in a review of that case written in 1834.

George Nayler (1764?-1831), York Herald throughout Radclyffe's time in the College, was unquestionably the most formidable and relentlessly ambitious member of that

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631 'The Funeral of the late Mr. Townsend Windsor Herald took place today, his perpetual opposer & great enemy York assisting as a Pall Bearer…The Deceased was the ablest Herald which has been in the College since Vincent's time…who seems to have strongly resembled him in professional abilities & industry, and like him a very wasp, and had the art of ingeniously tormenting to a very great degree. Much worse however yet remain.'

632 Wagner quotes (*Heralds,* pp. 434-35) from a letter written by Townsend to Heard on 20 January 1800, urging that Nayler should be compelled to abase himself 'in the most humiliating way possible' before the Duke of York, because he had gained advantages in his role as Genealogist of the Bath by 'a most shameful abuse of the Princely confidence of H.R.H.'.

633 Chapter Book VIII, cited in *Heralds* p. 451.

quarrelsome little community. Beechey's disturbing portrait of him as a coldly arrogant dandy, whose predatory gaze is so fiercely intense that it almost makes the air quiver, seems to have caught the reality of the man with brilliant precision. The son of a surgeon at Stroud, he claimed connection with a Hertfordshire family whose arms he adapted for his own use; the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* suggests that he may have fabricated this connection, and that the family's origins were actually to be found in Lancashire. (Entries in Radclyffe's diary suggest that Nayler may have been related to a Revd. Mr. Nayler of Sheffield[634].) In September 1792 he bought his way, helped by a loan of £1,300, into the office of Genealogist to the Order of the Bath, and then, in December 1793, by further purchase, into the College of Arms as Bluemantle Pursuivant.

Throughout his career, Nayler pursued advancement and profit with equal ruthlessness; but there was something even beyond ambition and greed in his makeup. Wagner, who appears to have felt a certain admiration for his success, writes that 'he seems to have suffered from what is now called a dynamic personality'[635]. A less charitable judgement would see him as exhibiting a very advanced form of solipsism, which enabled, or compelled, him to ignore anything or anybody inconvenient to him, and to brush aside (or, in the case of Radclyffe, to destroy) anyone who got in his way[636]. He very largely achieved his aims – rapid promotion through the College hierarchy, an early knighthood (1813), the office of Garter King of Arms on the death of Heard (1822), and a considerable fortune. His successor as Garter, Ralph Bigland, considered that 'No man ever went out of the world with so bad a Public or Private Character'[637].

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[634] E.g. *Diary,* 26 September 1803.
[635] *Heralds,* p. 432.
[636] Modern medical science might suggest a form of personality disorder; when faced with a question or issue that displeased him, Nayler is recorded as having resorted to a blank, staring silence, and if his interrogator persisted, he simply walked out of the room.
[637] Gloucestershire County Record Office, D.2021/1, cited in *Heralds,* p. 495.

Wagner, writing in 1967 from within the College of Arms, seems content to depict Nayler as a prime example of a type which has occurred perennially in the history of that institution – a highly coloured personality, preoccupied to the point of obsession with the *minutiae* of social precedence, protocol and display, self-absorbed, ambitious, narrowly able but ultimately rather barren. Seen in a perspective of more recent date, however, and perhaps particularly in the light of an important revisionist article published in 1983 by Bill Rubinstein, Nayler acquires an additional significance, as a supreme late manifestation in the College of the practice, and spirit, of 'Old Corruption'. He accords well with Rubinstein's description of the type: 'a sizable proportion of those who flourished [through 'Old Corruption'] in the early nineteenth century were…engaged in activities which would now be classified as in the professional, public administrative and defence occupational categories'[638]. Nayler exemplified 'Old Corruption' both in the ruthlessness with which he exploited for his own advantage the institutions with which he was connected, and in the cynical deviousness which he employed in manipulating the Governors of Greenwich Hospital, and subverting the proceedings of the Assize Court at York in 1820.

Nayler lived in a state of endemic conflict with his colleagues. He displayed his characteristic style in a letter which he wrote to Garter Heard on 1 September 1793, just after he had been appointed to membership of the College but even before his patent had been issued:

> 'Sir,
>
> Being intitled[sic] under the Statutes of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath by virtue of my appointment of Genealogist to make out all the pedigrees of the Knights and Esquires of that Order.
>
> I now take the liberty of informing you that I claim such business as have been done since my appointment as also such as may be wanted in future.
>
> I remain, Sir, with respectfull[sic]compliments to Lady Heard,

[638] W.D. Rubinstein, 'The End of "Old Corruption" in Britain, 1780-1860', in *Past and Present*, no. 101 (Nov. 1983), p. 55.

Your most obedient humble servant,
GEO: NAYLER.[639]

Nayler's *point d'appui* throughout his manoeuvres, until such time as his accession to the office of Garter made it redundant, was his position as Genealogist of the Bath, an Order of high distinction which by the accidents of its history stood outside the jurisdiction of the College of Arms, and which – a crucial consideration – was buttressed by the powerful support of its 'Great Master', H.R.H. the Duke of York. Nayler's claims to exercise functions and command fees in connection with the Order of the Bath annoyed, embarrassed and alarmed the heralds throughout Radclyffe's membership of the College; lawyers, including the Solicitor-General and the Attorney-General, were frequently involved in the disputes that arose. In 1814, Nayler sued Heard for damages in the Court of Common Pleas, claiming that Heard had invaded his rights by soliciting business from the Knights of the Bath – an 'unedifying spectacle', says Wagner, with singular mildness[640]. During 1815, the College and Nayler engaged in a public war of advertisements and counter-advertisements in the Press – a scandalous proceeding which made both parties seem ridiculous. Then in March 1817 Heard and Nayler took their colleagues aback by presenting a united front in an attack on William Radclyffe, for reasons, and with results, that are discussed below.

Nayler's leavings in the College of Arms suggest a man who was preoccupied with form, display and splendour to an extent that must have been considered extreme even in an era when such considerations dominated the social aesthetic. His *chef d'oeuvre* was a massive, lavishly illustrated account of the coronation of King George IV, in a style fully

[639] Chapter Book VI, p. 346.
[640] The court found in favour of Nayler and awarded him £1,000 damages, subject to review and arbitrament; after the review in 1815, the damages were reduced to one shilling; costs were apportioned between the parties.

commensurate with the *outré* extravagance of that bizarre occasion; he died before the book was completed, and copies are excessively rare[641].

In addition to these principal actors in the Radclyffe story, two minor personalities should be mentioned, namely J. Dallaway and G.F. Beltz.

James Dallaway (1763-1834) was a scholarly clergyman, whose *Inquiries into the Origin and Progress of the Science of Heraldry*[642] commended him to the 11th Duke of Norfolk; he was appointed Earl Marshal's Secretary in 1797, and held that office, in conjunction with a clerical living, until his death. Wagner credits him with even-handed objectivity:

> 'During this time…the College passed through more than one serious crisis, and it is a testimony to Dallaway's tact and judgement that he, who took an active part in all, seems never to have incurred criticism from any side or party.'[643]

Entries in Radclyffe's diary for the first half of 1819, in particular a lengthy transcript of a letter written by Dallaway on behalf of the Deputy Earl Marshal[644], suggest strongly that Radclyffe might at that time have felt differently. Certainly, Dallaway's conduct at the time of Radclyffe's trial suggests that he was very much *parti pris* in that matter.

George Frederick Beltz (1774-1851) served Heard as his clerk from 1791, and brought a sharp, enquiring mind to the details of his master's business. He was rewarded by appointment as Portcullis Pursuivant in 1817, and in that capacity was commissioned to collect evidence in connection with the forgery charge which was being fashioned against Radclyffe. His report, couched in terms which were severely hostile to Radclyffe, was influential at the trial; its accuracy and validity do not stand up to close inquiry. In March 1818 he was commissioned by Chapter to draw up a petition to the Crown in order to

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[641] I have been fortunate to examine a specimen in the Old Library of Magdalen College, Oxford, by courtesy of the Keeper, Dr. Swan – himself a relative of a former Garter King of Arms.
[642] London, 1793. A handsome piece of work, in the best traditions of eighteenth-century antiquarianism.
[643] *Heralds,* p. 425.
[644] *Diary,* 24 March 1819.

inaugurate a Common Law prosecution. He acted, in effect, as hitman for Nayler and Heard in their persecution of Radclyffe.

In a curious postscript, Beltz later published a waspishly written *Review of the Chandos Peerage Case*[645] which, whether accidentally or otherwise, seems to make more than one implicit reference to the troubles of William Radclyffe; especially striking is Beltz's concluding passage:

> 'The offspring of a noble family, sunk, from whatever cause, into a state of poverty and obscurity, may be reasonably supposed to postpone the assertion of his birthright until the near prospect of a substantial inheritance arouses him into action…'[646]

Beltz expressly denied that this observation referred to the Brydges family; whom, then, did he have in mind?

## Functions of the College of Arms

While the bulk of Radclyffe's diary describes his business as a genealogist, it provides also, as Thomas Woodcock has acknowledged, a record of his activity as a public functionary. The official functions of the College of Arms – or, rather, of its members – at the beginning of the nineteenth century were, broadly, as follows:

a) Ceremonial duties for and around the royal Court – attendance on the monarch (or the Regent) on certain days (Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Twelfth Day, Easter Day, St. George's Day, royal birthdays, etc.) and for certain occasions (opening and proroguing of Parliament, ceremonies of the Orders of the Garter and the Bath, special church services, etc.); the organisation of state funerals; proclamation of a

[645] London, 1834.
[646] *Review of the Chandos Peerage Case* (London, 1834), p. 231.

change of monarch, and of war or peace; undertaking quasi-diplomatic missions of an honorific nature (e.g. to confer the Order of the Garter on a foreign monarch).

b) The granting, and (when necessary) validating of arms, the latter in conjunction with

c) the investigation and registration of pedigrees, particularly of newly created nobility and the newly armigerous.

In connection with the second and third of these functions, the College had previously exercised a quasi-judicial power through its Court of Chivalry. This Court had not been held since 1732 (although Rowlandson and Pugin purported to depict it in session for Ackermann's 1808 *Microcosm of London*), and it was regarded as defunct by 1800.

The heralds' genealogical researches led them by natural stages to an interest in arrangements for the recording of births, deaths and marriages; various proposals, some of which involved giving the College a function as a registering body, were canvassed (especially by Radclyffe) in the early decades of the century, but nothing substantial came about. During this period, however, members of the College were to be found acting in various matters that would nowadays be the concerns of lawyers in the civil and family division courts, and registry offices (business concerning wills and inheritances, trusteeships, changes of name, etc.).

1) Ceremonial functions

The diary's most extended description of a ceremonial event occurs in the entry for 23 April (St. George's Day) 1805, when Radclyffe was on duty at the Garter festivities in Windsor, an exceptional occasion which has been analysed by Linda Colley, who describes it as 'a calculated royal, aristocratic and British riposte intended to parry the

pretensions of a mushroom emperor and his parvenu state honours system'[647]. Radclyffe's account reveals him as a committed participant in the archaic rituals, but also as a sharp-eyed observer of the social scene[648].

The diary entries concerning Lord Nelson's funeral (6-11 January 1806) suggest that this may have been the public event which Radclyffe found most powerful, and in which his participation meant most to him; he recorded it in full detail in his 'illustrated ceremonial'[649], the whereabouts of which are unknown. The funeral of the Younger Pitt[650] is treated much more briefly.

Radclyffe recorded his early involvements in Court ceremonies and public occasions with excited, even *naïve*, enthusiasm; the tone, and brevity, of later diary references to such events suggests that he became *blasé* as the years passed.

2) Grants of arms

The formalities surrounding the granting, or amending, coats of arms were a fruitful source of income for the heralds around 1800, as successive Gazettes published lists of new peers created and others promoted in rank, together with honours bestowed on successful soldiers and sailors. Radclyffe himself does not appear to have had a very pronounced interest in heraldry as such; rather, he saw it as an adjunct of genealogy. Rough pen sketches of shields occur infrequently, usually untricked, in the margins of his diary and the letters which he wrote to Surtees; but he makes little or no use of the arcane

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[647] L. Colley, 'The Apotheosis of George III: Loyalty, Royalty and the British Nation 1760-1820', *Past and Present* no. 102, (Feb. 1984), p. 111.

[648] If Radclyffe, like so many men of his time, had been brought up on Lord Chesterfield's *Letters,* he may have recollected, during the excitements at Windsor, the letter dated 15 March 1757, about the Garter ceremony of that year: '…it is a foolish piece of pageantry, but worth seeing once. The ceremony in the Chapel is the most solemn, and consequently the silliest, part of the show…you will dine very ill and very inconveniently; but, however, with the comfort of hearing the style and titles of the puissant knights proclaimed by Garter King at[sic] Arms.' *Lord Chesterfield's Letters,* ed. D. Roberts (Oxford, 1998), p. 315.

[649] *Diary,* 8 and 9 January 1806. See p. 20.

[650] *Diary,* 22 February 1806.

terminology which is the delight of a true enthusiast of arms. He went to great pains in researching and depicting the armorial bearings, in all their variations, of the families of his patrons the Earl of Newburgh and Lord Petre; and he was, of course, expert in the arms of Radclyffe. His only known contribution to heraldic scholarship was the creation, in 1813, of an ordinary of bulls' heads, which he mentions in the diary with some pride[651].

That a member of the College of Arms should have been only mildly interested in armory as such was less surprising then than would be the case now. The science of heraldry around 1800 had largely lost sight of its mediaeval origins; strong geometrical devices and stark rules of colour were unfashionable, and coats of arms, often in 'narrative' form, were close to being part of the apparatus of the 'upholsterer', or interior decorator. Radclyffe was more interested in the realities of ancestry as expressed in pedigrees, the abbreviated language of which he wrote so freely.

There is a possibility, however, that Radclyffe's increasing fascination with the Middle Ages, apparent in his dealings with Matthew Russell, Salvin and Blore, and expressed in the work which he did with his painter-assistant Dowse, may have turned him towards the simplicities of early mediaeval heraldry. The last months of the diary are punctuated by many references to work on a great scroll or cartoon on which were to be depicted the shields of all the barons who sealed the Magna Carta; if he ever finished this enterprise, which he called 'my Great Baronial Pedigree', its whereabouts are not now known.

It is just possible that Radclyffe was the author of an unattributed catalogue of the documents then held in the British Museum which recorded the Visitations of the early English heralds[652].

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[651] *Diary,* 18 December 1813.
[652] 2nd edition, London, 1825.

3) Genealogical research

The scale of Radclyffe's activity as a Pursuivant can be measured, to begin with, by the record of his months In Waiting, taken in conjunction with the list of pedigrees which he brought to the College for approval. Waiting, originally a matter of readiness to serve the king, was by the beginning of the nineteenth century something like attendance in the front office for the conduct of College business[653], according to a flexible rota which paired a herald with a pursuivant for a month at a time. Substitutions could be arranged, and it is clear from the diary that the duty did not absolutely tie the Waiters to their desks – Radclyffe frequently mentions being out and about on other College business while Waiting. He recorded his Waiting Months with some solemnity in his diary, heading each day's entry with the words 'In Official Waiting', in large script. The record, confirmed by the College Waiting Book, is set out in Appendices, Table 9, see page 307.

The product of these Waiting Months, together with the commissions that Radclyffe contracted elsewhere but which he brought to the College for registration, was as shown in Appendices, Table 10, page 307.

Pedigrees presented to the Chapter were normally referred to the Waiter of the following month, or another, for review and validation. There was sometimes a considerable gap between the beginning and the end of this process. Radclyffe's work was generally endorsed without undue difficulty; the most conspicuous exceptions were his own family pedigree and that of Radclyffe of Foxdenton, in each case several years after they had first been presented and examined. His productivity, though variable in its timing, was considerably greater than that of any other member of the College.

[653] The system was regulated by Standing Orders approved by the Earl Marshal on 7 March 1733/4. *Heralds*, p. 419.

One of the most interesting, and perhaps surprising, of Radclyffe's clients was the philosopher and economist Jeremy Bentham. They first came into contact in February 1812, probably as a result of enquiries that Radclyffe was conducting at that time into the pedigree of a family named Bacon Forster, with whom Bentham was distantly connected. In April of the same year Bentham commissioned Radclyffe to take the steps necessary to draw up a pedigree and apply for a grant of arms for his brother Samuel, a general in the Russian service; this entailed much business over the following weeks, but the job was completed by September, when Radclyffe went to Yorkshire on his usual autumn visit. Thereafter the business association seems to have developed into something more social; the two men corresponded, dined together, and met at the Society of Antiquaries, at intervals until the end of the diary. Bentham commissioned a pedigree for himself in 1813. The association reinforces the impression given elsewhere in the diary that Radclyffe was an opponent of 'Old Corruption', at least in the context of the College of Arms. It is interesting, also, as showing the patron saint of Utilitarianism in a somewhat unusual light.

The searches which underpinned this productivity took Radclyffe, while in London, frequently and regularly to a considerable range of archives. Apart from the library of the College itself, the principal places in which he records working were Doctors' Commons, conveniently situated nearby; the Tower of London, just to the east; the Bishop of London's Registry at St. Paul's; the Prerogative Office (for wills); the Rolls Chapel (for Chancery records); Westminster Abbey library; and the British Museum, which at that time held an important collection of manuscript materials which are now lodged in the Public Record Office. Greenwich Hospital was an occasional source of ancestry materials, as well as serving his own private preoccupation, the records of the Derwentwater estates. He also mentions mining the records of the Duchy of Lancaster and the Office of the Secretary of State.

Since the early eighteenth century it had been part of the duties of heralds and pursuivants In Waiting to 'make compleat Indexes to all the Arms, Pedigrees and Matches in the Visitation books and others transferring everything under the proper County where it could be done'[654]. Radclyffe's diary shows that he was active in working at this indexing, and in other tasks of clerical administration; he makes occasional remarks about his colleagues which suggest that not all of them were equally conscientious [655].

## Salaries, fees and other sources of income

The salaries paid to members of the College in their capacities as royal servants remained mostly unaltered between 1618 and 1831. They were as follows:

> Garter, (1616-1682) £50 p.a., (1682-1831) £100 p.a.; Clarenceux and Norroy, £40 p.a.; each herald, £26 13s 4d p.a.; each pursuivant, £20 p.a.

Such sums did not even cover the cost of the heralds' ceremonial clothing, so there was every incentive to seek business, both official and otherwise, and to scramble – sometimes without much regard for dignity – for such scraps as might be gleaned in the way of perquisites from state occasions[656]. A scale of fees for regular activities such as searches of the College's own records, construction and registration of pedigrees, and grants of arms, was published from time to time; in the early years of the nineteenth century it was as follows:

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[654] Quoted in *Heralds,* p. 344, citing S.M.L. 64, 187, 189-90.

[655] An example of the potential value of the diary to historians of the College of Arms. Radclyffe kept his own records of his Waiting activity: 'Entered some loose Pedigrees in my Private Waiting Book', *Diary,* 5 January 1805. The whereabouts of this book are unknown.

[656] The Chapter Minutes book for 1806 devotes many pages to the record of a bitter quarrel with the authorities at St. Paul's, and other bodies such as Greenwich Hospital, for the value of items, including the hearse, from the funeral of Lord Nelson. Ceremonies at Windsor were a regular source of conflict with the ecclesiastics there.

> 'The fee for an ordinary search of the records is five shillings, and for a general search one guinea: the fees for a new coat of arms are ten guineas, or more, according to circumstances.'[657]

However, the sums actually raised were often inflated to a considerable extent by charges for 'expenses'; lists of such expenses are sometimes to be found jotted down in the margins of the Waiting Book which recorded the day-to-day business of the College[658].

The results of all these dealings were supposed to be shared out among the members of the College according to rules resembling those for the distribution of naval prize money. These rules were revised from time to time, but never gave general satisfaction, and in fact might have been designed to promote irritation and discord. A principal source of disharmony was the requirement – which is still in force today – that any enquirer at the College who paid a fee to the officer who dealt with him, became (exceptional circumstances apart) by that act the 'property' for all future purposes of the officer with whom he first dealt. That obviously put a premium on eagerness in Waiting, and there was constant jostling for commissions[659]. On one occasion Nayler quite shamelessly poached one of Radclyffe's clients, provoking a furious confrontation in which he was worsted but which he probably did not forgive or forget[660].

Not every commission came by sitting at the Waiter's desk; on 25 February 1806 – not one of Radclyffe's Waiting months – 'His Grace the Earl Marshal came to the College and offered me the Business of Percy Bish Shelley Esqr. about being created a Baronet which I with pleasure accepted'. This Shelley, an uncle of the poet, was a neighbour in Sussex of the Duke, who wanted to cultivate him for political reasons.

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[657] J. Feltham, *The Picture of London for 1802,* 26th edition, republished Memphis, U.S.A., 2012, p. 56.
[658] E.g. an entry in the Waiting Book for October 1794 (when the basic search fee stood at half a crown) itemised everything possible, from paper to porterage, to arrive at a total of £5.
[659] Radclyffe was, by his own account, very assertive in a dispute over Waiting rights on 1 and 2 September 1813 *(Diary).*
[660] *Diary* entries for late July 1816.

The profits of office in the College at this time were potentially considerable. Radclyffe's role model, Brooke, was reputed to have accumulated £14,000[661] by the time of his early death in 1794; Nayler left perhaps £18,000 in 1831[662]. It has not been possible to calculate Radclyffe's earnings, but they were evidently sufficient at least for him to invest substantially in Government stocks, underpin his purchase of Darley Hall (see chapter 2), maintain an establishment in London as well as Yorkshire, and, in later years, to send his son to Cambridge[663].

## Radclyffe's 'bursarial' activity

The College of Arms at the beginning of the nineteenth century might fairly have been described as very lightly administered. What would today be termed governance was exercised collectively at Chapter meetings chaired by Garter King of Arms or his deputy; in administrative matters, secretarial functions were performed by a 'Register', and there was also a Treasurer and a Librarian – offices which were often held in plurality by one or another senior herald. These arrangements, while possibly adequate for tranquil times, left the College ill-equipped to deal with emergencies such as trouble with the fabric, and allowed scope, also, for enterprise on the part of individuals more dynamic, or more inclined towards responsibility, than their fellows. William Radclyffe seems to have been very much of the latter type, and events, particularly as concerning the College's buildings, and eventually its site, provided him with plentiful occasions to exercise the vigorous administrative talent which was evidently one of his principal characteristics. His diary

[661] *Heralds,* p. 415.
[662] *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
[663] A diary entry for 11 December 1811 suggests that Radclyffe himself was not always certain of his position: 'Spent the morning at home in calculating my official income'.

shows him setting out to be proactive in the College's management from the very beginning of his membership[664].

Assessment of this activity must be approached with special care. The College's Chapter Minute Book provides formal summaries of the business conducted at Chapter meetings, but contains little detail, particularly as regards personalities; still more important, the Minute Book usually has nothing to say about business conducted between meetings – even if undertaken at the behest of the Chapter – unless it was the subject of a special report. Radclyffe's diary, on the other hand, often gives lively pen-pictures of the proceedings, particularly as they concerned himself, and supplies rich material about a range of quasi-bursarial activities in which he engaged and which he carried out to his own satisfaction.

But does Radclyffe exaggerate his own importance? He may have done, in some instances; but he could hardly have invented the committees to which he was appointed, or the negotiations with which he was entrusted – even though these are not always identified in the official record. However, we can often find the results, anonymised, in the records of later meetings. So it is possible cautiously to supplement the Minutes with specific detail that shows Radclyffe in a light which was not available to Wagner.

There is a further problem concerning the Minutes. It is sufficiently apparent from internal evidence that they were written up, in most cases at least, after formal approval of a draft, which was probably read and agreed at the beginning of each meeting – and they sometimes contain mistakes made in the copying process. Some dates are wrong – the meeting of 14 May 1807 actually took place (according to the diary, which carries

[664] He would have furnished a suitable example for Holger Hoock's essay on reforming activity in institutions such as the British Museum, the British Institution and the Royal Academy. (H. Hoock, 'Reforming culture: national art institutions in the age of reform', in *Rethinking the Age of Reform,* eds. A. Burns and J. Innes (Cambridge, 2003), Chapter 11.)

conviction) on 15 May, a meeting on 2 May 1811 appears to have been totally overlooked, and a page carrying the record of a meeting on 2 January 1817 was cut out and the record lost. More generally, we have to remember that the Minutes depict affairs through the eyes of the Register (Harrison, and later Townsend) and Garter – and, after an alliance had been formed, York as the dominant personality. Radclyffe's diary needs to be seen as an alternative account, and by no means an imaginary one.

1) Curatorial matters

The first category of Radclyffe's quasi-bursarial activity may be described as 'curatorial'. From an early stage, he is found extending the 'clerkly' role of the Waiter to cover what might be called curatorial matters, as seen in entries such these: 17 April 1805, 'erected a shelf to hold the Rolls', 30 June 1807, 'arranged several of the Printed Books in the Hall, and books in Library', 1 July 1811, 'looked at the Books wanting binding'. That last entry was the prelude to a positive storm of activity: on 8 July 1811 'The Bookbinder [a certain Gough] prepared his Press in the Hall for binding', and the rest of that month was crowded with binding and repair work, on manuscripts as well as books, with more of the same in December. A fresh bout of book-repairing, book-binding and reordering occupied numerous days in January and August 1813, and again in March, April and August 1814, and May, June, July and August 1816. There was obviously a lot that needed doing, and it is clear that Radclyffe's work on the College's books was not just a matter of giving orders – several of the entries show that he got his hands dirty in clearing out neglected presses, and also exercised what appear to have been genuine skills in repairing and conserving manuscripts. It is to be hoped that his colleagues were grateful for his efforts; only twice, on 31 May 1816 and, separately, on 1 June 1816, does he record getting formal permission from the Chapter to proceed with such work.

From books and manuscripts he turned his attention to pictures and prints. On 5 May 1815 he initiated a removal of J.C. Brooke's collection of prints from Garter's rooms to the 'Office'; he then sorted them out over the weeks that followed, and arranged for some of them – probably duplicates and inferior impressions – to be sold by Molteno, a print-dealer in Scotland Yard, during January, February and March of 1816 (the money realised came in on 10 July). He followed this with something which he evidently considered a coup: 'Went to Christies purchased portrait of late J.C.B. Somerset for the Office'[665]. This reads like an act of initiative on Radclyffe's part, but he may have been commissioned by Chapter; what is really intriguing, however, is that it has not so far been possible to identify the purchase in question, since Christies lost their historic catalogues to bombing in World War II, and the College of Arms has no record of the matter. It was probably the purchase of this picture which gave Radclyffe the necessary leverage to persuade Windsor Harrison, a very difficult man, to agree to return to the Office the Brooke papers which he had, apparently, been hoarding since 1794 (28 May 1816); Radclyffe promptly secured agreement (31 May 1816) to have them bound.

2) Building works

The energy which Radclyffe brought to his curatorial exploits may have ruffled feathers on some of his colleagues, but they could hardly object to the activity as inappropriate. At the same time, however, Radclyffe was treading on more delicate ground in other parts of the College's business.

The fabric of the College buildings was in a poor state at the beginning of the nineteenth century, partly because of a long history of poor maintenance, but more seriously under the impact of a neighbouring development dating from 1742. This was a 'sugar house', or

[665] *Diary,* 25 May 1816.

factory, built to process sugar brought from the West Indies to the nearby wharves. Between 1775 and 1815 the owner of the factory took a series of grave liberties with the College party wall, running girders into it, building on top of it, setting a leaky water-cistern against it, and – worst all – installing a steam engine which, it was feared, might explode at any moment. The invaluable books and documents in the College library suffered damage, and the heralds' apprehensions for their own safety rose to a height of agitation.

The diary shows that Radclyffe took a prominent part in a series of dealings by which the College tried to negotiate with the owner of the sugar house, and to bring pressure to bear on Government to intervene in the interest of the public records and the safety of the heralds. He was involved in the matter from at least January of 1807, when, after a Chapter held on 17 January, he drafted a 'memorial' to his colleagues which concluded that the best option would be to arrange a move away from the squalid purlieus of Baynards Castle to new premises in the West End, where the fashionable world was to be found and where new Government offices and public buildings were rising at the command of Mr. John Nash. He deployed considerable time and energy in his advocacy of this project, and – according to his diary, though not according to the account given by Wagner, who actually ignores the evidence of the Chapter Minutes – became for a while the College's principal agent in its dealings with the assorted officials and courtiers in Whitehall and St. James's. Matters moved in fits and starts, however, prompted chiefly by recurring episodes of difficulty over the 'sugar house'.

One of the more significant of these episodes occurred on 3 June 1813, when the diary records a special meeting – not a Chapter, and hence not recorded in the Chapter Minutes – held at the College in the presence of the Earl Marshal, at which the removal project seemed to become almost tangible – 'fraught with the most flattering prospects on the

subject that human fancy might conceive itself capable of'. Radclyffe's overwrought language indicates the extent to which he believed, for a short while, that he would himself acquire credit from the realisation of this plan.

It was evident that the key to the situation would be recognition by Government of the importance of preserving the College's records – a consideration of national importance, and increasingly recognised as such. Speaker Abbot was agitating for a concerted policy on public and historic records, in association with a number of people in Radclyffe's circle of acquaintance, including Abbot's step-brother, Samuel Bentham, for whom Radclyffe was procuring a grant of arms. A Chapter held on 12 June 1813 agreed the form of a 'memorial' to be submitted to the 'Commissr of Records'[666], and on 15 June Radclyffe wrote:

> 'To Mr. Lancaster to consult him on our intended interview with the Earl Marshal this morning met Mr. Garter Norroy Windsor Lancaster at Norfolk House who had an audience of his Grace on the subject of the memorial which he was pleased to approve and recommended it to be sent in form to Mr. Abbot the Speaker as chief of the committee on Public Records'[667].

The memorial was well received; the next question was a site. At a lengthy Chapter held to discuss the matter on 9 and 10 February 1814, Radclyffe presented yet another substantial memorandum on the subject. On 3 March in the same year he was appointed, with Nayler, as a committee to address the matter; they acted accordingly through the months that followed. During the same month he was involved in personal supervision of bricklayers, carpenters and others in repairing damage to the party wall which had, in turn, caused damage to Vincent's Press and its contents.

[666] *Diary,* 12 June 1813.
[667] *Diary,* 15 June 1813.

From December 1815 onwards, discussion about the move dominates numerous entries in both diary and Chapter Minutes, and in June 1816 Radclyffe was instructed to arrange for a valuation of the College buildings as a preliminary to negotiating over the costs of a fresh start. By the New Year, the scheme seemed quite likely to succeed, and on 20 February 1817 Radclyffe was actually discussing 'intended removal' with his colleagues.

And yet Radclyffe and Nayler were in conflict over other matters during almost the whole of this time.

In fact, disagreements about the site and the specifications of the new building were never settled, and it is arguable that the finances were never going to work; so, although discussions continued long after Radclyffe had left the scene, the College remained, albeit reluctantly, where it had been since the Great Fire. But it is important to note, first, that Radclyffe's role in the affair has been seriously understated by Wagner; second, that the businesslike determination which Radclyffe showed in promoting the scheme for removal can be taken not only as evidence of his character and abilities, but also as an indication of ambition to rise to a leading position in the College; third, that this is a case where College business and personal enmities proceeded in close proximity, as such matters very often do; and, fourth, that there are clear indications in the diary that Radclyffe failed to realise the deadliness of the opposition he was encountering from Nayler.

3) Administrative affairs

Radclyffe's ardour for appointment to the College of Arms did not prevent him from viewing its members, and its workings, with critical eyes, from the very start[668]. His early clash with the Register, Harrison, which apparently began with an alleged affront offered to the new Rouge Croix, came to a head in early May 1804, when Radclyffe supplemented

[668] He may have begun to form his opinions even before joining the College.

a formal complaint to the Earl Marshal with a paper of 'observations…relative to the reform of our body politic'[669]. He went on to collect signatures in support of his memorandum: Clarenceux, York, Chester, Richmond and Bluemantle signed, Garter, Norroy, Windsor and Somerset refused.

Exasperatingly, but perhaps significantly, the diary's account of both the quarrel and the reform proposals has been lost. The Chapter Minutes for a meeting held on 14 May deal smoothly with a discussion about the Earl Marshal's right to appoint a new Register, evidently a matter with a history, which must have been the subject of Radclyffe's 'proposals'; they make no mention of Radclyffe's paper, or his complaint[670]. But the affair was a portent of things to come.

In early 1806, he represents himself in the diary as deeply involved in the negotiations with the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's over the perquisites from Nelson's funeral[671]; he claims likewise to have taken a prominent part in organising the heralds' attendance at the trial of Lord Melville in April and May of the same year[672]. Similarly, on 5 May 1807, he recorded 'sent off the Case on our claims on Dean & Chapter of St. Pauls to procure Counsels Opinion thereon'. On occasions such as these he appears to be acting effectively as the College's corresponding officer – and the Chapter Minutes bear this out.

Radclyffe's genealogical practice became increasingly established during the years 1807 and 1808, and there is no record of great fallings-out in the College during that time. A rather curious diary entry of 24 May 1808 records that he 'Made some attempts to enforce a Chapter', which might imply that he was taking a very assertive approach to business,

669 *Diary,* 10 May 1804.
670 The state of the College archives dating from this period strongly suggests that a selective weeding took place at some time not far removed from the events discussed here.
671 *Diary,* 10 and 11 January 1806.
672 On 8 May, in particular, he claims to have negotiated for the heralds' attendance fees.

but it probably concerned little more than a need for decisions on some pedigree matters; a Chapter was actually held on 1 June.

In the absence of the diary volume for 1809 and 1810 we can only make cautious assumptions on the basis of evidence from the Chapter Minutes, which suggest that bickering was growing among the heralds, and that Radclyffe, in particular, was incurring criticism for a tendency to act independently, usually in small matters such as the unauthorised retention of a key to the College gate. It is worth noting that there are several entries in the diary which show Radclyffe treating the College porter as, effectively, his own personal servant; this might not have been found appropriate by his colleagues.

In February and again in May of 1811 Radclyffe noted in his diary a stand which he took over the increasingly scandalous absences of Portcullis Pursuivant – Forth – from his Waiting duties and all other College activity. He undoubtedly saw himself at this time as a leading figure in the councils of the College. On 1 June 1811 he and Windsor were appointed as a committee to investigate the College's liabilities for Poor Law payments.

Although the Darley Hall and Dilston projects, together with his wife's almost fatal illness in the autumn, preoccupied Radclyffe during 1811 and much of 1812, other sorts of business continued to grow. He was leading the pack in his production of pedigrees, and on 22 July 1812 'Attended a Chapter which I procured this mor'g at 10 oc presented several pedigrees thereafter went to Earl Marshal procured his signature to Warrant of Bentham'. One of these pedigrees was severely censured, according to the Minute Book, at a meeting on 11 December; the diary gives a very different account of the occasion – it is worth considering whether the College record was adjusted to repaint Radclyffe's reputation. Nayler's attack on Radclyffe's credibility as a genealogist opened on 3 July 1813, and events subsequent to this are dealt with briefly below.

Radclyffe's vigorous support for the attempt which was under way at this time to bring about a relocation of the College may be seen as merging with his endeavours to stimulate fresh thinking about the College's functions, by way of the consultations which he held with George Rose in 1812 about the Parochial Registers Bill, and with Edmund Lodge in 1815 and 1816 about a Funeral Certificates Bill[673].

In sum, it seems reasonable to suggest that Radclyffe had a vision, perhaps generated in part by his unsatisfactory experiences in quasi-bursarship, for the future development of the College of Arms as part of the apparatus of public administration, to be located in suitable new premises in or near Whitehall where it could serve some, at least, of the record-keeping needs of Government. Such a vision would be something entirely compatible with what we know of the attitudes of Radclyffe's business acquaintances, John Wilson Croker, George Rose and George Harrison. But it was not to be.

The activity described above, most particularly as regards administrative affairs, raises questions about the nature of Radclyffe's motivation: was he just a compulsive meddler, a trouble-maker, or something more substantial? The quality of his contributions to the various issues facing the College suggests something better than meddling, namely the exercise of a significant ability deployed consistently with a view to developing the College as a purposefully efficient institution. Should Radclyffe in that case be identified as one of the emergent type of professionals who have been recognised by recent historians as the missionaries of 'Reform'?

[673] See Chapter 4, 'Parliamentary draughtsman'.

It may not be necessary to go so far; as Joanna Innes has remarked, '…there were [some reformers] deeply enmeshed with particular institutions, whose concern to improve them was not met by reforming commitments, or even reforming sympathies, elsewhere'[674].

But this does not alter the fact that Radclyffe came to be seen, by a significant number of his colleagues, as something more than a disturber of the peace; he became identified as a threat to the established order of the College. And 'reformer' was not a label to be worn lightly; '…down at least to 1820, those who wished to use these terms [such as reformer] either had to live with their negative connotations, or to struggle to legitimate them'[675].

## 'Office politics': Nayler v Radclyffe

Sir Anthony Wagner opens Chapter VI of his Heralds of England with the sententious observation that 'Most ancient institutions have at one time or another passed through periods of strife and vexation'[676]; the years of the Regency were certainly such a period for the College of Arms. Wagner devotes two chapters to the troubles in question, one (Chapter XV) entitled 'Heard and Nayler' the other (XVI) 'Rex v. Radclyffe'. The evidence on which this thesis rests sheds new light on both episodes, which should now be understood as stages in a 20-year campaign by George Nayler, in which he first constructed a power-base for himself outside the jurisdiction of the College, and then went on to capture the College itself. Radclyffe, himself an ambitious man, set out to oppose Nayler's ambition, and became its principal victim.

[674] A. Burns and J. Innes (eds.), *Rethinking the Age of Reform* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 65.
[675] A. Burns and J. Innes (eds.), *Rethinking the Age of Reform* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 72.
[676] *Heralds,* p. 199.

The diary provides information, not previously available, which helps us to understand how all this came about. The tone of early references to Nayler is respectful; on 22 October 1803, during his first Waiting Month, Radclyffe undertook a small job of research at Nayler's request, and on 6 January 1804 he accompanied Nayler to St. James's on official duty. But soon, on 21 January, he was drawn into what was already a long-running dispute about Nayler's claim to be free, in his capacity as Genealogist of the Bath, of any obligations to the heralds of the College.

It is not clear how Radclyffe came to be involved in this dispute; it may have been a burden imposed on him as the newest recruit, or he may have pushed himself forward – perhaps both[677]. After a preliminary consultation with Nayler and Martin (partly on the subject, also, of the College's income tax return), he attended a meeting with the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General in Lincoln's Inn, together with Nayler, Townsend, Atkinson and Lodge, at which a paper was drafted for submission to the College Chapter. Radclyffe may have hoped at this stage to be instrumental in producing a formula which might be acceptable to all parties – a common delusion among novices who plunge themselves prematurely into institutional business; but events went otherwise. Chapter met on 23 January, and after long debate (more interestingly recorded in Radclyffe's diary than in the Minutes), an agreement was reached – and subsequently completely ignored by Nayler, who carried on exactly as before.

Wagner's account of the College's dispute with Nayler[678] merely mentions Radclyffe's presence at the meeting in Lincoln's Inn; the detail supplied by Radclyffe in his diary gives a context to the episode, and suggests the possibility that, even at this early stage,

[677] It is worth remembering that Radclyffe had frequented the College for some time before he was appointed to membership, and that he had been acquainted with Edmund Lodge for several years.
[678] *Heralds,* pp. 433-48.

differences were emerging. It is essential, however, to avoid interpreting events as if every step was manifestly predetermined – the relationship between the two men can be seen to have varied between collaboration and opposition. There are diary entries showing Radclyffe 'assisting' Nayler in examining pedigrees, and others which show Nayler 'assisting' Radclyffe. On 30 May 1808, Radclyffe records that York offered him a 'deputyship' – In Waiting, presumably – 'which I declined as unworthy my acceptance'. On 9 February 1811, on the other hand, Radclyffe 'Called on Nayler with Gold Chain which he declining to have I gave the same to my E.R.'.

What turned this uneasy relationship into bitter confrontation is never explicitly stated in any of the sources. The most likely explanation is that Nayler came to realise that Radclyffe represented a significant threat to his own ambitions. (A letter which Radclyffe wrote to Surtees on 15 November 1810[679] seems to suggest that the two men had discussed the possibility that Radclyffe might ultimately attain the rank of Garter.) When open hostilities broke out in January 1815, the *casus belli* – Nayler's rights as Genealogist of the Bath, as against the rights of the other heralds – was genuine enough, but it was really a symbol of the rivalry between the two men rather than its cause. By the same token, the charges which Nayler eventually employed to bring down Radclyffe were in reality little more than pretexts for persecution. It is instructive to follow the evolution of Nayler's tactics, and the variation of his objectives, between 1817 and 1820, and through to 1823; there was never anything like the sudden realisation of wrongdoing on Radclyffe's part which is suggested by Wagner. Radclyffe, by contrast, absorbed in the cultivation of his Yorkshire estate, displayed a fatal indifference to Nayler's menace.

[679] Durham University Archives, SUR 77-80.

An important milestone on the road to trouble came on 6 July 1813, when a Chapter meeting became embroiled in violent dissensions. By his own account, covering five pages of the diary, Radclyffe's own interests were not directly involved, but he nevertheless took a leading part in the debate, which eventually broke up in disorder after Nayler had walked out. The Chapter Minutes[680] do not reflect the tempestuous reality of the occasion as Radclyffe records it; as written by Townsend, they represent the 'Establishment' version. The details of the dispute need not concern us here; the essential point is that Radclyffe attempted to dominate the meeting, and over-reached himself. He may have thought that he had driven Nayler away; but Nayler had fired a Parthian shot in the course of his retreat, by setting in motion a process for the re-examination of Radclyffe's own pedigree.

Radclyffe's next political blunder came on 13 August. A contentious Chapter two days previously had been followed by an invitation to meet the Earl Marshal at Norfolk House in St. James's Square, where discussions were taking place which amounted to College business. Radclyffe – thinking, perhaps, to exercise businesslike leadership – suggested that the occasion should be deemed a regular Chapter. The motion was agreed – and one of the outcomes was the appointment of Young as Rouge Dragon, to the eventual blocking of Radclyffe's own promotion hopes. A cooler head might have worked to delay affairs, but Radclyffe never played a waiting game.

Open warfare between Radclyffe and Nayler commenced in the New Year of 1815. Previous to a Chapter held on 5 January, Radclyffe recorded an evening spent discussing with Lodge 'the very extraordinary Gazette of this Day relative to the enlarged Order of the Military Order of the Bath'. They drafted a protest, and at the Chapter meeting 'I brought forward my notice…which after great opposition was at last carried'. The matter

[680] Chapter Minutes, 3 July 1813.

went a stage further at another Chapter on 9 January, when Radclyffe induced his colleagues to agree to the printing and publication of a statement asserting the rights of the College against those of the Genealogist - a most extraordinarily combative step. There could be no doubt that Radclyffe was attempting to engineer, at the very least, a reduction in Nayler's position. The notice was printed on 10 January (Radclyffe's birthday), published on 11 January, and inserted in the *London Gazette* on 12 January; it can only be described as a remarkably inflammatory document[681] – and it was entirely Radclyffe's work.

The Earl Marshal intervened, Chapter met, and met again – and then Radclyffe's health collapsed. It may have been no more than influenza – Elizabeth was ill as well – but it took him away from the action, he had to go to Bath in mid-February, and he lost the initiative. And, astonishingly but characteristically, Nayler was able to carry on as before, by the simple expedient of retiring to his own private mountain peak.

What followed, at briefer and briefer intervals, resembled warfare by grenade-lobbing, as each party in turn endeavoured to discredit the other. Radclyffe, now lacking patrons, was at a greater disadvantage than he seems to have realised, against Nayler's cunning; but his mind was markedly compartmentalised, and he was armoured in a complete conviction of the propriety of all his actions, past and present.

Nayler's first moves against Radclyffe seem to have been aimed at cutting him down to size, by discrediting some of his genealogical work within the College; but when Radclyffe proved resistant to this form of attack, Nayler resorted to the more extreme, and publicly scandalous, measure of manufacturing a legal case against him.

[681] Space forbids reproducing this remarkable document, which can be found in Chapter Minutes as well as the *Gazette.*

It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the resort to the courts was motivated by Nayler's determination to eliminate a rival; Heard, for his part, supported the move out of aversion to a turbulent reformer. It was an extraordinary step to take, and one which was bound to bring the College into disrepute; but having already sued each other in an unseemly wrangle over fees (an episode which Wagner passes over surprisingly lightly), Nayler and Heard had no scruple over dragging the name of the College further through the mire.

What followed can be described here only in bare outline; a full account, duly referenced, must await another occasion.

Radclyffe was arrested[682], on a charge of forging an entry in an ancient marriage register, on 20 January 1820, and gave bail. He resumed his duties as Waiter of the Month on the following day; there was talk of having him ejected, but such concerns were immediately overtaken by the news, which came in quick succession, of the deaths of the Duke of Kent (23 January) and King George III (29 January). Thus, not only did Radclyffe walk free until his trial at York, which began on 17 March, but he appears to have continued to exercise at least some of his rights as a member of the College. The new King was proclaimed with the usual ceremonies on 31 January, and the *Morning Post* of 1 February carried a lengthy and detailed account of the occasion, which listed, by name, all the dignitaries taking part in the procession from St. James's to the City and back again – including 'Rouge Croix – W. Radclyffe, Gent., F.S.A.'. A still more circumstantial report in *Jackson's Oxford Journal* for 5 February also listed Radclyffe as present and participating.

[682] As he was going out to dinner with his wife; Nayler personally accompanied the Bow Street Runners.

Such determined persistence in the exercise of his privileges was no doubt condemned by some, at least, of his colleagues as brazen-faced arrogance; the diary, however, shows Radclyffe as utterly confident that he was being falsely and maliciously accused – and he was not a man who would allow himself to be elbowed out of what was rightfully due to him. But there must have been tensions within the procession.

Whether by accident or design, the timing of the trial, on 17 March, was singularly favourable to Nayler; it became a mere sideshow of the Assizes at York which were totally dominated by proceedings against Henry 'Orator' Hunt and his fellows in connection with the Peterloo Massacre.

Up to the moment that the proceedings opened, it appears that Radclyffe was confident of being vindicated; but his lawyer, who, like most of his colleagues, was engaged in the main event, seems to have hurried into court having not read his brief, and neglected all his client's instructions. Radclyffe was sentenced to a £50 fine and three months' imprisonment in York Castle. The penalty was little more than symbolic, but the damage was aimed at Radclyffe's reputation.

In his *Heralds of England*, Wagner accepts without question the validity of the case brought against Radclyffe by the prosecution in 1820, and concludes that its mere success is proof that Radclyffe must have been either a fraudster or a delusionist[683]. For present purposes, it will be sufficient to note that the allegation on which the charge rested had previously been dismissed by both the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General of the time as inadequate to support a prosecution; that the evidence presented against Radclyffe was recognised at the trial as being both inconsistent and self-contradictory; that records of the fact that prosecution witnesses were paid for their testimony are to be found in the

[683] *Heralds, p. 467.*

archives of the College of Arms; that the defence lawyers failed to call witnesses (who were present), and effectively presented no case on Radclyffe's behalf; that Radclyffe had an irreproachable alibi for the period at which the offence was supposed to have been committed; and that the judge was self-confessedly partial. In short, the episode affords a veritable cameo of 'Old Corruption' at work on the unreformed judicial system.

On the charge of forgery which was notionally at stake, the two leading antiquarian-genealogists of the time, Robert Surtees and Joseph Hunter, appear to have entertained no doubts about Radclyffe's innocence, and both remained loyal to him down to the time of his death in 1828. Wagner, accepting the verdict, asserts that it demonstrated the falsity of Radclyffe's claims about his descent; in fact, forged or not, the disputed entry, which concerned the name of a female ancestor, made no difference to the proved legitimacy of Radclyffe's descent from Sir Cuthbert of Dilston. Wagner presents no evidence to show that he had himself attempted to investigate the validity of Radclyffe's pedigree.

Radclyffe spent some weeks in Yorkshire after his release, frantically working on an appeal, and returned to London at the end of July. What remains of the diary for 1820 shows him making determined efforts to pick up the pieces of his life, and it appears that he re-entered the fray with a vengeance in 1821, quite contrary to the impression of defeat conveyed by Wagner.

Another ceremony of proclamation, this time for the coronation, was staged on 14 June 1821 – and, once again, we find the newspapers giving circumstantial details of Radclyffe's presence at the proceedings. *The Morning Chronicle* of 15 June, and the *Caledonian Mercury* of 18 June both have 'Rouge Croix Pursuivant, (William Radclyffe, Gent.) in his Tabard of His Majesty's arms' not only walking in the procession but reading the proclamation at Charing Cross. Given that Nayler was all this time trying to bring

about the revocation of Radclyffe's Royal Warrant, such obdurate insistence on the exercise of his privileges was, to say the least, impressive.

The coronation itself took place on 19 July 1821. The Times of 20 July gave a very full account of the extraordinary proceedings, including mention of the presence of two pursuivants, but without identifying them by name. It has not been possible to establish whether Radclyffe managed to assert his rights on this supreme occasion; we may be sure he tried.

Still more remarkable than Radclyffe's insistence on his privileges, however, is the clear evidence that someone was prepared to go to great lengths to erase him from the record. This person can only have been Nayler. The Chapter Minutes, which set forth in precise detail the arrangements for the proclamations, omit all mention of Radclyffe's participation[684]. Equally, Nayler's magnum opus, the volume which he hoped would crown his reputation, *The Coronation of His Most Sacred Majesty King George the Fourth*, is equally silent about the Rouge Croix Pursuivant. Truth will out, however, and one of the illustrations shows a pursuivant who is unquestionably Radclyffe in his Rouge Croix tabard and a badge of office which (as the diary records) he had commissioned for himself years previously[685], preceding the banner of the Hanoverian Order in the coronation procession. Wagner, who himself uses the illustration, finds this difficult to explain.

The outcome of Radclyffe's duel with Nayler may be seen as significant in more than its effects on Radclyffe's career; if, as this thesis suggests, it can be interpreted as a victory for 'Old Corruption' over an intemperate reformer, then it is worth asking what might have

[684] This is not the only occasion on which Nayler can be suspected of tampering with the Minutes.
[685] He recorded making arrangements with a jeweller on 8 July 1808, and had himself painted by Stevens wearing the badge.

happened if the battle had gone the other way. Radclyffe appears to have envisaged a revitalised College located in or near what became Trafalgar Square, close to the seat of Government, and possibly integrated with, or at least linked to, some aspect of Government administration, such as the registration of births, deaths and marriages. It was a vision which would have commended itself, and may have owed something, to the thinking of such friends of Radclyffe's as Jeremy Bentham or John Wilson Croker; but specific evidence for such connections as those has yet to be found.

# CONCLUSION

The over-arching finding of the thesis is that William Radclyffe's diary, taken together with other previously unused archive material, shows conclusively that the account of Radclyffe presented by Sir Anthony Wagner in his *Heralds of England*, which has until now been regarded as authoritative, is both ill-founded in its sources and substantially mistaken in its interpretations.

More broadly, the thesis explores the relevance of the diary material to a range of themes which are currently under discussion among historians of early nineteenth-century England. Making due allowance for the fact that this is a micro-historical study of just one individual, the thesis nonetheless suggests that the diary is a source of evidence about the growth of a new professional class, and about patterns of social life in London and the provinces during and after the Napoleonic Wars; about developments in the practice of antiquarianism, and in particular the role of genealogy as an instrument of social

advancement for certain groups; about the tensions, which sometimes turned into conflicts, between tradition and reformism in matters of the law and public administration; and about changing fashions in attitudes to the artistic remains and antiquities of the Middle Ages.

The thesis sees the diary as self-writing of an artless but valuably varied type, often mundane, occasionally elevated, always strongly though unconsciously flavoured by the circumstances in which it was written. The opening of Radclyffe's first volume almost coincides with the moment when Parson Woodforde lays down his pen, but there is a world of difference between the Parson's placid record of his eighteenth-century eatings and drinkings, and Radclyffe's rapid account of his nineteenth-century business transactions; nor do Radclyffe's memoranda have anything in common with the political gossip of Greville and Creevey, the social chatter of Gronow, or the literary sophistication of Sir Walter Scott. But the thesis presents Radclyffe as richly, if unintentionally, informative about his personal ambitions, about the delights and stresses of his family life, about the addictiveness of antiquarian scholarship and the allure of the Gothic, and, most especially, about the arcane proceedings of a genealogist and herald at a time of rapid, sometimes tumultuous, social change.

Radclyffe himself is interpreted as a multi-faceted, complex individual who displayed Georgian conservatism in his preoccupation with matters of lineage, social precedence and hierarchy, and in his ambitions towards landownership, but who also manifested proto-Victorian dynamism, especially in his awareness of new economic opportunities, his zeal for administrative reform, his tireless work ethic, and, not least, his devotion to domestic family life. He thus emerges as a case-study, arguably of normative value, in the evolution of the professional as a social type in early nineteenth-century England. The thesis remarks that whereas Corfield and Wahrman have posited a relatively sudden and disruptive appearance of the professional man at this time, Radclyffe's diary suggests a much more

'gradualist' process of social transition. Thus new men such as the Leeds banker John Beckett might achieve recognition within an orthodox social hierarchy by turning to Rouge Croix Pursuivant, of ancient but impoverished family, to supply the coat of arms which was the indispensable badge of gentility. Local loyalties, also, still had their parts to play; both Becketts and Radclyffes were long-established Barnsley families.

If the shapes of his business and domestic activities can be seen as illustrating the tendencies of the times, the thesis asserts that Radclyffe's activities as a scholar and antiquarian command attention in their own right. His genealogical researches, which were integral to the works of Surtees, Whitaker and Hunter, are presented as forming part of the movement analysed by Rosemary Sweet, which saw the generalised antiquarianism of the eighteenth century evolve into a group of specialisms, which in turn came collectively to form the family of historical studies. The activity of disciplined research which was Radclyffe's life-calling was a literally fundamental element of the emergent subject, and the thesis argues that his lifelong collaboration with Joseph Hunter, the 'father' of the national archives, is a conclusive indicator of his significance in this connection.

A fuller demonstration of the value of Radclyffe's diary is, clearly, going to be dependent on the editing of the whole document for publication. But the thesis points towards several more or less distinct topics with bearings on Radclyffe's story, which individually deserve research. A study of Edmund Lodge, Radclyffe's friend and mentor, whose work was influential in his own time but has since been largely neglected, is an appealing prospect. Similarly, the papers of John Charles Brooke are noticed by the thesis as an under-exploited source; a comparative study of Brooke, Lodge and Radclyffe would be instructive about much more than the activities of the College of Arms between 1780 and 1830. Another comparison which might be highly informative, particularly with regard to the contemporary handling of disputed claims to peerage and noble descents, and their

social significance, might involve Radclyffe, his nemesis G.F. Beltz, and the turbulent Sir Egerton Brydges, all of whom feature in the last chapter of the thesis. On a different front, there is surely more to be discovered about Radclyffe's involvement in the early stages of the scholarly Gothic Revival, and, still more, about the neglected, and arguably under-rated, figure of Radclyffe's last patron, Charles Tennyson d'Eyncourt.

The most obvious next research step, however, must be a fuller examination of the processes by which Radclyffe was driven out of the College of Arms. His trial at York Assizes in 1820 has not yet been subjected to rigorous legal and historical analysis, while the prolonged and significant after-story of the case is barely mentioned in Wagner's partial and superficial history. The whole affair may be seen as a study in the persisting influence of Old Corruption in an archaic institution, and if Radclyffe's reputation is overdue for re-assessment, so also is that of his leading opponent, Sir George Nayler.

Ultimately, however, the principal value of Radclyffe's diary, as must be the case with any extended tract of self-writing, is to be found in its revelation of the writer himself; and it is the rediscovery of a largely forgotten, and much traduced, personality that is offered as a major justification of this thesis.

# APPENDICES

## TABLE 1

## Physical state of the diary

Vol. 1 (1803-04) is fractionally different in size from the others, and its boards are covered in light brown skiver without tooling; all the others are uniform in format (approximately 7.5" x 4.5"), bound in a darker brown skiver, with a line of blind tooling running around the front and back boards. They are standard stationers' products of their period, plain-paper notebooks originally of 90 pages each, with endpapers; there are no trade labels, and they may have been bound after purchase. All of them bear the remains of papers which have been pasted to the outside of their front covers, and in some cases their back covers also; some of these are fragments of letters (on Vol. 7 is one conveying the news of the death of Lord Newburgh, Radclyffe's patron; see also Figure 6, page 326), while others seem to have been little more than labels indicating the dates of the volume's contents.

Only two volumes, 3 and 4, are still in fairly compact state; the sewing and binding of all the others has degenerated in varying degrees. Details of missing sections are set out in section d) below.

**Description, volume by volume:**

**Vol. 1** The leather of the spine has entirely gone, and the stitching is mostly broken. 10 pages at the end have not been used for diary entries, but contain pencil notes, as does also a front endpaper (a pedigree, and copies of funerary inscriptions in Doncaster parish church, especially relating to the Eyre family). On the outside back cover is a fragment of a letter, possibly to Henry Radclyffe, about his Marechale ancestry. Plain endpapers.

**Vol. 2** Spine largely gone, stitching of later signatures very fragile. Marbled endpapers.

**Vol. 3** Quite good condition. Pencil pedigree notes inside back endpaper. Marbled endpapers.

**Vol. 4** Nearly as good as Vol. 3. Spine badly worn. 11 pages at the end, not used for diary entries, bearing important pencil notes about Darley Hall – purchase costs, plans with measurements, etc. – also pedigree notes and lists of expenses. Plain endpapers.

**Vol. 5** Missing.

**Vol. 6** Fair condition. Loose inside front cover, a card inscribed 'Captain Roche, Oxf. Lt. Dragns., To take leave.'[686] Plain endpapers.

**Vol. 7** Stitching almost entirely gone, entire volume in a state of collapse. Loose inside front cover, a note, not in Radclyffe's handwriting, about James, Earl of Derwentwater, together with a pen sketch of a horse's hindquarters, and a contemporary piece of blotting paper. Marbled endpapers.

**Vol. 8** Shattered state. Label on outside of front cover, dates, 'For Henry Radclyffe'. Marbled endpapers.

All leather surfaces have been treated, by me, with appropriate conservation-standard stabilising material.

The paper is in generally good condition.

A few papers have been pasted into the diary – souvenirs of the 1814 Frost Fair on the Thames, the fireworks display in Hyde Park in the same year, etc.

## TABLE 2

## Day-entries missing from the diary

**1803** 18 January – 3 March

17 March – 12 April

8 November – 17 November

**1804** 12 January – 20 January

(half) 11 May – 12 May (a long entry)

12 August – 20 August

7 September – 20 October

22 October – 5 November

15 December – 21 December

**1805** 8 February – 19 February

25 July – 1 August

**1806** 16 January – 30 January

[686] Philip Keating Roche married (1796) a daughter of John Salwey of Moor Park; Salwey later became William Radclyffe's brother-in-law. Radclyffe's diary records a number of dealings with Roche, who had an unusual and interesting military career which brought him a knighthood and the rank of Lt. General in the Spanish army. Roche died in London in 1829.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | 25 March – 31 March | |
| | 16 April – 23 April | |
| | 17 May- 2 June | |
| | 10 June – 16 June | |
| **1807** | - | |
| **1808** | October – December | *The* |
| **1809** | all | *missing* |
| **1810** | all | *volume* |
| **1811** | - | |
| **1812** | 29 August – 10 September | |
| **1813** | 11 April – 30 April | |
| **1814** | - | |
| **1815** | 16 March – 31 March | |
| **1816** | - | |
| **1817** | 13 March – 23 March | |
| | 1 April – 10 April | |
| | 13 May – 20 May | |
| **1818** | 1 January – 21 January | |
| | 7 February – 23 November | |
| **1819** | 16 March – 23 March | |
| | 24 May – 26 June | |
| | 22 July – 31 December | |
| **1820** | 7 January – 25 July | |

## TABLE 3

## Radclyffe's journeyings

| | |
|---|---|
| **1803** | Sheffield – London |
| | In Essex |
| | London – Doncaster – London |

London – Essex – Shropshire – London

In Essex, twice (this and many subsequent Essex journeys relate to executor business)

London – Derbyshire – Lancashire – Cheshire – Yorkshire – London

In Essex (twice)

**1804** In Essex

London – Yorkshire

**1805** London – Shropshire – Birmingham – Oxford – London

In Essex, three times

Surrey

London – Doncaster – Manchester – other places in Lancashire – Yorkshire – London

London – Doncaster – London

**1806** In Essex – Suffolk – London

London – Oxford – London

London – Leicester – Derby – Manchester – parts of Lancashire – Yorkshire – London

**1807** London – Yorkshire, extensively – Lancashire – Yorkshire – London

**1808** East Kent

Surrey

Essex

London – Derby – Lancashire – Yorkshire – Lancashire – Westmorland – Northumberland – Durham – Yorkshire – London

**1809** (missing)

**1810** (missing)

**1811** Sussex

London – Oxford – Cheltenham – Shropshire – Lancashire – Yorkshire – Northumberland – Durham – Yorkshire – Birmingham – Shropshire – Manchester – Yorkshire – London (E.R. collapsed and nearly died after this)

**1812** Reading (for a law case)

Hertford

London – Yorkshire – London

Essex

London – Oxford – Birmingham – Shropshire – Worcester – Oxford –
London – Cambridge – Huntingdon – Peterborough – Lincolnshire Fens
– Lincoln – Doncaster – South Riding – North Lincolnshire – Leeds –
York – Beverley – North Lincolnshire – Doncaster – London

**1813** Chelmsford and Essex

Surrey

Southend

London – Doncaster – Leeds – Durham – Newcastle – Harewood –
Wentworth Woodhouse – Sheffield – London

**1814** Essex

Essex – Norfolk – Norwich – Lincolnshire Fens – Lincoln – Doncaster –
Durham – York – Sheffield – London

Sussex (Lord Newburgh's funeral)

**1815** London – Bath – Bridgend – Swansea – Gower Peninsula – Glamorgan
– Cardiff – Chepstow – Bristol – Bath – London

Surrey (four times, family business)

London – Yorkshire – London

Sussex

London – Oxford – Warwick – Coventry – Lichfield – Derby – Yorkshire
– London

**1816** London – Canterbury – East Kent – Rochester – London

London – Oxford – Worcester – Shropshire – Lichfield – Derby –
Yorkshire – Durham – Newcastle – York – Leeds – Sheffield – London

**1817** London – Yorkshire – London

London – Yorkshire – London

London – Yorkshire – London

**1818** London – Portsmouth – London

Surrey

London – Yorkshire – London

**1819** London – Yorkshire – London

Essex

## TABLE 4

## Radclyffe's outgoing correspondence

**1803** 74 letters, over 40 weeks. Predominantly personal or related to the Salwey executorship.

**1804** 64 (+?), over 43 weeks. Two notes record 'letters written', without exact numbers given.

**1805** 78, over 52 weeks. Some episodes of travel disrupt the rate of correspondence. The balance is shifting towards professional correspondence.

**1806** 98, over 48 weeks. A fair number of these were family letters, especially those to his wife when he was travelling. But there is also evidence of growing professional correspondence.

**1807** 104, over 49 weeks. A strong representation of letters to fellow antiquarians, Blore, Hunter, Whitaker.

**1808** 104, over 40 weeks. Intensification of the pattern of the previous year. One Sunday letter – to Lord Fitzwilliam. The death of his son disturbs Radclyffe's working routine considerably.

**1809** 209, over 52 weeks. Radclyffe's genealogical practice has moved into a new phase, and there is a strongly businesslike style about his operations.

**1812** 168, over 49 weeks. Possibly much the same pattern as for 1809, allowing for a long journey, a stay at Darley Hall, and his wife's health problems; there are numerous letters received which must have been answered, but are not listed as such.

**1813** 208, over 49 weeks. The balance is tilting ever more towards genealogical / antiquarian matters, including much dealing with Robert Surtees.

**1814** 259, over 52 weeks. A proportion of this large total is generated by official correspondence in connection with public events organised by the College.

**1815** 262, over 50 weeks. Indications of a decidedly brisk rate of turn-around in correspondence with Whitaker, Surtees and Hunter.

**1816** 269, over 52 weeks. Examples in this year's correspondence illustrate the very close relationship of Radclyffe's activity to his social life.

**1817** 200, over 47 weeks. Radclyffe is completely preoccupied by his Yorkshire enclosure scheme, and the beginnings of disruption in the pattern of London business are apparent.

**1818** 39, over 8 weeks. This would actually compare with the average for the previous five years, despite the fact that Radclyffe seems to have been paying little attention to anything but his Yorkshire enclosures.

**1819** 90, over 24 weeks. Slightly down on the average, and the pattern has changed – fewer letters to clients, more to his family, and a distinct group concerning his own case.

**1820** 72, over 19 weeks. Radclyffe is keeping up his correspondence, misfortunes notwithstanding, and there is an antiquarian flavour to the list of names; he seems to be receiving significantly more letters than he records answering – suggesting that his diary method is under strain?

## TABLE 5

**Finances of the Darley Hall purchase** (reproduced as written by Radclyffe)

| | |
|---|---|
| Purchase[687] | 3520 |
| Duty | 102 |
| Timber | 20 |
| Lot 2[688] | 1020 |
| Duty | 36 |
| Congees[689] about | 50 |
| Repairs | 122 |
| | 5050 |
| Allow for title[690] | 330 |
| Cost | 4720 |

[687] The house and surrounding land.
[688] Farm buildings and associated land.
[689] Agents' fees?
[690] An estimate of legal fees.

## TABLE 6

## Theatrical and musical events recorded in Radclyffe's diary

(Information from Radclyffe's diary, supplemented by other sources.)

| | |
|---|---|
| **2 August 1803** | Theatre Royal, Haymarket, *The Iron Chest*, with *No Song No Supper*. |
| **22 August 1803** | Private Theatre, Berwick Street. |
| **30 August 1803** | '…spent evening singing glees, duets, etc.' |
| **9 March 1804** | Covent Garden, *Oratorio*; *Fourth Grand Selection of Sacred Music*. |
| **12 March 1804** | Covent Garden, Shenton in *Macbeth*, with *The Paragraph*. |
| **24 April 1804** | Covent Garden, *The Beggar's Opera*, with *Raising the Wind*. |
| **25 June 1804** | Sadler's Wells. |
| **8 December 1804** | 'to the Theatre Covent Garden to see *Douglas* in which the celebrated young Roscius performed Norval'. (The rage for Master Betty seems to have caused an alteration in the advertised programme.) |
| **30 March 1805** | Drury Lane, young Roscius in *Hamlet*. |
| **15 May 1805** | Royal Circus (the Surrey Theatre), 'to see Installation etc'; this was probably a pageant-type representation of the recent ceremony of installing new Garter knights at Windsor, in which Radclyffe had participated in his capacity as a Pursuivant. |
| **27 September 1805** | Theatre in Sheffield. |
| **28 December 1805** | 'to Jingles [i.e. Gyngell's] Exhibition'[691]. |
| **9 September 1806** | Theatre in Stockport, young Roscius in *Douglas*. |
| **12 October 1806** | 'capital singing' in York Minster. |
| **18 April 1807** | Drury Lane, *Children in the Wood*, with *The Young Hussar*. |
| **22 June 1807** | Astley's Amphitheatre (in Westminster Road, near the bridge), by water. |
| **23 June 1807** | Covent Garden, Kemble in *Hamlet* with *Harlequin and Mother Goose*. |
| **9 July 1807** | Theatre Royal, Haymarket, *The Castle Spectre*, with *Prisoner at Large*. |

[691] Daniel Gyngell (fl. 1794-1821) was a conjuror, singer, performer on musical glasses, and showman who worked in London and the provinces.

| | |
|---|---|
| **16 July 1807** | The King's Theatre, Haymarket, one act of *La Morte di Cleopatra* (opera by Francesco Bianchi), one act of *Il Fanatico* (opera by Domenico Cimarosa); benefit performance by Angelica Catalani[692]. |
| **18 July 1807** | Sadler's Wells. |
| **30 March 1808** | Covent Garden, *Sacred Oratorio*; *Grand Selection of Sacred Musick*. |
| **21 April 1808** | The King's Theatre, Haymarket, 'Catalani's benefit opera'; this was Sebastiano Nasolini's *La Festa d'Iside*. |
| **19 August 1808** | Concert in the hall of the College of Arms. |
| **23 March 1811** | E.R. and female friends to the Adelphi Theatre, Strand, to see *Sans Pareil*. |
| **25 March 1811** | Concert in Hanover Square Concert Rooms. |
| **11 February 1812** | A musical evening. |
| **25 May 1812** | Concert in Hanover Square Concert Rooms 'for benefit of Miss Stone'. |
| **30 May 1812** | 'In Evening with Sister Salwey to Miss Edredges to hear Mr. Westley [probably S.S. Wesley] Play'; Miss Stone among those present. |
| **18 October 1812** | At Harewood, '…morning service at the church which was performed in a superior style'. (Presumably this refers to the music.) |
| **6 May 1813** | Covent Garden. |
| **17 May 1813** | 'Mrs. Bianchi Lacy's Concert' in Hanover Square Concert Rooms. This was the fifth concert of the opening season of the London Philharmonic Society; the programme included works by Cherubini, Mozart, Viotti, J.C. Bach, Beethoven and Gluck[693]. |
| **6 August 1813** | Lyceum, Strand. |
| **26 August 1813** | Lyceum, to an opera, name illegible. |
| **7 February 1814** | Covent Garden, *Henry VIII*. |
| **14 February 1814** | Covent Garden, Kemble in *Coriolanus*. |
| **24 February 1814** | Drury Lane, Keene in *Richard III*. |
| **19 March 1814** | 'to see Keen's[sic] *Hamlet*'. |

[692] '…that musical phenomenon, Catalani; a singer who, take her for all in all…has had no equal within our time…the Catalani epidemic raged in all its fierceness…she carried you by storm, even against your better judgement…' *The Harmonicon* (London, 1830), p. 72.
[693] Source: M.B. Foster, *History of the Philharmonic Society of London* (London, 1912).

| | |
|---|---|
| **(21 April 1814** | Radclyffe bought a copy of Shakespeare's plays at Sotheby's for E.R.; could this have been the fine edition which was sold, with pages uncut, at the dispersal of his library in 1820?) |
| **29 April 1814** | Covent Garden, *Ahasuerus*. (? Handel's Esther?) |
| **28 May 1814** | Covent Garden, 'for Ashley's Concert', a benefit for the widow and children of William Russell; one of the performers was S.S. Wesley. |
| **6 August 1814** | Surrey Theatre, Blackfriars Road. |
| **7 January 1815** | Covent Garden, 'to see Miss O'Neal'[694]. |
| **8 September 1815** | to 'Circus', i.e. Surrey Theatre, possibly for a pageant display? |
| **1 December 1815** | Drury Lane. (Tickets given by Townsend, Windsor Herald.) |
| **27 March 1816** | E.R. and Derwentwater Radclyffe to Gyngell's Exhibition in Little Theatre, Catherine Street, Strand. |
| **11 June 1816** | Drury Lane. |
| **29 June 1816** | Covent Garden, 'Mrs. Siddons as Qu. Catherine [in *Henry VIII*] before the Prince Cobourg & Ps. Charlotte'. |
| **19 November 1817** | Fine music at York Minster for the death of Princess Charlotte. |
| **23 November 1817** | Fine music at Meltham chapel, Yorkshire. |
| **16 November 1820** | Covent Garden. |

## TABLE 7

## Radclyffe's church attendances[695]

| | |
|---|---|
| **1803** | 40 Sundays recorded, 20 (? 21) attendances. |
| **1804** | 43 Sundays recorded, 19 attendances. |
| **1805** | 49 Sundays recorded, 13 attendances. |
| **1806** | 44 Sundays + Good Friday recorded, 19 (? 20) attendances. |
| **1807** | 52 Sundays recorded, 12 attendances. |
| **1808** | 39 Sundays recorded, 7 attendances. |
| **1809** | (no diary). |

[694] Elizabeth O'Neill (1791-1822), Irish tragedienne who won qualified praise from Jane Austen; particularly noted for her performances as Juliet in *Romeo and Juliet*.

[695] I am grateful for instructive comments on this section received from Dr. Peter Forsaith.

| | |
|---|---|
| **1810** | (no diary). |
| **1811** | 52 Sundays recorded, 6 attendances. |
| **1812** | 50 Sundays recorded, 10 (?11) attendances. |
| **1813** | 47 Sundays recorded, 5 attendances. |
| **1814** | 51 Sundays recorded, 25 attendances, including 1 Sunday meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society at Freemasons' Hall. (Radclyffe also attended 2 services, one R.C. and one Anglican, for Lord Newburgh's funeral. Together with two young lady relatives, he visited a Jewish synagogue in Durham Place, on a Friday.) |
| **1815** | 51 Sundays recorded, 9 attendances. |
| **1816** | 52 Sundays recorded, 10 attendances. |
| **1817** | 48 Sundays recorded, 14 attendances. |
| **1818** | 7 Sundays recorded, 3 attendances. |
| **1819** | 24 Sundays + Good Friday recorded, 25 attendances. (St. Gregory's – otherwise known as St. Mary Magdalene, Fish St. – was attended 6 times, St. Andrew's Holborn – notable for its preaching – 5 times. There were two attendances in one day on five occasions, including Good Friday and Easter Day.) |
| **1820** | 21 Sundays recorded + Christmas Day, 20 attendances, all at London churches. (All tightly clustered around Baynard's Castle; St. Faith's, Watling Street – otherwise known as St. Augustine's – was attended 5(? 6) times.) |

Of the total of 220 recorded attendances, 89 were at London churches, 44 at London Anglican chapels, 48 at country churches, 22 at cathedrals, and 17 at other places of worship, including Roman Catholic chapels.

## TABLE 8

## Membership of the College of Arms in 1803

| OFFICE | NAME | AGE |
|---|---|---|
| **Kings of Arms** | | |
| Garter | Sir Isaac Heard | 73 |
| Clarenceux | George Harrison | 63 |
| Norroy | Ralph Bigland | 46 |

**Heralds**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Lancaster | Edmund Lodge | 47 |
| Richmond | Joseph Walker | ?mid-30s |
| Somerset | John Atkinson | ?mid-50s |
| Windsor | Francis Townsend | 54 |
| York | George Nayler | 39 |
| Chester | Stephen Martin Leake | 50 |

**Pursuivants**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Bluemantle | Francis Martin | 36 |
| Portcullis | John Doddington Forth | ?mid-40s |
| Rouge Dragon | James Cathrow | 25 |
| Rouge Croix | William Radclyffe | 33 |

**Changes and promotions:**

**1813**

Somerset Atkinson d., succ. by Cathrow

Charles George Young (age 18) apptd. Rouge Dragon Pursuivant

**1817**

Portcullis Forth res., succ. by George Frederick Beltz (age 43)

**1819**

Windsor Townsend d., succ. by Martin

William Woods (Sec. of the Order of the Bath, Registrar of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order, Asst. to Nayler, age 33) apptd. Bluemantle Pursuivant

**1820**

Clarenceux Harrison res., succ. by Nayler

Young promoted York

Francis Townsend (jun.) apptd. Rouge Dragon Pursuivant (age 24)

**1822**

Garter Heard d., succ. by Nayler

**1823**

Rouge Croix Radclyffe res.; succ. by Robert Laurie (age 17, nephew of George Nayler)

## TABLE 9

## Radclyffe's 'Waiting Months'

(Sources: Diary and College Waiting Book)

| | |
|---|---|
| **1803** | June (but disrupted by the Salwey funeral) |
| **1804** | January (first week only, as Deputy); March; July; 12-30 November |
| **1805** | March; July; November |
| **1806** | March; July; November |
| **1807** | March; July; November |
| **1808** | March; July; +? |
| **1809** | ? |
| **1810** | ? |
| **1811** | January; April; July; November |
| **1812** | February; May; July; November |
| **1813** | February; May; August; December |
| **1814** | March; June; August; December |
| **1815** | May; June; September (last week only?); December |
| **1816** | May; August; December |
| **1817** | March; May; September |
| **1818** | ? |
| **1819** | ? |
| **1820** | January (attempted) |

## TABLE 10

## Pedigrees brought by Radclyffe to meetings of Chapter

(Source, Chapter Minutes)

**YEARLY TOTALS**

| | |
|---|---|
| **1804** | 4 |

| | |
|---|---|
| **1805** | 4 |
| **1806** | 8 |
| **1807** | 4 |
| **1808** | 25 |
| **1809** | 3 |
| **1810** | 18 |
| **1811** | 2 |
| **1812** | 10 |
| **1813** | 5 |
| **1814** | 7 |
| **1815** | 9 (+ I replacement) |
| **1816** | 12 |
| **1817** | (Radclyffe's last Chapter attendance 4.9.17) |

110 pedigrees in total

(There are indications in the diary that from 1817 onwards Radclyffe concentrated much more on the private side of his genealogical work, and, in particular, on the production of elaborately calligraphic and illuminated pedigrees for purposes of display; an entry for 6 July 1819 records that he 'Finished lining and illuminating the Pedigree of the Duke of Kent'.)

# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

**Figure 1, title page**

William Radclyffe as Rouge Croix Pursuivant of Arms. Attrib. J. Stevens, 1814-15. Reproduced by courtesy of the College of Arms.

**Figure 2, page 323**

Diary pages for 10-15 July 1808, recording the birth of Radclyffe's second son, Henry; observe the pencil note by Rosa Radclyffe, Henry's wife, in the space beneath the first entry.

**Figure 3, page 323**

Title page of William Radclyffe, Historical Memoirs of Some of the Radclyffe Family. James Marshall and Marie-Louise Osborn Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

**Figure 4, page 324**

Pedigree of the Radclyffes of Todmorden, the work of William Radclyffe. Reproduced by permission of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Courtauld.

**Figure 5a, page 324**

Cartouche at the head of an illuminated pedigree of the Radclyffes of Foxdenton, the work of William Radclyffe. Photograph supplied by courtesy of Mr. Nicholas Radclyffe.

**Figure 5b, page 325**

The Foxdenton armorial achievement, the work of William Radclyffe. Photograph supplied by courtesy of Mr. Nicholas Radclyffe.

**Figure 6, page 326**

Diary volume for 1813/14; front cover bearing Radclyffe's note of a letter dated 29 November 1814, giving news of the death of Lord Newburgh, on 28 November.

**Figure 7, page 327**

Elizabeth Radclyffe. Attrib. J. Stevens, 1814-15. Reproduced by courtesy of the College of Arms.

**Figure 8, page 328**

Lt. Col. Charles Edward Radclyffe. Artist unknown. Reproduced by courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Courtauld.

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# ILLUSTRATIONS

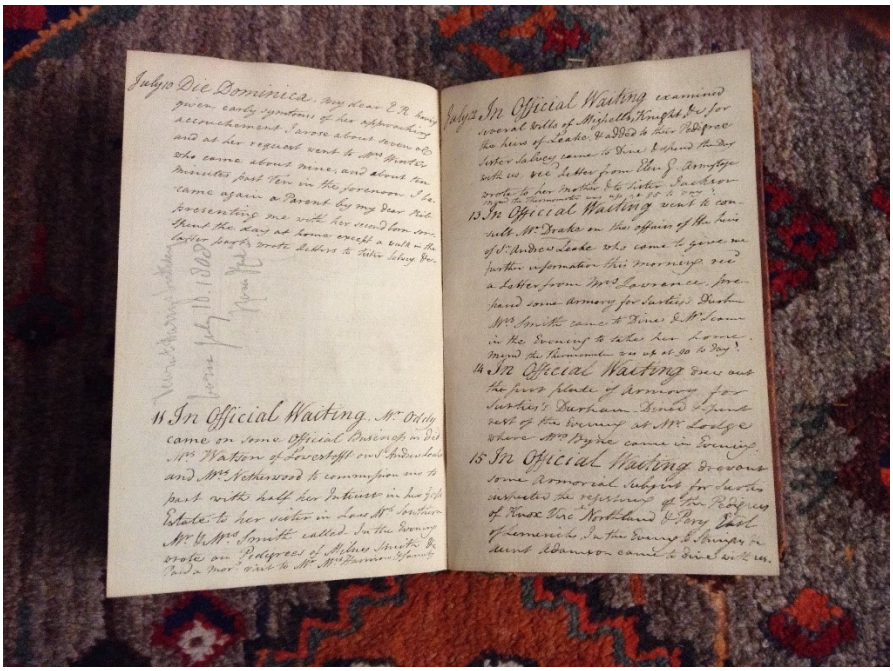


**Figure 2:** Diary pages for 10-15 July 1808, recording the birth of Radclyffe's second son, Henry; observe the pencil note by Rosa Radclyffe, Henry's wife, in the space beneath the first entry.

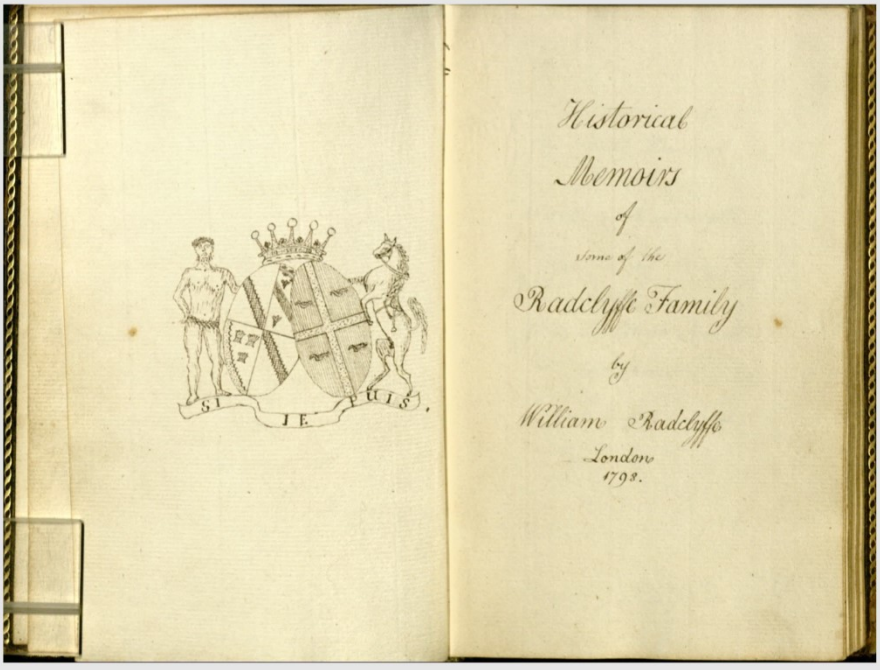



**Figure 3:** Title page of *William Radclyffe, Historical Memoirs of Some of the Radclyffe Family*. James Marshall and Marie-Louise Osborn Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

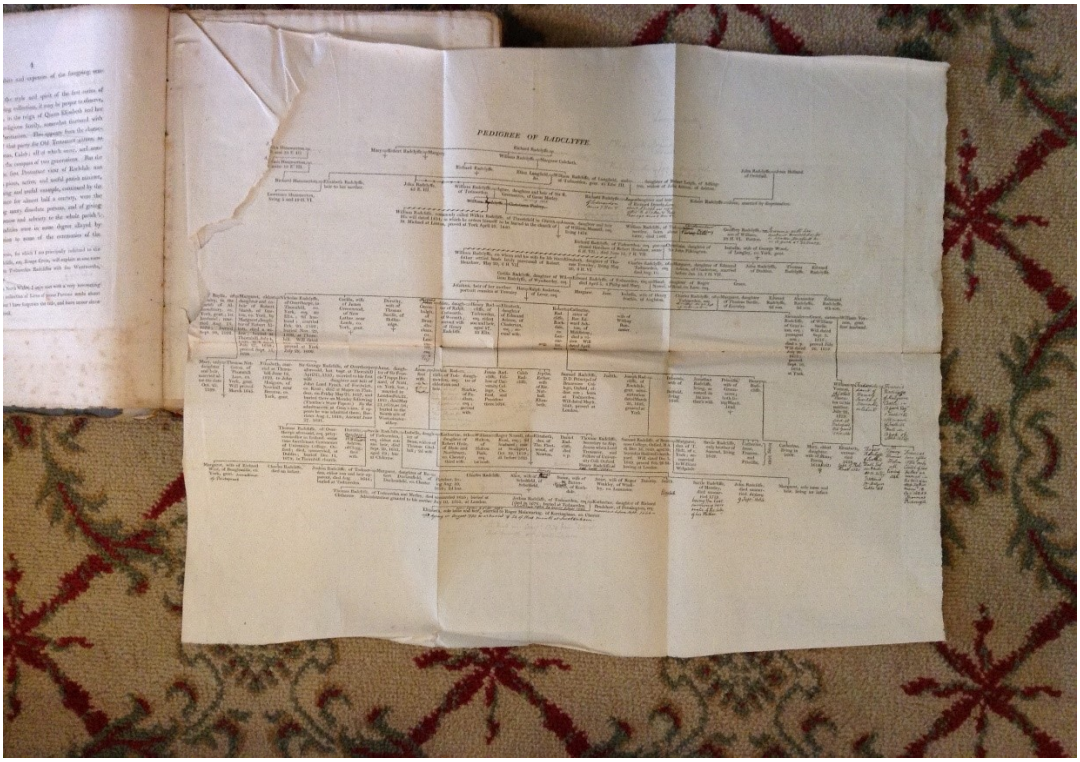



**Figure 4:** Pedigree of the Radclyffes of Todmorden, the work of William Radclyffe. Reproduced by permission of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Courtauld.




**Figure 5a:** Cartouche at the head of an illuminated pedigree of the Radclyffes of Foxdenton, the work of William Radclyffe. Photograph supplied by courtesy of Mr. Nicholas Radclyffe.




**Figure 5b:** The Foxdenton armorial achievement, the work of William Radclyffe. Photograph supplied by courtesy of Mr. Nicholas Radclyffe.

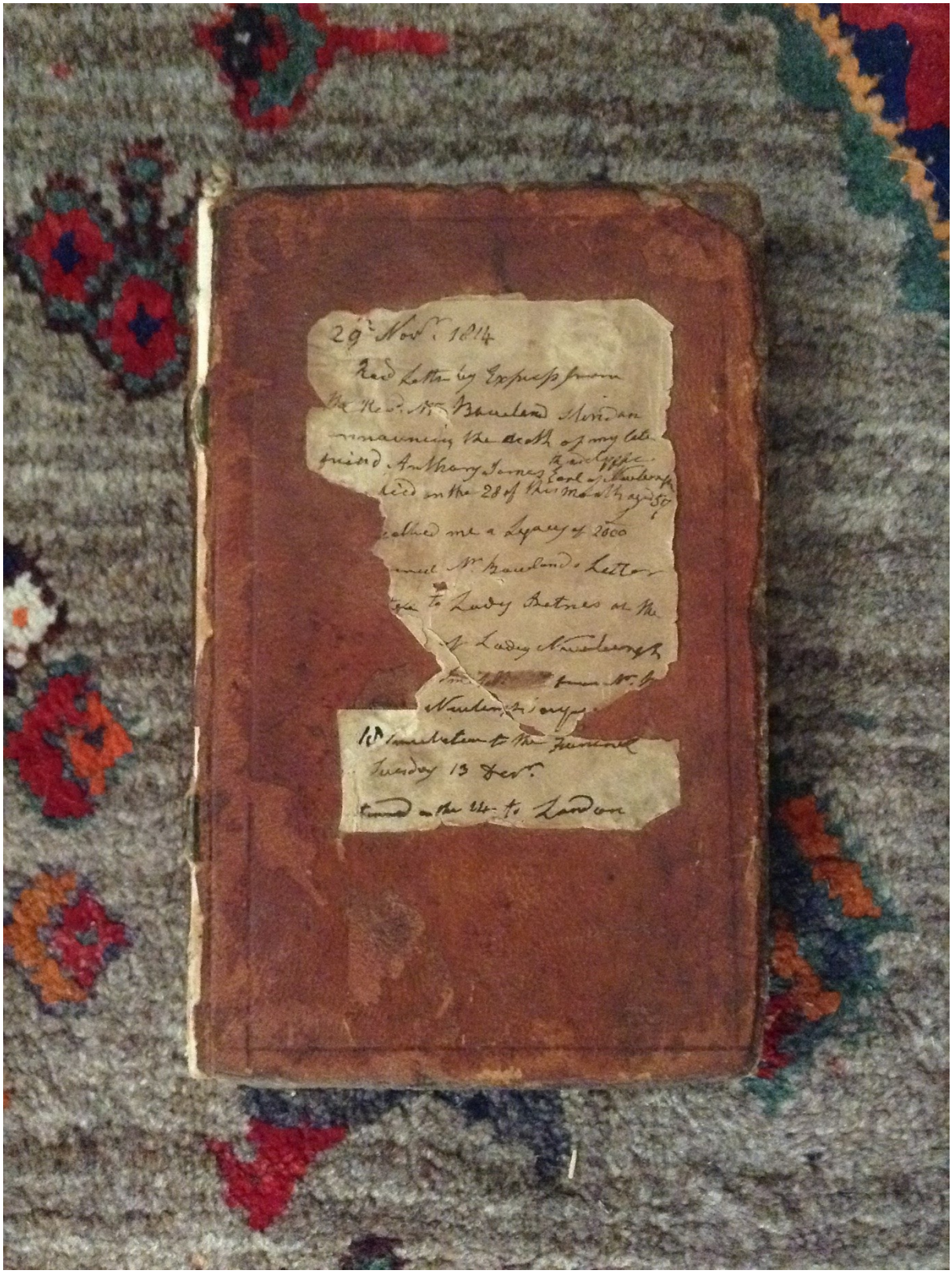



**Figure 6:** Diary volume for 1813/14; front cover bearing Radclyffe's note of a letter dated 29 November 1814, giving news of the death of Lord Newburgh, on 28 November.



**Figure 7:** Elizabeth Radclyffe, attrib. J. Stevens. Reproduced by permission of the College of Arms, London.



**Figure 8:** Lt. Col. Charles Edward Radclyffe, 1st (Royal) Dragoons. Reproduced by permission of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Courtauld.