

THREE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY RECTORS OF EUSTON AND A VERSE IN THE PARISH REGISTER

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BETWEEN 9 APRIL 1648 and 7 June 1657 there are no entries in the parish register for Euston, but the space is filled with the following verse:

When Traytors domineerd in Saints disguise
and Hell-gott Presbytereans made their Prize
Off Charles the first the Church and State were torne.
And in black stormes of warre laye both forlorne.
Then Loyall Preists in their just rights were crost
And then this booke nine years and more was lost
If thou art greived cause here thou hast noe place
And canst not find thy yeare and daye of Grace
To King and Keyser render still whats due
And curse that Hell-gott Presbyterean Crue.¹

Gaps in parish register entries are by no means unusual in the turbulent period of the Civil War and Commonwealth, but no other register for a Suffolk parish has interpolated an inflammatory verse expressive of the strongest Royalist sentiments. This paper is an attempt to fill in the background and personalities involved.

Euston in the first half of the 17th century was a modest rural parish entirely dominated by its great house, Euston Hall. Edward Rokewood, a member of the Roman Catholic family of Coldham Hall, Stanningfield, was lord of the manor and patron of the living; the small group of local inhabitants were almost all his tenants.

From 1630 to 1645 the Rector of Euston was a young man named William Short, a somewhat shadowy figure about whom we know little more than a few basic facts. According to Venn he was the son of Thomas Short, born in Bury St Edmunds in 1606 and educated at the Grammar School there under the successful and well-regarded High Master, John Dickinson. In 1624 he went up to Pembroke College, Cambridge, where his brother Richard was already studying medicine, matriculating in the following year. He obtained his B.A. in 1628 and his M.A. in 1631, by which time he had already been presented to the Euston living (Venn 1922, IV, 68). His wife was called Mary, but I have not been able to trace a reference to her maiden name or to when and where they were married. Of their three children, John, Thomas and Mary, only the two latter were baptised at Euston, Mary in 1632 and Thomas in 1635. Both were born on 25 November. In 1643 William Short was left a widower; an entry in the register for 9 March records the burial of 'Mary, the wife of William Short, rectoris istius ecclesiae'.

With so little surviving evidence it is difficult to draw many conclusions about William Short as a personality. The ecclesiastical commitments of such a small parish can scarcely have been onerous, especially since he seems always to have employed a curate to perform the day-to-day duties of the church; his life must have been mainly that of a country gentleman. The fact that entries in the parish register during his incumbency were usually written in Latin if they referred to members of his family or to the gentry could imply a marked respect for social status not unusual at the time, while sporadic references to saints' days suggest a strong Laudian tendency: his children Mary and Thomas were born 'in festo S. Catherin Virgo', and Thomas was baptised five days later 'in festo S. Andrea' (30 November).

This is scarcely surprising in a parish where the patron of the living was a known recusant, but for a priest with such views sequestration by the Parliamentarians was virtually inevitable, bringing to an abrupt end his pleasant, leisurely existence. On 20 June 1645 the Revd Robert Stafford was introduced to Euston in his stead, and on 23 August an order was made 'that John, Thomas and Ann² Short, children of William Short, from whom Euston Rectory is sequestered, have 1/5th profits, provided no cause to the contrary be found by the Committee of Parliament in Suffolk' (Redstone 1908, 151). The allocation of a fifth of the proceeds of the living towards the support of the wife and family of a priest whose living had been sequestered was the normal practice laid down by Parliamentary Ordinance of 22 January 1643/4 (Firth and Rait 1911, 1, 371). Since in this case it is allocated to the children only it is evident that Short had not remarried.

Robert Stafford, who was five years older than William Short, was the son of Richard Stafford, who had been Vicar of Whelnetnam and Rector of Woolverstone. Again the basic information comes from Venn: he was born in 1601 and, like Short, was educated at the Grammar School at Bury St Edmunds under John Dickinson. He was a pensioner at Caius College, Cambridge, in 1618/9, taking his B.A. from Emmanuel in 1622/3 and his M.A. in 1629. In the same year he was ordained priest at Ely, but according to the lax ecclesiastical usages of the day, he had already been appointed Rector of the Suffolk parish of Ampton in 1624 (Venn 1922, iv, 142). The patron of the living was William Whettell, a connection by marriage of the Calthorpe family, and a friend of Sir William Spring of Pakenham, later to be a leading member of the Committee of Parliament in Suffolk. In his very long will of 1628/9 William Whettell left bequests to numerous relations, friends and servants, to the ministers of Elveden and Livermere, and 'to Mr Stafford . . .'. These bequests are hedged about with detailed instructions and provisos, none more so than Robert Stafford's:

Item I give to Mr Stafford the new parson of Ampton tenn pounds a yeare Annuity for his better meanes and mayntenance during his contynuanee and Residencye uppon the Rectory of Ampton, and my meaning and pleasure is that if contrarye to his solemn promise in verbo sacerdotis made unto mee when I freelic presented him to the Rectorie of Ampton, he promisinge and undertaking that if God disposed him to marriage he would forthwith and without all manner of delaie resigne and give upp into his Patrons hand the [*illegible abbreviation*] of the manner of Ampton the said Rectorie of Ampton that he might accordingly present some other who would continue unmarried. Now if the said Mr Stafford shall by any devise and practize goe about to frustrate his solemn promise made herein, which God forbid, should once enter into his thought, Then my meaning is that this Annuell stipend of tenn pounds which I confer upon him be presentlie voide and frustrated; and my will and pleasure is that he continue in my nephew Calthropes [*sic*] house, the new manor house of Ampton upon the Tearmes he now is in for his Diett chamber and washing without any defalcation of the £30 per annum which is uppon the Devise of the Rectorye of Ampton, And uppon this addition of this tenn pounds to enjoye; And my further will and pleasure is that the said Mr Stafford doe orderlie and ordinarily every Sabbath day in the afternoone, in a sett course without some lawfull impediment to the contrarie goe on in the exposition of the tenn Commandments and Creed for the better informing of his congregation in the sound principles of Religion, And if he performe not this dewtie then that my addition of tenn pounds per annum doe cease and be voyde. . . .³

Apart from the light which his will throws upon the character of William Whettell himself, it provides us with useful details about Robert Stafford's early career. It appears

that he was living at Ampton more as a domestic chaplain than as the rector of the parish in the accepted sense, with perhaps some instruction of the children of the family included in his duties. Certainly, at a much later stage, when he was established as Vicar of Pakenham, his parsonage included a 'Schoolhouse'. The household in which he was living was puritanical, but the Calthorpes were not extremists, taking little active part in the subsequent hostilities; while the emphasis which William Whettell placed on Stafford's instruction of his congregation bears out its essentially orthodox nature.

The threatened loss of his living and the ten pounds annuity did not deter Robert Stafford for long from thoughts of matrimony, but the new patron of Ampton, Whettell's 'nephew Calthrope', was evidently content to allow him to remain as rector in spite of his marriage, which seems to have taken place about 1632. A son and two daughters of 'Robert Stafford Rectoris istius ecclesia, and Frances his wife' were baptised at Ampton between 1633 and 1639.⁴

Although Stafford did not resign the living at Ampton until 1647, he and his family may have taken up residence at Euston as soon as he was appointed rector. A son, born on 19 June 1645, was baptised there on 20 June, the same day as Stafford's induction. Stafford is described in the register entry as 'Minister of Ewston', but the corner of the page is torn, the word 'Minister' has been crossed out, and 'Intruded' is written above in very faint ink and an unidentifiable hand.

Stafford and Short must have been known to each other, for, in spite of a five-year difference of age, they had been fellow pupils at Bury St Edmunds, and for fifteen years they were incumbents of adjacent Suffolk parishes. Their very different churchmanship may well not have endeared them to each other, however, and not surprisingly matters did not go smoothly at Euston.

According to Matthews 'Note should be made of the attempt by sufferers in 1647 to recover their livings, or at any rate their tithes . . . Riotous scenes occurred in some parishes . . .' (Matthews 1948, xxv). Events at Euston fit very well into this pattern. It seems likely that William Short remained in the parish, perhaps provided with alternative accommodation by the sympathetic Edward Rokewood. On 1 July 1647 a 'Dispute between Robert Stafford to whom Euston Rectory is sequestered and Mr Short the Sequestered minister' was referred to the Committee of Parliament in Suffolk (Redstone 1908, 98), and two days later an order was made to Short 'from whom Euston Rectory is sequestered to the use of Robert Stafford, a godly and orthodox divine, to answer his contempt in detaining tithe wool from Stafford in combination with several of the parishioners . . .' (Redstone 1908, 100).

Sheep farming was an important agricultural element in north-western Suffolk, and the loss of tithe wool would have meant a significant drop in Stafford's income, all the more unwelcome since he had resigned the living of Ampton in the same year. The Committee followed up their order to Short with another 'to Edward Rokewood Esq., John Scultock the elder, Edward Greengrass, Henry Shredd, John Scultock the younger and Matthew Rogers to pay tithes to Mr Stafford, minister of Ewston' (Redstone 1908, 147). After this, nothing further is heard of William Short.

The description of Stafford as a 'godly and orthodox divine' makes it clear that his theology was acceptable to Parliamentary moderates, but he had not become an extremist, and he was certainly no Presbyterian upstart. In September 1645 Parliament, intent on suppressing the Church of England, had made an order for the setting up of Presbyterian Church Government throughout the country, and by a document dated 5 November 1645 Suffolk was divided into fourteen Precincts for Classical Presbyteries. This document was not issued until 1647, however, and the plan does not really seem to have been put into

effect, Presbyterian power being crippled as the war progressed. According to Venn, in 1647 Stafford was appointed a minister of the Ixworth Classis, the 'Tenth Division' which covered the Hundred of Blackbourne, but this is not confirmed by Browne, whose list of ministers for the Tenth Division does not include Stafford (Browne 1877, App. v, 610). Indeed, in May 1646 Stafford had been one of the 163 Suffolk ministers who signed a joint petition to Parliament from Suffolk and Essex, asking for a settlement of church government and the suppression of schism and heresy.

In 1648 Stafford was appointed Vicar of Pakenham on the death of the previous incumbent, Edward Wright, 'the said Mr Stafford being thereunto presented under the hand and seal of Sir William Spring, bt., the lawful patron, pleno jure'.⁵ He appears to have moved from Euston to Pakenham quite soon after his new appointment; in November 1649 his daughter Susanna was baptised at Pakenham, and several more children subsequently.⁶ Other Staffords are named in the Pakenham register, and it may well be that he had family connections with the parish, which would explain Sir William Spring's acquaintance with him. It may even have been Sir William who first brought him to the attention of his friend William Whettell at Ampton in the 1620s. Whatever the background, Stafford would have found the puritanical church atmosphere of a parish like Pakenham a good deal more congenial than the high Anglicanism of Euston.

We now come to the point when the Euston parish register was, according to the verse, lost. The last entry is for 9 April 1648 and it is impossible to escape the conclusion that there is a close link between its disappearance and the departure of Robert Stafford for Pakenham. What that link is, however, is much more difficult to decide. Between 1638 and 1647/8 entries in the register are all in the same hand, presumably that of a curate who, after William Short's sequestration, continued to act for Robert Stafford, who probably knew him already. Few records of the appointment of curates are kept at any time, and none has survived for this particularly unsettled period; we have no means of knowing who the curate was. 'How the assistant priests fared we have practically nothing to tell us', wrote Matthews, but it is clear that their situation was a particularly unhappy one. Perhaps faced with destitution, the Euston curate cannot be blamed for transferring his allegiance from the Laudian Short to the Puritanical Stafford, financial necessity having dictated a certain theological flexibility. It says something, too, for Robert Stafford's relative moderation of outlook that he allowed the curate to remain, at least until his own departure.

All three of the clerics involved, Short, Stafford and the unknown curate, had motives for removing the register at this stage. The book itself, the first in the Euston series, is a small, neatly-kept leather-bound volume not at all difficult to remove or conceal. If, as seems likely, the curate was obliged to depart at the same time as Stafford, he was in a good position to remove it, more probably to pass it over to Short than on his own behalf. Short himself, who succeeded in attracting some of his tithes back in 1647, may have taken the book in the hope of repossessing his living in Stafford's absence. Similarly Stafford, aware of this possibility, may have taken the book with him to Pakenham: arguably, he is the most likely culprit. He does not appear to have resigned the Euston living at this stage, but, although there is no evidence of what provision he made for the conduct of services there in his absence, he would not have wished the register to fall into Short's hands.

If the disappearance of the Euston register in 1648 is difficult to account for, its reappearance in the summer of 1657 is equally hard to explain, for it coincides with no recognisable national or local event. For Euston itself, 1655 had been a significant year, for it was then that '... the estate seems to have passed to Sir George Fielding, Earl of Desmond ... He was the second son of William, first Earl of Denbigh by Susan, daughter of

Sir George Villiers and sister of George Villiers Duke of Buckingham' (Copinger 1905, 293). (It is interesting that a Villiers connection with Euston Hall was thus established well before Lord Arlington purchased the property and subsequently married his only child to the first Duke of Grafton, whose mother was a Villiers.) In the same year another incumbent was appointed to the Euston living. This was the Revd Robert Mathew, who prior to his sequestration had been Rector of St Andrew in the Wardrobe in London, where he is known to have been at least until 1648 (Venn 1922, III, 162).

Robert Mathew was appointed to the Euston living after having been vetted by Cromwell's Board of Triers, a body set up to investigate the cases of those clergy who 'after years of deprivation submitted to seeking . . . approval . . . and thus gaining admission to a living' (Matthews 1948, xxvi). Once again, there are social and educational links with the other two rectors: he was fourteen years younger than Robert Stafford and nine years younger than William Short and was perhaps not personally acquainted with either, but he came from the same social background and educational milieu. He was born in 1615, the son of John Mathew, a gentleman of Wiggenhall St Mary Magdalene in Norfolk, and was educated at the Grammar School at Bury St Edmunds under Mr Dickinson. He was admitted pensioner at Caius (the same college as Robert Stafford) in 1633, and took his B.A. in 1636/7 and his M.A. in 1640, having been ordained priest in 1638.

The absence of the parish register on Robert Mathew's arrival at Euston need have caused him little concern, for the secularising intentions of Parliament had already led them in August 1653 to produce an 'Act touching Marriages and the Registration thereof; and also touching Births and Burials'.⁷ This replaced the need for a register kept by the parson of a parish by a record made by a lay person, to be called the 'Parish Register', elected to keep a written record of all marriages, births and deaths, and to register them before a J.P. Thus marriage became a purely civil contract, and baptism could be dispensed with. A small charge was to be made for all marriages, births and deaths, and the 'Parish Register' was to stay in office for three years. This Act, clearly aimed at limiting the hold of the Church on the most significant events of everyday life, remained in force until Parliament finally dissolved itself by an Act of 16 March 1659/60, after a term of almost twenty years. In beginning to keep the Euston register again in June 1657 Robert Mathew was breaking the law, but the ruling on marriage ceremonies in particular was deeply resented, and it is interesting that one of the earliest entries after the register's return is of the marriage of the Earl of Desmond's daughter, presumably solemnised in the church. The possibility that the earlier entries were copied in after the Restoration seems unlikely, first because it would have been more logical for Mathew to copy them in from 1655 onwards, when his incumbency began, and secondly because the verse specifies that the book was lost for 'nine years and more'. The precise gap between the last and first entries is nine years and two months.

If Robert Stafford, by then firmly entrenched at Pakenham, had been withholding the register, then its return could indicate that he had become convinced in the meantime of the satisfactory nature of Robert Mathew's churchmanship. The explosive nature of the verse amply demonstrates, however, that any change had been only skin deep. For there is no doubt that it was Robert Mathew who wrote it into the register, and, although we have no other example of his versifying, he is the most likely person, in view of its content, to have composed it as well. It is carefully written, with flourishes to the frequent capitals, but it is basically in the same hand in which the whole parish register was kept from that time until Robert Mathew's death in 1682. His incumbency was a long one, and he does not seem to have employed any curates.

The long period of Robert Mathew's stay as Rector of Euston saw many changes in the

parish which must have had a considerable influence on him. In 1662, the old ways having returned, he was presented to the living by the Earl of Desmond and formally inducted. The Earl had only just become patron of the living, for his predecessor, Edward Rokewood, described in the register entry as 'late patron of this Church', was buried in the chancel in March 1662. In February 1665/6 the Earl himself died and was 'buried in the Body of the Chancell under the great stone on the right hand as ye goe up to the Altar'. Later in the same year, 1666, the estate was bought by Sir Henry Bennet, Lord Arlington, who rapidly set about the laying-out of the grounds and the remodelling and considerable enlargement of the old Hall, which had been occupied from the later 15th century by generations of the Rokewood family, and during the previous decade by the Earl of Desmond.

Laying out the park at Euston involved Robert Mathew in moving house. The rectory which had been occupied by William Short, Robert Stafford and Mathew himself was situated within the park on a plot of land two acres and one rood in extent. Its precise position is not known, but it was 'part of the Glebe Land belonging to the Rectory of Euston' and stood 'upon the Land of . . . Lord Arlington towards the east, north and south, and upon the common river there towards the west . . .'.⁸ The most likely site would be somewhere along the river to the north of the present Hall. Nothing is known either about the house itself, except that in 1662 Mathew paid Hearth Tax on four hearths, which could mean that it contained a characteristic internal chimney-stack with back-to-back hearths on the ground and first floors (Colman 1972, 177).

In 1668 Lord Arlington and Mathew signed a deed of exchange whereby a similar-sized piece of land was granted outside the Park 'abutting upon the Lands of the said Henry, Lord Arlington now in the occupation of Thomas Drury, gent. towards the east and north, upon the King's Highway leading from Bury St Edmunds to Rushford towards the south and upon the Common river towards the west . . .'.⁹ This seems indisputably to be the plot on which the house and garden of the Old Rectory now stand.

In 1677 John Evelyn the diarist spent nearly three weeks at Euston Hall as the guest of Lord Arlington and wrote enthusiastically of all the improvements which had been made to the Hall and estate (Bray 1907, 117 *et seq.*). According to him, Robert Mathew, who may well have been a somewhat quirky character anyway, was not best pleased with his enforced move, 'murmuring that my Lord put him some time out of his wretched hovel . . .'. In fact, in Evelyn's view Mathew did not deserve his new house at all. He was, of course, writing some nine years after the exchange had taken place and was strongly partisan, having only heard and perhaps exaggerated Lord Arlington's account of the affair, for the four-hearth house in which Mathew had previously lived may have been old and out of repair, but cannot by any stretch of imagination have been a hovel.

The deed of exchange between Lord Arlington and Robert Mathew specifies a 'Messuage or Tenement and a barn therewith belonging' on the new site, which implies that there was already a dwelling on it. Perhaps this was a 'miserable hovel' which either formed the nucleus of the house which Lord Arlington provided, or was demolished to make way for it; the present evidence makes it impossible to say with certainty, for the house now is largely the product of 18th-century and 19th-century alterations and enlargements, and only fragments of 17th-century timberwork remain at the rear. Whatever course was adopted, the new rectory was clearly a substantial house, as later information shows, and in 1674 Mathew again paid Hearth Tax on four hearths (Harvey 1905, 103).

During the same visit John Evelyn also wrote with approbation about Lord Arlington's major reconstruction of the parish church at Euston, completed in the previous year, 1676. This was the other notable change during Robert Mathew's incumbency. Little is known

about the earlier church, except that by the mid-17th century it had a ruinous south aisle and was altogether in a dilapidated and 'crazy' condition,¹⁰ scarcely surprising after the vagaries not only of the immediate past, but also of the 16th century, when ecclesiastical upheavals left so many churches neglected and decayed. Under Lord Arlington the older structure was encased in brick and considerably enlarged, and an extra stage was added to the tower. The extent of the alterations created what was in effect a new building, the only complete example in Suffolk of a church in the Baroque style.

Robert Mathew died in November 1682 at the age of sixty-seven. His will, made in the previous month, was proved on 22 November.¹¹ He had no children, and the bulk of his estate went to Jane, his 'beloved wife'. There were several small bequests to kinsmen living in Norfolk, and he directed that he should be buried 'at the East end of the Chancell in the Churchyard at Ewston'. His probate inventory furnishes more details of the house which Lord Arlington had provided: it contained ten rooms, a hall, kitchen and little parlour with chambers above, a great parlour with his own bedchamber over it, a buttery and a dairy, as well as a cellar. Outside was a barn, a brown mare, a 'Brended Cow', poultry and ten shillings-worth of 'muck in the yard'. 'Corne and Haye in the Barne and Yard' were valued at £35. The overall picture is pleasant, prosperous and markedly agricultural. The appraisers arrived at a total value of £249 19s. 8d.¹²

All the evidence suggests that fortune also continued to smile upon Robert Stafford. He remained at Pakenham, and his death there in September 1661 saved him from any of the heart-searchings he might possibly have suffered at the provisions of the 1662 Act of Uniformity. Although no will survives, his probate inventory shows him to have been a prosperous man, with a list of possessions valued at just over £335.¹³ He presumably lived in the former vicarage at Pakenham, now called Mulberry House, which lies immediately to the north of the church, a rambling 16th-century house, considerably altered and extended in the 19th century, but clearly substantial and comfortable in his day. The extent of his belongings implies that he may well have inherited more over the years than the £10 per annum bequeathed to him by William Whettell. He had a well-furnished parlour, hall, kitchen, brewhouse and buttery, the three latter remarkably well equipped with utensils; a parlour chamber and hall chamber, and a closet with quantities of linen, including eighteen pairs of sheets, plate worth £5 and '40 peeces of pewter'. In the corn chamber, inter alia, were fifteen cheeses, and in his study books valued at £20. His 'good debts' amounted to £195. There was a horse in the stable, two cows in the pasture and corn in the barn worth £10. Frances Stafford survived her husband for sixteen years. Her will, proved in 1677,¹⁴ is brief and not very informative, although mention of 'bills, Bonds, Leases, Mortgages, Goods and Household stuff' indicates that she had inherited most of her husband's possessions and continued to live in comfortable circumstances. She appears to have been mainly concerned to give details of her clothing, including such items as a 'sadd coloured loose coat' and a 'redd Coate', which she was leaving to her daughter Dorothy.

By contrast with the amount known about Robert Stafford and Robert Mathew, there is an almost total absence of information about William Short. After his partially successful attempt to regain his tithes in 1647 he disappears completely, and since his family came from Bury St Edmunds he may well have returned there. In spite of the loss of his living at Euston it seems unlikely that he suffered any real financial hardship. His relations, especially his elder brother Richard, 'Doctor of Physicke' (Venn 1922, iv, 68), would have been in a position to assist him, and there was evidently sufficient money to send his son Thomas to the Grammar School in Bury St Edmunds and subsequently to St John's College, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. in 1653/4 (Venn 1922, iv, 68). Thomas later took up medicine, becoming quite famous in London, where he practised as a physician,

even being called to treat King Charles II (*D.N.B.* LII, 154). Perhaps more relevant to our purpose, he became a Roman Catholic; the question arises whether William Short did also. This is one possible explanation for his failure to claim back his living at Euston after the Restoration, and is a course of action which would presumably have been welcomed and abetted by his patron, Edward Rokewood, himself a recusant. If Short, rather than Robert Stafford, had secreted the parish register, this could be one explanation for its return at an otherwise unexpected date. The other possible explanation is that William Short died at Euston early in 1657 and the register book was found amongst his effects. In either event there would have been no record.

Each parish is unique, but similar events to those at Euston were taking place in many Suffolk parishes during the troubled years of the Civil War and Commonwealth. This partly successful attempt to discover in more detail what was happening at Euston helps to bring out the complex network of shared status and education which linked virtually all the county's Anglican parsons, regardless of their religious and political persuasions. Most sprang from the same social and economic background, as members of gentry families, often with a strong clerical slant. Like two out of three of those at Euston, many were the sons of parsons holding Suffolk livings. Virtually all incumbents in Suffolk were Cambridge graduates: two of the Euston three went to the same college; and, like all three, many would have been educated under Mr Dickinson at the Grammar School at Bury St Edmunds. Again, like the Euston trio, private means may well have prevented real financial hardship at the loss of their livings and tithes, but they were joined by ties of acquaintance and relationship which could be disastrously torn by the antagonism springing from changed circumstances and differing beliefs.

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NOTES

- 1 Euston parish register, vol. 1 (1566-1709), S.R.O.B., FL 566/4/1.
- 2 This must be in error for 'Mary'.
- 3 Will of William Whettell, S.R.O.B., HD 921/1.
- 4 Ampton parish register, S.R.O.B., FL 519: 469/4/1.
- 5 S.R.O.B., FL 519/13/71.
- 6 Pakenham parish register, S.R.O.B., FL 614/4.
- 7 Ordinance of 24 Aug. 1653, Firth and Rait 1911.
- 8 S.R.O.B., FL 566/3/12.
- 9 *Ibid.*
- 10 Licence, 19 Jan. 1675, from the Bishop of Norwich, granting permission to Lord Arlington to rebuild Euston church (framed copy in the church).
- 11 Will of Robert Mathew, S.R.O.B., IC 500/1/136/11.
- 12 S.R.O.B., IC 500/3/21/108.
- 13 S.R.O.B., IC 500/3/6/143.
- 14 Will of Frances Stafford, S.R.O.B., (Read 432) IC 500/1/66/432.

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Abbreviations

- D.N.B. *Dictionary of National Biography*.
- S.R.O.B. Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmunds Branch.