

**Whose Story?
Heritage, diversity and
interpretation.**

at Charlecote Park

A report prepared for the National Trust

by

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Whose Story? Charlecote

The country houses of England are sites of interconnected histories of people and places. Charlecote, as this report will show, is no exception. The report is organised into three sections: the portrait of Captain Thomas Lucy; Indian artefacts; and the Fairfax connection.

1. Captain Thomas Lucy and the Black Servant

Sir Godfrey Kneller dominated English portraiture from the death of Lely in 1680 to the rise of Hogarth in the 1730s. His life as a portrait painter covered the reigns of six sovereigns, each of whom sat for him. Kneller had been born in Lubeck, studied in Amsterdam under Rembrandt and arrived in England in 1676. Stewart, Kneller's biographer, wrote of his painting of Captain Thomas Lucy (1642-84) completed in 1680 that its 'colour is brilliant and startling' and that Lucy was painted in the uniform he actually wore as a Captain in the Household Guards. Lucy is wearing a long yellowish-brown coat, with large blue, gold and white cuffs and black riding boots. His black page is dressed in blue with a metal collar around his neck. His charger is white and there is a cavalcade of mounted figures in the background. The inclusion of such realistic details of gentry life in a portrait was, according to Stewart, unusual at this date. Kneller painted other pictures of a similar composition and also included black slaves in several portraits. There are preliminary drawings of black pages from c1685-90 and he painted a portrait of Ahmed Iben Ahmed, Quadran-Nasir, Moorish Ambassador to England, 1706-07. Other artists followed his style: William Wissing painted a portrait of Mary Grimston in 1683-4 and John Smith painted a portrait of Lady Mary (Somerset), Duchess of Ormonde in c 1690, in both paintings they are presented with their black servants (see Stewart, 1983, passim and Appendices). Such portraits became even more commonplace in eighteenth century England as slaves became extremely fashionable (see *The Family of Sir William Young*, c 1770 in the Appendices).

Who is the black boy in the portrait of Captain Lucy? It was commonplace in this period for the owners of slaves to have them christened. There is no reference to the christening, marriage or burial of a black slave in Charlecote Parish Registers [Warwick Record Office] who would fit with the young boy shown in the painting. There is, however, a later entry in the register: '1735 May 1st Was baptised Philip Lucy a black Child of about 6 Years old'. Could the two be related? Male fertility does not preclude this possibility, but the entry suggests this not to be the case as it was normal in the register to include the names of the parents. More likely, this child was not related but rather was another black male servant and possibly in the service of Frances, the widow of the Reverend William Lucy and her nephew Thomas Lucy [d. 1744] who ran Charlecote after the death of Colonel George Lucy in 1721.

There is evidence both of other black slaves being in Warwickshire around this time and of some form of connections between them and the Lucy family. In Idlicote on January 1st 1690, the Rector of Oxhill, Thomas Meese, baptised a young black girl 'Margaret Lucy, belonging to ye Lady Underhill'. The Lucy's were related to the Underhill family through the marriage of Alice, daughter of the third Sir Thomas Lucy

(1585-1640), to Sir William Underhill of Idlicote. Oxhill parish registers also note the baptism on 29th December, 1690 of 'Will Archus' an adult black male. Could Archus be the boy in the portrait? In Oxhill churchyard there is also a headstone inscribed: 'Here lyeth the body of Myrtilia, negro slave to Mr Thos. Beauchamp of Nevis. Bapt Oct ye 20th. Buried Jan ye 6th, 1705' [see appendices]. Jim Layton, the historian of the early black presence in Warwickshire believes Beauchamp had a sugar plantation at Nevis, in the Leeward Islands and brought Myrtilia to England. Beauchamp married the daughter of Rector Meese.

This raises the question of how the boy in the picture came to be in the possession of Captain Thomas Lucy. Several possible explanations can be offered: he was bought locally; the Lucy's had estates in the Caribbean; Captain Thomas Lucy acquired him during his military service.

Slave Sales

There is evidence of a slave sale at Lichfield in November, 1771:

To be SOLD by AUCTION

To be SOLD

A Young CREOLE SLAVE, about 21 Years of Age, can Dress and Shave compleatly, and look after Horses, talks very good English: Any person wanting such a Black, by applying to the Printer may be informed of his Price.

N.B. He never drank any Kind of Spirit

A NEGROE BOY from Africa, supposed to be about ten or eleve Years of Age, he is remarkably ... well portioned, speaks tolerable good English, of a mild Disposition, friendly, officious, sound, healthy, fond of Labour, and for Colour an excellent fine Black.

Aris's Gazette, November 1771

This is currently the earliest reference we have to a local slave sale and though it is from nearly a hundred years later it is indicative of process, attitudes and language.

Family links with the 'Americas and the West Indies'

In the *Colonial Papers: America and the West Indies, 1677-1680* there is a petition to the Government from 'gentlemen plantation owners of Barbados', which includes a 'Mr Lucy'. The petition expressed concern:

That the conversion of their slaves to Christianity would not only destroy their property but endanger the island, inasmuch as converted negroes grow more perverse and intractable than others, and hence of less value for labour and sale. The disproportion of blacks to whites being great, the whites have no greater security than the diversity of the negroes languages, which would be destroyed by conversion, in that it would be necessary to teach them all English. The negroes are a sort of people so averse to learning that they will rather hang themselves or run away than submit to it.

There is a later reference (*Colonial Papers: America and the West Indies, 1681-1685*) to the Lucy family having land in Antigua, but 'Mr Lucy' is identified as one Jacob Lucy and there is no evidence that this was a related branch of the Charlecote Lucys. That said, the content of the petition is a valuable reflection of contemporary attitudes and other Warwickshire families did have plantations in the West Indies, notably the Greathead family of Leamington Spa and, as already identified, the Beauchamp family.

Military service

Black slaves were sometimes acquired during military service in the West Indies. It was not uncommon in the eighteenth century for regiments to have black bandsmen (see *Hidden Histories*). The Royal Warwickshire Regiment, known as the Sixth Foot before 1881, were sent to protect British interests in the Caribbean as early as 1772, when they were involved in the campaign in St Vincent against the Carib population. The Sixth Foot returned to the Caribbean in 1793 and was involved in campaigns against the French in Martinique, St Lucia, and Guadeloupe. The county connection sometimes was only nominal were numbers being raised for the Regiment from other parts of the country including Ireland (Kingsford, *passim*). There is no evidence of Captain Thomas Lucy having any links with the Warwickshire Regiment. There is, however, amongst the Lucy papers at Warwick Record Office a list of commissions held by Captain Thomas Lucy and his cousin, Davenport Lucy:

Military Records Rgt Horse Guard 1661

Capt Thomas Lucy, Company Royal Horse Guards from ...TO Coventry, 9 Jan 1682/3.

1. 1678 1st Nov Tho Lucy, Capt of ? in Rgt commanded by Duke of Monmouth
2. 13 July 1680 Thomas Lucy, Ensign, in Rgt commanded by Earl of Plymouth, Colonel of 2nd Tangier Regiment, 1680.
3. 1 April 1683 Commis. Tho Lucy, Lt in Company commanded by E. Hasting, 1st April, 1683, signed Kirke, Capt General of Forces in Africa and Gov of Tangier.
Percy Kirke, Col 1st Tangier Rgt from 2nd Tangier Rgt, Gov of Tangier 1682
- 4 Comms Tho Lucy in Rgt commanded by Col. Chas Trelawny, Oct 1683, Capt Garrison in Africa and Governor of Tangier
Chas Trelawny Col. 2 Tangiers Rgt, now 4th King's Own 1684.
5. Comms Tho Lucy Lt in Rgt of Foot, Col. Jackeman, 1st May 1684
6. Comms Tho Lucy Lt in Queen Consort's Rgt of Foot, Col Trelawny, 18 Feb 1684/5

Capt Thom Lucy RHG, died at Charlecote, 1684

Davenport Lucy first cousin of ye above succeeded to Charlecote Nov 1684 was resident there & killed at Siege of Athlone, Aug 27, 1690.

Captain [Davenport] Lucy, RHG, killed, a gentleman much lamented by all that know him. Aug 29, 1690.
(WRO Lucy L6/1686 Commissions)

The connection with Tangier and this sequence of commissions requires some further elaboration. In 1661 the Portuguese Ambassador arrived in London with the authority to:

Offer to His Majesty [Charles II] £500,000 sterling in ready money as a portion with the Infanta, and likewise to assign over and forever annex to the Crown of England the possession of Tangier ... a place of that strength and importance as would be of infinite benefit and security to the trade of England; he was to offer also free trade in Brazil and the East Indies and possession of the island of Bombayne (Routh: 2-3).

Charles II as part of his foreign policy chose to ally England with Portugal and married the Infanta, Catherine of Braganca. Tangier was the diplomatic capital of Morocco and, as part of the marriage settlement, offered English merchantmen a friendly port in the Straits and also a base from which to challenge the piracy that was rife in the Mediterranean¹. Tangier was also regarded by Europeans of this period as 'the White point where the last wave of European civilisation is lost in the great dead sea of African barbarism' (Budgett Meakin: p 87). Henry Mordaunt, Earl of Peterburgh was appointed Governor of Tangier in the same year and a regiment – 'Lord Peterburgh's' or 'the Governor's' Regiment - was raised specially for service at Tangier and arrived there in 1662. Subsequent governor's of Tangier were appointed to its command and the regiment was known by the name of the Colonel until 1680, when after the death of Colonel Sir Palmes Fairborne, it was usually styled the 'Old Regiment' or 'Old Tangier Regiment', in distinction from the reinforcements which were sent out. In 1682 Colonel Percy Kirke was appointed to the command of the old Tangier Regiment and a new regiment of foot – the 2nd Tangier Regiment - was raised and placed under the command of Sir Charles Trelawny. In the late 1670s the city became the object of a sustained offensive by Moors and eventually a decision was made to close the garrison and withdraw from Tangier. In the winter of 1683-4 all of the troops returned home (Routh: 251, 308-320).² According to Layton Thomas Lucy was 'Captain General of HM Forces and Governor of the garrison and City of Tangier' (Layton, p. 20), this is a misreading of the commission document. Clearly Thomas Lucy, held commissions in the Tangiers Regiment, but what is not clear is if he ever served with the regiment in Tangier.

The identity of the black boy and his connection with Lucy remains unclear, and will probably never be known, but in searching for his story, evidence regarding the

¹ Routh in a very emotive passage in his *Tangier England's* (1912) refers to these 'Barbary' pirates as the 'scourge of Christendom' and states that in Algiers alone at this time some 20,000-30,000 Europeans were held captive and were sold into slavery (pp 6-7).

² An ambassador – Alcaid Mohammed Ohadu or Ben Hadu - was sent by the Moors to Charles' court in 1682 and details of his activities and travels in England are recorded in contemporary journals, Routh, pp.223-228.

activities of the Lucy family and their connections has been assembled which points both to areas for further research and to possibilities for telling additional stories about the house and its inhabitants. Further, in the context of what we currently know about the history of the black presence in the region (and bearing in mind certain gaps in our knowledge about the painting itself eg where it was painted) Kneller's portrait maybe the earliest evidence of such a presence so far identified.³ Maybe, because Captain Thomas Lucy also had a house in London, where his wife Catherine resided, and where their daughter Elizabeth was born and it is equally possible that the portrait relates to his London life. Finally, and staying with Catherine Lucy (later wife of George, 1st Duke of Northumberland), Alice Fairfax Lucy recounts in her account of the family that Catherine, who was also painted by Kneller, 'had her own waiting women and footmen and a black page to hand her morning chocolate' (Fairfax-Lucy, p166). No evidence has been found relating to this black page, and it maybe the same page as in the portrait of Captain Thomas Lucy.

2. Indian artefacts

The eighteenth century witnessed increased contact between east and west as Britain's empire began to expand. Both men and women crossed continents, experienced different cultures and collected objects as they travelled. Objects from India and China, in particular, became fashionable. Sometimes the emergence of such objects in English country houses was a consequence of violent upheaval. Charlecote possesses several items which fall into this category - the 'booty' of imperial victory. When Tipu Sultan, the ruler of Mysore, was defeated at Seringapatam by the East India Company British in 1799, there was a chaotic night of looting and hundreds of individual soldiers collected their own bit of Seringapatam. The looting of early May was followed by a series of auctions in May and June, held by prize agents to raise cash for prize payments. Prize agents had been appointed by the army to add up Tipu's wealth - which under British conventions of war was now theirs - and to distribute it among the soldiers according to rank. When the counting was finished, the total prize came to £1,143,216 - about £90 million today. Surviving receipts from the auctions indicate that dozens of officers bought collectibles - silver boxes, ornamental swords, silk carpets. Many of these objects were soon made their way into private collections in country house drawing rooms as returning soldiers capitalised on a growing interest in all things India and particularly 'Tipu-iana'. William Beckford bought objects for Fonthill and Sir John Soane furnished a room in his house in Lincoln's Inn with Tipu's ivory chairs. Weapons, in particular, were widely sought and Lord Clive had three of Tipu's swords in his collection (now at Powis Castle) and Sir Walter Scott [see below] added one of Tipu's swords to his armoury collection at Abbotsford. The circulation of such objects brought the emerging agenda of imperial conquest into English homes. The miniature of Tipu Sultan and the eighteenth century sword at Charlecote may have journeyed through many hands after the fall of Tipu. Alternatively, they may have arrived later as a

³ Jim Layton in *Black People in Warwickshire's Past* (Educational Development Service, Leamington Spa: 1994) has an earlier reference from Warwick Castle accounts for the 6th February 1640: 'Thomas Hind, wages for himself and Jack Indian, six weeks'. This is one of those references which is open to interpretation eg Indian was simply Jack's surname and did not refer to the colour of his the skin (Layton, p.20).

consequence of the Indian uprising at the British in 1857 (Buddle, 1990; Cohn, 1996: pp 76-105; Jasanoff 2005: pp177-196)

The Warwickshire Regiment served in India (Bombay, Poona and Disa) in 1825 and again in 1857. The miniature portrait of Nana Sahib, son of the peshwa of the Marathas, who was involved in the uprising against the British in 1857, may have been brought back to Charlecote by Captain Pawlett-Lane. As Mary Elizabeth Lucy (1803-1889) recalled in her memoirs:

Six weeks after their marriage, Pawlett and poor Carry [her daughter Caroline] had the trial of parting. Pawlett was obliged to join his regiment in India at the beginning of that fearful mutiny and war but only six months later dear Carry had the happiness of having him back from India in perfect health and without a wound. He had been promoted to the rank of Major. He kindly brought me five pearls, they were part of the loot taken at Lucknow. I have had them set in two rings.

The same explanation could also account for the arrival of the 18th century jewelled sword and Tipu's miniature at Charlecote. Pawlett-Lane returned to India with his Regiment and his wife (but not their child) in c1860/61. Carry Pawlett-Lane was soon taken ill and wrote to her mother that since being in India she had been 'almost helpless with weakness'. She returned to England in 1863 'the shadow of her former self' and died in 1864. Among the items she brought back from India was an 'exquisite beetle's wing dress' (Lucy, 1985 pp106-26).

Finally, it is also possible that some of the earlier Indian artefacts may have been purchased by George Lucy Hammond from the Fonthill sale in 1823.

3. The Fairfax Family Connection

Sir George William Fairfax/ Vice Admiral Fairfax (1738-1813) married Margaret Charters and had seven children:

1. Joseph (died early)
2. Samuel (Bengal Civil Service, died in Calcutta, 1798; see below)
3. William George (died early)
4. Henry William (succeeded; see below)
5. Christian
6. Mary (later Mary Somerville; see below)
7. Margaret

Samuel Fairfax (1798)

Samuel Fairfax kept a diary, 1797-98, which covered his voyage from England to Madras, on board the *Earl Spencer*. The diary gives details of a short stay en route at the Cape of Good Hope, George's attitude to slavery and to the local population, and details of life in Madras:

1. Sept 7th 1797 (on arrival at the Cape)

I stopped at the Castle and enquired for my Cousin William Somerville, who is Garrison Surgeon. A soldier shewed us to the House – He was very much surprised at seeing us – he had not heard of my intention of coming out. He was looking very well –

2. Sept 16th 1797

On a visit about 5 miles into the country to see a Dutch trader Mynheer Bergh. His account of the dinner is punctuated by the Dutch and by the presence of slaves who serve the dinner. Then:

‘Mr Bergh has a great number of slaves, in this consists their principle riches, they sell at a very high price, some of them, that would seem incredible –

They are a poor broken spirited looking race, althou I belive they are in general well used – but still there is something so shocking in slavery to a Freeman – something so repugnant to Humanity, so disgraceful to Christianity that is astonishing that any man dares to assume to himself any of the sacred appellations and yet can stand up to defend this infamous and abominal [sic] practice. – I should think it must require a long time to enure [sic] or rather to harden a mans heart so that he may enjoy himself at the expense of his fellow creatures.

Some of these poor wretches, especially the old ones were the most frightfull [sic] and melancholy pictures of wretchedness I ever beheld. One would have supposed their looks alone would have melted any hearts that had the sense of feeling’.

3. Sept 1797

On a trip with Mr Dashood and William Somerville:

‘A little way from the Town there are several Gallows with 12 or 15 men hanging, some by the neck. Heels (?) on some have been broke on the wheel because they are all slaves. – Some of them [take?] what they call Mucks [?], which is a kind of ??? that seizes them from drinking Opium, Revenge, intoxication but from whatever cause it proceeds the moment they take it they run out into the streets with a kind of dagger they call a crease [?] and kill every Soul they meet without distinction generally beginning with the person they wish to be revenged on. There is a reward to the man that kills them for when they once begin they never stop and are never pardoned. Opium is forbid for this reason to be sold at the Cape to Slaves.

4. 22nd Sept 1797

Reflecting on conditions in the Cape:

‘If we [British] retain the Cape at the peace there will soon be a very great alteration on the appearance of this Country – for the narrow policy of the Dutch Govt. has retarded or rather put a total stop to any improvement that

could take place. The poor Hottentots have been very much misrepresented in the general opinion entertained of them. – They are a simple, innocent and harmless race, very tractable and if pains was taken with them, might be termed to good use’.

5. 22nd November 1797

Describing Sumatra:

‘The Inhabitants are of a very swarthy complexion but not black, they are very treacherous, it is not safe to land without being well armed...The natives who inhabit Up Calsia [?] Country are said to be Cannibals and eat human flesh.

6. 3rd December 1797

‘Madras from the Sea, has the appearance of being a very handsome place, the Houses made with Cocoa Nut Trees has a very fine effect, but a stranger is most miserably disappointed on entering the Town, it by no means corresponding with its appearance. It is divided into White and Black Town. – the former is entirely confined to within the Fort and is not of a great extent. The Houses in general are mean, very few good ones to be seen. The Governors which is the best, by no means comes up to my expectation...

The Black Town is of great extent, but not at all regular, there seem to be some really good Houses here. There are a great many White people live in it, as it is much cheaper than the White Town. There are a great number of Armenians here who are immensely rich....

They are like the Jews driven from their own Country, and scattered over all Asia, but are as remarkable for their strict honour and honesty, as the Jews are infamous for dishonesty’.

7. 4th February 1798

‘This day there was a human sacrifice in Calcutta, of a boy, by the Hindoos to their Goddels [?]’.

Mary Somerville (nee Fairfax (1780-1872)

Married (i) Samuel Greig (1778-1807)
(ii) William Somerville (1771-1860)

Mary Somerville (nee Fairfax) was Samuel’s sister and in Martha Somerville, *Personal recollections from early life to old age of Mary Somerville with recollections from her correspondence by her daughter Martha Somerville* (London: John Murray, 1873) there is an account of Samuel’s death. This relates how Sir William George Fairfax was rewarded for his actions at the (naval) Battle of Camperdown in October 1797. One informal reward was an agreement with the President of the East India Company that

Samuel would be appointed as a Writer for the Bengal Civil Service. Somerville comments:

I cannot tell how thankful we were for instead of separation of almost a lifetime, it gave hopes that my brother might make a sufficient fortune in a few years to enable him to come home. There was a great review of the troops at Calcutta, under a burning sun; my brother returned to the barracks, sun-struck, and died that evening at the age of 21 (p.70).

In fact, the account given in Samuel's own journal gives a rather different chronology. A military parade is described under a hot sun on 20th May 1798, and Samuel was ill for a period after ('bilious fever' for ten days') but this was before he had received confirmation of his new position on June 24th 1798. The last entry was 17th September 1798 and he died shortly afterwards.

Mary's second husband, Dr William Somerville (1771-1860) was an army surgeon from Edinburgh. His father, Dr Thomas Somerville (1741-1830) was a Presbyterian Minister and a close friend of Sir Walter Scott. He was amongst the subscribers who supported the publication of *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa* in Edinburgh in 1792. This was the fifth edition, the book having been first published in 1789.⁴ Other subscribers local to the Midlands included Josiah Wedgwood (1st edition), Matthew Boulton and, Dr Joseph Priestley (2nd edition, 1789).⁵ William Somerville had travelled extensively in southern Africa before he married and was a fluent Dutch speaker.

In 1816 Mary Somerville travelled from Scotland to London with her husband, who was to join the Army Medical Board, and on route they visited the Soho works:

On our way we stopped a day at Birmingham, on purpose to see Watt and Boulton's manufactory of steam engines at Soho. Mr Boulton showed us everything. The engines, some in action, although beautifully smooth, showed a power that was almost fearful. Since these early forms of steam engine I have lived to see this all omnipotent instrument change the locomotion of the whole civilized world by sea and land (*Personal recollections*, 1873 p.104).

Thomas Edward Fairfax

Thomas Edward Fairfax, son of Henry Fairfax (1790-) who had succeeded Vice Admiral Fairfax, was born in 1832 and whose entered the Bengal Civil Service in 1854

⁴ See *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa* edited with an Introduction and Notes by Vincent Carretta (Penguin Classics, 2004).

⁵ Boulton and Priestley were both members of the deputation who welcomed Equiano to Birmingham in 1789. Boulton's attitude to the anti-slavery cause saw him move a path between moral and business concern. In 1783 he had dined with three plantation owners who were investigating the replacement of horses on their estates with steam engines. Their number included Pennant, who owned the largest plantation in Jamaica and later used his sugar fortune to invest in the slate quarries of north Wales. In 1790 he he was corresponding with the slave trader, John Dawson of Liverpool about supplying engines for Trinidad (see Jenny Uglow, *The Lunar Men* (2002) Chapter 34.

as Assistant Collector at Allahabad, Banda and Budgon. He retired from the Civil Service in 1864.

Henry Fairfax (1837-)

Thomas' brother, Henry Fairfax, like his grandfather also served in the Royal Navy. He was promoted from Captain to Commander in April 1868 as a consequence of his 'great gallantry' in the capture of a piratical slaver in the Mozambique Channel. Fairfax kept a journal of his time on HMS *Ariel* in 1862 and clearly had experience prior to 1868 of policing the slave trade and engaging in action against slavers [or else the later chronology based on Yonge's *Naval History* is wrong]. In his journal or log he details the chase of a slaving dhow:

March 1862

... having information of a dhow going to take on slaves at M ... a place about the south part of ... the isle of Zanzibar. At mid[night] got up to point and following dhow close along ... I ordered all to go on poop, I then sent the Coxwain[?] on board who saw she was fully prepared for the reception of slaves ... I then warned him I would be obliged to fire if they did not leave her immediately and on not doing so I fired 2 rockets into her stern. They then left some jumping overboard but most going into the boat and made for shore. I picked up several and found 3 on the dhow. I found him fully fitted for slaves and the people I had in the boat said she was to ship her slaves that night or next day. I destroyed her by fire having taken their measurement which was as follows.

I gathered the following from those I saved in regard to the dhow ... Her name 'Fataha le hail' [?] of L in the Persian Gulf and owned by two brothers one of them Ben Ashman ... at times he attempted to kidnap slaves ... put in prison for it, and the dhow was in the possession of the Governor for 2 days ... they managed to escape. They left Zanzibar without a pass and have been for ? days at a place called ... a bay, a little way to the East ... waiting the arrival of the slaves from Zanzibar ... she had just come round and was only waiting for high water to go into M. where 150 slaves were ready for shipment next day. When we boarded she had 13 soori, 14 c[rew]? and 4 slaves on board. Those I picked up out of the water I put into a canoe.⁶

Whose Story?

The stories of Charlecote presented here while being unique in their details are not unique in their general form and mirror other stories attached to National Trust properties eg. Powis Castle. With regards to Charlecote, more research, for example on the connections with the Underhill family, Captain Lucy's military career, friendship networks, naval history, and the buying and selling of artefacts, can only enrich our knowledge of these stories and the interconnections between Warwickshire's history and that of the world beyond England. What is also clear is that the *Whose Story*

⁶ The journal includes maps and is written in pencil. The hand is very difficult to transcribe. The condition of this document, unlike the earlier diary of George Fairfax, is poor and liable to deteriorate further if it is not subject to conservation.

approach offers the National Trust a model way of working for developing the interpretation of its properties.

Further reading

- A. Buddle (ed) *Tigers Round the Throne* (1990)
- B. S. Cohn, 'The Transformation of Objects into Artifacts, Antiquities and Art in Nineteenth Century India', in *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge* (1996)
- Calendar of Colonial Papers: America and the West Indies, 1677-80*
- A. Fairfax Lucy, *Charlecote and the Lucys* (Oxford, 1958)
- The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa* edited with an Introduction and Notes by Vincent Carretta (2004).
- M. Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire. Conquest and Collecting in the East, 1750-1850* (2005)
- C. L. Kingsford, *The History of the Warwickshire Regiment* (1921)
- J. Layton in *Black People in Warwickshire's Past* (1994)
- Mistress of Charlecote. The Memoirs of Mary Elizabeth Lucy 1803-1889* (London, 1985)
- E. M. G. Routh, *Tangier England's Lost Atlantic Outpost 1661-1684* (London: John Murray, 1912).
- Martha Somerville, *Personal recollections from early life to old age of Mary Somerville with recollections from her correspondence by her daughter Martha Somerville* (London: John Murray, 1873)
- J. Douglas Stewart, *Sir Godfrey Kneller and the English Baroque Portrait* (Oxford, 1983)
- Jenny Uglow, *The Lunar Men* (2002)

Appendices

Self Portrait, Sir Godfrey Kneller

Captain Thomas Lucy, 1680

Frederick Schonberg, 1st Duke of Schonberg, 1689.

Black pages, c 1685-90

William Wissing, Mary Grimston, c1683

Johann Zoffany, The Family of Sir William Young, c 1770

Headstone, Oxhill Churchyard

Charlecote Parish Register, 1735