

THE BERNARDS OF ABINGTON AND
NETHER WINCHENDON

VOL. I.

THE BERNARDS OF
ABINGTON AND
NETHER WINCHENDON
A Family History

BY

MRS. NAPIER HIGGINS

IN TWO VOLUMES

Vol. I.

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PREFACE

IN writing this book, my first wish has been to leave a record of a family which in its time played some little part in the affairs of this country. As the last scion of the last known branch of those Bernards whose history is here traced, the task seemed to devolve on me. It has been laborious, owing to the extensive destruction of documents which has evidently taken place at different times. The co-heiresses of the eldest branch no doubt carried off many parchments and papers, which cannot now be recovered. Some others probably went to Huntingdonshire, where the second branch was located. Further havoc must have been occasioned by the frequent moves of the third branch, with which these volumes are chiefly concerned, and especially by the chequered career of Sir Francis Bernard, the early ages at which he lost both parents and left his first home, his subsequent departure for America, and even his return. Since that time additional losses appear to have been sustained through the zeal of executors in sorting, and, as they considered, weeding family papers.

But the mischief is not only of this private nature. Documents illustrating the most critical period of the history of England in its relations with America have been

allowed to fall into American hands,¹ and it has not therefore been practicable for me to consult them.

How much it has been possible to achieve appears in the following pages. And I purpose to continue the narrative, in two more volumes, to the death of Sir Francis Bernard's youngest child. For this second portion the materials are more ample, though occasionally defective.

In the meantime my thanks are due to all those who have given me help; their names, in most cases, will be found recorded in the notes to these volumes. Some, at least, of these friends have passed away, but a tribute is due to their memory.

SOPHIA ELIZABETH HIGGINS.

NETHER WINGHENDON :
November 1902.

[The papers of Governor Bernard, thirteen volumes, are in the Sparks MSS., in Harvard College Library. Vols. i.-viii. are letter-books, 1758-72; ix.-xii., correspondence, 1758-79; xiii., orders and instructions, 1758-61. Sparks bought them in London in 1846.—Ed.] This is a note to 'The Royal Governors,' by George Edward Ellis, President of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Winsor's *Memorial History of Boston*, vol. ii. ch. ii.

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THE BERNARDS

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CHAPTER I

THE BERNARDS OF WANFORD, ISELHAM, AND ABINGTON

Godfrey Bernard—The Bernard Armorial Bearings—St. Bernard of Clairvaux—Tomb of Godfrey Bernard—The Bernards of Iselham—Robert Bernard—Sir Nicholas Lillyng—Marriage of Robert Bernard—Thomas Bernard—Death of Sir Nicholas Lillyng—Tomb of Robert Bernard—His Children—Memorials of the Bernards in Iselham Church—Thomas Bernard—Thomas Bernard, Vicar of Patteshall—Sir John Bernard of Abington and his Wife, Margaret Scrope—The Battle of Northampton—Sir John's Sons—Eustace Bernard, Prior and Canon—Sir Ralph Hamsterley—Widowhood of Margaret Bernard.

IN the thirteenth century, when Henry III. was King of England, Godfrey Bernard of Wanford, or Wansford, was a landowner in Yorkshire.¹ He evidently belonged to a well-established family, with clearly defined armorial bearings, and is the first member of the family entered in the Heralds' College, but it has been found possible to trace the lineage two generations further back.

The arms were perpetuated by his descendants, who were settled in other counties, and also by members of the family who remained generation after generation in Yorkshire, and who were probably descendants of his parents and grand-parents. They were: 'Argent, a Bear rampant sable,

¹ Baker, *History of Northamptonshire*, vol. i., 'Abington'; Lipscomb, *History of Buckinghamshire*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.' Also various Baronetages, and MS. Pedigree at Nether Winchendon.

muzzled or; Crest, a Demi Bear as in the Arms.' In the eighteenth century there were still Bernards, or Barnards, in Yorkshire—the spelling, of course, varied in olden times—and in all probability some may still be found who bear the same arms.¹

There is a circumstance which suggests a connection between the Yorkshire family and the great St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who was the son of a Burgundian nobleman of Fontaine, near Dijon. The motto borne by the Yorkshire Bernards was 'Bear and Forbear,' which in its English form is a 'canting' or punning play upon the name. It was used by St. Bernard in a Latin form,² 'Sustine et Abstine.' The friendship which subsisted between Matilda, the wife of King Stephen, and the Saint, whom she received in her own town of Boulogne,³ lends force to the supposition that a nephew or cousin of St. Bernard may have crossed the Channel under this Queen's auspices and settled in England.

To adopt the name of a relative—generally, of course,

¹ Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. ii., 'Wicken.' A Mrs. Hozier, who died in 1724, is described as the daughter of 'Sir Edward Bernard (or Barnard), of Beverley, co. York, knight.' He was presumedly the Sir Edward Barnard who died in 1686, and to whose memory a handsome monument was erected in St. Mary's Church, Beverley. See Whittoke, *A New and ample History of the County of York*, vol. i. Of this line must have come 'Henry Barnard, M.D.' who died unmarried in 1769, and was buried in the same church. See Burke, *Landed Gentry*, note to 'Boldero Barnard.' There was also a Leeds branch of Bernards. Thoresby commemorates 'Mr. Thomas Barnard, of Leeds,' who 'was forty years old when he married, had eighteen children, and was so brisk that he rid a Hunting when he was above an hundred Years of Age.' Of this line were apparently the Barnards of Bartlow. See Burke's *Landed Gentry*. These two lines seem to have borne the same arms and crest as Godfrey Bernard.

² Mrs. Jameson, *Legends of the Monastic Orders*. Description of a picture in the Chiesa della Badia, at Florence: 'St. Bernard is writing in a rocky desert, seated at a rude desk formed by the stump of a tree. The Virgin stands before him attended by angels, one of whom holds up her robe. On the rock behind him is inscribed his famous motto—"Sustine et Abstine" (Bear and Forbear).' A woodcut of this picture is in my possession, published in *The Early Teutonic, Italian, and French Masters*, edited by A. H. Keene, M.A.I. In this woodcut the first word of the motto is spelt 'Substine.'

³ Neander, *Life and Times of St. Bernard*, note to p. 306 of translation by Matilda Wrench. In this and other biographies of the Saint may be found particulars of his parentage, &c.

but not necessarily, a forefather—was a recognised mode of obtaining a distinctive surname.¹ A name adopted without actual descent would almost certainly be derived from a kinsman of marked celebrity. If, however, the object in the present case was the avoidance of confusion, it would seem to have failed partially. 'Bernard' was for some time a favourite baptismal name, and thus became a surname in several families, apparently unconnected with each other.² But I cannot discover that any persons not sprung from the Yorkshire stock bore the arms and motto noticed above.³

A gentleman of much research, Mr. Leonard G. P. Barnard, informs me that the father of Godfrey was Thomas FitzBernard, who belonged to the household of Henry II., was a Judge or Justiciar of many courts,⁴ and for six years sheriff of Northamptonshire, and was twice excommunicated by St. Thomas à Beckett—apparently as a supporter of the King—but was also twice absolved. His wife was Eugenia Riot. The link connecting him with Godfrey is that 'Dominus Rex dedit filio Thome filii Bernardi filiam Wateride Canne, cum Wanbrige.' Now Wanbrige is close to, and indeed another name for, Wanford. Bernard, the father of Thomas FitzBernard, as this account supposes, may still have been a cousin of St. Bernard or of his father.⁵

¹ Only one of St. Bernard's brothers left issue. I have not as yet found evidence of any nephew having migrated to England. He had a cousin Godfrey, Bishop of Langres, one of whose brothers or nephews is perhaps more likely to have become the progenitor of the English Bernards. The name 'Godfrey' was then very little known in this country, and almost suggests a foreign, but not a Norman, origin.

² The spelling varied: 'Bernard' and 'Barnard' were the most usual forms, but 'Barnerd' and other variations were not unknown, as also 'Fitz Bernard,' &c., i.e. 'son of Bernard.'

³ The arms in the church at Fontaine, near Dijon, a village still held in honour as the birthplace of St. Bernard, are different from the Yorkshire Bernard arms, but have apparently been placed there in modern times. The motto does not appear. These statements I make from personal observation during an excursion to the spot. The motto was probably first assumed by the Saint, and the arms followed in the case of the Yorkshire Bernards as an illustration of 'Bear and Forbear.'

⁴ See Foss, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Judges of England*, 'Fitz-Bernard (Thomas).'

⁵ It is right to notice that Mr. F. P. Barnard has assigned a different

Godfrey Bernard is said to have given three manors to St. Mary's Abbey, York, retaining Wanford only for himself, and to have migrated to Cambridgeshire, where he became lord of the manor of Iselham. A monument formerly in the church of that parish has been identified by Mr. Leonard Barnard as his tomb, and fully described and delineated.

The figure is of stone and was cross-legged, a bear at his feet, and over him an elliptical within a pointed arch, on very short round pillars, sided by purfled finials.

This figure shows the surtout longer behind than in front: the right arm was evidently laid across the body, probably grasping and withdrawing the sword, as may be seen in a similar figure in the Temple Church.

It is, without doubt, the effigy of Godfrey Bernard, who was Lord of Iselham. He went with Henry III. for Palestine. I say *for*, for that shifty monarch, after forcing the clergy to collect funds for his expedition, never pursued his errand further than Gascony, where he squandered the money collected for the Holy Expedition. Dugdale says that anyone who took the vow for the Holy Land, but was prevented by some unavoidable cause, was still entitled to be buried cross-legged.

Another tomb in the same church 'under the south window' is claimed by my informant as the tomb either of William, son of Godfrey, or of William's son Gilbert,¹ most probably of William,²

because the fashion of the armour shows that it must have been of the period of the latter part of Hen. III. or beginning of Ed. I.

origin to the family. In a paper read at Iselham in 1897, he states that the Bernards were 'a Northumberland and Border family, of Danish descent, and helped to keep the Scot on his own side of the frontier.' Another account of some Bernard is the following: Burke, *Dictionary of the Peerage, &c.*, 'Bandon, Earl of,' speaks of Sir Theophilus, 'a valiant knyghte of German descent, who in 1066 accompanied William the Conqueror into England; was son of Sir Egerett and father of Sir Dorbard Bernard, whose descendants settled in the counties of Westmorland, York, and Northampton.' I know nothing of this genealogy from any other source.

¹ The names of Godfrey Bernard's descendants and of their wives are given in Baker's and Lipscomb's *County Histories*; the pedigree is entered under the heads of 'Abington' and 'Nether Winchendon.'

² See *Annales Monastici*, 111, 344, Hundred Rolls, temp. Hen. III. and Ed. I., Com. Cant., p. 54 b (34). From Mr. L. G. P. Barnard's notes.

The bear at his feet shows him to have been a Barnard.¹ At that period the long-tailed surtout had begun to be cut off evenly, and had frequently a jewelled border. Chain mail was still used over the head, 'the camail.'

William was one of the jurors for the wapentake of Belteshawe, Lincolnshire. He married a lady named Catherine Sauston.² The wife of his son Gilbert is called Claricia; her family name does not appear.

The next William, son of Gilbert, whose wife was named Agnes, is said to have fought at Calais; he also was buried in Iselham church, 'A° 44 of Ed. III.' His monument is described as follows:

On a plain, low altar-tomb, an alabaster figure in armour, the hair long and curled, with a garland or corolla, or else a jewelled cap. Under his head a large 'pot' helmet, with a fillet of fleur-de-lis and slit, and a demi-bear for crest. He wears a piked beard, gauntlets, a studded neckband, mamelettes, and rounded elbow-pieces; of his sword and dagger portions of the hilts alone remain; the surtout short and evenly cut; round its base a jewelled sword-belt, another belt at the waist, and the legs in plate armour, the feet jointed. At his feet a bear muzzled, and looking up. . . .

At the time that I made this drawing [continues the narrator], the tomb had been broken up, and the large slab of black Purbeck marble, with the figure thereon, had been placed erect, leaning against the vault; originally it stood as an altar-tomb, with the feet, curiously enough, lying in a sort of piscina.

Robert Bernard, son of the second William, and great-great-grandson of Godfrey Bernard, contracted a marriage which brought him into relations with another county. In Northamptonshire dwelt Sir Nicholas Lillyng,³ fifth in

¹ These tombs were erroneously ascribed by Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, to the Peytons, who somewhat later acquired Iselham by marriage with a Bernard heiress. The Peyton arms differed from those of the Bernards so thoroughly as to render confusion on this point impossible. They were: 'Sable, a Cross engrailed, Or; Crest, on a Wreath, a Griphon sejant, Or.' See *The English Baronetage*, printed for Tho. Wotton, 1741.

² She is called 'Catherine Gaustor' in Wotton's *Baronetage*.

³ This information concerning the Lillyngs was imparted by Mr. L. G. P. Bernard, who describes them as 'cadets of the noble house of Lucy.' See

descent from 'Simon Dominus de Estlinge,' or East Lillyng, near York. He was probably a younger son, for he is said to have made his fortune in London,¹ and then to have commenced buying land in Northamptonshire. It is probable that his earliest acquisitions were the manors of Great Billing and Guilsborough.

In the parliament of 1381-82 (5 Richard II.) he represented the county, and was High Sheriff in the following year, an office which then carried with it the custody of Northampton Castle. He bought the manors of Abington and Little Brington in 1389-90 (13 Richard II.), and in 1393, perhaps earlier, was keeper of the King's Park at Moulton, as appears by an indenture. Abington became his place of residence, doubtless on account of its nearness to the provincial capital.

Robert Bernard of Iselham married, or was betrothed to, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Nicholas, about this time; but she appears to have been very young, perhaps a child. None of her surviving children can have been born for some years after. It is not, however, unlikely that some children may have died in infancy, since it might naturally be expected that the name of Nicholas, and also Elizabeth, which was the name of Lady Lillyng as well as of her daughter, would be found among the young Bernards, and also the names of their paternal grandparents, William and Agnes, and of Robert their own father, or at least some out of the number; but none of them were thus honoured. Robert Bernard had apparently not succeeded to his paternal estates at the time of his marriage or betrothal, but Elizabeth must have been portioned with land in Northamptonshire, probably at Little Brington, since her husband served as High Sheriff for the county in 1384-85 (8 Ric. II.), two years after his father-in-law's nomination.

Elizabeth Bernard died comparatively young; she is

Burke, *Extinct Peerages*, 'Barons Lucy.' The relationship between the Lucys and Lillyngs is not mentioned there, but they bore the same arms.

¹ This and most of the information concerning the Northamptonshire portion of the family history is derived from Baker.

buried at Clare, in Suffolk, where her husband had an estate, whether by inheritance or purchase I have not discovered.¹ In 1416 her son Thomas was evidently brought forward by Sir Nicholas as his eventual heir, his elder brother, John, being the recognised successor of his father in Cambridgeshire. According to documents relating to a long subsequent transaction the manor of Little Brington had been conveyed to 'Sir Nicholas Lillyng, in fee simple, who by deed 16 Dec. 4 Hen. V. (1416), having previously vested it in feoffees, directed them to enfeof Thomas Bernard (second) son of Robert Bernard, esq. (by his daughter Elizabeth) in fee tail when he attained his legal age. . . .'²

There is some difficulty about this date, because it assumes that Thomas Bernard was not yet of age; though perhaps he was on the point of attaining his majority; whereas he is said by the same historian, Baker, to have been Escheator for the county in the previous year, 1415. This was an office of some dignity and importance; it is therefore surprising that it should have been given to a minor. His younger brother, Henry, who probably obtained the manor of Guilsborough at the same time, is expressly stated in Baker's history to have been 'a minor' (4 Hen. V.)

Sir Nicholas died in 1418, but Abington did not then become the property of any Bernard, because (according to the county history) his wife had been enfeofed jointly with himself, and lived on there till her death after 1450. It is clear, however, that this lady could hardly have been the mother of Elizabeth Bernard—at least such longevity is improbable; she might, indeed, have been her stepmother, but Mr. L. Barnard asserts that Sir Nicholas had a son of the same name, who succeeded to Abington and died without issue, and that it was his widow Maria, or Mary, who

¹ Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i., 'Abington.'

² There is said to have been at one time a Manor House at Little Brington, but whether it reached back to the time when Robert and Elizabeth, or even their son Thomas, lived there, is not apparently on record. It may have been a successor on the same site.

remained there, and presented to the living in 1430 and 1450.¹ It eventually descended to Thomas Bernard.

The date of Robert Bernard's death is not recorded by my authorities. Besides his estate at Iselham, in Cambridgeshire, and various lands in its vicinity, he had, as already stated, property at Clare, in Suffolk. And this seems to have been his favourite residence, perhaps because he had lived there in his early married days when his father was alive. It is there that he is buried. A 'most beautiful brass' formerly marked his resting-place, and in the tower of the church there was 'a stained glass window of Robert Barnard, with the cloak of Barnard over him: Arg. a Bear rampant Sable, muzzled Or, and, by him, his wife in a kirtle embroidered with three Roches Argent and a Border en-grailed (Lilling).'

²

The four children of Robert Bernard and Elizabeth Lillyng were:

John, of Iselham, who apparently inherited most of the Cambridgeshire property;

Thomas, of Clare, of Little Brington, and eventually of Abington;

Henry, of Guilsborough;

Mary.³

Of this daughter I only know that she died shortly before her grandfather. 'Mary, oc. 4 Hen. 5,' is the notice in Baker's history. This may mean 'occisa,' but perhaps stands for 'occidit,' and therefore does not imply any violent ending of her life.

Henry, the third son, may seem to have been slenderly portioned with the manor of Guilsborough, which was in the north of the county, and was one of Sir Nicholas Lillyng's estates. It is quite probable that he inherited some land from his father also, which is omitted by Baker, as lying

¹ Mr. Barnard calls these ladies by their Latin names. The mother of Elizabeth Bernard—Isabella, or apparently Elizabeth—wife of Sir Nicholas Lillyng, he conjectures to have been a Poyntz; the second Lady Lillyng, Maria or Mary, he has not ventured to assign to any family.

² From the notes of the same informant.

³ Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i., 'Abington.'

beyond the limits of Northamptonshire. I do not know whether he married and left issue.

The interest of the family in this generation is centred in John and Thomas. John, although a considerable land-owner in Cambridgeshire, did not lose his connection with Northamptonshire; he married Ellen, only child of Sir John Mallory of Welton and Wold, in the north of the county, by whom he had three daughters, who survived him: 1, Margaret, who inherited ¹ Iselham with Felham and Barnards and part of Trumpington, and married Sir Thomas Peyton; 2, Katherine, whose share was Welton, and who became the wife of Thomas Jermyn of Rushbrook, Suffolk; 3, Mary, who carried Wold to the family of Le Strange, of Norfolk.

That John Bernard was knighted appears in the county histories; but for the following remarkable account I am indebted to Mr. L. Barnard, who states that John was at Agincourt

in the train of Sir William Phelipe, and was knighted on the field of battle.² He was afterwards Deputy Governor of the Channel Islands under Humphry Duke of Gloster. There exist still, with reference to him, some military passes of the time of Agincourt, now in the Tower of London, authorising him and his brother Thomas to pass through the French lines to visit their property in Aquitaine, and several deeds in the archives of Jersey, sealed with his signet, his mother's arms of '3 roches naiant and a border engrailed.'

The fish in the Lillyng arms are more commonly designated 'pikes'; the Lucys, who are said to have been the elder branch of the family, called them 'luces.'

Sir John was commemorated by a brass in St. Nicholas's Church, Iselham, on which appeared the effigies of himself and his wife Ellen: ³ 'He wears the Lancastrian collar of

¹ Baker mentions Sir John's marriage with Ellen Mallory, and the division of the Northamptonshire property among the daughters so far as it lay in Northamptonshire; but according to Mr. L. G. P. Barnard, the eldest also inherited other property.

² He is called Sir John Bernard by Baker, and was therefore knighted somewhere.

³ This information is derived from Mr. L. G. P. Barnard's notes. He

SS (probably meaning "Souvenez," the favourite device of Henry of Bolingbroke, afterwards Henry IV.: witness his tomb at Canterbury). It is noticeable that the inscription on this brass commemorates Sir John's second wife, Eleanor Sakevyle, as well as Ellen Mallory, although there is only one woman's effigy, and Eleanor is buried with her own people elsewhere. The face and figure are those of a handsome and graceful woman. Sir John also appears as a shapely and good-looking man.

The last Bernard memorial in Iselham Church was a brass of Margaret, Lady Peyton, eldest daughter of Sir John and Ellen, Lady Bernard. This formed part of the monument to her husband, Sir Thomas Peyton. It is an elaborate piece of work; but the face and figure reveal a crude state of art, being unmistakably distorted: ¹

She is represented wearing the headdress of this century, though no wires appear; on the cushion of the headdress 'Lady and Jhu mercy'; a rich necklace and beautifully embroidered gown. The hands are held up and spread open, with the thumbs joined, not in the usual attitude of prayer; indeed, curiously enough, the attitude of the hands closed resembles the private sign or badge of the Cohen or Levite tribe of Israel.

Iselham became the principal seat of the Peytons, who were parted from their former home at South Neyland, in Suffolk, in the reign of Henry VI. They were created baronets as 'Peyton of Iselham,' ² and continued there until the extinction of the male line in the eighteenth century.

Thomas Bernard, the second son of Robert Bernard and Elizabeth Lillyng, and brother of Sir John, is said—on the same authority ³—to have served like him at Agincourt, but

believes that the woman's effigy is decidedly that of Ellen Mallory, Sir John's first wife, as the brass was put up by the husbands of her three daughters. Eleanor Sakevyle had no children. It is curious that the first wife is called in the inscription on this brass 'D'na Elena Swynton, u'ris [sic] pdei (= uxoris prædicti) Johis Bernard milit. filie et heredis [sic] Johis Mallore, milit.' &c. Does the name Swynton show that she was a widow?

¹ This account is taken from the same notes.

² *The English Baronetage*, printed for Tho. Wotton.

³ Mr. L. G. P. Barnard.

under Sir Walter Hungerford, and, as already noted, to have held property in Aquitaine. It is rather singular that he should have been in France during the year 1415, because it is the very date of his appointment to the important annual office of Escheator of the counties of Northampton and Rutland, which bound him to look after the king's interests in the matter of property.¹ Either he would have to return for part of his term of office, or he must have been allowed to act by deputy. This difficulty I cannot explain.

Thomas Bernard is the first of the family styled 'Esquire' in the pedigree. This probably does not refer to his position at Agincourt, where he may have been Sir Walter Hungerford's esquire. The word varied from time to time in meaning.²

It is probable that upon his return from abroad Thomas Bernard took a wife to himself, and that he was staying at Little Brington when he wooed Margaret, sister of Sir Walter Mauntell of Heyford, an adjoining parish. Margaret's father seems to have settled at Heyford in consequence of his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of John Lumley; he was himself a descendant of one Michael Mauntell, who resided at Rode, Northants, in the days of Henry II. Sir Walter Mauntell, Margaret's brother, officiated three times as High Sheriff during the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV. This family, then apparently peaceful and prosperous, afterwards became conspicuous for its misfortunes.³

¹ Haydn, *Dictionary of Dates*: 'Escheats—Land or other property that falls to a lord within his manor by forfeiture or death. The Escheator observes the rights of the King in the county whereof he is Escheator.' The writer quotes Cowel as his authority. Possibly the Escheator was sometimes continued in his office by re-appointment. Sheriffs remained in office evidently beyond the year in some cases.

² ' . . . In England the king created esquires by putting the collar of SS and bestowing upon them a pair of silver spurs.' Haydn, *Dictionary of Dates*, 'Esquires.' ' . . . The distinction of esquire was first given to persons of fortune not attendant upon knights A.D. 1345. Stow.'

³ See Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i., 'Heyford,' for an account of the Mauntells. Also *The Herald's Visitation of Northamptonshire*, 1564.

From the period when Thomas Bernard may be supposed to have settled down I have no record of his life until, in 1451, he became, by the death of Sir John (apparently without male issue), the head of the family. About the same time probably he succeeded to Abington on the decease of the last Lady Lillyng. That he ever made his home there I have no evidence, and as his son and heir had contracted a distinguished alliance he may have given over Abington to him and continued to reside at Clare. His brass in Clare Church closes the series of Bernard monuments in that part of the country; and the church of SS. Peter and Paul at Abington became the burial-place of his successors for nearly two hundred years. Margaret, his wife, is represented by his side on the brass.¹ 'Over each head hangs an escutcheon, but the bearings were evidently effaced before the sketch was taken. At the feet of Thomas lies the faithful bear.'

Margaret, his widow, remarried with a neighbour, William Newenham, of Thenford, Northants, Esquire.

Two sons only are mentioned as the issue of Thomas and Margaret Bernard—viz. John and Thomas. Of these Thomas was Vicar of Patteshall, Northants, in 1449.² There is some difficulty about the age of John Bernard, who was apparently the elder brother of Thomas, but not necessarily, although he succeeded to Abington. Many errors have sprung from our inability to realise the customs of bygone ages; a son with a vocation for the priesthood not unfrequently renounced his birthright. John is described as twenty-eight the year after his father died, that is in 1465; his brother had then been a vicar sixteen years. Of Thomas nothing more is related; either he was of too devotional a character to seek for preferment, or else he died too young to have

¹ With this brass ends the series. These drawings of the stone tombs and the subsequent brasses are now at Nether Winchendon.

² John Bernard would at that time have been only twelve. It is true that preferment was sometimes given at uncanonical ages, and Thomas may have been a mere boy; also a 'vicarage' might not then mean much. In the next generation Eustace, son of John Bernard, is, however, described as a Rector in 1467, when his father was only thirty.

hoped for it. Otherwise the family patronage and influence must have helped him to rise.

Sir John Bernard,¹ the next lord of Abington, made an alliance with one of the leading families of the kingdom—an alliance which might have led to high office and a peerage, or to a prison and a scaffold; but either from his disposition or from the turn of events, he escaped all these things.

His wife was Margaret, daughter of Henry, fourth Lord Scrope of Bolton, by Elizabeth, daughter of John, fourth Lord Scrope of Masham.²

Her paternal grandmother, wife of the third Lord Scrope of Bolton, was Lady Margaret Neville, daughter of Ralph, Earl of Westmorland, and half-sister to Lady Cicely Neville, who married Richard, Duke of York, and was mother of Edward IV. These ladies were aunts to the 'Kingmaker,' Earl of Warwick. By this marriage the subsequent Bernards acquired a descent from royalty through Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, younger son of Henry III., and through the houses of Percy and Neville.³

Between the reigns of Edward II. and Charles I. 'the house of Scrope produced two Earls and twenty Barons, one Chancellor, four Treasurers, two Chief Justices of England, one Archbishop and two Bishops, five Knights of the Garter, and numerous Bannerets.'⁴ The name is mentioned in three of Shakespeare's historical plays.⁵ A member of each branch had been beheaded for conspiracy against the

¹ He is not described as a knight in Baker and Lipscomb, but he is in the *Collectanea Typographica et Genealogica*. Indeed, he could hardly fail to attain the honour, having married into an illustrious family.

² Burke, *Extinct Peerages of Great Britain and Ireland*, 2nd edit., 1840: 'Scrope, Barons Scrope of Bolton, Earl of Sunderland'; 'Scrope, Barons Scrope of Masham and Upsal'; 'Scrope, 'Earl of Wiltshire'; 'Neville, Barons Neville of Maby, Earls of Westmorland.'

³ *Collectanea Typographica et Genealogica*; Burke, *Extinct Peerages*: 'Percy, Barons Percy, Earls of Northumberland.' In the *Collectanea* the descent is given in several detached fragments of pedigrees, but the Bernards are distinctly recognised as one of the English families descended from royalty.

⁴ Burke, *A Dictionary of the Landed Gentry*, 'Scrope of Danby.'

⁵ 'Richard II.,' 'Henry IV.' (both parts), 'Henry V.'

House of Lancaster, after which the spirit of the family appears to have been subdued, and Margaret's maternal grandfather became Treasurer of the King's Exchequer under Henry VI.

The event of this momentous period most likely to affect the Bernards was the battle of Northampton, fought in 1460. Unfortunately I have no evidence as to the part they took on that occasion; perhaps it was confined to the defence of their own possessions, since their family interests must have been complicated and in some measure contradictory.

'The rival forces met near Northampton. The actual place of battle was Hardingstone Field, on the south side of the town, with the river Nene to the rear of the Royalists' [*i.e.* Lancastrians].¹ Their position was strongly fortified with banks and deep entrenchments, and the leaders confidently looked for an easy victory. But there was a traitor in the camp. Edmund, Lord Grey de Ruthyn, put forward a claim to some lands belonging to Lord Fanhope of Ampthill, another of the Lancastrian lords. He saw the Earl of March, and, on promise of taking over to his side the band of hardy Welshmen, obtained from Edward the assurance that, if he won the field, the lands at Ampthill should change owners. The battle commenced at seven o'clock in the morning, and there was a smart conflict for a couple of hours, but at the close the royal army was completely routed. Lord Grey's treachery was the deciding feature. He turned against his king, showed the enemy where to enter, and allowed his men to assist them in passing the ditches. He obtained the lands he coveted, and was subsequently created Earl of Kent.

A heavy fall of rain, which lasted all the time, and, being in the faces of the Lancastrians, prevented them from keeping their powder dry, contributed materially to their defeat.

Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham; John Talbot, second Earl

¹ Hartwright (Henry), *The Story of the House of Lancaster*. See also Hume, *History of England*, and other histories.

of Shrewsbury, son of the old hero; John Beaumont, Viscount Beaumont; Thomas Percy, Lord Egremont, son of the second Earl of Northumberland, with 300 knights and gentlemen, were killed, Warwick's policy being to spare the common men, but to strike down the nobles. Some writers, however, place the loss so high as 10,000 men, of whom a great part were drowned in crossing the Nene. The body of Buckingham was buried at the Grey Friars, in Northampton; that of Shrewsbury at Worksop; and many of the others in the Hospital of St. John, which still exists in Bridge Street, Northampton.

In consequence of this battle King Henry VI. fell into the hands of the Yorkists, but the Queen and her son escaped to continue the struggle a little longer.

The year 1464, in which Sir John's father, Thomas Bernard, died, is called the third year of Edward IV., whose position was, however, so little assured that the defection of the Earl of Warwick rendered him once more a fugitive, and the struggle terminated only in 1471 with the tragical deaths of the Lancastrian Prince of Wales and his father, Henry VI.

Margaret Bernard owned cousinship with Anne Neville, the bride of the Lancastrian Prince of Wales, with Edward IV., Edward V., Richard III., and his queen, the same Anne Neville; but there is no evidence that she or her husband played any figure at court after the establishment of Edward IV. on the throne; possibly they did not cultivate the Queen, Elizabeth Woodville, and her connection, which was for awhile all-powerful.

The Scropes do not appear to have taken a prominent part in the previous civil strife, and it is therefore probable that Sir John Bernard was not actively engaged, except, perhaps, when the war, coming near his home, obliged him to defend his own possessions. But that he was impoverished by the vicissitudes of the times seems indicated by the fact of his selling the manor of Great Billing¹ to Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother of the subsequent king, Henry VII. The countess's second husband was a Stafford,

¹ Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i., 'Great Billing.'

son to the Duke of Buckingham ; but she gave this manor to her third husband, Lord Stanley.

Possibly this lady was accepted as a purchaser simply because hers was the best or the only offer. It does not appear that Sir John favoured the Lancastrian interest at this time ; at least, Mr. F. P. Barnard¹ asserts that, on the contrary, ' Sir John bore Richard's personal banner of the White Rose at Bosworth, and fell by his master's side in the last desperate charge, which so nearly won the day for King Dickon.' Baker, however, the county historian, does not seem to have been aware of this fact, although he chronicles the death of Sir John in this year—1485.²

It may seem unlikely that such a man as Richard III. is represented should have rallied any men to his standard from creditable motives, but on this point it is now difficult to decide. Sir John Bernard may not have believed the king guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, while he admired his ability, and in fighting for him felt that he was defending the succession of his nephew, the Earl of Warwick, the male heir of the House of York. The Earl of Richmond's very defective Lancastrian title was bolstered up by the Yorkist claim of his intended queen, whose right, however, by reason of her mother's inferior birth, seems to have been held in contempt by many persons. Subsequent experience proved that there was nothing in the personal character of the Lancastrian conqueror to make converts.

Sir John Bernard left five sons :

1. John, who married a Northamptonshire heiress, and succeeded to Abington. He will be noticed in the next chapter.

2. Thomas, who migrated to Gloucestershire, where he was killed³ in the fifteenth year of Edward IV. (1475-6) ;

¹ In his Lecture on 'The Barnards of Iselham.'

² The pedigrees in the County Histories (Baker and Lipscomb) only note Sir John Bernard's death in the year of the battle, 1485.

³ Baker and Lipscomb : 'occiso' is printed instead of 'occisus.' Probably the word was not in the nominative case in the original Latin.

the pedigree which records this fact does not state whether by accident or design, whether in a public or private feud.

3. His next brother, Francis,¹ according to the same account, also went to Gloucestershire; apparently there must have been property to look after, and he became Thomas's successor there. He is said to have founded a line of Bernards at Upton-on-Severn.

4. Eustace entered into Holy Orders and became a person of some importance.² In the Buckinghamshire parish of Ravenstone, bordering on Northamptonshire, there existed a Priory of Canons Regular of St. Augustine. 'The Canons Regular, Austin and others [says Gasquet], occupied a position somewhat midway between the monks and the secular clergy. Many, whilst remaining attached to their monasteries, were engaged in parochial duties; but the bulk still retained a community life much like the monks.'³ Indeed they would even then have been generally designated monks in common parlance.

In 1467 Eustace Bernard was presented by the Abbess of St. Mary de la Pré, near Northampton, with the living of Filgrave, in Bucks, where a nunnery, affiliated to the abbey, existed; it owed its foundation to the circumstance that one of the lords of the manors of Tyringham and Filgrave had given a virgate of land to St. Mary de la Pré.⁴ Eustace

¹ The name of Francis is omitted by Baker, but given by Lipscomb.

² For Eustace Bernard's various ecclesiastical preferments, see Baker and Lipscomb. Lipscomb's account in the *History of Buckinghamshire* is to be found in vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon'; vol. iv., 'Ravenstone' and 'Filgrave.' There is some difficulty as to the age of Eustace. He may possibly have been the eldest of the brothers; but even so, it is difficult to reconcile the date of his appointment as rector of Thenford (1567) when he was probably already Canon, and of his election as Prior of Ravenstone (1571), with his father's age as given in the Escheat at his grandfather's death; unless he was irregularly received and inducted under the prescribed age, and before full ordination. In the list of Priors of Ravenstone he is styled 'Eustachius,' probably because the original list was in Latin. Lipscomb does not give a list of Canons.

³ Gasquet (Francis Aidan; Monk of the Order of St. Benedict, sometime Prior of St. Gregory's Monastery, Downside, Bath), *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, vol. ii. ch. 12.

⁴ Sometime after the Reformation the two parishes were united, and the benefice is now called Tyringham cum Filgrave.

may not have forsaken his monastery to reside at Filgrave, which was within a very easy journey of Ravenstone; but whether resident or not, he must have made the acquaintance of John Tyingham, the lord of the manor, and was perhaps the first Bernard on terms of friendship with a Tyingham, although the moderate distance between the village of Tyingham and Abington renders some previous intercourse by no means unlikely. At a later period the families became otherwise connected.

Canon Bernard was elected Prior of Ravenstone in 1471. This was apparently an office held for a term of years, since Eustace, who had meanwhile become vicar of Ravenstone, went in 1481 as rector, to Tarporley, in Cheshire. He was afterwards successively rector of Maidford and Yardley, both in Northamptonshire.

Although the Canon had enjoyed the honour of standing godfather to the Earl of Kent¹ (probably the third earl of the Grey line, whose mother was a sister of Edward IV.'s queen, Elizabeth Woodville), he does not seem to have profited by the occasion. Perhaps there was an attempt made to gain over the Bernard family to the Woodville interest, which failed. This branch of the Greys, Lords of Ruthyn, had a remarkable faculty of being always on the winning side, and escaping the terrible catastrophes which crushed the Woodvilles and many others who had risen to high position during the troubles. The keen regard its members showed for their own interest did not lead them to advance Eustace, as they probably did not see their way to making any use of him. Therefore his promotion went no further than already stated.

5. Robert Bernard,² apparently the youngest of the family, was also a priest, and rector of Cottingham and Cotterstock, Northants.

Margaret, Lady Bernard, remained at Abington in her widowhood, and presented one 'Sir Ralph Hamsterley' to

¹ Burke, *Extinct Peerages*, 'Grey, Earl of Kent, &c., &c.'

² The name of Robert Bernard is omitted by Lipscomb, but given by Baker.

the living.¹ He is one of two Abington incumbents styled 'Sir,' which implied graduation at one of the Universities.² He was probably the same person as 'Mr. Ralph Hamsterley,' who became Principal of St. Alban's Hall, Oxford,³ 'Mr.' or 'Master' signifying that he had then taken a Master's degree.

In 1496 Lady Bernard left by will⁴ an 'opertorium to the altar of St. Marie,' which appears to have been situated in the 'north chapel' of Abington parish church. She probably died soon after. The space of her life had included a series of the most remarkable and tragical events in English history; but at the time of her departure the country had settled down, fairly calmed if not contented, under the government of Henry VII. Elizabeth of York, the actual queen, was her second cousin, though very much her junior.⁵ Circumstances, nevertheless, were likely to keep them apart: Elizabeth had little influence; the king did not favour her relatives; and neither would be disposed to encourage Richard's friends unless they could be made useful to the new dynasty. So Margaret apparently lived on in seclusion, perhaps somewhat straitened in means. The fortunate marriage of her eldest son with an heiress would, however, give new life to the family, and Lady Bernard could boast that if the Bernards had not achieved grandeur under the management of her husband and herself, they had at least weathered the storm in which many old English families had been wrecked.

¹ Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i., 'Abington.'

² It would appear from various authorities that 'Sir' was a title given to a priest who had taken a Bachelor's degree at Oxford or Cambridge. In process of time, but probably not till after the death of Sir Ralph Hamsterley, it became customary, in some localities at least, to call every priest 'Sir.' (See note to *Merry Wives of Windsor*, in Johnson and Steevens's *Shakespeare*.) The title was in use after the Reformation also, as appears in the same play. After taking a Master's degree a priest was styled 'Master.'

³ *A History of the University of Oxford, its Colleges, Halls, and Public Buildings* (printed for R. Ackermann, 101 Strand, 1814), vol. ii.

⁴ Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i., 'Abington.'

⁵ There may have been twenty years difference in the ages of their grandmothers, Margaret and Cicely Neville, and with each successive generation the difference had increased.

CHAPTER II

THE BERNARDS OF ABINGTON (*continued*)

Marriage of John Bernard—The Daundelyns—New Quarterings—John Bernard's Tudor Mansion—Death of John Bernard—Marriage of his son John and Cicely Muscote—Christopher Beaufew—Daughters in the Bernard Pedigree—Eleanor, Prioress of Little Marlow and St. Mary de Pratis—Children of John and Cicely Bernard—Dorothy Bernard—John Mauntell of Heyford—Deaths of John and Cicely Bernard—Francis Bernard and his Wife, Alice Haslewood—The Manor of Brington Parva—Marriages of Francis Bernard's Daughters—The Family Divided into Three Branches—Richard Bernard.

JOHN BERNARD, eldest son of Sir John and Margaret Lady Bernard, had the good fortune to marry Margaret Daundelyn,¹ who is styled in the 'County History' heir of her father, William, and her grandfather, John Daundelyn, of Dodding-ton and Earl's Barton. In the 'Visitation of Northamptonshire' she is called heir of her father and of William Daundelyn, a cousin. The two accounts probably mean the same thing—namely, that Margaret was the last of her branch of the Daundelyns, and inherited all, or nearly all, the family property. Unluckily, Baker's 'County History' was never completed, and does not contain the pedigree and alliances of her family.²

Its quaint surname—occasionally written 'Daundelyon'—is said to mean 'd'Andely,'³ and to be derived from the town of Andely, in Normandy. The name of Richer d'Andeli⁴ is found in the lists of the followers or companions

¹ Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i., 'Abington.'

² Mr. Baker relinquished the undertaking in consequence of the expense entailed by it, and the small amount of support received. Few, indeed, of the old families were left to take an interest in the records of Northamptonshire.

³ There are now two towns, called 'Le Grand' and 'Le Petit Andely,' the first near the Seine, the second on its bank near Château Gaillard. Whatever they may once have been, both are now small villages rather than towns. See Murray's *Handbook for France*, vol. i.

⁴ For the mention of Richer d'Andeli, see *The Companions of William the*

of William the Conqueror. Some further fragments of the family history have come before me. Thomas de Andeli held Isham, in Northamptonshire, by one knight's fee, and Barton and Eversden, in Cambridgeshire, by three knights' fees, of the old feoffment, prior to the death of King Henry I. Foss¹ records the name and some actions of

Maurice Andely, or Aundeley, so called from a town in Normandy. In 17 John he was sent down to Northampton, with Simon de Pateshull and others, to hear a dispute relative to the presentation of the Church of Oxenden (Rot. Claus. i. 270); and in Trinity Term 1219, 3 Henry III., he appears as one of the Justices at Westminster before whom fines were levied, and as a justice itinerant in various counties, which duties he performed as late as 1230 (Rot. Claus. i. 516, ii. 77).

The next fact of which I have found mention respecting this family is that in the third year of Edward III. (1330 or 1331) John Daundelyn² was Sheriff of the county, and, together with several of his predecessors, was fined 'for neglecting to oblige the several towns to repair the Park wall'—that is, the wall of Moulton (sometimes called Northampton) Park. It was probably not an easy task to keep the towns up to this duty. About seventy years later, another John Daundelyn, who may have been Margaret's great-grandfather, was apparently involved in political trouble, consequent on the Lancastrian usurpation. In November 1403: 'The King grants to Robert Isham, the Custody of the manor of Crauford, in the county of Northampton, in the King's hands, upon the forfeiture of John Daundelyn.'³

Conqueror and *The Battle Abbey Roll*, as published by M. Léopold Delisle. Also another list from *Le Nobiliaire de Normandie*, by M. le Vicomte de Magny. Both lists may be found in *The Herald and Genealogist*, edited by John Gough Nichols, F.S.A.

¹ FOSS (Edward, F.S.A.), *The Judges of England, with Sketches of their Lives, and Miscellaneous Notices connected with the Courts at Westminster, from the Time of the Conquest.*

² Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i., 'Moulton.'

³ *The English Baronetage*, printed for Thos. Wotton 1741, vol. ii., 'Isham of Lamport, Northamptonshire.'

As a result of John Bernard's marriage, the subsequent Bernards quartered the arms of Champayne and Pinkney, as well as Daundelyn,¹ but in the absence of genealogies it is impossible to say at what dates the three families became allied.² The Pinkneys were descendants of Gilo de Pincheni, who appears to have owned lands at Weedon in Northamptonshire in the time of Henry I. Robert de Pincheni was one of the Barons who took up arms against King John. Henry, the last Baron—anglicised into Pinkney—being without issue, surrendered his lands to Edward I. in 1301; but there may have been collateral lines in existence after that time.

Doddington, which is named as the principal seat of the Daundelyns, was apparently inherited from the Champaynes,³ but it is not mentioned by Baker as a residence after the Bernard marriage, and the dwelling-place may have been at that time a battered fort. The actual home acquired with Margaret appears to have been situated at Earl's Barton, and here John Bernard may have dwelt while his mother lived. His wife had lost her father when a child of eight, and was evidently married very young according to modern ideas, probably about 1489; she cannot have been more than seventeen when her eldest child was born.

Some six or seven years later the death of Margaret Lady Bernard must have put the young couple in possession of Abington, and to this period may be ascribed the erection of a new house, or perhaps only of an addition to Sir Nicholas Lillyng's feudal edifice. No portion of his work is now visible, and not much is left of John Bernard's Tudor mansion; but if John spared the older manor house, or as much as the effects of time and war had left habitable, the two buildings may long have stood side by side. Of this Tudor house one remarkable feature has

¹ These facts are mentioned in *The Visitation of Northamptonshire*, 'Bernard.'

² Burke, *Extinct Peerages*, 'Pinkney, Baron Pinkney.'

³ The family is called 'Champayne of Doddington' in Baker's description of the Bernard quarterings, *Hist. North.* vol. i., 'Abington.'

been preserved till the present day—the hall, called by Baker¹ ‘a lofty Gothic room, with open roof, recess at one end, mullioned windows,’ and this affords some idea of the style of the rest of the house.

That other fine rooms were built appears, moreover, from the survival of some elaborate oak panelling, which has evidently been brought at some period of demolition from various apartments of the mansion, to be huddled together—and not artistically—in one large room of comparatively modern date.² Mr. De Wilde sketches its principal characteristics as follows :

There are the three pikes naiaint of the Lillyngs, the bear rampant of the Bernards, and a whole gallery of grotesque devices besides. Among them are a fool carrying a child in swaddling clothes, with women following; a fox in a pulpit; a dog with his head in a pot; groups representing the seasons and their occupations—ploughing, sowing, mowing, carrying grapes, beating the mast from the oak for the swine beneath; mummers and antics dancing and tumbling; a dancing bear; boys blowing bubbles, &c.

The same writer states that ‘on one of the shields are the initials J. B., with, a little below, M., which may be interpreted John and Margaret Bernard.’ What alterations may at this epoch have been made in the surroundings of the house and the disposition and planting of the grounds can only be conjectured. De Wilde mentions ‘a Dovecot, with a good Tudor doorway,’ as ‘among the old and ample outhouses.’ But the dozen years during which John and Margaret were lord and lady there allowed but scant time to carry out their ideas of a renovated home.

Who can imagine what dreams of a grand position in the neighbourhood, of entertainments and receptions,

¹ Baker, *Hist. North.*, ‘Abington.’

² Mr. De Wilde entertained the idea that the room was originally wainscoted exactly as it is now. This idea was apparently first brought prominently forward by Mr. Halliwell Phillips, but it has been refuted, and is indeed, to my mind, hardly worth serious discussion. The north wall of the ‘Oak Room,’ as it appears to have been sometimes styled from the panelling, must, however, from Mr. H. Prichard’s account be part of the older buildings, but was not originally panelled as it has been of late years.

perhaps of Royalty, of leading political influence over the county, perilous as it would then be, may have flitted across those young minds? Certain it is, however, that very few gatherings, festive or serious, can have taken place in the great hall under their auspices, for the lives of the lord and lady of the manor were cut short in their prime. John Bernard died on August 20, 1508, shortly before King Henry VII., who died in the following year. When his affairs were wound up his wife, Margaret, is mentioned as deceased. This probably means that she died before him, aged about thirty-five; he must have been ten or more years older.

John, the eldest son of John Bernard and Margaret Daundelyn, was only in his eighteenth year when he lost his father, and in all likelihood he had already lost his mother. Even if placed under guardianship for a short time, he must have achieved complete independence with his majority, and would seem to have taken advantage of his liberty to 'marry for love'—a rare event in those days. Or perhaps, while fancying that he was asserting his rights, the young squire was really captured by designing parents. His chosen wife, whoever chose her, was Cicely,¹ daughter of John Muscote, of Earl's Barton. Muscote is styled 'gentleman,'² not esquire; this, however, denotes inferiority in estate rather than in blood.

John Muscote's family can even now be traced back for five generations before his own birth by the pedigree in the 'Heralds' Visitation' of his native county,³ and these five ancestors would scarcely have been entered had they not all been 'gentlemen' according to the ideas prevailing at the

¹ Lipscomb calls her 'Cecilia,' but Baker's version, 'Cicely,' is more likely to be correct as an old English name, and he mentions it several times.

² 'This distinction of gentlemen was much in use in England, and was given to the well-descended about A.D. 1430. Gentlemen by blood were those who could show four descents from a gentleman, who might be created by the King by letters patent.' Haydn, *Dictionary of Dates* (10th Ed.), article 'Gentlemen.' He quotes Sidney as his authority.

³ *The Visitation of Northamptonshire, 1618-19*, 'Muscote of Wilby and Earl's Barton.'

time of entry. It is elsewhere stated that in the parish of Floore¹ 'John Steer and William Muscote severally bequeathed half an acre of meadow ground for the benefit of the poor of the parish'—no very large gift, but the contribution of men who could afford to leave something in charity. The Muscote family had spread in various directions about Northamptonshire; some of its members were, no doubt, wealthier than others, and may have been entitled to call themselves esquires.

The wife of John Muscote, of Earl's Barton, Cicely's mother,² was Alice, daughter and heir of Christopher Beaufeu, of Hitchin, Herts. In 1390 there had died in the Carmelite Friary at Northampton one of the brotherhood, named William Beaufu,³ a man of some celebrity for his writings; whether he belonged to the same family I am unable to say. On the whole, there seems to have been no reason to consider the Muscote union a *mésalliance*, especially as the decay of feudality, and the consequently modified ideas of rank and social status, must be taken into consideration; but it did not equal the prestige of the previous Bernard marriages. So far, however, as the indications remaining after the lapse of centuries afford any clue, it seems to have been happy.

Richard Bernard, the only brother of John, the squire of Abington, appears, like him, to have taken the law into his own hands, and to have married to please himself, regardless of prudential considerations; assisted in this decision perhaps by the lady's anxious relatives. Her baptismal name was Anne.⁴ The name of her family is not given, but she may, nevertheless, have been some small gentleman's daughter. She took for her second husband one John Mulsoe, probably of the family living at Tanfield, Northants.

¹ *History of Northamptonshire and its Vicinity*—a small book published anonymously. The date of the bequest mentioned above is not given.

² *The Visitation of Northamptonshire*, 'Muscote, &c.'

³ Henson, *History of the County of Northampton*. The spelling of the name varies.

⁴ Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i., 'Abington.' Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.'

It is not stated whether Richard left issue, nor what became of his property.¹

For three generations no daughter's name is mentioned in the Bernard pedigree. Registers were not even attempted until the reign of Henry VIII., and the existence of girls has not been recorded, apparently, in any deed to which the compilers of the pedigree had access. There is, however, reason to believe that John and Richard had a sister Eleanora, who became a nun in the Benedictine Priory of Little Marlow, Bucks.

It was situated close to the river Thames . . . where the water-course forms a bend to the north, upon a low-lying piece of ground now comprised, as the map indicates, between Spade Oak Wharf, Coares End, and Well End, which latter place seems to keep alive the remembrance of the ancient title of the Nunnery, 'De Fontibus'; but no remains of any conventual edifice are understood to exist at the present day.

Some memory of the building has nevertheless been preserved.

Willis the antiquarian who visited the site in A.D. 1718, says that the 'great part of the Convent is still standing, though in ruins. The Tower stood at one corner, separate from the offices. The Church or Chapel was a small tiled building, ceiled at top. Against the east wall are still to be seen some paintings of the Virgin Mary; on each side of her was a saint.'²

The seal of the convent is known to have borne an impression of the Virgin and Child. According to the account I have followed it was a very small institution; 'in its best days it sheltered but five or six nuns at a time,' possibly exclusive of novices and lay sisters. Yet it possessed a hall twenty yards long, though but five yards in width.

¹ It is possible that Richard Bernard may have been father of John Bernard of Epworth, in Lincolnshire, who married Anne Wright, and was father of Richard Bernard, a famous Puritan divine, known as 'Bernard of Batcombe,' from the name of his living in Somersetshire. This, however, is mere conjecture.

² *Records of Buckinghamshire*, published by the Architectural and Archaeological Society for the County of Buckingham, vol. iv. No. 2. *Account of the Nunnery of Little Marlow*, by Walter de Gray Birch, Esq.

The prioresses were generally elected, but sometimes the patrons of the nunnery—that is, the Earls of Gloucester and the family of Danvers¹—were asked to appoint.

Eleanor's connection with the Bernards of Abington is made manifest by the arms in the windows. Three escutcheons were left in 1718, and these were (1) Gules, a lion passant guardant, &c., which probably belonged to King John as Earl of Gloucester; (2) Bernard² quartering Lillyng; (3) Cawoodley³ of Devonshire. The Bernards must therefore have been benefactors, and probably patrons also; but how this came about I have not discovered. The Hall was pulled down in 1740.

Eleanor became prioress in 1576. 'This lady resigned office here for the more influential position of prioress of St. Mary de Pratis, near St. Albans.'⁴ Her successor, Margeria or Margareta Vernon, was the last prioress of Little Marlow, but she became abbess of Malling, in Kent, for a very short time, until the grip of the secular arm once more rendered her homeless. Eleanor was the last prioress of St. Mary de la Pré or De Pratis, in Hertfordshire.⁵ 'In 1528, the King granted to Cardinal Wolsey, *int. al.*, the Manor of Wing, which came to the Crown by the death of Alice [Eleanor?] Bernard, Prioress of the Convent of St. Mary de Pré, co. Herts; upon whose death that monastery was

¹ Or 'd'Anvers.' Possibly there may have been other patrons also.

² The arms are unmistakably those borne by the Bernards of Abington: 'Quarterly 1st and 4th argent a bear saliant, muzzled or: Bernard.—2nd and 3rd, gules, three pikes in fesse, argent: Lucy, or more probably Lilling, as it is preserved in a pencil note of late date on the margin of the copy of Langley's History in the King's Library in the British Museum. Crest on a wreath, a bear's head, coupe tenné, muzzled or.' Mr. De Gray Birch's paper on 'Little Marlow Nunnery.' 'Tenné' or 'tawny' was a tint resembling orange, not quite so bright. The sable in the Bernard crest had perhaps faded to this hue from age and exposure to the sun's rays. Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. iii., 'Little Marlow,' gives a short account of the Priory, but does not mention the window containing the Bernard arms. His account of Eleanor agrees with Mr. Birch's, but he calls her 'Elenor Bernard.'

³ Or Cawodley.

⁴ Willis (Brown), from whose *History of Mitred Abbeys* much information concerning Little Marlow Priory is derived.

⁵ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. iii., 'Wing with Ascot.' The writer took his information from 'Rot. Pat. 20 Hen. VIII.

entirely dissolved.' The discrepancy in the prioress's Christian name, noted by Lipscomb, probably arose from its being abbreviated from Alienora—a form as common as Eleanora—to Alie,' with an antique flourish at the end resembling an 's.' The account reads as if this prioress had by dint of resolution, aided perhaps by interest in certain quarters, succeeded in postponing the extinction of her house.

In the record of John and Cicely Bernard's children there is no longer any difficulty about the names of daughters. They were the parents of four girls as well as of two boys.

Trials are never wanting in this world; so it happened that when these young people were growing up there came another epoch of terror, different in character from the Wars of the Roses, but in some respects more crushing. Under Henry VIII. and his successors neither men nor women could hold their religious opinions in peace, and all persons were required to adopt the decisions of the reigning sovereign, or of the sovereign's advisers at the moment. Every family in the kingdom must have felt the convulsions of that struggle; the quiet and meek often suffered as much as the noisy and restless. So far as appears, Mr. Bernard's family escaped executions and imprisonments, but its sacred traditions and domestic tranquillity were inevitably disturbed.

Dorothy, a daughter of the Abington house, was a nun at De la Pré Abbey, on the south side of Northampton, within a short distance of her paternal home, when the order came for its dissolution. The similarity of name between this abbey and the Hertfordshire priory over which Eleanora Bernard had ruled does not imply any connection of the two. De la Pré, near Northampton, belonged to the Cluniac reform of the great Benedictine Order, and this was quite distinct from the portion of the order which called itself simply Benedictine. Eleanora's house had been attacked during Wolsey's raid against the smaller monasteries, and had fallen to him on her death, some years before Dorothy's convent was overthrown, and even before it was first menaced. It seems strange that John and Cicely should have chosen for their child a career which had

become uncertain and almost perilous; perhaps they, like many other persons, trusted that all danger was over when the Cardinal died, and gave way to the young girl's own desire for the life of a nun at all hazards.

The details of the catastrophe are given by Dr. London, agent of Thomas Lord Cromwell, who wrote to his principal:

At Delapray, beside Northampton, I have taken the Abbess's surrender. She is a good woman, and lately held the King's charter for the continuance of her house; that notwithstanding, she willingly without any refusal rendered unto the King's Majesty that charter, which, with her and the Sisters' surrender, I have sent by this bearer, and according to your commandment have put small Mr. Hennage's kinsman in possession of the same. And forasmuch as I found the late Abbess so conformable, and the house in good state, considering divers great charges, she hath been at, I did assign her, for her comfort in her great age, the fourth part of the sheep, viz. five score, a certen of every kind of grain, a certen of every sort of the cattle, whereof I found pretty store, and likewise of the stuff and implements, beseeching your Lordship to ratify the same and to be good lord unto her and her poor Sisters in their pensions.¹

The abbess was Clementia Stoke² or Stokes; she had received the temporalities of her abbey on January 24, 20 Henry VII. (1503-4), and had apparently ruled for many years in peace. Then came the storm. In the hope of averting danger she had paid a sum of money for the royal promise that her house should remain unmolested, 'and payment made for the same yerly besyd the tenth.' This is what Dr. London means when he says that she 'lately held the King's charter for the continuance of her house.' It availed her nought when the King thought fit to break his word; but London appears to have considered that this promise entitled the

¹ Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. v. pp. 207-15. 'Abbey of De la Pré in Northamptonshire, for Cluniac Nuns.' Letter quoted from Cottonian MS., Cleop. E. iv. fol. 308. In the passage here quoted the archaic language of the original has been modernised.

² In the list of Abbesses of De la Pré the last Abbess's name is given as 'Clementia or Clementissa Stoke or Stokes'; in the list of pensions granted it is given as 'Clemens Stocke Abbatissa.'

nuns to pensions, which numbers of the dispersed inmates of religious houses did not receive.

In a second letter¹ he again states that she 'willingly surrendered,' but how much previous worry had made her willing is left to conjecture. The abbess was certainly not in a condition to contest the point, and her best friends, among whom may have been John and Cicely Bernard, perhaps advised submission. 'She is a very sickly and aged woman, and hath been Abbess there above thirty years, and had always lived like a virtuous woman.'

Then follows a description of her careful management of the temporal affairs of the abbey, of which the writer speaks with decided admiration. It suited her persecutors exactly that the stock and stores should suffice to pay all outstanding debts. The letter concludes:

I beseech your Mastership to be good master unto her, for she cannot long enjoy this pension, sickness and age so groweth upon her.

Your bounden Orator, JOHN LONDS.

Your Orator, EDWARD BASKERVYLE.

The name of the 'good Mastership' to whom this letter is addressed does not appear in Dugdale's work.

In the twenty-sixth year of Henry VIII. the Convent yielded a clear annual revenue of 179*l.* 9*s.* 7½*d.*, it owned lands in many Northamptonshire parishes, and its lay officers were Sir William Gascoyne, steward; John Spencer, receiver-general, and Henry Dudley, auditor. On December 16, 30 Henry VIII. (1539), when Clementia Stokes signed a deed of abdication in the Chapter House of her Abbey, there are only nine names of pensioners mentioned; one nun may have died, or the tenth inmate may have been a novice or a lay sister,² and as such not entitled to compensation. The pensions were granted according to a descending scale. 'Dorothere Barnard,' who is mentioned last,

¹ Quoted by Dugdale in vol. v. of *Monasticon Anglicanum*, from a Pension-Book in the Augmentation Office.

² Gasquet, *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, vol. i. ch. i.

and the three nuns whose names immediately precede hers, received the moderate allowance of 'xx^s' per annum. The justice of this arrangement is not evident, even if the word justice can be used at all with reference to such transactions, since the young nuns were thrown upon their own families, or on the world at large, just as much as their elder sisters. Perhaps it was intended that the younger maidens should marry, but this seldom appears to have happened.

Dorothy Bernard evidently remained true to her vows. Husbands are assigned in the pedigrees to the three other daughters of John Bernard,¹ but none to her. Whether she dwelt in her father's house, keeping her rule in solitude as best she could, or joined some of her former companions in a retreat, where they could still, albeit in fear and trembling, live to some extent as a religious community, is unfortunately not on record. Very little indeed is known as to the fate of the dispersed monks and nuns.²

John and Cicely Bernard must of course have had their own views on the religious conflict of the day, and since they were presumably dutiful children of the Church of Rome up to the time of Dorothy's profession, it is hardly likely that their opinions would have been much modified during the few years which elapsed between that event and the

¹ 1. Elizabeth married John Contyt or Covert; and, 2ndly, William Dixon.

2. Bridget married John Dixon.

3. Mary married George Parley or Purley, of co. Lincoln.

4. Dorothy, a nun at De la Pré Abbey at the Dissolution.

The authorities for this list are Baker and *The Visitation of Northamptonshire* (1618-19). Lipscomb's account is imperfect. This is the order in which Baker arranges the family. The Visitation names Dorothy first, then Mary and Elizabeth, and, lastly, Bridget.

² Father Gasquet has collected as many particulars relating to this topic as he found it possible to obtain; but he admits that it is a subject on which very little can be discovered. This is easily understood. It was the endeavour of the ruling party to suppress the very memories of the religious orders as well as their houses, and it must have been the endeavour of the ejected monks and nuns to avoid further observation. Some, of course, took refuge in foreign countries, and in their case the record has been better, though not exhaustively, kept. It is more likely that Dorothy lived with, or near, her parents. It appears by 'the return upon the Pension Roll 2 & 3 Phil. & Mary' that she still received her allowance.

Dissolution, when the young nun was probably not more than twenty. The only incident which tells against this reasoning is that when 'Sir Robert Mercer, priest,' whom John had appointed Rector of Abington in 1509, the year after his mother's death, either died or retired, his successor was 'William Muscutt, by Richard Muscott, by grant from John Bernard, Esq., 20 November, 1533.' Queen Mary ascended the throne twenty years later, and this William Muscutt was evidently obnoxious to her advisers, since he was deprived, and with him, according to Mr. Rush, more than thirty other clergymen in the county. It by no means follows, however, that he held reforming views when nominated, or, if he did, that his patron knew of them. John Bernard had probably appointed him—or allowed Richard Muscott to appoint him—because he was a nephew or other relative of his wife Cicely—the variation in spelling is immaterial. Many shades of opinion were rife during this great crisis, and the Bernards may have been amongst those numerous persons who were more disturbed and bewildered than edified by the controversies of the age.

During this same agitated Tudor period occurred the successive catastrophes in the Mauntell family.¹ The cousinship between John Bernard of Abington and John Mauntell of Heyford was distant, and the Mauntells did not live entirely, perhaps not chiefly, on their Northamptonshire estates; nevertheless such tragedies could hardly take place without causing a shock to all connected with the victims.² John Mauntell had married the sister of Lord Dacre of the South, himself a still more remote relative of the Bernards through the Scropes and Nevilles. Together with his brother-in-law and certain other reckless companions he sallied forth by night to hunt the deer in Sir Nicholas Pelham's park in Sussex. There they encountered three men, probably retainers of Sir Nicholas, and killed them in a skirmish. For this outrage the aggressors were executed, and their lands were escheated to the Crown.

¹ See ch. i. of this vol.

² Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i., 'Heyford.'

These events took place in the reign of Henry VIII. The second tragedy was enacted under Queen Mary, when John Bernard had been succeeded at Abington by his son Francis. John Mauntell had left a son, Walter, who seems to have taken refuge in Kent with an uncle of the same name. Both these Walter Mauntells were implicated in Wyatt's rebellion—a vehement protest against the Queen's intended marriage with Philip of Spain—and both were executed.

From that time forth the name of Mauntell appears no more in the records of Northamptonshire; but Matthew, son of the elder Walter, was restored by Queen Elizabeth to his father's lands and honours. He seems to have continued the line in Kent.

John Bernard died in 1549, early in the reign of Edward VI.; Cicely, his wife, in 1557, towards the end of Mary's reign. Some remains of their tombs are still to be seen in Abington Church. 'Within the communion rails,' says Baker, 'are two slabs of blue stone; on one of these were formerly two brasses of a man and woman; the former disappeared, the latter remains. She wears a reticulated head-dress, a close gown with sleeves fitting to the waist, and hanging sleeves falling from the elbows.' Both were small figures with labels issuing from their mouths, according to the same authority, and the inscriptions leave no doubt that these figures represented John and Cicely. But the armorial bearings are perplexing. The shield between the two figures did not display the Muscote arms, and the Bernard quarterings set at defiance the modern laws of heraldry.¹ It is quite possible that there may originally have been a second shield, on which Cicely's arms were engraved, which had

¹ See Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i., 'Abington.' The shield displays: 1. Bernard. 2. Lillyng. 3. Scrope. 4. Tiptoft. 5. Daundelyn. 6. Cham-payne of Doddington. 7. Pinkney. Margaret Scrope was not an heiress according to modern heraldic phraseology; she had brothers, and therefore the Bernards could not quarter her arms nor those of her great-grandmother, Margaret Tiptoft. But heraldic heirship was apparently less strictly adhered to in the fifteenth century than now, and quarterings may have represented the descent of property.

been lost when Baker wrote. The other discrepancies show that some of the rules laid down in manuals of heraldry are of comparatively recent invention.

I have spoken of these brasses in the past tense because they were stolen when the church was left open and unprotected at the time of its 'restoration' in the last century. On my first visit to Abington I saw nothing but the bare stones, impressed with marks of the figures, inscriptions, and arms described by Baker, and now there is probably less to be seen.

There appears to be no memorial of the Muscotes at Earl's Barton, and this once numerous family is either extinct or has sunk into obscurity. At Northampton some persons in a more humble station bear the name, but it does not appear that they lay claim to genteel extraction; their ancestors may have been only 'Muscote's people.'

Francis Bernard, the eldest son of John and Cicely, was probably turned thirty at the time of his father's death, and perhaps already married to Alice, daughter of John Haslewood of Maidwell, Northants, Esquire.¹ His only brother John married her sister, Mary Haslewood. The mother of these ladies was Alice, daughter of Sir William Gascoyne, Knight. Their paternal grandfather, John Haslewood, is styled 'Master of the Fleete Prison'; he married Katherine, daughter and heir of William Marmyon, of Kington, Lincolnshire, who belonged to a branch of the Scrivelsby house. It does not appear that Cicely Bernard retained the manor for her life; the advowson she evidently did not. It was Francis, her son, who presented to the living when William Muscutt was deprived in 1554, the year after Queen Mary's accession. But the attention shown by the heir, perhaps by all her children, to perpetuate her memory, in conjunction with that of her husband, by the brass effigy in the church speaks well for the respect in which she was held.

Francis Bernard was allowed to present after Muscutt's deprivation. Of course he was bound to name a person acceptable to the authorities. 'Thomas Neel,' who suc-

¹ Baker, *Hist. North.* The Haslewood pedigree is in vol. ii., 'Maidwell.'

ceeded, must therefore have been a favourer of the papal supremacy; he escaped trouble by dying in 1559, the year following Queen Elizabeth's accession. But there is some likelihood that Mr. Bernard himself did not yet delight in the new order of things, which at its commencement had rendered his sister Dorothy an outcast, since he gave the rectory to a priest named Edward Westbee, who held it only two years. That Westbee died or was promoted is not mentioned, and it is more likely that he either resigned or was deprived, and that his patron then succumbed to the overwhelming influences around him. Thomas Muscutt, presumably a cousin, and of similar opinions to the William Muscutt already mentioned, was presented in 1561, apparently, and remained for many years. The Reformation had become an accomplished fact at Abington.

John Bernard, the younger brother of the Abington squire, had a son Robert; the pedigree does not carry his line further, nor does it state where he lived; but it is not unlikely that Robert may have been the grandfather of a distinguished man, Dr. Edward Bernard, born in Northamptonshire, who will be mentioned in a subsequent chapter.¹

Francis Bernard and Alice, his wife, became the parents of twelve children, who lived to be men and women and married. They had also two daughters, who apparently died in their cradles. So numerous were the claims on the father of this large family that it is not surprising to find him parting with some of his land, probably to portion his daughters. In conjunction with his eldest surviving son, Baldwin, he sold² 'the lordship and manor of Brington Parva, *alias* Little Brington, with all its members and pertinencies, court leet, and 28s. rent out of lands in Great Brington, to Sir John Spencer of Oldthorpe, and to Robert his son and heir, in fee, &c.' Oldthorpe is now called Althorpe, and Sir John Spencer was ancestor of the Earls of Sunderland, afterwards Dukes of Marlborough, and of the Earls Spencer.

¹ In ch. v. of this vol.

² Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i., 'Abington,' and also 'Little Brington.'

There seems some probability that one of the penalties entailed by Francis Bernard's large family was the necessity of building. If his grandfather had not left the Tudor house the size he originally intended, or if further portions of the feudal building had decayed, it is easy to imagine that more rooms may have been required. The north or garden front of the house appears to have dated from this time, though outwardly modernised to a certain extent; it has been pulled down as 'not wanted' since the mansion passed into the hands of Northampton town. Next to the Tudor hall, this northern range of building was, of course, the most interesting part of the house, and I was fortunate enough to see it on my second visit to Abington. It contained many odds and ends of staircases, and rooms in all imaginable positions; in one bedroom there was a trap-door, beneath which a secret staircase led into the courtyard. The person who showed it to me suggested that it might have been intended for use in case of fire; but this idea may be dismissed, as only the occupant of that one room would be saved from burning. It is more likely to have been planned with a view to the avoidance of other dangers, threatening especially the master of the house or some guest who had sought protection there. In the time of Elizabeth such a mode of escape may have been considered an important feature in building or in adapting a still older piece of architecture. At a later period, when the modern house was erected, such contrivances must have been obsolete, save for Papists and Jacobites; and the family¹ then owning Abington was not of that sort.

The 'walled garden,'² through which I walked during that visit, has also disappeared. This was probably Elizabethan at the latest, since there was a revival of horticulture³

¹ The Thursby family, of whom more in the next chapter.

² Mentioned by Baker.

³ Miss Strickland, *Queens of England*, 'Eleanor of Provence.' The author remarks that many fruits known in England in the thirteenth century are noted as being lately introduced in the reign of Henry VIII. Civilisation had been greatly checked by the wars 'from the reign of Henry V. to Richard III. Horticulture and many other arts had almost died out. Haydn, *Dictionary of*

in the sixteenth century, a period of comparative peace. 'The very kitchen-gardens,' says De Wilde, writing of Abington, 'surrounded by lofty walls, are yet so wide and so bounded with trees that they look thoroughly unconfined.' They have been devastated; so apparently has another enclosure, turfed, and also bounded by trees, around which I wandered. The 'small park of 80 acres' noticed by Baker is being cut about with roads, laid almost bare of its trees, and altogether disfigured.

In the south portion of the house, near the Tudor hall, is the principal staircase, which is of Elizabethan character, so it is difficult to say exactly how much of the Bernard buildings was left by the Thursbys. On an outskirt of the park, beside the Wellingborough road, is a building, now used as cottages, and even a post-office, which was apparently a gateway in former days, perhaps with stabling, the dwellings being used for the retainers employed about them; the building has a sixteenth-century appearance. In the park, towards Weston Favell, are two lofty arches, almost identical in appearance; one at least bears the date 1593. Perhaps they were at one time connected by other buildings; now it is hard to understand their use. Such are the chief remains of old Abington.

In one respect Francis Bernard might be termed a fortunate man: his seven daughters married, more or less well apparently. Two of them married more than once; but he and his wife may not have been responsible for any but the first unions. There is a curious piece of domestic history connected with the marriages of these daughters, viewed in connection with the later annals of the family. When Francis Bernard was lord or squire of Abington there lived in the adjoining parish of Weston Favell a gentleman named Francis Tyringham.¹ He was

Dates (10 Ed.), on the subject of 'Gardening' says: 'Its cultivation as an art in England is dated from the commencement of the sixteenth century, when many Flemings came to England in consequence of the persecutions of Philip II.'

¹ Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i., 'Weston Favell'; Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks.* vol. iii., 'Tyringham.'

first-cousin to Sir Anthony Tyringham, of Tyringham in the north of Buckinghamshire; and to Thomas Tyringham,¹ a younger brother of Sir Anthony, who had settled at Nether Winchendon, also in the county of Buckingham. The mother of Francis Tyringham was a Danvers of Banbury, his wife a Doyley of Merton, both in Oxfordshire. Two of Francis Bernard's daughters married into these families of Danvers and Doyley, showing that an intimacy must have existed between the Bernards and Tyringhams. In all probability these young ladies first met their husbands at Weston Favell.

Possibly some particulars might be discovered relating to the lives of every one of this band of seven sisters, but it would involve much research; in one case only have I come across any details, beyond the husband's designation and place of residence, without encountering any hindrance or difficulty. These details are partly contained in an epitaph in Merton Church, Oxon, as follows:

Here lieth buried John Doyley of Merton, esquire, who has been Shreive and Justice of the Peace in Oxfordshire. He lived in great reputation in his countrey for his sinceritie in religion, integritie in life, equitie in justice, and hospitalitie.

Anne Barnarde, who made for him this monument, being the daughter of Francis Barnarde of Northamptonshire, esquire, was his only wife, by whom he had issew these four daughters and heires, Margarie, Katherine, Anne and Eliza. He died ye 17th of June An^o Dⁿⁱ 1593, of the reign of Queen Elizabeth 35.

This John Doyley was descended of the Doyleys who were barons of Hooknorton in the Conqueror's tyme, founded the abbaye of Osney, and of the castell of Oxford, and were also lords of Wallingford Castle.²

If Anne Doyley, *née* Bernard, composed this epitaph, she was evidently proud of her husband's ancestry; indeed, her marriage was probably the most distinguished alliance made by any one of the seven sisters. She followed it up by

¹ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. iii., 'Tyringham,' and vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.'

² Donkin (John), *Oxfordshire*, vol. ii., 'Merton.'

another, equally advantageous, with Sir James Harrington, of Ridlington, in Rutlandshire, first baronet; and finally, when it may be supposed that she was no longer youthful, she married Sir Henry Pode, who came from Wiltshire. Sir James Harrington was clever enough to obtain Margarie Doyley, the eldest coheirress, as a wife for the eldest son of his first marriage,¹ and with her the manor of Merton, which fell to the young couple on the death of her mother. The violent part taken by their son, another Sir James Harrington, as a revolutionist brought him into trouble at the Restoration; he died at Merton, indeed, but almost in poverty. The family remained there for some generations, but eventually the manor-house, like many others, became a farmhouse.

The alliances of Francis Bernard's daughters are subjoined *seriatim* in a note,² as being too numerous and complicated for a more prominent position.

¹ The first Sir James had another son, also by his first wife, Sir Sapcote Harrington, father of James, the author of the *Oceana*.

² 1. Catherine, married Ambrose Agard, of Broughton, gent. (meaning Broughton in Northamptonshire; see *Visitation*).

2. Jane = Richard, son and heir of Sir Richard Saltonstall, knight.

This is probably a mistake for Saltonston. In the same volume Baker chronicles the marriage of Sir Richard Saltonston of 'Wardon' with 'Jane, dau. of . . .' and this couple had a son baptized 'Barnard.'

3. Anne = 1. John Doyley, of Marton (or Merton), co. Oxon.
= 2. Sir James Harrington, of Ridlington, co. Rutland.
= 3. Sir Henry Pode, of co. Wilts.

4. Elizabeth = 1. Thomas Harrison, of Northampton, gent.
This family is called in the *Visitation* Harrison of Gobion's Manor. The manor was in the town of Northampton.

= 2. Henry Favell, of Coventry.

5. Magdalen = Thomas Danvers, of Banbury, co. Oxon, gent.

6. Dorothy = Thomas Charnock, of Wellingborough, Northants, gent.

7. Prudence = Richard Winhall, of co. Warwick.

This is the order in which the names are given by Baker. In the *Visitation* it is 'Katherine, Anne, Magdalyn, Elizabeth, Joane, and Dorothy, all un-

As already stated, Francis Bernard had five sons; but John, the eldest, was not living when his father sold Little Brington. He probably did not long survive his marriage with Dorothy, daughter of Francis Cave, of Baggrave, in Leicestershire, esquire,¹ and died childless. The record of his sisters' alliances shows that it was becoming more usual to seek partners in wedlock outside one's native county; but Dorothy was hardly a case in point, because she was a cousin of the Caves of Stanford,² a Northamptonshire parish, situated on the very border of Leicestershire, and it may have been there that the acquaintance with her future husband was made.

The death of John was, no doubt, the one great domestic grief of Francis and Alice Bernard, whatever minor troubles may have disturbed the tranquillity of their married life. Francis died in 1602—just before the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign—at a ripe age, since he survived his father fifty-three and his mother forty-five years. Alice was living in 1610, at which time she had to bear a second great trouble alone, the death of her son Baldwin.

Her own family is no longer to be found in Northamptonshire; it became extinct in the course of the seventeenth century.³ The last male was Sir William Haslewood of Maidwell, whose eldest daughter and coheirress, Elizabeth, married Christopher, second Baron and first Viscount Hatton.

The Bernards after this time were divided into three distinct branches.

The five sons of Francis Bernard were:

1. John, who predeceased his father, childless.
2. Baldwin, the next lord of Abington Manor, and father of the last lord of his family.

married.' Prudence was apparently not then born. The 'Visitation' took place in 1564, but there were additions made later on. See Preface.

¹ Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i., 'Abington'; Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks.* vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon'; *The English Baronetage*, printed for Tho. Wotton, 1741.

² *The English Baronetage*, printed for Tho. Wotton, 1741.

³ Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. ii., 'Maidwell.'

3. Francis of Kingsthorpe, ancestor of the Bernards of Huntingdon, and of Brampton, in Huntingdonshire.

4. Thomas of Reading, ancestor of the Bernards of Nettleham, Lincolnshire, and Nether Winchendon, Buckinghamshire.

5. Richard of Astwood, Bucks, who, according to the pedigree, left no issue.¹

Before proceeding to relate the history of those branches whose descendants are known, which is lengthy, the subject of Richard Bernard's fortunes may be dismissed in comparatively few lines. Baker, who stops at this generation, except as regards the possessors of Abington, evidently does not suppose that he left any issue,² and Lipscomb expressly states that he married Alice, daughter of John Chibnall, of Astwood, Bucks, but died s.p. Mr. Leonard Barnard, however, says³ that he had been previously the husband of Elizabeth, daughter to Ambrose Woolhouse, of Glasswell, Derbyshire, sister of his brother Robert's second wife, and that he had by her three children, Richard, John, and Alice. No further details are forthcoming concerning these children, who may have died young.

Lipscomb⁴ gives a description of a monumental slab with elaborate brass effigies and inscriptions to the memory of Thomas Chibnall, who died in 1534; he states in another place that a Thomas Chibnall was buried in the same church at Astwood in 1553. Five years later the manor was transferred by George Tyrrel to Richard Chibnall, son of Thomas. It is situated very near the border of Bedfordshire, and not far from Northamptonshire. Richard was probably father of John Chibnall and grandfather of Jane, who married Richard Bernard. At what date the marriage took place, and whether Mr. Bernard had previously made the parish his home, does not appear. He may have acquired some

¹ Baker and Lipscomb, 'Abington' and 'Nether Winchendon.'

² Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i., 'Abington'; Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.'

³ In a MS. letter.

⁴ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. iv., 'Astwood.'

small piece of land and a house there, and his wife may also have received her portion in land. If her brother Thomas resided chiefly in London to follow a business or profession, it would be a convenience for Richard to manage his estate likewise. Whatever may have been the case, it appears that Richard Bernard was known as 'of Astwood.'¹ In 1642 a mild remonstrance was addressed from Aylesbury by the 'Grand Jury of the County of Buckingham to the King in the following terms,' writes Mr. Gibbs. Richard Bernard was one of thirteen persons who signed it.

May it please your Majestie,—Your very dutifull loyale subjects, we the inhabitants of this county of Bucks, taking into consideration, with great thankfulness, the royal expressions in the latter part of your Majestie's Letter directed to the Judge of Assize, wherein we are graciously invited to make our addresses to your most sacred person concerning our several grievances, which though manie yet none at this time leave so great an impression in the hearts of us your subjects as your Majestie's absence from your Parliament, and the feare of a civil warr occasioned through the raising of an army under the title of a guard; a sight terrible to your people, and not conduible to that amiable accomodation so much desired. Wherefore we humbly implore your gracious Majestie to secure the fears of your people by dismissing the army of your most sacred Majestie to your Parliament, who, no doubt, will most religiously perform all that they have undertaken in a late petition presented unto your Majestie, and we do protest, before the Almighty God, it is not only the desire of our eyes to see you, but the true resolution of our hearts, to serve and defend you as we are bound by our duty and allegiance.

B. GRENVILLE,	PETER DORMER,
R. PIGOTT,	RICHARD BERNARD,
THOS. TYRRELL,	A. DAYRELL,
WM. BORLASE.	RICHARD SARJANT,
EDMUND WEST,	S. MAYNE,
EDWARD GRENVILLE,	HENRY ALLEN.
THOS. STAFFORD,	

This remonstrance, as might have been expected, produced no effect, and its signatories went different ways in

¹ Gibbs (Robert), *A History of Aylesbury, &c.*, ch. xvi., 'The Civil War Period, 1642 to 1649.'

the struggle¹ which ensued; but I cannot find any further mention of Richard Bernard, who must have been an elderly man, and perhaps ended his days in comparative peace. The Chibnall estate did not long remain in the family.² 'Thomas Chibnall, grandson of Richard, by lease and release dated June 27 and 28, 1667, sold it to John Trevor and John Upton, in trust for the use of John Thurloe, late secretary to Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector.'

¹ 'Thomas Stafford,' apparently a nephew of Alice Stafford, wife to Baldwin Bernard, was conspicuous for loyalty, if his epitaph may be trusted (Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. iv., 'Shenley'). 'Simon Mayne' was one of the so-called 'Judges' who condemned King Charles I. (Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. ii., 'Dinton').

² Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. iv., 'Astwood.'

CHAPTER III

THE LAST YEARS OF THE BERNARDS AT ABINGTON

Baldwin Bernard and Alice Stafford—William Bernard—Death of Alice Bernard—Francis Bernard of Kingsthorpe—Baldwin Bernard's Second Wife—The Fullwood Family—The Ardens—Shakespeare—John, Son of Baldwin Bernard—Edmund Hampden—Foreign Travels of John Bernard—Elizabeth Edmondes—The Civil War—Sir Alexander Hampden—Susanna Shakespeare—The Halls—Elizabeth Nash—Death of Charles Bernard—John Howes—Marriages of the Co-heiresses—The Gilberts of Locko—William Bernard of Eton—The Franklins—Knights of the Royal Oak—Sale of Abington—Death of Lady Bernard—Death of Sir John Bernard—The Fate of Abington.

BALDWIN,¹ the eldest surviving son of Francis Bernard and Alice Haslewood, succeeded his father at Abington. As one of a family of twelve children, he can hardly have inherited the position of former generations, and he did not seek to re-establish it by marriage with an heiress. He took for his wife Alice, daughter of Thomas Stafford of Tattenhoe, or Tottenhoe, Bucks.

Tattenhoe² is described in Lipscomb's History as 'a very small parish situated on the eastern edge of Whaddon Chase, and bordering upon the old Roman road called Watling Street, in its course from Hockcliffe, in Bedfordshire, to Stony Stratford.' The manor, as well as the manor of Westbury, in the adjoining parish of Shenley, is said to have been purchased by Thomas Stafford, son of Anthony and grandson of Sir John Stafford, of Grafton, Worcestershire, and Blatherwick, Northamptonshire, in 1477, when Edward IV. was king.

¹ Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i., 'Abington'; Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks.* vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.'

² Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks.* vol. iii., 'Tattenhoe'; vol. iv., 'Shenley' and 'Wavendon.' Baker calls Alice Stafford's parish 'Tottenhoe,' Lipscomb 'Tattenhoe,' which is probably the ordinary modern spelling. He names as alternatives 'Tatenhoe, Totenhoe, Tattenhoe,' however.

About the same time John Stafford, a younger son of the second Duke of Buckingham of that family, is supposed to have given the adjacent manor of Wavendon, with the advowson, to the same Thomas Stafford, who is styled his near kinsman.¹ Wavendon was, however, passed on by Thomas to his wife, and became separated from the rest of the property, which he left to his natural son, William Stafford.

Apparently this blot on his escutcheon was of small consequence to William, whose status seems to have been as good as if there had been nothing amiss. Such things happen in all ages, but the Tudor epoch was one of especial confusion with regard to matrimonial relations. A general indifference to conjugal fidelity was fostered by the uncertainty of the law, and William Stafford may have had some claim, as son of a secret and unrecognised marriage, to reckon himself as well-born as many of his illustrious contemporaries. He married, and transmitted his estates to his son, a second Thomas, who was the father of Baldwin Bernard's wife, and this Thomas reposes beneath a monument adorned by many armorial bearings, apparently without a brand or 'difference' to denote the alleged flaw in his descent.² His mansion is said to have been situated in Tattenhoe parish; but the church there was a mere chapel

¹ The only John Stafford to whom this can refer, according to the pedigree in Burke's *Extinct Peerages*, is a son of the second Stafford Duke, who was created Earl of Wiltshire, and died 1473.

² It may be noted that this branch of the Staffords was then, whatever might be reported of its illegitimacy, really in a better position than the descendants of the third Duke of Buckingham, attainted and executed under Henry VIII. The eldest son of that Duke was made Baron Clifford by a re-grant, married the King's cousin, Ursula Pole, and was allowed to enjoy some of his father's estates. His successor married the daughter of an Earl of Derby, but a letter written in 1595 states that 'My Lorde Stafforde's sonne is basely married to his mother's chambermaid.' There is, of course, the possibility that this 'chambermaid' may have been a poor gentlewoman. However, by the premature deaths of his son and grandson—which last succeeded to the title but died without issue—the barony would have gone to his kinsman, Roger Stafford, a grandson of the first lord under the re-grant. The unfortunate man was in such poverty that he had gone by the name of Fludd or Floyd in his youth, supposed to be borrowed from an old servant with whom he had taken refuge; he had a sister married to a joiner and mother of a cobbler. Charles I. now (in 1639) refused to confirm Roger's right to the

in size, and unfitted to display the pomp of heraldry or of sculpture, so the memorial was erected in Shenley church, and is described in the county history as follows :

In the south aisle of the nave is a raised white marble monument set against the east wall ; and on an altar is the effigy of a man, lying in full proportion in armour ; his head resting on his left hand, and over him a tablet of black marble, wherein is this inscription :

'Here resteth in peace, Thomas Stafford of Tatenhoe, Esq., descended out of ye house of the Staffords of Stafford, who, leading a long and virtuous life, yielded up the same in assured hope to rise in Christ, in the year 1607, the 25th day of March, his natal day, in the 80th year of his age, leaving of his four sons, Thomas, the younger, surviving, and three daughters, Alice, married to Baldwin Barnard ; Eleanor, wife to Sir Richard Thekeston, Knt. ; and Jane, married to Sir Arthur Savage, Knt.' ¹

Over this inscription is a shield with quarterings ; and below, on the pedestal of the monument, effigies of Thomas Stafford, his wife and their seven children, kneeling. The name and arms of each child are given ; in the case of sons the paternal arms only, while the daughters bear the same impaled with their husbands' arms. The Bernard bear appears to have been inaccurately portrayed, since it has been taken for a lion. There is a difficulty also about the date. The wording of the epitaph implies that all the daughters were alive in 1607 ; but Alice Bernard was certainly dead, and her husband had married again, before that year began. It seems possible that this date may have been originally 1601, and that a flourish to the '1,' deepened by repeated cleaning, perhaps recut, may have caused it to be taken in the nineteenth century for a '7.' ²

peerage by reason of his abject condition, and required him to surrender his honours, name and dignity. Mary Stafford, sister of the last lord, and her husband, Sir William Howard, were then created Baron and Baroness Stafford. See Burke's *Extinct Peerages*, 'Stafford—Barons Stafford, Earls of Stafford, Dukes of Buckingham, Barons Stafford.'

¹ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. iv., 'Shenley.'

² Lipscomb, indeed, reiterates the date '1607' in another part of his account of the family, but this does not prove that he had obtained any corroboration of the inscription.

The latest period that can be assigned to Alice Bernard's death is 1603, the year after her husband had succeeded his father, Francis Bernard, at Abington. The parish registers do not begin till a later date,¹ therefore it is uncertain whether the children of Baldwin were born and baptized at Abington, and whether their mother died and was buried there. These children were three daughters²—Elizabeth, Anne, Dorothy; all that is known of them is that they were living at the time of their father's death. But in the meanwhile he had married again, and was the father of other children.

Old Francis Bernard probably died believing that the sons of his second surviving son, Francis Bernard of Kingsthorpe, would alone perpetuate his name in Northamptonshire; but about 1604 Baldwin at the age of fifty must have married a Warwickshire lady. It is not unlikely that the introduction was effected through Dorothy, the widow of his brother John, who had taken for her second husband one Richard Neale,³ of Rugby.

Baldwin Bernard's new wife was Eleanor, daughter of John Fullwood, Esq., of Ford Hall, Warwickshire; her mother was Katharine, daughter and coheir of Thomas Dabridgecourt, Esq., of Langdon Hall, Essex,⁴ a descendant of one of the first Knights of the Garter.

John Fullwood's father—another John—had for his wife Mary Hill, whose connections deserve some mention, as will appear. His grandfather—also John—had married Mary Heath, an heiress, through whom he came into possession of Ford Hall; but his family is said to have resided at 'Cley Hill, since called Fulwode,' also in Warwickshire, from the time of Richard II.

¹ They were begun in 1558, but the first volume has disappeared. They now commence in 1637. See *A Concise History of Abington*, by W. J. Rush, 'The Registers.'

² Baker and Lipscomb, 'Abington' and 'Nether Winchendon.'

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ These and the subsequent particulars of the Fullwood family and its allies are chiefly taken from French, *Shakspeareana Genealogica*; Halliwell Phillips's *Outlines of the Life of Shakspeare* has also been consulted.

Mary Hill, the grandmother of Eleanor Fullwood, lost her father, who was apparently domiciled at Bearsley, while she was yet a girl; and her mother, by birth Agnes Webbe, married again. The second husband was Richard Arden, of Wilmcote, in the parish of Aston Cantlowe, a widower with seven daughters. Mr. French asserts that Agnes must have been a gentlewoman because she had 'two salts.' Little seems to be known of her first husband's status, except that he was beyond a doubt in easy circumstances. When Agnes died she left considerable belongings, both indoors and out, to her son, John Hill, and her son-in-law, John Fullwood. By Richard Arden she had no children; but there is an interest attaching to this marriage for the sake of one of his first wife's daughters.

Much erudition has been expended on the question whether the Ardens of Wilmcote were mere farmers, or whether they were a younger branch of the Ardens of Park Hall, a distinguished Warwickshire family. Mr. Halliwell Phillips is a strong opponent of their gentility, and includes the whole connection, even to the Fullwoods, in his judgment. Mr. French takes the opposite view. The Dabridgecourt marriage seems to me a strong point in favour of the Fullwoods, who, moreover, were evidently called 'esquires.' As to the second husband of Agnes Webbe, it appears that although the designation 'esquire' is given to Robert Arden in the Shakespeare grant of arms, and 'gentleman of worship' in the margin of the same document, he had been persistently called 'husbandman' in various deeds during his lifetime. Possibly, however, any younger son of a gentleman who took to farming might come to be thus styled; it is still more likely that his descendants would be. Arden, like Hill, was well off; his will reveals stores of cattle, furniture, and linen almost amounting to riches; and the 'painted cloths,' a kind of tapestry then in use, are noted by Mr. French as indications of a gentleman's position. There seems also some reason for presuming that these Ardens were connections of the Buckinghamshire Hampdens,

who were certainly allied to the Ardens of Park Hall. This will appear a little further on.

Mary Hill, when she accompanied her mother to Richard Arden's house, found three of his daughters still unmarried. It is, indeed, supposed that Mary Arden, the youngest, lived with her grandfather, but even if it were so she was at no great distance, and must occasionally have visited her father; therefore the two Marias certainly knew each other. When, however, in 1557 Mary Arden carried the goodly share of land and buildings left her by her father and grandfather in marriage to John Shakespeare, the farmer and wool-stapler of Stratford-on-Avon, who had been her father's tenant, and was then her own, it is doubtful if the Hill connection can have looked favourably on the alliance, especially as John Shakespeare seems to have launched out on marrying an heiress, and perhaps again on becoming High Bailiff of Stratford, so that for a time he involved himself in pecuniary trouble. Mary Hill, on the other hand, made in 1561 a decidedly advantageous match with John Fullwood, which probably raised her in the social scale.

There is, however, no evidence forthcoming of any direct breach between the Fullwoods and Shakespeares; indeed, whatever reserve may have prevailed at first, the inmates of Ford Hall would be unlike other people if they did not unbend when William Shakespeare, the son of John and Mary, became famous and prosperous, though they may have allowed themselves an occasional sneer at his profession as an actor. So there is every probability, having regard especially to the sequel of the story yet to be narrated, that the young Bernards, children of Baldwin, were early acquainted with the family at Stratford-upon-Avon.

Baldwin survived his father only eight years, dying in 1610 at the age of fifty-six. He left issue, besides the three daughters of his first union with Alice Stafford, two sons, John and William, and a daughter, Catherine, children of his second marriage with Eleanor Fullwood.

John Bernard,¹ son of Baldwin, became by his father's death head of the family at the age of six. He was made a ward of the King, and it may be hoped that his brother and sister obtained similar protection. Little is known concerning the lives of these children in their minority, save that their mother married again, but not, it would seem, very soon after her first bereavement. Her husband's mother—the widow of Francis Bernard—was still living, and perhaps at the family house, where she could act as a restraint on the younger widow. The dates of her death and of her daughter-in-law's second union are not given; but Eleanor did marry eventually, and brought to the home of her first husband as its new master Edmund,² second son of Griffith Hampden, Esq., of Hampden, Bucks, and uncle to John Hampden, afterwards so famous in the strife between the Crown and Parliament. He is supposed to have lived at Prestwood, Bucks, before his marriage. Not long after that event he received the honour of knighthood.

There were, of course, many ways in which Mrs. Bernard might have made the acquaintance of her second husband, since his family belonged to a county adjoining Northamptonshire. Nevertheless, this marriage lends strength to Mr. French's idea that Richard Arden was a grandson of Walter Arden, of Park Hall,³ who in the latter part of the fifteenth century married Eleanor, daughter and coheir of John Hampden, of Hampden. In this case Eleanor Bernard may have met Edmund Hampden when visiting Warwickshire connections who were his relatives.

Eleanor apparently became the mother of three⁴ sons

¹ Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i., 'Abington'; Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks.* vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.'

² The marriage is given by Baker and Lipscomb in the Bernard pedigree. Fuller details of Edmund Hampden and his family may be found in Lipscomb's *Hist. Bucks.* vol. ii., 'Great Missenden,' where the pedigree of his branch of the family is given.

³ The marriage of Eleanor Hampden with Walter Arden, and the descent of Robert Arden of Wilmoote from this couple, are set forth in pedigrees by French, *Shakspeareana Genealogica*, part ii.

⁴ Lipscomb gives the names of four: 'Alexander, Richard, William, and Justinian,' but expresses a doubt whether William was not a grandson—son of

by her second marriage. If the three daughters of Baldwin Bernard and Alice Stafford still resided at Abington, the Manor House must have contained a medley of relationship. Next to these young ladies came John, his brother and sister, and after them his mother's sons by Edmund Hampden. In consequence of the celebrity acquired some years later by John Hampden, the opponent of Charles I., it has been suggested that the Hampden alliance was a great honour to the family at Abington; but whether the young Bernards of that day so regarded it is doubtful. John Bernard seems to have left home as soon as he attained his majority. This, however, taken by itself, proves nothing, since he was probably starting on that Continental tour which was then so usual a finish to the education of young men.

There are indications of an unquiet spirit in ecclesiastical matters even at this period. From the time of Henry VIII., indeed, the annals of the Church of England reveal a continuous struggle of opposing parties within its pale, in addition to the aggression of foes without. Northamptonshire was not backward in this theological warfare.¹ 'Thomas Muscutt,' already noted as a probable relative of the Bernards, had been succeeded in 1588 by 'William Fleshware or Fletcher, B.D.,' who joined 'particular classes of Puritans' which were held at North Fawsley and sundry other places in the neighbourhood. The classes were in connection with synods² or general meetings, in which the discussions sometimes went to such extremes as resolutions for doing away with bishops, and refusing to receive the Communion at the hands of ministers 'who cannot preach.' Nevertheless, Fletcher, who was a Brasenose man, obtained his final degree from Oxford in 1594, and one John Freeman gave him the living of Moulton, which he held with Abington.

On his death, in 1625, 'Charles Trewe' was presented

Richard. There are no baptismal entries connecting them with Abington.' See *Hist. Bucks*, vol. ii., 'Great Missenden.'

¹ Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i., 'Abington.'

² Rush, *A Concise History of Abington*, 'Rectors of Abington.'

by the King 'for defect of John Bernard, his late ward.' He lived only a year, and then 'John Bullyvant' was presented by 'Lady Eleanor Hampden.'

Travelling in those days, it need hardly be said, was a serious business, the means of locomotion being so much fewer and slower than at present; and a young man making his first tour was often aware that it might be the sole opportunity of the kind in his lifetime. John Bernard was probably away two years or more;¹ and this was not an extravagant length of time according to the usage of his contemporaries. Perhaps, indeed, he was none the less inclined to prolong his foreign experiences in that his home was ruled by a stepfather.

During his absence, or just before he left England, in 1625, his half-brother, Justinian Hampden, the youngest child of Edmund and Eleanor, died at the age of two. A brass in Abington Church either does, or did, commemorate his death and the grief of his father. Sir Edmund did not long survive his son; he died in 1627. Lady Hampden lived seven years longer. John Bernard, who may have returned in consequence of his stepfather's death, must have married during this interval. Two altar-tombs still commemorate Edmund and Eleanor. Either the widow must have superintended the erection of both, or else, after paying tribute to her husband's memory, she left designs for a similar monument to herself. Edmund is commemorated in a Latin prose epitaph; Eleanor in English verses supposed to be uttered by herself. The tombs are not now in their original position, but are huddled together in a corner of the north chapel.²

When John Bernard proceeded to carry out his mother's last wishes as to her interment, he doubtless awoke to the

¹ How general this custom of foreign travel had become, even among persons of no special position, appears in the instance of John Milton, who was the son of a scrivener, and who was away fifteen months in France and Italy.

² Bridges, *Hist. North.*, mentions them as 'at the south-west end of the north chapel. See De Wilde, 'Abington,' in *Rambles Roundabout*. They are now in the south-east corner of the 'chapel,' which has no appearance of a chapel left.

fact that no sepulchral honours had as yet been paid to his father, Baldwin, the lord of the manor. This is difficult to account for. Possibly some very simple slab or tablet had been deemed sufficient at the time, but did not satisfy his son, in the light of subsequent events, having regard also to the continued development of the taste for elaborate structures in memory of the dead. John Bernard now dedicated to his father a mural monument in alabaster, enriched by a shield,¹ with quarterings, supported by sculptured figures, and an inscription of some length, but not ostentatious, in which he names himself as the person who had carried out this filial duty.

John Bernard's wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Clement Edmondes, of Preston Deanery, in Northamptonshire.² No further particulars of this family are to be found in the county histories; but her father can be identified with the Sir Clement Edmondes well known for his 'Observations on Cæsar's Commentaries.' A French writer describes him as 'an equally skilful politician and warrior,' adding, 'He was also well versed in the sciences and arts.'³ This is of itself a distinguished parentage, even if no relationship should be proved to the famous Sir Thomas Edmondes. Sir Clement was Remembrancer of the City of London in 1609; he was afterwards Master of Requests and Clerk of the Council. As his death took place in 1622, his daughter must have been brought up under other guardianship, but probably at Preston Deanery.⁴

¹ The shield represents Bernard quartering Lillyng, Daundelyn, Champayne, and Pinkney, and impaling Fullwood, with Greswold and Dabridgecourt quarterly. Each shield is supported by a female figure. Both the wives of Baldwin Bernard and all their children are mentioned in the epitaph, but no notice is taken of Alice Stafford's arms; probably because this would have complicated the bearings. Where Alice is buried I do not know. Eleanor died in January 1634. The monument bears date March 1634.

² Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i., 'Abington'; De Wilde, *Rambles Roundabout*, 'Abington.'

³ *Biographie Universelle*, 'Edmondes (Sir Clement), signed X—s,' meaning, as explained in the Index, 'Revu par M. Suard.' Sir Clement's *Observations*, in three parts, were published successively in 1600 and 1609, and all republished in 1677.

⁴ Sir Thomas Edmondes, Ambassador to France, Secretary of State,

Unfortunately, the union of the young people was brief and clouded with sorrow.¹ Eight children were born, but three of them, two sons and a daughter, were already dead when their mother was laid in her grave on March 30, 1642. Two years later the remains of another son were carried to the family vault.

These events bring the narrative to the momentous period of the Civil War, in which, however, John Bernard does not seem to have taken an active part. In early youth it is probable that he had cherished an affection for royalty, being reared under its protection; but this feeling in his case, as in many other cases, may have been gradually modified by reading and observation, and especially by contact with persons of various views. That he ever became an admirer of all the proceedings of Parliament by no means follows, although he may have hoped good things from its stand against abuses.

He had half-brothers who were first-cousins to John Hampden. Whether this sort of connection was likely to influence him for or against the revolutionary party might depend upon his recollections of his stepfather. The half-brothers, indeed, do not appear to have been of stirring natures.² Of the eldest, Alexander, I can find only that Sir Alexander Hampden of Hartwell—no doubt his godfather—left him 10*l.* a year; William, the second, is recorded as being of 'Honor End,' and that is all; Richard was 'of St. Paul's, London,' and also 'of Drapers' Company and Packer.'

Charles I. had become king just before the termination of John Bernard's minority. He was more than once in Northamptonshire during the happy early years of his reign, taking his Queen for her health to the Redwell at Welling-

negotiator of several treaties, a still more celebrated man, was once supposed to be father of Sir Clement. M. Suard has adopted this view. In the *Dict. Nat. Biography* it is controverted, and, in fact, their respective ages render the connection unlikely. It seems certainly possible that Sir Thomas was not even distantly related to Sir Clement.

¹ Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i., 'Abington.'

² Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks.* vol. ii., 'Great Missenden.'

borough. On the first occasion, in 1626, John Bernard was probably in foreign parts; on the second, in 1628, he may have been at home, and may have seen the King when he passed through Northampton; as a recent ward Charles might be supposed to feel an interest in him.¹ I find no other Royal visit chronicled until 1637. Meanwhile John Bernard had married and become the father of two sons, William and John, both then living. It seems not unlikely that the King, being in the county at a time when the birth of another child was beginning to be anticipated, may have honoured his 'late ward,' whose wife was the daughter of a meritorious public servant, distinguished in literature and science, with a promise to stand godfather by proxy to the expected infant. Certain it is that the boy baptized in February 1637-38² was called Charles, the first of the name in the Bernard family. When this child died, in 1639, the name was passed on to a fourth boy, baptized in May 1640.

Years again elapsed; but in 1646, early in the year, King Charles came once more into the vicinity of Abington, this time in the custody of Parliamentary Commissioners, who conducted him to Holdenby, familiarly known as Holmby.³

'The King reached his princely manor of Holdenby on the 15th of February, having been something retarded by reason of white weather.' Many hundreds of the gentry of the county met the royal cavalcade two miles on this side Harborough, and 'thousands and thousands' of spectators thronged the road and hailed his

¹ *The Family Topographer*, by Samuel Tymms, vol. v., Midland Circuit, 'Northamptonshire.' In this work only the visit of 1626 is mentioned.

The other visits are mentioned in *Historic Notes on Wellingborough*, 'The Redwell,' by Miss Gertrude M. Dulley. The author quotes an entry in the 'Parish Books of Wilby' of 'A Levy . . . for provision for the Queene at Wendlingborow,' dated July 30, 1626. Also of payments made to sundry persons for wheat and malt 'served to the King's Court' in 1637. These are in the Town Book of Wellingborough.

² Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i., 'Abington'; Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks.* vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.'

³ Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i., 'Holdenby.' He quotes from Sir Thomas Herbert's *Memoirs of the Last Years of Charles I.*

Majesty with acclamations, 'causing many a smile from his princely countenance.' A guard of honour was drawn up to receive him at Holdenby; and he entered his palace, and his prison, through the great court gate, with all the state and pomp of royalty. When his Majesty's approach to his destination was announced at Northampton there was great rejoicing, the bells rang and cannon was discharged; insomuch that a gallant echo made its appeal at Holmby.

Men of all parties joined in greeting the King, and Mr. Bernard was probably one of those who went forth to meet him; perhaps also of those who afterwards played bowls with him at Althorp and Boughton, the demesnes of the Earl of Sunderland and Lord Vaux.

A fair hope had at last sprung up, in some minds at least, of an accommodation between the King and Parliament;¹ it was frustrated by the arrival of Cornet Joyce with an armed force at Holdenby, whence he carried off the defenceless King, whose affairs then went from bad to worse.

All this time John Bernard remained a disconsolate widower. It may be assumed that he sincerely regretted his young wife, since he did not marry for six years after her death; and when he did make a second choice, it fell, not on a fair young girl, whose attractions might have consigned to oblivion the memory of the past, but on a widow of forty—that is, only four years younger than himself—with whom he had probably been long on terms of friendship.

The connection between Shakespeare and the Bernards has been already set forth. John Bernard was about twelve when the poet died, and may easily have visited and conversed with him and with the members of his family; and this intercourse with the family would, in all likelihood, be continued, or at least renewed, whenever he went to stay with his mother's relations in Warwickshire. Susanna, the elder and favourite daughter of William Shakespeare, married Dr. Hall, a physician of great repute at Stratford,²

¹ These particulars may, of course, be found amplified in the histories, but especially in the memoirs of the times.

² See the works on Shakespeare's family already quoted.

and said to inherit gentle blood, who wrote a book descriptive of the most remarkable cases placed under his care. Susanna Hall was a bright, sympathetic, and pious woman, if the well-known epitaph on her tomb may be trusted, which begins :

Witty above her sexe, but that's not all,
Wise to salvation was good Mistress Hall ;

and goes on to describe her as one

that wept with all ;
That wept, yet set her selfe to chere
Them up with comforts cordiall.¹

'These lines,' says French, 'are supposed to be the composition of one of the Puritan divines with whom Dr. and Mrs. Hall and their daughters are known to have been acquainted.' They do this reverend gentleman, whoever he was, great credit. The leaning to Puritanism sounds incongruous in the daughter of one who took so broad a view of life as William Shakespeare, and whose more serious utterances are tinged with a tender reverence for the old beliefs of his forefathers. Perhaps it was not a violent reaction. The Puritans were the Low Church party of the day, and some of them went to great lengths, but the name included persons of several shades of opinion, and the loyalty of the Halls was not affected by their peculiar religious tendencies.

Dr. and Mrs. Hall had one child—Elizabeth—born at Stratford, and reared amid surroundings of an exceptional nature ; but there is not much to relate of her life. No special traditions attach to her girlhood. At the age of eighteen, in 1626, she married Thomas Nash, who is described as a student of Lincoln's Inn. He was the son of Anthony Nash, of Welcombe, a parish in the outskirts of

¹ 'Some Account of the Life, &c., of William Shakespeare,' written by Mr. Rowe, prefixed to Johnson and Steevens's edition of Shakespeare. The epitaph is contained in a note, as also are the following particulars : 'The foregoing English verses, which are preserved by Dugdale, are not now remaining, half of the tombstone having been cut away and another half stone joined to it.' The latter commemorates one Richard Watts, who died in 1707. The note is written by Malone.

Stratford, who had been a friend of the poet, and was nearly fifteen years senior to his wife.

William Shakespeare in his later years purchased a house with a garden at Stratford¹ originally built by Sir Hugh Clopton, Lord Mayor in the reign of Henry VII. This he enlarged and remodelled according to his own taste, and gave it the name of New Place. He left it by will to his daughter Susanna, and with remainder to her issue male, failing which to his granddaughter Elizabeth. If Elizabeth had no son it was to revert to Shakespeare's second daughter, Judith, and her issue male, and then to right heirs.²

When the Civil War raged in England [says Theobald], and King Charles I.'s Queen was driven by the necessity of affairs to make a recess into Warwickshire, she kept her court for three weeks in New Place. We may reasonably suppose it then the best house in the town; and her Majesty preferred it to the College, which was in possession of the Combe family, who did not so strongly favour the King's party.

Possibly the Queen may have intended to remain three weeks, and therefore had engaged the house for that time; but if so she was hindered by circumstances, and evidently did not stay three whole days. She was welcomed by Prince Rupert at the head of a gallant body of Cavaliers on July 11, 1643,³ which was a lively and memorable day for Stratford; and on the 13th she left, escorted by the Prince and his followers, to join the King at 'the field near Keinton under Edge Hill,' where the battle had been fought in the previous year. From there they proceeded next day to

¹ This information is taken from Theobald, and may be read in his Preface to Shakespeare's Works, or in a note to Rowe's 'Account,' extracted thence. See also Halliwell Phillips and French.

² Theobald, Preface to *The Works of Shakespeare*; quoted also in a note by Rowe.

³ Dugdale (Sir William), *Life, Diary, and Correspondence*, edited by William Hamper, Esq. The contemporary authority of Dugdale may be allowed to settle this date, which is adopted by Miss Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England—Henrietta Maria, Consort of Charles I.* Malone, indeed, adopts June 22 as the probable date; perhaps because the Shakespeare house was placed at her disposal from that day.

Oxford. The time spent in Shakespeare's town did not allow for much ceremonial ; but it is possible that Mrs. Hall, who was then a widow, and Mr. and Mrs. Nash, may have been presented to her Majesty.

Thomas Nash died on April 4, 1647, and perhaps on the next occasion when John Bernard visited his Warwickshire connections he began to think of his relict as a suitable person to superintend his household and take charge of his motherless children ; and so esteem and friendship of old standing may have deepened into a tenderer feeling by degrees. It must also be admitted that Mrs. Nash was well provided with this world's goods. She had a substantial dower from her husband ; she had inherited half her father's property, and would succeed to the rest, as well as to the Shakespeare houses, on her mother's death.¹ But there was a countervailing disadvantage. Elizabeth Nash had never borne children, and she was in her fortieth year when she married again ; while John Bernard's hopes of succession in the male line rested on his one surviving boy, Charles. His brother William, too, who had settled at Ecton, a parish adjoining Abington, was unmarried. But either John was indifferent on this point, or he believed that Charles had outgrown the constitutional weakness which had proved fatal to his brothers, and he entered upon a second union.

There was no unseemly haste. Thomas Nash had been dead more than two years when John Bernard married his widow on June 5, 1649, a few months after the execution of the King.² The wedding took place at Billesley, three and a half miles from Stratford. The reason is not given, but it is possible that in a rural parish John and Elizabeth managed to obtain, if not the proscribed rites of the Church of England, at least some kind of religious ceremony.

¹ The particulars of Shakespeare's family are taken chiefly from *The Plays of William Shakespeare*, by Samuel Johnson and George Steevens—that is, from *Some Account of the Life, &c., of William Shakespeare*, by Rowe, with notes added by the Editors from Malone, Theobald, &c., and from Halliwell Phillips and French.

² Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i., 'Abington'; Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.'

Mrs. Hall died in the following month, and her daughter became the owner of New Place. How often she visited that house or her father's house after her second marriage does not appear. This union, like her first, was childless, and it was followed at no great distance by a calamity which led, though not immediately, to the departure of the Bernards from Abington. Mr. Bernard's last surviving son, Charles, died in May 1651 at the age of eleven.¹

The next event chronicled in the history of Abington is the appointment of John Howes² to the rectory, November 3, 1652. He is described in the Parliamentary Register as a 'moderate Presbyterian' and 'a learned, able divine.' His nomination was perhaps a compromise between the authorities of the time being and Mr. Bernard, who must have had some voice in the matter, since Howes afterwards described him as his 'patron.' And then a glimpse is given of the domestic arrangements at Abington, which shows at least that John Bernard did not lightly discharge his old retainers. There is an entry in Abington parish register in 1654 to the following effect: 'Robert Joyce,³ servant to John Bernard, Esq., aged about one hundred years, was buried 27 Nov., *anno predicto*.' Joyce must have been a middle-aged man when John Bernard was born.

About this time Mr. Bernard made what was apparently his nearest approach to action in a public capacity; at least, no other effort has come before me, and this one is not mentioned in the county history. He was appointed one of the 'Commissioners for Sequestrations,'⁴ as they are commonly called, who seem to have been appointed by committees in the counties. Such an office did not, indeed, necessarily denote violent politics; there was a power of softening the decrees to the unfortunate Royalists, who were sometimes allowed to compound; and some gentlemen took upon themselves the

¹ Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i., 'Abington'; Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks.* vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.' See also for fuller particulars, Halliwell Phillips, *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*; French, *Shakspeareana Genealogica*.

² Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i., 'Abington.'

³ Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i.; Rush, *A Concise History of Abington*.

⁴ Information contained in a list of Commissioners for Sequestrations.

burden of this office with a view to saving their neighbours from utter ruin.¹ It may be hoped that the squire of Abington was of these. To such, indeed, some trouble and vexation may have been involved, besides the actual work, since they were probably associated with others of a more violent type, and found difficulty in carrying out their charitable intentions.

John Howes may have preached sermons worth hearing long before, but he now apparently began to take a lead; perhaps the subject of the discourse was suggested to him, not only by the day, but by the wild opinions abroad:

‘Christ, God-Man, Set out in a Sermon, preached at Northampton on the Lecture, being Christmas-day 1656, by John Howes, sometime Fellow of Gonvil [*sic*] Caius College in Cambridge; now Minister of God’s Word at Abington. . . .’ This sermon was printed for Joseph Nevill, at the Plough in Paul’s Churchyard, and William Cochran, bookseller, in Northampton, 1657. This is the first known notice of a Northampton bookseller.²

The sermon, with its Latin dedication to John Bernard and an address to ‘the impartial reader,’ occupies thirty-two quarto pages.

Soon after he had sent this sermon to the publisher John Howes may have been required to assist at the first of a series of weddings which enlivened the old Manor House for a while, leaving it, indeed, more lonely afterwards.³ The three daughters of Sir John, now his coheireses, married in quick succession and apparently well—perhaps by the management of their Shakespearean stepmother. Mary, the second daughter, was the first to leave. She gave her hand to Thomas Higgs, of Colesbourne, in Gloucestershire, on July 7, 1657. Elizabeth, the eldest daughter, became

¹ For instance, in Williams’s *Parliamentary History of the Principality of Wales*, a Mr. James Lewis of Abernant-bychan is mentioned, sometime M.P. for Cardiganshire, a Royalist at heart, forced at one period to serve on the other side, who ‘being made a Sequestration Commissioner, used his power to shield the Royalists.’

² Rush, *A Concise History of Abington*, ‘Rectors of Abington.’

³ Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i., ‘Abington’; Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., ‘Nether Winchendon.’

the wife of Henry Gilbert, of Locko,¹ in Derbyshire, on February 15, 1657-8. Eleanor, the third, married Samuel Cotton, of Hinwick, in Bedfordshire, on September 8, 1659. All the sons-in-law are styled esquires in the pedigree, which in those days meant something definite and substantial; but Henry Gilbert's family is the only one of which I can find any trace. It is heard of for some time at Locko, but is now no longer there; yet some memorial of the old time at least survives.² 'On one side of the house is a chapel of the 17th century, with the inscription "Domus mea vocabitur domus orationis."' And this inscription attests the Churchmanship of the Gilberts. To Puritan minds God's House was a house of preaching.

These unions were followed by the marriage of the squire's only brother, William Bernard, of Ecton. In 1658 he married, being then about fifty years of age. His bride,³ 'Mrs. Mary Lane, of Abington,' was probably either daughter or sister of 'Francis Lane,'⁴ of Northamptonshire, a strong loyalist, and no doubt a relative of Sir Richard Lane, of Courteenhall and Kingsthorpe,⁵ Keeper of the Great Seal to Charles I., who in 1650 had died an exile. 'Anne Lane,' who had married⁶ 'Richard Hampden of Drapers' Company,' half-brother to William Bernard, was daughter of 'Francis Lane, citizen of London'; the two Francis Lanes may have been father and son, and Anne a sister of Mary.

Why William Bernard should have entered into matrimony at this juncture it is impossible to say; he had let

¹ This word is variously printed in various books 'Lock' or 'The Lock,' 'Locko,' and 'Lockow.' I have adopted the spelling in Murray's *Handbook for Derby, Notts, Leicester, and Stafford*, as being probably in use at the present time.

² See Murray's *Handbook of Derby, Notts, Leicester, and Stafford*.

³ The entry given by Baker is 'Mar. 1658.' There is, of course, a possibility that this may be merely the date of a deed in which William Bernard is described as the husband of Mary Lane, and that the marriage may have taken place in some previous year. But I have not met with any suggestion to that effect.

⁴ See 'List of intended Knights of the Royal Oak,' at the end of Wotton's *Baronetage*.

⁵ Baker, *Hist. North.*; Foss, *The Judges of England*, 'Sir Richard Lane.

⁶ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. ii., 'Great Missenden.'

years go by since the death of his last nephew, which might have suggested such a course; perhaps the loss of a sister who kept his house may have determined him. The marriage proved childless, and did not, therefore, avert the extinction of the line.

Nothing more is related of William; he seems not to have been considered in Sir John's last arrangements, and may therefore have died before him. Some interest of a different sort attaches to his parish, Ecton, as the home of the Franklins, whose famous descendant was afterwards brought into contact with a Bernard of a younger branch, the Governor of Massachusetts.

On the lower outskirt of sequestered, umbrageous Ecton, the Franklins possessed for three hundred years or more a farm of thirty acres, a small stone dwelling-house, and a forge, all of which the eldest son regularly inherited. . . . It was a custom in the family for the heir of the estate to learn the trade of a blacksmith, and to take his youngest brother as apprentice. All the other sons were apprenticed to trades; the daughters married tradesmen or farmers.¹

In the days of Queen Mary I. the Franklin of Ecton was a strong Protestant, who kept a Bible fastened inside the top of a joint-stool, to be turned up and read by stealth, while a child watched. One of his daughters was said to have stolen the commission of a persecuting priest from his saddlebag, substituting a pack of cards. His youngest son underwent imprisonment for a year and a day 'on suspicion of his being the author of some poetry that touched the character of some great man.' But his eldest son Thomas lived quietly and prosperously, and another Thomas, his grandson, showed a turn for science, and became an object of wonderment to his neighbours; he was also 'clerk of the County Court and clerk to the archdeacon, a very leading man in all county affairs, and much employed in public business.' This Franklin ranked as a sort of gentle-

¹ Parton, *Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. i. ch. i., 'Ancestors of Franklin.' *The Life of Benjamin Franklin*, written by Himself, edited by John Bigelow, vol. i. pt. i., has also been consulted.

man, and seems to have abandoned the forge; his only child and her husband, named Fisher, eventually sold the house and land to Mr. Isted. Three of his brothers were dyers at Banbury. Josiah, the youngest, frequented conventicles held by ejected ministers in Northamptonshire, which were then 'forbidden by law and frequently disturbed.' As a result he fled to America in 1685,¹ and there his celebrated son, Benjamin, one of the younger children of a second marriage, was born twenty-one years later. The Franklin home at Ecton still exists as a picturesque farmhouse.

Times were now changing. John Howes preached a sermon on June 21, 1659,² 'at the Funeral of that Reverend Divine, Mr. Thomas Ball, late Minister of God's Word at Northampton,' which was dedicated to Mrs. Susanna Griffith, daughter of the deceased, and was published in the following year, 1660. In this he ventured to call himself 'Rector of Abington'; for, indeed, the Restoration was close at hand, if not actually accomplished. Howes evidently made no difficulty about conformity, and continued peacefully at Abington. It may be added that he became conspicuous for a third discourse, entitled

'A Sermon preached at the Assizes at Northampton, August 9th, 1669. Wherein is asserted, The Excellency of Religion, against the Atheist, The Dignity of Regal Government, against the Independent, The Supremacy of his Majesty in Causes Ecclesiastical, against the Presbyterian, the Necessity of Judges, Law, and Magistrates, against the Anabaptist.'³ This sermon was most highly spoken of by the Judge, Mr. Serjeant Broom, in his charge to the Grand Jury. It was dedicated to the Bishop of Peterborough.

Howes may have been perfectly sincere; his former opinions, never extreme, were likely to be modified by circumstances, without time-serving; certainly Serjeant Broom had reason

¹ The Autobiography says 'about 1682.'

² Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i., 'Abington'; Rush, *A Concise History of Abington Abbey*, 'Rectors of Abington.'

³ This Sermon is not mentioned by Baker. Rush does not state how he discovered it, but the notice is found in his account of the 'Rectors of Abington.'

to admire that passage in his composition wherein the office of judge and the manner in which the office was discharged were the subject of panegyric.

The Restoration must, as a rule, have brought disappointment to the faithful Royalists, most of whom had been fined, many of whom had suffered the forfeiture of their estates. Except in the cases of a few favoured individuals, compensation seems to have been ignored. Charles II. had not been restored solely, or even chiefly, by the original friends of his father and family; these had proved powerless until reinforced by men from all parties, driven by various motives, some of them, no doubt, legitimate, into the monarchical ranks. So the most faithful often fared the worst. Francis Lane, perhaps of Abington, has been mentioned as a staunch Royalist. Francis Thursby, who is styled 'of Abington,' was another. These two gentlemen, together with Thomas Morgan of Kingsthorpe, were marked as intended 'Knights of the Royal Oak,' an order which Charles II., or some of his advisers, had planned to be a distinguishing mark of long adherence to his cause. It was eventually given up, from a dread of the jealousy and animosity which might be excited amongst those who had not the same claim to honour, yet must not lightly be reminded of former shortcomings. But the list was drawn up and may be read.¹ Lane, Thursby, and Morgan were three out of seven persons belonging to the county of Northampton. Lane's income was but 600*l.* per annum, Morgan's also; Thursby had 1,000*l.* All three are called esquires. 'The Knights were to wear a silver medal, with a device of the King in the oak, pendent to a ribbon about their necks.'

I do not know whether these gentlemen's services were recognised in any other way; but John Bernard was

¹ 'A List of Persons' Names who were fit and qualified to be made Knights of the Royal Oak, with the Value of their Estates.' This list is in the last volume of *The English Baronetage*, printed for Tho. Wotton, 1741. Four other gentlemen of Northamptonshire families are mentioned, under the head of 'London and Middlesex': Thomas Elmes of Lilford, William Haselwood of Maidwell, Maurice and George Tresham.

knighted soon after the King's restoration,¹ in 1661, whether by reason of any help he had latterly given to the royal cause, or simply because his fortune and position entitled him to the honour, does not appear. His cousin, Robert Bernard, son of Francis of Kings-thorpe, who had been a personal friend of Oliver Cromwell, fared still better; he obtained a baronetcy in the following year.²

At no great distance of time—in 1666—a stately funeral was solemnised in Abington; Sir Robert Bernard, although his home was in Huntingdon, and he had died in London,³ wished to rest with his ancestors in the old church. This event perhaps brought to Sir John's mind the probable nearness of his own end, and it may have been after he returned from the funeral that he began to revolve the project of selling Abington, in order, no doubt, that the proceeds might be divided amongst his three daughters. And on December 4, 1669, he actually sold⁴ 'the Manor, Lordship, and Advowson of Abington, *alias* Abingdon, with Court Leet, Court Baron, and Fishery in the river Nen, from Northampton meadow to Weston meadow, to William Thursby, of the Middle Temple, London, esquire, for 13,750*l*.' But Sir John evidently stipulated that he should live out the rest of his days in the old home. Whether any similar proviso was made in favour of Lady Bernard in case she outlived her husband does not appear; probably her own wish was to return to her native town, and end her days at New Place. She had survived her aunt, Judith Quiney, who passed away in 1662, and Judith's three sons, who had all died unmarried; still, a few more distant kinsfolk remained. Lady Bernard did not, however, revisit Stratford; she died at Abington, little more than two months after the sale, the last of Shakespeare's descendants.

The end is noted in the Parish Register as follows:

¹ Beatson, *Political Index*; Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i. 'Abington.'

² Beatson, *Political Index*; *The English Baronetage*, printed for Tho. Wotton.

³ Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i. 'Abington.'

⁴ *Ibid.*

‘Madam Elizabeth Bernard, wife of Sir John Bernard, Knt., was buried 17th February, 1669.’

De Wilde remarks :

It is curious that this entry in the register is somewhat cramped and crowded upon a record of the burial of Thomas Hoe, labourer ; it is the last in that year (the year then commenced on March 25th), and its appearance almost suggests that it is an interpolation between the burial of Thomas Hoe and the heading of the coming year, ‘Anno Domini 1670’ ; as if the keeper of the register had written the heading for that year, not expecting other burials. Of this last of the Shakespeares there is no other record. So far as is known, no stone ever marked the place where she was buried.¹

Many comments have been made on this omission, and gloomy hints thrown out as to the domestic relations at Abington Manor. Malone observes that Sir John ‘seems not to have been sensible of the honourable alliance he had made. Shakespeare’s granddaughter would not, at this day, go to her grave without a memorial.’² But, in truth, the idolatry of Shakespeare is a modern invention. He had been much admired in his day ; but times were changed—first the dislike of the Puritans to theatres, and then the French taste introduced at the Restoration, had relegated him to comparative obscurity. Evelyn writes in his ‘Diary,’ November 26, 1661 : ‘I saw “Hamlet, Prince of Denmark,” played, but now the old plays began to disgust this refined age, since his Majesties being so long abroad.’³ Pepys also speaks slightly of the old English drama. It is quite possible that some persons, looking at the modest antecedents of the Shakespeares, and even the Halls, considered that Sir John had scarcely married up to the pretensions of his race. With regard to the question of a monument, it is quite as surprising from a family point of view that there should be no memorial to Elizabeth Edmondes, the wife of

¹ De Wilde (G. J.), *Rambles Roundabout*, ‘Abington.’

² Note by Malone affixed to Rowe’s *Account of the Life, &c., of William Shakespeare*.

³ *The Diary of John Evelyn, Esquire, F.R.S., from 1641 to 1705-6*, edited by William Bray, Esq., Fellow and Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

Sir John Bernard's youth and the mother of his children, as that such an honour should have been omitted in the case of his second partner. Either Sir John avoided entering into any details reminding him of death, or his work has been destroyed. Abington Church has, indeed, suffered much in this way.

Finally, it does not seem as if Lady Bernard herself greatly prized the traditions of her family. Her will—which is witnessed by 'John Howes, Rector de Abington,' and 'Francis Wickes,' probably a servant, and begins: 'In the name of God, Amen. I Dame Elizabeth Bernard,'¹ &c., &c.—testifies to her 'being in perfect memory (blessed be God), and mindful of mortality.' She proceeds to give directions for the sale of her house in New Place, giving her 'loving cousin, Edward Nash, Esq., the first offer or refusal thereof, according to my promise formerly made to him'; if he declined to purchase, her kinsman Edward Bagley was to be substituted on the same conditions, namely, that the money raised by this sale should be apportioned in legacies, chiefly to her Hathaway relatives. To her cousin, Thomas Hart, she left other house property in Stratford, with remainders to his son, brother, &c. Had she made a similar attempt to protect New Place, it might have been preserved from the ownership of strangers, which eventually led to its destruction.

In this will there is no hint of domestic dissensions; on the contrary, Lady Bernard showed a kindly feeling towards her husband's family in the following direction towards the end:

And I do hereby declare my will and meaning to be that the executors or administrators of my said husband Sir John Barnard shall have and enjoy the use and benefit of my said house in Stratford, called the new Place, and the orchards, gardens, and all other the appurtenances thereto belonging, for and during the space of six months next after the decease of him the said Sir John Barnard.

¹ *Some Account of the Life, &c., of William Shakespeare*, by Rowe; note by Malone.

She must have been aware that the executors or administrators would almost certainly be Sir John's daughters or their husbands.

Lady Bernard spelled the name both ways, but 'Bernard' predominates. Sir John also used the 'e' and 'a' indifferently. Their signatures have been preserved; both wrote good, bold, legible hands, and shaped their letters well.

From the date of his second widowerhood Sir John must have lived a solitary life, save when he was cheered by visits from his daughters. A parting glimpse of his life is afforded in the journal of a young neighbour. Sir Justinian Isham, of Lamport, had a clever boy, Thomas, who by his father's desire kept a diary in Latin¹ for nearly two years, containing many curious particulars of country life in those days. One of the latest entries is :

September 1st, 1673.—Sir John Barnard with Mr. Garner the surgeon, came to dinner. Sir John says that the Swedes took it ill that the ambassadors of the Dutch were not willing for peace, and for this reason had sent an embassy to France, to say that they were ready, when necessary, to send 16,000 or 20,000 auxiliaries.

It is gratifying to learn that old Sir John, who lived but a few months after this visit, was still able to take an interest in public affairs. How he obtained his information does not appear; but his vicinity to Northampton may have given him a superior chance of hearing the latest news.

It has been said that Sir John probably outlived his brother William, and there is evidence that one of his sons-in-law predeceased him; but his latest affliction must have been a sorer trial. Bernard Gilbert, the eldest son of his

¹ *'The Journal of Thomas Isham, of Lamport, in the County of Northampton, from November 1, 1671, to September 30, 1673, written by Himself when a Boy' in Latin, by command of his father, Sir Justinian Isham. Translated by the Rev. Robert Isham, rector of Lamport; privately printed.* Thomas Isham was fourteen when he began this *Journal*. The translator observes: 'A Diary kept by a boy of Thomas Isham's age has never, as far as I can discover, been printed before.' The young writer succeeded to the baronetcy in 1675, while at Oxford, and died in 1681, aged twenty-five and unmarried.

eldest daughter, died at Abington in October 1673.¹ The bereaved grandfather did not long survive. His death is certified by the rector, John Howes: 'Sir John Bernard, Knight, my noble and ever-honoured patron, was buried 5th March, 1674.' He apparently died on the 3rd.

A plain slab at the south-east end of the church is engraved with the Bernard arms and an inscription stating that this church had been the family burial-place for nearly two hundred years. (The Bernards had resided there over two hundred.)

Then, of course, came the uprooting. The new possessor, Mr. Thursby, appears to have at once pulled down the old house, with the exception of the Tudor hall and the Elizabethan front, which, however, he, or someone after him,² certainly modernised. It may be assumed that the co-heiresses carried away all deeds not relating to the estate, all manuscripts, pictures, plate, and other valuables. Two portraits, indeed, of Sir John and Lady Bernard³ found their way to Stratford-on-Avon, whence they are said, by a singular coincidence, to have been transported, with certain Shakespearean relics, to a house in Kingsthorpe late in the nineteenth century.

The church, where some memories lingered, has gone through singular vicissitudes since 1800.⁴ The church plate

¹ The information in this paragraph is from Baker's *Hist. North.* vol. i., 'Abington.'

² According to Mr. Rush, some portions of the house were altered by Mr. John Harvey Thursby before the middle of the eighteenth century.

³ It was so stated in newspapers, and I was enabled by the courtesy of the owners to see the portraits.

⁴ Some of this information is from Mr. Rush's book; other particulars I was told on the spot. 'The Bells in the Church number four, including a priest's bell, and, excepting the last, were all cast early in the present century, before the destruction of the Church. They took the place of three earlier bells, the tenor of which it was said was cracked, and the whole ring was accordingly recast. Two of the old bells bore these mottoes:

"In Multis Annis Resonet Campana Johannis."

"Sum Rosa Pulsata Mundi Maria Vocata."

As long ago as 1552 there were "iij bells and a sanotes bell" (Rush, *A Concise History of Abington*).

was stolen about 1805 ; a few years later the three sixteenth-century bells, when recast, were deprived of their mottoes. About 1823 it was decided to restore the church, then much out of repair ; but, as I was told on the spot, through insufficient propping, the greater part was blown down in a storm, and while the interior was thus exposed the brasses were stolen. It was eventually rebuilt in a plain style, without arches or clerestory, and the remains of stained glass of the Bernards and Lillyngs were cast away as 'perished' in favour of modern adornments. A more recent 'improvement' has been the repaving of the church with remarkable smoothness, to the ruin of the ancient memorials. Still, the old tower remained, and there was picturesqueness in the situation of the church, nestling among trees beside the mansion ; but even this is undergoing a change.

In 1841 Mr. Harvey Thursby sold the place to Mr. Lewis Loyd, who bought it, 'not for a residence, but as an investment.' From him it descended to his son, Lord Overstone, and to his granddaughter, Lady Wantage, who gave it to the town of Northampton. There was a period of neglect, which has been followed by one of devastation.

When I first saw Abington it had just become vacant by the death of the tenant, Mr. Pritchard. The scene was melancholy, perhaps, but still fair. 'The trees,' says Mr. Rush, writing of the park,

are magnificent in their abundance, their size, and their luxuriance. Broad-leaved chesnuts make a shade, resting in which we can survey in the early summer the glory of the white cones of flowers, scattering delicate showers of white beauty on the vivid grass. Huge elms, making an avenue from the Rectory to the Abbey,¹ fling their giant arms across the road. 'A circular array' of pines—

so fixed

Not by the sport of Nature but of man—

gives special character to the scene.

¹ The designation 'Abington Abbey' must have been introduced by the Thursbys. The Manor House never can have been an abbey.

Now trees are falling ; I know not how many are or will be left. The Elizabethan wing, with its curious trapdoor, is gone ; the hall is turned to strange uses ; the grand panelling looks mournful around uncongenial accompaniments ; red-brick houses are springing up ; the tiny village must soon disappear ; Abington has become a suburb of Northampton.

CHAPTER IV

THE BERNARDS OF HUNTINGDON AND BRAMPTON

Kingsthorpe—Francis Bernard of Kingsthorpe—Robert Bernard of Huntingdon created a Baronet—Sir Thomas Cotton and John Milton the elder—Frances Whitelock—The Montagus—Samuel Pepys—John Bernard knighted—The Mansion at Brampton—Grace Shuckburgh—Joanna Bernard—The Bentleys—The second Sir Robert Bernard of Brampton—The last Sir Robert—Brigadier-General Robert Bernard Sparrow—Millicent Viscountess Mandeville, afterwards Duchess of Manchester.

It has been stated that Francis Bernard, the second surviving son of Francis Bernard of Abington, settled at Kingsthorpe, in the immediate vicinity of his father and his elder brother, Baldwin.¹ The parish of Kingsthorpe adjoins both Abington and Northampton. It was a royal manor, and its inhabitants were 'permitted to hold their towns and farms from the Crown.' Francis Bernard was a lessee.

In the State Paper Office is a grant of the year 1616 to Francis Morgan, Francis Bernard, and others, of 'the fee-farm of the town of Kingsthorpe at suit of the tenants of Kingsthorpe, who were heretofore obliged to renew their lease every forty years on payment of increased rents.' I am told that the Bernard house has disappeared, but that its site is still remembered. Could it have been the 'Court Farm,' whose 'entrance gateway of stone and side doorway of the Transition period between the Gothic and the Renaissance,' with other remains, Mr. De Wilde has noticed? The same author pronounces that 'Kingsthorpe, it is certain, is no ordinary village. At every turn of its windings you find traces of stately mansions no longer existing. Baker

¹ This account of Kingsthorpe is taken from Glover (J. Hulbert), *Kingsthorpiana, or Researches in a Church Chest*; De Wilde (G. J.), *Rambles Round-about*.

states it was traditionally reported that three coaches-and-six were formerly kept here.' A writer in Hone's 'Year Book' describes its 'old stone houses,' its 'quaint cottages half lost in greenway.'

Francis Bernard¹ is mentioned in a deed of 1633 as 'deceased.' No name of any wife of his is given in the county histories or the Baronetage, but Mr. Leonard Barnard² states that his first wife was widow of William Mercer, of Oxford; that by her he had a son Francis, who died in his father's lifetime, unmarried, and a daughter Ann, who married Robert Welling, of Riscoe, Suffolk, Esq. Also that he married, secondly, Mary, eldest daughter of Ambrose Woolhouse, of Glasswell, Derbyshire, by whom he had four sons, Robert, John, James and William. Robert, born in 1600, is, however, the only one whose history can be traced.

Either this boy was of an ambitious nature, or his father determined to push him forward by reason of his early promise, so he did not settle on a bit of land in the country, like many of his family. He was sent to Queen's College, Oxford,³ and then to London, where he entered the Middle Temple and was called to the Bar. Robert is styled of Pennington and of Longthorpe, Northants. The history of his connection with these places I do not know. He seems to have contracted an advantageous marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Tallakerne, and although compelled to be in London during a portion of the year, had made the town of Huntingdon his home so early as 1625. Whether the house in which he lived came to him from his mother or his wife, or through some persons named Bernard who had previously resided at Brampton,⁴ in the

¹ Francis Bernard is to be found in Baker, *Hist. North.* vol. i. 'Abington'; Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks.*, vol. i. 'Nether Winchendon,' gives some particulars of his descendants. Further information is to be found in *The English Baronetage*, printed for Tho. Wotton, 1741.

² Mr. Leonard G. P. Barnard has traced his descent from Francis Bernard of Kingthorpe.

³ Baker, *Hist. North.* See the epitaph on Robert Bernard's tomb at Abington for these details.

⁴ Debrett, *Peerage of the United Kingdom*, vol. ii. (1828), 'Earl of Carysfort. . . . Randolph Proby, of the city of Chester, settled at Brampton,

immediate neighbourhood, and who may have been related, I have no means of ascertaining, but it is clear that from the beginning he held a good position in the borough.

His name appears first as witness to an indenture regarding the next presentation to the Hospital of 'St. John,' with which was combined a Free Grammar School. Dr. Beard, the master, contemplated resignation, and obtained, with the help of Robert Cooke, gentleman, a promise of the next presentation from 'the Bailiffs and Burgesses of the town of Huntingdon, in consideration of all that he had done for the Institution.' He intended to appoint Henry, son of Robert Cooke, 'a faithful and learned preacher and minister of God's word,' who would worthily continue the lectureship originated by Beard to remedy the want of preaching—perhaps of 'Gospel preaching'—in the parish churches.

On July 15, 1680,

a new Charter was granted to the town of Huntingdon, in which Thomas Beard, Doctor of Divinity, Robert Bernard, Esqre., and Oliver Cromwell, Esqre., burgesses of the borough aforesaid, are appointed during their several lives, and the longer liver of them, Justices, to preserve and keep the peace of us, our heirs and successors, within the borough of Huntingdon.²

In these appointments all parties were represented, and it is stated that the new charter was an oligarchic measure, and that

Mr. Bernard was the leader on one side, and Oliver Cromwell on the other. . . . How such a municipal *coup d'état* was brought about does not appear. Probability seems to suggest that it had its origin in the influence of Mr. Robert Bernard and the Cromwells of Hinchinbrook [?]³—the latter always in strong opposition to their democratic relative.³

co. Huntingdon, at the close of the fifteenth century, and by his wife, daughter of — Bernard, had two sons, &c.' The Carysfort Estate appears to have been called Norman's Cross. It is not stated whether it was Bernard property, nor whether there were Bernards elsewhere in the neighbourhood.

¹ Sanford (John Langton, of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law), *Studies and Illustrations of the Great Rebellion*, iv. 'Early Life of Oliver Cromwell.'

² Sanford. He quotes from Griffith's *Records of Huntingdon*.

³ By Mr. Bruce, in the *Athenæum*. Quoted by Mr. Sanford.

There is some difficulty about this assertion, inasmuch as Sir Oliver Cromwell, uncle of the future Protector, impoverished by hospitality and generosity, had sold Hinchinbrook in 1627 to Sir Sidney Montagu, brother of the Earl of Manchester. However the change was brought about, 'Oliver Cromwell, Esqre.' did not acquiesce in it, notwithstanding his promotion to office; and he contrived to render the situation very unpleasant to the other party.

The dignity of Mr. Lionel Walden, the new Mayor, was hurt by the free comments of Mr. Oliver Cromwell and his associates. Even from under the trappings which outwardly adorned the chief municipal dignitary a wounded spirit made itself manifest. Mayor and aldermen felt themselves objects of contempt; and the circumstance that Mr. Robert Barnard, their leader, and the principal resident gentleman within the jurisdiction of the new corporation, was a sharer with them in the contumely did not reconcile them to their fate.

So the mayor and aldermen appealed to the Privy Council, and a messenger came from London with a warrant 'to bring up to London the bodies of "Oliver Cromwell, Esquire, and Willyam Kilborne, gentleman,"' who was probably a Huntingdon lawyer. The Council eventually referred the matter to the Earl of Manchester, Lord Privy Seal, and brother to the new possessor of Hinchinbrook, desiring that

his lordship should, in particular, consider what satisfaction were fitt to be given to the said Mayor and Mr. Bernard for the disgracefull and unseemly speeches used unto them, &c., &c. The result of his arbitration does not appear. Any alteration of the Charter was probably not attempted. Some slight apology from Kilburne would appease the civic magistrates.¹

In the following year Oliver Cromwell sold a large portion of his property in Huntingdon; he then went to reside in St. Ives, and some years later in Ely.

¹ In the official documents quoted by Mr. Bruce Robert Bernard's name is spelt with an 'e,' but Mr. Bruce, when he is not quoting from others, spells it 'Barnard.' So far as the matter has come under my notice, the form 'Bernard' prevailed in the Huntingdonshire branch of the family, though not to the exclusion of 'Barnard.'

Meanwhile Mr. Bernard continued to practise at the Bar in London. One passage in his professional career is connected with the history of Milton's father, the Bread Street scrivener :

In May 1636, Sir Thomas Cotton of Sawtrey, in the county of Huntingdon, baronet, nephew of John Cotton Esq. deceased, and executor of the will of the said deceased, brought a bill of complaint in the Court of Requests against John Milton and Thomas Bower, on account of certain alleged malpractices of theirs in their dealings as scriveners with the said deceased in his lifetime. . . . In January 1636-7, though the Plague was by no means extinct in London and Westminster, the Court of Requests, with other Courts of Law, did meet for the short Hilary Term. On the 29th of that month accordingly the records of the Court bear that William Witherington of the city of Westminster served John Milton the elder with his Majesty's process of Privy Seal, issuing forth of this honourable Court at the suit of Thomas Cotton, baronet, by leaving the same at his dwelling house. . . .

On the 10th of February 1636-7 the Court took up the case rather effectively. The serving of the process on Milton in three weeks having been duly proved, and Milton not having appeared, nor sent in his answer, he was treated, according to the usual form in such cases, as standing out in contempt, and it was ordered on the motion of Mr. Bernard, counsel for the complainant, that an attachment, *i.e.* a writ for seizing certain of his goods in gage, should be forthwith awarded against him, and also that he should forfeit a sum of 20s. to the complainant by way of costs for the delay. The procedure the same day against Bower was more severe.¹

Eventually the Court admitted, it would seem, that it had been hard upon Milton, who was old, infirm, and, living away from London and Westminster, at Horton, in Bucks ; he was allowed to give his answer in the country.

Sir Thomas Cotton² must have been the son of Sir Robert, first baronet, the famous antiquary, although his estate is called Connington, not Sawtrey. The family had

¹ Masson (David), *The Life of John Milton, in connection with the History of his Time* (6 vols. 8vo.), vol. i. bk. iii. ch. iv.

² *The English Baronetage*, printed for Tho. Wotton, 1741, where there is a full account of the family, vol. i.

been long established in Huntingdonshire. The half-uncle, John Cotton, whose affairs gave rise to litigation, was a merchant.

In April 1640 Robert Bernard was chosen to represent the town of Huntingdon in the Parliament known as 'the Short Parliament,'¹ because it was hastily dissolved by the King in the following month. When Charles was compelled to summon a new assembly, afterwards called 'the Long Parliament,' Huntingdon had two Montagus for its members, both on the popular side. Sir Sidney Montagu, of Hinchinbrook, a Royalist, divided the representation of the county with Valentine Walton, Cromwell's brother-in-law.² Oliver himself sat for Cambridge. I have not been able to discover that Mr. Bernard re-entered Parliament for many years; he was at this time Recorder of Huntingdon,³ which may have been then a post of some importance; and he seems always to have preserved a certain amount of influence in the borough.

As to his political opinions it is not easy to speak, but the opponent of the two Montagus would necessarily be of a different persuasion from them, and Mr. Bruce considers his action in the matter of the Huntingdon charter as indicative of Royalist tendencies. The new charter transferred the government of the borough from two bailiffs and a common council of twenty-four inhabitants, freely elected year by year, to a mayor, also elected annually, but from a body of twelve aldermen, who, as well as the recorder, were elected for life. Mr. Bernard may, however, have been influenced by the state of the town rather than by abstract principles. On the other hand, his interest in the lecture-ship indicates a leaning towards Puritanism, since these

¹ *Bushworth's Collections*. It is stated in a note to *Pepys' Diary*, by Lord Braybrooke, that Sir Robert Bernard represented Huntingdon before as well as after the Restoration. The pedigree given by Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, omits this fact. Probably he had not time to take his seat.

² Sanford, *Studies, &c.*, v., 'Constitutional Returns to the Long Parliament.'

³ This fact and subsequent particulars of Huntingdonshire history are taken from Sanford's *Studies*, the section called 'The Early Life of Oliver Cromwell.'

institutions, supplementing, or, as some persons said, undoing, the work of the parochial clergy, were a marked feature in the religious revolution then beginning. The Huntingdon lectureship had, indeed, been abolished by the King, at the request of Archbishop Laud, soon after Beard's death in 1633, on the ground that the lecturer was removable by lay persons, and that this was an objectionable arrangement.

Probably Mr. Bernard was annoyed by this Royal interference, and by other more public proceedings, such as the King's arbitrary dissolution of the Short Parliament, which had especially affected him. Causes of discontent abounded at this crisis. I have, indeed, no details of his life during the Civil War until the year 1648, when he reappears as a decided adherent of Cromwell, though there is nothing to show that he took part in any violent measures.¹ After the Long Parliament had voted 'The King's last Message as to Episcopacy' and 'The King's Message as to Delinquents' unsatisfactory, the notes of procedure continue: 'Vote that William Powell, John Clerke, John Eltonhead, Robert Nicolas, John Parker, and Robert Bernard, Esqrs., should be made Serjeants-at-Law.' The following year Robert Bernard was appointed Judge of the Isle of Ely. The King's execution had taken place in the meantime; but, even if he did not approve this outrage and sundry other deeds of the dominant party, he had the example of Sir Matthew Hale² to justify him in administering justice under any Government.

At this period Serjeant Bernard was the father of 'several sons and daughters,' according to the 'Baronetage,'³ but only three children are there designated by name: his eldest son, John, who was a barrister, and sat for Huntingdon in the Long Parliament, but not at its commencement,

¹ Whitelocke (Sir Bulstrode), *Memorials of the English Affairs; or, An Historical Account of what passed from the beginning of the Reign of King Charles the First to King Charles the Second, his happy Restoration, &c., &c.*

² Burnet (Bishop), *Life of Sir Matthew Hale*, and Foss, *Judges of England*.

³ *The Baronetage of England*, printed for Thomas Wotton, 1741. Also another edition by Kimber and Johnson, 1771, vol. ii.

for he must then have been much under age; Lucy, who married Sir Nicholas Pedley, of Huntingdon, Knight; and Mary, who became the wife of Lawrence Torkington, of Great Stewkley, in Huntingdonshire. A son, William, who went into trade, is several times mentioned in 'Pepys' Diary,' as will be seen.¹

Serjeant Bernard must have become a widower somewhat early. He chose as his second partner² Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Altham, of Oxey, Herts, a Baron of the Exchequer, who had long been dead. Two of this Judge's daughters were Countesses of Anglesey and Carberry; the third, who became the wife of Robert Bernard, was widow of Sir Francis Astley and of Robert, Lord Digby. The Serjeant's son John says of this lady in his father's epitaph, at a time when he had no motive for flattery, that she 'was a good mother though she had no children.'

John Bernard was proposed as a husband for the child of a distinguished man, the following account being apparently an extract from the 'Diary of Commissioner Whitelocke,' the same person as Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke, mentioned in a former note, a man who was willing to serve his country under all circumstances, but did not receive the same credit for so doing as Sir Matthew Hale. The passage shows that John Bernard met with a disappointment in marriage, perhaps in love.³

Frances Whitelock was to have married the eldest son of Mr. Serjeant Bernard, who intended to give his son 800*l.* per annum and 250*l.* per annum to the young lady, to which Mr. Whitelock was to have added 1,500*l.*; but the small-pox put an end to this

¹ In Foss's work the name 'F. Bernard' occurs in a list of counsel called to the Bar during the 'Interregnum,' that is, between the execution of Charles I. and restoration of Charles II. I am not at present able to connect him with any branch of the Abington family.

² Wotton's *Baronetage*; Foss, *The Judges of England*. The latter mentions the alliances of the three sisters.

³ Quoted by Malcolm (J.P.), in *Londinium Redivivum*, vol. ii., 'St. Pancras Super Lane.' Whitelocke assumed the title of a knight on the strength of having received the Order of the Amaranth from Christina, Queen of Sweden, when Ambassador to her Court. See *Biographie Universelle*, article 'Whitelock,' by De Sevelinges.

fair prospect by causing her death. Her father describes her as a young woman of excellent parts and discretion, pleasing, cheerful, and ingenious in her conversation, and very solid and prudent beyond most of her age.

In course of time John Bernard apparently recovered his spirits; he married a connection of his mother—Elizabeth, daughter of Oliver St. John, of Cayshoe, in Bedfordshire,¹ eldest son of Sir Oliver, who had represented his county in four Parliaments, and was grandson of the first Lord St. John of Bletsoe. Elizabeth's mother was a daughter of Henry Cromwell of Upwood, a cousin of the Protector, and her father's first wife had belonged to the same connection,² so that it is not surprising to learn that Oliver St. John became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas under Oliver Cromwell.

The alliances of father and son, and the purchase, made apparently by or for John Bernard, of the Brampton Hall estate, in close vicinity to the town of Huntingdon, rendered the Bernards a power in their county; as such they were staunch to Cromwell. It would seem that up to the last moments of the Commonwealth their influence was exerted in favour of the late Protector's family, and, when nothing more could be effected in that direction, against the unconditional restoration of Royalty.

At this period some light is thrown on the Bernard annals by the 'Diary of Samuel Pepys,' whose uncle, Robert Pepys, owned a small property at Brampton. On March 14, 1660, when negotiations with the King must have reached an advanced stage, the diarist writes:

I went hence to St. James's, and Mr. Pierce the surgeon with me,

¹ Foss, *The Judges of England*, vol. vi. Lord Clarendon, *History of the Great Rebellion*, calls Oliver St. John a natural son of 'the house of Bullingbrook.' Foss ascribes this report to party spirit, and shows his real place in the family. His account tallies with the pedigree given in Wotton's *Baronetage*, vol. iv., 'St. John.'

² The first wife of Oliver St. John, the Chief Justice, was Joanna Altham, whose mother, Elizabeth Barrington, was a granddaughter of Sir Henry Cromwell of Hinchinbrook. Sanford, who gives this account, is doubtful as to the date of her death and of St. John's second marriage, but Foss states that he married Elizabeth Cromwell in 1638.

to speak with Mr. Clerke, Monk's secretary, about getting some soldiers removed out of Huntingdon to Oundle, which my Lord told me he did to do a courtesy to the town, that he might have the greater interest in them in the choice of the next Parliament ; not that he intends to be chosen himself, but that he might have Mr. G. Mountagu and my Lord Mandeville chose there in spite of the Bernards.¹

'My Lord' in this passage is Admiral Sir Edward Montagu, afterwards Earl of Sandwich ; the title of Lord, it is stated in a note, was then freely given to Parliamentary officers and officials of various sorts. Lord Mandeville was son of Edward Montagu, Earl of Manchester, who, after having been a Parliamentary general, was now labouring—and setting his kin to labour—zealously for the restoration of the King. Mr. G. Montagu was probably the Earl's brother. The Admiral was a cousin, and had married a Pepys.² There was evidently much local rivalry between the Montagus and Bernards, which, indeed, was almost a matter of course by reason of their position.

On March 28 Pepys writes : 'This day we had news of the election at Huntingdon for Bernard and Pedly, at which my Lord was much troubled for his friends' missing of it.' The successful candidates were John Bernard and his brother-in-law, Nicholas Pedley.

The Restoration, as we know, took place all the same, the King making his entry into London only two days after this letter was written ; but the Bernard success made the family worth cultivating by the new Government. Both Houses of Parliament vied in expressions of loyalty ; the nation's weariness of change, and of oppression exercised in the name of liberty, together with the dread of anarchy,

¹ *The Diary of Samuel Pepys, M.A., F.R.S.*, Clerk of the Acts and Secretary to the Admiralty, transcribed from the shorthand manuscript in the Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge, by the Rev. Mynors Bright, M.A., late Fellow and President of the College, 1894. With Lord Braybrooke's Notes, edited with additions by Henry B. Wheatley, F.S.A., vol. i.

² Particulars of the house of Montagu may be found in Debrett, Burke, and other Peerages, under the heads of 'Manchester, Duke of,' 'Sandwich, Earl of,' &c., &c. The part it played in the Civil War, of the Parliamentary period, is noticed at length in many histories.

which had prevailed ever since the strong hand of Oliver Cromwell was withdrawn, led to a union of men of divers antecedents in favour of Charles II.; even those who advocated constitutional checks on the recalled monarch were in the minority. Whatever part the Bernards now took in the debates, of which I know nothing, they did not fare badly.

Robert Bernard was apparently knighted immediately after the Restoration. Those degrees of serjeant-at-law which had been granted by Parliament were not allowed, but the survivors were called again by the King's authority,¹ and Robert Bernard was thus reinstated on June 21, 1660, that is, within a month of the King's arrival; in the announcement he is styled Sir Robert. He continued the work of his profession, and it is noted in the Rev. William Gilpin's *Memoirs of his ancestor, Dr. Richard Gilpin*,² that the Doctor preached a sermon before Judge Twisselton and Serjeant Bernard at Carlisle on September 10, 1660.

Samuel Pepys, the diarist, having lost his uncle Robert about this time, was in great trepidation about the will. In 1661 he was staying at Brampton, and was on sufficiently good terms with Sir Robert Bernard to have recourse to his aid in this trouble. He writes, apparently on July 19: 'Serjeant Bernard, I hear, is come home into the country.'³ On the 20th he continues:

Up to Huntingdon this morning to Sir Robert Bernard, with whom I met Jasper Trice. So Sir Robert caused us to sit down together, and began discourse very fairly between us, so I drew out the will and show it him, and [he] spoke between us as well as I could desire, but could come to no issue till Tom Trice comes. Then Sir Robert and I fell to talk about the money due to us upon surrender from Pigott, £164, which he tells me

¹ This is the only call given in Beatson's *Political Index*. See vol. i. (edition of 1788). The compiler does not recognise Revolutionary appointments.

² *Memoirs of Dr. Richard Gilpin, of Scaleby Castle, in Cumberland, &c.*, written in the year 1791 by the Rev. Wm. Gilpin, Rector of Boldre, edited by William Jackson, F.S.A.

³ *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. ii.

will go with debts to the heir-at-law, which breaks my heart on the other side. Here I staid and dined with Sir Robert Bernard and his lady, my Lady Digby, a very good woman.

There are further passages describing the complications of Pepys' troublesome inheritance :

Oct. 12.— . . . I received a letter this day from my father that Sir R. Bernard do a little fear that my Uncle has not observed exactly the custom of Brampton in his will about his lands there, which puts me to a great trouble in mind, and at night wrote to him and to my father about it, being much troubled at it.

14.— . . . Found a good answer from my father that Sir R. Bernard do clear all things as to us and our title to Brampton, which puts my heart in great ease and quiet.

Then another matter of business cropped up to disturb Pepys. He was in town on October 31, and writes: 'To Sir Robert Bernard, and as his client did ask his advice about my Uncle Thomas's case and ours as to Gravely, and in short he tells me that there is little hope of recovering it or saving his annuity, which do trouble me much, but God's will be done. . . .'

In the course of the narrative it appears that Sir Robert had put a son into the grocery business, which did not prevent the young man from associating with gentlemen as an equal. Pepys, indeed, was the son of a tailor, although then Secretary to the Admiralty. On November 6 the diarist notes :

Going forth this morning I met Mr. Davenport and a friend of his, one Mr. Furbisher, to drink their morning draft with me, and I did give it them in good wine, and anchovies, and pickled oysters, and took them to the Sun in Fish Street, there did give them a barrel of good ones and a great deal of wine, and sent for Mr. W. Bernard (Sir Robert's son), a grocer thereabouts, and we were very merry, and cost me a good deal of money, and at noon left them, and with my head full of wine.

This symposium was repeated with variations on the 9th: 'At the office all the morning. At noon Mr. Davenport, Phillips and Mr. Wm. Bernard and Furbisher, came by appointment and dined with me, and we were very merry.'

It was now William Bernard's¹ turn to entertain; so, after spending the morning of November 14 at his office, Pepys

went by appointment to the Sun in Fish Street to a dinner of young Mr. Bernard's for myself, Mr. Phillips, Davenport, Weaver, &c., where we had a most excellent dinner, but a pie of such pleasant variety of good things as in all my life I never tasted. Hither came to me Captain Lambert to take his leave of me, he being this day to set sail for the Straights. We drank his farewell and a health to all our friends, and were very merry, and drank wine enough.

Sir Robert Bernard was raised to the dignity of a baronet on July 1, 1662,² and the position then included many distinctions now obsolete, as well as a few which remain.³ Baronets at the universities enjoyed 'much the same privileges as the higher nobility, and were there styled noblemen.' They were entitled to a place in the royal armies 'near about the Royal Standard of the King'; they could claim knighthood for their eldest sons; and in death special honours were allotted to them and their wives—bays, velvet palls, escutcheons, standards, and pennons. Apparently the good Lady Digby lived to see her husband's exaltation, but she did not long survive it; she died on January 3, 1662.⁴

In October Pepys was at Brampton; he writes on the 12th:

(Lord's Day.) Made myself fine with Captain Ferrers's lace band, being lothe to wear my own new scallop, it is so fine; and after the barber had done with us, to church, where I saw most of

¹ It is, I believe, from this Mr. William Bernard that the gentlemen who have contributed information of the family history, Mr. F. P. and Mr. L. G. P. Barnard, claim descent. They say that he had been a colonel in Cromwell's army.

² *The English Baronetage*; 1741, which also chronicles Lady Digby's death. The *Baronetage* describes him as 'of Huntingdon.' In the list of Baronets in Beatson's *Index* he is styled 'Robert Barnard, of Graffham, Esqr. Huntingdonshire,' which does not agree with the list of Serjeants, where he is called 'Sir.'

³ *The English Baronetage*, see a Treatise near the end of vol. iv. (lettered on the binding vol. v.), 'Of the Order of Baronets.'

⁴ As the double date is not given, it is a little uncertain whether 1661-2 or 1662-3 is intended, but probably the latter.

the gentry of the parish; among others, Mrs. Hanbury, a proper lady, and Mr. Bernard and his lady, with her father, my late Lord St. John, who looks now like a very plain, grave man.¹

In a note it is observed that 'my late Lord St. John' is a perfectly correct description of this gentleman, who had been one of Cromwell's lords, but could no longer bear his title since the Restoration.

The next morning Pepys had an interview at Huntingdon with Sir Robert Bernard, to whom he carried a letter from Lord Sandwich, then at Hinchinbrook, upon his own affairs as affected by his uncle's will.

Mr. Pepys went through the fluctuations of mind usual to persons in his situation; sometimes he thought Sir Robert unfair to him, at other times he recognised that he was doing his best. On November 24, when Pepys had returned to London, he notes a call which he made on Mr. Phillips: 'and so to the Temple, where met my cozen Roger Pepys and his brother Dr. John, as my arbitrators, against Mr. Cole and Mr. John Bernard for my uncle Thomas, and we two with them by appointment.' But Samuel Pepys, not being satisfied with the turn matters were taking, got away without committing himself. On December 5 he was wandering about between the Temple and Gray's Inn with the same affair on his brain: '. . . and so to the Temple Church, and there walked alone till 4 or 5 o'clock, and then to my Cozen Turner's chamber and staid there, up and down from his to Calthrop's and Bernard's chambers till so late, that Mr. Cole not coming, we broke up for meeting this night.'

Eventually the matter was amicably arranged, and Pepys' father came into the estate.

It must have been soon after these interviews that Mr. John Bernard was knighted. If at this time member for Huntingdonshire, he had a double claim as a baronet's eldest son and as Parliamentary representative of his county; the first was, however, then the more forcible of the two, since the custom of dubbing the so-called 'knights of the

shire'¹ seems to have died out during the seventeenth century. Assuming that Sir Robert Bernard sat for the borough of Huntingdon after the Restoration, he probably took his son's place when the latter was transferred to a wider sphere of influence.

Sir Robert apparently worked till the last. Although he had been so long domiciled in Huntingdon, and possessed land some few miles off at Longthorpe, near Peterborough,² he died at Serjeants' Inn, in the sixty-sixth year of his age,³ on April 18, 1666. His second wife had been buried in Covent Garden Church; his first wife probably in Huntingdon, or with her own family. The home of his heir was at Brampton, and he must have known that Abington was destined to pass away from the Bernards; yet he desired to be buried in the Northamptonshire church beside his grandfather's manor house, where perhaps his father and mother were buried. Thither he had no doubt often strolled in his boyhood from Kingsthorpe; and the manor house was probably associated with pleasant visits to his cousins even in after years—visits which he may not have entirely given up during the busiest portion of his career. There were sad changes to note in the family; yet some hours of his last years may have been not unpleasantly spent in talking over the old times with his cousin, Sir John Bernard of Abington.

Sir Robert was by no means a melancholy man. His son, Sir John Bernard of Brampton, has commemorated in an epitaph his cheerful disposition, unruffled, it would seem, by the troublous times through which he had passed. Not only was he 'twice very happy' in marriage, 'but he was most happy in that, not weary at all of this life, he was willing to depart to a better.'⁴ Yet he died

¹ See Rees's *Cyclopædia*, article 'Knight.' 'It is required by 23 Hen. VI., c. 15, that all knights of the shire shall be actual knights, or such notable esquires and gentlemen as have estates sufficient to be knights,' &c., &c.

² Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.'

³ *The English Baronetage*, printed for Tho. Wotton, 1741; Baker, *Hist. North*, vol. i., 'Abington'; Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.'

⁴ Baker, *Hist. North*, vol. i., 'Abington.' *The English Baronetage* only

in a time of plague sufficient to sicken anyone of this world.

Besides the slab on which these and other particulars are recorded, a mural monument was also dedicated to Sir Robert's memory in Abington, in the ornamental style of the period, with another inscription. The epitaph on the slab already quoted concludes: 'His body lies interred near this monument, which was due to so good a father from his eldest son and heir, Sir John Bernard, Knt.'

In point of fact, Sir John Bernard must have been a baronet when this inscription was engraved, but he shrank from asserting himself as his father's successor. There is apparently nothing very important to be related of his subsequent life, unless that it was in all likelihood he who built the greater part of the stately mansion which still exists at Brampton.¹ It is possible that one portion of the building, of less height than the rest, was part of an older edifice, and that in this—an Elizabethan manor house—he lived contentedly until the fortune to which he succeeded on the death of his father, added to his own, led him to build the imposing centre of the present pile, to which a wing has been added in later times. This centre is not incongruous, but is adapted with some taste to the architecture of the other portion. In the hall is a very large oil-painting representing evidently Sir John Bernard,² his three surviving daughters, out of eight born to him, and his son, the youngest of the family. Sir John is seated; the little boy leans against him, and the daughters are standing. On the fine oak staircase are other portraits let into the panelling, and a few more scattered about the rooms. The park has lost many fine trees since the days of Sir John, and even of the later Bernards, some quite recently; but here and there a grand old trunk with spreading branches recalls the former

mentions the epitaph on the slab. I have visited Abington Church and seen the two monuments.

¹ I visited Brampton Park on May 7, 1900, and was shown over great part of the house by the late Mrs. Beasley, wife of the present occupier.

² This opinion is corroborated by the Duke of Manchester's agent..

days to mind, and much ornamental planting has kept up the beauty of the grounds.

Sir John was apparently a widower when the great family picture was painted. His second marriage with Grace, daughter of Sir Richard Shuckburgh, of Shuckburgh in Warwickshire,¹ was remarkable as being contracted with a lady of decidedly Royalist antecedents. Grace Shuckburgh was born during her father's imprisonment in Kenilworth Castle after the battle of Edgehill, where he nearly lost his life in the King's cause. How this parentage, and the impressions of a childhood and youth spent in a loyal home, could be made to agree with the views of Sir John Bernard and his family it is difficult to understand; but the marriage cannot have been of very long duration, since Sir John died in 1679. Grace raised a mural monument to him on the south wall of Brampton Church, highly commending his erudition, beneficence, and holy life, as well as his goodness to herself.

One of Sir John's daughters by Elizabeth St. John,² Joanna, who became the wife of Dr. Bentley, Archdeacon of Ely, and grandmother of Richard Cumberland, has found a niche in literary history.

Sir Richard Jebb, in his sketch of Bentley's career,³ notes sundry vexatious pecuniary annoyances by which the learned man was harassed after his election as Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the scant sympathy he apparently received. He then continues: 'But Bentley's first year at Trinity is marked by at least one event altogether fortunate—

¹ *The English Baronetage*, printed for Thos. Wotton, 1741, vol. iii. part ii. (lettered on binding vol. iv.), 'Shuckburgh,' whence the above particulars of the family history are taken; Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks.*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.' In his list of Sir John Bernard's daughters, Joanna's name is spelt 'Joane.'

² The three surviving daughters were, apparently, one of the elder three—Elizabeth, Mary, and Lucy (which is not clear); Mary, wife of Thomas Brown, of Arlsey, in Bedfordshire, and Joanna, wife of Dr. Bentley—the fourth and fifth.

³ Jebb (R. C., Litt. D., Regius Professor of Greek), *Bentley*, in the series of 'English Men of Letters,' edited by John Morley; Monk (J. H.), *Life of Bentley*. This older and longer life has been consulted, but Sir Richard Jebb's compendium sets forth the principal facts of Bentley's domestic history.

his marriage. At Bishop Stillingfleet's house he had met Miss Joanna Bernard, daughter of Sir John Bernard, of Brampton, Huntingdonshire.' The Bishop had died in the spring of 1699, and the 'first year' was 1701, so that Bentley's attachment was probably of two years' standing at least.

'Being now raised to a station of dignity and consequence, he succeeded in obtaining the object of his affections,' says Dr. Monk, who refuses to believe a story that the engagement was nearly broken off owing to a doubt expressed by Bentley with regard to the authority of the book of Daniel. Whiston has told us what this alleged doubt was. Nebuchadnezzar's golden image is described as 60 cubits high and 6 cubits broad; 'now,' said Bentley, 'this is out of all proportion; it ought to have been 10 cubits broad at least'; which made the good lady weep. The lovers' difference was possibly arranged on the basis suggested by Whiston—that the 60 cubits included the pedestal. Some letters which passed between Dr. Bentley and Miss Bernard before their marriage are still extant, and have been printed by Dr. Luard at the end of *Rud's Diary*. In the library of Trinity College is preserved a small printed and interleaved 'Ephemeris' for the year 1701. The blank page opposite the month of January has the following entries in Dr. Bentley's hand:—

Jan. 4.—I married Mrs. Johanna Bernard, daughter of Sir John Bernard, Baronet. Dr. Richardson, Fellow of Eaton College, and Master of Peterhouse, married us at Windsor in ye College Chapel.

6.—I brought my wife to St. James's [*i.e.* to his lodgings as King's Librarian, in the Palace].

27.—I am 39 years old, complete.

28.—I returned to ye College.

The ages of the couple were, it may be remarked, suitable. Joanna's father had been dead more than twenty years, and if she was one of the girls in the family group, even though the youngest, she was probably turned thirty. In other respects the union appears to have been equally suitable. Sir Richard Jebb continues:

It was a thoroughly happy marriage through forty years of union. What years they were too, outside the home in which Mrs. Bentley's gentle presence dwelt! In days when evil tongues

were busy, no word is said of her but in praise; and perhaps if all were known, few women ever went through more in trying, like Mrs. Thrale, to be civil for two.

The history of Bentley's stormy life at Trinity, of his controversies with the Fellows of his College, with the University, &c., may be read in his biographies. They resulted at one time in degradation from his academical honours, at another time in the loss of the headship of Trinity; but he eventually came out victorious on both points. 'A most favourable impression' of Mrs. Bentley, writes Jebb, 'is given by a letter (one of those printed by Dr. Luard) . . . in which she discusses the prospect (in 1732) of the College case being decided against them.'

The Bentleys had a son, William, afterwards known as a dilettante and friend of Horace Walpole, and two daughters. Joanna, the second, married Denison Cumberland, of Trinity, who became successively Bishop of Clonfert and of Kilmore.¹ She was mother of Richard Cumberland, a voluminous writer, best known as a dramatist. His *Memoirs* contain some passages of interest concerning her family. With regard to his grandfather, Dr. Bentley, and his grandmother, he says:

Of his pecuniary affairs he took no account; he had no use for money, and dismissed it entirely from his thoughts; his establishment in the meantime was respectable and his table affluently and hospitably served. All these matters were conducted and arranged in the best manner possible by Mrs. Bentley. . . . I have perfect recollection of the person of my grandmother, and a full impression of her manners and habits, which, though in some degree tinctured with hereditary reserve and the primitive cast of character, were entirely free from the hypocritical cant and affected sanctity of the Oliverians. Her whole life was modelled on the purest principles of piety, benevolence, and Christian charity; and in her dying moments, my mother being present and voucher of the fact, she breathed out her soul in a kind of beatific vision, exclaiming in rapture as she expired: 'It is all bright, it is all glorious!'

¹ *Memoirs of Richard Cumberland*, written by himself, vol. i. Some passages from this work are quoted by Dr. Bentley's biographers. There is a notice of Cumberland in the *Biographie Universelle*, signed 'X—s,' which in the Index of that work is explained to mean 'Revu par M. Suard.'

Her death took place in 1740. Dr. Bentley, who had already experienced a slight paralytic seizure, survived his wife little more than two years. Richard Cumberland, to whom he had been always most indulgent, perhaps regretted him even more than his grandmother, who, despite her genuine kindness, had unintentionally wearied him at times with texts and sermons. Of his Aunt Elizabeth, Mrs. Ridge, and later Mrs. Favell, he says: 'She inherited the virtues and benignity of her mother, with habits more adapted to the fashions of the world.' His mother, Joanna, 'the Phœbe of Byrom's pastoral,'¹ naturally occupies much space in his Memoirs, and is described in glowing colours as good, charming, and of superior intellect.²

In various biographies of Dr. Bentley will be found allusions to passing relations in the region of literary controversy between the Master of Trinity and two other scholars connected with the Bernard family, who will be noticed in the ensuing chapters of this book—Dr. Edward Bernard, and Prebendary Anthony Alsop, both rectors of Brightwell, Berks. Dr. Bernard was considerably senior to Dr. Bentley, Mr. Alsop his junior by some years.

This first Sir John Bernard of Brampton³ was succeeded by his son, a second Sir Robert, who, like his father, was member for Huntingdonshire, but whose life does not appear to have been a long one. His widow, Anne, daughter of Colonel Weldon, took for her second husband Lord Trevor, by whom she became mother of the first Viscount Hampden

¹ This pastoral may be read in the eighth volume of Addison's *Spectator*, No. 608. For particulars of the author, Dr. John Byrom, see the biographies of Dr. Bentley, and also the article in the *Biographie Universelle*, 'Byrom (Jean),' signed 'X—s,' like the sketch of Cumberland's career.

² In later years Richard Cumberland suffered from straitened means and domestic bereavement. He incurred heavy expenses during a mission to Spain, which were never refunded by the English Government. In consequence of a reform he lost his appointment of Secretary to the Board of Trade. The death of an orphan grandson, a midshipman, from the effects of a severe punishment at sea saddened his last days, and perhaps hastened the end. See *Biographie Universelle*. He died in 1811 at the age of eighty.

³ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon,' and vol. ii., 'Great Hampden.' Sir John's two daughters, Anne and Mary, do not seem to have married: they probably died young. Also *The English Baronetage*, 1741.

and of a Bishop of Durham. The children of her first marriage with Sir Robert were two daughters and a son, Sir John, the only baronet of the line who is not recorded as a member of the House of Commons. By Mary, daughter of Sir Francis St. John of Longthorpe, Northants, a great granddaughter of the Chief Justice, he left besides a daughter, Mary, who married Mr. Sparrow, one son, the third and last Sir Robert Bernard.

This last Sir Robert Bernard never married. Of his career up to early-middle age I know only that he represented Huntingdon for a time—apparently not for long. After this period some particulars are recorded which show that he was a person of decided views, but hampered by bad health. Mr. Rigby writes to the Duke of Bedford on 'April 25th, 1770.—. . . No opposition will be made to Sir Robert Bernard's being chose for Westminster, which I think at this time is a very wise measure.'¹ The following obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1789 gives a succinct account of his leading characteristics and movements :

At his seat at Brampton, near Huntingdon, Sir Robert Bernard, Bart. He was one of the original members of the Bill of Rights Society, and seceded upon the division that took place in 1771 upon the propriety of Mr. Wilkes becoming a candidate for the shrievalty of London. In 1769 he was unanimously elected member for the city of Westminster, upon the present Lord Sandys succeeding to his father's title, which he declined at the ensuing General Election in 1772. He was a warm supporter of the attempt made, a few years since, to procure an equal representation of the people in Parliament by abolishing the rotten boroughs ; but the afflictions he had for many years been under, by violent attacks of the gout, had prevented his taking any active part in politics since that period. An estate of 14,000*l.* per ann. devolves to his nephew at Westminster School ; his personal property to a considerable amount is amongst the Dickens family.²

This Westminster boy, the son of Sir Robert's sister

¹ *Correspondence of John, Fourth Duke of Bedford*, selected from the Originals at Woburn Abbey, with an Introduction by Lord John Russell, vol. iii.

² *The Gentleman's Magazine* for January 1789.

Mary, afterwards Brigadier-General Robert Bernard Sparrow,¹ married Lady Olivia Acheson, daughter of the first Earl of Gosford, and died, when still a young man, in 1805, leaving a son and daughter. The son, Robert Acheson Bernard St. John Sparrow, survived his father only a few years. His sister Millicent, thus left sole heir of the family, married Viscount Mandeville, afterwards sixth Duke of Manchester. Lady Olivia also had the misfortune to outlive both the Duchess and the Duke, her son-in-law. She made Brampton Park her home, and is still remembered in the neighbourhood as a benevolent and energetic woman. As a friend and correspondent of William Wilberforce, Hannah More, and probably many other persons distinguished for piety and philanthropy, a certain interest attaches to her life beyond the round of domestic events. Brampton Park descended to her daughter's great-grandson, the present Duke of Manchester, and is now an institution for the cure of stammerers.

Such is the history of this singularly prosperous branch of the Bernard family. I have not gone into the history of its territorial possessions beyond Brampton; but it appears to have at one time possessed land at Hadleigh, in Essex, probably as successor to the St. Johns, and may have owned estates elsewhere.

¹ Debrett, *Peerage of the United Kingdom* (1828), vol. ii., 'Earl of Gosford'; vol. i., 'Duke of Manchester'; Burke, *A Gen. and Her. Dictionary of the Peerage* (1882), in which nearly the same information is given. Further particulars of the Bernards may be found under the heading 'Baron St. John, of Bletsoe.'

CHAPTER V

THE IMMEDIATE ANCESTRY OF SIR FRANCIS BERNARD

Birth of Thomas Bernard—The Vachells, Knollyses, and Blagraves—Thomas Bernard's Family—Reading during the Civil War—Sir Francis Knollys—Christopher Milton—Francis Bernard's Family—Peter Mews, the Fighting Bishop—Young Francis Bernard at Oxford—Edward Bernard, Fellow of St. John's—Francis Bernard graduates at Oxford—The Family House at Reading—Dr. Calamy—Marriage of Edward Bernard—His Visit to Holland—His Death—Presentation of Francis Bernard to the Living of Codford St. Mary and to Brightwell (Berks).

THOMAS BERNARD, fourth, but third surviving, son of Francis Bernard of Abington, settled at Reading, Berks. The date of his birth is uncertain, and also the period of his migration from the paternal home. The former I am inclined to fix rather after than before 1570,¹ and I think it quite possible that Thomas did not definitively move to Reading until the death of his father in 1602, though he may have spent much time there. He went probably to reside on a small estate which had been in the family since the days of his great-great-grandfather, Sir John Bernard.²

With Thomas, one of the younger scions of a family which numbered twelve, a new departure is made in the chronicle of the lineage. His surroundings may have been pleasant and comfortable, but he was an unimportant man. Reading in the following century contained only five streets,³

¹ According to *The Visitation of Northamptonshire made in 1564 and 1618-19*, &c., edited by Walter C. Metcalfe, F.S.A., Thomas Bernard would have been born before 1564; but in the Preface to this volume an admission is made that some entries were added later; these are not distinguished from the rest of the text. I believe the name of Thomas Bernard to have been one of these additions, as many circumstances indicate that his birth is likely to have taken place at a subsequent date.

² See ch. ii. of this volume.

³ An account of T. Hearn's 'Journey to Reading and Ilchester, 1714,' in

with probably a few courts and alleys. A portion of each of the three parishes—St. Mary, St. Lawrence, and St. Giles—consisted of green fields, dotted about with gentlemen's seats and farm-homesteads.¹ Thomas Bernard dwelt in St. Mary's parish, which seems to have been especially rural. Some part was beyond the borough limits, and although assessed to Church and poor rates, was not allowed a parliamentary vote. Here the Bernard house was probably situated, since neither Thomas nor his son appears to have taken any part in the affairs of the town.

It might, indeed, be difficult for Thomas, coming, as he did, of a family which was distinguished in its own locality, to acquiesce in the very subordinate position he held in Reading, and he probably decided that to remain quietly at home, managing his own piece of land, was the best course. Reading had lost some of its importance since its last abbot was hanged and its abbey had been suppressed, even though Queen Elizabeth had sometimes come to reside in the forlorn edifice. Its cloth trade, the chief industry of the borough, had declined. The town in the seventeenth century was dominated by the three families of Vachell, Knollys, and Blagrove.² The Vachells of Coley, or Cowley, House had resided there since pre-Reformation times, and were a fierce race. One of them, having a dispute with the Abbot of Reading because some of his hay had been carried through a part of the Vachell premises, killed a monk who was sent as a messenger to explain the occurrence. The Knollys family had risen to eminence as maternal kindred of Queen Elizabeth, and must have contrived to render themselves either useful or formidable to her successors, under whom they continued to flourish. When Reading Abbey

vol. ii. of *Letters Written by Eminent Persons in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. The five streets were 'Broad Street, London Street, Fryers Street, Castle Street, and Minster Street.' It may be assumed that they were all built before the beginning of the eighteenth century from Hearn's way of mentioning them.

¹ Man, *History and Antiquities of the Borough of Reading*, published in 1813. The plan in this book shows a considerable acreage in the three Reading parishes beyond the actual town.

² Lieut.-Col. Cooper King, *History of Berkshire*.

ceased to be a Royal residence, it was inhabited by Sir Francis Knollys, probably under a lease from the Crown. The Blagraves came of a Staffordshire family; the first of them who attained a prominent position in Reading was an eminent mathematician. He left money for pulling down old houses to widen the market-place, and to 'build a very faire walk under the south side of St. Lawrence's Church.' The Blagraves seem to have limited their ambition to the acquisition of property and its improvement until the Civil War broke out.

This formidable triumvirate precluded any lesser gentleman from taking much interest in municipal matters. Some few families, indeed, appear in the church books,¹ especially the Harrisons, or Harrysons, one at least of whom was named Bernard, possibly from some connection with Thomas. It is perhaps a mere coincidence that Thomas had a sister married to a Mr. Harrison of Northampton, as there seems no reason to think that he was of the same stock. 'Bernard,' or 'Barnard,'² was under both forms a recognised Christian name in Reading during the seventeenth century and later. The register even shows the existence of a 'Bernard Barnard,' who died in 1727.

The task of elucidating Thomas Bernard's life at Reading and the fortunes of his family is complicated by the existence of another family named 'Barnard' in Reading,³ not even distantly related, so far as can be ascertained. It appears to have been known in Berkshire for some generations, and especially in Newbury. The Reading home of these Barnards was in Minster Street, close to St. Mary's Church, and they, as well as the Abington Barnards, figure in its registers. They were also, to a certain extent, linked with the life of the town, though not in any conspicuous manner. From the registers it moreover appears that there were poor persons of the same name in the parish, possibly

¹ 'The Churchwardens' Accounts,' as well as the Registers.

² *The Registers of the Parish of St. Mary, Reading, Berks*, transcribed by the Rev. Gibbs Payne Crawford.

³ See *ibid.*

offshoots from the Minster Street Barnards, who had been long enough in the neighbourhood to have put forth some unsuccessful scions. In these registers of St. Mary's, which were commonly kept by unlettered officials, the name is generally, if not always, spelt 'Barnard,' whichever family is intended; but Thomas had been entered in the 'Visitation of Northamptonshire' as son of Francis Bernard and descendant of five other 'Bernards.'

Thomas Bernard probably married within a few years of his father's death and of his own settlement in Reading. All that I know at present of his wife is that her Christian name was Sarah, or Sara, and that she was not a Reading lady, since all the registers of the old churches have, I believe, been searched for the entry of the marriage. It seems probable that she belonged to some neighbouring county family,¹ but of this there is no certainty. The first baptismal entry at St. Mary's which may possibly refer to a child of this marriage is dated 'Feb. 28, 1607-8'²; the child was a daughter named Abigail, who lived to marry 'Thomas Marsh' of the same parish. The next child entered is 'Barbarie,' who was baptized in October 1613, and died the following February. A son, Francis, was baptized 'Dec. 28, 1614,' and continued the line. Two other children—Mary and George—are entered in 1620 and 1623.

The chief public event concerning the town of Reading at this time is the occasion on which it once more became temporarily a royal residence, and, indeed, the residence of the judges also. Reading thus acquired renewed importance, but must also have endured some discomfort. 'Early in the reign of Charles I., when the plague raged with great violence at London, the Courts of Chancery, King's Bench, and Common Pleas were held here, as were likewise the Court of Exchequer, the Court of Wards and Liveries, and the Court of Requests.'³

¹ Or else to Northamptonshire. Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon,' Pedigree of Bernard.

² *The Registers of the Parish of St. Mary.*

³ Rees (Abraham), *The Cyclopædia, or Universal Dictionary, &c., &c.*, 'Reading.'

Thomas Bernard did not long survive this formidable invasion ; he died in 1628. ¹

Francis, the eldest son of Thomas Bernard, soon became the only male representative of this branch by the death of his brother George in 1634. His mother departed this life in 1640, taken away from the evil to come, and he was left to battle with the approaching storm. Nothing is more likely than that Francis had deferred matrimony lest it should interfere with his mother's comfort in her old home, and that he was just taking the step into serious consideration when he was involved in a vortex of calamity. Few places suffered more than Reading, which is described by Sir Philip Warwick as 'a long and irregular town to be fortified.' ² Certainly both parties made full trial of its capabilities. The following extracts will serve as a synopsis of the military movements by which it was affected : ³

1642.—Windsor Castle garrisoned by the Parliamentarians in October, and continued in their possession during the war. Prince Rupert made an unsuccessful attack upon it. Reading, which was garrisoned at the same time, gave up upon the approach of the King's army, Nov. 1. The King had the headquarters of his horse at Abingdon, and came to Reading on the 4th. After the battle of Brentford he was again at Reading on the 19th. Prince Rupert at Abingdon in December.

1643.—Reading besieged by the Parliamentarians, when the church of St. Giles was much damaged by their cannon. In April, at Caversham Bridge, the Earl of Forth, with the van of Charles's army, repulsed in an attempt to relieve the town by the Earl of Essex. Charles, advancing also to their relief, was defeated at Dorchester, in Oxfordshire ; but, persevering, he met with a signal overthrow near Reading, and was obliged to return to Wallingford. Reading surrendered on honourable terms. . . . On the 21st [Sept.] the Earl of Essex marched towards Reading, harassed by Prince Rupert, who was, however, forced to retreat, having had three horses shot under him in the skirmish. The Earls of Sunder-

¹ *The Registers of the Parish of St. Mary.* Lipscomb gives 1648 as the date of Thomas Bernard's death, but this is an obvious misprint.

² Sir Philip Warwick, *Memoirs of the Reign of King Charles I., with a Continuation to the Happy Restoration of King Charles II.*

³ *The Family Topographer*, vol. iv., 'Berkshire,' ch. v., 'Reading.'

land and Carnarvon, and the amiable Viscount Falkland, were slain on the side of the Royalists. Essex withdrew from the town, which was again possessed for the King.

1644.—In the Spring the Parliament became masters of the county except Wallingford. The Royalists were quartered for a month at Newbury, and then marched to Reading. Leaving that town, which they dismantled of its fortifications, they remained at Wantage and the neighbourhood for several days. . . . September 8, the Earl of Manchester at Reading, with his army. . . . October 15, Cromwell with his horse at Reading; the Earl of Essex at Aldermaston; and the Earl of Manchester at Sir Humphrey Foster's house on the 17th. . . . December 24, Major Crawford marched from Reading, with 4,000 horse and foot, and took a supply of provisions to Abingdon. . . .

1645.—May 17, General Skippon with his army at Reading.

1646.—In January, Reading garrisoned for the Parliament, and orders issued for martial law on the 19th. . . .

1647.—July 3, the headquarters of Fairfax were at Reading. . . .

During that year King Charles was a prisoner at Caversham, on the opposite bank of the Thames. He was not at first severely treated, but was allowed the company of his children, and also permitted to play bowls on the green belonging to the inn at Goring.

In the foregoing extracts from 'The Journey-Book' only the facts affecting Reading have been noted, so far as they could be separated from the context; but the whole country round was a battlefield, and the consequences were disastrous to the town. The chronicle continues: 'During these alternations of party triumph the inhabitants were almost ruined by the heavy contributions to which they were subjected'—no doubt from both sides.

A still more forcible description of the injuries inflicted on Reading may be found in Colonel Cooper King's 'History of Berkshire.' There were, of course, two parties in the town from the beginning, besides intervening shades of opinion. So early as 1642 some inhabitants left Reading because the mayor and certain other persons were Royalists, but the advocates of rebellion preponderated in numbers as well as influence.

In the siege of the following year, 1643, the tower of St. Giles was destroyed. The town passed again into the hands of the Roundheads; and—'April 30th, being Sunday, was spent in preaching, and hearing God's Word, the churches being extraordinarily filled.' But Essex had to retreat, and the King's men entered it once more. His Majesty resided at Coley House. . . . The distress of the inhabitants during all the confusion and horror of the war was so great that they were reduced to the lowest depths of misery and distress.¹

Elsewhere the same writer says: 'Berkshire had suffered deeply in the campaign of 1644. The whole county was "in a miserable condition, hardly a sheep, hen, hog, oats, hay, wheat, or any other thing for man to feed on," was left in all the district round.'² The Roundhead soldiers, finding themselves inadequately supplied with comforts, perhaps with necessities, sometimes plundered their own friends, having no doubt exhausted the Royalists. "'The Reading Forces"' are said to have acted "'in a most deplorable manner . . . honest old Sir Francis Knowles, the ancientest Parliament man in England, had much prejudice done to his houses and their tenants in January 1643."' By all these proceedings 'trade was necessarily paralysed.' In vain carriers compounded; in vain clothiers obtained safe-conducts; they were stopped and fined at every hand's turn throughout the country. The cloth trade never recovered these blows.

Old Sir Francis Knollys, the Treasurer, had taken some part in the war, and his son, of the same name, was a leader in the Berkshire campaigns on the Parliamentary side, although the family owed its wealth and position to royalty. Tanfield Vachell, of Coley House, had been made Sheriff of Berks by King Charles in 1643, but it is on record that 'he left his service and went into rebellion';³ and as time went on Daniel Blagrove⁴ became a regicide.

¹ Lieut.-Col. Cooper King, F.G.S., *A History of Berkshire*, ch. viii., 'Civil Life. Its Towns and Villages and their Upgrowth.'

² *Ibid.* vi., 'Its Military History (b), Its Wars.'

³ *Ibid.* vi.

⁴ *Original Letters and other Documents relating to the Benefactions of*

The position of loyalists must, of course, have become most irksome; when the royal forces were not in Reading they were defenceless, whereas local influences were sufficient to afford the other party some protection even when the Royalists triumphed for a time. I am inclined to believe that Francis Bernard was one of the unfortunate adherents to monarchy and episcopacy, and that he suffered accordingly. His name, indeed, is not on the list of persons who compounded for their sequestered estates in 1643; but subsequent lists appear to have been published, which I have not seen, and sundry indications, as will appear, point to him as a Churchman, and therefore probably a loyalist.

Amongst the names of compounders belonging to Reading occurs one of some interest, who is not unlikely to have been an acquaintance of Francis Bernard. Christopher Milton,¹ of the Middle Temple, brother of the great poet and politician, but a man of distinctly opposite views, was an inhabitant of Reading in 1643, and was fined 80*l*. He determined on leaving soon after this experience, taking with him his father, old John Milton, the scrivener, who had shared his home, and in London resumed his practice at the Bar, which had been interrupted by the war. He must, nevertheless, have retained property in Reading, since in 1646 he was fined the large sum of 200*l*. there for his loyalty. The subsequent career of Sir Christopher Milton is well known. After the Restoration he joined the Church of Rome, and many years later was raised by James II. to the dignity of Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, from which, however, he was deposed with as much haste as he had been promoted because, it is believed, he was too prudent and moderate to please the King. He spent the remainder of his life in Ipswich and its neighbourhood.

Among the troubles of this time may be reckoned the disturbance and frequent suppression of church registers. The information they then conveyed was scanty enough at

William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the County of Berks, edited by John Bruce, Esq., F.S.A.

¹ Masson, *Life and Times of John Milton*; Foss, *The Judges of England*.

all times, and generally entered in a slovenly manner ; but it was better than nothing, and its interruption coincided in most cases with the proscription of holy rites—a grievance of which it may be reckoned the surest sign. At St. Mary's, it so happens that a specially conscientious and painstaking clerk came forward in the time of need to mitigate the evils of the prevailing confusion. The following entry is found in the register: 'All the christenings from December 22, 1641, till August 10, 1643, were lost and could not be found. WILLIAM MORE, 1643.'¹ He appears to have recovered these entries subsequently. His further statement regarding his labours is instructive :

When I came to be Clarke of this parish I found no children registered from Dec. 22, 1641, to Aug. 1643, nor any paper whereby I could collect any ; neither in the time of warr could any Regester be well kept, for people made use of whom they could gett to baptize their children ; likewise for buryalls, without Minister, Clarke, or bell, so that no regester could be truly kept, but what I could collect or gether together I have done to the uttermost of my power to satisfie people in after times. I could not do it in an orderly way, but as nere as possibly I could have done it.

The Rev. G. P. Crawford, who in recent times transcribed and edited these registers, adds: '[Then follow the entries: Aug. 10, 1643—Oct. 23, 1653, written on leaves of paper stitched into the parchment book. G. P. C.]' The marriages as well as the baptisms appear to have been recovered to a certain extent, but of the burials there is no record at all. It is quite possible that Mary, a daughter of Thomas Bernard, and sister of Francis, who is otherwise unaccounted for, may have died and been buried in this time of anarchy, leaving no memory of the young life thus cut short.

Some time during the Commonwealth period also Francis Bernard must have married. The country had quieted down, and he had a fair hope, probably, of keeping a roof over his head. Again the name of the wife is not

¹ *The Registers of the Parish of St. Mary, Reading, Berks*, transcribed by the Rev. Gibbs Payne Crawford.

to be found in the Reading registers, and I believe that no others have been searched. Like the former Mrs. Bernard, the wife of Thomas, her name was Sara.¹ The eldest son of this couple was named James; his baptism is not in the register of St. Mary's, so he may have been born away from Reading. This boy lived only till 1665, and was buried at St. Mary's.² The second son, Francis, was baptized at their parish church on December 31, 1660, a few months after the restoration of the monarchy. Three daughters followed: Ann, Martha, and Elizabeth. These four children can be satisfactorily identified, because they are described as son and daughters of 'Francis and Sara Bernard.' There was a Francis of the other family who married in 1662, and his children are entered as belonging to 'Francis and Elizabeth Barnard.' It had at last been found necessary to make some distinctive notification, more especially as both families used very much the same Christian names.

One consequence of the Restoration was that in 1663³ King Charles II. and his Queen, Catherine of Braganza, paid Reading a visit; it was short, and probably did not affect the Bernards in any appreciable mode. Like most other Royalists, they fared none the better for the King's return, save that a feeling of comparative security made life more tolerable. There is more to be said about the sojourn of one of the remarkable men of the age—Peter Mews, or Mew, afterwards called 'the fighting bishop.'

Mews⁴ came originally from Dorsetshire, and had been a Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. When deprived of this Fellowship by the arbitrary measures of Cromwell, he distinguished himself in the King's army. After the Restoration he became Archdeacon of Huntingdon, but exchanged

¹ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.' He spells Mrs. Bernard's name 'Sarah.' It is he who notes the birth of James Bernard.

² *The Registers of St. Mary's, Reading*, where the particulars in this paragraph relating to the two families are found.

³ Coates, *History of Reading*.

⁴ Cassan, *Lives of the Bishops of Bath and Wells*; Coates, *History of Reading*. The spelling 'Mew' is now generally adopted, but the Bishop himself wrote 'Mews.'

that preferment for the Archdeaconry of Berkshire on his nomination to the vicarage of St. Mary's, Reading, which he held for three years. In this position he would naturally be thrown into more or less intimacy with the Bernards; the sympathy he may have shown them on the death of their son James would be requited by them when he lost his wife, only a little later, in childbirth. She was the daughter of Dr. Baylie,¹ President of St. John's College, and her mother was Elizabeth Robinson, niece by the half-blood to Archbishop Laud, a former President. From this acquaintance may have originated the idea of sending young Francis Bernard to Oxford.

The Grammar School of Reading² had sprung into existence, before the Reformation, on the suppression of St. John's House, an old almshouse or hospital under the jurisdiction of the abbots of Reading. This was supposed to have outlived its original uses, and its buildings were in ruins when Abbot Thorne revived it as a school, with the sanction of Henry VII., in 1486. During the subsequent ecclesiastical revolution it underwent the usual changes. 'Sir Thomas White,³ Lord Mayor of London in 1553, and the munificent founder of St. John's College, Oxford [as successor to St. Bernard's Monastery], annexed two scholarships in that College to the School of Reading, and vested the appointment to them in the Corporation of the town.' Archbishop Laud, the son of a Reading clothier, held one of these scholarships when at Oxford, and was a benefactor to the school, and also to the college.

It must have been so ordinary an occurrence for any Reading boy to attend the Grammar School that probably Francis Bernard the elder had been educated there. The

¹ Dr. Baylie's name, more often spelt 'Bailey,' or 'Bayley,' is invariably 'Baylie' in the volume relating to Laud's Benefactions, and is so written by the Doctor himself.

² *Original Letters and other Documents relating to the Benefactions of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the County of Berks*, edited by John Bruce, Esq., F.S.A.

³ *Ibid.* See also *A History of the University of Oxford, its Colleges, Halls, and Public Buildings*, printed for J. Ackerman, 101 Strand, 1814.

records of the school up to 1750, however, as I am informed by a former headmaster,¹ have been 'lost, stolen, or destroyed,' so that the fact cannot be ascertained. In the case of the younger Francis the Archdeacon may have perceived early signs of a scholastic bent, and suggested to his father the advantage that would arise from his choosing a learned career, instead of placing a precarious dependence on the chances of improving his small landed property. Dr. Mews had succeeded his father-in-law as President of St. John's in 1667,² and became in 1672 Bishop of Bath and Wells. With his successor at the college, Dr. Levinz, the Bernards had probably no acquaintance; but there was a distinguished Fellow of St. John's whose presence is likely to have kept up the parental desire for young Francis Bernard's admission to membership, as will appear.

Of Francis Bernard the elder there is little more to say. His youngest child, Elizabeth, apparently died in her infancy. Of the other two daughters there is no further record; in all probability, if they lived to woman's estate, they did not marry until the Reading home was broken up—perhaps not at all, for there is no family tradition concerning any descendant of theirs. The father lived until his son attained the age of nineteen; on that son the family interest is henceforth concentrated. He left no will; Sara, his widow, was administratrix, as appears at Somerset House, but no light is thereby thrown on her parentage or connections, as might have happened had there been testamentary dispositions.

Francis the younger went to Reading School; the date of his admission cannot be given, by reason of the disappearance of documents already mentioned. He was elected to one of the Oxford scholarships, and the date of his success has been preserved.³ 'Francis Bernard's name appears on the list of Sir Thomas White's scholars elected to St. John's

¹ Francis Pierrepont Barnard, Esq., of St. Mary's Abbey, Windermere, formerly Headmaster of Reading School.

² *A History of the University of Oxford*, printed for J. Ackerman.

³ This information I received from Mr. F. P. Barnard.

College, Oxford, which hangs in the Big Schoolroom; the date is 1677,' writes Mr. F. P. Barnard. The lad was then in his seventeenth year. He was entered at St. John's College on July 3¹ as 'pleb,' which I have discovered to mean 'yeoman.' 'According to Sir Thomas Smith, a yeoman is a freeborn Englishman, who can lay out of his own free land in yearly revenue to the sum of forty shillings sterling.'² Probably the war and the Commonwealth had not left the elder Francis much to spend, but it may be hoped that he was not ground down to this minimum.

At St. John's young Francis must soon have known, by sight at least, Edward Bernard, the distinguished Fellow to whom allusion has been made. It is, indeed, quite probable that he was a distant relative of the Bernards of Reading; that, as such, the newcomer had been recommended to his kindness, and that he, by a few gracious acts of condescension, had diminished the awful distance in position which separated them at the University.³

Edward Bernard had reached St. John's by a different road from his young namesake. He was born in the Northamptonshire village of Paulerspury, or Pery St. Paul, near Towcester, in 1638, son of the Rev. Joseph Bernard and his wife Elizabeth Lynche,⁴ of Wyche, in Worcestershire—

¹ The peculiarities of the Oxford, or perhaps the heraldic nomenclature, may be exemplified from *The Life of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough*, by General Viscount Wolsley, K.P., 'A Catalogue of all the Graduates, &c., &c., in the University of Oxford.' In the Oxford matriculation of Marlborough's father, the grandfather is described as 'generousus,' which may be deemed as equivalent to what we mean by 'esquire.' Then appears in a note, 'The term armiger was not, it appears, then bestowed upon anyone under the rank of a knight's eldest son. A knight's younger son and all the sons of country gentlemen were described as "generosus." Yet 'generosus' in the dictionary is translated "noble" or "nobleman."'

² Rees, *The Cyclopædia, or Universal Dictionary*, article 'Yeoman.' Sir Thomas Smith was one of Queen Elizabeth's statesmen and scholars. He died in 1577.

³ *Vita clarissimi et doctissimi viri Edwardi Bernardi, S. Theologiae Doctoris, et Astronomiae apud Oxonienses Professoris, Scriptore Thoma Smitho, S. Theologiae Doctore, Ecclesiae Anglicanae Presbytero.* Dr. Thomas was not connected with Sir Thomas Smith.

⁴ Dr. Smith says: 'Matre Elizabethâ Lanceâ.' This would mean Lance rather than Lynche, but the latter name is given by Baker, *Hist. North.*

'utrisque non ignobili genere oriundis,' adds Dr. Thomas Smith, the biographer of Edward Bernard. The only Englishman bearing the surname of Bernard who has found a place in the '*Biographie Universelle*,'¹ he has not been included in the pedigree of the Bernards of Abington, from which many younger branches are apparently omitted. But his birth in Northamptonshire, together with the assertion of his descent from a family of position, presumably in the same county, almost stamps him as a kinsman. There is no indication that he belonged to the prosperous Huntingdonshire branch; it is therefore probable that he was a generation further removed from his Reading cousins. His father, the Rev. Joseph, may have been son of Robert, son of John Bernard² and Mary Haslewood; and therefore third cousin by a double tie to young Francis, though more than twenty years his senior.

Soon after the birth of Edward Bernard his father removed to Northampton,³ and the boy went first to the Grammar School of that town. Sir John Bernard was then Squire of Abington, and young Edward may have owed him gratitude for some kindnesses at this time. His father died early, and the widow was advised to send her son to Merchant Taylors' School in London, where he lodged with an uncle, 'a citizen of note and repute'; from the school he obtained a scholarship at St. John's. In Oxford he soon became famous for his acquirements in most branches of learning; he also wrote creditable Latin verses on trivial subjects—some of them were even love poems; but that style he gradually renounced with advancing years. In 1668 he went to Leyden, hoping to peruse certain Oriental manuscripts, especially an Arabic version of the fifth, sixth,

¹ *Biographie Universelle*, article 'Bernard (Edouard),' signed X——s, which is explained in the Index of Contributors to the work to mean 'Revu par M. Suard.'

² See ch. ii. of this volume.

³ This fact and some other circumstances in the life of Edward Bernard are mentioned by Baker, *Hist. North.*; but most of the details here given are taken from Dr. T. Smith's biography, of which the article in the *Biographie Universelle* is chiefly an abridgment, and from Bees's *Cyclopædia*, 'Bernard (Edward),' which contains an excellent synopsis of his life and labours.

and seventh books of the Conic Sections of Apollonius of Perga, but does not appear to have attained his object. In the following year King Charles II., having called away Sir Christopher Wren from his duties as Savilian Professor of Astronomy, Edward Bernard became his deputy. About the same time he entered into holy orders.

Dr. Peter Mews, while President of St. John's, or even while himself one of its Fellows, had learned to prize Bernard as an ornament of his college, and when he became, in 1672, Bishop of Bath and Wells appointed him one of his chaplains in token of regard. Just before this time the distinguished scholar had been for a little while incumbent of Cheam, in Surrey; but he renounced the incumbency for the prospect of succeeding to the Professorship of Astronomy, which could not be held with any other preferment. His biographer laments this decision; yet it is evident that for some years after obtaining the expected professorship, to which he succeeded in the year of Mews' elevation, he thoroughly appreciated Oxford life, the drawback being that, as he had to support his sister and assist certain other relations, not named, he was straitened in means.

On this account probably some well-meaning friends urged him to accept the post of tutor to the Dukes of Grafton and Northumberland, sons of Charles II. and the Duchess of Cleveland, which was pressed upon him by the Earl of Arlington. These boys were living in Paris with their mother, and, as might have been expected, their surroundings proved most uncongenial to the serious recluse, who soon resigned his office, and reappeared in Oxford, careworn and dejected. His one compensation for this thankless interlude consisted in the friendships formed with many illustrious Frenchmen—for instance, Dacier and Mabillon, but especially Huet, Bishop of Avranches, by whom he was described as 'Edwardus Bernardus, Anglus, quem pauci hac ætate equiparabunt eruditionis laude, modestia vere pene nulli.'¹ The intimacies which he formed not only with

¹ Huet, 'De Rebus se pertinentibus,' quoted in *Biographie Universelle*, and in Dr. Smith's Life of Edward Bernard.

bishops, but even with abbots, gave rise to a report that he was about to join the Church of Rome.

It must have been about this time, when Edward Bernard, sick and sore at heart, rejoined his friends after a year's absence, that young Francis Bernard of Reading appeared at St. John's, and was perhaps welcomed by his learned namesake as a youth of a very different type from those he had just quitted, and more amenable to his counsels and instructions. The death of the young undergraduate's father, the elder Francis, in 1680 perhaps threw the Rev. Edward still more into the position of a paternal adviser. Such was the state of affairs when, in 1681, young Francis took his Bachelor of Arts degree.¹

The second voyage of Professor Edward Bernard to Holland, two years later, must have deprived Francis of his superintending care for a while. He was bent on making another effort to see and apparently to obtain precious manuscripts, but met with scant success, owing to the objections of their owners, 'the heirs of Golius.' As some compensation he renewed his acquaintance with Spanheim, Grævius, and other learned men. And soon after his return, yielding to the importunities of his friends, who were mortified by seeing many inferior men Doctors of Divinity, while he continued a simple Bachelor, he sought and obtained the Doctorate.

Francis Bernard took the degree of Master of Arts in 1685, and was apparently ordained and elected a Fellow of St. John's about the same time. I have heard my father mention as a fact placed on record that one reason given by the college for this choice was that he was not the son of a tradesman. On what grounds such parentage was objectionable I did not hear; but it seems not unlikely that this very loyal college, which the martyred King had visited, and which had made many sacrifices for his sake, the college of Laud and Juxon, had suffered much from the members forced upon it in the revolutionary times, and that they sprang chiefly from the trading class.

Sara Bernard, the mother of Francis, died in the same

¹ *Oxford University Calendar.*

year (1685), and this probably ended the residence of the Bernards at Reading, which must have lasted more than eighty years at the lowest calculation from the arrival of Thomas Bernard. The sojourn of the other family of Barnard continued some time longer. One branch of that family embraced Quakerism, and of this came the well-known Sir John, Lord Mayor of London, Member of Parliament for the City of London, &c.¹ His name, of course, does not appear in the baptismal register of St. Mary's Church, but he was converted and baptized as an adult by Bishop Compton of London.

Thomas Bernard, Francis Bernard the elder, and the two Saras their wives, were all buried at St. Mary's, either in the church or churchyard. From family tradition I expected to have found tablets in the church to their memories; but none are to be seen, and I am informed that none were in existence when the church was restored in the course of the nineteenth century. Possibly they were commemorated on slabs, the usual fate of which, in these latter days, is to be carted away as rubbish whenever the floor is renovated. Or the Bernards may have been buried in the churchyard, under one or more of those massive tombs whose inscriptions are worn away by time and weather. In any case they are forgotten.

As to the house and land at Reading, it is probable that they were let at this period, and not sold until circumstances had rendered them burdensome. The clerical vocation of Francis Bernard did not lead him far away from them, but in the next generation it was different. It is possible however that even the Reverend Francis felt no wish to return to the old home, though he may have been glad to visit it occasionally. Its reminiscences cannot have been altogether, or even chiefly, of a pleasant sort. Probably the town was

¹ Sir John Barnard's bust occupies (or occupied) one of the niches in the 'Temple of British Worthies' at Stowe, the palatial residence of the Temples and Grenvilles near Buckingham. Sir John is said to have 'distinguished himself in Parliament by an active and firm opposition to the pernicious and iniquitous practice of stock-jobbing,' and by proposing in 1737, and carrying through in 1750, a reduction of 'the interest of the National Debt.'

much disfigured by the sieges of the Parliamentary Wars. Hearn, who, indeed, may not have had a taste for antiquities, wrote in 1714: 'The houses are very mean, and the streets, though pretty large, unpaved. The occasion of the houses being so mean is this. The greatest part of them belong to one Blagrave, and his interest in them being only for two lives, there is no likelihood of their being rebuilt as yet.'¹

Meanwhile Dr. Peter Mews had become Bishop of Winchester;² he took up arms once more in the cause of King James against the Duke of Monmouth, and managed the artillery of the royal troops at the battle of Sedgemoor. The Revolution of 1688 did not afford him opportunity for another display of energy, or if any such chance appeared he scrupled to embrace it. He did, however, question the authority by which William III. issued a Commission for the revision of the Prayer Book, and retired in disgust from its sittings in the Jerusalem Chamber; but eventually he made his peace with the new Government and retained his bishopric.

St. John's College was not prominent in the struggle of King James II.'s time, because it was not specially attacked; but the turmoil caused by the royal proceedings was of course felt throughout the University. Dr. Thomas Smith,³ a man of kindred tastes and talents with Dr. Edward Bernard, and afterwards his biographer, who was a Fellow of Magdalen, was offered the presidency of his college if he would forward the King's views, but refused. He lost his Fellowship, regained it at the accession of William III., but again lost it on refusing the oaths to the Revolutionary sovereigns. Dr. Bernard did not imitate his friend in this matter; but it is probable that the difficulty of deciding on his course told upon his health, which had always been delicate, and had now altered for the worse, and that his increased solemnity of thought led him to speak of astronomy

¹ Hearn, *Original Letters*, &c.

² Cassan and Dr. Thomas Smith; also histories of the time.

³ *History of the University of Oxford* (printed for J. Ackerman); Macaulay (T. B.), *History of England*; *Biographie Universelle*.

as 'a science which made mankind neither happier nor better.' He seems to have resigned his professorship joyfully on being presented by Bishop Mews, in 1691, to the valuable living of Brightwell, in Berkshire, about nine miles from Oxford. By the advice of his friends, indeed, he consented to reside in Oxford during the worst part of the year, but he provided an excellent curate to supply his place at Brightwell in his absence.

In this same year Francis Bernard, who had been University Proctor in 1690, took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, then a usual preparation for parochial work; it may therefore be assumed that he was hoping for a college-living. Probably Oxford had lost some of its attractions by the withdrawal of Dr. Bernard; possibly also he may have ridden over to Brightwell sometimes to assist him, and the rector may have uttered a wish that Francis should be his successor in the parish.

Shortly before Dr. Bernard's retirement to the country Dr. Calamy, a famous Nonconformist divine, was introduced to his acquaintance in Oxford¹ 'by means of a letter from Professor Grevius,' and the Anglican clergyman, who had come under suspicion by consorting with such double-dyed Papists as abbots, may now have given offence to High Churchmen by his urbanity to a Dissenter. Calamy writes that he found Dr. Bernard 'a singularly good-tempered gentleman,' and says that he received much kindness from him, 'particularly on the matter of reading at the Bodleian Library.' Calamy's description of Oxford society is remarkable as showing the more than tolerant tone which characterised members of the University with regard to Protestant Dissenters. 'Though it was well known at Oxford that I sometimes preached in the Meeting, and at other places round the country, yet I must own I generally met with great civility from the gentlemen of the University, both in the Schools, at St. Mary's, and in the Coffee-houses.'

¹ *An Historical Account of my own Life*, by Edmund Calamy, D.D., edited by J. T. Butt.

Calamy had preached at Abingdon and Thame, as well as in Oxford itself, and had held a conference in Aylesbury. He continues :

Some would visit me at my own quarters ; I had that honour from Dr. Edward Bernard, the Professor of Astronomy, pretty frequently. He had been abroad, seen the world, and loved much to talk of Holland, and the libraries and learned men there. He is taken notice of, with great respect, by the learned Helvetius. Readily would he lend me any book, though ever so curious, and often did we converse together about his '*Josephus*,' which I was truly sorry he was discouraged from finishing. Often have I lamented that not only the labour and pains which Scaliger, Cunæus, Petit, Bosius, Le Moyne, as well as other learned persons, had bestowed upon that author, should be lost to the world, but that this good Doctor's noble edition should miscarry.

Calamy does not enter into the causes of this loss ; probably the '*Josephus*' failed mainly for want of adequate pecuniary support. Dr. Bernard was no longer in a state of health to battle with adverse influences, and the parochial cure which he assumed soon after his interview with his Nonconformist visitor must have partially broken into his scholastic habits. No great work could therefore be expected from him. The new life was in many respects a doubtful experiment ; even the increase to his income proved by no means an unmixed advantage, since it facilitated his next questionable step—marriage.

Eleanor Howell, a handsome Welsh girl of ancient lineage, was apparently resident in his parish. A feeling of discomfort in his lonely rectory, even during the summer, led him, no doubt, to seek her society, and finally to offer her his hand. They were married in Brightwell Church during the August of 1693.¹ Dr. Smith deprecates all adverse criticism on this subject, and asserts that Edward Bernard lived happily with his wife, which there seems no reason to doubt. Even after his marriage he was apparently often in Oxford ; and at last the longing to follow up his labours in Holland

¹ This appears by the Register of Marriages at Brightwell, which I have seen. The year is given by his biographer also.

while it was yet possible determined him to undertake a third voyage thither at a most unfavourable season of the year, without considering either his infirm health, the chance of bombardment and capture by a French vessel, or the improbability of success in his enterprise, even if he reached Holland. His wife decided to accompany him.

Just before his departure Dr. Wallis wrote from Oxford to Dr. Smith :

The journey of our good friend Dr. Bernard to London gives me the opportunity of writing by him. The news of his niece's marriage, and his journey to London and intended voyage to Holland, I presume you will hear from him. And since he will go (which I should not encourage), I wish him a happy success in it, and a safe return.¹

There is no mention of the niece's name or her husband's ; consequently this letter throws no light upon the family history.

Dr. and Mrs. Bernard sailed in the autumn of 1696, during the prevalence of equinoctial gales, which raged so furiously that Bernard's friends mourned him as dead. But he reached his destination after a lengthy and dangerous passage, and recovered sufficiently to enjoy the congenial society which welcomed him on the Dutch shore. Dr. Smith speaks of his mission as not altogether a success, but another author writes : ' His object was to be present at the sale of James Golius's Manuscripts, many of which he purchased for his friend Dr. Narcissus Marsh, Archbishop of Dublin, who afterwards gave them to the University of Oxford, with many others of great value.'² Apparently the Apollonius was not amongst these.

Unwilling to leave Holland without paying Grævius a last visit, Dr. Bernard went through the fatigue of a land

¹ *Letters of Eminent Persons in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, No. XXXII., 'Dr. Wallis to Dr. Smith,' dated 'Oxford, Sept. 8, 1696.'

² In a note to the letter above mentioned, which is apparently by T. Walker, the editor of the *Letters*. He published them anonymously, but his name is inserted in pencil on the title-page of a London Library copy of the book.

journey to Utrecht—not a very long one, but onerous to a weak man in those days of comfortless travelling. Thence he returned to the coast for embarkation, and after a tedious voyage reached London some time in November. There he made a short pause, in the hope of recruiting his strength, and then went on to Oxford, where he died in less than seven weeks after his arrival, on January 12, 1696-7.

His end was most edifying. He departed 'holding fast the Catholic Faith, and depending on the firm hope of a blessed immortality, by the mercy of God, through Christ the Saviour; having also obtained sacerdotal absolution from his parish priest.'

A few days later, on the 16th, the remains of Edward Bernard were interred with great solemnity in the Chapel of St. John's College. Six Doctors officiated as pall-bearers; the Vice-Chancellor and the Heads of Houses joined in the procession. 'Francis Bernard, a Fellow of this College, and shortly before Proctor of the University, lauded the deceased in an elegant oration,' writes Dr. Smith, 'all those who attended the funeral rites lamenting the loss of such a man as fatal to the University and to letters.'

Dr. Bernard's widow erected on the north side of the chapel a beautiful white marble tablet, on which, in obedience to her husband's dying wish, was represented a heart in relief, and around these words: 'Habemus Cor Bernardi.' Beneath was the inscription: 'E. B.—S.T.P. obiit Jan. 12, 1696,' and this was repeated on a small square block of marble in the floor of the chapel, under which he was buried. 'Nor,' adds his biographer, 'did he need other or magnificent titles, since he himself—of fame exalted beyond any eulogy which his surviving friends could supply—left an immortal monument in his writings.'

The list of Dr. Edward Bernard's literary works, on an extraordinary variety of subjects, all requiring deep study to do them justice, is given in the biography by Dr. Smith, and forms a remarkable record. But times have changed, and the great scholar is forgotten. Not only are his writings no longer read, but the tablet and slab designed to per-

petuate his memory will be sought for in vain in the College Chapel.

Francis Bernard remained at Oxford less than two years after this bereavement, and then accepted the College living of Codford St. Mary,¹ in Wiltshire. Possibly it may have been the first benefice offered for his choice; but probably also St. John's had lost much of its charm since the removal of his eminent cousin. I have no record of his life at Codford, where he remained, apparently, till 1702, when Bishop Mews remembered him. Some previous promise may have prevented the Bishop from naming Francis as immediate successor to Edward Bernard; but he now embraced an opportunity of presenting him to the living of Brightwell.

Here Francis Bernard passed the rest of his life, a period of over thirteen years, in the discharge of his clerical and magisterial duties. While here, though not till about nine years had elapsed, he married Margery Winlowe, of Lewknor, Oxon,² and in due time his son, the future Governor of Massachusetts, was born. But these events will be more fully narrated in the chapter describing the early life of that son.

The marriage just noticed of the rector of Brightwell to 'Mrs. Margery Winlowe' led eventually to the acquisition of the manor of Nether Winchendon, Bucks, by his son, and it has been the country house of his descendants for several generations. In order not to interrupt the narrative of that son's life the history of the manor and of its previous possessors will be given in the next two chapters.

¹ *A Catalogue of all the Graduates in the University of Oxford.* See also *Foster's Index Ecclesiasticus*.

² Mrs. Bernard is called Margaret on her portrait, but the inscription was probably added some time after her death, and the name altered to 'Margaret' because 'Margery' was then unfashionable, perhaps even considered vulgar. It is, however, the former in every entry in the Lewknor registers.

CHAPTER VI

NETHER WINCHENDON IN OLDEN TIMES

Lipscomb's Account of Nether Winchendon—Notley Abbey—The Black Death—Notley Parsonage—Langland's Close—Sir John Dauncey—Sir Thomas More—The Last Abbot of Notley—Henry VIII.'s Progress to Reading—The Earl of Bedford—The Dormers—John Holyman—Sale of Nether Winchendon to William Goodwyn—The Tyringhams—Sir Francis Knollys—Sir Wm. Knollys, Earl of Banbury, and Lettice Knollys.

THE little village of Nether Winchendon (more commonly known as Lower Winchendon) is situated chiefly at the foot of a hilly ridge in Buckinghamshire, about two miles from the high-road connecting Aylesbury with Thame and Oxford. In modern times the village has crept up the hill-side, but its principal buildings are still located in the valley, unless a few outlying farmhouses should be excepted. The range of hills, interrupted by a valley between Ashendon and Chilton, which embellishes and diversifies this portion of the county has, I believe, no recognised name. 'The Bernwode Hills' would be an appropriate designation, since the forest of Bernwode once spread over, amongst, and around them. The name Winchendon, according to Lipscomb,¹ the county historian, is derived from 'wychen,' springs, and 'don,' an eminence. There is a parish known as Over or Upper Winchendon, eastward of the one just described, 'in which the springs issue from considerably higher ground,' and the tiny village of which is situated on the ridge.

The history of Nether Winchendon may be said to begin with the following :—

This Manor before the Conquest was held under Queen Edith by Edded; but at the time of the Norman Survey, Walter Giffard

¹ Lipscomb, *History of Buckinghamshire*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.' The succeeding paragraphs are extracted from the same account.

[first Earl of Buckingham] having acquired the seignior, it was held by him, and rated at ten hides in his demesne. There was land sufficient for eleven ploughs. In the demesnes were three hides and three plough-teams; and twenty-three villeins with eight bordars, who had eight ploughs; one servant, seven corucates of pasture, and one mill yielding twenty shillings rent, and four-score eels annually. The whole value was constantly 12*l.* per annum.

This Manor, with other estates of Walter Giffard, descended to his son Walter, second Earl of Buckingham, and about 1162 was made part of the endowment of the Abbey of Notley, by that Earl and his Countess. This benefaction is specified in a Confirmation Charter of Henry II. as 'totam villam de Wynchendone.' Lysons states that a moiety of the manor was given by the founder, Walter Giffard, and another moiety which had been the property of Robert de Hamet, Constable of King Henry II., and had passed in marriage with his daughter and heir to Baldwin de Wake, was in 1236 given to the same Abbey.

Notley Abbey,¹ now in the parish of Crendon, whose present buildings include some scanty remains of the once grand monastic pile, occupies a hollow between two roads to the small town of Thame, in Oxfordshire, and beside the stream from which that town derives its appellation. Its name, which has been spelt in various ways, is said to be derived from the nut trees which abounded in that locality. The original inmates of the abbey were 'Monks or Canons of a reformed branch of the Augustine Order, established in the diocese of Arras, in France.'

'With the Canons Regular the place of lay brethren was supplied by numerous paid servants and officers,' says Father Gasquet.² And it was, no doubt, to superintend some of these men that a few monks were established at Nether Winchendon, at a distance of nearly four miles from Notley. According to tradition, the 'messuage called the Church House' existing there dated from the time of Walter Giffard, the founder of Notley Abbey—that is, from the

¹ Lipsecomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Crendon-with-Notley.'

² Gasquet (F. A., Monk of the Order of St. Benedict, sometime Prior of St. Gregory's Monastery, Downside, Bath), *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, vol. ii. ch. xii.—'Some Results of the Suppression.'

reign of Richard I. Lipscomb mentions it only at a somewhat later period. The monks performed the functions of parish priests.

Nether Winchendon, as well as Chearsley [which lies between Winchendon and Notley], was anciently a chapelry appendant to Crendon. The Rectory or Parsonage was appropriated to the Monks of Notley, probably soon after the temporalities of that monastery in this parish had been given to them by the Founder. The performance of divine service was provided by the Ecclesiastics of Notley, in the same manner as in the neighbouring small churches belonging to their house.¹

Possibly they may have given help from time to time to the clergy of parishes unconnected with their own institution.

To the monks Nether Winchendon doubtless owes its church, which dates from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and is dedicated to St. Nicholas, the patron of fishermen. They had built the Church House near the bank of the little river Thame, and reaped the benefit of the situation. In Lipscomb's account of Cuddington, the parish on the opposite bank of the stream, whose church was also dedicated to St. Nicholas, it is stated that there was 'anciently a fishery here of such value as to have been mentioned in the old records.' The monks had also their water-mill by the Thame at Winchendon, and their warren on a portion of the hillside. To them, moreover, it is probable that the parish owes the utilisation of the pure spring known as the Conduit, on the slope of the ridge just above the village.

A few remains of brasses in the church show that Nether Winchendon had some inhabitants of superior condition in the pre-Reformation period besides the canons; but their histories are unknown.

The records of Notley Abbey do not indicate that its monks were distinguished either for high birth or for any marked personal qualifications. Possibly Abbot 'John Grendon, or de Crendon,' who was elected in '1252, with

¹ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.'

license of Simon de Montfort, patron,' may have been an exception, since 'he was summoned to Parliament in 1263 (49 Hen. III.) as a mitred Abbat.' And 'Henry, the Physician, elected 1272,' was evidently valued for his professional abilities, which have been thus placed on record. In the fourteenth century it is curious to observe how abbot after abbot comes from the immediate neighbourhood of Notley. We find 'John de Thame, elected 2 Mar. 1309; Richard de Crendon, 1329, 1339, and 1357; John de Winchendon, who had been Sub-Prior, 1367 and 1376; John de Cherdesle [Chearsley], died in 1389.'

During the fourteenth century a great change took place in England.¹ It was ravaged, like other European countries, by the terrible pestilence known as the 'Black Death.' The great mortality in the ranks of the monastic orders, which affected not only the monks, and especially the most zealous among them, but also their tenants, labourers, and cattle, produced a remarkable alteration in the methods of farming; large tracts previously cultivated were turned into sheep-farms. To a great extent the lay owners of land had likewise suffered from the same cause. Then, in the fifteenth century, came the Wars of the Roses, which made havoc of the lives and fortunes of the feudal nobility and gentry. Men of a different stamp, belonging in many cases to the trading classes, sometimes to lower grades, often unscrupulous retainers or adventurers thriving on the ruin of great families and causes, rose to high position; and amongst them the pious and munificent founders and benefactors of religious houses reckoned but few successors.

The canons of Notley had, no doubt, dwindled in numbers, and had less labour to supervise, less return also for their labour of supervision, and changes in their arrangements, which they had evidently contemplated, began to take effect in 1483, two years before the battle of Bosworth and the accession of the first Tudor sovereign. In this year the abbot and convent appointed one John Pollenford first

¹ Gasquet, *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, vol. i. ch. i.

curate of Nether Winchendon.¹ A gabled house with outside beams of oak, separated only by a narrow road from the churchyard, is still pointed out as the old parsonage; it was probably built at this time or soon after. But it appears always to have remained the property of the lords of the manor; being unnecessarily large for the dwelling of an unmarried village curate, it may have been used at first for various parochial purposes also. At the present time, and for many years past, it has been divided into three tenements for labourers' families.

Soon after the appointment of the curate some of the Winchendon land was let by the community at Notley to one Walter Elvell;² no house is mentioned, nor is it clear that the Church House was then deserted by the monks. But they evidently proceeded without any great delay to build a home for a bailiff. In journeying westward from the church and manor-house gate along the village a house may still be seen so closely resembling the parsonage in structure, although varied in its disposition, as to suggest that it must have been designed by the same architect—perhaps one of the canons. It is somewhat larger, and is now occupied by four families. The bailiff was evidently a man of substance, and probably had lands to supervise in other parishes besides Nether Winchendon. In one of the sitting-rooms remains either of sculptures or of plaster mouldings, such as were at that time favourite decorations in good houses,³ become visible about the mantel wherever the whitewash which usually veils their beauties has worn thin. In one bedroom at least there are vestiges of similar decorations on the walls. The field adjoining the edifice is designated in a map of the eighteenth century and in deeds of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries 'Langland's Close,' now generally corrupted into 'Langley's,' or even

¹ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon,' 'List of the Clergy.'

² *Ibid.*, 'Crendon-with-Notley,' 'List of Abbey Lands, &c.'

³ Notable specimens of these plaster mouldings may be seen at 'Plas Mawr,' or 'the Gwydir House,' at Conway, North Wales, a grand specimen of well-preserved Tudor architecture.

'Angler's Close.' The origin of this name may be traced with little difficulty to John Longland,¹ a bailiff of Notley Abbey, who in 1537 collected rents in Nether Winchendon, as appears by an acquittance of the last abbot preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. In all likelihood the name Longland, or Langland, had been borne by a bailiff, or succession of bailiffs, resident in the parish for many years, and it has thus made a lasting impression.

The history of Nether Winchendon Manor House assumes a more definite form in the sixteenth century, as it is connected with the name of a man of note, and one who left memorials of his residence there.² In 1528 (19 Hen. VIII.) the 'Abbot and Convent' of Notley leased their 'Manor Place of Nether Winchendon to Sir John Dounciè, one of the King's most honourable Privy Council,' for ninety-nine years from September 7 in that year. A list of some of the possessions of the Abbey, dated apparently some years later, contains the following entry: 'Rents and farm, including 12*l.* per ann., rents for a water-mill and certain parcels of arable, pasture, &c., late in the tenure of Walter Elvell and now of Sir John Daunce, Knt., by indenture for a term of years, with the fishery of the stream in Nether Winchendon, per ann. £47 5*s.* 7½*d.*'³ Sir John Dauncey—for this mode of spelling his name has prevailed—was a man of great importance in his day. He was at various times King's Councillor, Paymaster-General, Chief Butler of England, Surveyor of Crown Lands, Knight of the Body, Groom of the Privy Chamber, Receiver-General of Lands of Minors, Collector of Petty Customs, &c.,⁴ and had land in

¹ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.' The Longland or Langland bailiffs must have come to an end soon after the date of the acquittance, since the Nether Winchendon bailiff at the Dissolution was 'Walter Beverly.' See Lipscomb, 'Crendon-with-Notley.'

² *Ibid.*, 'Nether Winchendon.'

³ *Ibid.*, 'Crendon-with-Notley.'

⁴ I give these official designations nearly as they were communicated to me by Mrs. Leopold Scarlett, a descendant, I believe, of Sir John Dauncey. In the Notley Abbey list of possessions, above-mentioned, he is styled 'Sir John Daunce (Dauncey), Knt., Chief Steward of Demesne Lands.' He was J.P. for Oxon and Middlesex, and Sheriff for Oxon and Berks.

three counties at least. But his best claim to remembrance at the present time is his connection with Sir Thomas More, through the marriage of his son William to Elizabeth, second daughter of the great Chancellor, and one of a band of sisters famous for their erudition and accomplishments. It is of course by no means improbable that Sir Thomas More may at some time have been a guest in the Manor House.

Sir John Dauncey is supposed to have remodelled the dining-room or hall of the former Church House according to the ideas prevailing in Tudor times; he left his name quaintly carved on either side of the lintel of its oaken east door. There has never been any room over this hall, and I have heard that traces of a hole in the roof, intended as an outlet for smoke, were found at a comparatively recent period, when the room was undergoing renovation. It was probably Sir John who first built a chimney, and who also panelled the hall. It is believed that he added to the house in an easterly direction, and that the present drawing-room, also panelled with oak of the elaborate linen or scroll pattern,¹ with a finely carved cornice and cross-beams on the ceiling, owes its existence to him. There may, however, be doubt as to the carvings, which some persons ascribe to a later period than the panelling.

The three accomplished daughters of Sir Thomas More² lived with their father after marriage until he resigned the Chancellorship, when he told them and their husbands that he was no longer able to maintain so large a household. It is implied in a letter written by More to his eldest daughter, Margaret Roper, from the Tower, the day before his execution, that Elizabeth Dauncey was not then in London; if so it is probable that she was either at Whitchurch, Oxon, of which manor William Dauncey had a lease from the

¹ It is probably the 'scroll' rather than the 'linen' pattern; they are often confused, but, as far as I can ascertain, the 'scroll' is the more elaborate of the two. There are specimens of the simpler pattern on some furniture in the Manor House.

² Rev. T. E. Bridgett, of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, *Life and Writings of Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England, and Martyr under Henry VIII.*

King, or with her father-in-law at Nether Winchendon. Sir Thomas More's letter runs : ' My good daughter Dauncey had the picture in parchment that you delivered me from my Lady Coniers ; her name is on the back. Shew her that I heartelye praye her, that you may send it in my name to her again for a token from me to praye for me.' All the sons-in-law as well as the son of Sir Thomas More are said to have been imprisoned after his execution, but for no very long time. Some particulars are related concerning other members of the More family, but the lives of William Dauncey and his wife Elizabeth are left blank from this period. It may be assumed that, even if they made Whitchurch their home, they spent part of their time at Nether Winchendon so long as Sir John remained there, and sought safety in silence. Sir John himself was admirably calculated to pass unscathed through a great crisis, and this feat he appears to have accomplished.

Richard Ridge, the last abbot of Notley, was not cast in the heroic mould of those monastic rulers who preferred to suffer all things rather than resign a trust which would, as they well knew, be wrested from them by superior force.¹ In April 1533, shortly after his election, he attended a Convocation at St. Paul's, London, at which he was proxy for ten others—abbots and priors. This was a position of some dignity, but the meeting was an agitating and, to most of those present, a distressing event. Ridge must have chosen his course then or soon after. In 1536 he subscribed the ' Six Articles,' which left untouched the tenets of the Roman Church on the principal points in dispute, but substituted the King's for the Pope's headship. In the following year he affixed his signature to an acknowledgment of the King's supremacy, and in December 1539 he surrendered his abbey into the King's hands, obtaining a pension of 100*l.* per annum for himself and much smaller allowances for his monks. It must, however, be observed that the Abbot of Notley, and other heads of religious houses who submitted

¹ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Crendon-with-Notley.'

without a protest, knew that resistance was hopeless, and that by so submitting they saved the lives and liberties of their flocks, and gave them a chance of profiting by any future reaction.

A few months later the King, then in the first fervour of his passion for his unfortunate fifth wife, Catherine Howard,¹ made with her a progress to Reading, Ewelme, Rycott, Notley, and Buckingham. Sir John Dauncey probably met him at Notley, in his capacity of Steward of Demesnes, and the King and Queen may have extended their travels to Nether Winchendon. Sir John did not on this occasion obtain any of the appropriated lands in the neighbourhood. The King granted Notley Abbey, like the Cistercian Abbey of Thame, to Sir John Williams, afterwards Lord Williams of Thame, and seems to have kept Nether Winchendon in his own hands.²

In 1547 King Edward VI. gave 'the capital messuage of Nether Winchendon, with the warren and water mill, messuages, lands, and tenements,' to John, Lord Russell of Cheyneys, who became first Earl of Bedford. As the Earl does not appear to have occupied the Manor House, Sir John may not have been turned out, but this is the last occasion on which he is mentioned as its inhabitant. He had already been so largely endowed with monastic lands in other quarters that, even if the new influences surrounding the boy King caused him to be passed over at this time, and perhaps went the length of cutting off the remainder of his Winchendon lease without compensation, he is scarcely to be pitied as an unsuccessful man. A note in Lipscomb's 'Bucks' enumerates estates in four counties, lately belonging to Ivinghoe Nunnery, as given, '29 Hen. VIII., to Sir John Daunce or Dauncey.'³ On one of these manors he

¹ Strickland (Miss Agnes), *Lives of the Queens of England*, 'Catherine Howard.' This progress from Windsor to Grafton was performed between August 22 and 29, 1540.

² Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Crendon-with-Notley'; Lupton, *History of Thame*.

³ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, 'Ivinghoe, &c., &c.' This parish contains several hamlets. One of these—St. Margaret's—is locally situated between Great and

perhaps settled, but the rest of his life is unknown; the caution with which he steered his course through a stormy epoch has resulted in oblivion.

The Earl of Bedford, the new man of the new era, was not beloved in the neighbourhood of Nether Winchendon, where the people continued staunch to old ways and the Princess Mary. A walk by the bank of the Thame in the direction of Aylesbury, after passing the boundary of the parish, traverses a low-lying portion of Over Winchendon, and leads to the hamlet of Eythrope,¹ part of the extensive parish of Waddesdon.

Here resided Lady Dormer and her son William, who headed the party opposed to the Earl.² The Dormers were good friends to the ejected clergy, both regular and secular; and if they did not abstain from the purchase of monastic lands, it may have been with a view to benefit the former possessors. The sympathies of the lower orders appear to have been with them. About this time many nobles and gentry took advantage of King Edward's weak Government to commit petty aggressions on each other and to appropriate certain pastures which had been common land. In retaliation armed bands of peasants tramped across country, plundering and wrecking the houses of their prosperous neighbours. Through all these tumults Lady Dormer's home remained unscathed. She afforded a refuge to numbers of homeless women and children fleeing before their persecutors, and in return the husbands and fathers of these fugitives kept guard over her house.

With the untimely death of the King new difficulties

Little Gaddesden, in Hertfordshire, and contains the remains of the Monastery of Mursley, *alias* St. Margaret's Priory, *alias* Mursley Priory, a Nunnery of the Order of St. Benet' (Benedict). Although five miles from Ivinghoe, it was sometimes called the 'Priory of Ivinghoe.' See note to the same (page 399) for a list of its manors.

¹ Written 'Eythorpe' by Lipscomb, but now generally called 'Eythrope.' Lipscomb also gives this spelling as well as the ancient 'Edrop.'

² Clifford (Henry), *The Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria*, transcribed from the Ancient Manuscript in the possession of Lord Dormer by the late Canon Estcourt, and edited by the late Rev. Joseph Stevenson, of the Society of Jesus.

arose. By appearing in Aylesbury with a large following of friends and supporters Mr. Dormer prevented the proclamation of Lady Jane Grey as Queen, on which the Earl was bent; and Queen Mary, when seated on her throne, made the village of Aylesbury¹ a borough in recognition of its loyalty.

Jane, the elder daughter of William Dormer and his wife, Mary Sidney, and granddaughter of the good Lady Dormer, deserves mention as one of the celebrities of the district. Born at Eythrope, educated for a time with King Edward VI., then a favourite attendant of Queen Mary,² and sought in marriage by a Dudley, brother-in-law to Lady Jane Grey, by a Duke of Norfolk, and by the Queen's cousin, Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, she eventually gave her hand to the Duke of Feria, one of King Philip's Spanish grandees, and spent the rest of her life away from England, chiefly in Spain, where she was held in great honour and veneration.

From the village of Cuddington also sprang another remarkable person of this epoch.³ John Holyman apparently belonged to a small gentleman's or superior yeoman's family, the site of whose house is still shown in the village. He was educated at Winchester and Oxford, but, 'desirous of a stricter life, resigned his Fellowship at New College, Oxford, and took the cowl at Reading Abbey.'⁴ When Holyman was about to receive the doctorate Abbot Cooke asked that he might be excused preaching in Oxford, as he was more wanted in London, where he had already drawn crowds to St. Paul's pulpit. 'A most stout champion in

¹ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. ii., 'Aylesbury'; Gibbs (Robert), *History of Aylesbury*, ch. xi., 'Charter of Incorporation.' The Corporation was not long-lived.

² In Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*, 'Mary, first Queen Regnant of England and Ireland,' will be found particulars of Jane Dormer, chiefly taken from Father Clifford's *Life*, showing her connection with the history of the time.

³ Gibbs (Robert), *Worthies of Buckinghamshire*, 'Holyman, John'; Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. ii., 'Cuddington,' vol. iii., 'Wing.'

⁴ Gasquet (F. A.), *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, ch. ix., 'The Three Benedictine Abbots.'

his preachings and writings against the Lutherans,' he strongly upheld the validity of Henry VIII.'s marriage with Catherine of Aragon. On the dissolution of his monastery, whose abbot was hanged, he is supposed to have retired to the family home at Cuddington, and remained there until presented by Sir William Dormer to the vicarage of Wing, Bucks, in 1546. Queen Mary made him Bishop of Bristol, and by his death in December 1558, soon after that of the Queen, he escaped the perils of Elizabeth's reign.

To return to Nether Winchendon. It would seem that Queen Mary saw her way to treating the Earl of Bedford's title to the estate as terminable with his life, since she granted the manor, &c., in remainder to four persons, apparently as trustees, through whose medium it was to be restored to the Church.¹ This arrangement fell through in consequence of her premature end; but the Earl seems to have taken warning, and on the accession of Elizabeth sold his property to William Goodwyn, a citizen of London, and Blase Goodwyn, his son. The Goodwyns had evidently seized the time when much land was in the market to acquire good investments and territorial importance. William Goodwyn had another son, John, who already possessed a fair estate at Woburn Deincourt, in Bucks, and now bought the manors of Over Winchendon, Waddesdon, and Westcote.² It is also said that William added the manor of Cuddington³ to his other acquisitions, besides smaller purchases.

John Goodwyn had a very numerous family.⁴ One of his daughters, Petronilla or Parnell, married Thomas Tyringham, of Tyringham, in the extreme north of Buckinghamshire, and was portioned with land in Nether Winchendon. Possibly the newcomers were flattered by the alliance with one of the old county families, for William Goodwyn and his son Blase, who appears to have been childless, subsequently conveyed

¹ Lipscomb, *Hist Bucks*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.'

² *Ibid.* i., 'Over Winchendon.'

³ *Ibid.* ii., 'Cuddington.'

⁴ *Ibid.* i., 'Nether Winchendon.'

the Manor House, with other buildings, and all their land in the parish, to Thomas Tyingham, with remainder to his second son, Thomas, great-grandson of William Goodwyn. Apparently the Manor of Cuddington passed in like manner then, or soon after, to the Tyinghams.

The Goodwyns left no memorial in Nether Winchendon. I am unable to say whether they ever occupied the Manor House, but it seems to have been transmitted in good order to the Tyinghams, with whom the beginning of a comparatively settled period of ownership was inaugurated.

Thomas Tyingham¹ came of a family which had owned land in the parish of Tyingham before the Norman Conquest, and was said to be a younger branch of the Giffards, Earls of Buckingham. In 1461 his great-grandfather had been decapitated 'on account of the murder of the Duke of York, after the battle of Wakefield.' His mother was a Catesby, and he was born a second son, but had already succeeded to the family estate on the decease of his elder brother, Sir Anthony, when he married Petronilla Goodwyn. He had a younger brother, Edmund, who went to Warwickshire, and whose son Francis settled at Weston Favell, in Northamptonshire, near the Bernards of Abington.²

Up to the year 1587 it is still uncertain who inhabited the Manor House of Nether Winchendon, since Thomas and Petronilla had a mansion at Tyingham; but in that year their son Thomas, on whom it was entailed, evidently took up his residence there on his marriage with Elizabeth Saunders.³ This lady belonged to a family which had recently spread over several counties; her father is called Francis Saunders, Esq., of Welford, Northants, and Had-denham, Bucks.

Thomas Tyingham the younger now held his first Court of the Manor, and in the following year he was assessed '1*l.* 19*s.* 5½*d.* for his lands in Nether Winchendon,

¹ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks.*, vol. iv., 'Tyingham.'

² See ch. ii. of this volume.

³ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks.*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.'

towards the Provision Money for the service of Beeves and Muttons for the Queen's Household.'

The certificate of the elder Thomas's death, signed by his two sons, Anthony and Thomas, states that

The Wor. Thomas Tyringham, esquire, deceased at his house of Tyringham, in the countie of Buck, the 29 day of March A^o Dñi 1595, and his funerals was solemnized the 30 day of Aprill next after, at the pishe church of Tyringham aforesaid, where he had lived 80 yeares . . . and the said funerals was solemnized the daye and yeare above said by York Herald of Arms.¹

His wife Petronilla had died in the previous year, 1594, aged eighty-two.

John Goodwyn and his son, Sir John, had successively lived their lives as lords of Over Winchendon, where it may be assumed that they had built the first mansion; and Sir Francis Goodwyn, son of Sir John, had twice represented the county in the reign of Elizabeth. On the accession of James I. he became a popular hero, and figured in the Parliamentary case of 'Goodwyn and Fortescue.' Sir John Fortescue, who had been the colleague of Sir Francis Goodwyn, was now put forward as his adversary by the small freeholders in opposition to the higher gentry; his own conduct was moderate, and even deferential, towards Sir John, but his adherents were uncompromising, and the other side brought the King into the affair, in spite of his professed desire not to interfere. The following extract will give some idea of the contest:

In this case, after that Sir Francis Goodwyn was elected Knight with one Sir William Fleetwood for the said county, which election was freely made for him in the County, and Sir John Fortescue refused, notwithstanding that the Gentlemen of the best Rank put him up. The said Sir John Fortescue complained to the King and Council Table (he being one of them, to wit, one of the Privy Council) that he had been injuriously dealt with in that Election, which does not appear to be true. But to exclude Sir Francis Goodwyn from being one of the Parliament, it was

¹ *Collectanea Typographica et Genealogica*, part xvi., June 1837.

objected against him that he was Outlawed in Debt, which was true; *scilicet*, He was Outlawed for 60*l.* 31st of Queen Elizabeth, at the suit of one Johnson; which Debt was paid: and also the 39th of Eliz. at the suit of one Hacker for 16*l.*, which Debt was also paid; and that notwithstanding, the King by the Advice of his Council at Law, and by the Advice of his Judges took Cognizance of these Outlawries, and directed another Writ to the Sheriff of the said County to elect another Knight in the place of the said Sir Francis Goodwyn, which Writ bore date before the return of the former.¹

The details of this curious case² are, of course, lengthy, and the names of Sir Edward Coke and Sir Francis Bacon figure therein as judges. Sir Christopher Pigott, of Doddenhall, was elected on the issue of the new writ, but almost as speedily rejected in virtue of some fresh complications; and Sir Anthony Tyringham was eventually returned. Some years later Goodwyn again represented Bucks in two Parliaments.

Sir John Goodwyn,³ the father of Sir Francis, had married a daughter of Sir Robert Throckmorton, the head of a family staunch to the old beliefs; and three other daughters of Sir Robert, by a second marriage, became respectively the wives of Sir Anthony Tyringham, nephew of Sir John Goodwyn and elder brother of Thomas Tyringham of Nether Winchendon; of his cousin and near neighbour, Sir William Catesby; and of another neighbour, Sir Thomas Tresham. In 1605, when a new generation had begun to appear on the scene, Robert

¹ '*Lex Parliamentaria; or, a Treatise of the Law and Custom of the Parliaments of England.* By G. P., Esq. With an Appendix of a Case in Parliament between Sir Francis Goodwyn and Sir John Fortescue for the Knight's Place for the County of Bucks. 1 Jac. I. From an Original French Manuscript. Translated into English. Licenced Decemb. 6, 1689. London, Printed for Tim. Goodwin at the Maidenhead over against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet Street, 1690.'

² The particulars in this paragraph are given by Lipscomb under the head of 'Over Winchendon.'

³ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. iv., 'Weston Underwood,' for the Throckmorton pedigree. See also vol. i., 'Over Winchendon,' and also vol. iv., 'Tyringham.' Sir John Goodwyn had another wife, who was Ann, daughter of Sir William Spencer, of Wormleighton, co. Warwick, and Althorpe, co. North.; but it is stated that by her he had no issue.

Catesby and Francis Tresham¹ became disastrously conspicuous by their connection with Gunpowder Plot, which cost them their lives. Sir Francis Goodwyn, judging by the after-career of his son, was probably a man of anti-Popish views; Sir Anthony Tyringham was the father of loyalist children, attached to the established form of religion, and, so far as appears, both escaped suspicion. Thomas Tyringham was less closely connected with the delinquents. Yet one cannot help thinking that a thrill of terror must have passed through these allied families, even those which eventually remained unscathed in lives and fortunes!

If the family at Nether Winchendon had the good fortune to escape the consequences of treason, its quiet country life was not exempt from the common doom of sorrow. In the same year (1605) the lives of Thomas and Elizabeth Tyringham had been saddened by a domestic calamity:² their third daughter, Dorothy, was drowned in the Thame, near her father's house, in the thirteenth year of her age. Tradition says that she went out in a boat with the nurse and baby one Sunday, when other members of the family were at church; the boat upset, and the nurse had only time to throw the baby on the bank; she sank, and with her the young lady, to rise no more.

In this story the growing influence of puritanical ideas may be traced, the tragic result being, it is implied, a punishment for Sabbath-breaking, which the irresponsible infant was permitted to escape. This child must have been Dorothy's youngest brother, Francis, scarcely to be called a baby, since he was nearly three years old.

Other troubles came upon Thomas Tyringham. His

¹ Caulfield, *History of the Gunpowder Plot; The Life of a Conspirator, Sir Everard Digby*, by one of his descendants; and other histories of the time.

² Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.' There is a quaint but not beautiful picture at Nether Winchendon, stated to represent Dorothy Tyringham, the victim of this catastrophe. The background, however, is remarkable, not for water, but for fire; in one portion is a blaze, which if it has any special meaning, would indicate that the lady had suffered from a conflagration. From her apparent age and costume she is probably not Dorothy, but a Tyringham of a later generation.

portrait at Nether Winchendon represents him in complete armour ; on one side is the motto :

A chi mi fido
Guarda mi Dio.¹

From these signs it may be assumed that he had taken part in the wars of the period, and also that he had suffered from false friends. And, indeed, whatever might be the reason, in middle age Thomas Tyringham was a ruined man. To his own special griefs I have no clue. It is, however, plain that he was liable to much vexation and extortion in common with other Englishmen. If he served in Ireland the pay was never regularly supplied ; in compensation the English allowed their men 'free quarters upon the natives.' In the Netherlands the campaign was organised on similar parsimonious principles, and here the troops had not probably the resource of free quarters to the same extent. At home the resistance to the Spanish Armada strained the resources of the nation ; but no sooner was it successfully terminated than Parliament voted 'a supply of two subsidies and four-fifteenths, payable in four years. This is the first instance that subsidies were doubled in one supply. . . . Some members objected to this heavy charge, on account of the great burden of loans which had lately been imposed on the nation.'² Worst of all, subjects of all degrees seem to have been very much at the mercy of the Queen's purveyors.

This abuse did not originate with Elizabeth, but it was carried to a high pitch in her reign. Bacon spoke against it in the first Parliament of James I., 1603.³ 'First,' says he, 'they take in kind what they ought not to take ; secondly,

¹ This wise saying is, I believe, generally 'Di chi,' not 'A chi,' and runs in full :

Di chi mi fido, mi guarda Dio ;
Di chi non mi fido, mi guarderò io.

This, at least, is the form in which I have met with it. It is equivalent to 'God save me from my friends, and I'll save myself from my enemies.'

² See Hume, *The History of England*, ch. xlii. Also other histories of England.

³ *Ibid.*, note ee. to ch. xlii.

they take in quantity a far greater proportion than cometh to your Majesty's use; thirdly, they take in an unlawful manner. . . . He goes on to describe their wanton destruction of noble and cherished timber trees, sometimes when the owner was away, and the brutal wreckage of dwelling-houses, which could only be escaped by payment of blackmail. On the classes beneath the gentry they were cruelly hard, and thus cannot have left much chance of rents being regularly paid.

The Italian motto adopted by Mr. Tyringham indicates that he had travelled to complete his education. By some persons the carved cornice and crossbeam are supposed to have been added by him to Sir John Dauncey's panelling as a result of Italian studies, some parts of it being in the Renaissance style, which was not common in England under Henry VIII., or even in Elizabeth's time. He is also believed to have enlarged his house and decorated portions, which have since perished; and, moreover, to have built in the parish at least two other houses fit for gentlemen.¹ There was a strong tendency among the new gentry of the day to make homes in rural districts. Thomas Tyringham possibly sought to take advantage of this feeling, and flattered himself that by letting or selling these houses, with some of the land which was unprofitable to him, he might improve his falling fortunes; but it seems quite as likely that his passion for building and beautifying accelerated his collapse. His sales seem eventually to have been compulsory.

It is not, indeed, easy to understand from any point of view why Mr. Tyringham should have erected a mansion, rivalling his own in size and pretension, on a conspicuous spot in the village, immediately west of the church, and privileged by having a garden door opening direct into the churchyard. At one period the house is said to have extended to the dividing-wall between the garden and the consecrated enclosure. Perhaps the explanation is that the

¹ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.'

whole was not built by Mr. Tyringham, but that the structure was enlarged by subsequent owners. In 1613 it was sold, apparently with a considerable tract of land, to Richard Mills, a citizen of London. The house still exists, but in a much curtailed form.

In the same year a smaller house, previously built by the squire, and let to William Goodwyn (probably a cousin), was sold to a Mr. Pigott, who is said to have been related to the family at Doddershall, Bucks. It is now difficult to determine the site of that house.¹

There is no doubt as to the result of Mr. Tyringham's transactions, since it is stated in a manuscript at Nether Winchendon that 'In the year 1613, Thomas Tyringham falling into decay was forced to sell all the whole Lordpp of Nether Winchington, with all tithes great and small to every pticular purchaser, and dyed leaving nothing for his sons Thomas & ffancis to inherite.'²

It may have been about the date of this crisis that Mr. Tyringham's eldest daughter, Parnell, married Christopher Horton, of Catton, Derbyshire.³ The Manor House of Nether Winchendon seems to have passed virtually into the hands of Walter and Christopher Horton; but by a friendly arrangement Thomas Tyringham continued to live there, and his widow also, since Lipscomb, who does not notice his calamities, boldly states that 'she held this manor until her decease.' When it was recovered by the family, some years after that event, it was—or had recently been—in the occupation of one Thomas Oliver.

¹ Lipscomb, who mentions these particulars, says also that 'At the extremity of a large pasture called "the Grove," part of the principal estate, are the remains of a moat enclosing a plot of ground, where probably another old house once stood; but no account of it is preserved, and the site is now a grove of arbeles.' There were certainly building-stones lying about that spot within my memory, but it is so near the river that the structure was more probably a mill than a gentleman's house. The present mill stands at the end of the Grove nearest the Manor House, but has the appearance of a comparatively modern erection. The arbeles have been cut down also within my recollection.

² Papers relating to the church of Nether Winchendon.

³ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.' Also deeds relating to the Tyringham affairs preserved at Nether Winchendon.

Elizabeth, the second daughter of Mr. Tyringham, married John Chetwynd, of Ridgly, or Rugely, in Staffordshire. It is probable that her husband was the eldest son of Thomas Chetwynd, who was younger son of a Chetwynd of Ingestre.¹ The wife of this John is not named in the pedigree, but he is said to have died s.p. ; the line was, however, continued by brothers.

These two alliances with gentlemen from distant parts of England corroborate the theory that Thomas Tyringham did not spend all his time at home, as did some country gentlemen, but had in the course of military expeditions or of journeys in search of knowledge and pleasure made friends unconnected with his immediate surroundings.

One result followed the sale of the house by the church to Richard Mills which cannot have been contemplated by Mr. Tyringham—namely, that about a dozen years later his eldest son, Thomas, married Ellen, widow of the said Richard.² Her maiden name does not appear, but she seems to have been better educated than her first husband, since she signed her name to a deed still extant,³ and evidently wrote his name, to which he affixed his mark. This arrangement afforded the younger Thomas a home in his native parish, whence he could watch over his father. He was about forty at the time of his marriage, and Ellen cannot have been younger—she was most likely older—even allowing for the very early ages at which girls were sometimes married in the seventeenth century. Her only child by Richard Mills, Ellen Lady Knollys, was already mother of several children at the time of the Tyringham alliance. This second union proved childless, but Thomas had the advantage of residing in the house by the church.

John, the next brother of the younger, and son of the elder, Thomas, seems to have left Winchendon with a determination to seek his own fortune. He settled in

¹ Burke, *A Dictionary of the Peerage, &c.*, 'Chetwynd, Viscount Chetwynd and Baron Rathdowne,' 'Chetwynd, Barts.'

² Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.'

³ The deed is preserved at Nether Winchendon.

London, where it is not unlikely that he may have been introduced to some business by the Goodwyns; he died in 1637,¹ apparently unmarried.

Francis, the third son of the family, who was much younger, also left Buckinghamshire, and married a Surrey lady, but circumstances or inclination eventually brought him again into the neighbourhood of the old home. He was godson of Sir Francis Goodwyn, from whom he derived his name, which was new in the Tyringham family, and who gave him a silver cup, which Francis Tyringham mentions in his will. His brother John had probably been named after their great-uncle, Sir John Goodwyn.

Thomas Tyringham, the father, died in 1629. It is probable that his daughter Parnell was then living at Winchendon, since in 1628-9 her son, Christopher Horton, was baptized in the parish church.² The Horton family towards the close of the eighteenth century attained a certain celebrity through the marriage of the Duke of Cumberland, brother of George III., with the widow of a Christopher Horton of Catton,³ an alliance which proved one of the motive causes of the Royal Marriage Act.

Mrs. Tyringham died in 1638, soon after her son John. In the following year a mural monument was erected in Nether Winchendon. The epitaph says of her and her husband: 'They lived in marriage here fifty-one years most lovingly together in this towne,'⁴ and after enumerating their children, continues:

The bodies of Thomas Tyringham and Elizabeth his wife, and also of Dorothy the 3d daughter, are interred at the east end of this Chancill. They lyved and dyed in the Profession of the true Faith of Jesus Christ.

¹ In the pedigree given by Lipscomb John is said to have been buried at Winchendon, September 3rd, 1657, but the inscription on the monument leaves no doubt that this is a misprint for 1637.

² Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.'

³ See the histories of George III.'s reign. The male line of the Hortons of Catton apparently became extinct early in the nineteenth century (see *Burke*, 'Wilmot of Osmaston,' Bart.), unless it is continued in some younger branch. They are not now to be found in *Burke's Landed Gentry*.

⁴ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.'

Although with divers worldly crosses we were tryed,
 Thinke, speake not ill for thus we liued and dyed,
 What lot was given to us, what use we on earth have beene
 Is by the Reader easy to be seene;
 And now in silent grave we lye, hope yee the best,
 God gives his Servants in due time their rest.

Sir Francis Goodwyn¹ died in 1634. At some uncertain date a large picture (7 feet by 7 feet 4 inches, exclusive of the frame) representing his wife and children found its way to the Tyringham house at Nether Winchendon, where it has remained. He is not himself included in the family group; possibly it hung at Over Winchendon, opposite his portrait already painted by the same artist, whose name is unrecorded. Lady Goodwyn stands in the midst of her four young children; over their heads are two more portraits, supposed to be framed and hanging on a wall, of Sir John Goodwyn, father of Sir Francis, and of Arthur, fourteenth Lord Grey of Wilton, father of Lady Goodwyn. John, the elder Goodwyn boy, died young; Dorothy, the elder girl, died unmarried, as the inscriptions state; Margaret married 'William Elmes, of Clifford,² Northamptonshire'; Arthur is described as 'father of Jane, Lady Wharton.' The inscriptions must, of course, have been added many years after the picture was painted.

Grey tints predominate in the children's costumes. John, easy and picturesque, is attired in a suit of that colour; Arthur, the youngest of the group, is a chubby boy in grey petticoats down to his feet; the dresses of Lady Goodwyn and her daughters are extremely stiff. It may be hoped that the poor little girls wore their cumbrous hoops, and the tight, unyielding, long, peaked bodices which encircle their tender forms, on state occasions only.

As it appears that the Goodwyn and Knollys families had been for many years acquainted, it is not unlikely that Sir Francis Goodwyn was instrumental in bringing about the

¹ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks.* vol. i., 'Over Winchendon.'

² Lilford, not Clifford, appears to be the right name of the Elmes seat. See Lipscomb.

marriage of young Ellen Mills, stepdaughter of Thomas Tyringham, with Sir Francis Knollys.¹ The first Sir Francis Knollys had been the husband of Catherine Carey, a niece of Anne Boleyn, and consequently first-cousin to Queen Elizabeth. By reason of this relationship, probably, he has been credited with a descent from feudal warriors of the same name; but the links are not all forthcoming, and there seems some evidence that his father was originally a yeoman and dyer of Yorkshire. However this may have been, kinship with royalty sufficiently ennobled the family for all practical purposes. This Sir Francis² is well known by reason of the part he played in the history of the unfortunate Queen of Scots. He was despatched to Carlisle, in company with Lord Scrope, to take charge of Mary Stuart, so soon as the news of her arrival in England reached Queen Elizabeth's Court; and many years later he was one of the commissioners who acted as judges at her mock trial.

This first knight had many children besides the second Sir Francis, who seems to have been his fifth son. The two most distinctly remembered are, perhaps, Sir William Knollys, Earl of Banbury, whose succession gave rise to a *cause célèbre*, terminated only in the nineteenth century, and Lettice Knollys, wife first of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, and mother of the Queen's favourite (the Earl who perished on the scaffold); secondly wife of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, the Queen's earlier favourite; and, thirdly, of Sir Christopher Blount. Lettice may have been unjustly suspected of poisoning two husbands, but her conduct was open to very unfavourable comments on the score of morality.

The important position of the Knollyses in and near Reading³ has been already noticed. During Queen Eliza-

¹ Burke, *Extinct Peerages*, 'Knollys, Baron Knollys, Viscount Wallingford, Earl of Banbury.'

² Besides the information in Burke's *Extinct Peerages*, 'Knollys, &c.' a very full account of this once prominent family will be found in another work—Craik (George Lillie), *The Romance of the Peerage; or, Curiosities of Family History*, vol. i., 'Lettice Knollys, her Marriage and Descendants,' 'The Earldom of Banbury'; vol. ii., 'The Kindred of Queen Anne Boleyn.'

³ See ch. v. of this volume.

beth's last visit to Berkshire, where she made the Abbey her residence, her Majesty dined with Mr. Comptroller¹—that is, Sir William Knollys, afterwards Earl of Banbury—at Caversham, on the opposite bank of the Thames. It was on this occasion that at the moment of her departure she knighted Francis Goodwyn. And the acquaintance between the Knollys and Goodwyn families seems to have led eventually to the Mills alliance; in all likelihood young Francis Knollys was enjoying Goodwyn hospitality at Over Winchendon when he made the acquaintance of his future wife.

At this time the Earl, his uncle, and the Countess, his aunt, were still living; they survived many years. His father outlived them both, and, strange to say, notwithstanding the unpleasant position in which the second Sir Francis Knollys had stood with regard to Mary, Queen of Scots, the family had continued to prosper under the Stuarts, who raised Sir William to successive steps of the peerage. This has been attributed to the close relationship between the Knollyses and the ill-fated Earl of Essex, who had come forward as a champion of the Scottish succession. Unless, however, they were so deeply involved in his intrigues as to have risked everything for King James, or unless they had royal secrets in their keeping which would not bear the light, it is difficult to account for this state of affairs.

The young Francis Knollys, third of the name, was not an eldest son when he married Ellen Mills; nevertheless, an alliance between the offspring of a race so high in Court favour and a comparatively obscure country girl living in the retired village of Nether Winchendon requires explanation. Either their union must have been the result of a romantic attachment, or, if it was arranged by the parents, according to the custom then prevailing, Richard Mills, though not distinguished as a country gentleman, must have amassed sufficient wealth in London to render his daughter a desirable bride even for a Knollys.

¹ Lieut.-Colonel Cooper King, *History of Berkshire*.

CHAPTER VII

THE LATER TYRINGHAMS OF NETHER WINCHENDON

Richard Ingoldsby—Aylesbury a Stronghold of Rebellion—Thomas Tyringham appointed to the Committee of Public Safety—Death of John Hampden—Joseph Bentham—Francis Tyringham—Thomas Tyringham—Dove House Close—The Grove—Thomas Tyringham's Will—Lord Wharton—Portraits of Francis and John Tyringham—Francis Tyringham's Will—Elizabeth Tyringham—End of the Male Line of the Elder Branch—The Winlowes—Birth of Jane Tyringham—The Third Francis Tyringham—End of the Male Line of the Younger Branch—Ghostly Apparitions.

TOWARDS the middle of the seventeenth century England once more entered upon a severe struggle; her children were divided amongst themselves. Buckinghamshire may be said, as a whole, to have embraced the Parliamentary cause, although there, as elsewhere, opinions differed. By what process the county had become so changed in spirit since the days of Queen Mary it would take too long to inquire. As regards the immediate neighbourhood of Nether Winchendon, the withdrawal of the Dormers from Eythrope must have told strongly. The head of that family, no longer a Papist, but still a devoted loyalist and a peer,¹ resided chiefly on his property at Ascot, in Wing, or Wenge. Moreover, it cannot be doubted that the influence of one man, a landowner, must, in consequence of the leading part he had taken in politics, have been widely diffused over the county; that man was John Hampden.

Arthur Goodwyn,² of Over Winchendon, second-cousin to Thomas Tyringham, was not only the colleague of

¹ Burke, *A Dictionary of the Peerage, &c., &c.*, 'Baron Dormer of Wenge'; *A Dictionary of the Peerages, Extinct, &c., &c.*, 'Dormer, Viscount Ascot and Earl of Carnarvon.'

² Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Over Winchendon.' See also for particulars of Arthur Goodwyn, Sanford (J. Langton), *Studies of the Great Rebellion*.

Hampden in the representation of the county, but also his devoted friend and adherent; while Sir Francis Knollys, who owned land in Winchendon and Cuddington in right of his wife, was brother to Hampden's second wife, Lettice,¹ widow of Sir Thomas Vachell, and was a Parliamentary warrior. At Dinton, within three miles of Nether Winchendon, dwelt Simon Mayne, afterwards one of the judges at the King's trial.

At Hartwell, near Aylesbury, there had been a mortality in the Lee family. Thomas Lee, the lord of the manor, had only just succeeded to his property when he died in 1643, leaving a child as his heir. His widow, Elizabeth Croke, married Richard Ingoldsby, second son of Sir Richard Ingoldsby of Lenborough, near Buckingham. Richard Ingoldsby, like Hampden, was first-cousin to Cromwell, and through his mother, Dorothy Saunders, of Welford, Northants, must have been distantly related to Thomas Tyringham. He became a regicide, and the boy, Thomas Lee, had of course been brought up under his control. But as to Thomas's own opinions I cannot speak. Ingoldsby bought the manor of Waldrige, or Wallridge,² in Dinton parish, and is said to have resided there in later years.

On the other hand, Thomas Tyringham's cousins of the elder line held opposite opinions, and were ready to run all risks for the King. They may have been too far off to prove an efficient counterpoise; but in Haddenham lived Francis Saunders,³ married to a daughter of Sir Robert Lovett, of Liscombe, Bucks; he must have been a maternal cousin, and appears to have been the same person as the Francis Saunders whom the Parliament ordered to be sent to London by the Aylesbury Committee⁴ 'in safe custody,' and imprisoned in Ely House, apparently in 1642. He was released on his near relative, Sir Thomas Saunders, paying

¹ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.' I do not know that I have seen Lady Vachell's maiden name mentioned anywhere else, but here it is given without hesitation.

² *Ibid.*, ii., 'Dinton-with-Walldridge.'

³ *Ibid.*, 'Haddenham.'

⁴ *Ibid.*, 'Aylesbury.'

1,000*l.* to Sir Walter Pye, which was applied, in Parliamentary language, 'to the service of the country.' Francis apparently returned to the village of Haddenham, which continued to be a Royal post, and where he resided in such quiet as his political opponents would allow. As to Thomas Tyringham, who was a disappointed man, and whose career was early marred and embittered through no fault of his own, it was almost a foregone conclusion that he should join the discontented party. Francis Tyringham had suffered in like manner, but in his case the result was different, partly, no doubt, because he had moved early to a distance from his home troubles.

Early in this year 1642, a mild and respectful remonstrance was addressed to the King by the grand jury of the county, in which the name of Richard Bernard, of Astwood,¹ figures as one of the thirteen jurymen. It fell to the ground, and Aylesbury became a *depôt* for materials of war—in fact, a stronghold of rebellion.² Its representatives in Parliament were Simon Mayne, of Dinton, and one Scott, an attorney, previously a brewer in Bridewell, who, like his colleague, became a regicide.

Arthur Goodwyn had commenced his public career as member for Aylesbury;³ he now represented the shire for the second time, together with John Hampden. Valuable as a counsellor, he was also energetic in war, the Blue Regiment raised by him in the county equalling in prowess Hampden's Green Regiment. Goodwyn, who was widower of the first Lord Wenman's sister, had married his only child Jane to Philip, fourth Lord Wharton, a Puritan nobleman from the North, as his second wife. The young couple resided first on the Goodwyn estate at Woburn, and then in Over Winchendon. At Goodwyn's proposal the Lords of the party, sitting at Westminster, had

¹ See ch. ii. of this volume.

² Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. ii., 'Aylesbury.'

³ *Ibid.* i., 'Over Winchendon'; vol. ii., 'Aylesbury,' and List of Knights of the Shire, prefixed to vol. i.; Sanford, *Studies of the Great Rebellion*; *Dictionary of National Biography*, 'Goodwyn (Arthur)'; Gibbs, *History of Aylesbury*, ch. xv., 'The Parliamentary History,' 'The Reign of Charles I.'

nominated Wharton Lord-Lieutenant of Bucks, and it was then that Thomas Tyringham was appointed one of the Committee of Lieutenancy instituted to act under him in Aylesbury, or, as it was expressed, 'to provide for the public safety.'

Numerous skirmishes took place in the neighbourhood of Nether Winchendon during the next few years. A body discovered in the outbuilding of a small farmhouse in the village is supposed to have been hastily interred after one of these fights. Similar discoveries have been made in other localities. The 'battle of Aylesbury' was fought on the north-western side of the town, November 1, 1642, and resulted in a victory for the Parliamentary party. But in the following year (1643) Hampden was mortally wounded at Chalgrove, in Oxfordshire, and carried into Thame, where he died in the house of Ezechiel Browne.

Goodwyn superintended the removal of the body and its interment in the family vault at Great Hampden. On this occasion he wrote to his daughter, Lady Wharton :

For all I can heare the last words he spake was to me, though he lived six or 7 hours after I came away as in a sleepe ; truly Jenny (and I know you may be easily persuaded to it) he was a gallant man, an honest man, an able man, and take all I know not to any man livinge second : God now in mercy hath rewarded him. I have writt to London for a black suite. I pray lett me begg of you a broad black Ribbon to hang about my standard. . . . I would we could all lay to heart that God takes away the best among us.¹

In the same letter Goodwyn returns thanks to Heaven that he was spared the loss of relatives ; but it availed him nothing. There can be little doubt that grief for the friend and leader to whom he was devoted, together with the fatigues and anxieties of his position, caused his premature death, which took place before the close of the year.

¹ This letter was sent me by Alfred Scott, formerly of Cuddington, as printed in a newspaper or magazine. It was a cutting, and the name of the publication did not appear. The letter had, however, been quoted previously in Lord Nugent's *Memorials of Hampden*.

Thomas Tyringham is not known to have taken any further part in public affairs; probably doubts began to assail his mind, which effectually kept him quiet. Clarendon mentions that 'the poorest and lowest of the people became informers against the richest and most substantial, and the result of searching the houses and seizing the arms was the taking away plate and things of the greatest value, and very frequently plundering whatsoever was worth the keeping.'¹ Spoliation was sometimes accompanied by insult, and even by violence to the person. The publication called '*Mercurius Rusticus*' records two flagrant acts of brutality committed by the insurgents in Bucks.² One was the sacking of Sir Richard Minshull's house at Bourton; he being, no doubt, specially obnoxious because he had supplied the King liberally with money. The deed was executed by Lord Brooke, under orders from Colonel Arthur Goodwyn, and with great cruelty. The other, which must have especially touched Thomas Tyringham, was an outrage committed on one of his cousins, a clergyman. Two Tyringhams of the elder branch had been killed fighting on the King's side at the beginning of the war; a third, the Rev. Anthony, rector of Tyringham, was set upon between Maids' Moreton and Stony Stratford by rebels, who nearly severed his right arm from his body, jesting and jeering while they hacked away at flesh and bone. The clergyman, who behaved with extraordinary fortitude, was carried a prisoner to Aylesbury, where he underwent a final amputation the next day.

Thomas Tyringham was in time so far alienated from his former allies as to become the protector of an expelled incumbent. Joseph Bentham, rector of Broughton, in Northamptonshire, was a man of some reputation, author of '*The Society of Saints; or, a Treatise of Good-fellowes and their Good-fellowship*, delivered in the lecture at Kettering in Northamptonshire in Fourteen Sermons, with

¹ Clarendon (Edward, Earl of), *History of the Great Rebellion*, bk. vi.

² *Mercurius Rusticus*; or, *The Country's Complaint*. See also Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. ii., 'Bourton'; vol. iv., 'Tyringham.'

some additions—1638.' Bentham is also styled 'Preacher of God's Word' at Weekley, in the same county. He evidently belonged to the Puritan section of the Church of England, but was not sufficiently advanced for the choice spirits of that time, and consequently he went through some bitter experiences.

'This gentleman,'¹ it is stated in a biographical notice,

'was sequestered by order of the Parliamentary Committee on 13 July 1643 for his loyalty, conformity, and exemplary life; by which vices, the Committee told him, he did more harm to God's cause than twenty other men, and should therefore fare the worse for it. His wife and five children were with himself turned out of doors, with this additional circumstance of inhumanity, that he was not allowed to take a single peck of corn out of his barn to make bread for his family; nor did his wife ever recover her fifths, though she several times petitioned the Committee for them. He was succeeded by John Bazeley, who seized the corn upon the ground, though he did not preach till October, and Mr. Bentham had paid the taxes to that harvest.' His dedication of his 'Two Breife but Usefull Treatises' to 'Thomas Tyingham of Neather Wickenden, county of Buckinghamshire,' informs us that it was to him he was indebted for a quiet haven in which after his 'boisterous and tempestuous storms' he had 'cast anchor' since the 24th of December, 1646, and where by the people's kindness and Tyingham's especially, he had 'comfortably and contentedly continued to the present in an hired house,' and 'without craving and often giving thanks, yet without being burdensome.'

Bentham became the recognised minister of Nether Winchendon not later than 1650²—perhaps earlier—as successor to one John Thompson. It appears, indeed, that there had been no regular appointments to the cure in the days of the Tyinghams³—probably not since the Reformation—but merely a small stipend paid to someone to officiate. In the same year Bentham's daughter Mary was married in the parish church to William Bampton, of

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. i., 'Bentham (Joseph).'

² Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon,' where the marriage of Mary Bentham is also recorded.

³ Papers relating to the stipend of the clergyman of Nether Winchendon.

Pollicot-in-Ashendon. The treatises written by this good parson at Winchendon were perhaps his quaintest productions: 'The one, touching the Office and Quality of the Ministry of the Gospell; the other of the Nature and Accidents of Mixt Dancing professedly handled and resolved.'¹ In this last he describes himself as 'sometime Rector of the Church of Broughton in Northamptonshire, now pastour of Neather Winchingham in the County of Bucks.' Uniformity of spelling, or even of pronunciation, was not then indispensable; in the title-page of this book the parish figures as 'Neather Wickenden.'²

I now proceed to relate the history of Francis Tyringham, the boy who narrowly escaped drowning in his infancy, and who had apparently left the paternal home either on or before his father's death. He was born in 1602, and must have been nearly twenty years younger than his brother Thomas. Whether he worked his way under his second elder brother, John, whose occupation is not recorded, or under the gentleman whose son-in-law he became, or elsewhere, I have not discovered; but in some way he evidently made money. He married Elizabeth, daughter, and eventually sole heiress, of 'John Chelsham, of Kingston-upon-Thames, in the county of Surrey, Esqr., Clerk of the Jewel House to King Charles the Martyr'—facts recorded in the epitaph on the memorial tablet to Francis Tyringham in Nether Winchendon Church.³ The two eldest children of the marriage, 'both sons, died in their infancie, and lie buried in the north Isle of Kingston Chancill.' Five more children were born before Francis returned to Bucks; in one case only is the place of birth stated.

The next notice I have found of Francis Tyringham is contained in a deed endorsed 'A Lease for one yeare graunted to ffrancis Terringham gentl. of fford Howse &c by ye Committee of Sequestraçons for the Countie of

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. i., 'Bentham (Joseph).'

² Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.'

³ All these particulars are recorded by Lipscomb from the tablet or 'slab' on the south side of Nether Winchendon chancel, which is still there.

Kent.'¹ The date of this deed is October 23, 1644. In it Francis is described as of Greenwich. The indenture

Witnesseth that the said Comitte for and in consideration of the sum of forty pounds of Lawfull Money of England in hand payd by the said ffrancis Teringham and for the rent hereafter reserved HAVE demised granted and to ffarme letten and by these presents doe demise grant and to ffarm lett to him the said ffrancis Teringham ALL that the Mansion house called fford house and all that land and pasture inclosed with pale and hedge res^{ed} as a Park for Deare comonly called fforde Park in the County of Kent, being the possession belonging to the Archbyp^e of Canterbury and now in sequestraton for the delinquency of the said Archbyp^e together with all libertyes priviledges of fishing fowlling hawking and hunting formerly used or enjoyed (except and always reserved out of this demise All and singular the trees woods and underwood standing and growing in & upon the premises) TO HAVE and to houlde the said Mansion house and Parke and all other the premises wth the appteñcies² (except before excepted) unto the said ffrancis Tiringham his executors and assigns from the feast of St^t Michael tharchangel last past for the full end and terme of one whole yeare, fully to be compleate and ended, &c. &c.

Since the marriage of Francis Tyingham had brought him into a Royalist circle, it may be assumed that he took this burden upon himself in the interest of the imprisoned prelate. Archbishop Laud was executed in the following January (1644-5), and it does not appear that Francis made any attempt to obtain a renewal of the lease. Indeed, there are indications that from this time forward his thoughts turned to the neighbourhood of his paternal home in Bucks, and that he began to work with Thomas for the recovery of the family property. The times were not, however, propitious. 'That fertile country,' says a contemporary writer, 'which though heretofore had been esteemed the Garden of England, is now much wasted by being burthened with finding provision for two armies.'³ And he enumerates

¹ Deed at Nether Winchendon. The full value of the Archbishop's mansion, park, &c., is stated at 30*l.* per annum.

² Appurtenances.

³ In one of the periodicals of the day. Quoted in *Records of Buckinghamshire*, vol. ii., No. vi., 'The Garrison of Newport Pagnell during the Civil Wars.'

the quarters of both armies at the end of 1644. The King's troops were in Haddenham, adjoining Cuddington, in Thame, &c.; the Parliamentary forces at Aylesbury, Hartwell, Eythrope, Waddesdon, &c. Elsewhere it is noted that in the same year, 'December, at Crendon, the Royalists under Colonel Blake the Governor of Wallingford, defeated Colonel Crawford, Governor of Aylesbury.'¹

The Royalist successes were, however, ephemeral, as appears by the following entry: '1646, June 6, Boarstall House, the only garrison remaining for the King in this county, surrendered by Colonel Campion to Fairfax, after a defence of three months.'² The result of this gallant struggle, which took place nine or ten miles from Nether Winchendon and Cuddington, may have been a boon, in so far as it led to a more settled state of things, and the discomforts of the position in Surrey probably led Francis Tyringham to decide upon a move. The indefatigable Fairfax was at Kingston in August 1647, and before the end of the month Cromwell had fixed the headquarters of his army at Putney.

The officers held their Councils in the Church and sat round the communion-table; here, on the 1st of November, the propositions for the future government of the kingdom were completed, and thence sent to the King at Hampton Court. . . . On the 18th a grand rendezvous of the army on Ham Common.³

Of course it is possible that Mr. Tyringham may still have resided at Greenwich; but here he would probably not have been much better off. In 1648 'Dartford Brent was the rendezvous of Fairfax's army.'

In the April of that year Francis and Elizabeth Tyringham had travelled so far north as Uxbridge, in Middlesex, close to the border of Bucks, since their son Thomas was baptized⁴ and probably born there. Very soon after these events they probably went onwards. Tradition connects

¹ *The Family Topographer*, by Samuel Tymms, vol. iii., 'Buckinghamshire.'

² *Ibid.*, 'Buckinghamshire.'

³ *Ibid.* vol. i., 'Surrey.'

⁴ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks.* vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.'

the memory of Francis with a house on the north side of Cuddington Church, which is said to have been the Manor House. Only a portion is now standing, and in a state of dilapidation, but picturesque in its decay.¹ The staircase bears an inscription: 'T. R. 1609.' I am unable to find a name for the bearer of these initials, nor can I tell whether the house was originally built by or for him. The staircase is so awkwardly planned as to encroach on two rooms which may have dated from an earlier period.² The manor, as already stated,³ seems to have been bought by the Goodwyns about the same time as Nether Winchendon, and was probably bequeathed to Thomas Tyringham, the father of Francis, in like manner, though no evidence of the fact seems to be forthcoming; but if so it must have been alienated by Thomas in the course of his troubles, and repurchased by Francis. It would therefore have been occupied by someone not of the family during the absence of Francis.

From the time when the new owner settled there, and probably before, he lent assistance to his elder brother in the work of retrieving the family position. A manuscript dated a few years later states that Francis was landless, but perhaps only as regarded Winchendon, 'untill feeb 1649 when as Tho. Tyringham, brother of the said Francis together with the said joyntly repurchased a small pt of the sayd manor, with the tithes great & small thereunto apptaining in such manner as other purchaser did.'³ This repurchased land seems to have been the portion possessed by the Hortons in 1613, and Thomas Tyringham thus regained the ownership of his father's house.

At this period also Thomas Tyringham and Ellen, his wife, purchased an estate comprising Cuddington water-mills and some lands in Nether Winchendon, 'sequestered

¹ A large room on the ground-floor, apparently the dining-hall, has of late years been used as a reading-room.

² Ch. vi. of this volume.

³ Papers relating to the stipend of the clergyman of Nether Winchendon. Also a deed by which the Manor House is re-conveyed from the Hortons to Thomas Tyringham—all at Nether Winchendon.

by the Parliament in the Great Rebellion, and directed to be sold as forfeited lands.'¹ They had formerly belonged to the Knollys family, through the Mills alliance. Sir Francis Knollys, the husband of Mrs. Tyringham's daughter, Ellen Mills, and his father had both figured as leading revolutionary commanders in Berkshire, but Richard seems to have adopted different principles; either he was a Royalist or, like many Parliamentarians, he was dissatisfied with Cromwell's military government, and this transaction was probably a mode of saving him from the consequences of his opinions.

About the same time Richard Knollys conveyed his 'capital messuage or mansion' to his father-in-law, John Bellingham,² and two legal friends—a common mode of rescuing property; and since Richard Knollys died a few years later at Winchendon, and the house descended to his son, the meaning of the arrangement is obvious.

Francis Tyringham does not seem to have found in Cuddington the ideal of a quiet country life; in a few years he must have been again disturbed. To bring about this result it was not at all necessary that he should take up arms for the exiled Charles II.; much less was sufficient to place a man of known attachment to the Royal cause in peril. The following passage, as I suppose, refers to his situation, although there is some obscurity in the wording: 'By indenture, Nov. 1654, the same Thomas Tyringham, in consideration of 1,800*l.*, granted to Henry Wilkinson, D.D., the capital messuage or site of the Manor of Cuddington, then amongst the forfeited lands.'³ Whatever the bargain was, I imagine it to have been some device for saving the Manor House.

Dr. Wilkinson⁴ was a rector of Waddesdon, and of some consideration with the dominant party; his son John was 'one of the delegates commissioned by that Parliament which, in the language of those times, was styled *the blessed*,

¹ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. ii., 'Cuddington.'

² *Ibid.* i., 'Nether Winchendon.'

³ *Ibid.* ii., 'Cuddington.'

⁴ *Ibid.* i., 'Waddesdon.'

to visit the University of Oxford for the reformation and good government thereof and the correction of abuses.' Others of the family took part in this work; but Dr. Henry may have been a kind-hearted man, willing to do his Royalist neighbours a good turn when he could.

Soon after this transaction Thomas Tyringham executed a deed by which Francis was declared his successor at Nether Winchendon:

For and in consideration of the natural love and affection which he beareth unto Francis Tyringham gent. his Brother . . . and in consideration that the said Messuages Lands Tenemts & hereditamts may yet remain and continue in the name blood & kindred of the said Thomas Tyringham soe long as it shall please God. . . . &c.¹

No doubt the assistance which Francis had afforded him in repurchasing and reorganising was a further consideration in this settlement. The document states:

That the said Thomas Tyringham & his heirs shall & will from henceforth stand & be seised of all that Capitall Messuage Mansion or Manno^r House & Seite of the Manno^r of & in Nether Winchendon aforesaid now or late in the tenure possession or occupation of him the said Thomas Tyringham or his assignees.

Then follows an enumeration. It is curious to find 'Court yards' spoken of in the plural, denoting that the house must have been built round two courts at least; and also to hear of 'hoppeyards or hoppegrounds,' which are now unknown, not only in Winchendon, but, I believe, in the county. The list of the several pieces of land and their tenants shows that very small holdings were then in vogue. The 'Water Mill with Mill-house and Mill Dams' apparently stood on the western side of the Manor House, in the present Home Close (called in earlier times Malt House Close), and must have been kept by Mr. Tyringham in his own hands, since no tenant is mentioned.

On the eastern side, beyond the garden and a former orchard, is a field which still bears the name of 'Dovehouse

¹ Parchment deed at Nether Winchendon.

Close,' given it in the deed; and a small plantation or miniature wood between the field and orchard, now called the Moat, is probably the remnant of 'Coppice or Court Close.' Beyond Dovehouse Close is a large pasture known as 'the Grove,' now singularly destitute of trees; this name appears in Sir John Dauncey's lease. In Thomas Tyringham's deed the 'Grove Meadow'—that is, the part nearest the river—is mentioned as comprising about sixteen acres; the northern portion is described as that 'Close of Pasture ground commonly called the Grove or Warren,'¹ containing by estimation flower score or thereabouts, be it more or less.' Some other lands, such as 'the Neates or Neate'² Meadows, the Long Neates Meadow,' &c., have lost those names only in recent times, but the boundaries are in some cases evidently changed.

The chief interest of this Tyringham document, however, lies in the mode of life which it discloses. The establishment must have been almost self-contained, and the superintendence of the different branches of industry no doubt afforded employment to both the ladies and gentlemen of the family. Towards the conclusion Mr. Tyringham gives another catalogue of the possessions and privileges which were to pass to his brother:

All and singular Howses, edifices, buildings, Tofts, Crofts, barnes stables cottages Mills Dovehouses Orchards Gardens Lands Tenements Meadows Leasowes feeding Pastures Comons Commodities Woods Underwoods Trees and the Ground and Soyle of the land waters fishing Ponds Milldams ways Easements profitts Rights Jurisdictions Libertyes franchises privileges advantages Emoluments & hereditaments;

which was certainly making the most of a small affair, but was, no doubt, considered a necessary enumeration.

The document is signed by 'John Winter,' a tenant

¹ Warren (French): A keep or enclosure for rabbits; a franchise or place privileged for the keeping of beasts and fowls, as hares and rabbits, partridges and quails (Routledge's *Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language*, edited by Nuttall).

² In an estate map of the eighteenth century this word is spelt 'Nayte.'

and 'Robert Hollyman,' presumably one of the Cuddington family, as witnesses. 'William Symons,' a servant of Mr. Tyringham's, affixes his mark in the same capacity.

All the outbuildings of the Manor House named in this deed have disappeared, except perhaps the block of stables, coach-house, and workshop, as well as a small granary, which have a certain air of antiquity; the rest were, no doubt, cleared away by degrees when the altered habits of the possessors had rendered them useless. The deed is dated 'the Thirde day of february in the yeare of our Lord God one Thousand Six Hundred fifty and flower.' This almost certainly means the year we should call 1655, since the legal reckoning began with March 25.¹

Thomas Tyringham's will, dated January 25, 1656, may in like manner be ascribed to 1657. In it he states that he is 'sicke of Body but of perfect memory Blessed be the Lord,' and then goes into an exposition of his belief :

Imprimis I comend my soule into the hands of Almighty God Creator of all things and although I am a miserable sinner and the Childe of wrath by nature lyable to the sentence of eternal condemnation, yet upon my true repentance which I beseech him to give me I trust and assuredly believe my sinnes shall not be imputed unto me but shall be pardoned and I acquitted from them all only by the meritts death and passion of Jesus Christ my alone Saviour and Redeemer and at the last and dreadful day of Judgement by the power of his Resurrection my body shall be rayseed and body and soule reunited and for his sake enjoy Everlasting life my Body to the ground to be buried as my Executors shall think fitt. . . .

The testator had already disposed of his real estate, and he leaves by this will only sums of money and articles of plate and jewellery to friends, relations, and servants; also bequests to the poor of Thame, Cuddington, Cheersley, Aylesbury, and Nether Winchendon, the last being most highly favoured. From this list it would seem that, not being able to recover all his father's lands in the two original parishes, this energetic man had made sundry acquisitions

¹ Nicolas (Sir Harris), *The Chronology of History*. See also other histories.

in three others. Apparently every nephew and niece is remembered; and he gives 'to Sarah Holyman my god-daughter whom Mr. Brightwell of Cherdasley knoweth twenty shillings if she be liveinge.'

Thomas Tyringham died soon after the execution of this will, aged seventy-one; February 12 is entered in the parish register as the day of his burial.

It is doubtful if the Restoration brought much good to Francis Tyringham, now the squire of Nether Winchendon; he lost the services of Joseph Bentham,¹ who was reinstated at Broughton in September 1660, and continued there till his death in April 1671. Some freedom from annoyance it may have ensured; but that is all. Comparatively few persons seem to have been either punished or rewarded by the King's Government; only the actual regicides, as a rule, were called to account for their deeds in the neighbourhood of Aylesbury, and some of these escaped. Scott, indeed, was executed, and Simon Mayne² died in prison, but Ingoldsby pleaded that Cromwell had forced him to sign the death warrant of Charles I. His plea was admitted, and he was even made a Knight of the Bath; he seems to have spent the rest of his career pleasantly at Dinton—no doubt visiting London at times—and was buried at Hartwell with his wife.

Lord Wharton ran great risk of his life, although he had not actually sat in judgment on his sovereign; he had been one of Cromwell's Privy Councillors and peers, and had probably made enemies, and perhaps he was suspected of double-dealing. He had since shown himself ready and anxious to welcome the restored King; yet he was saved only by the exertions of Elizabeth, Lady Willoughby De Eresby, sole surviving daughter of his first marriage, who, 'passing over the ferry at Lambeth, accidentally heard the name of her father mentioned as one of those excepted out of the Act of Grace.' She induced her husband, who had

¹ *Dict. of Nat. Biography*, vol. i., 'Bentham (Joseph).'

² Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. ii., 'Aylesbury'; Gibbs (Robert), *A History of Aylesbury*.

been a Cavalier, to intercede with the King; Lord Wharton was pardoned and settled down contentedly for the time as a courtier of Charles II.

I do not know how much his change of views may have been owing to the influence of a third wife, whom he married shortly before the King's arrival, but the sudden revulsion of ideas and surroundings proved fatal to the principles of his heir. In a coarse jest book¹ compiled early in the nineteenth century may be found mention of a feast given by the old Lord at Woburn in honour of his son's birthday 'to some young gentry.' On this occasion he desired this son, Thomas, to say grace; whereupon the hopeful youth, composing his countenance to the correct sanctified expression, began :

I pray God to shorten the days of Lord Wharton
And set up his son in his place,

proceeding in a ribald strain to describe how the son intended to enjoy life, though still 'with the same puritanical face.' To this profane grace the old Lord, being stone-deaf, devoutly responded, 'Amen, I pray God,' whereupon the unscrupulous guests with one accord laughed loudly.

Francis Tyringham lived long enough to witness the change from a revolutionary to a courtly *régime* at Over Winchendon. The Lord Wharton, who had distributed tracts as readily as weapons of war, and the daughter of Arthur Goodwyn were succeeded by a sceptic and a libertine.

Thomas Wharton settled on this maternal estate; and in his time the Duke of Monmouth,² together with other choice spirits, often visited Over Winchendon to enjoy the horse-racing about the plain of Waddesdon and Quainton, which could be witnessed from Mr. Wharton's mansion on the neighbouring hill. The country was no doubt enlivened, but perhaps also demoralised, by the fine company. That

¹ *Cut and Come Again; or, Humorous Bar Anecdotes, Witty Jest, and a Variety of Funny Good Things, &c.*, being a specimen of Irish Originality and Current Wit. Dublin (printed by James Charles, 49 Mary Street, 1812).

² *Lipscomb, Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Upper or Over Winchendon.'

the family at Nether Winchendon kept up an acquaintance with their distant relative I infer from the fact that the first witness to Mr. Tyringham's will is 'T. Wharton.' Perhaps even Mrs. Tyringham was on visiting terms, since Mr. Wharton was married to Anne, daughter and coheirress of Sir Henry Lee, of Ditchley, Oxon. In all likelihood, however, Francis Tyringham dreaded the effect of this courtly circle on his children; his eldest son's portrait shows a marked departure from the old ways, which may not have pleased the father.

Of Francis two half-length oil-paintings and a miniature exist. The first in date represents him in a black suit, relieved only by a large white collar and under garment, showing in the forearm, and peeping elsewhere between the fastenings of the loose coat; a sword by his side. It bears the motto 'En Dieu est tout, 1638,' the year of his mother's death, and probably represents him in mourning for her. The garb is so sober that a Puritan could scarcely have surpassed it. His later portrait, in a suit of dark green and black, slashed with white, is more ornate, but still quiet and subdued. The miniature shows nothing but a dark coat and plain large collar.

John, son of Francis, whose portrait has developed into a three-quarter length, appears not only in the long wig of his period, which was to be expected, but also clad in a brilliant blue and red costume. As in his father's case, the dress but partly covers a white under garment without lace; he wears a long tie instead of collar, and his costume is altogether more dressy in appearance than the paternal garb.

There is nothing, however, to show that John was other than a steady man. He could hardly avoid an occasional smart suit for visiting Mr. Wharton, perhaps in town as well as country, and at his own youngest brother's house in London he may have met rich city people. There is no appearance that he sought any profitable post from the Wharton interest, notwithstanding his opportunities.

It was possibly at this period that the large picture of

the Goodwyn group was transferred from Over to Nether Winchendon. The Lely and Kneller style of dress then prevailed in pictures, and Thomas Wharton was a likely man to think of parting with his antiquated relatives in high ruffs and stiffened gowns; while Francis Tyringham, who remembered some of the group, and had heard of the rest from his father, would be ready to offer the picture a home.

The persistent mode in which family tradition has linked his name with Cuddington Manor House suggests that this Francis Tyringham may have sent his second son, who bore the same Christian name, to live there. If so, it was then probably a gentleman's residence for the last time. Young Francis perhaps remained in it while his father lived, but he moved elsewhere afterwards.

At this time carved oak furniture was going out of fashion, which accounts for a side-table over ten feet long, with massive oak legs and crossbars, and oak sides handsomely carved, and surmounted by a very solid elm slab, being left unheeded until near the middle of the nineteenth century. The home, after becoming a farmhouse and being allowed to diminish by decay, had come to be scarcely inhabited at all, and the table and the oak panelling, which still covered the walls of a lower apartment, probably the dining-hall, were removed to Nether Winchendon Manor House, as was later a small sword found in one of the upper rooms.¹

Thomas, the third son of Francis Tyringham the elder, had settled in London, and is styled in a manuscript pedigree a citizen and goldsmith.

In the year 1671, when the Winchendon squire was nearly seventy, he was exposed to some annoyance on the subject of the clergyman's stipend.² A certain number of the parishioners petitioned the Bishop of Lincoln, of which diocese Bucks then formed part, that Mr. Tyringham might be compelled to provide a clergyman, in like manner as the

¹ These were removed within my recollection, and the sword I myself removed.

² Papers relating to the stipend of the clergyman of Nether Winchendon.

abbots of Notley, and after them the Tyringhams, until the sale of their land. They state that there are about five-and-twenty families resident in the parish; that the church is 'very decent and in good repair, but destitute of either vicar or curate'; and they complain that Mr. Tyringham 'refuses to put in any curate, and by that means your poore Parishioners are destitute of that service of God which they most anxiously desire.' By their own showing, however, the remedy for this state of things lay partly in their own hands, for they continue: 'But so it is that the tithes arising due in this Towne haveing bene sold to every Landholder in the said Towne his own tithes, the Church is neglected.'

Mr. Tyringham's legal adviser sets forth in reply that he possesses neither the land nor the tithes, &c.; that he 'enjoys not the Churchyard, wh is a Comⁿ [common] for Poxon's Hoggs who dig upp the graves, the fences being broken upp and it is made a common place for all ye children to sport play and dig cat holes in.' Poxon was one of the pious petitioners, but probably of doubtful Church principles. The consequence of this agitation appears to have been that Francis Tyringham and his opponents were cited to appear before the Bishop of Lincoln at his visitation in Aylesbury Church, and for the final decision at his lodgings in Westminster.

Before these citations took effect, however, another set of the parishioners of Nether Winchendon had forwarded to the Bishop a 'certificate,' as they style their address, stating that the petition had been sent without their having any knowledge of its contents, beyond the fact that it was to ask for a minister: 'And understanding that the groape of the sayd peticon or writeinge was whoolly to impose & lay the charge of a Ministers mayntennance upon M^r Tyringham, w^{ch} the remonstrants never understood to be the meaninge of the sayd peticon, w^{ch} they judge to be against all justice and equity.' They proceed to declare that Mr. Tyringham has always paid his share of the said maintenance, according to the land he actually owned.

This remonstrance is signed by 'Thomas Dewbery,' who writes his name, which is followed by those of a number of labouring men apparently, for they affix their marks. The original petition is elegantly signed by nine persons, for themselves and others; but it must be a copy, since the address and signatures are all in the one refined hand. Probably the original contained marks.

I have no direct evidence as to the termination of this case; but I believe, from information contained in documents signed by Francis Tyringham the younger many years later, that an arrangement was effected by which the landowners pledged themselves all to contribute to the support of a clergyman, according to their means—possibly the tenant farmers also, for some of the subscriptions on record are very small. It is not clear that this arrangement ever had any legal force; but it appears to have been carried out with tolerable fairness for more than a hundred years.

Francis Tyringham lost his wife in 1682, and did not long survive her. He died on September 15, 1684, only a short time before King Charles II. His will, drawn up on parchment, signed and sealed, is dated the 3rd, but is almost a copy of a previous will, written chiefly in his own hand, on paper.¹ After sundry pious expressions he bequeaths his body

to the earth from whence it came, to be interred in the Chancell of Nether Winchington as near as possible to the body of my dear wife lately deceased in a decent manner, at the discretion of my executors herein after named and appointed, there to rest in hope of a joyful resurrection, at the great and glorious appearing of my only Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Having already settled the succession to his house and land, he proceeds simply to dispose of certain valuable articles after the manner of his father, but entirely amongst his five children, and names his second son, Francis, and his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, his executors. One of the

¹ Both documents are preserved at Nether Winchendon.

witnesses to the paper will is 'Audry Symons,' no doubt a relative and successor of 'William Symons.' The first witness to the parchment will, as already stated, is T. Wharton.

John Tyringham¹ succeeded his father at Nether Winchendon. He was unmarried, although probably turned forty, since his father had lived to be eighty-two. His sisters, the daughters of Francis Tyringham, were apparently both single. Elizabeth may be supposed to have made the acquaintance of John Edmonds, a citizen of London, soon after—most likely at the house of her brother Thomas, the goldsmith; she married him, but had no issue. Jane, the other daughter, does not appear to have married. She perhaps divided her time between her bachelor brothers, since she died in London, but left to the Church of her native parish a silver paten, which is still in use. It is engraved with the Tyringham arms in a lozenge, with a foliated border and the inscription: 'The gift of Jane Tyringham to the Church of Nether Winchington, for the use of the Communion Service, 1697.'

A book in brown calf binding—Harrington's translation of Ariosto—in which the name 'Elizabeth Tyringham' is inscribed, and a shield painted on paper—Edmonds impaling Tyringham—are relics of the elder sister, now at Winchendon.

A document of later years—the will of Francis Tyringham, the second brother of the family²—reveals the fact that his father, the elder Francis, had died in debt to the extent of thirteen hundred pounds; that John, his eldest son, mortgaged his estate to pay this sum, but that the younger Francis eventually cleared off the debt, whereupon the Nether Winchendon estate was entailed on him, to the exclusion, apparently, of any children John might have, whether sons or daughters. Francis had inherited his

¹ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.' Both the sisters of John Tyringham are there represented as marrying, though the name of Jane's supposed husband is not given. The mistake is corrected in a manuscript pedigree.

² Document preserved at Nether Winchendon.

mother's Kingston property, and he may have parted with it for the purpose of redeeming Winchendon.

The male line of the Tyringhams of Tyringham had come to an end in 1685, just after the death of Francis Tyringham of Nether Winchendon. Probably the family had never recovered itself since the Civil War, which wrought destruction to many old English families, especially of Royalists. Sir William Tyringham had an only child, Elizabeth, who, 'becoming wife to John Backwell, son of Edward Backwell, Alderman of London, he in her right (and by Alderman Backwell having advanced large sums of money on this estate) succeeded to the inheritance.'¹ Francis Tyringham, the brother of the Nether Winchendon squire,² married Jane, daughter of John Backwell and niece of the Alderman, and with her he may have acquired some land in Broughton, near Aylesbury, her father's place of residence, since he went to live in Aylesbury. The only child of this marriage, and its mother, soon died; and Francis took for his second wife Eleanor, daughter and heir of Richard Grimshaw, of Knoll, Hampton-in-Arden, Warwickshire. Three children of the union survived: Parnell; Francis, born 1697; and Mary, born in the following year.

When John Tyringham thus settled his estate on his brother Francis he must have relinquished all ideas of matrimony; but whether changes involving the departure of his sisters, or merely the accident of meeting an attractive young lady in his immediate neighbourhood, proved too much for his resolution, certain it is that he succumbed.

It appears in extracts from the registers of St. Mary's Church, Long Crendon,³ that a family of Winlowe resided in that parish so early as 1562, when 'William Winlowe,

¹ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. iv., 'Tyringham.'

² *Ibid.* i., 'Nether Winchendon.' Also the MS. pedigree above mentioned and sundry deeds.

³ These extracts are to be found in a publication entitled *St. Mary's Church, Long Crendon, Bucks*, by Frederick George Lee, D.D., F.S.A. They had previously appeared in the *Records of Buckinghamshire*. It will be seen that in the extracts the family name is spelt 'Winlowe,' 'Wynlowe,' and 'Windlowe.'

ye sonne of William Winlowe, gentleman, was baptized.' In 1563-4¹ there is a similar entry of the baptism of 'John Wynlowe, ye sonne of Mr. William Winlowe.' And some years later (1567), 'The xxx day of May, Oulde mother Winlowe of Notley was buried.' The lady so emphatically described was probably mother of William Winlowe, or perhaps his grandmother. There is no further mention of this family in the extracts, beyond the compiler's statement that the name occurs elsewhere in the register. It seems likely that the Winlowes were lessees under the Earls of Abingdon or other members of the Bertie family. Notley Abbey Church, as appears by an engraving,² was a grand ruin so late as 1730, and possibly some portion of the monastic buildings may have been habitable up to that time, and utilised together with sundry post-Reformation additions.

In the latter half of the seventeenth century one Richard Winlowe settled at Lewknor with his wife Jane.³ He is described in a tablet in Nether Winchendon Church as 'formerly of Notley Abbey,' and must therefore have belonged to the family above mentioned. He seems to have been at that time the father of one child—Mary—born perhaps in London, where he is supposed to have made his fortune; seven other children were born at Lewknor, the eldest in 1677, the youngest in 1688. How Mr. Winlowe was circumstanced with regard to the Notley lands I do not know, but it is likely that he either went to reside there or paid a long visit to relations there in 1700. Towards the

¹ In the extract the date is 1563, but it evidently means 1564 according to our present reckoning, otherwise the births of the two would be too close together—one November 1562, the other February 1563.

² Of this engraving there is an impression at Nether Winchendon. It is dated 1730, and dedicated 'To the Honble. Henry Bertie, Esqre., Owner of these Remains,' by the artists, Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, who were also authors of the description below the engraving.

³ This account of Richard Winlowe's family and residences is taken from the Lewknor Parish Registers, and from Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, 'Nether Winchendon.' The name is invariably spelt 'Winlow' in the Lewknor Registers. On the portraits at Nether Winchendon it is spelt 'Winlowe' and 'Windelowe.'

end of 1697 he had lost his second daughter; in the summer of 1700 his only son and his third daughter. These misfortunes may have determined him on leaving Lewknor for awhile. Perhaps the troublous question of drainage was involved, and a thorough renovation of his house required.

When the Winlowes were thus domiciled so near to Nether Winchendon, nothing was easier than for John Tyringham to make their acquaintance, and so his marriage ensued with the eldest daughter, Mary, who was probably under thirty, while he was sixty. The wedding does not appear to have been solemnised at Crendon, for the compiler of the extracts would hardly have omitted such a feature in the register; nor did it take place at Lewknor; London was perhaps the scene of the event. It may be assumed that the couple were married about 1701. Their daughter Jane was born December 28, 1702, and baptized on January 4, 1702-3, at Nether Winchendon.¹

The only local business with which I find John's name linked relates to a rentcharge of 90*l.* payable out of certain lands in Easington to the ministers of Studley and Chilton and the poor of Studley almshouses :

In 1704 a decree was made by William Aubrey, Esq., of Boarstall, Edw. Harte of Brill, Urnwood Serjeant of Dinton, and John Tyringham, Esq., of Lower Winchendon, Commissioners for Charitable Uses by a commission under the Great Seal, dated at Wotton, 15th Dec. and reciting an Inquisition made at Wotton, 27 Sept. preceding, &c. &c.²

John Tyringham lived little more than two years after the birth of his only child, Jane; he was buried on March 28, 1705,³ and his widow and daughter then left a home which was no longer theirs.

The story of Jane Tyringham's life will be told in

¹ Parish Register of Nether Winchendon.

² Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Chilton-with-Easington.' Further particulars are there stated, such as appointment of feoffees, &c.

³ Parish Register of Nether Winchendon.

subsequent chapters; she occupies an important place in the annals of Nether Winchendon and of the Bernard family.

The brothers John, Francis and Thomas Tyringham had lived through the momentous Revolution of 1688; but it does not appear to have exercised any distinct influence over their fortunes; nor is there any record of disturbance in Bucks. Francis, after taking possession of the Nether Winchendon house, seems to have lived the life of a plain country gentleman. In 1717 he was appointed one of the Trustees of Aylesbury Grammar School¹ by the High Court of Chancery, under the provisions of Mr. Phillips's will. His name occurs first on the list; but this appears to have been his nearest approach to public life. He lived to see his elder daughter, Parnell, married to a barrister named Charles Pilsworth, and died in 1727.

Even before that event desolation had overtaken the once splendid mansion at Over Winchendon. Philip, Lord Wharton,² and Thomas, his son, had been zealous favourers of the Revolution, yet avoided all complicity with the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth; they thrived under the new influences, especially the son, who, after succeeding to his father's peerage, attained high office, and was created Earl of Wharton and Viscount Winchendon by Queen Anne, and Marquis of Wharton by George I.

His only son, the last male of the Over Winchendon line, bore in his youth the courtesy title of Viscount Winchendon. He inherited both talent and profligacy from his father—and also, it was said, from his mother, Lucy Loftus, the Marquis's second wife—but he lacked the worldly wisdom of his progenitors. Fitted to shine in many spheres of action, but incapable of any steady line of conduct, after being created Duke of Wharton by the Hanoverian King George I., and Duke of Northumberland by the exiled son of James I., he made shipwreck of his fortunes. His estates

¹ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. ii., 'Aylesbury'; Gibbs, *Hist. Aylesbury*.

² *Ibid.* i., 'Over Winchendon.' See also histories of the time for the lives of the Whartons.

were sold in 1725, by his trustees, to trustees named in the will of John Duke of Marlborough, and Over Winchendon went to a family for whom it possessed no interest, with the result that it was left to neglect and decay. The Duke ended his life in a Bernardine monastery in Spain, where he had been received and compassionately tended during his last illness.

The third Francis Tyringham,¹ who succeeded his father at Nether Winchendon, served as High Sheriff of Bucks in the next year (1728). He was just thirty, and had apparently visions of a career which developed a feeling of discontent with the home at Nether Winchendon, either because it was not modelled on the taste of the day, or because the low situation affected his health. Eventually he bought from 'Henry Collins Lovebond, Esqre.,' a house and land in the parish of Oving, on some of the highest ground in the county. To effect this purchase, which may have been made with a view to matrimony, he probably sold whatever land in Warwickshire he had inherited from his mother.

The tale has a sad ending. If Francis Tyringham did not complete his purchase until 1735, as the county historian states, he survived the transaction only a few months at most. His death took place on November 12 in that year, when he was but thirty-eight. There appears to be no record as to the immediate cause of this catastrophe.

He left the Oving property and a portion of the Nether Winchendon estate to his elder sister, Parnell. To Mary, who had remained unmarried and must have been his constant companion, he bequeathed the old Manor House in which they had lived together from childhood, together with the rest of his land.

This generation of the Tyringhams was not long-lived. Parnell Pilsworth died six years after her brother, in 1741, childless, and her inheritance became the absolute property of her husband. In the same year he stood for the Par-

¹ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. ii., 'Aylesbury' and 'Oving'; vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon.' Also the list of High Sheriffs in vol. i.

liamentary representation of Aylesbury, and succeeded, beating two influential gentlemen of the county.¹ At Oving he built for himself another house near the old one. By his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Cave of Stanford, in Northamptonshire, he had no issue; but he left the Tyringham property acquired through his first wife to her, and she left it to her brother, the Rev. (afterwards Sir) Charles Cave. The two mansions at Oving stood for some time side by side, till a subsequent owner demolished the first. Mr. Pilsworth's structure still exists.

Mary Tyringham, who will be mentioned again, survived till 1745. One circumstance only appears to be recorded of her ten years' ownership, namely, the obtaining of a grant from Queen Anne's Bounty to augment in some small degree the stipend of the clergyman of her parish.² She died, as she had lived, at Nether Winchendon.

No very definite traditions of ghostly apparitions attach to the Tyringham period; even the few that were told me years ago are probably forgotten in the village now. On one solitary occasion a groom, sprung from the parish, while attending to his horses at a late hour, beheld an apparition of a gentleman in a Cavalier dress with broad hat and feathers in the stable. This happened about 1830. Somewhat earlier, probably, several persons are said to have seen a gentleman all in white, though in clothes otherwise shaped according to some bygone fashion—the period was not clear; but his watch chain and seals were distinctly visible, so it must have been the costume of a period when it was usual to display seals.

Dorothy, daughter of the first Thomas Tyringham who resided at Nether Winchendon, has been by some persons supposed to haunt the western extremity of the house—by reason of her untimely death in the river, apparently. I am,

¹ Sir William Stanhope, K.B., and James Herbert, Esq. (Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. ii., 'Aylesbury').

² Lipscomb does not mention Mrs. Mary Tyringham's name, but the grant was obtained in 1744, the year before her death (*Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon').

however, very doubtful whether this is an old tradition, and not rather a sentimental imagining of comparatively modern days.

However this may be, there is a peaceful character about these supposed apparitions ; so far as can be ascertained no idea of crime or vice attaches to them, nor to the last apparition, which will be noticed in a subsequent chapter, and which closes the series of Tyringham memories.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EARLY LIFE OF SIR FRANCIS BERNARD

Rev. Francis Bernard, presented to the Living of Brightwell—Richard Winlowe—Jane Terry—Death of Rev. F. Bernard—Sir Jonathan Trelawney, Bishop of Winchester—Anthony Alsop—Margery Bernard's Second Marriage—Sir Francis at Westminster—Mr. Alsop's Associates—Sir Francis a Student at Christ Church—Called to the Bar—Lincoln in the Eighteenth Century—Bishop Reynolds—Marriage of Jane Tyringham—Death of Christopher Beresford—The Uncle of Warren Hastings—Warren Hastings' Childhood.

IN 1702, apparently, the year of Queen Anne's accession, Dr. Peter Mews, Bishop of Winchester, presented the Rev. Francis Bernard, Fellow of St. John's, Oxford, to the desirable living of Brightwell, in Berkshire, and then in the diocese of Salisbury.¹

Brightwell is situated about two miles from the little town of Wallingford, and lying, as it does, almost between Oxford and Reading, must have been especially convenient to the new rector, if he retained an interest both in his college and his birthplace. The parish, which is small as regards population, has some notable features. It once possessed a castle,² demolished by Henry of Anjou, subsequently King Henry II., after the treaty of Wallingford; the Manor Farm, surrounded by a moat, is supposed to mark the site. A relic of still earlier times is 'Brightwell's Barrow,' a little way out of the village. The parish is probably named from a well, concerning the virtues of which I have no information. An adjoining parish is called Sotwell.

It is, perhaps, not likely, considering the laxity affecting

¹ *Oxford University Calendar*. The diocese (Salisbury) has been ascertained by deeds at Nether Winchendon.

² *The Journey-Book of England (Berkshire)*, 'Wallingford to Wantage.'

ecclesiastical ideas and arrangements at that period, that Francis Bernard devoted himself exclusively to his new work; indeed, it may have been insufficient to fill his time and engage his whole attention. One of his grandsons, who must have heard the statement from his father, the rector's son, says that he was 'a very active magistrate in the county'¹—that is, in Berkshire. This secular function was then in high estimation as an occupation for the clergy, and partly on the reasonable ground that it afforded extended opportunities not only of repressing the lawless, but also of helping the helpless, composing quarrels, and imparting advice. In this vocation the rector, no doubt, found some further scope for his energies.

But since he was a scholar, and had left friends of long standing in Oxford, it is probable that he paid many visits to his old haunts, even if he did not, like his learned predecessor, reside at St. John's during the whole of the winter months. Perhaps it was his attachment to the advantages and amenities of a college Fellow's life which kept him single for many years after he had a comfortable home to share with the lady of his choice, whoever she might be. Had he married on his appointment to Codford, his first living, when he was only thirty-seven, or even on his settlement at Brightwell, when he was still only forty-one, and first provided with a good income from his benefice, it would not have been surprising. But he lived on a bachelor, like his predecessor, until he had attained the age of fifty. How the eventual change came about can only be conjectured.

Richard Winlowe, of Lewknor,² Oxon, who had married his daughter Mary to John Tyringham, of Nether Winchendon, Bucks, seems to have returned to his home, perhaps after the death of his son-in-law in 1705, perhaps before. His family, as already recorded, had previously been thinned

¹ *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*, by One of his Sons. The son was Thomas, afterwards Sir Thomas Bernard. The date of this biography is 1790.

² There is a parish of Brightwell in Oxfordshire, close to Lewknor, and this coincidence has sometimes led to confusion.

by bereavement, and now, according to family tradition, trouble of another sort befell the parents. Frances, the youngest child of the house, eloped with a man of low station, and was consequently disinherited by her indignant father. Richard Winlowe died in 1709,¹ soon after another daughter, Jane, had been taken from him by death at the age of twenty-nine. Of his family of eight children only four at most remained. These were :

1. Mary, the widow of John Tyringham ; and I am not even certain of her survival, having no account of her after her husband's death.

2. Margery, whose history will be related in this chapter.

3. Sarah, who in 1709, the year of her father's death, married Moses Terry ; he was then resident in Holywell, Oxford, but apparently belonged to a Lincolnshire family.

4. The excluded Frances, whose married name was Hall.

From the dates it seems likely that Francis Bernard's acquaintance with the Winlowes may have been brought about by his knowledge of Mr. Terry in Oxford. Moses Terry was evidently a young man ; but there are indications that he was reading with a view to taking holy orders somewhat later than the regular time. In the entry of his marriage, which took place at Lewknor, and in the inscription on his wife's portrait, he is styled 'esquire,' and the dress represented in a portrait believed to be his is not clerical. It is easy to suppose that Margery Winlowe may sometimes have visited her sister in Holywell ; moreover, Lewknor was within a possible drive of Brightwell, and there may have been friends of both parties living between the two villages ; so that there were no insuperable difficulties to the improvement of the acquaintance. The result was an engagement between the Rector of Brightwell and Margery, second surviving daughter and coheirress of Richard Winlowe and of Jane, then his widow, the bride-

¹ This and other particulars of the Winlowe births, deaths and marriages are from the Lewknor registers.

groom being fifty, his bride twenty-nine. The entry in the register is as follows :—

Mr. Bernard of Brightwell	}	married by lycence
in Berks, clerke, and		17 August 1711 by
Mrs. Margery Winlow of		Mr. Stephen Nicol
Lewknor		clerke ¹

Part of the old rectory of grey stone to which Francis Bernard brought his bride still remains ;² it is situated between the church and the village, and on the front outer wall is an emblazoned shield surmounted by a mitre. Of the additions to the house in red brick it is unnecessary to say anything ; when repairs were needed it seems to have been found that some portion of the original structure was too far gone to be worth any expenditure ; possibly also it did not harmonise with the ideas of the age.

On the other side of the church is a gentleman's house, with an entrance from the garden into the churchyard, which may have been inhabited by the widow³ of the Rev. Dr. Edward Bernard, the former rector. The church exists at the present time in a restored condition ; it is of moderate size, adapted to the requirements of the parish, and not specially remarkable.

In this church⁴ Francis, the only child of the Rev. Francis Bernard and Margery his wife, was baptized on July 12, 1712. The exact date of his birth I cannot discover ; but baptism was then, as a rule, administered a few days—not more than a week—after birth.

The next entry in this volume of the Brightwell Parish Register is the baptism of Francis Bernard's cousin, Jane Terry, on September 7. A daughter named Sarah had been

¹ Entry in the register at Lewknor Church.

² These particulars are from observation during a visit of a few hours to Brightwell.

³ It has been noted in ch. v. that Eleanor Howell is likely to have lived in Brightwell parish before her marriage with Edward Bernard ; but the supposition that she dwelt in the house by the church and returned to it in her widowhood is a mere guess, founded on no further evidence.

⁴ Register of baptisms in the church of Brightwell, Berks. The entry of Jane Terry's baptism is in the same register.

previously born to Mr. and Mrs. Terry, but had lived a few weeks only. She was baptized and buried at Lewknor. Possibly Mr. Terry had received holy orders before the birth of his second daughter, and he may have been officiating as curate to the Rector of Brightwell, which would account for the baptism at Brightwell. But the entry throws no light on this subject, as it does not style him either Rev., Esquire, or Gentleman.

We may imagine the middle-aged rector gazing with delight on the features of his infant heir, and a little later deeply interested in guiding the child's tottering footsteps, perhaps even engaged in a somewhat premature attempt at explaining the spelling-book—supposing, indeed, that such petty matters were not left to the mother's supervision. More than this it was not permitted him to achieve. The Rector died on December 14, 1715,¹ within a few days of completing his fifty-fifth year, and was buried with his wife's relations in the parish church of Lewknor. The slab covering his remains was demolished in the so-called 'restoration' of the said parish church towards the middle of the nineteenth century, but fortunately the inscription has been preserved.² It contains, however, nothing beyond the facts already stated, without amplification.

In consequence of this catastrophe it seemed as if the childhood of young Francis Bernard would be spent far away from the green fields and shady lanes of Berkshire; circumstances, however, prolonged for a time his stay in the paternal home.

The Bishop of Winchester of that day was the famous Sir Jonathan Trelawney, one of the 'seven bishops' committed to the Tower by James II. and the hero of the well-known Cornish ballad. He was an old Westminster and Christ Church man. To him Dr. Atterbury, Bishop of

¹ Inscription formerly on the monumental slab at Lewknor.

² Mrs. Glanville, of Wheatfield, Oxon, great-granddaughter of the Rector of Brightwell, obtained a copy of the inscription from the then incumbent, who appeared satisfied with the devastation committed, and even declared jocosely that the dust of the Rev. Francis Bernard had been committed to the winds.

Rochester, a valued friend in spite of some divergence in their opinions, had written more than two years before :

I need not mention Mr. Alsop to your Lordship, because I know your Lordship cannot be unmindful of him. However, since I have mentioned him, give me leave to repeat what I have, I think, already said to your Lordship, that no man ever came under your roof more worth, or of a better nature, or more likely to be every way acceptable to your Lordship, if I know anything of your Lordship or him. It is the first and last request of the kind I shall ever make to your Lordship, and therefore I urge it the more freely.¹

The gentleman for whom Bishop Atterbury pleaded so earnestly to the Bishop of Winchester was Anthony Alsop, a man of some distinction at Christ Church, who had taken the degrees of M.A. in 1696 and B.D. in 1706.² Sir Jonathan responded to this appeal, although the candidate's views were of the Atterbury type rather than his own, by making him a prebendary of Winchester Cathedral and presenting him to the living of Brightwell, Berks.

Mrs. Bernard was in the midst of her melancholy preparations for leaving the scene of her short married life when the Rev. Anthony Alsop came to inspect his new benefice. He was then probably about forty-five years of age; Mrs. Bernard was thirty-four. The tradition preserved in the family states that he was at once fascinated by the handsome widow. The situation afforded him many opportunities of manifesting sympathy for her bereavement and reluctance to hasten her departure, and ere long he ventured to propose that she should remain at Brightwell as his wife. If it be true that Margery Bernard's picture represents her in the costume which helped to captivate Anthony Alsop, widows of that day must speedily have donned a coquettish style of mourning, emblematical, perhaps, of mitigated affliction. But I doubt if this view,

¹ Williams (Folkestone), *Memoirs and Correspondence of Bishop Atterbury*.

² Besides the dates given above, it appears from Welsh's compilation, *A List of Scholars of St. Peter's College, Westminster*, that Anthony Alsop became a Westminster scholar in 1687, and was elected to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1690.

which my father adopted, was founded on any contemporary evidence.

While the Brightwell courtship was proceeding Mrs. Winlowe died at Lewknor of small-pox; this calamity must have led to the breaking up of the family home, and thus formed an additional reason for Mrs. Bernard's second marriage, which took place at Brightwell immediately after the expiration of her year of mourning. The union with Anthony Alsop was a period of great happiness, if her husband's testimony may be believed, but it was of even shorter duration than her first marriage. The last entry in the Lewknor register concerning the Winlowe family is: 'Mrs. Alsop, wife of Mr. Anthony Alsop, died with the small-pox broat from London, buried in the Chancel the 22nd day of May 1718, whereof affidavit made 29 in woollen only.' This curious ending, as it now seems, was then very common; it is, I believe, met with in all the entries of Winlowe burials, and was rendered necessary by a tyrannical law then in force, though sometimes evaded, for the protection of the woollen manufacturers.¹

The widowed Rector of Brightwell bemoaned his loss in a long poem which contains some touches of genuine feeling, although the Pagan imagery then in fashion rather disfigures than adorns its lines according to the ideas of the present age. After bringing in Charon and Lachesis, and comparing himself to a turtle-dove bereft of its mate, he continues:—

Te sine, O conjux, neque dulcis aura,
Nec virens hortus, nec amica fessis
Umbra, ceu quondam, placitura : Te nil
Dulce remotâ.

Æstuat pectus memor anteaacti
Gaudii, cum tu comes implicansque
Dexteræ lævam, per aperta ruris
Ferre solebas

¹ Some interesting particulars of the wording and working of this law, which troubled the first hours of bereavement all over the kingdom, may be found in Gibbs's *History of Aylesbury*, ch. xxxiii., 'The Parish Registers.'

Leniter gressus, vel odora mecum
 Visere hortorum spatia, hinc et inde
 Vellicans quæ mi placuere, dante
 Te quia, poma.

Tu mihi (sed non acus otiosa
 Interim) attentam dederas legenti,
 Quam placens, aurem, docilis sacrorum, et
 Læta doceri.

Quidquid adversum mihi sors secusve
 Obtulit, Tu mi per utrumque casum
 Æqua, seu durum relevare, fausto
 Sive potiri.

Quam tibi mite ingenium indolesque
 Casta ; quam fervens pietatis ardor ;
 Mutui quam nos in amore, quæ non
 Chorda sonabit ? ¹

The poet concludes by stating that, were he equal to the Thracian bard as a performer on the cithara, he would not hesitate to encounter a journey to the Elysian shades and snatch his wife from Tartarus.

After this eloquent burst of grief it savours of bathos to add that 'Mrs. Eliza Atkins, a lady of Oxford, sued Dr. Alsop on promise of marriage, and cast him for 2,000*l.* His livings, in consequence, were sequestered, and he was forced to retire to Holland till matters were made up.' This information is contained in a note headed 'J. Mitford, Oriel College, Oxford,' pasted in the beginning of a published volume of Mr. Alsop's poems, now in the British Museum Library. The same facts are mentioned in the '*Biographie Universelle*,' ² but the prosecutrix is there called 'Mistress Elizabeth Astrey.' It is impossible now to ascertain how far Dr., or rather Mr., Alsop—for there seems no evidence

¹ Alsop (Anthony), *Odorum Libri duo*. These poems were published in 1752 (*Biographie Universelle*: 1751 is given as the date in Watts's *Bibliotheca*), twenty-six years after the death of the author. A copy in the British Museum contains numerous MS. notes and comments.

² *Biographie Universelle*, 'Alsop (Antoine).' The article is signed D—t, explained in the Index to mean 'Durdent.' The writer says that the lady brought her action in 1717; but this must be a mistake.

of his having taken a doctor's degree—may have been the victim of a designing woman; but if he really wooed the lady for his second wife he was not acting against his principles. It was an age by no means remarkable for delicacy of feeling, and perhaps he believed the common saying, that the best compliment to a deceased wife is to give her a successor. In a poetical address to a friend he bids him live happily with his bride, but if by any evil chance he should lose her, take another as soon as possible; on the ground, it should be added, that it was his friend's best chance of living a respectable life. Anthony Alsop had, indeed, been Margery Winlowe's second husband, and but for his high-flown tribute to her memory, of so very recent date, his second courtship would not have seemed incongruous.

The trouble into which Mr. Alsop had been thrown by the vindictive, or grasping, Eliza Atkins—if that was her name—seems to have deterred him from running further risks. He returned to England, having recovered from the effects of this unfortunate episode sufficiently to joke on the subject in Latin verse—which thus furnishes evidence of his banishment—and settled once more in Berkshire.

It is probable that Francis Bernard since the time of his mother's death had been chiefly under the care of his aunt, Mrs. Terry, and that he spent the whole period of Mr. Alsop's absence from England with her and her husband. As he grew older he may have been more with his step-father, who is said to have been fond of him. At some uncertain date the Terrys removed to Lincolnshire, and Mr. Terry took clerical duty, possibly in a village; yet there are indications that he resided at least some part of the year in Lincoln, which was thus early known to young Bernard.

Mrs. Tyringham was in all likelihood dead; and her daughter Jane formed part of the Terry circle. During his long visits she learned to value the love of her orphan cousin, lonely like herself, and ready to respond to her affection. Theirs was a purely fraternal and sisterly affection; indeed, Jane Tyringham was nearly ten years older than

Francis Bernard, and married when he was still a child. Their attachment may have commenced in the old homes at Brightwell and Lewknor, but it was evidently riveted by a later acquaintance elsewhere. Jane Terry, another only child, must at this time, by reason of her tender age, have been a playmate of her boy-cousin, rather than an adviser like the almost motherly Jane Tyringham.

It does not appear whether Francis was ever at school before entering Westminster; most probably, since tradition says that Anthony Alsop was an excellent stepfather, it was he who prepared the boy for a scholarship there. Thither he sent him, no doubt on account of his own connection with the college and in grateful remembrance of his school-days there. Young as Francis Bernard was during the time that he remained under Mr. Alsop's guidance, not only the tuition he received, but also the intellectual society frequented by the Rector, must have proved most advantageous to his pupil. Of Mr. Alsop's parentage I have no knowledge. There was a well-known Nonconformist divine of that name who had a son of opposite views, but at present I am unable to trace any link between that family and the Rev. Anthony. Whatever may have been his origin, however, he had achieved a position. He ranked as one of the noted 'Christ Church wits' of the day. In London, as well as at Oxford, he was intimate with many celebrities, and was in fact a celebrity himself, being a Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Italian scholar, a man of general learning, and an elegant writer of Latin verse. Bishop Warburton styled him 'a happy imitator of the Horatian style.'¹ He was a *protégé* of the Dukes of Newcastle and Chandos, and one of his poems is addressed to his friend, Sir Godfrey Kneller.

That a portrait of Mr. Alsop was at Nether Winchendon in my grandfather's time appears by a memorandum. I have therefore ventured to have his name inscribed on a painting which has been unhesitatingly ascribed to Kneller by a person versed in such matters; it represents a gentleman

¹ *The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq.*, together with the Commentaries and Notes of Mr. Warburton. Note to 'The Dunciad,' bk. iv.

in a 'raven gray' suit, with a long fringed tie and under-sleeves of plain muslin, without lace edging or other decoration. This I took to be a clerical costume. It appears, indeed, that the clergy of that period usually wore cassocks,¹ but not invariably, and those who did not always reside in London were less particular when in the country. I still think, therefore, that the portrait may be rightly ascribed to the Rector of Brightwell.

There is another section of Mr. Alsop's associates which deserves special notice. It consisted chiefly of certain old Westminsters—Bishop Atterbury, Drs. Robert and John Freind, Sir John Dolben, and others, who appear to have been called, for want of a better term, halting Jacobites. It is true that Atterbury was almost certainly convicted of carrying on a correspondence with the exiled Stuart Prince² while acting as a bishop of the 'Establishment,' that by a mischance this was discovered, and in consequence, after a term of imprisonment, he had to end his life, under circumstances of some privation, in a foreign country. But Dr. John Freind, who had also corresponded, made his peace, and became physician to the new Prince of Wales, afterwards George II. Robert Freind remained Headmaster of Westminster School and a canon of Christ Church. Dolben lived and died a prebendary of Durham. How far Anthony Alsop belonged to the same category can only be surmised. In a note to a letter 'from Mr. T. Carte to Mr. G. Ballard'³ it is stated that 'A. Alsop (Anthony Alsop of Christ Church) has been with one of Corpus who came from Dr. Wallis, where had been some talk of the F. Kgs. proclaiming ye P. of W. James ye 3rd.' Dr. Wallis believed the Prince to be the son of a bricklayer and his wife; but Sir Godfrey

¹ Overton, *Life in the English Church, 1660-1744*, pp. 323-5.

² Williams (Folkestone), *Memoirs and Correspondence of Bishop Atterbury*. See also notes to 'The Dunciad.'

³ *Letters Written by Eminent Persons in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, vol. ii. Note to letter CLX., which is dated from 'Dean's Yard, Westminster, May 18, 1731.' The particulars are 'transcribed from one of Dr. Rawlinson's MSS. in the Bodleian.' The 'one of Corpus' appears to have been a Mr. Harbin.

Kneller, coming in, declared him to be unmistakably the child of the King and Queen, whose portraits he had painted many times, because 'there is not a feature in his face but wat belongs either to fader or moder.'

Pope is said to have referred especially to Mr. Alsop as an ineffective Jacobite in the lines :

Nor wert thou, Isis, wanting to the day,
Though Christ Church long kept prudishly away.¹

If this is to be understood literally, the Rev. Anthony must have been a prominent and influential man, whose lead was followed by other members of Christ Church. He was, however, welcome in circles of many shades of opinion for his conversational powers, which are also satirically noticed by Pope in the same poem—'The Dunciad':

Let Freind affect to speak as Terence spoke,
And Alsop never but like Horace joke.²

Mr. Alsop's partial suppression of his feelings with regard to the settlement of the House of Hanover in England—while in the course of his career he must have taken the oaths to successive revolutionary sovereigns—does not necessarily imply that he was either a traitor or a hypocrite; or, if he was, he shared this guilt with a large portion of the nation, which was still attached to the exiled Royal Family, but believed that by retiring from active life altogether as Nonjurors its members would not only ruin themselves but injure the cause. These men were not all agitators; the dread of Popery kept many quiet, and they waited with longing for the conversion of the Stuart Prince. So long, indeed, as they did not play a double part by entering into secret intrigues, as did many leading statesmen,³ there is not much to be said against their conduct, since it was generally understood by their adversaries, as well as their

¹ Pope, 'The Dunciad,' bk. iv. According to J. Mitford this passage indicates the Rev. Anthony Alsop, but it can hardly be intended for him alone.

² *Ibid.*

³ Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (ed. 1892), vol. i. ch. i.

friends, that they accepted the actual state of things for the time being of necessity, without approving it.

The foregoing particulars suffice to show that young Bernard must have enjoyed an exceptional social education, outside his school life, and have been from his earliest age familiar with literary and political topics.

Francis Bernard became a scholar of St. Peter's College, Westminster, in 1725.¹ Scarcely had this important step been accomplished when Mr. Alsop was removed from this world with startling suddenness. He fell 'by a path into his garden, leading over a ditch, giving way as he was passing it.'² Apparently he did not fracture any bone, or, if he did, this was only so far the cause of death that it prevented him from rising. 'His fate,' says another account, 'resembled that of Atterbury's father, for he was accidentally drowned in a ditch close to his own garden, June 10th, 1726.'³ From that time forth Francis Bernard must have depended solely on his maternal kindred for affection and guidance.

After completing his course at Westminster the lad was admitted as a student to Christ Church, Oxford.⁴ I know as little of his life there as of the previous years at school; but it is probable that the following lines, preserved by his youngest daughter,⁵ belong to this period. They are entered in a manuscript volume, together with serious verses of a much later date, but have quite the ring of a collegian's unstudied composition :

John Popringham, his window,
God give him grace thereout to look,
That as the folk pass to and fro,
He may read man as well as book.

Francis Bernard was never a student of this sort; he was of a sociable disposition, and always studied 'man as

¹ Welsh, *A List of Scholars of St. Peter's College, Westminster.*

² MS. note prefixed to Alsop's Poems, *Odorum Libri duo.*

³ Williams (Folkestone), *Memoirs and Correspondence of Bishop Atterbury.*

⁴ *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*, by One of his Sons.

⁵ Julia Bernard, of whom more hereafter.

well as book.' Whether he made any name at the University I am unable to say; there were no classes in those days, so that one record of distinction was entirely wanting.

'In 1733,' says the son who wrote his life, 'he entered himself a member of the Middle Temple, and was called to the Bar in 1737, and soon after settled at Lincoln as a provincial counsel.' His son also states that he obtained some small legal appointments, the offer of which had carried him to Lincoln. In December 1738 he was admitted a 'Publick Notary,' or 'Notary Publick,' by the Archbishop of Canterbury; in 1739-40 he was appointed by the King Commissioner of Bails for Lincoln, York, Nottingham, Leicester, Derby, &c. Deeds relating to these offices are still among the family archives.¹ These appointments probably fell to him in consequence of his Lincolnshire connection, and his unambitious resolve to reside and practise in the county was no doubt prompted by the knowledge that he was entirely without interest in London, while at Lincoln he had the prospect of a fairly successful career.

Among the counsel of the day who afterwards attained eminence, Francis Bernard was acquainted with Mansfield, Thurlow, and Wilmot. This appears from records of his later life, and a letter to be quoted hereafter shows that he was on terms of intimate friendship with Wilmot until their paths diverged; this friendship had probably commenced at Westminster.² Blackborne, afterwards Judge of the Marshalsea Court, was another friend. It is possible that young Bernard may have received kindness from Sir William Lee,³ who became a Judge of the King's Bench in 1730 and, later, Chief Justice; and also from his brother, Sir George Lee, Dean of the Court of Arches in 1729; but this is mere conjecture, based on his subsequent intimacy with

¹ The parchments are at Nether Winchendon. There are three deeds, of '1 July' and '4 July' in the 14th year of George II., and one of '24 October' in the 15th year of George II.

² *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Hon. Sir Eardley Wilmot, &c., &c.*, by John Wilmot, Esq. Sir Eardley Wilmot was born in 1709, and went to St. Peter's College, Westminster, in January 1724.

³ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. ii., 'Hartwell.'

their nephew, another Sir William Lee, who was then a child.

Lincoln,¹ which became for many years the home of Francis Bernard, was a very different place in the last century from the Lincoln of the present day. Since 1800 its population has risen from eight to fifty thousand. Like most other places of importance, it had suffered from every religious and political convulsion. To begin with comparatively recent times, its Minster had been injured during the troubles of the Reformation, and the numerous abbeys of the vicinity, with their surrounding groves, were swept away, thus exposing the bareness of a dreary flat country. In Cromwellian days the city was well-nigh wrecked: John Evelyn has recorded in his 'Diary' the following impression of a visit: 'An old confused town, very long, uneven, steep and ragged, formerly full of good houses, especially churches and abbeys. The Minster almost comparable with that of York itself; abounding with marble pillars, and having a fair front.'²

Between Evelyn's time and the arrival of Francis Bernard Lincoln had partially recovered itself; new buildings had arisen in more recent styles of architecture, but the relics of its former grandeur, which previous marauders had spared, were in constant process of disappearance, owing mainly to the ignorance and indifference of its inhabitants, especially of those among them who were placed in authority.

The situation of the city is grand even now. Viewed from the south, its cathedral and the ruins of its castle, wrecked in the Parliamentary war, still crown the summit of a lofty hill rising abruptly from the adjacent plain. Up the steep side of this eminence the traveller may walk or

¹ The account of the Lincoln buildings and some other particulars in this chapter and elsewhere are chiefly taken from Williamson's *Guide through Lincoln*; Akrell's *Visitor's Guide to Lincoln and its Cathedral Church, with a Brief Sketch of the Neighbourhood*, compiled by J. H. K. Perkyns; *History of Lincoln, &c., &c.* (1816).

² *The Diary of John Evelyn, Esq., F.R.S.*, edited by W. Bray. Note 'August 19, 1654.'

climb by the precipitous High Street, bordered by venerable buildings of various dates, whose rugged outlines are softened by intervening foliage. And, in writing of Lincoln as it was in the eighteenth century, it should be remembered that while many more remains of antiquity existed, no tall chimneys had as yet arisen in the plain, sending up their smoke to pollute the city on the hill, and that the rows of mean yet staring red houses, their inevitable accompaniment, which have now begun to invade the ascent and threaten to make of Lincoln another Birmingham, were as yet unknown. To understand the Lincoln of George II.'s reign we must dismiss the recollection of these sights as an ugly dream.

Lincoln, small though it was then, in some respects filled a place of more importance then than now. It was a provincial capital in the days when there was no general rush to London.

The first Bishop of Lincoln with whom Francis Bernard would be acquainted was named Reynolds.¹ Very little is known of him, but he is called by Doddridge 'a valuable' person, and was therefore, in all likelihood, of an Evangelical type. In 1726 he gave permission for the stones of the battered episcopal palace—a victim of Commonwealth times—to be used by the Dean and Chapter for repairing the cathedral.² The beautiful fragments which remain show that this 'valuable man' lacked artistic feeling, as well as veneration for antiquity and regard for the memories of his remote predecessors, in an extraordinary degree. Since the Civil War, however, the bishops had made Riseholme, about a mile from Lincoln, their official residence, and the traditions of the old palace by the Minster were fast fading.

John Thomas, who succeeded Reynolds in 1743, had been brought by George II. from a chaplaincy at Hamburg to a London City church on account of the great delight he

¹ Abbey (Rev. C. J.), *The English Church and its Bishops, 1700-1800*, ch. v. Also List of Bishops in Appendix. Reynolds and his successor, Thomas, are both noticed shortly in this work.

² Williamson, *Guide through Lincoln*.

took in his society. He is described as 'a worthy man, but too fond of the company of people of rank, and sadly forgetful of his promises. He squinted terribly, and was very deaf, but his never-failing humour and facetiousness made him an amusing companion.' Under this merry prelate Lincoln must have seen pleasant days; that is, if he really made his home near his cathedral city. Residence was a weak point with the bishops of that epoch.

The dean was bound to reside during a portion of the year. I do not know whether his sojourn imparted additional life to Lincoln, which on his departure was consigned to dignitaries of a lesser rank; nor am I able to state in what year the dignity was bestowed on John Green, who afterwards succeeded Thomas as bishop. He is said to have been a popular man, of a somewhat indolent temperament, which perhaps contributed to his popularity, as it rendered him easier of persuasion. In the absence of dates, however, I cannot assert that he was in office when the Dean and Chapter showed themselves exceedingly supine and over-complaisant. At the desire of Sir Cecil Wray they demolished more than one archway of Edward II.'s time in the street called Eastgate, near the cathedral; and, what is perhaps more remarkable, considering the classical taste of the age, they allowed the same baronet to destroy the ancient Eastgate of the Roman city, which had already been built into the stable of the White Bear Inn, in order to construct for himself a red-brick house, apparently without one word of protest, quietly looking on while he laid out his gardens in the hollow of the Roman Foss.¹

Lincoln then contained a large proportion of gentry.

¹ The demolition of the Roman Eastgate took place in 1740 (Williamson's *Guide*). This is the only date given there in connection with the subject. This gateway does not appear to have belonged to the Cathedral dignitaries, but no doubt they had influence, which might have been exerted against such vandalism. The same *Guide* mentions the demolition of the Edwardian arch or gateway by the Dean and Chapter. According to a quotation from Gough in *The History of Lincoln*, the Eastgate would not have been demolished before 1765, but if so, John Green was Bishop at the time. I cannot reconcile this discrepancy.

The lists of deaths in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' during a succession of years include a considerable number of Lincoln residents evidently of good social standing. The county families were probably more numerous and inevitably more stationary than now, so it may be assumed that a fair amount of entertaining went on in the city and its neighbourhood. The present Assembly Rooms were built in 1744, apparently because the company had become too numerous for the old rooms, which were subsequently used as the judges' lodgings.

In spite of Episcopal and Decanal supremacy, and clerical preponderance in general, Nonconformity was by no means crushed in Lincoln, even amongst the upper classes. It had probably acquired fresh vigour since the Revolution of 1688. Mr. Daniel Disney, one of the principal inhabitants, was a Presbyterian; he came of a family which in the reign of Edward I. had provided the first member sent by Lincolnshire to Parliament, and had ever since been distinguished both in the county and city. But Mr. Disney, undeterred by traditions of his feudal ancestry, turned resolutely from the beautiful Minster and built for himself and his fellow-worshippers in the High Street, at the foot of the hill, and opposite the ruined Church of St. Peter in Eastgate, dismantled by Cromwell's soldiers, about the smallest, squarest, plainest red-brick meeting-house ever seen.¹

It was probably the same Mr. Disney who erected for his own residence in the higher part of Lincoln a house of similar material and colour, but large and ornamental of its kind, the architect being Abraham Hayward, who had just rebuilt the Corporation Church of St. Peter at Arches in the Georgian style. But, whatever this architect may have perpetrated at the desire of other employers, Mr. Disney, Presbyterian though he was, does not appear to have incited him to injure any ancient monument.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century a small colony of Roman Catholics certainly existed in Lincoln,

¹ Since used for Unitarian worship.

undeterred by Protestant domination and penal laws.¹ It must have been of long standing, since the old Angel Inn, of which few vestiges now remain, is noted as having been used quite early in the century for a place of meeting by Jacobites, many of whom would be Romanists also. Every shade of opinion in England may, indeed, have been represented around the Minster.

With regard to the family connection which induced Francis Bernard to settle in Lincoln, an anecdote has been preserved which testifies to a certain amount of discipline in ecclesiastical matters.² The date is 1720, or thereabouts, when, probably, Mrs. Terry had but recently come to reside in Lincoln, and was still a young woman, fond of setting off her beauty by the adoption of stylish and becoming attire. On the memorable occasion in question she entered the Minster, already thronged with worshippers, in a 'habit,' or cloth costume, of a pearly tint, trimmed with gold lace and lined with fur, so magnificent that it disturbed the devotions of the congregation; and the Chanter, whose name appears to have been Inet, observing that all eyes were fixed upon her, sent the verger to request that she would leave the sacred edifice, in order to afford her neighbours an opportunity of reverting to a better frame of mind.

The existence of this historic habit should be remembered by the reader, as it will be mentioned in a subsequent volume. It probably cost a fabulous sum at first, but its longevity was such as to justify a large expenditure.

Jane Tyringham, who, as already implied, is likely to have been an inmate of her aunt's house, married, about 1722, William Beresford, Esq. He was more than twenty years her senior, but possessed the advantages of a mansion and estate at Long Leadenham, only a few miles from

¹ Best (J. R.), *Personal and Literary Memorials*.

² Frances Elizabeth Bernard, who records this anecdote, names Mrs. Hastings, the daughter of Mrs. Terry, as its heroine. This is an evident mistake. Frances wrote apparently in 1780, and refers to the event as having taken place sixty years before; but in 1720 Mrs. Hastings was only seven or eight years old. Moreover, she styles the lady her great-aunt, which clearly indicates Mrs. Terry.

Lincoln. The monumental inscriptions in Leadenham Church¹ show that three generations of Beresfords had been lords of the manor before him. This, of course, may not be the whole record. It is believed that the marriage was solemnised in Lincoln Cathedral,² but the carelessness with which the registers were kept leaves some uncertainty as to both place and time. Long after, in 1742, when Mrs. Beresford had ceased to reside at Leadenham,³ the 'Rev. Moses Terry, B.L.,' received permission 'to hold the rectory of Ledenham with the vicarage of Willingore, Lincolnshire.' The wording almost implies that Mr. Terry had held Willingore before Leadenham; but he may have also officiated in the last-named place for an absentee rector, and perhaps served both churches from Lincoln, according to the fashion of the age. In this way the acquaintance of Mrs. Terry's niece with her future husband may have begun; moreover, the Leadenham squire was certain to be often in Lincoln, either for business or pleasure, and would thus have frequent opportunities of meeting her. The union was of short duration. Mr. Beresford died in 1729, leaving one son, Christopher, four or five years of age.

When Francis Bernard came to Lincoln he would, no doubt, resort often and gladly to the home of his widowed cousin. Perhaps, indeed, it was not always necessary to travel so far as Leadenham, since there seems a probability, from sundry indications in her history, that Mr. Beresford may have owned a house in Lincoln—this being a not uncommon practice with the richer gentry, who made their county town a substitute for the capital they could seldom reach. But ere long Mr. Bernard was doomed to take part

¹ These inscriptions were copied for me by Mr. James Davis, National schoolmaster at Leadenham, in 1891.

² This question is discussed in letters of Sir Francis Bernard's daughter Jane (Mrs. White) to her brother Scrope. They were anxious to ascertain the main facts of Mrs. Beresford's history for monumental purposes. The Beresford marriage and the birth of a son are noted by Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Nether Winchendon,' in the pedigree of the Tyringhams of that manor, but without dates.

³ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 'Ecclesiastical Preferments,' November 1742. The name of the parish was sometimes spelt 'Ledenham,' 'Lednam,' &c.

in the great sorrow of his sisterly cousin's life. In 1740 the Leadenham home was broken up by a most unexpected calamity. Young Christopher Beresford died at school.

I do not know the particulars ; but such events were unhappily common in those days at places of education, and even at the present time they are not unknown. In the inscription on the lad's grave, which was very likely the production of Francis Bernard, jointly, perhaps, with the bereaved mother, the name of the school is withheld—possibly from kind and considerate motives. It is not unlikely to have been Lincoln High School, in which case Mrs. Beresford may have had the sad consolation of attending her son's deathbed. He was buried in Leadenham Church, and a slab in its pavement bears the following record :

Here lyeth the body of Christopher Beresford of this parish, Esq., the only son of William Beresford, late of the parish, Esq., and Jane his wife, only daughter of John Tyringham of Lower Winchendon in the county of Bucks, Esq. He was a youth blessed with a sprightly genius, a lively wit, and an early good sense, all which were so crown'd by a virtuous disposition, and so happily placed in the best way of improvement, that he promised in his future life to add to the honours of the ancient families from whence he sprung, and to be in an eminent degree of ornament and service to his country. But as it pleased God, without further proof, to take him to himself, His mournful mother bore this sudden and severe tryal with an amazing steadiness, which only religion could support, and piously submitting to the Will of Heaven, placed this stone for him and herself. He died March 23rd MDCCXL in the 16th year of his age.¹

To Mrs. Beresford this bereavement brought the further sorrow of being compelled to leave the scene of her life as a wife and mother. I have no certain knowledge where she spent the next five years ; but there is every probability that she made her home in Lincoln, near some of the few relatives who remained to her, and in the house which Mr.

¹ This epitaph was copied, with the others, by Mr. Davis. The date, 1740-41, or 1741, as we now reckon, establishes the fact that Christopher Beresford was born in 1724-5 or very early in 1725.

Beresford had owned and may have left her as a dower-house. To the end of her own earthly career she evidently possessed a residence in Lincoln.

Jane Terry, the third member of the cousinhood, not quite two months younger than Francis Bernard, and the only surviving child of the Rev. Moses Terry and Jane his wife, had in all likelihood married and left Lincoln some years before Mrs. Beresford's great trouble.¹ Her husband was Howard Hastings, paternal uncle of the famous Warren Hastings. It is well known that the Hastingses of Daylesford never recovered from the consequences of their loyal adherence to Charles I.; from the period of the Great Rebellion they dwindled continuously.² One of the biographers of Warren Hastings says that his uncle, Howard Hastings, seems to have been a prudent, well-behaved, kind-hearted man, who, obtaining a situation in the Customs, lived and died respected. Warren Hastings, motherless from his birth, and deserted by his father, lived with his grandfather at Churchill, in Oxfordshire,³ and for some little time attended the village school; but in 1740, at the age of eight, he was consigned to the guardianship of his uncle, and was therefore under the maternal care of Jane Hastings. Unfortunately, the school to which his uncle sent him at Newington Butts was harshly managed; the boy was 'well taught but ill-fed.' Thence he passed to St. Peter's College, Westminster, then also a rough ordeal for a young child; but his life there was more agreeable, owing probably to the vicinity of his uncle and aunt. Howard Hastings is described in 1747 as 'of the parish of St. James's, Westminster'; he died in 1749, and Warren, who had been over six years at the school, and had two years previously come out at the head of a list

¹ This is stated in the inscription on her portrait at Nether Winchendon, and in a memorandum left by Sir Scrope Bernard Morland. It is corroborated by Sir Charles Lawson, as will appear.

² Gleig, C., *Memoirs of the Life of Warren Hastings*.

³ Lawson (Sir Charles), *The Private Life of Warren Hastings, First Governor-General of India*. Most of the particulars here given are taken from ch. ii. Gleig's biography has also been utilised. Some of his statements are, however, amended by Lawson.

of newly elected King's Scholars, was sent by Mr Chiswick, his next guardian, to India.

One item in the will of Howard Hastings is 'an annuity of £50 to his wife Jane, daughter of the Rev. Moses Terry, of Lincoln, on condition that she vested all her property in trust for the said Mr. Terry and his wife, and after their decease in trust for his nephew, Warren Hastings.'¹

When the future Governor-General returned from Calcutta to England in 1764, being already a Member of Council in India,² he is said to have found his uncle's widow in such poor circumstances that he purchased an annuity of 200*l.* for her. How this state of things came about I have no knowledge. Mrs. Hastings ought certainly to have derived a sufficient income from her husband and her parents, both of whom were then probably dead, to have kept her above want. But whether she had met with reverses, or that her nephew's ideas had been enlarged in India, the fact is interesting as a memorial of his gratitude to one who for years acted as a foster-mother to him.

¹ Lawson, *The Private Life, &c.*, ch. i.

² *Ibid.* iii.

CHAPTER IX

MARRIAGE AND FRIENDSHIP

Marriage of Francis Bernard and Amelia Offley—The Offley Pedigree—The Shutes—Benjamin Shute and Ann Caryl—The First Viscount Barrington—The Pownalls—Alliances by Marriage with the Bernard Family—The Dymokes of Scrivelsby—Adlard Stukeley—Bishop Warburton of Gloucester—A Jacobite Rising—Edmund Offley's Will—The Sisters of Edmund Offley.

IN the year 1741 Francis Bernard, who had been four years called to the Bar, took an important step. That passion of love, which plays so momentous a part in human affairs, led him into an alliance eventually instrumental in changing the whole course of his career. He became deeply attached, and, as I have heard, almost at first sight, to Amelia, daughter of Stephen Offley, Esq., of Norton Hall, Derbyshire. I am unable to say what chain of circumstances led to the acquaintance; it may have been made while Mr. Bernard was on circuit, and it is possible that he was introduced at the house by his friend Eardley Wilmot,¹ who was a native of Derbyshire; or there may have been some memory surviving of a distant relationship between Francis Bernard and Stephen Offley's first wife, whose son had succeeded to Norton Hall. Amelia was the child of a second marriage, but both her parents were dead, and she resided with her half-brother and his wife. It was to this brother that her lover addressed the following letter:

Dear Sir,—The generous and kind reception my sudden declaration has met with from you deserves my best acknowledgments. I had before profess't [*sic*] a high esteem for you as being the Near Relation and sincere Friend to My Dear Lady. But you have

¹ Sir Eardley Wilmot was second son of John Wilmot, Esq., of Osmaston, co. Derby, and was born at Derby. See *Memoirs*, by John Wilmot, Esq.

greatly heightened my respects by laying me under a Personal Obligation to you, which, as I am at present highly sensible of it, I shall always be careful to remember.

I have enclosed a Paper for your perusal which I hope you will approve of, and further there is but one Tye more that can make me more yours, and that I hope I shall very soon have the pleasure of entering into.

I propose to pay my respects to you on Monday the 9th of November, if I can get through in a day and nothing should intervene.

I am Sr yr most obliged & faithful servant

FRA. BERNARD.¹

Lincoln, Oct. 31, 1741.

The marriage was solemnised in the December of the same year.²

I have only fragmentary notes of the Offley pedigree, but these are of some interest. According to one authority, the learned antiquarian Dr. Pegge³ vouched for the residence of the family at Madeley, in Staffordshire, from the commencement of the thirteenth century, from which time its successive heads were lords of the manor. This is also the account in Burke's 'Peerage.' I forget what author suggests a descent from Offa, king of Mercia, and whether that supposed descent does not apply to another family of Offley who may have had a different origin.⁴ I am now told that the ownership of the manor in feudal times cannot be substantiated.

The Offleys were Staffordshire people, and there are parishes in the county called High Offley and Offley Hay, or Offley Bishops; but although the annals of Staffordshire

¹ MS. letter at Nether Winchendon.

² From the list of family dates communicated by relatives.

³ Rev. Joseph Hunter, *A True Account of the Alienation and Recovery of the Estates of the Offleys of Norton*. According to MS. additions in Hunter's book, Dr. Pegge wrote genealogies of Clarke, Offley, &c., which were in the possession of Miss Shore, of Mearsbrook, in 1845. He refers, amongst other authorities, to Maitland's (p. 1062) and Stow's (p. 4035) Histories of London.

⁴ There is a Great and Little 'Ofley' in Hertfordshire; King Offa is said to have often lived, and to have died, at Great Offley, but I do not find the name 'Ofley' or 'Offley' mentioned as belonging to owners of the Manor.

mention persons of the name as possessing land in various parts, it was probably in a small way. I have not yet come across any indication that they were lords of a manor in any part of the county; if they were, it must have been a sub-manor, held of the paramount lord. As to Madeley, it is stated in 'England's Gazetteer'¹ that the town of Madeley belonged to the Staffords in the reign of Edward III.—it had then a market and two fairs; and that on the attainder of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, it was given by the Crown to Lord Bray. Afterwards passing to Lord Wentworth, it was by him sold to Sir Thomas Offley, Lord Mayor of London.² In the record of the Merchant Taylors' Company, preserved at the Chapter House, under the date 1534 Sir Thomas Offley is styled 'son to William Offley, of the city of Chester.' William was, however, apparently a Staffordshire man, who settled in Chester, and there to a certain extent made his fortune, no doubt in trade.

Sir Thomas Offley was born in 1500, in Stafford, as his epitaph states, and went from Chester to London, probably, where he attained more wealth and a higher position. He was Sheriff of London in 1553 and Lord Mayor in 1556. In this office he was famous for his hospitality and liberality. He died in 1582, and his elaborate monument may still be seen in the church of St. Andrew Undershaft,³ Leadenhall Street, near the altar, on the north side. There also his wife, dame 'Jones,' with whom he lived fifty-two years, is buried.⁴ Sir Thomas had three sons, but only one apparently lived to manhood; this was Henry, who succeeded to Madeley, and was father of Sir John, 'a famous lawyer,' the same evidently to whom Izaak Walton dedicated 'The Complete Angler.'⁵

¹ *England's Gazetteer; or, An Accurate Description of all the Cities, Towns and Villages in the Kingdom*, vol. ii.

² Woodcock, *Illustrious Lord Mayors and Aldermen of London*.

³ I have visited the church and seen the monument recently.

⁴ The inscription on the monument, which has been copied for me by Mr. Clark, of 9 St. Mary Axe (Commercial Art Studios), mentions the fact of Lady Offley's burial with her husband, and of the survival of one son only, out of three.

⁵ Murray, *Handbook of Derby, Notts, Leicester, Stafford*. Apparently

Other John Offleys followed, one of whom married an heiress, Ann Crewe.¹ Their son John assumed his mother's name in 1708, and was grandfather of the first Baron Crewe of Crewe. But all recollection of the Offleys was thus gradually lost. Their Grammar School is said still to exist as an elementary school, but the family residence is gone. 'There was a house of stone on the Madeley property of which the gateway is still standing, but the large half-timbered house which he'—Sir Thomas Offley—'added to it, and which is figured in Plot, has been gone for 200 years.'² After its desertion by the family, consequent, as it seems, on the Crewe marriage, it was 'let for a few years to a Cheshire baronet of the name of Aston, and then it was pulled down, and not a vestige of the half-timbered house remains.'

The Offleys—that is, some of the family—kept up a connection with London and Merchant Taylors' Company. Apparently two sons of Henry Offley, the Madeley squire, and grandsons of Sir Thomas, Hugh and William, were men of importance in the City. Whether the Henry Offley who was in 1601 entrusted with a key of the Company's treasury was the squire or another of his sons I do not know; he was afterwards a donor of plate and a benefactor to the almshouses and other institutions.

Hugh Offley was Sheriff of London in 1588, the year of the Spanish Armada, and, I believe, the ancestor of the Offleys of Norton. The sword³ 'preserved at Norton Hall, with the arms of the City of London on one side and the there were some remains of the 'timber-house' when the *Handbook* was first published.

¹ Debrett, Burke, and other *Peerages*, 'Baron Crewe, of Crewe, Cheshire.' It is under this head that Burke vouches for the Offleys being 'settled at Madeley Manor' at 'the beginning of the thirteenth century.' The 'Crewe of Crewe' barony is now extinct, and, a new peerage having been created in favour of Lord Houghton in 1895, the style is now 'Earl of Crewe of Crewe and Baron Houghton.' The statement concerning the Offley ownership is still retained. Sir Thomas's name is there spelt 'Offley.'

² This information concerning the descent of the Madeley property, and the state of the buildings, was communicated by the Rev. Thomas N. Daltry, vicar of Madeley. Plot was the historian of Staffordshire.

³ Hunter, *A True Account*, &c.

Royal Arms on the other side,' is believed to have been carried by him during his year of office. He altered and new fronted with timber the house of Lord Nevill¹ and Sir Simon de Burley in Lime Street. Hugh Offley is mentioned in 'The friendly and frank Fellowship of Prince Arthur's Knights in and about the City of London, by Richard Mulcaster, Master of St. Paul's School, published A.D. 1581.'² He acted the part of Lancelot in the exhibition referred to.³ The exhibition appears to have been a trial of skill in archery, and perhaps in other sports also, at Mile End Green. Mulcaster styles 'Maister Hewgh Offly' 'my good friend in the citie,' and 'my noble fellow in that order, Sir Lancelot . . . the famossest knight of the fellowship which I am of.'

There are other Offleys mentioned about this time in connection with Merchant Taylors' Company, all probably of the same family; but the most noteworthy is William, perhaps a brother of Hugh, who in 1590-1 presented 'a Rosewater Bason⁴ of silver parcel gilt' to the Company. This 'bason,' which is engraved with the arms borne by the Offleys of Norton Hall, has appeared in recent years at the Tudor Exhibition⁵ in the New Gallery, and afterwards as the work of a 'Sculptor Goldsmith' at Burlington House. In all likelihood the donor may be further identified with the William Offley whose funeral dinner took place '1600, Jan. 7,' twenty pounds being received for expenses, and

¹ Pennant (Thomas), *Some Account of London*.

² *The Plays of William Shakespeare*, vol. ix., 'King Henry IV.' part ii. This is not a pictorial edition, but it contains a long note by Malone on 'Prince Arthur's Knights,' from which I have quoted, and another by T. Warton, not so much to the purpose. 'Maister Thomas Smith' was 'Prince Arthur.'

³ See the *Pictorial Shakespear*, 'Henry IV.' part 2.

⁴ Case O, North Gallery, 926 (see *Catalogue of Tudor Exhibition* in the New Gallery, Regent Street). The centre has a handsome boss with the arms of William Offley, the donor, encircled by ornate panels and flowers and fruit; on the rim are the arms of the Merchant Taylors' Company and the Merchant Adventurers, and William Offley's mark. Hall-marks, London, 1590-1.

⁵ Winter Exhibition of 1896 at Burlington House, Piccadilly. 'The Offley Rose-water Dish' was shown in the 'Water-colour Room,' then devoted to 'Works Illustrating the Art of the Sculptor Goldsmith.' I may add that I saw the Rose-water Dish on both occasions.

who seems to have been a benefactor not long before his death to the projected almshouses for the widows and orphans of freemen on Tower Hill. If so he must have died in the prime of life.

From this period I have very little information about the family for some years. The following baptismal entry in the register of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, must, however, refer to subsequent generations of the lineage: '1646—Nov. 30—John, son of Mr. Thomas Offley and Lady D'Arcy his wife.'¹ The D'Arcys evidently resided in that parish, then wealthy and fashionable, since many entries relate to them.

Stephen Offley,² a London merchant, who married Ursula, sister of one Cornelius Clarke—probably also a merchant—may have been either a brother or cousin of Thomas; he is named by Hunter as a descendant of Hugh, and from him the pedigree can be traced downwards without any break. For some reason which does not appear, his son Robert who may have been one of several sons, settled in Norwich. This was not, indeed, an unaccountable movement, since Norwich was then a great commercial city, yielding only to London and Bristol. Robert must be the person indicated in the following passage of Wheatley's *Life of Pepys*, the Diarist:

In November Pepys. . . was elected for Castle Rising, on the elevation of the member, Sir Robert Paston, to the peerage as Viscount Yarmouth. His unsuccessful opponent, Mr. Offley, petitioned against the return, and the election was determined to be void by the Committee of Privileges. The Parliament however, being prorogued the following month without the House's coming to any vote on the subject, Pepys was permitted to retain his seat. A most irrelevant matter was introduced into the inquiry, and Pepys was charged with having a crucifix in his house, from which it was inferred that he was popishly inclined.³

The Duke of York and Lord Henry Howard had, indeed,

¹ Malcolm (J. P.), *Londinium Redivivum*, 'St. Anne's, Blackfriars.'

² Rev. Joseph Hunter, *A True Account*, &c.

³ 'Particulars of the Life of Samuel Pepys,' by Henry B. Wheatley, F.S.A., prefixed to the complete edition of the *Diary*.

been his warm supporters at a previous Aldborough election, in which he had failed.

If Robert Offley was worsted on this occasion, good fortune met him in another way.¹ His uncle, Cornelius Clarke, had settled in the manor house of Norton in Derbyshire, which had once belonged to the Chaworths, and since passed through several hands. This mansion and estate he left to his nephew, and the family was henceforth known as Offley of Norton Hall.

Norton, at the extreme end of Derbyshire, was an extensive parish, separated from Yorkshire by the Sheaf and the Mearsbrook. It was picturesquely situated on a gradual slope from the bank of the Sheaf, and contained the fine ruins of the Abbey of Beauchief, besides many gentlemen's residences; in old times it had given two bishops to the Church. Abbeys and bishops were probably not amongst the attractions it offered to Robert Offley, if any importance be attached to the fact that his son and successor turned out to be thoroughly Presbyterian in his views. The author of the 'True Account' speaks of the gentry in the neighbourhood as being mostly of that persuasion, and ascribes this state of affairs to the preaching of a zealous Puritan incumbent, the Rev. Samuel Charles; but it seems quite as likely that the same ideas may have been imbibed by the Offleys in Norfolk, and only developed at Norton.

Robert Offley, whose wife's name I do not know, had two sons; the eldest, also named Robert, was killed by a fall from his horse while returning from a visit to his *fiancée*, Margaret Wingfield, of Haselborough Hall, in the parish of Norton. She afterwards married Mr. Newton, of Mickleover, but was left a widow in a very few months, and brought up her posthumous son in sentiments of great veneration for the Offley family.

Stephen, Mr. Offley's only surviving son and the next squire of Norton, married for his first wife a Norfolk lady

¹ The following particulars of the Offley family and their surroundings are taken from the Rev. Joseph Hunter's *True Account*, except where another authority is given.

named Smyth, whose mother was a daughter of Sir James Harrington, degraded from his baronetcy and sent into exile because he had been one of the Commissioners named to try Charles I. Of this marriage were born Joseph Offley, and another son, Stephen, M.D., who died comparatively young and unmarried. Sir James Harrington was a grandson of Anne Bernard,¹ of Abington, mentioned in a previous chapter. The second wife of the elder Stephen and mother of Amelia Offley was Ann Shute, a scion of another prominent Dissenting family.

The Shutes² are said to have been great lords of Normandy in feudal times. Foss, indeed, does not mention this ancestry; he merely says that Robert Shute 'was of Hockington, in Cambridgeshire, in which county and in Leicestershire his family was of some standing.'³ Further on he states that Mr. Shute was called to the Bar at Gray's Inn, and that

He must have acquired a considerable reputation in the law, as he is the first Serjeant who was raised to the Bench of the Exchequer as a puisne Baron, and the terms of his patent show that a new system was then introduced into that Court. Up to this time the puisne Barons had been principally selected from the other officers of the department; they were not looked upon as lawyers, and did not go the Circuits. . . . In Serjeant Shute's patent, dated June 1, 1579, constituting him second Baron, it is for the first time ordered that 'he shall be reputed, and be of the same order, rank, estimation, dignity and pre-eminence, to all intents and purposes, as any puisne Judge of either of the two other Courts.'

He became a judge of the Queen's Bench in 1586, and died about four years later.

The Judge left a son, Francis, of Upton, in Leicestershire, whose son, Benjamin Shute, married Patience, or, as she is elsewhere called, Ann Caryl, the daughter of a famous Independent minister.⁴ Her father, Dr. Joseph Caryl, had

¹ Ch. ii. of this volume.

² Debrett, Burke, and other *Peerages*, 'Barrington, Viscount.'

³ *A Biographical Dictionary of the Judges of England*, by Edward Foss, F.S.A., of the Inner Temple, 'Shute, Robert.'

⁴ 'Life of Dr. Owen,' by the Rev. Andrew Thompson, B.A. of Edinburgh. A

been employed by his party in several negotiations, and accompanied Cromwell to Scotland; he was one of two chaplains to the Parliamentary Commissioners¹ who offered their ministrations to the captured King at Holmby, and at Westminster he was among the divines anxious to prepare Charles for his end whose services were courteously declined.

In later years Dr. Caryl² was the bearer of a remonstrance to General Monk. When the Restoration became an accomplished fact he retired from public life, and chiefly occupied himself with a translation of the book of Job, until the successive calamities of the Great Plague and the Great Fire of London brought him forward once more.

The greater number of the churches were consumed in the dreadful conflagration. Large wooden houses called tabernacles were quickly reared; and in these the Nonconformist ministers preached to earnest and solemnized multitudes. The long silent voices of Owen, and Manton, and Caryl, and others, awoke the remembrance of other times.

Benjamin Shute and Ann (or Patience) Caryl were the parents of the first Viscount Barrington;³ of Colonel Shute, who, after serving under the Duke of Marlborough, became Governor of Massachusetts; of Ann, the wife of Stephen Offley; of a daughter who married a Mr. Scrope, of Yorkshire;⁴ and of Martha,⁵ whose husband was Henry Bendish,

tolerably full account of Dr. Caryl's career may be found in that biography, which is prefixed to a collected edition of Dr. Owen's *Sermons*, in nineteen vols. It appears in Ackerman's *History of the University of Oxford* that Dr. Caryl was of Exeter College.

¹ *Memoirs of the Last Two Years of the Reign of that Unparalleled Prince of Ever-blessed Memory, King Charles I.*, by Sir Thomas Herbert. The minister's name is there spelt 'Carrill' and 'Carryl.' He is in one place called 'Dr. John Carryl,' evidently by mistake.

² Thompson, 'Life of Dr. Owen.'

³ *Dictionary of National Biography*, 'Shute.' Colonel Shute's relationship to Viscount Barrington is also mentioned in Winsor's *Memorial History of Boston*, vol. ii.

⁴ I have not been able to find particulars of this alliance, although the arms of Scrope and Shute impaled are in a window at Nether Winchendon.

⁵ The mother of Henry Bendish was Bridget Ireton, the favourite granddaughter of Oliver Cromwell, whom she much resembled in appearance and

a grandson of General Ireton and great-grandson of Oliver Cromwell.

The first Viscount Barrington¹ was a prominent man in his day. He began life as a barrister, and won his first political advancement by his services in promoting the union of Scotland with England; he had also the good luck to obtain two considerable fortunes from persons on whom he had no claim. In 1720 he was created an Irish peer, but two years later was expelled the House of Commons on account of his connection with the Harborough lottery. In this matter he is said to have been made a scapegoat by George I.; but the disgrace of expulsion was not overwhelming, since Sir Robert Walpole had undergone the same penalty in 1711, which did not prevent him from becoming Prime Minister. Lord Barrington became the head of the Dissenting interest in England, and was lavishly extolled by his party.

Stephen Offley was probably drawn into the Barrington connection by similarity of views.² He was High Sheriff of Derbyshire 'in the critical year 1715,' when he, no doubt, contributed to suppress Jacobitism in Derbyshire. His house was the residence of a Nonconformist minister, who officiated as his chaplain, and he threw open his hall on Sundays for worship of a Presbyterian type.

Joseph Offley, his son and successor, does not appear to have continued the chaplain in his mansion, since he built a schoolhouse, with rooms for the minister; but he gave his only son a strictly Nonconformist education. By his wife, Mary Bohun, an heiress, descended from Edward Bohun, Licensor of the Press under Charles II., he had three children. At the time when his half-sister was sought in marriage by the young barrister from Lincoln he was a leading country gentleman in Derbyshire, and possessed

temperament. She was a person of importance in and about Yarmouth, Norfolk, and has received a short notice in the *Biographie Universelle*. A fuller account may be found in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of August 1765.

¹ Burke's *Peerage*, 'Barrington, Viscount.'

² Hunter, *A True Account*, &c.

land in five other counties. I find his furniture some years later valued at 10,000*l*.

It is not easy to understand how Francis Bernard was so readily and cordially admitted as the suitor of Mr. Offley's only sister. Certainly he was not destitute, but the fortune he inherited from his parents must have been moderate, and his professional income as a provincial counsel could never be expected to reach any magnificent sum. Nor, although of ancient and honourable descent, had he any influential family connection, for there seems no evidence that he was acquainted with the Huntingdonshire Bernards. He appears, moreover, to have been a staunch Churchman, and had been partly educated by a Jacobite stepfather. But all obstacles somehow vanished from his path. And not, assuredly, because Amelia Offley was a despised half-sister, regarded as an incumbrance in her brother's house; she had the Barrington relationship to uphold her claims to consideration, if necessary. It may fairly be assumed that the character, intellect, and manners of Francis Bernard won the day. They probably exchanged their vows and received the marriage blessing in the parish church of Norton, which stood beside the Hall,¹ and then Mr. Bernard bore his bride away to the cathedral city of Lincoln.

Even if it be supposed that the Derbyshire Presbyterians had relaxed the strictness of their code, the life at Lincoln must still have proved an abrupt transition to Amelia Bernard. Such remnants of ceremonial as were preserved in the Church of England were then found almost exclusively in cathedral towns; the bishop, dean and canons, the surpliced choir, chants, and anthems were to her probably more startling than the stately banquets to which the dignified clergy and richer laity welcomed their neighbours, or the frequent assemblies at which the officers quartered in or near the city mingled in the dance with the *élite* of Lincolnshire.

¹ Two engravings at Nether Winchendon show that the churchyard adjoined the garden of Norton Hall.

Did the young wife ever steal on Sundays away from the call of the Cathedral bells to worship in Mr. Disney's meeting-house according to the fashion of the Derbyshire home, toiling up the hill again with the satisfactory reflection that circumstances had made no change in her principles? Of these things there is no record, and I am inclined to believe that Mrs. Bernard conformed willingly to her husband's religious views, and not from mere passive acquiescence, for her later history shows her to have been a thoughtful and energetic woman. As to amusement, her time was soon so much absorbed by the cares of a numerous young family that her share in the gaieties of Lincoln must have been small.

I have not been able to discover the house inhabited by Francis and Amelia Bernard; but he is described in several deeds as 'Francis Bernard of the Close,' or Minster Yard. The refined families of the town clustered round their grand church as a centre of attraction. Sundry additional small appointments now served to rivet Mr. Bernard's attachment to Lincolnshire. In 1744 he was elected Steward of the City of Lincoln and Deputy Recorder of Boston; in 1745 he was appointed Receiver-General of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, and thus acquired a sort of official position in connection with the Cathedral establishment.¹ In 1750 he was further admitted by the Archdeacon Procurator or Proctor of the Consistory Court of the Diocese.

Just within the Minster Yard, on the slope towards Potter Gate, stood a picturesque mansion belonging to the Pownall family,² one of whom became Governor of Massachusetts, and another Under-Secretary of State.

It is evident that Mr. Bernard was on terms of intimacy

¹ *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*, by One of his Sons. The first two of these appointments are mentioned in this biography by his son Thomas. Parchment deeds relating to the second and third are in my possession at Nether Winchendon. Welsh (*A List of Westminster Scholars*) states that Mr. Bernard was Recorder of Lincoln, but the son who wrote his biography does not mention this appointment, nor is there any document in the collection referring to it.

² Akrell and Williamson's *Guides to Lincoln*. Both spell the name 'Pownell,' but everywhere else I have seen it spelt 'Pownall.'

with this family, and the two members who entered public life will be often mentioned in these annals. In 1695 a Mr. Pownall, who was High Sheriff of Lincolnshire, had entertained William III. in his house, which still exists, but mutilated and disfigured by a subsequent owner.

Another family, named White, became connected by marriage with the Bernards a few years later. It may seem eccentric to make use of a cookery-book as a means of discovering the compiler's friends, but certain it is that a manuscript volume of this description kept by Mrs. Beresford affords some assistance in this matter. To the volume in question Mrs. White contributes a recipe: 'To Preserve Golden Pippins.' There was a Bishop White of Lincoln in the sixteenth century,¹ and the portrait of Sir Thomas White,² founder of St. John's College, Oxford, is to be seen in the Guildhall at Lincoln. I do not know whether the family just mentioned could claim relationship with either of these worthies.

At a subsequent date the family of Brown intermarried with two of Mr. Bernard's descendants. Its head is described about that period as 'Hezekiah Brown, Esq., of the Minster Yard, Lincoln'; and there is every probability that the Brown of Mr. Bernard's time inhabited the same house as his son. A previous Hezekiah Brown had been Mayor of Lincoln³ in the reign of Queen Anne; but the connection with the city is likely to have been older. I have been informed by a descendant that the Browns are recorded in Domesday Book⁴ as freeholders of Lincolnshire.

Among the county gentry around Lincoln there are some indications that Francis Bernard was acquainted with Mr. Cracroft, of Hackthorn,⁵ whose family also was afterwards

¹ See the Church histories of that period.

² This portrait is mentioned in one of the guide-books. I have, indeed, seen it myself in the Guildhall.

³ His name appears in the *History of Lincoln*, in the List of Mayors.

⁴ This information was given by Mrs. Schneider, whose mother was a Brown. The name under the form 'Burun' does appear in a Domesday Book list.

⁵ Burke (Sir Bernard, Ulster King of Arms), *A Gen. and Her Dictionary*.

allied by marriage with the Browns. Mr. Cracroft had a son, Bernard, born during Mr. Bernard's sojourn at Lincoln, who was probably his godson; he had another named Francis, but this is a less distinctive appellation. In a later generation some members of the two families were certainly acquainted.

The Dymokes of Scrivelsby, whose head was the Champion of England, were also acquainted with Mr. Bernard's children in after-times, when they were for a time neighbours in Buckinghamshire. The commencement of this intimacy may fairly be ascribed to the Lincoln days, since Mrs. Dymoke appears in Mrs. Beresford's compilation as contributor of a recipe: 'To Green Apricots or Codlings.'

The last-named lady's manuscript cookery-book was, indeed, so solemn and serious a work that a Champion's wife had no need to fear appearing as a contributor. It was apparently begun in the year of Mrs. Beresford's marriage, and continued even into the year of her death. The entries are not numerous, considering the length of time over which they extend; but they evidently relate to specially dainty dishes, which were not to be found in ordinary printed books, and one—long and elaborate—is in verse. The collector's aunt, Mrs. Terry, provided her with many recipes; her cousin, Mrs. Hastings, with a fair number, and also her other cousin, Mr. Bernard; but most of his are headed: 'Mrs. Allen, communicated by Mr. Bernard.' Sometimes, indeed, the name is spelt 'Barnard.' A Mrs. Mandeville is distinguished for the number of her contributions; but there are many other names. It is altogether a work of much research.

To the scanty notices I am enabled, at this distance of time, to give concerning Mr. Bernard's Lincolnshire friends two additions may be made. Mr. Adlard Stukeley, of Holbeach, near Boston, Lincolnshire, had probably learned to know him in his capacity of Deputy Recorder of

of the Landed Gentry, 'Cracroft of Hackthorn.' From this work also the names of Mr. Cracroft's children are taken.

Boston, and intimately, if a letter from that gentleman's daughter, Mrs. Mary Burnes, may be taken as evidence.¹ She wrote to Mr. Bernard's youngest son in 1791, asking for franks, on the strength of 'the very strict friendship' which had subsisted between her father and his 'previous to Sir Francis going to New England.'

The list must be concluded with the name of the Rev. William Warburton, afterwards well known as Bishop of Gloucester, who held the living of Broad Broughton, in Lincolnshire, for many years. His letters contain sundry allusions to Lincoln society. In one of these letters Warburton, who, it may be observed, had begun his career as an attorney, remarks to his correspondent and friend, Bishop Hurd, 'Frank Bernard is a man of unusual honour and sentiments of friendship in his commerce of the world.'²

And now the tranquillity of England was ruffled by the news of a Jacobite rising. There must have been excitement at the Angel, always a great posting-place, and its guests, one and all, were no doubt suspected of being traitors and rebels by the admirers of the House of Hanover. But if it be remembered that the Jacobite army actually reached Derby, it will be easy to imagine the commotion amongst the Presbyterian gentry of that county. The religious and political thermometer must have risen to fever-heat. Joseph Offley, in concert with his neighbours, Mr. Newton and Mr. Rotheram, raised a troop of horse to oppose the Northern invaders. The sequel is matter of history. Prince Charles Edward was compelled by his own followers to retrace his steps to Scotland, where he encountered defeat and ruin. Among the many sermons intended to improve the occasion was one by the Rev. G. Benet, rector of St. Peter's, Lincoln, published under the

¹ MS. letter at Nether Winchendon.

² This passage is found in the forty-ninth Letter of the Collection entitled 'Letters from a Late Eminent Prelate to One of his Friends,' that is, from Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, to Hurd, Bishop of Worcester. Francis Bernard's youngest daughter, Julia, notes it as referring to her father.

title of 'Jotham's Parable, a contrast between a Protestant Prince and a Popish one, a Rebellion Thanksgiving.'¹ This discourse I have not read, but doubtless it enlarged on the many virtues of George II., the heroic butcher-Duke, his son, and the rest of the Royal Family—and perhaps also of Sir Robert Walpole; it was presumably only one among many of the sort even in Lincoln.

During this exciting time, as I have heard, Mrs. Mary Tyringham, of Nether Winchendon, wrote to her cousin, Mrs. Beresford, entreating her to hasten thither as to a refuge, for even if the Jacobites marched to London they would never find her amid the thick woods that surrounded Winchendon.² This invitation was perhaps the more eagerly given in that Mary felt her health declining; and it may be hoped that Jane Beresford, who was probably an occasional visitor at the Manor House, responded to the wish and remained to soothe the waning hours of her last Tyringham relative, who died in the November of 1745, leaving her house and land to Jane Beresford.

The new Lady of the Manor cannot, indeed, have been at Winchendon, except for short periods, as the guest of her cousins since the time when she had quitted it before, with her mother, in the third year of her life; and it must have required some courage to take possession of this forsaken home as a solitary widow, the last of her race. She had, however, cherished a strong attachment to the memory of her father, whose appearance she could scarcely recall, and extended her veneration to his father, whom she had never seen. But she had the remembrance of her married life and of her son's childhood and boyhood to endear Lincolnshire to her; and it does not appear that she ever entirely gave up Lincoln, where the successive births of Francis

¹ See *A Catalogue of Books, Pamphlets, &c., &c.*, offered by H. W. Hall, Boston-on-Humber, 1888. Benet's Sermon was published by W. Wood, of Lincoln, in 1746.

² This letter was once in the possession of Sir Francis Bernard Morland, grandson of Francis Bernard of Lincoln. In the course of time and removals it appears to have been lost, and cannot be consulted, but he vouched for its contents.

Bernard's children afforded her new ties and new opportunities of usefulness.

Francis,¹ the eldest son of Francis and Amelia Bernard, was born September 27, 1743; John, their second son, January 26, 1745. The next child was a girl, Jane, born August 23, 1746, and probably Mrs. Beresford, after a lengthened stay at Nether Winchendon, was again in Lincoln in time for the baptism of this infant, her god-daughter.

Some time after the birth of Mr. Bernard's second son he took a lease for three lives—presumably his own life and the lives of his sons Francis and John—of land in Nettleham, a parish on the north-east side of Lincoln, in which the bishops had formerly owned a palace. This building no longer exists, and apparently did not exist in the last century, unless some fragments may have remained to afford Mr. Bernard's children a country retreat in the summer, where they could enjoy fresh air and comparative liberty, which seems a probable explanation of the purchase.

Such information as I possess respecting Nettleham is derived from an Act of Parliament passed about thirty years later.² It describes the Bishop of London as lord of the manor and owner of the soil, &c., and states that of him Mr. Bernard held 'the Demesne Lands and the Lord's Meadow,' comprising, no doubt, the site and immediate surroundings of the former palace; also that Lord Monson, Mr. (then Sir Francis) Bernard, and twelve other persons, were the 'Owners and Proprietors of the Residue of the said Open and Common Fields, Commonable Lands, and Waste Grounds,' and 'in right of the several Lands, Tenements or Cottages' enjoyed 'Common of Pasture' under certain regulations. The Bishop's lands (exclusive, apparently, of the demesne) were about three thousand acres in extent.

The fourth and fifth children of Mr. and Mrs. Bernard

¹ This information is from family papers.

² 'An Act for Dividing Apportioning and Inclosing the Open and Common Fields, Commonable Lands and Waste Grounds, within the Manor and Parish of Nettleham in the County of Lincoln, 1776.'

were Joseph, who 'died within the month,' and Amelia, who lived only a year. But on April 27, 1750, they were once more rejoiced by the birth of a son.¹ This was Thomas, who lived to be the mainstay of the family and a benefactor to humanity. He became his father's confidant and biographer, and his own words and deeds occupy a considerable portion of this family history.

In 1751 died Mrs. Bernard's brother, Mr. Joseph Offley, who had been for some time a widower; he left a son and two daughters. The son, Edmund Offley,² had been brought up in a decidedly narrow groove, and was by some persons considered of weak intellect; but on the evening after his father's funeral, being then eighteen years of age, he assembled the servants, and, in opposition to the advice of friends, who considered him unequal to the task, he both prayed and expounded in the Presbyterian manner with great force. There is every likelihood that Mr. Bernard was amongst the persons present on this occasion, and that his opinion was given in vain against this public display; but he had legally, at least, no voice in directing young Offley's subsequent course, the guardians appointed by his father being two neighbours, Mr. Rotheram and Mr. Heathcote.

By the determination of these gentlemen Edmund Offley was sent to finish his education in Edinburgh. This was a usual plan with English Presbyterians; but it is curious that the guardians should have sent with him a clergyman of the Church of England, named Read, as his tutor. Possibly Mr. Bernard's influence may be traced in this measure.

Ere long the pupil sent back to Derbyshire complaints

¹ In addition to the family papers, the date of this son's birth is noted by the Rev. James Baker, *Life of Sir Thomas Bernard, Bart.*

² The story of Edmund Offley's life, and of the occurrences following his death, is taken from a book already noticed—*A True Account of the Alienation and Recovery of the Estates of the Offleys of Norton, in 1754; with Remarks on the Version of the Story by the Author of 'Tremaine' and 'De Vere,'* by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A. 8vo., London, 1841, pp. 80.

of Mr. Read's conduct, not apparently based on any religious difference, but on the roughness of his manner and strictness of his discipline. Edmund Offley had formed the acquaintance of Archibald, third Duke of Argyll, and was introduced by him to scenes of fashionable dissipation. At the same time no serious dereliction seems to have been chargeable to this young man, who, on obtaining the dismissal of Mr. Read, entered the house of Mr. Carr, minister of the English Episcopal Chapel in Edinburgh, as a boarder.

He was still living with this clergyman when he attained his majority in February or March 1754. On the 21st of the following June he made a will leaving all his property, real and personal, to Mr. and Mrs. Carr, and appointed Mr. Carr sole executor. On September 21 he died in Mr. Carr's house.

This event naturally produced a sensation in Edinburgh. The cause of death was said not to be clear; some persons thought there had been neglect during the illness; others hinted at worse treatment. In Derbyshire the feeling was intensified by a report that 'old Richard,' the gardener at Norton Hall, had seen Edmund Offley cross the garden and enter the mansion at the very time when, as was afterwards ascertained, he had died in Edinburgh. As the consternation increased it came to be asserted that spectral figures were sometimes visible on the housetop amid flames of fire.

The impression made upon 'old Richard' by the apparition of his young master is supposed to have influenced him in refusing admittance to two strangers, who thereupon cursed loudly and asked for the Misses Offley; on being told that they were in London these men, it is said, remarked that 'they were in bad hands.' No names are given in the narrative, but it is not unlikely that their protectors were Mr. and Mrs. Bernard, the tradition of whose kindness to them in their orphaned state has been preserved, and who appear to have visited London occasionally. It was believed in the neighbourhood of Norton Hall that the intruding strangers had been sent by Mr. Carr to make arrangements for the funeral. Possibly they had also in-

tended, if no opposition had been offered, to take quiet possession of the house.

Either through these agents, or by post, a notification of the death seems to have been sent to the guardians, who were perplexed how to act, being, it is supposed, under the impression that it was useless to dispute the will. The Duke of Devonshire, however, was heard to declare that he would spend 10,000*l.* rather than see the daughters of his good friend Mr. Offley despoiled of their inheritance. But it was Mr. Newton, the son of Margaret Wingfield, who came forward effectively as their champion; he obtained a written authorisation of his mission from the guardians, and started for Scotland. At Ferrybridge he met the coffin and its attendants, forbade interment until his return, and on reaching Edinburgh induced Mr. Carr, according to one account, to give up the will for 2,000*l.*, the announcement that the body was still unburied having, it is stated, produced an instantaneous effect upon him. Other accounts make the sum given to Mr. Carr larger; but the result in any case was that the estates and other property were saved for the sisters of Edmund Offley, who were still under age. They are described as 'beautiful and amiable, and of elegant and most engaging manners.'

Whether a formal answer was ever made to this version of the Offley story I do not know, but I have not come across any such book or pamphlet. The volume from which the foregoing narrative is taken goes, indeed, into the arguments in favour of, as well as against, the minister and his wife, and admits that there were persons who revered Mr. Carr as a saint, notwithstanding the doubtful circumstances attending his conduct in this matter.

The Bernard home, which had been open to the Offley sisters during three years of bereavement and anxiety, probably continued to afford them the solace of companionship and affection, and to be their chief residence for some time longer. In later years, as will be seen, they gratefully acknowledged, by deeds as well as words, the kindness then extended to them.

CHAPTER X

THE BREAK-UP OF THE LINCOLN HOME

Literary Tastes of Francis Bernard—His Remarkable Memory—His Reasons for leaving Lincoln—The Second Viscount Barrington—Shute Barrington—Francis Bernard accepts an Appointment from the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln—A Tragic Occurrence—Leaving Old Friends—Quitting England—Frances and Jane Bernard—Mrs. Beresford—Mrs. Minshull—The Avenue of Limes—'The Hall-fire Club'—Rebecca and Martha Rowland.

THE twenty or one-and-twenty years which Francis Bernard spent at Lincoln were probably some of the happiest in his life. He was fortunate in his domestic relations, was doing well in his profession; while his many accomplishments, which were always at the service of his friends, and his fund of anecdote,¹ rendered him a general favourite in society. On this topic his son Thomas states that

His talents were of a nature to enable him, whatever was his object, to apply with vigour and success; and where the object required it, with perseverance and assiduity. His vacant hours he devoted to music, poetry, and architecture; perhaps sometimes with more passion than the severity of the Law will in general admit, but not so as, in his instance, to diminish or suspend the habits and powers of attention to business. In music he left some, in poetry many compositions, and of his skill and taste in architecture he has afforded a variety of examples.²

Many of these architectural examples were apparently to be found in the county of Lincoln, where Mr. Bernard was often consulted by friends, and probably still exist; possibly even some buildings in the 'city, bail, and close,' as the divisions of the cathedral town were designated, may have been indebted to his advice and skill in design.

¹ Governor Hutchinson (*Diary and Letters*) testifies to his talents as a raconteur.

² *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*, by One of his Sons.

As regards poetry, he had profited by the instructions of his stepfather in Latin versification, and he also wrote occasional English verses. His youngest daughter states incidentally that he played on some instrument, but forgets to say what instrument it was.¹ In the course of her narrative, however, it appears that he was acquainted with some of the best music within his reach; and the same observation applies to poetry.

His memory was remarkable. From the distant land to which he afterwards bent his way the almost incredible report has been wafted back to England that he could repeat the whole of Shakespeare's plays by heart.² This may be an exaggeration, but it testifies to his intimate acquaintance with the works of the great dramatic bard.

The fashion of toasts after dinner was then prevalent; it was not necessarily associated with hard drinking or coarse language, but was sometimes only a harmless form of social hilarity. People were easily amused in those days, and Francis Bernard on some occasion gave out—probably sang—a toast³ which had at least the merit of being innocent and benevolent:

Here's a health to all those that we love,
Here's a health to all those that love us;
Here's a health to all those that love them that love those
That love them that love those that love us.

This toast, which included a large portion of mankind, became popular, and was set to music. The air to which it was set is now, as I am informed by a relative, known as 'By the side of a murmuring stream,' from the words afterwards linked with it; but it may have been originally composed for the toast, and by Mr. Bernard.

¹ Julia Bernard, in *Reminiscences*, which will be quoted later.

² Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston*, vol. ii. ch. xv.; *The Press and Literature of the Provincial Period*, by Delano A. Goddard.

³ My father spoke of this toast as having been composed by his grandfather, without mentioning which grandfather. On consideration I have arrived at the conclusion that Sir Francis Bernard was most probably the person intended.

It may seem strange that Francis Bernard should have entertained the idea of leaving his pleasant home for a new and unfamiliar career. Various causes, however, led to this result. His son Thomas ascribes his wish to enter on a different sphere to the rapid increase of his family. After the birth of Thomas came three other children in quick succession: Shute (July 26, 1752), a second Amelia (September 16, 1754), and William (May 27, 1756).¹ Mr. Bernard had thus seven children living. His profession had hitherto afforded him a competence; but he had probably reached the highest mark that he could attain as a provincial counsel, and in the case of further additions to the circle he might find himself straitened in means and unable to give his children a good start in life. I am, however, inclined to think that the question was not one of money only. When the settlement at Lincoln took place he had been forced to content himself with a restricted compass, and within that compass he had done all that could be done. Meanwhile circumstances had brought him into contact with persons who had risen, or were rising, to eminence, and it was inevitable that this intercourse should afford a stimulus to any latent ambition which he possessed, but had so far kept in check.

Francis Bernard was on intimate terms with the second Viscount Barrington, his brothers and sisters. They were first-cousins to Mr. Bernard's wife.² The Viscount embraced a political career, which, of course, exposed his movements to criticism, sometimes of an adverse sort. He will be frequently mentioned again in these pages. The four younger brothers all became men of more or less note.³ John, who came next to the peer, commanded at Guadeloupe in 1758, and died in 1764, comparatively young, as a major-general. Daines, who became a Welsh judge and

¹ From a list sent me by Miss Collinson, compiled by her grandmother, Mrs. King.

² These particulars of the Shute Barrington family are taken from Debrett's and Burke's *Peerages*, and from various histories and biographies, aided by recollections of my father's conversations.

³ *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*, by One of his Sons.

second judge of Chester, is known for his scientific writings. The other two brothers were apparently much younger. Samuel afterwards distinguished himself at St. Lucia and Gibraltar, and died Admiral of the White in 1800. Shute, who received that name as a baptismal appellation—Barrington having been adopted as the family name—took holy orders in the Church of England; the Nonconformist element had evidently died a natural death with the first peer, and Shute Barrington eventually became an eminent prelate. He survived till the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and will be frequently mentioned in the later volumes of this book. These gentlemen, no doubt, started on the business of life with great advantages; but it may be said to their credit that every one of them did some real work in his vocation.

At Viscount Barrington's mansions in town or country Francis Bernard probably met the Duke of Newcastle and many other distinguished persons. As a boy he may already have seen the Duke, but is not likely to have been remembered by him. He now, however, obtained permission to dedicate a collection of the Rev. Anthony Alsop's poems to his Grace as to a former friend and patron of the author.

The pieces in this collection, entitled '*Odorum Libri duo*,' and published in 1752, had in some cases appeared in '*Bentley's Miscellany*,' the '*Gentleman's Magazine*,' and sundry less-known publications; but others—for instance, Mr. Alsop's monody on the death of his wife, mother of Francis Bernard—had probably never been printed before. To the volume thus composed Mr. Bernard prefixed an address to the Duke in Latin verse, which, as his son Thomas asserts, was admitted to bear comparison with the best of his stepfather's productions.¹

In 1754 the Duke of Newcastle² became head of a

¹ The information in the foregoing paragraph is chiefly from the *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*. The *Odorum Libri duo* of Anthony Alsop may be read at the British Museum.

² Haydn, *Dictionary of Dates*, 'Newcastle's, Duke of, Administration'; 'Devonshire, Duke of, and Mr. Pitt's Administration'; 'Newcastle, Duke of, and Mr. Pitt's Administration.'

Ministry in which Lord Barrington had a place; it lasted about two years, and the Duke of Devonshire was nominally the next Premier, but the authority of Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, was predominant. Lord Barrington continued in office, and had, therefore, influence to exercise on behalf of Francis Bernard. In June of the following year the Duke of Newcastle resumed the leadership, with Pitt by his side.

The posts to which Francis Bernard could aspire were of course limited in number; and the direction which his aspirations assumed was determined by very obvious causes. The office of Colonial Governor in America was open to him, and this idea seems to have seized upon his imagination. His wife's uncle, Colonel Shute, had been Governor of Massachusetts; his former neighbour, Thomas Pownall, actually was Lieutenant-Governor of New Jersey¹ until February 1757; he was then appointed Governor of Massachusetts on the retirement of Shirley; so Mr. Bernard's thoughts naturally turned towards that quarter.

The New World afforded an opening for his five sons such as was not to be found elsewhere. Comparatively free as it was not only from the strain of competition, but also from those incitements to lust, covetousness and cruelty which had already commenced to bring disgrace on English rule in India, it abounded in opportunities of legitimate development. From the first moment when Mr. Bernard began to entertain the idea of an appointment in America it is probable that he cherished the intention of settling permanently in the country of his adoption, and of fitting his sons to become leading citizens in its towns and pioneers of civilisation in the wilderness.

In 1756 the prospect of a governorship in America must have been still indefinitely postponed, for during this year Mr. Bernard accepted another small appointment from the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, and this indicates that he was not expecting to leave their city. He became Commissary-General of their Peculiars in the counties of Oxford, Buckingham, and Northampton. These peculiars included

¹ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, February 1758, 'List of Promotions.'

Aylesbury and some neighbouring parishes, also Thame and its dependencies. If, therefore, he visited them in this year or the next, he may have renewed his acquaintance with young Sir William Lee at Hartwell, and have stayed with Mrs. Beresford at Nether Winchendon.

The first deed¹ is dated July 31, and also appoints the Rev. Moses Terry, prebendary of Lincoln, and Francis Bernard, Esq., surrogates. It is signed by the Bishop of Bath and Wells as Commissary and Official of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln. There is a second deed, called in the endorsement a 'Patent,' repeating the appointment of Mr. Bernard to be Commissary and Official, dated October 31, 1757, which seems to show that, although a vacancy had occurred in August, which eventually decided his movements, his colonial prospects were still very doubtful. In the meantime a terrible misfortune had overtaken the family, the full extent of which, however, does not seem to have been realised till some years later.

Francis, Mr. Bernard's eldest son, was a boy of the highest promise. It is possible that his education, after its commencement at home, had been continued at the Grammar School of Lincoln, then located in the picturesque buildings of the former Grey Friars' Monastery. 'The School,' says one who attended it, 'was held in the very chapel of the old religious house; the windows looked into a place called "the Friars" or "Freres," and over the last window stood, and still stands, the Cross, "la trionfante croix."' But Mr. Bernard intended this son, who had great abilities, to go through the regular course at Westminster and Oxford; and young Francis obtained a scholarship at St. Peter's College, Westminster, in 1757,³ when he was just fourteen. It was the custom for the other scholars to toss each successful candidate in a blanket by way of celebrating his election—a dubious honour, which in this

¹ *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*, by One of his Sons; also deeds at Nether Winchendon.

² Best, *Four Years in France: Some Account of the Conversion of the Author to the Catholic Truth* (published in 1826).

³ Welsh, *A List of the Scholars of St. Peter's College, Westminster*.

case had tragical results. By some mischance Francis Bernard was thrown violently out of the blanket, and, falling on his head, sustained serious injury. This misfortune, the memory of which has been preserved by family tradition, caused the practice of tossing scholars to be discontinued for some time.

It was an addition to the difficulty and distress caused by this catastrophe that the boy's mother must then have been expecting the birth of another child within a few weeks. The Westminster elections took place at Whitsuntide, and on July 25, 1757, her daughter, Frances Elizabeth, came into the world.¹ No further particulars of this time of trouble are known to me. It is evident that some permanent mischief had been effected, but I can form only a vague guess as to the nature and virulence of the symptoms. Perhaps after the first days or weeks of anxiety young Francis appeared to recover. He may have suffered from occasional headaches, or even from more disquieting indications of brain affection; but the worst effects of the fall cannot have become manifest at this period, since he was able to remain at Westminster. In due time he proceeded to Oxford as a student of Christ Church, and there took his B.A. degree; it is none the less evident that this fall at Westminster embittered his life and brought it to a premature close.

Probably the parents of this ill-starred lad would willingly have postponed their departure from England much longer than proved possible. The news of the vacancy already alluded to, which occurred in August, would take a few weeks to reach England; but it was necessary to seize the first opportunity of advancement, which might also be the last. 'In the year 1757,' writes Thomas Bernard, 'the Earl of Halifax (then First Lord of Trade), at the instance and request of Lord Barrington, recommended Mr. Bernard to the government of the Province of New Jersey.'² The

¹ 'Memoir of Mrs. King,' prefixed to *Female Scripture Characters*; 'Memorandum at Nether Winchendon of Family Births, Deaths, and Marriages.'

² *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*, by One of his Sons.

notification in the *Gazette* is dated 'St. James's, January 27,' 1758, and is worded as follows: 'Francis Bernard, Esq. to be Capt.-Gen. and Gov. in chief of New Jersey.—Jon. Belcher, dec.'¹ New Jersey, being one of the smallest of the American colonies, was often a beginner's post.

And now came the wrench of leaving old friends in England, some of whom Mr. and Mrs. Bernard never saw again. Mrs. Terry died the year after their departure, and I am inclined to think that Mrs. Hastings did not survive till their return. The nieces of Mrs. Bernard, as might have been expected from their youth, lived to renew the family intimacy. Urith Offley, who had become the owner of Norton Hall, married in 1759 her neighbour, Mr. Samuel Shore, of Mearsbrook, Derbyshire;² her younger sister, Hannah Maria, became, somewhat later, the wife of Mr. Edmunds, of Worsborough, Yorkshire, also a neighbour.

But the saddest parting was, of course, with the children. After many anxious discussions, no doubt, the parents decided on leaving four of their offspring in England. These were Francis, John, Amelia, and Frances, or Fanny. And although it was settled that Francis might safely go on with his studies, they apparently knew that he stood in need of especial care. Many years later, after the results of his accident had proved fatal, Mr. G. W. Lewis, of Westerham, Kent, stated in a letter that his father had been guardian to Sir Francis (then Mr.) Bernard's 'unfortunate eldest son'; adding, 'with whom I was at Westminster, and to whom he was very kind.'³

I have no particulars as to John Bernard's place of education; but Mr. Bernard is not likely to have sent another son to Westminster after his recent experience, and John's

¹ *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, vol. xviii., January 1758.

² Burke, *A History of the Landed Gentry*, 'Shore.' In the *Gentleman's Magazine* Urith Offley's husband is called 'Sam. Shore, jun., of Broadfield, Yorkshire.' *A History of the Alienation and Recovery of the Estates of the Offleys of Norton*.

³ This letter, in the collection at Nether Winchendon, is addressed to a Mr. Joshua H. Smith, who had reasons for wishing to be introduced to the Governor's youngest son. It is dated December 21, 1790.

name is not in the list of scholars. It is probable that he was at Lincoln Grammar School when his father received his appointment, and that he remained there some time longer, since boys occasionally stayed on till they might be called men. Mr. Best, the son of a prebendary, part of whose description of the school has already been quoted, was a pupil there for nine years. This was after the days of the Bernards, but he depicts the life and system even at that period as comfortless and useless; ¹ probably they were no worse than in other boys' schools of the period. John may, however, have been removed sufficiently early to obtain some business training before he left England; he does not seem to have been scholastic in his tastes like Francis, and his father probably intended him from the first for a mercantile career.

Jane Bernard, the eldest daughter of the family, was to remain in England also 'for education.'² I imagine that she was located in some school at Lincoln, with the understanding that she was to divide her holidays between her relatives of the Terry family and Mrs. Beresford, but that the death of Mrs. Terry soon led to her making Nether Winchendon her home. There is more difficulty in understanding why the baby Frances was left in England; probably, from the fact of her birth in a time of trouble, she was unusually delicate, and her parents shrank from the risk involved in the discomforts and perils of a voyage to America, as such voyages were then performed, more especially because her mother was already beginning to anticipate the advent of another child, and it was important that she should be spared the strain of anxiously watching the previous baby.

It may be supposed that after bidding farewell to John, perhaps to Jane, and all other friends at Lincoln, Mr. and Mrs. Bernard proceeded to consign little Frances to the care

¹ Best (J. B.), *Personal and Literary Memorials*, xlii. 'Nine Years at Lincoln School.' (Published in 1829.)

² This is stated in the *Reminiscences of Julia Bernard (Mrs. Smith)*, a sister born in America.

of their Nether Winchendon cousin. I find, however, that Mrs. Beresford was in Oxford in the very month of their departure from England, and evidently making an exhaustive settlement of her affairs. Perhaps Mr. Bernard had other business which took him there, and she had arranged to meet him. Two letters of hers written at this time still exist, or rather the drafts of two letters—rough drafts they can scarcely be called, since they are written in her usual elaborate hand.¹ One is addressed to ‘Mrs. Minshull or any friend that is with me at the Time of my Death.’ She expresses a wish to be buried, if she dies at Oxford or Winchendon, ‘in the Grave of my father, if at Lincoln then in the Chancell of Leadenham, in the Grave of my dear Son. In the privatest manner.’ Six poor widows of the parish are to support the pall, four principal tenants to bear the corpse; the coffin to be plain, with only name, age, and date of year inscribed on it. The dress of the widows is specified. ‘Each of them to have Norwich crape gowns, black silk hoods, and gloves.’ A desire intimated that the body may not be hastily moved betrays some apprehension of a trance being mistaken for death. From the directions for the clothing of the corpse ‘in linen or woollen,’ it would seem as if the law had been to some extent relaxed; but a declaration of compliance with its commands was still required, and she requests that this may be sworn by her own maid. Possibly Mrs. Beresford may have been staying at the house of Mrs. Minshull while in Oxford, and may have been in the habit of visiting there, as Mrs. Minshull certainly visited her at Winchendon.

The second letter is addressed to ‘the Rev. Mr. Andrew,’ then the perpetual curate of Nether Winchendon, whom she left her ‘Excetor in trust,’ to act in the absence of Mr. Bernard. Her papers were to remain sealed till he could hear from Mr. Bernard. She begs him to be kind to her servants, and directs that all debts and legacies should be paid within one year of her decease.

¹ These letters were given me by J. Bernard Baker, Esq., and are now at Nether Winchendon.

The parting with Francis Bernard was undoubtedly a grief to Jane Beresford; she had the melancholy satisfaction of declaring him her heir at Nether Winchendon, but she must have known that with his views it was very doubtful if he or any of his children would settle there, and perhaps she considered it still more doubtful if she would live to see him again.

Mr. and Mrs. Bernard must have proceeded to London to make their final preparations for departure and bid adieu to Francis, their firstborn. And then, with their four remaining children—Thomas, Shute, William, and Amelia—they quitted England in the April of 1758.¹

Before entering on the narrative of Mr. Bernard's eventful life in America a few pages will be devoted to the home of his two daughters at Nether Winchendon. Thither Jane Bernard went to reside when she had finished her schooling; and in those days a girl's schooling was not often of long duration. As to the brothers, Francis and John, I can only conjecture that as long as they remained in England part of their vacations must have been spent with Mrs. Beresford and their sisters. John apparently went to America in 1765; Francis waited until he had taken his degree in the following year. Perhaps it was originally intended that the sisters likewise should cross the Atlantic, but there must have been difficulty in finding an efficient protectress on the voyage for a child so young as Frances; and the strong attachment formed by both girls for Mrs. Beresford, together with the unsettled condition of America latterly, and the probability which at one time existed that Mr. Bernard might pay England a visit to report on the state of his province, were so many reasons for postponement, the result being that the sisters never left England.

It was many years since the Manor House had been inhabited by a lively band of young people, and the vacations must have diffused a bright gleam of sunshine over the old home, which was soon to know another period of gloom and desertion. We may fancy the antiquated rooms,

¹ *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*, by One of his Sons.

the shady garden nooks, the adjoining lane and pastures, echoing to the voices and footsteps of beings as yet untouched, or but lightly touched, by care. To the girls, whose home it was through the greater part of the year, there were, of course, times of serious occupation as well as of amusement. Nether Winchendon was not a place distinguished for educational advantages, but the daughters of Mr. Bernard left it as well fitted to take their place in society as most young ladies of their time. Jane, according to her parents' intention, no doubt made a practical use of her school learning by assisting Mrs. Beresford in bringing up the sister who was eleven years her junior. Under their guidance Frances, who was a bright and clever child, imbibed a taste for solid reading, became a good accountant, skilful in needlework, both plain and ornamental, and was well grounded in French, while she wrote her own language clearly and correctly.¹ Music, vocal and instrumental, seems to have been a natural gift to that generation of Bernards, and must have served to enliven the very quiet country evenings, though the performances would probably not have gone near satisfying the requirements of the present day.

But more homely accomplishments were then considered, in some families at least, a desirable part of a girl's education. Mrs. Beresford is called by the biographer of Frances Bernard² 'a lady of large fortune,' but he may have reckoned the amount of her husband's income, which was no criterion of her power of expenditure when a widow. My father estimated her income at only 1,100*l.* per annum, a sum which even then hardly amounted to great wealth. Easy in circumstances, however, the good lady must have been; yet I have it from the same authority that she initiated her young cousins into one department of household work. Every week, after the servants had washed and dried the linen, Mrs. Beresford and her pupils proceeded to the servants' hall to iron it; and the girls, no doubt, learned

¹ 'Memoir of the Author,' prefixed to *Female Scripture Characters*, by Mrs. King (Frances Elizabeth Bernard).

² In the Memoir mentioned above.

to get up fine things in the elaborate fashion then required. My father used also to relate that Jane Bernard, perhaps when newly arrived from school, thought Mrs. Beresford's bread and butter so delicious that it was almost impossible not to eat too much of them; both were, doubtless, home-made. And it may be assumed that Jane, and a little later Frances, learned to take a part in the business of the bake-house and dairy. How many of the outbuildings described in Thomas Tyringham's deed still remained I cannot tell, but probably there was a poultry-yard, with whose arrangements the ladies were familiar.

In the garden, which in all likelihood lay then, as now, south and east of the house, separated by a strip of meadow from the river Thame, and in the orchard, which I remember in my youth, situated east and north of the garden,¹ the ladies must have found another sphere of occupation intimately connected with the well-being of the house. When I first knew the old house kitchen and flower garden were somewhat mixed, and they were probably more decidedly blended in earlier days. The task of making the most of vegetables and fruit was onerous, and Mrs. Beresford's cookery-book shows how numerous were the modes of using both, fresh and stored. The 'preserving' season has now lost much of its significance, but it was once a great epoch in the year.

In the kitchen of the Manor House, which then had a large open chimney, with a beam crossing it at no great height, sundry dainty dishes described in the cookery-book would be concocted by the ladies. What description of range was used in their production I am unable to say, but it seems as if only dogs can have been safe with a chimney thus encumbered.² The baking of pies, &c., was probably accomplished in a brick oven at the side with a small fire of its own, distinct from the large bread-oven in the scullery.

¹ Since that time the greater part has been converted into a kitchen garden.

² The cross-beam was removed about 1843 or 1844. A kitchen-range had then been, I suppose, some time in use, and the beam was discovered to be charred and in a dangerous condition.

When Mrs. Beresford succeeded to her father's house it must already have experienced the consequences of neglect, and the new lady of the manor had no great interest in keeping it up. She lived in an age singularly lacking in reverence for antiquity and respect for tradition, and, as regarded the practical aspect of the situation, had some reason to believe that her successor might either sell it or turn it into a farmhouse. It is probable, therefore, that in her time only the portion of the house required for the use of the actual inmates was really cared for ; but this included most of the building now in existence. The lofty panelled dining-room, or hall, on whose hearth wood was then burned, and the drawing-room, with its scroll-pattern wainscoting and carved cornice and cross-beams, perhaps then already painted in accordance with the fashion of the time,¹ would be the scenes of daily domestic gatherings. Mrs. Beresford occupied as her sleeping-apartment a large room over the kitchen, and facing the river, and the young ladies were probably located near her on the western side of the house. The first room in that direction bore in my time the name of the 'Tapestry Room,' and I can just recollect two fragments of the old hangings, which had fallen to pieces from neglect and age. Why they should have been placed in a small room I am unable to say ; perhaps they had been moved from another part of the house. There was then a tradition that a clergyman had once been sent for to lay a ghost, and had laid it in a chair, which was stowed away in a large closet off that room, since thrown into the adjoining room. A room adjoining the east side of Mrs. Beresford's apartment was still known in my youth as 'Mrs. Minshum's room'²—this being the

¹ At some time it was painted plain white, as I have heard ; afterwards this colour was varied with green, and the effect is so good that no one has been able to decide on attempting to remove the paint. The dining-hall panelling was painted and grained oak. This appears to have succumbed to decay, and has been replaced by the Tyingham hall panelling from Cuddington. A small portion of the original wainscot is preserved in an upstairs room.

² The name has since been disused owing to alterations in the house, but the present 'Skylight Room' and an adjoining passage represent 'Mrs. Min-

villagers' pronunciation of 'Minshull'—and the name indicates that Mrs. Minshull was a constant visitor at Winchendon. Although there must occasionally have been other guests, she is the only one whose memory has been preserved.

Mrs. Minshull was daughter of Mr. Philip Box, of Caversfield, a Bucks parish surrounded by Oxfordshire. She had married a grandson of Sir Richard Minshull when he was an elderly man, and was early left a widow with one son.¹ The Box marriage was reckoned a *mésalliance* by the Minshulls, who held their heads high, no doubt because Charles I. had granted them a peerage in return for money lent—or, rather, given—him during the Civil War. They were, however, so thoroughly impoverished that the heir no longer attempted to bear the title.²

The avenue north of the house, connecting it with the village, and bordered by the orchard on the east and on the west by the large field called Malthouse Close in Thomas Tyringham's day, and in more recent times Home Close, was a scene of special enjoyment to little Frances. When a middle-aged woman she wrote to one of her nieces who had sent her a water-colour drawing of the house: 'I recognise the pretty avenue of limes, where I used to ride my pony up and down.'³ That avenue still exists, possibly curtailed in length; and, since the limes were noticeable trees about one hundred and forty years ago, they may be credited with two centuries of life, and their appearance is proportionally venerable.

shum's room.' It had a window looking into the courtyard. It was even then a small room; there is some likelihood that previous alterations had cut off part of the space, and that in Mrs. Minshull's time it included another small apartment, now called 'the Gable Room,' as Mrs. Beresford would scarcely have located her friend in a room much smaller than her own.

¹ For account of Minshull family see Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. ii., 'Aston Clinton,' and 'Buckingham-cum-Bourton.' From my stepmother, a descendant of Mrs. Minshull, I learned that the Minshulls disliked the Box alliance.

² The eldest son of Sir Richard appears to have assumed the title (see Lipscomb), but he left no issue, and his brother evidently dropped it.

³ Letter at Nether Winchendon from Mrs. King (Frances Elizabeth Bernard) to her niece, Mary Ann Bernard.

At that time the parish of Nether Winchendon contained fewer buildings than now.¹ There were several small farmers in the village, with just as many labourers as they could employ, and a few, perhaps, who worked for Mrs. Beresford. Two of the houses once inhabited by gentry had either been destroyed or converted into humbler dwellings. There remained the house by the church. Sir Francis and Lady Knollys, an elderly childless couple, apparently made it their home during some portion of the year. Residence was hardly to be expected from the clergy of that century; and, notwithstanding Mrs. Beresford's regard for Mr. Andrew, who may have been a good parish priest according to his lights, I gather that he was not constantly at Nether Winchendon.

The church was, perhaps habitually, perhaps irregularly, served by some curate of the neighbourhood, who had two or three other parishes under his care. In these adverse circumstances Mrs. Beresford kept up the observance of Sundays and the great festivals, and even of saints' days, which were probably never honoured with a Church service at all. A document in her handwriting, belonging to a later period, testifies to her steadfastness, beginning thus :

It has been my custom for some years past to put by sixpence every Saint's day, and every Sunday for charitable or publick uses in thankful remembrance that such days are set apart for the more immediate worship of God our Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, with thanksgiving for the good example of holy men gone before us.²

The sum collected as a result of this pious observance, with the addition of some money from another fund, also bestowed by Mrs. Beresford, eventually purchased a clock for Nether Winchendon Church, as will be noticed in a subsequent chapter. The clock is still in use.

Jane Bernard, under the influence of this good lady,

¹ These particulars I have collected from report, and from noting the changes in my own lifetime.

² MS. communicated by J. Bernard Baker, Esq.; now at Nether Winchendon.

supplementing her mother's previous training, became a very pious girl, and Frances in after years gratefully acknowledged the blessing¹ she had enjoyed in the example and instruction of such an elder sister :

Here [that is at Nether Winchendon, says also her biographer] those good principles of religion, and active and succouring charity were instilled, which influenced her future life, and led her to co-operate with the rest of her family when united with them, in affording assistance in various ways to the comfort and relief of the poor. And the memory of the kindness she early experienced, might have been an incitement to that protection, which in later years, she liberally extended to the daughters of some of her friends, to whom her house was long a maternal home.²

There cannot have been many very poor families in Winchendon; but doubtless there were opportunities of showing kindness in various ways, even to those above the very poor; and the ladies from the Manor House may have extended their visits to the parishes of Cuddington and Chearsley, where there was no resident squire or clergyman.

Long after the good Lady of the Manor had gone to her rest, and Frances Bernard had left Nether Winchendon, she wrote to a brother: 'Dear Mrs. Beresford . . . used to consider it as too forlorn a place for any one but herself to inhabit.'³ This utterance may have referred either to the decaying state of the house, or to its isolation from society, or to both; but neither of these drawbacks affected the spirits of the two sisters, who always looked back with grateful pleasure to the years spent in that secluded village.

Two of the adjoining parishes have been mentioned; a third, Ashendon, where the village was removed by a long hilly road from Nether Winchendon, was equally destitute

¹ In the Dedication of her longest literary effort, *Female Scripture Characters*.

² 'Memoir of the Author' (Frances Elizabeth King, *née* Bernard), prefixed to *Female Scripture Characters*.

³ MS. Letter of Mrs. King (F. E. Bernard) to her niece, M. A. Bernard Morland, now at Nether Winchendon.

of gentry, while Over Winchendon, which had been the theatre of so many phases of social and historical life, was a desolation. Eythrope House was inhabited by Sir William Stanhope,¹ brother of the fourth Earl of Chesterfield and grandson of a Dormer heiress; but since he was separated from his wife, and suspected of being a so-called 'Monk of Medmenham,' or member of the 'Hell-fire Club,' it can scarcely be supposed that Mrs. Beresford cultivated his society. By travelling further it was possible to make and retain a small number of friends, but the roads were very bad, and such visits must have been few and far between.

In one direction, however, Mrs. Beresford would be compelled to drive not infrequently on business; namely, towards Aylesbury. On these occasions, at the junction between the cross-road running through Cuddington and the high-road between Aylesbury, Thame and Oxford, she would pass near Dinton Hall;² but Mr. Vanhattem, whose father had bought the estate of the Maynes, was a bachelor, as was also Sir William Lee, the next neighbour on the route—who succeeded his father in 1759—for some few years. When he married, possibly Hartwell may have been open to Mrs. Beresford; possibly also Francis Bernard, when visiting at Nether Winchendon, may have renewed an acquaintance of earlier days with its owner.

Aylesbury enjoyed the unenviable celebrity of having been twice represented in Parliament by two members of the 'Hell-fire Club.' The first, Thomas Potter, son of an Archbishop of Canterbury, was succeeded in 1757 by John Wilkes of notorious memory, who was occupant of the Prebendal House in consequence of his marriage with Miss Meade,³ from whom, however, he was separated.

The town, of course, reckoned its quiet and well-ordered

¹ Debrett and Burke, *Peerages*, 'Earl of Chesterfield.' Also Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Eythorpe-in-Waddesdon.'

² Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. ii., 'Dinton' and 'Hartwell.'

³ *Ibid.*, 'Aylesbury'; Gibbs, *History of Aylesbury*, ch. xxxi., 'Representatives of Aylesbury.' The Meades were lessees of the Prebendal House under the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln.

inhabitants as well as the choice spirits who elected these members. But I can trace Mrs. Beresford's acquaintance with one family only. The widow of the Rev. Thomas Harding Rowland, owner of the manor of Whitchurch, a parish near Aylesbury on the Buckingham road, who was herself daughter and coheiress of Francis Ligo, Esq., of Weston Turville, Bucks,¹ resided in the town with two daughters, her only children. The eldest, Rebecca, married in 1762 David Williams,² eldest son of Sir Gilbert Williams, whose principal estate, although he was of Welsh descent, was at Sarratt, Herts. A letter written by Jane Bernard in after-years establishes the fact of her acquaintance with Rebecca Rowland, of whom and of whose descendants more will be said hereafter.³ Martha Rowland, the second daughter, married William Minshull,⁴ son of Mrs. Beresford's friend, who settled as a lawyer in Aylesbury. Their mothers had become widows in the same year—1741—which was perhaps a bond of sympathy between the two ladies. And it was in that year also that Mrs. Beresford had lost her son.

Beyond these fragments of information little can be said about any friends who brightened the last years of the good lady at Winchendon; but there is every probability that her cousin, Mrs. Hastings, sometimes sought her out—possibly even other cousins, the children of her excluded aunt, Mrs. Hall. If Mrs. Minshull had a house in or near Oxford, it may be supposed that Mrs. Beresford was made welcome there also, and that Francis Bernard's daughters were introduced to the city and University, where, indeed, their eldest brother was for some years located. These visits may have been as frequent, if not as long, as those of Mrs. Minshull to Winchendon.

Once a year the inmates of Winchendon probably

¹ MS. pedigrees of Rowland and Ligo at Nether Winchendon. Also Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. iii., 'Whitchurch.'

² *The Gentleman's Magazine*, August 1762. The date of the wedding was June 12. See also MS. pedigrees.

³ In a subsequent vol. of this family chronicle.

⁴ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. ii., 'Buckingham-cum-Bourton.'

travelled to Lincoln. It was a long journey, but there were still friendships to be kept up and old acquaintances left to greet Mrs. Beresford lovingly, and her young charges likewise for their parents' sakes. Still, the greater portion of the year must have been spent at Winchendon, and the preceding pages will have served to indicate the manner in which Jane and Frances Bernard were reared by their kind-hearted relative.

CHAPTER XI

FIRST YEARS IN AMERICA

The Voyage to America—New Jersey—Birth of Two more Children to Francis Bernard—The Quakers and Aborigines of New Jersey—Governor Bernard's Attitude to the Indians—The Conference at Easton—Governor Bernard's Attitude towards the Quakers—The Malcontents of Pennsylvania—Lavish Use of Paper Money—Massachusetts—Mr. and Mrs. Bernard leave New Jersey—Their Arrival at Boston—At 'Province House'—'The King's Chapel.'

IN the eighteenth century the voyage to America was so comfortless and perilous that it is surprising to note the equanimity, and even cheerfulness, with which persons unaccustomed to the sea confronted its sufferings and dangers. Thomas Bernard says that the voyage to New Jersey on which he accompanied his parents, with two brothers and a sister, commenced in April 1758¹—he does not give the day—and terminated on June 14. It therefore lasted over six weeks—perhaps eight, or even ten—but was probably uneventful.

According to the same narrator, the little strip of land known as New Jersey was a peaceful retreat, all but free from the ideas of change then stirring the neighbouring provinces. Originally 'a scion of New York,' peopled chiefly by natives of Holland and Sweden, it had passed through a period of transition after its conquest by the British arms, and had then settled down contentedly under the new rule. Thomas Bernard, of course, derived most of his information from his father, since he was a child when he left New Jersey; but his account contrasts singularly with the language of the vehement American loyalist, Chalmers.

¹ *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*, by One of his Sons.

This writer describes the two small provinces of East and West New Jersey as imperfectly welded together, and scantily but seditiously peopled by English-speaking settlers, implying that the foreign element had been almost overpowered by later arrivals.¹ 'Planted by Independents from New England, by Covenanters from Scotland, by conspirators from England, such scenes of turbulence were exhibited in these inconsiderable Colonies, age after age, as acquired in their history the characteristic appellation of "The Revolutions."' If they were in a more tranquil condition internally at the time of Governor Bernard's appointment, this, in the opinion of Chalmers, was due to the exhaustion caused by a 'five years' frenzy,' and to their helpless condition as regarded the Minisinks, an aggressive tribe of Indians.

The size of New Jersey marked it, indeed, as destined to follow rather than to lead; but it was blessed with many compensating advantages. The country was fertile and smiling; the Atlantic Ocean, which washed a line of coast lengthy in comparison to the breadth of the province, brought it health; the manners of the people, in Thomas Bernard's estimation, were simple and kindly.² Trenton, the official capital, was situated at the extreme west, on Delaware River, opposite the Falls. But another of the Governor's residences was Perth Amboy, in the eastern portion of the province. It was a very small town, but the situation gave it importance. Built on an elevated neck of land at the head of Rariton Bay, between Rariton River and Arthur Kull Sound—in fact, on a peninsula—it possessed one of the best harbours in the American colonies; but its trade was insignificant and carried on almost entirely with the West Indies.

Here, on October 1, 1758,³ the Governor's youngest son,

¹ Chalmers (George), *An Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the American Colonies*, vol. i. ch. xv., Book 4.

² These particulars are taken from Rees's *Cyclopædia*, 1817; Vosgien, *Nouveau Dictionnaire Géographique*, 1817; *The Edinburgh Gazetteer*, 1822. This Gazetteer speaks of Perth Amboy as composed of sixty houses, yet calls it a city. Perhaps it had diminished during the War of Independence.

³ MS. letter at Nether Winchendon.

Scrope, was born. In after-years a Mr. Wright wrote to this son, 'I particularly remember being very merry at your christening.'¹ The boy's name was, I believe, derived from a godfather, probably the Mr. Scrope who married a Shute, or a son of that couple. It was, no doubt, adopted with satisfaction, because it recalled the distinguished alliance of Sir John Bernard with Margaret Scrope² in the fifteenth century. On November 19 in the following year (1769) a daughter, Julia, was born. This name was new in the family, and may have been transmitted by a godmother. Francis and Amelia Bernard were now the parents of ten living children—six sons and four daughters.

Chalmers depicts the new Governor as 'a man unconnected with the factions of the Province, of uncommon prudence, and superior talents.'³ There were difficulties to be encountered, but he did not find them insuperable. Thomas Bernard has written at some length on the measures taken by his father to ensure tranquillity. He admits that, notwithstanding the generally amiable character of the colonists, the Governor recognised harshness in the treatment by the ruling classes of two sections of the population. These two were of very different types, but both were writhing under a sense of injustice. They were the Quakers of West New Jersey, who held their lands as a settlement purchased from Lord Berkeley, the former Proprietary; and the aborigines, who, by agreement with the early immigrants, retained certain rights over the woodlands, to say nothing of the consideration to which they were morally entitled by reason of their previous possession of the country. From their warlike training they were, of course, more immediately dangerous to the peace of the

¹ The dates of the births of Scrope and Julia Bernard are from family records communicated by Miss Collinson. Mr. Wright was not of gentle birth, and he probably feasted amongst the Governor's retainers; the letter, written twenty years later, displays a certain amount of education, but he was then employed in a seed shop.

² See ch. i. of this volume for the Scrope alliance, and ch. ix. for the Scrope and Shute marriage.

³ Chalmers, *An Introduction*, &c. vol. ii. ch. xxiv.

colony than the long-suffering Quakers ; and Thomas Bernard says of his father :

On his arrival he found the Province infested by the incursions of the neighbouring tribes of Indians, whose hostilities had originated, partly in the desire and habit of plunder, but more in the jealousy which French emissaries had, and not without pretence, infused into their minds, of the encroaching spirit and system of the British settlements.

The war at that time waged between England and France for the possession of Canada rendered the position of the Indians peculiarly important. The French fully realised the desirableness of attaching the native tribes to their interest, and made every effort to gain them over. This may not have been a very arduous task, for the aborigines must have had some bitter recollections of former contests with the English invaders of their country ; but, according to Chalmers, the Legislature of New Jersey actually facilitated the Minisink incursions, which were very much "owing to an untimely frugality in reducing the frontier guard to fifty men" ¹ at this critical period, while the previous causes of friction appear to have been still in full operation.

In this condition Governor Bernard found the province.

Thomas Bernard has described the measures by which his father conciliated the Indians and kept them steadfast in their allegiance to England :

It is a well-established truth that to urge war with advantage, we should commence by showing not only fortitude with regard to our own rights, but justice as to the rights of others ; however, mankind have hitherto but little profited by the discovery.² What use might be made of it will appear from the success that attended Governor Bernard's conduct in this instance. He began by preparing for the defence of the frontier, and then, with the Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania, met the Indian tribes on the banks of the Delaware at the Treaty of Easton. A cessation

¹ This account is given by Chalmers as a quotation, but without the name of the author.

² *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*, by One of his Sons.

of arms was there agreed upon, and measures were adopted for settling the objects of dispute and for assuring to the Indians, in satisfaction of some old unliquidated claims on the province of New Jersey, the perpetuity of a tract of 3,000 acres of land for their hunting and habitation; and in consequence these hostilities were in a few weeks terminated, and the neighbouring tribes so much attached to the English interest as to be of some considerable benefit to the British arms in the war then existing between England and France.

Governor Bernard did not, however, feel that he had completed the business until he had effectually attached the Indians to their new possessions, and until he had made a permanent establishment of mutual intercourse and friendship between them and their English neighbours. In the ensuing spring he laid out the plan of a new Indian town, which he named Brotherton, and attended in person the erection of one of the ten first houses prepared for the new inhabitants, to whom he afforded assistance of all kinds in their new settlement, and in the division and cultivation of their lands; and having engaged a Protestant clergyman to reside among them, left them entirely satisfied with their novel situation, and in the enjoyment of some portion of the comforts of civil society.

In the 'Gentleman's Magazine'¹ there is a full report of the conference at Easton—so full, indeed, that only a synopsis can be given here. It took place early in the October of 1758—only a few days, therefore, after the birth of Scrope Bernard. On the 7th Governor Denny, in whose province it was held, opened the proceedings. Governor Bernard arrived on the 9th. The other officials were:

Mr. George Croghan, Deputy-Agent under Sir William Johnson for Indian affairs; four members of the Pennsylvania Council; six Commissioners, members of the Assembly; two agents for the Province of New Jersey; a great number of gentlemen of property in the Provinces; and near 40 of the principal citizens of Philadelphia, chiefly Quakers.

Representatives of fourteen Indian tribes attended;² 'the

¹ *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle* for March 1759, vol. xxix. In this article, which begins as a letter to 'Mr. Urban,' but is not signed, the Governor's name is spelt sometimes 'Bernard,' sometimes 'Barnard.'

² 'The Mohawks, Oneidoes, Onondagoes, Cayugas, Senegas, Tuscaroras,

chiefs of all these nations, with their women and children, made the whole number 507.' There were five interpreters—two whites and three Delaware Indians—who were also chiefs. The account of the proceedings, so far as they relate to New Jersey affairs, begins as follows :

Monday, Oct. 9.—Governor Bernard arrived, and desired a meeting with the Indians to bid them welcome ; but was told that they were in council among themselves. Tuesday, Oct. 10.—The Indian chiefs remained in council all day, and desired the Governors not to be impatient. Wednesday, Oct. 11.—This morning the Indian chiefs communicated the business they had been upon to the Governor. At four in the afternoon the conferences opened. Tagashata, intending to speak first, had laid some strings upon the table ; when Teedyuscung got up, and holding a string, said he had something to deliver. But Gov. Bernard signifying his desire to bid the Indians welcome put an end to the contest and he was heard.

Governor Bernard's speech was as follows :

' Brethren,—I bid you welcome, and wish the good work of peace may prosper in your hands. Having sent a message some months ago to the Minisinks, I received an answer from our brethren the Senecas and Cayugas, in which they take upon them to speak for the Minisinks. To you therefore, brethren, I now address myself, and must remind you, that if you are disposed to be our friends for the future, you should return us the captives that have been taken out of our Province, and are now within your power. It is not usual for our King's Governors to go out of their Provinces, to attend treaties of this kind ; but I have waived forms to show my good dispositions to restore peace, and settle all manner of differences for the mutual benefit of all parties.'

Then Teedyuscung rose up and said, ' Brethren, you desired me to call all the nations who live back. Such as have heard my haloo are here present. If you have anything to say to them, or they to you, sit and talk together. I have nothing to do but to see and hear. I have made known to the Governor of Pennsylvania why I struck him, and have made up all differences for our future peace.'

A string.

Nanticokes and Conoys, Tuteloës, Chugnuts, Delawares and Unamies, Munseys or Minisinks, Mohickons and Wappingers.'

This mysterious entry refers to the use of strings and belts as part of the ceremonials on such occasions, as well as in other gatherings of a different sort.

'Tagashata, Chief of the Senecas: "Brethren, it has pleased the Most High to bring us together with cheerfulness; but as it is now late, I desire to be heard to-morrow."' And on the morrow he accordingly, on behalf of himself and his colleagues, expressed full approval "'of what the Governor of Jersey said yesterday concerning the Minisinks,'" who on their part had promised to deliver up the prisoners; and he went on to enlarge on the subject of peace between the English and Indians. 'A belt' follows on two of these paragraphs, and the end is noted by 'eight strings of wampum.' Nicholas, the Mohawk, Tagashata, and others thought that Teedyuscung took too much upon himself. Both the Governors disclaimed having unduly exalted him. Mr. Bernard said: "I know not who made Teedyuscung so great a man, nor do I know that he is any greater than a chief of the Delaware Indians settled at Wyomink."

The case of the Minisinks was argued at some length. Thomas King, who was evidently a native Indian, described the hardships of the dispossessed aborigines with much natural eloquence, and bade the Governor of Jersey take the matter into his care. After detailing cases of treachery and outrage, resulting sometimes in the death of Indians, he continued: "You deal hardly with us; you claim all the wild creatures, and will not let us come on your lands so much as to hunt after them; you will not let us peel a single tree. Surely this is hard." On October 19, at a private conference, Mr. Bernard recited this request, and

said that as the people of New Jersey declared they had bought all the Minisinks' lands, and the Minisinks said they had a great deal unsold, he could not tell which was in the right, but would suppose the Minisinks; he therefore desired the mediation of the Six Nations, and left it to them to propose a reasonable sum by way of satisfaction.

This offer they eventually declined as having no interest

in the matter ; whereupon the Governor at a private conference on the 21st

suggested 800 Spanish dollars as an extraordinary price ; the United Nations, by Thomas King, said that it was an honourable offer ; but seeing that many persons were to share in the purchase money, they recommended it to his Excellency to add 200 dollars more, the report of which would be carried to all the Nations, and would be very agreeable to them. The Governor, after paying a polite compliment to the chiefs as mediators, cheerfully complied ; and then Tagashata rose up, &c.

This chief's speech was an exhortation to the Minisinks to forget former wrongs and commit no more themselves. He was followed by Egohohowen, the Minisink chief, who expressed satisfaction at the result of the negotiation, and only desired

' that if we should come into your Province to see our old friends, and should have occasion for the bark of a tree to cover a cabin, or a little refreshment, that we should not be denied, but be treated as brethren, and that your people may not look on the wild beasts of the forest, or fish of the waters as their sole property, but that we may be admitted to an equal use of them.'

The Governor promised to proclaim the peace as soon as he reached home, but advised them to avoid the scenes of former hostilities until "the passions of the people were cooled." He announced the conclusion of the treaty at a public conference.

It may be observed that the Indians had maintained their independent attitude all through. On the 20th, when Mr. Bernard was exerting himself to the utmost for their benefit, he proposed to address them after Mr. Denny's speech and their observations on it. They replied, 'they chose to be spoken to by one Governor at a time,' and went on with the discussion amongst themselves.

The assembly broke up on the 26th. Governor Denny had already departed, after burying a hatchet in token of lasting peace ; but the members of his council remained and made speeches, emphasised by strings of '1,000 grains of

wampum.' Thomas King thanked Governor Bernard 'for his kind assistance at this treaty,' which, he said, the United Nations would remember with pleasure. Then, after a pause, 'he desired to be excused in mentioning one thing, which he believed the Governors had forgot.' This was to supply the Indians with ammunition as in former days, without which they could not make provision for their families. When he had finished the necessary items of his speech 'he cast his eyes round the room, and seeing Mr. Vernon, the clerk of the stores, he desired, now that the council business was over, the lock might be taken off the rum, that it might run freely, and the hearts of all be made glad at parting.' This request was granted with due discretion. 'Some wine and punch was then ordered in, and the conferences was¹ concluded with great joy and mutual satisfaction.'

The depressed condition of the people calling themselves 'Friends' had evidently touched Mr. Bernard's heart, and all the more that their principles forbade them to retaliate on their oppressors, except by political stubbornness. 'The Quakers,' says his son, 'who formed a powerful and respectable body in the province of New Jersey, had been almost uniformly in opposition to Government. This had been imputed by some to the injuries which they had received from Governor Morris, and to the neglect with which they had been treated by his successor, Governor Belcher. Mr. Bernard, who loved and respected the virtues which distinguished that sect, waived the question of form and ceremony; he paid them attention, indulged their peculiarities, recommended one of their body to a seat at the Council Board, and succeeded in fixing them as the most zealous supporters of his Administration, so that their language ever after in speaking of him was: He is not a Friend, but he is the friend of the Friends.'

At this very period the malcontents of the adjoining province of Pennsylvania, the great Quaker colony, published a volume containing bitter statements of alleged wrongs

¹ *Sic in The Gentleman's Magazine.*

sustained at the hands of their absentee Proprietary Governors,¹ the descendants of William Penn, and the Lieutenant-Governors appointed by them; but New Jersey remained peaceful and contented. The Governor's son says that

There were few events during his residence in New Jersey to interrupt the tranquillity of his administration. A short contest between two claimants to the office of Chief Justice, and some difficulties that arose from the instructions respecting the mode of granting the supplies for the provincial regiments (but which neither interrupted the public harmony nor impeded the King's service by delaying or diminishing their quota of troops) form the political history of the province of New Jersey for the year 1759.

The question of supplies for the provincial regiments was complicated by another debatable subject, often a source of trouble in the American colonies. The colonists were addicted to tiding over financial difficulties by lavish issues of paper money. On this topic Chalmers writes:

When Bernard laid before the delegates the complaints of the General, 'that the regiment raised by them of a thousand men was unequal to the abilities of so populous a Province,' they sent an address to the King, asking for a relaxation of the Governor's instructions, that they might enjoy a greater quantity of paper. The Ministers were reduced to the dilemma of either granting their unjust desire, or of 'acquiescing in the breach of standing instructions, as had been done in New York and Pennsylvania, under a presumption of necessity.' The Board of Trade transmitted to Bernard, in February 1759, his new commands, granting requests which could no longer be denied. But they took that opportunity to deliver their sentiments with regard to recent proceedings, which shows at once the justness of their own opinion and the extent of the delegates' encroachments.²

These delegates, reproved but not checked, and encouraged by the approbation of Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, issued

¹ *An History of the Government and Constitution of Pennsylvania from its Origin*. Dedicated to Arthur Onslow, Speaker of the British House of Commons.

² Chalmers, *An Introduction, &c.*, vol. ii., Book ix., ch. xxiv.

fifty thousand pounds in paper bills, which were to be recalled by taxes, payable after the re-establishment of peace. . . . Animated by the signal successes of the year 1759, they provided in the same manner for the services of the campaign of 1760. Yet with their former designs, they appointed Commissioners to dispose of the supplies and to conduct the operations.

Even at this time Chalmers believes that the Governor had strong views on the subject of American paper money. 'Bernard,' he writes, 'wanted no opinion, however high or however wise, to convince him of the dangerous consequences of the continual breaches of the Constitution. But when he considered the present necessities, he thought it no proper time to attempt the rectification of abuses.' A little later, when the supplies for the following year were voted, he 'took an opportunity to tell almost all the members in private that, when the times were more settled, he should not think himself at liberty to pass a Bill of that dangerous character.' Mr. Bernard must have had at this time an additional reason for non-interference: he had a prospect of leaving the colony, and would naturally be unwilling to hamper his successor by commencing a contest of doubtful issue, on the merits of which the new Governor might differ from him. Before the question arose again, and long before the war was ended, Mr. Bernard had left.

Notwithstanding all drawbacks, however, of which Chalmers has probably made the most, the residence in New Jersey was remembered as a time of happiness by the Governor, and probably by his wife also. His life was gladdened by a sense of the good he was able to achieve, and he was hopeful. In the pages of Thomas Bernard the record of this period reads like a pleasant fairy-tale. It was soon ended.

The death of Governor Haldane,¹ of Jamaica, appears to have been the signal for a number of changes. Governor Pownall, of Massachusetts, was appointed to South Carolina, and Mr. Bernard must have been gazetted as his successor

¹ *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*, by One of his Sons.

before he had been quite a year and a half in New Jersey (November 27, 1759), but obstacles which I have not seen explained retarded his departure for a while. His ten children rendered the larger income of the New England province a matter of importance, and his ambition was probably gratified by the prospect of a wider sphere opening out possibilities of usefulness as well as of distinction. These motives may have partially blinded him to the risks of the venture. The descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers, reinforced by Huguenot refugees and other turbulent spirits from various quarters, were not a docile people, nor easy to govern. They cannot have been less self-willed than the inhabitants of New Jersey, and the agitators of the New England colony had acquired much greater power of combination, and consequently of organisation, than their neighbours. But Mr. Bernard, having been agreeably surprised by his experience in New Jersey, was no doubt inclined to hope for the best in Massachusetts.

The history of this important province is epitomised by an American writer in the following passages :

The interest awakened by the little Colony, planted at Cape Ann in 1625, by the Rev. John White of Dorchester, England, led to the formation of the company known as 'The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England.' They first obtained a patent for lands from the Council of New England (Mar. 14, 1628), and then, in order to exercise powers of government, a charter from the King, March 4, 1629. The same year they transferred the Government and Charter to New England.

As to the legality of this step historians and jurists have been divided.¹ From the first there was a constant struggle on the part of the Colonists to preserve the Charter, and to resist any infringement of it. The contest ended in the forfeiture of the Charter in 1684 and the consolidation of the northern Colonies under Sir Edmund Andros.

After the accession of William and Mary, Massachusetts solicited the restoration of the Charter, but instead, in 1691, through the agency of Increase Mather, a new charter was issued. But the old liberty was lost, for the King reserved to himself the

¹ The story of the transfer or extension is told at some length by Judge Haliburton, *The English in America*, vol. i. ch. iii.

appointment of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor and Secretary. This, together with the supplementary Charter of 1726, remained the fundamental law of Massachusetts till the State Constitution of 1780.¹

It was therefore in force when Francis Bernard became Governor, and Massachusetts, which then included the extensive district of Maine and all New England except the three small provinces of Rhode Island, Connecticut and New Hampshire,² was still officially called 'Massachusetts Bay'—the designation of the settlement to which the first charter had been granted. It comprised a territory of about 6,250 square miles,³ containing as nearly as possible 250,000 inhabitants,⁴ of whom 210,000 were whites,⁵ 'more than were found in any other American colony; there were more than two hundred towns.'

Notwithstanding the supposed indignity offered to the colonists of Massachusetts by the appointment of three officers of State, the Constitution remained exceedingly democratic. Thomas Bernard gives a sketch of its leading features which is corroborated, as to the facts, by historians of various political views. He depicts those colonists as forming one of the freest communities in the universe. The members of the House of Representatives, in number about one hundred and twenty, were elected by the freeholders of the towns they aspired to represent; the qualification for a vote being '40*l.* sterling or a freehold estate of 40*s.* sterling a year.' This House of Representatives, in conjunction with the Governor's retiring Council, elected a new Council of twenty-eight persons every May, the Governor, although it

¹ Preston, *Documents Illustrative of American History*.

² Rees (Abraham, D.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., S. Amer. Soc.), *The Cyclopædia, or Universal Dictionary, &c., &c.* See the names of provinces mentioned above. Vermont was then a mere tract of land claimed by both New York and New Hampshire.

³ This is the extent given in Rees's *Cyclopædia*, 1819. According to that account of the boundaries they cannot have differed much before the Revolution.

⁴ *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*, by One of his Sons.

⁵ Hosmer (J. K.), *Samuel Adams*, ch. i., 'The Youth and his Surroundings.'

was styled his Council, and combined 'the functions of our House of Lords and Privy Council,' possessing only a veto. This Council and the House of Representatives composed the General Court or Assembly.

The power of legislation [continues the same writer] was vested in these two bodies, with the consent of the Governor and the approbation of the Crown. The Council, thus originating from the people, had, as a Privy Council, a very considerable share in the executive government, and there was hardly any act which the Governor could do, or any person whom he could appoint, or remove from his appointment, without their concurrence. As to the Courts of Justice, the juries were elected by the people, and not, as in England, returned by the Sheriff; and the House of Representatives, besides the exclusive right of originating all money Bills, and besides the extraordinary power of annually electing the provincial treasurers, the county collectors of taxes, and all the other persons employed in the receipt or expenditure of the public money, possessed a very important influence over the judicial, as well as over the executive, power; for, there being no certain civil establishment, the salaries of the Governor, the Judges, and of the officers of Government, and the amount of each, depended on the annual vote of the General Assembly, and were usually fixed a short time before the annual election, a period not very favourable to the increase, nor in time of trouble to the continuance, of their salaries. When, in addition to this, I observe that the Governor possessed scarcely any patronage to compensate for the want of power, the reader will probably agree with me, that it would be difficult to frame a constitution from which influence and dominion could be more completely excluded than it was from that of the province of Massachusetts Bay.

According to this description the Governor at the best of times must have found it a hard matter to maintain the prestige of his office; but the fact becomes still more apparent in the following passage:

Neither were the habits or dispositions of the people more favourable than the Constitution to the exercise of prerogative. The inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay were descended from men who had abandoned their native country during the civil wars of the last century, and, braving the dangers of sea and land, had

taken refuge in a desert wilderness, on account of their political opinions, and their apprehensions of civil and religious tyranny. The succession of above a hundred years had only confirmed those apprehensions and opinions, as an inheritance descendible from father to son, and the history of the province from the time of the Charter of William and Mary contains little more than a detail of hostilities between them and their Governors.

This assertion is confirmed by American writers. Mr. Ellis, in an article on 'The Royal Governors of Massachusetts,'¹ complacently observes: 'Neither one of the whole ten found the office in its conditions and its discharge to be an agreeable one; no one of them had a wholly placid administration, or escaped being made a subject of complaints sent over to the King. . . . No one, probably,' he adds a little further on, 'in yielding it up failed to regret having ever held it.'²

Another American, Nathaniel Hawthorne, has cast a glamour of romance over the subject.³ He describes a masked ball given by General Howe, the last Royal Governor, in 1782, at the close of which a procession representing the Governors of Massachusetts defiles unexpectedly before his sight—whether a political pageant or a phantom warning is left uncertain. First appear 'The Puritan Governors—the rulers of the old, original democracy of Massachusetts. Endicott, with the banner from which he had torn the symbol of subjection, and Winthrop, and Sir Henry Vane and Dudley, Haynes, Bellingham, and Leverett.' Of Vane, afterwards executed as one of the judges of Charles I., it is stated that 'he laid down the wisest head in England upon the block for the principles of liberty.' The subse-

¹ Ellis (George E.), 'The Royal Governors of Massachusetts,' in Winsor's *Memorial History of Boston*, vol. ii. ch. ii.

² In *The English in America*, by Judge Thomas C. Haliburton, of Nova Scotia, will be found a severe view of the conduct of the New England colonists from the first, which may serve as a corrective to the extravagant eulogies put forth in other quarters.

³ Hawthorne, 'Legends of the Province House': i. 'Howe's Masquerade,' in *Twice Told Tales*, 1852. Gilman (*The Story of Boston*) and sundry other American writers tell the same tale concerning the difficulties of the Royal Governors.

quent Royal Governors meet with no sympathy from the narrator of this scene. Some of them are noticed, as:

. . . Sir Edmund Andros,¹ a tyrant, as any New England school-boy will tell you, and therefore the people cast him down from his high seat into a dungeon. . . . Governor Dudley, a cunning politician, yet his craft once brought him to a dungeon. . . . Governor Shute, formerly a Colonel under Marlborough, and whom the people frightened out of the Province, and learned Governor Burnet, whom the Legislature tormented into a mortal fever.

Mr. Bernard had not the advantage of reading these jottings from history, which were penned long after his time, or possibly he might have declined to become another victim in the series; which he was the more likely to be, seeing that Governor Pownall, by favouring the popular party, had rendered the situation especially difficult for his successor. Something, however, Francis Bernard must have known of the annals of Massachusetts; yet his letter to Lord Barrington² shows his determination to take a cheerful, and even an optimistic, view of his new sphere. He writes:

As for the people, I am assured that I may depend upon a quiet and easy administration. I shall have no points of government to dispute about, no schemes of self-interest to pursue. The people are well disposed to live upon good terms with the Governor, and with one another; and I hope I shall not want to be directed by a junto, or supported by a party; and that I shall find there, as I have done here, that plain dealing, integrity, and disinterestedness make the best system of policy.

Owing to official delays Mr. and Mrs. Bernard did not leave New Jersey until the summer of 1760. In after-years

¹ Sir Edmund Andros is sometimes styled an 'Inter-Charter Governor.' The ten Royal Governors, according to Mr. Ellis's reckoning, who were appointed after the grant of the new Charter, were Sir William Phips, Richard Earl of Bellomont, Joseph Dudley, Colonel Samuel Shute, William Burnet, Jonathan Belcher, William Shirley, Thomas Pownall, Sir Francis Bernard, and his successor, Thomas Hutchinson. Phips, Dudley, Belcher, and Hutchinson were natives of the Province, but were none the better loved on this account.

² Quoted by Sir Thomas Bernard in *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*.

they often looked back with regret to their sojourn in that peaceful region. The Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, who states that Governor Bernard had to wait for his commission much longer than he expected, does not give the reason. During the interim

The business of the Assembly, which Mr. Pownall had left sitting, was completed by Mr. Hutchinson, the Lieutenant-Governor, who made a short prorogation that the new Governor might have the earliest opportunity of meeting them if he thought fit. The people had conceived a very favourable opinion of him, and evidenced it by public marks of respect as he travelled through the Province, and upon his arrival at the seat of Government.¹

The Governor seems to have entered Massachusetts on the last day of July;² he reached Boston on August 2. Hawthorne says: 'It is recorded that when Governor Bernard came to the Province he was met between Dedham and Boston by a multitude of gentlemen in their coaches and chariots.'³

Boston, the chief town of Massachusetts, is said to have contained at that period from 18,000 to 20,000 inhabitants; its paramount influence over the province made it a place of greater comparative importance than many a larger capital. The situation in a sheltered bay, protected by three hills, was pleasant, but the winters were long and severe. Governor Bernard's letters frequently allude to the rigour of the climate; it would, however, seem from the observations of his youngest daughter, born in America, that the intense cold brought with it some compensations.⁴

An Englishman named Bennett, who visited the locality in 1740, wrote:

This town was not built after any regular plan, but has been enlarged from time to time, as the inhabitants increased, and is now, from north to south, something more than two miles in

¹ *The History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay from 1749 to 1774*, by Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., LL.D., formerly Governor of the Province.

² Hutchinson mentions Mr. Bernard's arrival in Boston on August 2.

³ Hawthorne (Nathaniel), *The Snow Image, and other Tales*, 'Old News.'

⁴ See ch. xiii. of this volume.

length, and in the widest part about one mile and a half in breadth. . . . There are sixty streets, forty-one lanes, and eighteen alleys, besides squares, courts, &c. The town is, for the generality, as dry and clean as any I ever remember to have seen.¹

Dwight, an American tourist, who saw Boston after the War of Independence, writes less favourably of its appearance :

The streets, if we except a small number, are narrow, crooked and disagreeable. The settlers appear to have built where they wished, where a vote permitted, or where danger or necessity forced them to build. The streets strike the eye of a traveller as if intended to be mere passages from one neighbourhood to another, and not as the open, handsome divisions of a great town—as the result of casualty, not contrivance.²

This is, indeed, a description of many old towns; but they are generally more picturesque than their upstart rivals and successors, though to modern ideas less comfortable. It seems doubtful, however, if Boston was ever picturesque, though it contained a few quaint buildings. Dankers, a Dutch traveller, who visited the locality as early as 1680, writes :

All the houses are made of thin, small cedar shingles nailed against frames, and then filled in with brick and other stuff; and so are their churches. For this reason these towns are so liable to fires—as have already happened several times; and the wonder to me is that the whole city has not been burned down, so light and dry are the materials.³

Successive conflagrations occasioned successive ordinances requiring a more substantial style of building, and solid brick seems to have been much used after the great fire of 1711.

Dankers notes that 'there is a large dock in front of it'

¹ Quoted by Scudder, 'Life in Boston in the Provincial Period,' vol. ii. of Winsor's *Memorial History of Boston*, ch. xvi. Here the writer is styled 'a Mr. Bennett, who wrote a History of New England, with a narrative of his travels,' a work which has remained in manuscript, though portions have been copied into the *Proceedings of the Historical Society of Massachusetts*.

² Dwight, *Travels in England and New York*.

³ Jasper Dankers, quoted in Bynner's 'Topography, &c., of the Provincial Period.'

—that is, the town—‘constructed of wooden piers, where the large ships go to be careened and rigged; the smaller vessels all come up to the city. . . . Upon the point of the bay on the left hand there is a block-house, along which a piece of water runs called the Milk ditch.’ In 1710, just before one of the great fires, Long Wharf was built—virtually an extension of King Street, since

one side of the wharf was very soon afterwards lined with shops and warehouses, thus giving the effect of a continuous street. It is early described as ‘a noble Pier 1,800 or 2,000 feet long, with a row of warehouses on the North side for the use of Merchants. The Pier runs so far into the Bay that Ships of the greatest Burthen may unlade without the Help of Boats or Lighters. From the head of the Pier you go up the chief Street of the Town.’¹

The thoroughfares of Boston were not deficient in movement and animation. John Adams, then a struggling young barrister, exclaims, ‘Who can study in Boston streets?’² It is perhaps curious that he should have expected anything of the sort, but he continues :

I am unable to observe the various objects that I meet, with sufficient precision. My eyes are so diverted with chimney-sweepers, sawyers of wood, merchants, ladies, priests, carts, horses, oxen, coaches, market-men and women, soldiers, sailors; and my ears with the rattle-gabble of them all, that I cannot think long enough in the street, upon any one thing, to start and pursue a thought.

By ‘priests’ Congregational ministers are no doubt to be understood, and the word is apparently used as a term of contempt. A few months after this passage was written, in 1760, Boston was visited by the largest fire it had yet known; but though it rendered many families homeless, it does not appear to have made havoc of the public buildings, like the previous fire of 1711, probably because the new ones were

¹ Bynner (Edwin L.), ‘Topography and Landmarks of the Provincial Period’ (Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston*, vol. ii. ch. xvii.).

² Adams (John), *Diary, with Passages from an Autobiography*, edited by his grandson, C. F. Adams, p. 65.

better built; nor does it seem to have caused so much consternation.

Later in the same year, 1760, Governor Bernard, his wife and children, were escorted through this characteristic New England capital to the official residence known as the 'Province House,' because it was bought by the province on the death of Peter Sergeant, a London merchant, who had married the widow of Governor Phips, and built it for his own occupation. There is a tinge of melancholy about the descriptions of this time-honoured mansion; all that I have read were written after the commencement of its degradation and consequent decay; since, however, there appears to be no contemporary account of its aspect in better days, one of these must perforce be quoted, and the one selected runs as follows:

Nearly opposite the now abandoned Old South Church on Washington Street one may notice a narrow alley called Province House Court. We must obliterate the paltry buildings now standing on either side of this alley, and restore an expanse of lawn and noble trees, as we recall the past on that spot. We shall then have what was the 'High Street,' the sinuous highway leading from Cornhill to Roxbury. On this, a space of nearly a hundred feet, running back nearly three hundred feet, and widening as it deepened, was Mr. Sergeant's homestead, which he built just a hundred years before the last royal functionary who resided there had no further use for it. Here the owner reared a square structure of brick, spacious, elegant, convenient, and in tasteful style, with all proper adornments, and standing far back from the highway. It was of three stories, with a gambrel roof and a lofty cupola. This was surmounted by a gilt-bronzed figure of an Indian with a drawn bow and arrow, the handiwork of Deacon Shem Drown, who made the grasshopper on Faneuil Hall, in imitation of that on the London Exchange. An elaborate iron balustrade over the portico of the main entrance contained the initials of the owner, and the date—16 P. S. 79. From the street a paved driveway led up to the house, and a palatial doorway, reached by massive stone steps, gave access to the interior. Large trees shaded the dwelling, and flowering shrubs ornamented the grounds. The courtyard was surrounded by an elegant fence with ornamented posts, and bordering on the street were two small outbuildings, which, in the after official days, served as porters' lodges. The interior was in keep-

ing. A spacious hall, with easy stairway, richly carved balustrades, panelled and corniced parlours, with deep-throated chimneys, furnishings, hangings, and all the paraphernalia of luxury were there. . . . The royal arms elaborately carved in deal and gilt were set up over the doorway. . . .

The wide courtyard offered a fine space for military evolutions, at the reception of a dignitary standing upon the steps of the mansion. It would seem as if the edifice was occupied rather as an occasional lodging-place of the Governors and as an office for the transaction of public business than as a home for their families; as it has been seen, most of the Governors, if not all of them, had houses of their own. They would keep furnished apartments and trained servants in the official mansion, where on occasions they might pass the night, and also entertain transient guests. Officers of the Royal Navy, when coming into the harbour, and Collectors of the Customs would go there to transact their business, to pay their respects to the Chief Magistrate, and to share in festivities and banquets, for which there were abundant resources in larder and cellar. The Governor was escorted in state to the Council Chamber near by.¹

This Chamber was in the State House, probably the next public building to which Governor Bernard was introduced, for the purpose of presiding at the deliberations of the Council, and a little later at the meeting of the General Assembly. Before proceeding to a description of this edifice it may be remarked that Mr. Bernard, as I learn from his daughter's recollections, certainly spent some weeks, if not months, every year at the Province House, which she calls Government House, and that his wife and family were there with him.

The State House was built after the fire which had consumed the previous Town House, and was planned to accommodate both 'the Town and the Colony';² it was finished in 1714, and was still sometimes called the Town House. Mr. Hutchinson writes of it as the 'Court House.' 'A lengthy edifice without much distinctive character, sur-

¹ Ellis (G. E.), 'The Royal Governors of Massachusetts' (Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston*, vol. ii. ch. ii.)

² Bynner (Edwin L.), 'Topography and Landmarks of the Provincial Period,' in Winsor's *Mem. Hist. Boston*, vol. ii. ch. xvii.

mounted by a three-storied tower, it has for many years been superseded by a newer State House,' but is noticed in a guide-book as 'one of the most venerated structures in the city.'¹ A description is extant of this building, written in 1794, soon after the Revolution, while it was still used for its original purposes. In this account it is noted as being

in length one hundred and ten feet, in breadth thirty-eight feet, and three stories high. On the centre of the roof is a tower, consisting of three stories, finished according to the Tuscan, Dorick, and Ionick orders. From the upper story is an extensive prospect of the harbour into the bay, and of the country adjacent. . . . The lower floor of the building serves for a covered walk for any of the inhabitants. On this floor are kept the offices of the clerks of the supreme Judicial Court and the Court of Common Pleas. The chambers over it are occupied by the General Court, the senate in one and the representative body in the opposite chamber. The third story is appropriated for the use of the Committees of the General Court. On the lower floor are ten pillars of the Dorick order, which support the chambers occupied by the legislature. The building is in Cornhill, one mile two hundred and seventy-nine yards from Washington Street, the late fortification entrance from the Neck into the town.²

Bynner's description of the old State House in the present day—with which, indeed, this chronicle is not concerned—throws some doubt on the veneration which, according to the guide-book, still attaches to it,³ and on Hosmer's like-minded utterances:

A wise reverence [writes the last-named author] has restored this building nearly to its condition of a hundred years ago. On the eastern gable the lion and the unicorn rear opposite one another, as in the days of the Province; belfry, roof, and windows are as of yore; the strong walls built by the masons of 1713, though looked down upon by great structures on all sides, stand with a kind of unshaken independence in their place and compel

¹ *The Englishman's Guide-book to the United States and Canada.*

² 'A Topographical and Historical Description of Boston,' printed in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 24, quoted by Bynner in 'Topography and Landmarks of the Provincial Period.'

³ Bynner describes it as filled by 'a confused assemblage of railroad, insurance, and brokers' offices.'

vation. Ascending the spiral staircase, one reaches the second storey, where all stands as it was in the former time. The Assembly Chamber occupies the western end, a well-lighted room, ample in size for the hundred and twenty-five deputies whom it was intended to accommodate. Its decoration is simple; convenience, not beauty, was what the Puritan architect aimed at, but it is a well-proportioned and stately hall. . . . In the chamber corresponding, in the eastern end of the building, the Governor met with the Council; it was also the Session-room of the Superior Court.¹

Such is that State, or Court House, whose walls, to quote the words of Bynner, 'once echoed to the tread of the Royal Governors who came hither, amid salvos of artillery, to have their commissions read to the unwilling people.'

There was one other public building to which Governor Bernard, Mrs. Bernard and some of their children, accompanied perhaps by a portion of their household, must have been introduced within a few days of their arrival. This was 'the King's Chapel,' or Church of the Governors, who attended it in semi-state. They were 'escorted even to the Thursday lecture by halberds,'² and it is curious that this custom of going to church with a guard of honour was introduced by one of the early Puritan governors. 'The old chapel was built between 1687 and 1689, when Andros, having found it impossible to buy a suitable building from the stubborn Sewall and his brother-Puritans, appropriated the corner of the burial-ground for his church. "Gleaner" calls this occupation a barefaced squat!' Andros was the unpopular Governor already mentioned as degraded 'from his high seat into a dungeon.' Judge Sewall, as he is generally styled, was the first Chief Justice of that name, and the real head of the people.

As time went on the chapel required more ground, and grants were peaceably obtained; but this sacred edifice passed through much tribulation; every now and then a

¹ Hosmer, *Samuel Adams*, ch. iv., 'In the Massachusetts Assembly.'

² Ellis, 'The Royal Governors of Massachusetts,' in Winsor's *Mem. Hist. Boston*, vol. ii. From this essay the whole of the account here given of the King's Chapel is taken.

Puritan mob broke its windows, bespattered its walls with filth, and insulted its congregation. In 1749 it was rebuilt for the second time in stone, and with a pillared portico, an amount of grandeur not common in Boston places of worship. Of this structure, or these successive structures, Mr. Ellis writes :

A state pew, with canopy and drapery was fitted up in the Chapel for the Earl of Bellomont, and the Royal Governor and his Deputy were always to be of the vestry. . . . The edifice, in fact, and all that was done within its walls, was a type and obtrusion of the royal interference with the usages, the traditions, and the dearest attachments of the people. . . . Suspended from the pillars were the escutcheons of Sir Edmund Andros, Francis Nicholson, Captain Hamilton, and Governors Dudley, Shute, Burnet, Belcher, and Shirley. The altar-piece with the gilded Gloria, the Creed, the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the organ, the surpliced priest, and above all the green boughs of Christmas, composed altogether a sight which some young Puritan eyes longed, and some older ones were shocked to see.

The daily round of private as well as official life amid these surroundings, and some of the aspects of society in the provincial capital, will be further noticed when the first incidents of the Governor's period of administration have been related.

CHAPTER XII

GOVERNMENT IN MASSACHUSETTS

An Epoch of Glory—Death of Chief Justice Sewall—Colonel Otis—Thomas Hutchinson appointed Chief Justice—Poor Pay of Judges—Mutterings of a Possible Storm—Death of George II.—Mr. Pitt's Despatch on the Restrictions on Trade—The Question of 'Writs of Assistance'—The Birth of Independence—The Chief Justice's Enemies.

THE year 1760 was an epoch of glory and honour to the British arms, and was supposed in the Mother Country to have secured the tranquillity and loyalty of her American colonies. To a superficial observer it might seem that Governor Bernard was exceptionally fortunate in entering upon his administration at this time of brilliant success. The fall of Quebec in 1759 had been followed by the taking of Montreal in 1760, the news of which reached Boston on September 23, less than two months after the Governor's arrival. Though the war was still protracted, its issue was no longer matter of apprehension; the eventual consequences, however, as regarded the relations between the American colonies and Great Britain, were totally opposed to any result which had been anticipated in England.

The Colonists [writes Hosmer] had learned to estimate their military strength more highly than ever before. Side by side with British regulars they had fought against Montcalm and proved their prowess. Officers qualified by the best experience to lead, and soldiers hardened by the Royalist campaigning into veterans, abounded in all the towns. A more independent spirit appeared, and this was greatly strengthened by the circumstance that the destruction of the power of France suddenly put an end to the incubus which, from the foundation of things, had weighed upon New England, viz. the dread of an invasion from the north.¹

¹ Hosmer (J. K.), *Samuel Adams*, ch. iii., 'The Writs of Assistance.'

In other words, England had conquered one adversary only to rouse another, in her own offspring. There had, indeed, never been wanting some few clear and far-sighted persons able to discern this danger. When, in 1746, the English Ministry

deliberated with regard to the conquest of Canada, which had been urged as the destruction of the French commerce of fish and furs, as a perfect security for the American possessions of England, . . . the Duke of Bedford, who now directed marine affairs, could not approve of the proposals of Shirley, which, by the Duke of Newcastle, had been submitted to his judgment. He represented to the Secretary of State how imprudent it would be to send twenty thousand colonists to plunder the Canadians, and to conquer their lands, 'after the experience we have had of their conduct and principles, on account of the independence it might create in those provinces, when they shall see within themselves so great an army, possessed of so great a country by right of conquest.'¹

This was not the first warning the Secretary had received² as to the state of the American colonies, and of one colony in particular. 'Informed by thirty years' experience, Colonel Bladen assured the Duke of Newcastle, in October 1740, that Massachusetts is a kind of commonwealth where the King is hardly a Stadtholder!'

Governor Bernard was early reminded that he must be careful of his language. In his first speech to the Assembly immediately after the fall of Montreal he put his hearers in mind of the blessings they derived from their 'subjection to Great Britain, without which they could not now have been a free people; for no other nation upon earth could have delivered them from the power they had to contend with.'

Mr. Hutchinson in his narrative of these transactions continues :

The Council, in their address, acknowledge that to their relation to Great Britain they owe their present freedom. . . . The House, without scrupling to make in express words the acknowledgement

¹ Chalmers (George), *An Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the American Colonies*, vol. ii. ch. xviii.

² *Ibid.*

of their subjection, nevertheless explain the nature of it. They are 'sensible of the blessings derived to the British Colonies from their subjection to Great Britain; and the whole world must be sensible of the blessings derived to Great Britain from the loyalty of the Colonies in general, and from the efforts of this province in particular; which, for more than a century past, has been wading in blood and laden with the expenses of repelling the common enemy; without which efforts Great Britain, at this day, might have had no Colonies to defend:' and in the same address they observe, that 'the connection between the Mother Country and these provinces is founded on the principles of filial obedience, protection, and justice.'¹

Shortly before the delivery of these speeches an important appointment had become vacant, and this circumstance led to much trouble. Thomas Bernard has alluded to some slight friction connected with the Chief Justiceship in New Jersey; in Massachusetts the situation was much more perplexed. Chief Justice Sewall, the second of his family who had held that post, died on September 11. He was a loss to the Province by reason of his personal qualifications, and his decease at this particular juncture was a misfortune.

Governor Bernard [writes Mr. Hutchinson, then Lieutenant-Governor, in his *History*] had been but a few weeks in the province, when he found himself under the necessity either of making a particular family, and its connections, extremely inimical to him, or of doing what would not have been approved of by the greater part of the province.

Upon the death of the Chief Justice, the first surviving Judge, and two other Judges, together with several of the principal gentlemen of the Bar, signified their desire to the Governor that he would appoint the Lieutenant-Governor to be the successor. When Mr. Shirley was in administration he had encouraged, if not promised, a gentleman at the Bar, that, upon a vacancy in the Superior Court, he should have a seat there. A vacancy happened, and Mr. Shirley, from a prior engagement or for some other reason, disappointed him. He was at this time Speaker of the House of

¹ Hutchinson (Governor Thomas), *History of Massachusetts from 1749 to 1774*, ch. ii., 'From the arrival of Governor Bernard, August 2, 1760, to his departure, August 2, 1769.'

Representatives, and he made application to Governor Bernard, that the first surviving Judge might be appointed Chief Justice, and that he might take the place of a Judge. His son also, with great warmth, engaged in behalf of his father, and, not meeting with that encouragement which he expected, vowed revenge if he should finally fail of success.

Several weeks elapsed before any nomination was made, or anything had passed between the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor upon the subject. At length it was intimated to the Lieutenant-Governor that the Governor, when he had been applied to by many persons in his behalf, was at a loss to account for his silence upon the subject. This caused a conversation in which the Lieutenant-Governor signified that he had desired no persons to apply in his behalf, and had avoided applying himself, that the Governor might the more freely use his own judgment in appointing such person as should appear to him most fit. And soon after, upon the Lieutenant-Governor's being informed of the Governor's intention to nominate him to the place, he gave his opinion, that a refusal to comply with the solicitations which had been made to the Governor by the other person would cause a strong opposition to his administration, and, at the same time, assured the Governor that he would not take amiss the compliance, but would support his administration with the same zeal as if he had been appointed himself.

The Governor declared that if the Lieutenant-Governor should finally refuse the place the other person would not be nominated. Thereupon the Lieutenant-Governor was appointed. The expected opposition ensued. The resentment in the disappointed persons was also as strong against the Lieutenant-Governor for accepting the place as if he had sought it and had opposed their solicitations. Both the gentlemen had been friends to Government. From this time they were at the head of every measure in opposition, not merely in those points which concerned the Governor in his administration, but in such as concerned the authority of Parliament; the opposition to which first began in this Colony, and was moved and conducted by one of them, both in the Assembly and the town of Boston. From so small a spark a great fire seems to have been kindled.¹

In Mr. Hutchinson's 'Diary'² the same story is told more chatily and discursively. How Gridley, the leader of

¹ Hutchinson, *Hist. of Mass.*, ch. ii.

² *Diary and Letters of Governor Hutchinson*, vol. i. ch. iii.

the Bar, came to the Lieutenant-Governor the very morning after Sewall's death, and told him that he ought to be the successor, which first suggested the idea to his mind. How 'Mr. Otis, junior,' came with a letter from his father, the candidate, desiring Mr. Hutchinson's interest in his favour on the supposition that Lynde, the senior judge, was to be Chief Justice; but adding that 'if he,' Mr. Hutchinson, had any thought of the Chief Justice's place, he had not a word to say for his father.' The Lieutenant-Governor declined to commit himself to any decided utterance on this occasion, and took no step either way until addressed by the Governor on the subject. Lynde was evidently not anxious for the post; it has been shown that he spoke in favour of Hutchinson, and his subsequent history indicates him to have been an unambitious and probably a nervous man.

Hutchinson's narrative implies that when Colonel Otis, as he was generally called, learned the withdrawal of Lynde, he raised his thoughts to the Chief Justiceship, and it must have been to this phase of the transactions that Thomas Bernard alluded when he wrote: 'The Lieutenant-Governor had been the first who had applied to the Governor for the appointment,'¹ which step, as already stated, he had taken in consequence of the Governor's strong encouragement. Thomas adds, 'The assurance of it was hardly given when Mr. Otis attended on behalf of his father,' and goes on to state that the father 'was a lawyer of eminence and character, and one of the Board of Council, but not in general friendly to Government.' This appears to contradict Mr. Hutchinson's assertion that Colonel Otis and his son 'had been friends to Government,' but the discrepancy may be explained by the shifting politics of Massachusetts. After Governor Shirley was succeeded by Governor Pownall, writes Mr. Hutchinson in his History,² 'in a short time most of the chief friends to

¹ *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*, by One of his Sons.

² Hutchinson (Governor), *Hist. Mass. from 1749 to 1774*, ch. i., 'State of the Province of Massachusetts Bay at the Close of the War with France, with its History from that Period to the End of Governor Pownall's Administration in the year 1760.'

Mr. Shirley became opposers of Mr. Pownall, and most of Mr. Shirley's enemies became Mr. Pownall's friends.' In another place he states that Colonel Otis

had been many years member for the town of Barnstable, of which he was an inhabitant, and always in Mr. Shirley's interest, to which a great part of the town of Boston was opposite; and had rendered himself so obnoxious to that town, that some of the principal inhabitants had made a strong effort to prevent his election for Barnstable.¹

It appears also that at the very time when the Colonel was striving for promotion he offended Jonathan Sewall,² nephew of the last Chief Justice, and with him, no doubt, the friends and followers of the family. The Chief Justice had died in debt; possibly the pressure of public business, for which he received but little remuneration, had prevented him from attending to his own affairs; non-payment, however, involved disgrace to his memory. Young Sewall petitioned the General Court for a grant to be applied in discharge of his uncle's liabilities, and requested the Otises to receive and present the money. To their lukewarmness he attributed the failure of his petition, which does not appear to have been of an unusual or extraordinary nature.³

That Governor Bernard, who had no doubt studied the state of affairs in Massachusetts before he quitted New Jersey, considered Colonel Otis to be wholly unsuited to the position of a Chief Justice, and therefore determined at all risks not to appoint him, is evident; the subsequent history of this gentleman and his son explains that view. 'Upon his difference with the Governor,' writes Mr. Hutchinson, 'and upon his son's being chosen one of the members for Boston, the father became a strong advocate for the town, and drew much of the country interest after him.' Tudor, the biographer of the younger Otis, however, dismisses the affair of the Chief Justiceship in a few lines, affecting to consider it

¹ Hutchinson (Governor), *Hist. Mass. &c.*, ch. ii., 'From the Arrival of Governor Bernard, &c., &c.'

² John Adams, *Diary with Passages from an Autobiography*.

³ This may be inferred by the way in which John Adams speaks of it.

of little consequence and without influence on the career of the rising barrister who forms the subject of his memoir.

The new Chief Justice, as a statesman and author, fills a prominent place in this volume. Thomas Hutchinson was a native American, born at Boston in 1711,¹ and consequently about a year older than Governor Bernard. He had been educated at the North Grammar School in Boston by a Mr. Thomas Barnard, who became Minister of Andover. This gentleman cannot be identified as in any way connected with the Governor. The boy was brought up a Congregationalist, but of a mild type; in after-years he did not object to occasional attendance at an Episcopal place of worship. He embraced a mercantile career, entered the House of Representatives, and was also employed by the Legislature in several treaties and negotiations. In 1741 he went to England as bearer of a petition for the restoration of certain lands to Massachusetts which a recent arrangement had assigned to New Hampshire. In the course of this mission he consulted 'Sir John Bernard' as to the feasibility of raising a loan to redeem all the paper money in the province. This evidently means 'Sir John Barnard,'² who was not related to the Governor's family, nor, so far as appears, acquainted with him. There is no reason to suppose that Thomas Hutchinson ever saw Francis Bernard until the latter came to govern Massachusetts.

From the year 1749 Hutchinson had always been elected a member of the Massachusetts Council; in 1752, notwithstanding his lack of specific training, Governor Shirley made him a Judge of Probate. His appointment by the Crown to be Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts is dated January 27, 1758, which was also the date of Francis Bernard's appointment to the Governorship of New Jersey.³ These two nominations appear side by side in the *Gazette*. The Lieutenant-Governor retained his judgeship apparently

¹ *Diary and Letters of Governor Hutchinson*. Prefatory Notice by the Editor, P. O. Hutchinson, in ch. ii. of vol. i. (Mr. P. O. Hutchinson was a great-grandson of Governor Hutchinson.)

² See ch. v. of this volume, p. 111.

³ *Gentleman's Magazine*, January 1758.

without question. Hutchinson's relations with Governor Pownall during the short time they were together in office fell short of cordiality, owing to the divergence of their views on many subjects; but Governor Bernard at once formed a high opinion of his Lieutenant-Governor, who was a man of more observation, reading, and experience than was common in the province. He said many years later, when they were both living in England,¹ that he had never repented appointing Hutchinson Chief Justice.

It must, however, strike the English reader as curious that this gentleman should have become Chief Justice, or even Judge of Probate, without a legal education or experience. But this was no uncommon occurrence in America. The last Chief Justice, Sewall, had been a college tutor, and was intended to become a minister of religion; on changing his mind he commenced to read law, but never practised at the Bar. 'Law,' writes the modern author, Hosmer, whose opinion, as an American, is valuable, 'was hardly recognised as a profession.' Lynde, the senior Judge, appears to have pursued a regular course; but he and Gridley, the leader of the Bar, and apparently all possible rivals save Colonel Otis, seem to have most willingly acquiesced in Hutchinson's appointment. Indeed, it is evident that the idea of a Chief Justice in Massachusetts was rather that of a man of general ability and knowledge of human nature and human affairs than of a learned lawyer, and that Hutchinson's aptitude for business, and even statesmanship, were considered powerful recommendations.

With regard to the union of the functions of Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Justice in one person,² it appears that the first office was usually combined with some other, because the Lieutenant-Governor had no salary, except in the rare event of a Governor's absence. The judges were poorly paid; they 'had each only about 120*l.* sterling a year, with

¹ Hutchinson, *Diary and Letters*, vol. i. ch. v.

² Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, Ed. 1892, vol. iv. ch. xi.

the addition of some fees, which were said not to have been sufficient to cover their travelling expenses.'¹ This partly accounts for Hutchinson retaining his post as Judge of Probate also; but Hosmer, when reviewing a portion of his official career, asserts that he was actuated by higher motives:

It is shooting quite wide of the mark to base any accusation of self-seeking on the number of Hutchinson's offices. The emoluments accruing from them all were very small; in some, in fact, his service was practically gratuitous. Nor was any credit or fame he was likely to gain from holding them at all to be weighed against the labour and vexation to be undergone in discharging their functions. A more reasonable explanation of his readiness to uphold such burdens is that the rich, high-placed citizen was full of public spirit. That he performed honourably and ably the work of these various offices there is no contradicting testimony. As a legislator no one had been wiser. As Judge of Probate he had always befriended widows and orphans. As Chief Justice, though not bred to the law, he had been an excellent magistrate. Besides all this, he had found time to write a History of New England, which must be regarded as one of the most interesting and important literary monuments of the Colonial period—a work digested from the most copious materials with excellent judgment, and presented in a style admirable for dignity, clearness and scholarly finish.²

Even Bancroft,³ the well-known American historian, of rigid revolutionary principles, bears testimony to Hutchinson's efficient discharge of his judicial duties, his kindly disposition, as evinced by his special attention to the claims of the helpless, and to his many talents, although, as might be expected, he strongly censures the Chief Justice's political conduct in the subsequent crisis, and assumes that it was prompted by interested motives.

At the time of Mr. Hutchinson's appointment there were mutterings of a possible storm. Recent orders from England had stirred up discontent in some quarters, and

¹ Lecky, *Hist. of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iv. ch. xi.

² Hosmer, *Samuel Adams*, ch. x., 'The Non-Importation Agreements.'

³ Bancroft (George), *History of the United States*, Epoch ii. ch. xxviii.

had, no doubt, occasioned the sharp retort contained in the reply to the Governor's speech. It has been shown that the New Englanders exulted in the unexpected discovery of their strength; flushed with triumph at their deliverance from French aggression, they laid unreasonable stress on the effect of their own exertions in procuring this result. And the measures of the British Government were especially grating to their feelings.

Coincident with this great invigoration of the tone of the Province [writes Hosmer] came certain changes in the English policy, changes which came about very naturally, but which in the temper that had begun to prevail aroused fierce resentment. As the Seven Years' War drew towards its close, it grew plain that England had incurred an enormous debt. Her responsibilities, moreover, had largely increased. All India had fallen into her hands, as well as French America. At the expense of her defeated rival her dominion was immensely expanding; vast was the glory, but vast also the care and the financial burden.¹

And thus the crucial question came to be a question of money.

Just at this critical moment, in the October of 1760, George II. died suddenly. He was neither a model man nor a model king, but his decease at this juncture was in some respects a misfortune, since he left the throne to an inexperienced youth of two-and-twenty, reared in notions of autocratic government. Moreover, the young King's accession is supposed to have produced an immediate effect on the feelings of many Americans towards England, which will not surprise those who know how very possible the return of the Stuarts² was considered up to that time. 'So long as they dreaded the re-establishment of a Popish dynasty,' writes Hawthorne, 'the people were fervent for the House of Hanover.'³ But the almost unquestioned

¹ Hosmer, *Samuel Adams*, ch. iii., 'The Writs of Assistance.'

² On this subject see Lecky, *Hist. of England in the Eighteenth Century*. The likelihood of this return had been gradually diminishing, but it was not many years since the rising of 1745 had startled and terrified the lovers of the House of Hanover.

³ Hawthorne (N.), 'Old News,' from *The Snow Image and other Tales*.

recognition of George III. must have swept away every vestige of apprehension.

The news of the old King's death was brought to Boston by an English vessel on December 27; it carried newspapers recording the event. But this was mere chance information, not official, and the question arose whether the new King could be proclaimed on the strength thereof, or whether all public Acts and deeds were to be worded as if George II. was still living until the official confirmation of his death arrived. The Governor assembled his Council, and, after an exhaustive debate, it was decided to proclaim George III. on the 30th. The propriety of this decision has been questioned, but the practical result was satisfactory.

Another curious circumstance marked this beginning of a new reign :

The first time the General Assembly, as a Court, listened to the Episcopal service, and to a sermon by a Church of England clergyman, was when they went to hear the Rector of the Chapel read prayers and preach on the death of George II., Jan. 1, 1761. But this the Court did in the afternoon, having paid the higher compliment to Dr. Cooper of attending at Brattle Street in the forenoon.¹

So writes Mr. Ellis, meaning by 'the Chapel,' of course, 'the King's Chapel.' And Mr. Hutchinson writes: 'This is the only instance of a sermon preached before the General Assembly in an Episcopal Church.'² He gives Governor Bernard the credit of having suggested the service to the rector. The 'Governor, Council, &c.,' went into mourning that same day; it is not stated how long they wore it.

Shortly before the decease of George II. Governor Bernard had received a despatch³ from Mr. Pitt, Secretary of State (afterwards Lord Chatham), touching on the sorest

¹ Ellis, 'The Royal Governors of Massachusetts' (Winsor, *Mem. Hist. Boston*, vol. ii. ch. ii.).

² Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, ch. ii.

³ *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*, by One of his Sons.

point in the relations between England and her American colonies—namely, the oppressive restrictions on trade, which, however, the Americans rendered to a great extent nugatory by a thoroughly organised system of smuggling. There was one form in which this lawless spirit manifested itself for which no possible excuse can be admitted. I give the outline of the situation in the words of Mr. Lecky :

At a time when Great Britain was straining every nerve to conquer Canada from the French, when the security of British America was one of the first objects of English policy, and when large sums were remitted from England to pay the Colonies for fighting in their own cause, it was found that the French fleets, the French garrisons, and the French West India islands, were systematically supplied with large quantities of provisions by the New England Colonies. The trade was carried on partly by ordinary smuggling, and partly under the cover of flags of truce, granted ostensibly for the exchange of prisoners, and large numbers of persons, some of them, it is said, high in official life, connived and participated in it. Pitt, who still directed affairs, wrote, with great indignation, that this trade must at all hazards be suppressed ; but the whole mercantile community of the New England seaports appears to have favoured or partaken in it, and great difficulties were found in putting the law into execution. The smuggling was even defended, with a wonderful cynicism, on the ground that it was good policy to make as much money as possible out of the enemy. Some papers seized in the possession of Frenchmen at New York showed clearly how extensive and well organised was the plan of the French for obtaining their supplies from New England. Amherst wrote to Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, to lay an embargo on all transports engaged in Government employ, and this measure was actually taken, but it was removed in little more than a month.

In order to detect, if possible, the smuggled goods, the Custom House officers in 1761 applied to the Superior Court in Massachusetts to grant them 'writs of assistance.' These writs, which were frequently employed in England, and occasionally in the Colonies, bore a great resemblance to the general warrants which soon after became so obnoxious in England. They were general writs authorising Custom House officers to search any house they pleased for smuggled goods, and they were said to have been sometimes used for purposes of private annoyance. They appear, however, to have been perfectly legal, and if their employment

was ever justifiable, it was in an attempt to put down a smuggling trade with the enemy in time of war.¹

Of the stringent view taken by Mr. Pitt, Secretary of State, on the subject of this treasonable traffic there is no doubt :

Secretary Pitt [writes Chalmers] sent remonstrances to the Governors, conceived in his usual vigour of sentiment, and expressed with his natural energy of language. He directed them, in the King's name, to make the most diligent inquiry into the state of that iniquitous trade ; to take every step authorised by law to bring such heinous offenders to condign punishment ; to use their utmost endeavours to investigate the artifices by which Acts of Parliament are eluded, that an evil may be restrained whereby the enemy are chiefly, if not alone, enabled to protract this long and expensive war.²

'In consequence of these orders,' says the Governor's son, Thomas Bernard,

two vessels, which had arrived at Boston from the Mississippi, and which were employed in this trade, were seized by the Comptroller of the Customs, with the assistance of the Sheriff of the County and of a file of soldiers ordered by the Governor from the Castle. Mr. Barrons, the Collector of the Customs at Boston, had been weak enough to forget his official situation, and to court popularity by favouring prosecutions, which had been instituted at Boston against the Admiralty Court, and against some of the officers of the Customs. Of the two vessels seized by the Governor's orders, Mr. Barrons had previously admitted one to an entry at the Custom House ; but afterwards, finding that it had been seized by the Comptroller, he sent to take possession of her in his own name ; and upon refusal behaved with great intemperance, and afterwards transmitted a formal complaint against the Governor for employing the military to interfere with the officers of the Customs in the execution of their duty. The Governor was never required to justify an act authorised by the King's special orders. In the meantime a charge which had been brought by Mr. Paxton, the Surveyor of the Customs, against Mr. Barrons, for several acts of official misconduct, was

¹ Lecky (W. H.), *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iv. ch. xi.

² Chalmers, *An Introduction, &c.*, ch. xx.

heard in form by the Surveyor-General; and the result was the suspension of the Collector from his office, and unsuccessful actions brought by him for very abundant damages against his judge, his accuser, and his successor.¹

So far the Governor's course had been tolerably clear, although hampered by factious opposition from the chief offenders; but this opposition assumed formidable dimensions when the question of writs of assistance was brought forward.² Probably these writs afforded the only chance of checking the evil effectively, as it seems to be admitted that many houses, and, no doubt, those of highly respectable merchants, according to the moral code of the colony, were used as receptacles for contraband articles. But the more general and reputable the practice, the greater was the difficulty of proceeding against it as a crime. The permission, or rather authorisation, of a search into the arrangements and contents of private houses was represented as a flagrant outrage. It was asserted that, although these writs might be legal in England, they had never been recognised in America. It is true that they had been occasionally in use under Governors Shirley and Pownall, but they were always much disliked, and Hutchinson had already recorded his own objections to them. The fact also that Sewall, the late Chief Justice, had expressed doubts as to their legality gave their adversaries a coign of vantage, and they determined to have the question argued in a Court of Justice.

Governor Bernard, foreseeing the large issues which would be raised from such a case, endeavoured, it is said, to stop the trial on technical grounds; but his Council, as might have been perhaps expected, took a different view, and he eventually yielded of necessity. 'The right of the Custom House officers to demand such help was then tried

¹ *Life of Sir Francis Bernard.*

² The transactions of this period are, of course, mentioned by most, probably all, historians, but not always fully. Hosmer (*Samuel Adams*, ch. iiii., 'The Writs of Assistance') goes into them at some length, as an American, but with moderation.

before the Supreme Court of Massachusetts,' writes Doyle.¹ 'The verdict was in their favour; but public opinion was strongly excited, and James Otis, the lawyer who opposed the Custom House officers, gained great popularity.' As advocate it was the duty of Otis to defend the officers, but he threw up this lucrative post and allowed their opponents, the merchants, to retain him as counsel, in which capacity he distinguished himself by a remarkable oratorical display.

Otis was a flame of fire [wrote John Adams, who witnessed the scene]. With a promptitude of classical allusions, a depth of research, a rapid summary of historical events and dates, a profusion of legal authorities, a prophetic glance of his eye into futurity, and a torrent of impetuous eloquence, he hurried away everything before him. American independence was then and there born; the seeds of patriots and heroes were then and there sown, to defend the vigorous youth, the *non sine diis animosus infans*. Every man of a crowded audience appeared to me to go away, as I did, ready to take arms against writs of assistance. Then and there was the first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain. Then and there the child Independence was born!²

The birth was not ushered by circumstances of moral grandeur. It was, no doubt, a stirring scene, and the speech of Otis was an extraordinary effort, especially considering its length; but it was virtually devoted to the maintenance of impunity in smuggling, even when carried to the extreme of assisting a foreign enemy against the King and country to which Massachusetts owed its safety, if not its existence. At the distance of more than a century Hosmer, an American by birth and also by affection, comments on this striking oration in a cool and dispassionate tone, strongly contrasting with the contemporary account just quoted:

John Adams also took notes of the speech of Otis, which have been preserved. It lasted between four and five hours, and was

¹ Doyle, *History of America*, ch. xviii. (Historical Course for Schools).

² *Diary of John Adams*. This passage is quoted by Hosmer in *Samuel Adams*, ch. iii., 'The Writs of Assistance.'

indeed learned, eloquent, and bold. The most significant passage is that in which, after describing the hardships endured by the Colonies through the Acts of Navigation and Trade, with passionate invective he denounced taxation without representation. It was by no means a new claim, but the masses of the people caught the words from his lips, and henceforth it came to be a common maxim in the mouths of all, that taxation without representation is tyranny. Hutchinson continued the case to the next term, 'as the practice in England is not known,' and James Otis went forth to be for the next ten years the idol of the people.

John Adams's assertion, that in this magnificent outburst American independence was born, will scarcely bear examination. The speech was not to such an extent epoch-making. Both orator and audience were thoroughly loyal, and had no thought of a contest of arms with the Mother Country. The principle asserted was only a re-avowal of what, as has been seen, had been often maintained. The argument was simply an incident in the long-continued friction between parent-land and dependency, not differing in essential character from scores of acts showing discontent which had preceded, though possessing great interest from the ability and daring of the pleader.¹

Notwithstanding the eloquence with which Otis had delighted his hearers, the case, as already said, was decided against his clients on the point of law. But this verdict seems to have had little effect, because the real power was in the hands of the people, and the people were on the other side. Chalmers depreciates the value of Pitt's utterances: 'Of the many who were guilty not one, however, was punished. And the event demonstrated that lofty words and swollen sentences are only derided when crimes are seen to continue in unmolested security.'² The peace of 1763 must, however, have put an end to the treasonable phase of American smuggling. But ere this was concluded John Adams found another occasion for appearing before the public as an advocate of popular rights.

In 1762 [writes Lecky], on the arrival of some French ships off Newfoundland, the inhabitants of Massachusetts, who were largely

¹ Hosmer, *Samuel Adams*, ch. iii., 'The Writs of Assistance.'

² Chalmers (George), *An Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the American Colonies*.

employed in the fishery, petitioned the Governor that a ship and sloop belonging to the Province should be fitted out to protect their fishing-boats. The Governor and Council complied with their request, and in order that the sloop should obtain rapidly its full complement of men he offered a bounty for enlistment. The whole expense of the bounty did not exceed 400*l*. The proceeding might be justified by many precedents, and it certainly wore no appearance of tyranny; but Otis, who had been made one of the representatives of Boston as a reward for his incendiary speech about the writs of assistance, saw an opportunity of gaining fresh laurels.¹

‘The Governor and Council having acted during a recess in the sessions of the Legislature,’ and consequently without consulting the House, ‘the jealousy of the opponents of the Administration led to a remonstrance against the Governor’s unwarranted outlay by a Committee of the Legislature of which Otis was chairman.’² So writes Gilman, the American historian of Boston. Lecky’s account, almost identical with his, proceeds as follows :

He [Otis] induced the House to vote a remonstrance to the Governor, declaring that he had invaded ‘their most darling privilege,’ the right of originating taxes, and that it would be of little consequence to the people whether they were subject to George, the King of Great Britain, or Lewis, the French King, if both were arbitrary, as both would be if both could levy taxes without Parliament.³

‘When this passage was read a member cried out “Treason! treason!”’⁴ But ‘it was with some difficulty that the Governor prevailed on the House to expunge the passage in which the King’s name was so disloyally introduced’⁵—a passage which certainly throws some doubt on the existence of that feeling of loyalty for which Hosmer has given Mr. Otis credit.

The currency question was one on which Bernard and

¹ Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iv. ch. xi.

² Gilman (Arthur), *The Story of Boston*, ch. xix., ‘A Maltster Enters Politics.’

³ Lecky.

⁴ Gilman

⁵ Lecky. The narrative of this altercation is also to be found in the histories of Hutchinson and others.

Hutchinson held decided views, and Otis took an equally decided view in opposition to theirs. The same may be said of most other questions. Thomas Bernard, indeed, states that his 'hostility, which he continued for several years,' was conducted 'not only with talents, but, so far as warmth of temper did not mislead, with candour and liberality.'¹ This verdict, which he must have received from his father, the Governor, shows a very charitable spirit. I do not know whether Mr. Otis would have confessed to the immediate exciting cause of his violence and obstruction, but I give Hosmer's opinion on this subject in corroboration of what has been previously said :

The assertion of Hutchinson that his opposition to the Government was due to wrath, into which he fell because his father had not been made Chief Justice in 1760, would not, unsupported, be sufficient to establish the fact. Gordon, however, who stood with the patriots, makes the same statement. The story is that Shirley had promised the place to the elder Otis, and that his son had exclaimed, 'If Governor Bernard does not appoint my father Judge of the Superior Court, I will kindle such a fire in the Province as shall singe the Governor, though I myself perish in the flames,' and that his resistance to the Governor began at the appointment of Hutchinson instead of his father. John Adams, too, touched by a slighting remark of Otis, and dashing down an odd outburst of testiness in his 'Diary,' hints at much self-seeking.

The Governor, willing to conciliate the Otis family, took the opportunity afforded by the settlement of Barnstable,² in which the principal Otis residence was situated, to confer on Colonel Otis the offices of Chief Justice and Judge of Probate for the county. These appointments carried with them considerable patronage and importance, and other posts were at the same time offered to the connections and friends of the family.

Whoever examines on the map the isolated position of the long peninsula of Barnstable will see that Colonel Otis

¹ *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*, by One of his Sons.

² 'Barnstable' is the most usual spelling of the name of this county and its chief town, but it is sometimes written 'Barnstaple.'

might have lived there as a little king, or ruler, under whatever epithet might be acceptable, but he, and still more his vehement son, had adopted the growing ideas of centralisation. Boston was to them Massachusetts, or, rather, it was their world. Had American affairs run in a tolerably smooth groove, the Barnstable arrangement might, indeed, have eventually answered, but unexpected changes, originating in the Mother Country, turned against Mr. Bernard the effects of his kindness and love of fairplay.

Whether the results would have been more satisfactory to the cause of loyalty if Colonel Otis had received the appointment he so much desired can, of course, never be known. Bearing in mind, however, the restless and aggressive natures of both father and son, it may be doubted if they would have been calm and peaceable subjects under any circumstances. And Governor Bernard evidently feared that one consequence of the Colonel's elevation might be a disturbance of the equilibrium of justice, which he was bound to prevent, at whatever hazard to himself.

It is curious to learn that at this period Hutchinson, the new Chief Justice, should have been for a while in a state of discontent with the Governor who had appointed him, as appears by some expressions in his Diary. His great-grandson supposes these entries to form the 'first rough draft of what was afterwards printed in his History,' with considerable modifications, however. In the Diary he says :

The Governor was very active in promoting seizures for illicit trade, which he made profitable by his share in the forfeitures ; but the Surveyor-General, who envied him his profits, differed with him, and suspended the Collector of Salem, who was the Governor's creature.

There had been other disputes, in none of which the Lt.-Govr. ever interested himself, nor did the Govr. make him privy to them. But having occasion to send to the Ministry a number of depositions concerning illicit trade, they were all sworn to before the Attorney-General or some other Justice of the Peace, except the depositions of the Deputy Judge of Admiralty Court, which, for what reason the Lieutenant-Governor knew not, the Govr. desired

might be attested by the Lt.-Govr. as Chief Justice. These depositions were all seen at the Plantation office by Briggs Hallowell, a merchant of Boston. He reported that complaint was made in them of John Rowe, Solomon Davy, and other merchants as illicit traders, and that they were sworn to before the Lt. Governor, when, indeed, he had not any knowledge of their names being mentioned, nor of the contents of any of the depositions except that of the Judge.¹

To this transaction Mr. Hutchinson then attributed his subsequent misfortunes. In his *History*,² however, he expresses no disapprobation of the Governor's conduct, although he could have enunciated his views with absolute impunity. But in the meantime they had become fast friends, and Mr. Hutchinson appears to have been converted by witnessing the Governor's self-sacrificing efforts to obtain from the British Government some relaxation of its oppressive trade regulations, notwithstanding the loss to his own income.

The Chief Justice must also have become aware at that period that whatever share the Deputy Judge of the Admiralty Court's deposition and the inspection of documents at the Plantation Office by Briggs Hallowell might have in preparing his troubles, many other causes contributed to them. In the first place, he was an eminently prosperous man, and such have always enemies, though, of course they have likewise numerous friends. The power of enemies to injure depends very much upon circumstances. In the case of Mr. Hutchinson they were favoured by the spirit of the age.

Some jealousy and animadversion was, no doubt, excited by his close connection with other officials, though it was brought about quite innocently by the simple fact of the families being thrown much together.³ Hutchinson was

¹ Hutchinson, *Diary and Letters*, vol. i. ch. iii.

² Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass. from 1749 to 1774*, ch. ii.

³ The particulars of this family connection are gathered from various parts of Hutchinson's *Diary*. John Adams, in the character of 'Novanglus' (*Boston Gazette*), some years later declaimed strongly against the Hutchinson and Oliver coalition, as he deemed it.

the widower of Margaret Sanford, whose sister Mary married Andrew Oliver, the Secretary, or third royal official in the province. Another Oliver was a judge, and two of his children married into Mr. Hutchinson's family. Lynde, the senior judge, must also have been on intimate terms with the connection, of which he became a member, by the union of one of his daughters with an Oliver. All this might easily be misrepresented by the opposition, although their members undoubtedly had friends and followers, and made the most of them.

That the Chief Justice's politics also, notwithstanding his moderation and tolerance, would not find favour with the restless spirits of the capital it is hardly necessary to state. That the merchants looked on him as an adversary is probable, but I am inclined to think that the feeling against him originated at an earlier period, before the attempted enforcement of the laws against smuggling, and was owing pre-eminently to the part he had taken in suppressing paper money. Thereby he intensified, if he did not originally incur, the enmity of an astute and vigorous man, whose name will ere long appear pre-eminently in these pages, a man who could not be offended with impunity—the ex-maltster and tax-collector, Samuel Adams.

CHAPTER XIII

THE NEW HOMES IN AND NEAR BOSTON

Altercations between Revenue Officers and the Smuggling Classes—The Old South Church—Faneuil Hall—Julia Bernard's Reminiscences—The Home near Roxbury—Shirley Place—Nathaniel Hawthorne's 'Legends of the Province House'—Life in Boston—Puritan Ideas of Religion—The Influence of Religion and Commerce—Slavery—The State of Society.

It must not be supposed that the peace of Massachusetts, or even of Boston, was disturbed by the events just narrated. The opposition kept, on the whole, within constitutional bounds, though some expressions were open to animadversion—mostly the utterances of one man, the younger Otis. The altercations between the revenue officers, aided by the military, and the smuggling classes were not of a fatal character; they did not seriously affect the domestic comfort of families—except, perhaps, in cases where a difference of opinion existed in the home circle—and certainly did not prevent quiet citizens from attending to business, and also to pleasure. Law and order were fully maintained.

The new homes of the Bernard family, and some aspects of Boston life, especially as it directly or indirectly affected the members of that family, will form the subject of this chapter. To some extent the superficial aspect of the town has already been described. It contained, of course, private houses, places of business, and public buildings of many sorts and sizes. Of public buildings, the most notable, in addition to the three mentioned in a previous chapter, were probably the Old South Church, which appears to have occupied the first position amongst Congregationalist places of worship, and Faneuil Hall.

The 'historic associations, . . . precious and stirring

memories,' connected with the 'Old South' commenced in right earnest from 1746, when pastors and people prayed for deliverance from a French invasion, and were rewarded by the wreck of the enemy's fleet almost at the same moment. This edifice, which was not remarkable for architecture, was furnished

with two galleries, as at present, and the pulpit in the same position as now, but larger and higher than this, with a sounding board projecting from the wall above the casing of the window; and with two seats directly in front, one, somewhat elevated, for the deacons, and one, still more elevated, for the elders. On each side of the middle aisle, and nearest the pulpit, were a number of long seats for aged people, and the rest of the floor, except the aisles and several narrow passages, was covered with square pews.

After quoting these details from Dr. Wisner,¹ Mr. Bynner notes with satisfaction that certain members of the congregation were allowed to worship at a distance from this formidable array of deacons and elders; for these—the 'children and servants in the galleries'—some suitable person 'was provided as an overlooker to ensure order.'

In 1741-2 Peter Faneuil, a merchant of Huguenot descent, erected and presented to the town a structure which bore his name as a market-house, with rooms for officials and a large hall for meetings. The original building was burned in 1761, but was immediately replaced; and this second Faneuil Hall became famous as the scene of excited political gatherings.²

Certain other edifices deserve a passing notice, such as 'the Triangular Warehouse,' pulled down in 1824, which stood 'on the north side of the town clock, opposite the swing-bridge,' and the origin of which was involved in mystery, some persons supposing it to have been a fort; also 'the Old Corner Bookstore,' said to have been erected after the great fire of 1711, which still exists, and is devoted to its original purpose. There were several inns with

¹ Wisner, *History of the Old South* (Historical Tracts).

² Smith (Charles E.), Treasurer of Mass. Hist. Society, 'The French Protestants in Boston' (Winsor, *Mem. Hist. Boston*, vol. ii. ch. vii.).

'quaint swinging signs' in Newbury Street, and one, 'The old Salutation Inn,' on Salutation Alley, at the north end; this was also called "The Two Palaverers," from the representation on the sign of two old gentlemen in wigs, cocked hats, and knee-breeches saluting each other with much ceremony.¹

Sundry private houses have called into play the descriptive powers of writers on Boston and its surroundings, and may be almost regarded as historical monuments. To quote from Mr. Ellis's interesting picture of aristocratic Boston:

There were many noble mansions, manor-houses indeed, in the town and suburbs, some of them still standing. At the North End, then the Court region of the town, were many square brick houses detached, with spacious grounds, stately trees, fine gardens and pastures. The Royal Governors, though the Province House . . . was provided for them, had town or country residences of their own. Besides his grand mansion at the North End, Governor Hutchinson had a summer dwelling on Milton Hill, which, with its magnificent view of the harbour and its extensive grounds, was an enviable residence. It still stands, though outwardly changed. The dwellings of Governor Belcher in Milton, Governor Bernard in Jamaica Plain, Judge Auchmuty in Roxbury, Governor Shirley on the edge of Dorchester, Ralph Inman in Cambridgeport, and Isaac Royall in Medford; and a whole series of grand houses in Cambridge on the way to Mount Auburn, mostly confiscated at the Revolution—the Apthorp, the Vassal, the Fayerweather, the Lee and Oliver mansions—still present suggestive memorials of the past. These edifices likewise marked large land estates, with spacious barns, stables, deer-parks, farms, and gardens, with barges for the bay and rivers.²

According to Mr. Drake, another writer in the same volume, Governor Bernard's house no longer exists.³ It is probable that some confusion has been caused by the fact that after the Governor's departure from America his

¹ Bynner, 'Topography,' &c. (Winsor, *Mem. Hist. Boston*, vol. ii. ch. xvii.).

² Ellis (George Edward), Vice-President of Mass. Hist. Society, 'The Royal Governors of Massachusetts' (Winsor, *Mem. Hist. Boston*, vol. ii. ch. ii.).

³ Drake (Francis S.), 'Roxbury in the Provincial Period' (Winsor, *Mem. Hist. Boston*, vol. ii. ch. xi.).

wife and family moved to a second country house. This change of residence, which I have discovered from a family manuscript, will be mentioned more particularly in due time.

Many years subsequent to Governor Bernard's death his youngest daughter, Julia, wrote down, for the information of her descendants some reminiscences—but, alas! very few—of her early days in America.¹ As she was not a year old when the family removed from New Jersey to Massachusetts, her recollections cannot have begun till some little time after her arrival. The domestic arrangements were, however, in all probability, much the same from the beginning. It will be noticed that she calls her father's official residence 'the Government House.' This can hardly be forgetfulness; it is likely to have been one of the names by which the mansion was known at that period.

Julia Bernard's reminiscences commence in the following manner:

It has often occurred to me that the circumstances of my early life were of an uncommon character, and that as I never was much of a talker concerning myself, a few memoranda of early days might some time be perused with interest by my grandchildren, who perhaps a few years hence may retain an imperfect recollection of me.

There appears to me to have been a largeness, an expansion in all the first impressions of my childhood;—born in a far distant country, where my Father was living as *Vice Roi*, habituated from my birth to the sea, in which I was often dipped while residing during the hot months at the beautiful spot Castle William, a high hill rising out of the sea in the harbour of Boston, where a residence was always ready for the Governor, a twelve-oared barge always at call to convey him backwards and forwards—the sea seemed as familiar as the land, and I can never recollect having a sensation of fear on it. An expansiveness of ideas in very early life seems to me to have much influence in forming the mind, and the kind of education we received from my Mother tended to increase this influence; it was an education of ideas, not of words; but of this I must speak more fully here—

¹ The MS. was lent to me by Julia Bernard's granddaughter, the late Mrs. Schneider, to be copied. It is now gone to Australia.

after, and endeavour to be a little more methodical and regular in my details.

It cannot be said that the writer ever attained to much method or regularity in her reminiscences; indeed, such a result, when she was making notes of events which had occurred more than fifty years before, was hardly to be expected, and her contributions to the family history are perhaps, all the more interesting for being unstudied. As she left America at the age of eleven, her observations are strictly those of a child, and should be judged accordingly. After mentioning some particulars of her father's pedigree, which have been recorded in previous chapters,¹ and noting her own birth and early departure from Perth Amboy, she continues :

My first recollections therefore were at Boston in a large house, the Government House, with a great number of servants, some black slaves and some white free servants; a peculiar state of intercourse with the inhabitants, everybody coming to us, and we going to nobody, a public day once a week, a dinner for gentlemen, and a drawing-room in the afternoon, when all persons of either sex who wished to pay their respects were introduced, various refreshments handed about, and some cards, I can remember. We had a man cook, a black, who afterwards came to England with us.

My Father had a country house also a few miles from Boston, and as I have mentioned, apartments at Castle William, where we moved when the weather became extremely hot, which it always was three months at least. The cold in winter was intense, but calm and certain; it set in early in November, and continued—a hard frost, the ground covered with snow—till perhaps the end of March, when a rapid spring brought in a very hot summer. During the winter all carriages are taken off the wheels and put upon runners, that is—sledges; and this is the

¹ Julia makes the mistake of supposing that the Huntingdonshire Bernards were the eldest line, the Abington Bernards coming after them; the fact being contrariwise—that the Huntingdonshire Bernards were descended from a younger son of an Abington squire. But the Abington Bernards were gone, whereas those of Brampton, in Huntingdonshire, were still in existence in Julia's youth. So the mistake was natural. Probably she had not looked into the subject for many years.

time they choose of all others for long journeys and excursions of pleasure. It was a common thing to say to a friend : ' Yours are bad roads ; I'll come and see you as soon as the snow and frost set in.' The travelling is then done with a rapidity and stillness that make it necessary for the horses to have bells on their heads ; and the music, cheerfulness, and bustle, of a bright winter's day were truly amusing and interesting. Open sledges, with perhaps twenty persons, all gay and merry, going about the country on parties of pleasure, rendered the winter a more animated scene than the hot summers present.

My Father, though not tall, had something dignified and distinguished in his appearance and manner ; he dressed superbly on all public occasions. My Mother was tall, and a very fine woman ; her dresses were ornamented with gold and silver, ermine, and fine American sable.

It would seem that, notwithstanding the ' peculiar state of intercourse ' with the neighbours, some method was discovered of becoming friendly with a certain number. In another portion of the reminiscences Julia says : ' There were many worthy and interesting families at Boston, that my Mother noticed much, and by whom she was greatly respected ; some of these we afterwards renewed our acquaintance with in England.' The grandeur at Government House is noted as having its drawbacks, at least to the younger members of the family : ' In Boston, none of the family, grown up Brothers excepted, ever walked out in the town ; we had a large garden, but it seemed rather a confinement.' She adds : ' Boston was seated on a peninsula, with only a road walled on each side to connect it with the country ; thus surrounded by the sea, it was a very healthy place.'

Fort, or Castle, William,¹ the delightful bathing-place, stood on a further peninsula in the bay, three miles from the town, connected with the mainland by a still narrower isthmus, and was usually occupied in part by a provincial company of soldiers. Equally beloved with this health

¹ The particulars in this paragraph are taken from various papers in Winsor's *Memorial History of Boston*, and other descriptive works on Boston and the neighbourhood.

resort was the rural home near Roxbury, with its fifty acres of land :

My Father had a very pleasant house at Jamaica Plain, built chiefly by himself ; there was a considerable range of ground, and a small lake about 100 acres attached to it, with a boat on it. On account of the frequency of large lakes, this was called Jamaica Pond. This residence we generally moved to in May, I think, and here we enjoyed ourselves extremely. We ran pretty much at liberty ; there was no form or etiquette. My Father was always on the wing on account of his situation. He had his own carriage and servants, my mother hers ; there was a town coach, and a whiskey for the young men to drive about. I was used from a child to ride on horseback ; and from childhood none of us had any fear of anything. I often think over these early days of my existence, of so different a character from the latter periods of my life. All seemed great, enlightened, and enjoyable.

I have not met with any further description of the house beside Jamaica Pond, but the allusions to the neighbours in Mr. Drake's paper, as well as in Mr. Ellis's, already quoted, show that the Bernards may have numbered some of their most congenial acquaintances among the denizens of this region, where the stiffness of etiquette would no doubt be relaxed. Mr. Drake says :

Several fine old mansions, yet remaining in Roxbury, serve as memorials to the present generation of the Tory gentry who built and occupied them, and who at that time constituted the aristocracy of the town. The loyalists of Roxbury were without exception men of high character. . . . Three of them, Sir William Pepperell the younger, Isaac Winslow, and Commodore Loring, were members of the Governor's Council. . . . Shirley Place, on Shirley Street, the grandest of these old residences, built by Governor Shirley about 1748, became about 1764 the property of Judge Eliakim Hutchinson, Shirley's son-in-law.¹

Shirley afterwards returned to this mansion, which was situated between Roxbury and Dorchester, and died there in 1771. 'Another of these relics of colonial days stands at the corner of Cliff and Washington Streets. It was built about 1761 by the younger Judge Auchmuty, who resided

¹ Drake (Francis S.), 'Roxbury in the Provincial Period' (Winsor's *Mem. Hist. Boston*, vol. ii. ch. xi.).

here until the breaking out of the Revolution.' One more of the mansions may be mentioned, built about 1738, and belonging to Captain Benjamin Hallowell, a distinguished officer in the French war, and hereafter to be noticed in his capacity of Comptroller of Customs.¹ The views given of these homes in Winsor's 'History of Boston' show them to have been, in the provincial period, pleasant country seats.

The Province, or Government House, was visited about the middle of this century by Nathaniel Hawthorne, who has written some interesting but melancholy pages on the subject. From his account, which tallies in the main with the passages already quoted from Mr. Ellis's descriptive sketch in a previous chapter, I venture, at the risk of some repetition, to make a few notes and extracts, suppressing as far as possible his allusions to the deplorable condition of that historic mansion at the time when he wrote.

The Province House² was built of brick imported from Holland, and entered by a flight of stone steps fenced in by a balustrade of curiously wrought iron, over which was a balcony with an iron balustrade of similar pattern and workmanship to that below, 'and into the ironwork of the balcony' the date and initials already mentioned³ were wrought. 'A wide door with double leaves' led into the 'hall or entry,' on the right of which was the entrance into a spacious room :

It was in this apartment, I presume, that the ancient Governors held their levées with vice-regal pomp, surrounded by the military men, the Counsellors, the judges, and other officers of the Crown, while all the loyalty of the Province thronged to do them honour. . . . The most venerable ornamental object is a chimneypiece, set round with Dutch tiles of blue-figured china, representing scenes from Scripture; and, for aught I know, the lady of Pownall or Bernard may have sat beside this fireplace, and told her children the story of each blue tile. . . .

¹ 'In some documents Benjamin is denominated a Comptroller, while in the Conspiracy Act he is called late Commissioner of the Customs.' Sabine, *American Loyalists*.

² Hawthorne (Nathaniel), 'Legends of the Province House,' No. 1, Howe's *Masquerade*.'

³ See ch. xi. of this volume, p. 252.

The great staircase, however, may be termed, without much hyperbole, a feature of grandeur and magnificence. It winds through the midst of the house by flights of broad steps, each flight terminating in a square landing-place, whence the ascent is continued towards the cupola. A carved balustrade . . . borders the staircase with its quaintly twisting and intertwining pillars, from top to bottom. Up these stairs the military boots, or perchance the gouty shoes of many a Governor have trodden, as the wearers mounted to the cupola, which afforded them so wide a view over their metropolis, and the surrounding country. The cupola is an octagon, with several windows, and a door opening upon the roof. . . . Descending . . . I paused in the garret to observe the ponderous white oak framework, so much more massive than the frames of modern houses, and thereby resembling an antique skeleton.

The apartments of the mansion were mostly too disfigured to be worth describing here; but after expatiating on their dilapidation Hawthorne continues :

We stepped forth from the great front window into the balcony where, in old times, it was doubtless the custom of the King's representative to show himself to a loyal populace, requiting their huzzas and tossed up hats with stately bendings of his dignified person. In those days, the front of the Province House looked upon the street; and the whole site now occupied by the brick range of stores, as well as the present courtyard, was laid out in grass plats, overshadowed by trees, and bordered by an iron-wrought fence.

Mr. Ellis, it has been seen, believed that a courtyard existed in the days of the Royal Governors,¹ and he is no doubt right, since courtyards were almost indispensable adjuncts to mansions at the time when the Province House was erected. Moreover, Julia Bernard uses the word 'court' with reference to the Governor's town residence. But this court may have been adorned with grass plats and shaded by trees.

Mr. Bynner has undertaken the cheerful task of recalling the courtly functions of the Province House in its bright days.

¹ Ellis, 'The Royal Governors of Massachusetts' (Winsor, *Mem. Hist.*, vol. ii. ch. ii.).

Of the interior [he says] we have little account, Hawthorne's well-known picture of the house in its decay belonging to a later page; but from the few hints given the ready fancy may easily rear again the vanished walls, and call back the old-time scenes of stately ceremonial, official pomp, or social gayety, many a dinner, rout, or ball, where dames magnificent in damask and brocade, towering headdress and hoop petticoat—where cavaliers in rival finery of velvet or satin, with gorgeous waistcoats of solid gold brocade, with wigs of every shape, the tie, the full-bottomed, the ramillies, the albemarle, with glittering swords dangling about their silken hose—where, in fine, the wise, the witty, gay and learned, the leaders in authority, in thought and in fashion, the flower of old Provincial life, trooped in full tide through the wainscotted and tapestried rooms, and up the grand old winding staircase with its carved balustrades and its square landing-places, to do honour to the hospitality of the martial Shute, the courtly Burnet, the gallant Pownall, or the haughty Bernard.¹

By what unfortunate concatenation of circumstances Governor Bernard has been branded with the epithet 'haughty,' and indeed with others more objectionable, the course of the narrative will unfold. Whether Mr. Bynner has not exaggerated the splendour of the Provincial Court may be doubtful. Before the Governor's wife left America the furniture of the Province House was sold; the list in the 'Massachusetts Gazette'² scarcely gives an idea of grandeur; it appears in some respects even scanty; but there is no certainty that everything was included in the public sale.

One set of crimson damask chairs, with carved mahogany frames, and window cushions and curtains to match, formed the most sumptuous decorations in the way of furniture, according to the printed list; and there were but twelve chairs and two curtains of this sort. The drapery of the principal bedrooms appears to have been crimson and yellow moreen, white check, blue and white chintz, &c., which were then favourite materials. The '8 Mahogo. dining Tables' and '6 setts of Leather bottom chairs' were no doubt required

¹ In 'Topography and Landmarks of the Provincial Period.'

² *The Massachusetts Gazette and the Boston Weekly News-Letter* (Draper's), Thursday, September 6, 1770.

for those dinner-parties on reception days which Julia has recorded; possibly some of the chairs and tables were used for other rooms on quiet days. The '3 Tables forming a horse-shoe for the benefit of the Fire in winter' seem to attest the severity of the climate; but I believe such tables were also used in England. There is no particular description of 'the great variety of rich china and glass ware'; it is easy to understand that a large quantity of such necessities or luxuries would be required for the eight tables used on public days, and of fine quality. The most interesting item is perhaps '100 Orange, Lemon, Fig, and Cork Trees,' as these are no doubt evidence of a special taste in the Governor or his wife.

And now, turning from Mr. Bernard's own home to the life in the city around him, some curious particulars may be noticed. Few Government towns probably have been kept continuously under such strict discipline, with regard to certain points, as Boston. The New Englanders were a stern race. Thomas Bernard remarks that the laws of Massachusetts were in many respects based on the Jewish code:

Adultery, at first a capital crime in New England as in Judea, was afterwards punished by severe whipping and by infamy; the change of attire between the sexes, prohibited among the Jews, was at Boston punishable by whipping and fine. By the law of Moses the thief made a recompense of fourfold and in some instances five-fold value; the Provincial Law gave to the injured person a forfeiture of treble value and to the State a fine. The Jewish false witness suffered that which would have been inflicted on the accused, had the testimony been true; the law of Massachusetts fixed the recompense at a certain sum, and added six months' imprisonment. Under the Theocracy the violation of the Sabbath was high-treason, and was avenged by death; the Provincial Law prohibited the going abroad on the Lord's day either for recreation or business, under the penalty of a fine, which was levied with certainty and effect.¹

This assertion is verified by Mr. Scudder, who quotes the

¹ *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*, by One of his Sons.

Englishman Bennett on the subject. It should be noted that the Sabbath in Massachusetts began at sunset on Saturday and lasted through the whole of Sunday, comprising, therefore, more than a day of twenty-four hours. During this period, it is stated by Mr. Bennett,

They will not suffer any one to walk down to the water-side, though some of the houses are adjoining to the several wharfs; nor even in the hottest days of summer will they admit of any one to take the air on the Common, which lies contiguous to the town, as Moorfields does to Finsbury. And if two or three people, who meet one another in the street by accident, stand talking together—if they do not disperse immediately upon the first notice, they are liable to fine and imprisonment, and I believe whoever it be that incurs the penalties on this account are sure to feel the weight.¹

In 1746 the town justices announced that they intended, by way of stopping all infringement of the law, to perambulate the streets themselves on Sunday, as the surest mode of detecting offenders. Some years before, in 1723-4, it appears that a Mr. Valentine having committed suicide one Sunday morning, his widow had to obtain a permit from Judge Sewall before she dared send one of her negroes to Freetown to apprise her son of the tragedy, and this permit was, it seems, an extraordinary indulgence.

The fact that the Puritan ideas of religion were based mainly on the Old Testament may help to account for the one-sided view of liberty held by a people which made liberty its idol; it was a view which in the past had earned the New Englanders a questionable reputation for shooting Indians, hanging witches, and flogging Quakers, and which still allowed them to traffic in slaves. On this last point Hosmer observes:

New England needed a great fleet, having as she did a good part of the carrying trade of the thirteen Colonies, with that of the West Indies also. Another industry, less salutary, was the distilling of rum; and much of this went in the ships of Boston and

¹ Seudder (Horace E.), 'Life in Boston in the Provincial Period' (Winsor's *Mem. Hist. Boston*, vol. ii. ch. xvi.).

Newport men to the coast of Africa, to be exchanged for slaves. It was a different world from ours, and should be judged by different standards.¹

Besides negroes, there were some few Indian slaves in Massachusetts, chiefly prisoners of war. It is fair to add that the slavery of the Northern colonies, being domestic, was less cruel than the same institution in the South, and that a feeling of its immorality was gaining ground. With this feeling came a desire to throw the onus of the disgrace on England, who was undoubtedly far from guiltless. It was reported that every Governor had orders to suppress all Bills in favour of emancipation which might be brought forward in the House of Representatives. Dr. Belknap, in 1790, asserted that the oldest merchants never remembered more than three ships from Boston being employed the same year in the slave trade;² that the traders were reprobated, and sometimes repented in their last hours. Still, the slaves who did arrive evidently found purchasers, and the Doctor does not improve his apology by adding: "Negro children were reckoned an encumbrance, and when weaned were given away like puppies."

The two ruling classes of Boston, who may be held primarily responsible for its condition, were the ministers of religion and the merchants;³ and both of these bodies appear to have possessed as much of the grandee spirit as if their most eminent members had been Lords Spiritual and Temporal. The ministers, mostly Congregationalist, received a fairly learned education at Harvard College. Some few among them held Unitarian views,⁴ which must, therefore, have been to a certain extent diffused amongst the people. 'Episcopalians' were barely tolerated, and the

¹ Hosmer's *Samuel Adams*, ch. i., 'The Youth and his Surroundings.'

² Winsor, *Mem. Hist. Boston*. Note by Editor to vol. ii. ch. xvi., Scudder's 'Life in Boston, &c.'

³ Hosmer, *Samuel Adams*, ch. i., 'The Youth,' &c.

⁴ McKenzie (Rev. Alexander, D.D.), 'The Religious History of the Provincial Period' (Winsor, *Mem. Hist. Boston*, vol. ii. ch. vi.); Peabody (Rev. Andrew P., D.D., LL.D.), 'The Unitarians in Boston' (Winsor, *Mem. Hist. Boston*, vol. iii. ch. xi.).

dread of seeing an English bishop, or an American bishop consecrated in England, installed at Boston was as pervading as the disgust at English interference with trade. Religion and commerce were the two stumbling-blocks to cordiality between England and her American colonies. The merchants probably varied in point of education. There was much wealth in this body, despite the oppressive trade regulations emanating from England, because they had no scruple in evading those decrees. Travellers speak of their display in carriages, furniture, entertainments, dress, &c., as rivalling the ostentation of the wealthier classes in England. Bennett writes: 'The ladies here visit, drink tea, and indulge every little piece of gentility to the height of the mode, and neglect the affairs of their family with as good a grace as the first ladies in London.'¹ But, since theatricals were prohibited and dancing discouraged, their opportunities for ostentation must have been fewer; the receptions at the Province House, and possibly a moderate number of assemblies in private mansions, may be reckoned as such. Beyond these, and the religious services, the fashionable promenade in the avenue called The Mall afforded almost the only chance of parading before the public, and it was largely frequented.

If the account written by John Adams in 1759 may be trusted, the young men of the day lived much like their European brethren. He says:

I spent one evening this week at Billy Belcher's. I sat, book in hand, on one side of the fire, while Doctor Wendell, Billy Belcher, and Stephen Cleverly, and another young gentleman, sat in silence round the card-table all the evening. Two evenings I spent at Samuel Quincy's in the same manner. Doctor Gardiner, Henry Quincy, Ned Quincy, and Samuel Quincy, all playing cards the whole evening. This is the wise and salutary amusement that young gentlemen take every evening in this town. Playing cards, drinking punch and wine, smoking tobacco and swearing, &c., &c.²

¹ Scudder (Horace E.), 'Life in Boston in the Provincial Period' (Winsor *Mem. Hist. Boston*).

² Adams (John), *Diary, with Passages from an Autobiography*, p. 62.

The dissipation did not always stop there; as might be supposed, not all the severity of Puritan discipline could prevent occasional outbreaks of lawlessness in the men of the pampered classes. Mr. Scudder quotes from the *Journal of Captain Francis Goelet*, written in 1750, the following passage:

At Mr. Sheppard's a company of about forty gentlemen, after having dined in a very elegant manner upon turtle, &c., drank about the toasts and sang a number of songs, and were exceedingly merry until three o'clock in the morning, from whence went upon the Rake, going past the Commons on our way home, surprised a company of country young men and women with a violin at a tavern, dancing and making merry. Upon our entering the house the young women fled; we took possession of the room, having the fiddler and the young man with us, with the keg of sugared dram.¹

Vice, indeed, assumed much the same forms as in Europe. In Adams's 'Diary' an aggravated case of seduction and desertion is recorded, without any suggestion that it was at all an uncommon occurrence or had evoked any special indignation.²

Boston, though favoured with ample space for expansion and boundless facilities for drafting off its superfluous population, already possessed its dangerous classes, chiefly connected with the shipping. 'The caulkers were bold politicians. The rope-walk hands were energetic to turbulence, courting the brawls with the soldiers which led to the Boston Massacre.'³ This so-called 'massacre' occurred some years later; but the way was already in course of preparation for that catastrophe, and for much else. Hosmer, from whom this description is taken, continues: 'It must be said too that the taverns thrived. New England rum was very plentiful; the cargo of many a ship that passed the "Boston Light," of many a townsman and "high

¹ Scudder, 'Life in Boston in the Provincial Period' (Winsor, *Mem. Hist. Boston*, vol. ii. ch. xvi.).

² Adams (John), *Diary*.

³ Hosmer, *Samuel Adams*, ch. i., 'The Youth and his Surroundings.'

private" who came to harsh words, and perhaps fisticuffs, in Pudding Lane or Dock Square.'

John Adams bitterly deplored the multiplication of taverns, and their consequent decline in respectability.

The accommodation of strangers, and perhaps of town inhabitants on public occasions, are the only warrantable intentions of a tavern. . . . But [he continues], at the present day, such houses are become the eternal haunt of loose disorderly people of the same town, which renders them offensive and unfit for the entertainment of a traveller of the least delicacy. . . . Young people are tempted to waste their time and money, and to acquire habits of intemperance and idleness, that we often see reduce many to beggary and vice, and lead some of them at last to the prisons and the gallows. . . . But the worst effect of all, and which ought to make every man who has the least sense of his privileges tremble, these houses are become in many places the nurseries of our legislators. An artful man, who has neither sense nor sentiment, may by gaining a little sway among the rabble of a town multiply taverns and dram-shops, and thereby secure the votes of tavernier and retailer, and of all; and the multiplication of taverns will make many who may be induced by flip and rum to vote for any man whatever.¹

John Adams endeavoured, but in vain, to stir the Legislature into resistance to this evil.

Nathaniel Hawthorne, the American novelist, who claimed to be an ardent patriot, has, in his interesting but somewhat sensational sketch entitled 'Old News,' related in a cursory manner some of the facts of Massachusetts life. The survey extends over a large portion of the provincial period; but the greater number of the observations appear to refer especially to its later years:

New England was then in a state incomparably more picturesque than at present, or than it has been within the memory of man; there being as yet only a narrow strip of civilisation along the edge of a vast forest, peopled with enough of its original race to contrast the savage life with the customs of another world. The white population also was diversified by the influx of all sorts of expatriated vagabonds, and by the continual importation of bond-servants from Ireland and elsewhere, so that

¹ Adams (John), *Diary*, pp. 84-5.

there was a wild and unsettled multitude forming a strong minority to the sober descendants of the Puritans. Then there were the slaves, contributing their dark shade to the picture.¹

The bond-servants were, it appears, to all intents slaves during the term of years for which they were bound.² They were, for the most part, either persons who had committed legal offences, and thus served their time of detention, or pauper emigrants who had paid their passage by selling themselves. Both these classes were to be met with in the American provinces. Hawthorne credits Massachusetts with quite an average share of fraud, profligacy, and violence, which is certainly what might be expected from such a population as he has described. This opinion, however, was formed, apparently, by reading old newspapers—whence the title of the sketch. And the perusal of such publications, concentrating in their columns all available records of sin and suffering, is likely to tinge with gloom any subsequent reflections on the epoch which they profess to illustrate.

Other writers have looked at the brighter side of the question in its various aspects. Hosmer, after his description of the disorderly population to be found in Boston, adds: 'The prevailing tone of the town, however, was decent and grave. The churches were thronged on Sundays and at Thursday lecture, as they have not been since. All classes were readers.'³ Thomas Bernard admired some of the customs and institutions of Massachusetts, and considered its moral tone, on the whole, superior to the English standard, which was certainly not high. In this view he is supported by men of such opposite politics as Hutchinson⁴ and Franklin.⁵ Great crimes, according to the same witness, were almost unknown in the province; during the nine years of Governor Bernard's administration only one

¹ Hawthorne (Nathaniel), *The Snow Image and other Tales*, 'Old News.'

² See Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii. ch. vi. and vol. iv. ch. xi.

³ Hosmer, *Samuel Adams*, ch. i., 'The Youth and his Surroundings.'

⁴ Hutchinson (Governor Thos.), *Diary and Letters*, vol. i. ch. i.

⁵ Franklin (Benjamin), *Life by Himself*, vol. ii. ch. ix.

murder was committed, and that was by a stranger passing through the country.¹

This immunity from great crimes was, no doubt, partly due to the comfortable circumstances of the inhabitants of Massachusetts. Benjamin Franklin, when on a visit to Lord Hillsborough in Ireland in 1772, was struck with the melancholy condition of the peasantry. 'I thought often,' he wrote, 'of the happiness of New England, where every man is a freeholder, has a vote in public affairs, lives in a tidy, warm house, has plenty of good food and fuel, with whole clothes from head to foot, the manufacture, perhaps, of his own family.'² And Thomas Bernard, nearly thirty years after his return to England, made the following note :

One of my earliest pleasures, in part of my youth spent in America, was to view the eagerness with which the young labourer laid up the greatest part of his earnings, confident that when he married and settled in life it would secure him the property of a comfortable house and a little land, and assist with his daily labour in the support of his family.³

He adds, 'The advanced state of society may prevent the whole of this example from being imitable in England,' but recommends the practice of thrift as conducive to good results even in less favourable circumstances.

The Governor's son elsewhere observes that the painful contrast between great wealth and abject poverty which existed in the Mother Country was unknown in Massachusetts, which might be owing not only to the fact of its being a comparatively new settlement, and to the prudent habits of the people, but also to its legal code, which was, indeed, adapted to the circumstances of the people. Primogeniture was but slightly recognised by custom, and the law allowed the eldest son, in cases of intestacy, only a

¹ *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*, by One of his Sons.

² Parton (John), *Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin*, ch. vi.

³ Prefatory Introduction to vol. ii. of *The Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor*. The above remarks are contained in a note.

double portion. Thus property of every sort was prevented from accumulating in a few hands to the same extent as in England and certain other European countries.

Thomas Bernard, indeed, despite the trouble which had overtaken his family in consequence of its connection with America, always wrote eulogistically on this point—the general well-being of all classes of the country in which he had passed his early youth :

The European system of elevating a few individuals at the expense of the multitude, and of erecting an aristocratic fabric of wealth and luxury on the labour and servitude of the many, a system peculiar to ancient and extended empires, was happily unknown in New England ; instead of it there was a confident spirit and enjoyment of independence, that renewed the memory of the original equality of mankind. The means of subsistence were easy and open to all ; beggars were unknown in the country : the virtuous confidence of industry and liberty left no citizen to ask alms ; hardly any to accept donations. . . . So true is it that liberty, while it constitutes the happiness, increases and confirms the virtue of mankind.¹

¹ *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*, by One of his Sons.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CLOSE OF A PEACEFUL EPOCH

Harvard College—Poems by Governor Bernard—The Proposed Bishop for New England—The Scheme for Founding another College in Massachusetts—Governor Bernard's Exertions for the Development of the Material Resources of his Province—British Restrictions—The Expatriation of Nova Scotians—The Expedition from Massachusetts—General John Winslow—The Treatment of the Acadians—Popularity of Governor Bernard—Address to him.

IN the present chapter some miscellaneous details will be given of Governor Bernard's life and administration during the first years of his residence in Massachusetts—those years which preceded the great storm raised by the imprudence of Ministers in England, who were ignorant of the amount of agitation and intrigue in the colonies, and of the difficulties by which their more loyal inhabitants were hampered.

The infant University of Massachusetts, then called Harvard College, early secured a place in Mr. Bernard's affections. As Governor he was, indeed, bound to show this institution a measure of regard and countenance. Commencement Day—the first Wednesday in July—was always the occasion of a public solemnity.

The Governor, attended by his body-guard, came from Boston by way of Roxbury, and often by Watertown, reaching Cambridge about ten o'clock. A procession consisting of the Corporation, overseers, officers and students, magistrates and other friends of the College, having then formed, moved from Harvard Hall to the Congregational Church, where the exercises of the day were to take place. The opening prayer by the President, the Salutatory in Latin which followed, the part assigned to each member of the graduating class, the coming forward to the platform to receive their degrees from the President while he addressed them in Latin,

constituted the 'Commencement Exercises.' . . . The morning programme having been concluded, the procession returned to Harvard Hall for dinner, after which it reformed, and returning to the church, listened to the Masters' disputations, the President's address, and the Valedictory. The conferring of the Masters' degrees then followed, at the conclusion of which the students escorted the Governor, Corporation, and overseers in procession to the President's house, and thus the ceremonies of the day were closed.¹

But Governor Bernard's interest in Harvard College extended beyond the formalities required of him in his official capacity; and its situation at Cambridge, in the immediate vicinity of Boston, permitted him to seek relief from the cares of State in association with its inmates and the congenial task of fostering their studies. On this subject Thomas Bernard writes :

Devoid of the habits and examples of the fine arts, and of cultivated and elegant life, and neither favoured with that atmosphere of science which envelops a great place of education, nor encouraged by the splendid prospects of elevation in the State, which the English Universities enjoy, the members of Harvard College nevertheless made a successful progress in literature. Some acquaintance with the poetic, but more with the prosaic, compositions of the ancients; a competent knowledge of the technical parts of logic and rhetoric, and a considerable proficiency in natural philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy, particularly in the practical parts, were the result of the four years' residence, previous to their taking their first degree.²

In this matter Thomas Bernard spoke with full knowledge. While his father was in New Jersey he had 'received the rudiments of education under the care of an English clergyman, who had established a school in that Province';³ but in due time he was transferred to Harvard. When this happened he was, no doubt, still very young. The Harvard

¹ Bush (George Gary), *Harvard, the First American University*, 'Commencement Day.'

² *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*, by One of his Sons, from which book the following account of the *Pietas et Gratulatio* is entirely taken.

³ *Life of Sir Thomas Bernard, Baronet*, by the Rev. James Baker, his nephew and executor.

students were generally, in point of age, on a par with English public-school boys—of the upper forms perhaps—and often left about the time when lads in the Mother Country would be entering a University. This fact of course renders the standard of scholarship which they attained all the more creditable.

Having regard to the Governor's delight in Latin verse, it is not surprising that he should have endeavoured to refine and soften the somewhat rugged type of student which Harvard then produced. The death of George II., the accession, marriage and coronation of George III., furnished—as he thought—suitable topics for a small volume of poems designed to enlighten the king and people of England as to the progress of education in Massachusetts. He suggested that the College should follow the custom established in the English Universities, of writing poetical tributes in commemoration of such public events. The undertaking, however, proved extremely arduous.

The President [the Rev. Edward Holyoke] was a worthy and respectable man, but far advanced in years, and never, not even in the fervour of youth, distinguished for the enthusiasm of his poetic character. Poetry, indeed, had never been the pride or passion of the place, nor could it be expected to flourish in a country where the novelty of the settlement, the religious prejudices, the political habits, the cast, the genius, the character of the people, were all adverse to its prosperity. It was not without considerable difficulty that Governor Bernard prevailed on the College to make so unprecedented an attempt.¹

Thirty-one poems were eventually written. Of these nine were by the Governor himself, in Greek and Latin, and several others, if not all the rest, owed their existence to the stimulus of prizes offered by him. The main topics were, of course, the demise of one king and the succession of another, but considerable range of ideas was allowed and even encouraged. Thomas Bernard considered the first poem, 'Adhortatio Præsidis,' as the best of his father's compositions; he also notices the last, a Sapphic ode, as

¹ *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*, by One of his Sons.

remarkable for its prophecy of the increase of population and development of the arts in the New World. He asserts, moreover, that 'the *Pietas et Gratulatio* of Harvard College was received in England with applause and surprise.'¹ This it is easy to believe; from no colony, probably, was such a tribute of loyalty less expected than from Massachusetts; and the display of talent for Latin versification was an equal surprise. The collection still remains a unique monument of its kind, for circumstances effectually prevented any repetition of the effort.

A recent writer (Mr. Goddard) styles this volume, indeed,

The most ambitious typographical and literary work attempted on the Continent previous to the Revolution. . . . The contributions are all metrical, three in Greek, eleven in Latin, twelve in English. The typography was very beautiful, and far surpassed anything of the kind attempted on the Continent in the last century. The Greek type was the same which Thomas Hollis gave to the College in 1718. This was the first and last time it was used, being lost in the burning of Harvard Hall two years later. The contributions were printed anonymously; but with few exceptions the authorship has been carefully, and no doubt accurately, traced.² Governor Bernard was the only contributor not educated at the University.³

It is curious that, notwithstanding the affection which the Governor continued to manifest for Harvard, one of the accusations brought against him during the subsequent troubles should have been that he had attempted to injure the institution by promising a charter to another college. The affair is but cursorily alluded to by his son, and not at all by most historians; but since it formed, some years later, an article of impeachment against him, it is desirable to

¹ The title is '*Pietas et Gratulatio Collegii Cantabrigiensis apud Novanglios Bostoni, Massachusettensium*. Typis J. Green & J. Russell, MDCCLXII.' I have not been able to obtain a copy of the book, which is, no doubt, very rare.

² The other names are given as President Holyoke, John Lovell, Stephen Sewall, Benjamin Church, John Lowell, James Bowdoin, Peter Oliver, Samuel Cooper, John Winthrop, and Hollis.

³ Goddard (Delano A.), Editor of the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 'The Press and Literature of the Provincial Period' (Winsor, *Mem. Hist. Boston*, vol. ii. ch. xv.).

inquire into the motives of the political opposition for taking up the subject, and treating the Governor's conduct as an offence of the deepest dye. The explanation seems to be found in the 'Memoirs of Thomas Hollis,'¹ a famous English antiquary and munificent benefactor to Harvard, but a sworn foe to monarchy and prelacy. It appears that on the Sunday following January 30, 1749-50, Jonathan Mayhew, a young Boston minister who became famous in his special line, preached a sermon which aroused in Mr. Hollis a feeling of veneration for the author. This sermon was evidently on the execution of Charles I., that event having taken place on January 30 a hundred and one years before. Some time later circumstances led to a correspondence between Hollis and Mayhew, and one of Mayhew's letters enters upon the subject of the proposed charter. This epistle is dated April 6, 1762, and the portion alluded to runs thus:

We are apprehensive, Sir, that there is a scheme forming for sending a Bishop into these parts, and that our G—m—r, Mr. B——d, a true Churchman, is deep in the plot. This gives us a good deal of uneasiness, as we think it will be of bad consequence, at the same time that we are much at a loss how or in what manner to make opposition to it. If you should happen to hear it discoursed of, I believe I may assure you that you could not do the body of the people in New England a more important service, or lay them under stronger obligations, than by using your influence in such ways as may appear proper to you to prevent this project's taking effect. And I should be glad if you would take an opportunity to hint something as to this affair to Mr. Mauduit and other leading dissenters in England, who might be likely, as occasion offered, to appear in opposition to such a proposal.

There has been another scheme lately set on foot here, which we are very generally of opinion would be highly prejudicial to Harvard College, and indeed to the general interests of learning amongst us. I mean founding another college in this Province at about 70 or 80 miles distant [*sic*] from the former.

¹ *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Esq., F.R.S. and A.S.S.*, published in 1830, and apparently compiled by more than one person. The correspondence is given in the *Memoirs*.

A number of persons in that part of the country lately petitioned our General Court for a charter to that end, which petition, after many debates, was thrown out. Since when Mr. Bernard has taken it upon him, as the King's Governor, to prepare a charter for that purpose. This step has given an almost universal uneasiness and alarm; not only as we think the scheme itself of bad tendency, but also because we generally suppose that the Governor has no such authority as he asserts, and has thus assumed to himself, of granting charters.

The proposed College in Hampshire County, for which a Charter was sought, was, according to Quincy, a scheme of the strict Calvinists,¹ who were troubled by the toleration practised at Harvard, toleration which, indeed, seems to have degenerated into latitudinarianism among a certain set. It must be added that Harvard had shown signs of alarm when the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts² had established a mission chapel for the benefit of Episcopal or Church of England students; its ideas of toleration did not extend far in that direction.

The letter continues :

As soon as the overseers of Harvard College (consisting of all the members of his Majesty's Council, the Congregational ministers of Boston and five other neighbouring towns) heard of the Governor's taking this step, and before the said charter was actually issued, though signed and sealed, they had a meeting; and a committee was appointed to draw up reasons against issuing said Charter, to be laid before his Excellency; which has been done; those reasons, which are pretty lengthy, having been drawn up by your humble servant, instead of some more capable person.

The Governor has returned an answer to them, such as it is. He has however promised to suspend said Charter, but he has intimated to us that the persons who sued for it will make an application home for another, in which we fear the Governor will give them his countenance.

Then follows an account of proceedings taken to hinder

¹ *The History of Harvard University*, vol. ii. ch. xxv., by Josiah Quincy, LL.D., President of the University. No explanation is forthcoming of the reason why the Governor should have favoured a Calvinist College.

² *Ibid.* vol. iii. ch. xxiii.

the grant of a Charter from the Crown. The opposition of Mayhew and his friends to this proposed Charter was no doubt due to their fear, that, if the Charter were granted, an Episcopal College would follow. The overseers, apparently, were brought round to their views; many of them not so much on religious grounds as because they feared that Harvard would suffer in prestige and income. But the fire in Harvard Hall seems to have turned all minds into one channel, and the scheme was dropped. In Mayhew's mind the affair appeared to be connected with the project for consecrating American bishops. Hollis's answer, dated July 28, 1762, begins with the following paragraphs :

Dear Sir,—The scheme of sending Bishops into your and other parts of the British Colonies has been long talked of, and is not unlikely, some time or other, to take place. I do not think, however, it will be attempted at present; but whenever it is and succeeds, shall be heartily concerned at it.

The properest person I know to manage an opposition to such a scheme is Mr. Jasper Mauduit, who is a worthy and an active gentleman, has been for some years, especially since Dr. Avery's decline, a leader among the dissenters, and in connection with the people in power, and, I apprehend, is likewise agent for your Province.

It appears from this correspondence that the idea of members of the Anglican Church—called in common parlance 'Episcopalians' on the American side of the Atlantic—being at least three thousand miles removed from Episcopal superintendence and ministrations, appeared to their fellow-sympathisers of Massachusetts a most satisfactory state of things—in fact the only endurable state from a Congregationalist point of view. This was undoubtedly the expressed opinion of the uncompromising party, for whom Mayhew became a chief spokesman.

On the Anglican side,

It was urged that those who were in communion with the Established Church of England were the only Christians in America who were deprived of what they believed to be the necessary

means of religious discipline ; that the rite of Confirmation, which is so important in the Anglican system, was unknown among them ; that it was an intolerable grievance and a fatal discouragement to their creed that every candidate for ordination was obliged to travel 6,000 miles before he could become qualified to conduct public worship in his own village. By a very low computation, it was said, this necessity alone imposed on each candidate an expenditure of 100*l.*, and out of fifty-two candidates who in 1767 crossed the sea from the Northern Colonies, no less than ten had died on the voyage or from its results.¹

Being generally poor men, these candidates had, no doubt, endured the worst of the rough treatment to which ocean travellers were then exposed ; arriving in England more or less exhausted, they probably met with scant welcome, for the history of the 'Scottish Episcopal Church' in the eighteenth century shows how little Church fellowship was recognised by the people of England² except under State sanction. And it is said that these American candidates were especially liable to take the infection of small-pox, the great scourge of the epoch, while sojourning in London.

Soon after the date of this correspondence Mr. Hollis sent 10*l.* to a new college in the small colony of Rhode Island, which appears to have been founded on the plan of excluding Episcopalians altogether, since he hints that no son of the Massachusetts Governor could be educated there.

About the same time also the uncompromising party started a rival organisation to the 'Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,' which had made some efforts in the provinces, and called it the 'Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge amongst the Indians in North America.' They sent to England for the Royal assent to the charter of

¹ Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iv. ch. xi.

² *Ibid.* vol. ii. ch. vi. It appears, indeed, that many English bishops and clergymen desired to help their Scottish brethren, but were powerless. For the dark story of the oppression exercised by the British Government on the Scottish Episcopalians, see also Lawson's *History of the Scottish Episcopal Church since the Revolution in 1688*.

incorporation. Neither bishop nor college was obtained by the Episcopalians, notwithstanding the exertions of Archbishop Secker, who figures in the Hollis 'Memoirs' as 'Leviathan.'

Governor Bernard was by no means an intolerant man; he accepted his position as administrator of a province in which religious views differing from his own were in the ascendant. I find in the 'Diary' of John Adams an account of a banquet at which the Governor was present, but probably in a semi-official capacity, given to celebrate a Congregationalist ordination. Like most events in Massachusetts, this festival formed a subject of animadversion in certain quarters, though I do not know whether the Governor was blamed for attending. The complainants were men of strict Puritan principles, as appears in the note, which refers to a sentence in the 'Diary,' and expounds its meaning as follows:

This alludes to a very sharp controversy carried on in the 'Gazette' upon the subject of feasts at Ordinations. In that paper of the 2nd of March of this year there appeared a long account of the ceremonies at the Ordination of the Rev. Mr. Cuming, as colleague of Dr. Sewall, in the Old South Church.¹

The religious solemnity being over, this account goes on to say,

There was a very sumptuous and elegant entertainment for the elders and messengers that assisted, to which his Excellency the Governor, who honoured the ceremony with his presence, was also invited, together with a considerable number of the principal gentlemen of the town and some of the country. One house, though capacious, not being sufficient to accommodate so large a number of honourable and reverend guests on such an occasion, two or more were provided for the occasion.

The principal entertainment, however—which is said to have been very grand—and consequently the greatest concourse of people, was at the Rev. Dr. Sewall's own home.

¹ 'Diary of John Adams,' in vol. ii. of his *Works*, edited by his grandson, C. F. Adams, p. 127 (note).

The newspapers of Boston were already a great power, and notwithstanding the number of booksellers' shops instanced by Hosmer as evidences of an intellectual population, it is probable that most persons gained their information on the topics then considered of general interest from these periodicals. This is evidently Hawthorne's opinion. A large portion of the matter contained in them consisted of controversial articles, more or less political. It will be seen that as the times grew more stirring, so did the newspapers, until they became formidable weapons in the hands of agitators, and none more so than the 'Boston Gazette.'

There was one mode in which the democratic element attempted to assert itself in Massachusetts, which had evidently attracted the attention of the British Government—namely, its efforts to increase the numbers of the House of Representatives. Apparently these could not be checked constitutionally in the case of new towns;¹ but Mr. Bernard, it is stated, had received instructions not to assent to any Bill passed by the General Court for dividing an old town. In 1763 strong interest was made for an exception in the case of the town of Newbury, which was disturbed by a quarrel. The Governor gave way on condition that the number of representatives should not be increased. But the new town of Newbury Port thus constituted sent to the Court sitting at Concord in 1764 two members instead of one on its own account. The Governor maintained his position by leaving their names out of the 'Dedimus Potestatem,' or form conferring power to administer the oaths to members at the commencement of session. The Opposition of course grumbled, but it does not appear that any serious trouble ensued.

Governor Bernard's exertions for the development of the material resources of his province should have won him lasting gratitude, and in some quarters did have that effect. He superintended arrangements for the settlement of colonists on the waste lands near Boston, and afforded all the

¹ 'Diary of John Adams.'

encouragement in his power to the manufacture of potash, the cultivation of hemp and flax, and the carriage of lumber—*i.e.* timber—to British markets.¹ These were practical improvements, since they were momentarily favoured by Great Britain; but for that very reason they were not acceptable to the popular leaders, and were seldom acknowledged in their speeches or writings except by satirical allusions.

Mr. Lecky attributes the welcome afforded in the old country to American hemp² to the fact that the Swedes, who supplied it previously, had raised their price. And Bancroft states that

The British consumption of foreign hemp amounted in value to three hundred thousand pounds a year. The bounties on hemp and flax, first given in the time of Queen Anne, having never been called for, had been suffered to drop. The experiment was renewed, and a liberal bounty was granted on hemp or undressed flax imported from America.³

In an earlier edition of Bancroft's 'History' this bounty is definitely stated to have consisted of 'eight pounds per ton for seven years, then of six pounds for seven years, then of four pounds for as many more.' All attempts at manufactories for converting the flax into linen were, however, deprecated, and virtually prohibited, by the home Government, and this was, no doubt, a source of irritation to many of its American subjects, of which agitators made the most. Something more will be said on the topic of British restrictions in the next chapter.

When the Governor was able to leave Boston and its neighbourhood for any appreciable interval he seems to have visited sundry localities in his province, sometimes accom-

¹ As will be seen further on, the Governor alludes to these particulars in one at least of his speeches, and they are noted in the biography by his son Thomas. In the reply to the Governor's speech in a newspaper letter, quoted by Hosmer as the production of Samuel Adams, and in J. Q. Adams's Life of his father, John Adams, they are the subject of sarcasm; probably in other publications also.

² Lecky, *Hist. of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii. ch. vi.

³ Bancroft, *Hist. U.S.* (Edn. 1885) Epoch ii. ch. vi.

panied by his wife. It is true that I can quote only one passage from a manuscript letter bearing on this matter, but the visit therein mentioned is not likely to have been a solitary instance of its kind. The letter was written many years after the event, by a Mr. E. Bridgeham, to the Governor's youngest son, Scrope; and the writer says: 'Your Father, the late Sir Francis Bernard, having resided some time, together with Lady Bernard, at my Father's house in Brimfield, in New England, was pleased to honour me with his patronage and particular friendship.'¹ The Governor's sojourn at Brimfield was probably connected with business, possibly with an expansion of some scheme of improvement.

Various expeditions in northward directions took place under Governor Bernard's administration and with his sanction. The extensive territory of Maine, forming the northern portion of the province, was very scantily populated.² 'The Supreme Court held one term at Falmouth (now Portland) and one at York annually. There were ten representatives to the General Court, none of whom lived east of Brunswick or the Androscoggin River.' Sabine also enumerates thirty-four clergymen or ministers, six counsel or barristers, a surveyor of the king's forests and his deputies, sundry officers of revenue, and a small corps of civil functionaries. There were twenty-five incorporated towns, and one Custom House at Falmouth. But these arrangements left a large portion of the country uninhabited.

The charter inhibitions of grants east of the Kennebec without the King's consent kept out settlers, held titles in suspense. . . . Thus, as far down as 1719, no man of the Saxon race had a habitation from Georgetown to Annapolis. Fifteen years later, there were no more than nine thousand persons of European origin between the Piscataqua and the St. Croix, and thence northerly to the dividing and disputed 'highlands.' In truth, not a grant was made beyond the Penobscot before the year 1762.

So early as '16th April, 1761,' John Small, dating from Scarborough, begs Governor Bernard favourably to accept

¹ MS. letter at Nether Winchendon.

² Sabine *The American Loyalists*, 'Prefatory Remarks or Historical Essay.'

'his map of the Counties of York, Cumberland, and Lincoln,' taken from the best authorities. These counties were portions of Maine. Another relic preserved at Nether Winchendon is a chart of the Kennebec River, by Captain Small, probably the same person.

North of Maine, by reason of peculiar circumstances, emigration from Massachusetts had set in before the arrival of Governor Bernard.¹ In 1713 the country since called Nova Scotia, after a long contest, had been ceded by the French to England. The continuation of hostilities, which were not decisively terminated until Canada also fell into British hands, had placed the original French settlers in Nova Scotia, then called Acadie, or in English, Acadia—who, being Roman Catholics as well as French men and women, were thus doubly alien from British sympathies—in a painful and perplexing situation.

Their wrongs are best known to the general public through Longfellow's touching poem, 'Evangeline,' but they have been narrated also by prose historians. The greater number were exiled, or rather deported, with aggravations which rivalled the horrors of the slave trade, during the administration of an English Governor of Nova Scotia, Lawrence, in 1755. He then wrote to Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, asking for New England colonists to fill the place of the expatriated population. Shirley manifested little compassion for the Acadians—though he would rather have seen them converted, if possible, than sent adrift—but he demurred to Governor Lawrence's proposal on account of the hostilities to which the new settlers would be exposed during the continuance of the war with France; also because the arbitrary Government upheld in Nova Scotia would be peculiarly distasteful to 'good Protestant subjects from New England,' and, moreover, no statement had been made as to the terms on which the colonists would obtain and hold

¹ Richard (Edouard), *Acadia: Missing Links of a Lost Chapter in American History*, by an Acadian, ex-Member of the House of Commons of Canada, vol. i. ch. ii. and subsequent chapters. Also, more especially, vol. ii. ch. xxx. and xxxi.

their land. These three objections were removed in the course of a few years by the success of the British arms, the establishment of a Legislative Chamber in Nova Scotia, and the publication of the conditions attached to grants of land. In the meantime, also, Pownall¹ had succeeded Shirley in Massachusetts, and from October 1758² 'emigration began to flow in a steady and continuous stream from the colonies on the continent. From Boston there arrived six vessels carrying 200 settlers, and from Rhode Island four schooners with 190 passengers.

This was the first instalment. In the next year a band came from Connecticut. 'They met a few straggling families of Acadians. . . They had eaten no bread for five years.' There were probably other settlers, concerning whom I have no notes. But the subjoined extract from the biography of William Lloyd Garrison, by his children, gives a fairly detailed account of an expedition from Massachusetts in the following year :

The scenic glories of the river St. John, New Brunswick, are well past on the ascent when, on the right, the obscure outlet of the Jemseg³ is reached. The hills on either shore have both diminished and receded ; and thenceforward one sees only the fringe of alder-bushes or willows, which hide on the one hand the level intervale, on the other the level islands, until Burton heights loom up on the South, and on the opposite bank the spires of Sheffield and Maugerville. Along this lowland margin a feeble line of French Acadian settlers stretched in the middle of the last century, from the Jemseg to the Nashwaak. A couple of hundred souls were still clustered at the trading station of St. Ann's (now Fredericton) when, in the summer of 1761, Israel Perley, of Boxford, Essex County, Massachusetts, and a handful of companions, triumphing over the wilderness between Machias and the St. John, looked from the mouth of the Oromocto down over the gleaming waters and woody plains of this romantic region.

¹ Pownall's appointment was gazetted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of February 1757. The date was February 26.

² Haliburton (Judge), *History of Nova Scotia*, vol. i. p. 234. Quoted by Richard in *Acadia*, vol. ii. ch. xxxiv.

³ 'Jemseg,' it is stated in the biography of Garrison, should be pronounced 'Jimsag,' 'Maugerville' 'Majorville.'

Perley had been sent by the Governor of Massachusetts—Bernard—on an exploring expedition. His reports to his neighbours in praise of these alluvial prairies—free of stone for the ploughshare, washed by waters dense with fish, and skirted by timber abounding in large game—must have produced a sort of ‘Western fever’ amongst them. Many of his listeners had, no doubt, served in the Nova Scotia campaigns against the French which culminated in the capture of Louisbourg in 1758, followed by that of Quebec in 1759, and the British occupation of the St. John as far as the Nashwaak, and were already aware of the natural advantages of the country.

The first Essex County migration to Nova Scotia (as New Brunswick was then called) took place in the spring of 1768 in a packet sloop of forty tons burthen, commanded by Captain Newman. The following spring brought a reinforcement of colonists in the sloop commanded by Captain Howe, which became ‘an annual trader to the River, and the only means of communication between the Pilgrims and their native land.’ The arrival was most timely, for an early frost had blighted the crop of the previous year, and reduced the first comers almost to actual want. The settlement now embraced families, more or less connected with each other, from Rowley, Boxford, Byfield, Ipswich, Marblehead, and adjacent towns, among whom the Perleys, Stickneys, Palmers, Burpees, Barkers, Esteys, Hartts, and Peabodys were prominent in numbers or in influence.

On October 31, 1768, the district having been officially surveyed by Charles Morris, sixty-five heads of families, resident or represented, were granted Tract No. 109, in Sunbury County. This tract in the parish of Mauderville and Sheffield, known as the Mauderville Grant, and twelve miles square, extended from the head of Oromocto Island to the foot of Mauder’s Island, and had been partially cleared by the Acadians.¹

Here Joseph Garrison, the grandfather of William Lloyd Garrison, settled, and married the daughter of another settler, Daniel Palmer.

The impetus given to colonisation seems to have suggested the necessity of strictly defining the limits of Maine, which belonged to Massachusetts and Nova Scotia. In 1762 the Massachusetts Government appointed com-

¹ *William Lloyd Garrison (1805–79), The Story of his Life, told by his Children*, vol. i. ch. i., ‘Ancestry.’

missioners 'to repair to the river St. Croix; determine upon the place where the said easterly line is to begin, extend the said line as far as should be thought necessary, and ascertain and settle the same by marked trees or other boundary marks.' These Commissioners were James Otis, William Brattle, and General John Winslow.¹ From the composition of this Commission it is probable that it was virtually appointed by the Assembly, perhaps in conjunction with the Governor, who may not have been sorry to see its members thus harmlessly employed.

Winslow was a distinguished provincial officer, but one who, under Governor Lawrence, had taken a leading part in the cruel expulsion of the Acadians. According to Chalmers² he was also suspected of doing injury to the English cause during the war with France, through jealousy of the Royal army. However this may have been, he became an advocate of popular rights in Boston, and was none the worse liked by his party, apparently, for his antecedents. He did not live to take a side in the war between England and her colonies.

If Brattle was the William Brattle noticed by Sabine, he must have been a remarkable man. He represented Cambridge in the House, and was for many years in the Council. It is said that he was eminent as a clergyman, physician, lawyer, and major-general of the Militia, 'an office in his time of very considerable importance and high honour. He possessed the happy faculty of pleasing the officers of Government and the people.' When the troubles came, however, he pleased General Gage too well to be tolerated by the nationalist party, and had to leave Boston with the English army for Halifax, where he died shortly after his arrival.³

¹ Sabine, *The American Loyalists*, 'Winslow (John), of Marshfield, Mass.'

² Chalmers, *An Introduction, &c.*, vol. ii. ch. xxi. It is difficult from Sabine's own account to understand why he enumerates this General amongst the Loyalists, except, indeed, because he fought on the British side in the French war, and never took arms against England. During the revolutionary agitation he was, as stated, on the popular side, but died just before the outbreak of the War of Independence. Some of his relatives certainly took refuge in Nova Scotia, as adherents of the Crown—that is, in the old haunts of the Acadians.

³ Sabine, *The American Loyalists*, 'Brattle (William), of Massachusetts.'

Brattle and Otis, after accomplishing the object of the Commission more or less fully, 'made a report of their doings, which was printed. This may have been the first of the many efforts made to solve that vexed question, "Which is the true river St. Croix?"'

On the deportation of the Acadians in 1755,¹ Lawrence had attempted to quarter them on the various provinces; but in most of these they were hated for their religion even more than for their nationality, and every obstacle was raised to their reception. Off Boston, writes Mr. Richard,

for several days the fleet remained in the roadstead with its human freight, awaiting the result of official deliberations. . . . The suffering of the captives detained on board the vessels is said to have been dreadful. One Hutchinson (afterwards Governor of Massachusetts), who visited them on board, wrote an account of a case particularly distressing. He found a woman in a dying state from the foul atmosphere and uncomfortable quarters, but the regulations did not admit of her removal. Three small children were with her requiring a mother's care. To save her life, Hutchinson had her conveyed to a house on shore, contrary to orders, at his own risk, where the poor widow was made comfortable. But distress had wrought too great havoc in her frame to admit of recovery; she wasted away and left her little ones without a protector; but just before she died she besought her benefactor 'to ask the Governor, in the name of their common Saviour, to let her children remain in the place where she died!' . . .²

It is too evident, says the historian Hutchinson, that this unfortunate people had much to suffer from poverty and bad treatment, even after they had been adopted by Massachusetts. The different petitions addressed to Governor Shirley about this time are heartrending.³

He (Hutchinson), according to Richard, tried to copy some of these petitions from the archives of the Secretary of State; but he was so blinded by tears that he had to stop.

¹ Richard, *Acadia*, &c., ch. xxxviii. and previous chapters.

² Here Richard quotes from Philip H. Smith, *Acadia—A Lost Chapter in American History*.

³ This passage, quoted by Richard, will be found in Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts from 1749 to 1774*, ch. i.

This matter touches Governor Bernard only because, in 1762, another attempt was made by the Acting Governor or President Belcher, of Nova Scotia, and his Council to quarter some of the remaining Acadians, stowed away in five vessels, on Massachusetts. Haliburton states that 'the Massachusetts Assembly, instead of making provision for their reception, forbade them to land, and requested the Governor, on no account whatever, to permit them to become as their predecessors had been, a burden to the public.'¹ Richard is still more explicit.²

The Legislature of Massachusetts peremptorily refused to receive the exiles. The urgent entreaties of Captain Brooks, and even of Governor Bernard, could not overcome the resistance of that Assembly. They went so far as to refuse to await the return of a messenger that was to be despatched to General Amherst. Hancock, who in Boston represented the Government of Nova Scotia, refused to provide provisions. After waiting two or three weeks in Boston harbour, Captain Brooks, commander of the expedition, was obliged to return to Halifax with his shipment of exiles.

Evidently it was not amongst the 'friends of liberty' in Boston that the Acadians could look for mercy or justice.

A memorial remains testifying to the Governor's support of the Kennebec Company, in the form of a chart or plan for a settlement extending from the Kennebec to the Sheepscutt River,³ the latter ending in Witcheassett Bay—probably the bay now printed in maps Wiscassett. This plan shows the acreage of the various lots into which the territory situated about halfway between Boston and New Brunswick was to be divided. On one side of the chart is an engraving, resembling a pen-and-ink drawing, signed 'Tho. Johnston, sculp.' This illustration, which reveals the undeveloped state of art in New England—though

¹ Haliburton (Thomas C.), Barrister-at-Law and Member of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia (afterwards Judge), *An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia*, vol. i. ch. v.

² Richard, *Acadia, &c.*, vol. ii. ch. xl.

³ The chart is framed and hung in the gallery at Nether Winchendon.

perhaps not worse than some Old England productions of the same kind—consists of the Governor's armorial bearings—Bernard and Winlowe quarterly, with an escutcheon of pretence which I do not recognise, and an overgrown demi-bear as crest; below, within a border of oak-leaves, baskets of flowers, shells, and a stream of water, is the following inscription:—

To his Excellency Fran^s Bernard Esqr. captain General & Governor in Chief over his Majesty's province of Massachusetts Bay in N. Engl^a & Vice Admiral of the same. This Plan of ye Town of Pownall by order of y^e proprietors of ye Kennebeck purchase from ye late Colony of new Plymouth is humbly presented by Your Excellency's most Ob^d Humb. Servants

JAMES PITTS.

JAMES BOWDOIN.

BENJN. HALLOWELL.

THOS. HANCOCK.

Boston

SILV. GARDINER.

12 Nov^r. 1763.

This document is now at Nether Winchendon. The signatures are autographs. Of the five men whose names are affixed,¹ Bowdoin, the descendant of a Huguenot exile who wrote himself Baudouin, was afterwards a prominent 'patriot' or revolutionist. Pitts was a merchant, who married one of Bowdoin's daughters and became a disciple of her father in politics. Thomas Hancock was an eminent merchant and a supporter of the English supremacy, but he died before the beginning of the great troubles, and is remembered chiefly as the uncle of the first revolutionary Governor of Massachusetts. The other two signatories were loyalists. Benjamin Hallowell, already mentioned as Comptroller and as a country neighbour of Governor Bernard, plays a part in this history as a sufferer at the hands of the popular party, and died in England. Silvester Gardiner was both a merchant and a physician; he acquired much land in Maine, but became a refugee during the War of Independence. Eventually, from necessity, doubtless, rather than choice, he made his peace with the new Government.

¹ For the histories of these men, Sabine's *American Loyalists* and most of the books dealing with the times may be consulted.

Governor Bernard left many plans and charts of localities in America. Some of them portray, apparently, the tracts explored during his period of administration; others represent land bought by himself; and without careful study it is not easy to distinguish between the two.

No record has been kept in the family of his acquisitions—except in one instance which will be mentioned—for the course of events rendered the whole series of transactions simply memorials of trouble; but some notes, apparently jotted down by his executors, have fallen into my hands. They begin: 'In the province of New York—Grant of 30,000 acres.'¹ What comes next, though somewhat separated, is apparently intended to fix the geographical position of this grant:

Between latitude 43 and 14—on the river Waterqueechy, about 20 miles west of the river Connecticut, surrounded by the grants called Stockbridge West and Pomfret East, and Bridgewater South, between the black and the white river, about 30 miles from the middle of Lake George—about 100 miles from Casco Bay.

New England Province—New Hampshire.

There is a grant also in the Bay of Fundy.

These memoranda do not throw much light on the subject; the names evidently given by the Governor to several localities are not found in the grants, unless 'Bernardston,' which is in New Hampshire, may be an exception. 'Bernard,' 'Tyringham,' and 'Great Barrington' are in Berkshire County, and 'Winchendon' in Worcester County, Massachusetts. There is also an 'Abington' in Plymouth, which is only less distinctive as a name because the English town of Abington was sometimes written Abington in old times. I am inclined also to think that the Massachusetts Abington was of earlier date than Mr. Bernard's administration. Sabine mentions an interesting meeting,² which took place

¹ MS. at Nether Winchendon, given me by the late General Collinson, great-grandson of Sir Francis Bernard. The names which follow are all found in the charts preserved at Nether Winchendon.

² Sabine, *The American Loyalists*, 'Jackson (Richard).'

some years after the events described in this chapter, between the loyalist, Richard Jackson, of Berkshire County, Massachusetts, who had been imprisoned at Great Barrington, and was on his way to be tried at Springfield for his life, and the Hon. T. Edwards 'in the woods of Tyringham.' Of Great Barrington Mr. Beecher wrote in the last century: 'It is one of those places which one never enters without wishing never to leave it. It rests beneath the branches of great numbers of the stateliest elms.'¹ Winchendon may be said to have won a little niche in history, since Bancroft quotes part of a letter or circular from 'the Committee of Boston' to 'the Gentlemen Committee of Correspondence for the town of Winchendon, April 5, 1774,'² which indicates that the Boston agitators were hopeful of assistance thence. A comparatively recent account presents a more tranquil view of the locality. Winchendon is described by one who was born there (C. Loring Brace) as being in 1846 'an active little bit of a country place, thrifty, industrious and desperately moral. It is built on a dashing stream . . . in summer a very romantic scene.'³

The Governor's acquisitions in land were apparently made at different periods, but I have no certain information as to the dates. To effect these purchases he induced his trustees to sell out various sums of money⁴ invested in the English Funds. There is, indeed, no doubt that for several years he entertained the idea of making America his home during the remainder of his life.

There was, however, one tract of land which requires distinct mention, because it was obtained in a totally distinct manner—namely, by a grant from the House of Representatives of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in which the

¹ Quoted in *The Englishman's Guide to Canada and the United States*.

² Bancroft, *Hist. U.S.* (Boutledge's Ed.), ch. lii. 'The Crisis,' note. In the later edition the extract is quoted, but Winchendon is not mentioned. Ep. ii. ch. xxxvi.

³ *Life of C. Loring Brace of Winchendon*, p. 31.

⁴ *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*, by One of his Sons.

younger Otis,¹ it may be remarked, concurred; and because the particulars on record concerning this transaction afford evidence that Francis Bernard's administration during the years which preceded the passing of the Stamp Act was, for Massachusetts, exceptionally peaceful and prosperous. His Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Hutchinson, writes: 'If at the expiration of that term he had quitted the Government, he would have been spoken of as one of the best of the New England Governors.'² Thomas Bernard also says: 'In truth very few Governors have enjoyed the degree of popularity that Mr. Bernard possessed for the space of five out of the nine years during which he presided over the province of Massachusetts Bay.'³

These writers might, indeed, be rejected as partial if they stood alone, but their testimony is supported not only by the silence of Bancroft and other inimical writers as to those years, but also by a series of entries in the 'Journal of Massachusetts Bay,' extending from December 23, 1760, to January 11, 1765, showing the cordiality which existed between the Governor and the people he governed. In February 1762 this feeling took that very practical form to which allusion has just been made. The House of Representatives, conscious that Mr. Bernard had expended a considerable sum of his own money in improving the Castle and in organising commissions for the purpose of sifting sundry projects of amelioration in various departments and obtaining trustworthy reports upon them, passed the following resolution:

That in consideration of the extraordinary services of his Excellency Governor Bernard there be granted to him, his heirs and assigns, the island of Mount Desert, lying on the north-eastward of Penobscot Bay, and that a grant thereof, to be laid before his Majesty for his approbation, be signed by the Secretary and Speaker, on behalf of the Two Houses.⁴

¹ Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass. 1749 to 1774*, ch. ii.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*, by One of his Sons.

⁴ Addenda to the *Select Letters on the Trade and Government of America*, by Governor Bernard, pp. 117-18.

This resolution bears date '27 February,' and the Address of the House to the Governor, presented the same day, begins :

As your acquaintance with the circumstances of this Province, and your conduct in consequence thereof, has left us no room to doubt of your hearty desire to promote its welfare and prosperity, We, the Representatives, &c.

The Council unhesitatingly concurred in the grant of Mount Desert to the Governor. The island had for a short time been inhabited by a few Acadians,¹ who, so early as 1613, had been carried off to Virginia by Argal, the commander of a British vessel. It had probably become once more as complete a desert or wilderness as its name implied. The new owner, however, lost no time in preparing schemes for its repopulation. By the end of 1764 plans had been drawn up for the settlement of six townships.² Perhaps Mr. Bernard had already in his heart resolved on making this island his summer residence when he retired from office; it was the property which he afterwards reserved in a special manner for his eldest son when circumstances compelled him to renounce the idea of settling in America himself; and he acquired by purchase an estate on the mainland adjoining, apparently the property in the Bay of Fundy already mentioned. How the island would have developed under the Governor and his heirs I cannot tell; but I sub-join a description of its progress under different auspices from a comparatively recent guide-book :

The island of Mount Desert is about 100 square miles in extent, and has a population of about 4,000. It contains six villages and several harbours. The scenery of the island is very grand and beautiful. The greater part of its surface is covered

¹ Williams (Mrs.), *The Neutral French; or, the Exiles of Nova Scotia*.

² 'A Copy of a Plan of the Six Townships Laid out on ye East Side of Mount Desseart now calld Union River. Taken partly in the Year 1763 and Finished in the Year 1764; as also a Plan of the Land Laid out Six Miles Latetude above the North Line of the Aforesaid Six Townships; Together with a Small Township Lying on the North Side of No. 3 and on the South of the Six Miles Latetude. Laid out by a Scale of one Mile to an Inch. Taken Novr. ye 12th, 1764, for Joseph Frie.' This plan is still preserved at Nether Windchendon.

with nearly twenty granite mountains, whose highest peak, Green Mountain, attains an altitude of about 2,200 feet. High up among the mountains are many beautiful lakes, the largest of which is several miles in length. These lakes, and the streams that flow into them, abound in trout. The south-east coast of the island is lined with stupendous cliffs, several hundred feet in height, the most remarkable of which are Great Head and Schooner Head. . . . The coolness of the climate, and the magnificent scenery of the island, have made it one of the most popular summer resorts in America.¹

On April 24, 1762, two months after the grant of Mount Desert, the General Court was, according to custom, prorogued by the Governor, and so loyal and complying had been its temper, apparently, throughout that Mr. Bernard concluded his speech with the following compliment :

Gentlemen of the Council and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,—The unanimity and despatch with which you have complied with the requisition of his Majesty, require my particular acknowledgement, and it gives me additional pleasure to observe that you have therein acted under no other influence than a due sense of your duty, both as members of a general Empire, and as the body of a particular Province.

It will always be my desire, that freedom and independence should prevail in your Councils—and that the whole credit of your proceedings therein should be placed to your own account. It will be a sufficient honour for me to preside over a people whose motives to loyalty and public spirit arise from their own breasts.²

When the Court met again on June 1 the House thus addressed the Governor in reply to his opening speech :

We beg leave to give your Excellency the highest and fullest assurance that, as you make the illustrious example of your Royal Master the basis of your administration, it will be strongly supported by a grateful, as well as free and loyal people.

On January 18, 1763, the House, in a message to the Governor, addressed him as one 'Whose honour and

¹ *The Englishman's Guide to the United States and Canada.*

² This and the following extracts are taken from the 'Addenda' to *Select Letters*, pp. 118 to 120.

prosperity we ardently wish for, and shall for ever consider as closely and inseparably connected with the happiness of this Province.' And the conclusion of the peace with France in this year afforded opportunity for a fresh display of gratitude and harmony. The Council and House on May 31 addressed the Governor as follows :

We are sensible of your Excellency's services during the war, but as the peaceful, settled state of the country will give your Excellency more opportunities of serving it than were then to be expected, we doubt not but that your Excellency will improve the same to the best purposes. We hope your Excellency will still have the honour to be distinguished in England for your attachment to our interest, which is inseparably connected with that of the Mother Country, and have further public testimonies from a most grateful people.

We congratulate your Excellency on that unanimity which your Excellency recommends, and which was never greater in the Province than at this time. We doubt not, but as we are delivered from foreign war, we shall be equally free from intestine division ; and now that peace is diffused throughout the vast circle of the British dominions, it will continue and prevail in an especial manner in the Councils of this Province, under your Excellency's wise and impartial administration.

The confirmation of the Assembly's grant of Mount Desert was contained in a letter from the English Lords of Trade dated May 21, 1763, and must have reached Boston in the course of the summer. It is thus worded : ' We can have no objection to your acceptance of this grant, as a testimony of the approbation and favour of the Province in whose service and in the conduct of whose affairs you have manifested such zeal and capacity.' ¹

Well may Thomas Bernard observe : ' A title to unappropriated lands, derived originally from the people and their representatives, approved by administration, and ultimately by the Sovereign, appeared in itself sufficiently unimpeachable.' ² But nothing is unimpeachable in a revolution.

¹ 'Letter from the Lords of Trade to Governor Bernard,' dated May 21, 1763, quoted in the *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*, by One of his Sons.

² *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*, by One of his Sons.

CHAPTER XV

THE PASSING OF THE STAMP ACT

Trade Restrictions—The Molasses Act—Governor Bernard pleads for the Reduction of the Duties imposed by the Molasses Act—Destruction of Harvard Hall by Fire—Rebuilding of the Hall—The Question of Taxation—The Inadequacy of the Early Charters—Devastation caused by Indians—George Grenville—A Critical Time—The Subject of Representation—Revision of the Charters—Want of Balance in the American Governments—The Action of James Otis—The Offer of an Equivalent for the Stamp Duty—The Petition against the Restrictions on Trade—Testimony to the Cordial Relations existing between Governor Bernard and the Massachusetts House of Representatives—The Stamp Act Passed.

It has already been stated that trade regulations were a constant source of contention between England and her American colonies. The Mother Country had undoubtedly a nervous dread of over-development in her offspring, and she took strong measures, but such as were sanctioned by the ideas of the age, to prevent such a misfortune. Adam Smith, the pioneer of a new system, relates that Great Britain

prohibits the exportation from one province to another by water, and even the carriage by land upon horseback or in a cart, of hats, of wools and woollen goods, of the produce of America; a regulation which effectually prevents the establishment of any manufacture of such commodities for distant sale, and confines the industry of her colonists in this way to such coarse and household manufactures as a private family commonly makes for its own use, or for that of some of its neighbours in the same province.¹

In like manner Walsh, an American, wrote early in the nineteenth century:

The spirit of the legislation under review is strikingly exemplified by the law of 1732 to prevent the 'exportation of hats out

¹ Smith (Adam), *The Wealth of Nations*, Book IV. ch. vii. Part II.

of the plantations in America, and to restrain the number of apprentices taken by the hat-makers in the said plantations, &c.' So also in the Act of 1750, prohibiting under severe penalties the erection of any slitting-mill, plating-forge, or furnace, for making steel, &c. Heavy complaints were made in Great Britain, that the people of New England, 'not satisfied with carrying out their own produce, had become carriers for the other colonies. The injustice of the restraints, imposed or solicited, may be understood from the circumstance that New England had no staple to exchange for the British manufactures.'¹

Notwithstanding these facts, Mr. Lecky states that Adam Smith had been able to show

by an exhaustive examination that the liberty of commerce which England allowed to her colonies, though greatly and variously restricted, was at least more extensive than that which any other nation conceded to its dependencies, and that it was sufficient to give them a large and increasing measure of prosperity . . . for, owing to the great cheapness of land and the great dearness of labour in the colonies, it was obviously the most economical course for the Americans to devote themselves to agriculture and fisheries, and to import manufactured goods. His chief contention, however, was that the system . . . was essentially vicious, . . . 'a manifest violation of the most sacred rights of mankind,' and likely, 'in a more advanced state,' to prove 'really oppressive and insupportable.'²

There was an American grievance connected with the fisheries also, and with another important matter—the disposal of lumber, or timber :

Fishing and lumbering [says Sabine] continued to be the two great branches of industry in Maine until the Revolution. The new charter procured, of William and Mary, confirmed Massachusetts in her acquisitions east of the Piscataqua; but it contained several restrictions which bore hard upon both of these interests. . . . And first . . . that all pine trees of the diameter of 24 inches at more than a foot from the ground on lands

¹ Walsh (Robert), *An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain respecting the United States of America*, Part I. section i.

² Lecky (W. E. H.), *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iv. ch. xi.

not granted to private persons should be reserved for masts for the Royal Navy.¹

The penalty for felling without leave was '100*l.* sterling.' If an offender had painted or in any way disguised his face twenty lashes might also be inflicted.

Convictions were obtained on 'probable guilt,' unless the accused denied on oath. The Surveyor-General of the King's Woods had been appointed to carry out this system. Sabine continues:

To reserve to the Crown a thousand times as many trees as it could ever require, and to allow all to decay that were not actually used, was absurd. . . The 'mast ships at the North,' like the 'tobacco ships' at the South, were the common, and oftentimes the only means of crossing the ocean. . . . There were some, nor were they few, who were obliged to plunder the forests, and to work up trees into marketable shapes, or starve. Included with these inhabitants of Maine were those who lived upon the coasts—the mariners and fishermen. The interests of all these classes were identical, and to them the maritime policy of the Government of England was cruel in the extreme, since it robbed unremitting toil of half its reward. Lumber and fish were inseparable companions in every adventure to the islands in the Caribbean Sea. . . . To shut some marts when access to all would barely remunerate the adventurers, was, in effect, to close the whole. These employments were, as they still are, among the most difficult and severe in the whole round of human pursuits, and attempts to alleviate the burdens of Parliamentary legislation upon both were made in Massachusetts long before a whisper of discontent was elsewhere uttered in America.

There had, it seems, been 'frequent quarrels in the woods and at the saw-mills'; cases had been 'carried to the Board of Trade in England,' and had naturally and inevitably been the subject of controversies in the Massachusetts 'halls of legislation.' Moreover, the famous speech of Otis on the writs of assistance owed much of its effect to his denunciation of this grievance. 'When, then, Otis at length spoke out, thousands who had never heard or read

¹ Sabine, *The American Loyalists*, 'Preliminary Remarks or Historical Essay.'

his reasonings, and might not have felt their force if they had, were ready at the first call to clear the woods, and docks, and warehouse, and decks of vessels of the "swarms of officers" who "harassed" them and "eat out their substance."¹

There was, indeed, another side to this question, and from Mr. Hutchinson's moderate statement it appears that the British Government had not acted without provocation. He says :

The eastern part of Massachusetts Bay had, for near a century past, afforded no small proportion of the masts, yards, &c., for the Royal Navy ; and, not only by Acts of Parliament, but by the Charter to the Province, a reserve to the King had been made of all pine trees, with severe penalties for cutting down or destroying them. Great spoil had at all times been, nevertheless, made of such trees, which had been cut into logs of a proper length, and most of them were sawed into boards at the many mills erected in that country ; others were hewn for timber, and served, not for the use of the inhabitants only, but made a principal part of the cargoes of vessels for the West India Islands. If any way could have been devised to have distinguished such trees as never could be of any use for the navy, and to have left them free to the inhabitants, it would have been a wise provision. For want of it, the cutting had been commonly without discrimination.²

It is, indeed, not easy to understand why this should not have been part of the business of the Surveyor and his deputies, but the ways of Governments are very often inscrutable. Probably also the stubbornness of the people made any compromise hopeless. Sabine names John Wentworth, the Governor of New Hampshire, as Surveyor,³ and says that it was 'an office of some patronage, of but little care and duty, and worth 700*l.* per annum.' Wentworth became Governor in 1767. Whether he had been Surveyor previously is not stated, but it is not un-

¹ Sabine, *The American Loyalists*, 'Preliminary Remarks or Historical Essay.'

² Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, ch. iii.

³ Sabine, *The American Loyalists*, 'Sir John Wentworth, Bart., LL.D., Surveyor of the King's Woods in America and Governor of New Hampshire, &c.'

likely, as he was nephew of the retiring Governor and related to the Marquis of Rockingham.

The American colonists had, no doubt, some wrongs to endure; but in that respect they were not singular, either amongst the subjects of Great Britain or of other Powers. By temperament and position, however, they, and especially the New Englanders, were peculiarly indisposed to endurance. They steered clear of actual rebellion so long as they could with impunity disregard the laws of trade; but this course of conduct, while it tended to keep the people quiet, was a demoralising mode of evading the difficulty and a constant source of irritation to England, as the restrictions were to her colonies. Some venial cases are mentioned by Thomas Bernard and others in which a relaxation of the rules was connived at almost of necessity, so far as to be virtually permitted by the Mother Country; but in such cases a straightforward legal recognition of the necessity would have been preferable. The existing arrangement, however, if it can be so designated, left the British Government free to alter its course at pleasure; and this is exactly what it began to do, unfortunately for Governor Bernard, at an early period of his administration.

Of the British restrictions on the trade of America [writes Thomas Bernard], none had been more partial in its origin or was more grievous in its execution than the Molasses Act. It had been passed in 1733, at the instance and for the emolument of the British West Indies, and had imposed a duty of ninepence a gallon on rum, of sixpence a gallon on molasses, and of five shillings a hundredweight on sugar imported into British North America, from any other place except the British sugar-islands. This, in its operation, was not an act of revenue, but of prohibition, and as such, the consequences being prejudicial, if not fatal, to the fish and lumber trade, the two most important articles of exportation that our northern colonies afforded, the execution of the Act had, during a period of thirty years, been generally and wisely suspended.

Besides this, the Act of Parliament which prohibited importation from any part of foreign Europe, unless by way of Great Britain, had also been in some instances dispensed with; and wines and fruits in small quantities had been permitted to be re-

turned as ship's stores by North American vessels carrying fish to Portugal and Spain. This indulgence had been generally understood, and not having been extended or abused, had in its consequences to trade been beneficial to both Great Britain and her colonies.

However, in July 1763 orders were transmitted to the American Governors for carrying into strict execution the laws of trade; at the same time notifying the new authority which had been delegated to commanders of the King's ships stationed in America, to seize all vessels concerned in any prohibited commerce. These were followed by further orders for improvement of the revenue, and for suppression of all clandestine and illicit trade with foreign nations; with directions for the Governors to transmit such information as they had to communicate on the subject.¹

Governor Bernard was compelled in the discharge of his official functions to enforce these commands, but he lost no time in remonstrating. His letter to the Earl of Egremont, Secretary of State,² contains a plea for the indulgence granted, or tacitly allowed up to that time, with regard to wine and fruit, especially lemons, which he considered necessary to health in the climate of Massachusetts. This letter was followed by another addressed to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations,³ in which he entreats that the duties imposed by the Molasses Act may at least be reduced in the interest of England as well as of America, since it had been, and would be, evaded, and its end to a large extent defeated. He continues: 'This Act has been a perpetual stumbling-block to the Custom House officers, and it will be most agreeable to them to have it in any ways removed.'

¹ *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*, by One of his Sons.

² '*Select Letters on the Trade and Government of America, and the Principles of Law and Policy applied to American Colonies*, written by Governor Bernard, at Boston, in the years 1763-68; now first published,' &c., &c. 'The Second Edition, London (printed for T. Payne at the Mews Gate, St. Martin's, 1774)'; 'Letter I.—To the Earl of —.' From particulars in the *Life of Sir Francis Bernard* this is ascertained to mean the Earl of Egremont. The letter is dated 'October 25, 1763.'

³ *Ibid.* 'Letter II.—To the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations,' dated 'Dec. 26, 1763.' See also *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*.

To Mr. John Pownall,¹ brother of the former Governor of Massachusetts, and then Under-Secretary of State, he wrote early in 1764: 'The publication of orders for the strict execution of the Molasses Act has caused a greater alarm in this country than the taking of Fort William Henry did in 1757.' And further on: 'Surely it is not an idle or groundless fear which makes thinking people dread the consequences of continuing and enforcing this Act.' Mr. Bernard, as he told the Lords of Trade, feared more for England than for America, which, after some temporary suffering, would, he believed, recover herself by developing her internal resources.

The colonists did not know of the Governor's protest at the time, nor till after he had left America; but a large number of them were evidently satisfied of his goodwill, and perhaps guessed that he had interceded in their favour, so their regard for him survived the trial of the new orders from England. His son remarks:

It was unfortunate that these letters were not more attended to. The credit of disinterestedness they certainly were entitled to; as, by a defect in the Constitution of Massachusetts Bay, a considerable part of the Governor's small income arose from penalties, forfeitures, and seizures; and the severity of the Custom House laws was, of course, an increase of the profits of his office.

While the province was thus agitated by its commercial grievances, it experienced the further calamity of an outbreak of small-pox in the capital,² so severe that the Governor was compelled to move the General Assembly to Cambridge. Here in January 1764 another misfortune occurred. The public rooms of Harvard College, contained in a building known as Harvard Hall, were in this emergency used for the sittings of the Assembly.

The Governor and Council met in the Library, while the House of Representatives sat in the room beneath. The weather was

¹ *Select Letters*, 'Letter III.—To ———, Esquire,' dated 'January 7, 1764.' The person to whom it is addressed is identified as Mr. Pownall in the *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*.

² *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*, by One of his Sons; Hosmer, *Samuel Adams*, ch. ix. 'The Recall of Bernard.'

very cold, and too large a fire, it seems likely, was kept up. 'In the middle of a very tempestuous night,' writes an eyewitness,¹ 'a severe cold storm of snow, attended with high wind, we were awaked by the alarm of fire. Harvard Hall, the only one of our ancient buildings which still remained, was seen in flames. In a very short time this venerable monument of the piety of our ancestors was turned into a heap of ruins.' Of five thousand volumes, only a hundred were saved, and of John Harvard's books but a single one. It bears the title "The Christian Warfare against the Devil, World, and Flesh."² It was printed in London in 1634. There was grief in the colony but no despair. Two days after the fire the House of Representatives 'resolved unanimously that Harvard Hall be built at the expense of the Province, and granted two thousand pounds to begin the new edifice.'³

Subscriptions were made both in America and England. 'The Archbishops of Canterbury and York subscribed and used their influence. From the King and Court there came nothing.'

The writer, or rather compiler, of this account mentions some of the contributors to the new Hall; for instance, Benjamin Franklin, who presented 'valuable instruments for the apparatus, also a bust of Lord Chatham.' And amongst Englishmen the great Methodist, George Whitefield, then in America, who gave assistance himself and stirred up his friends to help likewise; Boswell's publishers, the Messrs. Dilly, who sent Langhorne's *Plutarch*; Alderman Barlow Trecothick, and Dr. Heberden. But he has omitted to mention the Governor's interest in the work of re-edification and replenishing, probably because he took his details from Quincy. Hosmer, however, has done Mr. Bernard justice and corroborated the statements of Thomas Bernard on this subject.

The Governor at once appealed to the Assembly and

¹ Quincy's *Harvard*, ii., pp. 112-480, quoted by Dr. Birkbeck Hill.

² *The Harvard University Library*, pp. 433, 437, quoted by Dr. Birkbeck Hill.

³ *Harvard College by an Oxonian*, by George Birkbeck Hill, D.C.L., Honorary Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford, published in 1894.

obtained the vote for reconstruction. He set the example of contributing towards a new library by the gift of some of his own books; he also drew the architectural design for the new building and superintended its execution. From the plates given in Hill's and Bush's¹ books on Harvard, it is manifest that the second Harvard Hall was less picturesque than the seventeenth-century structure which it replaced; the taste of the time was different; possibly also considerations of expense were involved, and it was no doubt intended to harmonise with the recent buildings around it. Yet 'the plain but not ungraceful proportions of Harvard Hall,' as they are styled by Hosmer, would appear to have given the new edifice a respectable position in the architecture of its era.

It was not long ere the projected measures of the new Prime Minister formed a subject of disquieting rumours in America.

How far the English Government could lawfully tax the colonies [writes Doyle] was, as we have seen, a point on which there had been various disputes, and about which no fixed rule had been laid down. English judges had decided that the colonies might lawfully be taxed by Parliament. But the colonists had never formally acknowledged this claim, and Parliament had never attempted to exercise the right except for the protection of England's trade and manufactures.²

He adds, indeed: 'During the reigns of George I. and George II. various proposals had been made for a general system of taxation in the colonies.' But the obstacles had always proved too formidable.

The project of taxing America [says Belsham] had been many years since proposed to Sir Robert Walpole; but that cautious and sagacious statesman replied: 'That it was a measure too hazardous for him to venture upon; he should therefore leave it to some more daring successor in office to make the experiment.'

¹ Bush (George Gary), *Harvard, the First American University*.

² Doyle, *History of America for Schools*.

And it is particularly stated that Sir William Keith, Governor of Virginia, proposing a plan for that purpose to the Minister, soon after the failure of his Excise Bill, Sir Robert Walpole replied, indignantly, 'I have Old England set against me, and do you think I will have New England likewise?'¹

The policy of that day was, indeed, to leave America to itself, but such a policy could not be maintained for ever. 'The wise neglect of Walpole and Newcastle,' as it is termed by Lecky,² while it conduced for the moment to quietude, bequeathed a legacy of difficulties to their successors. Chalmers, after studying the subject from State papers in England, speaks of the Duke of Newcastle as retiring 'from difficulties which he probably thought invincible, after having governed the colonies during that disgraceful period of colonial annals extending from 1724 to 1748, leaving others to extricate what his expedients had contributed so much to embarrass.'³ The matter, however, was one full of perplexity to all statesmen, and the temptation to let it drift was very strong.

There was one main difficulty pervading American affairs, which is here mentioned on account of its own magnitude as well as of its bearing on the question of taxation. This was the inadequacy and diversity of the several charters granted in early times to the colonies. The original Charter of Massachusetts is by Hosmer styled 'that of a mere trading corporation, vaguely drawn, and which was converted without colour of law into the foundation of an independent State.'⁴ Its modification under William and Mary had never been forgiven by the rigid Puritan party; yet it remained crude enough. The Governors, though appointed by the King, were practically at the mercy of the colonists. Several of them had already fared very badly. It is not, therefore, surprising that projects of union and consolidation should have been broached by British legislators. The idea had

Belsham, *Memoirs of the Reign of George III.*, 6th ed. vol. i. Book XIII.

² Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*.

³ Chalmers, *An Introduction to the Revolt of the American Colonies*, vol. ii. Book IX. ch. xx.

⁴ Hosmer (J. K.), *Samuel Adams*, ch. ii., 'The Pre-Revolutionary Struggle.'

found favour with men of divers stations and many shades of opinion, because the evils of the existing system, or want of system, were manifest. Thoughtful Americans also felt the difficulty of united action in circumstances calculated to produce continued divergence. But England and America never could agree upon the conditions by which the desired improvement could be effected. Just before the Canadian struggle, when Shirley was Governor of Massachusetts, a serious attempt was made to adjust all points in dispute, concerning which I quote Mr. Lecky :

In 1754, when another great war was impending, a Congress of Commissioners from the different colonies assembled at Albany, at the summons of the Lords of Trade, for the purpose of concerting together and with the friendly Indians upon measures of defence. Benjamin Franklin was one of the Commissioners for Pennsylvania, and he brought forward a plan for uniting the colonies for defence and for some other purposes of general utility into a single Federal State, administered by a President-General appointed by the Crown, and by a General Council elected by the Colonial Assemblies; but the plan was equally repudiated by the Colonial Legislatures as likely to abridge their authority, and by the Board of Trade as likely to foster colonial independence. In the war that ensued it was therefore left to the Colonial Legislatures to act independently in raising troops and money, and while the Northern colonies, which lay nearest Canada, more than fulfilled their part, some of the Southern ones refused to take any considerable share of the burden. The management of Indian affairs gradually passed, with general approval, from the different Colonial Legislatures to the Crown, as it was found impossible to induce the former to act together on any settled plan.¹

The bickerings of the various colonies in those days were serious. "“Fire and water,” wrote the traveller Burnaby some years later,² “are not more heterogeneous than the different colonies in North America. Nothing can exceed the jealousy and emulation which they possess in regard to each other.”” Yet the dread of taxation by England and of

¹ Lecky, *Hist. of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iv. ch. xi.

² Quoted by Lecky in a note to vol. iv. ch. xi.

other possible measures to follow eventually overcame these feelings. The question of taxation was, indeed, 'closely connected with the intention to place rather more than 10,000 soldiers permanently in America'¹—that is, British soldiers, in addition to the Provincial troops maintained by the colonies; and it was expected that some at least of the expense of these European soldiers would be thrown on America. 'This scheme was also much objected to.' But how could some adjustment of the sort be avoided? Existing arrangements were obviously inadequate. During the comparatively tranquil times in Massachusetts, lately described, a terrible outbreak had devastated another portion of the colonies.

In June 1763 a confederation, including several Indian tribes, had suddenly and unexpectedly swept over the whole western frontier of Pennsylvania and Virginia, had murdered almost all the English settlers who were scattered beyond the mountains, had surprised and captured every British fort between the Ohio and Lake Erie, and had closely blockaded Fort Detroit and Pittsburg. In no previous war had the Indians shown such skill, tenacity, and concert; and had there not been British troops in the country, the whole of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland would probably have been overrun. In spite of every effort, a long line of country twenty miles in breadth was completely desolated, and presented one hideous scene of plunder, massacre, and torture. It was only after much desperate fighting, after some losses, and several reverses, that the troops of Amherst succeeded in repelling the invaders and securing the three great fortresses of Niagara, Detroit, and Pittsburg.

The war lasted for fourteen months; but during the first six months, when the danger was at its height, the hard fighting appears to have been mainly done by English troops, though a considerable body of the Militia of the Southern colonies were in the field. At last Amherst called upon the New England colonies to assist their brethren; but his request was almost disregarded. Massachusetts, being beyond the zone of immediate danger, and fatigued with the burden of the late war, would give no help; and Connecticut with great reluctance sent 250 men. After a war of extreme horror, peace was signed in September 1764. In a large

¹ Lecky, *Hist. of Eng. in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iv. ch. xi.

degree by the efforts of English soldiers the Indian territory was again rolled back, and one more great service was rendered by England to her colonies.¹

'This event,' continues the historian, 'was surely a sufficient justification of the policy of establishing a small army in the colonies.' He proceeds to remark that the possibility of France going to war again for the recovery of Canada was strongly believed in America. And further observes: 'If North America was the part of the British Empire where well-being was most widely diffused, Ireland was probably the part where there was most poverty. . . . Yet Ireland from Irish revenues supported an army of 12,000 men, which was raised in 1769 to 15,000.'

The force of these arguments is evident, but they had no chance of a hearing in America. The 'daring successor' indicated by Walpole was at last found, and in 1764, at a peculiarly unfortunate moment, brought forward the measure so famous, or notorious, in its result; pressed, no doubt, by the discontent in overtaxed England, as evinced by frequent riots, and fearing the displeasure of New England less than the threatening aspect of the old country.

George Grenville² belonged to a family which had been seated for centuries at Wotton, in Bucks, only about five miles from Nether Winchendon, and during the Civil War had taken the Parliamentary side. His elder brother was the first Earl Temple, succeeding his mother, who had been created countess. He was industrious and painstaking, and had gone thoroughly into the subject of America, contrary to the custom of other Ministers, and now, as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer,³ signalised his period of administration by the Stamp Act, though how far it was his own idea has been matter of controversy.

¹ Lecky, *Hist. of Eng. in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iv. ch. xi.

² See Debrett and Burke, 'Buckingham and Chandos, Dukes of,' &c., &c., up to 1889; now extinct. See 'Baroness Kinloss' and 'Earl Temple.'

³ Lipscomb, *Hist. Bucks*, vol. i., 'Wotton Underwood,' or 'Under Bernwood'; Haydn, *Dictionary of Dates*, 'Grenville Administration.'

On the 10th of March [writes Belsham] the House of Commons, at the motion of the Minister, passed a variety of resolutions respecting certain duties on foreign goods imported into the British colonies of America; which, being primarily of the nature of commercial regulations, passed without any distinct or peculiar notice in the British Parliament, though their equivocal complexion rendered them very distasteful to the Americans. But in the series of Parliamentary regulations was one of such peculiar importance that Mr. Grenville himself declared his intention to reserve the execution of it till the next year. This resolution imported that it would be proper to impose certain Stamp Duties in the said Colonies and Plantations, for the purpose of raising an American revenue payable into the British Exchequer. The prospect of being relieved by the taxation of America from a portion of the national burdens was so agreeable to the interest, and the unlimited exercise of authority so flattering to the pride of this Assembly, who in both these respects were the genuine representatives of the people at large, that the resolution passed the House of Commons with no violent or unusual opposition; and on the 19th of April, 1764, the Session terminated; his Majesty, in his closing speech, returning thanks for the prudent and salutary measures which had been taken by Parliament to extend the commerce, augment the revenues, and secure the happiness of his kingdom.¹

On this subject the American writer, Hosmer, writes more calmly:

Inasmuch as the American colonies had profited especially from the successes of the war, it had been felt, justly enough, that they should bear a portion of the burden. It might have been possible to secure from them a good subsidy, but the plan devised for obtaining it was unwise. The principle was universally admitted that Parliament had power to levy 'external taxes,' those intended for the regulation of commerce. With the Stamp Act, in 1764, Grenville had taken a step further. This was an 'internal' tax, one levied directly for the purpose of raising a revenue, not for the regulation of commerce. The unconscious Grenville explained his scheme in an open, honest way. 'I am not, however,' said he to the colonial agents in London, 'set upon this tax. If the Americans dislike it, and prefer any other method, I shall be content. Write, therefore, to your several colonies, and

¹ Belsham, *Memoirs of the Reign of George III.*, vol. i. Book XIII.

if they choose any other mode, I shall be satisfied, provided the money be but raised.' But Britain, pushing thus more earnestly than heretofore, found herself, much to her surprise, confronted by a stout and well-appointed combatant, not to be browbeaten or easily set aside.¹

Governor Bernard at once saw the threatening aspect of affairs; he wrote to a nobleman, whose name is left blank, on June 23, 1764, and therefore soon after news of the intended tax had reached Boston:

I am not now to acquaint your Lordship that, ever since I have been in America, I have studied the policy of the several Governments, and endeavoured to acquire a true idea of their relation to Great Britain; but I have had no encouragement to reduce my thoughts into writing, as heretofore the unsettled state of the public offices afforded me no prospect of a proper opportunity to communicate my sentiments upon these subjects. However, this spring I formed my thoughts into a kind of regular system, as concise and as argumentative as could well be. And now I wish I had done it sooner; for the late proceedings in Parliament have given such a rouse to the politicians in this country that it seems that a publication of something of this kind at this time might be of service. But I could not venture upon it myself, not only from diffidence of my own judgment, but because in my station I do not think myself at liberty to publish anything of this kind without first submitting it to my superiors.

I have therefore thought it proper to transmit to your Lordship two copies of this piece, that, if you think it deserves notice, you may transmit them to my Lords — and —.

On the same subject he wrote a little later to a gentleman designated only as '—— —, Esquire':

It seems to me that the affairs of America are becoming very critical; that common expedients would soon begin to fail; and that a general reformation of the American Governments would become not only a desirable but a necessary measure. Full of these thoughts, when I was at Concord attending the Assembly,

¹ Hosmer (J. K.), *Samuel Adams*, ch. vi., 'The Stamp Act before England.'

² *Select Letters*, &c., 'Letter VI.—To the Lord ——, June 23, 1764.' The name of this nobleman I have not been able to ascertain; there is no reference to this letter in the *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*.

which had probably been moved to that town after the burning of Harvard Hall,

I reduced my sentiments upon this subject into writing, studying as much as possible method, argument, and brevity. The writing itself is a hasty work, done at such intervals of leisure as I could catch; but the matter has been the subject of much deliberation, and will afford heads for many useful and interesting disquisitions.¹

The treatise in question, of which only four copies were sent by the Governor to England, is entitled 'Principles of Law and Polity, applied to the Government of the British Colonies in America.'² It occupies fourteen pages of small octavo size, printed in somewhat diminutive type, and the main topic will, perhaps, be understood by the following passage, which forms the first paragraph of the Preface:

A view of the present wealth, power, and extension of the British Empire is alarming as well as pleasing: we cannot but be concerned for the stability of a fabric built on so disjointed foundations, and raised to so great a height; and must be convinced that it will require much political skill to secure its duration. The most obvious means to effect this must be an Union of the several parts of this vast body, and especially a connection between the Seat of Empire and its Dependencies; a Connection not created by temporary expedients, or supported by enforced subjection, but established upon fixed Principles of Law and Polity, and maintained by a regular, free, and equitable subordination. What are the principles which will best connect the Head and the Members of this great Empire, is the subject of the present enquiry. They ought to be simple, plain, and certain, or they will not be suitable to their general purpose; they ought to be generally admitted, or they will not have their full effect; they must be such as will stand the test of reason, or they will not be generally admitted.

¹ *Select Letters*, 'Letter VII.—To ———, Esquire, July 11, 1764.' This gentleman also I am unable to identify.

² It was printed in one small volume, with the second edition of Governor Bernard's *Select Letters*, in 1774; possibly with the first edition also, but that I have not seen.

From the essay itself a few extracts will be made here. Governor Bernard began by asserting to the fullest extent the authority of the English Government over the American colonies, in language adapted to the times, though it sounds somewhat arbitrary at the present day. His son even implies that such a statement was necessary in order to obtain a hearing for the rest of the treatise. But while laying down as one of his 'principles' the right of Parliament to tax the American provinces, whether represented or not, he continues: 'Taxes imposed upon the external dominions ought to be applied to the use of the people from whom they are raised,' and strongly recommends leaving the sums fixed by Parliament to be raised by the provincial Legislatures, as 'more agreeable to the people,' whose convenience would thus be consulted, and also because 'it may be difficult to form a general parliamentary tax so as to make it equally suitable to all provinces.'

In Governor Bernard's belief, the dependence of the provincial governors and other officials on the goodwill of the Legislature—that is, of the people—for their salaries had led, and was leading, to great evils, and he considered that the taxes should be employed for the maintenance of 'a certain and adequate establishment towards the support of government,' as well as for the defence of the country.

The want of such an establishment has had bad consequences in many of the Governments of the American colonies, and has contributed, more than all other things put together, to contention in the Legislature and defect of justice in the courts of law: Therefore, the establishment of a certain, sufficient, and independent Civil List, is not only expedient, but necessary for the welfare of the American colonies. Such an appointment will tend greatly to remove all the seeds of contention, and to promote a lasting harmony and good understanding between the Government and the people. The people of the colonies ought not to object to such an appointment, because the support of Government is one of the terms upon which they have received the power of legislation, and, if the Government is not supported, the legislation must cease; and because the support of Government ought

to be certain and sufficient ; otherwise the execution of it will be uncertain, and its powers insufficient for its purposes.

The Government ought not to be dependent upon the people ; and the particular means used in some of the colonies to keep their Governments dependent, and the use which has been made of such dependency, afford ample proofs that they ought not to be so.

On the subject of representation, which for a short time only became the foremost watchword of the American agitators, or rather of some members of their party, Mr. Bernard says comparatively little. This, no doubt, arose partly from the fact that he could only beg it as a favour, consistently, and was very uncertain how such a request might be received by his correspondents. Moreover, he must have been conscious that the scheme presented many difficulties. Even the agitators were not agreed on the subject.

While Samuel Adams [says Hosmer] from the first rejected it as impracticable and undesirable, James Otis advocated it with all his force. He was far from being alone in this advocacy. In England, Grenville with many others was well disposed towards it. . . . Adam Smith, at this time becoming famous, espoused the view. . . . Among Americans, Franklin, as well as James Otis, earnestly favoured the scheme . . . and Hutchinson early had suggested the same idea.¹

Many others besides Adams were, however, opposed or indifferent.

Governor Bernard's plea is that 'The subjects of the British Empire, residing in its external dominions, are entitled to all the rights and privileges of British subjects, which they are capable of enjoying. . . . A Representation of the American colonies in the Imperial Legislature is not impracticable.' And he decides that its propriety 'must be determined by expediency only,' not being 'necessary to establish the authority of the Parliament over the colonies,' though 'it may be expedient for quieting

¹ Hosmer (J. K.), *Samuel Adams*, ch. v., 'Parliamentary Representation and the Massachusetts Resolves.'

disputes concerning such authority, and preventing a separation in future times.' In case of representation being allowed, 'still there would be an occasion for Provincial Legislatures, for their domestic economy, and the support of their Governments. But all external Legislatures must be subject to, and dependent on, the Imperial Legislature, otherwise there would be an Empire in an Empire.'

The Governor thus approaches the subject of the revision of the charters, which he had much at heart :

Some external States are incapable of a Legislature ; which has often been the case of infant colonies. Therefore, the same form of government is not equally proper to a colony in its infant and in its mature state. There may be a middle state between infancy and maturity, which may admit of a form of government more proper for it than either of the extremes. There is but one most perfect form of government for Provinces arrived at maturity. That is the most perfect form of government for a dependent Province which approaches the nearest to that of the sovereign State, and differs from it as little as possible.

This assertion sounds somewhat hazardous, since the head Government might be very bad ; but Mr. Bernard limited his observations to the case in hand, as clearly appears from the heading to his pamphlet, and desired to see the Americans blessed with such a Constitution as that which formed the pride of the English, guaranteeing, as they boasted, at once freedom, order and stability—a Constitution extolled by many foreigners, who lamented their own inferiority in this respect, and praised even by James Otis, who about this very time exclaimed : 'The British Constitution comes nearest the idea of perfection of any that has been reduced to practice.'

Mr. Bernard continues :

There is no such form of government among the American colonies. And therefore every American Government is capable of having its Constitution altered for the better.

The grants of the powers of governments to American colonies by charters cannot be understood to be intended for other than

their infant or growing States. They cannot be intended for their mature state, that is, for perpetuity; because they are in many things unconstitutional and contrary to the very nature of a British Government. Therefore they must be considered as designed only as temporary means, for settling and bringing forward the peopling the colonies; which being effected, the cause of the peculiarity of their constitution ceases. If the charters can be pleaded against the authority of Parliament, they amount to an alienation of the dominions of Great Britain, and are, in effect, acts of dismembering the British Empire, and will operate as such, if care be not taken to prevent it.

This is exactly what they did amount to; ere many years had passed the British Empire was dismembered.

The Governor then enters into the question of the dimensions of provinces:

Where the Legislature can meet without inconvenience, the larger a Province is, the more effectual will be the powers of its Government. The notion that has heretofore prevailed, that the dividing America into many Governments, and different modes of government, will be the means to prevent their uniting to revolt, is ill-founded, since, if the Governments were ever so much consolidated, it will be necessary to have so many distinct States as to make an union to revolt impracticable. Whereas, the splitting America into many small Governments weakens the governing power, and strengthens that of the people; and thereby makes revolting more probable and more practicable.

Mr. Bernard adverts to the want of balance in the American Governments, 'there not being in any of them a real and distinct third Legislative power mediating between the King and the People, which is the peculiar excellence of the British Constitution'; and suggests that

although America is not now (and probably will not be for many years to come) ripe enough for an hereditary nobility, yet it is now capable of a nobility for life. A nobility appointed by the King for life, and made independent, would probably give strength and stability to the American Governments as effectually as an hereditary nobility does to that of Great Britain.

And after some remarks on the topic of boundaries between the various provinces, which he did not think it necessary to hold 'inalterable,' and which, indeed, had already been shifted in some places, the essay concludes with the following statements :

The American colonies, in general, are at this time arrived at that state which qualifies them to receive the most perfect form of government which their situation and relation to Great Britain make them capable of. The people of North America, at this time, expect a revisal and reformation of the American Governments, and are better disposed to submit to it than ever they were, or perhaps ever will be again. This is therefore the proper and critical time to reform the American Governments upon a general, constitutional, firm, and durable plan ; and if this is not done now, it will probably every day grow more difficult, till at last it becomes impracticable.

On this treatise Bancroft, the recent historian of America, comments as follows :

Bernard sought to ingratiate himself in England by sending to his superiors a scheme of American polity, which he had employed years in maturing. He urged on the Cabinet that a general reformation of the American Governments was not only desirable, but necessary. . . . Of the paper containing this advice, Bernard sent copies to the Ministry, carefully concealing from America his treacherous solicitations. Suspecting the designs of Bernard, Otis, in July, spoke thus through the press. . . .¹

James Otis, although still professing himself a loyal subject, began to condemn hereditary power and privileges. 'The first and simple principle,' he declared, 'is Equality and the Power of the Whole.' In his publication entitled 'A Vindication of the House,'² which contains these utterances, he warmly applauded 'all outspoken and bold resistance to "every sort and degree of usurped power,"' ridiculing the Governor's sensitiveness on this subject—that is, really, to attacks on the Crown—and asserting 'that no

¹ Bancroft, *History of the United States*, Epoch II. ch. vii.

² Gilman, *The Story of Boston*, xix.

Government had the right to make "hobby-horses, asses, and slaves of its subjects." Bancroft states

This book [of Otis] was reprinted in England. Lord Mansfield, who read it, rebuked those who spoke of it with contempt. 'But,' they rejoined, 'the man is mad.' 'What then?' answered Mansfield in Parliament. 'One madman often makes many. Masaniello was mad; nobody doubted it; yet, for all that, he over-turned the Government of Naples.'

On the subject of his own mental condition Otis himself observed: "'The divine Brutus once wore the cloak of a fool and madman, the only cloak a man of true honour and spirit condescends to put on.'"

The British Government had given the colonies an opportunity of offering an equivalent for the Stamp Duty if they preferred some other mode of taxation;¹ the year of delay being intended, it is alleged, both as a concession and a compliment. But the Massachusetts Assembly, when it met in October, showed no appreciation of this forbearance and civility; the members claimed—or ostensibly prayed for—the continuance of their exemption from taxation in the new form, and requested the Governor to forward a petition concerning the restrictions on trade, and to use his good offices on their behalf with the Ministry.² He sent the petition to the Earl of Halifax, Secretary of State, and wrote a long letter to the same nobleman, warmly advocating some relaxation of the trade regulations. He also touched on the inconvenience occasioned by the establishment of the new General Court of Admiralty for all the American colonies in the outlying and recently settled town of Halifax, Nova Scotia.³

To the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations Mr. Bernard enclosed another copy of the petition, with

¹ *Life of Sir Francis Bernard*, by One of his Sons.

² *Select Letters*, 'Letter V.—To the Earl of —,' dated 'Nov. 10, 1764.' It is stated in the *Life of Sir Francis Bernard* that this letter was addressed to the Earl of Halifax.

³ It is stated in Rees's *Cyclopædia* that the town of Halifax, Nova Scotia, was settled in 1749.

the address from the Assembly to himself desiring its transmission. His short letter accompanying these documents concludes :

This last session was held solely to give the two Houses an opportunity to send fresh instructions to their agent. Previously to their meeting there were some pains taken by some obscure newspaper writers to inflame them, but their endeavours did not succeed ; duty, prudence, and moderation, prevailed in a manner unexpected ; so that there scarce ever was a more unanimous and quiet session.¹

It is, indeed, remarkable that the proceedings in the English Parliament should not as yet have disturbed the harmony between the Governor and the House of Representatives. But so it was. Early in June, when the members of that House must have just become aware of the impending peril, they addressed the following message to Mr. Bernard :

The House humbly and gratefully acknowledge your Excellency's paternal care of all the interests of this Province, more particularly in the measures your Excellency has from time to time recommended, for the forwarding the settlements in the Eastern parts of the Province.²

To this message the following remark is added in the Appendix to 'Select Letters' : 'N.B.—In this session began the opposition to the Acts of Parliament for laying a duty on sugar, molasses, &c.' But as already shown the House had no grievance against Governor Bernard, but trusted him to plead the cause of the colonists.

When the members met again on January 10, 1765, the Governor honestly stated in his opening speech how much he had done.³ He said he flattered himself that their representations would succeed, namely, those contained in

¹ *Select Letters*, 'Letter IV.—To the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations,' dated 'Nov. 10, 1764.'

² Appendix to *Select Letters*, 'Extract of a Message of the House to the Governor,' dated '8 June, 1764.'

³ *Ibid.* 'Extract of the Speech of the Governor at the Opening of the Session,' dated '10 January, 1765.'

the petition he had forwarded, 'as they must receive great weight from the dutiful manner in which they are formed.' And he added that he would not neglect any other opportunity to promote the real welfare of the Province, 'consistently with its subordination to the Kingdom of Great Britain, and the common interest of the whole Empire.' With these expressions the Council and House asserted their entire contentment in the following answer :

We are much obliged to your Excellency for recommending to the favour of the Ministry our Petition to the House of Commons. We flatter ourselves the representations therein made will have success, not only from the dutiful manner in which they are formed, but from the necessary connexion there is between the interest of the nation and the success of that Petition ; it being a demonstrable truth that the national interest will be best promoted and secured by encouraging the trade of the colonies.¹

This, it may be observed, was a point on which Mr. Bernard had strongly insisted in his letter to Lord Halifax. The address continued :

We are also much obliged to your Excellency for your kind declaration, that you shall not neglect any other opportunity to promote the real welfare of this Province, consistently with its subordination to the Kingdom of Great Britain, and the common interest of the whole Empire. It is in consistence with these that we hope for your Excellency's endeavours to promote the real welfare of this Province ; and in these endeavours our inclinations conspire with our duty to give your Excellency our best assistance.

This is apparently the last entry in the 'Journals of Massachusetts' testifying to complete cordiality between the Governor and the House of Representatives. It is certainly the last extract quoted in the Appendix to the 'Select Letters.' Two days later, on January 14,² began in the British Parliament the vehement and eloquent debates which ended in a majority of both Houses declaring in

¹ Appendix to *Select Letters*, 'Extracts of the Address of the Council and House to the Governor in answer to his Speech,' dated '12 January, 1765.'

² Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iv. ch. xi.
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favour of the new tax. No attention seems to have been paid by the Ministry to Governor Bernard's suggestions. His 'Principles of Law and Polity' were ignored, and the Petition of the Assembly was treated as waste paper. The Stamp Act received the Royal Assent on March 22, 1765,¹ and England was never again at one with her American colonies.

¹ Haydn (Joseph), *Dictionary of Dates*, 'Stamp Duties.'

APPENDIX

NOTE 1, PAGE 3.

It is a curious fact that there were many Bernards in Buckinghamshire before my family settled there. In the thirteenth century and early in the fourteenth (1204 to 1315) there were FitzBernards at Ilmer, near Risborough, who also owned land in a portion of the parish of Dinton, near Aylesbury, which is still sometimes called Aston Bernard. Two members of this family were named Thomas, but there is nothing in Lipscomb's account to connect them with the judge, Thomas FitzBernard.

The name is likewise found in several parishes near Nether Winchendon. There were Bernards of Chilton and Ashendon, who gave portions of land to Notley Abbey in the thirteenth century. A Robert FitzBernard was Rector of Waddesdon in 1290, and was succeeded in 1296 by Edmund Bernard.

In the latter half of the seventeenth century there are three entries, relating to persons named Bernard, in the registers of Haddenham. I do not know to what rank of life they belonged.

I have not attempted to trace any relationship with these families on account of the difficulty and the small result likely to be attained.¹

NOTE 2, PAGE 13.

MARGARET SCROPE, the wife of Sir John Bernard, is said to have been widow of two previous husbands. The first was named Plessington (or Plesyngton), the second Hugh² Stafford. As she was evidently still young at the time of her third marriage, it is possible that the first may have been only a contract made in her

¹ The authority for these statements may be found in Lipscomb's *Hist. Bucks.*, under the headings of the different parishes there mentioned.

² Sometimes called 'Fulk' or 'Fouke.'

childhood. It is not easy to assign a place to Hugh, her second husband, in the Stafford pedigrees; several branches of the family were ennobled, but the records of extinct peerages of that period are not exhaustive.¹ It is possible that he may have been a son of Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, who perished at the battle of Northampton. Hugh, having died young, may easily have been forgotten. It does not appear that Margaret had any children before the Bernard marriage. The fact that the Staffords had property at Naseby in Northamptonshire, where her dower lands may have been situated, would account for her acquaintance with John Bernard of Abington.

¹ The Scropes form, perhaps, an exception to this statement. Their pedigree has been apparently given in full in *The Scrope and Grosvenor Roll*, or *The Controversy between Sir Richard Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor in the Court of Chivalry*, edited by Sir Harris Nicolas, K.H., vol. ii., and, more discursively, in *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vol. i., under the heads of 'Pedigrees of Noble Families related to the Blood Royal, temp. Henry VII,' and 'Addenda.'

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