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HOUSE OF WAYLAND



ROBERT WAYLEN.
of Derizes.



Yours truly
F. Weyland



THE
HOUSE OF WAYLAND.

James Waylen

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F.A.B. Zuffeja

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WELOND, or the Smith, was the Vulcan of northern mythology; that is to say, it was a generic term, a symbolical impersonation standing for a skilled artificer, derived from some Scandinavian verb, signifying to work with ingenuity, (and perhaps surviving in the English term "to weld") as Dædalus among the Greeks was derived from δαιδαλλω to work artistically, and Fabricius in Latin from *fabrico*. It was in this sense that King Alfred understood it when in his translation of Boethius's *De consolations philosophicæ*, he thus paraphrased the passage commencing "*Ubi nunc fidelis ossa Fabricii manent?*"

"Where are now the bones of the wise Weland
The goldsmith formerly so famous? . . .
Under what tumulus do they lie hidden?"

So also the French romancers were fond of attributing the armour of Charlemagne and other warriors to the skill of Weland, or "Galannus" as they would call him. Matthew Paris is but adopting the same poetic fiction when he informs us that among the suit of arms presented by Henry I. of England to the young Count Geoffrey of Anjou, the sword was of Weland's superlative manufacture. *Hist.* xii. 521. And in the same symbolic strain, other mediæval writers have furnished with weapons from this armory, Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Ptolemy, Judas Maccabæus. and the Emperor Vespasian.

In the Vale of White-horse at Ashbury near the borders of Wilts and Berks, may still be seen the remains of a Celtic sepulchre or cromlech bearing the name of Wayland Smith's cave. Though it bears this Saxon name it is much older than Saxon times, and is just one among many other illustrations of the tendency of that tribe to connect their own traditional legends with the objects which they found on their arrival in England. Sir Walter Scott has made

use of it in his romance of *Konilworth*. At this cave, according to rustic folk-lore; dwelt the invisible smith. No one ever saw him; but any traveller who had the courage to avail himself of his skill, had only to deposit a piece of money on one of the stones and leave his horse beside it. On his return the horse was found to be shod and the money gone. Such was the last shadowy tradition of the venerable myth.

Though it might be supposed that from early times Weland would be a favourite surname, nevertheless in the race for popular adoption it has been far outstripped by its synonym Smith. Still we may say that under his more euphonious appellation, our traditional metallurgist has, with slight verbal variations, continued to hold his ground in every one of the old European tongues. In Iceland he was *Vœlund* or *Volundur*,—in German, *Wiolant* and *Wielant*,—in Anglo-Saxon, *Weland* and *Velont*, modified in modern dialect to *Wayland* as a name and *Valiant* as an epithet. In the Latin of the middle ages, it became *Guilandus* and *Galannus*,—and in old French, *Galans* or *Galant*.

When applied to territory, *Wayland* might plausibly enough be traced to the Anglo-Saxon "*Wael*," signifying battle, slaughter, or death, and used in forming such compound phrases as *wael-feld*, a field of battle; *wael-shaft*, a war weapon; and so *wael-land* might well designate a place of slaughter. But in our early history the names of persons and places are so interchangeable, that we shall gain little by departing from the simple explanation first given above. How *Wayland* drifted into *Waylen* among the Wiltshire branches may easily be accounted for by the carelessness which characterizes the spelling of surnames in the middle ages; the scribes just following the sounds which their reporters furnished; though, if there were not good proof that the spelling of *Wayland* prevailed in the West of England before *Waylen* was heard of, we might assume the identity of the modern form *Waylen* with that of *Whelan*, which in Ireland where it is common enough, is pronounced *Whalan*. The final remark to be made under this head is that *Wehlen* the name of a picturesque town on the Elbe in Saxon Switzerland has a sound exactly similar.

The English Waylands seem to have originally sprung from Norfolk or Suffolk. A shadowy tradition points to a Knight, Sir Herbert Wayland of Wayland in Norfolk, flourishing in that county towards the close of the twelfth century, and having by his wife Beatrix, three sons, one of whom, Sir Thomas, generally known as Chief Justice Wayland, is regarded as the principal ancestor of the various families bearing his name, both in the East and West of England. John Wayland, Esq., now [1860] owning Wood-Rising and Wood-Eaton, both in Norfolk, believes himself to be a lineal representative of the Chief Justice. Another trace of the family's residence there exists in a woody district between Watton and Merton, bearing the title of Wayland Wood, which the folk-lore of the district has changed into Wailing Wood, and associated with the ballad-tragedy of "The Norfolk gentleman," or "The babes in the wood."

Quitting the Norfolk stem, we turn to the branch which spread into the counties of Wilts and Somerset. During the reigns of Edward the first and second, three contemporary members of the family are here conspicuous, namely Thomas, William, and Richard. Their mutual relationship must at best be conjectural, but some light is thrown on their social position by a few surviving official documents. And first in respect of,—

THOMAS DE WAYLAND. His name occurs as witness to a deed of confirmation of privileges granted to the Bishop of Sarum, by Edward I., in 1285, recorded in Hatcher's *Hist. of Salisbury*.

Of his contemporary, SIR WILLIAM WAYLAND, the State-papers preserve the following memoranda. In the 24th Edward I., he did homage to the King for lands held in right of his wife Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Osbert of Bath. In the 9th of Edward II., he is styled a lord of the township of Loxton in Somerset, and a feudal holder of part of the township of Compton-Durville in the same county. Later on, he is returned by the Sheriff of Somerset as Knight of the shire to the Parliament meeting 17th Edward II.; and in the following year a military patent constitutes him a commissioner of array in that county, with special powers. His last promotion is to the Justice-

* Wood Eaton
is in Oxfordshire

ship of oyer and terminer for the counties of Wilts, Somerset, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall.

RICHARD WAYLAND, described as of Horsley and Calne in Wilts, is returned as a burgess to represent the borough of Calne in the Parliament which met at Northampton 1st of Edward II.

These three names aforesaid, Thomas, William, and Richard, all re-appear in the chamberlain's accounts of Stanley Abbey near Chippenham, belonging, like those first mentioned, to the thirteenth century. In the catalogue of charters and title deeds belonging to the Abbey, occur the following:—

"*Calna.* Willelmi de Devyses, clerici qui dicitur Weyland, de redditu XV. solidorum et VII. denariorum in Calna, quem redditum dedit nobis pro liberatione sua."

"*Calna.* Ricardi filii Willelmi de Weylande de Calna de acquietancia liberationis annue panis et cervisie."

"*Calna.* Quæta clamacio Thomæ Weyland de uno tenemento."

The above rendered into English:—1st. The charter of William of Devyses, clerk, who is called Weyland, in respect of the rent of 15 shillings and 7 pence in Calne, which rent he gave to us for his livery. 2nd. The charter of Richard, son of William de Weylande, of Calne for the discharge of his annual livery of bread and beer. 3rd. Quit-claim of Thomas Weyland in respect of one tenement there.

Two of the last-mentioned, namely Thomas and Richard, are probably identical with Thomas and Richard previously noticed, though such a conjecture cannot be hazarded in respect of William. Sir William the Justiciary of the Western counties cannot possibly be the same person as "William of the Devyses the clerk who is called Weyland." In respect of this latter individual, all we can say of him is that the expression "*qui dicitur Weyland*," seems to point to an early settler, that is to say, to a person hitherto unknown in the town. That he bore some relationship to his distinguished namesake, is not an unreasonable supposition,—a clerical kinsman, perhaps, following in the West of England the fortunes of the chief man of his house, and eventually rejoicing in some monastic benefice. But his ecclesiastical character forbids our regarding him as the

ancestor of all those of his name who subsequently became land owners in Devizes and Nurstead. These, it is believed, are rather to be derived from Richard described as "of Calne and Horsley,"—their habitat lying at Rowde Hill, three miles north-west of Devizes, and comprising Durlotts, Stallcroft, and Smythicks. The following names down to the middle of the seventeenth century are principally derived from Mr. Edward Waylen's manuscripts, but whether or not their sequential relationship can be established, is a question sharing the obscurity of the dark ages.

WILLIAM WAYLAND, of Rowde Hill, in the time of Edward III. The forest accounts held before William of Wykeham, 41st Edward III., record payments made by "William Wilens, of Rowde." By his marriage with Maria Pawlet, he had a son John, of whom presently, and a daughter, Elizabeth. Presumably also he was the father of Walter Weyland, rector of Littleton, in Dorset, in 1890. See the *Salisbury Institutions*.

JOHN WAYLAND of Rowde Hill, married Caroline Digges [of Marlborough?]. Issue, John his successor, and Maria married to Edmund Poole. Conjecturally also, William Vicar of Eysis in Wilts in 1484, the surname being spelt Wyland in the *Salisbury Institutions*.

JOHN WAYLAND, of Rowde Hill, who died in 1483, had issue two sons, John who succeeded him, and William of Criclade in North Wilts.

JOHN WAYLAND, born 1479, died 1555. His children were Arthur, who succeeded him, and Milo who in 1530 became vicar of Compton Bassett and North Newton both in Wilts, spelt Wylylyn in the *Salisbury Institutions*. In the British Museum Library there is a copy of "*The prymer of Salisbury-Use*, 16mo. London 1558, published by the assignees of John Wayland." The martyrology of that period records the name of John Waylen as the master of Thomas Green, one of the sufferers in Mary's reign.

ARTHUR WAYLAND of Rowde Hill and Devizes, had by his wife Bridget.

1. John, of whom presently.
2. Robert, died 1587 having by his wife Elizabeth a son Robert who d. s. p. 1622.

3. Walter, of Devizes, mar. 1573 to Joan Carless, and had a son William who d. s. p. 1592.

4. Bridget, d. unm. 1609.

Arthur Wayland, who is supposed to have died during his father's life time, about the middle of the sixteenth century, left as his successor,

JOHN WAYLAND of Rowde Hill, who had issue, as follows,

1. John, mar. 1598, to Joan Cowan of Devizes, and had three children, viz., Jane, mar. 1616 to Anthony Prowett—2. John, a farmer of Stapelford, who, 1620, mar. Cicely Lynwood of Devizes—3rd. Robert of Devizes, who mar. Sarah Oakford of Devizes.

2. William, of whom presently.

3. Robert, of Devizes Wick, born 1574, mar. Edith d. of Philip Prater.

4. Amy, b. 1558, d. 1589.

5. Alice, mar. 1595 to Robert Green of Devizes.

6. Margaret, d. 1586.

John Wayland died 1609 and was succeeded by his second son,

WILLIAM WAYLAND of Rowde Hill and Devizes, b. 1568, mar. 1588 to Joan Perry of Southbroom, Devizes, and had

1. William, of whom presently.

2. Elizabeth, b. 1591, mar. 1609 to Roger Green of Southbroom.

Mr. Wayland is supposed to have died about 1630.

WILLIAM WAYLAND of Rowde Hill, born about 1589, married in 1620 Mary, d. of Walter and Mary Rose of Southbroom. It was by this marriage, as is supposed, that the Waylands of Rowde Hill inherited and continued long after to hold sundry freehold and copyhold enclosures in the tithings of Nurstead, Bedborough, and Wick, all in the chapelry of St. James or Southbroom. A portion of the estate still remains in the hands of George Waylen, Esq. of Devizes. The issue of the above marriage was as follows,

1. William, his successor.

2. Michael, of Devizes, born 1627.

3. Thomas, of Nurstead, who d. 1713, having mar. Frances Nicholas of Southbroom, afterwards represented by the family of Thomas Rose Wayland of Battersea, who in 1716 mar. Susanna Hitchcock of Bishops Cannings.
4. John, died young.
5. Mary, mar. 1670 to Thomas Sloper of Easton, Wilts, and had several children.

William Wayland, the time of whose death has not been ascertained, was succeeded by his eldest son,

WILLIAM WAYLAND of Nurstead and Rowde Hill, born 1620. In 1671 he purchased of William Hitchcock of Newhouse in Whiteparish and Edward Hitchcock of London the freehold estate at Potterne ever since known as "The Waylands." It remained in the family till sold in 1873 by James Waylen to William Stancomb of Potterne. Mr. William Wayland further purchased from Charles Danvers the Recorder of Devizes in 1687 the site of Nurstead house, which house he appears to have built and made his residence. It went by the name of Upper Waylands, while a farm house nearer to the Start stream was called Lower Waylands. Upper Waylands has long passed away, but Lower Waylands continued to be occupied by relatives bearing the same name, far into the present century.

Although the spelling "Wayland" has hitherto been preserved in this narrative, and although it is so written by the scrivener who drew up the purchase deed of the Potterne lands aforesaid, yet since Mr. Wayland chose to affix his signature to that document in the form "William Waylen," in which perhaps he was only adopting the practice of some of his ancestors, we must henceforward do the same; though it may be added that in the grand jury list published on an important occasion at Devizes in 1720, William Wayland re-appears. See the *History of Devizes*, 367, Edit. 1858. There seem to have been always in the county some branches preserving the original patronymic,—witness the charity at Cricklade known as the Wayland estates, and Wayland of Stapelford, to be noticed hereafter. The same spelling also prevailed in Somersetshire. See the Appendix.

No documentary evidence it is believed, survives to indicate which side any member or members of the family

took in the great struggle of Charles I.'s time. The name, it is true, in its unabridged form, crops up in the account books kept by the County committees sitting in the Parliament's behalf at Malmesbury, Falstone House, or elsewhere, but not in a manner to display partizanship. If William Wellen who fell in the Duke of Monmouth's cause in 1685, was one of the race, it is the only instance of the name occurring in any of the lists of killed, wounded, prisoners, hearers of commission, or committee-men, which have been consulted with this object. One entry in the books of the County committee or local sequestrators above referred to, takes the following form,

"23 Oct. 1645. John Wayland, Christopher Gale, and Henry Turner, ranting the sheep-slaught on Mr. Tattersall's farm at Stapelford and entering last Michaelmas, paid then to him £15, and were to pay £13 6s. 8d. more for the whole year. This has been seized by us, besides £6 13s. 4d. from Gale as tenant of the arable. Received by John Hill, collector."

Here the rents of the royalist Mr. Tattersall are intercepted, but the transaction says nothing as to the politics of the tenants, who are simply compelled to surrender to the stronger party.

In the returns descriptive of Wiltshire church livings in 1650, preserved at Lambeth Palace the local witnesses who testify in respect of Little Langford are Stourton Sadleir, and John Wayland. As Little Langford adjoins Stapleford, the same John Wayland is no doubt pointed at in both cases. But we are still ignorant of his politics. There remains one form of evidence of a negative kind, leading to the inference that none of the family declared for the King, namely, absence from the Composition-Papers, whether having reference to sequestrations on the spot or to the larger mulets which royalists' estates underwent at Goldsmiths Hall.

But whatever may have been the political sentiments of the head of the family at Nurstead, there is reason to think that two at least of his children, and possibly also his wife, were favourably disposed towards the doctrines of George Fox. The Powells of Devizes-Wick, from which family the lady came, were soon afterwards conspicuous among the

Quakers of this district, and continued to be so till their removal from the neighbourhood in the present century. Still more prominent were various members of the Withers' family at Bourton, in the adjoining parish of Bishops Canning, with whom Robert the second son and Anne the second daughter became allied; of which more hereafter.

By his will dated 1, April, 1697, William Waylen of Nurstead, and Potterne, directs that he shall be buried in the chapel-yard of St. James', Southbroom. He gives £5 to his brother Michael. To his brother Thomas, 20 shillings. To his son William's servant maid Sarah Stevens, ten shillings. To his daughter Mary, wife of Nicholas Bittle, 20 shillings. To his daughter Anne, wife of William Withers, 20 shillings. To his four grandchildren, Nicholas, Robert, William, and Anne Bittle, £10 a piece. To his four grandchildren, William, Robert, Ralph, and Mary Withers, £10 a piece. To his son William's five children, William, Robert, John, Anne, and Mary Waylen, £10 a piece. To his son Robert's two children, William and Mary Waylen, £10 a piece. To the poor of the four tithings constituting the chapelry of St. James, namely, Roundway, Bedborough, Wick, and Nurstead, £5 at the discretion of his executors,—his sons William and Robert to divide the residue. It is believed he had previously apportioned his real estate between his two sons. At his death during the same year, viz., in 1697, he must have been seventy-seven years of age. His wife was Anne Powell, of Devizes Wick, by whom, who died 1691, he had four children.

1. William, of Nurstead and Rowde, born 1654, married Jane Perrett. See in the Appendix his will, dated 1718. His children were:—

I. William, of Devizes, died 1736. Administration granted to his wife Margaret and others in 1739.

II. Robert, lived at Nurstead, in what was called Lower Waylands, nearer the stream than Nurstead house. In 1774, he was also occupying Calcot farm on Coate field.

III. John, of Devizes, had issue, Jane, William, and John. Will dated, 30 June, 1750.

IV. Anne, wife of Francis Paradise of Devizes, had issue.

V. Mary of Devizes, died unmarried. Will dated, 1749.

2. Robert, of whom presently.

3. Mary, born 1657, died 1735, mar. to Nicholas Bittle, of Worslay, co. Gloster, and had issue.

4. Anne, born 1659, mar. to William Withers of Bishops Cannings, and had issue.

William Waylen, of Nurstead House, died 1697, and was succeeded at Nurstead and Potterne by his two sons, William and Robert. William, though resident elsewhere, seems to have inherited the larger portion of the Nurstead lands. Robert remained on the spot, to farm the smaller portion and the Potterne estate. It is through the latter that the succession will now have to be carried on, namely.

ROBERT WAYLEN, of Nurstead and Potterne, born 1655. His marriage with Mary Withers the widow of John Pound of Bishops Cannings took place in 1688, his father settling on them the Potterne lands aforesaid, and relinquishing to their use the house at Nurstead. The marriage indenture is made between William Waylen the elder of Bishops Cannings, of the first part,—John Withers of Bourton, William Withers of Bishops Cannings, William Waylen the younger of Rowde, and Nicholas Bittle of Worslay in Gloucestershire, of the second part,—and Robert Waylen of Nurstead in Bishops Cannings and Mary Pound of Bourton, widow, of the third part. The widow was then thirty years of age. She died at Nurstead house in 1749, aged ninety-one years.

Few Wiltshire families suffered more for Quakerism than that of Withers. They come into notice in 1656, during the protectorate of Cromwell, and their persecutions lasted till the hostility of John Methuen, lord of the manor of Bourton and M.P., for Devizes, procured their expulsion from Bishops Cannings. The narrative in full may be read in *Besse's Sufferings*, and cannot be here recited, except the case of William Withers the presumed husband of Anne Waylen. This yeoman, who inherited a copyhold from his father, had long continued to be periodically presented by the "homage" as tenant. The manor, belonging to the

see of Sarum, was farmed out to John Methuen, who, the Quakers were willing to admit, had in some cases acted in a conciliatory spirit by allowing the tenants to enjoy their estates without the customary forms of swearing. But in 1678, it was resolved to make an exception in the case of William Withers, who thereupon received a declaration of ejection, together with a notice that if he thought fit, he might appear and plead his cause at Salisbury. The alleged ground of complaint was the Quaker's refusal to swear fealty to the crown. The impression on the minds of the aggrieved party was that the forfeited estate had attractions for Mr. Methuen recalling the story of Naboth's vineyard. A belief that the sympathies of his kinsman Robert Waylen were to some extent enlisted in the same cause rests on a tradition recorded by the late Mrs. Rowden, that he gave £50 towards the erection of the Friends' Meeting house in Devizes. How far this story is consistent with the fact that his children continued to be christened at St. James' Southbroom, Mrs. Rowden failed to explain.

In respect of the kindred family of Pound, a digression may be further made for the purpose of reviving the memory of two of its most illustrious members, namely, Dr. James Pound, and Dr. Thomas Bradley, both of them astronomers. James Pound, born Feb. 1669, in the parish of Bishops Cannings, died 16 Nov., 1724, at Wanstead in Essex, of which place he was rector. Judging by the date of his birth, we conclude him to have been brother to John Pound, Mrs. Robert Waylen's first husband. In the service of the East India Company he went to China, and was one of the few survivors of the massacre of the factory in the island of Palo-Condere in Cochin China, an account of which tragic scene Archdeacon Macdonald late of Bishops Cannings discovered among the papers of Dr. Bradley, as also the journal of the passage of the *Ross* sloop till they reached Batavia in April 1705. In the conflagration, Dr. Pound just escaped with his life, losing his entire museum of curiosities. Notwithstanding his parochial engagements at Wanstead, he became known as one of the most practical astronomers in England, both Newton and Halley making frequent application for his observations. From Sir Isaac, it has recently transpired that he received substantial com-

pensation, Professor Rigaud having discovered in Dr. Pound's account books the two following memoranda of Sir Isaac's liberality.—"1719, 18 July. To a free gift received from Sir Isaac Newton, £52 10s. 0d." "1720, 28 April. To a free gift received from Sir Isaac Newton, £52 10s. 0d."

James Bradley, nephew of the above, and third son of William Bradley of Hampnet near Northleach and of Jane Pound of Bishops Cannings, was born in 1693, and educated at Balliol Col., Oxon. Whenever absent from the University, it was his practice to repair to his uncle's rectory at Wanstead, and before long both uncle and nephew were pursuing their favourite studies in concert. Bradley's first communication to the Royal Society was made as early as 1716, and two years later Dr. Halley proposed him as a fellow of the Society, Sir Isaac Newton occupying the chair. In 1719 and 1722, he made two observations on the double star Castor, to which he probably attached little value at the time, but which subsequently led Sir John Herschel to a more accurate determination of the motion of that binary system. Having been educated for the church, Bradley acquired the vicarage of Bridstow and the rectory of Llandewi, both in Wales; but relinquished them not unwillingly on his appointment in 1721, to the Savilian professorship of astronomy at Oxford. See his *Works and correspondence*, edited by Professor Rigaud. In France, an "Eloge" was pronounced on him by De Fouchy before the royal academy of sciences at Paris in 1762.

We now go on with the children of Robert Waylen and Mary Pound. They were—

1. William, born about 1690. His will, dated 21 June, 1746, in which he is styled "of the sitting of Nurstead, yeoman," indicates that but little of the real estate was then remaining in his hands; and that little is disposed of principally in the interest of his wife, Ross, and of two cousins, John Withers and Joseph Ashley, both of Bishops Cannings. Apparently he had no descendants.
2. Robert, of whom presently.
3. Mary, born about 1695, died unm. at Nurstead in 1729. Her will, dated 19 Dec., 1728, gives to her brother Robert of Devizes £180 and one half

of her household goods, plate, jewelry, &c. To her other brother, William, she devises her landed property at Haywoods in Bishops Cannings, and the residue of her other lands, moneys, and effects, to the same brother, William, whom she nominates as her exor. Witnesses, Robert Waylen, Sarah Waylen, and William Waylen the elder. [Apparently kinsmen of the elder branch.]

4. Anne, died 1717 unmarried.
5. Elizabeth, mar. 1729 to James Paynter.
6. Jane, born 1702, died young.

Mr. Robert Waylen of Nurstead and Potterne died intestate in 1716, when administration was granted to his widow on the 11th August. To that document she appends her name, not as Mary, but Marie; and her signature is coupled with that of John Withers. The witnesses are William Fewe of Potterne and Henry Hayes, solicitor. A *mem.* is added. "This administration to be sent to Mr. Hayes of Devizes." Mr. Waylen was succeeded by his elder son William, who dying as above stated in 1749, came also to be represented by the second son, namely,

ROBERT WAYLEN, of Devizes, born in 1701, mar. (1735?) Katharine daughter of John Tane, a family some time resident at Rowde and at Poulshot. The Poulshot register attests their presence in 1661 thus—"Baptized, Jesse and Francois the children of Jesse and Edith Tane." There is reason to think that during and subsequent to the Civil War period, Poulshot rectory was a sort of school of the prophets, and that on puritan grounds as well as from fear of the plague, sundry Devizes families such as the Alleines, Kents, Draws, Nicholas, and others, made it a place of occasional resort. We shall not be far wrong in assuming the Tanes to have formed part of this coterie, for the piety of Katharine who became the wife of Mr. Waylen is testified by a document to be referred to hereafter. She died in 1758 at the age of forty seven. About this period we become aware of the existence in Devizes of a small group of believers who were in the habit of associating for Christian fellowship, and embraced, among others, the names of Locke, Tane, Filkes, Sloper, Norris, Waylen, Leach, Baily, Ferris, Paget, and Rowden. They did this without

avowing themselves either as Nonconformists or Wesleyans, though of course they frequently came into contact with John Wesley on the occasion of his annual visits to the town. Thus we may be pretty sure that it was in reference to one of them named Edward Baily that the following entry occurs in the *Wesley Journal* of 2 October, 1764, "Breakfasted at the Devizes with Mr. B——, a black swan, an honest lawyer."* The principal director of the above society seems to have been a neighbouring clergyman of the Calvinistic school, named Richard Baddily, for some time curate of Hilperton near Trowbridge, and afterwards of Olveston near Bristol, one of the few clergy who acted in concert with John Wesley, though otherwise, his very pronounced Calvinism would rather point him out as the associate of George Whitefield. See *Wesley's Journal* under date 19 April, 1764.

Simultaneously with this movement in Devizes, a similar revival, and worked by a similar agency, was taking place at Trowbridge under the guidance of a cloth manufacturer named John Clark, in nominal though hardly in actual alliance with the Established Church. Its inauguration was sanctioned by a Bristol clergyman named Rouquet, who continued afterwards to conduct its anniversary meetings. From Mr. Clark's autobiography we learn that visits between the two societies of Devizes and Trowbridge were interchangeable, that his own ministerial services were from first to last independent of salary, and that in 1776 the like position in Devizes was sustained by Mr. Robert Sloper a corn-factor. See *Jay's Life of Clark*.

This body of believers, constituting, as they appear to have done, the nucleus of the congregation who built for Mr. Sloper the chapel in Northgate Street now known as the Independent Chapel, seem to have taken the place and become the virtual successors of the mixed congregation over whom Nathaniel Chauncey had presided for nearly half a century. (This remark has no reference to the Baptists, of whom there had long been two other bodies in the town, one of them enjoying the favour of Sir John Eyles.) If moreover the new chapel in Northgate Street occupied the

* "*Rara avis in terris, nigroque
simillima cygno.*"

Ovid's metaphor for a prodigy,
or something unique.

same site as Mr. Chauncey's, this would still further secure the fusion of the two societies, and the fact that Mr. Chauncey's congregation disappears about this time, favours the suggestion. The two latest occurrences in connection with that body may here be recorded. The first is found in the obituary of the *London Magazine* for 1750, announcing the death of the said Nathaniel Chauncey, who it is stated "had been pastor to a congregation of protestant dissenters in the Devizes for nearly fifty years." The other event is the publication in a printed form of a charge delivered by Joshua Griffith of French Hay, at the ordination of William George, (who succeeded Mr. Chauncey,) 15 August 1750;—from and after which date, all church memorials seem to have perished. The next thing we hear of is the erection of the new chapel, in great measure through the influence of the Countess of Huntingdon; whose preachers, it was stipulated in the trust-deed, should always have freedom to officiate there in their surplices, and for whose convenience a reading desk was to be constructed,—all indicating that the new congregation had a large infusion of Church of Englandism, traceable, as we assume, to Mr. Baddely's personal adherents; to whom we must now return.

Though the list above given of his Devizes friends includes the name of Waylen, this must not be understood as pointing to any co-operative action on the part of Robert Waylen the elder of that date, but rather to his wife, whose kinsman Benjamin Tane was a prominent member of the society; and still more to his only son Robert, between whom and Mr. Baddely a strong attachment was early formed, and continued unbroken for many years, possibly till Mr. Baddely's death. As for the elder Mr. Waylen himself, the statement has been made, though on what authority it is difficult to say, that his attitude was hostile at first; but that, influenced in after life by the character and early death of his wife, he so far acquiesced in the movement which she had favoured as to contribute towards the erection of the chapel raised for Mr. Sloper, though he declined giving any personal support to the undertaking.

Six years before his death, that is to say in 1778, he sold the paternal mansion of Nurstead-house to William Powell of the Quaker family of Devizes-Wick aforesaid, from whom

his grandmother came. His Devizes residence is supposed to have been the house now known as No. 2 in St. John's Street. Of this ancestor I have asked my father (who was his grandson) to give me some descriptive account; but though he just remembered him, sufficiently to recall his personal appearance, being himself about eight years of age at the time of the old gentleman's death, nothing beyond the following shadowy reminiscence can now be ventured on. It was the practice at that time for the gentry of the town to resort during the forenoon to what was termed the Parade, a flagged space extending from the old pillar-cross near St. John's Street to the centre of the market-place, probably the only bit of pavement in the borough. Here the arrival and departure of distinguished travellers to and from Bath might be observed, at the *Black Bear*; and here, in the absence of newspapers, the public events of the day found their necessary ventilation. It was as an individual in this customary morning group that Mr. Waylen held a place in my father's memory.

By his wife Katharine Tane, aforesaid, who died in 1758, Mr. Waylen had two children, as follows:—

1. Robert, of whom presently.
2. Katharine, 1745, died 1825, having married Joel, son of Robert Rowden, by whom she had ten children, all of whom died unmarried. Mrs. Rowden witnessed the scene of confusion in the Market-place of Devizes, when Ruth Pierce fell dead, as recorded on the Market-cross of that town.

Mr. Waylen survived his wife twenty-one years, dying in 1779, and was buried in the churchyard of Southbroom St. James, or Devizes Green. The provisions of his will are very simple, his son Robert taking the real estate and £400 in money, while an annuity is secured for Mrs. Rowden. Exors., William Powell of Devizes Wick, and John Anstie of Devizes, cloth manufacturer. He was succeeded by his only son.

ROBERT WAYLEN, of Devizes, born 1740; resident at the corner house in the Market-place, now numbered 27 and occupied by Mr. Willis. From an early period of life Mr. Waylen had the happiness to possess a friend and monitor

in Mr. Baddily, who has already come under our notice. Their written correspondence, commencing in 1763, was spread over fifteen years or more. The family facts derivable from it are not numerous, as the letters only of Mr. Baddily are preserved, and these are occupied with but one absorbing theme. But we gather from them that the state of society in Devizes was eminently profligate. Mr. Waylen's friend therefore, who was somewhat older than himself, and unmarried, discovers great solicitude to fortify him against the snares of youth and keep watch over his spiritual growth, both by letter and by the interchange of visits. In 1768, Mr. Baddily having removed from Hilperton to the curacy of Olveston near Bristol, Mr. Waylen pays him a visit at that village, though their usual place of meeting appears to have been at Bristol fair. The few following extracts from the letters will be sufficient to exhibit the character of the entire series.

17 May, 1764. "Grace, mercy, peace, and love, be multiplied among you who are on the Lord's side in the deplorable town of the Devizes. My being prevented from coming to see you, and the shortness and uncertainty of human life, and my great love and concern for your precious soul lest you should grow indifferent, weary, or faint in your mind,—these things I say constrain me in much love and tenderness to talk with you in great simplicity and godly sincerity by way of letter, as though we were speaking face to face. . ."

13 August, 1766. "My best wishes in Christ attend your sister [Katharine, afterwards Mrs. Rowden.] Tell her from me, she must go with us to Heaven, to help us with your deceased mother and the rest of the glorified, to praise and adore the bleeding Lamb for ever and ever . . ."

18 Nov. 1766. "My much respected friend. I had intended to see you and the rest of my Devizes friends before now, but have been disappointed. Accept then this letter as a token of my sincere regard for Mr. Waylen. I bear you often in my mind, sometimes walking with you in the day, and sometimes going to sleep with you on my mind at night. And if you should hastily ask, Why such a regard for me whom you see so seldom and not related by blood? I can truly answer, the cause is love, Christian love."

" . . . My dear friend, when I am thinking upon you

as I walk by the way of the wilderness, and see you whom I love in the bowels of the Gospel, lifted up upon a seat of some eminence in life, in the bloom of your youth, in the prime of your strength, the envy of men, women, and devils, and at the same time your poor precious heart agitated by various temptations and passions both from within and without, I inwardly cry unto the Lord to guide you by his counsel and to strengthen you by his Spirit in your inner man."

. . . . "I need not mention to you the trials, allurements, and temptations, that a person in your station and at your years labours under, for you are not insensible of them but I desire as a friend of yours and a servant of Jesus, to be an instrument in the hand of the Lord to strengthen your hands in the wilderness, to admonish you in love, to beware of those who would draw your heart from Christ and the simplicity of his blessed Gospel. Natural men would fain soothe you into their company, draw you into the gaities and pleasures of the world, and dissuade you from the religion of Jesus Christ and him crucified for the full salvation of poor coming sinners. Natural women would fain ensnare your heart, and then make their boast over your captivated affections. The fallen world would swallow you up in gluttony and drunkenness, chambering and wantonness, and then leave you without modesty, without sobriety, without all filial fear or love of God, under a seared or insensible conscience, the diversion of men and sport of devils, till the awful judgment of the great day."

19 January, 1768. Writing from his new residence at Olveston where Mr. Waylen had engaged to meet him . . . "I shall certainly be at home, God willing, on the 31st inst., where I shall expect and greatly rejoice to see you. You must so order it as to spend a couple of nights with your unworthy friend. I live in the parsonage house, where my spirits will be revived to see you. When you leave Bristol, enquire for the Gloucester road by Horfield and Almsbury, and exactly at the seven-mile stone, you turn down short on your left hand, which brings to Olveston. My Christian love and kind respects to your dear sister, to Miss Norris and brother, Mr. and Mrs., and Miss Bailey, and to all whose names are in the Book of Life."

25 June, 1768.—“ I doubt not but you think it very strange that I have never written to you since you favoured me with your company at Olveston ; and the more so as we promised to write to each other in order to keep up a mutual Christian correspondence. The only reason has been this, my intention of seeing you at the Devizes whenever I came into Wiltshire. I have been twice in that county since I saw you ; the first time was soon after Easter, and came to Mr. Bailey's the morning poor dear Kitty died,—melancholy day indeed. The Saviour of sinners comfortably, cheerfully, and assuredly, prepare me for that hour. I was detained all that day by Mr. Bailey, and in the evening I was to meet the people at farmer Ferris's ; so that I was hurried thither without seeing you. The week after Whitsuntide I came to Bradford again, fully intending to come to the Devizes, but Mr. Shrapnel carried me directly to Frome to see some friends who had pre-engaged me ; and every day afterwards I was constrained to meet the people from place to place, till I returned. But now as Bristol fair is so near, I must humbly insist upon your spending a night or two with me, if you come to the fair and don't see me there.” “ My blessing in the Lord to your sister, wishing her all happiness in the marriage state, more especially in that between Christ and his church ; and my Christian love to Miss Norris. Cleave to Jesus and each other with your whole hearts.”

Early in 1769, when Mr. Waylen was on the eve of marriage with Betty Norris the young lady above mentioned, something passed between the two friends, leading Mr. Baddily to believe that the affair was about to be postponed for very insufficient reasons. This brought a letter of expostulation, urging to immediate action, and concluding thus, “ Had Miss Norris been an unawakened person, or a gay extravagant vain girl, I should have trembled for you, I should have been distressed for my friend exceedingly. But on the contrary, I congratulate you and rejoice in your choice, as I can see in her the image of the Lord Jesus Christ formed in her. And however such precious treasure is concealed from the natural eye and hidden from carnal sense, let your unfeigned friend tell you the Lord has highly honoured you in making choice of one of his dear

children, of one who has found redemption through the blood of Jesus, one who is redeemed out of this world, one who has God for her father, Christ for her Saviour, the Holy Ghost for her sanctifier, and angels for her guard. Therefore I shall conclude my sentiments in this matter in the decisive words of Laban and Bethuel on the like occasion. "The thing proceedeth from the Lord." . . . "By divine permission, I intend to be at the Devizes soon after Easter."

31 March, 1770.—. . . . I dare say Mr. Waylen thinks his Olveston friend has forgotten to write, or else that he is married and can neither come nor send. No, my good friend, neither of these suppositions are true; but the real cause of my not writing from time to time was an intention of coming to see my Wiltshire friends before Lent came in. But I have not been able to come out for want of some neighbouring clergy to take care in my absence. Unhappily we have none near that reside,—all sunk into pleasure, ease, or extravagance, residing in town or city. But though we are absent in body, we are frequently present in spirit. I trust we make mention of one another to our gracious Saviour in our daily supplications before the mercy-seat."

19 March, 1771. . . . "I look upon you and Mrs. Waylen as remarkable monuments of divine mercy, of distinguishing love, in the little Sodom where you dwell. Press forward notwithstanding all difficulties or opposition. Heaven is just before you. The way is short though thorny. Our dear Redeemer opened it, though with much labour and sorrow. He has made it a highway, though few walk in it, and "drew the path in lines of blood;" and at every difficult pass or turning he has left us a safe direction in his holy word."

19 March, 1773. . . . "I bless God you and I started fair in the Christian race. We entered in at the door of conviction and penitential sorrow for sin; and how has shame and confusion of face overwhelmed us since and laid us low before the Lord for our frequent backslidings, shameful ingratitude, and manifold internal impurities." . . . "Give me leave to remind you of the great wisdom, mercy and love of Jesus towards you in calling you to the happy knowledge of the truth in the morning of your life; then in due time

opening an unforeseen way to settle in the world, favouring you with one of his own children for a Christian and happy companion, that you might run with less anxiety and greater cheerfulness the race that is set before you. Our God doeth all things well." "And now I trust Joshua's resolution will be your determination, you and yours to serve the Lord till he call you out of the miseries of this mortal life. Let your house be dedicated to God, a house of prayer, and let your poor precious soul be a temple of the Holy Ghost, an habitation of God through the Spirit. Excuse this sincerity. Love speaks freely. 'Tis only the disposition of the world and external friendship to flatter." "Pray, a long letter soon for me at Rev. Mr. Camplin's, Lower Green, Bristol."

21 March, 1774. "I never have the pleasure of seeing you but it leaves a lasting and beneficial influence upon me. Your weeping eye and tender heart impress my soul with such fellow feelings as constrain me to sympathize with you in all your affairs both temporal and spiritual."

[The following remarks have reference to that period of commercial depression when the American colonies were in revolt, and gloomy anticipations were weighing down the spirits of the nation.]

"23 June, 1778. The situation of this Kingdom at present seems alarming; the hand of the Lord is lifted up; He most justly shakes his rod of correction for our innumerable transgressions and provocations. May we all hear and fear, and do no more so abominably. Thanks be to God for his long-suffering; may it lead us to true repentance before it be too late. No nation under Heaven surely more favoured with blessings temporal and blessings spiritual, and yet no nation more deeply fallen, or more profoundly lost to all real sense of duty and gratitude to God—to a God who has given us such means of grace, such multiplied mercies, a Bible in our hand and gospel light on every side; and yet what, practical heathen darkness, iniquity of every kind like an overflowing flood." "And what coldness among professors, what want of holy zeal, what contention among the children of God. But, dear Sir, let none of these things move you, to turn back into the wilderness. These are the last times; Antichrist

reigns; popery and infidelity, hellish locusts, are going to darken and cover the land. Read on, pray on, fear not, the hand of Jehovah is stretched out to save. Encourage one another in the Lord; He will not leave you nor forsake you. All the promises are yours. Enter in. The door of the ark stands open; and may the Saviour of poor sinners shut you and yours in; which is the sincere prayer of yours—Richard Baddily.

Direct at Mr. Bowles's, The Fort, Bristol. Excuse the length of this. Write soon. Open your heart. My love and best wishes to Mrs. Waylen, to Mr. and Mrs. Rowden. . . ."

Nearly contemporary with the date of this letter, Mr. Baddily's name disappears from the Olveston church register; the latest entry having his name attached as curate being that of a marriage in April 1778. I am indebted for this fact to the late Canon G. Girdlestone, who before his death in 1884 was serving the rectory of Olveston, and who kindly made an examination of the books to see if any trace existed of Mr. Baddily's subsequent destination. Nothing of this nature was discoverable, but the Wesley Journal indicates that he afterwards took office in Bristol, occasionally lending a helping hand to John Wesley whenever he visited that city. As to Mr. Baddily's antecedents, a progenitor may with great probability be assigned him in the person of "Richard Badiley," a naval officer of the Cromwellian period, mentioned in the *Commons' Journals*. Vol. VI. page 242, as Captain of the guard-ship *Entrance*, 160 men.

Eventually Mr. Waylen consented to become a member of the Devizes Corporation, and during the year 1805-6 he served the office of Chamberlain. Although this connexion necessarily induced community of political action with the Tory party in the town and the unavoidable fellowship of periodical feasting, yet there was always a noticeable want of cordiality between him and his brother corporators, partly owing no doubt to his friendship for Mr. Robert Sloper, whose ministry he generally attended on Sunday evenings. Towards the close of his life he became much crippled by gout, but he found a solatium of abiding interest in the successful career of his surviving son Robert, and in

the visits paid him by his numerous grandchildren, to all of whom he bequeathed in severalty a small remembrancer. He survived his wife sixteen years—Mrs. Waylen who was the youngest daughter of Anthony Norris of Lycroft Devizes, has been described to me as a silent stately dame, one whose aspect would be pronounced severe by those who did not know how the successive loss of so many of her children had drunk up her spirit. In 1797 she had only two surviving daughters remaining at home, namely Elizabeth and Katharine, aged respectively 22 and 15, (whose portraits are still extant.) The decline of Elizabeth during this year seemed to form the culmination of her sorrows, and her own death followed in the course of a few months at the age of 51. Her children, nine in number, were as follows—

1. Robert, of whom presently.
2. Norris, born 1773 died 1790 unm.
3. Nicholas, born 1776, died in infancy.
4. William, born 1777, died in infancy.
5. Samuel, born 1779, died in infancy.
6. Sarah, born 1770, died 1789, unm.
7. Elizabeth, born 1775, died 1797, unm.
8. Mary, born 1784, died in infancy.
9. Katharine, born 1782, died 1824, having married Jabez Legg of Hackney Esq. by whom she had one son, Jabez-Smith, who died in infancy. Mr. Legg continued to reside for some time in Devizes, and here he buried both his wife and his child; after which he lived with his father Samuel Legg at Stratford Green, Essex, where the old gentleman died at the age of 95 and himself in 1867 at the age of 81. He directed his body to be conveyed to Devizes to lie by the side of his wife. Jabez Legg was long known and esteemed as a kind-hearted neighbour and a general philanthropist. He erected a chapel of the Independent order at Forest Gate Stratford, besides founding and endowing a group of almshouses in that neighbourhood. Moreover he exercised for a long period his talent as a preacher. The annual visits which he paid to the house of his brother-in-law at De-

vizes were always hailed as seasons of unusual social and religious enjoyment. A portion of his wife's property was divided among the children of that brother-in-law. His own estates descended to the children of his sister Mrs. Chapman.

Mr. Waylen died in 1817 and was buried at Southbroom St. James. He was succeeded by his only surviving son,

ROBERT WAYLEN, born at Devizes 31 July 1771, was placed at the school of Mr. J. L. Fenner a Presbyterian divine of the town. For a long period succeeding the Revolution, Presbyterianism in English society was almost a synonym for Hanoverianism, that is to say, it indicated the party most habitually opposed to Jacobitism and the high church. Hence an hereditary whig like Squire Maundrel of Blacklands would send his son to Mr. Fenner's school; hence the Earl of Shelburne (afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne) engaged a Presbyterian tutor to educate his sons in their home at Bowood; hence also, as Whiggism was then the political creed of the Devizes corporation, the leading families here, such as Sutton, Eyles, Willey, Heathcote and Co. would often come under the same designation. In the narrative of Charles Wesley's persecution at Devizes they are even styled dissenters. The probability therefore is that Mr. Fenner's establishment enjoyed considerable popularity. It is certain that many young gentlemen gathered to it even from Ireland; among others, Mr. Johnson afterwards solicitor to the Admiralty in Dublin, and Sir Anthony Perrier, knighted during his mayoralty of Cork on the occasion of a royal visit to that city. To the end of Mr. Waylen's life Sir Anthony maintained a fast friendship for his early schoolmate, of which more hereafter. What the circumstances were out of which the mutual attraction between Devizes and Dublin first arose, it would be difficult to say; but once established, it became continuous for a century, and was further strengthened by Dr. Richard Williams Biggs, the latest of Mr. Fenner's successors, marrying a daughter of John Purser of Rathmines Castle near Dublin.

Three other eminent persons who it is believed were here educated, were the Rev. Charles Lucas of Devizes, Sir Thomas Lawrence president of the Royal Academy, whose

father then kept the Bear Inn at Devizes, and the late Henry Crabb Robinson whose copious autobiography has now for some time been before the public. Mr. Fenner's wife was Miss Crabb of Wattisfield in Suffolk. This led to his brother-in-law the Rev. Habakkuk Crabb becoming an assistant at the Devizes School, and to a nephew of the latter, the aforesaid Henry Crabb Robinson, being placed under Mr. Fenner's care. Both the families of Crabb and Robinson were from Suffolk, and the distance from home constituting in those days a formidable barrier, it was deemed advisable for the lad to stop at Devizes during the holidays. He afterwards became a barrister-at-law, but was principally distinguished by his intercourse with the Lake-poets and with the artists of his day, an alliance which he diligently cultivated, and which for the entertainment of his readers as well as himself he certainly turned to very good account.

From conversations with my father respecting this early period of his life, I can recall nothing distinctive except the circumstance of Mr. Fenner's walking into the schoolroom one morning (it must have been in December, 1784,) and announcing in pathetic terms the death of Dr. Samuel Johnson whom he declared to be the greatest man in England. Crabb Robinson's autobiography, had it been published before my father's death, would doubtless have awakened other recollections; but in their absence, the hiatus must be filled up, as best it may, by the following narrative of Mr. Robinson's own experiences.

"The time," says he, "spent at this school at Devizes passed pleasantly enough, but I have often regretted that my educational advantages were not greater at this period of my life. Among the places in the neighbourhood where I spent some happy days was a gentleman's seat called Blacklands [near Calne]. At that time it was occupied by an old gentleman named Maundrel, one of whose sons was at the same school with me. The old gentleman was burly and bluff, very kind and generous, but passionate. Once or twice he did not scruple to box the ears of his young visitors. Not far from the house was a horse but out of the chalk hill. I believe it exists still. Maundrel set us boys, there were seven or eight of us, to weed it; and very

good workmen we were. He used also to make us carry logs of wood for the fires upstairs, telling us that we must work for our living. But he fed us well." "I did not once go home during the three years of my school life at Devizes; but in the summer of the second year [1788] my mother came to see me. The sensation which I most distinctly recollect is that of seeing her at the turnpike gate of the Green. I thought her altered, or rather for a moment did not know her, and that pained me; but she gradually became to me what she had been." "Though Mr. Fenner was a minister, I received no religious instructions at his school. What I fancied to be religion was of my own procuring. I had fallen in with De Foe's *Family Instructor*, and I became at once in imagination a religious teacher. I had an opportunity of trying my power; for during one of my last holidays I was left with a few Irish boys when Mr. and Mrs. Fenner went a journey. I was the older, and placed in authority over the other boys, and I was not a little pleased with myself for my mode of governing them. On the Sunday I read a sermon to them, and made the boys and servants attend prayers. But I scorned reading a prayer. I prayed extempore, and did not hold my gift in low estimation."

Here ends the narrative of Mr. Robinson's residence at Devizes. He re-visited the place two or three times during his long life, when he took care to look up the old school-house, but does not appear to have recognized any of his comrades. His last visit was in 1847, at the house of Dr. Brabant. Meanwhile Mr. Fenner, on relinquishing the Devizes school, had become a preacher at Bury in Lancashire.

Mr. Waylen was early in life apprenticed to Mr. John Anstie a cloth manufacturer, who, failing in business about the time when their mutual articles expired, was in a manner succeeded by him. Devizes had long been renowned as a centre of the clothing trade, in fact ever since "the white draperies of Devizes and Beckington" were a popular article in London four hundred years back. In 1790 there were six or seven kindred establishments here; and the back streets of the town, as also the circumjacent villages, resounded with the unceasing clack of the hand-loom. War soon after commenced with revolutionary France; and

though the public mind was in a very feverish state, the time was not unfavourable for the success of quiet plodding industry. To this course he was further impelled by the religious instincts which early threw him on his own resources and gave independence to his character through life. The position which he had already assumed as a member of Robert Sloper's congregation, was advantageous to him in more respects than one. It detached him from the *quasi* gentility of the town, and saved him from various forms of extravagance inseparable from the drinking customs of that age. Having seen in his father's case what difficulties attended any attempt at compromise, he made his own election in favour of a total revolt from the crew of Comus, though he never lost his personal attachment to those services of the national church in which he had been educated.

While, as in the case of Crabb Robinson, he had to lament the absence of technical forms of study in his school experiences, there were not wanting other educational factors during that unquiet period which manifestly left their lasting impress on his character and opinions. The first of these to be noticed was an extraordinary gathering occurring in his native town in the autumn of 1789, which for some days must have thrown the quiet little borough into a polemical paroxysm. This was the meeting of what were called in the periodicals of the day "the Devizes delegates" a term requiring a little explanation.

In 1789 the French Revolution, so far as it had then gone, met with wide sympathy in our own country, far too wide to suit the taste of the privileged classes. It was at this moment that the calm judgment of Sir James Macintosh expressed itself in the following words,

"The friends of freedom can never cease to rejoice that in the long catalogue of calamities and crimes which blacken human annals, the year 1789 presents one spot on which the eye of humanity may with complacence dwell." *Vindiciae Gallica*, 125.

No wonder that the Dissenters of England deemed the occasion a favourable one for throwing off the Corporation and Test Act and other forms of social obloquy which had long pressed upon themselves. A sermon by Dr. Richard Price in a chapel in the Old Jewry "On the love of our

country" operated as a sort of tocsin to summon the clans together; and, copying the example of larger communities, the town of Devizes soon became the arena of a conclave of animated debaters who imagined that the knell of ecclesiastical domination had been struck in England no less than in France.

The Wiltshire movement was organized by Gaisford Gibbs Esq. of Heywood House, who in a preliminary meeting at Trowbridge proposed that delegates from all the surrounding Dissenting churches should hold a conference in Devizes; which accordingly took place on 14 Sep., Benjamin Hobhouse, Esq., of Corsham, occupying the chair. The proceedings were reported in two or three local newspapers; the last resolution being a vote of thanks to Henry Beaufoy who moved, in the House, the Dissenters' Relief Bill, and to Sir Harry Houghton who seconded it;—also to the Rt. Hon. Charles James Fox, William Smith, Viscount Maitland [Earl of Landerdale] Earl Wycombe, Isaac Barré, Joseph Jekyll, and the other members who had lent their support. [For a further notice of Mr. Gibbs see the Appendix.]

It would be impossible now to state in what numbers or from how distant quarters the gathering was made; for though at first it was professedly representative only of the county, yet judging by the controversy which it awoke, it evidently commanded a much wider influence. Two contemporary pamphlets lying before me, vaguely speak of those present as "Delegates from the several congregations of Protestant dissenters who met at Devizes 14 Sep. 1789." But whether few or many, their unfettered expressions and audacious proposals awoke unequivocal alarm among the neighbouring clergy, and their proceedings may be said to survive principally in the pontifical bulletins which were fired off against them, principally by the rector of Corsley, Geo. Isaac Huntingford, afterwards bishop of Gloucester. By the public in general they were soon forgotten in the deluge of war which swept every thing before it; though it is not to be doubted that this class of meetings constituted a not inconsiderable factor in rousing that governmental and clerical panic which sought in a wicked and unprovoked war with France a refuge from the clamour of home reformers.

From and after that hour, every audible expression of liberal thought was systematically crushed out of English life; during which "home Reign of Terror" as it may truly be termed, the courtly Recorder of Devizes, Henry Addington, afterwards Lord Sidmouth, played a conspicuous part in his capacity of Home Secretary. To the meeting of the aforesaid Delegates, which occurred soon after his own election to represent Devizes, we seem to trace that hostility to Dissenters which marked his official career, and which prompted his proposed bill of 1811 for suppressing their preachers.

So anxious was the Government to check the spread of intelligence from France, that an additional tax was levied on newspapers; and even the lending of a newspaper for hire was forbidden under a penalty of ten pounds. The Editor of the *Salisbury Journal* (almost the only paper then circulating in Devizes) addressed a moving appeal to his subscribers, hoping that their patriotism would be proof against the enhanced price of the paper. "We trust," says the Editor, "that this journal will ever continue to be considered as at least a small pillar in the temple of British liberty. Tyranny and oppression have ever fled before a free press; and by the aid of this wonderful engine, France at this hour is rousing to freedom and happiness before unknown in that empire." This was in 1789,—a stirring period for the little town; for though it was the scene of the anti-church movement above described, it witnessed simultaneously an unusual display of royalism. The spring had opened with a Common Council convened by the Mayor, Francis Bailey, to construct a flattering address to William Pitt, which the borough members, Henry Addington and Joshua Smith, were thereupon requested to present to the minister. This was followed by a more public demonstration in the shape of feasting, fireworks, and dancing, to celebrate King George's restoration to health; and during the very week in which the aforesaid Delegates met, the inhabitants gathered in the Market-place to greet the Sovereign himself, who, with a portion of his family, was then passing from Longleat to Savernak. In the two first of these transactions, the handiwork of Mr. Addington is clearly discernible. He was putting the borough through

that process of metamorphosis which, in place of a Whig constituency, eventually gave it the permanent character of a Government dependency. Party spirit was becoming more and more pronounced. The voices of Earl Shelburne and Charles James Fox were no longer to be the popular expression of opinion at County meetings, of which Devizes had been the centre, William Salmon the secretary, and Reform the object. The old Tory maxim that "No churchman means No Englishman," with which William Penn had charged the court of Charles II., again became something more than a formula; and so effectually was the ancient grudge against France stimulated, that the body of the nation, fascinated, hoodwinked, and goaded, fell prostrate before the most ignoble influences, and permitted the fears of monopolists and the effeminacies of priestism to dominate and direct the national resources.

The flood-tide of war having thus been successfully set in motion, it was only the most advanced liberals who could dream of making head against it. Mr. Waylen had not yet attained the political stature or the moral acumen requisite for taking such a position in his native town. He was young in years and surrounded by adverse elements, and therefore we are not surprised, when the anti-gallican policy of the government was once declared, to find him acting in concert with the authorities of the place. During the national arming of volunteers which took place at the commencement of the present century to resist an expected landing of the French, he even went so far as to offer to equip a body of workmen as supplementary to the Devizes contingent. It is true that professional jealousy on the part of the officers negatived the proposal, though he was but copying the example of his old master John Anstie, whose similar action twenty years previously had met with a very different reception from the county press.*

Overstepping the Revolutionary war, we may make a

* "We are informed," says the *Salisbury Journal*, Sep. 1779 "that John Anstie Esq. of Devizes is training a number of men for defending the constitution of this country. The men are chiefly such as from the decay of trade are supernumerary hands in the clothing business. It is pity but such a worthy example were followed in other places."

short pause at the Peace of 1814, which issued in Napoleon's retreat to Elba. On that occasion Mr. Waylen gave a feast to all his workpeople; and as these included weavers and spinners from the adjacent villages, the numbers were considerable, besides the personal friends of the family. It took place in his orchard, and was enlivened by a band of music; but a thunder-storm which descended while the beef was in process of distribution and which drove all the feasters to take shelter under the tables, proved a considerable damper to the affair. In my own recollection of the scene, the storm has no place; I recall only the music and the shoutings, and the garden walks thronged with the familiar faces of friends and townfolk.

In the following year, he made the experiment, in conjunction with two partners, of superintending his London sales, and of leaving the manufactory at Devizes in the hands of subordinates. But after residing for two years at 47 Woburn Place, Russell Square, he returned not unwillingly to his native place. It had always been his wish that his two sons Robert and Alfred should carry on the business; but perceiving their tastes to be immoveably averse, he retired from the affair, perhaps prematurely, and sold the premises to a silk manufacturer named McCrae (though he afterwards repurchased them).

On the death, in 1806, of his uncle Anthony Norris, he took, as heir at law, the real estate of that gentleman, consisting of sundry houses in New Park Street, Devizes.

At the death in 1815 of his old friend and neighbour Mrs. Anne Locke widow, he had purchased her mansion in the Market-place Devizes; and this, after partially modernizing it, he in 1821 made the family residence. Here he died twenty years later, and devised the property to his son Samuel.

The Memoirs of Dr. Adam Clarke, Vol. ii. p. 124 make mention of this house when it was the residence of the widow of Wadham Locke. He was taking a journey into the West of England in August 1806; and (in company with Mr. and Mrs. Butterworth) went to Trowbridge to see the mother of Mrs. Clarke and Mr. Clarke's youngest daughter. The circuit of the journey is detailed in letters to his second son Theodoret.

“Trowbridge, 24 Aug. 1803.

“MY VERY DEAR LAD. We had rather a tedious though on the whole a pleasant journey to this place, and had the satisfaction of finding your grandmother Cooke, little Mary, and all friends, well.

“I was soon informed that they had published for me to preach on the succeeding evening, which I did to a pretty large company.

“As Mr. Butterworth had come out for the sake of his health and wished me to improve mine, he determined to make a pretty wide circuit through the most remarkable places in Wiltshire. He accordingly hired two post chaises; and on Thursday morning Mr. and Mrs. Butterworth, Mrs. Bishop, and your cousin Henrietta Pond, got into one of them; and your mother, cousin Martin, your sister Mary Ann, and myself, into the other. And off we set for Devizes, ten miles distant, where we dined with your mother's relation, Mrs. Locke. If I had time to give you a description of her extensive gardens which we had the pleasure of roaming in, you would be delighted with it. There was every kind of fruit that the season afforded or that the heart desired, and the whole grounds are laid out in great taste and elegance.—Yours, &c., ADAM CLARKE.”

Lord Grey's Reform Measures of 1831-1835.

Hitherto Mr. Waylen's liberal principles had shut him out from any participation in the management of a borough to which he was through life a practical benefactor. The Locke family in like manner and for the same reason had long been systematically excluded from the councils of the corporation. When therefore the opportunity at last presented itself by the accession to office of Lord Grey the attention of the Reform party in the town was at once directed towards the representatives of these two houses. Mr. Wadham Locke had on a previous occasion already offered himself for parliamentary election. The first public meeting in support of the new Ministry was held in the long room of the Bear Inn, 2 Feb. 1831, when Mr. Waylen being called upon amid loud acclamations to take the chair, introduced the subject in the following manner:

“GENTLEMEN, you are all aware that a respectful requisition has been presented to the Mayor requesting him to call a meeting for the purpose for which we are now convened, and that he has thought proper to decline acceding to our request. It is not my intention to call in question the courtesy or the policy of his worship's decision. He has no doubt acted in accordance with the dictates of his own judgment and those of his brother magistrates. But as we have also followed the dictates of our judgment in adopting a different line of conduct from that which his refusal would suggest, it may be expected that we should assign some reason for the course we are now pursuing. Those persons who oppose such meetings as these, say that they are uncalled for; because as the Ministers of the Crown are pledged to introduce measures of reform and retrenchment, we shall only embarrass them by our officious meddling. But how does this reasoning agree with the well-known and declared wish of the Premier himself, to have the support of the great body of the people to aid him in carrying through the important measures which he has in contemplation? How is he to know that he has such support, if there be no public expression of the sentiments and feelings of the people on the subject? And is there not great reason to fear that without such support he never will be able to carry them at all? Ouly let us look for one moment at the prodigious host of opposition that will spring forth immediately on the introduction of any measures of real reform and retrenchment. What a multitude of interests will be affected thereby. The jealousy of aristocratic power and influence—the vested interests, as they are called, of the proprietors of corrupt boroughs—the hosts of pensioners and sinecurists—those who are already in the exclusive possession of the elective franchise,—and all those who from mere timidity are alarmed at the bare mention of reform. All these, whatever may be their shades of difference on other topics, will unite their utmost energies to thwart and if possible to drive from office the Minister who may dare to attempt the correction of those evils of which we have so much cause to complain. But there is another reason why we should not rely solely on the declared intention of the Premier. Not only are we as yet ignorant of the plan to be

proposed, but with the exception of three or four members of the Cabinet, we are altogether unacquainted with the real sentiments of the body. The majority of his Majesty's ministers have not yet openly expressed their sentiments on the subject. And though it may be presumed that they are all virtually pledged to the measure of Reform in some sense, yet the extent to which they may be inclined to go, is at present quite problematical; and we must not be greatly surprised if it should appear, when the measure is really brought forward in all its bearings, that the Premier, in order to meet the views of all his colleagues, has been obliged so to curtail and trim his proposition as to render it little better than a Reform in name. There is, I am sorry to say, an appearance of apathy in the country on this subject; but I am quite convinced it is in appearance only. The fact is, the people have lost all confidence in public men. They think the case is hopeless, and that it is of no use to petition any more on so trite and hackneyed a subject; and I confess I should participate in this feeling if the same principles ruled in the present Cabinet which have distinguished all that have preceded it (except for one short period) during the last fifty years. But I do hope that better days are dawning upon us in this respect. The leading men who are now in power profess at least to take their stand on liberal ground; and I am not aware that the noble lord at the head of his Majesty's government, has ever in his public conduct given the lye to his professed principles.

We must not however expect that either in the Cabinet or out of it, except in a few noble examples, the high aristocracy of the country will have a fellow feeling with us on the question of Reform, and we therefore earnestly contend for the necessity of this mode of expressing the public feeling. For in fact it is emphatically our own cause, and we must be content and willing to fight our own battles. Let us hope then that the admonition of the illustrious commander at the battle of Trafalgar will, throughout the whole Kingdom, as applied to this cause, not only vibrate in every ear, but be responded by every heart—"England expects that every man will do his duty."

The subsequent development of the Reform crisis is part

of the national annals, and need not therefore be dwelt on. When the time for returning the new Parliament arrived, so far as Devizes was concerned, there was no question as to the election of Wadham Locke; the only difficulty lay in securing a like-minded colleague. Mr. Waylen considered that he had sufficiently served the cause himself when he seconded on the hustings the nomination of his old friend. From and after that period, his advanced years exempted him from prominent action, unless we except the interest which he could not fail to display in the cause of his other friend Admiral Deans Dundas. Mr. Locke survived only by three years his entrance into Parliament; and with none other of the Members for Devizes had Mr. Waylen any intimacy. The colleague of Wadham Locke was Montague Gore, of whom it will be sufficient to say that he disappointed his supporters.

That so undemonstrative a man should at last have spoken out in the matter of Reform, took many of his fellow townsmen by surprise. Should it be added that there were quarters in which surprise took the form of unqualified resentment, and that on one occasion a night-attack on his house was destructive to the whole of his front windows, these are but the accidents of electioneering warfare with which all prominent partizans have to make their account. Another passing incident may be noticed, as it introduces us to a gentleman who, more than any other, imported an historical and chivalrous element into the proceedings at Devizes. This was Sir William Napier of Peninsula-war notoriety, then resident at Battle-house in Bromham.

Montague Gore, the colleague of Wadham Locke, within two years of his election, resigned his seat under circumstances which, taking the electors by surprise, practically gave the succession to Admiral Durham, the Tory candidate. [See letters in the Appendix]. It was not to be expected that the disappointment felt by the Liberal party, who had hoped in the event of such a contingency to secure the services of Sir John Cam Hobhouse would lack expression. The public meeting which ensued was, consequently, of a stormy character, exception being taken to an expression which fell from Mr. Waylen's lips, of "treachery in the camp," which being interpreted as directed against the

Admiral's party, was warmly resented by them, at least by the Admiral's principal backer. Mr. Waylen was no adept in electioneering ribaldry, but fortunately Colonel Napier had come in from Bromham to attend the meeting, and the presence of the veteran soon stilled the storm. He speedily made it manifest that no charge of treachery had been levelled against the Tory party; it was in the leadership of Mr. Waylen's own camp that treachery had discovered itself on the present occasion.

At an early period of the struggle, when the resolution of the Lords to defeat the Bill had provoked a public clamour for the extinction of the Upper House, a meeting in furtherance of this object was held at Devizes on the 9th of Oct., 1831, at which Sir William Napier, with his accustomed energy, made a daring declaration in favour of popular rights. He announced his distrust even of the Whigs, though aware that in so doing, he had the misfortune to differ from many of the gentlemen then present, and especially from their worthy chairman. The people must henceforward learn to place reliance on themselves and not on any self-constituted leaders—"We have given his sentiments," says the *Devizes Gazette*, "as well as we could collect them, but it would be impossible to convey an idea to those who were not present, of the spirit and the fire with which they were expressed."

This and other of his Devizes speeches actually produced among the more prominent of the London reformers a belief that Sir William would not be unwilling to accept the post of leadership in a movement then on foot for the formation of a National Guard, the object of which was to secure the political changes then in suspense, and to save the country from the calamity of insurrection. Charles Buller (a former pupil of Thomas Carlyle) and Erskine Perry took upon themselves to propose the same; but Sir William was not to be drawn into the expences of public life; and the same reason induced him to reject two offers to sit in Parliament, one coming from Devizes, the other from Bath. See the correspondence on both these topics in the Colonel's memoirs. See, also, the Appendix to the present volume.

Mr. Waylen lost his wife in the summer of 1841, an event which probably precipitated his own decease, for it

took place after an interval of only three months. Calvinistic Puritanism which, except among the Wesleyans, was the prevailing medium through which religious character was coloured in those days, must in his case have received considerable impulse from his marriage with a descendant of one of the old Nonconformist families of Newbury in Berkshire. This lady was Sarah, second daughter of John Willis, then resident at Rowde, though previously a banker and bookseller in Newbury. Her own maternal ancestry, bearing the name of Pearce, were living in Newbury at the time of the great Civil War; and those who know what was the influence wielded in that town by the renowned Dr. William Twisse, will easily credit the tradition handed down by the Pearce family, that they, together with the mass of their fellow-townsmen, on the eve of one of the battles fought there, signalized their attachment to the Parliament's cause by spending the whole night in cooking provisions for the army (Essex's army, in all probability). By those modern inhabitants of Newbury who cherish as an inheritance the memories of the past, it must surely be felt that the reputation which their town so long enjoyed as one of the Protestant strongholds of the country, has been in a manner violated by the hostile influences which recently expressed themselves in a monument erected on the neighbouring field of battle to the memory of a Royalist.

But Puritan legends and a library of Puritan literature were not the whole of the Willis dowry; her personal worth it was which eclipsed all other considerations. An incident which forcibly stamped itself on her youthful memory, was as follows: When her father's family was for a brief period resident at Taunton, she one day watched [from a window over the old castle gateway?] a vast crowd surging up the main thoroughfare, the central object of which was John Wesley, walking bare-headed, his white locks flowing over his shoulders. He had come to Taunton in the course of one of his habitual annual perambulations through the country, and a reference to his diary shows this occasion to have been in September, 1789, when he was eighty-five years of age, Taunton had witnessed the labours of Joseph Alleine, the Devizes Confessor of Charles the Second's time. Consequently, the entry in Mr. Wesley's

journal for the day in question, 2nd September, takes the following form: "In the evening we had such a congregation as I suppose was never in that house before. Surely the antient work will some time revive, and the prayers of that blessed man, Joseph Alleine, be answered."

My impression is, that when Mr. Willis adopted Taunton as a place of residence on quitting business in Newbury, the old town had attractions for him on this very ground, and as associated with the tragedies enacted by Judge Jeffereys at the time of Monmouth's rebellion. He sympathised deeply in the calamities of that period, and was accustomed to speak of his collection of contemporary theology and biography as "old gold." Such were the educational environments of my mother's early life.

Shortly after Mr. Waylen's death, his old friend, Sir Anthony Perrier, of Cork, addressed the following letter to Mrs. Waylen, imagining that she had survived her husband.

"Cork, 16th Nov. 1841.

"DEAR MADAM,—Having only this day heard of the decease of my old and much lamented friend Mr. Waylen, will account for my not earlier tendering you my sincere condolence on the melancholy bereavement you and your interesting child have sustained. He was the earliest and never-forgotten friend that I had the good fortune to make when a schoolboy at Devizes; and it was always gratifying to me to hear of his prosperous and creditable progress through life. And although his removal must leave a void in your feelings and affections impossible to fill up, yet the dispensations of Divine Providence, inscrutable and uncontrollable as they are, must be patiently and with resignation submitted to; and the recollection that our friend had not been suddenly torn away, but had enjoyed a reasonably long and happy life, amid the universal esteem of all his friends, acquaintances, and townsmen, and when removed took with him their sincere regret, may tend to reconcile you in some measure to the irreparable loss that has befallen you. With best regards for Miss Waylen, and an earnest desire to render you any service that may be in my power, Believe me, dear madam, your sincere friend,—ANTH. PERRIER."

Rev. William Jay, of Bath, to James Waylen.

" Bath, 1st Nov. 1841.

" MY DEAR SIR,—I am just come in from Bristol, where I laboured hard yesterday for the Bible Society, and feel more undone to-day than usual after preaching. Yet I cannot let a post elapse without a few lines. Of course they regard the contents of the letter I found on my table when I came in. You cannot but suppose the information affected me, as I had known your dear father for so many years, and having been regarded him in proportion as I knew him, and having been favoured with so much of his intimate friendship. You will not need my testimony to the excellency of his character. There was no one, perhaps, concerning whom there is a greater uniformity of opinion and approbation. . . ."

There will be no attempt in this place to represent Mr. Waylen as a hero, a martyr, or a leading man in any popular sense. His character is nevertheless worthy to be kept by his descendants in fragrant remembrance as that of an upright, generous, and forgiving parent, an enlightened citizen, and pre-eminently as a lover of good men. Great was his pleasure whenever it fell to his lot to entertain such personages as Rowland Hill, William Jay, or Robert Hall, but he was equally alive to the blessing which less prominent Christians brought to his house. While yet a youth, his first pocket money was devoted to the purchase of a pictorial edition of the *Biographia Evangelica*, then coming out in numbers; and his favourite volume through life was the *Diary of Joseph Williams* of Kidderminster, whose sunshiny christianity, illustrated by a characteristic portrait, formed a theme on which he was ever prompt to dwell. Another biography which I fancy had a secondary attraction for him was that of John Clark of Trowbridge already mentioned at page 14, arising partly from similarity of experience in their common occupation as cloth manufacturers and employers of labour. Like Mr. Clark he was fully aware of the advantage which unscrupulous men were ever ready to take of his christian forbearance; but none of these things moved him; and with this simple declaration, the story of his hidden life may suitably close.

Mental attainments of a literary kind he estimated highly ; and as his personal share in them had been comparatively slender, he took care to lavish on his children the educational advantages which had been denied to himself. Neither did he see much of the world in the way of travelling, his only visit to the Continent having occurred when he was very young and in company with his father. It must have been about the year 1785, and he made the boyish remark to his father, as they strolled among the rural parts of Normandy, that the stature of the peasants was strangely at variance with the talk of the ignorant gossips of Devizes, who had always represented to him that one Englishman was a match for half-a-dozen Frenchmen. For himself, he could discover no difference between the races. Towards the close of his life he had the satisfaction of making the Scottish tour.

If we should say that by his habitual study of books, he fought his way through the many obscure and ignoble influences which suffocated his youth, out into the clearer light of modern historical resurrections, this would be to claim in his behalf no more than is shared by the candid portion of the entire generation. It is nevertheless pleasant to recall the delight with which he came to listen to narratives of the goodness and prowess of Oliver Cromwell, for such recognition of the Protector's real character generally carries with it corresponding revelations as to Church and State confederacies all down through the subsequent decades. In the smaller arena of local history, Oliver's decisive action at the taking of Devizes Castle was not unfrequently referred to with satisfaction. The Lieutenant-General, the newsmongers of the hour inform us, having erected his batteries in the market-place, the Governor of the castle next day received a summons to surrender, "which if not obtained, short work was intended." This last expression took my father's fancy vastly. "Ah yes," he would say, "short work—that was the only kind of work that found favour in his eyes. He was not a man to be trifled with by shilly-shallying royalists." Had my father survived the publication of Thomas Carlyle's larger work on Oliver, there is little doubt but he would have subscribed to every word. How he thought and expressed himself in respect of modern states-

men may be sufficiently gathered from what has already been recorded of his action at the great Reform crisis of 1832.

Mr. Waylen in 1797 married, as above stated, Sarah daughter of John Willis of Rowde, Esq., and by her, who died 1841, aged 61, he had fifteen children, twelve of whom reached maturity.

1. Robert, of whom presently.
2. Sarah, born 1800; mar. 1823 to Alfred Whitaker of Frome, solicitor, and died three months afterwards.
3. John, born 1801, died 1807.
4. Samuel, born 1802, of Coggeshall and Kelvedon, solicitor; died at Devizes 1883.
5. Mary, born 1803, died 1831, unm.
6. Elizabeth, born 1804; mar. 1827 to James Overbury Anstie, youngest son of Benjamin Anstie of Devizes. Mr. James Anstie died at Devizes in 1839, his wife in 1877 at Burley near Ringwood. Their children were,
 - i. Alfred, born 1828, of the firm of Crowder Anstie and Vizard, 55 Lincoln's Inn Fields, from which he retired in 1885.
 - ii. Mary, born 1830, mar. to Richard Williams Biggs of Devizes LL.D. and had a daughter, Sarah 1860. Dr Biggs died 1883 at Easton in Gordano near Bristol.
 - iii. Elizabeth, born 1831.
 - iv. Robert, born 1832, died young.
 - v. James, born 1836. barrister at law; mar. Annie daughter of Lindsey Winterbotham of Stroud Esq. [and sister to Henry Winterbotham M.P. for Stroud, and a member of Mr. Gladstone's Ministry in 1871.] and by her, who died 1871, has a daughter, Ellen, born 1868.
 - vi. Sarah, died in infancy.
 - vii. Fanny, born 1838, mar. 1854 her cousin Philip Smith, barrister at law, and afterwards a judge in Jamaica. In 1878 Mr. Smith accepted the post of judgeship at the

Gold Coast in Western Africa, but soon after reaching that place, both himself and his wife fell victims to fever. Their children are, Helen 1855.—Gertrude 1858—Philip 1859—Albert 1861 died young—Ethel 1866—Margaret 1875.

7. Alfred, born 1805, became one of the earliest settlers at the Swan River, where he died 1857, having mar. Anne daughter of C. R. H. Bailey of Reading Esq. by whom, who died at Balham in 1883, he had seven children.
 - i. Alfred, born 1835, M.D. inherited his father's estates at the Swan River, where he has long held a high position. His wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Rob. Harday and Miss Davie of Lincolnshire, died 1885.
 - ii. Fanny, born 1837, mar. to Charles Girdlestone, Esq. of the Bengal Civil Service, Resident at Inpall.
 - iii. Charles, born 1839, surgeon, mar. Eliza, daughter of Robert Mc'Intosh, surgeon, Bengal Army, and had issue, Frank, 1864—Maud 1866, mar. 1886 to Mr. Frank Carbutt Bell—Charles and Hermione twins, the first dying at birth 1868—Ella 1869—Claude 1871—Daisy 1873—Muriel 1875—Winifred 1877—died young.
 - iv. Mary, born 1841, mar. 1864 Mr. Britain Black, civil engineer in India, who died in 1866. Mrs. Black's daughter Annie was born 1864.
 - v. Katharine, born 1842.
 - vi. Frederick, born 1844, surgeon in the army, died on board ship in the Red Sea, returning home on leave of absence in 1871.
 - vii. Constance, born 1846, mar. 1875 Frederick Drew, professor of geology at Eton College. Their children are, Mabel 1877—Harry 1879—Helen 1880—Raymond 1883.
8. William, of the firm of Anstie and Waylen of Devizes, solicitors, born 1807, died 1839.

9. Katharine, born 1808, died 1873, having mar. Charles Nash of Hinxton Grange, Camb. Esq. by whom, who died 1871, she had two children—Emily, mar. in 1877 to William Foster Esq. and Herbert.
10. James, born 1810, mar. 1842 to Miss Mary Grimes of the Isle of Wight, who died in 1859. He mar. secondly Sarah second daughter of George Anstie of Devizes, solicitor, and had one son, Hector in 1869, born at 6 Cheyne Row Chelsea, the house adjoining that of Thomas Carlyle.
11. Edward, of Lycroft, Devizes, born 1811, mar. 1839 to Emily youngest daughter of Mr. Thomas Natt of Philadelphia Pa. U.S. of America, and had four children—Walter 1842, died 1882—Caroline 1843, died young—Edith 1848—Elizabeth 1857. Mr. Waylen died at Devizes in 1877 and was buried at Southbroom in his grandfather Waylen's vault.
12. Amelia, born 1813, died 1814.
13. Caroline, born 1814.
14. Matthew-Henry, born 1815, died 1816.
15. Charlotte, born 1819, mar. 1858 to Thomas Tebay M.D. of 37 Belgrave Road Pimlico. Dr. Tebay died in 1894.

Mr. Waylen died in 1841 and was buried in the family vault of the Independent Chapel, Devizes. He was succeeded by his eldest son,

ROBERT WAYLEN of Devizes, born 1798, and dying there in 1867, having married Anne eldest daughter of Richard Elliott dissenting minister of Devizes, by whom, who died 1888, he had issue,

1. Robert-Francis, B.A., of Balliol Col. Oxon. born 1838.
2. Richard, born 1839, died young.
3. Jessie, born 1841, died young.
4. Katharine, born 1843, mar. 1888 to C. J. Reskelly, dissenting minister, of Dean Forest, Gloucestershire.
5. Benjamin, born 1844.
6. Grace, born 1846.
7. William, born 1850.

APPENDIX.

Wadham Locke to Robert Waylen.

Rowde Ford, 28 January, 1831.

DEAR SIR. In compliance with your wish, I have considered the subject you proposed to me yesterday; but although I shall have much satisfaction in attending, and promoting the object of the meeting on Wednesday, my objections to taking the chair at it are strengthened. It should I think be filled by someone resident in the borough, and I cannot conceive any one more proper than yourself. I hope therefore you will consent to take it. And I remain, Dear Sir, your most obedient servant,

WADHAM LOCKE.

Wadham Locke to Robert Waylen.

Rowde Ford House, 29 March, 1831.

SIR. I beg to express my best acknowledgments to you and through you to the other gentlemen who have done me the honour to invite me to become a candidate to represent Devizes in the event of the Bill now before Parliament for Reform being carried into a law.

It is impossible for me not to feel highly gratified by such a compliment from so many respectable gentlemen to whom my character and conduct are well known. And although I have long given up every idea and wish of obtaining a seat in Parliament, yet should the elective franchise be extended, as I trust it will be, and the inhabitants of Devizes obtain their just rights, I cannot refuse an application so handsomely made to me, but shall be ready to exert my best endeavours to serve my native town. I have the honour to be, Sir, your obliged and faithful servant,

WADHAM LOCKE.

Wadham Locke to Robert Waylen

Rowde Ford, 31 March, 1831.

DEAR SIR. I am sorry I cannot concur in opinion with Mr. Tilby as to the propriety of my making an immediate personal canvass; which under present circumstances still strikes me to be a premature measure.

I consider myself in the hands of the friends who have kindly selected me to support their cause; and should they be disposed to adopt measures to promote that cause and ascertain their strength (as suggested by Mr. Elliott this morning) there cannot I conceive be the slightest possible objection to it. I am, my dear Sir, yours very truly,

WADHAM LOCKE.

Wadham Locke to Robert Waylen.

April, 1831.

MY DEAR SIR. I thank you very much for your note and the kind feeling you express in my behalf. I will call on you soon after ten to-day, and shall be ready to do anything (consistent with my own feelings) which my friends may wish, to serve their cause; but if any change of opinion has taken place with respect to me, I would rather retire to my private station than endeavour to force myself by improper means on the inhabitants of Devizes. My feelings in this respect may be peculiar, but I possess them—And am, my dear Sir, very sincerely yours,

WADHAM LOCKE.

Sir John Dugdale Astley of Everleigh, M.P. for Wilts to Mr. Waylen as Chairman of the Reform Meetings in Devizes.

Everleigh House, 4 Oct., 1831.

SIR, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your very kind communication conveying to me the approbation of the meeting over which you so ably presided; and to assure you that I very highly value the approbation you have done me the honour to convey.

Your obedient servant, J. DUGDALE ASTLEY.

Corresponding letter from John Bennett, Esq., of Pitt House, the other Member for the County, to Mr. Waylen.

August 10, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR. It is exceedingly gratifying to me to learn by the vote of thanks which you forwarded to me a short time since that my public conduct has been in unison with the views and wishes of so large and respectable a number of my friends at Devizes. I request you to communicate to them my grateful acknowledgements for this much valued mark of their kindness; and I assure you, my dear Sir, that not only the vote of my friends, but the manner also in which it has been conveyed to me by yourself, will never be effaced from my mind. I hope to meet you on Friday next at Devizes. And I am, my dear Sir, yours very faithfully,

JOHN BENNETT.

T. B. Macaulay (Lord Macaulay.) Address lost—probably to Mr. Anstie.

August 10, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR. I see on looking into our *Journals*, that on the 2nd of December, 1830, Sir P. Durham was turned out of his seat in Parliament by the decision of an election committee. What he can mean by saying that he resigned his seat from zeal for Reform, I cannot conceive. I am told that he did all in his power against Reform at the last general Election. Ever yours,

T. B. MACAULAY.

Wadham Locke to Robert Waylen.

Rowde Ford, 8 Dec., 1832.

MY DEAR SIR. Be assured that I feel much gratified at your having, (as I am informed by some of my friends you have) acceded to my request of seconding Dr. Headley's nomination of me on Monday next. I consider myself most fortunate in possessing the good opinion and support of a gentleman so long connected as you and your family have been with Devizes and so universally respected in it.

I beg the favour of you to meet me at my committee room at the *Castle Inn* by half past ten on Monday morning, as the nomination is fixed for eleven. Believe me, my dear Sir, yours very truly,
 WADHAM LOCKE.

Montague Gore to Admiral Sir Philip Durham.

1834.

DEAR SIR. I pledged myself so deeply at the last election at Devizes to bring forward in Parliament a number of things which I now find I never can do. I have therefore determined to vacate my seat, and I have been thinking to whom I should give my support; and I have been resolved, from the gentlemanly manner in which you conducted yourself to me, a stranger, during the election, to offer it to you under the following condition,—That if you offer me any remuneration for my expences, or if you communicate it to any one before the writ is moved, this arrangement will be void.

“The admiral accepted the offer. The meeting of Parliament did not take place for several months. He went to Town and met his disinterested friend at an hotel, who said he had come to fulfil his promise. He met him again by appointment with a member who was to move the writ, got a witness, and the writ was moved. That afternoon he set off for Devizes, had all his friends canvassed before it was known that the seat was vacant, and was elected on the fourth day without any expence but the usual fees.”
Memoirs of Sir P. Durham. 111.

In 1837 on receiving an appointment from Lord Minto of the command at Portsmouth, Admiral Durham accepted the Chiltern Hundreds and vacated his parliamentary seat for Devizes. He died at Naples in 1845 at the age of eighty-three, and was buried in the family vault at Largo in Fife.

Sir John Cam Hobhouse to George Washington Anstie.

Berkeley Square, 1 March, 1834.

DEAR SIR. I ought to have replied some days ago to your last letter. I have not had any communication on the

subject to which you alluded in that letter, but it appears to me that it would be unprofitable to pursue any further a matter which is now past all cure. You have quite proof enough already that the intention of vacating was studiously kept secret from the electors of Devizes generally, and it is equally evident that this secrecy prevented you from choosing a man whom you preferred to the worthy Admiral [Durham]. It is, I think superfluous to enquire at what exact hour Mr. M. Gore applied for the Chiltern Hundreds, because he does not deny that he told Mr. Morris on Monday morning that he did not intend to vacate his seat, he having at that time resolved to vacate the same evening. You want no more; but I would venture to recommend dropping all further proceedings.

As to myself, I can only repeat how much gratified I have been and still am by your and your independent friends thinking of me; and I need not add that I shall endeavour to maintain the good opinion which they have been pleased to express in my favour. Ever faithfully, yours.

JOHN HOBHOUSE.

Paul Methuen to Geo. W. Anstie.

Park Street, 1 Dec. 1884.

[First part torn off] "so completely was he, what you call, floored, by my expression of gratitude. You shall certainly see my letter whenever you please. I cannot think how all at once you can have so inspired him with apprehension. He offered however to mediate between clerical wrath and me, if I would only explain, or pledge, I suppose, on the score of better behaviour in future. I did not feel myself called upon to notice this advantageous proposal of loophole, and am prepared to incur displeasure and the worst effects of it. My answer was in perfect good humour, and I only hope his clerical brethren will see it. I did not write to you, because I wrote to your good friend Mr. Elliott, and only wished to let my intention be known without troubling my friends prematurely with letters. I can only say, a renewal of your kind exertions will add to the obligations I am already under. Should there be a

contest, my only apprehension will be being put to expence. I shall not however shrink under any circumstances, supported as I now am in all quarters of our Division. Mrs. Methuen's illness has detained me here, but I hope to be at Corsham next week. I need not I hope tell you that my principles are unchanged, and will remain so. In haste, yours truly.—P.M.

*Paul Methuen, M.P. for the County [address lost;—
presumably to Geo. W. Austie.]*

Park Street, 10 June 1835.

DEAR SIR. I have written according to your wish to Mr. Saunders. I am very happy to find my conduct in Parliament is approved of by my liberal constituents; and shall console myself without much difficulty for the displeasure of the ultra Tories. Pray do not hesitate to assist Mr. Long from any scruples towards me. His votes are so generally the same as mine that it is impossible for me to wish to gain any advantage (in case of a contest) at his expence.

I think the Society [North Wilts Association] should not only originate with, but be entirely planned by, the electors and not the elected, who cannot be on the spot to make themselves of use. I shall be very happy to belong, myself, as will my son, to the Society; and I shall at all times be ready to give you any information from our London one. I thought Mr. Locke had sent you some of our papers. I will however let you have some without delay. We are hardly yet settled as to our house and arrangements; but from all I observe, we are going on very well, and with great spirit and activity. Excuse haste, faithfully yours. P. M.

Paul Methuen to George W. Austie.

Park Street, 23 June 1835.

MY DEAR SIR. I have only one moment to apologise for not recollecting, as appears to be the case, to answer a question in your last respecting our Committee. It was certainly an open one; though of course nobody would

have come to it, not of our sentiments. I still think our Association should not originate with Mr. Long and me, for reasons I have before given you and Captain Bouverie. My son will be present on Friday, and I shall tell him to subscribe for me according to the nature of the subscription. In addition to the Committee now going on, and which will probably sit late on Thursday, Lord Morpeth brings forward Irish tithes on Friday, which makes it particularly desirable that I should be in my place. In great haste, truly yours—
P. M.

I will enquire about the poll-book for 1819.

Admiral James Deans Dundas to Geo. W. Anstie.

9 Baker Street, London, 15 Dec. 1835.

MY DEAR SIR. I am sorry not to have had the pleasure of shaking hands with you when I was last at Devizes, but it was my own fault; I began to pay my visits to Doubtfuls, and forgot my tried and valued friends. However, that was always the advice of yourself and family, and you see how well I have profited by it, and what an apt scholar I am at fifty. Coolly and quietly reviewing the past, I think our fight was as good as it could possibly have been. From you I always had a clear view of what was going on, and I was never very sanguine of success. Your countenance now and then acted like a barometer and raised my hopes; but then we had a talk, and my mercury no longer had a top. We shall however live I hope to see liberal men in power at Devizes; and I assure you, bad as Drummond's book does look (and what banker's book does look well so near Christmas) I still hail it as the best money I ever spent, if the Corporation now to be chosen are at all assisted by our late contest. On that event (the choice of a new Corporation) all your future existence as a free or enslaved town depends. I know you are all working. I wish I could help in any way; but I apprehend I should, by coming down, only delay and stop, as I have already done too much, the useful body who are canvassing. Trust no

Tory or even middle man. Keep it to yourselves. You all think too much of having churchmen chosen with yourselves. Do you for a moment believe they would choose one of you? Rest assured, if they get the power they will use it even more oppressively than ever, and the best fish in the sea would be king.

I heard from Hook and my worthy friend Leach of the numbers that had signed the requisition. To you alone I say, it may be sooner required that I should again stand than I anticipated; for in a conversation I had at the Admiralty Board, I see Admiral Durham, if appointed to the command at Portsmouth, would be desired to give up his seat, and I rather think he would do so; but at present nothing is decided; you shall hear the moment it is. I hope nothing will be done before the meeting of Parliament, so that a new Writ and the Election would follow. I don't think I should have an opponent, but the Tories are furious, and have plenty of money; but that, I think would not avail at this moment, whilst our battle is so fresh, and dearly won. I need not say, keep this information to yourself; but as my cause and yours are the same, I feel you will not lose by the information, and that I do a duty by confiding in one who has from the first acted as a friend by me. I shall be at Barton Court on the 21st, and not move from that for a month I hope; but I will no doubt hear on the 26th, (I hope before) from some of my good friends how things look. If I can be of any service, or if I have anything that can be useful to the cause, command, and I obey. Tayler I saw in London, full of wants and doubts. I have no dependance on him, as you know; and think Glass and one or two more, far more to be entrusted with our future elections. Don't take the trouble to write to me; you are far better engaged. Go on and prosper. Out of Devizes, you and your friends have not a man breathing who is more alive to your present situation, or who can more sincerely wish you and your family circle (and particularly your own fireside) all possible health and happiness, than, Yours faithfully and obliged, J. D. DUNDAS.

Sir John Cam Hobhouse to Geo. W. Anstie.

Corsham House, 17 Dec. 1835.

DEAR SIR. I have received your letter, which I shall forward to the proper quarter. I perceive that you say something about the chance of the Whigs forfeiting the good graces of the town of Devizes if they do not do what you recommend. Now I am happy to find that you think this is not accomplished already; for to tell you the truth, I thought your fellow citizens had given a tolerable proof of their indifference to their old friends and old principles at the last election. Very truly yours,
JOHN HOBHOUSE.

Admiral Dundas to Robert Waylen.

London, 17 March, 1838.

MY DEAR SIR. I am again to be a disturber of the peace at Devizes, and hope for your aid and support in being re-chosen.

Her Majesty has appointed me to the Board of Ordnance, and I was so pressed to take it that I could no longer refuse.

The new writ goes down on Monday night. I hope to have no opposition; but our friends are ready for war, and I know from past times they are to be relied on. I trust all your family are well, and that I shall soon have the pleasure in person of assuring you, I am, yours obliged and sincerely,
J. D. DUNDAS.

Elections for the borough of Devizes immediately succeeding the Reform Bill of 1832.

1833. Wadham Locke and Montague Gore.
1834. Feb. Admiral Sir Philip Charles Henderson Durham, G.C.B., *vice* Montague Gore, who accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.
1835. Wadham Locke died, in October.
1835. Nov. Thomas Henry Sutton Bucknall Estcourt, afterwards known as Sotheron Estcourt, *vice* Wadham Locke deceased. For the Liberal party, James Whitley Deans Dundas, R.N., was proposed by Dr. Brabant and seconded by R. Waylen, but lost by twelve votes.

1886. Feb. Dundas *vice* Durham, who accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.
1887. Sotheron Estcourt and Dundas.
1888. March. Dundas accepted Clerkship in the Ordnance—New election,—his opponent being George Heneage Walker Heneage. Dundas had a small majority but was unseated on petition; and the borough passed once more under the dominion of Toryism.

Admiral Dundas of Barton Court, Berkshire, was the son of James Deans of Calcutta, M.D. The added name of Dundas was derived from his maternal grandfather Charles Dundas, M.P. for Berkshire, who in 1832 became Baron Amesbury of Kentbury Amesbury, and died the same year. By his wife Anne daughter and sole heiress of Ralph Whitley of Aston Hall in Flintshire, he had an only daughter Janet, who wedded her cousin, then known as Captain James Deans; and Captain James Deans thereupon took the surnames and estates aforesaid. Eventually he became Governor of Greenwich Hospital and a naval Commander in the war with Russia.

General Sir William Napier. See p. 36.

The formal appeal made by the national Reformers to Colonel Napier's public spirit and military instincts, reached him through the medium of Erskine Perry and Charles Buller in October 1831—Erskine begins—"My friend Major Beauclerk informed me that he had written to you on the subject of a Union which shall comprize individuals in all parts of the country, and that he had requested your co-operation. Since that time Sir Francis Burdett has consented to be chairman" . . . "The working classes are beginning to think that, reform once obtained, their interests will be neglected as much as ever."—He then asks Napier to allow his name to be placed on the Council;—adding, "The grand desideratum of your name is, that if a crisis should arise, you are the man of all others in the country, and I say it without flattery, that we should look to as a leader." Charles Buller's message to the same effect says,

—"I wish you would come forward and advocate the formation of a National Guard. Draw out a plan for its composition and for officering it. Put your name to it and let it appear in the *Times*. Add a few of your stirring sentences to excite the British spirit of the Cockney; and we shall have a National Guard and you at its head in a fortnight."

General Sir James Shaw Kennedy, after an intimacy with Napier of five and fifty years, bore the following testimony,—“I assert without any qualification whatever that I consider William Napier to have been the man of the greatest genius that I have ever known personally; yet I have communicated with many men of the highest reputation of their time that this country has produced.”

“Napier,” says a writer in the *Quarterly Review* 230, “was a signal instance of the union of the softer virtues in their utmost extent with the highest reach of masculine attributes. His forward fiery valour, as steady as it was fervid, was proverbial throughout an army in which daring deeds had almost ceased to be a distinction to any. His passive courage was equal to his active. No one could surpass him in his endurance of the hardships of a campaign,—no one in the fortitude with which he bore up against years of physical torture. And his nature was stamped upon his frame and spoke in every accent of his voice, and looked out in every gleam of his expressive eyes. His noble stature, his lofty yet simple bearing, his stately yet elastic tread, his face the perfect model of heroic beauty . . . all were indications impossible to be mistaken, and which gave any person who had been once in his company, complete assurance of the man.”

It was at the skirmish at Casal Nova in 1811 that he received that musket ball which could not be extracted, and which resting near his spine, wrought him the untold agony of a life-time. Sir John Wilson a captain of grenadiers, who from a distance descried him stretched beneath an olive tree, had run towards him and earnestly enquired into his condition. Napier shook his head but was unable to speak. Captain Wilson had a flask of tea and brandy, and asked him if he would like a little. A beam of pleasure sparkled in the eyes of the wounded man who eagerly

stretched out his hand. Twice the tumbler was filled, and he drained it with an air of intense enjoyment. "When he had finished," continues Sir John, "he seized my hand and grasped it several times, as much as to say, I don't know who you are, my good fellow, but I feel most gratefully thankful for your kindness. I then said, Heaven protect you, and ran off to join my company. I was deeply impressed with the classic outline and beautiful expression of his countenance, and in after life I often spoke of this wounded officer as the handsomest man I had ever beheld."

Being unknown to one another, the parties met not again for sixteen years, and the scene was dramatic which brought about their recognition. Sir John Wilson in 1827 was visiting his father-in-law Sir George Houlton at Farley Castle, and the conversation after dinner turning upon handsome men, Sir John remarked, "Of all the men I have ever seen in various parts of the world where I have been, there was none to be at all compared with the one. . . ." And he proceeded to relate the incident at Casal Nova above recorded. With tears starting from his eyes, Napier sprang from his chair, and putting his arms round his preserver, exclaimed, "My dear Wilson, was that you? That glass of tea and brandy saved my life."

During an illness in 1858 Napier made the following reference to the affair in Spain. "It would be a comfort to me," he said, "to remember a perfectly self-sacrificing act, but I cannot recall one. I always had a latent conviction that I should escape; and this being so, away flies the merit. The nearest approach I ever made to absolute self-sacrifice was at Casal Nova, when I determined either to perish or to save Captain Dobbs."

The Reform crisis, like the American contest between North and South, brought to the front many a gallant reputation which had previously suffered partial or unmerited eclipse; and though it be admitted that political science is, after all, but the science of expediency, by whatsoever party wielded, yet personal character is still a factor whose presence can never fail to be felt. I once heard my father maintaining, as a general rule (in opposition to Dr. Brabant, the Devizes physician, himself a Liberal), the moral superiority of the Whigs, a conclusion which in his case was

no doubt the result of long observation ; and though I have no right to identify his sentiments with those of any other man, or to clothe them in a phraseology which was not his own, I think the following judgment of Dr. Arnold of Rugby, uttered about the same period, may not inaptly form a sequel to the memorial of one who from his more retired post of observation had with equal candour gathered the lessons of the passing hour. "As I feel," says Dr. Arnold, "that of the two besetting sins of human nature [viz.] selfish neglect and selfish agitation, the former is the more common, and has in the long run done far more harm than the latter, although the outbreaks of the latter, while they last, are of a more atrocious character—so I have in a manner vowed to myself and prayed that, with God's blessing, no excesses of popular wickedness, though I should be myself, as I expect, the victim of them, no temporary evils produced by revolution, shall ever make me forget the wickedness of Toryism,—of that spirit which crucified Christ Himself, which has throughout the long experience of all history continually thwarted the cause of God and goodness, and has gone on abusing its opportunities and heaping up wrath by a long series of selfish neglect, against the day of wrath and judgment." *Letter to the Chevalier Bunsen, 6 May, 1833.*

Bayly the honest lawyer. Page 14.

The presumably kindred families in All Cannings, Bishops Cannings, and Devizes, bearing the name of Bayly or Bailey, seem to have had their ancestral habitat at Echilhampton. During the Civil war period the Echilhampton section became conspicuous in the persons of two divines, brothers apparently, but if so, very opposite in their sentiments. These were Dr. Richard Bayly the Dean of Sarum, who suffered temporary suspension for his adherence to royalism ; the other was William Bayly of New College, Oxon., ejected in 1660 from the living of Stoke Fleming in Devon for non-conformity. In the next century, William Bayly son of a Bishops Cannings farmer, acquired eminence as an astronomer. He accompanied Captain Cook in his last voyage round the World,

and determined the latitudes and longitudes of all the places visited, eventually receiving the appointment of Master of the Royal Academy at Portsmouth. His death occurred in 1810.

Gaisford Gibbs Esq. of Heywood House near Westbury, the convenor of the Devizes delegates in 1789. Page 28.

It would be pleasant to know more of the personal history of this gentleman. Sundry newspaper notices of the period in question make it manifest that he was a prominent philanthropist, solicitous to direct and elevate the popular instincts, as well as to foster the musical talents of his neighbours. He appears to have married Elizabeth daughter of William Matravers of Melksham by Elizabeth Were of Wellington, an alliance which must have associated him more or less with the large Quaker brotherhood of Fox of Falmouth, Metford, Capper, Tregellis, Fowler, Were of Wellington, Collier of Plymouth, Bevan of Swansea, Melksham and Devizes, &c. How far he was personally committed to Quakerism it might be difficult to say, but he certainly displayed the benevolent citizenship for which the Friends have ever been exemplary. When Mr. Williams's school-house at Bratton was burnt down in 1789, he at once placed at Mr. Williams's disposal a dwelling house of his own in the town of Westbury, which also in the course of a few weeks was in like manner destroyed by fire. Just then Mr. Gibbs was mourning the loss of his only son Gaisford; but notwithstanding this depressing occurrence his resolution suffered no abatement in prosecuting in the ensuing month the public service which took the form of the aforesaid gathering at Devizes.

The estate of Heywood has in more recent time passed by inheritance to the Lopez family; Mr. Gibbs's only daughter having married William Ludlow (Physician?) of Bristol, whose elder daughter, again, became the wife of Sir Ralph Lopez of Devonshire and mother of Sir Henry Lopez the modern proprietor of Heywood. Gaisford is a name of long standing both in Devizes and Westbury.

The will of John Gaisford of Devizes is dated 1720. Stephen Gaisford is a name conspicuous in the narrative of the tumultuous Westbury election of 1734.

A word may be added in respect of the burnt school-houses at Bratton and Westbury. The lad who was guilty of both these acts assigned as his motive that he wanted his father to send for him home, as he had been kept at school for fourteen months. During his conveyance to Devizes gaol, he was near being subjected to popular violence. In that prison he put an end to his life by hanging.

Devizes Wick Branch.

At page 6 mention is made of Robert Wayland of Devizes Wick, who married Edith daughter of Philip Prater of West Kyngton. For four generations following, the representative name continued to be Robert. The latest Robert Wayland of Wick, yeoman, born 1681, left two children, Thomas and Mary, in whose persons this branch became extinct in the direct line; but from William the younger son of Robert first above mentioned, sprang what must now be set forth as the

Somerset Branch.

WILLIAM WAYLAND of Frome Selwood, younger son of Robert Wayland of Devizes Wick, married Anne Francis and was father to Francis, of whom presently; and William, conjectured to be the William Wellen mentioned at the head of page 8, as a sufferer in the Duke of Monmouth's cause.

FRANCIS WAYLAND of Frome Selwood Esq., elder son of the foregoing, born 1649, had issue, Francis, of whom presently, and John, whose son John married Anne daughter of John Sheppard of Frome.

FRANCIS WAYLAND of Frome Selwood had issue,

1. Francis, who died unm.
2. Samuel, of whom presently.
3. James, born about 1725, of Frome Selwood, had issue as follows,

- I. James, no further mention.
- II. Seth, who emigrated to America.
- III. Daniel, of whom presently.
- IV. V. Job and Levi, who also emigrated to America.

Daniel the third son became a dissenting minister and died 1818, having married a daughter of Abraham Booth, minister of Prescott Street Chapel, author of the *Reign of Grace* and other works. The children were Abraham and Letitia. Abraham, born 1790 became, like his father, a dissenting minister, and lived at Lyme Regis, Co. Dorset, and died in 1862. His children, by Miss Robinson, were as follows, 1. Abraham Booth, 1824—2. William Robinson, 1827, of Somerset House—3. Henry, 1829, of Ryde, I. of Wight—4. Edwin, 1830—5. Helen, 1832—6. Alfred, 1833—7. Robert, 1834—8. Septimus Felix, 1836.

4. Daniel, of Frome Selwood, born 1733, died 1789, having married, first, Miss Pritchard, and secondly, Sophia Sheppard of Frome. By the former he had, 1. Thomas, mar. to Miss Payne—2. Francis, who emigrated to the United States and became father to Francis Wayland D.D., President of Brown University in Rhode Island, of whom hereafter; and of John Wayland D.D., rector of St. James's, Roxbury—3. Susan, mar. Mr. Edwards of Bristol and had issue. The estimation in which the above named Dr. Francis Wayland was held in America, is evidence that lustre still attaches to the old house. He occupied the presidential chair of Brown University for 28 years,—was D.D. and LL.D. and the author of a variety of standard works on Moral Science, Political Economy, Intellectual Philosophy, besides a Life of the Missionary Judson, and numerous publications on passing events. His Moral Science has been translated into modern Greek, Hawaiian, Armenian, Japanese, Karen, and other tongues. His sons are—

1st. The Hon. Francis Wayland, LL.D., born 1826, formerly Judge of Probate, and Lieutenant Governor of the State of Connecticut; now Dean of Yale Law School—2nd. H. L. Wayland, D.D., born 1830, Baptist Minister, and Editor of the *National Baptist*, Philadelphia. During the late war he was Chaplain to the 7th Connecticut Regiment. He has one son, Francis Lincoln Wayland, a barrister; and one daughter, Mrs. Fanny (Wayland) Williams.—3rd. Howard Wayland, born 1840, died 1874, leaving two children. By his second wife Sophia Sheppard, Mr. Daniel Wayland had one son who succeeded him, namely,

Daniel Sheppard Wayland, M.A., vicar of Kirton in Lincolnshire, born 1783, and died at Bassingham in the same county in 1859. He was the editor of a library edition of Paley's complete works. He married 1817 at Weston near Bath, Jane daughter of —Boyce Esq. [Joyce ?] and by her, who died 1846, had ten children as follows —1. Sophia Jane, 1818, died unm.—2. James Joyce, 1819, died unm.—3. Rosamund Joyce, 1820, died in infancy—4. Ellen Joyce, 1821, died unm.—5. Horace Wheeler, 1824, died in infancy—6. Sophia, 1825, mar. Fowler Boyde Price of Huntingdon Court, Herts—7. Alice Sarah, 1826, mar. Edw. Solly F.R.S. of Sandecote, Co. Dorset—8. Isabella, 1828, mar. Tho. Peck Esq.—9. Louisa, 1829, died in infancy—10. Louisa Elizabeth, 1830.

Francis Wayland of Frome Selwood, the period of whose death is uncertain, was succeeded by his second son,

SAMUEL WAYLAND of Frome Selwood, born 1716, died 1781. It must be in reference to a son of this gentleman that the following notice appeared in the *Salisbury Journal* 4 Sep. 1789, Died at Frome of a decline, Mr. Samuel Wayland, a young man much beloved by all, whose heart was fraught with the purest moral and religious principles." The son who succeeded was named

JOHN WAYLAND of Frome Selwood, who died 1822, aged 66, having married Miss Rossiter, lineal descendant of Sir Edward Rossiter of James I's time, and left one son,

CHARLES WAYLAND, M.A. rector of Holcombe, Co. Somerset, who in 1820 married Frances Wright of East Harptree, Co. Somerset, and had issue as follows—

1. Frances, 1821, died young.
2. John Muir, 1823, went to New Zealand.
3. Charles Stuart, 1824, of Shepton Mallet, Esq. mar. Mrs. Heywood, relict of Capt. Heywood, and had Frances, 1847—Kate Heywood—and a third child.
4. James Stuart, 1826, emigrated to Strathallan near Adelaide, South Australia.
5. Mary, 1827.
6. Henrietta-Maria, 1829.
7. Isabella, 1832.
8. Ellen, 1833.
9. Elizabeth, 1846.

The following testamentary memoranda have reference to members of the elder branch specified at foot of page 9, and to some others bearing the same patronymic but deriving from a stock now untraceable—

18 November 1718. Will of William Waylen the elder, of Nurstead. See page 9.—Gives to his eldest son William £50—to his son John £100—to his elder daughter Anne £400—to his daughter Mary £400.—Directs his said children William John Anne and Mary to make release to his son Robert, who is constituted his Exor, of all gifts and legacies they derive either from himself or from his late deceased father—Gives to his granddaughter Jane the daughter of his son John £10, to be paid so soon as she is of age or married.—to the poor of the four tithings of the chapelry of St. James, namely Roundway, Bedborough, Wick, and Nurstead, £5, to be distributed in bread or otherwise as his Exor may determine—to his aunt Elizabeth Waylen of Heddington, widow, £3—to his kinswoman Mary Paget 20 shillings—to his kinswoman Elizabeth Dyrmer 20 shillings—to his kinsman John Waylen of Monckton his best suit of clothes.—to his old servant

William Neale the rest of his woollen apparel.—all the residue of his estate to his son Robert his Exor.—Witnesses, Robert Waylen, William Waylen son of the said Robert, and Henry Hayes [solicitor.]

1736. Will of William Waylen of Devizes (see page 9). Real and personal estate granted to wife Margaret, brother Robert of Nurstead, and my friends Jonathan Waterman of Bishops Cannings Clk. and John Gale of Little Everisay, for the benefit of the children, each of whom to receive £50 on coming of age.—£10 to the poor of St. James's chapelry in linen cloth, next Christmas. Exors to take one guinea a year each, so long as they act. Witnesses Rd. Crouch, Brouncker Thring, and W. Salmon.

Administration granted to his wife Margaret, 26 May 1739.

Endorsed, "In Chancery—Between Mary Williams plaintiff and Margaret Waylen and others, defendants. At the execution of a commission for examining witnesses in this cause, held at Devizes 3 June 1746, this will was produced and shewn to Brouncker Thring, Rd Crouch, and William Salmon severally, at the times of their several examinations on the part of the compts. before us—Samuel Sainsbury, Wadham Locke."

26 July 1744. Administration of the effects of Jane Waylen of Devizes, widow, who died intestate, granted to her children William Waylen apothecary, John Waylen baker, and Mary Waylen; and to Francis Bayly of Devizes, gent. and Thomas Burroughs jeweller and goldsmith. [Jane Perrett, apparently. See page 9].

23 August 1748. Will of William Waylen of Nurstead, yeoman. Gives to his wife Hannah £10—to Richard Smith of Devizes and to his good friend John Ruddle of Coate all his stock of corn, sheep, cattle, horses, agricultural implements, and all other his personal estate, for the benefit of his son Robert and his daughter Sarah, and the child of which his wife Hannah was now enciente,—hopes they will

look after the children's education—Witnesses, Francis Paradise and Solomon Hughes jun.

[Not to be confounded with the William Waylen mentioned at page 12;—a kinsman, no doubt—but the exact relationship doubtful.]

1749. Will of Mary Waylen of Devizes.—Gives to her brothers William and John Waylen and to her brother in law Francis Paradise £5 a piece, and arranges annuity for her mother Jane, and for her nephew and nieces Francis, Anne, and Jane Paradise,—these failing, then to children of her brother John Waylen. To her nephews William and John Waylen £20 apiece.—Witnesses, Elizabeth Hughes, George Paradise, Solomon Hughes jun.

80 June 1750. Will of John Waylen of Devizes, innholder. Leaves to his son William his larger silver tankard,—to his second John his lesser tankard.—to his wife Jane and his brother William as Exors, all his brewing stock &c. for the benefit of his two sons,—and to his brother William two guineas for a ring or other memorial.—Witnesses, Thomas Wheeler and Solomon Hughes.

27 May, 1758. Administration granted to Sarah relict of Thomas Waylen, otherwise Wayland, of Devizes, baker—Signed by Sarah Waylen, Francis Bayly, and William Read.

19 Oct. 1784. Administration granted to Fanny Waylen Hopkins of Devizes, spinster, Benjamin Hopkins of Devizes, hatter, and John Hutchens of Devizes, gardener. Fanny Waylen Hopkins is the daughter of Sarah Hopkins, formerly Sarah Wayland of Devizes widow and relict of Thomas Wayland, which said Fanny Waylen Hopkins is administratrix to the estate of Thomas Wayland un-administered by the said Sarah Hopkins. Signed by Edward Innes, Clk. and Wadham Locke.

9 May, 1769. Will of Hannah Waylen of Nurstead, widow. Gives to her son William £100, also the bed in her middle chamber, and £5 to buy mourning. To her daughter Sarah the wife of John Gamble £80, and £5 to

buy mourning. The rest of her estate, in goods, moneys, securities, and cattle, to her son Robert, hereby constituted her sole Exor. Witnesses, Thomas Neate and Thomas Locke. *Mem.* Robert Waylen duly sworn at Devizes 17 Nov. 1770 before Arthur Dodwell vicar of Bishops Cannings.

This last mentioned Robert Waylen of Nurstead died without issue, but from his brother William descended what may be termed the London branch of Waylen of Jermyn Street. In the Brompton cemetery a monument records the death of Robert Waylen, aged 76, and of his wife Mary Anne, aged 72; both of whom died in 1872. Also of their son Henry and his wife Jane.

Waylan of Surrey.

There is a family living on the Sutton or Banstead Downs, at the spot a mile south of Sutton where the road to Banstead branches off from the Brighton coach road. They spell their name Waylan.

Elizabeth Willis. See page 37.

Mrs. Waylen's elder sister Elizabeth married William Biggs of Devizes, and had two children, John and Elizabeth; John being now represented by Dr. James Biggs the able Director of the Surrey County Asylum at Tooting, William of High Wycombe, and Thomas of Dorchester. Their mother, Mrs. John Biggs (born Mary Strange of Swindon) is, with her daughter Elizabeth, still resident at Devizes. From Elizabeth Biggs descends the family of the late Joseph Whatley of Reading, solicitor.

Sir David Smith, bart.

In 1887. Died, Sir David Smith of Pickering in Upper Canada and of Preston in Northumberland, bart. Sir David was successively soldier, barrister, and eventually Speaker of the Canada Assembly. Born in 1764, his mother was

Anne daughter of William Waylen of Devizes and Rowde-Hill. Himself and one of his daughters married into the Tylee family of Devizes. His only son David William of the royal navy, was killed by a shot from a French battery when on board the *Spartan* frigate, 11 May 1811. The baronetcy has in consequence become extinct.

An anecdote of the clothing trade.

John Coxeter the owner of Greenham Mills at Newbury, who always took care to introduce the best and latest machinery into his business, encountering at a market dinner Sir John Throckmorton of Buckland House, and the conversation turning on recent inventions, Mr. Coxeter ventured to say, "I could take off your coat, and resolve it into wool and remake it into a coat in the space of 24 hours." And so fully did the manufacturer, in private conference, secure the baronet's confidence, that at a subsequent dinner Sir John himself became the challenger, and laid a heavy wager that between sunrise and sunset a coat should be made of which the wool should the same morning have been growing on the sheep's back. In accordance with the terms of the challenge, Sir John appeared at five o'clock in the morning of 25 June 1811 at Greenham Mills in company with his shepherd and two Southdown sheep. With prompt dexterity the quadrupeds were closely shorn; the fleece was then washed, stubbed, roved, spun, and woven, the weaving being done by Mr. John Coxeter jun. beside whose loom there stood Mr. Toomer of Newbury (of whom it was recently said, he still survives to tell the tale.) By four o'clock the cloth was scoured, fulled, tented, raised, sheared, dyed, and dressed; just eleven hours from the first clip of the shepherd's shears. Mr. White of Newbury performed the "cutting-out," and then nine tailors "cut in" with a will, needle and thread in hand, and "fixed up" the promised garment by half-past six or seven o'clock, a good hour and three quarters before the stipulated time. Arthur Mursell who relates the story, says that while recently enjoying the hospitality of a descendant of Mr. Coxeter, his attention was attracted by a picture representing a tall stout elderly

gentleman standing on a raised platform and putting on a coat in presence of a large group of spectators, which picture he at first imagined must represent the conclusion of a prize-fight—till his host explained that it was Sir John Throckmorton drawing on the famous "Newbury coat" in front of Mr. Coxeter's drawing room, in presence of the crowd which the tidings had collected. Meanwhile the two sheep were roasted, and devoured by the people with the aid of 120 gallons of strong beer distributed by Mr. Coxeter himself. The chief performers in this "dress-rehearsal" dined together with the hero of the drama; and the coat, which was a large hunting garment of a rich damson colour, was exhibited in the 1851 exhibition in Hyde Park, where it occupied a mahogany case with strong plate glass; and it now hangs in its case in the hall of Buckland House, "a sign," Mr. Mursell finally observes, "of what our forefathers could do by getting up early in the morning, and taking tups and time by the forelock."

Sir Thomas Weyland.

It has not been thought necessary to define the various branches of the Wayland stock, dimly traceable in several counties of England, the compass and design of this small work having been little more than a tribute to the memory of the late Mr. Waylen of Devizes who died in 1841. An exception has been made in the case of the Somerset branch, as more closely allied than some others with that of Devizes, and also as issuing forth in the American line, whose chief adornment, the late Dr. Francis Wayland, may perhaps be accepted as the most illustrious representative of the House, antient or modern. A final note may now be devoted to the law case arising out of the forfeitures levied on the eminent person with whom we began, Sir Thomas Weyland, or Weylaund, the Grand Justiciary of Edward I.'s time, identical apparently with the witness to the Salisbury grant, at page 3; and father, as may be presumed, to Richard the member for Calne, whose name occurs at page 4.

Edward I., on returning from the Continent in the 17th year of his reign, instituted proceedings against a large group of the Judges of the land and other functionaries who

were accused of having practised corruption during his absence, by the sale of justice. They were all subjected to crushing fines, and Sir Thomas Weyland being looked upon, in consequence of his high position, as the arch-delinquent, not only lost his estates but was banished the realm. Among the seizures thereupon made by the Crown was the manor of Sobbirs in Gloucestershire. But this estate had been settled, not only on Sir Thomas, but conjointly on his wife Margaret de Mose and his son Richard, and it seemed very hard that she should lose her dower for the delinquency of her husband. The lady, being a wife, could not sue as a legal claimant, but she presented her petition for restitution; and the pleadings may still be read, set forth at large in the *Placita de Parlamento apud Assherug in crastino Epiphane anno XIX. Edward, 1291*. It seems to have been a case for which there was great difficulty in finding a precedent. For commentary thereon, the reader may be referred to Coke upon Littleton. What its final issue was, disappears in the concluding words, "*Inconsulto Domino Rege non vult Consilium ulterius procedere,*" &c.

