

THE DIARY AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF EDMUND BOHUN, ESQ.
With an Introductory Memoir, Notes and Illustrations
by S. Wilton Rix
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INTRODUCTORY MEMOIR:

(with notes abbreviated into parentheses by R.E.H.P., 1954.)

A family bearing the name of Bohun was located at Fressingfield, in Suffolk, in the 15th century, when JOHN BOHUN acquired an estate there by marriage with the heiress of Robert Dalinghoo. (In virtue of this alliance the Bohuns quartered the arms of Dalinghoo, vert, 9 fleur-de-lis argent, 3, 3 and 3. The will of John Bohun was in 1812 among the muniments of Dr. Fisher, Bishop of Salisbury. It serves to identify as a Fressingfield domicile of the Bohuns the spot now called the Church farm, which passed by marriage into the Grudgefield family, and again to the Scriveners with whom it continues. Add. MS. British Museum, 8203.)

The Bohuns of Suffolk were not, at any period, extensive land owners; yet they formed alliances with various honourable houses, including those of Wingfield, Latymer, Coke and Knyvett. An inter-marriage with the last mentioned family enabled the succeeding generations to trace their lineal descent from Humphry de Bohun, the kinsman and companion in arms of the Conqueror, through the proudly affianced line of the earls of Hereford.

EDMUND BOHUN of Fressingfield, gentleman, younger son of John Bohun, and who was an officer of the court of Exchequer had a grant in 1486 of the heraldic coat which is conspicuous on the monuments of the Lanys, (Margaret Cooke, his granddaughter, married Richard Lany of London, lineal ancestor of Dr. Benjamin Lany, successively Bishop of Peterborough, Lincoln and Ely, the antagonist of Hobbes, and the dutiful attendant of Charles II in exile. See Wood, Ath. Oxon. ed. Bliss, i, 376, iii, 897, 1212, iv 143, 818, 850) and his other lineal descendents, and was also borne by the collateral representatives of his family. (Grant by Clarenceux king at arms: "He bereth, goules between an ourle of martlets golde, a cressant ermyn: the crest upon the helme a besant sett between iiij cressants in compass ermyn, upon an hatte goules furred with ermyn." Add. MSS. 8173, fo. 174b, 8203. The will of Edmund Bohun was made in 1499 and proved 31 Dec. 1501. The arms of Bohun "de Scaccario domini regis", with those of his successor, Toppesfeld, and the date 1516, were formerly in a window of Fressingfield Church.)

From his brother, RICHARD BOHUN, who was also a resident of Fressingfield (his will dated Sept. 1495, proved 6 Dec. 1496) who is described in the genealogies as heir of his father, and who died in 1496, while his own children were in minority, sprang NICHOLAS BOHUN of Fressingfield. His will dated in 1504 furnishes a curious view of the provisions made by a country gentleman at the beginning of the 16th century for the "helth" of his soul, and for the benefit of his family and dependents and the Church. (His will is in the registry of the Bishop of Norwich; proved 17 Jan. 1505, it says "my bodi to be buried in the Church of sainte Peter of Fressingfield, benethe the fonte.")

JOHN BOHUN, second son of Richard, and who died in 1511, was twice married, but does not appear to have left issue. (His will proved in the court of the Bishop of Norwich 9 Aug. 1511.)

His brother Nicholas was succeeded by a second NICHOLAS BOHUN, who

settled at Chelmondiston on the southern border of Suffolk. He wedded Margaret, daughter of Sir John Wingfield knt. of Dunham, in Norfolk. (Sir John Wingfield of Dunham was the 4th of the 12 sons of Sir John Wingfield of Leatheringham knt., and of Elizabeth (Fitz-Lewis) his wife; brother of Lewis Wingfield of Kimbolton who married Katherine sister of Elizabeth queen consort of Edward IV and aunt of Elizabeth queen consort of Henry VII. See "The Visitation of the county of Huntingdon" (Cam. Soc.) p. 129; Harl. MSS. 1179, fo. 124, 1552, fo. 29b, 190. Blom. Norf. viii, 362.) In 1535 he acquired from Sir Anthony Wingfield the manor of Westhall Bacon's near Halesworth in Suffolk, to which he added, also by purchase, the manor of Westhall Empoll's.

Both these lordships passed to his son, FRANCIS BOHUN. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund Knyvet of Ashwelthorpe in Norfolk, serjeant porter to King Henry VIII, and of Jane, sole heiress of John Burchier, Lord Berners. In the 5th year of Queen Elizabeth Mr. Francis Bohun purchased, of Thomas Barrington esq., the manor distinguished as Westhall Barrington's, of which the two lordships before mentioned were holden, and which was itself subject to the seignory of the hundred of Blything. Settling upon the estate thus collected, Mr. Bohun, after a few years, built Westhall Hall, which continued to be the abode of his descendants for several generations. (Westhall Hall built 1570.)

NICHOLAS BOHUN, eldest son of Francis Bohun, married Audrey, daughter of Robert Coke esq. (the burial register of the parish shows her interment 16 Nov. 1630,) of Mileham, Norfolk, and youngest of the 7 sisters of the eminent Sir Edward Coke; but he died in her father's life time. On that event the latter gentleman placed in Westhall Church a plain mural tablet of brass, whereon his descent from royalty is narrated.

BRASS PLAQUE ATTACHED TO THE SOUTH WALL OF ST. MARY'S CHAPEL IN ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH, WESTHALL, SUFFOLK, ENGLAND:

Thomas Plantagenet, Dvke of Bvckingham & Glocester, sone of king Edward the third, married Elioner, eldest daughter and heire of Hvmfry Bohvn, earle of Hertford, Essex & Northampton, high constable of England, whose gravndmother was a daughter of king Edward the first: the sayd Thomas and Elioner had issve a daughter, named Anne, sole heire. She was first married to ye erle of Stafford of whom discended the late dvkes of Bvckingham & the lord Stafford that now is: secondly, she was maryed unto Sr William Bovrchier earle of Ewe, by whom she had issue Henry, Wil'm, John, and Thomas. Thomas became a priest and was archbishop of Canterbvry (the seconde person in the realm in those dayes); of Henry discended the late earles of Essex & others: of William is discended the earle of Bathe that now is (heir male, and therefore beareth the name of Burchier still, a man of greate honour and reputation). The afore named Iohn married the daughter and heire of the lord Barners, and (was, in her right, lord Barners:) they had issve Sr Humphry Bovrchier, who married Elizabeth, daughter and sole heire of Sr Fredericke Tylney; and they had issve John Bovrchier. And the said Hvmfry died in the lyfe of his father, and therefore lived not to be lord Barners. (The saide Elizabeth was afterwards married to Sr Thomas Howard, dvke of Norfolk, that woonne the Scottish field wherein the king of Scotts was slaine; and they had issue Sr Thomas Howarde, dvke of Norfolk, that dyed of his fayre deathe in the tyme of queen Mary.) & the sayd John

Bovrchier, lord Barners, after the death of his grandfather married Katherine daughter of Sr Iohn Howard duke of Norfolk (father of the said Sr Thomas Howard that woon the Scottish fielde); and the said lord Barners and Katherine had issve a daughter named Jane, their sole heire; she was married to Edmvdn Knyvit sergeant porter of the hovse of king Henry the eighth; and they had issve divers sonnes and daughters, wherof one was married to Frävncis Bohvn esquire; and they had issve Nicholas Bohvn that married Avdrie (the daughter of Robert) Cooke (a lawyer) sister to Sr Edward Cooke attovrney generall to kinge James; and the said Nicholas died in the lyfe of his father, leavinge behinde him, begotten of the bodie of the saide Audrie, seaven children all infants. Novemb. 16, 1602.

The death of Nicholas was followed by a period of wardship during which the estate remained under the care of Edmund Knyvett esq. (Francis Bohun's will was made 13 March 1605 after the death of his son Nicholas and was proved in the court of the Bishop of Norwich. The testator devises his Westhall manors and estates with various rent charges, and a marsh in Worlingham...to his grandson Edmund Bohun, in fee tail, etc.)

EDMUND BOHUN, grandson of Francis, held his first court 11 June 1622, when he was thirty years of age. By his marriage with Dorothy, daughter of Stephen Baxter of Mendham, he acquired the manor and estate of Dale Hall, in Whitton with Thurleston near Ipswich. (Stephen Baxter of Mendham died 1634, married Cecilia, daughter of Thomas Blossse of Ipswich whose sister was mothe# of Tobias Frere, noted member of the Barebones parliament.)

The last mentioned Edmund died in November 1658. (His will, dated 20 Oct. 1658, was proved by his son Edmund in the court of the archdeacon of Suffolk. His widow, Dorothy Bohun, by her will dated 25 Dec. 1660, and proved in the archdeaconry court of Suffolk, gives to her daughter Dorothe Lane £50 "in goulde"; to her son Edmund her "cotch and all the furniture theaerntoo belonging"; and to the poor of Westhall, forty shillings.) He survived his son, BAXTER BOHUN. The latter married into the family of Lawrence of Brockdish, which at an earlier period, had quartered the arms of Bohun, through an alliance with a daughter of Aslack Lany.

Baxter Bohun (his name is attached to the following lines, "de morte", which appear as a motto at the beginning of the Westhall register:)

"Illa rapit juvenes prima florente juvena:

Non oblita rapit sed tamen illa senes.

Una tamen spes est quae me solatur in istis,

Haec fore morte mea non diuturna mala."

left an only son, a lad of fourteen, and who, in the same year, inherited, subject to his mother's claims, (this lady held her first court 11 June 1659, as guardian of Edmund Bohun esq., only son of Baxter Bohun; and in the following year Thomas Tilet, gentleman, appears as lord, in right of Margaret his wife, relict of Baxter Bohun;) the family mansion and estates.- To him the remainder of this sketch will be devoted.

EDMUND BOHUN, our autobiographer, was born on the 12th of March 1644-5, at Ringsfield, near Beccles. After his father's death, or his mother's second marriage, he was placed under the

care of his great uncle Humphry Bohun of Sotherton. By his own account his early religious and political training were in a direction the reverse of that to which he was afterwards decidedly inclined. Writing towards the close of the reign of Charles the second, he says, "I was bred a dissenter from the religion now established in the Church of England, a great admirer of parliaments; and taught betimes to fear monarchy and arbitrary government." (Adverting to the indulgence given to "diversity of religions" immediately after the restoration, he observes, "I was then a child, and did not make those observations that I have since; yet I remember this happened in a place where I then lived. There were two churches in that town: the Church of England party had one and the dissenters had the other, by agreement. But presently after, they, repenting, got the key of the other church, on a Sunday morning, and would not have permitted the Church party to have had any service at all; which might have ended ill enough, if some gentlemen of good prudence had no interposed, and by their authority taught these meek dissenters more modesty." -from his Address to the freemen, pt.i, p. 14.

The above passage, referring, it may be, to the "Church of England conventicle" which, according to the biographer of Dr. John North, was kept at Bury St. Edmund's by Dr. Boldero, - as well as the political bias which young Bohun received, and his acquaintance with the Norths and others, - raises a suspicion that he was placed at king Edward's school in that town, an institution distinguished, at the period in question, by the brilliant roll of its alumni and the "cavaliership" of the master. The absence of Edmund Bohun's name from the lists given in Dr. Donaldson's interesting "Retrospective Address" printed in 1850 (pp.37, 48) is accounted for by the fact that those lists do not extend to the period in which it is most likely our diarist may have formed one of the "scarlet troop".)

He was admitted a fellow commoner of Queen's College Cambridge on the 13th of July 1663, and remained there about three years. He took no degree; but there is an explanation of the fact which redeems his talent and industry from suspicion on that account: towards the end of 1666, "he was driven out of that university, by the plague that raged there, to his great hindrance in learning."

The young heir of Westhall married in 1669 Mary, daughter of William Brampton of Pulham St. Mary Magdalene, in Norfolk. (Blomefield, the Norfolk historian, states that Pulham market hall, "a good old house, enclosed with a high wall of brick embattled, was formerly the mansion house of the Percies, a younger branch of the Northumberland family." He surmises that one of the female members of that family was married to a Brampton; "for this estate was owned by William Brampton, a strenuous man on the king's side, in Kett's rebellion; by whom a great part of the present building was erected; and it continued in that family till a William Brampton sold it to Philip Rosier" whose son died there in 1743. Hist. Norf.v, 404.) In the following year Mr. Bohun went to reside on his estate.

Westhall Hall, situated a mile eastward from the parish Church, was a substantial mansion of red brick, placed upon one of those moderate but pleasant elevations which abound in Suffolk. Flanked by four octagonal towers, which served for entrances and stair-

cases, the building was adapted for internal convenience, rather than architectural effect. (Early in the 19th century one half of the quadrangle was demolished, and the remaining portion reduced to the comparatively ignoble state of a respectable farm house. But enough exists to show the original character of the building. The date of erection and initials of the founder are preserved outside. Over the south western entrance, now bricked up, and which, with the south eastern tower, is represented in the volume being copied, are the separate arms of his family in burnt clay, as well as shields on which are impaled the coats of Wingfield and Knyvett. There is an etching of the house by Mr. Henry Davy.) Yet the heaviness of its general appearance was somewhat relieved by Tudor archways; by numerous thickly mullioned windows; and by lofty stacks of crocketed chimneys, which rise up to vindicate the picturesque taste and bespeak the blazing hearths of the olden time.

Very pleasant is the position of the country gentleman who finds himself, in the summer of life, monarch of one of "the homes of England". He is attached, perchance, to the dwelling of his fathers, by associations such as are planted in the heart of childhood; looks abroad upon his well-tilled acres, sunny meadows, and rich woodland; delights in simple, rural pleasure; is indulged with personal health, surrounded by domestic comforts, tended by watchfulness and fidelity; is the protector and benefactor of the poor, the companion of the rich, the honourable, and the refined, the dispenser of justice to all. Assume, further, that his mind has been well cultivated and stored, that he can find never failing friends in books, that he is dignified by moral worth and graced with the humbling wisdom that "cometh from above", - it is a lot which princes might envy. And such, in nearly all these circumstances, was the lot of Edmund Bohun.

But, in this degenerate world, it is a scanty border which divides happiness from disquietude. Born to a competent though limited patrimony, Mr. Bohun found that, with imperfect management, it was unequal to his wants; and he had, through life, to struggle with pecuniary difficulties. Endowed with intellectual taste, possessing acquirements solid and extensive, and entitled by birth and position to associate with the leading families around him, he was frank, communicative, and sincerely anxious to be useful. But he gave offence by the tenacity with which he held his opinions, and by his freedom and copiousness in propounding them. Naturally earnest and energetic, he constantly became the victim of his own anger and indiscretion. Early admitted to a seat on the magisterial bench, and by no means regardless of its responsibilities, strictly attached to the protestant Church of England, and loyal in the extreme of loyalty, he was an object of jealousy and dislike to his more opulent, democratic, or moderate fellow justices, and of terror to the nonconformist, popish or protestant. Besides all this, though his intellect was such as to invite attention, his personal aspect was probably not commanding; he laboured under the infirmity of deafness with its consequent evils of misunderstanding and being misunderstood; and his spirit had a tinge of melancholy: it is not difficult to conceive that he would become increasingly devoted to his books and to his pen.

Mr. Bohun resided at Westhall fourteen years, observant of passing

events, but conversing "more with ancient than modern books". His diary shows the bent of his taste and the character of his pursuits. (Connected with his magisterial duties was the office of "treasurer of the maimed soldiers". In that capacity he had the distributing, among pensioners and "travellers", of a fund averaging something less than £45 a year, collected by the chief constables of Blything, and Mutford and Lothingland hundreds, and paid over to him at each quarter session.) Its testimony is confirmed by a clergyman named John Pitts, who says, "He was a most indefatigable student; had read over all the Greek, Latin and ecclesiastical historians, with all our English historians, ancient and modern; and many others of foreign nations, as French, Spanish, German, etc.; the whole body of our statutes; and was master of the French and Italian tongues." If this statement be not exaggerated, it must be acknowledged that Mr. Bohun did not venture on the field of authorship without equipment. (Mr. Pitts states that he "lived with" Mr. Bohun "at his seat in Westhall". The register of that parish records the burial of Susan, daughter of John Pitts clerk and Susan his wife, 17th March 1681. The same clergyman appears to have been several years vicar of Hilton near Blandford Forum, in Dorsetshire, where the baptisms of five of his children, from 1692 to 1702 are recorded. Blomefield, the Norfolk historian, mentions a stone in St. Peter's Mancroft Church, Norwich, to the memory of John Pitts who died 1728, aged 73m and of Susan his wife, who died 1689. Hist. Norf. i, 415.)

In the year 1684 the hope of some public employment and other circumstances induced him to remove to London, where, devoting himself to literature as a profession, he continued to reside during the short reign of James the second, and through the greatest and happiest revolution this country has ever known.

Mr. Bohun was the author, compiler, editor or translator of many books. Several of them, for obvious reasons, appeared without his name. But his ingenuousness, his too acrimonious style, and other peculiarities always betrayed him. The mask was painted with his own true effigy, and he could not refrain from speaking behind it in his natural tone.

The last remark applies chiefly to his tracts on constitutional and political topics. These were strongly tinged with party feeling. Dreading a renewal of the broils and miseries of the unsettled period in which he was born, he took refuge in the doctrines of the divine origin of kingly authority, indefeasible hereditary monarchy, and what Anthony Wood styles "the most primitive and Christian doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance." In all the exposure of arbitrary men and measures, which was emanating from the press year by year, he saw only "party per pale, a justification of the last, and an exhortation to another rebellion". He was the champion of Filmer and the bitter opponent of Sidney.

The preservation of the protestant Church of England he judged to be of paramount importance. Romanism he regarded as "destructive to the interest, honour, sovereignty, and wealth of the English nation". "As for pepery", he observes, "I have so great an aversion for it that I never willingly conversed with one of that religion; and if God permits me to choose my company, I never will." Scarcely less intense was his dislike to protestant dissent. Expostulating warmly with the "Roman catholics, as they will needs be called", who could "ruin this most excellent, apostolical, and primitive Church, or force her back to the state of corruption" and flattering himself-

who does not? - that he has alighted on the true middle path, he turns toward those who separate "upon direct contrary pretenses. Why, 'tis our antiquity, our decency", he exclaims, "our too great resemblance to the church of Rome that offends them. We are not sufficiently purged for these PURE men to joyn with. We have too little of the primitive church, cryes the one: too few ceremonies, too much simplicity, say the papists: too many of the first, too little of the latter, cry the dissenters. Thus was truth ever persecuted on both sides, Christ crucified betwixt two thieves, the primitive Church persecuted by the pagans on the one side and the Jews on the other. I venerate thy truth and moderation, O dear and holy mother, who dost so exactly resemble thy God and Saviour and the primitive Church, both in thy truth and piety, and in thy sufferings too, which are thy glory!" (Preface to the Life of Jewel, in Wordsworth's "Ecclesiastical Biography", iv, 14. There is a note made by Mr. Bohun in the Westhall parish register in 1675 to the effect that, on enquiry made by order of the Archbishop of Canterbury, there were found in that parish a hundred and forty three communicants, not one papist, and only three women who neglected the communion of the Church.)

Pamphlets bearing mainly upon passing events, and announcing, in no measured language, political opinion which in the next age became peculiarly unpopular, could not be expected to survive the period which gave rise to them. They passed into the same comparative forgetfulness which has entombed the works of a host of learned and talented writers holding similar views.

The literary engagements upon which Mr. Bohun afterwards entered as a source of emolument, were of a less exciting and more general character. His "Geographical Dictionary", the edition of Heylyn's "Cosmography" and the "Great historical dictionary", to which last he was an important contributor, although long ago superseded by more modern books of reference, were works of labour and research, and very useful in their day.

It was in the department of history that Mr. Bohun chiefly delighted, and in which he did that service to literature which preserves his name as a respectable though not a brilliant writer. We may not challenge for him a niche among classic authors; but he is justly entitled to rank with those who are described by Brunet as having, in a more humble grade, applied their talents to particular branches of history and learning with zeal, industry and success.

His best productions are his translation and continuation of Sleidan's "History of the reformation" and "the History of the Desertion" of the throne by James the second. Time and circumstances had toned down the fervour of his political feelings and, perhaps, modified in some measure his opinions too. To be the editor of Sleidan he was qualified by his extensive historical reading and sound learning, as well as by his impartiality and with commendable adherence to the "truly great simplicity" which he mentions as the "distinguishing characteristic" of that work. "The History of the Desertion" was published anonymously, but is justly with respect quoted, as a truthful record of events compiled then and there, by an intelligent witness of the revolution, free from suspicion of bias on the popular side.

Mr. Bohun became convinced that he was justified in transferring his allegiance. The sturdiest advocates of indefeasible hereditary monarchy admitted that a case had arise to which that doctrine did not apply. The most submissive slaves of "passive obedience" held that they were "not bound to remain forever without a government", or actively to seek the restoration of a prince who had sought to

enslave the nation and overthrow the protestant Church. Through the medium of the press, by correspondence with his friends, in private intercourse, and even by public disputation at the very threshold of Whitehall, Mr. Bohun engaged strenuously in defence of the Church of England against the assaults of popery. He held fast the theory of "non-resistance"; but thanked God that he, by his own "particular providence" had rejected a king who "had notoriously invaded and destroyed all our civil and religious rights and liberties".

Death had removed several of the most influential friends through whom our diarist might have obtained public preferment; and the revolution brought upon him a new order of troubles. His abandonment of the cause of James now cost him the friendship of Archbishop Sancroft, Dean Hicke, and others who adhered to the rigid and hopeless views of the nonjurors. To add to his vexation, his tenant at Dale Hall proved unfaithful and unsuccessful; and he was obliged in 1690 to retire "with a heavy heart" to the uncongenial business of the farm.

During the next two years, which he passed at Dale Hall, he engaged actively in magisterial duties. Then, also, he compiled, "The Character of Queen Elizabeth" and of her ministers of state, a book not altogether unworthy to accompany the quaint sketches of Sir Robert Naunton, and which, though never reprinted in this country, was translated into French.

William and Mary had not long occupied the throne when party feeling began to revive. In the parliament which met on the 30th March 1690 there was a large majority of tories. They chose Sir John Trevor as their speaker, and wished to see men of their own principles in the other offices of state. Not the least important of these was the post of licenser of the press. Mr. Bohun presented himself as a man qualified for it by his learning and industry, and at the same time well settled in high principles; and he thankfully accepted the offer.

His position as licenser was a painful and difficult one. His known opinions and published writing laid him open to a strong suspicion of Jacobitism on the one hand: his avowed allegiance to William and Mary exposed him, on the other, to a charge of gross inconsistency. Those who, through the previous reigns, had panted for freedom, looked with terrible misgiving upon the censorship of a violent tory: those who had been his most ardent political friends coldly withdrew from him now that he seemed to abandon the doctrine of indefeasible hereditary monarchy.

He held the office only five months. The political leaning which was his strongest recommendation to the tory leaders, made him the butt of their opponents. Ransacking his early publications, they found enough to render him odious; and an occasion soon offered for bringing down upon him a fatal storm.

Several writers, Bishop Burnet among the rest, had urged that one ground upon which the scruples of the nonjurors might be removed was, that William of Orange, while he had no hereditary claim to the throne of England and therefore could not succeed to it, even though it were vacated, yet had possessed himself of the monarchy by right of conquest. And it had been held, by the most loyal writers, that conquest was a foundation of right. Mr. Bohun, with the best intention, gave his imprimatur to a pamphlet which adopted this line of argument. The doctrine was peculiarly offensive to both parties. William had expressly abjured the design of conquering this country. All men felt that to have been conquered were a deep dishonour. Here was a fair pretext for obtaining Mr. Bohun's dismissal from his office.

His protestant zeal had occasioned his expulsion from the magistracy under James the Second; but after the revolution his name was restored to the commission; and he now once more took up his abode at Dale Hall and employed himself diligently as a justice of peace in Ipswich. The whig party, successful in their turn, made a sudden and combined attempt to throw out of the commission those who were known to entertain opposite opinions, however actively useful or however well affected to the existing government they might be. Mr. Bohun, with others, fell a victim to this conspiracy. There seemed nothing left to him but poverty and contempt, if he could not still have looked onward with trustful hope and upward with godly fear. It was with bitter and grateful self-application that, reflecting on the fate of the opulent and caressed but wretched dukes of Buckingham, he wrote,

"Thou, Oh Lord, chooseth thy servants more wisely, treatest them more prudently; keepest them low in this world, rewardest them better in the next; and takest care of their childrens' children after them, which princes cannot do."

The diary ends in the spring of 1697, and as diaries usually end, rather abruptly.

It does not appear through what medium Mr. Bohun obtained, in the following year, the office of Chief Justice of South Carolina. His eldest surviving son, Edmund, had settled, as a merchant, in that colony; a circumstance which, if it did not lead to the appointment, at all events rendered it the more acceptable, though the salary was a pittance of sixty pounds a year.

(There are in the Sloane MSS. in the British Museum, 3321, fo. 161, 4038, fo. 224, several letters from this Edmund Bohun to Mr. Petiver the botanist and to Mr. afterwards Sir Hans Sloane. These eminent naturalists had evidently enlisted him in their service; and the letters, while they furnish an example of the obliging diligence to which all great collectors have been indebted, show that a personal friendship existed between the parties. In one letter Edmund Bohun asks "some pickle cowcumber seed, and corn poppy seed, and nastertian or Capuchin caper, for Sir Nathaniel Johnson."

On the point of leaving the colony, to take possession of the estates which had devolved upon him by the death of his father, Mr. Bohun writes to Mr. Petiver as follows: "Carolina, April 28th 1701. My friend: I take this opportunity, by Capt. Flavell, to let you know I intend, if I live, to see you shortly. I shall come in the Mermaid brigantine, Capt. Martin commander; who will saile in ten days after Capt. Flavell. I shall bring my collection with me; which, for insects, I think I may say, without vanity, is the largest and most compleat that ever you saw from Carolina. Plants you had had more, if the hurricane had not destroyed them. Mr. Ellis is well and sends his service to you, and will take care, in my absence, to supply you with all that he can get. But you must send him some garden seeds every year, to supply his friends with, or else you cannot expect that the country people here will be very ready to give him any assistance. For without some help from them a man can doe but little. This, with my kind love and hearty service to all my friends, and to major Halsted, is all from, sir, your friend and servant, Edmund Bohun.")

The Diarist took a last farewell of his native country, about midsummer 1698, carrying with him his official appointment by the Lords Proprietors, their order to the receiver general for due payment of the salary, and letters of commendation to the governor and council of the province.

(A copy of Mr. Bohun's official appointment is in the state paper office, in an entry book, "Carolina, B.T. 3", p. 51, together with copies of the other letters mentioned.)

He did not find the new world exempt from the imperfections and troubles of the old. The colonists, consisting mainly of spirited or needy adventurers in trade and of refugees from the religious oppressions of England and France, appear to have been possessed, for many years, with a demon of turbulence and discontent. The "Fundamental Constitutions", drawn up by Locke and which, with one sad exception, were not unworthy of his name, had been surrendered to the general dislike or perverse prejudice of the people. John Archdale, a quaker, one of the proprietors, had indeed, by a personal visit to the colony, succeeded in restoring peace, and had transferred the office of Governor into the hands of Joseph Blake, nephew of the English Admiral, and a "man of prudence and moderation acceptable to the people." Nevertheless, dissension and resistance to the proprietary rule were ever ready to break out afresh. There were two political parties; those who strenuously maintained the authority of the proprietors, and those who sought to defend the liberties of the people. There were at least two parties also in ecclesiastical affairs; one which desired to perpetuate the ample religious freedom provided by the charter of Charles the Second; and another which aimed at establishing episcopacy and excluding other sects from a seat in the colonial assembly. The reader of Mr. Bohun's autobiography will feel no surprise that, amidst elements so discordant, he was not rendered very comfortable in his new station, did not enjoy the full sympathy of the governor, and was betrayed into giving some cause of displeasure to the lords proprietors.

While they were using every effort to conciliate the parties and settle personal disputes, other calamities overtook the colony. Piracy infested its shores; a dreadful hurricane threatened the total destruction of Charlestown; the sea rushing in with amazing impetuosity drove the inhabitants to the second stories of their houses for safety; a fire broke out which laid the greater part of the town in ashes, and, to complete the catalogue of ills, small pox and fever raged from house to house and swept off an incredible number of people. "Never", it is said, "had the colony been visited with such general distress and mortality: discouragement and despair sat on every countenance." Happily but few lives were lost by the hurricane or the flood. Among those to whom the epidemic proved fatal were Samuel Marshall the Episcopal clergyman, John Ely then Receiver General, Edward Rawlins Provost marshal, above half the members of assembly, and - the upright and freespoken, but persecuted and unfortunate Chief Justice Bohun. He died on the 5th of October 1699.

(The will of Edmund Bohun the diarist is written entirely with his own hand. He gives to his eldest son, Edmund Bohun, in fee simple, all his manors and real estates in Westhall, Brampton, Spexhall, Uggeshall, Sotherton, Henham, or towns adjoining, in Suffolk, charged with his specialty debts and with legacies to his sons, Nicholas and William, his daughter Dorothea, and his "good friend William Bell of Uggeshall". The testator appoints his wife, his son Edmund, and his "trusty and well-beloved friend William Bell of Uggeshall gent." executors; and further directs that in case he shall die before his youngest sons, Nicholas and William, shall be one and twenty years of age, then Nicholas shall be allowed out of the estates, £25 a year "for his cloathing and subsistence when on shoar", and William £50 a year "if he goes on with his

learning and continues in England". The will was proved by Edmund Bohun, one of the executors, alone, in the court of the Archdeacon of Suffolk, 19th August 1701.

There is an injunction with regard to his books which marks the "ruling passion" of the testator, but of a nature which, it has been observed, "has rarely been kept for more than two generations". The only remnants of the diarist's library that the editor has discovered are, the diary itself, the "historical collections" and the beautifully painted book of flowers, etc., "Jaques le moine, dit de Morgues peintre, 1585", which was bequeathed by the will of Humphry Bohun of Sotherton, was presented by Edmund Bohun, son of the diarist, to Joseph Offley esq., and is now in the possession of Mrs. Martin of Worsborough, widow of his descendant William Bennet Martin esq. This curious volume opens with a sonnet inviting the lords of creation to unite their praises with all nature and rejoice in the returning light,

"Qui bigarre le sein a la terre de fleurs:

Et n'a a fruict, ni grain, vermisseau, ni mouchette
 Qui ne presche un seul Dieo; et la moindre fleurette
 Nous demonstre un prin-temps d'immortelles couleurs.")

Of Edmund Bohun, our autobiographer, it may be remarked, - borrowing the words of a more able editor, respecting another author of Suffolk birth, - "he held extreme opinions on many points of politics: the divine right of kings and the indefeasibility of hereditary succession are a key to the whole of them;" and if we may not add that he maintained them consistently and unalterably, he did what was better, he conscientiously abandoned their practical application. "His theological opinions were in strict conformity with the articles and formularies of the Church of England; and his practice was that of a man strongly impressed with a sense of the importance of religious observances." As in the case of the earlier aspirant in the path of historical research, so with slight variation, in that of our diarist, "disappointment followed him through life; his patrons successively failed him; he aimed at public employment" almost "without success; and his books brought him little fame." His first born and best loved son was cut off in the bloom of life; his only daughter married against his will; and, notwithstanding his love to his "deare countrie" and a natural desire to be buried with his fathers, he found an unknown grave beyond the vast Atlantic, and his only epitath is a brief note inserted by the hand of filial piety in the parish register at Westhall.

To him the "short life of Nature" was chequered with gloomy colours; to the "long life of fame" his productions or his deeds cannot earn him a very cordially awarded title; but to the "eternall life of glorie" he appears, amidst frailties and infirmities, uniformly to have had respect.

LIST OF EDMUND BOHUN'S PUBLICATIONS.

1. An address to the freemen and freeholders of the nation. 1682. Part ll, s.y. Part iii, 1683.
2. Reflections on 'A just and modest vindication of the proceedings of the two last parliaments;' or a defence of his majesty's late declaration. 1683.
3. The justice of peace his calling. 1684. 1693.
4. The origine of atheism in the popish and protestant churches: a translation of 'Origo atheismi in pontificia et evangelica ecclesia a Dorotheo Dicuro ostensa.' 1684.
5. A defence of Sir Robert Filmer against Algernon Sidney's paper delivered to the sheriffs upon the scaffold. 1684.
6. Filmer's 'Patriarcha'; the second edition, corrected, with a preface and postscript. 1685
7. An apology of the church of England and an epistle to one seignor Scipio: a translation of Jewel's Apology, etc.; with a life of Jewel. 1685.
8. The method and order of reading histories: a translation and enlargement of Degory Wheare 'De ratione et methodo legendi historias', etc. 1685, 1694, 1698, 1710.
9. An apology for the Church of England, against the clamours of the men of no conscience, or the duke of Buckingham's seconds. 1685.
10. The universal historical bibliothèque: a translation of Le Clerc; for January, February, and March 1686-7. 1687
11. A geographical dictionary. 1688
12. (An answer to a pamphlet in favour of recalling James II.) 1689
13. The general history of the reformation; a translation of Sleidan, with a continuation to the end of the council of Trent. 1689.
14. The history of the desertion; with an answer to 'The desertion discussed'. 1689.
15. The doctrine of non-resistance or passive obedience no way concerned in the controversies between Williamites and Jacobites. 1689.
16. The present state of Germany: a translation of Puffendorf 'De statu Germanici imperii.' 1690.
17. Three charges delivered at the general quarter sessions at Ipswich in 1691 and 1692. 1693.
18. The character of queen Elizabeth and of her principal ministers of state. 1693.
19. (Historical and geographical collections, inserted in) The great historical, geographical and poetical dictionary. 1694.
20. (A paper on the coinage). 1696
21. Heylyn's Cosmography, with an historical continuation. 1703.

"It was in the reign of Henry the First when the Manor of Epworth and Westwood was given to Nigel d'Albini. This celebrated warrior was bow-bearer to William Rufus, and being girded with the sword of knight-hood by the sovereign then reigning, had the Manor of Egmonton, with diverse parks in the forest of Sherwood. He was enfeoffed with the vavasories of Camville and Wyville, which so attached him to the Crown, that in the battle of Tinchebray, the last of those unhappy conflicts which took place between Henry and his brother Robert, he exerted himself with the greatest valour, and took the King's brother, and Robert Baron of Grundeboef, or Fronteboef prisoners: and for distinguishing himself in Normandy, Henry bestowed upon him the lands of Robert de Mowbray abroad, with the castle of Baieux and the extensive possessions of Geoffrey de Wirce, which were twelve lordships in the County of Warwick, twenty-seven in the County of Leicester, and twenty-four in Lincolnshire, of which the Manor of Epworth and Westwood was one. Nigel d'Albini was twice married, first to Maude, during the captivity of her husband Robert de Mowbray, by the permission of Pope Pascal; but she was afterwards divorced on account of their consanguinity: secondly to Gundreda, daughter of Girald de Gournay. This union took place at the express desire of Henry the First. By the former marriage he had no family; but by the second he had two sons, Roger and Henry. Roger being the eldest, and consequently heir to the property of his father, assumed, by the royal mandate, the name of Mowbray. This change of name is thus noticed by Hardyng, in his Chronicle:

"The same Nygell that hyghte Albanye
A sonne had then, whom the King Henry
Roger Mowbray did call, ever after ay.
Thus Albany was changed morally,
Unto Mowbray for lyvelod only,
Whiche Mowbray had afore of heritage.

These Mowbrays nowe rose first of hye courage."

"And thus it was that Nigel d'Albini, having obtained the possessions of Geoffrey de Wirce, and his Son Roger changing his name, the Lords of this Manor were called Mowbray. They had a mansion situated at the Vine Garths, near the Church, at which some of the family occasionally resided. Roger Mowbray died here, in 1266. John, who gave the celebrated deed, had a son born here in 1326, and a grandson in 1365; and it was the summer residence of Katherine Duchess of Norfolk in 1340. In the survey of the Manor taken in 1749, it is described "as a capital Messuage or Manor-House, consisting of a hall, a parlour, a kitchen, with three lofts over them:" and that "the close of arable land called the Vineyards, lay on the north and east side thereof." This description would convey to us but a poor idea of a hall or principal mansion of a lord; but so late as the reign of Henry the Eighth, the apartments in the manor houses were but low and small, having only one or two rooms which modern ideas would think eligible, and these were the hall or the chapel. About eighty years since some part of the buildings were to be seen, but now they are entirely gone. Several relics of antiquity have been found near the site: two rings of gold with inscriptions, and one of silver, weighing near one ounce, and set with a red cornelian.

"The origin of the illustrious family of Mowbray in England, was this. When William, duke of Normandy, invaded the kingdom, he was accompanied by Goisfrid, bishop of Constance, who so highly signalized himself in the memorable battle of Hastings, that the Conqueror rewarded him with two hundred and eighty lordships; and for his further exertions against the Danes and English, he gave him other marks of his royal favour, in numerous grants of property. Robert de Mowbray, nephew of the bishop of Constance, succeeded to the property and possessions of his uncle. He was

the son of Roger de Mowbray, who, on the death of Walcher, bishop of Durham, A.D.1080, was created earl of Northumberland. This person, on account of his rebellion against William Rufus, forfeited these immense possessions, and was confined a prisoner in Windsor Castle, where he languished thirty years, and his property was conferred on Nigel d'Albini, of whom I have already spoken.

"A short biographical account of the descendants of this family, who for such a considerable length of time were Lords of this Manor, and frequently resident therein, may properly be introduced in this part of the History and Topography of the Isle of Axholme.

"ROGER DE MOWBRAY, being under age when the death of his father, Nigel took place, was a ward of King Stephen; the third year of whose reign, though in his minority, he was one of the Barons who met at York to consult with Archbishop Thurston, for the defence of the north, then invaded by David, King of Scotland, Roger took the chief command in the battle which was fought near North-Allerton, and in which the English obtained a complete victory over the Scottish forces. In the seventh year of Stephen, A.D.1142, Roger, adhering to the King against the Empress Maud, was taken prisoner at the battle of Lincoln, but soon afterwards regained his liberty. In the thirteenth of Stephen, A.D.1148, Roger attended Lewis, King of France, to the Holy Land. In the twelfth of Henry the Second, Roger was certified to hold eighty-eight knights' fees, a third and fourth part "de veteri feoffamento", and eleven knights' fees, and three parts "de novo"; for which, upon levying the aid for marrying the King's daughter, he paid sixty-eight pounds, sixteen shillings and fourpence. In the twentieth of Henry the Second, Roger, to support the cause of Prince Henry, who wished to reign either over England, or Normandy, Anjou, and Maine, repaired his castle at Kinardfere, in the Isle of Axholme, which had been long ruinous, and fortified all his other strong places; but Geoffrey, bishop elect of Lincoln, and the King's natural son, having collected the forces of Lincolnshire, laid siege to Kinardfare castle and destroyed it. This took place in the year 1173. Roger perceiving the badness of his cause and repenting of the baseness of his conduct for encouraging the Prince against his father, hastened to the King, who was then at Northampton, confessed his fault, and implored in the most submissive manner the royal pardon, surrendering his castles of Thirsk and Kirkby Malesard. The royal clemency was extended towards him; but lest his contrition should not be sincere, the King ordered his castles to be immediately destroyed, and thus put it out of his power either to offer them as places of strength to others, or of defence and refuge for himself, should rebellion again break out in the kingdom. After this he continued firm in his allegiance and attachment to the throne.

The charities and bequests of Roger de Mowbray were as numerous as his possessions were extensive. At the instance of his mother, Gundreda, he founded the Abbey of Byland for Cistercian monks, in the year 1145, and also the Abbey of Newburgh for Canons Regular of St. Augustine, to which he appropriated the Churches of Haxey, Owston, Epworth and Belton, with all the lands and tythes belonging to them, situated in the Isle of Axholme. Roger de Mowbray founded a Preceptory at Balshal, in the County of Warwick, for Knights Templars, and endowed it with certain lands in the Isle of Axholme, and with the Manor of Kettleby, in Lincolnshire. This raised him so high in the estimation of that order, that they unanimously granted to him and his heirs the power of releasing any of the Templars' fraternity, under the sentence of public penance, for any offence whatever, on expressing their contrition.

In the early part of the reign of Henry the Second, Roger bestowed Sandtoft upon the Abbey of St. Mary's, at York; to the Hospital of St. Leonards, the ninth sheaf of all his corn throughout his lordships in

England; and, amongst other Hospitals which were founded and endowed by Roger, that of Burton Lazars claimed particular notice, being the chief of all the spittles and lazar houses in England, but dependent on the great one at Jerusalem. It was founded for eight sound, as well as several poor leprous brethren, and was dedicated to the blessed Virgin Mary and St. Lazarus. Several other endowments were made by this munificent and pious nobleman to charitable institutions and religious establishments.

During his stay in the Holy Land, Saladin taking advantage of the differences between Guy de Lusignan and the Earl of Tripolis, entered the Holy Land with an army of Turks, and utterly defeated the Christians. Roger de Mowbray was taken prisoner, and shortly after, having been ransomed by the Templars, he died abroad, and buried at Sures, leaving issue by his wife, Alice de Gant, two sons, Nigel and Robert.

NIGEL, like his father, had a great predilection for the holy wars; and being signed with the cross for an expedition into those parts, died before his arrival there, in the third year of the reign of Richard the First, 1191. Whether his journey was for the purpose of rescuing Palestine from the hands of the infidels, or whether he was one of those who went by the authority of the Pope, to dethrone the Christian Emperor of Constantinople, cannot now be ascertained. Whatever was the object of his journey, he did not live to reach the end of it. He left four sons, William, Robert, Philip and Roger, by Mabel, his wife, daughter of the Earl of Clare. Though his charities were not so extensive as those of his father, he performed many deeds which showed that he possessed great feeling and liberality.

WILLIAM, eldest son and heir, was his father's successor; and in the sixth of Richard the First, 1194, paying 100 pounds for his relief, had livery of his lands. In the time of King John, he was the most resolute of the barons who took up arms to compel the weak prince to sign Magna Charta, June 9th, 1215. After the death of King John, he espoused the cause of Prince Lewis of France against Henry the Third, and was among those taken prisoners at the decisive battle fought in the streets of Lincoln; but, through the interposition of Robert de Burgh, his submission was received. He retired to his possessions in the Isle of Axholme, where he died in 1222; and his body was taken for interment to the Abbey of Newburgh. His wife was Agnes, daughter of the Earl of Arundel, by whom he had two sons, Nigel and Roger. Nigel de Mowbray, in the eighth of Henry the Third, paying 500 pounds for his relief, had livery of his lands; but he died soon after, in 1228, leaving no issue; and was buried at Nantes in Brittany. His wife was Maud, daughter and heir of Roger de Camvil.

ROGER DE MOWBRAY, his brother, succeeded to his property; and was one of the barons Henry appointed to command the army which he sent into Scotland, to assist the King of that country against the rebels: and when Henry went to Chester, to subdue the Welch, Roger attended him. Roger married Maud, daughter to William de Beauchamp, of Belford, by whom he had issue Roger, Robert, Andrew, John, Edmund and William; and also three daughters, whose names are not mentioned. Being fond of domestic ease, he retired to his domains in the Isle of Axholme, where, in the 51st Henry III A.D. 1266, he breathed his last, and was buried at Pontefract.

ROGER, his eldest son, in the sixth year of Edward the First, on doing his homage, had livery of his whole inheritance, and had summons to the Parliaments of the twenty-second, twenty-third, twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth of Edward the First. He was one of the King's attendants when he went into Flanders; but dying at Ghent, his body was brought over for interment to England, where it was buried in the Abbey of Fountains, A.D. 1299. Roger was married to Rose, sister to Gilbert, Earl of Clare, by whom he had several sons. (Hornby, in his Remarks on Dugdale's Errors, says, she was not a daughter but great-granddaughter to Richard de Clare, Earl of Hertford.)

JOHN, the eldest, being a minor on the death of his father, was given

in ward to William de Breos, whose daughter Aliva he married. John was one of the three hundred nobles who received knighthood when Edward Prince of Wales had that honour conferred upon him. In the thirty-fourth year of Edward the First, 1305, this John, although not of full age, had livery of his lands, and attended the King on his expedition into Scotland. Edward the Second, on succeeding his father, appointed John to the shrievalty of Yorkshire, and to the government of the city of York. He was afterwards made governor of Malton and Scarborough castles. These distinguished honours, and certain marks of royal favour, did not, however, secure the loyalty of Mowbray. He joined Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, and other great nobles, in an insurrection against the Spencers, and shared the ill fortune of his confederates, being taken prisoner with the said Earl and many others, at Boroughbridge, and was afterwards hanged at York. All his landed property was confiscated to the Crown, of which Epworth in the Isle of Axholme was a part. Edward also imprisoned Aliva and her son John in the Tower. (Aliva married for her second husband Sir Richard Peshall, knt, and died fifth Edw. III, but before her death she obtained from the King a confirmation of Gowherland to herself and her son John, who in his Charter, styles himself "Dominus Insula de Haxeholme, et de Honoribus de Gowher et de Brember".)

The numerous acts of compassion exercised by Edward III on his accession to the throne, shewed that he possessed in no ordinary degree that brave and generous disposition so well calculated to ensure a prosperous and happy reign. He liberated the wife and son of Mowbray; and acknowledging the sense he entertained of the eminent services which the forefathers of John de Mowbray had rendered his royal progenitors, accepted his homage, and gave him livery of all the lands which his father had forfeited by rebellion to the Crown; and, upon the death of his mother, John gave three hundred pounds fine for all the lands which she had inherited. In the fourteenth of Edward III, 1340, John was made governor of Berwick-upon-Tweed. He was in that memorable battle near Durham, against David, King of Scotland, who was taken prisoner. John attended the King in his campaigns abroad; and, from his constancy and attachment to him during a long and active life, proved himself worthy of the royal favour which had been extended towards him. He fell a victim of the pestilence which prevailed at York, in the thirty-fifth of Edward III. His body was taken to Bedford, and buried in the Grey Friars of that city. He had one son, John, born at Epworth, A.D. 1326, by Joan, his wife, who was the daughter of Henry, Earl of Lancaster. This John granted the famous deed, of which mention is made in other parts of this History, to his tenants and residents in the Isle of Axholme, in which he gave them free use of all the waste lands adjoining to the several parishes for their common.

JOHN DE MOWBRAY, like his father before him, stood high in the favour of the King, whom he attended to the wars in France. In the memorable battle of Crecy, Mowbray is mentioned, with Mortimer and others, as attendants of Edward, who conducted in person the last line of the English forces; and when peace was concluded between the sovereigns of France and England, John de Mowbray was one of the English lords who made oath for the just observance of its articles. In the forty-second of Edward III, he went to the Holy Land; and was killed by the Turks near Constantinople, A.D. 1368. He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Lord Segrave, by whom he had two sons, John and Thomas, the former of which was born at Epworth, A.D. 1365. John succeeded his father, and on the coronation of Richard II, 1377, was created Earl of Nottingham, with this special clause in the charter of his creation, that all the lands and tenements of which he was then possessed or should become possessed, should be held "sub honore comitatu, and as parcel of his earldom". These, however, he enjoyed but a short time; for dying in the sixth year of Richard II, 1382, at London, he was buried in the Church of the Friars Carmelites, near

Fleet Street.

THOMAS DE MOWBRAY, on the death of his brother, John, was created Earl of Nottingham, and three years afterwards was constituted Earl Marshal of England for life, being, according to Sandford, the first Earl Marshal; for before his time they were only Marshals, though Dugdale calls Thomas of Brotherton, Earl Marshal. He joined the Duke of Gloucester and the Earls of Arundel and Warwick in accusing the King's ministers of high treason, who, together with Burleigh, Beauchamp, Berners, and Salisbury, were sent into banishment or perished by the hand of the executioner. He afterwards not only lent his aid to accomplish the destruction of his father-in-law, the Earl of Arundel, but was one of those who guarded him to his execution, and is affirmed to have been the person who bound up his eyes, and even cut off his head. He is also stated to have had a principal hand in the execrable murder of the King's uncle, Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester. The precise manner of the death of this unfortunate nobleman has ever been wrapped in the veil of mystery, and is differently related by different authors. Mowbray was Governor of Calais when the Duke was imprisoned there.

Thomas de Mowbray was one of the ambassadors sent into France to demand the Princess Isabella, eldest daughter of Charles the Sixth, and who settled all the articles of marriage between her and Richard. He obtained the King's license for founding a monastery at Melwood, in the Isle of Axholme, which was "commended to the patronage of St. Mary, St. John the Evangelist, and St. Edward the King and Confessor." He obtained also the royal charter of confirmation to the office of Earl Marshal of England to the heirs male of his body, with an union of the office of Marshal in the Courts of King's Bench and Exchequer, of Marshal's Crier before the Steward, and Marshal of the King's Household; and that he and his heirs male, by virtue of their office, as Earl Marshal should bear a golden truncheon, enamelled with black at each end, having the royal arms engraved at the upper end, and at the lower the arms of Mowbray.

In the year 1397 Thomas Mowbray was created Duke of Norfolk; and to support the dignity of his Dukedom, the Manors of Worth and of Kingston-juxta-Lewes, with the reversion of several other Manors, and their advowsons, were conferred upon him. (Thomas Mowbray had for his page Sir John Falstaff, according to Shakespeare, "Then was Jack Falstaff, now Sir John, a boy, and page to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk"; but in a poem of Weever's, entitled, "The Mirror of Martyrs", it seems to have been Sir John Oldcastle. Oldcastle relating the events of his life, says,

"Within the spring time of my flowing youth,
He (his father, slept into the winter of his age,)
Made meanes, (Mercurius thus begins the truth,)
That I was made Sir Thomas Mowbray's page."

But the period now arrived when the tide of Mowbray's prosperity turned: the Duke of Hereford presented a schedule to the King, which he said contained an account of certain slanderous words which the Duke of Norfolk had spoken to him of his Majesty. The King had several deliberations with parliamentary commissioners on the dispute between these noblemen; and at length it was resolved that the controversy should be determined by the laws of chivalry, in a single combat between the contending parties, before the King, at Gosford Green, near Coventry. The following account of this transaction, from Hollinshed, may not be unacceptable to the reader.

"In the reign of Richard the Second, Henry, Duke of Hereford, and Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, accused each other of treason, and challenged each other to combat; and having obtained license of the King, all things necessary were immediately prepared; and on the day appointed the

Duke of Aumarle, High Constable of England, and the Duke of Surrey, Marshal, first entered the lists with a great company of men, every one of which bore a tipped staff, to keep the field in order. Then came the Duke of Hereford, the appellant, completely armed, in rich attire, and mounted on a stately white courser; the Constable and Marshal came to the barrier of the lists, and demanded who he was: he answered, "I am Henry of Lancaster, Duke of Hereford, whiche ame come hither to do my devoir against Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, as a traitor, untrue to God, the King, his realme, and me." Then incontinently he swore upon the Holy Evangelists that his quarrel was just and true; and thereupon he required to enter the lists. He also further sware, that, "he dealt with no witchcraft, nor arte magiche, whereby he might obtain the victory of his adversarie; nor had about him any herb, or other kind of experiment, with which magitians used to triumph over their enemies." This ceremony being performed, he put up his sword, which before he held naked in his hand, and putting down his visor, making a cross upon his horse, and with his spear in his hand he entered the lists, and descending from his horse, sat down in a chair of green velvet at one end of the lists, and reposed himself. Soon after the King entered the field in great triumph, attended by all the Peers of the realm, and above ten thousand men in armour, lest any quarrel might arise between the nobles of either party. A king at arms then made open proclamation, prohibiting all men in the name of the King, of the High Constable, and of the Marshal, to approach or touch any part of the lists on pain of death, -except such as were appointed to order and marshal the field. This proclamation ended, and the herald cried, "behold here, Henry of Lancaster, Duke of Hereford, which is entered into the lists royal to do his devoir against Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, defendant, upon pain to be found false and recreant." Then came the Duke of Norfolk, defendant, to the barrier, completely armed, and likewise richly attired, mounted on a good horse: he also answering who he was, and taking oath as the Duke of Hereford had also done before him, entered the lists; then alighting from his horse, which was covered with crimson velvet, embroidered with lions of silver and mulberry trees, he sat himself down on his chair, which was crimson velvet, trimmed with white and red damaske.

"The Lord Marshal viewed their spears, to see that they were of equal length, and delivered the one spear himself to the Duke of Hereford, and sent the other to the Duke of Norfolk by a Knight. Then the herald proclaimed that the traversers and chains of the champions should be removed, and commanded them in the name of the King to mount their horses, and address themselves to the combat. The Duke of Hereford was soon mounted, and closed his visor, and cast his spear into the rest; and when the trumpets sounded, set forward courageously to meet his enemy; but ere the Duke of Norfolk had well set forward, the King cast down his warder, and the heralds cried, Ho! Ho! And so the combat was prevented by the King's taking the matter into his own consideration and judgment as he should think it."

After this the King with the advice of the parliamentary commissioners, pronounced the following sentence, "that the Duke of Hereford should be banished for the term of ten years, and that the Duke of Norfolk should leave the realm for life."

Norfolk, for thee remains a heavier doom,
Which I with some unwillingness pronounce,
The fly-slow hours shall not determinate
The dateless limit of thy dear exile:-
The hopeless word of - never to return -
Breathe I against thee upon pain of life.

Shakespeare, Richard the Second.

Upon this Norfolk was committed prisoner to the castle of Windsor, and

soon after banished the kingdom; and going to Venice, he there died of the plague, A.D. 1399. In the reign of Henry the Sixth, at the particular request of his son Thomas, his body was brought to England; and buried in a tomb of alabaster, in the Charter House of the Monastery, near Melwood, in the Isle of Axholme, which he had founded.

Godwin in his life of Chaucer, justly observes, "that there is a great obscurity in the whole of this story. It is almost impossible to guess at the motives of the contending parties, or to form any tolerable solution respecting the strange proceedings by which Richard thought proper to terminate the affair;" and he thinks it "altogether improbably that any such private conversation, as we find one party ready to lay to the charge of the other, ever took place."

The Duke of Norfolk married Elizabeth, daughter of John le Strange, by whom he had no issue; but by Elizabeth his second wife, sister and co-heir to Thomas Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel, he had two sons, Thomas and John, and also two daughters, Isabel and Margaret; the one married Sir Thomas Berkley, Knight, and the other Sir Robert Howard, Knight."

BADDESLEY CLINTON

Its Manor, Church and Hall, With some Account of the Family of Ferrers from the Norman Conquest to the Present Day.
by the Rev. Henry Norris (of Tamworth)
London and Leamington Art and Book Company, 1897.

Pedigree of the Ferrers of Baddesley Clinton (pp. 101-106)

WALCHELINE de Ferrers, a Norman, lord of a town or district in Gastenois renowned for its iron mines, between whom and Hugh, lord Montfort, a great strife arose and an affray in which they both perished on the same day. (Roman de Rou). His son:

HENRY DE FERRERS came into England with the Conqueror, and, as an ancient inscription in Tamworth castle states "tooke his first denomination from the said towne called Ferries lying in the Dukedome of Normandie". He had 210 lordships granted him, which were scattered throughout 14 counties. His chief seat was at Tutbury, co. Stafford, which he obtained and rebuilt some time after 1071 on its resignation by Hugh d'Avranches, earl of Chester, who had previously held it. In 1080 he founded at Tutbury a religious house for Cluniac monks. He was one of the four commissioners appointed in 1085 by the king for the general survey of Worcestershire. He died according to some accounts in 1089 and was buried at Tutbury in the religious house he had founded there. By his wife BERTHA, whose lineage is unknown, he had three sons and three daughters:

1. Engenulph, to whom his father gave the castle at Duffield, co. Derby.
2. William, who is said to have accompanied Robert, duke of Normandy, to the Holy Land.
3. Robert, his successor.
4. Amicia, wife to Nigel d'Albini
5. Emmeline
6. Gundreda, wife to Sir Robert le Blount, first feudal baron of Ixworth, co. Suffolk.

ROBERT DE FERRERS succeeded his father, but there is little on record concerning him. He married Hawisia de Vitry, whose parentage cannot for the present be determined. Andre de Vitry, a companion of the Conqueror, married Agnes, daughter of Robert, count of Mortain, and grand-daughters of Herleve, mother of the Conqueror, and there is some ground for presuming that Hawisia was the issue of this marriage. In 1125 the earl of Ferrers, Hawise his wife, and his two sons, Robert and William attested a charter by which William, the prior of Tutbury, granted the manor of Norbury to William Fitzherbert. Robert de Ferrers was created earl of Derby by King Stephen in 1138 after the battle of the Standard, and died in the following year, leaving issue:

1. Robert, his heir.
2. William, said to have been a Templar, but Glover states that he was the eldest son, and denominated earl of Tutbury, and was slain in his father's lifetime.
3. a daughter, married to Ralph Paganell, lord of Dudley.
4. a daughter, married to Walcheline Maminot.

ROBERT DE FERRERS succeeded his father as earl of Derby in 1139. In 1141 he described himself as "Robertus junior, comes de Nottingham". He founded the abbey of Derley in the reign of Stephen, and also the priory of Bredon, co. Leicester, in 1141. In 1148 he founded the abbey of Miravalle (Merevale), co. Warwick, for Cistercian monks, and gave them extensive lands in the neighbourhood. His charter of foundation was signed at Tamworth by king Henry II on March 12, probably in 1158. He died in 1162 and was buried at Merevale lying "wrapt in an oxhide" according to

his desire. By his wife Sibilla, daughter of William de Braose of "Brember, Knappe and Gower", he had issue:

1. William, his successor.
2. Walcheline, baron of Oakham by tenure 1161, ob. 1201.
3. Isolda, b. circa 1146 and married about 1170 to Stephen de Beauchamp, earl of Essex, who died 20 November 1184 (seised inter alia of Chartley) leaving a son and four daughters, ultimately his co-heirs.
4. Matilda, married to Bertram de Verdon, sheriff of the counties of Stafford and Warwick.

WILLIAM DE FERRERS. (For a period he was styled Robert.) In 1165 he was certified and holding 79 knights' fees. He was a supporter of prince Henry in the rebellion of 1172, and in the following year prince Res of Wales as an ally of the king besieged his castle at Tutbury whilst he retaliated by sacking and burning the castle at Nottingham. In 1189 he was deprived of his earldom of Derby by king Richard I., an outrage which was keenly felt by him, but not resented by any withdrawal of his allegiance. The earldom was granted to prince John, the king's brother, and William de Ferrers set out in the autumn of that year for the Holy Land. He is recorded to have made a votive offering at the shrine of St. Denys in Paris late in 1189, so that in all probability he left England with king Richard on December 11. Acre fell before the Christian arms on 12 July 1191 and William de Ferrers there lost his life. An ancient effigy in Merevale church (the earliest sepulchral effigy in armour to be found in the county of Warwick) possibly represents him, although he may not have found a resting-place there. In his early days he honourably interred the remains of his ancestor Henry de Ferrers in a new tomb on the right hand side of the high altar at Tutbury, and on the same day made a special grant to the monastic house - "Hanc donationem feci, illo die quo corpus Henrici de Ferrariis feci deferri et deponi in dextra parte majoris altaris ejusdem ecclesiae". He is said to had a wife Sibilla, but by his wife MARGARET, daughter and heiress of WILLIAM PEVEREL, earl of Nottingham, he had issue:

1. William, his successor.
2. Robert
3. Henry
4. Isabella
5. Petronilla, married to Hervey de Stafford.(Bagot

WILLIAM DE FERRERS was born about 1172. In 1191/2 he paid £49 out of the £100 due for his fine on succession. He is said to have been admitted into the earldom of Derby by king John himself girding him with the sword by his own hand in 1199, this being the first instance of the kind in England. This was possibly by way of reparation for the deprivation of his father. And he appears to have continued in close intimacy with king John, since on 15 May 1213, he was one of the witnesses to the king's surrender of his kingdom to Pope Innocent III; and on 27 June following had a grant from the king of a house in London to be held by the singular service of serving before the king at feasts without cap, but wearing a garland of a finger's breadth. On 15 January 1215/6, he was a witness to a further charter whereby John granted that the election of prelates should be free throughout England; and in 1216 was a witness to the last will of king John and constituted one of its managers and disposers. In this the last year of the king's reign he received from him the custody of the Castle of the Peak, which office he continued to hold under Henry III; and on 12 November of the same year he was a witness to the charter of king Henry whereby he renewed the Magna Charta of his predecessor. Towards the close of the year he went to the Holy Land in company with his brother-in-law, Ranulph, earl of Chester, but was in England again in 1224 when on 11 February 1224/5 he was one of the witnesses to the third great

charter of king Henry. In 1236 he witnessed the charter of foundation granted by the king by which the Dominicans established their first house in this country, viz. at Canterbury. In 1192 he married Agnes, daughter of HUGH KEVELIOK, earl of Chester, and sister and ultimately coheir of Randolph de Blondeville, who died 1232. By this marriage Chartley and all the lands lying between the rivers Ribble and Mersey came into the possession of the Ferrers. He died 20 September 1247, and the Lady Agnes died in the same year as her husband after a union of fifty-five years, leaving issue:

1. William
2. Thomas, to whom his mother gave Chartley Castle before her death.
3. Hugo, who confirmed his father's and grandfather's grants to Derley.
4. Robert

WILLIAM DE FERRERS is said to have been "a discreet man, and well acquainted with our laws and constitution". He had livery of Chartley castle 32 Hen.III (1247/8). By his first wife SIBILLA, daughter of WILLIAM MARSHALL, earl of Pembroke, and sister and coheir of Anselm Marshall, earl of Pembroke, he had seven daughters:

1. Agnes, m. William de Vesci. Their son William de Vesci conveyed the honour of Kildare to king Edward I.
2. Isabella, m. (1) Gilbert Basset; (2) Reg. de Bohun.
3. Matilda, m. (1)William de Kime; (2)William de Vinonia; (3)Emeric de Rupe Canardi.
4. Sibella, m. Francis de Bohun of Midhurst.
5. Joanna, m. (1)Roger Aguilon; (2)John de Mohun.
6. Agatha, m. Hugh de Mortimer of Chelmarsh.
7. Alianore, m. (1)William de Vallibus; (2)Roger de Quinci, earl of Wichester; (3)Roger de Leyburn.

Earl William married for his second wife Margaret, eldest daughter and coheir of Roger de Quinci, earl of Winchester, by whom he had two sons and a daughter:

1. Robert, his successor.
2. William, his second son, who succeeded to the barony of Groby, co. Leicester, which he held by tenure of its lands in right of his mother, and from him the Ferrers of Baddesley Clinton directly descend.
3. Joan, m. Lord Berkeley in 1267. She died 19 March 1309/10, and was buried at St. Augustine's in Bristol.

The earl came to an untimely end. He had been from his youth severely afflicted by the gout, and falling out of his chariot whilst being driven on the bridge at St. Neot's he met with injuries which resulted in his death 5 April 1254. He too found a resting-place in the abbey of Merevale. His relict survived him for many years, since she was living in 1272.

Ferrers (4.)

The Manor of Baddesley Clinton, together with the Manor of Hanton, was given by the Conqueror to Geoffrey de Wirce; whether he died childless or was dispossed is not clear but his lands reverted to the crown and were bestowed upon Nigel d'Albini, and then passed to Roger his son, surnamed de Mowbray.

Roger de Mowbray is reputed to have been a very devout man, and amongst his benefactions were the lands of Balsall, which he gave to the Knights Templars. He enfeoffed the Ardens in the manor of Hampton and bestowed the lands of Baddesley upon Walter de Bisege some time between 1100 and 1135.

Baddesley Clinton Hall is a structure of very ancient date, but there are no records to show when or by whom it was erected. The moat was certainly in existence in 1434. Its foundations were laid in the early ages, when the Saxon Badde, who gave it his name, made his home here in a "ley" or clearance in the forest of Arden, although no one knows exactly where.

The windows at Baddesley are a treasure in themselves, and give a special charm to the place, for there is scarcely one which is not brightened by shields of arms in heraldic colouring. Therein may be read, as in open volumes, the descent and the alliances of the house of Ferrers, and others, - lords of Baddesley. Most of these shields were set up in the early part of the seventeenth century, though a few bear date in the ~~sixteenth~~ fifteenth:

In the two large windows of the hall opening on the courtyard are twelve shields of arms surmounted by earls' and barons' coronets, and having inscriptions beneath indicating the alliances commemorated.

1. Ferrers (ancient) Sable, six horse shoes, argent, 3, 2 1.

Henry of Ferrers, lord of Ferrers in Normandy, came into England at the Conquest and was lord of Tutbury.

2. Ferrers (ancient) impaling

De Vitry (This impalement has unfortunately been lost.)

Robert of Ferrers, earle of Ferrers in Normandy and lord of Tutbury in England and Hawis De Vitry his wife.

3. Ferrers (ancient) impaling

Braose of Gower. Azure, three bars vairy, argent and gules.

Robert of Ferrers, earle of Ferrers, married Sibill, daughter of William, lord Brewse of Brember, Knappe ad Gower.

4. Ferrers (ancient) impaling

Peverel. Vairy, or and gules.

William of Ferrers, earle of Ferrers, married Margaret, Lady of Higham, daughter of William Peverel earle of Nottingham.

5. Ferrers (adopted after the marriage with Peverel.) Vairy, or and gules, impaling

Keveliock. Azure, three garbs, or.

William of Ferrers, earle of Derby, married Agnes, Lady of Chartley, daughter of Hugh Keveliock, earle of Chester.

6. Ferrers. Vairy, or and gules; impaling

Quinci. Gules, seven mascæes, conjoined, or, 3, 3 and 1.

William of Ferrers, earle of Derby, married Margaret, Lady of Groby, daughter of Roger Quincy, earle of Winchester.

7. Ferrers of Groby. Gules, seven mascles, conjoined, or, 3, 3 and 1; impaling Lovaine. Gules, semee of billets, or, a fesse, argent.

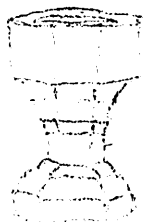
William Ferrers, lord Ferrers of Groby, married Elenor, daughter of Matthew, lord Lovaine of Stanes.

8. Ferrers of Groby, impaling

Segrave. Sable, a lion rampant, argent, crowned or, langued and armed gules.

William Ferrers, the second lord Ferrers of Groby, marrued Elizabeth daughter of John, lord Segrave of Caledo'.

Font in St. Peter's Church, Fressingfield, Suffolk, beneath which is buried the remains of NICHOLAS BOHUN, will dated 12 Aug. 1504, who married Elizabeth, dau. of Roger Debden of Brampton, Suffolk, gentleman, living 1504.

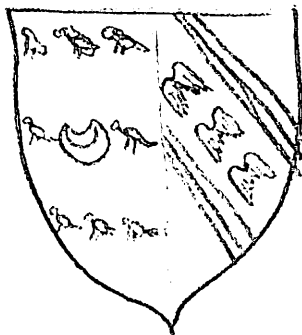


Westhall Parish, St. Andrew's, enlargement of the more elegant chapel of St. Mary which forms the south aisle.

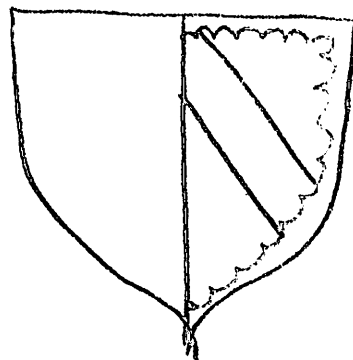


Crest of Bohun

Edmund Bohun



Bohun impaling Wingfield



Bohun impaling Argyll