

"Jess it's Jo. He'll be tickled almost to death."

"I'm afraid he'll tell," demurred Nancy.

"Oh no, he won't," said Jo's mother. "He sets too much by you."

And he never did tell, not even when

he became Nancy's husband. He held her eccentricities plain indications of genius. It was Nancy herself who, learning to look with tolerance upon her blunders, told of the remarkable day when she buried the bread dough, and made a pudding out of a pin-cushion.

THE ENGLISH ANCESTRY OF WASHINGTON.

BY MONCURE D. CONWAY.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, apostle of equality, wrote (1771) to his agent in London: "One farther favor and I am done; to search the Herald's Office for the arms of my family. I have what I have been told were the family arms, but on what authority I know not. It is possible there may be none. If so, I would, with your assistance, become a purchaser, having Sterne's word for it that a coat of arms may be purchased as cheap as any other coat." A little later Jefferson was prophet of a party laying its axe to the root of every family tree. In 1788 Washington thought it inexpedient to accept the dedication of William Barton's essay on Heraldry, while a portion of the community were "clamorously endeavoring to propagate an idea that those whom they wish invidiously to designate by the name of the 'well-born' are meditating in the first instance to distinguish themselves from their compatriots, and to wrest the dearest privileges from the bulk of the people." This intimidation lasted long. Even in the last generation exceptional young people who betrayed any interest in their ancestors were apt to be snubbed, and old family papers were abandoned to the mice. But gradually interest in genealogy crept back. Some families began to suspect that the mice had eaten their titles to English estates; the new science of heredity had attractions for a people disgusted with vulgar plutocracy. It is now pretty well understood in America that a family tree is no Upas, but a good fruit tree. In London I lately passed a good many days in the College of Arms, investigating the subject of this paper, and a majority of those who came to make inquiries of the genealogist, who had given me a place at his table, were Americans. Indeed there is danger that claimants to be "well-born," taking the place of the clamorers

mentioned by Washington, may disgrace this fruitful branch of history. For such it is, though some regard it as a species of diversion. Family history is history dramatized. It has been said that the obscurest individual life, if truthfully written, would surpass any romance, and this is true of the obscurest family's life. All families are equally ancient. On earth individual immortality is represented in the undying life of every family; it requires the life of a family to round out the events individuals find so out of joint. The cloud that overwhelmed the wayfarer of one generation, for his successor floats into light. The experiences of foregone ages are stored in every human being. If the history of a particular family is searched, it is because it is searchable, not because it is great. Great and small are terms of ignorance, in regard of historic causation. In this chain the little link may be the most important. To tell the story of one family is to tell what is essential in the story of all. More truthful inquiries into the life of Washington have more closely related him to the people.

I will admit, however, that in this Washington genealogy, the only one I have pursued diligently, there has been wondrous diversion. Let no man fancy he knows sport unless he has family-treed an ancestor of George Washington. Once, on my pilgrimage to a parish register, I beheld a company of huntsmen—floating islet gules on a field vert—a scene not without beauty; but it was overcast by the reflection that those poor pursuers of a little beast might never know what it is to beat a De Wessington bush, to start a Wassingetō, to leap ditches after an unkenelled Lawrence, have him double on you, but leave you a quarry of curiosities about old England. And as for the anglers, the trout would enjoy

repose if their Waltons knew (*pace* Charles Reade) how to troll in streamlets of ink gliding through old parchment meadows, and get such a rise as Henry Waters got of Washingtons from the parish register of Tring.

But the pursuit has had its tragedies too. None who knew the late Colonel Joseph L. Chester, as did the present writer, and how assiduously he gave himself to this search for more than twenty years, can forbear a sigh that death overtook him just a step short of success. In 1867 he gave a new departure to the inquiry by disproving the accepted pedigree (in *The N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register*), adducing evidence that the brothers supposed to have emigrated to Virginia never left England at all. For twelve years thereafter he worked on silently, collecting facts from twenty counties in England, through which the Washingtons had spread, and from Virginia. At length, in 1879 (March 29), he announced, in the *New York World*, his belief that he had arrived at the facts. "I believe that I have among my collections the true history of the two brothers John and Lawrence, who emigrated to Virginia in 1658, from the former of whom the President descended. I believe that I have in my possession an original deed, dated in 1657, signed by this John Washington, and his first wife, of whose history and even of whose name nothing has ever been known, but which this deed distinctly sets forth." But, he added, he did not mean to publish what he believed facts until he could verify them, and that could not be done unless the signature of Colonel John Washington could be found to compare with that on the deed. Colonel John's will and signature are in the National Museum at Washington, but the deed is not among Colonel Chester's papers. In 1879 Major Newsome, R. E., privately circulated a plea for Yorkshire as the home of Washington's ancestors, and gave the substance of the said deed. It is dated June 5, 1657, and signed by John and Margaret Washington. They were entitled in her right to a sixth share of certain houses in London, she being one of the six children of Henry Harwood, Gent., and Martha his wife. John is a citizen and draper; the purchaser is Robert Abbott. The books of the Draper's Company show this John, as I am informed, to be son of a John Washington

in Westdreate, West Drayton, Middlesex. At Finchley, in the same county, there was a Lawrence Washington (1599), whom Colonel Chester may have found. But how many were the Johns and Lawrences! Colonel Chester found the administration given John on the property of his mother, Amphilis Washington, at Tring, but unfortunately he intrusted examination of the registers there to another hand, and one, though skilful, not connected with the parish. The baptism of William was found, and the burial of "Mrs. Washington"—no more! So the key lay in Colonel Chester's desk, and had to be rediscovered by Mr. Waters.

Meanwhile there appeared in New York (1879) the "*Pedigree and History of the Washington Family, derived from Odin, the Founder of Scandinavia*, v. c. 70. By Albert Welles, President of the American College for Genealogical Registry and Heraldry." Colonel Chester wondered why this president, while he was about it, did not carry the pedigree back to Adam. Behind Mr. Welles is one James Phillipps (London), and behind him General Plantagenet Harrison, who wrote a history of Yorkshire. The Welles book, a marvel of industry, was wrecked on the sunken rock of Washington genealogy; namely, on a mysterious Leonard Washington, of Lancashire, whom this work declared the father of our immigrants. This Leonard has been discovered by Mr. F. A. Winder (London *Athenæum*, July 19, 1890) as a "Gent." a recusant (his wife also), who signed his name "Leo Wesham," and who was out of England in 1650. There were Washingtons in Bermuda, of whom one George (1649) was "bayled to answer at next assizes for some words spoken against his majestie."* The Welles Company have been accused of inventing for Leonard the emigrant sons; but an inventor would not have made John the younger brother, nor then fixed his year of emigration at 1659 (which turns out to be true). There is a Lawrence of that time and region not

* Alexander Brown, author of the admirable *Genesis of the United States*, discovered the record of the trial (November 11—22, 1650), in which George Washington, a "Taylor," was found guilty of saying that "the King has sould his subjects to Popery," and "the King was a rogue, and deserved to be hanged 7 years ago." He was granted appeal to England, and no more is heard of the matter. In 1626 there was a Lawrence Washington at Bermuda, in 1654 a John in Barbadoes.



From the letter to Bouquet, 1758.



Private seal, 1758.

WASHINGTON'S SEALS.

accounted for, and probably a John; but by not putting a query before the guess that they were Leonard's sons, and the emigrants, queries have been strewn through the whole book. Nothing in it can be accepted without verification, but it remains a useful scrap-book of information concerning the ancient Washingtons of northern England.

In 1883 Mr. Henry F. Waters went to England to investigate the history of American families, and one or two years later found in Somerset House the administration granted May 3, 1677, to "Emt Com^o Edmundo Jones," principal creditor of Lawrence Washington, late of Luton, Bedfordshire, but deceased in Virginia," etc. He at once desired his friends to keep their eyes open in that quarter; and one of them, whose name has not appeared, found a bond of John Dagnall at Tring, and William Roades of Middle Claydon (January 29, 1649), for the administration of the will of Andrew Knowing, as guardians of "Lawrence Washington the younger," aged fourteen. To Tring, some twelve miles from Luton, Mr. Waters at once repaired. With the assistance of its vicar, Mr. Quennell, he found not only the burial of Mrs. Washington (January 19, 1654), and the baptism of William (1641), discovered by Colonel Chester's friend, but the baptisms of "Layaranc son of Layaranc Washington" (June 23, 1635), and "Elizabeth da. of Mr. Larranc Washington" (August 17, 1636). The baptism of John was not found, but he presently rediscovered the administration on his mother's property granted John in February, 1655, when he

must have come of age. Mr. Waters then unearthed many wills and documents connecting the Tring and Luton Washingtons, leaving no doubt about the parentage of the Virginia emigrants.

But who and whence was this Lawrence Washington, husband of Amphillis, at Tring? How heavy was the task of solving this problem I could appreciate after examining the Washington *colleceana* of Colonel Chester, to which I was kindly admitted by his friend and executor, George E. Cokayne, M.A., Norroy King of Arms. That thick folio represents the hardly imaginable amount of labor and care with which he followed interminable processions of Washingtons from the font to the grave, and among these were so many Johns and Lawrences that the effort to distinguish the right ones might seem hopeless. Mr. Waters, too, sat at his task, unwearied, for years, and at last found a bit of folded paper, which proved to be an official memorandum of letters of guardianship issued to John Dagnall, and his oath for faithful performance of his trust, for two female beneficiaries under the Knowing will, January 29, 1649, the will being on that same day produced in court and administration granted (at Whethamsted, Herts). This memorandum is signed, "Laurentio Washington in Art: magro Surrog: Offilis etc hac vice." It cannot be doubted that this was the father watching the interests of his wife and six children, all of them



Crest of a seal from will of Lawrence, brother of General Washington, 1751.

beneficiaries under the will admitted that day, though his official action extended only to their cousins. It was an arch-deacon's court, and he could have acted only as surrogate if he were a clergyman. The signature also shows that he was an M. A.

Now who was this Rev. Laurence Washington, M. A.? Mr. Waters answers, the famous rector of Purleigh. Every conceivable objection has been brought against the answer; but all the genealogists of England, exploring the subject since October, 1889, have not been able to discover any other Rev. Laurence Washington, M. A., who could possibly have been the father of those children, and acting in that court in 1649. I have tested Mr. Waters's theory most sceptically. It reached me as I was carrying through the press a volume of Washington's private letters for the Long Island Historical Society, in the introduction to which I had summed up, so to say, in favor of the Yorkshire as against the Northampton theory; and although I broke the form in order to recognize the new discovery, still thought the theory doubtful. Being presently in London, I went over with Mr. Waters the original of the Whethamsted memorandum, challenged every part of his argument, and tracked every other clerical Laurence Washington—Lawrence, of St. John's College, Cambridge, university preacher in 1570, who would have been a hundred in 1649; Lawrence, Jr., the rector of Stotesbury in 1559, who died in 1619; Lawrence, rector of Colmer, Hants, who died in 1610. In vain. I was always compelled back to the rector of Purleigh. So I argue the point no more. One has only to read Mr. Waters's pamphlet, modest as masterly, and the papers that have followed it in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, to find that the theory has steadily climbed to certainty.*

Having, in addition to Mr. Waters's discoveries, the advantage of Colonel Chester's notes and references, I pursued an investigation of my own, collecting some interesting facts not hitherto published, which, as I took them with me on a pil-

* *An Examination of the English Ancestry of George Washington.* By Henry F. Waters, A.M. Boston: Printed for the New England Historical and Genealogical Society. 1889. See also articles in the Society's *Register* for January, April, July, October, 1890, and January, 1891.

grimage through the English Washingtonshire, seemed to gather flesh on their genealogical bones, to breathe, and tell the story I report.

The Rev. Lawrence Washington, M. A., long supposed the younger of the Virginia emigrants, now recognized as their father, was born in Sulgrave Manor-house. For the sake of those emigrants, who were not born there, Sulgrave has attracted many Americans, and been often described. Illustrations of the place, and of Brington, where the Washingtons also lived, were given in this Magazine, March, 1879. The article followed a history of the family once sanctioned by the Rev. John Nassau Simpkinson, author of *The Washingtons*, a romance that should now be reprinted.* I need not, therefore, describe Sulgrave or Brington, though both will be invested with a new interest when the father of the emigrants is more fully known; for he was certainly the strongest man that ever bore the name until his race flowered in the great American.

On a fine summer morning I alighted at the little station of Morton Pinkney, and made my way over the field to the pretty Canons Ashby church, which bears on its interior wall the shield, sword, gauntlet, spurs, banneret, of a great crusading ancestor of the baronet who now represents the family of Dryden, but who cares far more for the poet whose portraits hang on the walls of his own mansion. In their fine old mansion, Canons Ashby, I was graciously welcomed by Sir Henry Dry-

* In a note I have from him, Mr. Simpkinson says: "May I here repeat how entirely I accept Mr. Waters's conclusions, and how greatly I admire his perseverance and critical acumen? I cannot, however, repress a sigh for the sake of my dear friend Colonel Chester, who had this investigation so much at heart. He had found John of Tring and Lawrence of Luton, whom I always believed to be the emigrant brothers. But he was strongly against this conclusion, because, he said, the President had heard that his Virginia ancestor came from Lancashire, Yorkshire, or from a county still more northerly, and the great man could not have made this mistake if he came, after all, from Northamptonshire, or farther south." Mr. Simpkinson could not, of course, publish Colonel Chester's items, but that he himself had recognized the origin of the emigrant brothers so early as 1880 appears by a letter he wrote to the *New York Nation* (April 15th), in which, acknowledging that Colonel Chester had disproved his former theory, he adds that some of his friend's documents, shown him in confidence, seemed to him to supply "strong presumptive proof that the emigrants would be found, after all, to have sprung from the Northamptonshire stock, though of a generation below that which was erroneously pointed out."

den and his lady, and was presently driving over the region, under guidance of the very learned antiquary of Northamptonshire, as I need hardly remind those familiar with the *Northamptonshire Notes and Queries*. These were the lands of the priories dissolved by Henry VIII.—St. Andrew's, Catesby, Canons Ashby, Sulgrave—the largest parcel of which was granted by the monarch to Lawrence Washington, native of Warton, Lancashire, who studied law in Gray's Inn, London, and became a rich wool merchant. Beneath these fair fields ran the roots of that royalism which shattered the fortunes of the Washingtons, and scattered their seed on that land—Virginia—where for a time the British monarchy alone survived. There is not one Washington left in Northamptonshire. The English family is represented by the children of Admiral John Washington—Rev. George, Florence Amy, Captain Henry Holford, R. N., Major Francis Palmer, R. E.; and Frances, widow of Adam Washington, barrister, with their children—Revs. Adam, Robert, Marmaduke, Henry; and Fanny. These restored the inscription in Sulgrave church. The wife of Captain Washington told me they had thought of purchasing the Manor-house, but found it too dilapidated for residence. I saw the placard for its sale, and considering its old royalist associations, found something picturesque in its advertisement as homestead of the ancestors of the great American President. It is now owned by a Mr. Bartholomew, but we found it unfurnished and unoccupied except by the house-keeper. The only trace of its founder is the Washington shields on spandrels of a door. Above, on a gable, the arms of Queen Elizabeth are displayed, and there is a legend that she once took refuge there, a closet in which she was concealed being pointed out by the intelligent house-keeper, who, however, could give us no particulars. *Sic transit*. The Rev. Mr. Harden, vicar, accompanied us to the church. It was the summer after the brasses representing the children of the first Washington of Sulgrave had been stolen from his grave in the church. I suffered a vicarious shame for my country that it was not above suspicion of having produced the dastard who committed this outrage. It ought to be impossible for those brasses to appear in any collection. But may not the theft be due to some survival of the Puritanism which

once thought it was doing God service by clearing his temples of "graven images"? The head of the father and the entire figure of his wife Aimee were long ago wrenched away. Hither, from the Manor-house where he was born, the greatest of the English Washingtons came to sit in the family pew, where he could wonder over the effigies of the eleven children



BRASSES FROM ST. JAMES'S CHURCH, SULGRAVE.

who have puzzled many a genealogist. His great-grandfather, Lawrence, who desired to be buried "in the south aisle before my seat," in long fur-bordered gown of mayoralty, his hands folded in prayer; Aimee, his wife, in her ample frock; the four sons in frock-coats, knee-breeches, hose, and broad-toed shoes; the separately grouped seven daughters (the tallest six and one-half inches) in close caps and long gowns—all, no doubt, contributed something to the burden of family honor that grew on the shoulders of the future rector of Purleigh. Our picture (from tracings by Sir Henry Dryden) is copied from *Northamptonshire Notes and Queries* by permission.

Baker, a historian of Northamptonshire, writing of the Manor-house (1820-30), says, "Within these last few years the arms and alliances of the family ornamented the kitchen window." These heraldic shields have disappeared: Sir Henry Dryden has traced two to Lady Hanmer's possession, at Weston, and six to the win-

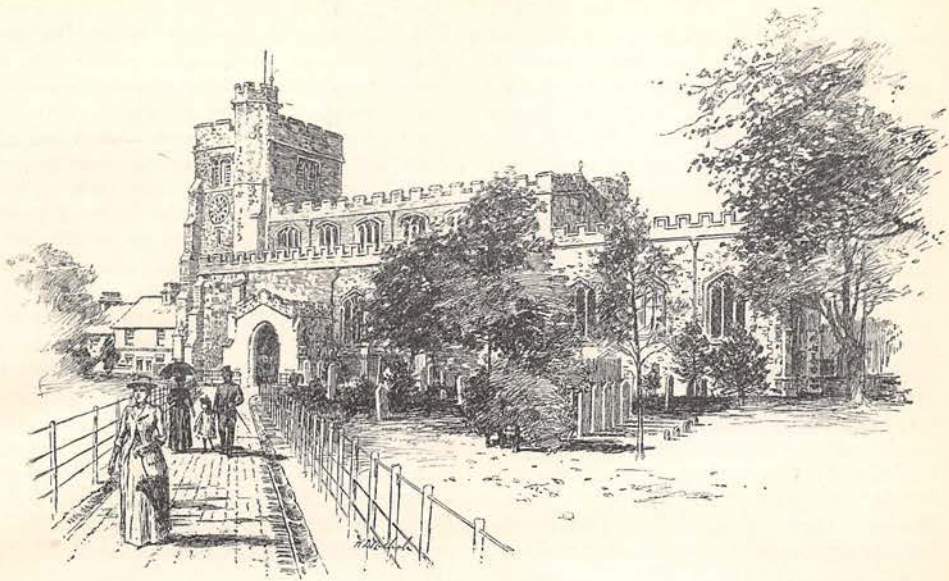
dows of Fawsley church. All of them, save one, are in good condition, and Sir Henry has made full-sized copies in colors, which are so important in heraldry. The Washington arms are, technically, two bars gules, and in chief three mullets of the second. That is, a white shield, crossed with two red bars, and above these three red spur rowels, or stars. The coincidence between this device and the United States flag is less striking when the arms are seen in colors.* Between the bars of No. 1 (following Sir Henry's numbers) there is a crescent gules (crimson), indicating descent from a second son, *i. e.*, Robert of Warton, Lancashire, second son of John of Whitfield. Apparently the founder of the Sulgrave family, lacking the omniscience of Welles *alias* Phillipps *alias* Harrison, did not trace beyond his great-grandfather. No. 2 of the series has been

* The thirteen stripes of the flag seem to have been strips of cotton cloth basted on an English flag, and raised by Washington during the siege of Boston to announce the union of the colonies to the British (who, however, understood it as a token of surrender). Under the British flag, with this addition, the Revolutionists fought until June 14, 1777, when Congress ordered "that the union be thirteen stars, white, in a blue field, representing a new constellation." The stars would have been red in a white field, had Washington's arms, which are without blue, been imitated. Moreover, they were originally in a circle. The American eagle was imported from ancient Rome, just as the word "Senate" was. "The young," says Edmund Randolph, "boasted that they were treading upon the republican ground of Greece and Rome." At the risk of adding to the fable of the flag one about Washington's crest, I will mention that I recently found an eagle crest on a seal of Washington's in the British Museum. It is on a letter written to Colonel Bouquet, August 7, 1758. This seal resembles one since discovered on the will of his brother Lawrence (1751). Its crest differs from the bird of his private seal (used as early as 1733), and materially from the griffin he ordinarily used. The coat of arms brought by Colonel John Washington, the immigrant, to this country—no doubt the "seal ring" bequeathed to his father (Waters, p. 28)—I found on the title of the President's birthplace; it is engraved with other seals in the Long Island Historical Society's volume, *George Washington and Mount Vernon* (1889). The beak of the bird in the crest could not be made out with certainty, and I now believe it the same as this eagle on the Bouquet letter, though the shields are of different shape. Burke, in giving the Sulgrave family's crest as a raven, adds a note that the eagle was another crest. But the eagle was the normal crest of the Yorkshire line of Washingtons, and though no link between these and the Sulgrave family has been discovered, this use of the eagle, now traced from Robert Washington of Brington (who died 1622) to George Washington in Virginia, is some evidence that there was such a connection.

mutilated, or it might possibly have given us the arms of the family, now unknown, with which John of Whitfield intermarried. The said "second son," Robert, married a daughter of Miles Whittington; their eldest, John, married Margaret, sister of Alderman Sir Thomas Kitson, of London, whose three trouts are displayed in No. 3. Next comes the Lawrence Washington who left Lancashire for Northamptonshire; No. 4 impales his arms with those of his second wife, Aimee Pargiter. In No. 5 three white swans on a crimson sea denote the alliance of Robert, eldest son of Lawrence and Aimee, with Elizabeth Lighte. By his first wife (Anne Fisher, of Hanslop) Robert had six children; by his second, Elizabeth (Warwickshire), he had at least nine; and one of these, Aimee, married Alban Wakelyn, whose arms (No. 6) are impaled, though outside the regular line. Robert's eldest son by his second wife (Lighte), Lawrence, married Margaret Butler (Sussex), whose arms (No. 7) are also impaled in the three covered chalices on the slab at Brington. This Lawrence had an uncle of the same name, Register of the High Court of Chancery, who married Martha Newce, of Hertfordshire, and her arms (No. 8) are impaled.

Of these shields No. 7 bears date 1588, the year of Lawrence's marriage with Margaret. Nos. 5 and 6 bear the same date, showing that these were inserted by Lawrence; the others were probably set up by his grandfather, who died in 1583.

Lawrence and Margaret (Butler) Washington, the great-great-great-grandparents of General Washington, had seventeen children, and before the sixth was born had to seek a poorer abode for their family. In passing from the Sulgrave Manor-house to the Washington house at Brington, one feels that he is following the family as it passes under a cloud. Nor does the cloud lift when we reflect that there is only very indirect identification of the house, for if they had moved into any mansion of the neighborhood, it could hardly have failed to be recorded. Earl Spencer has at Althorp a large and curious oaken chest, purchased at a sale in this Brington house, but he has expressed to me extreme doubt whether it can with any propriety be called a Washington property, and it is not ordinarily shown to visitors. On the sale of their heavily mortgaged estates at Sulgrave, the father



PARISH CHURCH, TRING.

(Robert) leased a windmill on the Althorp estate. Lawrence, the son, went to Brington in 1606-7, a few years before the sale was concluded, and died ten years later. Enough was saved from the wreck, and by the more economical abode, to give his children a good education, and they did well. The eldest, Sir William of Pakyngton, was knighted in 1622; the second, Sir John of Thrapston, was knighted in 1623. Thomas became page to Charles I., and accompanied him to Madrid when he went to woo the Infanta. Thomas died there, and Mr. Waters has unearthed and given to the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, January, 1890, certain curious "Epitaphial Verses upon the death of young Mr. Washington Prince Charles his page in Spaine anno 1623." The fourth daughter, Alice, married a grandson of the Archbishop of York (Sandys).

But our interest chiefly follows the fourth son, Lawrence, the father of our Virginians. He was six or seven years of age when his father removed to Brington. The glory of that place was Althorp, seat of the Spencers, then represented by Robert, Lord Spencer, Baron of Wormleighton (born 1561, died 1635). His first lady (Margaret Willoughby) had been connected, by a sister's marriage, with the Pargiters, with whom two of the Washingtons had intermarried. His second

lady (Penelope) was of the Kitson family, thus a cousin of the Washingtons. The portrait of this lady expresses not only the sweetness that made her so faithful a friend to the Washingtons when they had become poor, but the "faculty" shown in her exact household accounts, which are now of historical value. It is even probable that some of the Washingtons lived at Althorp for a time while they were leaving Sulgrave. We may feel sure that little Lawrence has pored many a time over the great tomes of Althorp library. His brilliant career at Oxford implies a naturally studious mind, which may have been influenced in a religious direction by his venerable relative "Parson Washington"—the "Lawrence Washington, Jr.," who in 1559 had been made rector of Stotesbury (near Northampton) by "Lawrence Washington, Sr." (of Sulgrave). He had before him, too, the career of another and more eminent Rev. Lawrence Washington, High Commissioner for Causes Ecclesiastical within the province of Canterbury.

Lawrence, father of the Virginia immigrants, entered Brasenose, Oxford, in 1619. He is described as fourth son, and "generosi filius"—intermediate rank between "plebei filius" and "armigeri filius"—being thus of the minor gentry. He matriculated November 2, 1621. In 1622

his aunt Elizabeth (Robert's widow, *née* Chishull) bequeathes him her "husband's seal ring," which found its way to Virginia, and sealed the title of General Washington's birthplace. In 1623 (September 28th) we find Lady Penelope recording two pecks of oats given to the horses of Sir John and "Mr. Lawrence Washington," the "Mr." suggesting that he was now in holy orders. In 1624 he is elected Fellow of Brasenose, a close (Northampton) Fellowship. In 1627 he is appointed a lecturer of the college. In 1631 Antony Bruche and another proctor were ejected for raising disturbances in the university, and our Lawrence is made proctor, apparently by order of Charles I., who perhaps remembered his brother Thomas, his page, who died in Spain. Here, then, are evidences of a brilliant university career. But suddenly it all ends. In March, 1632-3, he receives or obtains from Jane Horzmauden the position of rector of Purleigh, in Essex; his Fellowship is resigned, and the lectureship he had held in Brasenose since 1627; and he enters on his work among the people.

Purleigh was a good living, and Lawrence was poor. By a note of Colonel Chester's I found that in July, 1632, he was indebted to John Browne, Oxford, £69 18s. 0d., for which he had given an obligation under penalty of £140. But perhaps Amphillis inspired the young clergyman's readiness to part with his honors at Oxford. Mr. Waters has gathered a number of old documents through which may be traced our rector's romance. One is the will of Sir Richard Anderson, of Pendley Manor, near Tring, 1630, in which he bequeathes "to my cousin Larence Washington of Brasenose and to Mr. Dagnall of Pembrock College, to each of them forty shillings." Lawrence thus had relatives at Tring (some fifteen miles from Oxford) whom he might visit, perhaps with Mr. Dagnall, who lived there. Not far away, at Middle Claydon, resided another friend of the Washingtons, Sir Edmund Verney, who had a farm servant, or bailiff, named John Roades, to whom he was much attached. This bailiff had a daughter named Amphillis, who became the wife of the Rev. Lawrence Washington, M.A., and the great-great-grandmother of the first President of the United States.

Unfortunately the Washingtons of that time could not foresee that one day their

lost Sulgrave Manor-house would be appreciated mainly by its association with a descendant of that farm servant's daughter. The family was climbing. As to the Brington Washingtons, a survival of their fall thirty years before was represented by the fact that our Lawrence's youngest sister, Lucy, was house-keeper at Althorp at £6 per annum, while her knighted brothers, Sir William and Sir John, were sometimes guests.

To another branch of the family, also on the ascent, such a misalliance was probably distasteful. The Northampton Mayor's second son, Lawrence, had, like his father, studied law at Gray's Inn; he married into the high family of Newce, and became Register of the High Court of Chancery. His son Lawrence came into the same office, was knighted in 1627, and married Anne, daughter of William Lewyn, D.C.L. Sir John Isham married Judith, Anne's sister.* The son of this Sir Lawrence married a wealthy lady, Elianor Guise, and one of their daughters, Martha, became Lady Tyrrell in 1630.

In none of the wills of the Washingtons, Pargiters, or any of the family, now very large in 1632-3 and thereafter, is any allusion found to the Washingtons of Tring and Luton. In none, after the marriage with Amphillis, is mention found of the rector of Purleigh. This is additional evidence, were it needed, that

* In *Northamptonshire N. and Q.*, October, 1885, H. Isham Longden says that Sir Charles Isham possesses the following letter: "To my Deere Sister Judeth the Ladie Isham these. Deere Sister,—When I was wth you I esteemed myself verie happe in your sweet conversation wth the hope I conceived of your perfect recoverie of helth as also in som other comforts, of w^{ch} since it hath plased God to deprive mee, for he hath taken from mee my tow sons w^{ch} were unvaluably deere unto mee And w^{ch} I take as one of my greatest causes of discomfort, is to heare that you are falne in to your accustomed weaknes. But being these are things w^{ch} owr good God doeth as seemeth best unto him, w^{ch} wee can not withstand we must also wthowt repnyng submitt owr selves to his unresistible will, And thus good sister Resolving my self of your good mynde and most settled constancy in this resolucon I comitt uss both to his mercy and goodnes resting ever Your trewly loving sister, Anne Washington." The seal bears trace of the name Lawrence Washington, and the Washington arms without crescent. They were living in London. One of the deceased sons was Lawrence, born 1614 at Nottingham, Kent, buried at St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, December 29, 1617, where another son was baptized in the same name, September 30, 1622. A daughter Anne was baptized August 29, 1621. These two married, the one Elianor, the other Christopher Guise.

it was this rector who married the bailiff's daughter. Mr. Waters has found the will of the rector's elder brother Sir William, and a number of others, in which the rector and the Tring Washingtons are ignored, although they were poor. Sir William's will was written June 6, 1643, the year in which his brother lost his living at Purleigh for devotion to their common cause—the king—but no mention is made of that brother. The marriage with the bailiff's daughter was not forgiven apparently by the knight, who had married a Villiers, half-sister of the Duke of Buckingham.

I have said that the rector lost his living for his loyalty; he was also charged

That he had said, 'The Parliament had more Papists belonging to them in their Armies than the King had about him or in his Army, and that the Parliament's Armie did more hurt than the Cavaliers, and that they did none at all'; and hath published them to the Traitours that lend to or assist the Parliament.

"It is not to be supposed that such a Malignant could be less than a Drunkard. . . . Altho' a Gentleman (a Justice of the Peace in this County) who personally knew him assures me that he took him to be a very Worthy, Pious man; that as often as he was in his Company he always appeared a very Moderate, Sober Person; and that he was Received as such by several Gentlemen who were acquainted with him before he himself was: Adding withal that he 'was a Loyal Person, and had one of the best Benefices in these Parts; and this

*Baptized for Michaelmas
Large Anno dom 1641*

*William son of Mrs Lawrence
of Washington baptiz'd Octobar the 21st Day*

M^{rs} Washington bur. 9th Sep of Jan: 1654

FAC-SIMILE ENTRIES FROM THE PARISH REGISTER, TRING.

with drunkenness, but had this been true there was all the more reason that his wife and children should be remembered in the wills of his relatives. The charge of drunkenness is disproved by the fact that, though the rector was deprived of the valuable benefice of Purleigh, the commissioners had no objection to his continuing his ministry in a church too poor to be coveted. Walker (*Sufferings of the Clergy*, London, 1714) says:

"Washington, Lawrence, A.M., Purleigh, R., one of the best Livings in these Parts: To which he had been Admitted in March, 1632, and was Sequestred from in the year 1643, which was not thought Punishment enough for him, and therefore he was also put into the Century, to be transmitted to Posterity, as far as that Infamous Pamphlet could contribute to it, for a *Scandalous* as well as a *Malignant Minister*, upon these weighty considerations:

was the Only cause of his Expulsion, as I verily believe.' After he subjoyns, That Another Ancient Gentleman of his Neighbourhood agrees with him in this Account. Mr. Washington was afterwards permitted to Have and Continue upon a Living in these Parts; but it was such a Poor and Miserable one, that it was always with difficulty that any one was persuaded to Accept it."

Unfortunately old John Walker does not mention the name of this living, and the soldiers of Parliament, re-enforced by destroying time, have left few parish records of that era. (Those of Sulgrave, for instance, cannot be found earlier than 1658.) So we do not know to what "miserable" little living the ejected rector repaired. Probably it was in the neighborhood of Tring, though his burial record has not been found there. Tring is forty miles away from Purleigh, but his wife was

certainly confined of three of her children there. She was with her own people, in goodly number and circumstances;

his racket when they were playing tennis. No doubt the little Washingtons heard the story many a time, and consid-

*Baptized son of Mr. Larram
David Anno Domini 1636*

Elizabeth daughter of Mr. Larram rector of Tring

FAC-SIMILE OF REGISTRY OF BAPTISM OF ELIZABETH WASHINGTON, DAUGHTER OF THE RECTOR OF PURLEIGH, IN PARISH CHURCH, TRING.

and there she was buried, January 19, 1654.

Tring is a town which steam has snubbed. It held out against that innovation, and the railway, even now two miles away, has left it pretty much as it always was. Its four thousand folk dwell in narrow streets, and in square courts opening from them. I asked a Tring policeman about the antiquity of these courts, but he only said, "Rum courts they are, too!" The women were plaiting straw and gossiping, pretty much, I suppose, as they did when old Roger of Wendover wrote in the neighborhood. I suppose the quiet antiquity and the beautiful drives have commended the neighborhood to the Roseberys and Rothschilds, who have country-seats not far off. The antiquarian atmosphere of Tring was revealed in a rumor I heard there that the Roseberys, Rothschilds, "and some other rich Jews," communicated by night with

ered that Hampden got off better than he deserved.

"Tring, Wing, and Ivanhoe,
For striking of a blow,
Hampden did forego,
And glad he could escape so."

The church is beautiful, and so is the vicarage behind it, with the cardinal's hat of Christ Church College over the door. Mr. Quennell's pretty home is, however, modern. The interior of the church has been restored to primal vacancy. There are two lonely figures bending over a tomb of the Gores. There is nothing to divert the imagination that would summon again the rector of Purleigh and his Amphillis, bringing their children to the font, and old Andrew Knowling standing godfather to Lawrence. The vicar desires to put up a memorial of these Washingtons in the church, which might well be done by Americans.

The register in which the entries con-

*Christ baptized son of Mr. Larram
David Anno Domini 1635*

Lawrence son of Larram rector of Tring

FAC-SIMILE OF REGISTRY OF BAPTISM OF LAWRENCE WASHINGTON, SON OF THE RECTOR OF PURLEIGH, IN PARISH CHURCH, TRING.

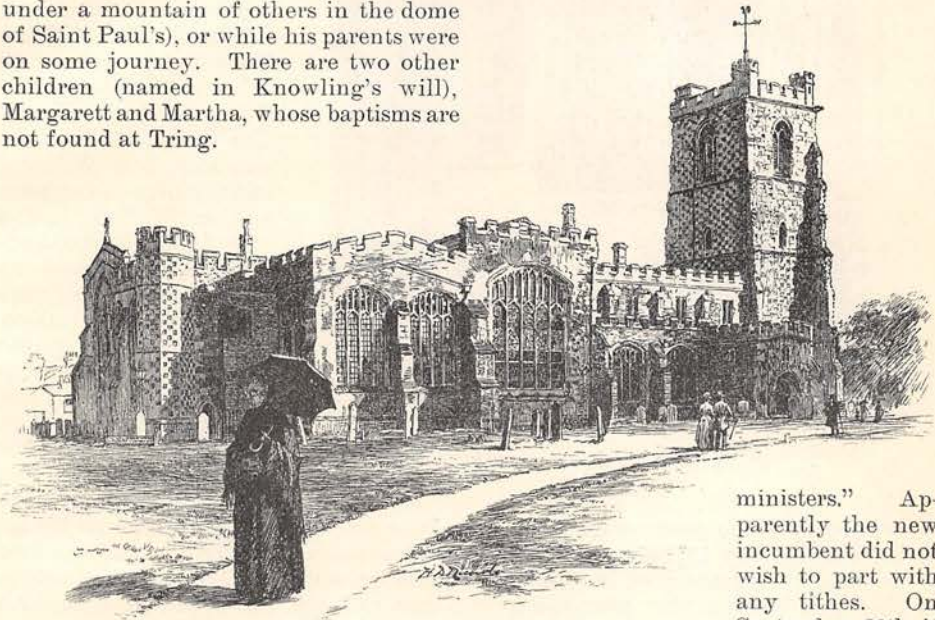
light signals; which is about as true as Tring's ancient legend that its manor was forfeited by an ancestor of John Hampden for striking the Black Prince with

cerning the Washingtons are found is entitled "A Regester Booke conteaning all the names hereafter Named, either Baptized, Married, or Buried. Bought by

Maister Andrew Knolinge"—and other church-wardens. This is important as showing the position of Andrew, who married the widow Roades, mother of Amphillis.

But where was John baptized? "I am keenly alive," says the vicar, in a note before me, "to the interest that would attach to the register of John Washington's baptism, and have made a careful search, but without success." Probably John was not born at Tring, but either at Purleigh (whose records are said to be under a mountain of others in the dome of Saint Paul's), or while his parents were on some journey. There are two other children (named in Knowing's will), Margaret and Martha, whose baptisms are not found at Tring.

was sitting at Chelmsford a "Committee on Plundered Ministers"; for the word "plundered," which came in with the commonwealth, meant no more than "deprived." On the 15th of August it is "Ordered that Mr. John Rogers, minister of the sequestered rectory of Purleigh, in Dingey Hundreds, do pay the fifth part of the tithes and profits of said Rectory unto Mrs. Washington, according to a formal order of y^e Com. of Plundered

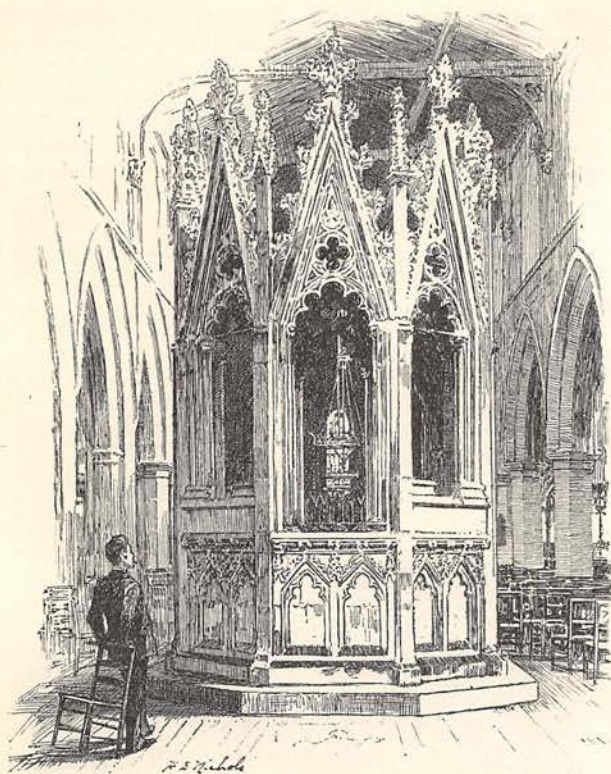


LUTON CHURCH.

The rector and his Amphillis probably had a quiet life up to his ejection in 1643. There was a case in chancery in which the complainant is curiously described as "Laurence Washington Clk., Rector of the Rectory and Parish Church of Purlye, in Purlye, Co. Essex, holden of the King as of his manor of E. Greenwich." The dispute is as to the tithes of Purleigh Wood, in tenure of Sir Henry Mildmay, Kt. But no further public trace of him is found until his ejection in 1643. The reference to the chancery case in Colonel Chester's notes is, "Charles I., W. 58, No. 29, Pub. Rec. Off." Another reference I noted there, "Harleian MS., 6244," which brought to light an extremely interesting incident. In the year 1649 there

ministers." Apparently the new incumbent did not wish to part with any tithes. On September 20th it is "Ordered that Mr. John Rogers and Mrs. Washington be heard on Wednesday in the sessions." Let some artist now give us a picture of Amphillis, the great-great-grandmother of Washington, her husband and children beside her, pleading before the stern Cromwellians. And pleading successfully; for on the last page of the book the order stands: "fifth part of Purleigh ordered to the plundered Rector's wife."

At first I suspected that the wife's pleading implied that the ejected rector was dead, and submitted this question to Mr. Waters and others in the Probate Office; but we found it was the custom of the wife to plead in such cases. It was after this date (O. S. being remembered) that the Rev. Lawrence Washington, M. A., is found acting as surrogate at Whethamsted. It



THE BAPTISTERY, LUTON CHURCH.

is inferred that he predeceased his wife (who died January 19, 1654), because administration was granted on her property to their son John a year later, the husband not being mentioned.

Of the children at this time (1655) John was probably just twenty-one, Lawrence certainly in his twentieth year, Elizabeth in her nineteenth, William in his fourteenth; Margaret and Martha were younger. Of these orphans only one has been traced further in England—Lawrence. Their step-father, Andrew Knowling, left each, excepting Lawrence, £28 on their coming of age. To Lawrence, his godson, he bequeathed all his "freehold Lands and Tenements" in Tring or elsewhere. Mr. Frederick A. Blaydes, of Bedford, whose genealogical works are invaluable, discovered that Lawrence (Gent.) married at Luton, June 26, 1660, Mary, the daughter of Edmund Jones, Gentleman. Lawrence had a maternal aunt, the widow Fitzherbert, whose will (1684) makes John Freeman, of Luton, Gent., her executor, this John having married her niece, Esther

Roades, Lawrence's cousin. A connection is thus proved between the Tring family and one of high position in Luton. A Thomas Freeman, of London (1530), was in the Luton Guild, with his wife Agnes.

Luton is not far from St. Albans, where Lord Bacon is buried. In his *Advancement of Learning* (1629) one may read, "Printed for William Washington, and are to be sold at his shop in the Dunstane Church Yard." The rector of Purleigh had an uncle William, and this may be the man; and as William had a sister-in-law at Stratford-on-Avon in Shakespeare's time, buried in the same church, let the "Baconians" consider whether Shakespeare did not write the *Advancement of Learning*, or whether both the plays and the *Advancement* were not written by some relative

of General George Washington! Luton, twelve miles from Tring, is a hundred years beyond it in liveliness, and nearly twice as large. It might be thought a modern manufacturing town but for its ancient church. On entering this grand edifice one finds himself surrounded by memorials of the olden time. The beautiful baptistery is said to have been given by Anne Boleyn, but is more certainly the font to which Lawrence Washington and Mary his wife brought their one child, Mary—so lovingly remembered (as his will proves) in her father's home on the Rappahannock. There is a mural tablet in the church to the Hon. William Stuart, D.D., and "his wife, Sophia Margaret, last surviving granddaughter of William Penn, the celebrated founder of Pennsylvania; born 25 December 1765, died 29 April 1847."

At Luton the younger of the rector's sons was married, June 26, 1660; and here, December 22, 1663, was baptized "Mary, daughter of Mr. Lawrence and Mary Washington." In those days "Mr." in a reg-

ister meant a man of some importance. In Tring he paid rates—1665, £1; 1666, £2. In 1667 he is in Virginia, receiving a grant of land, September 27th, jointly with Robert Richards. As only one child is mentioned in his will, and all of his property in England is given to her, there is no doubt that his wife had died soon after Mary's birth. She was left with her grandparents (Edmund Jones, Gent., and wife), and among some of her mother's relatives residing at Luton.

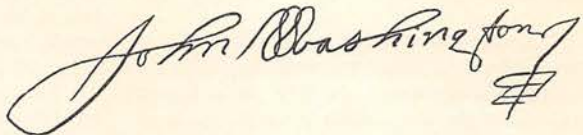
Of the elder brother, John, nothing is known between February, 1655, when he is made administrator on his mother's property, and July 16, 1659, when he is found in Virginia,—300 acres in Northumberland (alias Westmoreland), patented by him in 1664, being described as "due by patent to John Walton in 1642; assigned by him to John Hallows, by him in 1656 to Nicholas Lansden, by him to Major Washington, 16 July 1659." (Chester MS.) What became of him in the mean time? In the beginning of 1655, John, at twenty-one, found himself with £28 left him by his step-father, and his share of what his mother, Amphilis, had saved from the £60 left her, and her fifths of the Purliegh tithes received during the four preceding years.

It is interesting to consider the condition of the family at this time. The fortunes of the Northamptonshire Washingtons had been broken during the civil war. Colonel Henry, son of Sir William, Colonel Adam Washington (Herts), Sir Lawrence (the Register), John of Warwick, and a number of the connection are traceable through the calendar of state papers by their sufferings and compositions for royalism. Many a brave story remains untold concerning some of these loyal Washingtons. I found in the *Fasti Oxonienses* that when the soldiers of Parliament occupied Oxford, and filled the halls and pulpits with preachers of their own, the loyal professors and clergy departed, Richard Washington being "the only man of the old stock that was then left." Richard was (August, 1646) of University College. He was offered by the new set the degree of D.D., but refused it. I have not placed this loyalist, apparently a clergyman. He died (1651) at St. Dunstan in-the-West, London.

Sir Lawrence (Register) inherited his

father's estates in Wiltshire and elsewhere, and died (1662) a rich man. His widow, Elianor, married Sir William Pargiter. In searching out the origin of Washington's *Rules of Civility*, I found in the British Museum a book entitled *Youth's Behaviour, or Decency in Conversation amongst Women* (1663), by Robert Codrington, dedicated "To the Mirrour of her Sex, Mrs. Ellinor Pargiter, and the most accomplished with all reall Perfections Mistress Elizabeth Washington, her only Daughter, and Heiress to the truly Honourable Lawrence Washington Esquire, lately deceased." This accomplished heiress married Robert Shirley, Baron Ferrars, and in the edition of 1672 of Codrington's book her portrait appears, the only portrait of an early English Washington that I have met with.

Could the future have been unveiled before Elianor and her daughter, revealing Governor Shirley entertaining in Boston Colonel George Washington, of Virginia, and the Countess of Huntingdon (Washington Shirley's daughter) claiming kinship with the great American, the adventures of John, the General's great-grandfather, before he emigrated might not be so obscure. It is certain that he married, for his will proves that he took a wife and two children to Virginia. Where and whom he married in England is unknown. In 1659 the commonwealth



SIGNATURE OF GENERAL WASHINGTON'S GREAT-GRANDFATHER.

was firmly established, and the Washingtons were generally loyalists. One, indeed, as we have seen, was tried in Bermuda for speaking against the king, and at a later period there was a Quaker George Washington distinguished enough to be mentioned by Francis Bugg in *The Pilgrim's Progress from Quakerism to Christianity* (1698). In 1659, John, with his surviving sister, Martha, voyaged to Virginia. But he might not have come had not certain fine Sir and Lady Washingtons turned up their noses at the impecunious son of a bailiff's daughter. Such was the ancestral heritage of the Virginia gentleman who, with a title dangled before him, took the side of the American yeomanry.