The Ancestry of Francis Galton

that we can find so little trace of it in the generations of Darwins before
Erasmus. They belonged more recently to the smaller squirearchy
and ultimately to the yeoman class. As far as a full pedigree has
yet been traced the Darwin stock is linked by the marriage of
Erasmus’ great-grandfather William Darwin with Ann Earle to a stock
of considerable ability. Ann’s father Erasmus Earle (whence ulti-
mately the name Erasmus) was “Own Serjeant” to the Commonwealth,
a lawyer and diplomatist of some distinction, from whom through
the female line the Lytton Bulwers or Bulwer-Lyttons trace descent (see
Plate LXII). There is no evidence, however, of any member of the
Earles having had scientific ability, and such distinction of the more
literary kind as might come from this family must have laid dormant
for two generations. Until the pedigree of the Hills is more fully
worked out, I am inclined to think that Erasmus Darwin’s mother,
Elizabeth Hill of Sleaford, may have brought some of their exceptional
ability into the family1. Her portrait (see Plate VII) shows her to
have been a lady of much character and her husband Robert Darwin
(see Plate VI) is reported to have composed the verse:

“From a morning that doth shine,
From a boy that drinketh wine,
From a wife that talketh Latin,
Good Lord deliver me!”

where the third line is suggested by Charles Darwin to have had some
relation to the learned character of Robert’s own wife!

So far we have kept to Charles Darwin’s line of descent in the
Darwin family, i.e. that connected with Erasmus Darwin’s first wife Mary
Howard (see Note II, Appendix). It seems likely that a certain delicacy,
but possibly also a certain increase of sympathy and gentleness, was
brought into the Darwin stock by this lady; she died at 30 years of age.

For eleven years Erasmus Darwin remained unmarried2; then at

1 I have examined all the available wills of the Sleaford Hills and the church
registers in the hope of linking up Erasmus Darwin with Sir John Hill, the botanist,
who sprung from Lincoln, but I have found no link so far.

2 From the standpoint of heredity it is of interest to know that he had in the
interval two natural daughters whom he educated; he set up a school and wrote a book
on female education for them, and provided his own later daughters as pupils. One of
these ladies afterwards married a doctor and her son became a distinguished surgeon.
This lady and her future husband are shown in the “hydrophobia” staircase scene from
the MS. autobiography of Sir Francis S. Darwin’s boyhood: see Plate X.
50 he married the widow of Colonel Edward Sacheverel Pole. This lady, Elizabeth Collier by name, was famous for her wit and beauty; Darwin made passionate poems (see Plate XI) to her even before her husband’s death, and when she was ill he is reported to have spent the night outside her chamber window. Elizabeth Collier (see Plate XVII) must have been a noteworthy beauty in her day and had many younger suitors when Erasmus Darwin won her after only six months of widowhood. In old age she was a striking figure to her grandchildren, spending her days wholly outdoors supervising her gardeners and labourers at Breadsall Priory, and her house was visited by her grandchildren with the greatest enjoyment. Of her ancestry we can piece together but little, and that tradition, not certainty. Family tradition states that she was a natural daughter of Charles Coly Dear, second Earl of Portmore (see Plate XIII). Lord Portmore was a very well-known social figure in his days. He was one of the leading men on the turf in its early period, and his name occurs repeatedly in the old form of racing—namely, matches between two horses, agreed for a certain date between two owners. First as Captain Coly Dear and then as Lord Portmore from 1720 to 1760 we find him engaged in such matches with the Duke of Leeds, Sir Nathaniel Curzon, Lord Godelphine, etc., all notable figures in the early horse racing and horse breeding world. It was a world which centred chiefly round Newmarket Heath, and was largely self-contained. When Peregrine, the Duke of Leeds, dies, his widow Juliana marries Lord Portmore; their daughter, Lady Caroline Coly Dear, marries Sir Nathaniel Curzon, and the son of Peregrine, Thomas fourth Duke of Leeds, marries Mary Godelphine in 1740, and ultimately comes into possession of Gog-Magog House (with the grave of the Godelphine Arab) near Cambridge. In such environment we have to look for the mother of Elizabeth Collier, who is reported to have been the governess to the Duchess of Leeds’ daughters, Lady Caroline and Lady Juliana. It is significant of the higher sense of responsibility of those days, combined as it was with much greater looseness of morals, that we find in the family records that the natural children were often brought up in touch with members of the legitimate family and provided for in much the same way. Thus we 

1 She was brought up in good society under the charge of a Mrs Mainwaring of Farnham, of whom Elizabeth Collier always spoke with great affection, and whom she occasionally visited.
From the MS. Boyhood of Sir Francis S. Darwin, who being bitten by a dog produced a stampede by barking as a dog. Mrs Darwin (Elizabeth Collier), the surgeon, the two Miss Parkers, Violetta Darwin (afterwards Mrs Galton) and Emma Darwin are seen on the stairs, while Dr Erasmus Darwin comes out of his study to ascertain what is wrong.
Letter X

Platonic epistle to a married Lady.

Oh, read these lines—may they move Thy breast to pity, whom it must not love—
Whilst from despair the sorrowing numbers flow,
Pour all my heart and modulate my voice,
No lawless wish, no dubious words shall rise,
But Truth shall tune them, Virtue's self chastise
Bear them, soft gales! to chasten Agnes's ear,
Herself may read them,—or her husband hear.

If brighter scenes from other's hills extend,
If other vales more fragrant flowers defend,
Each passing vision, with pearly charms instigat'd
Goes the gay scene, and makes the gazer bland
Shall I gaze on thy fair form with bliss,
Or ask the salmy rapture of a life,
Pure as the mild meets her suitor-quest,
Or holy lips on sainted marble press'd?
Could truth, could innocence, or virtue blame?
GENERAL SIR DAVID COLYEAR, afterwards Lord Portmore (circa 1650–1730).

From the portrait by Van der Banck formerly at Arthingworth Hall.
From the picture by Reynolds formerly at Arthingworth Hall.
CATHERINE SEDLEY, Countess of Dorchester, afterwards Lady Portmore (1637—1717).
From the picture by Kneller formerly at Arthingworth Hall.
find Erasmus Darwin's natural daughters were intimates of his family; Colonel Edward Sacheverel Pole gave the family living to a natural son who bore the name of Pole and was beloved by Darwins, Galtons and Poles alike. Our first knowledge of Elizabeth Collier is her marriage on April 10, 1769, to Colonel Pole in the little church at Radbourne. Why should a natural daughter of Lord Portmore appear in Derbyshire? We think there is no doubt that the true explanation is to be found in the fact that the Curzons were next neighbours to the Poles, and that Lady Curzon, formerly Lady Caroline Colyear, would be half-sister to Elizabeth Collier. She brought her natural sister with her to Derbyshire, and there Elizabeth married. In tracing the parentage of Erasmus Darwin’s second wife to Lord Portmore, we have linked up Francis Galton’s grandmother with a number of names of great historical interest.

Charles Colyear himself—commonly called ‘Beau Colyear’—a name justified by the portraits I have seen of him, was chiefly celebrated for his horses and his equipages. But his father (see Plate XII) was a man of great distinction. He served as a soldier of fortune under William of Orange and came with him to England, afterwards serving in Spain and Flanders—

‘one of the best foot officers in the world, is very brave and bold; hath a great deal of wit; very much a man of honour and nice that way, yet married the Countess of Dorchester’

writes a contemporary of him. Catherine Sedley, his wife, had been mistress to James the Second. Portmore was a soldier of fortune raised to the peerage by his achievements in the field. Catherine Sedley, whatever we may think of her morals, was undoubtedly a woman of very great character and of great wit. A sample of this is provided by her astonishment at the intensity of the Duke of York’s passion for her:

“It cannot be my beauty,” she said, “for I have none; and it cannot be my wit, for he has not enough to know that I have any.”

The portrait of her by Kneller*, till recently at Arthingworth Hall

* There are frequent visits and letters to and from these Miss Parkers, and they are two out of the four children in the sketch of the staircase at Dr Darwin’s house; see Plate X.

* Catherine Sedley was a kinswoman of the Churchills, whether through the Drakes or not, I have been unable to ascertain. Thus she was probably related to Arabella Churchill, and possibly to both Barbara and Elizabeth Villiers—a subject which would form a fitting study for a thesis on heredity.

* Sold at Christie and Manson’s in 1913.
Life and Letters of Francis Galton

(see Plate XIV), does not support the view that she was entirely lacking in beauty. It is not wholly unlike Wright's portrait of Elizabeth Collier (see Plate XVI), and we think in the youthful Violetta Darwin and in other members of the stock descended from Elizabeth Collier and Erasmus Darwin we may find traces of Catherine Sedley.

And if we are to judge a royal mistress, we must turn to her time and parentage! Her father was one of the lewdest men at Charles II's court, and even Pepys, by no means himself an ascetic, was shocked at his profligacy. Yet he was a man with real literary power, his prose style is "clear and facile," and his plays and poems had such a contemporary reputation that Charles II said of him that "his style, either in writing or discourse, would be the standard of the English tongue." Later in life Sedley somewhat redeemed himself by parliamentary activity and his advocacy of William III. He will ever be remembered by his lyrics:

"Love still has something of the sea,
From whence his mother rose";

or:

"Phillis is my only Joy,
Faithless as the Winds or Seas,
Sometimes coming, sometimes coy,
Yet she never fails to please";

and these at least settle that he knew how to handle his mother tongue. His portrait from a print in the British Museum is given in Plate XXI.

Sir Charles Sedley's wife was Elizabeth Savage, who came of a distinguished line, and his mother was the Elizabeth Savile, of whom Waller wrote:

"Here lies the learned Savile's heir,
So early wise and lasting fair,
That none, except her years they told,
Thought her a child or thought her old."

Thus we link up with Sir Henry Savile (see Plate XV), the most scholarly Englishman of his date, the founder of the Savilian professorships of geometry and astronomy at Oxford, tutor to Queen Elizabeth, Warden of Merton and Provost of Eton. On the other hand Sir William Sedley, Sir Charles' paternal grandfather, founded the Sedleian

1 He is reported to have said that if King James made his (Sedley's) daughter a countess, he had been even with him in courtesy by making James' daughter a queen!

2 I have not been able to discover in Oxford any portrait of Sir William Sedley.
SIR HENRY SAVILE, Scholar (1549–1622).
Maternal grandfather of Sir Charles Sedley and a direct ancestor of Francis Galton.
From a print of the portrait by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger in the possession of the author.
ELIZABETH COLLIER (1747—1832).

Mrs Pole, later Mrs Erasmus Darwin, with her son Sacheverel Pole.
Painted in the year 1770. From a picture in pastel by Wright
of Derby in the possession of Mr Wheler Galton at Claverdon.
ELIZABETH COLLIER (Mrs Pole, later Mrs Erasmus Darwin) with her dog.
From a silhouette at Claverdon in the possession of Mr Wheler Galton.
professorship in Natural Philosophy at Oxford. It is not without interest that the grandson of Savile and Sedley in the sixth degree should have founded a professorship in his turn.

One of the most noteworthy points connected with this branch of Francis Galton's ancestry is the tendency to die out in the male line. Sir Henry Savile left an only daughter, Sir Charles Sedley an only daughter, the Coly's ceased to be in the male line, the Darwin family springing from the Darwin-Collier marriage has ceased to be in the male line, and this is true whether we follow it in either Galton or Darwin branches. The women of the stock have children, but their sons again, are childless or nearly childless. This is far too widespread a phenomenon to be the result of chance; we must probably conclude that childlessness of the male is a definite heritage of the Savile-Sedley ancestry. It provided keen wit, courtly manners, literary power, and love of adventure, but handicapped the sons with this fatal dowry.

Of Elizabeth Collier's mother I am less able to speak definitely. I have sought for families of Collier which would be at all likely to be in touch with the racing circle of Godolphin, Leeds, and Portmore. The only one I have found was next neighbour to Gog-Magog House, a yeoman family of Collier associated with the villages of Stapleford and Stow-cum-Quy, but a few miles from Cambridge and from Newmarket. Here a certain Elizabeth Collier was born in 1713; she is not married till the year after Mrs Darwin's birth, but no trace of the registration of that birth has been found. I suspect, but cannot prove, that she was the mother of our Elizabeth Collier, and that shortly before 1745, she came as governess into the household of the Dowager Duchess of Leeds, then wife of Lord Portmore, whose stepson two or three years earlier had married Mary Godolphin, the daughter of Lord Godolphin of Gog-Magog House, Stapleford. Should this be correct, Francis Galton would be a descendant of a member of a family which has produced men noteworthy both in literature and medicine. He would probably be a direct descendant of the father of Jeremy Collier, the famous non-juror. Collier's writings are described as "clear, brilliant and incisive," the work according to Macaulay of "a great master of sarcasm, a great master of rhetoric." Almost singlehanded Collier purged the

1 That birth is not recorded in the church registers at Weybridge, the home of the Portmores.
English stage at the close of the 17th century by his courageous attack on Dryden, Congreve, D’Urfey, and the school of licence in his *Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* (1697). It is one of the weird phases of human history that if our suggestion be correct Elizabeth Collier should be a kinswoman at the same time of the licentious playwright Charles Sedley and the courageous and indignant non-juring bishop Jeremy Collier! One thing both her kinsmen possessed in common—sardonic wit and a fine command of English—and that is a heritage which is so rare that none can disregard it.

A few words must be said here of the descendants of Erasmus and Elizabeth Darwin. Of the seven children of this marriage, Edward Darwin the elder died unmarried at 47. We have few details of his character or ability. John Darwin, Rector of Elston, died unmarried at 31, Henry Darwin died as an infant, Emma died unmarried at 34, Harriet married Admiral Maling and died without issue at 35. Thus for our present purposes the family reduces to two: Francis Sacheverel, afterward Sir Francis S. Darwin, and Violetta, afterward Mrs Galton. Sir Francis Darwin (see Plate XVIII) is for us a most interesting figure. In the first place he was godfather to his nephew Francis Galton. In the next place, like his godson he was trained to medicine. A brief autobiographical account of his boyhood illustrated by his daughter Violetta is still in existence, and it shows him as an adventurous, rather wild boy (see Plates X and XIX). Like his godson he soon ceased to pursue medicine as a profession, but in 1808, at 22, he started with four others, one of whom was Theodore Galton, a younger brother of Francis Galton’s father, on a tour through Spain, the Mediterranean and the East. Travelling was not then what it is now, and we come in contact with war, robbers, privateers and the plague in the diary of this two years’ tour in the East. Of the five who started, only Dr Francis Darwin returned alive! The diary of the tour shows a keen antiquarian taste gratified under many difficulties, and we recognise that Francis Darwin not only loved adventure for its own sake, but was a born naturalist also, whose ready pencil followed a keen eye, where rock and mineral, plant and

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1 I have followed Macaulay (*Essays*, ed. 1874, p. 588, and *History*, ed. 1876, v. p. 85), but I have not done so without examination of the originals. Jeremy Collier’s *Short View* does not suit the public taste of to-day, but the question is whether we do not need a second illustration.
SIR FRANCIS SACHEVEREL DARWIN (1786—1859).
Uncle and godfather of Francis Galton. From a portrait by Haynes in the possession of Sir Francis' granddaughter Mrs William Wavell.
From the MS. Boyhood of Sir Francis S. Darwin. Francis Darwin and George Beshore while engaged in shooting pigs with arrows are disturbed by a mad dog, which communicates hydrophobia to the pigs and a horse. It is eventually killed by the mob. 1796.
beast were concerned, as readily as when it portrayed an archaeological novelty or displayed the costumes of Greece or Turkey. Typical of the man is the account he gives of the plague in Smyrna; instead of flying from the place, he remarks:

"On the 2nd day we again found ourselves at Smyrna amongst the plague, which had increased, 400 persons having died in our absence. I had now an opportunity of watching the progress of this disorder in several English sailors, who having been on shore, had caught the infection. I also visited the Armenian and Greek hospitals, where numbers were dying daily of the plague" (p. 55).

At Smyrna also we hear the tale of a gun discharged immediately under the window, which their host informed them was the shooting of another cat by a soldier posted to shoot the cats coming out of the next house where everybody but the baby had died of plague; the cats being the chief transporters of the infection. Darwin, wanting more experience of the plague, on another return to Smyrna undertook by invitation of the native physicians charge of several hospitals, of which the Greek and Armenian contained each 120 patients.

"This," Darwin writes, "was a good opportunity to become conversant with the diseases of the climate, and from constant observation I found the plague was frequently checked by an active practice of which the Medici of the East were totally ignorant. Intermittent fevers and the Lepra Gracorum are very peculiar in the Levant. Hard eggs and salt fish being the hospital diet, phthisis is most prevalent."

During the tour Darwin visited Tangiers, Tetuan, and attempted to get into Fez, not then visited by Europeans, but was not permitted to reach that closed centre of Mahommedanism. The strange element in Sir Francis Darwin's life is that he returned home, and after a short practice in Lichfield, settled down in a wild out of the way part of Derbyshire, and spent his days in studying archaeology and natural history without ulterior end; his place was full of animal oddities; there were wild pigs in the woods, and tame snakes in the house. Possibly his son Edward's keen power of observation of the habits of animals as exhibited in his Gamekeeper's Manual was developed under this environment. But the fragmentary knowledge we have been able to gather of Francis Darwin suggests marked character and

1 There is a marked tendency, almost an instinct, in many members of the Darwin-Galton stock to lead a leisurely country life, which completely masks their scientific interests. It became dominant for a time in the life of Francis Galton himself.
ability, which somehow failed of full fruition. Francis Galton's sister writes in her Reminiscences of the year 1826:

"We then went on to my uncle Sir Francis Darwin at Sydnope, who sent a pair of horses to help ours up the steep hill to the house. It was a wild place, but very amusing to visit. The six children slept in hammocks and kept pet snakes."

The love of adventure, the scientific and literary tastes of Sir Francis S. Darwin lead me to associate him closely with his godson, and it is strange that of all his Darwin or Galton uncles, Francis Galton in personal appearance seems to me to resemble most closely Francis Darwin. This leads me to emphasise a point which I think is of some importance: the Darwins were not by nature born travellers. Charles Darwin it is true went on the memorable "Beagle" voyage, but probably not because he derived immediate pleasure from travel for its own sake.

"I trust and believe," he wrote, "that the time spent in this voyage, if thrown away for all other respects, will produce its full worth in Natural History; and it appears to me the doing what little we can to increase the general stock of knowledge is as respectable an object in life as one can in any likelihood pursue." (Life, i, p. 205.)

Those are not the words of a traveller for the joy of travel, but of one who travels to obtain an end, not from innate Wanderlust. Some of my readers may know that joy in passing on into the unfamiliar, in spending each day under new conditions,—an unknown mortal mid unknowns! The Wanderlust is a fever which seizes the non-immune, mostly in youth, but may be in the blood, unquenched even in age. Both Francis Galton and Francis Darwin had marked touches of it, and in two ancestral lines—other than the direct Darwin line—we reach men who wandered and fought, and in an earlier century we have little doubt our Francises would have joined another Francis and have reached fame as Elizabethan buccaneers. This love of travel sprung, not from Darwin, but from Colyera and Barclay ancestry; it is manifest even in the scientific work of Galton. Both Charles Darwin and Francis Galton were pioneers in science, but the nature of their work was essentially different. Darwin invaded a new continent with the idea of settling in it. He planned great roads through it and he largely built them, and organized the country. He left traces of his pioneer work on the face of the land which must remain as his memorial for all time. Galton also discovered a new world, but he rushed from point to point of it making his hasty maps and ever eager
to see beyond. He never waited to see who was following him, he pointed out the new land to biologist, to anthropologist, to psychologist, to meteorologist, to economist, and left "them to follow or not at their leisure". He left others to settle and develop; his joy was in rapid pioneer work in a wide range of fields. If the world did not understand and accept, he would leave them thirty or forty years to consider it, until after many other wanderings he came to that land again to find an altered state of scientific knowledge and of public opinion. This love of travel for its own sake, the *Wanderlust*, which for many of us was largely the secret of Galton's power, was hardly Darwinian, we believe it came partly through the Colyyears—which explains its appearance in a lessened form in Francis Darwin—but partly through the Barclay-Cameron and Button strains, as we shall indicate later.

The second child of Erasmus Darwin and Elizabeth Collier—sister of Sir Francis Darwin—who comes especially under our ken is Frances Ann Violetta, shortly Violetta Darwin, the mother of Francis Galton (see Plate XX). She inherited many qualities from her mother, Elizabeth Collier, and although she bears the name of Darwin we must not look upon her as a pure Darwin. Much of her joyous unconventional nature was undoubtedly from the ancestry of Elizabeth Collier. She was by no means a Quaker by instinct, and the Quaker, Samuel Tertius Galton when aged 33, seems to have been baptised as an adult (Jan. 18, 1816) at Radbourne Church—probably owing to her influence. Her pictures as a young bride show her to have possessed

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1 Francis Galton himself realised this to the full. Thus he writes as follows in his *Inquiries into Human Faculty*:

"My general object has been to take note of the varied hereditary faculties of different men, and of the great differences in different families and races, to learn how far history may have shown the practicability of supplanting inefficient human stocks by better strains, and to consider whether it might not be our duty to so by such efforts as may be reasonable, thus exerting ourselves to further the ends of evolution more rapidly and with less distress than if events were left to their own course. The subject is, however, so entangled with collateral considerations that a straightforward step-by-step inquiry did not seem to be the most suitable course. I thought it safer to proceed like the surveyor of a new country, and endeavour to fix in the first instance as truly as I could the position of several cardinal points" (p. 2).

Six years later in the *Natural Inheritance* (p. 2) he again describes his work in much the same spirit, that of a pioneer building a high level road into a new country, affording wide views in unexpected directions and easy descents to novel and not yet mapped districts.

P. G.
marked good looks, more Collier than Darwin; she had considerable artistic faculty, and we are inclined to think that possibly the initials V. G. may be found on the graceful bookplate of her husband. Through her came longevity into Francis Galton’s stock from the Colliers. She lived to be 91, her mother Elizabeth Collier to be 85, and Elizabeth Collier’s mother to be 96. Francis Galton’s brother Erasmus lived to be 94, his brother Darwin to be 89, his sister Emma to be 93, his sister Bessie to be 98, and Sir Francis himself lived to be 89! This again is not a Darwin characteristic. It was also a longevity associated with persistent freshness of intellect—the sole condition under which longevity is of personal or social value. Violetta Darwin (see Plate XX) seems to have been a woman of much character, for thirty years after her husband’s death she was the centre of a large household, with excellently kept records, and accounts. She did not permit liberties, but was warmly loved by her children; in fact, she had an essential feature of lovableness which she handed down to her son Francis in a marked degree. No servant, no subordinate, ever attempted to take liberties with Francis Galton, and yet no man was more loved by relatives, friends, members of his expeditionary force and of his household. To Violetta Galton we owe a quaint little biographical account of her son Francis’ childhood, of which the first page and the silhouette are reproduced later.

Passing now to the paternal ancestry of Francis Galton we find ourselves at once in a sternuer atmosphere. If we look through the list

1 Francis Galton says so himself in his Memories, p. 7. But we have not been able to verify the statement. There is possibly confusion with Elizabeth (Hill) Darwin.

2 She wrote a quaint Advice to Young Women upon their first going out into Service published in Derby, and dedicated to Miss Harriet Darwin “for the use of her school for poor children.” As an extract I take: “When you speak to upper servants, always add Mr or Mrs before their names, it is a respect due to them; and whenever you happen to meet a Lady or Gentleman, in any part of the House, always courtesy on passing them, as you should remember to be civil.”

3 This lovableness of his nature is so truly expressed in a letter from one of his great nieces, that I venture to cite her words here:

“1 expect we all see our friends differently; if I were to write a memoir of Uncle Frank I should just say what a pet he was, and how good tempered and full of delightful naïve sayings, and that everybody wanted to kiss him! I should not bother about his intellect, which did not come my way.”

These sentences give a picture of Francis Galton, which all his intimates know to be true, but which it would be hard to express so well.
FRANCES ANNE VIOLETTA DARWIN.
Daughter of Erasmus Darwin and Elizabeth Collier (Pole, later Darwin) in the year of her marriage, 1807. From a miniature by Thompson in the possession of her granddaughter, Mrs T. J. A. Stoddy.

MRS TERTIUS GALTON.
From a photograph taken when she was 79 years of age.

MRS TERTIUS GALTON (Frances Anne Violetta Darwin) (1723—1874).
Mother of Francis Galton, aged 75. From a portrait in the possession of the Galton Laboratory.
SIR EWEN CAMERON of Lochiel (1629—1723).
Great-great-great-grandfather of Francis Galton. From a print in the possession of Mr Wheler Galton.

SIR CHARLES SEDLEY, Poet (1639—1701).
Great-great-great-grandfather of Francis Galton. From a print in the British Museum Print Room, which is from an original picture formerly in the possession of the Duchess of Dorset.
of Galton's 16 great-great-great-grandparents on the paternal side (see p. 10), we find that 11, possibly 13, were early members of the Society of Friends. Another, Sir Ewe Cameron, is famous as one of the last of the Highland chieftains, a man who summoned his clan and fought at its head (see Plate XXI). It is at first sight strange to find him marrying a daughter of the Quaker David Barclay, the sister Jean of the Apologist Robert Barclay. But the Quakers were never opposed to the Stuarts in the way the Puritans were. Robert Barclay himself was a direct descendent of the Stuarts in more than one line (see Pedigree Plate B). At the instigation of George Fox, Barclay appealed to James II, to check the persecution of the Quakers, and his kinship to the Stuarts gave him easy access to the King. He believed in James' zeal for liberty of conscience - being sincere; and in his Vindication of 1689 he says: "I love King James and wish him well." But as a Quaker he was a man of peace, who preached obedience to every established government and unlike his brother-in-law Cameron of Lochiel took no part in the Jacobite movements. His influence with Lochiel was probably great, and in 1688 Lochiel accompanied Barclay to London that the latter might use his influence with the King to settle a dispute between Gordons and Camerons. Barclay's mother was Catherine Gordon. Of Robert Barclay himself we must all acknowledge that he will ever remain one of the great masters of the English tongue. He formulated as a scholar and a rhetorician the doctrines of the Society of Friends in a way that was impossible for the uncultured George Fox. We may not agree with the doctrine of immediate revelation as it was developed in the Apology; that the inward testimony of the spirit in each man telleth him of the true will of God is a teaching which had led the Anabaptists to terrible catastrophe, but held in check by such quietism as we find in the mediaeval mystics and in the early Quakers it has done little harm and much good. Above all it led directly, since the inward spirit alone dictates religious knowledge and there is no formal creed or recognised outward authority, to the doctrine of universal toleration. We do not all realise how much we owe to the Quakers, and not least to Robert Barclay, for proclaiming this great doctrine, and, what is more, ultimately establishing it by their passive but stubborn resistance. Papist, Lutheran, Calvinist, Anabaptist, Anglican had not got as far as Robert Barclay when he wrote:
"This forcing of men's consciences is contrary to sound Reason, and the very Law of Nature. For Man's Understanding cannot be forced, by all the Bodily Sufferings another man can inflict upon him, especially in matters spiritual and supernatural: 'Tis argument and evident Demonstration of Reason, together with the Power of God reaching the Heart, that can change a Man's Mind from one Opinion to another, and not Knocks and Blows, and such like things; which may well destroy the Body, but can never inform the Soul, which is a free Agent, and must either accept or reject matters of Opinion, as they are born in upon it by something proportional to its own nature. To seek to force minds in any other manner, is to deal with men, as if they were Brutes, void of understanding; and at last is but to lose one's labour, and as the Proverb is: To seek to wash the Black-moor white. By that course indeed, men may be made Hypocrites, but can never be made Christians." (Apology, 4th Edn., p. 497.)

This may serve as a sample of Barclay's opinions, and of his command of our tongue. With his father, Colonel David Barclay, Robert had to suffer much for his faith. Colonel David Barclay had been a soldier of fortune, serving under Gustavus Adolphus through many fierce campaigns, and again in our own civil wars. Then between 50 and 60 he tells us that having served many others he made up his mind to enter the service of God, and looked around him with the greatest anxiety and earnestness, to know, in the midst of so many pretenders, what society of Christians to join with. Ultimately in his perplexity he found refuge in the Society of Friends. He resolved in the year 1666 to suffer indignities and injuries for conscience' sake and to exhibit his bravery in a new field. He established the Quakers' meeting at Ury and henceforth prison, public mockery, fine and distress were his lot. He has met his reward in the noble ballad of Whittier:

1. "Up the streets of Aberdeen,
   By the Kirk and College Green,
   Rode the Laird of Ury;
   Close behind him, close beside,
   Foul of mouth and evil eyed
   Pressed the mob in fury.

2. Flouted him the drunken churl,
   Jeered at him the serving girl,
   Prompt to please her master;
   And the begging carlin, late
   Fed and clothed at Ury's gate,
   Cursed him as he passed her.

DAVID BARCLAY of Youngsbury (1728—1806).

Philanthropist and Slave-Emancipator. Uncle of Mrs Samuel Galton (Lucy Barclay). Great-uncle to Tertius Galton and to Mrs Fry, and grandfather to Hudson Gurney. From a print in the British Museum Print Room after the picture by Houghton.
The Ancestry of Francis Galton

3. Yet with calm and stately mien,
Up the streets of Aberdeen
Came he slowly riding;
And to all he saw and heard,
Answering not with bitter word,
Turning not for chiding—

4. Came a Troop with broad-swords swinging,
Bits and bridles sharply ringing,
Loose and free and froward;
Quoth the foremost 'Ride him down!
Punish him, prick him through the town
Drive the Quaker coward!'

5. But from out the thickening crowd
Cried a sudden voice and loud,
'Barclay! Ho! A Barclay!'
And the old man at his side
Saw a comrade, battle-tried,
Scarred and sunburnt darkly.

6. Who with ready weapon bare;
Fronting to the troopers there
Cried aloud: 'God save us!
Call ye coward him who stood
Ankle deep in Lutzen's blood
With the brave Gustavus?'

7. 'Nay, I do not need thy sword,
Comrade mine,' said Ury's lord;
'Put it up I pray thee;
Passive to His Holy Will
Trust I in my Maker still,
Even though He slay me.'

Galton had as much to thank his Barclay ancestors for as his Darwin descent; it was not less, possibly more notable (see Pedigree Plates A and C). And Galton knew it; writing in the summer of 1906 he says:¹

'It is delightful to hear that you are so pleasantly placed among old Quaker associations. They—the Quakers—were grandly (and simply) stubborn.'

That stubborn persistency was a wonderful asset of nearly half Francis Galton's immediate ancestry. David Barclay, younger son of the Apologist, walked from Ury to London, and, commencing life afresh,

¹ Letter to K. P. 13/7/06.