

## Daniel Lombard and the lessons of history

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The Reverend Daniel Lombard was born in Angers on 18 April 1678, and was baptized in the Reformed church in Sorges on 24 April<sup>1</sup>. His godfather was the Huguenot minister Daniel Dutens, a colleague of his father in the Sorges church who, like the Lombards, would later migrate to the English Refuge.<sup>2</sup> In accordance with an often-respected tradition, the godfather gave his own name to the new-born infant; the godmother was the child's maternal grandmother, Marie Conseil. Daniel's father, Jean Lombard, son of a family of Nîmes merchants, had completed his theological studies at the Academy of Nîmes before being called as pastor to Angers.<sup>3</sup>

Daniel's mother, Françoise Marie de La Fuye, was one of the many daughters of Marie Conseil – all of whom would be refugees with their mother in London – and of the minister of the church at Angers Jean de La Fuye who, after studying at the Academy of Geneva, had been appointed to the temple in Sorges in 1643 and remained there until his death in September 1672. Jean de La Fuye, from a family of master butchers in Angers, had also been a member of council of the Academy of Saumur, where he participated in the recruitment of the teaching staff.<sup>4</sup> One of his sisters had married Charles Grongnet, a native of Montpellier and pastor in the Hautes Cevennes, and her two sons Étienne and François would also find refuge in England.

In 1684, the pastors of the Church of Angers and their close associates were accused of having contravened various edicts and of 'having compelled by force and violence [a young girl] to leave the Catholic Religion and profess the RPR (Religion Prétendue Réformée)', etc. All who were concerned were required, 'led by the *Exécuteur de la Haute Justice*, to present themselves at the entrance of the Cathedral Church ... the said Dutens, Lombard ... naked apart from a shirt, a rope around the neck, each holding in their hands a flaming torch ... and there kneeling

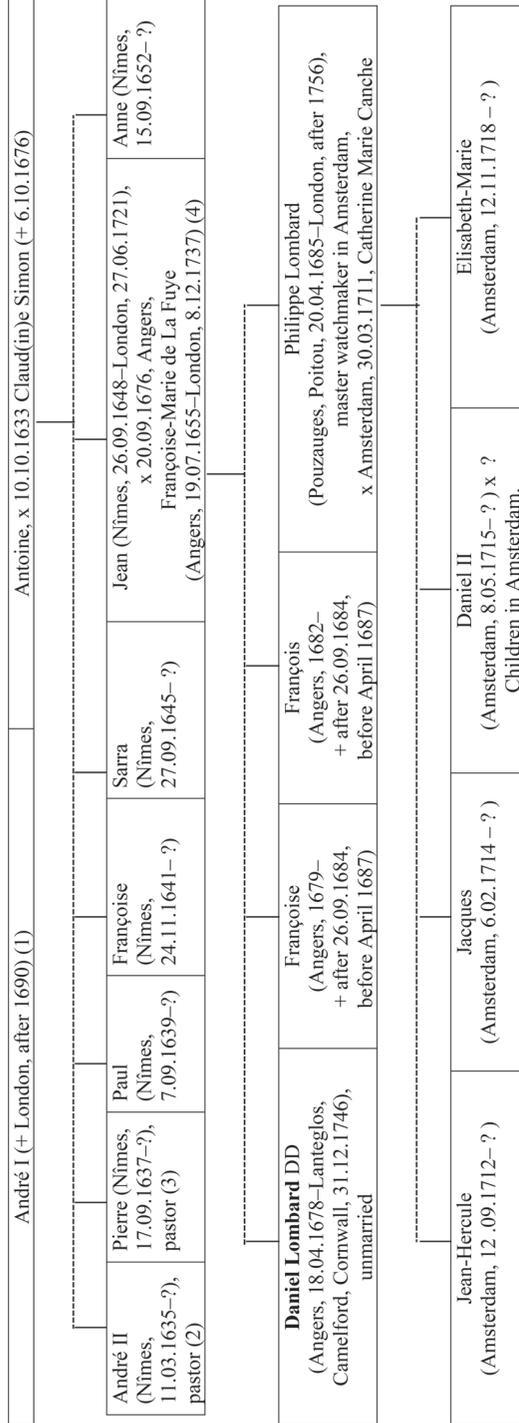
<sup>1</sup> The episcopal cities were not authorized to have a Protestant temple, hence the Angers Reformed church was located in the nearby village of Sorges.

<sup>2</sup> Robin Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain Vol I: Crisis, Renewal, and the Ministers' dilemma* (Sussex Academic Press, 2015), pp. 281–2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 348.

<sup>4</sup> Archives municipales de Saumur. Fonds de l'Académie protestante, transcription, pp. 157–170.

SIMPLIFIED GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE LOMBARD FAMILY FROM NÎMES



Bibliothèque de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français. Dossiers généalogiques. G 41/L3, famille Lombard : (1) Was a pastor in Nîmes, in 1668-69. (2) Studied in Geneva in 1654. (3) Was a pastor in Lussan in 1668. (4) Studied theology in Nîmes in 1668.

say and declare' that they recognized the accusations made against them that 'they had uttered several blasphemies and impious words against the Blessed Sacrament, the Blessed Virgin, and the Saints, for which they repented and asked forgiveness from God, from the King, from Justice.'<sup>5</sup> The pastors Dutens and Lombard were forbidden to hold services, banished from the city of Angers, and their church was demolished.

Jean Lombard and his wife were obliged to seek shelter with a colleague and friend, Pierre Bobineau, the minister at Pouzaugues in the Vendée district of Poitou, and it was there that their fourth child, Philippe, was born in 1685. After which the entire family left France for an exile in London.

The choice of an English refuge was probably made because Jean's brother, the Geneva-educated pastor André Lombard, was in London at that time and will have had contacts there.<sup>6</sup> Moreover Françoise Lombard's first cousin, the previously-mentioned Étienne Gronquet, who had been sentenced to death by the Tribunal de Nîmes in July 1684, had recently arrived in England and been placed by Henry Compton, Bishop of London, under the protection of William Lloyd, the Bishop of St Asaph in Wales. This may have suggested that Jean would be assisted in finding a position as minister, something that indeed came about in 1686. In the following year, on 16 December, the Lombards and their children were made free denizens of the kingdom and Daniel was subsequently naturalized by Parliament in either January 1688 or March 1697.<sup>7</sup>

### *Daniel Lombard's education and ordination*

Daniel had reached the age of reason by the time his family settled in London. On 11 September 1689, when he was 11 years old, he entered the Merchant Taylors' School, a London grammar school established in 1561 by Sir Thomas White, who had already founded St John the Baptist College in Oxford.<sup>8</sup> Aimed at the children of members of the Merchant Taylors' Guild, as well as the children of the poor, the school provided – in addition to a basic education – the teaching of Latin, Spanish and Italian. There is no doubt that it was here that Daniel laid

<sup>5</sup> Archives Nationales, TT 267, dossier Temple de Sorges, Angers, f.1046–1096.

<sup>6</sup> S. Stelling Michaud, *Le livre du Recteur de l'Académie de Genève, 1559–1878* (Geneva, 1975), vol. 4, p.354.

<sup>7</sup> *Lists of Foreigner Protestants and Aliens resident in England, 1618–1688* (Camden Soc. Pub, 1862), p. 51; An act for the naturalizing of John Keyser, Jacob Banck, Jacob Oosterland, Mathew Fanjoux and Daniel Lombard received royal assent on 8 March 1697.

<sup>8</sup> Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: the members of the University of Oxford, 1500–1714* (Oxford, 1891), pp. 921–55.

the foundations of his future excellence in languages. He remained at Merchant Taylors' until he was admitted to St John's College, where his matriculation was registered on 7 July 1694 'at the age of 16'. In the same year he was designated 'scholar', followed by 'fellow' in 1697, which gave him the right to a bursary award until 3 March 1718.

At Oxford, Daniel Lombard passed all his degree examinations: BA in 1698; MA in 1701 'by diploma' (he was then in Hanover); BD in 1708; DD in 1714. His evidently extensive studies in theology did not, however, cause him to neglect other fields of learning, impelled as he was by a keen natural interest in languages, both living and dead, and in history, literature, philosophy, and eastern civilizations.

Following his ordination as deacon by Henry Compton in 1700, and as priest on 9 January 1701, he was appointed chaplain in Hanover to the English envoy (James Cressett from 1693–1703), and later to the heir presumptive to the crown of Great Britain, the Princess Sophia, Electress of Hanover (1630–1714).<sup>9</sup>

### *His religious and political views*

Bishop Compton hoped to unite all dissenters to the Anglican Church through dialogue and persuasion, and was well-disposed to foreign Protestant refugees. The excellent relationship that he maintained with them applied both to those who had accepted a modification of their rites to become assimilated to the Church of England, (whilst retaining their original Calvinism and the French language, as in the French Church of the Savoy in London), and to those who had refused to make that change and were assimilated to the English dissenters or Nonconformists, as was the case with the French Reformed Church in Threadneedle Street. In this context, Daniel Lombard offers the example of a completely voluntary integration into the official Anglican Church, being the son of a refugee pastor who had opted for full 'conformity'. Both he and his father signified their willingness to become definitively English through their agreement with the bishops most committed to the dual principle of a parliamentary monarchy and a national Church under the direction of the king. Moreover, whilst possessing, like all French Protestants, an unflinching respect for royalty, Daniel Lombard supported the limitation of the king's powers and approved of the strengthening of Parliament by the Declaration of Rights of December 1689.

Henry Compton, who had crowned Queen Anne in 1702 and was well-regarded at the English Court, will almost certainly have been involved in the nomination of Daniel as Sophia of Hanover's personal chaplain. It

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

had become important to be able to reinforce the now elderly princess's understanding of the peculiarities of British political life and society which, since the beheading of Charles I in 1649, had known many upheavals. In such circumstances, the newly-ordained Lombard, with his extensive knowledge of history, languages, and ancient and modern literature, will probably have appeared to Compton to be the right man for the job.

Although the Princess Sophia never reigned in Great Britain, having died shortly before Queen Anne in 1714, she at least gave Daniel the opportunity to reside for some years in Hanover and to visit other German states and Italy. Unfortunately, the archives are miserly with information about his activities at this time, but we know that, in 1711, he was 'allowed to travel into Italy and Germany by licence from convocation'.<sup>10</sup> Genoa was to be an especial goal, and he was to be the guide of a certain Samuel Hill, who had undertaken a European tour in 1711–14.<sup>11</sup> We also know, from the tribute by his friend Francis Gregor (see *infra*), that he spent time in Rome, where he met some of the 'great men' of the Catholic Church. For the rest, we do not know the content, the duration, or the other places he may have visited. The stay in Italy no doubt satisfied his intellectual curiosity and his appetite for letters; it may also have strengthened his antipathy to Roman Catholicism.

### *Court life and a Cornish living*

After the death of Sophia and the accession to the British throne of her son George Ludwig as George I, Daniel Lombard was made personal chaplain to George's daughter-in-law, Caroline of Ansbach, then Princess of Wales. Both the Princess and her husband, the future George II (1727–1760), followed George Ludwig to London in 1714, and it was on the recommendation of the Prince of Wales that the Bishop of Exeter appointed Lombard rector of Lanteglos-by-Camelford in Cornwall, together with the adjacent parish of Advent.<sup>12</sup> Daniel took office at Lanteglos on 24 February 1718, but the actual size of his congregation is unknown. The earliest demographic estimate of the two parishes, dating

<sup>10</sup> Permission was granted on 11 April 1711. See G.C. Boase and W.P. Courtney, *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis. The County of Cornwall, With Biographical Memoranda and Copious Literary References* (London, 1882), vol. 3, p. 1269.

<sup>11</sup> Cheshire Archives and Local Studies Record Office, DET/4674/38. Samuel Hill was Latin Secretary to George I from 1714–18.

<sup>12</sup> Sir Joseph Maclean, *The Parochial History of Trigg Manor* (London, 1876), vol. 2, p. 306.



Figure 41. Lanteglos in the early 19th century.

from the 1801 census (more than half a century after Lombard's death), gives 912 inhabitants for Lanteglos and Camelford and 170 for Advent.<sup>13</sup>

Daniel Lombard remained rector of Lanteglos for the rest of his life, although he may have often been absent if he had need to attend to his obligations as chaplain to the Princess of Wales. The relatively high income from the living allowed him to delegate his responsibilities to a curate, the Reverend John Farnham, who was employed from 1722 to 1740.<sup>14</sup> It would appear that Lanteglos with Advent formed one of the richest ecclesiastical livings in Cornwall.<sup>15</sup> Writing in 1876, Sir Joseph MacLean calculated the land on which full tithes were imposable amounted to approximately 3160 acres (comprising 1674 acres of arable, 400 acres of meadow, 1065 acres of pasture and 19 acres of woodland), and the land subject to wheat and other cereal tithes was in the region of 866 acres.<sup>16</sup> This information, taken from a land register established and signed by D. Lombard in 1727, gives many details of the plots in the parish, their size and liability to tithes, and the glebe lands and income.

<sup>13</sup> D. and S. Lysons, *Magna Britannia, Vol. III Cornwall* (London, 1814). pp. 43, 45.

<sup>14</sup> John Farnham died on 10 June 1740, leaving an extensive library.

<sup>15</sup> The Rev Sabine Baring-Gould, *Cornish characters and strange events*, 1st edn. (London, 1908), p. 424.

<sup>16</sup> Maclean, *The History of Trigg Manor*, vol. 2, pp. 277, 280, 299 and 306.

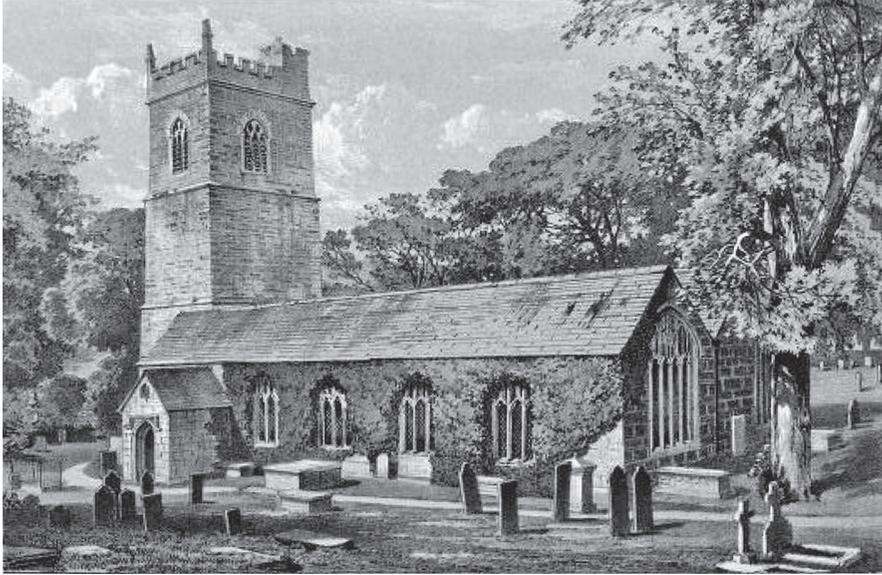


Figure 42. Lanteglos Church.

Caroline of Ansbach became queen in 1727, and by the time she died in 1737 Daniel Lombard will have known English Court life for more than 20 years, yet it seems he always maintained the air of good-natured simplicity that had characterized his personality when he was an impetuous student.<sup>17</sup> He also appears to have had difficulty in adapting to English ways:

Lombard never assimilated himself to the manners nor the society of England. He spent much time abroad, and especially in Germany, where he became known either to King George the Second, or, what is more probable, as a scholar and a divine to Queen Caroline ... All accounts agree in representing Doctor Lombard as a man of profound ecclesiastical and school learning; but at the same time wholly unacquainted with the ways of the world in which he was destined to live, or with the discoveries of modern science. Innumerable anecdotes were current about him half a century ago...<sup>18</sup>

In addition, if he wrote English well, he spoke it ‘badly with a foreign accent’.<sup>19</sup> In everyday conversation he would use French words, but

<sup>17</sup> In 1687 Jean Lombard received £ 20 aid from the Royal Bounty Fund. Huguenot Library, MS J 2/5.

<sup>18</sup> Davies Gilbert, *The Parochial History of Cornwall...* (London, 1838), vol. 2, p. 407–8.

<sup>19</sup> Baring-Gould, *Cornish characters ...*, p. 425.

more often German ones, as if he were juggling with the languages. This tendency would make communication in Cornwall all the more difficult for inhabitants of Celtic origin who already had trouble understanding English. It should not be forgotten that Lombard was fluent in French, English, German, Italian and, to a lesser extent, in Spanish, and that he read and wrote both Greek and Latin.

### *Daniel Lombard's writings*

Henry Compton would have been overjoyed if he could have read what Lombard wrote in 1723, which was as much as ten years after Compton's death:

Never was England governed according to the Laws as she now is. In this whole Reign it is the Laws alone that have, until now, decided the life, the property, and the liberty of each person ... Our Parliaments under this reign have always been consulted on the most important matters, and it is on their decision that the Court has always relied; in a word, under a Prince [George I] who, with a thousand times more justice and clemency, has as much ease of temper and manner as Augustus ever had.<sup>20</sup>

In 1714 Daniel Lombard had published in England *A Sermon preached at Hanover before the late Princess Sophia and the Rest of the Royal Family, on March 28/April 8, 1714*, in which he attacked the Jacobite plotters who were hoping to restore the Roman Catholic Stuarts to the throne of Great Britain and Ireland. He recalled the people's duty of obedience to their [*de facto*] king, whilst emphasizing the respect the ruler owed his people by recognizing their freedom.<sup>21</sup> This was clearly a piece of propaganda that had been prepared in Germany to support the Hanoverian Protestant succession, but it was also a prelude to his two principal works.

The first of these is in French: *Comparaison des deux Histoires, de Mézeray et du Père Daniel en deux Dissertations, avec une Dissertation préliminaire sur l'Utilité de l'Histoire* (1723).<sup>22</sup> Published in Amsterdam, it consists of three parts, the first of which, 48 pages long, is the 'Dissertation sur l'Utilité de

<sup>20</sup> D. Lombard, *Comparaison des deux Histoires, de Mézeray et du Père Daniel en deux Dissertations* (Amsterdam, 1723), p.15.

<sup>21</sup> Daniel Lombard, *A Sermon preach'd at Hanover before the late Princess Sophia and the Rest of the Royal Family, on March 28/April 8, 1714*. Published by Her Royal Highness's special command. (Oxford, 1714), pp. 1–24.

<sup>22</sup> Père Daniel, *Histoire de France depuis l'établissement de la monarchie française dans les Gaules* (1713), republished several times. François-Eudes de Mézeray, *Histoire de France depuis Faramond jusqu'au règne de Louis le Juste* (1643–1651), many editions up to the 19th century. Of a free and independent mind, Mézeray was a royal historiographer; he became Perpetual Secretary of the French Academy.

l'Histoire'; the second and the third parts are the two 'Dissertations sur la Comparaison ...'. The volume's appearance was announced in the periodical *Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne: pour servir de suite aux Bibliothèques Universelle et Choisie*.<sup>23</sup>

The three dissertations were written with the aim of destroying what was known in England as the doctrine of 'Passive Obedience', or so it was claimed by a reviewer in 1737.<sup>24</sup> They also introduced Daniel Lombard's theories on the usefulness of history in providing exemplary lessons:

The principal aim of History is to turn men into honest folk and good citizens. Those who have the happiness to be born into the Christian religion should learn through History to become better Christians.

Lombard compared the two popular French histories of the Jesuit, Père Daniel (1649–1728), and François-Eudes de Mézeray (1610–1683) according to criteria that he set out in the Preface. His chosen subject can be expressed in current terms as 'the treatment of minorities', which he considered must conform to the principles of justice and liberty; something unlikely to happen without representative assemblies of the people. Although he judged the work of Père Daniel to be superior to that of Mézeray in form and method, the Jesuit was 'the most to be criticized' with regard to justice and liberty because he 'relies heavily on Cardinal Richelieu and ... on those who have contributed the most to strengthening Tyranny in France' (p.49). In spite of condemning the massacres of St Bartholomew's Day, he 'justifies and excuses ... the persecutions which Protestants of France are made to suffer on account of Religion' (p. 52). Hence Père Daniel lacked justice and equity, of which, Lombard considered, he had 'not very precisely observed the rules.' Bound instead by the rules of his order, and thus under the authority of the Pope, Père Daniel was more 'missionary' than Mézeray, and 'more accuser than Historian' (p.106). On the other hand Mézeray, although he wrote badly, showed himself to be a natural enemy of tyrants and tyranny who had 'great and noble ideas of freedom and the public good.'

Daniel Lombard's opinions on the assistance that a study of history could give to understanding moral behaviour, and to its perfection, were certainly audacious seen from France, where the publication of such a work was unimaginable at that time. The Catholic Church would have condemned it for its advanced ideas, which struck at the roots of ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the royal bureaucracy would have forbidden its

<sup>23</sup> A periodical edited by Jean Le Clerc and printed in Amsterdam 'chez les Frères Wetstein' (1723), vol. 20, p. 236.

<sup>24</sup> *Bibliothèque Française, ou Histoire littéraire de la France*, Nouvelle Edition (Amsterdam, 1737), vol 4, pp. 3–12.

circulation. The book, in which we can perceive the influence of John Locke's thought, attacked the very principle of absolute monarchy and praised the balance of power, the mutual respect of the king and the people, and the supremacy of Parliament. Lombard's eulogy of liberty, and his denunciation of the abuses of liberty – as well as his exposition of the serious risks which result from those abuses – were inconceivable in Regency France.

A reading of the book inspires the feeling that, in writing it in French, the author's main wish was to address his compatriot refugees in England, perhaps to convince them of the virtues of the British constitutional models of Church and State. It is probable that he also wanted to reach readers in Holland, where the book was published, and in Germany and beyond, in order to show to them the pathway of the future; a path that, for him, had already been opened in England by the Glorious Revolution of 1688–89.

Daniel Lombard believed there could be no religion without liberty, as he makes clear when he claims that his work 'breathes everywhere the love of Liberty and true Religion and where I have undertaken the task of combatting the spirit of sedition and revolt, as well as that of tyranny and persecution.'

To be zealous for the King, for your Royal Highnesses, and for your august children, is to be zealous for Liberty and Religion; to be a good Englishman and a good fellow countryman is to be a Protestant and Christian,

he wrote in the Epistle to the Princess of Wales which precedes the Preface to the book.<sup>25</sup> Making a further allusion to Jacobite plots for the restoration of a Catholic and absolutist king, he continued

I am persuaded that not only among the Protestants, but even among the [British] Roman Catholics, all decent people can only regard with indignation those persons of the first Rank in State and Church who trample underfoot the first principles of Honour and Religion. It can only be with horror that Everybody sees them engaging in the darkest plots to establish tyranny – and a religion believed to be false – on the ruins of Liberty and the true Religion; of which, up to now, they have made at least an external profession.<sup>26</sup>

Here, it must be remembered, Lombard's argument contained an intrinsic weakness, for the freedom he deemed so necessary to religion was not then being accorded to Britain's Catholic population (some tens of thousands) to the same extent as members of the Anglican Church.

<sup>25</sup> D. Lombard, 'Épître à la Princesse de Galles', *Comparaison des deux Histories* (Amsterdam, 1723), p.3. All translations are those of the author.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

However, in the Preface that followed the Epistle, he explained that he was offering a treatise on morality, politics and religion, rather than a critique of chronological events. Although he hoped thereby to demonstrate how history could help to build better citizens and Christians, he regretted that he was no longer able to consult archives that were difficult to read because he was in danger of permanently losing his eyesight (he was still only 45).

The decision to publish a work that was originally intended for the Princess alone was made, Lombard declared, at the request of ‘members of a learned Society ... composed of people of Letters who come together every Monday.’<sup>27</sup> If he had written it in French, this was because it was intended above all for refugees and descendants of refugees who were still penetrated by the spirit of unconditional submission to absolutist monarchy, having acquired a habit to which they strongly and constantly adhered.

I only want [the reader of history] to learn to be a good Citizen, and to preserve his freedom when he is lucky enough to enjoy it. One doesn’t need such lessons under a despotic Government, where apart from a small number of persons the rest of the people play no part in running the State, but it is not the same under a Constitution like that of England, where almost everyone has – so to speak – a share in the Government; where everyone has a fundamental right to elect those who must represent [him] in Parliament ... and speak in his name.<sup>28</sup>

Daniel Lombard made a point of writing in the French language of Paris, and not in what ‘the journalists of Paris ... called the *stile Réfugié*’, which tended to prevail in England.<sup>29</sup> Jacques Saurin, who was cited by Lombard, described how this had come about:

It is difficult for the French who have sacrificed their homeland to their religion to speak their language with purity. Wandering like the Patriarchs, they experience similar variations in their tongue to the variations that those venerable persons experienced in what had been natural to them; insensibly they have created an idiom as singular as Hellenistic Greek.

Lombard’s second important work was *A Succinct History of Ancient and Modern Persecutions. Together with A Short Essay on Assassinations and Civil Wars*. This was to be a further reflection on history, in English this time,

<sup>27</sup> We have not been able to trace this Society, which may have been formed by émigrés with an attachment to their French origins.

<sup>28</sup> *Comparaison des deux Histoires*, ... p. 9.

<sup>29</sup> This style was criticized by Voltaire in his *Histoire du règne de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1775), vol. 1, p. 156.

but Daniel had only just finished writing it when he died, and so never saw its publication a few weeks later.

In the *Succinct History*, written in the wake of the Jacobite rebellion of 1745, he returned once again to a theme that was very dear to him: that of the superiority of an English national Church, completely separate from Rome and governed through an independent contractual relationship with the civil power of the king. He saw this as the best system for avoiding the violent treatment of minority religions that prevailed in absolutist monarchies under the influence of the Church of Rome, for he regarded that Church as in itself an absolute monarchy, controlled as it was by high prelates more interested in preserving power over their fellow humans than in respecting the traditions of early Christianity.

With the recent ‘unnatural rebellion’ in mind, he chose examples from history to warn his readers of what they could expect under a ‘Popish monarch’, and to ‘instil into their Minds a just Dread and Horror of popish Persecution.’<sup>30</sup> He pointed to ‘the Madness of thinking of a popish Pretender as a person fit to expect Happiness under’ – rather than recognizing the blessings of the Protestant succession, through which civil and religious rights and privileges were strictly preserved.<sup>31</sup>

To show how the ‘Method of proceeding by Massacres was begun very early in the Church of Rome’ he cited the Albigensian Crusade under Innocent III – with its famous sack of Beziers in 1209 – and reminded readers of the cruelty of the Inquisition, and the Catholic persecution of the Waldensians.<sup>32</sup> He was no doubt viewing the Albigensian atrocities from a narrow religious perspective, and thus neglecting an aspect that modern historians would take into account: that of the political motives of French rulers trying to expand to the south. But his first aim will have been to draw attention to the massacre of French Protestants at Wassy, and on St Bartholomew’s Day 1572.<sup>33</sup> ‘In France,’ he observed, ‘that polite, civilized and learned Nation, Popery very early showed itself in all its colours.’<sup>34</sup>

### *Death and Inheritance*

In addition to his work on the lessons of history, Daniel Lombard maintained a long and interesting correspondence with Francis Gregor of

<sup>30</sup> D. Lombard, *A Succinct History of Ancient and Modern Persecutions. Together with A Short Essay on Assassinations and Civil Wars* (London, 1747), Preface, p. iii.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 81.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

Trewarthenick in Cornwall, whom he had first met in Hanover.<sup>35</sup> Some of his letters reach ten pages in length, and he tackles every kind of literary, historical and religious subject, thus revealing the depth, breadth and eclecticism of his learning. It was shortly after these letters ceased in 1746 that Lombard's death was announced in the *Gentleman's Magazine*:

On 31 [December 1746], the Rev. Dan. Lombard DD, rector of Lanteglos and Advent in Cornwall, an extraordinary linguist and historian, and many years chaplain to the Princess Sophia at Hanover. His father being a protestant minister was obliged to leave France.<sup>36</sup>

As he was finishing his last book, Daniel had known of his impending death, and he drafted his will in London on 20 November 1746 'in the twentieth year of the reign of our sovereign Lord George the Second, by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland.'<sup>37</sup> The executors he named were 'Daniel Lombard my nephew; Francis Gregor, gent.; and Charles Hamline senior.'

Daniel Lombard the nephew was the son of his only surviving brother, Philippe, born in Pouzauges in 1685, and the will referred to the nephew's children who were living in Amsterdam. Francis Gregor (1686–1762), a distinguished lawyer, was the close friend from Hanover days, now retired to his home at Trewarthenick.<sup>38</sup> Charles Hamline was a landowner at Camelford, apothecary and surgeon, and mayor of Camelford in 1734 and 1738.<sup>39</sup> All three executors signed their acceptance of responsibilities more than two months after Lombard's death, giving some idea of the remoteness of Lanteglos from London. Francis Gregor and Charles Hamline took an oath in the capital on 2 March 1747, in the presence of the Honourable John Bettesworth, and the nephew Daniel Lombard gave his own undertaking before the Huguenot lawyer Andrew Coltee Ducarel on 20 June of the same year.

Most of the will deals with the testator's personal library, which will indicate the overwhelming importance that he gave to books, reading, and ideas:

**And** I further Give to the said Ann Hawkins my Fifteen volumes of Tillotsons sermons and my four Volumes of Stanhope upon the Epistle and Gosples.

<sup>35</sup> Cornish Record Office, now Kresen Kernow, Redruth, G/1969/1,2. Letter books, Daniel Lombard to Francis Gregor, 1730; G/1970/1,2 Letter books, Francis Gregor to Daniel Lombard, 1720–1746.

<sup>36</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, vol. 17 (January 1747), p. 47.

<sup>37</sup> The National Archives, Kew, PROB11/753/76.

<sup>38</sup> His son William (1761–1817) discovered titanium in 1789. His eldest son Francis (1760–1815), was MP for Cornwall from 1790 to 1806.

<sup>39</sup> Maclean, *History of Trigg Minor...*, vol. 2, p. 332.

**Also** I Give and bequeath unto Saint John's Colledge in Oxford all my French, Italian and Spanish Books which I desire that the Reverend Mr. William Waddon Rector of Cardinham will immediately after my Death (if he shall be then Living or in case he shall Dye before that time that my Executors hereinafter named or one of them) lett the Society of the said Colledge know.

**Also** I Give and bequeath all my other Books of Greek Latin and English not before given for a Parochial Library to my successors of my aforesaid two parishes the Future Rectors of Lantegloss and Advent to be placed and kept in some convenient Room within the Parsonage House of Lantegloss.

**And** I Do hereby Appoint the person who shall next and immediately succeed me as Rector of my aforesaid two Parishes the Reverend Mr. William Waddon aforesaid and the Reverend Mr Charles Peters Rector of St Mabyn and the survivors and Survivor of them to be visitors of the said Library and after all their Deaths it is my Will and desire that the future Rector of Lantegloss and Advent aforesaid for the time being together with such other person or persons as the Dean and Chapter of Exeter shall from time to time for that Purpose nominate and Appoint shall be Visitors and have the Care of the Library aforesaid.

**Also** I Give and bequeath to Charles Hamline son of the above said Charles Hamline the sum of Five Pounds.

**Also** it is my Will and desire and I Doe hereby direct that all my Manuscriptes shall immediately after my Death be placed deposited and Left in the hands of the before named Francis Gregor Esquire.

Of the legacy to St John's College Oxford, at least 403 books were still in the college library in 2013, each bearing a mention of the bequest and its date.<sup>40</sup> Amongst them is a copy of the *Comparaison des deux Histoires*, in which, from the first to the last page, all margins and white spaces are covered in notes and reading references in the hand of Daniel Lombard ; strongly suggesting the preparation of a new edition, much enriched and expanded, which was never to appear.

Nothing remains of the Greek, Latin and English books left to Lombard's successors in the parishes of Lanteglos and Advent for the enrichment of the parsonage library. An inventory of 1818 records 537 volumes 'deposited with the Archdeacon's Registrar at Bodmin' in that year. About 120 volumes considered to be worthless by the Rt Revd J.W. Hunkin, Bishop of Truro, and 'an expert', were burned c.1940. The remaining books were eventually deposited, April 1966, in the Cornish Records Office, now in Redruth. There is one 16th-century volume,

<sup>40</sup> Stewart Tiley, College Librarian, St John's College Oxford, 31 January 2013, STJ Lombard xls.

but the remainder are entirely 17th- and 18th-century works of English and continental theology, biblical commentaries and sermons, and some classics and history.<sup>41</sup> As for Lombard's personal papers, notes, drafts and manuscripts, given to Francis Gregor, their fate is unknown. Only a part of his correspondence has come down to us, that with Francis Gregor.

As well as much of his library, Daniel Lombard also left the parish of Lanteglos a portrait of himself, which had been hanging on the walls of the presbytery. At the end of the 19th century the presbytery was transformed into a hotel, and we do not know what became of the portrait after 1870. An enquiry by correspondence and on the spot has failed to locate it, if, indeed, it still exists. Similarly, an investigation by correspondence and *in situ* has not revealed the whereabouts of his grave in the cemetery adjoining the church.

### *Conclusion*

Daniel Lombard never married, and when he was at Lanteglos he is thought to have lived like a recluse. It was not a place in which he would have been able to cultivate the arts of conversation and debate in which he excelled, and it is almost certain that he was in his element in London. In Cornwall he could have had little opportunity to promote his great erudition, or exchange his opinions with others who shared his intellectual interests, unless it was with Francis Gregor or his neighbour Charles Hamline. Although it is probable that he was sometimes absent from his living, particularly in the early years, he nevertheless saw it as his duty to instil loyalty to the British government in the hearts and minds of the people committed to his care, and to show them the 'blessings of the happy constitution' under which they lived. With the passage of time he no doubt spent increasingly long periods in the company of his many books in the Lanteglos parsonage, in spite of his failing eyesight. He is not known to have ever shown dissatisfaction with his Cornish living and, indeed, appears to have found little cause for complaint about life in Hanoverian Britain. Let Francis Gregor have the final say:

To the Memory of Dr Lombard  
Camelford Cornwall December 31, 1746

This day, at ten in the afternoon, departed this Life in an advanced Age the Revd Daniel Lombard DD, minister of the United Parishes of Lanteglos and Advent for many years: His Father was a minister of the

<sup>41</sup> Neil Ripley Ker and Michael Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries of the Church of England and the Church in Wales* (University of Cambridge Press, 2004), p. 262.

Reformed Church of France, and was one of those Refugees who were obliged to take Shelter in England now upwards of sixty years since; this Gentleman educated his son at Merchant Taylor's School, from whence he was elected into St John's Colledge in Oxford, where he made a great Proficiency in all sorts of Learning proper for a Divine and a Scholar. His knowledge in the Greek, Latin, French and Italian was critical. He had the comprehensive True, Energy of the English Language. He had gone thro the Greek and Latin Historians, was very ready at them and, in support of what he advanced, usually produced lively argument from this Great Storehouse of Learning. He was no stranger to the Ancient Philosophers and Philosophy, though it be an abstruse and almost useless part of Learning. But above all he understood exactly the Depths of Satan and of Rome, with their Haughty Prelate at the Head of them. He understood Ecclesiastical History the best of any one I ever met with, especially that part which is so necessary in our Disputes with the Papists. He had the Advantage of Spending some time in the Head Quarters of Popery. He had conversed with several of the Great Men of that Church at Rome, of which he made the best use as Observations. Indeed, He was exceeding well qualified for Conversation – Great Spirits and Life. He had lived in Court and had been used to stand before Princes and Great Men.

F.G.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Kresen Kernow, Redruth, Cornwall, G/1469/1. Francis Gregor's 'In Memoriam', 1746.