

THE BURRARD NEALE MEMORIAL AT WALHAMPTON – LEGEND AND REALITY

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ABSTRACT

The Burrard Neale monument in Lymington was erected ostensibly to celebrate the career of an admiral well known to the local community, Sir Harry Neale. Examination of his career casts doubt on this being the sole motivation. A wider review of his family, associates, and of the circumstances surrounding the erection of the monument engenders further misgivings about the received narrative handed down to later generations.

Although erected to a member of a local family dominant in Lymington, the effect was rather more to perpetuate the Burrard name, which Sir Harry himself had dropped in 1795, and to bestow self-reflected glory on his heir, his brother George.

INTRODUCTION

Several notable monuments to public figures were erected in the first half of the nineteenth century. The Wellington Monument in Somerset was completed in the 1820s, Grey's Monument in Newcastle-on-Tyne was completed in 1838, and, in the same year, a proposal to honour Britain's greatest admiral led to the construction of Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square. The fashion for commemorating men of importance extended to Lymington on the south coast of Hampshire. Between 1840 and 1842, a memorial obelisk, known as the Burrard Neale Monument, was erected to one of the town's most famous sons, Admiral Sir Harry Neale (See Fig. 1).

The contrast between the achievements of the Duke of Wellington, Earl Grey and Horatio, Viscount Nelson on the one hand, and a role in the suppression of the infamous mutiny at The Nore in 1797 on the other, is sufficiently marked

as to raise questions about the motives of the proponents of the Burrard Neale Monument. Neale's career was centred on the navy, yet the award of Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath as late as 1822 provides another contrast, to the peerages granted to so many other admirals of the period, of whom Sir John Jervis (Earl 1797, Battle of St Vincent), Howe (Earl 1788, on retirement as First Lord of the Admiralty following several successful engagements at sea), Collingwood (Baron 1805, Battle of Trafalgar), Duncan (Viscount 1797, Battle of Camperdown), Keith (Viscount 1814, C-in-C Channel Fleet supporting the army in the Peninsular War) and Gambier (Baron 1807, Battle of Copenhagen) are but a few.

Explaining the apparent paradox entails looking, not simply at Neale's career in the Royal Navy, his feats of courage, and the mutiny at The Nore. His family background, the corporation of Lymington and its mayors and members of parliament, his marriage, and the erection of the Walhampton Monument itself, including the various subscribers and supporters, are of equal or greater significance. Amongst these subscribers were several members of the royal family. In his later years, Neale's eminent flag rank mingled with a political controversy set him at odds with the progressive spirit of the time, but apparently cheered his friends.

THE BURRARDS OF WALHAMPTON

Sir Harry Neale was born Harry Burrard, the older son of Lt. Col. William Burrard. The Burrards had been established in Lymington for a considerable time, with some genealogies tracing their ancestry back to the thirteenth

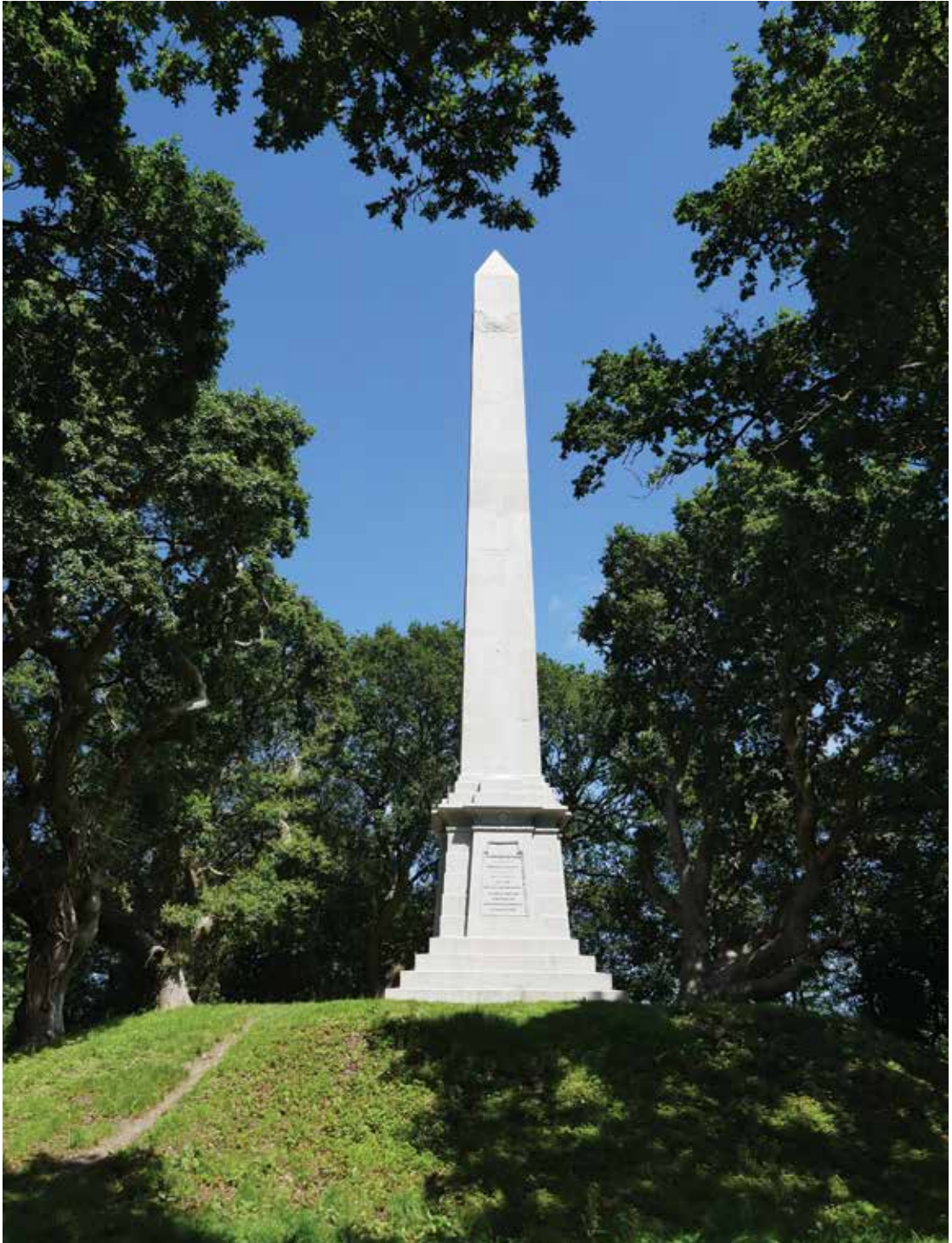


Fig. 1 The Walhampton Monument, Courtesy of Peter Stone

Table 1 Burrards as Mayors of Lymington

George Burrard	1574, 1584
John Burrard	1589, 1597, 1606
Ralfe Burrard	1599
George Burrard	1630, 1644, 1651
William Burrard	1660
John Burrard	1672, 1692, 1693, 1694
Thomas Burrard	1695
Paul Burrard (1648–1706)	1678, 1699
Paul Burrard (1676–1735)	1708, 1711, 1716, 1726, 1729, 1733
Harry Burrard of Walhampton 1st bart.	1734, 1738, 1742, 1749, 1763, 1764, 1768, 1770, 1776, 1779, 1781
Colonel William Burrard	1753, 1760, 1765, 1767, 1769, 1772, 1774
George Burrard, brother of 1st baronet	1775
Sir Harry Burrard of Lymington	1784, 1790
Admiral Sir Harry Burrard (later Neale)	1791
Rev George Burrard	1792, 1800, 1808, 1820, 1825
Philip Burrard	1809

century and earlier (Orlebar 1869, 2–3; Burrard 1874, 5–8) (see family tree, below). They were active in the affairs of the town in 1574, when George Burrard was Mayor and John Burrard also a Burgess. Another John Burrard was one of the churchwardens for the parish in 1670. In 1666, William Burrard was recorded as owning two messuages and 50 acres of land in Old Lymington, a very large landholding in a town known as The Hundred Acres, plus a house in Lymington and more land in Brockenhurst and Battramsley. The manor of Walhampton, immediately across the Lymington River from the eponymous town, was owned in 1666 by Francis Hanbury, with Elizabeth Burrard owning a messuage in Walhampton. Paul Burrard bought the Walhampton estate in 1668 (King 1879, 79, 219, 223, 273).

- Thomas Burrard of Lymington 1611–61
- John Burrard (3rd son) *c.* 1646–98
- Paul Burrard (4th son) 1648–1706
- Paul Burrard of Walhampton (eldest of 3 sons) 1676–1735
- Harry Burrard – first baronet 1707–91
- William Burrard 1712–80
- George Burrard 1718–77
- Harry Burrard of Lymington – first baronet 1755–1813

- William Burrard (as above)
- Harry Burrard (later Neale) 1765–1840
- Rev George Burrard 1769–1856
- George Burrard 1805–70

The Walhampton estate then passed through his son, also named Paul, to his oldest son, Harry, who was created a baronet in 1769. According to a family member (Orlebar 1869), Harry had a son Sidney, who has not been traced and who died at the age 16. As Harry married in 1754, any child who died aged 16 must have done so after 1770. Curiously when Harry was granted a baronetcy in 1769, it was with special remainder to his two brothers and their heirs in turn. On his death in 1791, the baronetcy and estate passed to his nephew, Admiral Sir Harry, then to the latter's brother, Rev George.

THE CORPORATION OF LYMINGTON

This landed family held considerable sway in the affairs of Lymington. The Corporation was a borough by prescription, enabling considerable freedom in setting its own procedures, with a self-perpetuating oligarchy. The mayor had the right to nominate new burgesses. In the

Table 2 Burrards in Parliament

John Burrard	1679–81, 1685–7, 1689–98
George Burrard	1698–1700
Paul Burrard (1648–1706)	1701–05
Paul Burrard (1676–1735)	1705–13, 1722–27
Harry Burrard of Walhampton 1st bart.	1741–78
General Sir Harry Burrard	1780–88, 1790–91, 1802
Admiral Sir Harry Burrard (later Neale)	1790–1802, 1806–1807, 1812–23, 1832–1834
George Burrard (1805–70)	1828–32

period of 262 years between 1574 and the implementation of the Municipal Corporations Reform Act of 1835, a total of 16 members of the Burrard family held the politically important position of Mayor of Lymington a total of 51 times (HRO 27M74/DBC4) (See Table 1).

Control of the Corporation was challenged in the 1740s and the 1770s by the third and fifth Dukes of Bolton respectively, but the first baronet secured Burrard control again by a rule change and by packing the Corporation with friends and family members. Although not as questionable or geographically expansive as the career of Sir James Lowther across the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland in the same period, Lymington is a fascinating case study in the manipulation of authority within boroughs (Bonsall 1960 *passim*; Burrard 1874, 39–113).

In the last years of the Corporation up to 1835, Neale and Rev. George Burrard introduced a substantial number of family, naval, and clerical friends as burgesses in order to maintain complete control. From the death of their cousin, General Sir Harry, in 1813 to 1835, a total of 33 new burgesses were elected. Six were family: Rev. George Rooke, Edward Burrard, George Burrard, William Woven Rooke and Charles Rooke. These were all children of George and of Sir Harry's sisters plus Sir Charles Burrard, the son of a cousin, General Sir Harry Burrard. The clerical element, seven of whom were elected in the same period, was noticeably strong, providing 12 of the 14 mayors between 1813 and 1826. More clerics included Rev. Thomas Robinson of Milford and Rev. Robert Allen of Barcombe, Sussex, whilst Rev.

Richard Warner, elected in 1814 and formerly Curate of Boldre, was Vicar of Great Chalfield in Wiltshire from 1809 to 1857, a living in Neale's gift since his marriage in 1795. From the Royal Navy, Captain J Bingham, Admiral Sir Byam Martin, Admiral Sir Henry Hotham, Captain J Lyons, Captain William Love, Captain Robert Hockings, Captain Augustus Brine were added. Admiral Lord Bridport, Lady Neale's guardian, had previously been elected in 1796. Additionally, there was the son-in-law of another admiral, together with the clerk to the Privy Council, and four army officers (King 1879, 232–3; Bradford). With the number of burgesses limited to 50, these appointments, irrespective of domicile or ability to attend meetings of the Corporation, ensured the continuing hegemony of the Burrard family.

With control of the borough went the nomination of members of Parliament: no elections were held after 1727 until the passing of the Reform Act of 1832. Between 1679 and 1834, eight members of the Burrard family sat for Lymington with a total service of over a hundred years (See Table 2.) First Baronet Sir Harry Burrard, alone, sat continuously for 37 years from 1741 to 1778 (Report of the Commissioners; HoP).

The borough was described as a 'source of considerable wealth' to the family, Sir Harry Burrard being able to sell one or more seats to outsiders (HoP). The historian, Edward Gibbon, sat for Lymington from 1781 to 1784. Unable to fund it fully himself, he applied to the Prime Minister, Lord North, for support, the government paying Burrard £3,000 (HoP). Gibbon wrote to Lord Sheffield

on 20 December 1783, ‘when that affectionate kinsman (Burrard) has squeezed the Minister to the utmost, he will be satisfied with all that he can get, and will not suffer his farm to lye fallow without being of any value either to landlord or tenant.’ (Prothero 2013, 487).

On Sir Harry Burrard’s death in 1791, management of the borough fell to Neale and his brother George jointly (Burrard 1874, 126; King 1879, 195). During their ownership to 1832, 12 individuals sat for Lymington; only two were in any way related (HoP), George Burrard (son of Rev. George) and John Kingston. Amongst the others was Guy Lenox Prendergast (1773–1845). Born in Ireland in 1773, he moved to India in 1793, returning to England in 1826 whereupon he was elected for Lymington. Resident in London, he did not have any connection with the borough. Nathaniel Brassey Halhed was thought to have been ‘a paying guest’, and it is probable that this also applied to the other eight (HoP).

The Burrards’ influence was, by no means, restricted to Lymington, with each generation holding a number of positions, ranging from the weighty to the ceremonial and sinecurial. Paul Burrard (c. 1651–1706) was a freeman of Winchester. John Burrard (c. 1646–98) was a freeman of Winchester, commissioner of spoils, ranger of the New Forest, and governor of Hurst Castle. Paul Burrard (1678–1735) was sub-commissioner of prizes, Portsmouth, receiver of the land tax for Hants, commissioner for the duties on leather, commissioner of land taxes, deputy lieutenant for Hampshire, and ranger of the New Forest. Sir Harry Burrard (1707–91) (first baronet) was gentleman usher to Frederick, Prince of Wales, under-searcher of the customs in London, riding forester of the New Forest, deputy lieutenant for Hampshire, governor of Calshot Castle, and bow-bearer to the King in the New Forest. General Sir Harry Burrard (1755–1813), Neale’s cousin granted a baronetcy after the Copenhagen campaign in 1807, was a Lieutenant General in the army, Governor of Calshot Castle, and riding forester of the New Forest. Sir Harry Burrard had ensured the return of members supportive of Tory ministers, and these sinecures were the natural returns (King 187, 191).

BIRTH AND MARRIAGE

Harry Neale, then, was born into a family of considerable influence and local standing. There is also a hint, shortly to be elaborated, of royal favour. Where he was born remains a mystery. Colonel Burrard is said to have been Governor of Yarmouth Castle in the Isle of Wight, but his replacement, Captain Honorable John Rawdon was gazetted as Captain (LG 13.2.1781). In any case, this position was a sinecure. Harry’s brother George was Vicar of Yarmouth for 38 years, but this was a living in the hands of the Lord Chancellor and hence not the result of the family’s local influence. According to the censuses of 1851 and 1861, George was born in Lymington, and it is probable that this was also true of Harry himself. Lymington Church records show his date of as 16 September 1765, suggesting that he was born in the town. Following education at Christchurch Grammar School, Harry entered the navy in 1778. His portrait by Beechey (Fig. 2) probably dates to promotion to Vice-Admiral in 1814

Harry married Grace Elizabeth Neale on 15 April 1795. Many secondary sources state that she was the co-heiress of Robert Neale of Shaw House, Melksham in Wiltshire. This was indeed the case, but misleading.

The Neales were an ancient family, claiming to predate the Norman invaders, with one ancestor having apparently defeated a naval force of Ethelred the Unready in 996 (Neale 1906, 161). Grace’s father was the fifth of six successive Neales each bearing the name Robert. Her brother was the sixth, but died in infancy. Her father died in 1774 and left his modest estate jointly to his two daughters, Grace and Lydia (later Mrs Gawler) (Will RN 1774). However, he had predeceased his own father, also Robert Neale of Shaw House, who died two years later in 1776. Conflation of the two wills is by no means uncommon.

Grace’s grandfather, Member of Parliament for Wootton Bassett 1741–54, came from what in recent years had been a family of cloth barons, and possessed substantial estates in Wiltshire. Grace was the sole principal beneficiary. In the event of her marrying, her husband would be obliged to adopt the name and arms of Neale



Fig. 2 Vice-Admiral Sir Harry Burrard Neale, Bt, in or after 1814 by William Beechey, Courtesy of the National Museum of the Royal Navy

without quartering. Robert Neale had no intention of permitting his ancient name to be adulterated in any way. If Grace were childless, the estate would revert to the next Neale in line, with these provisions to remain in force for a period of 500 years (Will RN 1776).

Harry Burrard changed his name, therefore, on marriage by a royal licence dated 8 April

1795. Rev George Burrard officiated, with the wedding taking place at the Harley Street home of Grace's guardian, Admiral Lord Bridport, shortly to be given command of the Channel Fleet. The wedding record was the last document signed with his old name; thereafter he was Sir Harry Neale (Ancestry 1795; LG 14.4.1795).

ROYAL FAVOUR

According to later family members, the Burrards had long been the subject of royal favour. William Burrard, the father of the future admiral, had been a page to George I and his older brother Harry, first baronet, a member of the household of the Prince of Wales, the future George II (Orlebar 1869, 6, 13). Burrard (1874; 119) places him more specifically as Page of Honour to Princess Amelia and later Gentleman Usher to Frederick, Prince of Wales. The Borough of Lymington, probably through these connections, admitted Frederick, Prince of Wales and Prince Edward, Duke of York (brother of George III) as Freeman in 1750 and 1760 respectively (HRO 27M74/DBC4). More was to follow during the career of Harry Neale in the Royal Navy.

NAVAL EXPLOITS

Neale's career as a naval officer has been lauded by later generations and continues to inspire acclaim. In reality, it is a career that showed early promise, soared to a place in the sun, and concluded in a factious sunset. Limited official information is available about his early career, with key documents such as his lieutenant's passing certificate missing. Lambert's Oxford DNB slight revision of Laughton's original DNB article (itself based largely on William James' *Naval History* of 1825) adds nothing to the partial catalogue of ships and events culled from the limited resources available at the time. In essence, he was at the reduction of Charlestown in 1780, took part in the capture of a French frigate, *Magicienne*, in 1781, and was thanked officially for his conduct in saving five men from a wreck during a hurricane in 1785 (Laughton & Lambert 2004).

All this was creditworthy, but by no means unusual or outstanding. What is most notable is that most of his service up to promotion to Commander and then Captain was in smaller vessels, mostly frigates, with less time in ships of the line.

The outbreak of war in 1793 led to a change in fortune, with promotion to Captain on the day that the French declared war. He also assumed

command of the frigate *L'Aimable* for two years and a further five years in another frigate, *San Fiorenzo*. In *L'Aimable*, he accompanied Lord Hood to the Mediterranean, engaged in attendance on the fleet and in protection of convoys bound for the Levant.

San Fiorenzo took him to Weymouth in attendance on George III and the Royal family on a number of occasions, but also in action, for example with the French frigates *Resistance* and *Constance* off Brest in 1797. *San Fiorenzo* in concert with *Amelia* repulsed three large frigates off Lorient in April 1799. Whilst commanding the 98-gun ship of the line, *London*, in 1806, he took the surrender of Admiral Linois' flagship, *Marengo*, with two more ships also captured by the squadron (Laughton & Lambert 2004).

It was the mutiny at The Nore in 1797, however, that brought him to public and royal attention. Approaching The Nore in May, Neale found himself in the middle of a renewal of the mutiny that had broken out at Spithead earlier in the year. Shot at by the 64-gun *Inflexible*, Neale ordered his crew to cheer the mutineers in order to avoid bloodshed (RM 29.5.1797; HJ 31.5.1797). His crew remaining loyal, itself a tribute to Neale as a commanding officer, he was able to make good the escape of his ship under fire from the mutineers a few days later (HAEG 3.6.1797; SA 3.6.1797; GJ 5.6.1797). With some fairly considerable damage to rigging and hull, but without any injury or loss of life to the crew, *San Fiorenzo* made for Portsmouth and repair (KG 6.6.1797).

The heroic nature of this escape made headlines. Britain at that stage of the war was racked by fear of both invasion and Jacobin revolution. The political character of The Nore mutiny added to those anxieties. Measures such as the gagging acts – the Treasonable and Seditious Practices and the Seditious Meetings Acts of 1795 – had already been passed and the Combination Acts of 1798/9 were to follow later. Patriotic fund raising took place in nearby Milford, the Churchwarden's accounts at All Saints Milford for 1798 listing:

We whose names are subscribed in aid of the Voluntary Contributions which as (*sic*) taken place in the Parish of Milford for our Independance (*sic*) of our Laws and our Religion and there (*sic*)

attachment to the excellent Constitution under which we live

Admiral Robert Man of Pennington House saw fit to subscribe £100. (Sykes 1914, 45–8).

Relief was considerable. In Ludlow:

The Corporation and other inhabitants of Ludlow voted the thanks of the meeting to the gallant Sir H Neale, and the officers of the St. Fiorenzo, for the skill and spirit with which they separated themselves from the mutinous ships at the Nore, and made collection of £132 8s. 0d which they have sent to Sir Harry, to distribute among his brave and loyal crew (RM 26.6.1797).

The reported amount collected grew considerably when this episode was related later, being £800 in, *inter alia*, the largely fanciful memoir in Colburn's United Service Magazine 70 years later (Colburn 1869, 1870). Colburn also asserted that the Royal Exchange had voted thanks on 7 June 1797. Newspapers of that week, however, reporting the affairs of the Royal Exchange, including comments on the Nore mutiny, do not mention Neale at all (IJ 10.6.1797; NC 10.6.1797).

Neale's action at The Nore was significant nonetheless in that the moral authority of the mutineers had been undermined by their firing on another ship of the Royal Navy. It also strengthened his standing with the royal family. He was later to captain two royal yachts: *Royal Charlotte* from 12 May 1801 to 25 January 1804, and then *Royal Sovereign* from 5 May 1804.

On 27 June 1789, in the time of Sir Harry Burrard (the first baronet), George III, Queen Charlotte and three princesses had visited Lymington. The King and four princesses had also been on board Sir Harry Neale's frigate, *San Fiorenzo*, on 26 September 1795. George III was then to visit Walhampton on two occasions: June 1801 and October 1804. This, alongside Lady Neale's position as a Woman of the Bedchamber to Princess Amelia and to Queen Charlotte, ensured that Neale was ever more firmly within the royal circle.

On 17 January 1804, in the last months of Addington's administration, Neale had been appointed a Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty, strengthening the number of serving naval officers on the board when St Vincent's

tenure as First Lord was increasingly shaky. He continued as a Lord Commissioner until 13 September 1804, was appointed to the 90 gun *London* from 28 Nov 1805 to 29 May 1806, and returned to the Admiralty for the duration of the Ministry of all the Talents between 10 February 1806 and 6 April 1807, when he was also a Member of Parliament. The Admiralty records showing these overlaps in service also indicate that he retained his command of the new royal yacht, *Royal Sovereign* from 5 May 1804 through to 23 August 1809 (Donnithorne; HoP). He was replaced as a Lord Commissioner by his good friend James Gambier, of whom more later.

This rapid and confusing sequence of events reflected political instability and the King's state of health. Greater clarity came when Neale was appointed Captain of the Fleet under Gambier (Star 30.4.1808).

Promotion to Rear Admiral on 31 July 1810 led to him commanding a squadron blockading Rochefort until the peace in 1814, apparently without incident. Over the course of the ensuing decade, politics, royalty and the navy again all intertwined.

HONOURS AND AWARDS

Neale was made KCB on the restructuring of the Order of the Bath in 1815, advancing to GCB in 1822 (LG 14.9.1822). A Groom of the Bedchamber since 1801, renewed in 1812, he was to walk in procession at the funerals of George III and William IV. There were to be no naval appointments from 1814 until 1823, when it was announced (OUCH 22.3.1823) that he was to be Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean Fleet, which he took up on 31 July. Having sat in Parliament since October 1812, he deemed it appropriate to apply for the Chiltern Hundreds in April 1823 (LG 5.4.1823; HoP).

In the Mediterranean he was successful in persuading, through the threat of force, the Dey of Algiers to fulfil his treaty obligations, and was generally reckoned to have exercised considerable diplomacy elsewhere (Laughton & Lambert 2004). As Commander-in-Chief Mediterranean, he was appointed GCMG, an



Fig. 3 Monument to Sir Harry Neale in St Thomas Church, Lymington, Courtesy of Nigel Mussett

honour at that time limited to the period served in office. This was an anomalous situation where the honorific title 'Sir' would be lost after stepping down (Southern & Nicolas, 1828, 331–6). However, others similarly placed – General Sir Frederick Adam, Lt General Sir Alexander George Woodford and Admiral Sir Thomas Codrington – are to be found in later lists of the Order as GCMG (Burke 1852, 1146) after a revision of the statutes in 1832, and it is probable that he too would have retained the honour.

His monuments, the obelisk and memorial in St Thomas Church Lymington (Fig. 3), with wording by Sir George, show both GCB and GCMG (HA 14.11.1840). On the other hand, his own will (Will HN 1839) and that of his wife (Will GN 1853) ignore the GCMG: to Sir Harry and to Lady Neale, his GCB for distinguished service far outweighed the lesser honour. Newspapers of the time followed this focused usage (MP 24.2.1840 and others)

POLITICAL INTERLUDES ... AND A POLITICAL FEUD

Five years after retirement from the Mediterranean, Neale was offered the Command at Portsmouth, leading to a political storm. Sir James Graham, as First Lord of the Admiralty but probably prompted by William IV in whose hands, uniquely, this appointment was placed, conveyed the offer on 24 August 1832 in advance of the appointment becoming vacant. The offer was repeated on 11 January 1833 after the general election of the preceding December, but was now being conditional on Neale giving up his seat in Parliament, Neale having been returned for Lymington for the first time since 1823. Although he had little need to campaign on his own behalf (but see also below), he did campaign in the South Hampshire constituency against the Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston.

An extended correspondence continued throughout the month. Graham's case was simple: the Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth, the Royal Navy's principal base, should not be a serving Member of Parliament. There was doubtless political calculation in this, tinged

with concern at Neale having campaigned against a government minister, but there was also fairly obvious scope for political mischief of which Sir Harry could only have been well aware.

In 1809 an abortive attack on French ships in the Basque Roads had resulted in Captain Lord Cochrane accusing the Commander-in-Chief, Admiral Gambier, of incompetence. Cochrane had been a frigate commander during the action, and raised the matter in the House of Commons in which he sat from 1808 to 1814. Gambier demanded a court martial. Government ministers and the navy closed ranks, and Gambier was honourably acquitted. As Gambier's Captain of the Fleet, Neale gave evidence at the court martial (Cochrane 1810, 211–8) and was thus fully aware of the situation and its implications.

Neale's arguments rested on the change in the conditions of the offer and on the presence in the Commons of several naval and army officers holding current commands. Neither he nor Graham raised the question of campaigning against Palmerston, but he was somewhat disingenuous in claiming that holding the Portsmouth command was compatible with sitting as an MP.

The arguments on both sides were well made and make fascinating reading (Burrard 1874, 131–149). However, the passing of the Reform Act of 1832 had changed the entire backcloth to the dispute. Until then, although a naval command was a public service, seats such as Neale's at Lymington had been private property. Now, even on the limited franchise from 1832, membership of the House of Commons was also a public service. Neale's arguments were old school; it was Graham who inhabited the post Reform Act era. The radical MP Joseph Hume expressed the situation succinctly: 'Hitherto it had been thought that a man could be in two places at the same time, but that notion was now going out of fashion' (VC).

Although Graham held firm, the question of divided loyalties remained contentious and was not resolved until after World War I. In 1914, Asquith had recognised the problem with officers returning from the front raising questions in the Commons, thereby subverting the chain of command. Asquith invoked the



Fig. 4 Decorative cast iron memorial gas lamp, 1833, in tribute to Admiral Sir Harry Neale (1765–1840)

Succession Act of 1707, stipulating that military appointments were positions of profit under the crown. With 268 members of the Commons in uniform, this was suspended for the duration of the war, but his prescription held good thereafter (Johnson 2015).

A LOCAL BENEFACTION

The quarrel with Sir James Graham occurred after the election of 1832. The number of electors in Lymington under the new – post Reform Act – franchise was announced in September 1832, with the same newspaper announcing that the town would shortly be lit by gas (HA 15.9.1832). Another report on the lighting was placed under news of one of the candidates (John Stewart) in the anticipated general election in December 1832 (HT 1.10.1832; SWJ 17.12.1832). Gas lamps and standards for the new lighting scheme in Lymington were donated by the retiring member for the borough, George Burrard Esq (not, as per some later secondary accounts, his father Rev. George Burrard), and his uncle, Sir Harry Neale, who had declared his candidacy to replace his nephew and had to face the electorate for the first time in his political career (HA 7.7.1832). If the gift to the town was an act of political calculation, it was certainly superior to the usual treatment of voters (Jolly 2021). Memorials to the donors were attached to a lamp standard in the High Street (since moved) a year later (SWJ 14.10.1833) (See Fig.4).

THE MONUMENT

Nothing is known of Neale's activities after standing down from Parliament on its dissolution in 1834 in readiness for a general election until his last days. He moved to the Royal York Hotel in Brighton early in 1840 (BG 9.1.1840) with his nephew Lt Rooke RN and other members of the Rooke family for a change of air, passing away on 7 February.

The Globe and other newspapers had earlier reported that 'the poor around his domain have lost a kind and benevolent protector'

(TG 11.2.1840). This was borne out by the first instruction in his will – replicating that of Sir Harry Burrard, the first baronet (Will 1791) – that his body be carried at his funeral by 12 labouring poor, each of whom was to be paid three pounds ‘for his trouble’ with additional aid if necessary given the distance that they would have to cover from Walhampton to St Thomas Church in Lymington.

The funeral was held on 15 February, with the twelve poor labouring men doubled in number (Burrard 1874, 151). Although a private funeral, a crowd of about 200 people assembled for the occasion. Almost immediately, the idea of a public memorial was floated, and a meeting on 25 February agreed to establish an organising committee with that object in mind, as ‘the eminent virtues of our late honoured friend and neighbour, Admiral Sir H Burrard Neale, Bart, demand an expression of our deep veneration, esteem and regard’ (Burrard 1874, 151). (Neale had been promoted to Admiral in 1830 (LG 13.8.1830), on half pay, dying as an Admiral of the White.)

The proposal for a memorial had been made just ten days after the funeral and was proposed by Captain Sir David Dunn RN (HA 29.2.1840). It was to be a monument visible to the town and to shipping on land which formed part of the Walhampton estate. By 5 March, Princess Augusta had written to Sir George approving his wording (rather than that of the organising committee) for each of the four panels to be attached to the plinth. Although the *Naval & Military Gazette and Weekly Chronicle of the United Service* had noted that Sir Harry Neale ‘had for many years dropped the name of Burrard’ (NMG 22.2.1840), Dunn’s proposal was quite specific in proposing the memorial to Sir Harry Burrard Neale. The public face of the proposal and its implementation was the organising committee; the underlying reality was that Sir George had been involved from the outset.

REVEREND SIR GEORGE BURRARD

George Burrard was the second son of Lt. Colonel William Burrard, and was born in Lymington on 6 April 1769 (Census of 1851; memorial in St James Church, Yarmouth).

He graduated from Merton College, Oxford in 1790, taking holy orders in 1793. A living proved elusive, however, until Neale wrote to George III on 12 October 1799 begging him to ‘bestow some Church preferment upon my brother’ (Aspinall 1962, 281). In the same year, George was appointed as a Chaplain to the Prince of Wales and then to George III himself two years later. He was to continue as a Chaplain to George IV, William IV and Victoria (Page 1911; Burrard 1874; OUA).

Church livings in the gift of the Crown followed: Yarmouth, Isle of Wight (7 March 1801), Fobbing, Essex (29 April 1801) and Middleton Tyas, Yorkshire (15 February 1804). He and another pluralist – Rev. J H Randolph, son of the Bishop of London – exchanged Fobbing and Burton Coggles, Lincolnshire (6 March 1822). Neale was able to present him to Shalfleet, Isle of Wight (7 March 1801) (Foster 1890, 28, 147; ILN 595). In 1829, when he attempted to exchange Middleton Tyas, Burton Coggles and Shalfleet for a single preferment, their combined annual income was estimated at £1,678.

Marriage also proved profitable: his first wife, the daughter of William Coppell, a Jamaica merchant, had brought with her a fortune in excess of £30,000 (HoP 1820–32), and he was also in receipt of a bequest of £100 p.a. from Sir Harry Burrard, first baronet (Will 1791). He also held a sinecure as Patent Searcher of Customs – ‘a curious clerical occupation,’ one newspaper declared – with a salary of £1100 p.a. (LC 22.6.1833; NW 24.6.1833 & 4.9.1834).

He was named in an attack on abuses in church and state in 1835: ‘This pluralist is also a magistrate and a king’s chaplain. He is brother to Sir H. Burrard Neale and to lady Rook, who has a pension, and son-in-law to admiral Bingham’ (Wade 1835). His successor at Middleton Tyas, Rev. James Stevenson Blackwood LLD, wrote later: ‘On taking possession of this benefice I found everything very deplorable. The vicarage house was a small old building with tiled roof in bad repair. The stable was very small & bad & in similar condition. An old tith barn was in a dilapidated state, & indeed all walls & buildings rotten & bad.’ (Lancashireman)

George appears to have been the most unpopular type of pluralist cleric, taking

stipends but giving nothing in return. The only living he gave up on succeeding to the baronetcy was Yarmouth, where he had been living, reported as being ‘of little value’ (HA 15.8.1840), more specifically £43 p.a. (GM 1856, 245). He had previously given up Shalfleet in 1835 (HA 27.4.1835), but retained the other two livings and the royal chaplaincy until his death in 1856.

THE ORGANISING COMMITTEE

The composition of the organising committee had a strong bias towards the navy, with sparse representation from Lymington itself. Frederick West and James Monro were the sons-in-law of senior naval officers, and Sir David Dunn, Robert Hockings, Thomas Symonds and William Willis were all Captains RN. To these may be added three army officers: Colonel J D’Arcy, Colonel H T Roberts and Major Charles M Roberts. Rev Thomas Robinson was Vicar of Milford, and Henry Compton was Member of Parliament for South Hampshire and resident in Minstead. It was also decided to add four of Neale’s old naval friends, all admirals, although this did not come to fruition. The town of Lymington was represented only by the mayor, Dr William Twosey, and Messrs Charles St Barbe, Edward Hicks and William Bartlett.

The subscriptions to the proposed monument, totalling £1,482 3s. 0d., came from all levels of society. Queen Adelaide, Princess Augusta and the Duchess of Gloucester each contributed £50. Contributions came from members of the navy and the army, the clergy, Parliament and the local gentry. Household servants, including ‘Domestic and agricultural servants of the late Sir H Burrard Neale’ (£2 10s. 6d), and the servants of: F R West (12s. 0d.), J Munro (14s. 0d.) and Sir D Dunn (1s. 0d.), made payments from their modest wages (Burrard 1874, 162–9). With over 200 people of all classes subscribing, it would have been difficult for the Lymington members of the organising committee to decline, but their contributions were noticeably remarkably modest. Twosey, St Barbe, Hicks and Bartlett subscribed £15 2s. 0d in total; the other 11 contributing £182 (Burrard 1874, 162–9).

Admiral Sir Thomas Byam Martin, who had asserted in 1835 that he could not subscribe to a monument for one officer as ‘by implication, those not so complimented are to be considered of inferior merit’ (Hamilton 1901, 162–3), contributed £25. Admiral Sir Graham Moore, who had written to Martin to say that he would follow his friend’s lead and not subscribe, sent £15 (Hamilton 1901, 169–70; Burrard 1874, 166). By subscribing, these two officers alone demonstrated Neale’s standing amongst his naval peers.

Two years elapsed before funds had been subscribed, architect and builder appointed, and the monument completed. A proposal in the interim that the funds raised be used to build an eleemosynary asylum to be known as the Neale Almshouses, was rejected as ‘the majority of subscribers, were of opinion that an obelisk erected to the late gallant baronet’s memory would be more in character with the circumstance, and better befitting the occasion’ (HA 1.8.1840; HC 3.8.1840). (With over 200 subscribers to canvas, some statistical licence is apparent.)

George Banks of Lymington, responsible also for the open air baths in the town, was chosen to supervise the erection of the monument, with the Haytor Granite Company – which also erected Nelson’s Column – as contractor providing the Dartmoor stone (HA 1.8.1840, 29.8.1840).

The design by George Draper of Chichester was a monumental obelisk 76 feet in height which, with the ‘Baronet’s coat of arms, in bronze, occupies a place on the north side, facing his own Mansion. The material chosen for the Obelisk is Dartmoor granite. The panels are of bronze, with an inscription in raised letters’ (Draper 1843).

On 4 April 1842, the organising committee wrote to the Rev George Burrard – now baronet – asking him to ‘accept the charge and undertake the care and preservation of the Obelisk we have built in your grounds’. Sir George replied on the same day with a ‘sense of gratitude’ adding, ‘most deeply do I feel this mark of confidence and esteem towards myself by the transfer of this monument from the subscribers.’ (Burrard 1874, 159–161) Both letters were published in full in the



Fig. 5 Princess Augusta by William Beechey, Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Baltimore

Morning Post just five days later (MP 9.4.1842). Two points arise from the grandiloquent phraseology: on the one hand a sense of frustration on the part of the organising committee, on the other a remarkably self-centred response by Sir George.

It is no particular surprise that Sir George would have wished to ensure the continuation of the ancient name of Burrard, much as Robert Neale had sought to ensure the preservation of his family name, but the dividing lines between those who wished to erect a monument to Sir

Harry Neale and Sir George's desire for self-reflected glory had become quite apparent.

QUEEN ADELAIDE AND THE ROYAL PRINCESSES

The east face of the monument carries the following wording:

This Monument
Was Erected in the 4th Year of the Reign of
Queen Victoria,

By Her Majesty Adelaide, the Queen Dowager,
 Their Royal Highnesses the Duchess of
 Gloucester and Princess Augusta,
 A large circle of Distinguished, Professional,
 and other Friends, and the Inhabitants of
 Lymington and its Vicinity.

The wording (which was approved by Princess Augusta shown in Fig. 5) suggests that Queen Adelaide and the two princesses were present at an event connected with the erection of the monument, whether the laying of the foundation stone or the unveiling. As it was, no unveiling took place, and the handover to Sir George was limited to the correspondence referred to above.

The foundation stone had, however, been laid with great ceremony on 15 September 1840 with some 2,000 people attending. The fullest newspaper report (HA 21.9.1840) mentioned only three of those attending by name: Henry Compton MP (standing in for Admiral Martin who was unable to attend), George Draper the architect, and the Rev. Sir George Burrard. 'Accommodations were made for a large number of ladies', but no mention is made of the royal party. In fact, there had been considerable concern about Princess Augusta's state of health (CP 1.9.1840), and on the day of the ceremony she was in London, visited that day by both Queen Adelaide and the Duchess of Gloucester (TG 16.9.1840). She died seven days later.

LADY NEALE

Another absentee from newspaper reports was Lady Neale. No record of her being in England for the funeral has been found, but she did land in Dover, going on to The Ship Hotel, in July 1840, leaving the same place in September (DT 18.7.1840; KM 19.9.1840). She was probably present, therefore, at the laying of the foundation stone in September, although her presence was not recorded.

Her movements are attributable to her having befriended some years earlier Anna Maria Atkinson, the sister of one of her maids, enforcing a shotgun marriage with a Frenchman from Marseilles. The marriage took place on 21 December 1820 at the residence of the British Ambassador in Paris with Sir Harry and Lady

Neale as witnesses. The son was baptised Louis Auguste Harry Neale Reboul on 3 March 1821 (Ancestry 1820/1). Neale's letters to Sir Thomas Byam Martin up to at least 1835 frequently conveyed the regards of both Lady Neale and the Rebouls. By 1839, this had ceased (Hamilton 1901 *passim*), and Lady Neale was reported as living in France.

Lady Neale left the bulk of her estate to Louis Reboul, carefully keeping that and a bequest to Mme Reboul from his father, Jaques Reboul (Will GN 1853). Her estate, even after the return of her grandfather's bequest, was still substantial. She retained Great Chalfield from her father's will (having bought out her sister's share) and Neale had left most of his estate, even down to his carriages and horses, to his 'dear wife' rather than to his brother (Will HN 1839). George's inheritance was limited to what Neale himself had inherited from his uncle, Sir Harry Burrard. There is an unresolved mystery here in Lady Neale being resident abroad without her husband. Nonetheless, Neale's attachment to his wife appears to have been matched by her obsession with her adoptive son.

CONCLUSION

The Burrard Neale Monument was raised as a memorial to a legendary figure in Lymington, but has generated some legends of its own.

The plaques on each side of the monument emphasise respectively, Sir Harry Neale's honours, and the goodwill of certain members of the royal family. These were benefits of his representing Lymington as a Member of Parliament, his Christian character, and the successes of his naval career. In each of these there is more than a grain of truth, but, as so often with public memorials, the claims need to be treated with care.

The honours are modest when considered against many other naval commanders of the period, and Neale himself preferred to stress the Order of the Bath and to ignore the newly created Order of St Michael and St George which was more an appointment than an honour.

The goodwill of the royal family was certainly real. Neale's conduct at The Nore had earned

him the favour of George III, and he appears to have had the charm to captivate Queen Adelaide, the Duchess of Gloucester and, most especially, Princess Augusta. The last of these testified to this in a letter to Sir George after Neale's death (Burrard 1874, 153–4). However, the assertion that the monument was erected by Queen Adelaide and the two princesses is misleading. They subscribed handsomely to the fund, but were unable to attend, and Princess Augusta's letter did not give any indication of such an intention.

Paradoxically, the episode at The Nore may in fact have been detrimental to Neale's prospects of naval glory. For the ensuing decade, he served in the royal yachts, in Parliament and at the Admiralty, with only six months in a ship of the line. By the end of that decade, the great naval battles of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars were in the past, and the Royal Navy's role was one of preventing any resurgence of French naval strength rather than combatting the enemy at sea. Small wonder, then, that Neale's return from over two decades of war was only a score of French ships captured or destroyed.

Nonetheless, the other assertions – that he 'honourably distinguished himself in many well fought actions' and that he 'preserved in loyalty, discipline and duty of the crew of H M Ship *San Fiorenzo* ... during the critical position of the Fleet at the Nore in 1797' are both well made.

Less so the claims relating to his career in parliament: 'zeal' for one who scarcely ever spoke is unduly flattering, and 'uprightness' a quality that few members did not evince. The 40 years in Parliament were only 26 in total in a period of 44 years, all but the last two of which were in his own gift. Whether 'his entire desire was ever to do good and promote the prosperity of his Native Town' is a moot point, depending on whether the gift to the town of the gas lamp standards in 1832 was an act of selfless generosity or political calculation. Until then, Neale had not been the servant of Lymington as a parliamentary borough but its owner, from which (as noted above) it is very likely that he profited handsomely.

Activities such as these take the gloss from Neale's reputation, although it must be acknowledged that he was a product of his times.

The parliamentary seats were private property, to be bought and sold as such, however corrupt this may appear to modern eyes. Nonetheless, by the time of his death, such practices were reducing in scale although by no means extinct. They sit ill, however, with the Christian virtues, expressed with characteristic piety by his brother George, on the north face of the monument.

Yet whatever the inaccuracies and typical overstatement of the monumental inscription, and however much his status and his reputation were pre-ordained by family position and inherited wealth, there were many good reasons to memorialise Sir Harry Neale.

The Burrards had long association with the royal family, but Neale himself earned the friendship of two sovereigns – George III and William IV – together with their consorts and princesses. Unable to be in two places at once, Neale was an important part of the royal family's inner circle ensuring its safety when at sea.

His actions at The Nore could only have been taken by a commanding officer who had the full trust and loyalty of his crew, qualities which were hard earned in the harsh conditions of naval life. It is the one action on which his reputation, now as then, is based. It was a small step towards ending the mutiny; more importantly, it served to assuage the anxieties of the nation, and is best served using the words of a later First Lord of the Admiralty (on 23 February 1940) in honour of the destruction of the German pocket battleship *Graf Spee*. 'In a cold, dark winter, it warmed the cockles of the British heart' (Churchill 2007, 203).

The monument had considerable support amongst the naval officers living in the vicinity of Lymington, support which was endorsed by many other officers across the service. In particular, the readiness of his friend Sir Thomas Byam Martin to subscribe to a memorial to Neale, having refused to contemplate such support for any other officer, speaks volumes.

Martin also confirmed the claims on the monument of Neale's largeness of charity, writing a private note two days after Neale's death:

There was implanted in his heart a principle of Christian benevolence, which made him truly

the friend of the friendless. There was nothing from his earliest years, to his death at the age of seventy four, for which he was so remarkable as his attention to the interests of the poor, but it was without parade, and never done “to be seen of men.” It was necessary to know from others the extent of his generosity, and the endearing affability which rendered his visit to the cottagers, far and wide around Walhampton, so gratifying to the inmates (Hamilton 1901, 152–3).

These sentiments also bore expression in Neale’s will: such limited expense as there was was to be concentrated on the poor of the neighbourhood. This was no afterthought, but the first stipulation in the will.

It was followed by substantial bequests, in spite of his acknowledgement of her personal fortune, to his wife, to whom he remained

devoted. His ‘dear brother’ was left only what Neale himself had inherited.

The contrast between ‘the beauty of his (Neale’s) humility’ (as per the monumental inscription) and the avaricious, self-centred pluralist George is stark. The two cannot be separated, however, even in death. The memorial to Neale found expression in the Burrard Neale Monument, an obelisk on the Walhampton estate, with its principal face directly opposite the house now occupied by Sir George. The name of Neale which Sir Harry had adopted on marriage and maintained throughout his later life was for the future to be coupled with that of his successors to the baronetcy, at one and the same time emphasising the Burrard heritage and its proprietorship of the borough of Lymington, but diluting the achievements of its favourite son.

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