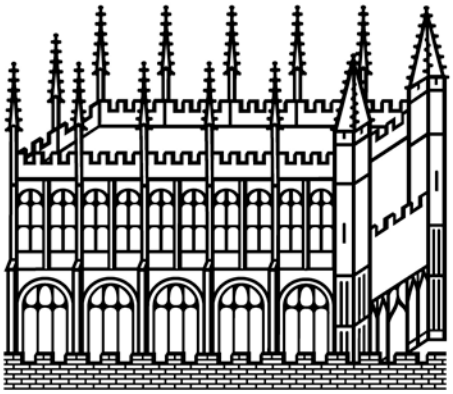

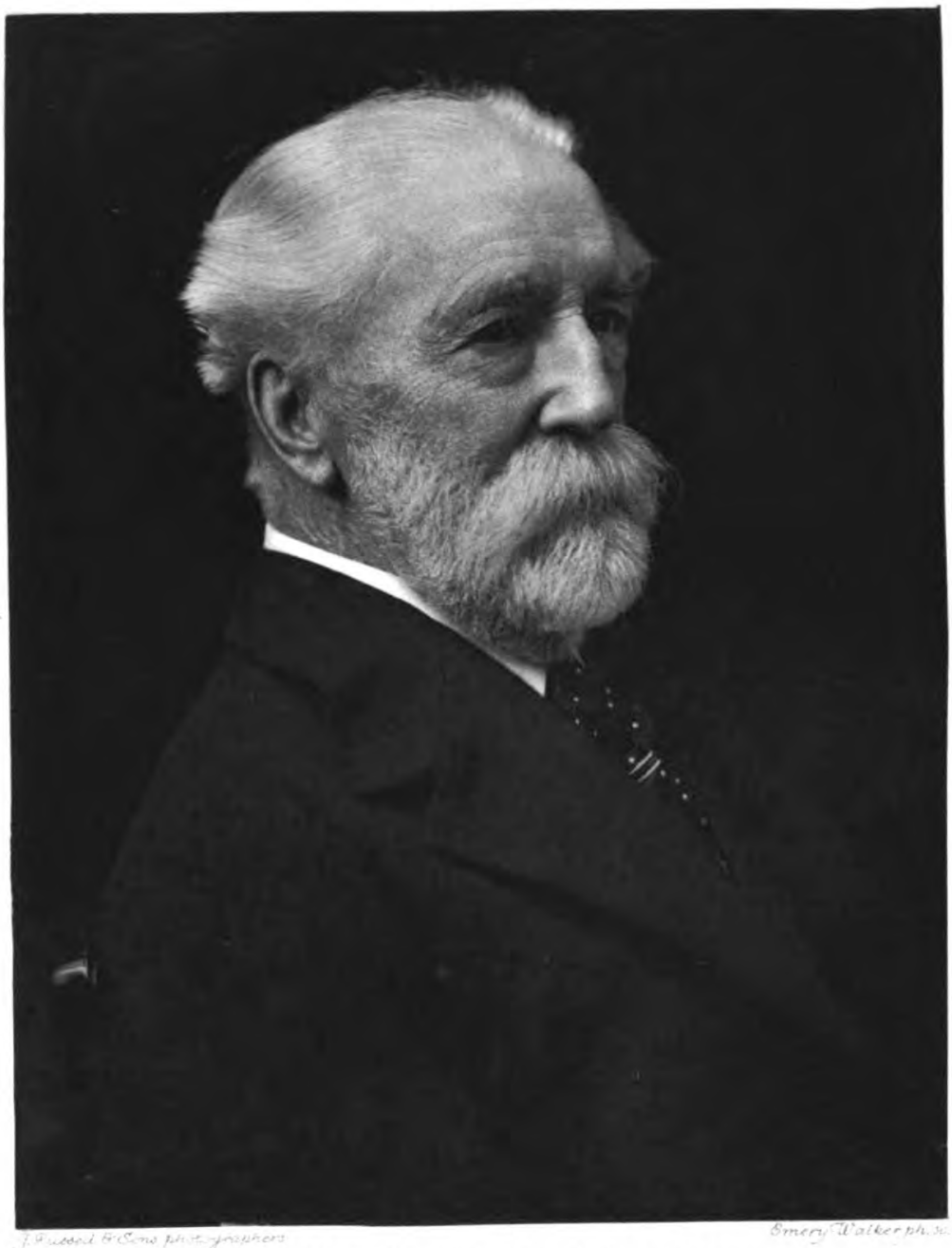

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Master of Peterhouse, 1900-1924

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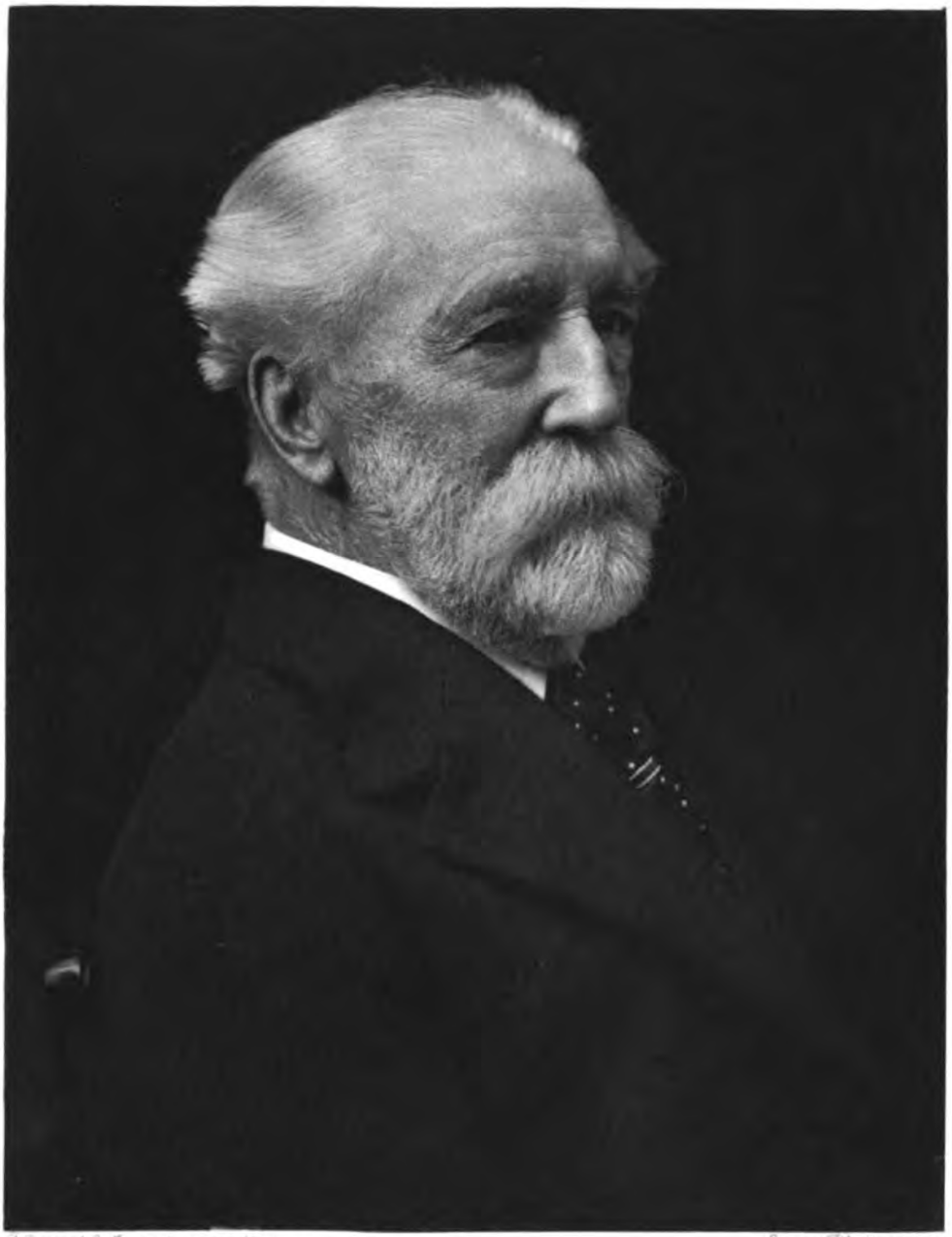

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In Memoriam

ADOLPHUS WILLIAM WARD

MASTER OF PETERHOUSE

(1900—1924)

CAMBRIDGE
PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
MCMXXIV

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

PREFATORY NOTE

IT was the intention of those responsible for this volume to present it to the late Master on October 29, 1924, the twenty-fifth anniversary of his election to the Mastership, in happy congratulation on his many years of service to his College and to his University.

Dis aliter visum. It remains to dedicate it with affection and reverence to his memory.

PETERHOUSE,
October, 1924.

CONTENTS

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ADOLPHUS WILLIAM WARD

(BORN DECEMBER 2, 1837; DIED JUNE 19, 1924)

IT would not be unbecoming to say of one who did so much for dramatic literature as Sir Adolphus Ward that his own career fell naturally and easily into five acts. His childhood and youth were spent in one of the German Hanse towns. A shorter period was spent at Bury St Edmunds under the famous J. W. Donaldson, author of *The Greek Theatre* and many other works. From there he passed in 1855 to Peterhouse with which his connexion was not broken for long at any time till in 1866 he settled himself as a teacher and Professor and ultimately Principal of the Owens College, in the development of which into a University he played no small part, of which also he was at a later time Vice-Chancellor. And finally he returned to Cambridge where nearly the last twenty-four years of his life were spent.

English in blood though he was, Ward's contemporaries in his early Peterhouse time, who knew anything of the Continent, remarked that in those days he looked like a German corps-student, and from Germany perhaps he derived that love of assiduous, painstaking labour which characterized his whole life. His debt of nurture he repaid by a constant interest in the history of that country, which culminated in one of his latest works, the three volume history of Modern Germany, of the development of which he had himself been a witness. But his interest in the country was not limited to its modern history; indeed, in his collected papers there are some dealing with the

Germany of the Renaissance which are not inferior in interest or in skill of narrative to the more extensive later work. In Hanover, which formed so long the link between England and Germany, he had an abiding interest, which was indicated by his work upon the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I and mother of the Electress Sophia; by his study of Leibniz, the philosopher statesman, and by his life of the Electress Sophia herself. He was a student of German literature no less than of German history. His first work of importance was his translation in five volumes of Ernst Curtius' *History of Greece*, a book which the translation did much to popularize amongst scholars in this country. Even now, though superseded for the most part by later works embodying the research of times later than Curtius, it is still worth reading in all that deals with the influence of geography upon history, for Curtius possessed what was more difficult nearly seventy years ago to obtain, a first-hand knowledge of the country. Ward was for a period President of the English Goethe Society and to his dying day he read with care for the University Library the weekly lists of German publications, zealously marking books which he thought would be of value in all departments outside technical science.

His debt to Bury St Edmunds he never forgot. In 1861 he wrote a striking article on his dead Headmaster, Donaldson, whose career had ended beclouded by the evil tongues of ignorant zealots. In later days he represented the University of Cambridge as a Governor of the School. He took an active interest in the preparation of the fine pageant held in the Abbey grounds in 1907, and for the school he wrote a Latin song which on the occasion of the pageant was sung with the *verve* which was due to its excellence.

Others can tell better the services that he rendered to Peterhouse which, distinguished as it has always been beyond the average, at no period in its history probably had a greater display of genius and talent amongst its living fellows past and present than in the quarter of a century between 1845 and 1870. Cambridge outside his College also left its mark upon him. At the end of the fifties the Macmillans' book-shop at 1 Trinity Street was more of a centre of literary interest whence emanated suggestions of literary work in all departments that needed doing, than anything that has existed in Cambridge since. To friendships thus made may be traced his undertaking the *Globe Edition of Pope's Poetical Works*, published in 1869, and later, in the series of *English Men of Letters*, the volumes on Chaucer and on Dickens. The Dickens volume was perhaps one of the most successful pieces of writing that Ward ever did. His ordinary style tended to be somewhat monotonous, because it was always both judicial and judicious, and one had sometimes the feeling that if he would only let himself go, the result would be a more vigorous piece of literature. But in the Dickens volume he appears to have worked *con amore* and the result is a very happy piece of criticism.

At Manchester even Ward's unceasing energy must have found the double task as Professor of History and of English Literature absorbing. If his professorial work prompted in 1875 the *History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne* and in 1878 his edition of Marlowe's *Dr Faustus* and Greene's *Friar Bacon*, he was not indifferent to local claims, and in 1894–5 produced for the Chetham Society, of which at a later time he was President, the Poems of the genial Jacobite, John Byrom, who two hundred years ago had come from Lancaster to Trinity College. This loyalty to his adopted

county, as well as his interest in the author, he manifested also in editing with introductions the novels of Mrs Gaskell.

In 1900 when Ward returned to Peterhouse he might have been supposed to have earned a rest. He was now sixty-two and in his later days at Manchester his health had not been good. As it happened he was called upon, a year later, to become Vice-Chancellor, because that office had already been held by all the Heads of Houses who were equal to the task. His patriotism induced him to take the office, but its strenuous duties were a severe strain upon him, and were only rendered possible by the loyal assistance of preceding Vice-Chancellors. Yet Ward might have said of Cambridge

> You have bestowed on me a second life
> For which I live your creature.

With 1902 began the most active literary period of his life. In that year the first volume of the *Cambridge Modern History*, which had fallen from Lord Acton's dying hand, began to make its appearance with Ward as the senior of its three editors. At the beginning of 1903 he became a Syndic of the University Press of which he remained a most active and industrious member till age and infirmity made him withdraw in 1919. In 1905 he succeeded Mr Chawner, then Master of Emmanuel College, as Chairman, a post which he retained till increasing deafness made him relinquish the task to Dr James, then Provost of King's.

At no period in its history has the Press been more active and in many departments. The most notable feature of its activity was the production of many large undertakings carried out by the co-operation of many authors. The first of these of general interest was the *Companion to Greek Studies*, which had

been long in hand before its appearance in 1905. Another volume on similar lines for Latin studies succeeded, but the publication of the *Cambridge Modern History* in fourteen volumes, each of which was greater in bulk than either of the *Companions* to Classical studies, was a much more serious undertaking. As the only editor on the spot Ward had of necessity a great responsibility, though neither of his colleagues was likely to flinch from his work. To seven volumes at least he contributed himself substantially. Before this great work was completed the Press had undertaken, at the suggestion of Ward and A. R. Waller, then Assistant Secretary and afterwards Secretary to the Syndics, a publication of a great co-operative history of English literature. This made its appearance between 1907 and 1916 in fourteen volumes, in nine of which appear one or more chapters by Ward. Nor even then were his energy and his ability to see work that wanted doing exhausted. Though he was already over eighty years of age he undertook the direction of a *History of British Foreign Policy* which has appeared in three volumes. The chapters were mostly written by other hands, but he contributed an introduction which extended to a hundred and forty large octavo pages. Nor was this all. He took an active interest in the Series of English Poets which was supervised by his friend, A. R. Waller, and in 1905–6 he contributed to the series an edition of Crabbe in three volumes. His services in other departments were many and great. It is impossible here to enumerate them or to give any account of the help he rendered to institutions like the Royal Historical Society and the British Academy. The Press has published his *Collected Papers* in five volumes, two of which are devoted to historical subjects, two to literature, and one to travel and miscellaneous subjects. But beyond all this there was much more which he chose to regard as

less important or of a more ephemeral nature, but which, at the time of its publication, was of value to the reading public.

It was noticeable in the last two or three years that his strength was beginning to fail. But he did not readily yield to the approach of old age and, though his step was slower, he was still erect, and strangers remarked on his magnificent presence as he took his almost daily walk to the University Library. A friend who dined with him in Peterhouse at the end of May ventured to rally him upon his *Histories* and his *Collected Papers* being finished and asked him what new worlds he intended to conquer. But he seemed tired and said with a smile, that he thought he would begin no more. On the 17th of June the picture of the Master of Trinity was presented at a gathering in the Hall of Trinity College. The Master of Trinity made a touching reference to the absence of his teacher of fifty-three years ago, from whom a pretty letter of congratulation was read. No one thought the matter very serious, but next day Ward was very much worse and the following day he was dead.

It was a complete and well-rounded life. Happy in his home, his daughter and her children, he had finished what he had set out to do. He was happy also in that his best loved studies, in no small degree backed by his influence even when not backed by his presence in Cambridge, had risen into prominence in the University, each of them forming by itself a very successful Tripos. He was ever glad to help forward any project that a young scholar took in hand, if he was satisfied that the task would be well and honestly done. His courtesy and kindliness in all relations were characteristic of the man. The work of his later life was not only worthy in itself as all his work had been, but it was a great encouragement to others who felt age creeping on to see one who disregarded the calendar and went on with his

work till all was done. His motto might well have been *Ohne Hast, ohne Rast.* It might be said of him as was said of another historian of English literature nearly four hundred years ago:

O happye man,
that hast obtaynde suche yeares,
And leavst not yet,
on Papers pale to looke,
Gyue ouer now
to beate thy weryed brayne,
And rest thy Pen
that long hath laboured soore
And thee beseems
to laboure now no more.

P. GILES.

August 22, 1924.

1855. Maii 23. ADOLPHUS GULIELMUS WARD, JOHANNIS WARD, consulis apud Lipsia, filius, ad mensam Pensionariorum admittitur

(T. A. WALKER, *Peterhouse Admission Book*, page 509).

In the *Grayling* for October 28, 1892[1], appears an article (signed A. W. W.) entitled "My Peterhouse days," giving a happy account of the College in the late Fifties. "We were seven freshmen, and no more, in my own year at Peterhouse," he wrote. Boating and cricket were the only "games" in those days, and Dinner was at 4 p.m., but "the World went very well then." The future Master was the leading spirit of an Attic Debating Society, which in 1857 developed into the Sexcentenary Club. (It used to be believed that Peterhouse was

[1] The *Grayling* (named after the poet) was at that time the organ of Peterhouse undergraduate opinion.

founded in 1257, but the true date must be nearer to 1284 when the College received her charter.)

The Sexcentenary first met in the Lecture-room below what afterwards became the club-room, with the kind permission of the Tutor, who would not however permit it to be adorned by the portrait of Lord Palmerston. (A. W. W.)

In the rooms of W. W. Edwards ("Big Edwards") the University Musical Society was started in those eventful days.

Adolphus Ward obtained a First Class in Classics in 1859, and in 1862 he became Fellow of Peterhouse. For a short time he was Classical Lecturer and Dean, but in 1866 he was called away to Manchester. Though necessarily engrossed in the work of organizing a new University, he kept in touch with his old College and in 1891 he was elected an honorary Fellow. On October 29, 1900, he was elected Master.

He was in his sixty-third year, and his health was not good, but he threw himself with great energy into all the work of the College. As a historian he did very much to develop the teaching of History in Peterhouse. It was chiefly through his influence that the College secured the help of H. W. V. Temperley as a Lecturer and director of study. The Master himself took part in looking over the essays of history men. The general results were encouraging, Peterhouse had many Firsts in History from 1908 to 1914 and again from 1920 to 1924. One Peterhouse historian was elected to a Fellowship at Trinity Hall, and another to one at Emmanuel College.

The Master's own activity in output of historical and literary work during this last period is truly amazing. His last important work in co-operation with G. P. Gooch was the *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy* (1783–1919) in three

volumes. To this other Peterhouse men were contributors, H. W. V. Temperley, F. J. C. Hearnshaw and J. E. G. de Montmorency.

Adolphus William Ward was much more than a great scholar and able organizer; he practised Christianity and he was (as some scholars are *not*) altogether human. His large and chivalrous spirit drew into harmonious co-operation the men who worked with him in College. Small personal jealousies could not survive in his presence. He had a well-considered policy to press upon his colleagues, and he gave them a strenuous lead. His aim was to develop the teaching power of the College. But his College patriotism was not limited by the walls of Peterhouse. On the contrary he took a genuine interest in all Peterhouse men, and exerted himself unweariedly to help them, especially young men starting in their careers. He assisted struggling authors (men and women) to publication and aspiring youths to posts of many kinds. He was always taking trouble for some one or other. He died in harness, tired, but working to the last.

BONUM CERTAMEN CERTAVIT
CURSUM CONSUMMAVIT
FIDEM SERVAVIT.

W. E. B.

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A. T. B.

THE WARD PAPERS[1].

(PETERHOUSE LIBRARY)[2]

THESE papers were left to Peterhouse by the late Master, Sir A. W. Ward, and consist of the manuscripts and papers of his father, John Ward, C.B., British Minister to the Hansa Towns, 1860–61; and previously Consul-General at Leipzig. Some of his reminiscences were published in 1872 under the title *Experiences of a Diplomat.* The views of Sir Adolphus himself on the Schleswig-Holstein question may be found in his *History of Germany*, vol. II (Cambridge Historical Series), pp. 99–189 [1917], and again in vol. II of the *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, chap. XIII [1923]. The papers of Mr John Ward, however, deal with other materials besides the question of Schleswig-Holstein.

They are arranged under five headings:

I. (*a*) Papers dealing with the British claims arising out of the measures adopted by the French Government in the years 1834–5 *on the Coast of Portendic.* This question was settled by the arbitration of the King of Prussia.

(*b*) Correspondence and memoranda relating to *the Stade Duties on the Elbe* (1841–60). The most important are two despatches by Mr Ward, surveying the whole subject, dated respectively 11 Aug. 1843 and 9 April 1857.

[1] Reprinted by kind permission from the *Cambridge Historical Journal*, vol. I, no. 2, p. 218.

[2] Under the conditions of Sir A. W. Ward's bequest these papers are open to the inspection of students "for historical purposes...by permission of the Master and Fellows [at Peterhouse]."

II. *Miscellaneous papers*, 1852–8. The most important of these are three despatches by Mr Ward from Leipzig of the respective dates 18 June 1853; 4 July 1854; 13 Dec. 1855. The first two deal with the disputes between the Pope and the Protestant Governments of Germany, and the last with the effect upon Germany of the Austrian Concordat with the Pope.

III. *Schleswig-Holstein*, 1857–62. These consist of four despatches between these dates by Mr Ward on the merits of the claims, all of prime importance in view of his exceptional knowledge of the subject.

IV. *Miscellaneous*, 1865–8. Memoranda, chiefly press cuttings, etc., dealing with Hamburg, Heligoland, etc.

V. *Private MSS.* These consist chiefly of a list of articles anonymously contributed by Mr Ward to periodicals on various topics of German politics.

The papers, as a whole, are chiefly important for Section III, which are of great value as one of them was not permitted to be published as a Parliamentary Paper. It is probably the one manuscript of importance on the British side, which has not yet appeared in print.

The papers in Section I throw valuable light on the economic history of Germany, as do those in Section II on certain phases of her religious history.

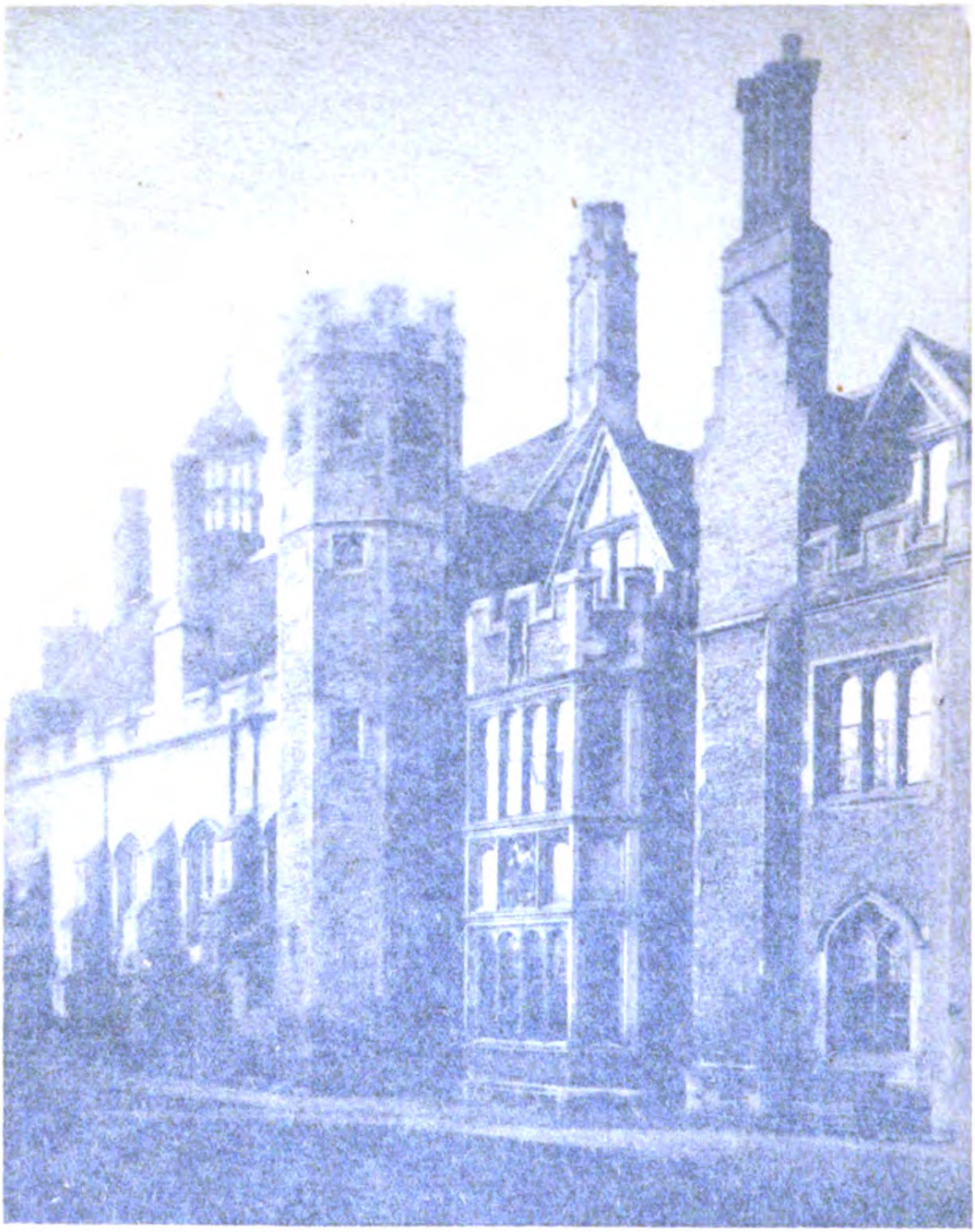
VI. *Notes by Sir A. W. Ward.* These consist largely of extracts from Parliamentary Papers dealing with Schleswig-Holstein, doubtless collected for Chapter XIII in the *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*.

Peterhouse, Hall and Combination Room
From the Fellows' Garden

play in the days which led
? Can the question be answered?

by the breaking of much new ground;
Charters and Conveyances, Com-
Books and other unexpected places,
and National Records; by the endeavour
and formal legal writings tell of the
of the secret aspirations, of active men. It is
and the answering if the answering goes to
of the influence that can be exerted in a
as kept by a single small Educational Society.
a great work in a single Age? If we
" then let us take new courage
of a Cambridgeshire village, owed
to the Papacy. The popular
of Ely, he was, on the
of William de Kilkenny, 9th Bishop of Ely,
fellow monks to the vacant episcopal throne
express mandate of King Henry III, who had
Chancellor, and to the designs of the rapacious
Archbishop of Canterbury and kinsman of
who was anxious to intrude another candidate.
of his oath betook himself to the protection
He was consecrated by that Pope at Rome
The gratitude of the successful suppliant
the vow of triennial pilgrimage to Rome, a pledge
which he was released after the passing of years by Pope

1



Peterhouse, Hall and Combination Room
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GLEANINGS FROM EARLY DAYS

WHAT part did Peterhouse play in the days which led up to the Reformation? Can the question be answered? Is it worth the asking?

It can be answered by the breaking of much new ground; by close research in scattered Charters and Conveyances, Computus Rolls and Bakehouse Books and other unexpected places, as well as in Episcopal and National Records; by the endeavour to make dry bones live, and formal legal writings tell of the thoughts and even of the secret aspirations, of active men. It is worth the asking and the answering if the answering goes to prove the greatness of the influence that can be exerted in a generation or in an Age by a single small Educational Society. Did a small College effect a good work in a single Age? If we can answer with truth "Much," then let us take new courage and go forward in this Age of ours.

Hugo de Balsham, a native of a Cambridgeshire village, owed his great earthly promotion directly to the Papacy. The popular Sub-Prior of the Benedictine Monastery of Ely, he was, on the death in 1256 of William de Kilkenny, 9th Bishop of Ely, elected by his fellow monks to the vacant episcopal throne contrary to the express mandate of King Henry III, who had nominated his Chancellor, and to the designs of the rapacious Savoyard Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury and kinsman of the Queen, who was anxious to intrude another candidate. Hugo in the hour of his need betook himself to the protection of Alexander IV. He was consecrated by that Pope at Rome on October 14, 1257. The gratitude of the successful suppliant found vent in the vow of triennial pilgrimage to Rome, a pledge from which he was released after the passing of years by Pope Nicholas.

Hugo de Balsham endowed a House for the training of Scholars to serve God in Church and State. It was "the House of the Scholars of the Bishop of Ely." It enjoyed the special favour of many succeeding Bishops of the Fenland Diocese; of Ralph Walpole, John de Hotham, Thomas de Lisle and John Fordham, of Cardinals Simon de Montacute and Simon Langham. Amongst its early Wardens it numbered an Archbishop of Canterbury and a Bishop of Rochester, the right-hand man of his Metropolitan. Already in those twilight days, when we must pick our way aided only by an occasional scanty record, we can claim as Scholars of Peterhouse not a few men of note in Cathedral, at the Bar and at Court.

In its beginnings and for generations Peterhouse was, we can assure the World, the abode of faithful Churchmen. These were the days

> For which by record all clarkes seyne the same,
> Of heresie Cambridge bare never the blame.

Of the truth concerning Peterhouse of the poet's lines we may offer the clearest proof in the relations between the College and the famous prelate Arundel.

In 1374, when barely 22 years of age but already Archdeacon of Taunton (such instances of early promotion were by no means uncommon), Thomas Fitzalan, second son of Richard, Earl of Arundel, was consecrated Bishop of Ely, the Metropolitan engaged in the ceremony being William de Whittlesea, sometime Master of Peterhouse. The youthful Bishop, who was not actually enthroned at Ely until 1376, showed at an early period and subsequently in various ways his interest in the College of which he had become Visitor. In 1375 he appointed as Vicar General of his Diocese Thomas de Wormenhall, LL.D., Master of Peterhouse and Canon of Salisbury, who had previously been

Commissary to Bishop Barnet. On March 29, 1376, within a few days of his enthronement, he held an Ordination Service in the Church of Saint Mary outside Trumpington Gate, then the College Chapel, where amongst the crowd of Ordinands (74 Acolytes, 33 Sub-Deacons, 22 Deacons, 12 Priests) offering themselves was at least one Fellow of Peterhouse. It was in the Hall of Peterhouse that the Bishop in February 1379/80 confirmed the noble Ivo le Zouch, Canon of Lincoln and Archdeacon of Huntingdon, as Chancellor of the University. He singled out many Peterhouse men for preferment; and the College responded to his patronage. When in 1381/2 Thomas de Wormenhall died, and in accordance with Statute the Fellows nominated two candidates for the vacant Mastership, the successful nominee was a Canonist and Civilian who had already secured promotion at the Visitor's hands. This was John de Newton, LL.D., Rector of Rattlesden, Commissary General and Official of the Bishop. His favour did not end with his advancement to the Mastership. Benefices came to him freely, and when in 1388 Arundel was translated to York the Archbishop called to his side his Ely Official, made him Vicar General of York and installed him in the Treasurership, the most valuable of the Minster appointments. Newton continued to hold his Mastership for some time after his removal to York, but the inconvenience thereby caused to the Society was more than atoned for by his efficient aid in College transactions at Court and by his benefactions to the Library, in which latter particular he was imitated by his munificent patron.

John de Bottlesham, Master of Peterhouse from 1397 to 1400, and Thomas de Castro Bernardi, who succeeded him, were both protégés of Arundel. The one was Arundel's Chaplain until his elevation in 1400 to the See of Rochester. On the other,

who was Bishop's Registrar in 1378, there descended a perfect shower of benefices and prebends.

The Arundel connexion suggests at once Lancastrian sympathies and a vigorous opposition to Lollardy.

There are other strong indications that this in fact was the political and religious attitude maintained by the Peterhouse Society throughout the troubled 15th century. There is no doubt at any rate about the standpoint of Henry Beaufort, whom a Computus Roll shows as occupying rooms in Peterhouse in 1388. Second son of John of Gaunt by Catharine Swynford, who ultimately became third Duchess of Lancaster, and passing rapidly, as was natural in one who combined his ancestry with the best training and the highest ability, to the foremost employment in Church and State, he was destined as Chancellor to bear the heavy burden of the Lancastrian House in the administration of the English State, and as Cardinal and Papal Legate to lead a Crusade against the Hussites.

The year of Beaufort's presence in Peterhouse was that of the Cambridge Parliament in which John of Gaunt was declared Duke of Aquitaine. It brought a new Visitor to Peterhouse. Arundel having been elevated to York, John Fordham, Bishop of Durham, was compelled sorely against his will to accept translation to Ely, and made his submission to Richard II in the Convent of Barnwell. Richard was making enemies, but yet was King.

Arundel in the hour of his removal did not forget Peterhouse.

More than fifty years earlier it had entered into the mind of a Bishop of Ely to propose the further endowment of the House of his Scholars by the appropriation to it of the Rectory of Cherry Hinton, which Hugo de Balsham had purchased and annexed to the See. Three bishops of Ely, John de Hotham,

Simon de Montacute and Thomas de Lisle, took the necessary initial steps for the appropriation, but time after time the design was defeated by the course of events or by conflicting interests. On June 1, 1388, at the request of Arundel, Richard II revived the Royal Licence for the appropriation of Cherry Hinton which was granted by his grandfather to Simon de Langham. Arundel went to York, but good John Fordham took up the cause of the Scholars and signed on December 4, 1395, a new Deed of Appropriation. The Bishop, it is pleasing to know, was constrained to have regard as well to the "notorious poverty" of the Scholars as to their "celebrated virtues, continued and unwearied exercise of discipline and study in learning."

Every available power was now called into exercise, and the legal car moved slowly forward. Deeds of assent were won from the Prior and Chapter of Ely and from the Bishop of Lincoln. In 1396 Arundel was translated to Canterbury, but speedily fell from Royal Grace and was driven into exile. He returned to place the crown on the head of Henry IV, and to lead the campaign against the Lollards, amongst whose most active sympathisers had been Richard II's Bohemian Queen. Arundel in September 1401 intervened once again in the cause of the Scholars, confirming as Archbishop the appropriation of Cherry Hinton; and a Papal Bull to the same purpose was likewise secured. To clinch the matter Arundel issued his Commission for an Inquisition of the College title to the Rectory; an affirmating verdict was naturally found. The College made its first presentation to the Vicarage in January 1401/2, and the Computus Roll for 1403/4, the earliest extant after the Inquisition, shows the College in receipt from the Hinton Rectory of £32 per annum, a most substantial accession of revenue in those days.

Arundel confidently hoped to find in Peterhouse "an inexpugnable bulwark against Lollardy." On September 16, 1401 Arundel had "in a stately equipage" arrived in Cambridge to assert his right as Metropolitan to "visit" the University. Among the Colleges visited by his Commissioners was Peterhouse. Among the ten questions put by the Archbishop in person was one to him all-important: "Are there any suspected of Lollardism?" Peterhouse was, we can see, no nursery of Lollards.

The Lancastrian House, for the support of its dynastic claims, allied itself, as is well known, with the Church. The College (Queens') founded in 1447 by Margaret of Anjou was designed "for the extirpation of heresies and errors, the augmentation of the faith, the advantage of the clergy, and the stability of the Church, whose mysteries ought to be intrusted to fit persons."

We must move on. J. B. Mullinger, the historian of Cambridge University, has a chapter on "Cambridge at the Revival of Classical Learning." "Among the earliest indications," he writes, "that the new thought in Italy was beginning to be a matter of interest to Cambridge scholars, is the presence of a copy of Petrarch's *Letters* in the original catalogue of the library of Peterhouse, of the year 1426." He points out further how Ottringham, Master of Michaelhouse, borrowed a copy of Petrarch's treatise *De Remediis utriusque Fortunae* from "one Robert Alne," who in his will dated December 24, 1440, directs that Ottringham shall be allowed to retain the manuscript during his lifetime, after which it shall, with other books bequeathed by the testator, become the property of the University. It would have interested Dr Mullinger to know that Robert Alne and John Ottringham, Master of Michaelhouse, were admitted Fellows of Peterhouse by Bishop Fordham on the same day, October 5, 1400. In the Library (of which the earliest Catalogue

is dated 1418 and to which Robert Alne was a Benefactor) there is preserved, together with the copy of Petrarch's *Letters* referred to, a Manuscript comprising *Petrarcha de Remediis utriusque Fortunae* and *Idem de Secreto Conflictu curarum suarum*, whilst in a third MS of the 14th century, containing various works of St Bernard, a scribe has written a quotation from Petrarch on the Saint. *Petrarcha de Remediis utriusque Fortunae* makes its appearance in the great Library of John de Newton, Master of Peterhouse aforesaid, who died in 1414.

Peterhouse men were, it is clear, amongst the foremost to welcome the New Learning. And it was a Peterhouse which, as Rolls show, had amongst its "Perendinants" (i.e. Residents) Abbots, Priors, Sub-Priors and Archdeacons.

In 1454 Richard of York was Protector of the Realm, the King being insane. On September 8, 1454 William Grey was consecrated Bishop of Ely. A younger son of a noble house, he had spent earlier years in Italy, had sat at the feet of Guarino in Ferrara and had amassed a notable bibliographical collection, including many works representative of the Humanists. He acted as Proctor of Henry VI at Rome from 1449 to 1454. He was a Balliol man, and held for two years (1440–2) the Chancellorship of Oxford. He was among those who saw no remedy for the distractions of England save in the establishment of the strong rule of York, and met the Yorkist Earls on their landing in 1460. He was Lord Treasurer in 1469–70. He was a patron of Peterhouse men. He introduced to the College one of its most conspicuous Benefactors, his Chaplain, John Warkworth, an Oxonian, sometime a Fellow of Merton, whom he appointed Master of the College in 1473. His advent as Visitor coincides with the first appearance amongst Peterhouse Fellows of some distinguished men who accepted appointments at Yorkist Royal

hands. In 1460 John Grey was admitted Fellow *vice* Roger Marshall. Dr Roger Marshall, a bibliophile and a generous Benefactor of the Library, became Physician to King Edward IV. On John Grey, the Bishop's kinsman ("nephew"), Ely benefices showered. He died in 1518/19, Rector of Doddington. He was employed by the College in important negotiations.

In March, 1461, Sir John Ratcliffe, K.G., styled (in right of his wife) Baron Fitzwalter, was, when in command of a Yorkist force at Ferrybridge, surprised by Lancastrians under Lord Clifford and mortally wounded. His heir, John Ratcliffe, 12th Baron Fitzwalter, who was a boy of nine at the time of his father's death, was by his mother and guardian sent up to Peterhouse in charge of a chaplain, and there spent the two years from 1463 to 1465. He lived to be Steward of the Household of Henry VII and first High Steward of England at the coronation of Henry's Queen Elizabeth, but was caught in the net of the impostor Perkin Warbeck, and suffered the death of a traitor. These things tell their story, but there is another.

John Warkworth, the writer of the famous *Warkworth's Chronicle*, which rests in the College Library, bequeathed his considerable estate and very many manuscripts to the Scholars of Peterhouse, but the collections of his magnificent patron, Bishop William Grey, went back to Oxford. The heart of Peterhouse was Lancastrian.

William Grey, dying in 1479, was followed at Ely by the stout Lancastrian John Morton, and, when Morton passed, as was his due, to Canterbury, he was succeeded by John Alcock. Both these prelates were skilful statesmen who had known how to pilot craft through stormy seas. Alcock had been Ambassador to Castile and Chancellor of England under Edward IV and Tutor of the child King Edward V, but he was no favourite

of Richard III. He has won enduring fame in Cambridge as the Founder of Jesus College. He was also a generous Benefactor of Peterhouse, and Computus Rolls show him as in 1491–2 and again in 1493–4 actually resident within the College walls and discharging accounts for his maintenance.

When in 1500 John Warkworth, Master of Peterhouse, died, and the Fellows presented to the Visitor William Plumbe, one of the original Fellows of Jesus, who was closely associated with the building of that College, and Thomas Denman, M.D., John Alcock had just been laid to rest in Ely Cathedral. His successor appointed Denman. The successful nominee was the Lady Margaret's Physician. Denman himself died within a year, not without remembering the College. He was followed as Master by his friend and associate Henry Hornby, Secretary and Chancellor of the Lady Margaret, Dean of Lady Margaret's Chapel, to whom in conjunction with Bishop Fisher fell the task of carrying out the Will of their common patroness in the foundation of St John's and Christ's Colleges. A Peterhouse Fellow, William Burgoyne, followed hard behind Fisher as occupant of the Lady Margaret Chair of Divinity. Peterhouse Fellows found ready admission to the service of Henry VII.

In 1516 Henry Hornby and William Burgoyne, under concession from the Abbot of Ramsey, presented to the Rectory of Elsworth John Watson, S.T.B., Fellow of Peterhouse.

And now we see entering upon the stage actors on whom Peterhouse men must look with an interest which with some will amount to affection. John Watson was a learned Divine, a Humanist who had visited Italy. He was a valued friend and correspondent of Erasmus, whom he invited to his Rectory. A man of attractive personal character and experienced in administration—he had held the posts of Proctor in the University

and of Chest Keeper and Bursar in Peterhouse—he was in 1517 chosen Master of Christ's. He was no sympathiser with new religious views. In 1520–21 and in 1529–30 he was employed in refuting writings of Luther, and was about the same time one of a Court which tried the Reformer Barnes. He was one of the Divines chosen to answer for Cambridge Henry VIII's question as to the legality of his marriage with Catharine of Aragon, and there are indications that he was not prepared herein to support the King. As Vice-Chancellor he in 1530 required all graduates proceeding to Divinity degrees to take an oath repudiating the errors of Wickliffe, Hus, Luther or any other condemned of heresy. The would-be graduate was to undertake to maintain "all such articles and points as the Catholic Church of Rome believeth, holdeth or maintaineth at this time."

John Watson united Orthodoxy to Humanism.

At some time in his career John Watson had a "Schollar" named Hugh Latimer. From this fact, combined with Watson's Mastership of Christ's, it has been alleged that Latimer received his early education at Christ's College. But Latimer was elected a Fellow of Clare in 1509/10 before he actually took his degree. His name appears as 8th in the Ordo for 1510/11. He proceeded M.A. in 1513/14 and S.T.B. in 1523/24. If he was ever any man's "Schollar" it was before he became Fellow of Clare. John Watson was admitted to his Foundation Fellowship in Peterhouse on May 22, 1501; he resigned it on Dec. 6, 1516. The great Reformer, in the personal details which he reveals in his matchless sermons, gives no hint of his College, but he tells enough of his family circumstances to make it certain that, coming up to Cambridge as he did at the age of fourteen, he would enter a College in the grade of Sizar. The

Sizar in Peterhouse was maintained in Hall on the surplus and broken "commons" of Fellows; he slept in the room of, and attended upon, the Fellow who acted as his Tutor. Eight of such Sizars had special allowances from the endowments of Benefactors, and were styled Poor Scholars. To the Master and to each Senior Fellow belonged the right to nominate a Sizar. No stigma attached to the tenure of a Sizarship: a very large proportion of the most distinguished students commenced their career in this grade. It is pretty clear that Hugh Latimer was a Poor Scholar of Peterhouse under the Tutorship of John Watson, and that probably about the years 1506–9.

We have reached the eve of the Reformation.

Peterhouse men were, in the language of a late Master of Trinity (Dean H. M. Butler), "colonising." They had furnished Masters, or were shortly to furnish Masters, to the majority of the other Colleges and greater Halls. They had lent Fellows to many neighbouring Societies. When Cardinal Wolsey (1524–26) was selecting Students for the grand foundation now known as Christ Church, he might be expected to cast a glance towards the oldest Society in Cambridge, and that a Society reputed Orthodox and Lancastrian. He had already made the acquaintance of John Aleyn, a Peterhouse Canonist who had obtained employment under Archbishop Warham, and who revealed his peculiar readiness to hail the light of the rising star. Attaching himself to Wolsey, Aleyn soon rivalled his patron in the speed and number of his promotions. In March, 1528/9, he was consecrated Archbishop of Dublin and became about the same time Chancellor of Ireland. This final elevation he owed to his zeal in the furtherance of Wolsey's suppression of Minor Monasteries in the interests of the projected magnificent College at Oxford and of the subordinate foundation at Ipswich. His history is that of an able unscrupulous lawyer.

He played the Reformer to his bane. He incurred the hostility of the powerful Earl of Kildare, and, on the outbreak of the Rebellion of 1534, was dragged from a hiding-place at Artane and murdered in the presence of the Earl.

Another Peterhouse man who had followed similar courses was more fortunate in the event, although less distinguished. This was Edward Staples, who, graduating from Peterhouse in 1510/11, was in 1525/6 incorporated M.A. at Oxford, and supplicated at the same time for the degrees of S.T.B. and S.T.P., he having been appointed a Canon of Wolsey's great House. He was then already Prebendary of Tamworth. He became Chaplain to the King and Master of St Bartholomew's Hospital, and in 1530 was by Bull of Provision constituted Bishop of Meath. A Member of the Irish Privy Council, he contrived to escape to England on the outbreak of Kildare's insurrection. Returning subsequently to Ireland, he came under the admonition of that resolute theologian King Henry VIII for his slackness in "preaching the pure word of God." Too slack for Henry he was too progressive for Queen Mary, and was in 1554 deprived on the ground of his being married.

Thomas Wolsey was a politician who pursued his own glory in the establishment of the power of his King. He wrote *ego et rex meus.* He was withal a true lover of learning. He, Cardinal of the Church, could dissolve many monasteries to erect a College. His action herein differed in no way from that of John Alcock in the foundation of Jesus College save in that it was less defensible in its application, more sweeping, more ruthless and more magnificent. He was no Religious Reformer, no sympathiser with independence in any form. When thinking men in the name of the Divine Founder challenged existing Church Order in its rule and in its teaching, the hand of the Cardinal was heavy against them.

Luther, on December 10, 1520, burned the Papal Bull at Wittenberg. Wolsey summoned a conference at London, and Lutheran treatises in their turn went to the flames at St Paul's Cross, in Cambridge and in Oxford. Fisher, the Cambridge Chancellor, Confessor and Executor of the Lady Margaret, exerted himself as preacher and as writer against the German heretic. The King himself joined in the literary fray, and won from a grateful Papacy his title of "Defender of the Faith." Great was the indignation of orthodox Oxford, when it learned that among the students transplanted from the rival University to Cardinal College were some tainted with Lutheran heresy. Oxford cast them into a filthy gaol.

That great movement of Western Christendom which men called the Reformation had indeed begun to stir Cambridge. But the English Reformation was not rooted in Luther. It began with Erasmus in Queens'. Erasmus, succeeding in 1511 William Burgoyne in the Lady Margaret Chair, had for some three years laboured, as it seemed to himself and others, to little purpose to introduce into Cambridge the study of Greek and a historical view of the Scriptures. His *Novum Testamentum*, a revised edition, appeared in 1519. By the study of that book Thomas Bilney of Trinity Hall, "the first framer of the Universitie in the knowledge of Christ," was made the prophet of Reform. Among Bilney's converts were Thomas Arthur, Fellow of St John's; Robert Barnes, Prior of the Augustinian Friars, an eloquent Humanist from Louvain; and Hugh Latimer. Associated with them was George Stafford, Fellow of Pembroke. Barnes in the House of the Augustinians and Stafford in University lectures astonished Cambridge by substituting for the reading of the Schoolmen the plain exposition of Scripture.

A Computus Roll of Peterhouse affords a glimpse of Stafford,

he paying tithes of his lectures to the College in the right of Little St Mary's in 1526–27. He died in 1529, having caught the plague whilst visiting a sick convert. The Reformers gathered for quiet discussion at the "White Horse Inn," which stood on or near the site of the familiar "Bull Hotel." Among them was Richard Croke, of King's, Greek Reader from 1519 and Public Orator, who had lectured at Cologne, Leipsic and Dresden. Men called them "the Germans" and their meeting-place "Germany." Peterhouse contributed Hugh Latimer through Clare and directly George Joye, who had been confirmed as Fellow in 1517 in an extraordinary batch of no fewer than eight scholars, including William Buckmaster, then presented to Bishop West. George Joye proceeded Bachelor of Divinity in 1525.

William Burgoyne, late Lady Margaret Professor, an associate of Henry Hornby, had succeeded his friend as Master of Peterhouse in 1518. He held office until 1523, when he was followed in the Mastership by another late Lady Margaret Professor, John Edmunds, Fellow of Jesus, who had previously in 1516, on the nomination of Fisher and Hornby, held a Fellowship at St John's. The appointing Visitor was in both instances Bishop Nicholas West, a furious opponent of Lutheranism, in whose acute aristocratic nostrils Latimer "smelt of the pan."

William Tyndale had learned his Greek, and doubtless other matters, in Cambridge, but was labouring abroad. In 1526 appeared his English translation of the New Testament. Its publication fulfilled a dream of Erasmus. It did more. It aroused the wild alarm of the orthodox prelates; and Wolsey must take action.

Barnes had in 1525/6 laid himself open to correction by an

unguarded onslaught on the lives of the hierarchy, in which he did not spare the "pillars and pole-axes" of the Cardinal. Wolsey summoned him to London, and he was consigned to close imprisonment. The abler tactician Latimer not only foiled the attack of Bishop West but actually won favour in Wolsey's sight. With other "Germans" things went ill: Bilney, Arthur and Joye were called to appear at Westminster.

The tale of this last incident is told by George Joye in delightful fashion in a scarce black-letter duodecimo booklet, a copy of which will be found in the Peterhouse Library. George Joye was wanting in some things, but never lacking in strategy. His two companions bore the fagot, but he fled to the Continent, where he earned repute as a prolific controversialist, printer and translator. His over-ready use of other men's work involved him in an unpleasant discussion with Tyndale. Tyndale, like Bilney, perished at the stake. His Peterhouse antagonist won no great honour in the argument, but he too served the cause of the Reformation, as a glance at 'A Peterhouse Bibliography' will show. He died in 1553.

The death of Stafford, the seclusion of Barnes and the silencing of Bilney left Latimer the foremost of the "Germans." In December 1529 in St Edward's Church he preached his famous discourses on "The Card"; and Cambridge was rent with fierce controversy, until a letter written by Royal Command quieted the disputants.

The King himself had provided a new source of cleavage. The world knows how the Divorce Question ruined Wolsey, and how it led on to the rupture with Rome. It knows also how it was Cranmer, a Fellow of Jesus, who suggested the reference to the Universities of Europe of the question of the legality of Henry's marriage with Catharine. That suggestion was made

at Waltham, whither an outbreak of plague had driven a number of Cambridge scholars, when the chafing King was sojourning hard by; and the shot at a venture found its mark. The suggestion by implication connoted the validity of an appeal from the authority of Rome. Henry challenged Papal power. Stephen Gardiner and Edward Fox were commissioned to obtain the opinion of Cambridge on the Royal "case." The Royal letter setting forth the problem was dated February 16, 1529/30. It was only after a close and exciting contest that the Royal Case was won. And it was the Peterhouse Senior Fellow who, as Vice-Chancellor, carried to Court the determination of Cambridge in the securing of which he had played a leading part, and his right-hand man in the struggle was the Master of his own College. "We assure your grace," wrote Gardiner and Fox to the King, "we found much towardness, good will, and diligence, in the Vice-Chancellor and Dr Edmunds, being as studious to serve your grace as we could wish or desire." The Vice-Chancellor returned from Court to Cambridge to write the news to the Master, who had gone down to Wiltshire to pay a visit to his Vicarage of Aldbourne. The tale told was lively enough. It was doubtless the foot-note that pleased Dr Edmunds best: "The Kynge willed me to sende unto youe and to giff youe worde of his pleasure in the said question." But there was an interesting statement in the final paragraph of the letter itself: "M^{r} Latymer precheth styll *quod emuli ejus graviter ferunt.*" Orthodoxy led by Fisher would have no dealings with Divorce; the Reformers and the Peterhouse Seniors cast in their lot with the King. How they fared herein let another record.

T. A. WALKER.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY OF ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT

I

TO those who dine in Hall at Peterhouse no face is more familiar than that of John Whitgift, Fellow of the College 1555–1567; Master of Trinity 1567–1577; Bishop of Worcester 1577–1583; Archbishop of Canterbury 1583–1604. From its lofty panel, painted by an unknown artist some three centuries ago, it gazes down upon the diners, solemnly but not unkindly, as they partake of those frugal (if not inexpensive) feasts whereby are nourished the high thoughts which have distinguished the College since its foundation in Edward I's day. It is the face of a man keen in intellect, sane in judgment and strong in will; but quick to anger, resentful of indignity, and ruthless in the maintenance of discipline. It is the face of a statesman rather than a scholar, an administrator and man of affairs rather than a thinker and idealist. It is the face of a master of men, a born leader of his fellows, a commander whom one must either obey submissively or oppose to the death. When Queen Elizabeth first heard Whitgift preach, she, in admiration of his eloquence, appreciation of his compliments, and approbation of his principles, called him punningly her "White Gift[1]." When later he had become her metropolitan, and was intimately associated with her in the government of

[1] The same play upon his name is the motive of the motto on the Peterhouse portrait:

Quòd paci, Whitgifte, faves, studiisque; piorum
Dat tibi pacis amans candida dona Deus.

Church and State, she (with characteristic lack of good taste) spoke of him as "her little black husband." White or black! No grey or neutral tints! Clearness, sharpness, decisiveness—these were the outstanding features of this notable ecclesiastical politician of the late Tudor period.

From that day down to our own the character of Whitgift has been an acid test which has enabled the student of religion in England to detect the prepossessions of ecclesiastical and other historians, no matter how conscientiously they may have endeavoured to conceal them. To one and all he presents no half tints—he is pure white or dead black[1]! To his friend, Sir Henry Wotton, the famous Provost of Eton, he seemed to be "a man of a reverend and sacred memory...a man of such a temper as when the Church by lowliness of spirit did flourish in highest examples of virtue." Stow, the chronicler, spoke of him as "a man born for the benefit of his Country and the good of his Church." To Camden, the antiquary, it appeared that "he devoutly consecrated both his whole life to God, and his painful labours to the good of his Church." Fuller, the historian, regarded him as "one of the worthiest men that ever the English hierarchy did enjoy." Finally, Izaak Walton, who has been not inaptly described as "the judicious hooker," said that in all his removes—Cambridge, Worcester, Canterbury—"he was like the ark which left a blessing upon the place where it rested; and in all his employments was like Jehoiada that did

[1] It appears that even in his youth he drew emphatic opinions from his contemporaries. It is recorded of an aunt with whom he lodged when he was a boy at St Anthony's School in London, that "though she thought at first she had received a saint into her house, she now perceived he was a devil." The cause, however, of this striking reversal of judgment was not character but theology.

good unto Israel." This same favourable view is held by such modern Anglican writers as Dean Hook, Mr H. O. Wakeman, Professor E. W. Watson, and Bishop Frere. On the other hand, Nonconformists, both Catholic and Protestant, concur in a chorus of condemnation. By those of his own day who suffered under his stern hand, he was denounced as "an ambitious wretch," as "the Canterbury Caiaphas," or even as "the Beelzebub of Canterbury, the chief of the Devils." The Puritans of the seventeenth century used expressions hardly less strong. Even the placid Hallam, who lived in a cooler age, considered that "his elevation the wisest of Elizabeth's counsellors had ample reason to regret." Macaulay, who inherited the political prejudices of the Puritans, spoke of him as an "oppressor" and as "a narrow, mean, tyrannical priest, who gained power by servility and adulation." Even in the very recent biography of John Penry, by the urbane and cultured Rev. William Pierce, Whitgift is said to represent "the narrowest and most uncompromising type of religious tyrant," and he is definitely charged with being the "murderer" of the unhappy young Welshman who perished at Tyburn in 1593.

These extreme divergences of opinion—which leap from "saint" to "murderer," and back from "tyrant" to "deliverer"—indicate primarily that Whitgift lived and ruled at a time of intense conflict; when passions were hot; when radically antagonistic principles were in mortal combat; when issues of vital import for both Church and State were being decided. This, indeed, is the dominant fact which has to be borne in mind by all who attempt to pass judgment on his life, or to estimate and criticise his ecclesiastical polity: the period of Whitgift's primacy was one of the most critical eras in the history of Western Christendom.

Another fact, also, which has carefully to be remembered, is that the idea of toleration, whether religious or political, was one wholly alien from the spirit of the age. The people against whom Whitgift contended—Catholic on the one hand and Puritan on the other—were not fighting for the cause of freedom of faith: they were not advocating the principle of "live and let live." On the contrary they were struggling for supremacy, and both of them were eager to do unto Whitgift and his associates precisely what he was doing to them—only more so. If Catholicism could have recovered control, the fires of Smithfield would once again have been rekindled, and Whitgift would have followed Cranmer to the stake. If Cartwright and the Calvinistic "Disciplinarians" could have established their system in England, it is certain that the bishops would have suffered the severest persecution, and probable that some of them would have gone the way of Servetus. "For," said Cartwright, "Magistrates ought to enforce the attendance of atheists and papists on the services of the Church; to punish them if they do not profit by the preaching they might hear; to increase the punishment if they give signs of contempt; and at last, if they prove utterly impenitent, to cut them off that they may not corrupt and infect others[1]." Whitgift, as we shall have to note more in detail later on, was indeed milder than most of his zealous contemporaries, and decidedly in advance of his day in the matter of religious toleration. He was content with uniformity of external observance.

There is a third fact, moreover, which must not be ignored or under-estimated in any criticism of Whitgift. It is this: that the sixteenth century was much harder and sterner; much less

[1] Thomas Cartwright, *A Replye to an Answere of Doctor Whitgifte againste the Admonition*, p. 51.

sensitive and sentimental; much more inured to suffering and familiar with death, than the twentieth. Those who wish adequately to realise the difference should read that chapter in William Harrison's *Description of England* (written during Whitgift's primacy) which treats of "Sundry kinds of punishments appointed for offenders." If they supplement this lurid record by means of the cold-blooded directions of the Court-keepers' Guides of the period, e.g. John Kitchin's *Jurisdictions*, they will find that the penalty of death was the only penalty provided for those convicted not only of treason and murder as now, but also of the common-law felonies of rape, burglary (or even unsuccessfully attempted burglary), robbery from the person of another, or sacrilegious pilfering from a church (even if goods worth no more than one penny were taken), larceny (where the value of the property stolen exceeded one shilling) and arson. Hence year by year hundreds of persons were hanged—and hanged in public for a warning to the community—who at the present time would suffer no more than a short term of comfortable imprisonment, a small pecuniary fine, or a gentle reprimand from a benevolent magistrate. The burning of heretics did not much horrify an age which regarded the stake as the appropriate punishment for a wife who killed her husband, a maid who murdered her mistress, or a cleric who slew his ordinary[1]. The hanging of "marprelates," similarly, did not appear excessive when side by side with these disturbers of the divine tranquillity there dangled pilferers (the justice of whose doom was not questioned either by themselves or the observant

[1] These offences were classed as petty treasons. Cf. Kitchin, *Jurisdictions*, p. 48, "A woman of the age of thirteen years was burnt, for that she killed her mistress, which proves that this is treason, for otherwise she should have been hanged."

public) whose offence consisted of no more than the sacrilegious abstraction of a pennyworth of candles from a church. The Elizabethans, in short, did not object to being executed nearly so strongly as modern Georgians do. "We are found," said Harrison, "to be such as despise death"; and again, "Our condemned persons do go cheerfully to their deaths: for our nation is free, stout, haughty, and prodigal of life and blood." Further, in addition to the ancient common-law felonies just enumerated, many new felonies had been, under the early Tudors, created by statute. Prominent among these was witchcraft, the horrible record of the pursuit of which has been told so effectively by Mr Lecky in the first chapter of his *History of Rationalism*. All over England, during the reign of Elizabeth, old men and women were being hunted to an execrable death for supposed converse with the devil. In Scotland, under James VI and the Lords of the Congregation, the persecution was even worse. It was while Whitgift was at Canterbury that Dr Fian, after enduring the most prolonged and appalling tortures, was burned to death as a sorcerer in Edinburgh, because he had, in co-operation with Satan, raised the storm which all but wrecked the ship in which James had returned from Denmark with his bride. Belief in the devil and in the everlasting torments of hell was, in fact, one of the most prominent of the articles of all the prevailing creeds of the period. It seemed a small thing to abbreviate the earthly days of a heretic, a schismatic, or a sorcerer, if thereby it was possible to save a single soul from eternal perdition, or to deprive the prince of darkness of one coadjutor among men.

II

Whitgift, however, although he shared the theological obsessions of his time, was not dominated by them. He was primarily an ecclesiastical politician and not a professor of divinity. His main concern was to steer the Church—and with it the State (which he regarded as the same institution in another aspect)—through the enormous perils of the period. His first and gravest anxieties arose from the machinations of Rome. When, in 1583, he became Archbishop of Canterbury, the struggle between Elizabeth and the Papacy was reaching its height. During the first twelve years of the Queen's reign (1558–1570) a truce had been maintained. Pope Paul IV (1555–1559) had been an old man easily hoodwinked, and so completely possessed by a fanatical hatred of Spain that he would do nothing to assist the designs of Philip II; Pius IV (1560–1565) had been a peace-loving pontiff whose main desire was to preserve the tranquillity necessary to bring the long-drawn Council of Trent to a happy issue. Both these popes had lived and died in the hope—assiduously fostered by Elizabeth herself—that England's lapse into schism was only a temporary aberration due to political necessity, and that, as soon as safety should permit, the errant Queen and people would return to the fold of the Catholic Church. The election of the Grand Inquisitor, Michele Ghislieri, to the papal chair as Pius V (1566) was ominous of changed relations: it portended the facing of realities, the ending of hypocrisies, and the declaration of war. The pontificate of Pius V, indeed (1566–1572), saw the Counter-Reformation at the height of its triumphs. Italy, Spain, France, Southern Germany, all were being cleared of heresy and were being restored to the obedience of the Holy See. Only England

remained as a serious rock of offence: if England could be re-captured it seemed probable that Protestantism could be stamped out of Christendom as completely as had been the obscure and forgotten heresies of the Middle Ages. And the re-capture of England meant no more than the removal of the illegitimate Elizabeth from the throne, and the substitution of the rightful Mary Queen of Scots. Hence Pius V concentrated his early energies upon the task of deposing Elizabeth, conquering England, establishing Mary, and suppressing Anglicanism. He had powerful allies; but it was not an easy task to get them to work together. His efforts were directed towards the combination against Elizabeth of (1) the English Catholics, estimated at nearly one-half of the nation; (2) the Irish, wholly disaffected; (3) the Scots, who, it was hoped, would rally to the cause of their imprisoned Queen; (4) the French under the dominant Duke of Guise; and, above all, (5) the Spaniards, the supreme power in Europe, under the devoted Philip II. In 1569 the resolute Pope drew up the challenge which was to inaugurate the attack, and to bring upon Elizabeth the overwhelming masses of her foes. It took the shape of the famous Bull, *Regnans in Excelsis*, which, though not actually issued till February 1570, was widely bruited throughout the Catholic world during the preceding year. By this Bull the Queen of England was declared to be a heretic and usurper; she was excommunicated and deposed; her subjects were absolved from their oaths of allegiance, and were positively forbidden to obey her or to recognise the laws promulgated in her name. The immediate consequence of this decisive act was the rebellion of the Northern Lords. The Scottish Catholics and the French of the Guise faction were ready to co-operate with them; and if only the sluggish Philip could have been impelled to move, it is difficult to see how

Elizabeth could have survived. Philip, however, had trouble with the Moriscoes in Spain, and he refused to budge. Elizabeth was saved for the moment by the disunion of her enemies. But only for the moment. During the next eighteen years her peril continued to grow until the climax was reached in the sailing of the Spanish Armada.

Her peril continued to grow. For in 1574 "Seminary priests," that is, Catholics trained by William Allen and his coadjutors in the Colleges of Douay, Rheims, and (after 1579) Rome, began to enter England in order to maintain the papal cause. From 1581 they were reinforced by Jesuits whose deliberate purpose was the assassination of the Queen. The Pope himself (Gregory XIII) sanctioned the assassination, saying in 1585 to two men who sought his approval for the desperate deed that he "not only approved the act, but thought the doer, if he suffer death merely for that, to be worthy of canonisation." Mary Queen of Scots became the centre of a whole series of formidable and widespread conspiracies whose object was the destruction of Elizabeth and the restoration of papal supremacy. Philip of Spain openly promised great rewards to any one who would do to the Queen of England what the faithful Balthasar Gerard had done to William of Orange in July 1584. In 1585 William Parry, a Welshman in Elizabeth's service, with free access to the court—having become reconciled to Rome, and having secured a papal indulgence for the deed—prepared to earn the money. Nothing but his own irresolution and the betrayal of his secret by an accomplice prevented him from accomplishing his purpose. Well might Elizabeth say in Parliament at this critical juncture, "I know no creature that breatheth whose life standeth hourly in more peril than mine own." It was in the very midst of this crescendo of alarm that Whitgift

succeeded to the primacy and laid down the lines of his ecclesiastical polity.

But although the papal plots against the Queen and the realm were the outstanding feature of his opening years of archiepiscopal office, they were not the perils which he himself was called upon most actively to combat. We can see by his frequent references to them, indeed, that they were constantly in his mind. But they belonged definitely to the sphere of secular politics which he deliberately refrained from entering. The Queen herself, the Privy Council, the Parliament, the nation as a whole by means of its Voluntary Association, these were the powers that dealt with the papal propagandists, and defended State and Church against the assaults of the Roman confederacy. Jesuits and Seminary priests who were captured were not brought before Whitgift and the High Commission to be interrogated on questions of theology: they were brought before the magistrates and judges of the realm who asked them, first, if they recognised the Sovereignty of the Queen, and, secondly, if they repudiated the papal claims to depose her and to absolve her subjects from allegiance. If they failed to give satisfactory answers to these enquiries, they were sent, not to be burned as heretics, but to be hanged as traitors. Elizabeth boasted, with justice and with pardonable pride, that she "made no inquisition into men's minds": all she demanded was loyalty and outward obedience. Whitgift, as we shall see, pursued the same policy. "I would not touch any for not subscribing only," he said, "but for breach of order[1]." The persons to whom he was referring, however, in this remark, were not Papists but Puritans.

[1] Letter to Burghley, 3 July, 1584, *Works of Whitgift*, vol. III. p. 602.

III

It was with the resistance of Puritans to ecclesiastical authority that Whitgift was principally concerned during his primacy, and it was his most remarkable achievement (whether we regard it with approval or otherwise) to reduce the Puritans from the position of an irreconcilable faction, strong and confident, flushed with recent successes, and anticipating an early and complete capture of the Anglican Church, to the position (at the Hampton Court Conference) of a small group of humble suppliants begging for a few modest reforms.

Even in Archbishop Parker's day the Puritan peril had become evident. Although Parker's disputes with his Puritan clergy had been mainly concerned with details of vestment and ritual, yet the old primate had seen that behind the controversy respecting forms of worship there lay profound differences of view in regard to doctrine, Church government, and the relation between secular and spiritual power. "The governance of the Puritans," said he, shortly before his death (1576), "will undo the queen and all others that depend upon her." This utterance was penetrative and prophetic; and if its fulfilment was postponed from Elizabeth's time to that of Charles I, it was to Whitgift that the postponement was chiefly due. Whitgift himself at about the same date—he being then Master of Trinity, and deeply engrossed in his controversy with Thomas Cartwright, recognised the peril equally clearly. It alarmed him particularly because it aggravated the papal peril, encouraging the enemies of Protestantism, and dividing the energies of England when their concentration was essential for national security. "We of this Church," he wrote in the Preface to his *Defence against the Reply of Cartwright* (1574), "in these perilous

days, do see that we have a great number of hollow hearts within this realm that daily gape for the alteration of religion, and many mighty and great enemies abroad busily devising and working to bring the same to pass, and to overthrow the state both of religion and of the realm."

During the primacy of the pious but feeble and incompetent Grindal, successor to Parker (1576–1583), the Puritan menace grew apace. Under the guidance of Cartwright the Puritan demands were formulated. They went far beyond mere matters of vestments and ceremonies. They included, first, the sweeping away of all relics of Roman ritual, however innocent they might be; secondly, the supersession of the Book of Common Prayer by the Genevan Service Book; thirdly, the introduction and enforcement of the full Calvinistic scheme of theology; fourthly, the abolition of episcopacy, the establishment of parity of ministers, and the setting up of a presbyterian system of Church government; finally, the virtual extinction of the royal supremacy, and the reduction of the State to the position of a department of the New Model Church—a demand which obviously and inevitably portended the conversion of the monarchy into a republic. Simultaneously, under the direction of Walter Travers (Hooker's well-known antagonist at the Temple) the Puritan organisation was perfected and actually introduced into the Anglican communion. The scheme was formulated in Travers's *Disciplina Sacra*, 1580, and two years later, beginning at Cuckfield in Sussex, its general application was attempted. Its purpose was, while leaving for a time the outer framework of the Elizabethan system intact, to construct within it a presbyterian system to which all effective control should be transferred. In 1583, when Whitgift succeeded Grindal in the primacy, the wildest disorder existed throughout the Church. Many ministers

lacked ordination; they wore vestments or dispensed with them at their own discretion or indiscretion; they commonly rejected the Prayer Book and used forms of their own composition; they administered the Communion in a countless variety of Continental ways; they repudiated the authority of bishops, denounced the episcopal office, and ignored the royal supremacy. Moreover, in that very same year (1583), a new threat to national unity on its religious side appeared in the emergence of "Separatists" who rejected presbyterianism as well as episcopacy, and proclaimed the autonomy of each independent congregation of the elect. Whitgift and the Queen were thoroughly alarmed. Not only did presbyterianism and independency menace the royal authority within the State; they also immensely aggravated the papal peril. The Jesuits and Seminary priests rejoiced to observe the spread of schism among the schismatics, and to mark the incessant dissidence of dissent. But much more serious was the deplorable effect which the rapid lapse of the Anglican Church into Calvinism and chaos had upon the large and vitally important section of the population who, though Catholic in creed and sympathy, yet wished to remain loyal to the Queen and establishment. Elizabeth had made it her special care, in her settlement of 1559, to conciliate these balancing people, and to keep them on her side. She had deliberately refrained from making any inquisition into their beliefs; she had dropped her father's offensive title "Supreme Head of the Church of England"; she had preserved in the worship and ceremonial of the Prayer Book as much of the Roman ritual as she could persuade or compel her Protestant bishops to accept. The result had, from her point of view, been eminently satisfactory. The immense multitude of the Marian Catholics, both lay and clerical, had, with whatever mental

reservations, conformed. And even after the issue of the fatal Bull of 1570, the majority had continued to do so. They had, beforehand, used all their influence to try to persuade the Pope *not* to promulgate the deadly instrument which compelled them to choose between the horrid alternatives of becoming either traitors or schismatics—either disloyal subjects of the Queen, or excommunicated aliens from the Church. When, in spite of their protests—backed as they were by the earnest remonstrances of both France and Spain—the resolute Pope had persisted in his purpose, they had regretfully decided for country and peace as against ultramontanism and war. But they did so only on the assumption that their consciences should not be further outraged by Protestant innovations, and that they should not be subjected to inquisitorial persecution. It was quite impossible for them, however, to tolerate the Holy Discipline of Travers, or to continue to conform to a church re-modelled on the complete Calvinistic pattern of Cartwright. Again and again Whitgift recurred to this point in his controversies with the Puritans: how could he possibly expect the Catholics to conform to the established Church as settled by the Acts of 1559, if the Protestants themselves repudiated the settlement and condemned it as Anti-Christian[1]?

His pleas for Protestant unity in face of the Papal peril were re-enforced by urgent messages of moderation from the great Swiss reformers, Bullinger and Gualter, whom the Puritans reverenced as masters: they stressed the fact that on the fundamentals of Calvinistic dogma there was no conflict between Parker, or Grindal, or Whitgift on the one hand and Cartwright or Travers on the other hand, and expressed the strong opinion that, as the immediate differences related merely to externals

[1] Cf. Strype's *Whitgift*, 1718, pp. 28, 29, 125, 127, 128, 157, 158.

and non-essentials, controversy should be suspended until the menace of the triumphant Counter-Reformation should be past. It was all to no effect. Theological passions were hot. Tender consciences were inflamed. Arguments were useless. The conduct of the Puritan case had passed into the hands of extremists; "men"—to quote Izaak Walton—"whom a furious zeal and prejudice had blinded and made incapable of hearing reason, or adhering to the way of peace[1]." Authority was compelled to intervene. "The Church and State were both forced to use such severities as will not admit of an excuse, if it had not been to prevent confusion and the perilous consequences of it; which without such preventive would, in a short time, have brought unavoidable ruin and misery on this numerous nation[2]."

IV

"In this extremity, fear, and danger of the Church and State," continued Izaak Walton, "when to suppress the growing evils of both, they needed a man of prudence and piety, and of a high and fearless fortitude, they were blest in all by John Whitgift, his being made Archbishop of Canterbury[3]."

On July 6, 1583, died the unhappy and impotent Edmund Grindal, who, during the last five years of his deplorable primacy had lived in seclusion and virtual suspension, owing to the severe displeasure of Elizabeth. At heart a Puritan, he had refused to suppress the "prophesyings" which so seriously alarmed the Queen, so grievously offended the Catholic conformists to the Church, and so frequently led to dissensions and brawls. Whitgift had long been marked out as Grindal's successor. He had acted as deputy for him during his suspension; and he had experienced some difficulty in persuading Elizabeth

[1] Izaak Walton, *Life of Hooker*, p. 26. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 27. [3] *Op. cit.* p. 28.

to refrain from unfrocking Grindal in order to hasten his own elevation. He stood head and shoulders above all the other bishops of the day in character and administrative ability. His reputation for strong and successful government was high: his ten years as Master of Trinity had raised that great, but comparatively new, College to a remarkable standard of efficiency and prosperity; his six years in the diocese of Worcester and the Council of Wales had left a permanent impress of discipline and order in the West. Above all, he was secure in the favour of the Queen; he knew her mind; he approved her policy; he recognised her supremacy in the fullest possible manner, and was prepared to work strenuously, in subordination to her, for the welfare of Church and State.

The expected, therefore, happened when he was nominated by Elizabeth for the vacant archbishopric; elected August 23, 1583, and confirmed in the appointment at Lambeth exactly one month later[1]. He lost no time in setting to work with enormous energy and immense determination. "In the month of September," says Strype, "divers good Articles were drawn up and agreed upon by himself and the rest of the bishops of his province, and signed by them. Which the Queen also allowed of, and gave her royal assent unto, to give them greater authority. For the state of the Church was evidently now but in a tottering condition both from the Papists on the one hand

[1] It is interesting to note incidentally from *Cambridge University Grace Book* Δ, pp. 370 and 379, that at this time Whitgift had the *Codex Bezae* out of the University Library on loan. On March 2, 1583, as Bishop of Worcester, he had been allowed to borrow it for six months under a pledge of £40. On October 10, 1583, as Archbishop, he was permitted to renew the loan for a second half-year on the same conditions, because "prefatus reverendissimus pater per ingentia sua negocia infra predictum tempus non potuit dictum librum describere."

and the disaffected Protestants on the other[1]." The first of the Articles related to the Papists. It did no more than appeal to the secular arm rigorously to enforce the Recusancy Laws against them. They were foes external to the Anglican Church; and it was the function of the common-law judges to deal with them[2]. The remaining eleven Articles treated in detail of the Puritans within the Church; they were called back imperatively to their duty; they were required to do what they were already by law bound to do. These Articles prohibited conventicles; insisted on the use of the vestments enumerated in Parker's *Book of Advertisements*; emphasised the necessity of ordination; and—here was the crux—demanded formal subscription to a three-fold profession of (*a*) acceptance of the royal supremacy, (*b*) adherence to the Book of Common Prayer, (*c*) fidelity to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion. Although there was nothing novel in these requirements, yet so slackly had the law been administered during Grindal's primacy that their enforcement came as a severe shock to the recalcitrant clergy. The novelty of the situation, indeed, consisted merely in the rigid administration of existing discipline and the strict insistence upon conformity to established duty.

The issue of the Twelve Articles was followed by a stringent Metropolitical Visitation, and by the institution of a new Court of High Commission—the fifth of the reign—endowed by the

[1] Strype, *Whitgift*, pp. 114–15.

[2] Professor Claude Jenkins in an interesting article on "An Elizabethan Episcopal Register" published in the *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, October, 1923, remarks: "There are many references in Whitgift's Register to the dark designs of the Pope and of the King of Spain; to the danger of foreign invasion and the requirement of arms and equipment from the clergy, as from others, to repel it."

Queen with an exceptionally large portion of her royal prerogative (December 1583)[1].

While these early measures were in process, Whitgift delivered at St Paul's Cathedral, on the great occasion of the anniversary of the Queen's accession (November 17), his first notable sermon as Archbishop. It was a powerful discourse on the obligation of obedience: "Put them in remembrance to be subject unto principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, to be ready to every good work" (Titus iii. 1). It proclaimed the source of royal authority to be divine; it laid down four firm grounds for obedience thereunto; and it analysed with some subtlety the duties which the principle of obedience entailed. Thus, before the end of 1583 the battle with Puritanism within the Church of England was fairly joined. For ten years it raged. By 1593 Whitgift, in virtue of undaunted courage and inflexible resolution, had gained a notable triumph. It was, perhaps, a Pyrrhic victory. Whitgift was probably incapable of perceiving the finer aspects of Puritanism—its lofty spirituality, its austere righteousness, its sturdy individuality. It is certain that neither the cantankerous Cartwright nor the malignant Martin Marprelate gave him any assistance towards the perception. He saw in the Puritans merely a band of perjured rebels against divinely ordained Sovereignty who "under the outward show of Godliness nourish contempt of magistrates, popularity, anabaptistry, and sundry other pernicious and pestilent errors[2]."

The number of those clergy who, as a result of the Metropolitical Visitation, were found to be resolute in non-conformity

[1] The previous High Commissions had been instituted in 1559, 1562, 1572, 1576.

[2] Whitgift: Preface to *The Defence*, p. 11.

was not large. The returns from eleven dioceses show only 49 out of a total of 835[1]. There is no doubt, however, that these 49 included some of the ablest and most devout among the English Protestants, and that the 786 conformists had in their midst a large proportion of lazy, incapable and immoral time-servers—men like the Vicar of Bray who, in order to retain their livings, were ready to conform to anything; rather than like the then Master of Peterhouse, the famous Dr Andrew Perne, who—tolerant before his time—in order to cause peace to prevail, was prepared to persecute nothing. The suspension of the conscientious objectors caused a storm of criticism and antagonism to arise throughout the country. Deputations of protest visited the Archbishop, and he gave them a very patient hearing. In particular, the 13 non-conformists from his own diocese, accompanied by 6 sympathisers, received every possible consideration; he listened to them and debated with them for five hours; he devoted two whole days subsequently to seeing them individually and discussing their difficulties. He was not favourably impressed by them: he found—so he informed Burghley—"most of them unlearned and young, and such as he would be loth to admit into the ministry, if they were not already admitted thereunto, much less to allow them preachers." The great Lord Treasurer, however, took up their case, and in a most interesting correspondence with Whitgift (July 1584) pleaded for moderation: he greatly feared, he said, lest severity with the Puritans would weaken the powers of resistance to Rome. Whitgift replied that, on the contrary, "the Papists were animated because they saw these kinds of persons—which herein after a manner joined with them—so greatly friended,

[1] Strype, *Whitgift*, Book III. Appendix 7.

so much borne with, and so animated in their disorderly doings against both God's law and man's law, and against their chief governors, civil and ecclesiastical. This it was encouraged the Papists." His insistence on obedience and uniformity, he asserted, "tended to the taking away their chief argument, which was that we could not agree among ourselves, and lacked unity[1]." So, in spite of Burghley's intercession, the archbishop persisted in his rigorous enforcement of discipline. Even when the Privy Council, as a body, intervened on behalf of the dissidents and summoned Whitgift before them to explain and defend his action, he declined to relax his resolution. He sent a courteous letter setting forth the reasons for his procedure; but he refused to appear before the Council, because, he frankly told them, they were interfering "in a matter not incident, as he thought, to that most honourable Board[2]." The Queen had commissioned him and his colleagues, not the Lord Treasurer and the Council, to deal with the disorders in the Church. He therefore took a strong line, confident in the support of Elizabeth, and regardless of the opposition which he met. Hence he remained unmoved and immovable, even when Parliament, in which the Puritan element was powerful, joined in the protests and the plaints and tried to stay his hand. He had, he said, undertaken the defence and the rights of the Church of England; to appease the Sects and Schisms therein; and to reduce all the ministers thereof to uniformities and due obedience. "And herein," he considered, "I intend to be constant, and not to waver with every wind."

[1] Strype, *Whitgift*, pp. 157–8.
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 126.

v

The Puritans, obtaining no relief from deputations to Primate, appeals to Privy Council, or protests by Parliament, organised themselves for resistance. They began with a strong and reasoned statement of their case in a manifesto entitled *A Learned Discourse of Ecclesiastical Government* (1584) in which they (1) asserted the Scriptures to be the sole authority in matters of faith and morals; (2) denounced episcopacy as unscriptural; (3) maintained that pastors, elders, and deacons were the only orders of ministers recognised by the New Testament and (4) cautiously, but effectively, repudiated the royal supremacy in so far as it meant any operative control over the Church. They then proceeded to institute all over the country a system of presbyterian *classes*, grouped into county associations and centralised in a National Assembly. There were actual meetings of the National Assembly at Cambridge (1586) and London (1587). The University of Cambridge may be regarded as the general headquarters of this militant attempt to presbyterianise the Church of England. The whole agitation, indeed, may be not inaptly termed "The Cambridge Movement of 1583–1593," and in many of its features it may be compared with the Oxford Movement of two hundred and fifty years later. In the nineteenth century, however, circumstances were very different. On the one hand, the country was at peace, and there was no fear of an invasion by a powerful and ruthless foreign foe, assisted by formidable native confederates. On the other hand, religion was no longer the dominant interest of the nation, and an easy toleration, bred of experience and indifference, allowed Newman, Keble and Pusey to conspire without serious molestation from Archbishop Howley.

Neither the circumstances nor the spirit of the sixteenth century permitted Whitgift to tolerate the subversive activities of Cartwright and Travers. The one was put into prison, the other (to the immense relief of Hooker) was deprived of his readership in the Temple. A reply to the *Learned Discourse*—in the form of an enormous quarto of fifteen hundred pages, which more than satisfied the most voracious theological appetite of that dogmatically hungry age—was written by John Bridges, Dean of Salisbury. The High Commission Court pursued its inquisitorial way with a truly Spanish zeal, administering to suspected Puritans the oath *ex officio* in a manner which precluded all evasion. A stringent edict of the Star Chamber, 1586, restricted the right of printing to the licensed presses of Oxford, Cambridge, and London, and required every work submitted for publication to pass the censorship of either the Archbishop himself or his faithful henchman, the Bishop of London. In the same year Whitgift himself was sworn a member of the Privy Council, in order that he might counter there the pro-Puritan influence of Leicester and his friends, and might employ more effectively the secular arm to supplement the ecclesiastical weapons of the High Commission.

The combination of Church and State—i.e., in effect the close alliance between Elizabeth and Whitgift—broke the power of the Puritans, and established Anglican uniformity. A consciousness of defeat and a sense of baffled impotence roused some, the more violent of the Puritans, to an illimitable ecstasy of fury. They gave vent to the exuberance of their rage in the *Martin Marprelate* pamphlets, printed at an illicit peripatetic press which for many months eluded the pursuit of the persecutors. The unrestrained ferocity and scurrility of the *Martin Marprelate* publications no doubt relieved the feelings of their

anonymous authors; but they ruined the cause of the Puritans in the eyes of moderate men, and enabled Whitgift and the bishops to complete with general approval the campaign of suppression. The fact, too, that the Marprelate outburst synchronised precisely with the coming of the Spanish Armada still further alienated the Puritans from the popular sympathy, and made their propaganda appear unpatriotic and anti-national. By 1592 the *classes* were finally broken up, and in the year following even the Parliament—once a stronghold of Puritanism—passed the decisive statute, 35 Eliz. Cap. 1., which marked the triumphant conclusion of Whitgift's great conflict on behalf of royal supremacy, episcopal authority, uniformity of ritual, and canonical law. According to this statute, Puritans who refused to conform should be punished, first, by imprisonment; secondly, if persistent, by exile; and finally, if without permission they returned from exile, by death. The year which saw the passing of this statute (1593) saw also the public executions, on the charge of treason, of the Separatists, Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry.

The remaining eleven years of Whitgift's primacy were years of comparative freedom from the severe struggles that had marked the decade 1583–1593. The Papal peril was no longer formidable; the power of the Puritans was shattered. A new age had dawned in which both Whitgift and Elizabeth lingered as strangers and aliens. New theological problems were arising; the sovereign authority of Calvin was being attacked; and Whitgift merely showed how completely he misunderstood the spirit of his later days when he issued his amazing *Lambeth Articles* (1595) as an eirenicon. New ecclesiastical positions were being assumed by Anglican divines, and Whitgift found that his conceptions of episcopacy fitted but ill with the system

of divine right and apostolic succession which was being elaborated by such pioneers as Bancroft, Saravia, Bilson, and Andrewes. He lived, however, to attend the deathbed of his great Mistress, and to crown the pedantic James—whose unexpected affection for episcopacy caused the old archbishop transports of delight. His last great function was the Hampton Court Conference (January 1604), but he was too ill to play a prominent part in its debates. A month later he died (February 29, 1604).

VI

We are now in a position to ask: What was the ecclesiastical polity of Archbishop Whitgift? What were the principles for which he stood? What the ideals that he strove to realise?

Fundamentally, he was in his attitude and outlook what is commonly called Erastian, but more correctly designated Byzantine. That is to say, he accepted the view of the Emperor Constantine—which was also the view of Charlemagne, Frederick Barbarossa, Henry VIII, Elizabeth, and many other Christian monarchs—that the Church is a department of the State. In his first *Answer* to Cartwright he said "I perceive no such distinction of the Commonwealth and Church that they should be counted, as it were, two several bodies, governed with divers laws and divers magistrates, except the Church be linked with an heathenish and idolatrous Commonwealth[1]." This view he expanded and maintained in his subsequent *Defence*: "The Queen's Majesty," he contended, "being supreme governor in all causes, both ecclesiastical and temporal, committeth the hearing and judging of ecclesiastical matters to the Archbishops and Bishops, and temporal matters to the Lord Chancellor and

[1] *Works of Whitgift*, ed. Ayres, I. 21.

other Judges[1]." He was, however, as careful and as resolute to insist on the separation of functions between civil and ecclesiastical officials as he was to acknowledge the unity of sovereignty, the royal supremacy, and the solitary divine right of monarchy, from which all power was derived. On the one hand, he ostentatiously withdrew from the Privy Council whenever secular affairs came up for consideration, and he refused the Queen's offer of the Chancellorship. On the other hand, he would not tolerate the meddling of ministers of State in the internal affairs of the Church, and he declined to answer for his acts to anyone save Elizabeth herself, "seeing it had pleased Her Majesty, her own self, in express words, to commit these causes ecclesiastical to him, as to one who was to make answer to God and to Her Majesty in that behalf[2]."

To Whitgift, then, Anglican Church and English Nation were not two separate, or properly separable, communities, but were one and the same community in different aspects. This view caused him some very considerable difficulties both theoretical and practical—difficulties not unlike those which had presented themselves to Saint Augustine, a thousand years before the Tudor period, when he wrote his great theodicy. To one who, like Whitgift, held the Calvinistic creed of election and reprobation, the theoretical difficulties were logically quite insuperable. The Church of England, which included every Englishman, could not possibly be identified with the select "Church of the first-born whose names are written in heaven." Whitgift's conception of the Church-State involved the elimination of the distinction between sheep and goats; the identification of God and Mammon; the unconditional and enforced admission

[1] *Op. cit.* III. 302. Cf. also II. 367.

[2] Strype, *Whitgift*, p. 126.

of the World, the Flesh, and the Devil into the *Civitas Dei*. Thus the Anglican Establishment to which all were compelled to conform lost all necessary connexion with the Communion of Saints which consisted of the small company of the predestined elect. The Establishment became a mere State Department, and its officers no more than civil servants: the Queen determined its policy and limited its pretensions; the Parliament promulgated its canons, the Bishops (royal nominees) acted as the executive servants of the Crown; the High Commission, under a royal warrant, set the standard of discipline. It may be remarked in passing that all this did not involve quite so hopeless a "secularisation of the Church" as it would do at the present day with its very different ideas and institutions. In one aspect it signified a notable sanctification of the State and an elevation of politics to the plane of religion: the Queen was recognised as the Vicegerent of God; and Parliament became a synod of Christian men. Nevertheless, it undoubtedly did make the office of Bishop an extremely ambiguous one; and a large part of the controversy of Whitgift's day raged round the place of episcopacy in the Church. Here we are concerned only to make Whitgift's own position as clear as may be.

The Calvinistic theology, which Whitgift accepted and professed, is entirely incompatible with episcopacy in any real sense of the term. The doctrine of predestination cuts at the very root of a system based on baptismal regeneration, sacramental grace, sacerdotal ordination, divine right, and apostolic succession. If now and again, for brief periods, such Calvinistic Churches as that of Scotland endured titular bishops, these misnamed and uncomfortable officials were merely the Chairmen of Presbyterian Synods whose members all claimed to be their equals in ministerial prerogative. The main attack of Cartwright and

Travers upon the Church as established by the Acts of Settlement and Uniformity was directed upon the Elizabethan episcopate which, they contended, was wholly inconsistent with the creed professed by the bishops, and entirely contrary to the principles of Church Government laid down in the New Testament. The main argument in Whitgift's defence was the one developed later with masterly skill by Richard Hooker in his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, viz. that Scripture was never intended to be the sole guide and law of the Church, but that human reason and divine providence remained to supplement and expand it. "The offices in the Church whereby this Government is wrought, be not namely and particularly expressed in the Scriptures but in some points left to the discretion and liberty of the Church to be disposed according to the state of times, places, and persons[1]." It is enough if a doctrine or an institution be not definitely anti-Scriptural: "Christ hath left the government of his Church, touching the external policy, in sundry points, in the ordering of men, who have to make orders and laws for the same as time, place, and person requireth, so that nothing be done contrary to his word[2]."

He goes on to argue—again anticipating Hooker—first that the Church in the legitimate exercise of its freedom of choice has decided upon an episcopal mode of government, and that, therefore, it is proper and valid; secondly, that the episcopal form of government has many advantages. "We make not an Archbishop necessary to salvation, but profitable to the Government of the Church[3]." As to the *source* of episcopal authority, it is frankly royal: "The Archbishops—if you speak of ours—acknowledge themselves to be subject to their prince, and to

[1] *Works of Whitgift*, ed. Ayres, I. 6.
[2] *Op. cit.* II. 90.
[3] *Op. cit.* II. 97.

have that authority and jurisdiction from her[1]." As to the *nature* of episcopal authority; it is purely administrative: "We give no greater authority either to Archbishop or Bishop than the Consul or Praetor had among the Romans, or a Master in a College[2]."

There are suggestions, however, that even in 1574, when Whitgift's *Defence* was written, he would have liked to make rather stronger claims for episcopacy if he had dared. A distinctly higher note is struck in the passage: "This authority which the bishops and archbishops now exercise came first from the Apostolical Church; then from the example of the Primitive Church for the space of five hundred years from the Apostles' time; thirdly from the Councils of Nice, Antioch, Constantinople, and all the best and purest Councils that ever were; and last of all from the authority of the prince, and of the consent of the whole Church and Realm of England[3]." But even here the high note is not maintained, it drops towards the Erastian bass. It is evident, in fact, that Whitgift is torn between a desire to exalt the episcopal office on the one hand, and on the other hand a dread of the royal wrath and the penalties of *praemunire*. In 1593, for example, he wrote a strong letter to the Swiss Reformer, Theodore Beza, who had been officiously meddling in English affairs. Concerning his own position he said, "We make no doubt but that the episcopal degree which we bear is an institution apostolical and divine, and so always hath been

[1] *Works of Whitgift*, II. 100; cf. also II. 101, 265, 333.

[2] *Op. cit.* II. 279. Cf. II. 280. The term "consul" recalls the curious expression found in the epitaph on Whitgift's tomb in Croydon Church:

Carior Elizae dubium est, an Regi Jacobo.
Consul utrique fuit.

[3] *Op. cit.* II. 407.

held by a continued course of time from the Apostles to this very age of ours[1]." This went far beyond anything which he had ventured to utter in his controversy with Cartwright, and Sir Francis Knollys of the Queen's Household (among others) was seriously perturbed: "Her Majesty," he said, "is not Supreme Governor over the clergy, if so be that our Bishops be not Under-governors to Her Majesty." The Lord Treasurer, Burghley, himself took the matter up, and having become satisfied that no revolt against the royal supremacy was intended, he "had some discourse with Sir Francis about this argument and told him that the Bishops had lately forsaken their claim of superiority over their inferior brethren to be of God's own ordinance, and that now they did only claim superiority over them from Her Majesty's supreme government." Sir Francis Knollys was further assured by an opinion that he procured from a certain "grave and learned man" whose name has not been handed down to us: it was to the effect that "the Bishops of this realm do not (so far as I have ever yet heard) nor must not claim to themselves any greater authority than is given them by the Statute of the 25 of King Henry VIII, revived in the 1st year of Her Majesty's reign, or by other Statutes of this land[2]."

In short, what with their Calvinistic theology on the one hand, and their fear of *praemunire* on the other, the Elizabethan Bishops were quite unable to make any effective defence of episcopacy on any other grounds except those of royal authority and general utility. It was not until Calvinism began to crumble before the assaults of Arminius and his contemporaries, and not until the mighty Tudors had given place to the feeble Stuarts

[1] Strype, *Whitgift*, p. 406.
[2] *Op. cit.* Book III. Appendix 43.

that it was feasible for men like Launcelot Andrewes and William Laud to take and hold the higher ground of divine ordinance and apostolic succession.

Whitgift's task was preparatory and preliminary to the great Anglican revival of the seventeenth century. He suppressed disorder within the Church; restored uniformity; established discipline; preserved the framework of episcopacy, leaving to his less harassed, and perhaps more spiritual, successors the work of recalling the soul of religion to the chastened communion, and of renewing among the faithful the practice of the presence of God.

Whitgift had a conscience: his Puritan opponents had consciences. According to the idea of the time he had no option but to persecute; they had no choice but to rebel. This hopeless clash of lofty loyalties led to a deadlock from which there was no escape until the seventeenth century learnt the way of toleration.

F. J. C. HEARNSHAW.

RICHARD CRASHAW: "POET AND SAINT"

FELLOW OF PETERHOUSE

from 22 NOV. 1635 *to* 8 APRIL 1644

(Works: *Epigrammata Sacra*, 1634; *Steps to the Temple, with other Delights of the Muses*, 1646; *Carmen Deo Nostro*, 1652. Text of collected poems edited by A. R. Waller, 1904.)

I

EARLY chronological details are happily few. Born in 1613, the son of a Puritan Rector of Whitechapel (who died when the boy was thirteen), Richard Crashaw was among the earliest "gownboys" at Charterhouse; entered Pembroke Hall in July 1631 at the age of eighteen as a scholar, with a leaving exhibition from Charterhouse; took his degree in 1634; and in 1635 was made a Fellow of Peterhouse through the influence of the new Master, Cosin. Chronologically there is little to be added, with certainty, except that he was deprived of his Fellowship by Parliament in 1644; went first to Paris and thence to Rome; became a Roman Catholic; and died soon after his appointment (on 24 July 1649) to a benefice in the Basilica-Church of Our Lady of Loreto,—by the influence of Cardinal Pallotta, whose secretary he had been in Rome.

But if the record of mere facts is meagre, abundant contemporary testimony survives to show what manner of man Crashaw was and how he shaped a life which was the faithful counterpart of his verse.

"Reader," (says the anonymous Cambridge friend who produced the 1646 volume after Crashaw's ejection) "we stile his Sacred Poems *Steps to the Temple*, and aptly, for in the Temple of God, under his wing, he led his life, in St Maries Church

neere St Peter's Colledge[1]: There he lodged under Tertullian's roofe of Angels; there he made his nest more gladly than David's Swallow neere the house of God" (cf. Psalm lxxxiv. 3), "where, like a primitive Saint he offered more prayers in the night[2], than others usually ofter in the day; There he penned these Poems, Steps for happy soules to climbe heaven by....He was excellent in five Languages (besides his Mother tongue) *vid.* Hebrew, Greek, Latine, Italian, Spanish, the two last whereof he had little helpe in, they were of his own acquisition. Among his other accomplishments in Accademick (as well pious as harmlesse arts) he made his skill in Poetry, Musick, Drawing, Limming, Graving, (exercises of his curious invention and sudden fancy) to be but his subservient recreations for vacant houres, not the grand businesse of his soule.

"To the former Qualifications I might adde that which would crowne them all, his rare moderation in diet (almost Lessian temperance[3]); he never created a Muse out of distempers, nor (with our Canary scribblers) cast any strange mists of surfets before the Intellectual beames of his mind or memory, the latter of which he was so much a master of that he had there under

[1] Crashaw was Curate and Catechist at Little St Mary's. He does not appear to have done much teaching at Peterhouse, as only three pupils were assigned to him as Tutor,—the first being Ferrar Collett, nephew of Nicholas Ferrar of Little Gidding.

[2] At Little Gidding there was a *laus perennis* of ceaseless psalmody, the Psalms being said right through every twenty-four hours. In Skipton's *Life of N. Ferrar*, 1907, it is recorded that "several religious persons both in the neighbourhood and from distant places attended these watchings; and amongst them the celebrated Mr Richard Crashaw, fellow of Peterhouse, who was very intimate in the family, and frequently came from Cambridge for this purpose, and at his return often watched in Little St Mary's Church near Peterhouse."

[3] See Waller, p. 293, for Crashaw's early poem on *Temperance* prefixed to the English translation (apparently, by George Herbert and Nicholas Ferrar)

locke and key in readinesse the richest treasures of the best Greek and Latine Poets, some of which Authors hee had more at his command by heart than others that onely read their workes, to retaine little and understand lesse....

Verte paginas.
Look on his following leaves, and see him breathe."

In close accord with this testimony from Crashaw's innominate Cambridge friend, are the prefatory verses to the *Carmen Deo Nostro* in which, after Crashaw's death, Thomas Car praises—

> that happie one
> who was belov'd by all, dispraysed by none.
> To witt, being pleas'd with all things, he pleas'd all.
> Nor would he give nor take offence, befall
> what might; he would possesse himselfe and live
> as dead (devoyde of interest) t' all might give
> desease t' his well composed mynd, forestal'd
> with heavenly riches: which had wholy call'd
> his thoughtes from earth, to live above in th' aire
> a very bird of Paradise. No care
> had he of earthly trashe. What might suffice
> to fitt his soule to heavenly exercise,
> sufficed him: and may we guesse his hart
> by what his lipps bring forth, his onely part
> is God and godly thoughtes. Leaves doubt to none
> but that to whom one God is all, all 's one.
> What he might eate or weare he took no thought.
> His needfull foode he rather found than sought.

of Leonard Lessius's *Hygiasticon*, of which the third edition was published at Cambridge in 1636. Crashaw's poem ends with the lines:

> And when life's sweet fable ends,
> soul and body part like friends;
> no quarrels, murmurs or delay;
> a Kisse, a Sigh, and so away.

He seekes no downes, no sheetes, his bed 's still made
if he can find a chaire or stoole, he 's layd;
when day peepes in, he quits his restlesse rest,
and still, poore soule, before he 's up he 's dres't[1].
Thus dying did he live, yet lived to dye
in th-virgines lappe, to whom he did applye
his virgine thoughtes and words, and thence was styld
by foes the chaplaine of the virgine myld
while yet he lived without.

As will be seen later, there is further the witness borne by Abraham Cowley—Crashaw's friend in Cambridge and in Paris—to reinforce the independent tributes of the poet's two editors.

II

Vertamus paginas,—beginning with the Latin poems. It was in a Latin dress that, in 1634, Crashaw's first volume appeared, —the *Epigrammata Sacra*, published anonymously and at his friends' financial risk. In the Preface "Lectori," he announces the dedication of his muse to religion, disclaiming all appeal to worldlings and to votaries of "jocus et lusus":

Nam nec Acidalios halat mihi pagina rores;
nostra Cupidineæ nec favet aura faci....
Cede, puer (dixi et dico), cede, improba mater:
altera Cypris habet nos; habet alter Amor.
Scilicet hîc Amor est. Hîc est quoque mater Amoris.
—Sed mater virgo; sed neque cæcus Amor.

The concluding words addressed to the reader (in prose) are of interest as being levelled against certain "magistros Acygnianos" (presumably dour Puritans), whom some recent utterances of

[1] I.e. he followed the example of Nicholas Ferrar, who did not undress to go to bed, "but, wrapping himself in a loose frieze gown, slept on a bear's skin on the boards."

Crashaw (perhaps the racy lines headed—"Melius purgatur stomachus per vomitum quam per secessum") had apparently infuriated; these worthies he invites to resort henceforth "neque ad fœtida de suis Sanctis figmenta neque ad putidas de nostris calumnias."

Of some two hundred extant Epigrammata the following specimen ends with Crashaw's best known Latin line (sometimes attributed to Dryden), which he himself englished as "The water blushed and started into wine":

JOANN. 2

Aquæ in vinum versæ.

Unde rubor vestris et non sua purpura lymphis?
Quæ rosa mirantes tam nova mutat aquas?
"Numen (convivæ), præsens agnoscite Numen!
—Nympha pudica deum vidit et erubuit!"

It is noteworthy that all the Epigrammata are based on the New Testament, and practically all on the Gospels or Acts,—none being derived from Pauline sources. Miracles predominate as themes, together with the Nativity and Passion. Rarely, or never, at his best when, as in an epigram, the claims of compression cramped his exuberant fluency, Crashaw—who was profoundly influenced to "conceits" by Donne's poems published in the preceding year, 1633—derives no lasting title to poetic fame from his Latin epigrams,—still less from the much inferior Greek into which he subsequently translated selected specimens.

Of greater domestic interest to Peterhouse men, are the Latin verses, first published in 1646, in which, on election as a fellow of Peterhouse, Crashaw penned appeals for funds to complete M. Wren's new Chapel,—which had received a formal dedication in 1632 and was being vigorously pushed forward to completion by the new and munificent Master, John Cosin.

Crashaw, who in 1634 had applauded Dr Lany's restoration of Pembroke Chapel, pleaded, in moving hexameters, for an East window and for a ceiling at once decorative and rainproof—

> Quando erit ut Convexa suo quoque pulchra sereno
> florescant roseoque tremant Laquearia risu?
> —quæ, nimium informis tanquam sibi conscia frontis,
> perpetuis jam se lustrant lacrymantia guttîs;

also for "prophets blazon'd on the panes"—

> Quando erit ut claris meliori luce fenestris
> plurima per vitreos vivat Pia Pagina vultus?

also for "the storm" of a "high-built organ," instead of a flute out of tune, to lead the singing in Chapel—

> Quando erit ut Sacrum nobis celebrantibus Hymnum
> organicos facili et nunquam fallente susurro
> nobile murmur agat nervos; pulmonis iniqui
> fistula nec monitus faciat male-fida sinistros?

and finally for altar appointments—

> denique, quicquid id est, quod Res hic Sacra requirit

with the assurance of a rich recompense to subscribers—

> tibi supplicat ipsa,
> ipsa tibi facit Ara preces. Tu jam illius audi,
> audiet illa tuas.

Whether post or whether propter hoc, the new Chapel's needs were handsomely satisfied, for in 1643 the Parliamentary Agents found there (and pulled down) "two mighty great Angels with wings and divers other Angels and the four Evangelists and Peter with his Keies over the Chapel Dore and about a hundred Cherubims and Angels...and six Angels in the windows." Evidently, Crashaw, who had not in vain

appealed for funds in 1635–6, was a valuable ally to the indomitable Master; and so, presumably after a judicious interval, he was moved to furnish a fresh appeal, this time on secular account. His "Ejusdem in *Caeterorum* Operum difficili Parturitione gemitus" now pleads the urgent necessity for refacing and restoring the great Court:

> Dubio stant mœnia vultu
> parte sui pulchra, et fratres in fœdera muros
> invitant frustra, nec respondentia saxis
> saxa suis. Mœrent opera intermissa, manusque
> implorant. Succurre piæ, succurre parenti,
> o quisquis pius es....Sic longa juventus
> te foveat, querulæ nunquam cessura senectæ.

Other Latin poems are included in the *Delights of the Muses* of 1646. Of these some are "occasional" verses either to Queen Henrietta Maria ("Et sibi et Academiæ parturientem"), or "Principi recens natæ," or even—with a proleptic hardihood worthy of his Oxford contemporary, William Cartwright—"Ad Principem *nondum natum*." Others again are secular poems; and these, unlike the "occasional" poems in Latin, are nearly always good. Two extracts may be cited:

There is "Tranquillitas animi, similitudine ductâ ab ave captivâ et canorâ tamen," which may well have been inspired by, and may have heartened, Crashaw's exile of 1644:

> Sic in se pia mens reposta, secum
> alte tuta sedet, nec ardet extra,
> aut ullo solet æstuare fato;
> quamvis cuncta tumultuentur, atræ
> sortis turbine non movetur illa.
> Fortunæ furias onusque triste
> non tergo minus accipit quieto,

quam vectrix Veneris columba blando
admittit juga delicata collo....
Quodsi lacryma pervicax rebelli
erumpit tamen evolatque guttâ,
invitis lacrymis, negante luctu,
ludunt perspicui per ora risus.

Finally, there is the airy grace of "Bulla"—or "bubble," not without the Roman connotation implicit in "En mea bulla! Lares en tua dextra mihi"—of which the following are the closing lines:

Sum venti ingenium breve,
flos sum, scilicet, aëris,
sidus scilicet æquoris;
naturæ jocus aureus,
naturæ vaga fabula,
naturæ breve somnium;
nugarum decus et dolor;
dulcis doctaque vanitas;
auræ filia perfidæ,
et risûs facilis parens;
—tantum gutta superbior
fortunatius et lutum.
Sum fluxæ pretium spei,
una ex Hesperidum insulis,
formæ pyxis, amantium
clare cæcus ocellulus,
vanæ et cor leve gloriæ.
Sum cæcæ speculum deæ;
sum fortunæ ego tessera,
quam dat militibus suis;
sum fortunæ ego symbolum
quo sancit fragilem fidem
cum mortalibus ebriis
obsignatque tabellulas.

Sum blandum, petulans, vagum,
pulchrum, purpureum, et decens,
comptum, floridulum, et recens,
distinctum nivibus, rosis,
undis, ignibus, aëre,
pictum, gemmeum, et aureum,
—o sum (scilicet O nihil).

Had this lyric been written in English, instead of Latin, it would have found an assured place in every anthology.

III

As has been seen, Crashaw's first volume was written wholly in Latin and dealt solely with "sacred themes." His second volume—*Steps to the Temple, Sacred Poems, with other Delights of the Muses*—combines "humane" with "sacred" verse and is written partly in Latin and partly in English, the text being in Latin for a third of the "humane" poems (*Delights of the Muses*) as against one-seventh for *Steps to the Temple*. But, in his third volume, the *Carmen Deo Nostro* of 1652, the subjects are exclusively "sacred" and not a single Latin poem is included. Thus (i) secular or "humane" poetry, and (ii) the use of Latin as a vehicle, were both finally discarded by Crashaw; nor can it be doubted that this indicates an organic growth, consciously recognised and deliberately adopted by the poet as "sanus assertor sui."

In the crowded years 1636–1649, following his entry into Peterhouse, Crashaw was destined to witness—from 1640 onwards—the triumph of Puritanism, the eclipse of episcopacy, and the death or imprisonment of his spiritual guides and his king; he was to be ejected from his fellowship at Peterhouse and his chaplaincy at Little St Mary's, to seek exile on the

continent as "a mere scholar and shiftless," and finally to join the Roman Communion.

Written under stress of these cataclysmic events, Crashaw's English poems—as published in 1646 and 1652—are best considered as a consecutive whole, irrespective of actual date or publication, and without more or less futile endeavours to settle relative dates of composition. It is of course manifest that such verses as the Carmen's prefatory verses to his benefactress the Countess of Denbigh ("perswading her to Resolution in Religion, and to render herselfe without further delay into the Communion of the Catholick Church"), the "Office of the Holy Crosse," and "the Apologie" for the Hymn to S. Teresa ("as having been writt when the author was yet among the protestantes"),—were all written subsequently both to his leaving Cambridge and to his reception into the Roman Communion; but, with these and perhaps one or two further exceptions, it would baffle the most pertinacious of annalists to decide, on purely intrinsic evidence, whether a given sacred poem published after 1645 was actually written in Anglican days or thereafter.

If, for example, intrinsic evidence were deemed to prove a late and Roman date for the following from the "Carmen":

UPON THE BLEEDING CRUCIFIX:

A Song.

I

Jesu, no more! It is full tide.
From thy head and from thy feet,
from thy hands and from thy side,
all the purple Rivers meet....

III

Thy restlesse feet now cannot goe
for us and our eternall good,
as they were ever wont. What though?
—They swimme. Alas, in their own floud.

IV

Thy hands, to give, thou canst not lift;
yet will thy hand still giving be.
It gives, but ô, it self's the gift.
It gives though bound; though bound 'tis free.

IX

N'ere wast thou in a sense so sadly true
the Well of living Waters, Lord, till now.

Yet the Latin original of this "Song" had appeared as far back as 1634, under the title of "In Vulnera Dei pendentis," in the *Epigrammata Sacra*, as:

O frontis, lateris, manuumque pedumque cruores!
O quæ purpureo flumina fonte patent!
In nostram (ut quondam) pes non valet ire salutem,
sed natat; in fluviis (ah!) natat ille suis.
Fixa manus; dat, fixa; pios bona dextera rores
donat, et in donum solvitur ipsa suum....
O nimium vivæ pretiosis amnibus undæ!
Fons vitæ nunquam verior ille fuit.

What is true of the essential unity of the "sacred" poems, is no less true of the "humane" or secular poems in English, whensoever published. Intrinsically, they all form a single series; the same thought and the same feeling, though with varying success in workmanship, run through the whole of them and stamp them with a unity unbroken by change of creed and unwavering in outlook. There is no question of an "earlier," or of a "later," manner in these English secular poems; they

are all of a piece, as are the sacred poems,—and as the Latin secular poems are not.

Although forsaken by Crashaw on his departure from Cambridge, his secular muse has proved the more enduring supporter of his poetic fame; and there are many lovers of poetry who, while rejoicing that his native English supplanted Latin as his medium, deplore the undivided allegiance finally bestowed on religious poetry. Speculation on what might have been is never so idle as when it presumes to dictate the lines of growth for a poet's mind; assuredly, however, Crashaw himself, intent on "the grand businesse of his soule," would have waved aside his "humane" admirers no less vigorously than the author of *Paradise Lost* would have resented appeals from the exclusive votaries of *L'Allegro* and *Lycidas*.

IV

But let Crashaw's verse, sacred and secular, speak for itself.

Printed first of the *Other Delights of the Muses* in 1646, is "Musick's Duell," between "a sweet lutes-master" and "a nightingale, come from the neighbouring wood":

> She opes the floodgate, and lets loose a Tide
> of streaming sweetnesse, which in state doth ride
> on the wav'd backe of every swelling straine,
> rising and falling in a pompouse traine.
> And while she thus discharges a shrill peale
> of flashing Aires, she qualifies their zeale
> with the coole Epode of a graver Noat,
> —thus high, thus low, as if her silver throat
> would reach the brasen voyce of war's hoarce Bird;
> her little soule is ravisht, and so pour'd
> into loose extasies, that shee is plac't
> above her selfe, Musick's *Enthusiast*.
> . . . . . .

> The Lute's light Genius now does proudly rise,
> heav'd on the surges of swolne Rapsodyes.
> Whose flourish (Meteor-like) doth curle the aire
> with flash of high-borne fancyes: here and there
> dancing in lofty measures, and anon
> creeps on the soft touch of a tender tone:
> whose trembling murmurs melting in wild aires
> runs to and fro, complaining his sweet cares
> because those pretious mysteryes that dwell
> in musick's ravish't soule he dares not tell,
> but whisper to the world: thus doe they vary
> each string his Note, as if they meant to carry
> their Master's blest soule (snatcht out at his Eares
> by a strong Extasy) through all the sphæares
> of Musick's heaven, and seat it there on high
> in th' *Empyræum* of pure Harmony.
> At length (after so long, so loud a strife
> of all the strings, still breathing the best life
> of blest variety attending on
> his fingers' fairest revolution
> in many a sweet rise, many as sweet a fall)
> a full-mouth *Diapason* swallowes all....

No one but a musician could have written this. More familiar —the whole 126 lines are given in the anthologies—are Crashaw's triplets—"Wishes. To his (supposed) Mistresse":

> Who ere she be,
> that not impossible she
> that shall command my heart and me;
>
> Where ere she lye
> lock't up from mortal Eye
> in shady leaves of Destiny;...
>
> Meet you her, my wishes,
> bespeake her to my blisses,
> and be ye called my absent Kisses.

I wish her Beauty,
that owes not all his Duty
to gaudy Tire, or glistring shoo-ty....

A face 's that 's best
by its owne beauty drest,
and can—alone—command the rest....

A well-tam'd Heart,
for whose more noble smart
love may be long chusing a Dart....

Life, that dares send
a challenge to his end,
and when it comes say *Welcome Friend*....

I wish, her store
of worth may leave her poore
of wishes; and I wish—No more....

Let her full glory,
my fancyes, fly before ye;
be ye my fictions,—but her story.

Then, in a lesser key, there are graceful lines to accompany gifts.

There are first the interesting lines, sent with a present of apricots, to his friend Abraham Cowley ("young master of the world's maturitie")—

How then must these
poore fruites looke pale at thy Hesperides!
Faine would I chide their slowness, but in their
defects I draw mine owne dull character.
Take them, and me in them acknowledging
how much my summer waites upon thy spring.

Then there are the mystical lines of 1646 "On a prayer-booke sent to Mrs M. R." (not to be identified, as the next poem

shews, with his book-binding friend of Little Gidding, Mary Collett, who took vows of celibacy):

> Lo here a little volume, but great Book!
> (feare it not, sweet,
> it is no hypocrit).
> Much larger in it selfe than in its looke....
> It is an armory of light
> let constant use but keep it bright.
> You 'll find it yeilds
> to holy hands and humble hearts
> more swords and sheilds
> than sin hath snares or Hell hath darts....

And lastly there are the better known lines "On Mr George Herbert's booke intituled the Temple of Sacred Poems, sent to a Gentle-woman,"—which begin with the couplet:

> Know you, faire, on what you looke?
> —Divinest love lyes in this booke.

No picture of Crashaw can afford to omit his *Description of a Religious House*,—published in 1635 and therefore within a century from the closing to monastic uses of the Charterhouse buildings in which he was a schoolboy. With boyish memories of the Carthusian "cells" (still to be traced), Crashaw interwove not only undergraduate impressions of "halls full of flattering men and frisking boys," but also the spirit of the Little Gidding community, and his own dreams.

> Our lodgings hard and homely as our fare.
> That chast and cheap as the few clothes we weare.
> Those coarse and negligent as th' unpolish't rockes.
> A hasty portion of prescribed sleep;
> obedient slumbers, that can wake and weep,
> and sing and sigh, and work and sleep again,
> —still rolling a round sphere of still returning pain.

Hands, full of harty labour, doe much that more they may,
and work for work not wages; let tomorrow's
new drops wash off the sweat of this daye's sorrows.
A long and daily-dying life which breaths
a respiration of reviving deaths.
But neither are there those ignoble stings
that nip the bosom of the world's best things
and lash earth-labouring souls.
No cruel guard of diligent cares, that keep
crown'd woes awake,—as things too wise for sleep.
But reverent discipline and religious fear
and soft obedience find sweet biding here,
—silence and sacred rest, peace and pure joyes;
kind loves keep house, lie close, and make no noise;
and room enough for monarchs, while none swells
beyond the kingdomes of contentful Cells.
The self-rememb'ring Soul sweetly recovers
her kindred with the stars; not basely hovers
below; but meditates her immortal way
home to the original source of Light and intellectual Day.

Nor can Crashaw's mind and career be rightly understood without appreciation of his own large tolerance. The son of a Puritan divine, but himself an Anglican by education and training, Richard Crashaw was, from at least 1635, the outspoken opponent of religious bigotry, in an age of bigots. Two examples may be cited,—the first from his "Epitaph upon Mr Ashton" and the second from his lines "On a treatise of Charity." The Epitaph includes these lines:

He was a Protestant at home,
—not only in despight of Rome.
He loved his Father, yet his zeale
tore not off his Mother's veile.

The second utterance—though suppressed in 1646, either by

himself (as a Roman Catholic) or by his Cambridge editor—was the original ending to his lines of 1635 on Charity:

> And shall our zealous ones still have a fling
> at that most horrible and horned thing,
> forsooth the Pope; by which black name they call
> the Turk, the Devil, Furies, Hell and all,
> and something more? O he is Antichrist;
> doubt this and doubt (say they) that Christ is Christ;
> why 'tis a point of Faith!—What e're it be,
> I'm sure it is no point of Charity.
> In summe, no longer shall our people hope,
> —to be a true Protestant 's but to hate the Pope.

Marred though it is by the grotesque imagery of stanzas 19 and 21, "The Weeper" remains, alike in its exuberance of expression and in its delicacy of spiritual aspiration, perhaps the most typical poem Crashaw ever wrote. It is too long to quote at any length here; the following stanza must suffice:

> Not in the evening's eyes
> when they Red with weeping are
> for the Sun that dyes,
> sits sorrow with a face so fair,
> Nowhere but here did ever meet
> sweetness so sad, sadness so sweet.

Two more excerpts—both of his latest period—must complete this survey. The first lines come from the "Holy Nativity of our Lord God, a Hymn sung as by the Shepheards":

> We saw thee in thy baulmy nest,
> young dawn of our æternall Day!
> We saw thine eyes break from their East
> and chase the trembling shades away.
> We saw thee, and we blest the sight.
> We saw thee by thine own sweet light.

Wellcome, all Wonders in one sight!
Æternity shutt in a span.
Sommer in Winter. Day in Night.
Heaven in Earth, and God in Man.
Great little one! whose all-embracing birth
lifts earth to heaven, stoopes heav'n to earth.

Wellcome. Though not to those gay flyes
guilded i' th' beames of earthly Kings,
—slippery soules in smiling eyes—,
but to poor Shepheards, home-spun things,
whose Wealth 's their flock, whose witt—to be
well-read in their simplicity.

Yet when young April's husband show'rs
shall bless the fruitful Maia's bed,
we 'll bring the first-born of her flow'rs
to kisse thy Feet and crown thy Head.
To thee, dread lamb! whose love must keep
the shepheards more than they the sheep.

To Thee, meek Majesty! Soft King
of simple Graces and sweete Loves!
each of us his lamb will bring,
each his pair of sylver Doves;
till, burnt at last in fire of Thy fair eyes,
our selves become our own best Sacrifice.

Lastly, in the "Flaming Heart, upon the Book and Picture of the seraphicall saint Teresa," after two pages of protracted "conceits" comes the breathless marvel of its close:

O thou undanted daughter of desires!
By all thy dow'r of Lights and Fires;
by all the eagle in thee, all the dove;
by all thy lives and deaths of love;
by thy large draughts of intellectual day;
and by thy thirsts of love more large than they;

by all thy brim-fill'd Bowls of fierce desire;
by thy last Morning's draught of liquid fire;
by the full Kingdome of that finall Kisse
that seiz'd thy parting Soul, and seal'd thee his;
by all the heav'ns thou hast in him
(fair sister of the Seraphim!);
by all of Him we have in Thee;
—leave nothing of my Self in me.
Let me so read thy life, that I
unto all life of mine may dy.

V

Versæ paginæ. In selecting passages for quotation, the aim has been less to produce a florilegium (and much less to institute comparisons with George Herbert and others) than to let Crashaw illustrate himself from his own poems. A consistent picture emerges, in entire accord with the contemporary testimony of his two editors and friends, as cited above. A further contemporary testimony, more famous and not less well-informed, is that of another Cambridge friend, Abraham Cowley, whose celebrated elegy "On the death of Mr Crashaw," opens with the lines—

Poet and Saint! to thee alone are given
the two most sacred names of Earth and Heaven,
the hard and rarest union which can be
next that of godhead with humanity.

. . . . . .

Thy spotless Muse, like Mary, did contain
the boundless godhead; she did well disdain
that her eternal verse employed should be
on a less subject than eternity;
and for a sacred mistress scorn'd to take
but her whom God himself scorn'd not his spouse to make.

Controversy has raged over Crashaw's entry into the Roman Communion[1]. To a Roman Catholic writer it appears a natural conversion; to Prynne in 1653 it was "sinful and notorious apostasy and revolt" on the part of a "fickle weathercock"; "this peavish sillie seeker glided away from his principles in a poetic vein of fancy and impertinent curiosity." Even Abraham Cowley felt constrained to be somewhat apologetic, and to plead for—

> Pardon, my mother church, if I consent
> that angels led him when from thee he went[2],
> for e'en in error sure no danger is
> when joined with so much piety as his.
> His faith perhaps in some nice tenets might
> be wrong; his life, I'm sure, was in the right.

[1] Another ejected fellow of Peterhouse, John Bargrave, has recorded how in 1646 he found at Rome "four revolters to the Roman Church that had been fellows of Peterhouse with myself. The name of one of them was Mr R. Crashaw, who was of the Seguita (as their term is, that is an attendant or one of the followers) of this Cardinal [Pallotta], for which he had a salary of crowns by the month (as the custom is) but no diet. Mr Crashaw infinitely commended his Cardinal, but complained extremely of the wickedness of those of his retinue; of which he, having the Cardinal's ear, complained to him. Upon which the Italians fell so far out with him that the Cardinal, to secure his life, was fain to put him from his service, and procuring him some small imploy at the Lady's of Loretto, whither he went in pilgrimage in summer time and, overheating himself, died in four weeks after he came thither; and it was doubtful whether he was not poisoned." Grosart records that the Papal Bull appointing Crashaw to "a benefice (beneficiato) of the Basilica-Church of our Lady of Loreto" was dated 24 April, 1649, and that his successor was appointed by Bull of 25 August 1649.

[2]
> Angels (they say) brought the famed chapel there
> and bore the sacred load in triumph through the air.
> 'Tis surer much they brought thee there, and they
> —and thou, their charge—*went singing all the way.*

To-day, without either apologetics or condemnation, Crashaw's passage to Rome is seen to have been—for him—an inevitable development. Always a devout Churchman, always upheld by an all-absorbing and a cloudless faith in a catholic and apostolic Church hallowed in its creeds and polity by sixteen hundred years of inspired continuity, Crashaw in 1643 looked round on a world at once intolerant and intolerable. Triumphant intolerance had shattered all that he held dear. Peterhouse Chapel and Little St Mary's had been ravaged and desecrated under his eyes; his leader Laud was in the Tower; episcopacy was to be abolished; an upstart Solemn League and Covenant from across the Border was to displace the lineal Church of England and to interdict her essential rites. To Crashaw, as modern Anglicans can recognise, life was meaningless without a Church and intolerable without an Altar to serve. Others of less delicate fibre might brook present evil and patiently await a future dawn; but to Crashaw a living Church was a present and an imperious need of spiritual life; and so, inevitably, he sought refuge—where alone he could discern it—in the bosom of Rome, dying an ecclesiastic of Our Lady of Loreto,—

the richest offering of Loreto's shrine.

CHALMERS.

BRIAN WALTON

Editor of the London Polyglot

BRIAN WALTON "Eboracensis" was admitted Sizar of Peterhouse on December 4, 1618. He is probably the same person as the "Walton" who is entered as "junior Sizar" December 8, 1616. Brian was born in 1599, his monument in St Paul's recording that he died on November 29, 1661, "aetatis LXII." In 1619/20 he took the B.A. degree, and in 1639 he became Doctor in Divinity. The thesis maintained by him on this occasion was, *Pontifex Romanus non est judex infallibilis in controversiis fidei.* The controversy between Canterbury and Rome had somewhat sweetened since 1570 when John Whitgift in like case had maintained in the Commencement-house, *Papa est ille Anti-Christus.* Still the suspicion of Romeward tendencies clouded almost the whole life of Walton.

Though a scholar he did not reside in Cambridge for any long period, but took up the work of a London clergyman. In 1626 he became Rector of St Martin-Orgar, East Cheap, and in January 1635–36 of Sandon in Essex in plurality, the combined value of the two Rectories being £202. At Sandon in 1640 before the troubles began, he buried Anne his wife. In London the clergy were in the furnace, for the citizens were in revolt. There was a demand for *afternoon sermons*, and there was also an active backwardness in paying tithes. (The Afternoon Preacher, be it remembered, was never the Incumbent, but a clergyman chosen for his different theological colour to supplement or contradict the teaching of the regular parson. So when Richard Hooker was Master of the Temple (1585 A.D.)

and Walter Travers Afternoon Preacher it was said that "The forenoon sermon spake Canterbury, but the afternoon Geneva.") But Brian Walton was a fighter. On the one hand he refused to allow his parishioners to "procure a preacher," and on the other he championed the cause of the impoverished London clergy. From 1628 to 1633 he had Laud as his Diocesan, and his reputation no doubt was that of a Laudian and Royalist. He was deprived of his Rectories and "about the latter end of 1642" he was sent into custody as a delinquent. He himself was no Romanizer, but the suspicious attitude of a vast body of laymen towards the clergy had some justification. Queen Henrietta Maria was a Frenchwoman and a Roman Catholic with many Roman Catholics about her person. Courtly clergy took up an ambiguous position between Canterbury and Rome. Indeed in 1633 "a grave Divine" preaching before the University of Cambridge complained that "He who in his sermons could preach *neer Popery*, and yet *no Popery*, there was your man[1]." How long Walton was detained in custody is not known, but on August 12, 1645, he was incorporated Doctor in Divinity at Oxford, he having taken up his abode there.

But already Naseby fight (June 14, 1645) had turned the scale decisively against the Churchmen who stood for the mean between Rome and Geneva. Men who had followed Laud (executed January 10, 1644–5) and sided with the King could cherish no further hope of service or promotion in the Ministry of the Church.

What then remained for such men to do? Theology in the ordinary sense was barred. The case of Peter Heylyn, D.D., is sufficiently illuminating. Heylyn, the distinguished author of the *Cosmographia*, was haled before the judges on account of

[1] T. Fuller, *History of the University of Cambridge.*

his theological opinions. As he waited in the crowd for his case to come on "a fierce gentleman" standing by cried out rudely to him, "Stick to Geography, Sir; it is better than Divinity."

Certainly doctrinal Theology promised no rest and no gain for those who pursued it. Rome, Canterbury, Geneva and George Fox could not agree together in this field. But beyond Systematic Theology lay another field—surely more hopeful—the field of Biblical study. This belonged to all theologians—except in a certain sense to Fox—and it brought great opportunities. Scripture is an inexhaustible mine, and Walton, "outed" from his ministerial stewardship, had strength and resolution to dig, "ne," as he says in his dedication to Charles II, "prorsus inutilis vixisse videar." The circumstances of the time beckoned him on.

In the first place for work on the text of the Bible he could rely on the help of the best Orientalists of the time. Like himself they were unemployed, "outed" for diverse causes. At the head of them stood Archbishop Usher of Armagh who had fled from Ireland at the outbreak of massacre and rebellion in 1641. Usher had already done great service to Biblical learning. In 1624 through Thomas Davis a merchant of Aleppo he procured one of the first copies of the Samaritan Pentateuch which ever came to the West, and a little later through the same agent a complete MS. copy of the Peshitta (Syriac) Old Testament. Other "outed" scholars were Herbert Thorndike, fellow of Trinity College, proficient in Syriac, and Edward Pocock of Christ Church, Oxford, Professor of Hebrew and learned in Syriac and Arabic. Important service in correcting for the press was rendered by David Stokes, first of Trinity College, afterwards Fellow and Bursar of Peterhouse. One of the youngest of Walton's collaborators was Thomas Hyde (1636–1703),

great in Arabic and Persian and versed in Armenian. Moreover Walton secured the countenance of the famous Puritan scholar, John Lightfoot, Master of St Catharine's. As Vice-Chancellor in 1655 Lightfoot was pleased to say of the Polyglot: "Sic sub protrito et proculcato statu Cleri nuper Anglicani germinavit et adhuc germinat nobile illud eruditionis germen."

The second circumstance which set Brian Walton on to his great work was the completion in 1645 of the great Paris Polyglot (le Jay's).

This the third of the Polyglots since the invention of printing eclipsed its predecessors by the richness of its contents. The Hebrew Pentateuch of the Samaritans was given to the world and the Old Testament was printed for the first time both in Syriac and in Arabic.

Thus it might seem that nothing remained to be accomplished in this field, but the scholarly mind of Walton remained unsatisfied. The *raison d'être* of a Polyglot is to facilitate comparison of different texts, but the Paris edition published its Syriac and Arabic away from the Hebrew and Greek text in a separate (folio) volume, so that comparison was difficult. Walton's page is much more to the purpose. A single opening for instance in the book of Genesis shows the Original Hebrew, the Latin Vulgate, the Septuagint, the Targum and the Samaritan text side by side, together with the Peshitta Syriac and the Arabic on the lower part of the page.

Similarly a single opening at the Gospel of St Matthew shows (1) the Greek *Ex Editione Roberti Stephani* accompanied by the interlinear Latin version of Arias Montanus, (2) the Peshitta Syriac, (3) the Ethiopic, (4) the Latin Vulgate, (5) the Arabic, (6) the Persian. The four Oriental versions are furnished with Latin renderings. Probably a modern Polyglot constructed on

the same scale would substitute one of the Egyptian versions (Memphitic or Sahidic) for the Persian, and would further add the Armenian, but Walton's page still has its value.

A further advantage of Walton's Polyglot over le Jay's lies in its full record of various readings. Each version is provided with an Apparatus Criticus. In the New Testament the variants of the two ancient uncial MSS. Alexandrinus (cod. A) and Bezae (cod. D) are diligently recorded. The work required both courage and scholarly care, for the number of these readings is large, and their existence though a familiar fact at the present time was alarming to Walton's generation. Beza himself in presenting cod. D to the University of Cambridge was fain to add a caution as to its use. He writes in words quoted by Walton in vol. v of the Polyglot, *tantam a me in Lucae praesertim Evangelio repertam esse inter hunc codicem et caeteros quantumvis veteres discrepantiam ut vitandae quorumdam offensioni asservandum potius quam publicandum existimem.*

But Walton was too true a scholar to accept such a caution. His motto was that of Browning's *Grammarian*,

> What's in the scroll thou keepest furled?

He was, it is true, of the opinion that his various readings did not touch matters of faith, but none the less is his courage to be acknowledged, for he advanced far beyond his predecessors, along a path which was still new.

A heavy task lay before Walton, when he designed the London Polyglot. A large sum of money had to be raised for paper and printing, even though the Privy Council allowed the paper for the undertaking to enter the country duty free; a considerable number of competent scholars had to be engaged for the main work; and (as it finally appeared) six folio volumes

containing a mass of Oriental type had to be corrected for the press. But the calm, somewhat hard face, which looks at the reader from the frontispiece of the Polyglot testifies that Brian Walton was equal to his task. Perhaps no editor ever had more loyal fellow-labourers, but the chief strain of the work fell necessarily on himself. He survived the completion of the Polyglot (1657) by four years only.

The earliest notice of the great undertaking occurs appropriately enough in Evelyn's *Diary*. "I went to London," he says, "where was proposed to me, November 22, 1652, the promoting that greate work, (since accomplished by Dr Walton, bishop of Chester) Biblia Polyglotta, by Mr Pierson ['Pearson on the Creed'], that most learned divine." Soon after this in a printed prospectus dated London, March 1, 1652–53, an appeal for funds was issued, which had good success. This circular was signed by Archbishop Usher, Brian Walton himself, Abraham Wheelock, Herbert Thorndike and two others. By May 4, 1653, a sum of £9000 had been promised for the work. Its progress was noted by T. Fuller in his *History of the University of Cambridge* (1655). After mentioning that Abraham Wheelock, fellow of Clare College, was appointed Professor of Arabic, he proceeds to characterize him as follows. "His industrious mind had vast stoäge for words, and is lately dead, whose longer life had in probability been very advantageous to the new edition of the Bible in many languages. An excellent work, and may it be as happily performed, as it is worthily undertaken." The Polyglot was indeed "happily performed," being finished in a little more than four years.

A few examples of the variants which Walton did not hesitate to publish illustrate his scholarly faithfulness. They are all trite to-day, but it required some courage to publish them in a

standard work in the middle of the seventeenth century. I do not think that Walton can be charged with keeping back any fact with which he was acquainted. In the Lord's Prayer (Matt. vi. 13) he noted that codd. AD omit the doxology. In the Angels' Christmas Song of Luke ii. 14 he records from codd. AD the reading which gives us:

> Glory to God in the highest and on earth:
> Peace among favoured men (men of God's good will).

In Luke xxiv. 51 he cites cod. D for the omission of the words:

> And was carried up into heaven.

In John v. 4 he tells us that the words asserting that an Angel descended into the Pool of Siloam are not found in cod. D.

After Luke vi. 4 he cites the unique addition found in cod. D:

> On the same day beholding a certain man working on the Sabbath he said to him, *Man if thou knowest what thou doest, blessed art thou; but if thou knowest not, thou art accursed and a transgressor of the law.*

In Luke xxiii. 34 the same cod. D, he is not afraid to say, omits the half-verse:

> And Jesus said, *Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.*

He notices further the many divergences of cod. D from the Received Text in Acts, and in xv. 20 cites the strange occurrence of the Christian Golden Rule in its negative form:

> And whatsoever they would not have done to themselves, that not to do (*so read!*) to others.

A glance at Walton's Polyglot again shows that the text of the Three Heavenly Witnesses (1 John v. 7, 8) is absent from

cod. A and also from the Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic versions. (Walton prints the words indeed in his text of the Latin Vulgate, but rightly for they belong to the official Clementine and Sixtine text.) In fine a folio volume (VI) was given up to the record of variations.

A work as learned as the Polyglot was sure to have a mixt reception in an age which found material for controversy everywhere. As a rival (perhaps) to the Paris Polyglot it was put on the Index at Rome under Alexander VII (1655–1667).

Far more significant however was the opposition which found voice in England itself through Dr John Owen. In 1659 appeared a tract of 200 pages entitled, Of | the *Integrity* & *Purity* of the | Hebrew and Greek | Text of the *Scripture*, | With | Considerations on the *Prolegomena*, | and Appendix to the late | *Biblia Polyglotta*. | Oxford | Printed by H. H. for Tho: Robinson, 1659. "There came to my hands," writes Owen, "the *Prolegomena* and *Appendix* to the *Biblia Polyglotta* lately published. Upon the first sight of that *volume*, I was somewhat startled with that *Bulkie* collection of *various Readings* which the *Appendix* tenders to the view of every one that doth but cast an eye upon it[1]."

Scandalized by the prominence given to the various readings of both Testaments alike he writes again, "They create a temptation that there is nothing sound and entire in the Word of God"; and again, "We went from Rome under conduct of the Purity of the Originals; I wish none have a mind to return thither again, under pretence of their corruption." Owen probably spoke for the Puritan party as a whole when he laid down in opposition to Walton and his associates a rigid doctrine of verbal inspiration. Starting from 2 Peter i. 21, "Holy men

[1] *Of the Integrity*, p. 207.

of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost" (so the Authorized Version), he writes, "When the Word was thus *brought to them*, it was not left to their understandings, Wisdomes, Minds, Memories, to order, dispose and give out; but they were *borne*, *acted*, carried out by the Holy Ghost, to speake, deliver and *Write*, all that, and nothing but that, to every tittle that was so brought to them. They *invented* not Words themselves, suited to the things they had learned, but only expressed the *Words* that they received[1]."

It was almost a tragedy that Owen should have been foremost in unfavourable criticism of Walton. Owen was a scholar and a theologian, tolerant in an intolerant age, and an earnest Christian. He had interceded successfully for Dr Pocock, when that great Orientalist was in danger of being turned out of his living by the Protector's commissioners for "insufficiency" (*circ.* 1655–6). But Owen had grounds for his fears. On the one side Roman Catholics were active in emphasizing any uncertainty as to the text of the Bible, in order that men might "rely upon an *infallible living judge*, and the translation which he shall commend." On the other hand as early as 1658 Owen had found it necessary to write a tract (in Latin) against "Fanaticos nostrates qui a tremore quo se in sacris agitari ipsi sibi fingunt, aut reapse vi mali spiritus agitantur, vulgò *trepidantes* seu QUAKERS vocantur[2]." These claimed possession of an Inner Light of equal authority to that of the Scripture. Moreover they refused the title "Word of God" to the Bible, reserving it for Christ alone. Indignantly they asked, "Num Scriptura Christus? Num litera Spiritus? hoc nomen Christi, verbum Dei: Scriptura sua sorte ac nomine contenta abeat." Truly Rome had found a strange ally in George Fox.

[1] *Divine Originall*, pp. 25 f. [2] *Adv. Fanaticos*, pp. 1, 2.

The *Prolegomena* displeased Owen not less than the *Appendix*. In the former Walton assigned the system of vowel points found in the Hebrew Bible to a date not earlier than about 800 A.D. This is pretty much the view which is accepted at the present day, but Owen found it dangerous. Walton further maintained that the reading of the Septuagint might in some places be more correct than that of the pointed Hebrew text, a natural conclusion, since the Septuagint as a whole dates from before the commencement of the Christian era. But Owen declared that to emend the Hebrew text from the Septuagint was "to set up an Altar of our own by the Altar of God, and to make *equall* the Wisdome, care, skill and diligence of men with the Wisdome, care and Providence of God himselfe."

Walton was not slow to reply. In a tractate called, *The Considerator Considered*, published in the same year (1659) as Owen's criticism, Walton made good his defence. It bore upon its title-page the words, "For we can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth." The Polyglot has survived for two centuries and a half of usefulness, and the *Prolegomena* has been twice reprinted.

And here we may leave Walton in his glory. It is comparatively a small thing that at the Restoration he was appointed to the see of Chester. A year later he died in London and was buried in St Paul's. His epitaph warns the enquirer:

FAMAM CONSULE NON TUMULUM.

W. EMERY BARNES.

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THE STRUGGLE OF JAMES THE SECOND WITH THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

In all nations the privileges of Colleges and Universities are esteemed such sacred things, that few will venture to dispute these, much less to disturb them, when their title is good and their possession is of long continuance: For in these, not only the present body espouses the matter; but all who have been of it, even those that have only followed their study in it think themselves bound in honour and gratitude to assist and support them. BURNET

THE first day of Lent, which in the year 1686–7 fell on the 9th of February, brought to Dr John Peachell, Master of Magdalene College, a letter which must have caused him, in the perusal of it, to regret his recent election to the office of Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. This well-meaning, good-natured man whom Samuel Pepys, a friend from early days, found a convivial companion when they met in Cambridge or in London, had no ambitions outside the uneventful life which he had spent between country livings and Magdalene College, since his election to a Fellowship thirty years before. He had not the qualities of mind or character for the part he was now to be called upon to play. Fate, working through the blind unflinching policy of James the Second, had singled him out to be the defender, a rather timorous defender as it proved, of the sacred privileges of his University against his King. The disturbing letter ran:

To our trusty and well-beloved the Vice-Chancellor of our University of Cambridge, to be communicated to the Senate there.

James R.

Trusty and well-beloved we greet you well. Having received good Testimony of the Learning and Loyalty of our trusty and well-beloved Alban Francis, we have thought fit hereby, in the most effectuall

manner to recommend him to you for the Degree of Master of Arts: willing and requiring you forthwith upon the receipt hereof (all Dispensations requisite being first granted) to conferre on him, the said Albin Francis, the said Degree of Master of Arts, without obliging him to performe the Exercises requisite thereunto, or cautioning or compounding for the same, and without administering unto him any Oath or Oaths whatsoever, or tendering any subscription to be made by him: Any Statute, Constitution, or Custome to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding, wherewith we have dispensed and do accordingly hereby dispense on his behalfe. And so not doubting of your ready complyance herein, we bid you farewell. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 7th day of February 1686–7, in the third yeare of our Reigne.

By his Maj^tys^ Command,
Sunderland, P.[1]

The Vice-Chancellor's perplexity over this intimation to him of the royal will can only have been increased by the obvious connexion of the proposal it contained with an incident of but yesterday which had thrown Cambridge into a considerable commotion. In the previous December, James the Second, pursuing his idea that "it would be a means to familiarise those of different religions, and make them live in greater peace and unity together, pursuant to the intent of liberty of conscience... in case some few Catholicks were incorporated into the Universitys[2]," had appointed by royal mandate to the vacant Mastership of Sidney College a generally suspected Papist in the person of Mr Joshua Bassett, Fellow of Caius College[3].

The King dispensed with Bassett's taking the oath of a Master, and he never took any, and so was let loose upon them (the Fellows) to do what he pleased with them[4].

[1] Baker MSS, vol. xxx. 341.
[2] Clarke, *Life of James the Second*, II. 125.
[3] Baker MSS, vol. x. 416.
[4] Letter from Dr Joseph Craven to Bishop of Ely, Jan. 11, 1725–6. Lansdowne MSS, No. 988, fol. 199. Dr Craven was Master of Sidney.

It was manifest that the particular interest of James which had already caused uneasiness in the Army, among the Justices of the Peace, and at Oxford[1], was now turning its attention to the University of Cambridge.

During the fortnight following Ash Wednesday, the mind of the unhappy Vice-Chancellor could turn and twist no way without finding itself faced on the one side by the King's laws, clearly requiring from a candidate for the University's Degree the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, on the more immediate side by his Majesty's letter, plainly dispensing with the obligations of the Statutes.

To the Rev^{d} D^{r} Patrick Dean of Peterborough at's Lodgings in the little Cloyster at y^{e} Abbey in Weſtm

Magd. Coll. Camb

Feb: 15th 8$\frac{8}{7}$ 11 at night

Rev^{d} and worthy Sir!

I will desire your conscientious judgement and opinion in a matter w^{ch} is of moment to me and the University, and it may be to the nation and Church of England;.....I had a mandate from y^{e} King last Wednesday to admit one Francis (a Benedictine) Master of Arts without any Oath or Subſcription: I sent preſently to o^{r} Chancellor and some other great men who made application to the King, but without succeſs: I still delay, and have now sent for y^{e} opinions of some eminent Lawyers if they may be had.

The great question is whether this be not contrary to y^{e} Acts of parliament w^{ch} injoyn y^{e} Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy? And consequently, what it behoves me to do in Law, Duty and good Conscience? For I hope God will enable me to value my Hon^{r} and conſcience as much as my safety: you are acquainted with many good Lawyers, Gentlemen and Noblemen I shall be glad to receive direction, for I am willing to act wth good adviſe in an affair w^{ch} to me ſeems difficult and weighty....It

[1] A Catholic priest had been confirmed in the Mastership of University College, Oxford, and given royal permission to hold Mass there openly.

hath pleaſed God to reſerve my office for me to a troubleſome and hazardous year men are afraid to adviſe me here, especially our old ones If I can do wiſely and worthily, and wiſe and worthy men think so, I shall be much satisfied, I pray God above all direct and aſsist me who knows I had rather pleaſe him y^{n} my self in this matter, desiring to be lead into truth and righteousneſs and therein to be established...my hearty respects to all yours, Dear Sir I am

Y^{r} affectionate fellow ser
J. Peachell[1].

To Pepys also he revealed his agitation of mind:

I could but pray (he wrote), I could but pray to God to direct, sanctifie, and governe me in the wayes of his lawes; and so... I may be preserved in body and soul....I thought it unmannerly to importune his Sacred Majesty, and was afraid to straine friends against the graine; and so could only betake myselfe to my owne conscience, and the advice of loyall and prudent men, my friends; and, after all, I was perswaded that my oath as Vice-Chancellor...was against it, and I should best exercise a conscience void of offence towards God and man, by deprecating his Majesties displeasure, and casting myselfe upon his princely clemency[2].

It was well for the University that the wavering inclination of Dr Peachell could be fortified by the advice of "loyall and prudent men." A full Congregation of the two Houses, Regents and Non-Regents, before whom the King's letter was read on the 22nd of February, resolved to follow the advice given by the Duke of Albemarle. As Chancellor, he had been written to at once, and, after an ineffectual interview with James, he had suggested that the whole University should "concur and sign a Petition and send it to the King." The difficulty was how to obtain the concurrence.

[1] Lansdowne MSS, No. 988, fol. 165.
[2] *Diary and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Lord Braybrooke, 1849.

At this time, and until 1852, the Senate was divided into two Houses of Regents and Non-Regents. The Regent House was composed of the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, the Proctors, Taxors, Moderators, Esquire Bedells if Masters of Arts, all Masters of less than five years' standing, and Doctors of Divinity, Civil Law, and Physic of less than two years' standing, the periods in each case being those required for the performance of the Regency, which entailed presiding at the public Disputations and Exercises in the Schools. The Non-Regent House consisted of Masters of Arts over five years' standing, Bachelors of Divinity previously Masters of Arts, and the Doctors of the same three faculties of more than two years' standing, although the latter, together with the Orator, could exercise the privilege of voting in either House. The important body, however, in the constitution was the Caput Senatus. This had been established in the reign of Elizabeth and was composed of the Vice-Chancellor, a Doctor in each of the three faculties of Divinity, Civil Law, and Physic, one Non-Regent Master of Arts, and one Regent Master of Arts. It was elected annually from fifteen nominated candidates, the Vice-Chancellor and the two Proctors having five nominations apiece. The Electoral College was formed by the Vice-Chancellor, the Heads of Colleges, the Doctors of the three privileged faculties, and two elected Scrutators. The principle underlying the method of choosing the Caput was extended also to its powers, for all Supplicats and Graces were submitted in the first instance to it. This implied an oligarchy, and in addition a rule existed which put the government of the University on a precarious basis. Any one member of the Caput had the power of rejection by his sole negative voice. And an instance, in which the obstruction by a minority of one could, legally, render ineffective the

general will, was clearly foreseen in this very crisis in the University's history. Mr Bassett, now installed at Sidney, was a member of the Caput, and no Petition in the usual form of a Grace, relating to the matter in hand, stood the slightest chance of confirmation by that body. It would be waste of time to put it forward, for Mr Bassett by his single vote would throw it out.

Accordingly, it was agreed, in imitation of the methods of James the Second, to resort to unconstitutional practice. It was resolved to send deputies from each House with a message to the Vice-Chancellor. This decision and the message were agreed to by all members of the Houses, according to one contemporary account, "save three Papists and two others, willing to temporise and follow the stream of the Times[1]." Dr Smoult, who appears again later in this business, was chosen by the Non-Regents, and Mr Norris, Fellow of Trinity College, by the Regents, and they carried a message containing both a warning and a counsel to Dr Peachell who must have been sadly in need of both:

> That the Senate considered the admission of Mr Francis without the usual Oaths, illegal and unsafe; and for that reason, that the King should be petitioned; in the doing of which they were ready to join, and make it their Act[2].

When this was at last finished, a candidate for the Degree of Doctor in Physic who had been patiently waiting for its conferment, was, after taking the oaths, which served as an object lesson for Mr Alban Francis and his friends, duly admitted;

[1] *Life of James II.* Anon. 2nd ed. 1703. The author was David Jones, historical writer and translator (1676–1720).

[2] Corrie, *Brief Historical Notices of the Interference of the Crown with the affairs of the English Universities*, 1839.

the excitement died down; and the Senate proceeded with its normal ceremonies.

The anxieties of Dr Peachell and the excitement of the Regent and Non-Regent Houses can be fully appreciated. Since the time of the first Stuart, though not without a break, it had been necessary to make a Subscription before admission to a Degree at the University. In a letter to the then Vice-Chancellor dated 30 June 1613, that vigilant theologian, James the First, "decreed and ordained, that, from henceforth, no man should have granted unto him the Degree either of Bachelor in Divinity or of Doctor in any faculty" unless he should first subscribe the Three Articles contained in the Thirty Sixth Canon of the Canons of the Church of England made in 1603[1]. A Grace with this purport was passed on the 7th of July. Three years later, the King found time while at Newmarket to send over verbal instructions, confirmed later in writing, that "he would have all that take any Degree in the Schools to subscribe to the Three Articles." Apparently, no Grace was passed on this occasion, but in practice the royal Directions were acted upon. There was no question that the King could issue Injunctions of this nature to the University and that such Injunctions should be embodied in University Statutes or become part of University procedure.

Charles the First took care, as might be expected, to assert the full claims of the Crown over the Colleges and the University. This was done specifically in 1629 and again in 1633. Seven years later a great change took place both in principle and in the particular detail which is of immediate interest here. Together

[1] Corrie, *Brief Historical Notices of the Interference of the Crown with the affairs of the English Universities*, 1839.

with a good many other things, the power of the Crown to visit the Universities by Commissions disappeared and there remained to it only "that personal authority exercised as Prerogative," taking the form of Mandates, Injunctions, and Dispensations. As for the Subscription, on the 19th of January, 1640–1, a Resolution against its enforcement was passed in the House of Commons.

Charles the Second, whose views about the Restoration were far more serious than he chose to reveal to his contemporaries, lost little time in resuming the practice of twenty years before, and, subsequent to the date of a royal letter written on 6th of February, 1660–1, all candidates for Degrees were obliged before admission to take the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. Further, during his reign there were numerous instances of personal authority exercised by the Crown over the University, and, generally, it can be said that at the accession of James the Second the royal prerogative, as far as the Universities were concerned, stood in the same position as in the early years of the reign of Charles the First.

But the actual matter of the oaths was not the important one. It was a statutory obligation and nearly always conformed with in practice. There had, of course, been exceptions, but, where there had been, reasons also existed to explain them. Precedents in this respect had not been created in sufficient number or strength to put the King in a strong position on this point, and, on the whole, confining the question solely to the taking of the oaths it was clear that the University had the better side of the argument.

On, however, a more important issue involved, a considerable confusion in ideas and practice prevailed. The letter in which James the Second instructed the University to confer on Alban

Francis a Degree (without the Oaths being taken) asserted and implied his employment by virtue of his prerogative of the Dispensing and Suspending power. The King dispensed, or claimed to dispense, with the operation of a Statute in favour of a particular individual. Now some power of this nature, it was generally admitted, did belong to the Crown, but what the exact nature and limits of the Dispensing power and of the Suspending power, which latter grew out of the former, were, no two judges in the seventeenth century could agree. Coke had drawn a distinction between things *mala quia prohibita* in which the King could dispense, and things *mala in se* in which he could not, and the Courts generally conformed to this distinction, extending the limitation of the power in favour of Statutes passed to prohibit *mala in se* and of rights of individuals and corporations, although these were necessarily vague and ill-defined. The attempt made by Chief Justice Vaughan to curtail the power merely added to the confusion. He defined a Dispensation as meaning the permission to do or to abstain from doing, which legalises what it would otherwise be unlawful to do or leave undone. He rejected the distinction made by Coke, and he denied the power of the Crown to dispense with any general penal law, attempting to limit the power to cases of individual breaches of penal statutes where no private right is infringed and where the breach is not continuous[1]. On the other hand, whereas the case of Godden *v.* Hales (1686) illustrates a clear abuse of the Dispensing power, eleven out of twelve judges upheld the King's right. They said that the laws were the King's laws and that he could dispense with them[2].

[1] Thomas *v.* Sorrell (1674).

[2] Anson, *Law and Custom of the Constitution*, vol. I. 326–333. Maitland, *Constitutional History of England*, 302–306. Hallam, *Constitutional History of England*, ch. XIV.

There emerge two definite facts. First, partly because the judges could not be independent, and partly because no clear, accepted theory or practice existed, a genuine confusion as to the power of the King in this respect was likely and did in fact obtain. Secondly, the intention of James the Second to use Dispensations and the larger power of Suspending more and more freely was becoming very evident. The following extracts reveal sufficiently plainly the sentiments of the adherents of the royal prerogative in its widest claims.

The grant of Dispensations is a peculiar, and very considerable part of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, which is eminently seated in the Crown. That the same power the Pope claimed in the land, as Supreme Head, doth of right belong to our Kings hath been abundantly proved.

Besides, the learned of the Law do with much plainness clear up thus much unto us, That the King can grant out whatever dispensations the Pope did, so long as the things dispensed with are not mala in se. In Ecclesiasticals the King can dispense not only with Canons, but with Acts of Parliament, yea with any thing that is but malum prohibitum: And seeing the Universities are for the maintenance of Religion, and fall under the care of the Supreme Head, as other Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Corporations do, the King can in like manner dispense with their Statutes. If with the greater, no doubt with the lesser. If an Act of Parliament may be dispensed with, it's not to be questioned that a provincial Canon may be so too; and if Acts of Parliament and Provincial Canons cannot limit or confine or stand before the Dispensing Power, How is it possible that a College Statute should do it? To suppose that it can, is to ascribe greater power to one man, or a little Corporation than to the greatest body of the nation; than which nothing can be more absurd. Besides, the Laws enacted by the Founder of a College, can have no more strength than they receive from the King. Nor can a College be erected without his leave[1].

It is ridiculous to dispute the King's power in dispensing with the

[1] *Vindication of the Proceedings of His Majesty's Ecclesiastical Commissioners*, pp. 44 *et seq.*

local Statutes of a College, which had been so frequently practised in former reigns, after it had been decided in His Majesty's favour that he might dispense with certain standing Laws of the land[1].

Far more important than either of these two facts was the now fairly widespread recognition of the design which impelled James to put forward in theory and in practice these far-reaching claims. It is true that they were inconsistent with the idea and existence of Parliament as a legislature. It is also true that it was not that result which in itself really alarmed people. It is quite conceivable that, had Charles the Second lived some years longer or had James the Second not been so strangely unperceptive, Parliament as an independent legislature would have disappeared, and that monarchy as it was understood by Louis the Fourteenth would have been successfully established on this side of the Channel. Unfortunately for the hopes of these two brothers, the real reason driving them towards this system of government lay in their desire to re-introduce in full the Roman Catholic form of religion into England; and to the majority of Englishmen at this time that religion was extraordinarily distasteful. In a very confused mixture of motives combining to create this distaste, a strong, and in this connexion the most important element with a considerable number of people was a very justifiable fear that their property would be seized and handed over. It was this intelligible terror about property that contributed as much as anything else to the opposition to James the Second and to the accomplishment of the Revolution; and nowhere perhaps did regard for property have deeper roots than in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The King's interference in the affairs of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1687 was viewed throughout the country in the light of the precarious

[1] Clarke, *Life of James II*, vol. II. 123.

basis of property under a change in the Established Religion. The incident at Cambridge was less directly connected with this problem and it attracted far less attention; but the implications were obvious enough to the members of the University in the place; and among all the errors committed by James not one perhaps reacted more violently against him than this decision to act to the prejudice of these impregnable seats of privilege and learning. It was this decision which "set the Church of England partie entirely in opposition to his interest[1]."

The question, then, whether a Benedictine monk should receive a Degree without taking the oaths was not in itself a vital one. As a matter of argument the University had rather the better of it. The question whether the Crown could by prerogative dispense with the Statutes of a College or the University was not, in itself, a vital one. As a matter of argument the King had rather the better of it. The vital question lay behind; it was the religious one with all that this involved. It was known why James issued this particular mandamus. A great many significant things had happened throughout the country and their import was deeply feared. Dr John Peachell cuts a poor figure as protagonist, but the corporate and successful resistance of the University of Cambridge to this open challenge by the King gave a lead to the general mood of discontent and apprehension. It made an impression, and, had James not been insensible to impressions unfavourable to his own desires, it might have spared him his later humiliations. A letter written by the Bishop of Ely to the Master of St John's College reveals how eagerly a resistance was looked for and how fervently it was welcomed.

[1] Clarke, *Life of James II*, vol. II. 125.

Most Dear Sir, Ely House, Feb. 25, 1686.

If I could envy you any honor, it should be this; you have had a most glorious part in this great transaction. The scene opens to all Eyes, and the Mouthes of all good men are full of the praises due to the whole University for making the first stand, and that in a brave Body. I trust your example will do wonders, and work like effects at Oxford, where they are to be tried (I hear) immediately. I do almost promise myself, your courage and constancy will reassure the old Man of Sidney. For myself, I expect to stand or fall with you, for if you are fallen upon, I shall be commanded to suspend some of you that have Cures and so be suspended myself....The good Archbishop is mightily revived by this account. And for me, that love and honor I had for you, and which I thought could hardly be augmented, I find redoubled. God Almighty fit and prepare us for whatever he pleases to send, and put into our hearts that perfect love casting out fear.

Dearest Sir,

Your's Most Affectionately,

Fran. Ely[1].

This letter was written three days after the Special Congregation of the Senate, and enough had already happened to convince Dr Peachell that he was only at the beginning of his troubles. The precaution had been taken of offering to Alban Francis his admission to the Degree provided that he would take the oaths. Not unnaturally he had refused and had at once taken the road south to tell his story at Whitehall. He was soon followed by an Esquire Bedell carrying letters, one to the Chancellor of the University, the other to the Earl of Sunderland praying for his mediation with the King. The result of this application cannot have allayed the fears of the Vice-Chancellor and his friends, for it came in the form of a letter dated the 24th of February in which the King repeated the same instructions without the same touch of graciousness:

[1] Baker MSS, vol. vi. 359.

And whereas we are given to understand, that you have not complyed with our said Letters, we do hereby will and require you, according to the directions of the same, forthwith to conferre...and so expecting your ready complyance herein, as you will answer the contrary at your perill, we bid you farewell...[1].

Although leisureliness is not surprising in University affairs, it can be reckoned, under the circumstances, as a sign of courage that no action was taken on the receipt of this peremptory instruction until the 11th of March. Dr Peachell was waiting for the opinion of Counsel which it had been considered advisable to obtain. No better Counsel could have been enlisted than the two men who in the near future were to be associated in the same cause in the famous trial of the Seven Bishops; Sir Francis Pemberton, a Cambridge man, who had been Lord Chief Justice in the last reign and who ten years before had become the owner of Trumpington Manor; the other, Heneage Finch, previously the Solicitor-General. Their opinion[2] in this instance strengthened the fortitude of the Senate when it met on the 11th of March to hear the King's second letter and to decide on the next course of action. The procedure followed closely that of the previous occasion in February. The Vice-Chancellor was set to "prepare another large letter for the duke of Albemarle wherein was everything that could be thought of to prevail with his majesty; and one likewise shorter and less particular to the earl of Sunderland." Another embassy of two was sent to London, and they under the wing of the Chancellor, who could not have been more sympathetic, got as far as the king's antechamber, in which they had to kick their heels late into the evening without being rewarded with an audience. Undaunted, they waited upon the Earl of Sunderland so early

[1] Baker MSS, vol. xxx. 341.

[2] Addit. MSS 32095, f. 238.

the following morning that he was not yet out of bed, but at his bedside they extracted a verbal promise from him "to acquaint his majesty and tell them his pleasure." This was conveyed to them two days later to the effect that the King "was offended at the proceedings of the university, and would take care very shortly to give a further answer." With this cold comfort there was nothing for the messengers to do but to return to Cambridge.

On the 9th of April, the care of James the Second displayed itself in the shape of a King's Messenger to the University bearing with him a summons from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. "The Vice-Chancellor in person, the Senate by themselves and deputies" were to appear "before the lords commissioners, in the council chamber, the 21st of April, to answer to such things as shall be objected against them in his majesty's behalf...." On the Monday following, a Congregation was called to nominate representatives of the University, and each man nominated was personally cited by the King's Messenger. The period of waiting anxiously in Cambridge for the next move from Whitehall was over for Dr Peachell and the Senate. Their hopes that James would relent were extinguished. The blow had fallen. They had now to prepare their defence and to arrange for their lodgings in London.

A detailed account of the proceedings which took place before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners between the 21st of April and the 12th of May is easily accessible[1]. It affords some amusement, but the proceedings themselves have practically no importance. The deputies from Cambridge had prepared a very careful and inclusive defence against the charges and the

[1] Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, vol. III. pp. 621–32 *et seq.*

arguments which they anticipated; but the Lord Chancellor would not give them an opportunity to bring forward anything beyond their first answer in writing. It is fairly evident that the Court made up its mind at an early stage in the meetings that it would be politic to abandon the point over which the whole proceedings were instituted, the conferment of a Degree on Alban Francis; and no real attempt was made by the Commissioners to vindicate the legal powers of the Crown over the University. The business degenerated into a general rating of the deputies for contumacy, and in the case of Dr Peachell the Lord Chancellor merely enjoyed another opportunity for a display of his very obvious wit. This began at once, and in the presence of that dominating personality poor Peachell was reduced to a condition bordering on imbecility. On the 21st nothing was done beyond the reading of the summons and the delivery in writing by the Vice-Chancellor of the University's reply, to the accompaniment of some mild bullying by Jeffreys against which the Vice-Chancellor who, as he wrote to Pepys, was "something indisposed with a cold, which not only stuffed, but a little stupefied my head," could make no stand. A second meeting was held on 27th of April when "The Answer of the University and Senate of Cambridge, to the Question, why they did not admit Alban Francis to the degree of Master of Arts...according to his Majesty's mandatory letters..." was read aloud. The Answer, in addition to referring to the various statutes which bore on the matter of the Oaths, questioned the authority and the very existence of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners by quoting the Act (16 Car. I, c. 11) by which the Court of High Commission was abolished and the erection of any new court of the like nature was rendered illegal.

In a Letter from Dr Peachel, Vicechan: to Dr Gower, dated Apr. 28: 87 It is sayd, He and the rest appear'd before the Commissioners, gave in y^e^ Answere in writing, that no persuasion or intreaty could oblige the Common Lawyers to attend (in Court) saying it was to no purpose. There Answere being read, they were ordered to withdraw. The Commissioners debated among themselves about an hour, and as far as he could learn, the matter in dispute was, an Exception in y^e^ Answere, that the admitting or not of Mr Francis was not of Ecclesiasticall but Lay Cognisance, w^ch^ some Commissioners allowed, and would have left them to y^e^ Common Law. From a MS of Dr C: one of the Delegates[1].

The delay between this appearance on 27th of April and the next on the 7th of May was probably due to the fact that the Court was considering the desirability of granting a new Commission to press the case, or whether it should not be in reality dropped.

This day (Saturday May the 7^th^) it was publickly discoursed through the Town, that the Lords had received a new Commission; and immediately Lawyers were consulted whether it were proper to urge that at this appearance...That it were a good Plea, if it could be well proved, for in receiving a new Commission in the midst of the Process, especially, if there be any Alteration in it as to the extent of their Power, would at least be a good Pretence to begin the whole Cause again and gain time; but that it was by no means safe to alledge the thing, for a flying Report is no Evidence: and if that Report were false, it might be a great Prejudice to them and their cause[2].

The new Commission was in fact not granted until October 1687[3], and the hopes of the delegates for delay on this account were not realised.

[1] Baker MSS, vol. VI. 359.

[2] Adam Wall's MSS. An Account of the Cambridge case and all the proceedings therein: [according to the Index to Baker's MSS 1848 this is M^r^ Stanhope's copy].

[3] *History of King James's Ecclesiastical Commission*, 1711.

The proceedings on the 7th are chiefly remarkable for the pitiable "exhibition of timidity and ignorance" displayed by Dr Peachell, who was scarcely able to make a reasonable answer to any question, and for the blustering methods of Jeffreys who would not allow the other delegates to come to the rescue of their Vice-Chancellor. Mr George Stanhope, Fellow of King's College, had been entrusted, on account perhaps of the eloquence which made him in later years a famous preacher as Dean of Canterbury, with a line of defence, but his intervention was checked in typical fashion by the Lord Chancellor. "Look you now, that young gentleman expects to be Vice-Chancellor too; when you are, Sir, you may speak, but till then it will become you to forbear." Dr Smoult, the first holder of the Professorship of Moral Theology or Casuistical Divinity, which had been founded in 1683 by a former Fellow of Peterhouse, Dr John Knightbridge, was similarly soon reduced to silence. Dr Cook and Mr Billers, two of the other delegates, received the same scant treatment. The greatest man in the council chamber contented himself with silence throughout the whole of the proceedings. The thoughts of Isaac Newton were perhaps with other things, for about midsummer of this year the *Principia* was published. Jeffreys continued to storm, and began, when the business degenerated into a cross-examination of the Senate's procedure in Cambridge, to make absurd mistakes. He reminded the Vice-Chancellor that he had formerly been a member of the University himself and had some remembrance of the manner of the proceedings there; but at least one of the deputies present, Dr Babington, Fellow and later Vice-Master of Trinity, must have known that the Lord Chancellor's residence there cannot have acquainted him intimately with the conduct

of University business[1]. The proceedings eventually petered out, and the little company from Cambridge withdrew. After waiting an hour and a half, it was summoned again to listen to the Lord Chancellor pronouncing sentence.

7 May. I attended the sentence of the Cambridge men before the high Commissioners...where the V.C. was deprived of his office and vote forever after in any Senate in the Univ: and Suspended ab officio et beneficio from the mastership of Magdalene during the King's pleasure and the profits to go to the College; and rest of their representatives to receive sentence on Thursday next[2].

It was on the following day that Dr Peachell learned that he was only suspended and not deprived of the Mastership, for Jeffreys had made an error in delivering the sentence. On Thursday the 12th of May all the Delegates with Dr Peachell made their last appearance and had to listen to Jeffreys' final harangue which he thought fit, as most of them were divines, to close with a Scriptural allusion, "Go your way, and sin no more, lest a worse thing come to you."

Two days later the King's Messenger arrived in Cambridge with copies of the sentence against Dr Peachell which were fixed, one on the School doors and the other on Magdalene College gate:

By his Majesties Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and for the Visitation of the University and of every Collegiate and Cathedral Churches, Colledges, Grammer Schools, Hospitals, and other like Incorporations, or Foundations, or Societies.

Whereas John Peachell, Dr of Divinity, Vice-Chancellour of Cambridge, Master of Magdalen Colledge, in the said University, has been

[1] Jeffreys, George, adm. pens. at Trinity 1662, adm. at the Inner Temple May 1663, *Alumni Cantab.*, J. and J. A. Venn. Jeffrys, George, Pensioner 1662. Tutor, Mr Thomas Hill. [No record of matriculation. Did not graduate.] *Admissions to Trinity College*, vol. II. 1546–1700.

[2] *Diary of Bishop Cartwright* (Camden Society), p. 53.

conven'd before us for his Disobedience to his Majesties Royal Letters Mandatory, and other his Contempts; and the said Dr John Peachell having been heard thereupon, we have thought fit, after mature consideration of the matter, to Declare, Decree and Pronounce, that the said Doctor John Peachell, shall for the said Disobedience and Contempts, be deprived from being Vice-Chancellour of the said University, and from all power of acting in the same: and also that he be suspended ab officio et beneficio of his mastership of the said Colledge, during his Majesties pleasure: and accordingly we do by these presents deprive him from being Vice-Chancellour....And also we suspend him ab officio et beneficio of his mastership...peremptorily admonishing and requiring him hereby, to abstain from the functions of Master...during the said suspension under pain of Deprivation from his mastership. And we also further Order and Decree, that the profit and perquisites belonging to his mastership shall during his suspension be applyed to the use and benefit of the said College.

Given under our Seal, the 7th day of May, 1687[1].

In his *Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs*, Luttrell notes on May the 18th, "Dr Balderston, of Emanuel colledge in Cambridge, is chosen vicechancellor there" (May 17). The "Cambridge Case" was closed.

The King's trial of strength with the University of Cambridge had failed, and his fruitless attack upon it revealed two significant things to the country at large; the astonishing change of attitude towards the doctrine of non-resistance which had taken place in the last two years; and the intention and weakness of the Court. The importance of the resistance by the Senate lies in the fact that it was not really based on a violation of the Statutes, but on their violation for a particular purpose, the purpose of James to introduce Catholics into the privileges and control of the University. Moreover the resistance was successful. The protest of the Senate was not overridden and the

[1] *History of Magdalene College*, 1904, and Howell's *State Trials*, XI. 1339.

King's mandamus remained a dead letter. The issue of the struggle had a far-reaching effect, for it began that crystallisation, at first gradual and then suddenly rapid, of opinion and sentiment which James the Second so curiously ignored, but which in the end forced itself upon his consciousness when it was too late to avoid his final and complete discomfiture. Dr Peachell, bewildered and broken in spirit by the anxieties and perplexities with which a cruel freak of fortune had beset him, never recovered that sense of safeness which a lifetime of comparative obscurity had built up, and which the last three uncomfortable months of publicity had wholly destroyed. Although he was restored to the Headship of his College in 1688 his last years were dismal and pathetic. But he lived long enough to know that his fate at the hands of Jeffreys was shared in the fullest measure by the Sovereign who had so ruthlessly disturbed the even progress of his life. At the time when James crossed the Channel, Alban Francis thought it prudent to withdraw to Hanover. He never got his Degree.

P. C. VELLACOTT.

Additional References

In addition to the references mentioned in the text and in the footnotes, the following sources and authorities are given:

Cambridge Pamphlets, Folio Series, vol. III (Cambridge Collection Bequeathed by J. W. CLARK) "The Cambridge Case, being an Exact Narrative of all the Proceedings against the Vice-Chancellor and Delegates of that University etc. etc." London. Printed and are to be sold by RANDAL TAYLOR, near Stationers Hall, 1689.

MSS in Peterhouse Treasury, "An account of y^e^ Cambridge Caſe and all y^e^ proceedings therein." This is a fragment which ends in the middle of the third paragraph of the Answer given in writing to the Commissioners on April 27. With very slight verbal differences it corresponds with the account quoted above and with the MSS in ADAM WALL's collection (Mr Stanhope's copy).

Addit. MSS 5846 (Cole's Collections) 448.

BURNET, *History of his own Time*, III. 1838.

Stat. Acad. Cantab. DYER, *Privileges of Univ. of Camb.*, vol. I. *University Commission Report*, 1852. C. WORDSWORTH, *Social Life at the English Universities*, 1874. MACAULAY, *Hist. of England*, ch. viii.

TWO LEGENDS CONNECTED WITH THOMAS GRAY

I. HIS DEPARTURE FROM PETERHOUSE

II. WOLFE AND GRAY'S *ELEGY*

Introduction

THESE two critical discussions of episodes in Gray's career reproduce little more than conclusions already reached by my friends Dr T. A. Walker of Peterhouse and Colonel Walter Wood of Quebec. But, in each case, the false legend has such strong roots, and the true such feeble ones, that another stroke at the one and a handful of earth over the other cannot fail to do some good.

The two incidents have a common interest, in that Gray is the perplexed and perplexing subject of both, that each is overgrown with the creepers of legend, beneath which rests in each case a hard stone of truth. Both are good examples of that maxim of historical criticism that legend, though it does not always reveal the truth, has a way of supplying the missing link in a chain of evidence.

I. GRAY'S DEPARTURE FROM PETERHOUSE

> 1734 *Jul.* 4^to^ *Thomas Gray Middlesexiensis in Scholâ publicâ Etonensi institutus, annosque natus* 18. [*petente Tutore suo*] *censetur admissus ad mensam Pensionariorum sub Tutore et Fidejussore* M^ro^ *Birkett, sed ea lege ut brevi se sistat in Collegio et examinatoribus se probet.*
>
> Peterhouse Admission Book

THERE is no more famous legend at Cambridge than that connected with Gray at Peterhouse. The still existent bar on the window, the sham fire, the real rope-ladder, the legendary water-butt all find mention in the guide-books, and bring sight-seers and tourists to visit the unfortunate occupant of Gray's rooms. Until very recent times the story was considered by some about as authentic as that of Lady Godiva. Equally improbable seemed it that a lady should ride naked through the streets of Coventry, and that a lightly-clad poet should be found shivering in the water-tub at the end of his ladder. Since 1900 the poet, at least, has covered his nakedness with the weeds of history.

Previous to 1900 the only facts generally accepted were these. Gray had returned to Peterhouse in 1742, and occupied a set of rooms in a newly-built part of the college which he retained till 1756. He took his LL.B. in 1744 and during these years sat at the High Table, with the Earl of Euston, later Duke of Grafton (Fellow-Commoner 1751), the only Peterhouse Prime Minister, who distinguished himself by taxing America, and with his private tutor, Richard Stonehewer (Bye-Fellow 1751). With the last he contracted a warm friendship, and to the former he subsequently owed his appointment to the Professorship of History. Gray showed his gratitude by an Installation Ode to

Grafton as Chancellor which is usually thought his tamest performance. Gray himself has recently been proved to have been a Fellow-Commoner and thus dined at the High Table. During this period he wrote and published both the "Eton Ode" and "The Elegy," and drafted the "Bard."

In 1748 Gray's house at Cornhill was burnt down, an occurrence which gave him a morbid fear as to fire ever afterwards, especially as his rooms at Peterhouse were at the top of a lofty wooden staircase. On the 9th January, 1756, Gray wrote to Wharton asking him to buy him a "Rope ladder (for my Neighbours every day make a greater progress in drunkenness wch gives me reason to look about me)."...It was to be "full 36 Foot long, or a little more."..."I suppose it must have strong hooks or something equivalent, a-top, to throw over an Iron bar to be fixed withinside of my window." Wharton evidently complied with the request, for an iron bar, fixed on two stanchions, exists on one bedroom window in the college (and nowhere else) which enables a rope-ladder to be fastened to them and to fall sheer and straight into the Churchyard of Little St Mary's below[1]. The rooms with this bar on the window had long been traditionally assigned to Gray, but the fact that he actually resided there had not then been confirmed. One important pre-1900 fact was the entry showing that Pembroke had admitted Mr Gray from Peterhouse on the 6th March, 1756.

So much for the pre-1900 facts. The legend, based on this slender substratum, had been picturesquely and over-confidently

[1] Mr Tovey (*Letters of Gray*, 1900, II. 292, n. 1) quotes Mitford as stating that there are "two iron bars" on the window. There is only one, and it is not in fact "withinside of my window," but projects over the window-sill. The room is the top one on "A" staircase nearest the street, overlooking Little St Mary's Church to the north, and Trumpington Street to the east.

completed by Mr Edmund Gosse[1]: "The noisy fellow-commoners determined to have a lark at the timid little poet's expense, and one night in February 1756, when Gray was asleep in bed, they suddenly alarmed him with a cry of fire on his staircase, having previously placed a tub of water under his window. The ruse succeeded only too well: Gray, without staying to put on his clothes, hooked the rope to the iron bar, and descended nimbly into the tub of water, from which he was rescued with shouts of laughter by the unmannerly youths. But the jest might easily have proved fatal; as it was, he shivered in February air so excessively that he had to be wrapped up in the coat of a passing watchman and to be carried into college by the friendly Stonehewer, who now appeared on the scene."

This account is mainly based on Campbell's gossip, with embellishments by Mr Gosse himself. There seems to be no authority for the water-tub at all, and the only one for the descent into the churchyard and for the wrapping in the watchman's coat consists in the rumours detailed in the *Sale of Authors*, a humorous skit published eleven years after, in 1767, by Archibald Campbell, who declared that he did not vouch for his facts. If Gray shivered at all, it was probably in the air not of February but of March, and, though Stonehewer was an eye-witness, there is no evidence that he carried Gray back into college.

While the biographer of Gray confirmed and even adorned the legend, an extreme scepticism was shown by the editor of

[1] *Gray* (English Men of Letters), 1882, pp. 125–6. The following mistakes of fact occur: (1) The iron bar does *not* cross a window "which looks towards Pembroke"; it looks into the churchyard. (2) Gray left Peterhouse in March, *not* in February. (3) The incident may have occurred in February.

his correspondence. Mr D. C. Tovey practically rejected the whole story as absurd. The situation, even so late as 1900, was that the lovers of legend continued to put forward claims which the sceptics invariably quenched with an abundance of cold water.

In 1900, however, an American professor drew attention to a contemporary letter, the significance of which, though long published, had not been appreciated[1]. The letter is at least enough to show that Gray wanted to keep the details concealed. It is written very shortly after the incident occurred (12th March, 1756) and is by a Fellow of Corpus, the Reverend John Sharp. It runs as follows: "Mr Gray, our elegant Poet, and delicate Fellow Commoner of Peterhouse, has just removed to Pembroke Hall, in resentment of some usage he met with at the former place. The case is much talked of, and is this. He is much afraid of fire and was a great sufferer in Cornhill; he has ever since kept a ladder of ropes by him, soft as the silky cords by which Romeo ascended to his Juliet, and has had an iron bar fixed to his bedroom window. The other morning, Lord Perceval and some Petrenchians (*sic*), going a hunting, were determined to have a little sport before they set out, and thought it would be no bad diversion, to make Gray bolt, as they called it, so ordered their man Joe Draper to roar out fire[2]. A delicate

[1] Professor Kittredge of Harvard University, U.S.A., in *New York Nation*, 12th Sept. 1900, quoting from Nichols' *Illustrations*, VI. 805, and cited by Tovey, Addenda to his edition of Gray's *Letters* (1912), II. 304. Mr Tovey did not, however, depart from his original scepticism. Sharp was, as Tovey notes, a correspondent and possibly a friend of Gray.

[2] Joe Draper was doubtless sent round to the wooden stairs leading to Gray's rooms, while the huntsmen waited, hoping to see Gray descend his ladder into the churchyard.

white nightcap is said to have appeared at the window; but finding the mistake, retired again to the couch. The young fellows, had he descended, were determined, they said, to have whipped the butterfly up again."

A fortnight later Gray himself wrote a guarded version of the facts to his friend Wharton on the 25th March, 1756, describing his migration to Pembroke: "This may be look'd upon as a sort of Aera in a life so barren of events as mine, yet I shall treat it in Voltaire's manner, and only tell you that I left my lodgings, because the rooms were noisy, and the People of the house dirty[1]. This is all I would chuse to have said about it; but if you in private should be curious enough to enter into a particular detail of facts and minute circumstances, Stonehewer, who was witness to them, will probably satisfy you....I am for the present extremely well-lodged here, and as quiet as in the Grande Chartreuse." This letter is curious. His objection to the noisy rooms might refer to undergraduates, that to "dirty" people might mean gyps or fellows or fellow-commoners or all three. But it is singular that he should have developed this objection so suddenly. He had occupied his existing rooms from 1742, and expressly stated he did not like moving.

The recent researches of Dr Walker, the Bursar and historian of Peterhouse, in the records of the college have disclosed a list of rooms showing that Gray really occupied those with the bar, and that two of his alleged tormentors had rooms on the same staircase[2]. The Buttery Books show that Gray resided during the week ending the 5th March, and that the Butler had put down his name on the list for the ensuing week but

[1] The courtly Mason substituted "uncivil" for this word.

[2] *Athenæum* (1906), pp. 76 sq., 107 sq.

struck through his name because he was admitted to Pembroke on the 6th. His departure, therefore, was unexpected and sudden, and was not due simply to "noisy rooms" and "dirty people" whom he could probably have tolerated till the end of the term. Clearly he adopted these phrases as a fiction "in Voltaire's manner" to conceal something. After Gray's death Horace Walpole wrote to his editor, Wharton, on the 17th April, 1774, warning him to "omit every passage that hints at the cause of his removal from Peterhouse....I would be as wary as the Church of Rome is before they canonise a saint." Mason took his advice and the faithful Stonehewer, the only man who certainly knew the facts, kept the secret till the end.

It is clear from Sharp's letter of 12th March, 1756, that there was some kind of horseplay by undergraduates or fellow-commoners. The only further knowledge we have of these is from Mitford, who had heard from Dr Gretton, Master of Magdalene and formerly of Peterhouse, that "the young men of fortune" in the prank were "the late Lord Egmont, then Mr Percival [i.e. Sharp's L[d] Perceval], a Mr Forrester, a Mr Williams, and others[1]." No one, however, regarded this anecdote as serious until Dr Walker's researches became known. Gretton was at this time a fellow-commoner of Peterhouse (as were Forrester and Bennet Williams) and is likely to have known the truth. Now Dr Walker shows that George Forrester had the rooms opposite to Gray, and that Bennet Williams had rooms on the ground floor[2]. They were both men of good family, they wore the blue and silver gowns of fellow-commoners, and had actually dined at the Peterhouse High Table along with Gretton and

[1] Mitford's *Life of Gray*, first printed in Eton Edition, 1847 (the earlier edition of 1816, vol. I. p. xxviii, only alludes slightly to this incident).

[2] Dr Walker in *Athenæum*, pp. 107–8.

with Gray himself in the week ending 5th March. Percival was a Magdalene man and fellow-commoner there, and apparently a friend of theirs. There seems to be no reason to doubt that these men were responsible for the prank, whatever it was, and also "there were others." How far did they go? Sharp only suggests that Gray's nightcap appeared at the window, but Gray may have looked down and seen the hunting men with their crops prepared to "whip" him up again. Gray "complained to the Master (Mitford goes on), Dr Law, [afterwards] Bishop of Carlisle; and he [Law] offended Gray by the little regard he paid to the complaint, and by his calling it a 'boyish frolic.'" Mason, in more guarded terms, confirms this version[1]. That Gray left because his complaints were not attended to by Bishop Law is clear.

Bishop Law's features look down at us from the walls of the Peterhouse Hall in a picture copied from an original of Romney. He was the father of Lord Ellenborough, but had none of the rough and fierce methods of his famous son. His face is gentle, earnest, benevolent, diplomatic, humorous, a little timorous. He was not the man to beard wealthy and well-born fellow-commoners, and counselled Gray to regard their action as a "boyish frolic." Gray was clearly offended. These young men, who had thus hoaxed him, needed a severe rebuke, the poet thought, if he was ever to be safe again. Except in the case of a man, so sensitive in the mental as well as physical sense, it would be impossible to accept that the incident, as related by Sharp, is all that really happened. But a man of this "butterfly" texture might be painfully affected by it.

Gray's letter of January, 1756, asking for a rope-ladder, does

[1] Quoted in Mitford's *Works of Thomas Gray*, 1816, pp. 270–1, note.

not make clear that he needed it solely against fire. He may have wanted it as a means of "escape" from other things as well. "Greater progress in drunkenness" might lead to violence as well as to fire and, now that his neighbours understood how to cut off his retreat, was he safe against either mode of attack? If he descended into the churchyard would they not whip him up, as they threatened, with their hunting crops? There was a third method of persecution, more agonizing still. When they next dined at the High Table with the poet (and they had dined only last week) would they not "set the table in a roar" with this diverting incident? Hence, if they were not properly punished, our "elegant poet" and "butterfly" was liable to be broken on the wheel as well as whipped. Across the way his friends Mason and Browne were Fellows at Pembroke, and he would be safe from attack or ridicule[1].

We may imagine the poet anxiously considering these points and finally making up his mind to inaugurate an 'Aera' in his life:

> At last he rose, and twitched his mantle blue.

"To-morrow" there was this entry in the records of another college:

> *Thomas Gray, LL.B. admissus est ex Collegio Divi Petri. March* 6, 1756.
>
> Pembroke Admission Book.

[1] Dr E. H. Minns, the Librarian of Pembroke, informs me that Mason was not certainly in residence till 23 March 1756, when he was elected Stuart or Bye-Fellow. Gray already had some connection with Pembroke, for he had borrowed books from its Library.

Bibliographical Note

D. C. Tovey, *Letters of Gray*, vol. I. 1900, pp. 292–5; II. p. 304.
D. C. Tovey, *Gray and his Friends*, 1890, p. 189.

Nearly all authorities have been quoted in the text. Dr T. A. Walker's article is in the *Athenæum* of 1906, pp. 76–7, 107–8. This gives us all the new material from Peterhouse records.

It should be mentioned that Mr Tovey, *Letters of Gray* (1910), I. p. 293 n., made a slip in stating that Law only succeeded to the Mastership at Peterhouse in 1756, and that Keene was probably Master at the time of Gray's complaint. Law had already been Master for over a year. Also *v. Letters*, II. p. 304, *Lord* Perceval was then Mr Percival, later Lord Egmont.

Mr Tovey has maintained his scepticism in his edition of 1912 and stated that the later evidence only confirms his views. But this is, in fact, not wholly the case, e.g. *Letters*, II. p. 304, he has to admit that Percival was not a fellow-commoner of Peterhouse, but adopts the suggestion that the names of Forrester and Williams "are really only quoted because they were fellow commoners at the time." The matter assumes a different aspect when the last two lived on the staircase, and that it was against their "greater progress in drunkenness" that the poet provided his rope-ladder.

It does not appear certain that Mr Tovey had seen Dr Walker's article in the *Athenæum*. In *Gray and his Friends* [1890], p. 189, Mr Tovey mentions a "tantalizing fragment" of Gray's conversation with Percy (cf. the "Reliques"), which refers to the cause of his leaving Peterhouse, but which breaks off unfortunately in the middle.

There is a useful summary of the whole question in Austin Lane Poole's edition of *The Poems of Gray* [1917], pp. 189–92. He regards (and I think rightly) the evidence of Sharp's letter as making "the story" "historical," a conclusion confirmed by Dr Walker.

II. WOLFE AND GRAY'S *ELEGY*

In tumuli fauces ducit honoris iter. GILBERT WAKEFIELD

Metaque mors, quoquo gloria flectit iter. H. A. J. MUNRO[1]

OF the Wolfe and Gray legend, as compared with that connected with the fire-escape, it may be said "Why this is a more excellent song than the other." Certainly it is one of which the burden is more prolonged. At Quebec dinners, at Westerham reunions, at anniversary orations in the Old World and the New, the legend is touchingly repeated by generals, by statesmen, and even by historians, in a form in which it cannot possibly be true. This legend has heroic persistency, though in reality the truth is more romantic.

My friend Mr Basil Williams, now Professor in a Canadian University, gives the legend as follows in his admirable *Life of Chatham*. He says that the British expedition dropped down in the night towards the spot where they were to land. "In one of the foremost boats Wolfe softly recited Gray's *Elegy*" to the officers near him, adding: "Gentlemen, I would rather have written those lines than take Quebec[2]." This is a relatively sober version of the legend, appropriate enough to a modern historian if he must fall into error. Earlier historians, literary men and orators are less restrained and their more flamboyant

[1] Wakefield's version of "The paths of glory lead but to the grave" was translated by H. A. J. Munro as "The path of a public office leads to the gorge of a hillock," v. *Macmillan's Magazine*, vol. xxxi. 1874–5, pp. 253–8, 340–6, 472, 533–4, and he suggested his own version as a correct piece of Latinity.

[2] Basil Williams, *Life of Chatham* [1913], II. 11.

version usually runs somewhat as follows: Wolfe turns to Midshipman Robinson, or Robison, who is steering the first boat. Sometimes he asks him: "How old are you?" "Seventeen, Sir," says the middy. Wolfe then recites the *Elegy*, laying special stress on the lines "The paths of glory lead but to the grave," and ends "I would rather have written those words than take Quebec[1]."

Now this version is inconceivably absurd. Wolfe, who had enjoined silence in the boats under pain of death, is represented as causing the "midshipman" to incur this penalty by getting him to speak, and then to have taken advantage of his own immunity from his own penalties to indulge in poetical quotations, or even to recite the whole *Elegy*. This, however, is only absurdity; the rest is merely fiction. "We know who is meant by midshipman Robinson" but we can only describe the current version by negatives. The man in question was *not* a midshipman, he was *not* even a naval man, he was *not* seventeen, he did *not* steer the first boat, he was *not* in the night expedition, and his name was *not* even Robinson.

Two pieces of evidence are certain, one as regards Wolfe himself, the other as regards the elusive "midshipman." Wolfe was engaged to Katharine Lowther, who afterwards became Duchess of Bolton. It had been asserted by the late Marquess of Winchester, her descendant, that Katharine had given Wolfe a copy of the *Elegy* before leaving England. This assertion was proved to be true in 1913 when the copy turned up in Paris with the inscription on it "from K[atharine] L[owther] Neptune

[1] Stanhope, *History of England*, chap. xxxv (quoting Grahame's *History of the United States*, iv. 51), and Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe* ("The Pocket Parkman," 1898, ii. 297) give this version, but without making the midshipman speak, and, correctly, call him Robison.

at Sea[1]." The fact that his betrothed had given him the book suggests that he might well ponder the passages most appropriate to his own lot, and this suggestion is confirmed by the fact that he annotated several of them with his own hand[2]. It was, therefore, appropriate and natural that he should quote some of it to his friends on the eve of a great crisis.

But the real evidence is concerned with our dim "midshipman." It is here that the invention has taken place, and the stages of it can be clearly discerned. Mr Robinson or Robertson was really Mr Rob*i*son (his name pronounced with a long *i*) who graduated at Glasgow as M.A. at the age of seventeen. He took part in the Quebec expedition in 1759 as a tutor of twenty years to the young son of Admiral Knowles. As every man on board ship has to be accounted for somehow he was "rated as a midshipman." Thirteen years later, as professor of Mathematics in the Sea Cadet Corps of St Petersburg, he held the "relative rank" of colonel. But he was no more a real colonel than he was a real midshipman, any more than Mr Augustus John was a real Canadian Major, or Sir Eric Geddes a real English General in the late war. Not being a real midshipman he did not go in the night expedition and therefore could not have heard anything Wolfe then said. It is obvious

[1] *v. Times* of 15th Jan. 1913. "The Neptune at Sea" was the flagship of Admiral Saunders on which Wolfe embarked. The book is in the possession of Mr W. R. Colling of Paris. It has the date 1754, the Duke of Bolton's bookplate, and is endorsed "Given to my mother, M^rs^ J. Ewing, by her mistress the Duchess of Bolton, as having belonged to the celebrated Gen^l^ Wolf L.D." Lord Dorchester (Guy Carleton) received Wolfe's books and papers, but the others have disappeared.

[2] So Mr Beckles Willson in a letter to the *Times* of 21st Jan. 1913. He and a member of the staff of the British Museum compared Wolfe's handwriting with these notes.

that the fact that he was rated as a midshipman has been twisted into the fiction that he was seventeen and steered the boat in which Wolfe sat.

But Mr Robison, though not a midshipman, was often at sea and spent the latter part of his life as professor of natural philosophy at Edinburgh University. He also seems to have been a person of high character, which fact lends point to the story he was fond of telling about Wolfe. We have three separate testimonies from men who heard it, one from James Currie (10th Feb. 1804); one from Playfair his predecessor as professor at Edinburgh (20th Feb. 1815); and last but not least from Sir Walter Scott (22nd Sept. 1830)[1].

All three versions agree that the incident took place in a boat or boats and that the word "to-morrow" was used by Wolfe. Two versions say the incident took place in the early part of the evening, which must in point of fact be a mistake for the afternoon (perhaps late afternoon) of the 12th. Apart from this the only serious difficulty lies in Currie's version, which places the incident at or after midnight of the 12–13th. Here he must be wrong but, if we assume that this is a slip on the part of the reporter, all difficulties disappear, as the other discrepancies are of a trifling character. The really significant fact is that the crucial words "to-morrow" or "to-morrow morning" uttered by Wolfe are given in all three versions, and that none of our three reporters themselves understood the importance of the word in question. For that single word enables us to date and to explain the whole incident. Unless that word was used the whole thing must be a fiction, as Robison was not in the boats of the night expedition at all; and Wolfe returned to H.M.S. "Sutherland" from his afternoon boat expedition on the 12th

[1] The three versions are printed in parallel columns in Appendix I and analysed.

about 5 or 6 p.m. Robison was a good mathematician and was "occasionally employed in making surveys of the river and adjacent grounds[1]," and thus might see Wolfe. On the 9th and 10th there were boat reconnaissances by Wolfe off the shore opposite the Anse du Foulon (where he ultimately landed); javelins (i.e. surveying rods) were planted; and observations made. On the 12th a final reconnaissance took place at which fewer persons were present, apparently in the afternoon, and Wolfe pushed out to midstream in a boat, with Robison in a following boat, or in the same boat, in order to examine the northern shore. Probably he was a few cables length beyond Sillery Point and it is near this point, and on this day, that Wolfe alone can have recited the poem in the hearing of Robison. I was there myself one 12th September and remember the impression of the scenery. Beneath Wolfe lay the broad green breast of the St Lawrence, opposite the cliffs crowned with green bushes and patches of scarlet in the maple, beyond them the faint blue outlines of the far Laurentian hills. It is a scene which would make anyone quote poetry and Wolfe was still young, ardent, sensitive, ill, melancholy, full of the thought that his time was not long, full also of the sense of the peace of nature to-day, and of what might happen to him and to so many of his men on the morrow. Was it not likely that the words in the book Katharine had given him should come into his mouth? For they were words prophesying "the sad glory so soon coming to him." It was then, if ever, that he quoted from the *Elegy* "the paths of glory lead but to the grave," and added "Well, gentlemen, I would rather be the author of that piece, than beat the French to-morrow[2]." Is it strange that

[1] Playfair, *Trans. Royal Society of Edinburgh* [1815], VII. 498.

[2] On the substance of Wolfe's comment all three versions agree. Two make him, and a third a gentleman attendant, "recite" the *Elegy* or part of it. Nothing but tradition makes that part "the paths of glory" etc.

an obscure civilian, who heard the utterance of the great soldier, should have treasured the remembrance ever afterwards[1]?

The legends have been shown to be gourd-like growths from the modest seed of Robison's anecdote. The words, if spoken on the afternoon of the 12th, were natural and appropriate. Wolfe did not seat himself in the first boat of the night expedition till after midnight, and if he had then absurdly broken his own rule of silence under pain of death, he should have said "to-day" and not "to-morrow." Anyhow Robison could not have heard him do so, for only Currie makes him claim to have been in the night expedition and, if he did so claim, he was not telling the truth. Currie has the heavy responsibility of fathering all these legends which have given a worthy Scotch tutor the age and rank of a middy, a seat in Wolfe's boat as it descended to the attack, and a readiness to brave the penalty of death by conversing about poetry with the general. But, if we disregard this assertion, the three accounts agree well enough together.

The weak point in the evidence is that the earliest (and the most inaccurate) recorded utterance is Currie's in 1804, one year before the death of Robison and forty-five years after that of Wolfe. But it does not seem possible that Robison could

[1] Wolfe returned from the afternoon reconnaissance to H.M.S. "Sutherland" and summoned Jervis (afterwards Lord St Vincent) on board, to whom he gave his will and a portrait of Miss Lowther that he usually carried with him. These negotiations doubtless took some time, and at 8.30 p.m. he sat down and wrote his famous replies to the Brigadiers. He remained on board the "Sutherland" until about midnight, shortly after which he took his place in the leading boat, which contained Captain de Laune and twenty-two men of the forlorn hope, and started the expedition in which silence had been enjoined on pain of death. It seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that he could not have been cruising about in boats or reciting poetry *after* 5 or 6 p.m. in the evening, and hence, if he did either, the time must have been the afternoon reconnaissance.

have forgotten the incident itself, and it is probably not he, but the gossips, who embellished it. A Scotch worthy, precise and of unblemished veracity, he died in a Chair of Natural Philosophy and doubtless deserves his mention in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. As a single witness he is excellent, but rigid historical canons demand a second testimony. This cannot be supplied in human form, but the mute witness of Katharine Lowther's gift-copy of Gray's *Elegy* to Wolfe is strong corroborative evidence of the good-faith of Robison. On the whole, therefore, we may conclude that the story, as critically reconstructed, is true, or at least as near truth as the evidence of a single witness (and of a book) can ever be.

One final consideration remains, not historical but moral. It is singular that Gray, one of the shyest and least practical of men, could thus thrill and inspire others. Sir Walter Scott gives another example of this in *The Pirate* where he relates that the inhabitants of Orkney, hearing Gray's imitation Norse verses on "the Fatal Sisters," said they knew them already and proclaimed him a scald. So well had the sympathy of the man of genius interpreted their legend. But what Wolfe said was nobler than this. He said that the utterance of the *Elegy* was a greater thing than the taking of Quebec. Carlyle gets to the bedrock of the matter. After alluding to Wolfe's quotation, he makes Wolfe comment thus: "Oh, these are tones of the Eternal Melodies, are not they? A man might thank Heaven he had such a gift: Almost as *we* might for succeeding here, gentlemen[1]."

Yet how singular a contrast between "thoughts that breathe and words that burn" and the man who conceived them. Three years before the siege of Quebec Gray had endured a

[1] Carlyle, *Frederick the Great*, Library Edition, vol. v, p. 555. Carlyle based his account on Playfair but invented some of the accessories.

siege of his own rooms and had evacuated them without the honours of war before a handful of noisy undergraduates. Boldness in action one would not expect of so shy a man, but one would think he might have appreciated, as well as inspired, the taking of Quebec. Yet he did not share the universal sympathy which greeted the return of the hero's body to England. He listened to Pitt's funeral oration over Wolfe and described it thus in a letter "(Pitt's) second speech was a studied and puerile declamation on funeral honours (on proposing a monument for General Wolfe). In the course of it he wiped his eyes with one handkerchief, and Beckford (who seconded him) cried too, and wiped with two handkerchiefs at once, which was very moving[1]." It was not thus that the dead man had spoken of Gray's *Elegy*. Of one thing we may be sure. If Wolfe wished that he might have written the *Elegy*, Gray had never expressed the desire that he might have died victorious on the heights of Abraham.

[1] Quoted by Mr Tovey, *Gray and his Friends* [1890], p. 24. Another letter of 23rd Jan. 1760 to Wharton refers both to Quebec and Wolfe but without any indication of feeling. It is fair to say that this oration of Pitt's is known to have been the worst he ever made.

Appendix I. *The Three Authentic Versions of the Wolfe and Gray's* Elegy *incident.*

1. *Currie's version.* Edinburgh, 10th Feb. 1804.

"I supped at Professor Robison's last week....He told me that General Wolfe kept his intention of attacking Quebec a most profound secret; not even disclosing it to the Second in Command, and that the night before the

2. *Playfair's version.* 20th Feb. 1815.

"An anecdote which he also used to tell, deserves well to be remembered. He happened to be on duty in the boat in which General Wolfe went to visit some of his posts, the night before the battle, which was expected to be

3. *Sir Walter Scott's version.* 22nd Sept. 1830.

"On the night when Wolfe crossed the river with his small army they passed in the men-of-war's long boats and launches, and the General himself in the Admiral's barge. The young midshipman who steered the boat was

attack nothing was known. The boats were ordered to drop down the St Lawrence, and it happened that the boat which Professor Robison, then a midshipman, commanded was very near the one General Wolfe was in. A gentleman was repeating Gray's Elegy to the latter, and Mr Robison heard him (the General) say, 'I would rather have been the author of that piece than beat the French to-morrow'; and from this remark guessed that the attack was to be made the next day."

Memoir of Life, Writings and Correspondence of James Currie, by W. W. Currie, London, 1831, vol. II. p. 248.

decisive of the fate of the campaign. The evening was fine, and the scene, considering the work they were engaged in, and the morning to which they were looking forward, sufficiently impressive. As they rowed along, the General, with much feeling, repeated nearly the whole of GRAY's Elegy (which had appeared not long before, and was yet but little known,) to an officer who sat with him in the stern of the boat; adding, as he concluded, that 'he would prefer being the author of that poem to the glory of beating the French to-morrow.'"

Transactions Royal Society of Edinburgh, Memo. of Robison by Playfair, VII. 499, read 20 Feb. 1815.

John Robison, afterwards Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, a man of high scientifick attainments. I have repeatedly heard the Professor say that during part of the passage Wolfe pulled out of his pocket and read to officers around (or, perhaps, repeated), Gray's celebrated Elegy in a Country Churchyard. I do not know if the recitation was not so well received as he expected, but he said, with a good deal of animation, 'I can only say, Gentlemen, that, if the choice were mine, I would rather be the author of these verses than win the battle which we are to fight to-morrow morning.' It must not be supposed that this was a matter of serious election, but it was a strong way of expressing his love of literature. I have (heard) Mr. Robison tell the story repeatedly, for his daughter became the wife of my intimate Friend Lord Erskine."

Scott to Southey, 22nd Sept. 1830[1].

[1] Published by Augustine Birrell from an autograph letter of Scott's. He adds the comment, it "seems to prove the truth of the story as conclusively as human testimony can prove anything." *Times Literary Supplement* of 27th May, 1904.

4. *Discrepancies in the three versions.*

(*a*) Scott and Playfair put the time as early night but *before* the starting of the night expedition; Currie at or after the starting of the boats down stream.

(*b*) Scott and Playfair make Robison steer Wolfe's boat, Currie puts him in an adjoining one.

(*c*) Scott and Playfair make Wolfe recite the *Elegy*, Currie makes a "gentleman" (not Wolfe) do so.

(*d*) Scott and Currie make Robison a midshipman, Playfair says that he was "on duty."

5. *Errors in the versions.*

With regard to

4 (*a*) All three are wrong, as the time was the afternoon and the object reconnaissance, but only Currie's version is really misleading.

4 (*b*) Assuming that the time was the afternoon, either Scott and Playfair or Currie may be right, and in either case the difference is immaterial.

4 (*c*) The difference or error here is immaterial.

4 (*d*) Scott and Currie should have said he was "rated as a midshipman," Playfair's version is correct, for he says (p. 497) he was so "rated."

Currie makes two serious blunders, stating (1) that Robison was in the night expedition, (2) that Wolfe's quotations were the first intimation of an attack on the French "the next day." With (1) we have already dealt. As regards (2) it should be stated that Wolfe's orders, intimating an immediate attack, were published on the 11th. Robison cannot therefore have been ignorant that an attack was intended. What nobody knew, except Wolfe himself, Admiral Holmes and Captain Chads, was the exact objective point of attack, the Anse du Foulon (Wolfe's Cove), at which Wolfe was gazing as he uttered this reflection. Perhaps Currie really means that Robison divined from this the actual point of attack.

I am indebted to Professor J. Y. Simpson of Edinburgh for correcting Playfair's version for me, and supplying other information.

APPENDIX II. *Short Bibliographical Note.*

The original version of Parkman, Carlyle and Lord Stanhope was examined by E. E. Morris, *English Historical Review*, vol. xv, Jan. 1900, pp. 125–9. He had no difficulty in showing the absurdity of their accounts but seems to have had only Playfair before him.

The three versions were discussed and analysed by Father John Gerard, S.J., a great-grandson of Robison, on the 9th July, 1904, *Athenæum*. The legend was repeated in Doughty's *Siege of Quebec* (1902) but alluded to with some scepticism by my friend Colonel Walter Wood in his *Fight for Canada* [1904]. He expanded his treatment in the 1908 edition (p. 222 and notes on pp. 320–1), and somewhat modified his views in the *Boston Transcript*, U.S.A., of 15th Dec. 1909 [republished in the *Quebec Daily Telegraph* of 6th Jan. 1910]. His final view was to accept the legend, though he somewhat minimizes the discrepancies between the three authentic versions. He did not know at the time of the mute evidence supplied by Katharine Lowther's gift-copy of the *Elegy*, as to which see the *Times* of 15th and 21st Jan. 1913.

H. W. V. TEMPERLEY.

POOR STUDENTS AND NEW HALLS

AN ASPECT OF STATE INTERVENTION

I. PROLOGUE

I HAVE not found gathered together in one place the various documents which illustrate the beginnings of the movement that resulted in the creation of Halls of Residence for, among others, poor University students in England. The story is one of considerable interest and the origins of the movement go back a good deal earlier than the foundations of Merton College, Oxford, and Peterhouse, Cambridge. It is perhaps fruitless to-day to try to reopen the controversy as to the dates of origin of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, though I fancy that the last word has not been said as to those dim beginnings. One source has, indeed, not been investigated; it is possible that a migration from the residential adult colleges on the Wye and in Wales played some part in the earliest growth of these Universities. If this were the case it would explain the quite early adoption of fabulous sources that clearly have no relation to Oxford and Cambridge and yet appear in the *Book of Hyde* in the fourteenth century[1].

These legends must have come from some extraneous source, and I venture to suggest that they were brought in by students from the West of England and from Wales. The suggestion finds some support in the following facts.

There were in the first place certainly great schools in the diocese of Llandaff. Iltutus, the great-nephew and disciple or

[1] Vol. 45, *Chronicles and Memorials*, Rolls Series, pp. 11, 41. See also 3 Rot. Parl. 69a (2 Ric. II 1378: Alfred as founder of Univ. Hall, Oxford).

Germanus (who died in 448), founded the great school or monastery at Caerworgern. In the same period other great schools were founded at Llancarfan by Cattwg and at Docwinni by Cyngar[1]. In the first half of the sixth century we hear also of Dubric. "His fame extended through all Britain; so that there came scholars from all parts to him, and not only raw scholars, but learned men and doctors, particularly St Teilo[2]." His college at Henllan on the Wye was famous and the subject of tradition[3]. The existence of the school, whatever its size, is not seriously doubted while the schools of the diocese of Llandaff are fully accepted. Bede[4] declares that the monastic school at Bangor contained over two thousand clerks in 603, the year of the conference with Augustine. The evidence indicates that there were at a very early date large adult schools in Wales and on the Wye.

Now teaching for adults was long operative in Wales. It ended with the death in 1162 of "Henry, son of Arthen, the supreme teacher in general of all the scholars[5]." Such a sudden ending must have been followed by a dispersal or migration of scholars, migrations that are quite familiar in the cases of Paris, Oxford and Cambridge. The migrants must have come east and south. Ireland was no place for scholars any longer in 1162, ten years before the Norman invasion. In 1162 Oxford was certainly, and Cambridge almost as certainly, in existence. It is

[1] Haddon and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, I, 158.

[2] Life of St Teilo (12th century). See J. E. Lloyd's *History of Wales*, p. 159.

[3] *A History of Wales*, J. E. Lloyd (1911), p. 147.

[4] *Eccles. Hist.* II, 2. William of Malmesbury (Lib. IV, s. 185. Rolls ed.) testifies to the size of the ruins of the monastery. See also J. E. Lloyd, pp. 192–3.

[5] Haddon and Stubbs, I, 289, 298, 361, 462.

a very reasonable surmise that the scholars of Wales drifted into these Universities and carried with them legends that went back to the days of Iltutus and Dubric.

But however this may be I am not content to find with Dr Hastings Rashdall the sudden rise of Oxford in the migration from Paris of 1167, and Cambridge in the migration from Oxford of 1209[1]. Between 1117 and 1121 Thibaut d'Estampes, sometime chaplain of Queen Margaret of Scotland, was at Oxford presiding over a body of sixty to a hundred scholars and he describes himself as "Magister Oxenfordiae." Robert Pullein, a future Cardinal, the author of a famous *Sum of Theology* and the master of John of Salisbury, was lecturing at Oxford on the Holy Scriptures in 1133, and (but perhaps after 1167) the great Vacarius of Bologna was discoursing there on the Civil Law[2]. We have at present no such startling dates for Cambridge, though she is called in a fifteenth century patent roll[3], *Mater et Propagatrix studentium peritorum in Ecclesia Dei*, but early thirteenth century documents make it practically certain that the University of Cambridge goes far behind the year 1209.

II. THE MYSTERY

These documents take me at once to the heart of my subject, the housing of non-monastic students. In 1229 King Henry III promised asylum to the dispersed scholars of Paris in several places suitable for their settlement[4]. In 1231 and 1233 there is official evidence that Cambridge was a flourishing Uni-

[1] Rashdall, II, pp. 333–8, 545.

[2] *The Origin of the University of Oxford*, by J. E. Holland, *E. H. R.* VI, 228 (see also R. L. Poole, *Mediaeval Thought and Learning*, p. 184). Dr Rashdall points out that before 1117 Thibaut transferred his school from Caen to Oxford.

[3] Pat. Roll, 9 Hen. VI.

[4] Pat. Roll, 13 Hen. III, m. 6. Rashdall, II, 546.

versity with a Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor. In April 1231 Pope Gregory IX issued a mandate to the Chancellor of the University[1]. In the same year Henry III addressed letters to Oxford and Cambridge in which he states that they are centres "ubi convenit multitudo studentium[2]."

In those letters the subject of the letting of lodgings is dealt with at length. The charges, the King says, are so heavy and burdensome that they will drive the foreign scholars from the land, *quod nullatenus vellemus*. The King therefore commands that the lodgings should be valued by two masters of the University and two upright and lawful men of the town, and adds significantly that the students should be so treated that it will not be necessary for him to take further action (*ad hoc manum apponere debeamus*)[3]. In the same year another letter from the King to the sheriffs of the counties of Oxford and Cambridge draws attention to the multitude of students, which includes very many rebellious and incorrigible clerks, who refuse "to suffer justice at the hands of the chancellor and masters of the schools according to the custom of the scholars" and directs the sheriffs to take such clerks as are indicated by the Chancellor and masters and imprison or expel them[4]. Conditions at both Universities were in fact very bad and the trouble was, in part, due to inadequate accommodation. The moral condition of Oxford demanded royal attention in 1234[5], and this trouble was closely related to the housing conditions. This is the only

[1] *Papal Letters* (1198–1304), Rolls Ed. pp. 126, 142.

[2] Close Rolls, 15 Hen. III (Rolls Ed. p. 586).

[3] Fuller, *History of University of Cambridge*, p. 22. *British Borough Charters* (1216–1307) : Ballard and Tait, p. 101.

[4] Ballard and Tait, p. 101. Close Rolls, 15 Hen. III (Rolls Ed. p. 587).

[5] Ballard and Tait, pp. 373–4.

explanation of the fact that the concubines of the clerks who had tenements were not expelled from the town. Someone had to do the house-keeping. They were therefore recalled from exile, a not very surprising fact since the marriage of the clergy had been long tolerated in the West. University jurisdiction, exercised by the Chancellor, in this matter, among other matters, of the letting of houses, was substituted for that of the sheriffs at Cambridge in 1242[1], and in 1244[2] at Oxford. Meantime the Pope had intervened. On the fifteenth day of June in the year 1233 Pope Gregory IX granted, on the petition of the Chancellor and scholars of Cambridge, a licence for three years for the Bishop of Ely to give absolution to those scholars who, by laying hands on one another or other clerks, had fallen under the rule of reserved cases and would have to intermit their studies or be absolved by the Pope[3]. On the next day the Pope issued an indult to the Chancellor and University of Scholars at Cambridge forbidding such scholars to be summoned to any court beyond the diocese, if they were willing to appear before the Chancellor or before the Bishop of Ely[4]. Thus Pope Gregory IX endeavoured, in riotous days, to secure some measure of internal discipline in the University. From these royal and papal documents we obtain a picture of a large ill-disciplined university into which foreign students were pouring and where there was no provision for housing or even teaching such students. It is plain that in the year 1231 the need for special hostels had arisen.

When, then, does Peterhouse, the earliest hostel or college, come upon the scene? No doubt Peterhouse in the collegiate

[1] Rot. Parl. v, 425. [2] Ballard and Tait, p. 174.
[3] *Calendar of Papal Registers* (1198–1304), pp. 135–6 (Rolls Ed.).
[4] *Ibid.*

sense was based so far as organization is concerned upon Merton College, Oxford. The statutes of Merton were drafted in 1264 and took final form in 1270 and 1274[1]. By letters patent of December 24, 1280 the Rule of Merton was made a condition precedent to the proposal of Hugo de Balsham, Bishop of Ely, to introduce scholars in the place of the secular brethren of the Hospital of St John at Cambridge[2]. But that is half a century after King Henry III ordered the University of Cambridge to provide hospitality and tutors for foreign scholars. It is unlikely that nothing should have been done to carry out a needed reform between the years 1231 and 1280. Are there any traces of any effort to supply a hostel earlier than 1280, and if so is there any connexion between this effort and the founding of Peterhouse on its present site?

There seems to be, in fact, some earlier news of the site of the college in this very connexion. Dr Rashdall drew attention to a reference to the date 1257 in connexion with Peterhouse used, without authority, in 1840, in an edition of Fuller's *History of the University*[3]. Now the source used by the editors of Fuller's work was almost certainly a volume published in 1796[4], a first and last and very brief instalment of an illustrated history of the University of Cambridge. This instalment for the most part deals with Peterhouse as the oldest college. It begins with the following strange statement:

> It was in the year 1257 that Hugh de Balsham, then sub-prior of Ely, moved at the extortions which the students who resorted to Cambridge, experienced from the inhabitants of the town, and the excessive rents

[1] Rashdall, II, p. 483. Walter de Merton acquired a house at Cambridge for his College in 1269–70 (Pythagoras' Hall).

[2] Patent Roll, 9 Ed. I, m. 28. Rolls Ed. p. 420.

[3] Rashdall, II, 560. (Prickett and Wright, 1840.)

[4] British Museum, 130 h. 13 (press mark).

which they were obliged to give for chambers in the hostles and inns, bought of the Brothers of Finance (read "Penance") and of Jesus Christ two hostles, situated near the Church of St Peter, without Trumpington gate, and gave them for the use of the students rent free. In the year 1284, those hostles being probably in a ruinous state, Hugh de Balsham, being then Bishop of Ely, founded this college on their scite, and obtaining a charter from King Edward I, endowed it with maintenance for a Master and fourteen fellows, and with servants and officers, directing them to be for ever styled "The Scholars of the Bishop of Ely:" at the same time he translated hither from their house in the Jewry, the secular brothers of the order of St John the evangelist, between whom and the regulars of that order some dissention had arisen.

Here it is sufficient to note, that whatever authority the author may have had for the date 1257 it was quite reasonable to anticipate that at that date a hostel was recognised as necessary. It will be remembered that in 1267–8 the migration of students to Northampton was "provoked by the oppressions of the townsfolk" and the University was granted by the Crown certain privileges[1]. The volume of 1796 was intended to be fully vouched by authorities but apparently the foot-notes were to appear in an appendix which was never printed. The statement as to the purchase of the "two hostles" in 1257 carries the sign "a." As it stands it is, therefore, valueless as evidence, but it may prove a clue to evidence. We must look elsewhere for the authority on which the statement is based. It will be noticed, however, that this alleged effort on the part of the sub-prior of Ely in 1257 to supply accommodation for students exactly fits in with the statement by King Henry III in 1231 as to the extortions practised on foreign students and with the ground for the migration to Northampton in 1267. The King

[1] Rashdall, II, 548. Pat. Roll, 52 Hen. III, m. 27. Rolls Ed. p. 195. See also Pat. Roll, 33 Hen. III, Rolls Ed. p. 53 (1249).

enjoined hospitality and it is reasonable to suppose that Hugo de Balsham was endeavouring to carry out the King's orders. If the "two hostles," or even one of them, were used for students from 1257, the hostel that became Peterhouse is older than Merton College, Oxford, though Peterhouse subsequently adopted the Rule of Merton.

The reference in the volume of 1796 is really to a Mendicant Order, styled the Friars of the Penance of Jesus Christ, and commonly called the Friars of the Sack.

On August 22, 1256, the Crown gave simple protection to these Friars with the clause that the King would ratify all gifts made to them[1]. We have authority for the statement that these Friars of the Sack fixed themselves in a house in Trumpington Street, Cambridge, in the year 1258[2]. On June 1, 1268 the Crown duly confirmed various grants by John le Rus and others of land forming the Friars' area to the Friars to hold their land in Cambridge[3]. The next bit of information refers—for what it is worth—to the very year when the dissolution of the Order of the Friars of the Sack was ordained at Lyons. In the same Harleian MS. as notes the confirmation of grants of land in Cambridge to the Friars we have the following statement[4]: "*An.* 1274 Mai 15 Edwardus R. I. in gratiam specialem custodi et scholaribus Domus S. Petri Cantebr: dat cartam Amortizationis pro 2 messuagiis quorum unum tenebat in capite in Burgagio et in eo Fratres de pœnitentia Jesu inhabitare sole-

[1] Pat. Roll, 40 Hen. III, Rolls Ed. p. 493.

[2] Add. MSS. 5809 f. 79b. Tanner's *Notitia*, p. 49, Matthew Paris (*Chronica Majora*, Rolls Ed. vol. v, p. 631 under title *de Fratribus Bethleemitis*) refer to another settlement of Friars in Trumpington Street in 1257.

[3] Harl. MSS. 7032 f. 124 (as from Peterhouse Register), Pat. Roll, 52 Hen. III (1268), Rolls Ed. p. 236.

[4] Harl. MSS. 7032 f. 124b.

bant." The Harleian MS. describes this passage as "MS. M.W. (or N) ex Archivis Collegii" but Thomas Baker (1656–1740), the well-known Cambridge antiquary, adds "sed quaere[1]." The form of the entry shows, at any rate, that it has not been literally copied from an official document, and it is presumably a summary of some document.

Up to a point the story of the Friars of the Sack is clear enough. In 1256 the King said that he would ratify all gifts made to them. In 1258 they have land in Trumpington Street and other grants follow; in 1266 the King granted to the Chancellor and scholars of Cambridge and their successors that all the houses of the same town which the scholars may chance to inhabit should be assessed at a reasonable assessment by two masters and two burgesses of the same town every five years[2]; in 1267 the scholars flee to Northampton as a result of the exactions of the burgesses; in 1268 the King ratifies the grants of land made by John le Rus and others to the Friars; in 1270 Prince Edward arranges a settlement between Town and Gown; in 1280–85 we have the undoubted settlement of scholars on the Peterhouse site. About the year 1280 Hugo de Balsham, Bishop of Ely, introduced a body of secular scholars into the ancient Hospital of St John of Regular Canons. The experiment was a failure, and the scholars were removed and had appropriated to them the Church of St Peter without Trumpington Gate. The whole movement is crowned by the royal *Inspeximus* of May 28, 1285, and the settlement between the students and the townsmen of February 6, 1292. In the midst

[1] Harl. MSS. 7032 f. 124b. In folios 96–109b are contained the *Statuta Domus Sti Petri Cantebr:* [*vetera*], date 9 April, 1344. See as to Baker's views with respect to the date of the settlement of the Scholars at the Hospital of St John the Evangelist, Mullinger, vol. I, p. 227 (n. 2).

[2] Rot. Parl. v, 426. Ballard and Tait, p. 103.

of these facts is plunged the statement (of the publication of 1796) that in 1257 the Friars of the Sack sold to Hugo de Balsham, then sub-prior of Ely, two hostels near the Church of St Peter for the use of students, and the allegation in the Harleian MS. 7032 that in 1274—the year of the suppression of all minor orders—the Crown gave a licence in mortmain to the scholars of the House of St Peter with respect to two messuages in one of which the Friars of the Sack were accustomed to live. Can the matter be carried further?

The question is a nice one. The extrinsic value of the evidence is small but the intrinsic probability of the truth of the evidence is considerable. The necessity for a Hall of Residence had become acute by 1257; the struggle with the townsfolk as to the provision of adequate lodging-houses had become violent and the probability that the Episcopal authority would take some steps to meet the demand and obey the orders of the King is very great. If, therefore, the Brothers of the Sack had more house room than they needed, it is highly probable that they would hand over a vacant house to the Bishop. On the other hand neither the Close Rolls, the Patent Rolls nor the Charter Rolls give any help as to 1257 or 1274. There is, however, no reason why a temporary letting should be recorded officially[1].

It is important to quote somewhat fully the Patent Roll of December 24, 1280, which deals with the foundation of the College. The Rolls Edition translates as follows:

The famous king of the Hebrew race whom the Omnipotent distinguished with the prerogative of wisdom...being promised by the Lord

[1] There was litigation as to St John's Hospital in 1274, Cal. Close Rolls (see King's Bench: Coram Rege Rolls—if extant—for the details of the case). Dr Seiriol Evans, the Precentor of Ely Cathedral, has been so kind as to examine for me the volume of transcripts of Ancient Documents in the Ely Episcopal Records and can find no trace of a purchase in 1257 by Hugo de Balsham.

whatever gift he should desire,...asked for wisdom, prudently expecting that all good things would follow thereupon; wherefore it befits the King's excellence, informed by the best examples, willingly to give his assent to deeds whereby men may be made wise for the profit of the Commonwealth, and by their prudence, advantage accrue in the ruler of the realm, of the priesthood (*sacerdocii*), and in such men, the science of wisdom be continually increased by activity of study. The King therefore gives his assent to the proposal of Hugh, Bishop of Ely, to introduce in the place of the secular brethren of his Hospital of St John at Cambridge, scholars, who are to dwell together in the University of Cambridge, according to the rule of the scholars at Oxford, who are called of Merton, on condition that the alms of the poor coming to the said Hospital, which were anciently appointed by the Bishop of Ely, be not hereby diminished.

These scholars, as we all know, were transferred in 1284 to the present site of Peterhouse; the new point is that there may have been on the same site a House or Residence for scholars for perhaps the previous twenty-seven years, formed in pursuance of the royal request of the year 1231. It is perhaps worth noticing that the Patent Rolls for June 21, 1290[1] record a licence for the alienation in mortmain by Ralph, Bishop of Ely, of a messuage in Cambridge to the scholars established in Cambridge by Hugo, sometime Bishop of Ely. It would be interesting if the messuage could be identified.

The beginnings of Peterhouse life are not only closely associated with the earliest state intervention in University affairs, but have a singular dignity of their own. Indeed the recitals to the Patent Roll of 1280 gave us that foundation of wisdom "for the profit of the Commonwealth" which I cannot doubt has been at the root of all the work for Church and State that has been the pride of this beloved House for more than six centuries. I propose to indicate a few further documents as to

[1] See also Rot. Parl. 18 Ed. I (1290), No. 178.

poor scholars that seem to have been overlooked by the historians of the University.

It is important to notice not only the grant or confirmation of local jurisdiction, or customary jurisdiction, or the decision of cases such as that of *Redvers* v. *Bardolf*[1] in which the King's Court held that clerks frequenting the schools at Cambridge were not bound to do suit to a Court; and that a clerk with privileges of Clergy was also exempt. (The defendant produced letters of the Bishop and the Chancellor as evidence of his position as a scholar.) We must take account also of the fact that the Universities claimed recognition and rights from Parliament in the early days of Parliamentary life. Oxford and Cambridge both petitioned the Lenten Parliament of 1305[2]. Again in 1393–4 (17 Richard II) the Chancellor and scholars of the University of Cambridge petitioned the King and Council of Parliament to "declarer en cest present Parlement, que Statiners et Bokebynders del dit Universite, et autres, soient nomez, tenuz, et adjuggez servantz d'escolers, en tiel et mesme le maner come est contenuz en la Chartre del Chaunceller et escolers d'Oxenford en tiel cas, et ce a la reverence de Dieu, et pees et quiete de vos ditz orators en temps a venir, en œuvre de Charite[3]."

Earlier than this we get the first parliamentary statute relating to the Universities, the Sumptuary Act, 1363[4]. A century later the subject of the clothing of University scholars was dealt with again by the Sumptuary Act, 1463[5] which provided that "the scholars of the Universities of the Realm, and scholars of

[1] Year Book 20 and 21 Edw. I (1293), pp. 296–8.

[2] See F. W. Maitland's Edition (1893) of the somewhat recently recovered *Memoranda de Parliamento* of 1305.

[3] 3 Rot. Parl. pp. 325–6. [4] 37 Edw. III, c. 13. [5] 3 Edw. IV, c. 5.

any University out of this Realm, may use and wear such array as they may use and wear by the Rules of the said Universities, notwithstanding this Ordinance." A statute of more importance and very significant of the democratic nature of University life was passed much earlier (in 1388)[1]. The Act provided that poor University scholars might beg, if licensed by their Chancellor, and that scholars who "goe so begging have letters testimoniale of their Chancellor." A familiar figure of the Middle Ages thus glides upon the scene and we find him legally begging his bread in company with pilgrims, heremites, and people of religion. Such scholars made halls of residence necessary.

It is worth while tracing in brief the Parliamentary history of one of the most romantic figures in the history of learning, the man who wandered over Europe and gave substance to the mediaeval league of European Universities. The Act of 1388 was affirmed in 1495 and again in 1503 when the New Learning had come[2]. This Act gave permission to grant "deminucion of punysshment" where the wanderer was above the age of sixty years. These begging scholars were a feature of Tudor times. Sir Thomas More after surrendering the Chancellorship of England said to his children "then may wee yet like poor scholars of Oxford go a-begging with our baggs and wallets[3]."

This state of things finds evidence in the Act of 1530[4] which orders "scholars of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge that go about begging, not being authorized under the seal of their Universities," to be treated as "strong beggars" and

[1] 12 Ric. II, c. 9.
[2] 11 Hen. VII, c. 2, ss. 1, 2. 19 Hen. VII, c. 12, s. 2.
[3] Wood's *Oxford*, p. 620.
[4] 22 Hen. VIII, c. 12.

punished. As late as 1602 William Lambard in his "Duties of Constables" says that "evere person that calleth himself a schollar and goeth about begging" is a rogue, vagabond or sturdy beggar. But the practice was not dead. At the quarter sessions at Malton on July 9, 1640 "a man calling himself by the name of a schollar, having been taken beggynge by colour of a passe which appears to be counterfoote, and he himself a wandering rougue, having already been in the House of Correction," was directed "to be sent from Constable etc. to Chiswicke in the County of Cumberland where" etc.[1] So the practice lingered on into the seventeenth century. Clearly at Malton the Bench was not prepared to condemn a *bona fide* begging scholar. It was only a bad case such as that before them which met with condign punishment.

Perhaps we may associate with the begging scholar another Parliamentary interference. Certain University statutes by which the four Orders of Mendicant Friars were forbidden to receive any scholars over eighteen years of age were repealed in 1366. This led to a long struggle between the Mendicant Orders and the Universities, and an appeal to the King and Parliament in which the Orders were successful[2].

I must add a word about Irish wandering scholars since they gave rise to a good deal of mediaeval legislation. In 1413 Irish graduates in the scholars and serjeants and apprentices at law were allowed to remain in the realm when the Irish generally, including Irish mendicant clerks ("Chamber deacons"), were excluded[3]. On February 25, 1417 (4 Hen. V), a petition from

[1] *North Riding Record Society*, IV, 183. (1886. Edited by the Rev. J. C. Atkinson.)

[2] Rot. Parl. p. 290 a and b (1366).

[3] 1 Hen. V, c. 8. See also 4 Hen. V, c. 6, and 4 Rot. Parl. pp. 13 and 102.

Ireland was presented to the Privy Council "praying that proclamation ought to be made throughout England that all those natives of Ireland then in England excepting the beneficed clergy and law students and scholars studying at the Universities should return to their own country for the defence thereof. The petition complained of the exactions of the English in Ireland, which compelled the Irish to leave and live in England." The petition was granted according to the form of the statute made[1]. Thus for once the English and Irish had a common policy and the Privy Council could hardly refuse what was in effect an Irish petition to enforce the Act of 1413, though it was framed in a pointedly Hibernian fashion. The Irish students, however, were troublesome, and in 1422 their turbulent behaviour at Oxford necessitated legislation placing restrictions on their admission to the University[2]. This Act prohibited Irishmen from being Principals of Halls in the Universities and ordered Irishmen coming to the University to bring testimonials. A statute of the next year[3] ordered Irish students to bring sureties.

Important evidence as to the condition of the Universities at this time (3 Hen. V) is contained in the Parliamentary Rolls[4].

Sir H. C. Maxwell-Lyte tells us that from the year 1420 every student before he could become a member of either University was obliged to attach himself to some college or hall and, in the case of Oxford, to take up his residence within its walls[5]. Doubtless some such rule had become necessary. Indeed the lodging-house system was only an intermediate stage

[1] *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, I, 219.
[2] 1 Hen. VI, c. 3. See also 4 Rot. Parl. pp. 190a, 254b, 255a.
[3] 2 Hen. VI, c. 8.
[4] 4 Rot. Parl. p. 81b.
[5] *History of the University of Oxford*, p. 200.

between the epoch of the monastic housing for scholars such as existed in Wales and the formation of houses for secular students under non-monastic rule. The lodging-house system which King Henry III had denounced as early as 1231 was a compromise which could not last. There was no control over the students and moral evils as well as perpetual rioting and endless battling with greedy inn-keepers became endemic. New Halls of residence were seen to be a necessity from the thirteenth century onwards. We can see the process at work in the early fifteenth century. Thus on July 7, 1428, two messuages at St Giles, Cambridge, were given, under licence in mortmain, for the residence of monks of the Benedictine Order "studying Canon Law and Holy Scripture in the schools of the University of Cambridge, it having been the custom for the said Order in England to find some of its monks in the said University for that purpose who have hitherto been compelled to lodge with secular persons in their inns[1]."

Again we read in the *Early Chancery Proceedings*[2] of a bond of surety for John Frynge, Principal of St Thomas's Ostell in Cambridge University about the year 1455. Again, as to such foundations at Oxford, we may refer to the case of *Croxby* v. *Rolf* also reported in the *Early Chancery Proceedings*[3] dealing with certain lands and tenements at Oxford enfeoffed by Sir Richard Clifford, late Bishop of London, for founding a college with a master and twelve scholars at Oxford. Thus while the rule, no doubt, had come into force in the early fifteenth century that a student must be attached to a hall or college, it was easy enough for a hall of residence to be formed.

[1] Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1422-1429, p. 474.
[2] MS. Bundle 16. 572, *Thomas Brown* v. *Thomas Onlegrene*.
[3] MS. Bundle 7. 264.

By 1529 and 1536[1] the position is a little clearer than in the mid-fifteenth century. But it is well to know that in the earlier days the process of hall-building was still going on despite the decay of learning and the prevalence of the plague. The Act of 1529 gave permission to any spiritual person if he were a scholar to leave his benefice "abiding for study, without fraud or covin, at any University within this realm or without[2]." The licences were greatly abused. The Act of 1536 dealt with the position. Divers and many persons in consequence of the Act of 1529 "minding and intending their own ease, singular lucre and pleasure...do daily and commonly resort and repair to the said Universities of Oxford and Cambridge." Moreover many old beneficed men stayed on "occupying such rooms and commodities as were instituted and ordained for the maintenance and relief of poor scholars, to the great hindrance and detriment of the same." The Act of 1536, therefore, provided that no beneficed person above the age of forty years living in the Universities—except chancellors, vice-chancellors, heads of colleges and professors—should be excused from personal residence in their benefices; and that none under the age of forty years should be excused unless he attended lectures duly. The Act, however, was not to apply to "Readers of any publick or common lecture in Divinity, Law Civil, Physick, Philosophy, Humanity, or any of the liberal sciences, or publick or common Interpreters or Teachers of the Hebrew tongue, Chaldee or Greek, in whatsoever college or place of any of the said Univer-

[1] 21 Hen. VIII, c. 13, s. 28; 28 Hen. VIII, c. 13.

[2] This was a practice at least as old as the fourteenth century. In 1340 there is in the *Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense* a letter empowering the rector of Knaresdale to absent himself one year from his living in order to study at the University "Oxoniae vel alibi ubi viget generale studium" (p. 307).

sities"; nor to persons proceeding Doctors in "Divinity, Law Civil or Physick for the time of their said Proceedings and executing of such Sermons, Disputations or Lectures, which they be bound by the statutes of the Universities then to do for the said degree so obtained."

So I part with the Statute Book and the manuscript authorities at the dawn of the Reformation, satisfied that the said Universities were then far more alive than they were two centuries later.

III. EPILOGUE

My epilogue is a plain one and in a sense a tremendous one. The very problem that troubled the nephew of Cœur-de-Lion is troubling the new-born universities of England to-day.

It was assumed by the nineteenth century founders that the students would live in their own homes and go forward and backward to and from the blessedness of lectures with the eager ardour of a Victorian (not Elizabethan) schoolboy. But those founders were mistaken. Consider the figures for the year 1921–1922 published by the University Grants Committee—the modern and more generous counterpart of King Henry III. In that year there were in Great Britain (excluding Oxford and Cambridge) 1,508 men and 3,111 women in Halls of Residence —the need for such halls having been at last recognised—while there were 11,102 men and 2,337 women in lodgings. The case of the year 1231 was not so extensive. Thus there are 13,439 University students in lodgings and 18,725 living at home. Now lodgings often mean irregular and bad food and bad accommodation, bad lighting and inadequate firing. Half-starved and frozen students do not make a learned nation

despite arguments to the contrary. There is a need in Great Britain to-day for Halls of Residence for at least 15,000 poor students. The poor scholar did not disappear with the Reformation or the Renaissance. The Industrial Revolution and the efforts of educational reformers to undo the havoc of that revolution have produced poor scholars by the thousand. In Halls of Residence lies the only remedy for the sorrows of the poor scholar. It was so in the days when Peterhouse was founded and it is so in this year of grace some six and a half centuries later. The lessons of Oxford and Cambridge are at the disposal of the pious founder of to-day. Government and local grants would enable the poor scholar to live well and work well, if the pious donor will give the necessary New Halls for the New Poor Scholars of our splendid but rather stupid days. Vast are the problems indeed that spring out of the story that begins with the Friars of the Sack in Trumpington Street in the town of Cambridge.

J. E. G. DE MONTMORENCY.

H. M. BIRDWOOD IN INDIA

HERBERT MILLS BIRDWOOD was born at Belgaum, India; he was the third son of General Christopher Birdwood and of Lydia Taylor his wife, and was descended from a Devonshire family which had for many generations lived on their own lands in the lovely country of the South Hams, until the call of the towns led them to Tavistock, Plymouth and Totnes. His own early youth was passed in the shire of the Sea Kings; for it was at Plymouth he began his education: that Plymouth so dear to the sailors of the great Napoleonic struggle, among whom there then figured certainly more than one of his own name: Plymouth with its great traditions, its richness in historical characters, in scenery, in the names of such men as Drake, the Hawkins, the Gilberts and hundreds of others, hardy daring adventurers, who sailed from Devon's numerous harbours, by their discoveries to lay the foundation of that greater Britain beyond the seas, which it is the duty of their descendants to maintain in all its grandeur.

Prior to his birth the family had been connected with India; for both his grandfather, Peter Birdwood, and his great-grandfather Richard Birdwood (Mayor of Plymouth in 1796) had been agents for the Honourable East India Company.—And his great-grandmother's family of Travers (descendants of the Huguenot family of that name) was also a well-known one in the H.E.I.C.'s service.

His own father, General Christopher Birdwood, later affectionately known as the "Maharajah Sahib," had a very long and honourable association with India—it was he as a young man,

with General Pope, then also a junior officer, who assisted General Dunsterville to completely remodel the Commissariat of the Bombay Army. Incidentally all three officers were Plymouth men.

General Birdwood's wife was also of an Anglo-Indian family, being the daughter of the Rev. Joseph Taylor of the Belgaum Mission, who was closely related to the Van Someren family which had given governors to Madras.

He, I believe, first came to England in the year of his birth, for it was in that year his father and mother returned to England on furlough, taking with them their family. Of this voyage his eldest brother (afterwards Sir George Birdwood) relates: "When I was seven years of age my father took me with him on furlough from India. Our ship was a sailing one to Liverpool —the journey was a thoroughly enjoyable one with the games on board with the children, etc.; when coming up the Bight of Benin we were pursued by a pirate ship and did not succeed in getting out of sight of her for two days—and I well remember how every man on board of her (the 'Salsette') was armed to the teeth, but I do not think I had any fear. Of course I was too young to realise the meaning of danger.—When the arms were served out they gave me a T-square, with which I marched proudly up and down the deck.—My first impressions were certainly not favourable—No sunshine, no settled weather, no pony rides."

Of Herbert Birdwood's school days there is no detailed record. He was a very apt scholar, and fond of all kinds of sport. One of his favourite recreations was to swim from under the Hoe to the Breakwater, and back—no mean feat.

There is no record that he had ever emulated his eldest brother in the matter of appearing before the magistrates of

the town. The occasion of this was a free fight between rival schools in which "Dictionary Birdwood" in capturing a club had both wrists sprained. He was officially reprimanded, but afterwards privately congratulated on his pluck by the chairman, General Dunsterville, incidentally an old friend of the family, who also presented him with a sovereign.

From Plymouth Herbert Birdwood passed to the Mount Radford School, Exeter—and then to Edinburgh University, where he was gold-medallist in Mathematics in 1853; and divided the medal in 1854. Next we find him at Peterhouse, Cambridge; where he graduated as B.A., being 23rd Wrangler in the Mathematical Tripos 1858 with a Second Class in the Natural Science Tripos and distinction in Botany. At Peterhouse, as an undergraduate, he was Captain of the College boat, and was made a bye-fellow of the College in 1858.

By the time his turn to enter the Honourable East India Company's Service had come round, patronage to that Service had been abolished. A writership had been promised to his eldest brother—but a medical nomination was substituted for the writership; the understanding being that the writership should go to Herbert. This arrangement however came to nothing, and he successfully entered the India Civil Service by competition. As a sort of compensation a cadetship was given to a younger brother, Gordon Forbes, in the 23rd N.I., who died of cholera as a Captain, Indian Army.

Many years after, in fact not long before his retirement from India, when replying to the toast of his health proposed by Sir Charles Farrar, late Chief Justice of the Bombay Presidency, at the Byculla Club, Bombay, he described the life of the Indian Civil Servant "as the devious course of a wandering Will o' the Wisp, and the Bombay civilian more particularly as a Jack

of all trades, learning in his early years the rudiments of administration beneath the clustering palm trees of the neighbouring Konkan, or else far off on the windy plains of the Dekhan, or in the fertile Guzerat, and then as a magistrate or perhaps an assistant judge, meting or doling unequal laws unto a savage race in the utmost wilds of Sind, or, amidst the fastnesses of the Satpura Mountains, or the tangled thickets of the Kanara jungles; and at last in his old age, approaching the innermost recesses of civilisation in the Presidency itself and venturing to boast with the wily Ulysses:

> Much have I seen and known—Cities of Men,
> And Manners, Climates, Councils, Governments."

A description sufficiently indicated by the incidents of his own career.

The Indian civilian's life is not a mere catalogue of graded appointments, so I will only briefly mention that he took the Degree of M.A. in 1861, LL.M. 1878, LL.D. 1889, when he was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn. In 1863 he was appointed a Fellow of the Bombay University, and from time to time held office as examiner in that University, as Syndic and Dean in Arts, and from 1890 to 1892 as Vice-Chancellor. There as Chairman of the University Garden Committee he was able to give expression to that love of tree and flower and plant-life in general that was in him, in the laying out and planting with rare shrubs and trees the gardens in which are grouped Convocation Hall, Library, and Rajabai Tower. This must have been a most congenial occupation for his less occupied hours, for in his deep-born love of trees he could feel almost as the Indian did, the natural divinity of them; the beauty of their fruit and blossom; their shelter from the white blaze of the sunlight or

bitter piercing winds; their leafy mystery; the sense of protection and consolation they bestow,—all sensations more vividly and more intensely brought home to one in the East than is possible in our northern climate. He also could appreciate the love that Hindu and Mughal alike had for Art, not for its own sake alone, but for the religious and traditional ideas it represented, and could also appreciate the fact that to the native his garden and gardening were closely interwoven with the history of his country, and that to understand and appreciate them, their underlying symbolism must always be kept in view. During all the years that he was Assistant Collector and Magistrate, first in Northern Konkan and Guzerat, then Assistant Judge and Sessions Judge—Under-Secretary to the Bombay Government (Judicial, Political, and Educational Department)—he wrote with enthusiasm of the varied interests of his life, of the attractions of District Work, and the great advantages it brought to young civilians in enabling them, as it did, to come in contact with the peasantry, to learn to like them, and to win their respect towards the British Raj. Almost everywhere also there were the field sports to be enjoyed by the District Officer, bringing health and knowledge in their train, as well as pleasant contentment with his lot. He himself appreciated it all, the beauty of the life, the great charms of the magic contrasts so vivid in the East—"The meeting of the Desert and the Town" at the garden walls; the daily village life, so familiar, so picturesquely described in the *Industrial Arts of India*. He also had seen outside the entrance of the single village street, on an exposed rise of ground, the hereditary potter sitting by his wheel, moulding the swift revolving clay by the natural curves of his hands. At the back of the houses which form the low irregular street there are two or three looms at work in blue

and scarlet and gold, the frames hanging between the acacia trees, the yellow flowers of which drop fast on the webs as they are being woven. In the street the brass and copper smiths are hammering away at their pots and pans, and further down on the verandah of the rich man's house, is the jeweller working rupees and gold mohurs into fair jewelry—gold and silver earrings, tires like the moon, bracelets and tablets and nose-rings, tinkling ornaments for the feet; his designs he takes from the fruits and flowers around him, or from the traditional forms represented in the paintings and carvings of the great temple, which rises over the grove of mangoes and palms above the lotus-covered village tank. Between three and four in the afternoon the street is lighted up by the moving robes of the women, each with two or three jars on her head; so while they are going and returning in single file the scene glows like Titian's canvas, and moves like the stately procession of the Panathenaic frieze. Later the men drive in the mild grey kine from the moaning plain, the looms are folded up, the copper-smiths are silent; the Elders gather in the gate; the lights begin to glimmer in the fast falling darkness; feasting and music are heard on every side, and late into the night the songs are sung from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Such, preceded by ablution and adoration, is the Hindu's daily life.

By his transfer to Sind in 1881, Herbert Birdwood found himself among new scenes and a new people. The inhabitants are Mohammedans; and at almost every turn the European, living among this primitive people, can realise for himself the outward form of some Hebrew prophet, or it may be of Miriam, a prophet's sister. The people of Sind have their conversation much in the past, and among them patriarchal methods of administration are still possible. Such methods have always touched

the fancy of the Indian civilian. The physical contrast between the almost rainless waste of Sind traversed by one mighty stream unfed in its long course from Mitan Kot to the sea, and the hilly tract of the Konkan, was a great one; as also was that between the arid soil of the one and the luxuriant cotton-fields of Guzerat, between the prevailing sad tones of the foliage of Sind and the bright forest tints of the Konkan with its abundant rainfall. The contrast between the people was also very great, for no longer did one meet the cheerful round-faced Mahratta, the slim muscular fisherman of the Malabar coast, the well-clothed landholders of Guzerat, or the lordly Rajput. He had left these behind him with the densely wooded hills and dales, the palmy plains with their shore belt of grey salt marshes, or vivid green rice-fields, fringed westwardly with dark green mangroves, beyond all the pale green waters of the Erythrean Sea, but Herbert Birdwood found much congenial occupation in his new surroundings. Litigation in the Highest Court of Appeal in Sind, the Sadr, was light, and this gave him the time, as Judicial Commissioner, for inspecting the Subordinate Civil and Criminal Courts throughout the Province; and also for visiting many places of abiding interest, for acquiring a knowledge of the people and their way of life, and for much reasonable recreation. At Karachi he served in the Volunteer Rifle Corps and moreover was President of the Boat Club. He also laid out on a new design the old Public Gardens, about forty acres in extent, and established there a fine collection of animals. He took a personal interest in the educational institutions of the Province and among other public acts presided at the opening of the Temple Water Works, the construction of which according to the plans of the Municipal Engineer, Mr Strachan, conferred an immense boon on the people of Karachi, who now

get a pure water-supply by underground masonry channel from the bed of the Malvi River instead of the local water charged with unpleasant salts.

In one of his tours he visited the vast and ancient ruins of Brahmanabad in the Hyderabad district, a city which was destroyed with its ruler, King Dula Rai of evil fame, and its inhabitants about the year A.D. 1020, having been overwhelmed (as it seems) by some terrific sandstorm, or moving hill of sand. There still remain the city walls, some five miles in circumference, and a single minaret. The position of the streets is marked clearly enough, but the blocks of buildings were covered with sand. At the time of his visit no excavations were allowed, but, to draw attention to the researches of two previous explorers, Mr Bellasis and Mr Richardson, regarding which very little was known to the public, he delivered at the Mechanics' Institute, Bombay, a lecture on the buried city of Brahmanabad, in which he discussed the probable cause of its destruction. This was published in 1886 in the Madras *Christian College Magazine.*

Fifteen years after leaving Sind and three years after his retirement from the Civil Service, the members of the Karachi Bar and several judicial servants, in commemoration of his service in Sind, associated his name with the Law Library attached to the Sadr Court which they placed on a stable footing by registering themselves as "The Birdwood Law Library Society," under an Indian Act. The incident is described in the *Bombay Gazette* of the 4th Feb. 1901, as notable, as showing indeed in a substantial and useful manner an abiding appreciation, such as is seldom recorded in the annals of Indian administration, of valued services rendered many years ago.

In the High Court he sat for some months on the Original side of Court, but during the greater part of his time on the

Appellate side, and during a considerable period he was the presiding Judge in the Division of the Bench which deals with appeals and revisions, as well as Civil Appeals. He also exercised certain duties of superintendence over the Judges of the Subordinate Courts of first instance, and more than once bore public testimony to the wonderful improvement in recent years in the whole tone of the Judicial Administration of the Presidency, which was due partly to an increase of salaries, wisely sanctioned by the Government, for the Subordinate Judges, but largely also to the extension of education, and educational influence brought to bear on candidates for the public service after the establishment of the University, and the affiliation to it of the principal colleges. It was his constant desire that the University system should be so worked as to ensure as far as possible the supply of qualified candidates for all branches of the public service, and for the learned professions, who should not merely have satisfied certain examinational tests, but also have been subject for regulated periods to the wholesome influences of College life and of Academical associations and surroundings. To this end the courses of study prescribed for the various degrees have indeed been carefully revised by the Senate of the Bombay University from time to time.

His time of office in the Bombay Council was marked by periods of unusual stress. Street riots between Hindus and Mohammedans gravely disturbed the peace of Bombay, and were only suppressed with military aid. Later Lord Harris and his colleagues had severe calls made on their vigilance for the maintenance of order in other parts of the Presidency, where the public peace was in like manner threatened.

Later still, under the Governorship of Lord Sandhurst, a worse calamity befell the Presidency. The Plague became

established in Bombay as an epidemic which ran its course in the cold weather of 1896–7, only to recur in each successive cold season, and to spread to other parts of the Presidency, causing terrible mortality and defying all efforts to stamp it out.

At the Imperial Institute, under the auspices of the Society of Arts, and Chairmanship of Earl Spencer, on the 17th of Feb. 1898, Herbert Birdwood read a paper on this 1896–7 Plague at Bombay, which held the attention of a large number of people. It began with an historical comparison with the great plagues of the past, the sicknesses and black deaths which swept over Europe in the middle ages and devastated London in 1665, to disappear for a time, but to reappear in its mediaeval form on the banks of the Volga as late as 1878. It is a curious fact about the plague, that it never invaded Africa with success, or got beyond the northern coasts of that Continent. The worst months were February and March of 1897, which were extremely dry months, and the scourge began to abate as soon as the wet South-West monsoon began to sweep round in the middle of April. The greatest sufferers were the Hindoo outcasts, then the Hindoos; the Mohammedans suffered little; the Parsees rather more; but the Europeans, whose lives were led amidst the best and most sanitary conditions, suffered least of all. Inoculation proved an exceedingly serviceable remedy. Finally it was shown that whereas the great Plague of London carried off some 68,000 people out of a population of 490,000, in Bombay only 20,000 died out of 900,000! The very intensity of the troubles which had beset the British Administration, he remarked, had called forth the noblest efforts of our officers and of the private citizens, both European and Indian. The head of the Administration had exhibited a calm courage and determination in the midst of appalling perplexities and dangers,

and the members of the Public Service of all grades and classes had borne the unprecedented strain that had been put on them with unwavering steadiness. In May 1898 he read another paper on the Plague, this time before the Manchester Geographical Society. This paper was published in the Society's *Magazine*.

Herbert Birdwood was gazetted, for Indian Service, a Companion of the Star of India. On the retirement of Lord Harris, pending the arrival of Lord Sandhurst, he had acted, although only for one day, as Governor of Bombay.

Outside his official duties his interests were many and varied. He was President of the Fine Arts Societies of Bombay and Poona, and a frequent contributor of water-colour sketches to the annual exhibitions of those Societies. He was also a Vice-President of the Bombay Natural History Society and President of the Botanical Sub-Committee. In the *Journal* of that Society he published a catalogue of the Flora of the two hill-stations of Mahteran and Mahableshwar and also, after his retirement, the notes of a lecture delivered at Earl's Court on the hill forests of Western India. This lecture and one on the Civil Administration of British India, also delivered at Earl's Court, were first published in the *Journal of the Society of Arts*. For his paper on the plague that Society awarded him its silver medal. He also wrote for the *National Review*, "The British Civilian in India," and "The Queen as a Mahomedan Sovereign." In addition to the activities enumerated above he was President of the Bombay Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, of which he was a life Governor. In Bombay he was also a Member of the Corresponding Committee of the Church Missionary Society and a Member of the Committee of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and of various school committees. He was a President of the Horti-

cultural Society of Western India and of the Royal Connaught Boat Club at Poona.

His nomination in 1892 to succeed Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., as Judicial Member of the Executive Council was hailed with delight by the newspapers of all shades of opinion. *Native Opinion* among others wrote, after offering heartiest congratulations: "The name of Birdwood is indeed a household word in this City (Bombay) where Mr Birdwood's father, General Birdwood, as Mr Dossabhoy Framjee says in his *History of the Parsis* was called Birdwood Maharajah on account of his generous and obliging disposition, and his brother Sir George spent many years and enjoyed a popularity such as has been the lot of very few Europeans. Mr Justice Birdwood is equally popular both as Judge of the High Court and as Vice-Chancellor of the University. His early service in Konkan, Gujerat, Kathiawar, and Sind eminently fits him for the high post to which he has been nominated. Genial and kind-hearted, he will be greatly missed in this city by a very large circle of friends and admirers." All wrote in the same strain.

His departure from India in 1897 gave occasion for another outburst of appreciation of his services mingled with regret that he should be leaving. *The Advocate of India* wrote: "Mr Birdwood leaves our shores to-morrow on the completion of a service which it is a perfect shock of a kind to remember has extended over the long period of thirty-eight years. India, that makes most of her public servants old before their time, has dealt kindly with Mr Birdwood. It is difficult to call him up in the mind's eye and remember he was born sixty years ago in our own Belgaum and that in days before the Crimean War he was winning medals from one whom later generations of students knew as Old Kelland, and laying the foundation of his life-long

devotion to botany there under the inspiration of 'Woody Fibre.' But so it is, and the public of the City and Presidency of Bombay shared to the full the gratification felt by Mr Birdwood's innumerable private friends at the thought that his is not the too common case of an officer putting off harness he is unable longer to wear.

"It is not difficult to put a finger on the two things which have most contributed to raise Mr Birdwood to the position in the public estimation and the public heart which he undoubtedly occupies—to borrow the words of Sir Charles Sargent, they were not only his marked ability, but his great sympathy, a part of his nature—which, said Sir Charles, 'in my opinion plays a more important part in the successful administration of public affairs than most people imagine.' Sir Charles, we may take it, agrees with those who think there is something too much of the opposite temperament in the servants of the Crown here. Lovers of liberty themselves and for themselves, and keenly conscious of their undoubted ability to manage the affairs of a city, they are apt to resent interference with their beneficent activity and are far too prone to attribute any attempts at interference to the worst of motives....It is of little use to be sympathetic if you are not absolutely just. Mr Birdwood in that respect has consistently upheld the honourable traditions of the Bombay Judicial Service. He has been dispensing Justice all his life, and he has done it with a single eye to the facts before him, turning neither to the right or left from fear or from favour. It did not matter to him who were the parties, and some of the brightest spots in his career as a Judge are connected with incidents in which he faced boldly the task of giving decisions against the Government which he was serving. The settlement of the long-drawn-out controversy with the Khotes of Ratnagari was due to his

decision that right, in the matter referred to him, lay with the Khotes, and not with the Collector, the Revenue Commissioner, and Government. In a somewhat similar case at Surat his decision against Government was taken into the High Court, and Sir Andrew Scoble, through two long days, did his best to persuade Judges Sargeant and Melvill that Mr Birdwood was wrong. He failed, and the stain of a great injustice was averted. Coming down to later days we are grateful still in Bombay to Mr Birdwood for the courageous way in which with Mr Jardine he crossed the path of a despotic Government that seemed bent on subordinating everything, even to the purity of the Judicial Service of the country, to the ruin of Mr Crawford. We suppose that everyone in Bombay now holds the opinion that Government should have accepted the report of the Commission of enquiry in that miserable matter, and regrets the pains and ingenuity spent in setting that finding aside. Mr Birdwood could not secure that result, but, where he could intervene, he did, and that at great risk to his further fortunes, which was real enough....In all this Mr Birdwood only acted, as a happy experience has led the Bombay public to expect its Judges to act. But these are the things that have endeared the High Court and the Judicial service generally to the people of the City and the Presidency....It cannot be that he will to-morrow tear up the roots, many and deep, that for more than half the full score of human years have bound him to this land. He should, and we trust he will, find alleviating pleasure in the reflection that he takes with him across the sea the rich and enduring harvest of a people's gratitude and love."

His activities by no means ceased with his departure from India, for since his retirement he on two memorable occasions represented the Bombay University as its delegate. Once on

the celebration of the Jubilee of Sir Gabriel Stokes at Cambridge in 1899, and then at the Millenary Celebration of King Alfred at Winchester in 1901. In 1901 also he was unanimously elected by the Master and Fellows of Peterhouse to be an Honorary Fellow of the College in recognition of his Indian Service and the interest he had always taken in education. His days of retirement were spent at Dalkeith House, Twickenham, and here besides his garden and other personal interests he became a Member of the Urban Council, of the Library Committee, and of the Brentford Bench of Magistrates, and here, after about eight years' residence, he passed away after an illness of only a short duration on Thursday, Feb. 21st, 1907, having made, to quote the *Richmond and Twickenham Times* of Saturday, Feb. 23rd, 1907, owing to his "charming personality, a large circle of friends who will mourn the loss of one whom it was always a pleasure to meet, who ever had regard for the feelings of others, and who never by word or deed made enemies."

W. R. BIRDWOOD,
GENERAL.

SOME STONES OF PETERHOUSE

TO the architect, as perhaps to the Fellow, of fifty years ago, the most important things about the buildings of a College were their chronological sequence, and the quantity of them that could be assigned—or restored—to pre-Reformation periods.

The architect was an antiquarian of necessity, skilled to date within a decade the merest fragment of carved stone, and to reproduce from it window and wall with scholarship of line and form.

Line and form, but seldom feeling. For the perception of the difference between new and old carved stone, between new and old walling, woodwork, and above all plastering requires a knowledge, a sensitiveness, and a sympathy rare among apostles. But something of this sympathy, this sensitiveness, George Gilbert Scott had. And so his refacing and reshaping of the Hall and Combination Room are marvels of understanding of the quiet, scholarly beauty that seems to me to be the peculiar mark of the Peterhouse buildings, as unassuming but distinctive scholarship is the mark of Peterhouse men.

And it is the more important, and the more wonderful, that Scott's work should have caught so well this atmosphere, this "stämning" as the Swedish architects call it, because the previous century had seen the one deliberate effort of the College to break away from it.

Sir James Burrough, the Master of Caius, is, as an amateur of architecture, deserving of more study than he gets. No one man has left his mark more clearly in Cambridge. His ideal of

the University as a fitting setting for the humane studies, shewn first in the scheme which he made with James Gibbs for the Senate House Court, he managed to get translated into stone or wood or stucco in almost every College, whether in the panelling and ceiling of a draughty hall, or the facing with stone of old clunch walls. But, unless the Senate House was designed by him, and this is possible, Sir James was never given his chance with a big and new building—except in his design for a front court for Peterhouse.

There is no denying that the great block of A staircase is stately and refined, and that it includes rooms worthy of scholars and gentlemen, especially the delightful study behind the Venetian windows on the street.

There have been many dreams for monumental buildings in Cambridge—Gibbs' King's, and Senate House Court, Cockerell's Library and Basevi's Museum, and in that line the front court of Peterhouse would have taken a proud place. The Fellows shewed their appreciation by giving to this amateur a piece of plate and having his design engraved on copper, and even by carrying half of it out. But usually Burrough was never given money enough, and the cloisters when he rebuilt them were tame adaptations of the old compared with his first design.

Peterhouse was left to reassert her old tradition of low and pleasant living places—as she will assert it again when the time comes for her next expansion.

Burrough's symmetrical placing of his new sash windows was not always very wise. In the recent alterations on D staircase we found that a partition had been moved, to miss a window, so that half of the floor above rested upon next to nothing—the heavy oak beams of the old floor being held up by slight deal joists, nailed to the sides of them.

Other things of interest have come to light in this alteration work. In the extension of the Sexcentenary Club room the removal of the partition that ran level with the top of the staircase in Noah's Ark has shewn in the ceiling two quite different beams side by side: one of the sharply cambered, bracketed type of the library, the other like those north of it, shewing I think conclusively that this was the end of the fifteenth century Library, as Prof. Willis believed, and that J. W. Clark was wrong in assuming that it went right through to the north wall. At the same time the canvas was pulled down and disclosed a complete fifteenth century clunch window of two lights, with glazing, casement and shutters—the casement being made of a narrow strip of oak, rebated to take the lead. The casement and shutters must have been made soon before or after the books were moved from the old library to Dr Perne's Library in 1593, and the window, which was blocked by the building of Gisborne Court, is the only complete window left of the old library, though other damaged windows have been disclosed in the rooms at the head of Reginald Ely's library staircase of 1438.

But it is chiefly the buildings in the Masterships of Wren and Cosin that give to the College that air of bizarrerie and domestic charm which is its delight.

Historically they come between the over-ornamented, poorly constructed grandeur of James I, when the Gothic insistence on good construction was dead, and the fine pure Palladianism of Inigo Jones and Wren—which is notable, perhaps, as much for the restoration of fine craftsmanship as for the reformation in design. The library, with its oriel window, the reconstructed dormers of the court shewn in Loggan's print, and the new range of chambers pulled down to make A staircase, shew the simple continuance of ordinary domestic architecture.

But the Chapel is like nothing else in the world. The windows have not the skilful Gothic of St John's Library or of contemporary work at Oxford, but the façade to the Court is as gay and dainty a piece of scene painting as any Jacobean manor: the high and wholly ornamental gables, and detail after detail of the carving, recall the irresponsible Baroque of southern Europe. In fact, it is in such buildings as these, almost more than in the Palladianism of Inigo Jones, that one can see the influence of the Jesuit architecture of the Continent, with far more of its gaiety than Jones or Wren allowed their buildings to shew. The little gilded figure of St Peter in the library, and the figures in the glass of the East window, shew the vigour and delight that must have informed the statues of St Peter and of the evangelists upon the walls. It was not the last time that the trappings of a style were set about to give the flavour of mediaevalism or of incense. And the rich semi-classical, semi-Jacobean woodwork can be found in many churches to which churchmen of the school of Laud and Cosin went, such as Leighton and Little Gidding near Huntingdon, and especially in Cosin's own Cathedral and diocese of Durham. So the revived Gothic was to be the standard of the Tractarians; so later the Chapel of Sidney Sussex College was to glow, as the fervent expression of the Anglo-Catholic spirit.

One cannot help regretting that expensive ashlaring, which by Cosin's later gifts was to cover up the charm of brickwork and stone in the little chapel of 1632. The clunch of window traceries, the freestone quoins and string-courses of the buttresses, the water-tables and copings, all must have looked very charming in their setting of red brick, contrasting with the elfish carving of the Western side, and the sunshine streaming through the arcades from the Court lined with privet and hawthorn, set

with seats and flowers, for the cypresses and firs of Loggan's print cannot have been very old when they were drawn.

Of the building of the Chapel itself, though not of its ornamenting within and without, we have a very complete and intimate record in the book of accounts. They were kept in a muddled fashion by the bursars—with pages for expenditure on the different trades, mixed with payments to Fellows for journeys, and lists of benefactions; and between the pages are slips of paper, some covenants with various workmen, some casual notes of expenses, or receipts for materials. The book has been used by Willis and Clark, but as there is much in it that gives a picture of ordinary building operations on a small building of the time, I think it is worth quoting from pretty freely.

The entries are mostly in the hand of clerks in the Bursar's office in an old-fashioned script, whereas occasional notes, and the signatures of Fellows and of several of the workmen, are in a modern hand, and excellently written. The receipts of building materials are signed for by the men concerned, those who could not write giving their mark. These marks vary, like the marks of masons, only Daniel Hornsey, the waller, who built the lower part of the walls in clunch rubble, signing with a plain cross.

Timothy Graves, who signs for sand and clay, has a kind of doubly crossed T, while Dickson the smith signs R. Will. Ashley the carpenter writes in a clear hand, and George Thompson the free mason writes as legibly as any of the Fellows, but is surpassed by Priscilla his wife, who signs two of the receipts for him.

There is no indication whatever to shew who controlled the craftsmen, or whether anyone did beyond the bursar: when

the bricklayer has instructions to lay a floor of tiles, he makes a sub-contract, which is preserved, with the stonemason for the steps. Perhaps the money that was paid to George Thompson, the free mason (worker in free-stone) as early as January 1628, means that he was consulted long before the work started.

George Thompson's work was contracted for as piece-work, so many windows at so much, so many foot run or foot super of cut stone: but he was paid weekly in advance, till he should have made up his account. So too there is a separate agreement with the joiner for the seats in the Chapel, the dimensions of the stalls being described in detail, especial care being taken that the Master's seat should be 2 feet 7 inches wide, though on the other side the President's seat was to be made 3 inches narrower so as to give the full 2 feet between the leaners for the other seats at the end. The seats of the bachelors and scholars are merely to be of convenient height as in other Chapels.

The rest of the undertaking is interesting.

> William Ashley is to prepare the work this winter, provided that he take of our own stuffe of every kind that may searve to abatte our charge the holle expence for stuffe and work and setting is not to exsede six score pounds as thatt be reasonabell agreed upon when the work is done or finished, it must be sett up by the end of Maye next. In the meanwhile there must be delivered to him 20 l. before hallowmas now coming in partt payment he giving his bond to be accomptabell for the same. Signed WILL. ASHLEY.

By the bond William Ashley undertook if not finished before May to pay a penalty of £20 "of lawful English money." The College's own stuff which he was to use is noted down. "Received of Slitt work, one hundred and a half," and this Slitt work is presumably the Gothic panelling that is incor-

porated so ingeniously in the gallery and stalls of the Chapel, shewing that it is used up for economy rather than for its mediaeval associations. William Ashley was a carver too, for he is paid 44*s.* for eight angels and "wood to make the wings of them."

These, one may guess, had something to do with the hammer-beams, for Dr Walker tells me there is a later account for a ladder borrowed from Queens', and moved from place to place to dust the angels. The roof must have been rich in ornaments and cherub heads, but the thorough repair and painting of 1735 has removed any traces there may have been.

The first entries in the book are the expenses of Mr Pell, journeying to London on various dates to collect subscriptions. Two carved prints had to be paid for to go with the appeal, with the College Arms on one and St Peter's picture on the other, one hundred copies of verses and a pennyworth of sealing-wax.

Building preparations began in earnest with the purchase of twenty-three oak trees from Sir Giles Allington. £18 was spent in charges "at the wood in felling, cutting into lengths, squaring and sawing those that were the greatest trees," four ashen poles were supplied for levers, and then George Thompson, presumably as being generally in charge, for his payments start in January, 1628, bought twenty trees at 12*d.* apiece for scaffold poles, on condition that at the end of the job he should buy from the College at the same price any that were not broken.

We see from this that George Thompson was something more than a free mason, for he was going to take the scaffold poles into stock when the job was finished. On larger works there had been complete contracts drawn up to include every expenditure well before this time, and a profession of surveyors

had grown up, men such as Symons, who worked at St John's, Sidney Sussex, and Emmanuel, and several who drew the plans of Elizabethan manor houses. But there is no sign of anything of the sort here, where still the employer fulfilled many of the functions both of architect and builder, bought the materials and paid the workmen direct. Barnwell seems to have been the place of builders' yards, and most of the material, like scaffold poles, when required in small quantities was bought or hired from there.

The first operation then was to dig a sawpit, so that the oak might be cut out and framed up as early as possible, so that there should be no shrinkage or movement when it was in place. The next was to level the ground where the carpenters set up a House to work in (called in one place a Workhouse) and to cover the floor with sixty-five boards borrowed of Henry Mann at 3*d.* apiece.

From May 31 to June 9 the little Ostle was being pulled down, and then the wall "between the Master's Lodging and Dr Derham his chamber." And the digging and ramming the bottom of the trenches for the foundations followed, the soil being carried out in skepps of bushel size. Trouble was met with from rain or surface water. It had to be removed in "scoupes," and a trough was made by John Burges the carpenter. Pattison the labourer was given sixpence compensation for spoiling his boots by standing in the water to dig, and Pitman the cobbler was called in to mend the leather buckets.

After June 21 the four labourers, one of whom bore the wonderful name of David Cadwallader, were busy unloading bricks, sometimes "at extraordinary hours."

Chapman the weaver was employed for one day, but in what capacity is not said. His pay was 10*d.* like the labourers.

John Burges the carpenter made a "center" for the door, mended the "skrines" for screening the sand, and supplied planks to make beaters for the lime-makers, a level, and four rammers. Mr Atkinson, "the timber man," sent boards and poles to make three wheelbarrows and two handbarrows. Seven mortar "tubbs" were made, two "seeves" for brick mortar and trestles for scaffolding.

The walls were marked out with packthread bought for the occasion, and the foundations were laid on June 30th.

The materials for the walls in the first year include white stones, one hundred and sixty-four loads, and post stones, sixty-four loads. These are signed for by Daniell Hornsey—who would seem to have been a waller. Later post stones were signed for by George Thompson. The white stones are the clunch rubble that was the common foundation for walls. And as the use of them goes on right through 1628 and 1629 it seems as if the core of the wall was made in this way throughout, faced inside with cut clunch and outside with brick. The post stones are from Burwell.

There is no record to shew where the bricks came from. Thirty-nine thousand are signed for in the first year's work at 13*s.* 4*d.* a thousand. Next year the average price is 14*s.* but for the small quantity needed in 1631 the price was 17*s.* The mason's bills for the first year are for 284 feet of water-table, that is the splayed top of the projecting base of the wall, 156 feet of quoins or corner stones, both at 10*d.* a foot, and 1068 feet of ashlars at 4*d.* These were the cut stones for the inside face of the walls. For the door the mason received £10 and 3*s.* for the lead used to run in the hooks on which the door was hung. The ashlar is of clunch from Barrington. Next year some is from Barrington and some from Burwell.

Clunch is a hard form of chalk, excellent for interior work, and Burwell clunch is much used to-day.

I can find no entries for men or materials after August of the first year, but work probably went on till the autumn when the walls were covered till April of 1629. Ten thousand bricks were carried into the Chapel and a rough door was made of old boards, "to serve only for a small time." In March a large purchase of scaffolding was made. "To Simpkin for carriage of 100 fir dales from the great Bridge to the College; and then to Mr Atkinson's because they were too good for scaffolding..." The next item, one hundred and twenty bought at "Lin" and delivered at the Great Bridge suggests that these "dales" were from Scandinavia. Peter Forman seems to have arranged for the water journey of these dales from Lynn, as far as Magdalene Bridge. Heavier articles of less bulk, such as the lead, came right up to the Mills.

From April onwards the work went merrily. George Thompson was paid weekly on account, and his bills were not sent in till November.

£8 apiece was paid for the West and side windows and £20 for the East window. 598 feet of splays were used for the inner openings. The "corbentable" over each of the windows seems to be what is usually called a dripstone. 1120 would account for the two sides, though there is a lot of confusion here, and the slips do not tally with the accounts paid. Perhaps the gables were finished later with their creases and "four great pedestalls and balls and 8 lesser." The quoins and creases (or projecting mouldings of the buttresses) are of a harder limestone, and some at least must have been left like the windows when the brickwork was cut away for the later ashlaring of the walls.

The carpenters were at work from April, but it is not till August, if an undated account refers, as we suppose, to this year, that two ropes weighing 51 lb. at 5*d.* the pound, various large ashen poles, and a "gin, brought partly by water and partly by land" from St John's College, were supplied to get the timbers up. However the roof was finished by November, the hammer-beams and the wall plate bedded on clay, to give them a perfectly level bearing, and even twelve turned drops had been fastened on the bottoms of the pendants.

The smith's bill for 1629 includes broad iron bars for the windows, but there is no mention of the nails so common in modern carpentry. Nails were in 1630 confined to joinery, and had to come from Shropshire, by way of Lynn, and when iron bars for the glazing of the windows were bought next year at Lynn, there is an item of 6*d.* to "Peter for the carriage of the money thither."

More details are preserved of the covering of the walls and matting the windows in November 1629, which was a week's work for half-a-dozen men and boys. "Thirty-four mattes" were bought from Pattison and Juat in Slaughter Lane, and Widow Juarie's bill for nails, packthread, etc. was as much as £2. 7*s.* 3*d.*

There was a little more work to do to the roof of the Chapel in 1631—the roof boarding had to come off and boarding for the lead to go on. And the carpenter's work closed with John Burges making and fitting "pieces," or plugs, into the walls for fixing the cornice, panelling and stalls. For some reason he was paid short, but he held out and in the end was paid his proper 20*d.* a day.

1630 sees no work done but only a letter sent to Mr Carrier, in Derbyshire, about the lead. This was followed in June 1631

by Mr Thomas Pell himself. 120 "piges" of lead were bought, amounting to over 16 fothers, the common standard for weighing lead in Derbyshire, from Mr Richard Carrier, of Wirksworth, a town which has been a centre of the lead trade since the time of Hadrian. The cost of the lead was £167. 4*s*. 6*d*. Lead was usually sent on pack-horses from Wirksworth to Bawtry, where it was put on the River Idle. The College paid £1. 1*s*. 0*d*. for the freight from Bawtry to Stockwith, at the junction of the Idle and the Trent.

The Master paid for the rest of the journey—

July 30th, 1631 Received of M^{r} Doctor Wrenn by the hands of George Banks the sum of fourteen pounds eighteen shillings and tenpence for the carriage of 17 tunn. 8 c. and 3 qrs of lead from Stockwith to Cambridge, after the rate of fifteen shillings the tun, and for the Colledges p^{t} of the Pilotts Wages: and the Cockett (cockboat) frō Hull and the Certificat. from Linne. I say received the day and yeare above written.

These with a beautiful flourish of the pen before and after the name Tho. Higginson Junr. The lead was brought by water right up to the Mills, and here it was weighed and marked by two plumbers.

Mr Atkinson, the timber man, lent a triangle with scales which at that time meant the pans only and weights. It was watched one night by a watchman and all carried into the College next day. Another gin had to be borrowed for hoisting the lead upon the roof, this time from Mr Mann.

Not much more remains to be noted. The smith made "long bars standing upright in the windows," and pinch bars, and next year Robert Garrow glazed them, the College giving him quicklime for puttying. He received £9. 6*s*. 9*d*. for the side windows, £4. 7*s*. 0*d*. for the end ones, and 9*s*. 6*d*. for "the

window in the closet." Blisse painted the chapel doors in May 1633 and in June painted the scutcheons three times over.

Mr Banks made a journey to Ely, and paid 4*s.* 4*d.* on deposit for tiles. The tile floor was laid, the contract between bricklayer and stonemason for the steps being preserved.

This floor was subsequently replaced by the marble floor, the gift of Mrs Cosin, the Master's wife. The stalls and gallery were made with as much old wood as could be used, as described above, and the ceiling of the ante-chapel was plastered. William Ashley put up his angels. Two scamblers with their labourers filled the holes made by the putlogs of the scaffolding, the old timber was moved, and the Chapel was ready for the long and splendid ritual of its consecration on March 17th, 1632, after which year by year saw it enriched with silver and gold, stained glass windows and service books, besides the stonework of its western wall, till on Dec. 21, 1643, came William Dowsing "with Officers and Souldiers...."

Note I. It is a pleasure to me to acknowledge help in reading the MSS. of the Bursars' Accounts from Miss M. O'Reilly, of Girton College.

Note II. "Goodman Atkinson" is mentioned several times between 1601 and 1632 as supplying timber for Great St Mary's. In 1632 George Thompson was paid £2. 0*s.* 0*d.* "for the making the funt." David Blisse painted the Church doors, while ffrancis Harbie supplied the boards and made the frame of the Ten Commandments. "Churchwardens' Accounts of St Mary the Great," *Camb. Ant. Soc. Publ.*, Octavo Series, xxxv.

H. C. HUGHES.

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY
W. LEWIS
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS