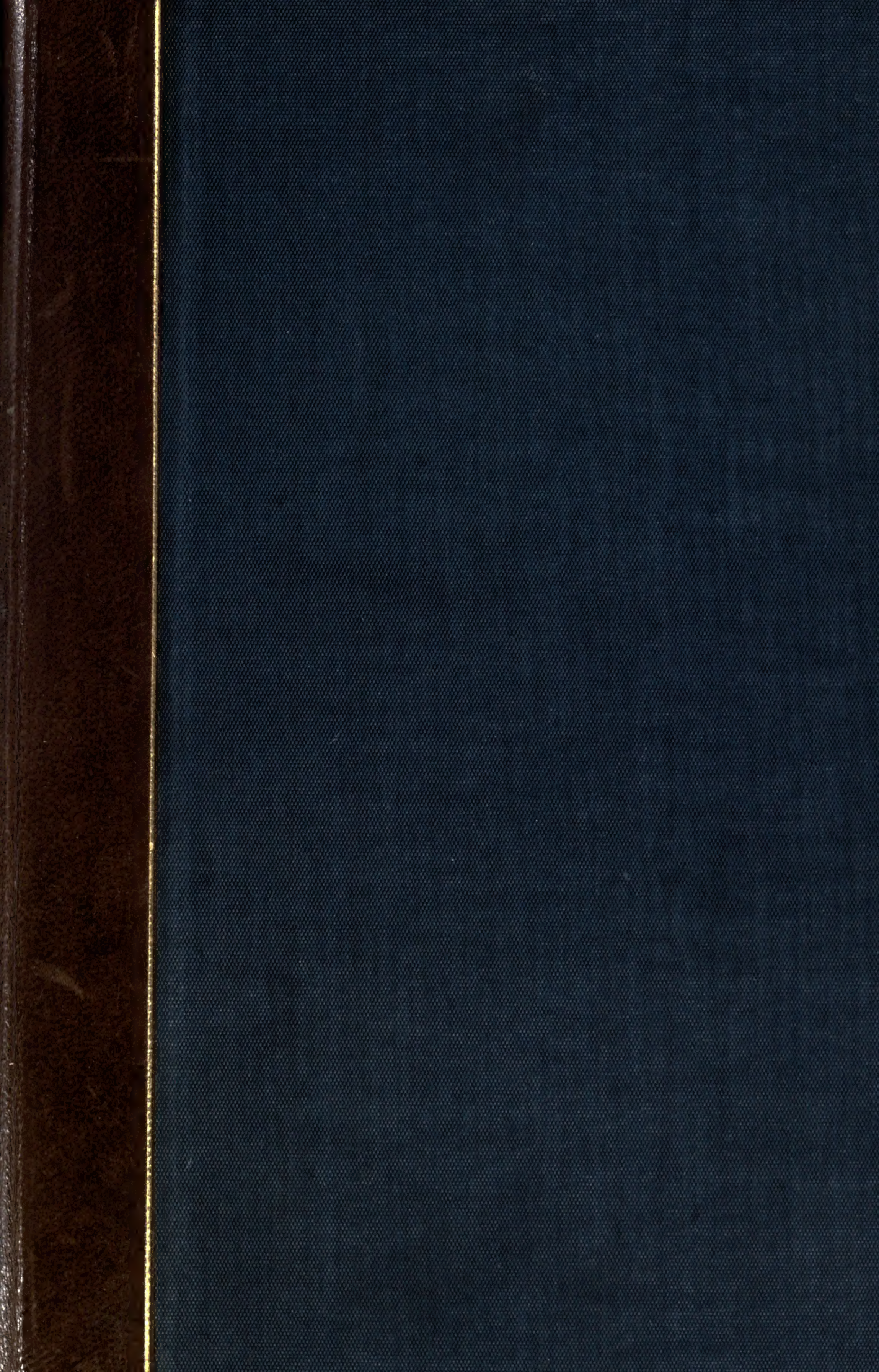

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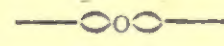
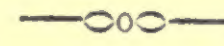


Instructed by the Antiquary times,
He must, he is, he cannot but be wise.
TROILUS AND CRESSIDA, Act ii. sc. 3.



VOL. XII.

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The Antiquary.

JULY, 1885.

Early English Inventions.

By T. Fairman Ordish.

I.

HE Inventions Exhibition, which is at present proving so great a success at South Kensington, may have suggested to readers of The Antiquary to take a glance at the history of inventions in this country. If so, they cannot fail to have been struck with the paucity of the information available on the subject. If they took up Beckmann's *History of Inventions*, a translation in Bohn's series, they will have been disappointed to find that, in spite of the efforts of the translators, very few inventions are accredited to Englishmen, while an overwhelming proportion appear to have sprung from the countrymen of the learned Beckmann. Again, if the *History of Inventions*, by J. F. L. Williams (1820), or the work under a similar title by F. S. White (1827), were taken in hand, a general and marked resemblance to Beckmann will have been observed. These works might better be termed disquisitions upon the origin of civilised appliances and methods. In a great number of instances these are traced through the ancient classics to Greece or Rome, or through the Bible to the Hebrews. No doubt, in a very large and general sense, as well as in a particular one, there is nothing new under the sun, and the term "invention" is only relative. The Pyramids may have been raised by steam-power; but we unhesitatingly attribute the steam-engine to an Englishman. It is very interesting to learn that many of the conveniences of our modern civilisation were in use in a civilisation which is past and gone; but it is more interesting still to trace the growth and development of the English inventive faculty. But the information on this subject, so far as it has been collected in books, is very meagre; and the material which has not been used, while being happily abundant, is scattered, and indeed only recently available.

The history of early English inventions appears to have been strangely neglected. In 1857 Mr. Hyde Clarke wrote to *Notes and Queries** suggesting the subject as one suitable for the pages of that journal; he called attention to the scanty and scattered condition of the materials for the subject; but no result followed from his appeal. Beyond a few communications on anticipated inventions, and one valuable communication from Mr. W. E. A. Axon, the pages of *Notes and Queries* are barren of facts concerning English inventions. Mr. Axon's contribution to the subject consisted of a transcript from *A Pleasant and Compendious History of the First Inventors, etc.*, 1686. This work is mostly founded on Polydore Vergil's *De Rerum Inventoribus*, 1607, and deals with the inventions of "the whole world." But at the end is added, "Several curious inventions, peculiarly attributed to England and Englishmen." These were rescued by *Notes and Queries*.† Mr. Axon concluded his transcript with the remark, "These statements would admit of some annotation." But the annotation never came.

The printed records of inventions which may be consulted in the Patent Office Library, and in the libraries of all the chief towns in the kingdom, begin with the year 1617. These do not include all applications for patents for inventions, but only patents granted; and, of course, for purposes of tracing the growth of English mechanics and appliances, the applications, even if refused, are scarcely less valuable than those inventions which passed the Great Seal.

After the year 1617 the next great landmark is the Marquis of Worcester's *Century of Inventions*, 1663. The history of English inventions may be conveniently divided into periods in this manner:—first, prior to 1617, the date of the first letters patent in the consecutive printed series; second, between 1617 and 1663, the date of the *Century of*

* Second Series, vol. iv., p. 45.

† Sixth Series, vol. i., p. 311.

Inventions; third, the long period from 1663 to 1852, when the law of patents was amended. This division has reference to inventions, and not the patent law. The stimulus effected in this country by the Exhibition of 1851 is recorded in the series of specifications of inventions printed under the Patent Law Amendment Act of 1852. On the present occasion we propose to treat of the earliest of the three periods here indicated, and to supplement that official and extremely valuable series which ranges from the present back to the year 1617. Our materials are derived chiefly from the *Calendars of State Papers*, the *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, and the *Pells Privy Seal Book* preserved in the Record Office.*

The earliest recorded protection of an English invention is given by Mr. Hindmarch in his Treatise on the Law relating to Patent Privileges, and makes a very curious commencement to our subject. He writes (p. 4):—

It is stated at the end of the report of the case of Darcy *v.* Allen, from Sir Francis Moore's Reports; "that in the time of Edw. III. some alchymists persuaded the King that a Philosopher's Stone might be made; that the King granted a commission to two friars and two aldermen to inquire if it were feasible, who certified that it was; and that the King granted to the two aldermen a patent privilege, that they and their assigns should have the sole making of the Philosopher's Stone."

The next notice, in point of time, is in December 1559, the year of Queen Elizabeth's accession. This invention is significant in more than one respect. In the first place, the reign of Elizabeth is a momentous period in the history of inventions, and this application for a monopoly, besides being made in the first year of her reign, strikes the key-note of the patent law, by basing the claim upon sacrifices made for the commonwealth. The expediency of rewarding invention as a common benefit appears to have been the origin of the patent law. Subsequent examples will show us that there were limitations and conditions. The predominant idea all through is the public weal or good. From this the crown prerogative derives its sanction. In the earliest one given in Webster's *Reports*, that of Darcy *v.* Allen, a monopoly for the sole making of playing cards was held to be void because it was for private benefit as against the common weal. The significance of such a decision as this cannot be over-rated.

Jacobus Acontius (*alias Giacopo Acontio, of Trent*), to the Queen. Nothing is more honest than that those who, by searching, have found out things useful to the public should have some fruit of their rights and labours, as meanwhile they abandon all other modes of gain, are at much expense in experiments, and often sustain much loss, as has happened to me. I have discovered most useful things, new kinds of wheel machines, and of furnaces for dyers and brewers, which, when known, will be used without my consent, except there be a penalty, and I, poor with expenses and labour, shall have no returns. Therefore I beg a prohibition against using any wheel machines, either for grinding or bruising, or any furnaces like mine, without my consent.

The editor has added the following interesting note:—

Acontius had an annuity of 60*l.*, granted 27 Feb., 1560, letters of naturalisation 8 Oct., 1561, and a licence to take up workmen to amend Plumstead Marshes 24 June, 1563, but not the patent here solicited.*

The next notice I have found is under date 1570.

Note of services offered to the Queen by Emery Molyneux, of new inventions of shot and artillery, to be used principally in naval warfare; protection of ports and harbours; a new shot to discharge a thousand musket shot; with wild fire not to be quenched. Particulars of offensive and defensive inventions detailed.†

In 1575 there are three documents relating to an invention, "an engine of war, whereby twenty-four bullets can be discharged from one piece at a time." The operation and advantages of the engine are described in these documents; there are some notes by the inventor, in which he adverts to the expense of making a few "engines" at a time, and states that it would be necessary to employ over 100 engines at once. The inventor also intimates his desire for a yearly pension in consideration of his invention. The third document contains a note of the effects performed by the engine of war, of which there are

* For the use of some transcripts of these documents I am indebted to Mr. R. B. Prosser, of the Patent Office.

* *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic Series, 1601-1603; *Addenda*, 1547-1565, p. 495.

† *Ibid.*, 1547-1580, p. 399.

already 200 engines and 3,000 bullets delivered into the Tower for service.* We see in this invention the first idea of the mitrailleuse.

In 1580 there is a letter from John the Almain to Walsyngham, recommending one of his countrymen, who had invented an harquebuse

that shall containe ten balls, or pelletes of lead, all the which shall goe off, one after another, havinge once given fire, so that with one harquebuse one may kill ten theeves or other enemies without recharging.†

The progress of inventions is intimately related with the history of the country; and these applications for monopoly call to mind the England of Elizabeth, cut from its continental moorings, and arming against anticipated aggression.

On the other hand, we may see in the following an indication of the peaceful progress in the arts which soon distinguished England after it had become Protestant.

1575. Petition of Peter Morrice to Mr. Sec. Walsyngham. Solicits a Patent for him for the sole right of making and employing certain hydraulic engines for the raising of water, draining marshes, &c.‡

1578. Grant to John Medley of the sole right to an engine newly invented by him for draining mines, &c.

Suit of Gherard Honricke, native of West Friesland, for letters patent to secure to him and his assigns, for the term of thirty years, the sole right to erect certain engines invented by him for the draining of mines.

Same as the preceding; with corrections and additions in Lord Burghley's hand.§

1578. Petition of Sir Tho. Golding to the Queen. For a patent for 21 years of the sole right to an invention designed by him for draining of marshes, supplying towns with water, and working of mills. ||

These are precursors of a long series of inventions for draining mines. The mining industry received a great impetus in Elizabeth's reign. To speak in modern parlance, we have here three "applications" for letters patent and one grant. Whether these applications were granted I am unable to determine.

In 1580, there is an application for protection of two inventions.

Petition of John Blagrave to Sir Fr. Walsyngham. For letters patent for 21 years for certain improvements in the construction of kilns and furnaces and a new crushing mill.*

The grants, privileges, and licences in the Privy Seal Book begin in March, 1584. The first one which refers distinctly to an invention is the following, which for the sake of any significance which the form of the grant may carry, I copy verbatim :—

Nov. 1588. A lycence graunted to Bevis Bulin and his assignes for twelve years to use the trade of a new Instructment devised by him for the cutting and making of Iron into small rods. Subs: by the Queenes Sollicitor. Pcured by Mr. Windebank. J. Wood.

In this valuable record there are many grants for manufacture, etc., in which no mention is made of invention. Mr. Prosser has pointed out to me that the word "manufacture" is here employed in a sense now obsolete = process; thus in the Statute of Monopolies (21 James I.) "sole working or making of any manner of new manufacture, which others at the time of the making of such letters patent and grants, did not use." But apparently there is no necessary inference that the patentee is the inventor in these cases; † the "manner of new manufacture" may be an importation from abroad: therefore I have accepted a distinction which seems to have been more clearly understood at that time than at present; and here will be given only those grants which are specifically for "inventions." In this Privy Seal record there are also many licences or privileges for books, which fact has led me to think that a book was regarded as an invention, in the sense in which the word was then employed. A book, like a discovery of a new method of shooting the Queen's enemies, or of draining the vast marshes which existed at that time, was an offspring of the mind, of thought, something new, an invention perfected at private cost for the common weal, and hence to be protected by the State.

The next invention is in 1588.

John Trew to the Queen. Prays to God for her preservation and salvation, and though an old man, desires to be employed in the wars. He has an invention which would do as much service as 5,000 men in time of extremity; and also an engine to be driven before men to defend them from the shot of

* *Calendar of State Papers*, p. 513.
† *Ibid.*, p. 696.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 512.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 598.
|| *Ibid.*, p. 611.

* *Calendar of State Papers*, p. 701.
† See Webster, *Reports*, p. 6.

the enemy. Desires to be appointed to some office or pension.*

There is something so quaint about this application, that comment would spoil it.

In 1589 there is a patent for an invention which had recommended itself to the Admiralty authorities. In this case, too, the terms of the grant are so significant that I give it in full :—

27 January, 1589. A Graunte of John Collins to make Mildrenexes and Pouldaevyes for the space of xxxi yeares for consideracon he first exercised that arte within hir maties Dominions, and tyetch him selfe to serve hir maties maker at a reasonable price. Recommended by the L. Admirall, the L. Trer., Sir Walter Mildmay, and the rest of the officers of Navie. Pcured by Mr. Herbert.†

The next notice concerns "engines of war." There are four documents, and we cannot do better than reproduce them in their abridged form from the Calendar :—

1589.—(1) Description of three newly-invented instruments of warlike affairs :—first, to protect the caliver shot; second, to convey soldiers over ditches at a siege; third, to disable the enemy either of horse or foot.

(2) Note of the effects of the engines of war, newly invented by Wm. Engelbert, of which 200 have been delivered into the Tower. Effects of an engine for a battery, and of a bullet for Her Majesty's ships, which, on firing, will discharge at one instant seven score caliver shot, and will kill any man, though he have on armour of proof.

(3) Note by William Engelbert of the charge for making 100 of the engines lately devised for throwing shot to a great distance with superior effect. Probable effect of the same if they had been employed by Leicester or by the Prince of Parma in the Low Countries.

(4) Demand by William Engelbert for the making of 200 engines of war at 3*l.* a piece, and for 15 bullets to each engine at 2*s.* each. Desires leave to dispose of his invention to some foreign Prince, if not accepted by Her Majesty.‡

What we miss mostly in these early inventions are descriptions such as those which we find in our modern specifications of inventions; descriptions of the mode of making the thing patented. In these earlier applications and grants we get descriptions of the effect produced, but not how produced. A note in Webster's *Reports* (p. 8) explains this :—

The most important change made since the earliest times and the Statute of Monopolies [1624] is the insertion of the clause into the letters patent, requiring the party to particularly describe and ascertain the nature of his invention, and in what manner the same was to be performed. The earliest patent into which this clause appears to have been introduced was one granted 1st April, 11th Anne: its introduction was not on the authority of Parliament, but on that of the law officer of the crown. A fundamental principle of these grants is the instruction of the public; and Sir E. Coke was of opinion that the term of 14 years was too long, since those who served privileged persons, as apprentices, to learn the inventions, must continue apprentices or servants to the end of the term. In an Act of 1651, granting exclusive privileges to one Buck for 14 years, it is enacted that Buck and his assigns shall take apprentices after the first 7 years of the term, and teach them the knowledge and mystery of the new invention. The object of that provision, the instruction of the public, is now answered by the enrolment of a specification.

We see in this the development of the idea of rewarding the inventor as a public benefactor. After allowing a reasonable monopoly to the patentee, the benefit is secured to the public. The next entry, which is from another source, follows upon the subject of the preceding.

October 1591. A prevyledg graunted vnto Reynold Hoxton for the making of flaskes both for tench boxes, powder boxes, and bullet boxes for the muskett calyver and other small shott for the space of xv yeares suche as have not bene heretofore vsed, by the helpe whereof any (be he never so vnskilfull) may charge any such peece wth a iust proporcon of powder and bullett at one instant without removing his hand or danger of firing of himsef or any of his fellowes.*

Probably some inventions would be found in the record which is thus described†:—

Memorandum book [by Lord Burghley] commencing 22nd May, and ending 24th October, 1595, containing . . . licenses of the monopoly to be granted.

I have not been able to make a search of this document. In the Marquis of Salisbury's collection of MSS. there are notes of other papers, doubtless also by his great ancestor, concerning patents. Under date 1575 (November 27) is a note of the "Enormities of Mr. Davey's Patent for making, etc., of leather."‡ In 1595, "of Patent for Starch; Ellis, and Sir John Pakington."§ In 1597, November 10, "Names of the Committees on Monopolies."|| These entries may possi-

* *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic Series, p. 568.

† *Pells Privy Seal Book.*

‡ *Cal. State Papers*, Dom., p. 638.

* *Pells Privy Seal Book.*

† *Cal. State Papers*, Dom., 1595—1597, p. 120.

‡ *Royal Historical MSS. Commission Report*, v., p. 278.

§ *Ib.*, 277. || *Ib.*, 293.

bly concern grants of monopoly of manufacture as distinct from protection of invention. These monopolies became, as is well known, one of the most shameful abuses ever known in this country. Nothing could be more contrary in theory and spirit to the principle of granting a monopoly in a manufacture as a reward for invention. Among some notes by Attorney-General Coke on the Queen's Prerogative in 1600, is this: "She may grant patents to the commonwealth, that the inventor may reap some reward for his service." The only other note at all approaching the power to grant monopolies is this: "She may grant privileges for new trading voyages."* In which we have protection of discovery and enterprise in foreign lands, in principle similar to patent for invention. It will be remembered that Bacon used the word "invention" as synonymous with "discovery."

The next notice is dated June 30th, 1599:—

Privilege for ten years, to Capt. Thos. Hayes, of the making of three military inventions, viz., a port-sack, a target with a gamash, and a staff or pilum, first devised by him for the use of captains and soldiers in the wars.†

Monopolies of manufacture and of trade, for which there was no other apparent reason and sanction than the will of the sovereign, or some individual favoured with the sovereign's regard,—the principle of which was to make everybody pay for a chosen somebody,—were soon realized by the country at large to be an intolerable evil. We have seen that in 1597 there were "committees" sitting on the subject. Three years later, in an address to the House of Lords requesting them to induce the queen to consider grievances, one of the things desired is, "to leave to common laws, disarmed of protection, all monopolies and grants prejudicial to the subject and contrary to the Great Charter." ‡ Her Majesty, with wisdom which has ever since received the applause of historians, suspended all monopolies by a Proclamation, bearing date the 28th November, 1601. I am at present unable to determine whether the lawful and right monopolies of inventions were included in this measure.

* *Cal. State Papers*, Dom., 1598—1601, p. 521.
† *Ibid.*, p. 224.
‡ *Calendar of State Papers*, 1598—1601, p. 522.

In the subsequent statute abolishing monopolies in 1624, monopolies of new manufactures and inventions are saved; and we may reasonably conclude that they were honourably excepted by this proclamation. But in dealing with inventions at this period, it is impossible to disregard the general subject of monopolies. Some of the rights which patentees now enjoy seem to have arisen from monopolies. For instance, with regard to the present privilege of assigning patents, we find in 1601

Complaints of 38 persons named, residing in London, who have been wronged and impoverished through the vigorous dealing of the patentee's assignees for starch, giving particulars of each case.*

With regard to the general subject of patent right there is a highly interesting paper in this same *Calendar*, under date 1602, which is here printed:—

Arguments to prove "that Her Majesty's letters patent dated the 7th day of September 1559 for the sole making of saltpetre and gunpowder throughout Her Majesty's dominions as the same are made, are maintainable not only in policy for the preservation of the State, but also in equity, and by the common laws of the land," viz., 1, that the use of saltpetre and gunpowder is necessary; 2, that they should be made in the country; 3, that their sole making belongs to the Crown, and should not be exercised without the Queen's grant; with objections thereto, and their answers; 4, statement of the benefit of granting the sole making of saltpetre and gunpowder. Conclusion, that the patent therefore is not a monopoly, but useful in policy, equity, and common law; therefore that the Proclamation of 28 November 1601 does not impeach it, but only prohibits its abuse, and that all who call it in question should be punished. With note that the patent was drawn by Att. Gen. Coke; this discourse approved by Sol. Gen. Fleming, Fras. Bacon, and by Councillors And. Blundon, John Dodderidge, John Walter, and John Hele.†

This is probably a nibble at the proclamation suspending monopolies. What is especially noticeable is the appeal to common law to sustain sovereign right. And yet the letters patent in question conferred a monopoly of manufacture which was not an invention. But there is plainly traceable in these arguments the idea which makes monopoly of an invention just. The underlying principle is the same. There is in both an identification of the prerogative of the sovereign with the common weal. This monopoly was probably the foundation or precedent of the numerous grants of the kind, which were

* *Calendar of State Papers*, 1601-3, p. 115.
† *Ibid.*, p. 276.

a blot upon Elizabeth's government; and it is worthy of consideration. Taken by itself, and in reference to the conditions of the times, it would be hard to show where or how it was wrong. Had it not been for the abuses which followed, probably it would have escaped criticism altogether; and here we have a document signed by the great lawyers of that age, affirming that the monopoly was just and legal.

On the accession of James I., in 1603, there was another proclamation against monopolies. In January of the next year we find in the *Privy Seal Record* the next grant of monopoly for an invention was made. And the evil and the good,—that is to say, the protection of inventions, and the abuses of monopolies,—which were founded in the same prerogative, ran alongside all through James's reign. Necessities of space compel us to reserve this richer portion of the subject for a future occasion.

(To be continued).

Notes on Holwood and its Antiquarian Associations.

By George Clinch
(*Of the Library, British Museum*).

THE beautiful spring of pure water on Keston Heath, which gives birth to the river Ravensbourne, rises within a stone's cast of Holwood Park, and almost under the shadow of the ancient British camp. "Cæsar's Well" is the name of the spring, and there is a curious legend, still extant in these parts, which relates to its early history, in which, if we will, we may learn the true significance of the name Ravensbourne. The well is supposed to have been used by the Romans when stationed at the camp hard by. The flight of a raven, says the legend, was watched by the thirsty soldiers; the bird entered some bushes and was seen to drink at a small spring hitherto unnoticed. The soldiers followed and dug out the well. Thus by some it is imagined that in the name of the river we have an indication of the incident which attended the discovery of its chief source at Keston. But a little difficulty arises from the fact that the word raven is of Teutonic and not Latin origin; and, although it would be a pity to spoil so pretty a story, it is highly probable that the origin of the first part of the name is to be found in the word hraefn=raven, the old Danish standard, especially as it is known that Danish invaders settled in West Kent. Assuming this to be the origin, we may suppose that the legend is modern, and has been invented to account for the occurrence of so singular a name.

A century ago these waters were supposed to be possessed of considerable medicinal virtues, and a dressing-room for the use of bathers was erected. No trace of it has survived, and lately the waters themselves have become less plentiful, so that instead of the spring overflowing the brickwork, as was its wont formerly, it is now considerably below its accustomed level, and it has a stagnant and uninviting appearance. Whether this has been caused by a sparse rainfall or by injudicious drainage does not appear, but it is much to be hoped that the springs of Cæsar's Well will soon regain their ancient vigour.

The old camp close by is one in which Mr. Oldbuck would have revelled. Its remains are too pronounced to allow an infidel to question that it was of military importance, yet they are sufficiently imperfect to afford ample grounds for speculation and dispute, and to render the spot an interesting bone of archæological contention. In some parts it is well preserved; in others, totally abolished. On the west and north sides the ditches and mounds stand out in commanding boldness; on the opposite side, alas! the levelling spade of the gardener has converted the ramparts into a lawn. The shape is ovoid, like so many camps of pre-Roman origin, and the area enclosed within its lines of circumvallation has been computed at about twenty-nine acres. Towards the north-west and north there are three distinct valla, and between the middle and inmost valla is a ditch nearly twenty feet in depth, but in other parts there appear to have been but two mounds, and they much lower. In the original plan a palisade or chevaux-de-frise doubtless surmounted the mounds, making anything like hostile invasion no easy undertaking. Probability is lent to this

view by the fact that when Mr. Pitt destroyed the entrenchments the workmen met with remains, embedded in the ground, of ancient and blackened trees, indicative of palisades. Holwood Camp, unlike Oldbury at Ightham and other British camps, has no spring of water within its circumference; hence the value of Cæsar's Well almost close to its north-western limits. A way out of the camp seems to have led down to the spring, and on the open ground of Keston Common there are some ancient works which have been constructed apparently for its protection. It is quite probable that the path to the spring was part of the original plan, as a supply of water must have been of the first importance to the occupants of the camp. It has with reason been pointed out that such works as these could not have been constructed by the Romans so hastily as would have been necessary for their purpose, although there is every reason to believe that the camp was much altered and considerably improved when the Roman eagle found an eyrie at Holwood. "Some have imagined," says Mr. Hasted, "this was the camp which Julius Cæsar made when the Britons gave him the last battle, with their united forces, just before he passed the Thames in pursuit of Cassivelaun;" but, he adds, "its nearness to the Thames, its size, strength, and other circumstances are inducements to think that it was the place where Aulus Plautius, the prætor, after his fourth action with the Britons, encamped with his forces whilst he waited the arrival of the Emperor Claudius;" an opinion in which several other authorities agree with the learned Kentish topographer.

Many sources have been suggested for the name Holwood, anciently Hollwood. Holly, holy, old, are amongst their number, but the most probable to my mind is one which seems hitherto to have been quite overlooked. Holt-wudu, the Anglo-Saxon for a wood, bears so much similarity to Holwood as to leave little, if any, doubt upon the subject.

Coming down to the seventeenth century, we find that in the year 1642, Sir Stephen Lennard (whose descendants are now, and have been for many years, seated at West Wickham Court) was possessed of Holwood. It then passed to Captain Pearch, who settled it, in 1709, on the marriage of his niece, Elizabeth Whiffin, with Nathaniel Gatton, esq. of Beckenham, in special tail. He left an only son and heir of the same name, whose only surviving daughter and heir, Mary Dippen, left Anne Dippen, her only surviving daughter and heir likewise; who in 1765 alienated this seat to Peter Burrell, esq. of Beckenham, and he, in 1766, conveyed it to Wm. Ross, gent. of London, who in 1767 passed it away again to Robert Burrow, esq., who made great improvements to it, and resided here till his death.*

His eldest son Christopher left Robert Burrow the possessor of this seat, who sold Holwood to a Mr. Randall, a shipbuilder, from whom the estate was purchased in 1785, by the Right Hon. William Pitt. By an agreement with the vestry of Keston to pay £10 annually to the poor of the parish, Mr. Pitt acquired the right

HOLWOOD HOUSE.

to enclose a large piece of Keston Heath, which he joined to the park. By judiciously cutting down trees and planting, the estate was still further improved and beautified. With what ardour Mr. Pitt applied himself to planting will be seen in a letter addressed from Downing Street to his mother, dated November 13th, 1786, in which he says, "To-morrow I hope to get to Holwood, where I am impatient to look at my works. I must carry there, however, only my passion for planting, and leave that of cutting entirely to Burton."

It is said that when night drew on the work of planting was not interrupted, but artificial light was brought, and the work was frequently completed by lantern light.

* Hasted.

The quiet seclusion of Holwood was the prime minister's favourite asylum from the excitement and turmoil of Westminster. Here, when weary of faction and debate, Mr. Pitt retired for relaxation and rest. There is still remaining near Holwood House a fine oak, known as "Pitt's oak," under which it was the premier's habit to sit and read. The tree stands upon a conical mound—part of the old encampments, in fact, which he so unfortunately caused to be levelled.

At that time Holwood House was of small size. It has been described as a very small old plaistered brick building. From a plate in the *European Magazine,* the accompanying representation of it has been sketched. Mr. Pitt added a dining-room, which is shown on the left-hand side of the sketch. The exact spot upon which it stood is not known, every vestige of it having disappeared; but there is reason to think that its site was a little to the south-west of the present mansion.

In one of the most beautiful spots in Holwood Park, overlooking the rectory and quaint old church of Keston, and commanding many miles of varied and fertile landscape in a southern direction, is an ancient gnarled oak, under which is a substantial stone seat, with the following inscription:—"From Mr. Wilberforce's Diary, 1788. 'At length, I well remember after a conversation with Mr. Pitt in the open air at the root of an old tree at Holwood, just above the steep descent into the vale of Keston, I resolved to give notice on a fit occasion in the House of Commons of my intention to bring forward the abolition of the Slave Trade.' Erected by Earl Stanhope, 1862. By permission of Lord Cranworth." This, in a few words, refers to one of the most important events which Holwood has ever witnessed, and, regarded in a broader sense as an historic event, its effects have been by no means insignificant. That the triumphant victory which at length crowned the noble efforts of Wilberforce and his philanthropic coadjutors was in a great measure due to the friendly assistance of Mr. Pitt, there can be no doubt. Surely then we do right to honour such men. No one can charge with mere hero worship those who delight to keep this spot sacred to the memory of men of whom England has every reason to be proud. A well-known orator has spoken of the event in befitting terms.

> If Runnymead is not forgotten, if Iona is a sacred name, if the blood flows the fleeter in the veins as we tread that field among the Belgian dykes which men call Waterloo; if Marathon is a holy shrine, beaten by the pilgrim feet of the world, why should not the old oak at Holwood be remembered, where a brave heart resolved to do battle with a foul wrong, and to cancel the shame of ages by loosing the shackles of the slave? (Dr. Punshon.)

The state of Mr. Pitt's private finances became such as to render the sale of Holwood a necessary step, and the estate was accordingly bought in 1802 by Sir George Pocock for the sum of fifteen thousand pounds. Mr. John Ward becoming the possessor of the property in 1823, the old house was demolished, and the modern elegant Grecian mansion was built in the year 1825, from the designs of Decimus Burton. "Although the rooms are not large, yet it may be truly said that the architect has constructed at Holwood one of the most ornamental, convenient, and substantial mansions in this country."

Mr. Brassey purchased the estate upon Mr. Ward's death, and sold it in 1855 to the Right Hon. Lord Cranworth, Lord High Chancellor of England, a man of great personal popularity, and of whom it has been said that he was "fair and equal to all." He twice held the Great Seal of England, and had a seat on the Judicial Bench for twenty years. He died in 1868, and his remains rest beside those of Lady Cranworth, beneath the quiet elms in the little churchyard of Keston. Robert Alexander, Esq., C.B., was Holwood's next owner, and soon after the estate became the property of its present noble owner, the Right Hon. Earl Derby.

Uncollected Tenures and Manorial Customs.

BY W. CAREW HAZLITT.

SINCE the publication of my edition of the work commonly known as *Blount's Jocular Tenures*, eleven years ago, I have been in the habit of noting down all particulars relevant to the subject which have fallen in my way, and I herewith forward a selection of the most interesting and important. What I have withheld are such items as would not in my humble estimation deserve a place in these columns, although they might enhance the value of a reimpression of the whole book, if such should ever be demanded.

ABINGDON, ABBEY OF.

See *Sussex Archæol. Coll.*, vii. 213-16.

ACTON, CO. OF MIDDLESEX.

Peter, son of William, son of Alulph, granted to Eustace de Fauconberg, consecrated Bishop of London in 1222, forty acres of arable land, held on a yearly payment of a pound of cummin seed, which was subsequently remitted. It was hence, no doubt, that the see of London acquired its existing manorial rights. There were two manors at Acton, and the present grant appears to have been distinct from that mentioned in the text of Blount.*

ASHDOWN FOREST, CO. OF SUSSEX.

The commoners of this forest, which was formerly of vast extent, and which has been now reduced to about six thousand acres, enjoyed by virtue of a decree made in 1693 the rights of pasturage and herbage, of cutting brake and heather, and of carrying litter. A good deal of litigation has proceeded between the commoners and the lord of the manor, and the happy result is that the latter has been defeated in his attempt to determine the privilege, and has been restrained from digging gravel. The decision of the Court of Appeal virtually protects the forest from further spoliation and encroachment.

Among the privileges of the commoners appears to have been immunity from arrest and from service on juries. A copious account of the forest, its history, customs, and associations, was printed in the fourteenth volume of the Sussex Archæological Collections.

* Lysons' *Environs of London*, 1st Ed., ii. 3.

ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE.

In 5 Henry VI. (1426-7) Sir John Asheton became possessed of this manor, at a rent of one penny a year. His descendant, Sir Ralph Ashton, or de Asheton, was called the Black Knight of Ashton. He was Vice-Constable of England in the reign of Richard III. Penny rents occur elsewhere.

BANBURY, CO. OF OXFORD.

Hearne, in his diary, March 10th, 1711, observes that this town is obliged to present the judges, when they come the Oxford circuit, with a noble cake, made simnel-wise, with the arms of the corporation upon it; and he tells us that the usage was followed at the Lent circuit 1710-11.

BARNES, CO. OF SURREY.

From a survey made in 1245 it appears that this manor was taxed in the time of King Henry and William the Dean at four hides, as it then was, and that the tenants were taxed with the tenants of the Archbishop of Canterbury in Wimbledon. In time of war they paid the sheriff 5*s.* 4*d.*, and rendered to the bailiffs of the hundred two horse loads of oats and one of barley. In 1245 the manor yielded the canons three full rents. Of the four hides, two were assized, and two in demesne. The latter consisted of 344 acres of arable, meadow 43 in breadth, and 10 acres of thorn coppice. There was pasture for 60 sheep and 16 cows. The mill was worth 15*s.* a year. The demesne lands were free from service.

So far back as 1499 limitations were made to the right of copyholders to turn out cattle to graze on the common, which was at that time of much greater extent than at present. Lysons, in 1792, describes it hypothetically as about 150 acres; there are now only about 110, exclusively, of course, of Lower Putney Heath, which has about 40.

In 1876 a new scheme for the management of the common was sanctioned by Act of Parliament, and conservators were appointed, who proceeded to make bye-laws in pursuance of the scheme for the preservation of the common. It soon occurred to them that,

if each commoner was at liberty to use the common without limit, not only would the limits duly appointed be transgressed, but the object of the scheme and of their own appointment, viz., the maintenance of the common as a place of public benefit and recreation, would be entirely defeated. The defendant, however, in the test case Morley *v.* Clifford, tried in 1882 before Mr. Justice Fry, maintained that by forty years' user he had acquired a prescriptive right to turn out geese and cattle without stint; and the conservators, whose clerk was declared by the scheme to have a sufficient possession of the common to enable them to maintain in his name an action of trespass with regard thereto, brought their action to obtain a declaration limiting the rights asserted by the defendant. The claim for geese was summarily disposed of, since a goose is not ordinarily a commonable animal, and the defendant could not prove that there was any custom entitling him to turn out geese on the common, nor that, when he had turned them out, he had been allowed to do so without interruption. As to the cattle, though there was a more serious question, the result was equally satisfactory, for the Prescription Act only protects claims which can be lawfully made at common law, and at common law a right of common appurtenant must either be for a certain number of beasts, or, if the number is not otherwise fixed, it must not exceed the number of cattle levant and couchant, *i.e.*, which can be supported in winter, when no grass is growing on the common land, upon the tenement to which the right is said to be annexed. Then it was contended that, even if the defendant had turned out in excess of his right, yet he had some right, and that the conservators had no right to take action in such a case, which must be left to the remaining copyholders, who would be interfered with in their rights by excess on the part of one of their number. This contention, however, was also held to fail, since it was just as much an act of trespass on the part of one who had a limited right to exceed it, as it was a trespass on the part of one who had no right to act as if he possessed one. In former times common rights were valuable for the farming operations of the commoners; they are now chiefly valuable for the protection of open spaces against the lord, in the interests of the outside public; when it is sought to exercise them so as to really lead to depriving the public of their use of the common, the common right ceases to be beneficial, and those who represent the public should use all means for restricting it within its legitimate limits.*

An old view of Barnes Common shows nothing on Mill Hill but the mill itself, and, standing near it, what was probably the miller's cottage. Mill Hill is now a considerable group of buildings. This growth round an obscure or accidental centre is illustrated by Garrett near Wandsworth, once a single house so-called; and such names as Schaffhausen, in Switzerland, and Mühlhausen, in Elsas, are certainly suggestive of a similar process of stealthy development.

* *Law Times*, June 3rd, 1882. The Act of 1876 did not disturb the lord's rights as regards digging gravel, though they are practically dormant or even extinct, and the conservators, having no fee in the soil, cannot sell or alienate. The lord's assent would be requisite in the case of an exchange.

Bass Rock, East Lothian.

The proprietor of this little island, which lies about a mile and a half from the mainland and three miles from the fishing village of North Berwick, pays twelve solan geese to the minister and two to the schoolmaster of the place annually.

Belfast.

It is customary for the mayor, if a son is born to him during his year of office, to receive from the corporation a silver cradle. In 1882 one in the form of a canoe, resting on a base or plinth of the same metal, was provided as a gift to the mayor under these circumstances, at a cost of about £300. This usage prevails in other corporate towns.

Betchworth, West, co. of Surrey.

John de Berewyke held of the abbess of Godstow nine acres of arable land, one acre of meadow, and a water mill at West Betchworth, valued at 36*s.* a year, by the payment of a rose at Midsummer in lieu of all services.*

Beynhurst, co. of Berks.

This hundred, 39 Eliz., was relieved from the statute of Hue and Cry, except in cases of voluntary default, in consideration of the losses accruing to the inhabitants from the robberies in Maidenhead (or Maidenheath) Thicket; and it appears also that the vicar of Hurley, who officiated at Maidenhead, was allowed an increase of pay on account of the danger of passing the thicket on his way to and fro.

Bodmin, co. of Cornwall.

On the 5th January, 1609-10, letters patent passed under the Great Seal granting (*inter alia*) the rectories and sheep tithe of the four parishes of Bodmin, St. Minver, Padstow, and St. Cubert, and also the advowsons, donations, free disposition, and right of patronage of the parish churches of the same, to Thomas Ailiworth (or Aylworth), Esq., and Robert Duke, gentleman, their heirs and assigns, for ever, to be held of the king, his heirs and successors, as of the manor of

* Brayley and Britton, v. 79.

East Greenwich, by faithful service, in free and common socage, and not in capite, nor by knight service, rendering for the same the rent of £56 12*s.* 10*d.* per annum.*

The privileges of common of pasturage and of housebote and firebote were granted, it appears, at a very early date, by the priors of Bodmin† to the poor of that town in their woods at Dunmeer, which are immediately adjacent, and in the time of Henry VIII., the exercise of these rights led to very serious dissensions between the commoners and the prior.

Brougham, co. of Westmoreland.

Every year, on the 2nd of April, the rector and churchwardens distribute the Countess of Pembroke's Charity upon a stone tablet, near the Pillar, about two miles from Penrith. This charity and the Pillar date from 1656, having been established as a memorial of Lady Pembroke's last parting on the site of the Pillar with her mother, the Countess of Cumberland, in 1616. The charity consists of an annual sum of £4, divided among the poor of Brougham.

Broughton, near Edinburgh.

"Till the abolition," says Chambers,‡ "of heritable jurisdictions in 1747, the bailie of the Baron of Broughton could arraign a criminal before a jury of his own people, and do the highest judgment upon him."

Burnham, East, co. of Bucks.

The commoners here appear to have the right of common of pasture and turbary, but not of estovers, over East Burnham Common, where are the celebrated Burnham Beeches. The land, which extends over nearly 400 acres, has now been acquired by the Corporation of London as an open space at a cost of £12,000.

Cabilia, co. of Cornwall.

In 1337, John, son and heir of Henry de Kellygrue, held two acres of land here by the service of petty serjeanty, *i.e.*, by meeting the Duke of Cornwall, on his coming into Cornwall, at Polston Bridge, and there

* Maclean's *Deanery of Trigg Minor*, 1873, pp. 143-4.

† *Current Notes*, October, 1856.

‡ *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, iii. 423-4.

receiving a certain grey cape, which he was to carry through all Cornwall after the Duke, at the Duke's charge, for forty days. On the 13th September, 1354, this (or another) John de Kelilgrue received 2*s.* 2*d.* for the purchase of a grey cape for this purpose. In 1468, this land was held under the same conditions by John Michaelstow, a kinsman of the above.*

Chelsea, co. of Middlesex.

This manor, at the time of the Doomsday Survey, contained two hides or five carucates. One hide was in demesne. There were two villeins holding two virgates each, four borderers holding four acres and three slaves, two carucates of meadow land, pasture for the cattle of the village, woods for 60 hogs, and 52*d.* rents. The whole was valued at £9. A servant of King Edward held the manor, and could alienate it. In Stephen's time, it belonged to a natural son of the former lord, who alienated it to Dameta his mother and her heirs, with the village and appurtenances, on condition of paying £4 a year to the Church at Westminster.*

Sir Hans Sloane, who became lord of the manor in 1712, granted the freehold of four acres occupied as a physic garden on the river side to the Apothecaries' Company for ever, on condition that they should pay a quit-rent of £5, use the garden for that specific purpose, and present yearly to the Royal Society fifty specimens grown *in situ* till the collection amounted to 2,000.

At least as late as 1726, a common of thirty-seven acres or upward lay to the north of the King's Road; but, like so many other open spaces, it was no doubt absorbed either piecemeal, or in bulk, while the public interest in such matters was still dormant.

The Chilterns.

The range of hills so called was originally a great forest, abounding in banditti; and the Steward of the Chiltern Hundreds, who is now a mere parliamentary figment, was at first appointed to preside over the district, and protect life and property.

* Maclean's *History of Trigg Minor*, part 9. and the authorities quoted.

† Faulkner's *Chelsea*, 1810, p. 228.

CHRIST'S CROFT, CO. OF LANCASTER.

Roger de Poictou, in consideration of his services at the Conquest and those of his family, received from the king all the lands between the Ribble and the Mersey (inter Ripam et Mersham), to which was given the name of Christ's Croft. This tract comprises a great part of the modern county of Lancaster.

CLEVELAND, CO. OF YORKSHIRE.

Adam de Brus, of Skelton Castle, in Cleveland, on the marriage of his only daughter, Isabel, to Henry de Pesci, Lord of Petworth, gave the latter a manor in Cleveland, on condition that the said Henry and his heirs should repair to Skelton Castle every Christmas Day, and lead the lady of that castle from her chamber to the chapel mass, and thence to her chamber again, and after dining with her to depart.*

COVENT GARDEN MARKET, LONDON.

In May, 1552, after the attainder and death of Edward, Duke of Warwick, the ground of which Covent Garden forms part was granted by the Crown in socage to John Russell, first Earl of Bedford, together with seven acres called the Long Acres, all being parcel of the old Seymour estate, and estimated to be of the yearly value of £6 6*s*. 8*d*. The original Bedford House, a wooden structure with a large garden in the rear, was erected in 1554. But it was not till the time of Charles I. that any portion of the property was let out on building leases. Henrietta Street led the way. Covent Garden Market dates from 1678.†

It is said‡ that one of the conditions on which the Duke of Bedford holds the charter of the market is that a peck of green peas shall be sold there for sixpence on the 1st of each succeeding June.

CROWLAND, CO. OF LINCOLN.

The people here, from very earliest times, have subsisted on their fishing and trade in wild ducks. They used to pay the Abbot of Crowland a large rent for the liberty of fishing, and after the dissolution this fell to the Crown. It is said in *England's Gazetteer*, 1751, that the custom was then still paid.

* Sussex Archæological Collections, xxvii., 124.

† *Current Notes*, March, 1855.

‡ *Daily News*, May 28th, 1871.

DARTMOOR, CO. OF DEVON.

"On the skirts of Dartmoor," says Lysons,* "are large commons, the owners of which, being freeholders, have, by payment of a small sum, the right of pasture on the moor itself. These are known as Venville tenants, as having right of Venville."

DINTON OR DYNTON, CO. OF BUCKS.

This estate, where Cromwell resided a good deal while Charles I. held his court at Oxford, is said to have been held formerly by the tenure of the sword used by the Protector at Naseby.

DREGHORN, CO. OF EDINBURGH.

There is a tradition that the Scotts, or Scots, of Dreghorn formerly held that extensive manor by the service of blowing a horn, standing on a stone, the site of which is still pointed out.

EASTBOURNE, CO. OF SUSSEX.

See *Sussex Archæol. Collections*, xi. 27-8, and xxxiii. 248.

EDINBURGH.

Chambers (*Domestic Annals of Scotland*, 2nd Ed., i. 37) says that the town council were accustomed to bestow each November upon their chief a bullock, called the Provost's Ox, twelve pounds Scots being allowed for the purpose of buying the best that was to be had. In 1565 they also gave him a tun of wine, and twelve ells of velvet to make him a gown, in acknowledgment of special services rendered to the city.

FLEET PRISON, LONDON.

From the *Economy of the Fleet*, 1619, first printed for the Camden Society, 1879, a great deal of curious and important information may be collected on this subject. It is worth noticing here that the wardenship of the Fleet was anciently an hereditary office, and was held in conjunction with that of custodian of the Palace at Westminster. The family which acquired the twofold appointment at the Norman Conquest still held it in 1197. [See *ante*, vol. xi., pp. 203-209.]

* *Magna Britannia*, Devonshire, ccxxxii.

Roumanian Antiquities.

AN interesting account of some antiquities in Sulina, a district of modern Roumania, is given in the Consular Reports, Part II., of the present year, and we summarize therefrom the following facts :—

The region occupied by the Dobrogea of the present day has been more or less the habitation of all the various races that have settled in this quarter of Europe at different epochs of the world's history. The oldest inhabitants were probably the Thracian tribes of the right bank of the Ister (Danube), but the country was roamed over by Scythian tribes of the left bank, and by other barbarian hordes, who frequently crossed the Danube when frozen, and assailed their neighbours.

The towns of Tomis (Kiustenge), Callatia (Mangalia), and Istrus (no longer existing), were commercial ports founded 700 years B.C. by Greeks, who traded with the inhabitants. These Greek colonies maintained their existence for many centuries, and amalgamated with the more peaceful Thracians. The Persian invasion in the sixth century B.C. extended over the whole of the Dobrogea, and temporarily expulsed the Thracians. It is believed that Darius recrossed the Danube, after being defeated by the Scythians on the left bank, by means of a bridge which he built at a spot between Tulcea and Isaccea.

After the retreat of the Persians the country was visited on two occasions by the armies of Philip and Alexander, and by other Greek generals, whose armies greatly diminished the power of the Thracians.

The next change was caused by the invasion of the Gauls, who, however, did not remain long in this part of the continent, though they left behind a few predatory bands.

About 100 years B.C. the greater part of this region, including the three towns above mentioned, was placed under Roman sway, as part of Lower Mœsia, in consequence of the conquests of Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey (92-63 B.C.). The poet Ovid, who lived in exile at Tomis (9-17 A.D.), describes the situation of the three Greek colonies as very precarious during the period of his residence there. These towns were surrounded by strong walls, and were inhabited by Greeks and peaceful Thracians. The garrisons were composed of Roman soldiers. The land in the vicinity of the towns was cultivated by agriculturists of the same Thracian tribes as inhabited the towns. They were, however, subjected to continual annoyance from marauding incursions of the neighbouring barbarians.

Under the auspices of the Emperor Trajan this province prospered considerably, especially the town of Tomis, which became one of the most flourishing ports of the Black Sea. In the interior the towns of Troemis (Iglitza), Noviodum (Isaccea), Arubium (Macin), Cius (Hirsova), Sicidava (Ostrov), Capidava (Cernavoda), rose to some importance, and all the Roman remains to be found at present in the Dobrogea date from this period of prosperity, which continued until the invasion of the Goths, who devastated the whole region of the Lower Danube.

It was not until the reign of Diocletian that the province was reorganised as Lesser Scythia. It formed part of the Diocese of Thrace, and of the Prefecture of the East, with Tomis as capital.

The newly-constituted province enjoyed comparative peace and happiness until the fourth century (A.D.), when the Lower Danube was lost as a military frontier of the empire, and a very strong wall was erected across the Dobrogea by Trajan, after whom it was named. It extended from the Black Sea, near Kiustenge, to the Danube, near Cernavoda, and its remains are still to be seen.

The Goths soon afterwards overran the province again, and they were followed by the Huns, under Attila (447 A.D.), who destroyed Tomis, and probably the two other seaports.

The reign of Justinian brought a reaction in favour of this distant Roman district, which after another long period of rest was oppressed by the marauding bands of the different Slav races that have traversed this part of the continent.

In the thirteenth century the Tartars re-established themselves, and have held their footing until the present day.

In the fourteenth century the Dobrogea was conquered by the Wallachians, under their famous Hospodar Mircea, and from that period the Roumanian element began to migrate into this region.

The incorporation of the Dobrogea as part of the Ottoman Empire naturally followed upon the conquest of Bulgaria by the Sultan's armies in the fifteenth century, and —with the exception of slight changes of territorial jurisdiction at the mouths of the Danube after every war between Russia and Turkey—this district remained under Turkish rule up to the late war, when the Russians occupied it until it was incorporated as part of Roumania by the Treaty of Berlin (1878), in exchange for the three districts of Bessarabia.

Ancient Remains.

1. *Adam-Klissi* is a massive stone structure erected in a solitary spot twelve miles to the south-east of Rassova, on the Danube, and twenty-five miles to the south of Megidie. It is about thirty-six feet high, and forty-eight feet in diameter. The outer casing of this monument is circular, and is formed of small stones bound together by a cement that has withstood the elements for many a century. A large gap in the eastern partition of this casing reveals an inner wall formed of fine blocks, well fitted together but not cemented. At the foot of this ancient tower a circular depression in the ground is distinctly visible, showing traces of a former ditch that no doubt protected this stronghold. Hidden from view by a thick brushwood are several large loose blocks of stone, the sculptures on which, though somewhat defaced, are of great interest. They depict trophies of barbarian warriors, chariots, military scenes, and also architectural ornaments like palm-leaves, etc. The date of the construction of this pile is fixed, by Roumanian antiquaries, as far back as the fourth century, and it is of Roman origin. Over fifty new bas-reliefs and several statues have been excavated in recent years. They all represent warlike scenes between Roman soldiers and long-bearded barbarians. In the vicinity of the Adam-Klissi monument there are the remains of a large Roman camp, with its towers and rampart. The principal *enceinte* of the camp measures about 550 yards by 330. The arched entrance gate is still standing, as well as the collection of outer works. The whole forms an imposing mass of ruins.

2. *Tomis.*—For a long time the site of ancient Tomis was disputed, but it now seems decided that Kiustenge is situated on the site of the old commercial town, or, at any rate, very near it. A great many ancient remains have been found near Kiustenge, and every excavation that takes place brings to light ancient relics and coins, principally belonging to that period of the Roman Empire which is comprised between the reigns of Augustus and Philip. To judge from these coins, Jupiter and Bacchus appear to have been the objects of deep veneration on the part of the inhabitants of Tomis. In several parts of the modern town the remains of foundations of ancient monuments and edifices are visible, and it is reported that during the building of the railway near Kiustenge several statues and stones with inscriptions were dug up and shipped to London. In the days of the Emperor Tiberius, Tomis was only a small town, but it developed greatly after that period, and became one of the most important ports on the Euxine. In the fourth century it became the capital of Lesser Scythia, in 447 it was taken and destroyed by Attila, but was rebuilt and fortified in the reign of Justinian. As a Byzantine port it existed until the tenth century, when the Bulgarians sacked the place. It is famous in history as the residence of the poet Ovid, who lived and died there (A.D. 9-17). His supposed tomb is still pointed out on a small island in a lake in the vicinity, but there is nothing but legend to guarantee the tradition.

3. *Callatia.*—Though there have not been extensive excavations near the modern town of Mangalia, the few inscriptions and coins already discovered on the spot render it probable that Mangalia now occupies the site of ancient Callatia. Some of the coins found near the town depict the head of Hercules with the name of the town, and barbarian war implements on the reverse. A sample of this coin is to be seen at the British Museum. The remainder of the coins represent other Roman emperors.

Hercules, the patron of Heraclea, appears, from the coins, to have been the divinity specially honoured at Callatia.

4. *Istrus.*—No modern town exists on the site of ancient Istrus, a site which has not yet been determined by competent authorities. It is supposed to have been situated on the coast, some twenty or thirty miles south of Tomis, and not far from a village called Kara-Arman. A certain number of coins, with the inscription of the old town, have already been discovered.

5. *Troesmis.*—This was one of the numerous Roman military stations. The modern village of Iglitza, about eight miles from Macin, lies near the ruin, situated principally on the adjoining rocky heights. Several interesting inscriptions have been excavated and carried off, principally by French collectors.

6. *Trajan's Wall.*—This rampart—which completed the line of Roman defences established the whole length of the Danube, forming the frontier of Dacia—commenced between Cernavoda and Hirsova, on the Danube, and terminated at Kiustenge, on the Black Sea. Traces of the wall are still to be partially seen along the line of railway running parallel to it at several points.

7. *The Temple of Achilles.*—This temple—the few remains of which are to be found on Serpent's Island—was noticed by Strabo, who mentions it as having been a magnificent edifice, dedicated to the hero of the Trojan war, and looked upon with veneration by the Greeks as the resting-place of the soldiers of Ajax, Achilles, etc. Under the Russian domination many objects of antiquity were transported to Russia. In 1873 a private excavator found two marble slabs, which, it is surmised, have been portions of the cornices of the temple, and also some Greek, Roman, Venetian, and Genoese coins. One of these slabs has been recently withdrawn from the island for conveyance to the museum at Bucharest. It is supposed that the ruins of the temple have not been wholly disinterred, and the Roumanian Government intend prosecuting a thorough search.

8. In addition to the foregoing important historical remains, the ruins of Roman camps and stations are to be seen in several places. There are also several " tumuli " all over the Dobrogea, but they have not as yet been systematically examined to show whether they conceal relics of the past, or whether they are merely landmarks.

The Countess of Shrewsbury.

HIGH up in the second story of the wall of Hardwicke Old Hall, over a roofless hearth, is a pargetted ornament: the plaster represents two deer in a forest. Want of filial reverence in a daughter * has left those walls bare to the scourging of wintry winds, but under that *alto relievo*, which in its time has witnessed many family gatherings, nature has pitifully planted two or three saplings, and their greenery bids fair in time to shroud that dismantled art from the eyes of sad or scrutinising observers.

Ascending the hill on which Hardwicke Hall is built, standing to rest, we had seen in the valley a plantation of poplars and aspens. The white-lined leaves of the tree of trembling were stirred to more than usual activity by the summer breeze; and we were reminded of the curious fable which suggests a cause for the constant shiver of aspen leaves.

There are few women in English history who have become noted, as Bess of Hardwicke has, for qualities and actions which do not command approval, and which nevertheless cannot demand very stringent censure, and some matters in her history are well deserving a little attention. Passing through the hall of the house, we are so anxious to meet our hostess that we look with faint interest at Westmacott's statue of Mary Stuart, which overlooks the apartment. We ascend the broad stone stairs, and in the dining-room are shown one of the likenesses of the Countess of Shrewsbury. The face is that of an aged woman ; at her left hand is the representation of her second husband, Sir William Cavendish. A little lower on the same wall is the depiction of

* Timbs' *Abbeys, Castles, and Ancient Halls*, page 327. He says : "She considered her father's house not a sufficient mansion for a Countess of Shrewsbury to receive royalty in."

the coquettish Lady Betty Compton,* and the eyes of the mistress of Hardwicke seem to look with a scornful fatigue alike on the father of her children and on the luxurious daughter of "Rich" Spencer.

It is the likeness of what Dr. Wendell Holmes calls a "sherry blonde," a woman with auburn hair and brown eyes. The eyes are small, and mean-souled in their outlook, but the disappointment with the whole life, which is shown on that canvas, removes the character from the petty to the pitiful. Greedy, ambitious, self-seeking, the existence may have, nay, has been; the jealousy of lost influence, the grief over lost affection, lifting Elizabeth of Shrewsbury a step or two above the level of what is worst in life, urge her deep claim on our sympathy. How can we at this distance of time see where the first straying footmark leads into the turning ending in this labyrinth which the painter, unconsciously perhaps, makes us believe ends only where the inscription is, "Abandon hope, all ye who enter here"?

The daughter of a country gentleman,

> She was (says Dugdale) in person as well politick as faire and beautiful; in time she became mistress of a very vast fortune, by her successful matching with several wealthy husbands, whereof the first was Robert Barley, of Barley in Com. Derb., Esq., of whose great affections to her she made such advantage that for lack of issue by her he settled a large inheritance in lands upon herself and her heirs.

As Elizabeth was only twelve years old when she was married to Barley,† and he died in 1533, a year after she became his wife, it is likely that Dugdale's charge of early self-seeking is unfounded.‡ The probabilities seem in favour of well-considered parental forethought having secured advantages of succession to her by means of settlements.

In 1547 we find her entering into a second marriage with Sir William Cavendish,§ who is described on her tombstone in the church of All Hallows, Derby, as "of Chatsworth, Knt. Treasurer of the Chamber to the Kings Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and Queen Mary, to whom he was also a privy councillor." There were six children of this marriage—three sons and three daughters. Sir William died in 1557, leaving the building of the first house at Chatsworth unfinished, but in the hands of a skilful successor. In 1552, or five years before his death, we find her writing thus:—

Lady Cavendish to Francis Whitfield.

> Francys,—I have spoken w^t your mayster for the dyltes or bordes that you wrote to me of, and he ys contente that you take seche as wyll do hyme no sarvese aboute hys byldynge at Chattysworthe. Let the weivar make bere for me fourthew^t for my owne drynkyng and your mayster,* and se that I have good store of yt for yf I lacke ether good bere, or hcarcole or wode I wyll blame nobody so meche as I wyll do you. Cause the flore yn my bede chamber to be made even ether w^t plaster, clay, or lyme,† and al the wyndowes were the glasse ys broken to be mended, and al the chambers to be made as close and warme as you cane, etc.
>
> From London the xiiii of November.
>
> Your mystrys,
>
> ELIZABETHE CAVENDYSSH.‡
>
> To my sarvante Francys Wytfeld.
>
> Give thys at Chattysworthe.

Our next letter is undated, but we fix its approximate time shortly after the third marriage with Sir William St. Loe.

> Crompe,—I do undeurstande by your letters that Wortli sayth he will departe at our Ladeday next. I wyll that you shall have hym bunden yn an obly-gacyon to avoyde at the same day for sure I wyll troste no more to hys promes. And were he doth tell you that he ys any peny behind for work done to Mr. Cavendyssh or me he doth lye lyke a false knave, for I am moste sure he did never make any thynge for me but eleven vaynes to stande upon the huse. I do very wel lyke your sendeynges sawyers to Pentrege and Medoplecke for that will furder my workes, and so I pray you yn any other thyngs that will be a helpe

* Sir John Spencer, Lord Mayor of London in 1595, was so greatly averse to his daughter Elizabeth's marriage with Lord Compton that to escape from his house to be married she was carried away in a baker's basket. Her letter to her husband containing demands for luxurious state is given in Timbs' *Abbeys, Castles, and Ancient Halls*, page 92, etc.

† Or Barlow.

‡ In Burke's *Peerage* it is said that she obtained the Barley estates by settlement.

§ He had been gentleman usher to Cardinal Wolsey, and was retained in Henry VIII.'s service, because of his faithfulness to that churchman. He must have been much older than Elizabeth, for in 1530 he was appointed one of the commissioners for visiting and taking the surrenders of religious houses. In 1530 she was ten years old.

* Notice the order of precedence in the sentence, "My owne drynkyng and your mayster."

† Most if not all of the floors of Hardwicke are plaster.

‡ Hunter's *Hallamshire*, Gatty's edition, p. 107. "The originals of most of these letters," writes Hunter, "are in the collection of manuscripts made by the late John Wilson, Esq."

to my byldeynge let it be don. I woulde have you to tell my aunt Lenecker that I woulde have the letell garden weche ys by the newe howse, made a garden thys yere.* I care not wether she bestow any grate coste thereof, but to sowe w[t] al kynde of earbes and flowres, and some piece of y[t] w[t] malos.† I have sende you by thys carerer III bundeles of garden sedes all wreten w[t] Willem Marchyngton's hands, and by the nexte you shall know how to youse them yn every pynte.

From the Courte the viii. of Marche.

Your mystres,
E. SEYNTELO.

These, if one may judge by the expression of her face as she is represented at this time in the picture gallery of the Hall, must have been her halcyon days. St. Loe's letters show that he held his wife in high esteem, and the period of their earthly union was not long enough for the disillusion. His portrait shows him to have been kindly of nature, yet perhaps a little weak in judgment and superstitious of fancy, and his first letter strengthens that opinion.

Sir William Saint-Loe to Lady Saint-Loe.

My owne, more dearar to me than I am to myselff, thow schallt understande thatt ytt ys no smale fear nor greyff unto me off thye well doyng then I schowlde presentlye se what I dowyst, nott onelye for that my contynuall nyghtye dreams besyde my absens hath troubelyd me, butt also cheyflye, for that Hugh Alsope kan nott sattefye me in whatt estate thow nor thyne ys. The Aumar‡ saluteth the and sayeth no genttlemen's chyldren in Ingland schalbe better welcum nor bettar loked unto then owre boyes. Ones agayne farewell good honest swete.

To my owne dear wyffe atte
Chatsworth delyver thys.

The first of St. Loe's letters is from "Wynsor, the fowerth off September." The year is not stated in either of the three of his letters Mr. Hunter gives us. The second letter and the third are dated respectively: "From Maester Man's howse in Redcrosse strete, the xiiith of Octobar" and "Att London the xxiiiith off October."

The first and second paragraphs of the last letter show something of the domestic management of that time, and the queen's autocratical manner to her officers; St. Loe, according to the inscription on his wife's tombstone, being "captain of the royal guard."

Sir William Saint-Loe to Lady Saint-Loe.

My honest swete Chatesworth: I lyke the wekelye pryce off my hyred cowrte stuff so evyll thatt upon Thursdaye nextt I wyll send ytt home agayne, att whiche daye the weke endyth.* I praye you cawse soche stuff as Mowsal left packt in a schete to be browght hythar by the nextt carryar; there be hand towels and other thyngs therein thatt I must occupye when I schall lye at Whytehawll. My men hath neyther schurtt nor eynye other thyng to schyft them untyll thatt cum. Trust noen off yowre men to ryde eynye yowre howsyd horsys† butt onelye Jhames Cromp or Wyllyam Marchyngton, butt neyther off them wythoute good cawse serve spedelye to be doen. For nags there be enow abowte the howse to serve other purposys. One handfull off otes to everye one off the geldyngs at a wateryng wyll be suffycent, so they be not laboryd. Yow must cawse sum to overse the horskepar‡ for that he ys verye well learnyd in loyteryng.

The Quene hath fownde greatt fawtt wyth my long absens, sayeng sche wolde tacke wyth me farder, and that sche wolde well chyde me. Whereunto I anseryd thatt when her hyghnes understode the trawth and the cawse sche wolde nott be offendyd. Whereunto sche sayed, "Verye well, very well." Howbeytt hand of hers dyd I not Kysse."

A letter from the Earl of Ormond, at Dublin, to St. Loe, addressed to his "veray loveng frend Syr Wyllyam Sentlo, Captin of the quen's maisteyis gard," expresses in quaint terms his wish for his company—"Seing my fortune is to be heare, I wold God wold put in the queen's heade to mak you tred a boge hear ons agayn."§

But St. Loe‖ treads no more the Irish bogs; finding, as Hobbes says, "a hole to creep out of the world at," he leaves his wife's horsekeeper and servants to loiter at their or her will without his supervision. And he leaves also his estates to Elizabeth Hardwicke to the prejudice of his first wife's daughters and his own sisters.

In 1568-9 we find George Talbot, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, a suitor to the well-dowered widow. There were six children by her marriage with Cavendish, whose claims on her care she rightly holds as

* It is of interest to contrast this description of the little garden which is by the new house, with the present stately gardens at Chatsworth.

† Mallows are still used for fomentations for bruises in Derbyshire.

‡ The Aumur. Probably the almoner.

* Probably the day of the week on which it was hired.

† Housed horses—caparisoned horses.

‡ Horse keeper.

§ To make you tread a bog here once again.

‖ Dugdale writes he "was much superior to" his wife "in years."

paramount in importance,* and before accepting the offer for her own hand she stipulates on a double marriage between one of his sons and one of her daughters, and one of her sons and one of his daughters†—taking care to have settlements favourable to herself and her darlings.‡

The Queen, always regarding her nobility as the "ministers who were to do her pleasure," looked on this marriage for the furtherance of her own purpose, as we find from a passage or two in a letter from a lady of the Court who dates—without giving the year—"From Senjons the xxi. of October," and signs herself, "Your honors to comeand, E. WYNGFELDE."

She writes :—

> I assure you La. of my fayth. Her Magisty did talke one longe owre with Mr. Wyngfeld of my Lorde and you so carefully that as God ys my juge, I thynke your honors have no frende levynge that could have—consederacyon, nor more show love and grayt afficyon. Yn the end she asked when my Lord ment to come to the court; he answared he knew not; then sayd she, "I am assured yf she myght have her owne wyll she woulde not be longe before she would se me." Then sayd she, "I have bene glade to se my Lady Sayntloa, but now more dyssirous to se my Lady Shrewsbury." "I hope," sayd she, "my Lady hath known my good opennon of her ; and thus muche I assure you, there ys no Lady yn thys land that I beter love and lyke."

Had the Countess known it, her Majesty's love and liking were preparing misery and obloquy for their object; yet from all Elizabeth's actions to Lady Shrewsbury it is possible that the terms she used were not much exaggerated, her attachment to her own sex not being at any time pronounced in its exhibition.

There are two portraits, with autographs, copied from old engravings in the possession of Mr. Stephen J. Tucker, Somerset Herald, given in Mr. Leader's *Mary Queen of Scots*, representing the Earl and Countess, which one may judge to have been taken about 1589.

The Earl's face in this picture shows him to be a man capable of those strange contradictions which puzzle the student of human nature. A strong sense of duty he would seem to have ; his eyes are meditative and somewhat crafty in expression ; his forehead is not deficient in causality ; his mouth shows a wholesome appreciation of the pleasures of the table, and his aspect is that of one who takes delight in the proper care and adornment of his person. St. Loe's face in the picture gallery at Hardwicke had somewhat the character of kindly asceticism, but Shrewsbury is no ascetic, he loves his present place too well for any self-sought penance. His uneasiness will not be of his own willing choice. In a word it is the likeness of a selfish man. And the autograph fully justifies Burleigh's criticism of one of his letters to the Queen, "written," he writes, "with so ill a hand as I doubt the will and resolution of her Highness to read."*

The countenance of his wife in this engraving is a more difficult study than that of Shrewsbury. In the likeness one judges to have been taken in St. Loe's lifetime, if its propinquity to the portrait of that knight has any significance, the face would serve as a depiction of an ordinary middle-class mother shrewd to advance her children's material interests, without justly considering the claims of others. This picture is more of an enigma, and akin to the melancholy of the aged face which greets the visitor in the dining room of the Hall. The eyes are seen to greater advantage in the engraving, and the want of colouring limits our attention to features and shadow.

The hair is brushed back from a candid

* We have seen St. Loe's writing "of our boys."

† Mary Cavendish married Gilbert Talbot, second son of George, Earl of Shrewsbury ; and after his father's death he succeeded to the title and estates.

Henry Cavendish married Grace Talbot. On his mother's tombstone the following equivocal sentence follows his name : "but died without legitimate issue."

‡ Lodge, quoted by Leader—*Mary Queen of Scots in Captivity*, p. 17.

* Leader's *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 182. Mr. Leader writes, "When the Earl dispensed with the aid of a secretary, the result was a marvellously confused collection of blots and scratches."

His consciousness of his want of scholarship may have induced him to send two of his sons to study at the University of Padua. In a letter to his father, dated Padua, Nov. 4, 1570, or two years after his second son Gilbert's marriage to Mary Cavendish, he mentions their arrival, and promises to be diligent in his studies. (*Talbot Papers*, quoted in Hunter's *Hallamshire*, Gatty's edition—note to p. 98.) The fact is illustrative of Shakspere's "Came you from Padua, from Bellario?"

forehead, and covered with a lace veil which is crossed over her right shoulder; there is a good space between the eyes; a straight nose; a sarcastic, slight elevation of the left-hand corner of the bow-shaped upper lip leads us to expect humour and, perhaps not always modest, jesting. She seems a pleasant woman, though ambitious, and one showing a self-consciousness which would regard no good thing as too much for herself or her children. Withal there are signs of a passionate nature, so alien to the suspiciousness her fourth husband's face tells, that one wonders little at their disagreement.

This marriage was happy for a time:* we find Shrewsbury writing to his wife in 1568:

From Hamton courte this Monday at mydnyght, for it is every nyght so late before I goe to my bedd, being at playe in the preve chambar at Premyro, wher I have lost almost a hundereth pounde & laked my sclepe.

I thank you swete none for your podengs & venyson. The podengs have I bestoud in this wyes: dosen to my Lade Cobbam & as many to L. Stuard & unto my L. of Leystere; & the rest I have resarved to myselfe to ete in my chambar. . . . . Offe all erthely joyes that hath happenyd unto me I thanke God chefest for you; for w[th] you I have all joye and content asyon of mynde, & w[th]oute you dethe is mor plesante to me than lyfe if I thought I shulde long be from you; & therefore good wyfe doo as I wyll doo, hope shortely of our metenge, & farewell dere swete none.†

And again he writes from the Court on Monday the 13th of December—

If I shuld so jugge of tyme, me thynks tyme longar synste my cumminge heddar w[th]oute you my only joye that I dyd synste I maryed you: suche is faythefull affecsyon whyche I nevar tasted so deply off before.‡

And his wife addresses him as "my juwell" and "my dear harte." § In 1573 the earl writes again—

My dear none: of all joys I have undar Gode the gretest is your selfe; to thynke that I posses so fathefull & onne that I know loves me so dr[l] is all & the gretest comfort that this yerth can gyve. Therefore God gyve me grace to be thankfull to him for his goodnes showed unto me, a vyle synare. I your letters con very well & I lyk them so well they could nott be amended & have sent them upp to Gylbard.* I have wrytten to him how happy he is to have syche a mothar as you are. Farewell only joye.†

ISABEL GILCHRIST.

(To be continued.)

* Elizabeth should have had much experience of domestic management by this; she would be forty-eight when she married the earl.

† Hunter's *Hallamshire*, Gatty's edition, p. 109.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

* His second son.

† Hunter's *Hallamshire*, Gatty's edition, p. 112.

English Mystery Plays.

THE important bearing of the old mysteries or miracle plays on the history of the stage has been universally acknowledged; in fact, too much has often been made of their supposed influence upon the regular drama. But the intrinsic interest of the plays themselves and the illustration they afford of the beliefs and manners of the people have not hitherto attracted so much attention. There appear to be few things more difficult than for the men of one age to understand those of another; and it has been too much the fashion to charge our forefathers with impropriety and want of taste.

We welcome the handsome volume of York plays,‡ just produced by Miss Toulmin Smith, with singular pleasure, not only because the editor has spared no pains in the illustration of her subject, but also because the Clarendon Press has appealed to the general public in the publication of this valuable addition to the literature of the Stage. Previously works of this class have been either printed by publishing societies or for a limited number of subscribers. Bishop Percy, in his essay on the origin of the English stage (*Reliques*, vol. i.), says that mysteries led first to moralities and then to chronicle plays; but the connection is by no means so clear as this eminent writer would make us believe. We however have nothing to do with this connection, as our object now is merely to give a short account of the religious plays that were at first super-

‡ York plays. The plays performed by the crafts or mysteries of York on the day of Corpus Christi, in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries; now first printed from the unique manuscript in the library of Lord Ashburnham. Edited, with Introduction and Glossary, by Lucy Toulmin Smith. Oxford Clarendon Press, 1885. 8vo, pp. lxxx, 557.

intended by the Church, and afterwards were apportioned to the different trades. Originally the liturgical mystery was performed in Latin in the church as a part of the service. Afterwards the collective mystery was produced n the vernacular, although with much opposition offered by some, and was produced outside the church by regular players or by members of the different guilds or trading companies. The festival of Corpus Christi was instituted in the year 1264, and confirmed in 1311; and shortly afterwards these cycles of plays appear to have become associated with this honoured feast.

Miss Toulmin Smith gives an interesting list of places in Great Britain where religious plays were performed, with the dates of performances and the names of the plays. There are over forty entries, ranging from the twelfth century (when *St. Catherine* was acted at Dunstable, and, according to Fitzstephen, some unmentioned plays in London) to the reign of James I., when we learn that Corpus Christi plays were acted at Preston, Lancaster, and Kendal. To this list we may add two. In the *Calendar of State Papers* (Domestic, Addenda, 1580-1625, p. 101) there is a reference to notes from the churchwardens' accounts of St. Edmond's, Salisbury, from 1 Edward IV. to 25 Elizabeth; and here we find an entry under 1 Edward IV., "For all apparel and furniture of players at the Corpus Christi." The other is from Morant's *Essex* (vol. ii., 1768, p. 399, col. 2). In the sixteenth century some structural additions were made to the church of Braintree; and besides the large contributions of the inhabitants, three plays were acted in the church for the purpose of defraying the expenses. The first was of *St. Swithin*, in 1523; the second of *St. Andrew*, in 1525; and the third of *St. Eustace*, in 1534. This information is interesting, as showing that although to a certain extent the laymen had taken the plays out of the hands of the churchmen, yet that the latter retained their connection with the plays down to a late period. We are further informed that after the Reformation the churchwardens not only lent garments to the players, but at last sold these garments to them for fifty shillings, and the play-books for fifty shillings.

The three English cycles of religious dramas already published are those of Wakefield (known as the Towneley Collection, 1836), of Coventry (1841), and of Chester (1843-47); and now we are in possession of those of York. Another cycle of which mention should be made is that one which was performed in Cornwall at an early date; but these plays were given in the Cornish language and not in English. They were acted in the open country in amphitheatres prepared for the purpose.

We will now pass on to a more particular notice of the York plays. These were performed by the crafts from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, with the sanction and authority of the corporation; and having been written by an anonymous author about 1340-50, they were registered in a volume by the city officers. By some unknown means the manuscript, which Miss Smith dates about 1430—1440, came into the possession of the Fairfax family, and passed through several hands, until it was presented by Henry Fairfax to Thoresby, the antiquary, at whose sale Horace Walpole bought it for the small sum of one guinea. Rodd, the bookseller, bought it at Walpole's sale for £220 10*s*., and sold it to Heywood Bright for £235. In 1844 Thorpe bought it for the Rev. Thomas Russell for £305, and subsequently it was sold to the late Lord Ashburnham. In spite of the publicity given to this valuable manuscript by its frequent change of owners, it found no one to draw its treasures to the light until Miss Toulmin Smith undertook the onerous task, which she has carried out in so enthusiastic and scholarly a spirit.

These plays, which deal with the chief incidents of the Old and New Testaments, and extend from the Creation to the Judgment Day, form the most elaborate series known to exist here. Miss Smith has given a comparative table of the four great cycles, which is of considerable interest. The York series consists of forty-eight plays, that of Coventry forty-two, the Towneley collection thirty, and the Chester twenty-five.

The acting of these plays was an important matter, and great care was taken by the several crafts to select good actors for the purpose. The office was no sinecure, for all concerned were ready by half-past

four o'clock in the morning, and all the plays had to be got through in the day. Each actor repeated his part at a succession of stations in the different streets of the town. These stations were sometimes altered; and besides the public places, such as "the gates of pryory of the Holy Trinity in Mikel-gate," the Pavement, etc., they were sometimes fixed at the doors of some of the principal citizens. In 1417 it was ordered that "those persons should be allowed to have the play before their houses who would pay the highest price for the privilege, but that no favour should be shown."

We are glad to see that the editor does full justice to the earnestness and ability of the author of these plays. Most of the writers on this subject have thought it necessary to pour contempt upon the writers and producers of the old religious drama; but we think it will be impossible for any unprejudiced reader of these five hundred pages of York mysteries to shut his eyes to the single-minded purpose of the author, who treats in a thoroughly appropriate manner the different subjects he has to enlarge upon. The Biblical narrative is followed with much care, and the introduction of legendary matter is by no means overabundant. In an age when readers were few, these plays must have afforded a wonderful opportunity for the people to become acquainted with a form of religious instruction, and doubtless they exerted a very powerful influence over the spectators. If we were to form our opinion of these plays from the writings of some critics, we should suppose them to be filled with bluster and inappropriate jocularity; but this is not so. Miss Toulmin Smith writes :—

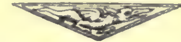
> Like a true artist, the dramatist called up mirth over incidents harmless enough; he allowed Noah's wife to flout her husband, the shepherd to sing with a cracked throat, and Judas to be covered with ridicule and abuse by the porter. . . . The principal personage in a play, whether he is wanted at the beginning or not, generally comes on the stage first with a long speech, in the case of Noah, Abraham, Deus, and Jesus, with befitting gravity and seriousness; in the case of Satan, Pharaoh, Herod, Pilate, and Caiaphas, it is daring, pompous, and blustering; in that of Pilate, tempered by a sense of benevolence and justice which runs through his actions. . . . Nor were the effects of music and light neglected; the shepherds must have both heard singing and sung themselves; the music itself is actually written for Play 46, and in several places we have stage directions for singing. The Transfiguration was accompanied by a cloud and a "noys herde so hydously," possibly for thunder. Besides the star of Bethlehem, bright lights were used at the Birth, Transfiguration, and Betrayal of Jesus, and in the Vision of Mary to Thomas.

After the Reformation attempts were made to conform the plays to the spirit of the times. This is seen by notices in the Municipal Records and by notes on the leaves of the manuscript; but these attempts were ineffectual, and about 1580 the acting of the plays was discontinued.

It may be remarked that there were other York plays besides the Corpus Christi Cycle. Thus, according to the preamble of the Ordinances of the Guild of the Lord's Prayer, "Once on a time a play setting forth the goodness of the Lord's Prayer was played in the city of York; in which play all manner of vices and sins were held up to scorn, and the virtues were held up to praise." This is referred to by Wyclif. *The Creed Play* was to be performed through York every tenth year, and at midsummer the play of *St. George*, with its procession, was acted.

There are many passages in the Corpus Christi plays we should like to quote if we had space, and there is much matter relating to the acting and the actors which we might enlarge upon; but we must refer our readers to the book itself, and to the excellent introduction which Miss Toulmin Smith has prefixed to her admirably-edited volume.

H. B. WHEATLEY.



Supplementary Gleanings concerning S. Bartholomew-the-Great.

A LIST of the priors of S. Bartholomew-the-Great is given in Dugdale's *Monasticon* (vol. vi. pt. i., p. 291). Omitting the name of Rahere, the founder and first prior, who died in 1143, as also that of "Canon Thomas of S. Osyth,"* who, according to an old MS. frequently quoted, *Liber fundationis ecclesiæ et prioratus S. Bartholomæi* (*Cotton MSS.*,

* The Augustine Abbey of S. Osyth, in Essex, in the Archdeaconry of Colchester.

Vesp., B. ix.), succeeded him about 1144, the list runs as follows (we have interspersed a few particulars from another copy of the list) :—

G., Canon of Osney, A.D. 1213.*
Peter resigned, 40 Hen. III., when
Robert received the royal assent, Nov. 23, same year ; he had been sub-prior.
Gilbert de Weledon elected, Nov. 1262.
John Bacun, Jan. 11, 1264.
Hugh died in 1295.
A prior elected by Edward I., March 11, 1295. Name unknown to us.
John de Pekenden died, 1351.
Edm. de Brauhyng, June 23, 1351 ; resigned, Ap. 18, 1356.
John de Carleton, Ap. 22, 1356.
Thomas de Watford, died June 4, 1381.
William Gedney, June 10, 1381.
John Reypyndon, *alias* Eyton, March 3, (elected).
John, prior of St. Bartholomew, was cited to a Convocation at Oxford, Nov. 23, 1407.
Reginald occurs May 1, 1437.
John, 1439.
Robert Tollertone, upon whose death
William Guy received confirmation, June 23, 1 Rich. III.
William Bolton succeeded Aug. 27, 21 Hen. VII.; died Prior, Ap. 15, 1532.
Robert Fuller, his successor, held this Priory *in commendam* with the Abbey of Waltham Holy Cross. He surrendered the Priory to the King, Oct. 25, 1540, 31 Hen. VIII.

From the copy of this list, given in *Bibliotheca Biographica Britannica* (vol. ii., p. 46), we also learn that the original is to be found in Bishop Kennet's Collection ; and in this copy a few particulars are stated concerning S. Bartholomew's and its priors, as for example, that in the days of Thomas de Watford, who died in 1381, "there were twenty monks in the priory ;" that it was to the Church of S. Frideswide, at Oxford, that Prior John (1407) was cited to Convocation, as also Prior Reginald (1509).†

* Oseney Abbey, near Oxford, was, as Dugdale tells us, built for Augustine canons by one Robert D'Oylly, in 1129, by the desire of his wife Edith.

† In connection with the Convocation at S. Frideswide, as also with Oseney Abbey, the following from Dugdale is of interest :

"Upon the erection of the new bishopricks of Henry VIII., in 1542, the Abbey of Oseney was changed into a Cathedral Church of 'Christ and the Blessed Virgin,' wherein were settled a dean, prebendaries, etc., who were to be the chapter of the bishop of Oxford, whose palace was to be at Gloucester Hall ; but the establishment continued not above three or four years, when in 1546 the Conventual Church of St. Fridswide was made the Cathedral Church, and called Christ Church."

Two seals (writes Dugdale), one believed to have been Rahere's own, the other, the earliest of the convent, are engraved in the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries (vol. xix., p. 49). The seal used by the convent (he adds) at the surrender, is engraved in the *Vetusta Monumenta* (vol. ii., plate 36). The seal of the priory made for the restored convent in the time of Queen Mary is engraved in vol. xv. of the *Archæologia*. Impressions of the counter-seal are attached to a deed in the Duchy Office, Lancaster, dated 16 Rich. II., the former representing S. Bartholomew seated in a curiously wrought Gothic chair ; the latter, a church in a ship on the waves, with the words, "Navis Eccl'ie."

This is the seal engraved in the *Vetusta Monumenta*.

In Dugdale we also have the names of the canons at the time of the surrender, thus :—

Robertus Glassyn (sub-prior).	Peter Wade.
Willmus Barlawe.	Robertus Stokes.
Johes Smythe, Senr.	Ricu Duffe.
Henricus George.	Johes Sutton.
Johes Smythe, Junr.	Georgius Chapman.
Christifer Reginald.	Matthew Dylle.

Leland, the antiquary, careful not to overrate the deserts of Rahere, remarks that Henry I. has been spoken of as the founder of the Priory of S. Bartholomew, as giving the ground on which both priory and hospital were built, and as also presenting some churches in Suffolk ; "but," he adds, "it was doubtless by the means and solicitations of Rahere that both were begun, the buildings carried on, and the first endowment settled." The energy and organizing power were Rahere's. It was within a century of its foundation that Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, claimed a right of visiting the priory, and was firmly but respectfully resisted by the canons and their sub-prior. In the chronicles of Matthew Paris, under the year 1250, may be found an account of this fray, which must have taken place during the priorship of Prior Peter.

The canons (writes Dugdale) were ultimately obliged to submit to this invasion of their rights ; and, in addition, to the more regular jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, by whom their priors were confirmed, and were obliged to pay obedience to the archbishop when he visited them metropolitically. Archbishop Winchelse, who visited them in 1303, made injunctions for them, and rules for better government.

Dugdale considers there is reason to believe that the hospital was built before the priory, and gives us the following incomplete list of the masters of S. Bartholomew's

Hospital, which is headed by the name of Alfune, Rahere's friend, architect and almoner, thus :—

Alfune.
William le Rouse, Ap. 1, 17 Edward III.
Richard Sutton, resigned in 1386.
William Wakering, Dec. 31, 1386.
Thomas Creveker, died Aug. 4, 1510.
Robert Beyley, elected Aug. 9, 1510; died Ap. 23, 1516.
Richard Smith, LL.D., died Feb. 20, 1522.
Alex. Colyns, a monk of Davenby, appointed by Cardinal Wolsey, Feb. 25, 1524; died Jan. 1528.
Edward Staple, bish. of Meath; resigned July 1, 1532.
John Brereton, LL.D., Sept. 23, 1532.

None of the original buildings of the hospital, according to Dugdale, are thought now to be remaining.

In one of the Cole MSS. at the British Museum is to be seen a drawing of the seal of the hospital; S. Bartholomew is there represented as under a canopy, with a knife in his right hand, and a book in his left; and treading on a lion. All that remains of the inscription is :—" Barth—London."

From the *Bibliotheca Biographica Britannica* (vol. 2), we learn that the mansion at Canonbury, which was so well cared for by Prior Bolton, was presented to the Priory of S. Bartholomew some time before the reign of Henry III. It seems that the estate of Canonbury, at Islington, belonged to the Berners family, a grant being made to S. Bartholomew's by one Ralph de Berners, " of lands in Isledon (or Islington)," this grant being confirmed by Henry III. by letters patent, dated " Winchester, June 15, 1233." Probably a mansion was built here for some of the canons; and it was thus that it came to be called " Canonbury."

In Britton's *Archæological Antiquities of Great Britain* (Appendix 1., vol. v.), it is stated that

William Bolton, Prior of S. Bartholomew's, London, in the reign of Henry VIII., is supposed to have designed Henry VII.'s Chapel, where he was master of the works.

Britton gives, as his authority, Brayley, in his *History and Antiquities of Westminster Abbey and Henry the Seventh's Chapel, etc.* Brayley writes as follows :–

In the will of Henry VII., which is preserved among the Exchequer Records, in the Chapter-House of Westminster, there are various interesting particulars concerning this Chapel (Henry VII.'s Chapel), and the King's tomb. This instrument was begun at Richmond, March 31, 1509, and completed at Canterbury on the 10th of April following.

In this will the king, after giving directions concerning masses to be said at the altar, besides many other matters in connection with his chapel, continues thus :—

But also that the said Chapel be desked, and the windows of our said Chapel be glazed with stores (stories ?) images, arms, etc. . . . as is by us readily devised, and in a picture delivered to the Prior of *Sainct Barthl'mews beside Smythfield, maister* of the works of our said Chapel.

Brayley tells how the credit of designing and erecting the chapel has usually been given to Sir Reginald Bray; and how this is unreasonable as regards, at any rate, the erecting, as he died a few months after helping Abbot Islip and the king in laying the foundation stone, viz., in October 1503. He also mentions and disputes the claims brought forward in favour of Bishop Alcock, of Salisbury, as the designer, and concludes his reasoning in these words :—

We have full as much reason to conclude that the Prior of Saint Bartholomew was himself the architect . . . for in the King's Will he is expressly called, " Maister of the Works of our said Chapell." " Prior Bolton's rebus," he remarks (a bolt and a ton), " is still to be found at Saint Bartholomew's Church; but it nowhere appears in the Chapel; a circumstance to be accounted for, perhaps, by considering that it was altogether a Royal Foundation."

We have quoted, throughout, from the edition of 1818, which is in two volumes. (See vol. i., pp. 6-10.)

Stow speaks of Prior Bolton as

a great builder; he builded anew the Manor of Canonbury, Islington, beside some small reparations on the Parsonage House of Harrow-on-the-Hill, and built a Dovehouse there.

For a description of the present lamentable condition of the " noble fragment " which remains of S. Bartholomew's Church and Priory, and much else concerning it, we refer our readers to an article in the *Saturday Review* of April 11, 1885, entitled, " S. Bartholomew's Priory, Smithfield," which will be found well worth reading, and from which we will content ourselves for the present by quoting a sentence or two.

It is a circumstance of happy omen (says the writer) that one of the most energetic of London incumbents,

who won his spurs long since at St. Thomas's, Charterhouse, and St. Matthew's, City Road, has been recently appointed to the incumbency. As whatever Mr. Panckridge takes in hand is sure to succeed, we cannot feel any doubt that the whole sum needed, not only for the removal of . . . interlopers, but for the thorough restoration of this most interesting historic church, will be forthcoming. But it is certainly a case of BIS DAT QUI CITO DAT. . . . In the words of the present Primate, "from every point of view, parochial or archæological, the restoration of the solemn historical sanctuary of S. Bartholomew, in the heart of London, seems a great duty, associated as it is with benefits enjoyed to this day by the sick and needy, the great world-famous hospital of S. Bartholomew's, the lineal successor of the infirmary founded by Rahere."

M. G. M.

Beachley and Buttington, 'twixt Severn and Wye.

By S. Hillman.

THERE is probably no portion of the country of a similar area which is so replete with interest to the antiquary as those parts of the counties of Monmouthshire and Gloucestershire that formed the southern termination of the Welsh Marches, and that lie on both sides of the Wye in immediate contiguity with it. Castle after castle invites his inspection, hoary with age, gray with lichens, and mantled in evergreen vestments of ivy; thus appealing to his sense of the picturesque, while at the same time, by their historic associations, they conjure up to his mental eye pictures of times and manners long since receded into the past. They offer, too, a wide field for research, for their histories have yet to be written. Alas! that I should have to say *yet*, for it was the intention, I believe, of that ripe scholar and antiquary the late Mr. J. Fitchett Marsh to do for all the Monmouthshire castles what he did for that noble pile of ruins at Chepstow. Death, however, prematurely laid him low, and what was intended to become an exhaustive history of those "romances in stone," never exceeded a scarcely finished monograph on Chepstow Castle. Not only castles, however, nor the far-famed Abbey of Tintern, are the sum of the attractions to the antiquary in this favoured district, for there are other objects, less patent to the eye, but of an age more remote, and, if possible, of even greater interest; and it is to one of these, and to the many associations with it, that I wish to call the attention of my readers.

Across the Wye, and between it and the Severn, lies a strip of land gradually narrowing till it terminates at the "meeting of the waters" at Beachley, every inch of which is classic ground, for it was of the first military importance from the time of the Roman occupation until the middle of the seventeenth century. Here have fought at different periods all the peoples that have contributed their blood, their virtues, and their vices to the formation of the English race: Britons, Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans have here met in succession to contest their right of inheritance to this coveted island. At the present time, however, there is so little to be seen by the untrained eye indicative of the turbulence of the past, that one may walk from Chepstow to Beachley, a distance of something over three miles, and never dream that he is on historic ground, consecrated with the blood of his ancestors. Even when he has passed the gates of Sedbury Park, and shortly begins a rapid ascent, there is nothing apparent to an ordinary eye to tell him that he is mounting that stupendous military work of early Saxon times, the *Clawdh Offa*, or dyke, raised in the eighth century by the Mercian king Offa to restrain the inroads of Welsh invaders seeking to regain their own. Yet he is, in fact, crossing the northern boundary of one of the best-contested spots in the land, the battle-field of ages; for twice in the *Saxon Chronicle* are we told of its being the scene of strife and pillage, and during the "Great Rebellion" several engagements were fought between the old Saxon fortification and the point of land at Beachley off which lies upon a rock the ruined chapel dedicated to the martyred Saint Tecla.

That Offa's Dyke had its southern termination in this locality there can be but little doubt, for in a charter of King Eadwig to the Seculars of Bath it is mentioned as forming the boundary between two hamlets of Dyddanhamme (Tidenham), identified with Sedbury and Beachley, and Simeon of Durham * and the *Polychronicon* † fix a termination coin-

* Col. 118, *Hist. Ang. Script. Dec.*, Twysden.
† Lib. v., c. xxv.

ciding with the Sedbury cliffs, but with no other spot. Since the above has been in type I have found further evidence, which, to my mind, conclusively points to this spot as being the site of the dyke. In *Cod. Dip. Sax. Ævi.*, 461, App. to vol. iii., Dyddenham is mentioned as containing thirty hides, apparently distributed as follows:—In Strœt (now Stroat), 12 hides 27 yards; in Cingestún, 6 hides 13 yards; in Biscopestún (now Bishton), 3 hides; in Middeltún, 5 hides 14 yards; and in Lancawet (now Llancaut), 3 hides. Stroat and Bishton are both in the Beachley peninsula, but Middleton and Kingston I am unable to identify; but that the latter place was on the Severn is clear, for it is said to have had 21 cytweras (a kind of weir for taking fish) on that river. Of the six hides it contained, one is described as being "above the dyke (díc)." Coxe, however, says that what is claimed to be the dyke was merely "an intrenchment thrown up in the civil wars in 1644;" but that it was more than this is very clear, for it can be traced for a much greater distance along the Wye, and thence across the Tidenham Chace, than would meet the requirements of the defenders of the peninsula merely.

There is every probability that Offa in raising his dyke worked upon older Roman lines, for the discovery of Roman remains in Sedbury Park in 1860 (described in Ormerod's *Strigulensia*) indicates the existence of a Roman station at that spot. The position, by reason of its natural features, readily lent itself to conversion into a stronghold, and it was of the first importance from a strategical point of view, since it commanded the passage across the Severn from Aust, an important communication with Venta Silurum, even if it was not the Trajectus Augusti, as Lysons maintains it to have been. The dyke, as already said, commences at Sedbury Cliffs, and enters Buttington Wood, where it has, perhaps, retained its original formation most completely. Some years ago the underwood was removed, and the rampart was then revealed as an apparently unaltered mound about forty feet wide at the base, and twelve to fourteen feet high, but of course when first made it must have been much higher. From this wood it enters Sedbury Park, where it forms the boundary between the hamlets of Sedbury and Beachley, as in Eadwig's charter. For about a hundred yards it bears marks on its northern side of alterations, most likely effected by Prince Rupert and Sir John Winter, and it was this part of the works, probably the best known to Coxe, which induced him to consider the whole structure as the work of the royalist. The dyke crosses the high-road at Buttington Tump, and thence to the Wye, thus completely isolating the peninsula of Beachley.

Of the struggles on this spot between Britons and Romans there is no evidence; of those between Welsh and Saxons there is but scant record; but that they were of frequent occurrence is almost certain. The Saxons, we are told by the old chroniclers, cast longing eyes upon the pleasant land lying between the Severn and the Wye, and in their frequent endeavours to annex it, what more likely than that this, the key to the position, was the point selected for invasion? And this appears the more probable when we read of battles being fought in the immediate neighbourhood, such as that on the Wye * (at Pont-y-Saison), when Ceólwulph inflicted his death wound on the Christian king Theodoric, who died at Matherne at the mouth of the Wye, *circa* 600; and that at Ddefawdan (Devauden) near Chepstow, where Æthelbald inflicted a severe defeat upon his British opponents, *circa* 774.† As to the contests between the Saxons and Danes, however, information of a positive character is forthcoming, for the *Saxon Chronicle*, the *Chronicle of Æthelward*, the *Polychronicon*, and other early records relate Danish incursions, and a Danish defeat at Buttington, and from the description of the site in the *Saxon Chronicle*, and from the attendant circumstances there related and by the other chroniclers, I think there can be but little doubt that the particular spot in question was the scene of that conflict. So far as I know, this identification has not heretofore been seriously attempted,—at least the county histories are silent upon the point. On the other hand, I am aware that Camden places the site at Buttington by Welch-pool in Montgomeryshire, and Mr. Green in his

* *Reg. of Llandaff*, p. 562; *Langhorn's Chron.*, p. 148.
† *Brut y Tywysogion*, p. 562; *Flor. Wig.*, p. 272.

map of "England and the Danelagh"* favours the same situation; but I think the evidence is stronger in favour of the Gloucestershire site, as will presently be shown.

In 893 there was a very determined invasion by the Northmen, a fleet of whom directed their course to the Andredsweald while the Viking Hastings entered the Thames. They were held at bay by Alfred during the year, and to strengthen their hands they called upon their brethren of the Danelagh for assistance, and also sought to stir up anew the hostility of the Welsh. The Danes of Northumbria and East Anglia responded to the appeal with two fleets, one of a hundred and the other of forty vessels; the stronger sailed south and besieged Exeter, and the smaller, rounding the island by the north, reached the Bristol Channel and besieged a fortress in North Devon. The king held Exeter, and succeeded in dispersing the attacking fleet, but before he could leave Devonshire, Hastings marched into Mercia along the Thames to the Severn, where he was driven into a position of strength, but one from which he could not easily escape, as it was open to attack "both by land and on the river."† Let us see what that position was. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *s.v.* A.D. 894, says:

They [the Northmen] then went up along the Thames till they reached the Severn, then up along the Severn. Then Æthelred the ealdorman, and Æthelm the ealdorman, and Æthelnoth the ealdorman, and the king's thegns who were then at home in the fortified places, gathered forces from every town east of the Parret [Pedridan] and as well as east of Selwood, and also north of the Thames, and west of the Severn, and also some part of the North-Welsh people. When they had all drawn together, then they came up with the enemy at Buttington on the banks of the Severn, and there *beset them about on either side in a fastness.* When they had sat there many weeks on both sides of the river, then were the enemy distressed for want of food, and having eaten a great part of their horses, the others being starved by hunger, then went they out against the men who were encamped on the east bank of the river, and fought against them; and the Christians had the victory. And Ordhelm, a king's thegn, was there slain, and also many other king's thegns were slain; and of the Danish-men there was a very great slaughter made, and that part which got away thence was saved by flight.

* *Hist. English People*, vol. i., ch. iii.

† Sharon Turner's *Hist. Anglo-Saxons*, bk. iv., ch. xi.

In the *Polychronicon** a little additional information is given as to the movements of the Danish fleet in co-operation with the land force:—

Then the Danes lefte here [their] schyppes and dwelled at the brigge [? Passage] upon Severn, faste by Wales, and builde there a strong castle.

In the *Chronicle* of Johannis Bromton, too, the fleet is spoken of as coming to Brugges, *super Sabrinam juxta Walliam*, where a strong castle was taken possession of by the Danes, who left their ships and wintered there;† while, also, Caradoc of Llancarvon very significantly adds that the Danes "crossed the river and spoiled the countries of Brecknock and Gwentland [Monmouthshire]."‡

Roger of Wendover, who wrote in the third century after the events he describes, is less reliable perhaps as to details, but in the main his narrative may be depended upon. He says:—

The Danes came to a fortress [or fortified wood, *Oppidum*] where they were received with great respect by their brethren, and were introduced by them into the fortress which they had constructed. And when this was made known to King Alfred, he gathered an almost invincible army, and coming to the before-mentioned fortress, which was washed on all sides by the Severn waves, he surrounded the pagans with both his fleet and his land force . . . Being compelled by necessity, they went forth out of the fortress to fight against the army which was on the east side of the river. . . . And then the faithful pursued them without mercy, drowning many in the waves, and slaying others with the sword. §

From these authorities it would seem that the invaders were in such a position as left them open to attack on all sides, although that position was too strong to be carried by assault. These conditions the peninsula of Beachley would exactly fulfil, for on the west side was the Wye, on the east the Severn, and on the north Offa's Dyke. Although enjoying comparative safety from open attack, it was just the position that could be easily beleaguered, and this was the course adopted by the Saxon thegns, until hunger compelled the besieged to fight their way out, and attempt to save themselves by flight. They probably made a desperate

* Lib. vi., ch. iii., *Harl. MS.* 2261.

† Col. 813, ed. Twysden.

‡ *Chronicles*, p. 42, ed. Powel.

§ *Flores Historiarum*, A.D. 895.

sally for their war-ships, and crossed the Severn, hoping to cut their way through the Saxon force that lay at Aust, guarding the road thence to Cirencester. Only partial success crowned their gallant efforts; they were fiercely attacked by the king's ships in crossing, so that they landed upon the opposite shore a weakened and disorganised band, little able to cope with the stubborn resistance that there awaited them. Merely a remnant escaped with their lives, and they marched straight for Essex to the abandoned ships of Hastings.

On careful consideration of the Chronicles it will be at once apparent, I think, that several of the conditions therein indicated did not obtain at the Montgomeryshire Buttington. In the first place it was well within the Wales of those days, not "faste by," or as Trevisa's translation has it, "nye to Wales;" and at the same time it was remote from the two districts mentioned by Caradoc as having been the scene of Danish devastation, a good part of Montgomeryshire and Radnorshire intervening, of which no mention is made. The river also was too shallow both there and for many miles below for the Danish chiules to ascend so far, and would be altogether too narrow for anything like naval operations with vessels of their length. Then again there was no situation into which the Danes could have retired that would enable them to stand a siege, and the time at their disposal was not sufficient to allow of the erection of a fortress such as would have bid defiance to an attacking force, for

> the illustrious duke Æthelm with a squadron of cavalry, and duke Æthelnoth with an army of West Saxons, and Æthelred earl of the Mercians, pressed after them with great impetuosity.*

The most they could have done would be to utilize a naturally strong position by raising earthworks, answering somewhat to the Saxon definition of a castle. This, too, must have been in the midst of the stream, for the Saxon forces "beset them about . . . on both sides of the river," "surrounded them with their fleet and land force," and the situation was "washed on all sides by the Severn waves;" and such a position I believe the Montgomeryshire site does not afford.

Finally, as the Severn here flows almost north, by attacking the men on its east side the Danes would still be west of the river, and would have the task of crossing it lower down in its course,—an almost impossible feat with a victorious pursuing army close at hand, and one not likely to escape record by the chroniclers, by reason of the disaster that must have attended it.

From this time until 1049 we do not read of any disturbance of the peace of the little peninsula, but in the summer of that year * "pirates from Ireland," (probably Danes who had been wintering there) sailed up the Severn in thirty-nine ships,† and aided by Gryffyn, King of Wales, "did much robbery," and "had many praye [prey] about the water of Vaga." In their pursuit of plunder it would be too much to expect that the strong position at the mouth of the Wye should not have been utilised as the base of their operations "about its waters." In the immediately succeeding struggles between the Welsh and Harold, who had property and a palace close by, at Portskewet ‡ in Monmouthshire, there is good reason for believing that Beachley must have been an important military position, but there is no record of its having been so, and we do not hear of the place again until Walter Mapes, chaplain to Henry II., relates a very entertaining and moral story in connection with it. To deny the authenticity of this story would be carrying scepticism too far, but it will readily be seen on examination that its details are not accurate, since its *dramatis personæ*

* *Chron. of Æthelweard*, *s.v.*, A.D. 893.

* *Polychron.*, lib. vi., ch. xxiii.

† *Flor. Wig.*, pp. 409-412.

‡ This palace was destroyed by the Welsh under Cardoc ap Gryffyn, as may be seen by consulting Matt. West, p. 429, and the following account by Walter Brune:—

> "Harald to Wales went unto Portastiche [Portascithe]
> Wrightes he did make, haules, and chambres rich
> Whan Harald or the king will com thither eftsons
> In the tyme of gese to tak tham venysons
> Karaduk, Griffyn sonne, he fordid the wones
> He com thither on [one] night, the wrightes slouh at ones,
> And alle that he mot gete, he robbed and reft,
> Peny no penyworth, no thing he no left."

did not synchronise.* It may, however, be true in substance, and if so the Saxon king was probably Edmund Ironside, who was in Gloucestershire in the time of the first Llewellyn.

The worthy chaplain says: †—

Edward the Elder lying at Austclive, and Leolin, Prince of Wales, at Bethesley, when the latter would neither come down to a conference nor cross the Severn, Edward passed over to Leolin, who seeing the king and knowing who he was, threw his royal robes upon the ground (which he had prepared to sit in judgment with) and leaped into the water breast high, and embracing the boat said, "Most wise king, your humility has conquered my pride, and your wisdom triumphed over my folly; mount upon that neck which I have so foolishly exalted against you, so shall you enter into that country which your goodness has this day made your own!" And so taking him upon his shoulders, he made him sit upon his robes, and joining hands did homage to him.

A long spell of historic darkness now falls upon this locality, from which it does not emerge until the troubles of the Great Rebellion once more bring it into considerable prominence as a military station. The first mention made of it in those times is in a letter ‡ from Sir W. Waller and Sir A. Hazelrig to the House of Parliament, in which they recount that on the 10th of April, 1643, they marched from Chepstow all night for Prince Maurice's quarters (at Newnham), having previously sent away their foot to guard the passage "over the Wye to Aust, and so on the far side of the river [Severn] to Gloucester."

In 1644 no fewer than three engagements were fought at Beachley or in its immediate locality. The first was in September, when

Prince Rupert, after Marston Moor, fled with 300 horse to Bristol, and hoped to open communications between Bristol, Hereford, and Wales. At Beachley the point of land between the two rivers was selected by the Prince as an advantageous spot whence the desired intercourse with the country on the west of Severn might be maintained. He detached 500 horse and foot to occupy and fortify it. But the quick eye and hand of the Governor of Gloucester (Massey) soon discovered and removed the inconvenience that might have resulted from such a measure. Four days after they had begun to form their work he assaulted them when the tide was out, and the guns of their vessels were no longer on a level with the shores. The royalists were completely dislodged, many were slain and drowned, and 111 made prisoners. The action was fought in sight of the population of Chepstow assembled upon the opposite bank of the Wye.*

In October of the same year another effort was made to secure so advantageous a position, and Sir John Winter was again occupying and fortifying Beachley. On the 14th of that month Massey returned thither, and a desperate encounter took place, which is thus described in a valuable little book of the period: †—

About the middle of 1644 this magnanimous colonel [Massey] understanding that Sir John Winter, that active Papist, had again endeavoured to fortifie Beachley or Bersley, where he had formerly well cudgell'd him, he most courageously set upon him there also again, but was with extraordinary hazard of his precious life, for in the midst of the fight his horse, by leaping a ditch, overthrew him to the ground, which a musketier of the enemy's party soone perceiving, suddenly gave fire upon him, but by God's good providence he mist his mark . . . . He very speedily obtained a most memorable victory over Sir J. Winter, and forced this his grand adversary to *tumble* down a steep hill to save his life, but in danger to have broke his neck.

Corbett also gives a more detailed account of this action, and describes it as

A brave exployte and true victory upon such an eminent disadvantage over a formidable enemy. They were stronger within the fortification than six times the same number in the open field.‡

That the encounter was a most desperate one is shown by Massey heading the forlorn hope, and first engaging with his royalist foes, thus animating his followers by his courage to secure a victory which was very doubtful until then. The loss of the royalists was 30 killed and 230 prisoners, including a lieut.-colonel, a major, two captains, three lieutenants, and three ensigns; a large number were drowned, and the remainder "escaped in vessels that were lying there." The "steep hill" mentioned above is more than four miles from the scene of action, and is still pointed out as Winter's Leap; it is an almost perpendicular cliff by the roadside, descending for over 200 feet to the

* There were three Llewellyns, the first two of whom were not contemporary with our English Edward, and the third, Llewellyn ap Gryffydd, contemporary with Edward I., lived in the following century to Walter's.

† Camden, *Britannia*, vol. i., p. 285, ed. 1772.

‡ Reprinted in *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis*, vol. ii., p. 196.

* *Biblio. Glouces.*, vol. i., p. xcvii.

† *England's Worthies*, ed. 1647, p. 67.

‡ *Biblio. Glouces.*, vol. i., p. 124.

Wye, which flows at its base. It is not probable that Winter made his escape down this cliff, but rather down an adjacent timber shoot, which it is likely existed at that time.

The third action of this year, and apparently the last during the war, was fought in December, when

> This renowned colonel (Massey) did bravely beat the enemies' horse, which came from Bristol, about Sedbury in Gloucestershire, taking very many of them prisoners together with great prizes.

The only authority I have been able to find for this engagement is the above quoted *England's Worthies*, where it is recounted at page 67; but as the book was contemporaneous with the events it describes, its unsupported evidence may be taken as reliable.

I cannot conclude my notes on this debatable land in a better way than by once more quoting Corbett: *—

> But as for this necke of lande so fortunate and famous to the government of Gloucester for two remarkable victories: though Sir John Winter and the Welsh forces had their eye continually upon it, yet the neglect of the place was no oversight in our garrisons, but caused by the incapacity of the place itself, it being impossible to be held by us till we were masters at sea, because at every floud the ships on the Seaverne lay levell with the highest ground. Wherefore it was resolved by a councell of warre that the buildings should be demolished and all the trees and hedges cut down.

Reviews.

The true report of the burnyng of the steple and churche of Paules in London. Imprynted at London at the west ende of Paules church, at the sygne of the Hedghogge, by Wyllyam Seres, 1561. Reprinted 1885. (London and Aylesbury: Hazell, Watson, & Viney.) 12mo.

R. G. BLACKER MORGAN has done good service in reproducing so tastefully and carefully this curious tract, and the printers are highly to be commended for their share of the work. The original tract is very scarce, a copy in the British Museum being the authority used by Mr. Morgan; but Mr. Hazlitt has not included it in his *Collections and Notes*. A few interesting glimpses of the city and court are given—the Bishop of Durham taking the opportunity of preaching a sermon at Paul's Cross, exhorted the people to conform to the Government and to the reformed religion; "he also not onely reproued the prophanatyon of the said churche of Paules of longe time hertofore abused by waltsīg, iangling, brawling, fighting, bargaining, &c., namely in sermons and seruice time." We notice Mr. Morgan marks his tract *Genealogica Curiosa*, vol. iii. We do not see the appropriateness of this, but we heartily wish him success if he is reproducing others of the like curiosity in the same tasteful manner.

* *Biblio. Glouces.*, vol. i., p. 124.

Old London Street Cries and the Cries of To-day, with Heaps of Quaint Cuts, including hand-coloured frontispiece. By ANDREW W. TUER. (London, 1885: Field & Tuer.) 12mo, pp. 137.

Our readers should obtain this little volume quickly, for some day it will be numbered among the *curiosa*. The subject is an interesting one, though not now for the first time attracting the attention of the curious, and Mr. Tuer has sought far and wide for notes in illustration of it, though he appears not to have used a very curious article which appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine* some time ago. The street cries of old London tell us of a portion of the life of the inhabitants very realistic and homely, and the cries of modern London, so quaintly recorded as they are in this little book, remind us that we are now living in times which some day will be historical. Mr. Tuer's enumeration of the names of the stations on the Metropolitan Railway, according to railway porter pronunciation, is highly amusing. We have not read so quaint a little book for some time, and its outward appearance is in strict accordance with its contents.

S. Andrew's Edburton, Sussex: copy of Parish Register Book, 1558-1673. By the Rev. C. H. WILKIE. (Brighton, 1884: Bishop.) 8vo, pp. 68.

We are glad to add this to our collection of reprints of parish registers. The clergy are doing well in thus placing at the disposal of the genealogical student the mines of wealth in their charge, and Mr. Wilkie deserves his full share of thanks. Many of the names—Holden, Harman, and others—appear in the early and late years, and testify to the quiet succession of events in the old days of parish life. We wish Mr. Wilkie had completed his praiseworthy undertaking by giving us an index of names—a help which would have made us, and all genealogical students, doubly grateful to him, and saved many from doing this necessary piece of work, knowing at the same time that it is being done by others. The age cannot afford this waste of labour. The page headed "Church-marks" is curious, as it gives the names of those who had to repair the fences of the church.

The Cyclades; or, Life among the Insular Greeks. By J. THEODORE BENT. (London, 1885: Longmans.) 8vo, pp. xx, 501.

When a student of folk-lore and archæology travels among the Greek islanders, and publishes a book giving some notes of his experiences, we are apt to expect much; and in the book before us we must

frankly acknowledge that our expectations are generally most fully realized. Mr. Bent (whom our readers will recognise as a very acceptable contributor to these columns) went to these classical regions of almost forgotten Europe armed to the full with a storehouse of knowledge, well fitted to take a comprehensive grasp of all he saw and heard. And he saw and heard much. Dances and marriages, and festivals and incantations, and fragments of the old mythology mixed up with later Christianity, met him at almost every turn; and he tells us all about them with a refreshing simplicity of style, which lends itself very admirably to the subject. Then there are the structures, often in decay, often adapted to Christian purposes, having been constructed originally for pagan purposes, and all of which are of intense interest to the modern student. One feature of the book is worth noting, namely, that Mr. Bent gives the modern Greek word for many of the customs and objects he noted, a piece of information which is particularly valuable. Mr. Bent illustrates much of his travelled experience by reference to classical authors, and in this respect we should have liked him to be a little more precise and helpful to the student. In these days of extensive literature time is wasted by having to look up quotations when one wants to pursue a subject. Occasionally one comes upon glimpses of Greek island life, which have more than a passing interest to the modern student, as, for instance, the co-operative farming in Seriphos, a relic of early times which has many parallels in Europe and in England. The seed sacrifice, which is mentioned also as obtaining in Seriphos, is very interesting, and bears a remarkable resemblance to an old formula of the Anglo-Saxon Church for blessing the fields, which has fortunately been preserved in its original language. It would be impossible for us, in the limited space at our disposal, to enter into all the details of this deeply interesting volume; but for those who care about old Greek life, for those who care to note the survivals of old customs, we cannot do better than recommend it. And in parting with it now, we have only to add that for the student's use, to which we ourselves shall put it, the one thing to make it complete is wanting, namely, a good and full index. If Mr. Bent brings out a new edition, we would urge upon him to give full references to his classical quotations, and to supply an index.

Historical Richmond. By EDWIN BERESFORD CHANCELLOR. (London and Richmond: G. Bell & Sons.) 8vo, pp. xxi, 287.

It did not need Mr., or Master, Chancellor's very naïve note at the end of his preface to inform the reader of his book that he was young, but we were not prepared to find that he is, or was, under seventeen years of age! "Books written by boys" have received a severe epigram from Lord Beaconsfield; and though we are not sure that Mr. Chancellor's effort is altogether free from sins, we must certainly admit that they do not mar his performance to any great extent; and if he proceeds with his researches, it is not improbable he may do some good service as a topographical writer. He tells us that he has consulted old books and MSS. in the British Museum and elsewhere. But why? Older people could, and do, do this with great assiduity; whereas, as a resident of Richmond, having, we venture to think, ample means at his command of obtaining much valuable local information from old leases, old maps, old sale catalogues, etc., not obtainable in the British Museum or anywhere outside of Richmond itself, Mr. Chancellor has missed a rare chance of obtaining a decided success in his first venture. To take Richmond as it is now, what remains of old Richmond first, and then all that is worth telling of new Richmond, and to have devoted a volume to the results thus obtained, would have been a very acceptable addition to our local topography, and an addition, alas! all too seldom given. Then, with this groundwork, it would have been an additional boon to have been told what previous authors and MSS. have to say about Richmond. We are far from saying that Mr. Chancellor's book is not a useful one; so little has been written about Richmond that to get all the information into the four corners of a handsomely-printed and bound book is most acceptable, and, as far as we have tested, Mr. Chancellor is accurate, and most certainly painstaking, in his researches. He is, however, far too often "inclined to believe," and "has good authority for stating," matters which should be placed beyond all doubt by a reference to the proper authorities; and such information as that the Green "is said to be as extensive as Lincoln Inn Fields" is neither useful nor necessary. Upon the subject of the "Lass of Richmond Hill" he is very unsatisfactory, entirely ignoring the long and valuable controversy in *Notes and Queries* upon this subject. There are some very good illustrations and a good index.

The Worthies of Lincolnshire. By Rev. MORGAN G. WATKINS, M.A. (London: Elliot Stock, 1885.) 8vo, pp. 40.

Every county has its worthies, and these worthies should be registered for the honour of the places that gave them birth, but it must be confessed that most of our counties have been strangely neglectful in doing honour to their distinguished sons. Mr. Watkins wishes to relieve the large county of Lincoln from this reproach, and he has made a beginning by drawing up a list and short account of one hundred and nine worthies born within its limits, besides a roll of great men connected with it by residence. The author, who has made an excellent beginning, asks for further additions to his list. It is not many counties that could produce a roll containing such names as Dr. Busby, William Cecil Lord Burghley, Fox the martyrologist, Sir John Franklin, Stephen Langton, Sir Isaac Newton, Bishop Patrick, Captain John Smith of Virginia, Bishop Still, Sutton the founder of the Charterhouse, Lord Tennyson, William of Waynflete, Archbishop Whitgift, and, greatest of all in rank, a King of England, Harry Bolingbroke (Henry IV.).

A History of Aylesbury. By ROBERT GIBBS. Parts 11, 12 and 13. (Aylesbury.) 4to.

These three parts of a valuable history, which we have noticed several times already, contain much

interesting information about the gaol and trials, obsolete punishments, obsolete sports and pastimes, and the roads and conveyances of Aylesbury and its neighbourhood.

Essays on Chaucer, his Words and Works. Part V. (London : Trübner & Co.) 8vo.

This last issued part of the publications of the Chaucer Society will be eagerly read by all lovers of our great poet on account of the interesting illustration of his works which it contains. Dr. Jussurand contributes an article on Chaucer's Pardoner and the Pope's Pardoners; Mr. Karkeek gives some entertaining notes on the Schipman and his Barge, "The Maudelayne," as well as on Chaucer's Horses; Dr. Eilers traces the connection between the Parson's Tale and its original—Frère Lorens's "Somme de Vices et de Vertus." Professor Skeat sets down the reasons why "The Romaunt of the Rose" is not Chaucer's; and Mr. Kingston-Oliphant contributes a list of words and expressions which show that Chaucer's reputed works, "The Court of Love" and "The Flower and the Leaf," cannot well be dated before 1520, or thereabouts. The volume has several good plates.

Russian Central Asia, including Kuldja, Bokhara, and Merv. By HENRY LANSDELL, D.D. (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1885.) 2 vols. 8vo.

Dr. Lansdell is already well known as a Russian traveller by his valuable work *Through Siberia*, and he will doubtless greatly add to his fame by the publication of the book now under notice, which deals with a large portion of the earth's surface to which public attention is now being very particularly directed. The author describes a journey of 12,000 miles,—5,000 by rail, 3,500 by water, and 3,700 on wheels, horses, or camels,—and his description will be of great interest to all readers of books of travel, for he passed over many hundreds of miles of country not previously visited by an English author; to naturalists, for he gives descriptions of 4,300 species of fauna and flora in about twenty lists, with introductions; and to bibliographers, for he gives lists of books relating to Central Asia generally, and also to special countries, which occupy over twenty pages. For archæologists Dr. Lansdell's volumes have a special value, because he saw races among whom primitive customs are still in full force. Of these customs the author gives a full description. Many of the buildings, too, are of great interest, and of some of these there are illustrations; for instance, the Shir Dar Medresse, of Samarkand, said to have been built about 1618 by Yalang Tash Bahadur from the spoils of the shrine at Imam Riza, in Meshed. On the walls of the Shir-Dar is a verse in honour of the builder, which affirms that the moon, on beholding these splendid edifices, placed the finger of astonishment upon her lips.

The account of the Kirghese nomads takes us back to patriarchal times, and the author tells us that when he visited their tents he felt that he had before him more truthful representatives of the manner of life of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob than if he had gone to the soil those patriarchs trod, because the elements of change are less busily at work in the Kirghese steppe than in the Holy Land. This primitive people have strange notions with regard to criminal law, and they appear to consider theft as a purely personal matter, to be settled privately by the parties. They will say, "So-and-so has stolen a horse, and has not returned it."

It is not possible to give, in the short space at our disposal, anything but a very general notion of the contents of a book which deals with so large a district of the continent of Asia, but we have said enough so show our readers that they will find much fresh matter to interest them in its pages. The volumes are fully illustrated, and contain maps with indications of some of the latest boundaries.

Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

METROPOLITAN.

Royal Archæological Institute.—May 7th.—The President in the chair.—The Rev. J. L. Fish exhibited to the meeting the ancient records of the parish of St. Margaret Pattens, London, and read some interesting remarks thereon.—Mr. C. D. E. Fortnum exhibited and read a paper on "Some Early Christian Gems."—Mr. R. S. Ferguson communicated an account of an ancient ring dial.

May 21st.—Mr. J. Hilton in the chair.—Mr. W. T. Watkin communicated a rubbing and notice of a Roman inscription found near Bala, which is interesting, as being the first one of the first cohort of the Nervii that has occurred in Britain.—Mr. E. Walford exhibited, and made some remarks on, a fine engraving of the Battle of the Boyne.—Mr. Park Harrison read a paper on a necklace found in 1868 in a mummy-pit at Arica, Peru.—The Rev. G. F. Browne read a paper, illustrated by a fine collection of rubbings, on some Scandinavian or Danish sculptured stones found in London, and their bearing on the supposed Scandinavian or Danish origin of other sculptured stones.—The Rev. J. L. Fish exhibited a small silver-gilt covered cup, used as a chalice, together with a small silver paten of the same material, presented to the church of St. Margaret Pattens by Newbrough Swingland, parish clerk, in 1744. The cup bears the London date-letter for 1743-4, and the salver that of 1738-9.

British Archæological Association.—May 20th.—Rev. Dr. Sparrow Simpson in the chair.—Mr. W. Myers exhibited a fine collection of antiquarian objects recently acquired by him in Egypt.—Mr. L. Brock exhibited three bronze penates, one being a graceful figure of Mercury, of Etruscan work.—Mr. R. White sent a very beautiful Roman cippus, having inscriptions denoting that it had contained the ashes of two children, which had been deposited at separate times.—Mr. T. Morgan, referring to the dole of corn which had been owned by one of the children, as set

forth in the inscription on the cippus, quoted a passage of Juvenal relating to the custom of the corn being delivered on production of a ticket, and thus gave additional force and illustration to the inscription.—Mr. W. de Gray Birch exhibited, by permission of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester, the original will of King John. It is very gracefully written on a small sheet of parchment.—A paper was read by the chairman on a Latin office to Master John Shorne, in a MS. in the British Museum, found by Mr. E. Scott, Sloane MS. 389.—A paper was read by Mr. T. Blashill, on "The Remarkable Abbey Church of Dove, Herefordshire."—A third paper, by Dr. A. Fryer, was read, "On the Sculptured Crosses of Cornwall."

Society of Antiquaries.—May 7th.—Dr. J. Evans, President, in the chair.—Dr. E. Freshfield exhibited a mediæval Greek baptismal badge, probably of the fourteenth century.—The Rev. Canon Cooke exhibited a photograph of a wooden bench end from Cornelly Church, Cornwall, on which had been carved a figure, now much decayed, of an angel in alb and amice, holding a shield of the five wounds.—Admiral Spratt made two communications : one on the Gulf of Symi, in continuation of a paper read last year on the Dorian Gulf; the other on a very beautiful statue or torso in his possession (of which a photograph was exhibited) of the youthful Dionysus, recalling, in style and execution, all that we know of the school of Praxiteles.

Philological.—May 15th.—Anniversary Meeting.—Rev. Prof. Skeat, President, in the chair.—The President read notes on the etymologies of the following words: barge, bat, battlement, beef-eater, bewray, blue, bressomer, bull (a jest), catgut, charter, cypress (lawn), dolmen, gallowglas, glanders, hurdy-gurdy, jereed, Jew's-harp, junk, kilderkin, lime-hound, loom, menial, occamy, ornithology, rivulet, soy, tassel, tattoo, Yankee,—also on the etymologies of English words of Peruvian and Brazilian origin : Peruvian—condor, alpaca, guanaco, guano, jerked beef, llama, oca, pampas, puma; Brazilian—jaguar, ipecacuanha, tapioca, tapir, toucan.

Royal Historical Society.—May 21st.—The Lord Aberdare, President, in the chair.—Mr. C. A. Fyffe, Vice-President, read a paper on the Establishment of Greek Independence, with especial reference to the policy of England and Russia at that epoch.

Royal Asiatic Society.—May 4th.—Sir W. Muir, President, in the chair.—Mr. T. H. Thornton read a paper on "The Vernacular Literature and Folklore of the Panjâb." The Panjâbi have a written literature and a vast amount of folk poems, folk-tales, ballads, songs, and plays.

Anthropological Institute—May 12th.—Mr. Francis Galton, President, in the chair.—The Earl of Northesk exhibited a collection of specimens of worked jade from New Zealand.—Mr. J. H. Kerry-Nicholls read a paper on "The Origin, Physical Characteristics, and Manners and Customs of the Maori Race." The native religion is a kind of polytheism—a worship of elementary spirits and deified ancestors. The priests hold an exalted tribal rank, and were believed to possess miraculous powers. The Maoris acknowledge the existence of the soul after death, but do not believe in corporal resurrection, nor in the transmigration of souls, and they seem to have some rather indefinite ideas of a heaven and a hell. Mr. Kerry-Nicholls described the social state of the Maoris, their government, weapons, food, and domestic arts, and concluded with an account of the plants chiefly used by the natives for medical purposes.

Numismatic—May 21st.—Dr. J. Evans, President, in the chair.—Mr. H. Montagu exhibited two specimens of the aureus of C. Cassius, the murderer of Cæsar, and his legate, M. Servilius, *obv.*, C. CASSI. IMP. head of Libertas; *rev.*, M. SERVILIVS LEG. Acrostolium. The coins of this type are supposed to have been struck in the East in the year B.C. 43-42. The specimens exhibited by Mr. Montagu were found on the coast of Sicily.—Mr. S. Smith exhibited a rare variety of a penny of Edward the Confessor, similar to Hawkins, Pl. xvii., No. 223, having on the obverse a bust of the king wearing a round helmet instead of the usual crown. The existence of this variety is doubted by Hildebrand, but is fully confirmed by the specimen exhibited by Mr. Smith. The coin was struck at Leicester by the moneyer Leofnoth.—Prof. Gardner read a paper "On the Coins of the Island of Zacynthus."

Society of Hellenic Studies.—May 7th.—Mr. C. T. Newton in the chair.—Mr. Earnest A. Gardner read a paper on a silver statuette in the British Museum, of which the date is fixed by coins found in company with it to the middle of the third century B.C. The subject is a boy playing with a goose.—Miss Jane Harrison read a paper upon a vase-picture (on a Kylix by the artist Nicosthenes), which she maintained to be a representation of a galley-race in honour of Dionysus. Birds with human heads were introduced as merely decorative adjuncts; and the writer was disposed to think that some such representations must have been the originals whence were derived the pictures, common on later vases, of the ship of Odysseus passing the rocks of the Sirens.

Institute of British Architects—May 18th.—Mr. Ewan Christian, President, in the chair.—Mr. Alexander Graham read a paper entitled "The Roman Occupation of North Africa, with special reference to the Remains in Algeria." The author referred to this country as offering a great field for antiquarian research, from primitive times down to the Arab occupation, and to the great value of the numerous inscriptions, affording abundant material for a history of North Africa. Old writers do not furnish much reliable information about the towns, either Phœnician or Roman; but eighteenth century travellers throw great light on the whole subject. Our indebtedness, as architects, is greater to Bruce than to any other explorer, on account of his careful drawings of some of the principal monuments, and his critical notes. The author then alluded to illustrated and other works by French travellers, and their general excellence, and then proceeded to explain the boundaries of the country known to the Romans as North Africa at the close of the third Punic war, showing how it was divided and what races inhabited it. The rise and progress of the Carthagenians were then traced to their final subjection to Rome, reference being made to the apparent absence of any influence exercised by Carthagenian over Roman art. The spread of the Roman colony was then traced from the sea to the desert, as

evidenced by inscribed stones that strew the surface in every direction, sometimes where least expected. These stones form the real history of the country.

PROVINCIAL.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society.—May 18th.—Mr. J. W. Clark, President, in the chair.—The outgoing President (Mr. J. W. Clark) delivered the address. Mr. J. W. Clark then gave a lecture upon mediæval libraries, with special reference to the book-cases (illustrated by a model), and to the system of chaining the books, as shown in Hereford Cathedral, Wimborne Minster, and Trinity Hall.—Mr. Bradshaw made remarks upon others of our Cambridge libraries, and particularly upon the arrangements of the books at Emmanuel College, as one instance out of many, where a clue to the method of arrangement used in a library would be obtained from a study of the order presented in the old catalogues, even where all trace of the bookcases themselves had long disappeared. — Professor A. Macalister made some remarks "On an Inscribed Block of Clay from Thebes." The block is a truncated pyramid of sun-dried clay, taken from the cemetery of Dra'h Aboul Neggah (Thebes). It is a coarsely-made variety of the common funereal cone, and has on its base four lines of raised hieroglyphs, the legend being of the character so commonly met with on such clay blocks. As the lines of writing have not been moulded parallel to the borders of the faces of the pyramid, the end of the first and three-fourths of the last are gone. Little is known of the use of these seal-like masses, whose inscriptions usually run in the same strain.

Tyneside Naturalists' Field Club.—May 23rd.—The anniversary meeting. — The President (Dr. Phillipson) occupied the chair, and delivered a valedictory address. He gave a most interesting account of the Society's proceedings during the past year, and referred with deep regret to the death of the Rev. J. F. Bigge.—Mr. Green took occasion to intimate that the widow of the Rev. J. F. Bigge had presented the rev. gentleman's valuable collection of dried plants to the Club.

Edinburgh Architectural Association.—The members visited Borthwick and Crichton Castles. The President (Mr. G. Washington Brown) conducted the members over Borthwick Castle, and gave a historical sketch. It was pointed out how the appearance of power and grandeur was caused by the great mass of plain mason-work emphasised by the smallness of the window openings, and how, in spite of the narrowness of these openings, the apartments were perfectly lighted. The great hall, although measuring 50 ft. by 23 ft., with a height of 28 ft., and having no more light than would be afforded by an ordinary oriel window, was yet, owing to the skilful distribution of the window openings, quite sufficiently lighted. The party afterwards proceeded to Crichton Castle, where a paper was read by Mr. John Kinross, giving the significance of the name Crichton, and a history of the different members of the Crichton family, and other families to whom the castle had belonged. The various features of the castle—the great halls, the small kitchen of the old keep, the large kitchen with its double arched fireplace, the upper kitchen with its access by an external balcony to the upper hall, the elaborate fireplaces, and the rich and unique decoration of the eastern side of the courtyard—were all examined with interest.

Birmingham Architectural Association.—The members paid a visit to Worcester Cathedral and city. On the way to the cathedral the party visited Trinity Church, and inspected the fine ancient roof formerly over the Guesten hall. On reaching the cathedral the members inspected the crypt, cloisters, chapter-house, bells, and obtained a fine view of the surrounding district from the top of the great tower. On descending the party passed into the refectory, and having freely discussed its marked peculiarities, they visited the Edgar tower and other portions of the precincts.

Glasgow Architectural Association.—May 12th.—Mr. Chalmers, President, in the chair.—A paper on "Expression in Architecture" was read by Mr. John Keppie. Defining expression as an embodying of an idea or truth in a design so as to be patent to all, he showed that on such a basis all good architecture rested. After the pressing wants of the body are supplied, an effect upon the mind is proposed; in the dwellings of savages, as well as in their weapons and implements, utility and beauty are combined; only as nations grow luxurious did their opulence result in florid ornamentation and outward show without the pretence of any true feeling principle; the cases of the sister arts of poetry and painting are analogous.

Yorkshire Naturalists' Union.—May 30th.—The members selected the Boroughbridge district as the scene of their Whit Monday excursion. One party, under the direction of the Rev. E. P. Knubley, Rector of Staveley, started for Lofftuss, Rigmoor, and Copgrove. Another passed through Staveley village to Copgrove Park, and investigated St. Mungo's Well—a health-resort some two hundred years ago, as the old parish registers testify. Alighting at Boroughbridge instead of at Copgrove, this third section made the canal and the river their subjects of examination, or directed their steps towards Aldborough, in order to inspect the relics of the old Roman town of Isurium. Together with a number of antiquaries, the geologists made a pleasant pilgrimage to the Devil's Arrows—those unaccountable monoliths a quarter of a mile west of Boroughbridge. These stones are only three in number. All that is definitely known about them is evident to the eye. They are of millstone grit, and must have been carried from a considerable distance, perhaps from Scotton, seven miles away, or from Plumpton, eleven miles from the pastures in which they stand. From the Devil's Arrows the party went to Isurium. Isurium was a Roman city of great importance, as the many relics discovered in the neighbourhood of Aldborough would lead one to believe. Here are tesselated pavements in beautiful preservation, and a museum of local antiquities.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.—May 30th—Mr. C. J. Spence in the chair.—It was announced that Sir Walter B. Riddell had sent three Papal bulls for exhibition in the Black Gate Museum. The bulls, one of which was issued during the time of

Pope Adrian IV., and two during Pope Alexander III.'s time, referred to the possession of lands in Roxburghshire.

Clifton Shakspere Society.—May 23rd.—A paper, by Miss Emma Phipson, on "The Weather Allusions in *Henry VI.*" was read. Miss Phipson in reading *Edward III.* had been struck with the number and beauty of the weather-similes, which were so noteworthy as to lead one, in attempting to solve the problem of its disputed authorship, to inquire, "Who is this out-door man who has so noted the changes of the seasons and the sky?" The attempt to answer this question led her to examine Shakspere's plays afresh, and as a result to claim for him that in his allusions to the weather and natural phenomena he showed himself to be the most observant reader and the most poetical expounder of Nature's infinite book. In the way in which he introduced these allusions he was quite different from his brother-dramatists.

Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club.—March 21st.—Colonel Cockell in the chair.—Mr. Thomas Browne read a description of a recently-discovered Roman pavement at the Mineral Water Hospital, specimens of which were exhibited. The pavement measured about six feet each way, and was found at a depth of about seven feet six inches below the modern level. The whole has been carefully taken up, and backed with some two inches of cement. The tesseræ forming the pattern consisted of white and blue lias, brick, and purplish-red and white sandstone. The white lias cubes appeared to have been hardened on the surface.

Caradoc Field Club.—May 19th.—The members visited Bitterley Church, upon the restoration of which Sir Charles Boughton offered a few remarks. He asked them to notice the beautiful Norman windows of the tower and the Norman font, the latter a singularly good example of the architecture of that period. He also recommended them to observe the old iron-bound chest, which was undoubtedly of the time of Edward I. or II. When it was opened by the present rector and himself, some years ago, nothing was found in it except the pewter flagon, the paten, and the worm-eaten alms-box, which had been placed for their inspection on the lid of the chest, with a few certificates of births and burials, dating from the end of the last century. He also directed their attention to the pulpit, as having been pronounced to be undoubtedly Jacobæan, about 1600, and also to the lectern, which some people ascribed to a still earlier date. In the reading-desk they would see carving which was thought by good authorities to have formed part of the rood-loft, the beams of which, although deprived of most of their tracery, had been left by the restoration committee just as ;they now were, and which Mr. Nicholson said undoubtedly occupied their original position. The monuments would speak for themselves; they were all rather late, but good of their kind. Sir Charles thought the one of Timothie Lucy, on the south side of the chancel, "Who godlie departed this lyfe" in 1616, would have interest. He was the son of William Lucy, of Charlecote, and grandson of Thomas Lucy, of the same place, better known to posterity as the famous Mr. Justice Shallow, the prosecutor, to use the words of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, of a certain "coney-catching rascal" called William Shakespeare.—The party then adjourned to the cross in the churchyard, and here Sir Charles stated that Mr. Irvine attributed the date of it to the year 1500. From the churchyard the party passed through the garden to the house, and here were exhibited a series of relics which gave them the most unqualified pleasure. It would take too long to describe the whole collection, but amongst the most interesting are the following: 1. A pedigree of the Walcot family compiled in 1643, giving the arms and showing the alliances of each member of it from 1316 down to the grandfather of the present owner. 2. A case containing silver counters, representing a great part of the English sovereigns from Edward the Confessor to James I.; also of Lord Darnley, Anne of Denmark, Frederick, King of Bohemia, and his son. These counters were the work of Simon Pass, a famous silversmith of the time of James I., who executed them under license. 3. A Pre-Reformation prayer-book, with many careful ink obliterations of later date; here and there a page has been abstracted for probably the same reasons. 4. A rich piece of blue and silver brocade, edged with massive silver lace, which has been used as a christening mantle in the Walcot family ever since the sixteenth century. 5. The first English regimental flag that ever crossed the Line. 6. Half of the cloak worn by Charles I. on the scaffold, and stained with his blood. Of letters and documents of countless number and great interest in the house, the following were submitted: Lord Herbert's letter to the Walcot whom, as high sheriff, he ordered to summon the magistrates to Shrewsbury to consult on the Pretender's invasion in 1744. Letter from Judge Jeffreys to John Walcot, and the answer of the latter. Warrant to Humphrey Walcot, dated 1642, with signature of Charles I. to raise £5,000. Discharge of the sequestration against Humphrey Walcot by the Parliamentary Commissioners assembled at Goldsmith's Hall, 1649. Receipt from Sir Thomas Middleton of £50 for John Walcot's ransom. King Charles's warrant to save Humphrey Walcot free from injury, signed by Lord Lindsay. Mem. respecting a dragoon mare contributed from Walcot and improperly sold, September 19th, 1643, signed by Lord Arthur Capel. A loan of £150 from Humphrey Walcot to King Charles I., 1643. The members of the Club were also shown the following old books: "A complete Hist. of the Life and Raigne of King Charles from his Cradle to his Grave," collected and written by William Sanderson, Esq., 1658; "The Generall Historie of the Magnificent State of Venice," Englished by W. Shvte, Gent., 1612; "The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," 1628, printed by Robert Barker; "Historia Mundi, or Mercator's Atlas," 1635, Englished by W. S. Generosus and Coll. Regin, Oxonie; "The Reign of King Charles," a History disposed into Annals, 1656; "A Companion to the Temple" (Thomas Comber, 1676, printed for H. Brown, with engraving of a priest at prayer, surrounded by a congregation, with the words "Spare Thy people, O Lord"); two copies, editions 1648 and 1649, of the "Icon Basilike," one with all engravings perfect, and monogram C.R. on cover.

Oxford Architectural and Historical Society. —May 31st.—The members visited Guildford. They arrived about twenty minutes to two, and were welcomed at the Town Hall by the Mayor (Mr. J. Mason). Mr. Lasham had prepared for them a printed statement, giving a concise history of the Town Hall, the Hospital of Archbishop Abbot, St. Mary's Church, and the Castle, all of which places were visited and inspected. The Mayor had kindly allowed the Corporation plate to be laid before the visitors in the Council Chamber, where the history of each relic of interest was explained by Mr. Stevens. The company then proceeded to Abbot's Hospital, visiting the chapel master's apartments, and other rooms, and then walked over to see the fine tomb of the Archbishop in Holy Trinity Church. Standing in the chancel of St. Mary's Church, Mr. J. Parker explained the architectural features, and from analogy, direct evidence having been destroyed in the interior alteration, he should fix the date of the oldest part at the eleventh century. At the Castle keep Mr. Parker read a number of entries from the close rolls showing how often King John visited the Castle, which he said was not mentioned in the Doomsday Survey, when he estimated that the population of Guildford with women and children could not have been more than 700. He found an entry in the close roll stating that the king had stayed on one occasion seven successive days at Guildford Castle, which was a remarkable thing in those days, when kings, as a rule, never stayed more than two or three nights at one place successively.

Clifton Antiquarian Club.—May 16th.—About thirty members and friends visited some of the most interesting of the prehistoric and other antiquities of North Wiltshire. Leaving Bristol by train to Chippenham, they drove to the fine remains of the Wansdyke, near its junction with the Roman road, the Via Julia. Passing the interesting church and village of Bishop's Cannings, respecting which the story of the "Moonrakers" and other curious legends are related, the Wansdyke was again crossed at Shepherd's Shore. A few remarks having been made on the dyke and its history by Colonel Bramble and the hon. secretary (Mr. Alfred Hudd), the party drove to Avebury. A visit was then paid to the interesting parish church of St. James, where the vicar, the Rev. Bryan King, M.A., pointed out the chief features of interest, foremost amongst which are the very curious remains of the original Saxon church, discovered during the restoration of the building three or four years since. The most interesting of these are the circular clerestory windows, of which there were originally eight. One of these, when it was discovered, still retained portions of plastered basket-work, known as "wattle-and-daub." The "Saxon" font, the handsome carved wood chancel screen, richly coloured and gilt, and other features of this interesting church having been noticed, Mr. King led the way to the interior of the huge circular mound surrounding what, though but a fragment of the original structure, is still undoubtedly "the grandest relic of an ancient heathen temple in Europe."

The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Early Trial in the Court of Common Pleas.—Any facts connected with the early history of the courts at Westminster are of peculiar interest just now, and the accompanying curious illustration is not without value as indicating, in its quaint and rude manner, some features of early legal proceedings. It is taken from an illuminated MS. temp. Henry VI., which was

figured in *Archæologia* in 1846. In the fifteenth century the Court of Common Pleas usually, if not always, sat at Westminster Hall. The illustration represents the judges, then seven in number, in the full judicial costume of the senior brothers of the coif, whilst the coifs and parti-coloured robes of the pleaders show them in the original to be serjeants-at-law of junior standing, in the robes of the day. Coke describes the Court of Common Bench as "the lock and key of the common law" (4 Inst. 99), and Serjeant Pulling, in his *Order of the Coif*, says there are few titles to landed estates in this country which have not, at one

time or other, been based on a Common Bench record. The sittings of the court were not of long duration in early times, generally occupying three hours, the judges usually sitting from eight in the morning till eleven.

Lincoln Cathedral Library.—The library is in good condition. It contains nearly 5,000 volumes, among which are several curious books, MSS. and printed. There is no special fund dedicated to it, but the dean and chapter constantly purchase books for it from their corporate income. They also from the same fund pay the librarian, who is one of the priests vicars (minor canons) of the cathedral. The use of the library is allowed under limitation only arising out of the necessity for securing the safety of the books, to the clergy of the diocese.—*Report of the Cathedral Commission*, 1885 (c. 4377).

York Cathedral Library.—The cathedral library is under the charge of a canon as librarian and a vicar-choral as sub-librarian, who receive no salary. It is open to the public on three days in summer and on two days in winter in each week. There is no fund for the support or improvement of the library, except the interest of £400 and a few voluntary subscriptions. —*Report of the Cathedral Commission*, 1885 (c. 4378).

Some Curious Scottish Customs, temp. 1535. —In a diary of Peter Suavenius, during his mission in England and Scotland, there is recorded that "there are trees in Scotland from which birds are produced; he is told it is undoubtedly true; those birds which fall from the trees into water become animated, but those which fall to the ground do not; the figures of birds are found in the heart of the wood of the trees and on the root; the birds themselves (which are very delicate eating) do not generate. . . . There is a place with a circuit of eight miles in which cocks never crow. . . . The Scots who inhabit the woods live like Scythians; they have no bread, and live on raw venison. . . . In England there is a noble family named Constable, who formerly received their fee from the king of the Danes; now annually, at Christmas, the oldest member of the family goes to the seaside northwards, and cries out three times that if there is anyone who will receive the rent for the king of the Danes he is ready to pay it; at last, tying a coin to an arrow, he shoots it as far as possible into the sea."—See *Forty-fifth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, Appendix, p. 15.

Dean's Yard, Westminster, temp. 1642.—A petition of Dame Barbara Villiers, dated October 7th, 1642, gives some interesting particulars of Dean's Yard. It states that for more than twenty years she has enjoyed a house in the Dean's Yard, Westminster, and that long before her time, and since, there was only a lodge at the gate for a porter for letting people in and out, that under colour of a lodge a great structure has been built, with several sheds upon the waste ground and against the wall of her house, without her consent, depriving her, not only of the air and prospect, but of all privacy in her best rooms; and now higher stories and chimneys are being built which will be still greater annoyance to her; she is unwilling that her landlord, Mr. Lettcott, now employed in the service of the Parliament, should suffer in his absence, and prays on his behalf, and her own, for stay of the buildings.—*Hist. MSS. Commission*, vol. v., p. 52.

A Fourteenth-Century Representation of the Stocks.—The oldest representation of the stocks is engraved by Strutt (vol. ii., plate 1) from an illumination in a twelfth-century MS. of the Psalter in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. Mr. Wright, in his *Archæological Album* (p. 102), gives a cut copied from Camille Bonnard's work on the costume of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, who took it

from a miniature in a MS. of Livy, supposed to have been executed about the year 1380, now in the Ambrosian Library, Milan. This cut we now reproduce. The offender, it will be seen, is confined only by the right leg, and though a chair is placed behind him, it does not appear that he could possibly sit down. The other figure is evidently a spectator mocking and insulting him.

A Piece of Court Gossip, temp. Charles I.—A letter to the Earl of Middlesex, dated August 29th, 1637, states that the Queen was not very well of late; drinks asses' milk, which argues some weakness or inclination to consumption. The King employs all his time now in Windsor Forest.—*Hist. MSS. Commission*, vol. iv., p. 292.

Antiquarian News.

Messrs. Goodall and Suddick, of Leeds, are publishing for the author, Mr. John Stansfeld, a history of the Stansfeld family. Several etchings on steel are being prepared for the work. Some of the etchings represent the interior and exterior of the ruined Church of St. Thomas-à-Becket, at Heptonstall, and the druidical remains on the wild moorland between Lancashire and Yorkshire (the Stanes-feld), whence the family derived its name. We cordially wish Mr. Stansfeld every success.

The English Catholic Nonjurors of 1715, being a summary of the register of their estates with genealo-

gical and other notes, and an appendix of unpublished documents in the Public Record Office, is now being edited by John Orlebar Payne, M.A., and will be issued to subscribers. In the year 1745, one James Cosin, son of a former Secretary to the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates, published what he called, "A List of the Names of Roman Catholics, Nonjurors, and others, who refused to take the oaths to his late Majesty, King George." Not only, however, was this "List" extremely inaccurate and imperfect, but the very title which Cosin gave to it was a misnomer. The "Names" are those of persons who complied with an Act of Parliament (1 Geo. I., cap. 55) entitled "An Act to *oblige Papists* to register their names and Real Estates." They are those, therefore, of Catholics, and Catholics *only*, who, accordingly, in the several counties of England and Wales in which they resided, registered all the details of their estates in books kept by the various Clerks of the Peace; a certified and verbatim copy of such register being quickly forwarded to the Commissioners then sitting in Essex Street, Strand. Those copies are now in the Public Record Office.

Mr. W. Carew Hazlitt, whose contributions to the columns of THE ANTIQUARY have been of late tolerably regular, is at present engaged in preparing a new volume of the collected edition of his grandfather's writings (*Spirit of the Age*, *Letter to W. Gifford*, and *Free Thoughts on Public Affairs*), and a thorough recension of the correspondence of his grandfather's friend, Charles Lamb, in which the text and chronology will be greatly amended and improved, and an important series of new letters and explanatory notes introduced.

Meliden parish church, which is situated between Rhyl and Holywell, and is one of the most interesting of the ancient churches in the diocese of St. Asaph, has been reopened. The evidences of its antiquity are the north and south doors, the arch of the fifteenth century, and the east window. During the work of restoration some most interesting discoveries were made, and these relics of ancient times have been preserved in the new building. The church was re-erected in the thirteenth century (as may be seen by the old stones and the west window), and partially destroyed by the soldiers of Henry III. It would appear that the wave of destruction which passed over the diocese during the revolt of Owen Glendwr fell upon this church, and it remained in a ruined state until late in the fifteenth century, when the eastern end was built and the chancel furnished with a rood-loft (of which the beams remain), and with the chancel stalls, a fragment of which was found during the present restoration. In removing the walls blocking up the north door was found the bowl of the font, which was most likely buried by order of Parliament in 1643.

The explorations of the ruins of Roche Abbey, which forms part of the Scarborough estate, are still being pursued, and Lord Scarborough, when at home, visits them daily. The unearthing of a large quantity of pieces of coloured glass, supposed to have been parts of the large chancel window, has already been recorded. These pieces, together with a white glass cross, have been made into a window 3 ft. by 18 in. The cross forms the centre of the window, and is approached by a number of small steps formed in glass. The border is made of various colours, and is of irregular pattern. Through the advice of Mr. W. St. John Hope, who visited the abbey at Easter, the base of the dining-room of the monastery has been discovered. This was found only a few inches below the surface adjoining the chapter-house. Several parts of the interior in both the north and south chapels have been restored. Outside the east of the church two more layers of sarcophagi have been found, and it is proposed to further excavate the north corner of the ruins. Three of the large columns of the nave are now exposed to view, and altogether the explorations are of a highly interesting character.

His "oddship," the President of "the sette of odd volumes," held a reception on the 5th of June, and Mr. Quaritch exhibited some of his choicest treasures. Mr. Quaritch printed a catalogue of his exhibition, which is in itself a bibliographical rarity, and will in future no doubt be numbered among the curiosities of the nineteenth century. *Apropos* of Mr. Quaritch, we lately heard from a gentleman recently returned from Spain, that so world-renowned is the great English bookseller, that any one inquiring for books on the Continent is generally credited with being an agent from Mr. Quaritch.

The Government have under consideration the publication of a facsimile of a very valuable ancient MS. volume known as the Norwich *Domesday Book*, belonging to the dean and chapter of Norwich Cathedral. This is a large folio volume containing in substance a survey of all the parishes in the diocese of Norwich, giving in detail under each place the spiritualities and temporalities, with many interesting particulars.

Last month a fire broke out in the old palace of Monbijou, one of the residences of Frederick the Great, which had for many years past been used as a museum for relics connected with the Hohenzollern family. The roof and attics of the building were entirely destroyed, but all the works of art and the other contents were saved, with but slight damage from water in some instances.

The works in connection with the restoration of the ancient church of St. Oswald, Filey, are immediately to be commenced.

The quaint little parish church of Rame has been reopened after restoration. It consists of nave and chancel, with transept and vestry on the north side, and an aisle on the south side. At the west end is a tower and spire of the thirteenth century, to which period the walls of the transept, a three-light window, and the vestry, with its original chimney-piece and light overlooking the altar, also belong. In the course of the restoration a portion of the altar slab of the Early English Church has been found, and a fragment of the carved tympanum of a Norman doorway. In the restoration it has been possible to preserve the ancient waggon roof of the south aisle, although nearly every principal timber was found displaced. Buried under the former square deal pews were remains of the oak seating of the

fifteenth century; and they have been carefully put together in the south aisle.

There was recently on view in Bond Street, London, a very curious and, it would seem, genuine relic of Queen Elizabeth. This is a small prayer-book, 3 in. by 2 in., in which the Queen has written, in a very neat hand, on sixty-five leaves of vellum, prayers in English, Greek, Latin, French, and Italian. The inside of the shagreen case, which is adorned with ruby clasps, contains a pair of miniatures of the Queen and the Duc d'Alençon, painted by Nicholas Hilliard, and the book is evidently a *gage d'amour* prepared by the Queen for her suitor, probably about 1581, when, as readers of Mr. Froude will remember, she announced to her Court that she had accepted him for her husband. The prayers are very autobiographical; the writer speaks of herself as "drawing my blood from kinges," and thanks God for "passing me from a prison to a pallace" and "placing me a Souveraigne Prince over thie people of England." The history of the book can be traced from James II., who gave it to the Duke of Berwick, whence it passed to Horace Walpole, and afterwards to the Duchess of Portland. At her sale, in 1786, it was bought for Queen Charlotte for 101 guineas. She left it to one of her ladies-in-waiting, from whom it was acquired by the late Duchess of Leeds; thence it passed into the late owner's hands. It is described in Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting* in his account of the famous miniaturist, Nicholas Hilliard.

At St. Martin's Church, Canterbury, said to be one of the oldest in England, Canon Routledge has discovered a Norman "squint" in the north-west portion of the nave, at its junction with the tower. It occurs in a wall of Roman construction.

An almost perfect skeleton of the *mososauri* has just been found in a quarry near Mons. It has the extraordinary length of 55 ft. 9 in., and will be preserved in the natural history museum of Brussels.

The old synagogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews in Bevis Marks, which is shortly to disappear, is not a building of any architectural pretensions, but it has most interesting associations. In the smoke-dried lists of those who have served the office of Parnassim, painted on the panels in the gloomy corridors of the vestry-house, there is to be seen the name of Isaac Disraeli, or rather "D'Israeli," with the date 5577, corresponding to the year 1817 of the Christian era. The entry of the birth of his distinguished son, Benjamin D'Israeli, in 1804, is one of the curiosities of the register which are shown to visitors.

The Spanish Government has lately purchased the museum of antiquities of the deceased D. Manuel de Góngora y Martinez. It consists of 1,500 articles; among them an undeciphered inscription of Castula, a female statue of good workmanship discovered in the Vega of Granada, and many prehistoric remains and Arabic inscriptions.

Messrs. Dunthorne have on view at their gallery, Vigo Street, London, a fine collection of mezzotintos, illustrating the inventions and progress of the art to the time of its decay. Such exhibitions as these do an immense deal of good, and Messrs. Dunthorne have conferred a benefit upon all lovers of art by undertaking such an enterprise. The catalogue of the exhibition is extremely interesting, and will be treasured by a good many of our readers as a valuable record of art history. An introduction by Mr. J. Chaloner Smith, who lends a great number of the engravings, points out some useful facts on the art of mezzotint engraving, which was introduced into England by Prince Rupert.

There has been a three days' sale at Birmingham of ancient furniture, principally by Chippendale and Sheraton. Old family silver plate, artistic drawing-room and boudoir furniture, rare porcelain, fine bronzes, and seventy oil pictures, including works by Sir Joshua Reynolds, Sir Peter Lely, Cuyp, Wouvermans, and others. Most of these were consigned from Cloughcote Abbey, County Galway, and the Hermitage, County Dublin.

The Council of Trinity College, Cambridge, have been kind enough to lend their MS. of Wyclif's Sermons to Professor Loserth, of Czernowitz, Austria, who has undertaken to prepare for the Wyclif Society a critical edition of these sermons from the Vienna MSS., the chief of which has been also lent to Professor Loserth. The professor's edition of Wyclif's *De Ecclesia* for the Wyclif Society is two-thirds through the press. Miss Alice Shirley has Englished his "Forewords" to it.

Mr. C. J. Bates is preparing for the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne an account of the castles, peels, etc., of Northumberland. It will be illustrated by a series of plates, contributed by the owners of the buildings described.

A meeting of the Council of the Essex Archæological Society was held at Colchester on Saturday, the 6th, at which Mr. Laver made a report upon the Alresford excavations, and it was agreed to suspend operations, and to keep the present excavations open till the annual general meeting of the Society in August.

Berrymead Priory at Acton, once the suburban residence of the Marquis of Dorchester, father of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who spent much of her time here before her marriage in 1712, has been sold. The late Lord Lytton was for some time an occupant of the Priory, and here wrote several of his novels.

Mr. John Pym Yeatman, author of *The Early Genealogical History of the House of Arundel*, purposes to publish by subscription, with Mr. W. Edmunds, of Chesterfield, a Genealogical and Manorial History of the County of Derby, to be completed in four or five volumes. The mode of publication will be in parts of about one hundred folio pages; and the first part will be ready in the course of the present year. It will deal with the hundred of Scarsdale, and give a history of its successive lords, beginning with the barony of Ralf fitz Hubert, for which Sir George Sitwell has placed his MS. collection at the service of the author.

An interesting sale of old coins, collected by Mr. William Brooke, of Leeds and Wetherby, was concluded at Messrs. Hepper and Sons' rooms, East

Parade, Leeds, on 11th June. Anglo-Saxon and Early English, Roman, Greek, English, Scotch, and Irish coins were sold. For a Cromwell five shilling piece £5 was given, and for a coin of the same value in Edward VI.'s reign £3 7*s.* 6*d.* A Queen Anne farthing, dated 1714, brought 27*s.*, while thirty Isle of Man pennies and halfpennies realised 38*s.*, a Henry VIII. shilling piece £2 4*s.*, a Philip and Mary £1 16*s.*, and a silver pattern piece, crown George II. 1746, £5. A number of tradesmen's tokens, some of which were stamped with curious designs, were also disposed of at good prices. A halfpenny struck at London in 1165, and belonging to the issue known as "Plague money," sold for 10*s.* 6*d.* Amongst the best prices in the Anglo-Saxon and Early English section were £2 2*s.* for different types of Edward the Confessor, and £2 for William the Conqueror pennies, Canute coins of that value bringing 32*s.*

The Ordnance Survey has issued an interesting report on the progress made to the end of 1884. Scotland and Ireland have been completed, and maps of these countries on the six-inch scale have been published. In Wales, Pembroke, Carnarvon, and Anglesea alone remain to be surveyed. It is hoped that the whole of the kingdom may be finished by the year 1890.

Correspondence.

CARLYLE'S NASEBY RELICS.

Carlyle, writing in his *Cromwell* of the fight of Naseby, quaintly mentions "two ancient grinder teeth, dug lately from that ground. . . . Sound effectual grinders, one of them very large; which ate their breakfast on the fourteenth morning of June, two hundred years ago, and except to be clenched once in grim battle, had never work to do more in this world!" It may interest your readers to know that one of these "ancient grinders" is now in the cabinet of Mr. S. C. Tite, of Towcester, a well-known local antiquary. He has also a bullet from the same field. Cards are attached to the relics bearing the following inscriptions in Carlyle's handwriting:—

"Jaw-tooth dug from a burial-mound (near Cloisterwell), on Naseby battle-field, on the 23rd Sept., 1842, by Ed. Fd., and sent to me four days after.—Given to Mr. Wake, 23rd Jan., 1854.—T. C. [SEAL.]

Bullet found on Naseby battle-field. Has been in my possession above ten years. 23rd Jan., 1854. —T. C. [SEAL.]

JOHN ALT PORTER.

Blackheath.

THE ANGLO-SAXON WAR-CRY AT HASTINGS.

In a late number of *Notes and Queries* the Rev. Mr. Skeat mistakes about our common word "cut" (as in cut, or go, away), which he derives from a wood-chopper making his way through a thicket. But this very ancient part of speech really signifies motion, as in the Irish or Keltic *ait*, to go, and the terms "heat (of a horse-race), gait, quit, gad, the Spanish dance *gato*, *gavotte*," etc., including, in compliment to Professor Max Müller, of Oxford, the Sanskrit *wad*, which carries a like meaning.

But stepping outside the circle of the philologists, I would point to the historic antiquity of the term, one heard throughout the Middle Ages in the war-cry of the Hohenzollerns, "gaht," and one, it may be added, which no German writer has thought fit to interpret. It meant "advance," or "charge!" But there is a still more illustrious instance, my inducement to write this note. It is the "Aut," or "Ut," of the Saxons, advancing sturdily against odds at Senlac, in reply to the "Dexaia!" of Taillefer and his Norman lance-tossers. This unexplained shout is still preserved in our familiar "go it!" and its more rounded and "continental" shape of "go-ahead!"—the animating hortative of two kindred nations.

It may thus be seen that our "cut," or "git," is a memorable word of old chivalry and command, and one well worth rescuing from the wood-choppers.

WILLIAM DOWE.

Brooklyn, U.S.A.

INSTRUCTIONS TO CUSTOMS OFFICERS. 1670.

(*Ante*, vol. xi., 279.)]

I came across, some time ago, in the library at Colchester Castle, a book similar to that described by Mr. Tavaré, but both perfect and of earlier date; in fact, of the time of the Commonwealth. Its contents, as he truly says, are very curious and interesting. Like him I was puzzled by the tax on "Babies' heads;" but I do not think it is a mistake for "Babies' hoods." "Babies" are surely here used for "dolls," as in the passages quoted by Johnson from Bacon and from Stillingfleet.

J. H. ROUND.

Brighton.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We cannot undertake to return rejected MS. unless accompanied by a stamped directed envelope.

Mr. Ordish's fourth paper on "London Theatres" will appear in our next issue.

The following papers are accepted for an early issue: "Extracts from a Diary of Early Travel," "Monumental Brasses in Hertfordshire Churches," "Ralph Allen and Bath," "Native Painters under James the First."

Mr. J. E. Price, F.S.A., is preparing an account of the Roman wall of London, the first part of which will probably appear in our August issue.

CELEBRATED BIRTHPLACES.—Our next article will probably be on the birthplace of J. M. W. Turner.

The Antiquary Exchange.

Enclose 4d. for the First 12 Words, and 1d. for each Additional Three Words. All replies to a number should be enclosed in a blank envelope, with a loose Stamp, and sent to the Manager.

NOTE.—*All Advertisements to reach the office by the 15th of the month, and to be addressed*—The Manager, EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT, THE ANTIQUARY OFFICE, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

FOR SALE.

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Obiter Dicta (first edition). Days and Hours in a Garden (first edition). J. Briggs, Sevenoaks.

Turmine's Rambles in the Isle of Sheppey, Kent, 12mo, 1843. East Kent Poll Book for the General Election in July 1852, published by Whittaker & Co., London. 191, Care of Manager.

The Antiquary.

AUGUST, 1885.

London Theatres.

No. II.
The Globe and Lesser Bankside Playhouses.
Part III.

By T. Fairman Ordish.

OUR subject now is the Globe playhouse itself. This old building, of which not a vestige remains to human sight or touch, has become a shrine in English literature; and here, more than anywhere in the tract over which we are travelling, a duteous word of deprecation is needful. We would point to the great scholars who have devoted their lives to the elucidation of the Life and Works of Shakespeare; and we would ask to be understood as claiming only the privilege of introducing this subject to those readers of The Antiquary to whom it is unfamiliar. The imaginations of Englishmen have been so largely nurtured by Shakespeare that writers approaching the subject of Shakespeare literature have usually been unable to resist the divine afflatus. But fine writing has been condoned by the masters of the science, in sympathetic consideration for genuine enthusiasm. The neophyte is clamorous with homage, but turns up a fresh fact, or suggests a new idea; the veteran, absorbed in silent and active worship, garners up the mite in his store, and forgives the verbosity. This has usually been the process in Shakespeare literature. Let the reader, therefore, bear with us, if we pack our facts closely together; the subject needs no decoration, and it must be covered in the space of one article. There is an apparent disproportion in the length at which we treated the Rose and the Hope playhouses, in comparison with the present paper; but this is attributable to our discussion of the dates of those theatres.

The history of the Globe divides itself into two periods. First, from 1597-8, when it was erected out of the materials which had composed the building of the Theatre in Shoreditch, to the year 1613, when it was burnt down. Second, from 1614 till its disappearance from history, in 1647. Shakespeare left the Globe on or before the occasion of the fire in 1613.

We are not of those who find a stimulus in exposing the errors of a valuable work like Collier's *History of Dramatic Poetry;* but it is strange that he should have gone wrong in respect of the date of the Globe. He gives the date as 1594; while in the article on this theatre in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, (February, 1816) the date, although not exactly given, is correctly stated, thus:—

> The date of building the Globe Theatre may be confidently fixed within the years 1596-8, as by the contract for erecting the Fortune Theatre, dated January 1599, it is referred to as "the late erected playhouse on the Bancke."

The position of the building has been worked out elaborately and successfully by Mr. Rendle. In his *History of Old Southwark*, among some interesting notes on Norden's Map, he gives the relative distances of the Southwark theatres, according to approximate measurements taken from the river-line, city side. Thus:—

> The Bear Garden, otherwise the Hope, was situate due south about 1,000 feet in a direct line from Stew Lane Stairs, Queen Hithe West. The Rose, due south, about 940 feet from Queen Hithe East. The Globe, not built until 1599, *i.e.*, after the Map, due south about 1,200 feet from the north-west corner of the site of Southwark Bridge.

I know more than one topographer who will be glad to take a note of these measurements. A facsimile of a small diagram in Wilkinson's *Londina* is here given, in which the positions of the Rose and the Globe are marked.

As the site of the Globe has happily been settled by Mr. Rendle, we may take note of the suppositions which had previously stood in the place of fact. It is well known that such things die hard; and while giving the net result of Mr. Rendle's long investigations, it will be useful to label the errors and half-truths which he has supplanted.

According to Malone, the Globe stood "in" Maid Lane. Chalmers maintained that it was situated

On the Bank, within eighty paces of the river, which has since receded from its former limits; and that it stood on the site of John Whatley's Windmill, as I was assured by an intelligent manager of Barclay's brewhouse, which covers in its ample range part of Globe Alley.

Peter Cunningham gave a very important contribution to the question in his *Handbook.* Among the churchwardens' accounts of St. Saviour he found "in a list of tenements situate in the Liberty of the Clink, drawn up on the 27th February, 1634, in obedience to an order from the Earl of Arundel and Inigo Jones, of the 5th of the same month," the following entry:—

The Globe Playhouse, neare Maide Lane, built by the Company of Players, with timber about 20 yeares past, uppon an old foundacon, worth 20^{li} pr. ann., being the inheritance of Sr. Matthew Brand, Kn't.

In the *Art Journal* for 1858 (vol. iv., p. 280) there is an article on the Globe, and a cut copied from Visscher's map of 1616. Here the site of the Globe is described as "near that part of Southwark crossed by the road from the iron bridge;" and, more nearly, it "is believed to have stood where the iron works of Messrs. Sheeres are now located, close beside the bridge."

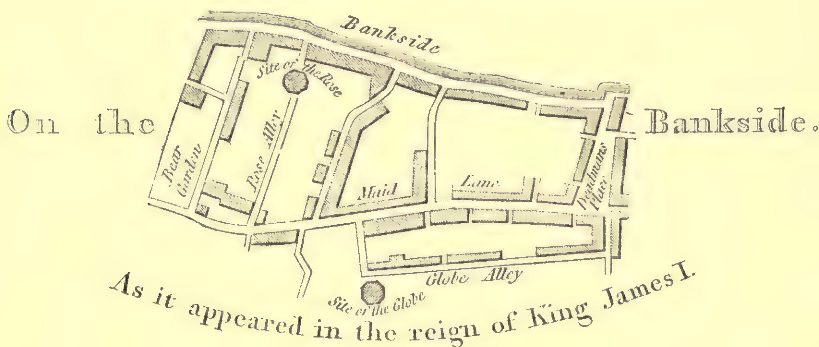
The site of the Globe has been settled as follows:—Barclay's brewery in Park Street now covers the site of the old playhouse, and also of Globe Alley.* The present Park Street, says Mr. Rendle, was Deadman's Place; New Park Street was Maid Lane. In a deed, Sir Mathew Brand to Memprise, 1626, certain messuages are thus bounded:—

By the king's highway, called Deadman's Place on the east; by the brook or common sewer dividing the land from the Park of the Lord Bishop of Winchester on the south; by Lombard Garden on the west; and by the Alley or way leading to the Gloabe Playhouse, commonly called Gloabe Alley, on the north.

Again, Wadsworth to Ralph Thrale, 1732, messuages are conveyed "fronting a certain Alley or Passage called Globe Alley, in antient times leading from Deadman's Place to the Globe Playhouse." Mr. Rendle disposes of Malone's curious supposition that the Globe derived its name from Globe alley. The contrary was the case, and the alley or way was named after the playhouse to which it conducted. Taking the foregoing evidence along with that afforded by a token-book of 1621, Mr. Rendle proceeds to fix the spot occupied by the Globe thus:—

At or close to the open space shown in Rocque's map, south of the meeting-house, about 80 or 100 feet along the alley on the right-hand side. The meeting-house [Maid Lane meeting-house, where Richard Baxter was preacher in 1676-7] may be seen in the map "meeting-house yard," "meeting-house alley," opening to Maid Lane on the north, to Globe

THE GLOBE THEATRE,



* Harrison's *Description of England;* New Shakespeare Society, ed. Furnivall, Appendix I., p. xiv. *et seq.*; Mr. Rendle on "The Bankside, Southwark, and the Globe Playhouse."

Alley on the south. Wilson, *History and Antiquity of Dissenting Churches*, says, "The meeting-house was situated in Globe Alley," and "in former days there stood here a theatre called the Globe." Wilkinson, *Londina*, says, "Upon the disuse of this theatre (the Globe), its site was covered by a meeting-house, occupying a space of 2,000 square feet; it was capacious, built of wood, and contained three galleries."

Some measurements, fixing the relative positions of the Southwark playhouses, taken from points other than those already mentioned, are given by Mr. Rendle:—

Swan, 425 feet from Thames; 1,625 from St. Mary Overy's Dock.
Rose, 260—280 feet from Thames; 1,225 from St. Mary Overy's Dock.
Hope (or Bear Garden), 375 feet from Thames; 1,330 from St. Mary Overy's Dock.
Globe, 400—450 feet from Thames; 900 from St. Mary Overy's Dock.

THE GLOBE THEATRE.

So much for the site of the Globe. Now for a concentrated glance at its history. The circumstances under which it was erected were described in our first article (ANTIQUARY, vol. xi., pp. 94—5). Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps tells us that *Henry the Fifth* and *Every Man out of his Humour* were amongst the earliest plays presented there,* the latter having been acted by the Lord Chamberlain's servants in 1599, and the author distinctly appealing to the judgment of "the happier spirits in this faire-fild Globe," ed. 1600. In another place the Presenter addresses the audience as they "thronged round." In the summer of the following year 1600, *As You Like It* was produced.* Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps remarks:—

> The celebrated speech of Jacques on the Seven Ages of Man would have had an appropriate significance when uttered below the Latin motto under the sign of the Globe Theatre, but the coincidence was no doubt accidental.

The motto alluded to is *Totus mundus agit histrionem*, which was written under the sign of the house. Probably most readers will be inclined to see in the words "All the world's a stage" more than a coincidence. Malone at first derived the name of the Globe from its circular form. But subsequently he believed it was denominated only from its sign, which, he says, was a figure of Hercules supporting the Globe, with the motto underneath. Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, however, attributes the name to the shape of the building.

The construction of the Globe is revealed in the contract between Henslowe and Allen on the one part, and Peter Street, carpenter, on the other part, for the erection of the Fortune Theatre, January 8th, 1599—1600. The superior interest of the Globe has led us to introduce this document here instead of in the subsequent article dealing with the Fortune. We copy from Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps's book †:—

> The frame of the house is to be set *square*, and to contain three stories in height, "with four convenient divisions for gentlemen's rooms, and other sufficient and convenient divisions for twoo-pennie roomes, with necessarie seates to be placed and sett as well in

* *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, ed. 1883, p. 157.

* *Ibid.*, p. 164.
† *Ibid.*, p. 523.

those roomes as throughoute all the rest of the galleries of the said howse; and with such like steares, conveyances, and divisions, without and within, as are made and contryved in and to the late-erected play-howse on the Bancke, in the said parish of Saint Saviours, called the Globe; with a stadge and tyreinge-howse, to be made, erected and sett upp within the saide frame." The stage is to have a "shadowe" or cover over it; it is to be "paled in belowe with good stronge and sufficient new oken boardes," and to be "in all other proportions contryved and fashioned like unto the stadge of the saide playhouse called the Globe, with convenient windowes and lights glazed to the said tireynge-howse;" the frame, stage, and staircases to be covered with tile, and to be "enclosed without with lathe lyme and hair." There is to be a gutter of lead to carry the water from the covering of the stage, to fall backwards; and the "gentlemen's rooms and two-pennie rooms to be sealed with lathe, lyme, and haire." "And the saide howse, and other things before mentioned to be made and doen, to be in all other contrivitions, conveyances, fashions, thinge and thinges, effected, furnished, and doen, according to the manner and fashion of the saide howse called the Globe: saveinge only that the principal and maine postes of the saide frame and stadge forward shall be square and wrought palaster-wise, with carved proportions called satiers, to be placed and sett on the topp of every of the same postes"; and saving also that Peter Street is not to be charged with any manner of painting about the theatre, from which it is to be concluded that the Globe was painted. Another provision is that Street shall "make all the saide frame in every poynte for scantlings larger and bigger in assize than the scantlings of the timber of the saide newe-erected howse called the Globe."

Mr. Rendle tells us in his *History* that near the Swan theatre many actors and others of the Shakespeare time lived; among the rest, Henslowe, Alleyn, Cooke, Kemp, Lowin, Sly. Close to the river margin was the Falcon Inn, where they regaled themselves. The players had to pay tithes. Chalmers discovered in the Parish Register of St. Saviour's that

On the 28th of March, 1600, it was ordered that the Churchwardens shall talk with the players for tithes of their playhouses, and for the rest of the new tanne houses near thereabouts within the libertie of the Clinke, and for money for the poore, according to the order taken before my Lords of Canterbury and London, and Mr. of the Revels.*

In a letter from the Lords of the Council to the Lord Mayor, dated 22nd June, 1600, complaining of the increase of playhouses, there is a curious passage, to the effect:—

There should be but two playhouses, one in Middlesex, namely the one in Golden Lane [the Fortune], and one in Surrey, the Globe, on the Bank side, which had been selected by the players from the numerous houses there.*

In the order as given by Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps † the sentence is, that the players "have made choise of the house called the Globe," and there is no reference to "the numerous other houses there." But either way, the passage appears to be at variance with the story of the building of the Globe on the Bankside out of the materials of the Theatre, and we have introduced it in the hope of some explanation arising.

The Globe theatre was used as a place of meeting by the conspirators in the Essex rebellion; and it is supposed that the plays acted on the occasion had some reference to the revolt. The story is told in the *State Papers*. Essex made his attempt on February 8th, 1601. The examination of witnesses and accomplices took place on February 16th.

Examination of Sir William Constable before Dr. Jul. Cæsar and two others, in answer to interrogatories. 1 and 2. On Saturday the 7th inst., he with Lord Monteagle, Sir Christ. Blount, Sir Gelly Merrick, Sir Chas. Percy, Hen. Cuffe, Edw. Bushell, Ellis Jones, and Sir Jo. Davies met, for all he knows by chance, at one Gunter's house, over against Temple Gate, where they dined, after which Thos. Lea came to the play, where were all assembled, at the Globe on the Bankside, saving Cuffe. After the play, Examinate and Edw. Bushell went to Essex House, where they supped and lay all night, which he had never done before.‡

Particulars of the rebellion follow. On the next day the investigation was continued:—

Examination of Sir Gelly Merrick before Lord Chief Justice Popham and Edw. Fenner. On Saturday last was sevennight, dined at Gunter's in company with Lord Monteagle, Sir Christ. Blount, Sir Chas. Percy, Ellis Jones, Edw. Bushell, and others. On the motion of Sir Chas. Percy, they went all together to the Globe over the water, where the Lord Chamberlain's men used to play, and were there somewhat before the play began, Sir Charles telling them that the play would be *Harry the Fourth*. Cannot say whether Sir John Danvers was there or not; but he said he would be if he could; thinks it was Sir Chas. Percy who procured that play to be played at that time. The play was of King Henry the Fourth and of the killing of Richard the Second, and played by the Lord Chamberlain's players.§

* Chalmers, *Apology*, p. 494.

* *Remembrancia*, p. 355.

† *Outlines*, p. 529.

‡ *Cal. State Papers*, *Domestic*, 1598-1601, 573.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 575.

In the next document we have the evidence of one of the players :—

Examination of Augustine Phillipps, servant to the Lord Chamberlain and one of his players, before Lord Chief Justice Popham and Edward Fenner. On Thursday or Friday sevennight, Sir Chas. Percy, Sir Josceline Percy, Lord Monteagle, and several others, spoke to some of the players to play the deposing and killing of King Richard II., and promised to give them 40*s.* more than their ordinary, to do so. Examinate and his fellows had determined to play some other play, holding that of King Richard as being so old and so long out of use that they should have a small company at it, but at this request they were content to play it.*

In the following year, 1602, *Hamlet* was produced at the Globe for the first time; and it is impossible to resist a supposition that the tragedy of the unfortunate Essex was in Shakespeare's mind when he wrote the play. We may imagine that Essex was Hamlet's father, and the wily Cecil the "King" of the play. Who knows but that the daring fancy of the poet may have been addressing Elizabeth when he bade "the Queen" to look on this picture and on this; and have suggested to her tender reminiscences of the murdered Essex, the Hyperion of her court, the gallant, noble, daring, but reckless and unfortunate? The times were out of joint; the deep-down melancholy of the play seems to thrill with personal sorrow. Essex, the friend of genius, was gone for ever. The patriot Shakespeare, who has given us our national epic—for no less a position do his historical dramas occupy—what vivid and dramatic interest would he not feel in the history of his own time! The fate of the fascinating and brilliant Essex would appeal to him with peculiar force. It may be that in a veiled manner he designed to show the people a reflection of the ills that vexed the State. I daresay I am not the first who has regretted that the theme of *Hamlet* was not English. It may have been English by reflection and in its application. Perhaps the play-scene in *Hamlet* suggests how the play itself was but a play within a play on that great stage the world, of which the men and women were "merely players."

In the spring of this year, 1602, our national tragedy, known originally under the title of the *Revenge of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, was in course of representation by the Lord Chamberlain's players at the Globe Theatre, and had then, in all probability, been recently composed. . . . The hero was admirably portrayed by Burbage, and has ever since, as then, been accepted as the leading character of the greatest actor of the passing day. It is worth notice that the incident of Hamlet leaping into Ophelia's grave, now sometimes omitted, was considered in Burbage's time to be one of the most striking features of the acted tragedy; and there is a high probability that a singular little incident of by-play, enacted by the First Grave-Digger, was also introduced at the Globe performances. The once popular stage-trick of that personage taking off a number of waistcoats one after the other, previously to the serious commencement of his work, is an artifice which has only been laid aside in comparatively recent years.*

We may gather from the following letter that it was customary to act plays in celebration of the Queen's accession, in addition to other amusements. The humorous incidents of the hoax here described reveal, to some extent, the nature of the furniture in the auditorium. The letter, which is dated London, 1602, November 19th, is addressed to Dud. Carleton, in Paris, by John Chamberlain, and gives various items of news. The writer then proceeds :—

The Queen. . . . . Her accession day passed as usual, with preaching, singing, shooting, ringing, and running. The Bishop of Limerick, Dr. Thornborough, made a dull sermon at Paul's Cross. At the tilt were many young runners, and Garret, the fool, made as fair a show as the proudest, and was well disguised, but his horse no bigger than a van-dog; he delivered his escutcheon himself, had audience of the Queen, and made her very merry. One Vernon, of Lincoln's Inn, gave out bills of a play on the Bankside, to be acted by persons of account. Price of entry 2s. 6d. or 1s. 6d. Having got most of the money, he fled, but was taken and brought before the Lord Chief Justice, who made a jest of it, and bound him over in 5*l.* to appear at the sessions. The people, seeing themselves deluded, revenged themselves on the hangings, chairs, walls, &c., and made great spoil. There was much good company and many noblemen.†

In the following year, 1603, James I. succeeded to the throne of England. He was very favourably disposed towards the players, and the company performing at the Globe, which had hitherto been known as the Chamberlain's men, were specially retained in the new sovereign's service, and their cognomen henceforward became that of "the King's men," or "His Majesty's players." The licence granted to the company by

* *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, p. 578.

* J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines*, pp. 173-175.

† *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*. 1601-1603, p. 264.

James I. is given by Malone, quoting Rymer's *Fœdera*, as follows:—

Pro Laurentio Fletcher & Willielmo Shakespeare & aliis. A. D. 1603. *Pat.* 1. Jac. P. 2. m. 4. James by the grace of God, &c., to all justices, maiors, sheriffs, constables, headboroughs, and other our officers and loving subjects, greeting. Know you that wee of our special grace certaine knowledge and meer motion have licensed and authorised and by these presentes doe licence and authorize theise our servants Laurence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, Richard Burbage, Augustine Phillippes, John Hemings, Henrie Condel, William Sly, Robert Armin, Richard Cowly, and the rest of their associates, freely to use and exercise the art and faculty of playing comedies, tragedies, histories, interludes, morals, pastorals, stage-plaies, and such like other as theie have alreadie studied or hereafter shall use or studie, as well for the recreation of our loving subjects, as for our solace and pleasure when we shall thinke good to see them, during our pleasure; and the said comedies, tragedies, histories, enterludes, morals, pastorals, stage-plaies, and such like, to shew and exercise publiquely to their best commoditie, when the infection of the plague shall decrease as well within theire nowe usuall house called the Globe, within our county of Surrey, as also within anie towne-halls or moute-halls, or other convenient places, within the liberties and freedom of any other citie, universitie, town, or boroughe whatsoever, within our said realmes and dominions. Willing and commanding you and everie of you, as you tender our pleasure, not onlie to permit and suffer them herein, without any your letts, hindrances, or molestations, during our pleasure, but also to be aiding or assistinge to them if any wrong be to them offered, and to allow them such former curtesies as hath been given to men of their place and quallitie; and also what further favour you shall show to these our servaunts for our sake, we shall take kindlie at your handes. In witness whereof, &c.

Witness ourselfe at Westminster, the nynteenth daye of Maye.

Per Breve de privato sigillo.

Malone, *Shakespeare by Boswell*, pp. 50-51; Collier, *History of Dramatic Poetry*, i., 334-335.

Malone tells us that, like the other servants of the royal household, the performers enrolled into this company were sworn into office, and each of them was allowed four yards of bastard scarlet for a cloak, and a quarter of a yard of velvet for the cape, every second year.

The three principal companies of players were named after the King, the Queen, and the Prince of Wales. The following document shows the protection of the Court.

Letter from the Privy Council to the Lord Mayor and the justices of Middlesex and Surrey requiring them to permit the three companies of Plaiers to the King, Queene, and Prince publicke to exercise ther Plaies in ther several and vsual howses for that purpose and noe other, viz., the Globe scituate in Maiden Lane, on the Banckside, in the Cowntie of Surrey, the Fortune in Goldinge Lane, and the Curtaine in Hollywelle, in the Cowntie of Middlesex, . . . "except ther shall happen weeklie to die of the Plague aboue the number of thirtie."—Whitehall, 9 April, 1604. Contemporary copy.*

The following extremely interesting paragraphs on the production of some of Shakespeare's dramas at the Globe are given by Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps:

In the spring of the year 1608 the apparently inartificial drama of *Pericles* was represented at the Globe Theatre. It seems to have been well received, and Edward Blount, a London bookseller, lost no time in obtaining the personal sanction of Sir George Buck, the master of the revels, for its publication, but the emoluments derived from the stage performances were probably too great for the company to incur the risk of their being diminished by the circulation of the printed drama.

* * * * *

About the time that *Pericles* was so well received at the Globe, the tragedy of *Antony and Cleopatra* was in course of performance at the same theatre; but, although successful, it did not equal the former in popularity. It was, however, sufficiently attractive for Blount to secure the consent of the master of the revels to its publication, and also for the company at the Globe to frustrate his immediate design.

* * * * *

The tragedy of *Macbeth* was acted at the Globe Theatre in April, 1611, and Forman, the celebrated astrologer, has recorded a graphic account of its performance on that occasion, the only contemporary notice of it that has been discovered. The eccentric doctor appears to have given some of the details inaccurately, but he could hardly have been mistaken in the statement that Macbeth and Banquo made their first appearance on horseback, a curious testimony to the rude endeavours of the stage managers of the day to invest their representations with something of reality. The weird sisters were personated by men, whose beards were disguised by grotesque periwigs. Forman's narrative decides a question which has frequently been raised, as to whether the ghost of Banquo should appear, or only be imagined by Macbeth. There is no doubt that the ghost was personally introduced on the early stage as well as long afterwards, when the tragedy was revived by Davenant.

* * * * *

A performance of the comedy of the *Winter's Tale*, the name of which is probably owing to its having been originally produced in the winter season, was witnessed by Dr. Forman at the Globe Theatre on May 15th, 1611.

* *Dulwich Catalogue*, pp. 26, 27.

† *Outlines*, pp. 192, 193, 199, 200.

In the following year the theatres were closed, on the occasion of the death of the Prince of Wales.

Letter from the Lords of the Council to the Lord Mayor announcing the death of the Prince of Wales. They had addressed letters to the Justices of the Peace of Middlesex and Surrey for the suppressing of all plays or shows within those counties, and required him to prohibit all plays, shows, bear-baitings, or other such sights within the City and Liberties, until further orders, and to commit offenders to prison.
8th November, 1612.*

The Globe theatre was destroyed by fire on Tuesday, June 29th, 1613. Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps conjectures that Shakespeare was at Stratford-on-Avon at the time, because his name is not mentioned in any of the notices of the calamity. There is a quaint and interesting contemporary poem on the event, entitled "A Sonnett upon the Pittifull Burneing of the Globe Playhouse in London." Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps writes:—†

First printed by Haslewood, under his customary pseudonym in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1816, and there said to have been "copied from an old manuscript volume of poems." Doubts having been suggested respecting the genuineness of the poem, it is important to state that the present edition of it is taken from a manuscript of the early part of the seventeenth century, of unquestionable authenticity, preserved in the library of Sir Mathew Wilson, Bart., of Eshton Hall, co. York.

Now sitt the downe, Melpomene,
Wrapt in a sea-cole robe,
And tell the dolefull tragedie
That late was played at Globe.
* * * * *

All you that please to understand
Come listen to my storye,
To see Death with his rakeing brand
Mongst such an auditorye:
Regarding neither Cardinall's might
Nor yett the rugged face of Henry the Eight.
Oh sorrow, etc.

This fearfull fire beganne above,
A wonder strange and true,
And to the stage-howse did remove,
As round as taylor's clewe:
And burnt downe both beame and snagg
And did not spare the silken flagg.
Oh sorrow, etc.

Out runne the knightes, out runne the lordes,
And there was great adoe;
Some lost their hattes, and some their swordes;
Then out runne Burbidge too;
The reprobates, though drunke on Munday,
Prayd for the Foole and Henry Condye.
Oh sorrow, etc.

The perrywigges and drumme heades frye,
Like to a butter firkin;
A wofull burneing did betide
To many a good buffe jerkin.
Then with swolne eyes, like Drunken Flemminges,
Distressed stood old stuttering Heminges.
Oh sorrow, etc.

There are eight verses, but the above are the most descriptive of them. The poem is noticed in *Historical MSS. Commission Report*, iii., pp. xviii., 299.

Malone quotes the following account of the disaster, as given by Sir Henry Wotton, in a letter dated July 2, 1613 (*Reliq. Wotton.*, p. 425, ed. 1685):—

Now to let matters of state sleepe, I will entertain you at the present with what happened this week at the Banks side. The King's players had a new play called *All Is True*, representing some principal pieces of the reign of Henry the Eighth, which was set forth with many extraordinary circumstances of pomp and majesty, even to the matting of the stage; the knights of the order with their Georges and Garter, the Guards with their embroidered coats, and the like; sufficient in truth within a while to make greatness very familiar, if not ridiculous. Now King Henry making a Masque at the Cardinal Wolsey's house, and certain cannons being shot off at his entry, some of the paper or other stuff, wherewith one of them was stopped, did light on the thatch, where being thought at first but an idle smoak, and their eyes more attentive to the show, it kindled inwardly, and ran round like a train, consuming within less than an hour the whole house to the very ground. This was the fatal period of that virtuous fabrick, wherein yet nothing did perish but wood and straw, and a few forsaken cloaks; only one man had his breeches set on fire, that would perhaps have broyled him, if he had not by the benefit of a provident wit, put it out with bottle ale.*

From a letter of Mr. John Chamberlain's to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated July 8th, 1613, in which the accident is likewise mentioned, we learn that the Globe had only two doors. After describing the fire, which included "a dwelling-house adjoining," Mr. Chamberlain expresses great marvel that so little harm was done, the theatre "having but two narrow doors to get out."

It would appear that Ben Jonson was present at the fire. In his *Execration upon Vulcan* he exclaims—

But, O, those reeds! thy mere disdain of them
Made thee beget that cruel stratagem,
Which some are pleased to style but thy mad prank,
Against the Globe, the glory of the Bank;
Which, though it were the fort of the whole parish,
Flank'd with a ditch, and forc'd out of a marish,

* *Remembrancia*, p. 410.
† *Outlines*, p. 536.

* Given also by Collier, iii., p. 111.

I saw with two poor chambers taken in,
And raz'd, ere thought could urge, this might have been !

Collier remarks on this, that, as the building was flanked by a ditch, there could hardly have been a deficiency of water had there then existed the means of applying it.*

Howes, in his additions to Stow's *Chronicle*, confirms the above account by Wotton. There seems to be no doubt that the play which was being presented when the mishap occurred was on the subject of Henry the Eighth; but whether it was Shakespeare's drama cannot be determined. Its title appears to have been *All Is True*, and the refrain of the poem on the occasion, "and yet all this is true," was probably an allusion to this title. In the next spring, says Howes, the theatre "was builded in far fairer manner than before." This fact is alluded to by John Taylor the Water Poet in his *Quatern of New-catched Epigrams*:—

As gold is better that's in fire tried,
So is the Bankside Globe that late was burn'd,
For where before it had a thatched hide,
Now to a stately theatre is turn'd :
Which is an emblem, that great things are won
By those that dare through greatest dangers run.

Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps tells us that the rebuilding cost £1,400. He adds that Chamberlain, writing from London on June 30th, 1614, to a lady at Venice, says, "I heare much speach of this new playhouse, which is saide to be the fayrest that ever was in England."

It has been mentioned that Shakespeare's connection with the Globe ceased at or before the time of the fire. Accordingly we find in the following grant, dated March 27th, 1619, his name is absent:—

Grant to John Hemings, Rich. Burbage, Hen. Condall, John Lowen, Nich. Tooley, John Underwood, Nathan Field, Robt. Benfield, Robt. Gough, Wm. Eccleston, Rich. Robinson, and John Shancks, and their associates, of licence to act comedies, tragedies, histories, &c., for the solace and pleasure of the King and his subjects, at the Globe, Bankside, co. Surrey, and at their private house in the precincts of Blackfriars, and other places.†

This grant was probably drafted some days before its date, for the great Burbage, whose name is mentioned, had played his part in his last scene shortly before, as we see by the following letter:—

1619, March 19, London. Chamberlain to Carleton. . . . Burbage, the great actor, dead, worth 300*l.* in land.*

In another notice of this year Burbage's name is omitted:—

1619, May 19. Order signed by the Earl of Pembroke for deliverie to the bearer, John Hemmings, on behalf of himself and the rest of his followers, His Majesty's servants the players, whose names are underwritten, such allowance for their liveries as hath been heretofore accustomed:—

John Hemmings, Henry Condell, John Lowen, Nathan Field, John Underwood, Nicholas Tooley, Robert Goffe, Robert Benfield, William Eccleston, John Shanke, Richard Robinson, Joseph Taylor.

1621, April 7. The like, except that John Rice is there and Nathan Field is absent; and the names of Condell, Goffe, and Benfield are here spelt Cundell, Gough, and Bennefield.†

We have seen the Globe players were, to some extent, involved in the Essex rebellion. A similar circumstance occurred in the succeeding reign. There was a strong opposition in this country at that time to the Spanish alliance. We have note of this in 1618. In this year there was a tumult at the Spanish ambassador's house in Barbican.‡ Subsequently the ambassador, Count Gondomar, had more cause to complain, for His Majesty's players held him up to ridicule. Middleton was the author of the piece, and the story is briefly told in the *State Papers* as follows:—

1624, Aug. 12, Rufford.—Sec. Conway to the Council. The King is informed by the Spanish Ambassador, that a scandalous comedy, in which his Majesty the King of Spain, Count Gondomar, and the Archbp. of Spalato are personified, has been performed by his players. There being a prohibition against representing modern Kings on the stage, he wonders at their boldness, and also that none of his own ministers, who must have heard of it, have not reported it to him. The author and performers of the play are to be cited before Council, those most faulty imprisoned, the comedy examined wherein it is offensive, and measures taken for the severe punishment of the offenders, and restraint of such presumption in future.§

1624, Aug. 14, London.—Sir. Fras. Nethersole to [Carleton] . . . . A new play, the plot of which is a game of chess, in which the whole Spanish business

* *History of Dramatic Poetry*, iii., 112.

† *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1619-1623, p. 28.

* *Ibid.*, p. 26.

† *Hist. MSS. Commission Report*, iv., p. 299.

‡ *Vide* correspondence thereon, *Remembrancia*, p. 452.

§ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1623-1625, p. 325.

is taken up, and Gondomar brought on to the stage, is so popular that the players gain 100*l.* a night.*

1624, Aug. 19, Essex House.—Sir Fras. Nethersole to Carleton. . . . . The players have been called before Council, and forbidden to play till they have appeared before his Majesty. . . . .†

1624, Aug. 21, London.—Chamberlain to [Carleton] . . . .; the play of Gondomar was so much frequented by all classes, that one had to be there by one o'clock to find room; they represented him to the very life, and had his cast-off apparel and litter, but they depicted somebody else too, and therefore are forbidden to play at all, during the King's pleasure, and may be glad if they so escape.‡

1624, Aug. 21. Whitehall.—The Council to Sec. Conway. Find that the performance of the scandalous comedy was licensed by Sir Hen. Herbert, master of the Revels. The poet, Middleton, has shifted out of the way. Have sharply reproved the actors, forbidden their performing again till the King's pleasure be known, and ordered them to give bonds for their appearance. Send the comedy for his Majesty's inspection.§

1624, Aug. 27, Woodstock.—Sec. Conway to the Council. The king wishes them to examine by whose direction the personating of Gondomar and others was done; those parties are to be severely punished, but his Majesty is unwilling to punish the innocent, or utterly ruin the company [of stage players].||

All the theatres were closed in 1630 on account of the plague.¶ The Globe players continued to prosper during the reign of Charles I., but their end was approaching. The following Warrants show us that the players occasionally attended at Court:—

1636, Dec. 13, Hampton Court. Warrant for payment. The King having commanded his servants the players to assemble their company and keep themselves together near the Court, gives them an allowance of 20*l.* per week, which is to be paid to John Lowen and Joseph Taylor, on behalf of their company; such allowance to commence from 1st November last, to continue during His Majesty's pleasure, and to be taken as of his princely bounty.**

1637, April 11, Westminster. Warrant to pay 154*l.*, being the charge of the alterations and additions made in the scene, apparel, and properties employed for setting forth the new play called the *Royal Slave*, lately acted at Hampton Court, together with the charge of dancers and composers of music, the same to be paid as follows, viz., to Peter le Huc, property maker, 50*l.*; to George Portman, painter, 50*l.*; and to Estienne Nau and Sebastien la Pierre, for themselves and 12 dancers, 54*l.*††

* *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, p. 327.
† *Ibid.*, p. 328.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 330.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 329.
|| *Ibid.*, p. 331.
¶ *Remembrancia*, p. 341.
** *Cal. State Papers*, p. 228.
†† *Ibid.*, p. 563.

The end of the Globe playhouse is described by Howes. It was "pulled doune to the ground by Sir Matthew Brand on Monday, the 15th of April, 1644, to make tenements in the rooms of it."*

This completes the history of the Globe so far as its chronological narration is concerned. In our next paper some notes on the internal economy, arrangements, and aspect of the playhouse will be added; and the Swan theatre will be dealt with in the same paper. This will complete the present section of the subject, which we have marked and kept together under one title as section "No. II." of our history of London Theatres.

The Attack on Dover, 1067.

"The truth of the whole matter is that all this very ingenious but baseless fabric has been built on the foundation of a single error."—Mr. E. A. Freeman.†

IT is in the above words that Mr. Freeman dismisses that remarkable and well-known work, in which the late Mr. Coote so ably urged the case for the "Roman" theory. I do not here propose to discuss the question at stake between the champions of the "Roman" and of the "Teuton" schools; I shall merely take Mr. Freeman's words, and use them as the text of a short discourse on an episode of that period in our history which he has made so peculiarly his own. I shall analyse the "fabric" which he has there raised, and I shall show that it "has been built," beyond the range of question, "on the foundation of a single error."

In the whole story of the Norman conquest there is, in truth, no simpler episode than that of this attack on Dover. The men of Kent, smarting beneath the tyranny of the notorious Odo of Bayeux, seized the opportunity afforded by his absence beyond the Thames, to invite Count Eustace of Boulogne, of yore their bitterest foe,‡ to come over and make himself master of that

* Howes's MS. in Collier's *Life of Shakespeare.*
† *Macmillan's Magazine*, xxii., 213.
‡ "Pridem sibi inimicissimo" (William of Poitou).

stronghold, which was later well described as the "clavis Angliæ et repagulum."* The Count accepted their offer, and, arriving at the head of his followers, endeavoured to carry the castle by a desperate *coup-de-main*. Failing to surprise its defenders, he encountered a determined resistance; his troops lost heart; the besieged garrison sallied forth; a panic seized on the assailants; in headlong rout they plunged down the cliffs, the Normans following in hot pursuit. With great difficulty the Count and a shattered remnant of his force succeeding in reaching his ships, and effecting an ignominious retreat.

Such are the simple facts; but Mr. Freeman knows better. He decided to "minutely study the story,"† and his study bore fruit as follows :—

In the first place he tells that

> Our accounts show that the town itself had to be taken as well as the castle, and it was on the town that the first attack was made.‡

His authority for that statement is this :—

> The special mention of the town comes from Orderic (508 l.) :—"Quum hostes vehementer impetum facere in *oppidum* molirentur; custodes ad defensandum reperti sunt, et ferventissime quâ locus peterat impugnari restiterunt." §

In the second place, he discovered that

> It is plain that the townsmen were on the side of the garrison. Whatever might be the feelings of the rest of the shire, the men of Dover had no mind to see Count Eustace again within their walls. ‖

For this he relies on the passage:—"*Oppidani* confestim portas patefecerunt" (Ord. Vit., 508 l.), which he renders in his narrative, "The gates were thrown open by the *townsmen*. ¶ We learn then that the stability of this "ingenious fabric" wholly depends on "the distinct mention of '*oppidum*' and '*oppidani*' in Orderic."**

* "The famous cliff of Dover was already defended by a castle . . . . . of whose strength, both from its position and its defences, Norman writers speak with all respect, a fortress whose fame had crossed the sea."—*Norman Conquest*, iii., 534-5.

† *Ibid.*, iv., 112.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

§ *Ibid.*

‖ *Ibid.*

¶ *Ibid.*

** *Ibid.*, p. 118 (note).

We shall find that, in confidently assigning to these terms a meaning entirely and strangely wrong, lies that "error" on which the Regius Professor has raised his "baseless fabric."

First, then, as to the general use in Ordericus of the terms *oppidum* and *oppidani*. That anyone could have read, have studied, Ordericus, without observing his incessant use of *oppidum* for a fortress, and *oppidani* for its garrison, would seem almost impossible; but with Mr. Freeman all things are possible.

I shall here quote some instances from Mr. Freeman's own writings to show that he himself bears witness to the fact. In the preceding volume of the same work we have the case of Ambrières, which, just as in the case of Dover itself, is spoken of by William of Poitou as a "castrum" (*Norman Conq.*, iii., 167, notes), and its garrison as "castellani" (*ib.*, 168, note), and which is duly described by Mr. Freeman as "another donjon on a height" (*ib.*, 166). Yet Ordericus speaks of it (*ib.* 209, note) as "Ambreras *oppidum* ejus." Again, his "*oppida* nova condidit" is duly rendered by the Regius Professor "he built new *fortresses*" (*W. Rufus*, ii., 216). Again, at the siege of the Castle of Courcy, he speaks of its gate as "*oppidi* portas," and tells us of the castle that "in novo munimento construere furnum *oppidanis* fas non fuerat (*ib.*, ii., 250). Similarly, the garrison of Tickhill Castle are termed by him "*oppidani*" (*ib.*, ii., 421-2); and of a skirmish before the castle of Fresnay we read :—

> Militum vero turmæ regio jussu Fredernaium repente adierunt et cum *oppidanis* equitibus militari exercitu ante portas castri aliquantulum certaverunt (*ib.*, ii., 229).

But further evidence is rendered needless by Mr. Freeman's own admission. For in the case of the siege of Bridgnorth Castle, we find a note to the following effect (*ib.*, ii., 441) :—

> Ord. Vit., 807 l.:—"Tres quoque *municipes* mandavit, et coram cunctis juravit, quod nisi *oppidum* in triduo sibi redderent, omnes quoscunque de illis capere possent, suspendio perirent." These "municipes," the "oppidani" of the rest of the story, must be the three captains, Roger, Robert, and Wulfgar. Odd as it seems, both "oppidanus" and "municeps" *are often used in this sense.* See Ducange in Municeps.

Further on, where Ordericus speaks of "*oppidani* omnes et burgenses," Mr. Freeman observes that "the appearance of the 'burgenses' . . . . mark (*sic*) yet more distinctly the true meaning of 'oppidani'" (*ib.*, 443, note). This is so, and if Ordericus had been speaking (which he was not) of the "townsmen" at Dover, he would, as elsewhere, have used the term "burgenses" (or "cives"). But Mr. Freeman, rushing here, as elsewhere, into the opposite extreme, in turn overshoots the mark, when he further urges, of "castrensium et magistrorum," that

> The use of the words may seem odd, but "magistri" must (*sic*) mean the captains, and "castrenses" the burgesses (*ib.*, 445, note).

I am prepared to show that, as we might expect, "castrenses" is here merely an equivalent of the familiar "castellani," the garrison of the fortress.

Elated, it would seem, by the above discovery, Mr. Freeman explains, in the same work (i., 194, note), that "the *adulterina municipia* are the castles built without the duke's license," and with lofty pity for a luckless Frenchman, who had ventured to trespass on his preserves,* is careful to add that "M. le Hardy (60) amusingly mistakes the *municipia* for 'quelques communes.'" Mr. Freeman's mistake over its sister-term is equally "amusing," though of greater consequence. When, then, we similarly read of Thierry, that he "has an amusing glimmering of truth,"† and of St. John that he "amusingly takes Lappenberg to task,"‡ it is pleasant to reflect that Mr. Freeman himself may yet afford us as much amusement as his predecessors have afforded him.

We will now address ourselves to the case of Dover, and admitting even, for Mr. Freeman's benefit, that *oppidum* is an ambiguous term, we will see whether (1) the parallel narratives, or (2) the circumstances of the case, allow it to bear any other sense than that of the castle itself.

Now, "Orderic's account," as Mr. Freeman observes, "is founded on that of William of Poitou, whose words he largely copies" (*Norman Conq.*, iv., 114).

* Gaston le Hardy's *Étude de Critique Historique* (Caen, 1880).

† *Norman Conquest* (2nd Ed.), i., 713.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 662.

According to the latter, Eustace was invited "uti *castrum* Doveram invadat": similarly his prize, according to the latter, was to be *munitionem* Doveræ." Again, the following speaks for itself:—

WILLIAM OF POITOU.	ORDERICUS VITALIS.
"Ut incaute opprimeret *castellanos*."	"Ut *oppidum* ex insperato præoccuparet."

What can be plainer than that the *oppidum* of Ordericus corresponds with the *castrum* of William? A comparison with William of Jumièges enforces the same conclusion:—

WILLIAM OF JUMIÈGES.	ORDERICUS VITALIS.
"*Milites* Odonis Baiocasini Præsulis atque Hugonis de Monteforti . . . portas patefaciunt."	"Denique *oppidani* confestim portas patefecerunt."

Here it will be seen that the *oppidani* of Ordericus are, as usual, the soldiers of the garrison.

And the circumstances of the case, if possible, are even more conclusive. Mr. Freeman's assumption that *oppidum* is the "town," and *oppidani* the townsmen," is (1) opposed to the fact that in each of the narratives the invitation to Eustace is represented as unanimous;* (2) assumes that the town itself was then fortified and walled, for which there is no evidence; is (3) incompatible with the rush to the ships—which must actually have been waiting in the harbour itself †—requiring a swift horse (*velocitas equi*), or a knowledge of the path (*notitia tramitis*), or, above all, a flight to the cliffs, that is, in the opposite direction; is (4) knocked on the head by the narrative of Ordericus himself.

Indeed, Mr. Freeman, though he clings to his "fabric," soon finds himself in sorry straits. After describing the Count before the walls of the town, disheartened by the resistance of its defenders, and sounding the signal for retreat, he proceeds:—

* "Vicinia omnis adfuit armata" (William of Poitou). "Quæ toto nisu suffragari Eustachi erat conata" (Ordericus Vitalis).

† The town was then, as now, a harbour, the entrance to which (*introitus portus*) is mentioned in *Domesday*. It was in this harbour, and, therefore, *in* the town, that Eustace and his men must actually have disembarked. This is in harmony with an attack on the castle, but obviously incompatible with an attack on the town.

The gates were thrown open by the townsmen, and a general attack on the part of the besiegers (*sic*) changed the retreat into a flight (p. 116).

I need scarcely point out that "besieg*ers*" here makes nonsense of the paragraph; but we cannot tell whether it merely implies that the writer was becoming a little "mixed" in his narrative, or whether he was actually misled by the "propugnatorum" of Ordericus,* and, to quote his own severe comment, "unable to construe his Latin." †

Now we come to the flight, which is thus confidently described:—

The terrible name of Odo scattered them in all directions. Some, seeking to escape the horsemen, strove to climb the steep heights on either side of the town (p. 117).

A vivid picture, no doubt, and based, as we learn, on Ordericus. But what says that writer himself, the *protégé* of the Regius Professor? ‡ Alas! with a lack of gratitude which cannot sufficiently be deplored, he not only resolutely declines to help him "over the stile," but has the bad taste to employ words destructive of his patron's theory. His description, says Mr. Freeman, "is very graphic,"—too graphic, alas! to be mistaken:—

Eâ formidine velut amentes per aviæ rupis præcipitium *se dejecerunt*, et tali compendio fœdius quam ense virorum perierunt.

Of course, in fleeing from the *Castle* to their ships they dashed *down* the precipitous hill (*se dejecerunt*). Mr. Freeman, wishing them to flee from the *town*, makes them, as above, rush *up* the hill ("they strove to climb," etc.). Now, it is a rash thing for an original authority to contradict a theory of Mr. Freeman. And this is what Ordericus here does. So, like the English Chronicle in another place, he must be told that he is unfortunately in error. Is he not convicted out of his own mouth? For thus argues the Professor, in a note:—

William of Jumièges makes no mention of the townsfolk and speaks only of the "milites" . . . . . From this, and from the accounts of men falling headlong from the rocks, we might have thought that the attack was made only on the castle. But from the distinct mention of "oppidum" and "oppidani" in Orderic, it would seem that it was the town which was immediately assaulted. The besiegers may have invested the town on all sides from above as well as from below; or footmen pursued by horse may have tried to escape by climbing the heights on each side of the town (p. 118, note).

Here, then, we arrive once more at the "single error" from which we started. On the strange assumption that *oppidum* and *oppidani* must, at all cost, mean "town" and "townsmen," is Mr. Freeman's "fabric" built.

We have now analysed in detail this "ingenious but baseless fabric;" we have seen that not the town, but the castle was attacked; that not the town, but the castle was successfully defended; and that, striking though the fact would be if true, there is nothing to show, and everything to disprove, that "the townsmen were on the side of the garrison." To quote Mr. Freeman's own words, when criticising a brother historian:—

Of course, I shall be told that these things do not matter, that it is quite unimportant whether, etc., etc. . . . . that it is mere pedantry to dwell, etc., etc. . . . . This is what is always said to those who think that truth is worth winning at any price. Real students of history think otherwise.*

If there are any who remain unconvinced, I would refer them to an authority they cannot dispute, no other than that of Mr. Freeman himself. After proving, as the result of his "minute study," that the invaders attacked, not the castle, but the town, and were repelled by a sally from its gates, he gravely informs us in the very same volume (p. 25), that it was "Harold's Castle on the rock [which] had been so vainly assaulted by Count Eustace." This could not have been ventured on by any less "accurate" historian than he who wrote of "the long blockade beneath the donjon of Brionne," † though when, in the very same volume, giving us the details of that blockade, he assures us that no "donjon" was then

* "*Eruptionemque propugnatorum*, quo turpius abigeretur, timeret" (p. 116, note).

† "The Editor [of the *Annales Cambriæ*] seems in many places to have been unable either to read his manuscript or to construe his Latin."—*W. Rufus*, ii., 1.

‡ "If it is reason enough to reject a statement that [? it] is found in Orderic only, we must cast away most of the details of the campaigns of 1068-1070, that is, our only connected narrative of the real conquest of England."—*Norman Conquest*, iv., 786.

* *Fortnightly Review* (New Series), iii., 404.

† *Norman Conquest*, ii. (2nd Ed.), 165.

in existence, no fortress "beneath" which the duke could linger.*

Here we may pause to glance for an instant at Mr. Clark's description of this attack. In his great work on *Military Architecture* he has reprinted his account of Dover Castle, in which he briefly mentions the affair (ii., 4). He has, of course, avoided Mr. Freeman's error of supposing that the town, not the castle, was attacked, but he makes what I must venture to term the very characteristic slips (1) of dating the attack seven years too late (1074); and (2) of stating that the absent leaders "exerted themselves in the county, and the castle was relieved." I need scarcely say that this statement has, and (from the circumstances of the case) could have, no foundation, in fact.

It would be easy to show that in his mention of Dover, not only in the year immediately preceding, but again a century and a half later, Mr. Freeman is similarly misled by the misunderstanding of a word. But, for the present, enough has been said. The work upon which I am now engaged will contain revelations on *The Norman Conquest*, of which the contents of the present paper afford but a trifling specimen. It will also, I hope, extend our knowledge on the important subject of the Norman Castles, on which Mr. Clark's noble monograph, though far in advance of any other work that has ever yet been produced, is still, I venture to think, less final than is believed.

J. H. ROUND.

* *Ib.*, 261 :—"The Castle of Brionne of those days was not the hill-fortress, the shell of a donjon, of that or the next age, which now looks down upon the town and valley beneath. . . . . The point of defence which was most relied on at Brionne was the fortified hall of stone which stood on an island in the river.

The Fairies in Literature.†

THERE is considerable confusion in the popular mind as to the names and attributes of fairies, and it is not very easy to clear away this confusion, because peris, nymphs, and elves have got mixed up together, and naturally the widely different sentiments exhibited in northern and southern beliefs respectively do not coalesce into a congruous whole. There are two views as to the origin of fairies: the one, which we may call the hypothesis of degradation, by which the belief in these beings is supposed to be a sort of demoralized religion, or a relic of something more real; and the other one, lately propounded by an able writer in the *Cornhill Magazine*, which we may call the hypothesis of idealization. By this the popular idea of a fairy is explained as a tradition of a small race that once inhabited the world. Our national fairies are really the elves, and when we deal with elves we are on tolerably sure ground.

It is usually allowed that the final authority for a name is the bearer of it; therefore let us try to find what the fairies themselves like to be called. The Highlanders are said by Sir Walter Scott to be at all times unwilling to speak of them, especially on Fridays, when their influence is thought to be especially extensive. As they are supposed to be invisibly present, they are at all times to be spoken of with respect. In Jamieson's *Popular Ballads and Songs* (1806),* some verses are quoted on this subject, from which it appears that the fairies are particularly fond of the appellation "Seely folk,"—"seely" meaning pleasant and happy; so that this is allied to the terms "good people," "good neighbours," widely applied to the fairies. The lines are as follows:—

> Gin ye ca' me *imp* or *elf*,
> I rede ye weel, look to yourself;
> Gin ye ca' me fairy,
> I'll work ye meikle tarry;
>
> Gin gude neiber ye ca' me,
> Then gude neiber I will be;
> But gin ye ca' me *Seely Wight*,
> I'll be your friend baith day and night.

The late Mr. Crofton Croker, a great authority on Irish fairies, describes them as a few inches high, airy, and almost transparent in body; so delicate in form, that a dewdrop when they chance to dance upon

† The substance of this paper was read before the Folk-lore Society in 1882.

* Vol. ii., p. 405.

it, trembles indeed, but does not break. Both sexes are of extraordinary beauty. They do not live alone or in pairs, but always in large societies, and are governed by a queen. Mr. Croker alludes to their preference of those who call them by nice names. "They are invisible to man, particularly in the day time, and as they can be present and hear all that is said, the peasantry never speak of them but with caution and respect, terming them the good people or friends." Without entering into too fine distinctions, we may divide the fairies into those of (1) the air, (2) the water, (3) the earth.

The elves mostly dwelt in the bowels of the earth, but the Scandinavians divided them into white elves, or inhabitants of the air, and black elves, or inhabitants of the earth. The former were light, genial, playful, and benevolent; the latter were dark, cruel, and rapacious. Besides these inhabitants of air and earth, we have those beautiful creatures who disport in the waves, the undines or nymphs of the fountain, who are an evident survival from classical romance. Superstition varies greatly according to the geographical character of the country where it is born. In wild mountainous districts the fairies are fierce and dangerous; they betray innocent people to death, and fly away with them to cloudland; but in flat districts the fairies are homely, and we find them helping the household. The "Brown Man of the Muirs" introduced into Leyden's fine ballad *The Cout of Keeldar* is a most malignant fairy. We need not trouble ourselves with the story of the ballad, but merely call up this worker of evil:—

The third blast that young Keeldar blew,
Still stood the limber fern!
And a wee man, of swarthy hue,
Up started by a cairn.

His russet weeds were brown as heath,
That clothes the upland fell;
And the hair of his head was frizzly red,
As the purple heather-bell.

An urchin, clad in pickles red,
Clung cowering to his arm;
The hounds they howl'd and backward fled,
As struck by fairy charm.

"Why rises high the staghound's cry,
Where staghound ne'er should be?
Why wakes that horn the silent morn,
Without the leave of me?"—

"Brown Dwarf, that o'er the muirland strays
Thy name to Keeldar tell!"—
"The Brown Man of the Muirs, who stays
Beneath the heather-bell.

"'Tis sweet beneath the heather-bell,
To live in autumn brown;
And sweet to hear the lav'rocks swell
Far, far from tower and town.

"But woe betide the shrilling horn,
The chase's surly cheer!
And ever that hunter is forlorn,
Whom first at morn I hear."

Of the friendliness of the homely fairies we have the high authority of Milton, who in *L'Allegro*

Tells how the drudging goblin sweat
To earn his cream-bowl duly set;
When in one night, ere glimpse of morn,
His shadowy flail hath thresh'd the corn
That ten day-lab'rers could not end;
Then lies him down the lubber fiend,
And stretch'd out all the chimney's length,
Basks at the fire his hairy strength,
And crop-full out of doors he flings,
Ere the first cock his matin rings.

If, however, these elves were not treated as they considered was their due, they grew vindictive.

The pixies were very kind to two servant girls in Tavistock, who nightly placed some fresh water for them. One night this was forgotten, and the pixies therefore came up to the girls' room to complain of the neglect. One of the girls proposed to go downstairs to rectify the omission, but the other said "for her part she would not stir out of bed to please all the pixies in Devonshire." The good-natured one went down and filled the bucket, and was rewarded by finding a handful of silver pennies next morning, but the other was made lame for seven years.

One of these elves in Jutland was in the habit of going into the kitchen after the maid had gone to bed, to eat the gruel she had left out for him. One night he was disgusted to find no butter in the bowl, and he fell into a violent rage at the girl's forgetfulness. At the height of his passion he went into the cowhouse and twisted the neck of the best cow that was in it. But being still hungry he stole back to eat the gruel, such as it was, and then he found the butter at the bottom of the bowl. He was so vexed at the injustice he had done to the family, that to make good the damage he set a chest full of money down by the side of the dead cow.

There is a prevalent belief that the inhabitants of houses built on fairy rings invariably prosper, probably because the elves live under them and protect the people. Sir Walter Scott relates in his *Minstrelsy of the Border* an amusing story of Sir Godfrey Macculloch, who when taking the air on horseback near his own house was accosted by a little old man arrayed in green, and mounted on a white palfrey. After mutual salutation the old man gave Sir Godfrey to understand that he resided under his habitation, and that he had great reason to complain of the direction of a drain or common sewer, which emptied itself directly into his chief room. Sir Godfrey remedied the defect, and was rewarded later on by being rescued from the scaffold by supernatural agency.

Elves are always small; most of them can go through keyholes, but we have some more exact particulars as to their height in inches. One elf is said to have been caught which was a foot long. There is a tradition that these creatures have been getting smaller ever since the birth of Christ, and will eventually turn into ants; after which transformation they will be taken off the face of the earth. The Indian fairy, on the other hand, is as large as a human being, and has wings. Cornwall abounds with fairies, and they are so common that it has been possible to make an elaborate classification of their chief characteristics. Mr. Robert Hunt is the authority for the following list:—

1. There are the small people.
2. The Spriggans.
3. The Piskies or Pigseys.
4. Buccas, Bockles, or Knockers. The Knockers are supposed to be the ghosts of the Jews who crucified our Lord, and were sent for slaves by the Roman emperors to work the mines.
5. Browneys (household).

Elves are usually clothed in green, but not always, as other colours are recorded, particularly brown. Mrs. Quickly appeals to

> Fairies black, grey, green, and white.
> *Merry Wives of Windsor*, v. 5.

Before proceeding further we must consider the spiritual relations of these beings, and here again there is very considerable confusion.

If we consider the matter fully, we must come to the conclusion that they are soulless—that they are in fact a middle species between men and spirits. They are not good enough to inherit the joys of heaven, but too good to be condemned to eternal fires. It is this soullessness which makes them so mischievous. They are incapable of understanding the misery they sometimes bring upon their victims.

Theologians have thrown the whole history of fairyland into confusion by insisting that the inhabitants of that country are devils. They seem to have argued that as they are not angels, therefore they must be devils. They would allow of no medium between these two extremes. Sir Walter Scott writes:—

> The fairies being on such bad terms with the divines, those who pretended to intercourse with them were without scruple punished as sorcerers; and such absurd charges are frequently stated as exaggerations of crimes in themselves sufficiently heinous.

As a rule the elves do not like to be seen, and those who look at them are often struck blind in one eye. If watched, those who do the work of a household will leave it. Fairy ointment applied to the eyes will cause the elves to become visible. The belief that fairy treasure is changed into dross will be found to be widespread.

Those who are inveigled away by the fairies are made to forget their human life. They are given a drink of forgetfulness which is like the nectar of the gods. All knowledge of time is thus annihilated. Rescues from fairyland of those mortals who had been taken there were sometimes successful, but more often they were unsuccessful. Sir Walter Scott relates the following story:—

> The wife of a farmer in Lothian had been carried off by the fairies, and, during the year of probation, repeatedly appeared on Sunday, in the midst of her children, combing their hair. On one of these occasions she was accosted by her husband, when she related to him the unfortunate event which had separated them, instructed him by what means he might win her, and exhorted him to exert all his courage, since her temporal and eternal happiness depended on the success of his attempt. The farmer, who ardently loved his wife, set out on Hallowe'en, and in the midst of a plot of furze, waited impatiently for the procession of the fairies. At the ringing of the fairy bridles, and wild unearthly sounds which accompanied the cavalcade, his heart failed him, and he suffered the ghostly train to pass by without interruption. When the last had rode past, the whole troop vanished, with loud shouts of laughter and exultation, among which

he plainly discovered the voice of his wife, lamenting that he had lost her for ever.

Besides the belief in the beings themselves, a large number of superstitions have gathered round the fairies, such as their power of taking away human children and replacing them with elf children. Our folk tales are full of records of changelings, and Shakespeare uses this belief grandly, when he makes Henry IV. express the wish that his son was like Hotspur:

> That some night-tripping fairies had exchanged,
> In cradle clothes, our children where they lay,
> And called mine—Percy, his—Plantagenet.

In fairy lore we find that much is made of the power of invisibility conferred by fern seed* and millet seed, by the hat of darkness, the cloud cloak, and the turning of clothes. We also learn what wonderful things were done by means of fairy horns and fairy swords.

There can be no doubt that popular superstition and literature have re-acted upon each other, although it may be difficult to show distinctly how the action worked. The poets lovingly gathered up the folk-lore of their times, but they as certainly added to the store they thus obtained out of their own imaginations. Some conjured up wonders until they almost believed them to be true, as Collins sings of Edward Fairfax :—

> Prevailing poet, whose undoubting mind
> Believed the magic wonders which he sung.

Chaucer, following the lead of the old romance-writers, held very faulty views as to the character of the inhabitants of fairyland. In the *Merchant's Tale* he mentions :—

> Pluto that is the king of fayerye ;

and describes Proserpine as queen of the fairies.

To the poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and pre-eminently to Shakespeare, we must go to obtain sound views about the fairies.

How beautifully expressed is the reason given by Fletcher in the *Faithful Shepherdess* for the frequenting of streams and fountains by the fairies :—

> A virtuous well, about whose flowery banks
> The nimble-footed fairies dance their rounds
> By the pale moonshine, dipping oftentimes
> Their stolen children, so to make them free
> From dying flesh and dull mortality.

* "We have the receipt of fern seed : we walk invisible."—1 *Hy. IV.*, ii. 3.

Besides the mass of nameless elves there are a certain number who have received special appellations. There is Robin Goodfellow, the Puck of Shakespeare, and Ariel, than whom no fairy has been more beautifully described. In Poole's *English Parnassus* are given the names of the Fairy Court, viz. :—

> Oberon, *the Emperor;* Mab, *the Empress;* Perriwiggin, Periwinkle, Puck, Hobgoblin, Tomalin, Tom Thumb, *Courtiers.*
>
> Hop, Mop, Drop, Pip, Trip, Skip, Tub, Tick, Pink, Pin, Quick, Gill, Tin, Tit, Wap, Win, Nit, *the Maids of Honour.*
>
> Nymphedia, *the Mother of the Maids.*

It is strange that Shakespeare, who so superbly described Queen Mab in *Romeo and Juliet*, should have named the Fairy Queen Titania in *Midsummer Night's Dream.* Mercutio's brilliant description was clearly a transcript of the traditions which the poet picked up in his native Warwickshire.

Next to Shakespeare stands Ben Jonson, who has sketched the fairies with a strong and delicate hand.

A picture of Mab is given in "The Fairy Queen" printed in Percy's *Reliques**:—

> Come follow, follow me,
> You fairy elves that be :
> Which circle on the greene,
> Come, follow Mab your queene.
> Hand in hand let's dance around,
> For this place is fairye ground.
>
> When mortals are at rest,
> And snoring in their nest ;
> Unheard, and unespy'd,
> Through key-holes we do glide ;
> Over tables, stools, and shelves,
> We trip it with our fairy elves.
>
> * * * * *
>
> Upon a mushroomes head
> Our table-cloth we spread ;
> A grain of rye, or wheat,
> Is manchet which we eat ;
> Pearly drops of dew we drink
> In acorn cups fill'd to the brink.
>
> * * * * *

Oberon was a more imposing personage than this. In Jonson's *Masque of Oberon* (1610) he is described as the prince of fairyland, who at the crowing of the cock advances in a magnificent chariot drawn by white bears, attended by knights and fays, and not

> The coarse and country fairy,
> That doth haunt the hearth or dairy.

* Edition 1877, vol. iii., p. 205.

Lilly and Drayton, Herrick and Browne, are full of references to

> Fairies small
> Two foot tall
> With caps red
> On their head
> Danse around
> On the ground*

Bishop Corbet sang the *Fairies' Farewell:*—

> Farewell rewards and Fairies!
> Good housewives now may say;
> For now foul sluts in dairies
> Do fare as well as they:
> And though they sweep their hearths no less
> Than maids were wont to do,
> Yet who of late for cleanliness
> Finds sixpence in her shoe?

But in spite of Bishop Corbet the fairies continued in the land long after this.

What are the special peculiarities of the fairy tales of literature may be seen at once by contrasting such a book as Grimm's *Household Stories* with the fairy tales of Perrault and D'Aulnoy. The former contains short stories taken from popular report; the latter consists of worked-up elaborate novelettes. The influence of these two—Frenchman and Frenchwoman—has been very great upon nursery literature. Many of their tales have become general favourites, and the popular conception of a fairy has been greatly modified by them. The little Dame Durdenish fairy godmother with her wand, peaked hat, and short petticoats, is a being not to be found outside of their tales. The stories breathe the spirit of Louis XIV.'s court. In the hearth tales a poor peasant's son does some wonderful thing, and at once marries the princess, soon afterwards succeeding to the throne of the king her father. In the French tales there are no such mesalliances. Prince only is allowed to marry princess. Soon after the appearance of the tales of Perrault (in which the marvellous machinery is sparingly introduced) several ladies of fashion took upon themselves the task of emulating his tales. They, however, are said to have vied with each other in excluding nature from their descriptions. Fontenelle said that the most remarkable thing in these tales is when a person shipwrecked in the middle of the ocean has the misfortune to be drowned. The *Yellow Dwarf* and the *White Cat* are the most famous of Madame D'Aulnoy's tales. It is quite easy for the critics to laugh at the absurdities of these *Contes de Fées*, but it is a remarkable fact that most of the fairy tales that delight our children and are reprinted in their books are taken from this source.

We see in both these cases the immense power of literature to modify tradition: in one case to preserve, and in the other to eradicate. The old English poets neglected tradition and coquetted with classical fables, until Shakespeare and other Elizabethan poets went to the fountain head and set down in exquisite form the beliefs of the people. Literature has here preserved, and to it we must go for information respecting, traditions that have died out. In the case of the fairy tales of literature, we have something quite different from the folk tales of the people, both structurally and morally, and the result is that to a great extent the modern classics of the nursery have driven out of the memory of the many any knowledge of the hearth tales of our ancestors.

H. B. WHEATLEY.

* *Fuimus Troes*, act i. sc. 5 (*Dodsley's Old Plays*).

An Episode of Mediaeval Nihilism.

BY HUBERT HALL.

PART I.

IN England, in the year 1381, during the feverish heat of summer; with France, as it seemed, shamefully lost; with the burthen of a heavy and fruitless taxation, and the curse of a lustful purveyance upon the nation; with a corrupt judicature and an extortionate exchequer; with a worldly-minded Church, rival factions amongst the nobility, a court-tyranny of unworthy favourites and narrow-minded officials by commissions and privy seals; and a local tyranny of robber lords and upstart 'squires armed with the prestige of an easily-abused law administered by their own justice-brothers, lawyer-sons, and tenant-jurors,—the commons from the south-east to the north-east approached the capital in arms. After a determined onslaught upon

outlying functionaries, the insurgents, chiefly men of Kent, occupied the southern suburb of London. Admitted within the City, they fraternised with the lower orders of inhabitants. Disclaiming all intentions of conquest or plunder, they lived at free quarters upon the few obnoxious great ones. Inflamed by drink, they resumed their set task of exterminating the whole class of officials, laymen or clerics. With their headquarters in the City, and their base of supply still beyond the river, they wrecked the western and northern suburbs, always the strongholds of royalism, and sacked the minister's palace of the Savoy. They broke the prisons, loosed the prisoners, and invested the Tower. Thence they dragged forth the southern archbishop, whose crime it was to be chancellor and doctor of both branches of the law, to a cruel death. At length the Court took heart, and, supported by the aristocracy of the City, with a handful of veterans, faced the rebels and negotiated to gain time. Its specious offers were mocked by the experienced commons; but in the end diplomacy prevailed over brute force.

Seventy years later, abating one year, the commons of the same counties, so does history seem to repeat itself, rose once again in arms against financial and civil misrule. Excited once more by libels from the fertile pen of yet another poor priest, and encouraged also by the presence of political opposition to the government in high places, the rebels marched in regular order upon the capital. Again the same tactics were resorted to and the same scenes of violent justice enacted. London was invested in the summer from the sides of Blackheath and Mile End. The bridge was won and lost. The city mob was enlisted in favour of the insurgents; the civic authorities watching the course of events. Strict discipline was maintained; foreign usurers and their active supporters alone suffering at the hands of the populace. The prisons were broken, and the Tower forced to give up its refugees. A high legal functionary was beheaded with mock solemnity, and humbler offenders of his class suffered with him. Here, too, the rebels, in the noon-day of their success, were persuaded to accept a nugatory pardon and disband their forces. To complete the parallel, their leader was slain by an act of individual heroism, and order restored in the disaffected districts by recourse to the same stringent measures.

It might be assumed that, the root and growth of disaffection being alike in either instance, the fruit which in each it should, under more favourable circumstances, have developed, would have borne an equal resemblance. Unfortunately, however, though that assumption would probably obtain in the absence of any serious attention bestowed upon the subject, after a minute investigation of the actual circumstances of the case, we must come to the conclusion that the result if not the purpose of either movement was wholly opposite to that of the other.

The commons of 1381 were intelligent, earnest, single-minded men, imbued for the first time with a knowledge, and that through a very exalted estimate, of their economical position in the commonwealth. The great social changes wrought in the last generation had shown that the cultivation of the soil really depended upon their own voluntary exertions; and the protective policy of the Crown was clearly seen to be carried out in the interests of the humble manufacturers of the country's future greatness. But what was their actual condition? Their happier relations towards the land were clogged by the vexatious reservations of a bygone system. It would be unjust to employ the term "villeinage" as even an approximate definition of their state; but certainly they were injured and annoyed by the absurd legislation which the ruling class had the ability and determination both to initiate and put in force. It was as though a plutocracy of half-castes and Jews in one of our modern colonies should resolve that the wages of the emigrant labourer upon a virgin soil must be reduced once more to the pittance upon which he had supported a bare existence in the mother-country.

Besides these grievances, embodied in the statute of labourers, then pushed for the first time to its extreme conclusion, there were others, equally pressing, arising out of the flagrant abuse of the prescriptive purveyance of the Crown. Yet, after all, it was not so much the mere existence of these evils that roused the final indignation of the people as their wanton and reckless display in de-

fiance alike of justice and usage. It was always an evil day for this country when the law itself, through the action of its administrators, could no longer be revered or even trusted. It is difficult to decide as to the exact nature of the commons' grievance on this score. It must needs have been a pressing one, for the every-day administration of justice between subject and subject was notoriously corrupt for at least two centuries after this date. We may remember, however, that the abuse of purveyance by the host of salaried and pensioned creatures of the Court, hand in hand with local magnatism, diverting the labour and consuming the produce of the industrial classes, was allowed on all hands to be the crying evil of the day. Therefore it was an aggravation far exceeding the heinousness of the mere acts, that redress should be withheld and opposition summarily crushed by the force which was entrusted with the sacred charge of the lives and liberties and property of the nation at large. It must be feared, however, that such was the case, for presumptive evidence to that effect is not wanting to confirm our reasonable suspicions.

The judges of the Crown received a separate stipend for their employment in each of the three capacities in which they usually sat. Justices in banc had a salary of forty marks, barons of the exchequer a like sum, and justices of assize one of £20. We find, then, during the earlier years of the reign, records of the payment, under the king's privy seal, of supplementary grants amounting often to treble their usual salary to the judges of Richard II., for special considerations.* Take the individual case of Sir Robert Bealknap, in whose favour three privy seals were issued on the same day. One to quadruple his official salary as justice in banc. Another to double this salary as justice of assize; while he was, moreover, pitch-forked into the post of chief justice to furnish an excuse for the grant of yet another £40, with, no doubt, a handsome *quantum* of Rhenish wine to boot. Now these lavish presents were bestowed when the worthy judge was about to start on one of those merciless Iters by means of which the ruling caste was wont to bring their refractory inferiors to their senses. We turn to the counties included in this circuit, and find them to stand as follows: Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Essex, and Herts—the very hotbeds of agitation against existing social evils.

* Privy Seal Bills, 1 to 7, Ric. II.

The commons of England, then, in 1381 might seem to have been men without hope, influenced only in their resistance by the blind desire for revenge. Such they might well have been in any other country or in any other time, but we may claim for Englishmen in the dawn of commercial prosperity and intellectual freedom some higher motive than the annihilation of existing society. It is at least a fact that the "Commons of England" was their watchword, and the "Commonwealth of England" their fond ideal.

We have noticed before that both the causes and the scope of the rising under Wat Tyler in 1381 were precisely identical with Jack Cade's rebellion more than two generations later. There is the same background to the picture,—a chapter of disasters abroad after a series of brilliant successes; a ruling clique of worthless favourites; wholesale abuses in the administration of law and finance; an ultra-montane Church; a war party, and a party of reform headed by a Plantagenet prince; an insurrection against the Government, and the completion of the popular work of reform by aristocratic sympathizers. The same districts are implicated; the same parties recur; the same interests are at stake; but here all resemblance ends between the two movements. It is something done, however, to elucidate as much as this, to convince ourselves that the action of the commons in 1381 was not taken to emancipate themselves from villeinage; nor, in 1450, to denounce mismanagement of the war abroad in the sole interests of a stronger or more legitimate ruler. The latter body objected to a French marriage on financial grounds; neither did they share the animosity of the old nobility against Suffolk, disclaiming emphatically any participation in his violent death. They had strong sympathies with Gloucester in his patriotic policy, and an equal reverence for their "holy father the Cardinal," who was the latter's most determined and unscrupulous opponent. The popular view, indeed, of this statesman's very

contradictory character might be summed up in poor King Henry's touching elegy upon his political tomb:—"And she" (the Queen) "told him yt. the Cardinal was dede, and he seid he knew neuer yr. of til yt. tyme: and he seid oon of the wisist Lords in this land was dede."* Again, these commons do not seem to have been particularly attached to the person of the Duke of York, beyond a natural sympathy with one who had suffered private wrongs like themselves.

This is the key to their whole line of conduct. They classed together, in their remonstrance to the Crown, York, Warwick, Exeter, and the Cardinal as pecuniary sufferers by the loss of the English possessions in France; and they "hated, disdained, and execrated, worse than a Tode or Scorpion," Somerset, because they suspected him of malversation of the war supplies. Their own grievances were set forth in a similar strain. They were oppressed not with the mere indignity of an unsuccessful foreign policy, but by unequal and unprofitable taxation, by the abuse of purveyance, privy seals, green-wax, and by all the extortions of the interested accountants to the exchequer. Moreover, as of old, the administration of justice was utterly corrupt.

In order to realize the true state of the popular feeling at this crisis, let us place ourselves behind the scenes, where we may watch all the workings of a widespread conspiracy, directed mainly against the person of one unpopular dignitary, but including also in its ramifications the principal objects of the commons' insatiable vengeance.

The prime mover in this conspiracy was one William Taylbois, a gentleman of some position and wealth, who had estates both at Kyme in Lincolnshire and also at Hurworth-on-Tees.† The object of the particular movement which this person instigated, and which was only a phase of the more general one in progress throughout the whole of the eastern counties from the extreme north to the extreme south of England, was the assassination of Lord Ralph Cromwell, Bedford's protégé and financial adviser, a man obnoxious to the people as the active organiser of that rigorous system of taxation which was associated in their minds with so many grave abuses.

* *Paston Letters*, i. 18.

† Durham Rolls, Henry VI.

The scene of operations shifts between the North and South in the period immediately preceding and following the great rising of 1450. The narrative, which is placed in the mouth of Taylbois' chaplain and principal agent in the whole affair, in the form of a dying confession, brings before us vividly a hidden chapter in the history of those times.

Confession of Sir John Stanes, priest and chaplain to William Taylbois, 'squire, taken in the presence of Thomas Lord Roos, Robert Lord Willoughby, and many other worshipful gentlemen, knights, and squires:—*

The said Sr John Stanes confesseth and saith, In the xxvijth yere y wente to Kyme, from Kyme to Doedyke, in the xxviijth yere, for to spie what rule was at Tattershall.† And from Doedyke y sente Hugh Fyssher, but he wist not what y mente. And he brought me word as yat all had been as aforetyme, but that ther was moo straungeres yan was wont to be. And yen Y went to Kyme, and tolde hym ther was mekyll people. Thaune he [Taylbois] made me go agayn & aspye if he walked to ye conyngarth or to ye watersyde, for yat was sometyme his walk. And y did as he bad me, and sente Hugh agayn: for he saide and he helde yat walk he wolde have a boot & felaship and trusse my Lord away. But as y myght answer afore God y felt not he wold do hym no bodely harme. And yanne went y to Kyme & tolde hym whereso my Lord walked he had wt hym xxxty or xlty personnes jacked & their bowes, shotyng as they went. And he seid I did but disceyve hym; and this was at ye litell postern gate wtoute ye brigge. And from thens he went to the hartgarth and Jo. Madison wt hym. Thanne y herd no more therof or we went to London. Agan the Lenton after he was areste he sente for me by writting to come to London. And there he uttered this mater to me ageyn and bad me take suertee of as many as wolde fulfille his entent; and there he told & enformed me what y shuld do. He bad me have a man at Coly-Weston: an other at Wynfeld, and ther we shulde not defaille of oure purpes; for we shulde have either morwenyng or evenyng hym and his chapeleyn walking to ye parke and yere utterly to slee hym. And yit he said yt was better at Wynfelde yanne at Coly-Weston, for ther was cover for to scape. Yanne y cam hom to Kyme, and maistresse Youett and I examyned as many as wolde fulfill his intent and many moo; but thus many were sworn upon a book for to kepe counsell—Richard Assheburne, Olyver Lewter, James Gartside, John Millom, John Dawbeney, William Wilde, William Hacforde, John Obilson, J. Staynfelde, Andrew Frer, John Medylton, Sr Walter Flynton, Sr John Stanes. And this surance was taken undre a stak of hay within the place of Kyme, and

* This William Taylbois was probably one of the persons against whom Cromwell recovered heavy damages for slander before a London jury.

† Cromwell's place in Lincolnshire. He had endowed a college there ten years previously.

yanne they asked wheron they shuld lyf, and y saide til theym y shulde tell them whanne y spak next w^t theym. Thanne rode y to my maister agayn and told hym all this mater: he was well apaide; and ther y told hym y^t we had spyers at all ther places. Thenne he sent me w^t a Token to ye Resceyvor, the parson of Braytofte, for to resceyve silvere, or he wolde delyvere noon withoute writtinge and his seall. Thanne the houshold brake up, and ilk man went til his frendes; so at yat tyme was do nomoo. But we were accorded where we shulde mete when y had speken w^t my maister. Thanne y rod til hym after Eastre and tolde hym yat the houshold was broken and his men gone. Thanne he sent a lettere to ye Resceyvor undre his seal and bad hym delyvere me silvere, and bad me gadre togedre the felaship agayn and see a tyme; and so y did, but it was after Wytsontyde or y stered. Thanne rode y to Lincoln on Witson Monday and there resceyved money of ye resseyvor. And so y rod to gader them togider and mette togider at Yorke, and yere I trowe John Loksmith of Swyneshed see us, and yere we made covenant to one at Billefelde, for in York we herde of ye Rising of Kent. And there it was lat us wete my lorde [Cromwell] wolde to London but he was ever a day afore us. So we rode on to we come at Baldok, and there we toke a counsell, for some saide they wolde not laboer but they had to kepe them upon. There Richard Ashburne and y lefte oure felaship at Baldok and rode to London to my maister and telled hym they wolde not labor but they had some good in hande. And he saide whan they had don their devoir they shulde have a gentilmanly rewarde. And thus he fedde them w^t faire wordes and made me sende for oure felaship. And ther we hyred an hors of oure hoost w^toute Aldergate streete and a man and sent for oure felaship. For he saide and we wolde do oure devoir we myght fulfille his entent in London, or elles we did not oure devoir. So ye felaship came to town the Thursday at even, and yanne y went to Wenslaye, yat was w^t my lord of Burgaveny,* & made hym gete ilkon of us a bonde. And so we went to ye blak heth under his protecion and for to do ye king servyce if he had nede at oure pooer. And for to see ye rule of my lord Cromwell. Yanne yt was tolde us we were espyed, and we haste us to London agayn, and yanne cam we to ye Towre, Yames Daubeney, William Obilston, & y, and ther we tolde hym [Taylbois] alle ye rule & tolde hym his mater myght not be sped. Yanne he took me a bagge of gonnepowder and bad me spye where he was lodged and sett fyre in the hous next his lodging, for yanne wolde his men falle to ye fyr, and yanne myght we have our entent of my lord, and so we departed from hyme. So at yat tyme . . . no more, but sone after Wenslaye cam till hym and was his Resteypnor and dyned w^t hym in his chaumbre y & Ledburn, and there uttered yat till hym and hight hym a grat fee, and he gaf hym a faire answer: but Wenslaye spak nomor yerof. Thus alle men lefte & were wery of hym.

Itm. Ye said John Millom hath confessed & knowleched yatt within Alresgate strete in london at ye signe of ye Xrofer within ye space of iij wekes after ye fest of Pasch. ye yere of oure lorde MCCCCLJ ye same Sr John Stanes & John Millom made & ymagined a bille in Ryme to ye finall destruccon of ye good name & fame of ye lord Cromwell in y^t they couth or myght. And ye same bille delyvered to Jo. Heron of Forthe of ye countre of Northumberland, yat tyme being but squire, for to bere & deliver to theyr Mr. William Taylbois, beyng w^tin the prison of Newgate, w^tin ye cite of London, yat hee myght see whether yt bille so made were after his entent or not, whiche bille after yt was by the said William Taylbois seen, herde, & after by hym redde by ye same Jo. Heron was sende agayn to ye said Sr John Stanes, & by ye commandement of ye said Taylbois for his mor crafty conceyte & subtill ymaginacon taken in y^t behalfe ye name of ye worshipful fader in god yarchbisshop of York yt tyme being by ye hand of ye said Sr John was taken out and ye name of ye duke of Somersett in ye place yerof putt in. And by ye commandement of ye said Sr John writ it newe, and ye same bille in divers places w^tin ye cite of London ye same John Millom affixed & sette up.

* Edward Lord Abergavenny.

It is curious to note, in the above narrative, how close was the connection, and how rapid the means of communication between the parties of disaffection in the North and South. Nearly all the members of this mediæval "Brotherhood" were Durham men, and several were persons who enjoyed considerable local influence, their names figuring prominently in the Durham Rolls for the period as employed in offices of trust by Neville, the reigning prelate.

(*To be continued.*)

Early English Inventions.

PART II.

OUR previous paper concluded with a very interesting example of a monopoly. It was not a patent for an invention, but concerned a grant of the sole making of gunpowder and saltpetre in this country. The patent of grant was drawn by Coke, and the arguments drawn up to justify it were "approved" by Solicitor-General Fleming and Francis Bacon. Although the patent was not an invention, this array of legal authorities upheld it on reasons of state and policy, and argued that the royal prerogative, as exercised in the grant, was sustained by the common law. And the simple reason is, the grant was

made in the interest of the commonwealth. It is a highly important fact that the patent law is founded in the common law of the realm. The Statute of Monopolies (1624) is the first enactment upon grants of privilege for inventions and new manufactures; but, long before that time, as we have partly shown in our previous paper, our national archives contain many such grants which were based entirely upon the common law. Patents for inventions are essentially a popular institution. This fact is by no means well known or widely recognised. Half-informed people, with democratic tendencies, are wont to regard the prerogative as a survival of feudalism, and an encroachment upon the people. The truth is that in nothing do we more clearly realize the crowned democracy of our political system.

This instructive monopoly for making gunpowder receives additional illustration in the years with which we now proceed to deal.

1603, April (?).—Petition of the Patentees for the manufacture of saltpetre and gunpowder to the Council, requesting letters of assistance to confirm their Patent, the validity of which has been vexatiously questioned, since the late Queen's death. With reference to Lord Chief Justice Popham, and his opinion thereon.*

On the 7th May following, King James issued his proclamation inhibiting the use of any charter or grant made by Queen Elizabeth of any kind of monopolies.† In the next year we have

Offer of John Evelyn, Ric. Harding, and Rob. Evelyn, patentees, for making saltpetre and gunpowder for the service of the state.

Patent to the same, to make saltpetre for supplying the King with gunpowder, for 21 years.

Indenture of covenant by the above parties, to deliver yearly into the King's store in the Tower, certain quantities of powder.‡

This patent and indenture are in the *Pells Privy Seal Books.* The grant authorises the patentees to " enter, break vp, and digge in all convenient places for saltpeter, they repayring such places againe." In the indenture, the patentees covenant to supply the King's store with specified quantities of powder (which is called " cornepowder both for Callyver and Cannon "), and the King grants them the rest to their own use, either

* *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1603-1610, p. 6.
† *Ibid.*, p. 7.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

for sale at a named rate, or for exportation under license, to be obtained from the Lord Treasurer. Although this privilege was probably in some way allied with the power of militia, on which King and Commons finally sundered in the succeeding reign, it rested on the common law, and was exercised for the common weal.

One of the chief provisions of the Patent Act of 1883 ensures the examination of applications for patents to ascertain whether they are proper subject-matter. It is interesting to find that the staff of examiners who now discharge this duty have prototypes, in name at least, of a very respectable antiquity.

November 1603, Mr. Kendall and others. Office. The offices of Examiners of lres Patent to passe the greate seale to Edward Kendall and John Benbow during their lives wth the accustomed fees thereunto belonging—procured ut supa. [Sr Tho. Lake.]*

1616, Feb. 19, Grant to John Bendbo and Rich. Daw of the office of examining all Letters Patent under the Great Seal, for life.†

In order to cover as much ground as possible, our comments shall be brief.

January, 1604, Mr. Parks Grant. A priviledg graunted to Humphrey Park gent, during xxity yeares to invent and make an Engine or worke to drawe or force vp the waters from any Mynerall pitt or other place, and also to breake stampe and craze any myneralls whatsoever not contrary to the lawe of the Stannery yealding to his hs and his heires 40s yearly rent, phibiting all others to make the like during the said terme. Recomended by the Lo. Trer. Lo. Chamberline and others. Subscribed by Mr. Attorney.‡

The following occurs in the House of Lords' *Supplementary Calendar*:—

[1605].—Grievances of John Brode, of the parish of St. Giles Without, Cripplegate, London, goldsmith [to H. C.]. For redress against the patentees or company for commixing copper and the callamyn stone to make Latten metals: the company having employed strangers in the work and entirely failed, Brode took a lease of the patent, and with eight years' practice brought the work to good effect, employing Englishmen therein; after which the company informed the council that Brode had forfeited his lease, and obtained an order for taking up all his stock in trade. Large quantities of callamyn stone and other properties were taken, for which Brode cannot obtain payment either at common law or in equity. Brode was " the first man that here in England commixed copper and callamyn, and brought

* *Pells Privy Seal Book.*
† *Calendar State Papers, Domestic*, p. 351.
‡ *Pells Privy Seal Book.*

it to perfection, vizt. to abide the hammer and beaten into plates, and raised into kettles and pans by hammers driven by water." Desires that the company may recompense him for the wrongs and damage done by them and their assigns, and that the said work may be revived and set at liberty to the common good.*

The next is from the Privy Seal Record :—

July, 1605, Twinyho et al Priviledge. A priviledge graunted vnto William Twinyho, Abraham Baker, and John Artogh, that they duringe the terme of xxi. yeares shall have the sole making of a certayne stuffe called Smault comonly vsed by Paynters yealdinge therfore to his Matie into his exchequer xx^li^ p. ann. And his Matie graunteth other lycenses for thinge necessarie aboute the making of the sayd Stuffe. Subscribed by the Earle of Dorset pcured by Sr Tho. Windebanck.

Webster in his *Reports* gives the Letters Patent in full; and by its terms we learn that smault was a "new manufacture," not heretofore made in this country. The patentees claim to make smalt as good as that hitherto imported, and undertake to supply sufficient quantity for the King's subjects, and at the price hitherto paid for the foreign article.

The common law reasons for granting the Letters Patent are apparent in the terms of the preamble. By making the article in this country great profit will accrue to many, and "divers of our poor people" will receive employment in the industry; and "fit it is," the preamble goes on, that the patentees—

Should receive some convenient recompense and reward, as well for their great labour, charges, and expenses, in attaining to the skill and art of making, working, and compounding of the said blue stuff, as for the common good, which by their good endeavours shall thereby ensue to the whole realm.

Subsequently, on 4th February, 6 Jac. I.,† Letters Patent were granted to Abraham Baker alone for the manufacture. By the terms of this grant, the patent is not only granted as a recompense or reward for a common benefit, but also "for the better encouragement of him, the said Abraham Baker, as of others, in the like endeavours." Finally, Letters patent were again issued, 16th February, 16 Jac. I., to Abraham Baker, in which mention is made of a collaborator of Baker's "in the discovery, finding out, and perfecting of the said art and invention."

* *Hist. MSS. Commission Report*, iv., 117.
† Webster, *Reports*, p. 11.

This is the first occasion on which the manufacture is termed an "invention;" and this patent was excepted in the Statute of Monopolies, passed five years later. The following furnishes an interesting commentary on the whole case :—

1613, March 20. Certificates from different parties to prove that Christian Wilhelmson brought the trade of making smalt, or blue starch, into England in 1603; that he erected ovens, mills, etc., at Southwark, for its manufacture, at great expense; that Abraham Baker learned the secret of the work from his people; and that the pretexts of Baker and others that they are the inventors, by which they have obtained a Patent for its sole making, are false. With certificate by the Painter Stainers' Company of London that Wilhelmson's smalt was good, but that sold by Baker so bad that they are obliged to send for a supply from abroad.*

The next is an invention for dyeing fabrics :—

Novemb^r^., 1605. Sr Arthur Aston et al Priviledge.—A Priviledge for Sir Arthur Aston, John Auchmotye, Richard Hardinge, and Edward Davenant, esqrs., for the terme of xli yeares, as well to bring into this Realm Logwood and blockwood and other phibited woodes of that nature, paying the vsuall customes due for the same. As also to make a certaine dry compounded stuffe therewith, to be ymployed for the dying of cloathes and other comodities, and the same to sell to any his ma^te^ subiect^e^ in England, Wales, and the towne of Berwick. And for that his mate customes for stuffes heretofore vsed for dying and brought into this Realme may by this newe invention be deminished these patentees have graunted to his ma^tie^ x^li^ for every tonne of the said newe composiĉon during the said terme, with such prouisions and with such power to search for abvses comitted in vsing this stuffe in dyes, and other clauses for the better enioyinge of this graunte as have bin thought convenient in that behalfe. Subscribed by Mr. Attorney geñall., procured by S^r^. Tho. Lake.

There was a previous grant made to the three first-named patentees along with three others, dated August 1604. In this, permission is granted to use the prohibited woods for dyeing, "and there shall be a seal for the sealing of a certaine dying stuffe to be by them compounded." No mention, however, is made of an "invention;" and the above is probably an improved form of the previous grant. That the manufacture in this case, as in the previous smalt patent, is subsequently termed an "invention" is significant. It was evidently understood that a monopoly in an invention stood on an altogether different basis from a mere grant of monopoly in a manufacture.

* *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, p. 176.

March 1605, Sr. Bevis Bulm Licence.—A Licencè graunted to Sir Bevis Bulm knight in consideracon of his greate labor and charges in devising a newe engyne by water-work for cutting of Iron into small roddes for the sole and onely vsing of the said Engine for the terme of xii yeares. Subscribed by Mr. Attorney generall. procured vt sup^a.

In the next grant there is a remarkable proviso, which I meet with first in the year 1593 in a monopoly for the importation of steel, expressed as follows :—

And yf the same graunt be hereafter declared to be prejudiciall to her Mats subjects or the state of this Realme by anie sixe or more of her Mats priuie Councell then the same graunt from thenceforth to be voide and of none effect.

This condition frequently recurs ; another being that articles manufactured under a monopoly grant shall be sold at no higher prices than have usually obtained.

June 1606, Echard et al Licence.—A Licence for Christopher Echard and Henry Tatnall, they their executors administrators and assignes and none other for the terme of one and twenty years next shall make salte wth in his highnes domynions by the heate of the sunne and other refleceons, selling the same for xij^d the Bushell, and paying to his Matie iii^s ix^d vpon eũy waight of the said salt and not to restraine any to bring salte from beyond the seas or from the making buying or selling any salte made otherwise wth proviso that if this graunt shall be found hurtful to the State and so be ctified by most of his ma^te privie Counsell Then his ma^te lres of privy Seale to the Patentees shall be of force to make this Patènt voyd Subscr. by the Lo : Chief Justice Mr. Solicito^r genall. Procur̃ by the Earle of Northton.

The two succeeding grants illustrate the sense in which an industry learned by foreign travel was held worthy of the protection given to inventions.

May 1608, Sr David Murray et al Grant.—A graunt to Sr David Murray knight and Thos. Russell gent of the benefitt of the sole making of Brimston and Danske Copperons w^thin the Realmes of England, Scotland and Ireland (wch art hath not hitherto ben brought into any trade or mistery w^thin the saide kingdomes) for the terme of 31 yeares. Subscribed by Sr Francis Bacon by order from the late L. Trer and Sr Julius Cesar pcured by Sr Tho. Lake.

May 1608, Jorden Priviledge.—A priviledge graunted vnto Edward Jorden, Doctor of Phisique, that he, his executo^rs, administrato^rs, and Assignes only, and none others shall, and may for and during the terme of xxi^tie yeares, extract silver out of lead in any place w^thin his Mat^e Realme^s of England and Ireland, and the Dominion of Wales. In regard that it is a skill attained vnto by his owne travell and studie. In consideracon whereof, the said Ed. Jorden is to pay vnto his Matie after the first yeare the yearely Rent, or some of 50^li during the residue of the said terme. Subscr. by Mr. Attorney genall. By order from the lo. of the Privy Councell.

There did not exist that necessity for economising fuel, which is felt at present, when this grant was made :—

June 1608, Rome Priviledge.—A Priviledge for the terme of xxi yeares graunted to Nicholas Romer stranger and James Jackson gent. that they only during the said terme shall make their benefitt of the Invenčon devised by them for saving of fewell vsed for fyring. Subscr̃ by Mr. Attor̃ gñall, procur̃ vt sũp [Sr. Tho : Lake. 5° Junij].

In the next grant there is the additional proviso that the patent shall be forfeited if the subject is found to be no new invention, a proviso which also frequently recurs.

October 1608, Sturtenante Priviledge.—A priviledge to Symon Sturtenante M^le —— for 21 yeares of the benefitt of the sole making of Invenčons for the conveying of waters termed presware and wood, w^thin the Realmes of England and Ireland, wth a proviso that if the graunte be found p^riudiciall to the state of the comonwealth, or to have ben a practize formerly vsed that then the Patent be revoked. By order from the Lord Trẽr. Subscr̃ by Mr. Sollicitor geñall Procur̃ vt supa [S^r. Tho. Lake].

The next is a musical invention :—

March 1608 & 1609, Edney Priviledg.—A priviledg graunted to Peter Edney his Ma^t servant and George Gill servant to the Prince for tenn yeares for the sole making of violls violins and Lutes wth an addičon of wyer stringes beside the ordinary stringes for the bettering of the sound being an invenčon of theirs not formly practised or knowne. Subsč. by Sr Fra. Bacon pcur̃ by Sr Danyell Dun.

The succeeding notice shows how thorough was the protection enjoyed by early English inventors. There is a similar grant under date 1611.

Aprill, 1609, Plombers Grant.—A graunt to the Society of the Plombers of London Incorporating them by the name of Mr. Wardens and Coialty of freemen of the Citty of London. Authorising them to make laws and ordinance agreeable to the Lawes of this Relme for their governmt and for correcting abuses in that trade as well w^thin London and the Suburbes thereof as w^thin 200 miles of the same. Providing that they shall not correct any defect in any Lead now or hereafter wrought and beaten out by one John Broad, Goldsmith of London by certen Engines by him invented and that they punish not him nor any his workmen but by order fro the Lo : Mayo^r. And that they may pchase lande in Mortmayne to the value of . . . p annu pcur vt svp Subscr. by Mr. Attorney gñall.

Examples of variations in the forms of the grants having now been given, we will abbreviate the succeeding patents.

April, 1609.—Privilege for seven years, "of a new Invencon of dying Woolles."

July, 1610.—Licence and Privilege to Sr. Wm. Slingesby and others, for "certaine ffurnaces and devises by them to their great charges invented and to the benefit of this Realme, by dimynishing the great expence of wood charcole and Seacole vsed by Brewers Bakers Dyers and divers other Tradesmen, for the space of xxi yeares."

In the *Calendar of State Papers* we find what may be termed, in modern phrase, a "notice of infringement" of this patent:—

1611, Feb. 26.—Sir Wm. Slingsby to Salisbury. Requests that Sir Edw. Zouch and others may not obtain a patent of the newly-invented furnaces for making glass with sea coal, as it would infringe on the original patent to himself and others, the inventors, which he desires a printed declaration to enforce.

Turning again to the Privy Seal Record:—

May, 1611.—License and privilege for 21 years. "Refyning of Lead and extracting of Silver out of the same, and the drawing of Lead ores and mynes according to a new Invencon and experiment by them found out."

October, 1611.—Privilege for 21 years, of the "benefit of a new Invention of guilding and paynting of leather called Coramedoro."

Seeing that the Inventions' Exhibition includes music, the following may be added:—

Novr., 1611, Bassano Office.—The Office of Tunor of his Mats Virginalls Organs and other Instruments wh the fee of lxli p. ann graunted vnto Andrew Bassano and Edward Norgate during their lives and the longer liver of them. And is in consideracon of the Surrender of a former patent of the same place graunted vnto the said Andrew Bassano, and vnto one Robte Henlake who is sithence deceased. Subsc. by the Lo: Chamblaine and Sr. Tho. Lake. Procur vt supr.

In December, 1611, there is a warrant for the payment of 160li for making model tools and Engines for improvements in the coinage.

May, 1612. Privilege to Richard Barnewell "Inginer" for 15 years, for "a new Invencon for the raising of water to that height and drawing vp such quantitie wth little charge as hath not ben before found out called by the name of pumpes lying flatt vnder water."

The next notice is extremely interesting. It is the earliest notice I have seen in which a model of the invention is required to be submitted. We have here that principle of the disclosure of the secret of the invention as a condition of protection which was subsequently developed by the enrolment of a specification:—

September, 1611, Vsher et al Priviledge. A priviledge grunted to Joseph Vsher, Warner Rich, and Godfrey Devette, during 14 yeares of the benefitt of a new Engine or invencon for the bringing of water for the service of Cities Townes and private houses, and for the drayning of overflowed and marish ground, and standing pooles and meeres of wch Invencon they are to deliu to the L. Chauncellor a perfect modell wthin a month after the date of their lres patent. And also a priviledge for the sole benefitt of any other engine or Invencon for the purposes aforesaid whereof they shall be the first devisors wthin the said terme of yeares, and whereof Likewise they shall exhibite a modell to the L. Chauncellor of England or L. Keep. of the great Seale for the tyme being wth resevacon of 30li yearly to his Matie as also a clause in respect of the few yeares now grunted for proofe their worke that vpon Surrender or Determinacon of the said terme of yeares the patentees or their Survivors shall have a new grunt from his Matie his heires or Successors of the like priviledge for such further terme of yeares, and such yearly rent as by the lls of the privy Councell shalbe thought fitt. Subscribed by Mr. Sollicitor genall.

The present paper may conclude with the following document, which belongs to the papers of the Cholmondeley family:—

Folio, seven leaves (13 written pages) A.D. 1620, endorsed, *My Collection of Monopoly Patents*. There are particulars of 96, all in the reign of James I. One dated 30 Oct., 13 James I., is to Roger Wood and Thomas Symcott for 30 years of the sole imprinting of all briefs and other things upon one side, except Proclamations and other things granted by Patent. Another is for the making and selling a back skreen for the ease of the back. Another is to Don Diego de Sarmiento de Acunas, Earl of Gondomar, and his heirs, to carry out of England yearly six horses, six hawks, and 12 dogs, without any taxation or imposition. Another is for making a stone to imitate marble. *Royal Hist. MSS. Commission Report*, v., 355.

(*To be continued.*)

Celebrated Birthplaces:

TURNER IN MAIDEN LANE, LONDON.

"I CAME to tell you the truth which I have given fifteen years of my life to ascertain, that this man, this Turner, of whom you have known so little while he was among you, *will one day take his place beside Shakespeare and Verulam in the annals of the light of England.*"*

Thus wrote, thirty years ago, that great master of English prose and of paradox, the author of *Modern Painters*. It may safely be affirmed that the day so con-

* Ruskin's *Lectures on Architecture*, 1854.

fidently predicted by the gifted seer of Brantwood has not yet arrived, and it may be questioned if it will ever come; and yet Turner's fame has by no means diminished; on the contrary, his genius probably commands more admiration than ever before, and if one may apply the coarse monetary test, his finest work steadily increases in value. It seems strange that so acute a critic as Mr. Ruskin, one who has given, as he says, fifteen years to the study of our great landscape painter, should, in the face of Turner's notorious inability to master even his own mother tongue, class him with Bacon and Shakespeare; and this is the more remarkable because in the very volume quoted at the commencement of this paper, he has summed up, once for all, the real claim of Turner to our admiration and gratitude when he says of him, "He set himself to paint the natural scenery of skies, mountains, and lakes, which until his time had never been so much as attempted."

TURNER'S BIRTHPLACE IN MAIDEN LANE, LONDON.

It is, indeed, noteworthy that no poets before Wordsworth, Walter Scott and Turner (for Turner is above all things a poet) seem to have been alive to the beauty of lakes and mountains. Scott's *Lady of the Lake* is full of glowing appreciation of the charm of cataract and rock, of the majesty of the silent hills, and the placid beauty of lake and tarn. But take up a volume of travels of the middle of the last century, and, in place of the raptures, real or assumed, which mountain scenery now calls forth from the ordinary traveller, say in the Highlands, we get a plainly expressed sense of relief when the writer leaves behind him the frowning peaks and the desolate moorlands which now delight the tourist and lead so many of our countrymen year after year to crowd the Scotch hotels and fill the coffers of their canny landlords. And when we turn to the works of Dante and of Shakespeare, we find a total absence of the *delight* of mountain scenery. Our own great poet probably never saw

> The boundless mountains bear
> Their folded shadows into the golden air.

And when in *King Lear* he makes Edgar exclaim, on "the dread summit" of cliffs of so moderate an altitude as those of Dover—

> How fearful
> And dizzy 'tis to cast one's eye so low!

one imagines that he can never before have seen anything higher than Greenwich or Richmond Hill, not even the Welsh hills, though born so near them. In the case of Dante, horror and dread and gloom seem to be the emotions excited by that which we moderns find full of solace and charm.

Time, says Schiller, consecrates, and what is grey with age becomes religion; but Turner is like a new building which Time's gradual touch has not yet mouldered into beauty. Age has not thrown his hoar mantle over him, and we are near enough to see all his personal defects,—and they were many. He is a coin without a trace of the "patina" so dear to collectors. And yet the painter seems linked on to old days, when we remember that he was admitted to Sir Joshua

Reynolds' studio to paint from pictures therein; and Walter Thornbury reminds us that Turner's father had a large theatrical connection, and that Garrick may often have come to his shop and talked of Johnson and Goldsmith. As to the aim and scope of Turner's art, it would indeed be "gilding refined gold" to attempt any analysis of that after all that has been written of it by John Ruskin's eloquent pen. No painter that ever lived has had his work so fully, so sympathetically criticised, or his praises sung in such wealth of diction and by so sweet a singer.

There is one respect, however, in which Turner's extraordinary ceaseless industry would seem, at first sight, to be of great value to antiquaries; for, besides his early views of gentlemen's seats, he has left us legions of topographical drawings; but, even if we did not know that Turner hated being "mappy," as he termed it, his latest biographer, Mr. Hamerton, has rudely shaken any belief in the painter's accuracy; indeed, he asserts that so early as 1802, when Turner was only twenty-seven, he had absolutely abandoned everything of the nature of topographic fidelity. Certainly, he proves his case fully and convincingly in the instance of the drawing of Kilchurn Castle; but, as evidence that the generalised poetical rendering of a scene may, after all, recall it better than the greatest topographical accuracy, the writer of this paper may mention that he is not unfamiliar with Kilchurn, having spent some days by Loch Awe, and certainly Turner's representation of Ben Cruachan tallies much more with his recollection than the carefully drawn outline of the real scene which Mr. Hamerton adduces to prove Turner's inaccuracy. The former was recognisable, the latter not. It may be urged, so much the worse for the fidelity of the writer's memory; but it may also be cited as an instance of Turner's poetic insight, which enabled him to seize the salient features of the subject, and render them with such force and effect as to make the minutiæ of topographical detail of no importance whatever. On looking upon scenes such as this, what is it with which the memory is impressed? It is not the actual contour of the rocks which stand piled up to heaven in the background, nor the precise style of the architecture of the castle in the foreground, nor whether the meadows on the margin of the lake, which lie between, measure five or fifteen acres; it is rather the recollection of the play of light and shade on the mountain brow, of the pile of storm-cloud on its highest peak, or the white wreaths of vapour which rolled around its sides, or the beauty of the deep purple shadows which clung to its abysses.

So then let us admit that Turner is not to be trusted implicitly in such matters, that he took liberties with topography, that he ignored a building here, and introduced some imaginary feature there. Yet how much was done in that long and most laborious life to give us the England of his day, England before the railways disfigured some of her fairest scenes, England of the days of Nelson when fighting *Téméraires* (soon, alas! to be towed to last berths, these) still walked the waters. One has but to recall the titles of his endless views of castle and cathedral and abbey to feel how much we owe him. It is no small thing to see as Turner saw—

> Morpeth tower, roofless and black, the gate of old Winchelsea Hall and Rievaulx choir and Kirkstall crypt and Dunstanboro' wan above the sea, and Chepstow with arrowy light through traceried windows, and Lindisfarne with failing height of wasted shaft and wall; and last and sweetest Raglan in utter solitude amidst the wild wood of its own pleasance, the towers rounded with ivy, and the brook languid with lilies and sedges. Legends of grey knights and enchanted ladies keeping the woodman's children away at sunset.

Truly, as Mr. Ruskin has also said (for who can mistake the word-painter's pencil in the passage I have just quoted?), "every day that Turner lies in his grave will bring some new acknowledgment of his power."

How striking is the contrast between the outcome of the life of Turner and his parentage and early environment! His work full of poetry, often of sublimity; his birthplace a mean little house in a dingy London street; his chosen subjects the flash of sunlight on the ocean, the march of the storm-cloud upon Alpine crests, the passion of a mountain torrent, or the thunder of an avalanche; his mother insane; his life nearly always solitary after his father's death in 1830; his old age without affection and respect, for it was marred by sensuality and darkened by failing

powers; but as when we gaze upon the sun we lose the consciousness of the spots upon it in the effulgence of its rays, so when we think of Turner we forget the defects of the man in the glory and blaze of his genius.

We have spoken of Turner's father being a barber; born at South Molton, Devon, he went to London young, and became a hair-dresser. One of the many redeeming traits in the painter's character is the deep affection which he undoubtedly felt for his parent. It stamps the genuine, simple, unpretentious nature of the man; there was no false pride about him, and the relationship between father and son may be termed one of the most pleasing features of Turner's life socially. Made a Royal Academician at twenty-seven, he might have kept scrubby old William Turner out of sight at least, if not out of mind; but he was dutiful and filial to the last; and, if Mr. Trimmer's pleasant picture of the chatty, cheerful old fellow is to be trusted, the father well deserved his son's devotion. About his mother, there is little to be learned. It is said she came of a family of squires, the Marshalls of Shelford Manor, Nottingham. She was born at Islington, unhappily seems to have had an ungovernable temper, and becoming insane, was placed in confinement. It is probable that Turner's melancholy temperament was inherited from her. In person she resembled her son, being short, with blue eyes, and an aquiline nose.

Having now glanced at the man, his parentage, and his work, let us in conclusion jot down a few gleanings about the birthplace itself.

On the north side, and at the west end of that narrow smoky defile Maiden Lane, was a court—Hand Court; a gloomy paved tunnel of a place with a low archway and prison-like gate, and at the left-hand corner of this "a coffin-lid door," says Thornbury, "led to the small barber's small shop." The window fronted to the lane, and was doubtless adorned with grotesque dummies and wigs of various shapes and degrees of dinginess. In the parochial books of St. Paul's, Covent Garden ("the handsomest barn in England"), William Turner appears as a householder, paying £30 a year rent for one-half of a double house, No. 26; and here, on St. George's Day, 1775, Turner was born. The house was pulled down in 1861.

Mr. Wheatley writes to us as follows:—

"I do not know of any explanation of the name Maiden Lane, but I suspect it was in existence before Covent Garden was built upon; possibly it was a lane on the confines of the Convent grounds, and the name may have some reference to a figure of the Virgin Mary fixed at the corner of the lane.

"Maiden Lane is associated with many distinguished men. Marvell was living in lodgings here when the courtiers made the tempting offer to him which has formed the subject of a picture.

"Porson was a frequent visitor at the once famous Cider Cellars on the south side of the lane, close by the back of the Adelphi Theatre.

"This thoroughfare has been greatly altered since Turner lived here. The door of the house in which he was born was up an entry leading to Hand Court. This is all cleared away now. The roadway was only wide enough to allow of one conveyance passing along it at one time, and near the east end the roadway finished, and the rest of the lane was a paved court. There was a small siding where a vehicle could turn. Some thirty years ago the Queen visited the Adelphi Theatre, and entered at the stage door. At this time, in order to allow of the state carriages passing out of the lane, the roadway was continued to the Southampton Street end, but a bar was set up to prevent any general use of the thoroughfare, and this bar was only taken away a year or two ago.

"On the south side of the paved portion, where the Roman Catholic church now stands, was the laboratory of Messrs. Godfrey and Cooke, where Boyle's experiments on phosphorus were carried out, at the end of the seventeenth century, by Godfrey under Boyle's directions."

It requires a little effort of the imagination to picture this Covent Garden kennel as a country lane, so dingy is it now; yet such it was doubtless, and, as late as the middle of the last century, a writer speaks of knowing those who remembered the west side of St. Martin's Lane a quickset hedge.

The names of Cecil and Salisbury and Essex Streets hard by remind us of the great

families whose mansions and grounds formerly extended along the Strand. In Durham Place Sir W. Raleigh lived. In Southampton Street (only round the corner, and so named from Lord William Russell's noble and devoted wife) Congreve dwelt, and "little David" Garrick, and the beautiful Mrs. Bracegirdle. Maiden Lane itself can boast of having sheltered Archbishop Sancroft and Andrew Marvell, and for three years Voltaire lodged at the sign of the White Peruke.

But we must not linger upon memories of the past, of which every yard of this part of London is so full, "where the tall Maypole once o'erlooked the Strand."

To the writer, Turner has a fascination as a psychological study. The contrasts of his nature are so strong; his real nobility of soul and generous instincts, as evinced in his conduct to fellow-artists, of which many instances are related, stand out in bold relief against the sordid money-loving habits of the man. So, too, his passionate love of beauty and of nature—how hard to reconcile with the associations of his later years!

The closing scene in the career of this rough, selfish, unloveable man, as he seemed to many, is entirely in harmony with his life, and not a little touching.

He had spent years of unparaleled industry in recording the glory of the sky and of the sunlight that paints the canopy of the heavens afresh each night and morning; and when he felt death's icy grasp closing upon him, he went upon the roof of his mean house at Chelsea, clad in an old dressing-gown, and thence, like a sun-worshipper of old, he paid his last tribute to the great god of day. No more was he to behold the rosy flush of sunrise upon snowy peaks, nor see the glories of the sunset sky mirrored upon an English lake; his first picture—it is in the National Gallery now—was the Thames at Milbank; and the last scene which fell upon Turner's mortal eye was the fading splendour of the sun upon the bosom of the river near which he was born, which he painted so often, and knew and loved so well—the Thames!

J. J. FOSTER.

Mediaeval Bell at Holme Cultram, Cumberland.

BY THE REV. H. WHITEHEAD.

A DOUBLE cot on the west gable of Holme Abbey contains two bells, one of which, twenty-seven inches in diameter, weighs about four and a half cwt., the weight of a bell being approximately known from its diameter at mouth (Taylor's *Bell Catalogue*, p. 25); the other is twenty-one inches in diameter, and weighs about two and a half cwt.

The larger of the two was cast in 1771 by Pack and Chapman, predecessors of the Mears family, at the Whitechapel foundry.

The lesser bears, in small black letters, running quite round, surmounted throughout by trefoil ornament, with plain initial cross, and a stamp somewhat resembling the letter S reversed as intervening stop, the following inscription:—

✠ ihc ꙅ thomas ꙅ york ꙅ abbas ꙅ de ꙅ holm ꙅ cū ♦ dominio ꙅ anno dni ꙅ millº ♦ ccccºlxvº ꙅ

Below the word "holm" are three griffins passant, the middle one turned to dexter, the other two to sinister, in a rectangular oblong; which may be the founder's mark. It has been suggested that the griffins may have been taken from the Abbey coat of arms. But the common seal of the Abbey, on the surrender, now in the Augmentation Office, dated 29 Henry VIII., has three *lions* passant (*Cumberland and Westmoreland Archæological Transactions*, vol. i., p. 270). A dated mediæval bell is a rarity. "To what cause the absence of dates on our mediæval bells is due, is a great mystery; but the fact remains" (Raven's *Cambridgeshire Church Bells*, p. 12). The dated inscription now before us is of special value, as it recovers a long-forgotten name, and informs us where to place it in the incomplete list of the abbots of Holme Cultram, thus given by Bishop Tanner:—

HOLME CULTRAM ABBOTS.—Everard, 1175, died 1192; Gregory, 1192; William resigned, 1215; Adam

elected, 1215; Hugh elected, 1223; Gilbert died, 1237; John, 1237, died 1255; Henry, 1255; Gervase, 1278; Robert, 1292; William de Redekar, 1434; Robert Chamber, 1507 and 1518 (*Notitia Monastica*, 2nd ed., p. xxxix.).

Browne Willis, as quoted in a paper on Holme Abbey by Mr. C. Ferguson, F.S.A. (*Cumberland and Westmoreland Archæological Transactions*, vol. i., p. 268), omits Gervase, inserts a second Everard (undated) after Adam, a second Gregory (undated) after Robert, and adds Gawin Borrowdale, the last abbot, who, on the suppression of the monastery in 1538, became the first Vicar of Holme Cultram, the parishioners having presented the following petition to Henry VIII.'s Vicar-General:—

That it might please your Lordship to be a meane for us to our Soveregne Lorde the Kynge is Highness for the preservation and standynge of the Church of Holme Cultram before saide whiche is not onely our parish Churche and little ynoughe to receyve all us your poore orators but also a greate ayde socor and defence for us agenst our neighbors the Scots (*Ib.*, p. 270).

To the granting of this petition the Holme Abbey bells owed their escape from the fate which overtook the bells of the monasteries at Carlisle, Wetheral, and Shap.* Their number is shown in the following extract from Edward VI.'s *Inventory of Church Goods* in 1552, the missing portion of which, torn off from the original MS., is here restored, as far as possible, in italics:—

Church of Holme Coltram.	This one chales of silvr one . . . iij vestements iij copes ij *tunycks* . . alterclothes iij towells iij *surp*.. .. iij bells iij handbells one *holy water* ffat of brasse ij latten *candilstiks*.

In 1553 a commission was issued for the confiscation of all church goods not considered necessary for divine service, when two of the above-mentioned "iij bells," if the commission was strictly executed, were converted to "ye Kinges use." But such evidence as has yet come to hand points to the inference that in many places, perhaps everywhere in Cumberland, the commissioners, so far as the bells were concerned, did not fully carry out their instructions (*Cumberland and Westmoreland Archæological Transactions* VI., 425-6). The Holme Abbey bells, however, if they survived not only the dissolution of the monasteries in 1538 but also the spoliation of the parish churches in 1553, had other and not less formidable dangers yet to encounter, viz., the fall of the tower in 1600 and the burning of the church in 1604 (*ib.*, i. 274). If on one or both of these occasions the bells fell with the tower it is a matter for surprise that even one of them escaped destruction.

The Holme Cultram parish-terrier for 1749 has this entry:—

Two bells with their frames, the less thought to weigh about five hundred weight and the bigger about seven hundred weight.

Accuracy is not a characteristic of terrier-weights. Therefore, as it is evident that "the less" of these two bells, which must needs be identified with Abbot York's bell, was "thought" to be more than double its real weight, we may doubt whether "the bigger" was correctly thought to be "about seven hundredweight." Perhaps four-and-a-half hundredweight would be nearer the mark, that being the weight of its successor, for which it may have supplied the metal, probably having been cracked, and therefore ordered to be recast in 1771; and, if so, it was well that it was at least big enough to supply all the metal that was required for the new bell, else Pack and Chapman, as at Lanercost Abbey two years later, might have been directed to found both the old bells into one, and Thomas York's bell, after surviving the dissolution of the monasteries, the spoliation of the parish churches, the falling of the abbey tower, and the burning of the abbey itself, would have been relegated, like many of its mediæval contemporaries—*e.g.*, the famous bells of King's College Chapel (Raven, p. 58)—to the Whitechapel furnace. It may still be in some danger. The Rev. W. F. Gilbanks, to whom I am indebted for the inscriptions and diameters of the Holme Cultram bells, writes:—

The mediæval bell has a good note of A when struck, but the present mode of ringing, which allows the clapper to stay too long on the bell, together with the want of canons, necessitating iron straps, at present badly fitted, causes it almost to seem cracked.

* The Shap bells are supposed to have been distributed among the neighbouring churches. Tradition says that one of them, believed to be the largest bell in Westmoreland, is now at Kirkbythore (Whelan, p. 753), and another at Orton (*Cumberland and Westmoreland Archæological Transactions*, vol. vi., p. 84).

Improper modes of ringing have much to answer for. Some day, unless the present mode be changed, this bell will not only almost seem, but will really be, cracked. Thus ends, so far as it has yet been possible to trace it, the story of the eventful career and hair-breadth escapes of what is probably the most interesting bell in the county of Cumberland.

But among the multifarious papers relating to the abbey, some of which are in the parish chest, and others are in the Bodleian Library, there may be documents which would throw further light on the history of the abbey-bells, and in particular on the casting of them, if not by the monks themselves, at all events under their superintendence, after the manner thus described by Mr. T. North, F.S.A. :—

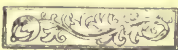
> In the middle ages, when roads were bad, and locomotion difficult, bells were frequently cast within the precincts of religious houses and in churchyards, the clergy or monks standing around, and reciting prayers and chanting psalms (*Rutland Church Bells*, p. 10).

Sometimes bells were cast within the church itself. Dr. Raven, after mentioning the fall of the central tower of Ely Cathedral in 1322, says :—

> A little more than twenty years after this, we find great works in bell-casting going on in the cathedral, under the superintendence of Alan de Walsingham, prior, and Robarte Aylesh'm, sacrist (*Cambridgeshire Church Bells*, p. 5).

Of these "great works in bell-casting" at Ely no traces now remain but the grooves worn by the bell-ropes, discovered by the present Bishop of Carlisle when he was Dean of Ely (*ib.*, p. 8). But from the roll of the sacrist Dr. Raven has transcribed the account for the "works," from which it appears that the bells, four in number, one of which was named "Walsinghame" after the prior, were cast by one "Master John of Gloucester." Some one may yet discover the name of the founder and the account for the casting of the Holme Abbey bells. Meanwhile, it is a matter for satisfaction that one of them, more fortunate than the bells of "Master John," still survives, in its fifth century, to preserve the memory of

Thomas York Abbas.



The Church of St. Olave, Hart Street, London.

AMONG the few city churches which escaped destruction in the Great Fire of London is one to which attention was directed a few months since in connection with the unveiling of the monument to the memory of Samuel Pepys. This church, of which we find frequent mention throughout the *Diary* of our old gossipy friend, is St. Olave's, Hart Street, Crutched Friars. The saint after whom this church is named is Olave, or *Olaf*, the warlike King of Norway, who, with Sweyn, King of Denmark, invaded England in the year 993. As long ago as 1319 a church was standing on the present site, of which William de Samford is recorded to have been the rector, and it is stated that it was with him that an agreement was entered into by the Brethren of the Crutched Friars, or Friars of the Holy Cross, by which they were to pay to the rector and his successors for ever the sum of two marks and a half per annum, as compensation for any injury he might sustain by the erection of their priory, which originally stood at the end of Hart Street.

The church of St. Olave is an interesting specimen of architecture; its most ancient portions are the columns and arches, the sharp-pointed window at the end of the north aisle, and the large window at the east end, although the glass which the latter contains is of as modern a date as 1823. The roof of the aisles is panelled oak, and studded with small stars. The corbels on the north side of the middle aisle are angels holding shields, while those on the south side consist of shields alone. There was originally a small external staircase on the south side of the church, leading to a gallery within, which was set apart for the use of the officers of the Navy Office, and up this staircase we can well imagine cur friend Pepys mounting, gaily dight in new raiment, and looking mighty fine, as he is not backward in telling us he did on several occasions.

Although the monuments in this church are numerous and in good preservation, the brasses, unlike those in some other city

churches, are but few and insignificant. A monumental brass of a king of arms in his crown, and dated 1427, is said to have originally existed in the middle aisle; but the apparent date of the earliest brass now existing, which is a mural one, and inscribed in a text hand, is 1566, and is to the memory of Mr. Thomas Morley, who was clerk to the household of Queen Katherine of Arragon. Another mural brass is to be seen at the east end of the south aisle, and is to the memory of John Orgone and Ellen his wife. It bears the figures of a man and woman, a merchant's mark, and the following quaint inscription:—

> In God is my
> whole trust,
> 1584.
> Joh Orgone and Ellene his wife.
> As I was, so be ye,
> As I am, you shall be;
> That I gave, that I have;
> That I spent, that I had,
> Thus I ende all my coste,
> That I lefte, that I loste.—1584.

Just under the last-mentioned brass are the remains of another; but neither name nor date are visible.

Near the brasses above referred to is a marble tablet to Dr. William Turner, the celebrated herbalist and fervid reformer, as well as one to Pepys's colleague at the Navy Office, Sir John Minnes, whose inefficiency as comptroller of the navy we find so frequently deplored by the diarist. On the north side of the altar is the monument of Andrew and Paul Bayninge, consisting of two figures kneeling beneath alcoves. The figures are painted in natural colours, and are in excellent preservation. Andrew Bayninge was an alderman of London, and died in the year 1610, and Paul sheriff and alderman, and died on the 30th of September, 1616. Beneath the figure of the latter appear some lines, which wind up by declaring that

> The happy sum and end of their affairs
> Provided well both for their soules and heirs.

Doubtlessly, a circumstance for congratulation on the part of every one interested.

Near the last-mentioned monument is one without name, but from the costume of the figures with which it is ornamented, it apparently dates about the time of Elizabeth. The monument is composed of four Corinthian columns supporting an entablature; between the two central columns, beneath an alcove, kneel the figures of a man and woman at an altar, and at the foot of the altar are depicted two children in swaddling clothes; between the other columns are the kneeling figures of two women, each holding in her hands a skull. The two lower corners of the monument are also decorated with skulls. The figures, like those appearing on some of the other monuments in the church, are painted in natural colours.

Above the Bayninge monument already noticed is that of Mrs. Samuel Pepys, who died at her husband's house in Hart Street on the 10th of November, 1669. The monument is a mural one, and ornamented with a well-executed bust of the deceased; beneath the bust are an inscription and the arms of the Pepys family. In the church was also buried Samuel Pepys's brother Thomas; a description of his funeral is given in the *Diary*, and is an interesting record of a seventeenth century funeral.

> To church, and—with the grave maker, chose a place for my brother to lie in, just under my mother's pew. But to see how a man's tombes are at the mercy of such a fellow, that for sixpence he would (as his own words were), "I will jostle them together but I will make room for him"; speaking of the fulness of the middle *isle*, where he was to lie. I dressed myself, and so did my servant Besse; and so to my brother's again: whither, though invited, as the custom is, at one or two o'clock, they come not till four or five. But, at last, one after another, they come, many more than I bid; and my reckoning that I bid one hundred and twenty; but I believe there was nearer one hundred and fifty. Their service was six biscuits apiece, and what they pleased of burnt claret. My Cozen Joyce Norton kept the wine and cakes above; and did give out to them that served, who had white gloves given them. But above all I am beholden to Mrs. Holding who was most kind, and did take mighty pains not only in getting the house and everything else ready, but this day in going up and down to see the house filled and served, in order to mine and there great content, I think: the men sitting by themselves in some rooms, and the women by themselves in others, very close, but yet room enough. Anon to church, walking out into the street to the conduit, and so across the street: and had a very good company along with the corps. And being come to the grave as above, Dr. Pierson, the minister of the parish, did read the service for buriall: and so I saw my poor brother laid into the grave.

The last of all the Pepys family to be buried in St. Olave's was the diarist himself; but, as we know, until within the last twelve

months no monumental record existed to show that he rested there.

On the left side of the north aisle stands the monument of one who, in his time, is said to have been a great benefactor to the parish, viz., Sir Andrew Riccard. The monument, which takes the form of a statue of the deceased, was erected by the Turkey Company in commemoration of the many services rendered by him to the company, of which he was chairman. His grave is near the altar, and by the stone covering it we are referred, if desirous of ascertaining his true worth, to the panegyric appearing on his monument, which is as follows :—

Sacred be the statue here raised by gratitude and respect to eternize the memory of Sir Andrew Riccard, Knight, a citizen and opulent merchant of London ; whose active piety, inflexible integrity, and extensive abilities, alike distinguished and exalted him in the opinion of the wise and good. Averse to his wish, he was frequently chosen chairman of the Honourable East India Company, and filled, with equal credit for eighteen successive years, the same eminent station in the Turkey Company. Among many instances of his love to God, and liberal spirit towards man, one, as it demands peculiar praise, to be distinctly recorded. He nobly left the perpetual advowson of this parish in trust to five of its senior inhabitants. He died 6th Sept., in the year of our Lord 1672, of his age 68.
Manet post funera virtus.

The statue formerly stood at the west end of the church, beneath the organ gallery ; but upon the restoration of the church it was removed, and placed in its present and original position.

Affixed to the east wall of the north aisle is a tablet to Sir John Radcliffe, who died in the year 1568. Near the tablet is a truncated figure in armour, said to be his effigy. He was son of Robert, Earl of Sussex, one of the commissioners appointed for the trial of Mary Queen of Scots. There is a monument to his wife, Dame Anne Radcliffe, in the chancel, near the tablet to Minnes before mentioned, which bears date 1585. It is a sculptured figure of a woman kneeling beneath a canopy. On the south wall of the north aisle is the monument of one Peter Capponius, a Florentine gentleman, who died 6th November, 1582. The deceased is represented by a figure in armour beneath a canopy.

A stone let into the wall at the west end of the church, and to the right of the organ gallery, records a gift by one John Highlord for the benefit of the poor of the parish :—

John Highlord, senior, and Skyner, of London, in his life tyme being of the age of 4 score and 7 years, dyd give 40 shillings yearlie to be bestoed in New Castell cole for the reliefe of the poore of the parish, and doth alow for foure sarmones yearlie for ever, as by his will at large dooth appeare.

During the great plague, the churchyard of Saint Olave's afforded a resting-place for many of those who fell victims to that scourge. Between the months of July and December 1665, the register of the church records the burial of no fewer than 326 people who died from the plague alone. The appearance of the churchyard about that time seems to have had rather an alarming effect upon our friend Pepys, for we find him writing under date of 30th-31st January, 1666, as follows :—

This is the first time I have been in the church since I left London for the plague, and it frightened me, indeed, to go through the church more than I thought it could have done, to see so many graves lie so high upon the churchyards, where people have been buried of the plague. I was much troubled at it, and do not think to go through it again a good while.

I find many about the city that live near the churchyards, solicitous to have the churchyards covered with lime, and I think it is needful, and ours, I hope, will be done. . . .

He does not appear, despite his fright, to have long abstained from going to church ; for a few days after his first visit we find him going to hear the Rev. Dr. Mills, rector of St. Olave's, preach, a clergyman who does not seem to have been a very exemplary one, for we are told that upon the first breaking out of the plague he left his parish to take care of itself, and was one of the last to return to it. On his second visit to church, Pepys's alarm as to the condition of the churchyard was quieted by finding the graves covered with snow. The entry in his diary of this visit appears as follows, under date 4th February, 1666 :—

Lord's day.—My wife and I the first time together at church since the plague, and now only because of Mr. Mills, his coming home to preach his first sermon ; expecting a great excuse for his leaving the parish before anybody went, and now staying till all are come home ; but he made but a poor and short excuse, and a bad sermon. It was a frost, and had snowed last night, which covered the graves in the churchyard, so I was the less afraid for going through.

The little that now remains of the church-

yard is approached by a gateway in Seething Lane. In this gateway is preserved a style of architecture very popular some hundred and fifty or two hundred years ago; a style wherein death's-heads and cross-bones played important parts. Five skulls *adorn* the gateway; the centre one is wreathed with laurel, typical of the victor Death, and rests upon cross-bones. Beneath the whole originally ran a Latin inscription, but this Time, the effacer of all things, has rendered illegible.

T. W. TEMPANY, F.S.S.

The Countess of Shrewsbury.

PART II.

BEFORE another year ends the "faythefull affecsyon" between husband and wife is waning. The Queen of Scots had been entrusted to Shrewsbury's guardianship early in 1569, and the charge of the heavy responsibility without doubt greatly helped to the severance of the attachment between her keeper and his spouse. The Countess's great object was the worldly advancement of her children. In 1574 she took advantage of the Countess of Lennox's journey to Scotland to offer her hospitality at their house of Rufford Abbey, and there to arrange a marriage between her only unmarried daughter and Darnley's younger brother Charles Stuart, the Earl of Lennox; and Shrewsbury writes in excuse to Elizabeth, and afterwards to Burleigh, letters which seem to reflect upon his wife's hurried action. To her Majesty he says:—

Yt was delte in sodenly, and wythowt my knowledge: but as I dare undertake and insure to your Matie, for my wyfe, she, fyndyng hyr dawghter dysapoynted of young Bartè where she hoped: and that th'oder yong gentylman was inclyned to love wyth a few days' acquyntans, dyd hyr best to further her daughter to thys matche; wythout havyng therin any other intent or respect than wyth reverent dutie towards your Matie she owgth.*

To Burleigh he writes—

There is few nobillmen's sonns in England that she hath not praid me to dele forre at one tyme or other; so did I for my lord Rutland, with my lord Sussex, for my lord Wharton, and sondry others; and now this cumes unloked for without thankes to me.*

And in 1575 he writes to his wife of her youngest son, his own son Gilbert's most intimate friend, in complaining warning, from Sheffield, the 7th of June, 1575.

And seinge I am constreyned to absent my sunne Gilbord, I wyll provyd for him & his wyf, which I will use your advyse therin, & surely I wold have you provyd for Charls your sun; he is esely ledd to folly: for w^tin II nyght aftar you went from me, his man Morton intysed his master, Blyth, & my armorer to go a stelyng in to Staly† parke in the nyght: & I wold wysh you to advise him from those doinges, lest som myshappe myght c̄ thereby, to his harme & your grefe.‡

One thinks that the mother would painfully contrast Shrewsbury's mention of "Charls your sun" with St. Loe's "owre boyes."

Gilbert Talbot was anxious to go into housekeeping on his own account at this time; from the above given letter we may judge that disbursing the requisite money was somewhat to the discontent of his father, who probably intended that his wife's advice should extend to financial help towards the expense of the needful outfit. A perfectly just expectation if we consider that the care and diet of the Queen of Scots and her servants were a heavy charge on the Earl's private means. Elizabeth, truly writing of herself that those who are advanced in life willingly take with two hands and only give with one finger,§ was determined in the autumn of this year to reduce the allowance for Mary's diet from £52 to £30 a week. Gilbert's wife also was the Countess's daughter by Sir William Cavendish, from whom she inherited a considerable jointure. The unfortunate man was not wise enough to gain his ends with a smiling face; his son writes of him—

My L. is continually pestered wth his wonted busyness, and is very often in exceeding collor of sleyghte occasion a great greife to them y^t^ loves him to see him hurte himselfe so muche. He now speketh nothing of my goyng to house, and I fere woulde be contented wth scilence to pass it over, but I have great hope in

* Hunter's *Hallamshire*, Gatty's edition, p. 92.

* Hunter's *Hallamshire*, Gatty's edition, p. 92.

† Probably Staveley, ten miles south-east of Sheffield. The Duke of Devonshire, a lineal descendant of the Countess of Shrewsbury, was lord of the manor of Staveley.

‡ Hunter's *Hallamshire*, Gatty's edition, note to p. 124.

§ Quoted Leader's *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 358.

your La. at your cūminge, and in all my life I never longed for any thing so muche as to be from hence; truly, Madame, I rather wishe my sealfe a plowman than here to contynew.*

There is not the date of day or month to this letter, but Gilbert's wife had borne him a son early in this year, and the following sentence fixes the time as after the child's birth:

Your La. pretty fellow is a ryghte honeste man every way.

In October of 1575 Gilbert writes again from Sheffield to his stepmother and mother-in-law in complaint of his father. After thanking her for "being pleased to bestowe of us a greate deale of furniture towards house," he goes on to say:

Presently after your La. departure from hence, my L. apoynted him of the wardrop to delyver us the tester and curtaynes of the oulde greene and redde bedd of velvet and satten y^t your La. did see; and the clothe bedd tester and curtaynes y^t we now lye in, and II. very oulde counterpoynts of tapestry, and forbad him to delyver y^t bed of cloth of gould and tauney velvet y^t your La. sawe. That wch your La. hathe geven us is more worth than all that is at Gotherydg or here of my L. bestowing.†

This daughter of a country squire, having raised herself by marriage to the companionship of one queen and the caretaking of another, sees a possibility that by her success in having made a marriage for her youngest daughter, her posterity may wear the English crown. And Shrewsbury's money anxieties, and the onerous burden of the Scottish queen's guardianship, combining to make him irritable of temper and no longer kindly in his marital companionship, the husband and wife's interests seem to be henceforth twofold instead of single. There is also a possibility that a clever, charming, deceitful woman, as Mary undoubtedly was, thinking for her own profit to conciliate the Earl, may by many little words and actions have willed to show Elizabeth the power a younger woman has to move the heart of a somewhat fickle man.‡ Without any of the actual improprieties with which the Countess charges the Scottish queen and the Earl, and which she is afterwards compelled to deny, it is quite likely that the play of eyes, of involved words, and caressing of hands may have set fire to the jealous fuel of the Countess of Shrewsbury's heart. The friendly relations between herself, her husband, and the Queen of Scots, are now interrupted, and from this time become more and more things of the past. It is a divided household. Her stepson Gilbert, himself so extravagant that he is afterwards known as the "splendid earl," finds much reason to dilate on his father's meanness, and his stepmother being open as well as full-handed towards her children and relatives, he finds it best to keep her well acquainted with the family affairs which happen during her absence. The pleasant companionship,* the listening to and retailing scandals of the English queen and court, the teaching and learning new stitches of embroidery,† the carrying of treasonable letters for Mary,‡ are changed to a jealousy, whose first expression we find in the postscript of a letter written from Chatsworth to her husband: "Lette me here howe you, your charge and love dothe, and comende me I pray you."§

There are hot scenes and angry words between husband and wife, until at length, some date shortly before August 1577, her ladyship leaves Sheffield for Chatsworth early on the morning of a day on which the Earl reaches Sheffield Castle, purposely to avoid him, and we find Gilbert Talbot writing to report his father's words to his stepmother. He says he meets his lordship at Bolsover,

* Hunter's *Hallamshire*, Gatty's edition, p. 114.

† *Ibid.*, p. 114.

‡ According to Hunter's *Hallamshire*, Shrewsbury in his latter days fell into the power of one of his own woman servants, Eleanor Britton by name (p. 97 of Gatty's edition).

* See Mary's famous Scandal Letter, quoted in Leader's *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 553.

† At Chatsworth visitors are shown a state bed, beautifully worked on velvet by Mary Queen of Scots and the Countess of Shrewsbury.

‡ Leader's *Mary Queen of Scots*, note to p. 348.

§ The whole letter is given in a note to p. 382 of Leader's *Mary Queen of Scots*; the postscript runs thus: "I have sent you lettuce for that you love them: and every second day some is sent to your charge and you. I have nothing else to send. Let me hear how you, your charge and love doth, and commend me, I pray you. It were well you sent four or five pieces of the great hangings that they might be put up: and some carpets. I wish you would have things in that readiness that you might come within three or four days after you hear from Court. Write to Baldwin to call on my Lord Treasurer for answer of your letters. To my lord, my husband, the Earl of Shrewsbury."

about one of the clock, who asks, "'Gilbert, what taulke had my wyfe wth you?' And is very desirous to hear of the matter."

There were small grievances of her ladyship's embroiderers kept out of their beds at Sheffield Lodge by one of the Earl's servants, and on her remonstrance the Earl proceeding to

vehem^{nt} coller and harde speches, but he cut me off sayinge it was to no purpose to heare any resytall of this matter for y^t he lysted he sayde he cold remember cruell speches your La. used to him wch weare such as quothe he I was forced to tell her she scolded lyk one y^t came from the Banke.*

There is one pleasant passage in this old record of family quarrel. His father writes: "George," the little boy of two years old, "reioyced so greatly yesternyght at my L. cūminge home as I colde not have beleved if I had not sene it."

Gilbert's next letter shows Elizabeth Hardwicke standing on her dignity; her temper rules her affection, while her affection wills that she shall know as much as possible of her husband's doings and sayings respecting her and her affairs. The postscript is the pleasantest part of this letter:

George is very well I thanke God: he drynkethe every day to La. grandmother: rydethe to her often, but yet w^tin the courte: and if he have any spyse † I tell him La. grandmother is to cōme and will see him: wch he then will either quyckly hyde or quyckly eate: and then asks where La. Danmode is.‡

A heavy family trouble shortly befell the Talbot family in the sudden death of this little child, § and we cannot think the countess's feeling under this bereavement requires the condemnation the Earl adjudges it. He writes thus to Burleigh:—

It hathe plesed God of his goodness to take that swete babe from me; he surely was a toward chylde.—And my lord because I dovt my vife vyll show more folly than nede requers I praye your lordship write your lettar to her vyche I hope vyll gretly reul her.

And to Walsingham he writes, through his secretary:—

It hath pleased Almighty God to call to his mercy my only grandchild son to Gilbert Talbot my son, which by nature troubleth me. Houbeit I most willingly obey unto his will who took him, who only lent him me, without grudging thereat; but my wife (although she acknowledge no less) is not so well able to rule her passions, and hath driven herself into such case by her continual weeping as is like to breed in her further inconvenience.*

She was human, this autocratical countess, and the death of a little child seemed like to "cleave her heart in twain." Looking on this paragraph in the husband's letter, we cannot judge his wife the unfeeling tyrant writers have named her. "She is not well able to rule her passions," may, and probably does, mean that she had passions and he only vices.

Gilbert Talbot and Mauvissière, the French ambassador,† agree in charging the Earl with avarice and meanness. And once he writes,

I would have you buy me glasses to drink in. Send me word what old plate yields the ounce, for I will not leave me a cup of silver to drink but I will see the next term my creditors paid.‡

The effect of this sad resolution is damaged by the report that he is buying estates. Any moderately extended knowledge of the world brings us acquainted with men whose acquisitiveness always pleads poverty and want of money. And taking the Earl's conduct as a whole in connection with the light his portrait throws on the study, it is most to be thought that his wish for continued guardianship of this woman, as he calls her, had its rise in a belief, perhaps unfounded, that he would be a financial gainer by the charge. Be that as it may, the family quarrels grow from less to more, until the Countess accuses the Earl and Mary of gross misconduct, and has afterwards to retract the accusation. The interest of the English queen, was afterwards exerted on behalf of Elizabeth of Shrewsbury; in the lawsuit between husband and wife she decided against the former in a manner which he felt a harsh requital of his service to her. In a letter to the Earl of Leicester, dated April 30th, 1585, he writes:—

Sith that her Matie hathe sett dowen this hard sentence agaynst me, to my perpetual infamy and dishonor, to be ruled and overanne by my wief, so bad and wicked a woman; yet her Matie shall see that I obey her com'andemente, though no curse or plage in the earthe cold be more grevous to me. These

* Elizabethan for Billingsgate.

† Spyse, a Sheffield provincialism still used for sweetmeats.

‡ Hunter's *Hallamshire*, Gatty's edition, p. 116.

§ The boy was a little over two years and a half old when he died.

* Leader's *Mary Queen of Scots*, note to p. 393.

† *Ibid.*, Note to p. 457.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 458.

offers of my wiefes inclosed in yo'r L'res I thinke theim verey unfyt to be offered to me. It is to muche to make me my wifes pencyoner, and sett me downe the demeanes of Chattesworth, without the house and other lands leased, which is but a penc'on in money. I thinke it standeth with reason that I shuld chose the V C L. by yeare ordered by her Matie where I like best, accordinge to the rate Wm. Candishe delyvered to my L. Chancelor.*

The Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry essayed to bring about a reconciliation in a somewhat unwise and uncomplimentary letter, which one is not surprised should fail of that professed desire :—

Some will say (observes the bishop), in y'r L. behalfe tho' the Countesse is a sharpe and bitter shrewe, and therefore lieke enough to shorten y'r liefe if shee should kepe yow company. In deede my good Lo. I have heard some say so; but if shrewdnesse or sharpnesse may be a just cause of sep'a'con betweene a man and wife I thincke fewe men in *Englande* would keepe theire wives longe; for it is a com'on jeste yet trewe in some sence, that there is but one shrewe in all the worlde, and ev'y man hath her; and so ev'y man might be ridd of his wiefe that wold be rydd of a shrewe.†

One pleasant quotation, and we have done with these old papers. From Wynfeld, on Tuesday, the 5th of November, at eight of ye clocke at night, 1588, Nicholas Kymislay writes a letter to the Countess containing this passage :—

The La. Arbella at VIII. of ye clocke this nyght was mery and eats her meal well, bot she went not to ye^s scolle ye VI days; therefore I wold be glad off your La. comyng yff there were no other mat^r bo^t y^t.

Lady Arabella Stuart would be about thirteen years old at this time. Her mother died, and was buried in the Talbot vault in St. Peter's Church, Sheffield, in 1581. If we may rely on our own unaided judgment to interpret family letters, and the efforts the Countess made to advance the child's interest with the rival queens, her grandmother was truly attached to the girl, whose after-life was to be so very pitiful.‡

Elizabeth began to build Hardwicke in 1590, and finished the work in 1597. On the 18th of November, 1590, at seven in the morning, her husband died at Sheffield Manor. There was a grand funeral for him on the 10th of January, 1591.* Authorities were consulted as to the most fitting order of arrangement, and the "Sco. Q. funerall" is cited as one at which £150 were paid which might with care have been rebated.

It is the fashion to speak of Elizabeth of Hardwicke in terms of condemnation. Lodge says she died immensely "rich, and without a friend"; Hunter says "she was overbearing, selfish, proud, treacherous, and unfeeling; one object she pursued through a long life, to amass wealth and to aggrandize her family. To this she seems to have sacrificed every principle of honour or affection, and to have completely succeeded."† Leader says, "In an evil hour for his comfort the Earl of Shrewsbury felt the spell of her charms,‡ and made proposals of marriage."§

We think the verdict too severe. St. Loe's letters to his wife, Shrewsbury's letters in the earlier years of their marriage, Gilbert's letters to his stepmother, letters from Shrewsbury's daughters, letters from her neighbours asking small favours, and the Queen's word, may prove that there were lights in what has been depicted as very darkness. Possessed of a certain kind of genius, she was not crafty enough to cope with the practised finesse of Mary Stuart, being a woman of passionate nature and quick temper; and her angry words and evil accusations, which perhaps only arose from the heart-burning of disappointed affection, were taken as of deliberate intention, and used against her reputation. That she had suffered deeply her last portrait clearly shows.

ISABEL GILCHRIST.

* Lodge's *Illustrations of British History*, vol. iii., p. 5, quoted in Glover's *Peak Guide*.

† *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 5.

‡ Cox says in his *Guide to the Peak*: "Lady Arabella was educated at Hardwick under the harsh superintendence of her grandmother, the Countess of Shrewsbury."

* Mary Queen of Scots was executed on the 8th of February, 1587, and not buried until the August of the same year.

† *Hallamshire*, Gatty's edition, p. 84.

‡ She was then forty-eight, at least.

§ *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 17.

Reviews.

Introduction to Early English Literature from the Earliest Times to the Norman Conquest. By W. CLARKE ROBINSON, Ph.D. (London, 1885: Simpkin & Marshall.) 8vo, xliv, 216.

DR. ROBINSON has found by experience that there was a gap in text-books on the Early English language, and so set himself to work to fill it up. And very useful most students will find his book at the beginning of their studies, or as a guide if they do not need or intend to proceed very far. In an introduction Dr. Robinson gives an excellent account of the earliest literature of the Teutonic tribes in Europe, from which may be gained many a hint in other branches of history besides that of literature. The next section is devoted to an introductory Anglo-Saxon grammar, followed again by an account of old English versification. Then come the specimens, and folklorists will not be sorry to see the specimens of heathen charms and incantations and proverbs which find a place in the book. With little or no pretence, and with great simplicity, Dr. Robinson has given us a useful little manual which he may well hope will reach a new edition in which he can enlarge on some portions without any danger to the unity and design of his work.

Chronograms Continued and Concluded, more than 5,000 *in Number, a Supplement Volume to Chronograms Published in the Year* 1882. By JAMES HILTON, F.S.A. (London, 1885: Elliot Stock.) 4to, pp. xv, 631.

The title sufficiently explains this remarkable literary curiosity, and Mr. Hilton is certainly to be congratulated upon the successful result of his unwearied research and patience. From many points of view the book before us will recommend itself to the book-lover, not the least curious being the illustrations, consisting of facsimile copies of engraved frontispieces, title-pages, portraits, and devices belonging to old books, and the head and tailpieces throughout the volume, which have been selected from old examples. The number of books consulted for this volume is about 240, and Mr. Hilton has now altogether given some 21,000 chronograms, and he does not yet pretend to have exhausted the subject.

Into all sorts of subjects—historical, architectural, social, and literary—Mr. Hilton enters, in order to gather together his material; and it would be curious indeed if his readers did not derive not only amusement, but instruction from his pages. The chronograms to be found in English churches—Membury, Faringdon, Shillingford, Wolborough, Widdicombe in Devonshire, Hinton in Gloucestershire, Barrow Gurney in Somersetshire, Stanford-le-Hope in Essex —are all especially interesting as giving the dates of family monumental inscriptions or bell inscriptions; but these are not so numerous as might be supposed, and on the Continent the custom was much more in vogue. One of the most interesting chapters is that on nuptial verses, funeral orations, and complimentary poems, all of which give some interesting particulars relative to men of note. Following this is another very interesting group of chronograms on European wars, commencing with the siege of Vienna in 1688. In one of the poems here quoted for its chronogram the Emperor Leopold is encouraged to cast away all fear and resume the look of Cæsar, and is reminded that a comet with an exceedingly long tail first appeared on St. Stephen's Day to the city of Vienna, and betokened the success which happened on the same day in 1683, when the Turks abandoned the siege of Vienna.

It would be impossible to go through this remarkable book at any length here, but perhaps sufficient has been said to show its interest to a large class of readers. The age for chronogram-making is not yet finished, because Mr. Hilton records one or two specimens from the reviewers of his first volume. We venture to vary one from the pen of the learned editor of the *Reliquary* to suit the new volume, and conclude our notice with it :—

The booke of ChronograMs
VVIth sharpeneD LearnIng fraVght
ThIs VVanIng year of ELLIot StoCk
was boVght. } = 1885.

Lessons in the Art of Illuminating, a series of Examples selected from works in the British Museum, Lambeth Palace, and South Kensington Museum. With Practical Instructions, and a Sketch of the History of the Art. By W. J. LOFTIE, B.A., F.S.A. (London: Blackie & Son.) 4to.

The art of illuminating came to perfection in this country during the thirteenth century, and the scriptorium of St. Albans was one of the most celebrated of the workshops in which were produced the beautiful pictures and coloured letters that, in many instances, still exist for us to admire and wonder at. There is at the present time a revived interest in this beautiful art, but it cannot be said that much of the work now done is in very good taste. It will often be seen, by comparing modern illuminations with the ancient, that not only have the very principles been lost, but that the modern artist has no conception of the true objects of his art.

There can be no better mode of reclaiming these lost principles than long studying the illuminations of the best periods. Unfortunately these are very costly and not easy to be seen, especially in a sequence such as would make them particularly educational. Mr. Loftie has come to the aid of the modern student by collecting some fine specimens, ranging from the solidly grand style of the *Book of Kells* (ninth century) to the flowing style of the fifteenth century. He has in the title, and in certain initials, adopted the heraldic plan of marking the colours by means of lines, so that the original may be reproduced by the student who attends to the instructions. The other plates are represented in all their original brilliancy.

It is very necessary, if the student wishes to be a true artist, that he should study these old designs, in order to understand the principles, and not merely to reproduce what has been done by his teachers. Illu-

minating allows of an endless variety of design, and while a certain conventional treatment is necessary, all nature is at the service of the illuminator for use in his adaptations.

The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie, Lieut.-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1751-1758. *Now first printed from the manuscripts in the Collection of the Virginia Historical Society.* With an Introduction and Notes by R. A BROCK, Corresponding Secretary and Librarian of the Society. Vol. II. (Richmond, Virginia. Published by the Society, 1884.) 8vo.

We have already noticed the first volume of these valuable Records of Governor Dinwiddie, which ended with a letter to Lord Halifax, dated May 17th, 1755. This second volume completes the collection, and carries the series down to November 1758. The last paper is the address of the Corporation of Williamsburg to the Governor, in which they thank him for his care and assiduity, and "wish your Honor and family an agreeable voiage to England, and that you may there enjoy every felicity which reason can suggest, or your prudence require." A useful Index, which is more especially necessary for a book of this quality, will be found at the end, and the many headings of importance which it contains show the varied character and historical interest of the contents. There are many references to Washington, and these are of great value, as throwing light on his early career. A collection such as this may appear, on first inspection, somewhat dry, but further reading will correct any such impression.

This volume contains a portrait of the Governor, and a map of Virginia as it was in 1759.

Harrow School and its Surroundings. By PERCY M. THORNTON. (London, 1885: W. H. Allen & Co.) 8vo, pp. xii, 482.

The value of ecclesiastical history during the middle ages is evident in the first chapter of this work, dealing with "Harrow in Early Times." The author is compelled to rely almost entirely upon ecclesiastical sources for his account of the place prior to the sixteenth century. The Archbishops of Canterbury held a residence at Harrow. But for this fact, it is probable that the history of Harrow, during the Norman and Plantagenet times, would have been as barren as that of many other places. The earliest notice given is from one of the Stowe MSS., A.D. 825; and it is mentioned in Domesday Book as Herges, a name of Saxon origin. Harrow-on-the-Hill, like Hampstead, Highgate, and the Surrey hills, is said to have been one of the elevations sought by well-to-do Londoners on the occasion of the predicted overflow of the Thames and swamping of London in 1524. The apocryphal connection of Wolsey with Harrow as rector leads the author to remark that a volume of great interest might be written concerning the rectors and vicars of Harrow. He gives also an appendix on the subject.

And so, in a very interesting way, the author leads us on to the date of Harrow School, 1571. In the preface he tells us that the recent exploration of the school archives has ascertained the fact that a school existed in Harrow before 1571. It was probably ecclesiastical in origin, and may have owed its existence to an Archbishop of Canterbury. The oldest public school foundation in this country is that of Winchester—nearly 200 years older than that of Harrow—and Winchester had a similar predecessor.

In an interesting chapter on John Lyon and his family, the author calls attention to the possibility of Shakespeare having been acquainted with the founder of Harrow, John Lyon.

Another chapter, entitled "The Dark Ages of Harrow School," takes from the death of the founder in 1592 to 1669. This chapter, for which the author feels called upon to apologise as too antiquarian in character, is extremely interesting. The remainder of the book furnishes a history of Harrow School, which will interest all classes of readers. Our chief public schools and the two chief universities occupy a large place in the sympathy of thousands of Englishmen who can have no other connection with them.

Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

METROPOLITAN.

Society of Antiquaries.—June 11th.—Dr. Evans, President, in the chair.—The President described and exhibited a photograph of a Roman military decoration found at Pola in Istria, among other silver articles.—Mr. Freshfield read a paper on thirty-three letters of William Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, one of the Seven Bishops, which are the property of, and were exhibited by, Mr. Cooke, of Berkeley.

June 18th.—Dr. J. Evans, President, in the chair.—The Rev. W. S. Calverley exhibited a plaster cast of a quadrangular stone, 11 in. in height and 6 in. extreme width, stated to have been taken out of the ancient bridge over the Derwent, close to the old Norman church of Isel, in Cumberland.—Mr. G. Lambert exhibited a piece of embroidery, stated to have been used as an altar cloth in Bacton Church, and to have been embroidered by Blanche Parry (who is buried in that church), maid of honour to Queen Elizabeth.—Mr. R. S. Ferguson exhibited the "Dormont" Book of Carlisle (by permission of the Mayor and Corporation), containing the Elizabethan bye-laws for the government of Carlisle and the bye-laws of eight guilds of Carlisle.—Dr. E. Freshfield communicated a short report from Mr. J. G. Waller on the condition of the well-known wall-painting at Chaldon Church.—Admiral Spratt communicated, in completion of his paper on the Dorian Gulf, some notes on the island of Symi and on the Dorian acanthus.

June 25th.—Dr. J. Evans, President, in the chair.—Mr. J. H. Middleton exhibited and presented a proof

of a plan of the Forum of Rome, measured and laid down by himself, and showing the latest discoveries. —Mr. Reddy exhibited an original impression of an unedited seal of Colchester, and presented an impression of the seal of Joan of Navarre, queen of Henry IV. —Mr. J. W. Barnes exhibited a drawing of a grave slab from Aycliffe Church, co. Durham, reduced from a tracing lent him by Mr. C. C. Hodges.—Mr. J. H. Cooke exhibited an uninscribed British gold coin from Dursley.—Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, by permission of the mayor, exhibited the matrix of the seal of the city of Rochester, which had been brought up to London for repair.—Mr. R. P. Pullan communicated an account of recent discoveries by Sir J. S. Lumley near Lake Nemi.—Dr. C. S. Perceval communicated a "Note on a Foundation of a Chantry in Macclesfield Church," exhibited by Mr. Everitt.—Mr. W. Galloway gave an account of a horse interment which he had discovered in the island of Colonsay.

Royal Archæological Institute.—July 2nd.—Mr. T. H. Baylis in the chair.—Prof. Bunnell Lewis read a paper on "Langres and Besançon," pointing out the interesting Roman and other remains which exist in those seldom-visited towns.—Dr. M. W. Taylor described and exhibited a pair of stone moulds, for casting bronze spear-heads, recently found in Cumberland.—Mr. Park Harrison made some further remarks on beads in continuation of his former paper.

Historical.—June 18th.—Mr. J. Heywood, V.-P., in the chair.—Mr. Hyde Clarke read a paper, "Examination of the Atlantis recorded by Plato in reference to Protohistoric Communications with America."

New Shakspere Society.—June 12th.—Dr. F. J. Furnivall, Director, in the chair.—Mr. Frank Carr read a paper on "Such Harmony is in Immortall Soules," *Merchant of Venice*, v., i. 63.

Royal Society of Literature.—June 24th.—Sir Patrick de Colquhoun in the chair.—Dr. W. Knighton, one of the vice-presidents of the society, read a paper on the "Philosophy of Epicurus and Modern Agnosticism."

Anthropological Institute.—June 23rd.—Mr. F. Galton, President, in the chair.—Lady Brassey exhibited a collection of objects of ethnological interest from Polynesia.—Several ethnological specimens from New Ireland were exhibited by Miss North.—Mr. Carl Lumholtz exhibited a series of Australian implements.—Mr. H. B. Guppy read a paper on "The Physical Characteristics of the Natives of the Solomon Islands." The following papers were also read:—"The Sakais," by Mr. Abraham Hale; "The Astronomical Customs and Religious Ideas of the Chokitapia or Blackfeet Indians," by M. Jean L'Heureux; "The Mexican Zodiac and Astrology," by Mr. Hyde Clarke; and "The Primary Divisions and Geographical Distribution of Mankind," by Mr. James Dallas.

Pipe Roll Society.—First Annual General Meeting, June 22nd.—Mr. W. C. Borlase, President, in the chair.—The adoption of the reports of the council and of the auditors was moved by the President, seconded by Mr. J. B. Davidson, and carried unanimously. The President commented on the good work which was being effected by the society. In the present condition of financial matters at the Treasury, he said it seemed far from likely that any assistance tending to further the objects the society had in view would be forthcoming from that quarter.

Philological.—June 5th.—Rev. Prof. Skeat, President, in the chair.—Dr. R. F. Weymouth read a paper, "On Accent in Sanskrit and Greek."—Dr. F. Stock read a paper, "On Analogy, as explaining certain Examples of Unoriginal *l* and *r*."

June 19th.—Rev. Prof. Skeat, President, in the chair.—Prof. Postgate's paper, "On the Ultimate Derivation of the Word *Essay*," was read by Mr. H. Sweet.

Royal Archæological Institute.—June 4th.—Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, V.-P., in the chair.—Mr. F. C. J. Spurrell read a paper on some early sites and works on the margin of the tidal portion of the river Thames.—Mr. R. S. Ferguson read a paper on Elizabethan standard weights and the Carlisle bushel, illustrating his remarks by the exhibition of some Elizabethan weights belonging to the city of Carlisle.—Miss Ffarington exhibited a number of Serjeants' rings, and a fine specimen of a Wampum belt.—Mr. P. M. Fallow exhibited a fine specimen of late fifteenth century chalice and paten from Hinderwell.—Mr. Colt Williams exhibited a mediæval chalice and paten from Bacton, with several Elizabethan and Caroline communion cups; also an embroidered altar cloth and a *cuir bouilli* chalice vase.

Index Society.—Annual Meeting, July 7th.—Mr. Robert Harrison in the chair.—The report expresses satisfaction at the fact that, during the past year, a successful effort had been made towards the accomplishment of one of the great tasks which the society set itself at the beginning of its career—namely, the publication of the index to the obituary notices in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The MS. of this index was now finished for the first fifty years of the magazine. In addition to this, the council had proceeded with the publication of the annual volumes of obituaries, which now formed a permanent branch of the society's work. Several other indexes were actually ready, and only a want of funds prevented them from being published.

Folk-Lore Society.—Annual Meeting, June 27th. —Lord Enfield, President, in the chair.—The report of the council contained the following definitions of folklore by different members, with suggested divisions of the subject:—Mr. Nutt, "anthropology dealing with primitive man"; Mr. Hartland, "anthropology dealing with the psychological phenomena of uncivilised man"; Mr. Gomme, "the science which treats of the survivals of archaic beliefs and customs in modern ages"; Miss Burne, "the science which treats of all that the folk believe or practise on the authority of inherited tradition, and not on the authority of written records"; Señor Machado y Alvarez, "(1) demopsychology, or the science which studies the spirit of the people; and (2) demo-biography, which is the description of the mode of life of the people taken in the aggregate." The council also brought forward several suggestions made by Don Machado y Alvarez, (1) that an international congress of folklorists should be held in London in June 1888, being the tenth

anniversary of the foundation of the society; (2) that a committee should be appointed to study children's games and the language of children, for which the lady members might lend their assistance; (3) that photography should be applied to the games, festivals, and popular types of all the districts of England.—In moving the adoption of the report, Mr. Ralston recommended carrying out what was being done by the folklorists of Paris—namely, a concert of peasant songs, sung to their popular tunes by peasants selected for the purpose.

Hellenic.—June 25th.—Annual Meeting.—Prof. C. T. Newton, V.-P., in the chair.—The Chairman, in the course of the usual address, referred to the excavation at Naucratis as having yielded results of great value. The find of fragments of pottery of the sixth century B.C. had been exceptionally rich. The objects brought by Mr. Bent from Carpathos were of great interest, especially one rude figure, which might be regarded as the earliest specimen of an idol of any size from the Greek islands. It appeared that the principal object of worship in those early times had been Aphrodite, or some analogous deity. Possibly these were the idols of the primitive Carian race.—Mr. R. S. Poole made a short statement of the results of the work done at Naucratis.—Mr. T. Bent gave an account of his recent visit to the island of Carpathos.

PROVINCIAL.

Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society.—June 16th.—An excursion was made to Kildwick and Farnhill Halls by the members of the society.—The party first noted the peculiarities of the bridge spanning the river Aire at Kildwick, the erection of which is attributed to the canons of Bolton in the reign of Edward II. The compotus of Bolton, which begins in 1290 and ends in 1325, contains several references to the building or rebuilding of Kildwick bridge. It was an extensive work, lasting several years. The bridge is of four arches, widely differing in architectural features, two of them being pointed and two rounded. The process of widening the bridge has destroyed its ancient appearance.—The party then proceeded to visit Kildwick church. The history of this ancient structure is in a measure bound up with that of the manor. About the year 1150 the manor and vill of Kildwick (or Childewyck) were given to the canons of Embsay by Cecilia de Romilie, who founded the priory, and continued the donation after its removal to Bolton. Upon the dissolution of the monasteries, the manor and village of Kildwick were granted by Henry VIII. to Robert Wilkinson and Thomas Drake, of Halifax parish. In the second year of Edward VI. a license was granted to Drake to alienate the manor to John Garforth, of Farnhill, by whose family in 1559 it was sold to Hugh Currer, from whom it has lineally descended to its present owner, Sir Mathew Wilson, of Eshton. The church of St. Andrew, at Kildwick, is one of two in the whole deanery of Craven mentioned in Domesday Book. It was dedicated by Cecilia de Romilie to God and the canons of Embsay, and in 1272 was destroyed by the Scots in their ravages of the north of England. After the dissolution of the religious houses the rectory, with the advowson of the vicarage, was granted by Henry VIII. to Christ Church, Oxford. The fabric of the church seems to have been almost entirely renewed in the reign of Henry VIII. It is unusually long, being 146 feet in length and 49 feet in width, including the aisles. The nave itself is only 18½ feet wide. From the unusual length to which the choir has been extended, the edifice has long been designated as the "lang kirk in Craven." It consists of nave and chancel, with aisles running the whole length of the structure, and a square tower at the west end, built in the fourteenth century. At the west end of the north aisle lies the recumbent figure of Sir Robert de Steveton (or Steeton), who died in 1307. The east end of the north aisle forms a memorial chapel of the Currer family, and a corresponding space, divided by parclose screens, is used as a vestry. The registers commence in 1575, and are in fine preservation, as are also the church books generally. In one of them is a curious inventory of articles belonging to the church in 1694, mention being made of "one penance stool," and other curious relics. The churchwardens' accounts, dating from the same period, are full of interest. There is also an ancient paten of silver, curiously wrought, date uncertain.—At a considerable elevation above the church, and commanding a fine view of the surrounding valley, stands Kildwick Hall. By a descent of the property through a succession of Currers, of whom the leading descendant was alternately Hugh and Henry, the property came to Henry Currer, barrister, whose daughter Dorothy became the second wife of the celebrated Dr. Richardson, of Bierley Hall. By lineal descent the Richardson property passed to the late Miss Frances Richardson Currer, at whose death in 1861 her half-brother, Sir Mathew Wilson, succeeded, and in whom now vest the Bierley, Gargrave, and Kildwick estates. Kildwick Hall has evidently passed through many stages of construction. Originally a humble structure of two rooms, it has attained its present proportions by a process of development reached by careful thought on the part of its owners. The most important extension is attributed to the Henry Currer alluded to, whose arms, quartered with those of the Fothergills of London, from whom he obtained a wife and fortune, appear above the principal entrance.—The party next paid a visit to Farnhill Hall. This building differs materially from the one just referred to. Situated upon a charming knoll about half a mile beyond Kildwick, from which a fine view is obtainable of Flasby Fells, beyond Skipton, Farnhill Hall has evidently been erected with a view to defence. The walls are in no place less than 6 ft. in thickness, and at some points are 8½ ft. thick. A square tower battlemented forms a conspicuous object at each corner of the building. The principal entrance fronts to the north, and is protected by an overhanging chamber, heavily corbelled and exceedingly picturesque. The visitors were shown the secret entrance to this chamber, from which an outlook was doubtless obtained in troublous times. After the battle of Bannockburn the Scots overran the north of England, and Craven, rich in cattle, received frequent visits. The family must have been established in the neighbourhood two centuries before, as Adam Fernil, as lord of the manor, was a party to a charter as old as the reign of Stephen.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.— June 24th.—The President, Rev. Dr. Bruce exhibited three interesting deeds of the sixteenth century, found by Mr. Jeaffreson upon the premises of the old Eye Infirmary in the Saville Row.—The Rev. G. Rome Hall (Birtley, North Tyne) exhibited a piece of pottery, a specimen of which he had been searching for for many years, and which he had found close to Wark Station. If it could be identified, they would be able to say whether it was mediæval, Roman, or British ; he would guarantee that it was not British.—Dr. Hodgkin read an interesting paper upon a journey in the south of France.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries and the Archæological Society of Durham and Northumberland.—June 22nd.—Joint meeting.—The meeting of the latter society was called by the president (Rev. Canon Greenwell), who in this circular said : "It having come to my knowledge that it is proposed to spend a very large sum of money on Ryton Church, a building which does not seem to require any extensive reparation, I feel it my duty to call a special meeting of the society." The party were conveyed by way of Benwell, where Colonel Dyer and Mr. J. P. Mulcaster kindly gave permission for an inspection of the Roman relics in their grounds, and where the Roman station and other remains were seen, to Denton Hall, the owner of which, Mr. Hoyle, not only threw his picturesque house open to view, but read a short paper on its history. Newburn Church and Hall were next visited, and a few miles further on an inspection was made of Heddon-on-the-Wall Church. This is a very ancient church, and to its restoration Canon Greenwell paid a tribute, all the alterations having been made with modesty and with no attempt to impress the individual ideas of the architect on the work. Leaving Heddon, the party were conveyed by way of Wylam Bridge to the south side of the river and thence to Ryton. The Rev. Mr. Boutflower, formerly curate of Ryton, gave a most interesting account of the parish church. Canon Greenwell, on behalf of the societies present that day, protested against any alterations being made in the church which would in any degree destroy the edifice as it had been handed down to us from former days.

Shropshire Archæological Society.—June 23rd. —The annual excursion of the members, when they made Baschurch their starting-point. The ancient British fastness at the Berth was first visited, and the members partook of the hospitality of Mr. Wall at Mere House. The parish church having been visited, the excursionists drove to Ruyton, where several features of interest in the church and in the adjacent remains in the old castle were noticed. The party then drove to West Felton, going immediately to the Nursery, the residence of Mr. John Dovaston, where the exquisitely timbered grounds were much admired. After a too brief stay they drove on to West Felton Church, and to St. Winifred's Well at Woolston. A slight diversion on the way to Knockin enabled Mr. Dovaston to point out a boulder which marks one extremity of Watt's Dyke, the other extremity being situated in Wynnstay (or Wattstay) Park. Knockin Church and the site of the castle were visited, and then the excursionists paid a hurried visit to Nescliff Hill and Kynaston's cave.

Herts Natural History Society and Field-Club.—May 16th.—A field meeting of the members of this Society, in conjunction with those of the Geologists' Association of London, was held. The first section of the party assembled at the Great Northern Railway Station, Hertford, and proceeded thence to view Hertford Castle and the beautiful grounds surrounding it intersected by the River Lea. The present building is of comparatively recent date, but the original castle is said to have been erected in the time of Alfred or of Edward the Elder. It was much strengthened at the time of the Conquest, and considerable portions of the boundary walls still standing probably date from that time. The "Castle Mound" was climbed and examined. The party afterwards proceeded through the fine avenue in All Saints' churchyard to Ball's Park, and thence by the London Road to Mr. Line's brickfield. There they were joined by the second section. The geological sections shown here are of much interest, and were briefly described on the spot by Mr. J. Hopkinson. The walk was continued over the fields to Rush Green, and thence through Walnut-tree Walk to Amwell. Here a large chalk-pit was visited and examined with interest by the geologists of the party. Amwell Church was afterwards viewed.

Midland Union of Natural History Societies. —June 16th.—Annual Meeting in Birmingham.—The newly-elected President of the Union, Mr R. W. Chase, of Birmingham, occupied the chair.—The President gave his opening address.

Newbury District Field Club.—June 9th.—The Club visited Lambeth Palace, the library of which and other parts of the ancient structure they inspected. On reaching the library the visitors were met by the Librarian, Mr. S. Wayland Kershaw ; and their arrival having been announced, the Archbishop of Canterbury entered the library, and most courteously received them. The Archbishop having given a general description of the old Palace, the party were then conducted by Mr. Kershaw to inspect the manuscripts and books. One of the gems of the library is the Gospels of MacDurnan, a beautiful manuscript belonging to the Anglo-Irish School, which was written about A.D. 900, and presented by King Athelstan to the city of Canterbury. It is beautifully illuminated.

Leeds Geological Association.—May 23rd.— The seventh excursion of the above association took place, to Nidderdale. A gradual ascent was made to the plateau on which Brimham Rocks stand, 990 feet above the level of the sea, the ground being broken by several faults, all of which were plainly marked. Brimham Rocks are well known as one of the great natural wonders of our country, more particularly interesting, however, to a geologist as an example of sub-aerial denudation. They are the remains of a thick bed of coarse sandstone or grit, the Third Grits in the Millstone Grit series, the rest having been removed by the effects of wind, frost, and rain. This was shown in the so-called Idol Rock, a vast mass some 20 ft. high, and perhaps 40 ft. in circumference, yet resting upon a pedestal about 3 ft. in diameter. Here the bulk of the rock was composed of the gritstone, whilst the pedestal, being composed of a more finely grained sandstone, had succumbed before the surrounding atmospheric agencies.

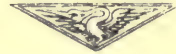
The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Peerages Restitution Acts.—Return to an Order of the House of Lords, dated 15th June, 1885, of all Acts of Parliament passed during the last Two Hundred Years by which a Peerage has been Restored to the Person entitled to hold the same, with the Titles and Dates of all such Acts:—1. 21st March, 1742, "An Act for restoring Francis Duke of Buccleugh to the Dignities and Titles of Earl of Doncaster and Baron Scot of Tindal." (See H. L. Journals, vol. 56, p. 286. Report from Committee of Precedents of Bills for Reversal of Attainders, etc.) 2. 17th June, 1824, "An Act for the Restoration of John Francis Erskine of Mar to the Dignity and Title of Earl of Mar." 3. 17th June, 1824, "An Act for the Restoration of John Gordon Esquire of Kenmure to the Dignity and Title of Viscount Kenmure." 4. 17th June, 1824, "An Act for the Restoration of James Drummond Esquire to the Dignity and Title of Viscount Strathallan." 5. 17th June, 1824, "An Act for the Restoration of William Nairne Esquire to the Dignity and Title of Lord Nairn." 6. 26th May, 1826, "An Act for the Restoration of James Sutherland Esquire to the Dignity and Title of Baron Duffus." 7. 26th May, 1826, "An Act for the Restoration of Major-General Robert Alexander Dalzell to the Dignity and Title of Earl of Carnwath."

Drinking Habits in 1683.—In a letter from Sir R. Bulstrode to Lord Preston, dated 1683, April 11th, Bruxelles, is the following amusing passage:—"My Lord Carlingford came hither some days since to meet his brother Taafe from Germany, whom our master hath made an Irish viscount. They have been both very well treated by his Excellency and the nobles here, and will part to-morrow, it being high time, they having changed their fasting here into feasting, and would have been very ill company for the holy week. I cannot omit to tell your Lordship for your diversion that the Spaniards thought they had mighty debauches in drinking so high with my Lord Carlingford, and did this last night make excuses to his lordship that they had committed so great excesses; but his lordship told them they need not make any such excuse, for he used to drink more in one night in England than he had done all the time he was here, which put the grandees much out of countenance; and his lordship had with him in these *rencontres* James Porter, who is a reasonable good second upon such an occasion." (See *Hist. MSS. Commission*, vol. vii., part i., p. 382.)

Quakers' Address to James II.—In a letter to Lord Preston, dated 1685, April 30th, it is stated that the Quakers' address to his Majesty runs thus:—"We condole with thee the death of our friend Charles; we are glad thou art come to be our ruler; we hear that thou art a dissenter from the Church of England, and so are we; we hope thou wilt allow us the liberty thou takest thyself, and wish thee well." See *Hist. MSS. Commission*, vol. vii., part i., p. 378.

Banqueting House in Hyde Park and Marylebone Park, 1551.—Among Lord Salisbury's MSS. recently calendared is a curious document relative to some charges for the erection of a "banquetting house and sundry standings in Hyde and Marybone Parks at the time of the visit of Marshal St. André." The house in Hyde Park was 62 feet long and 21 feet wide, the stairs containing one way 60 feet, and the other way 30 feet, with a great turret over the "halpase." There were three ranges of bricks for roasting and furnaces for boiling. The house in "Marybone Park" was 40 feet by 18 feet, the floor joisted and boarded, and the rest scaffold poles. This must have been a matter of some importance, though it is entirely unnoticed by the historians of Edward VI.'s reign in dealing with St. André's mission to England relative to the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to the Dauphin. Cf. Froude, vol. v., pp. 338-40.



Antiquarian News.

Professor Nicole, of Lausanne, in a letter to the *Neue Freie Presse*, states that he has discovered a valuable Madonna with Child in her arms. The painting is signed by Raphael. It measures sixty centimetres by fifty. It is on wood, and is dated 1510.

A community of Benedictine nuns for upwards of sixty years resided in St. Peter Street, Winchester, in the building now known as the Royal Hotel, and they left in 1857 for East Bergholt, in Suffolk, where they had purchased a fine old mansion, with extensive grounds. This community of English nuns was originally established in a convent at Brussels in 1598 by Lady Mary Percy. The community have just recovered possession of the sepulchral monument of their foundress—the stone which was placed over her remains in the choir of the church of her monastery in Brussels in 1642. At the time of the French Revolution, 1794, when the community was forced to leave the monastery and come to England, their church was destroyed, and their property was confiscated and sold by public auction by the French. From that time the nuns had never been able to hear any tidings of their things; therefore great was their surprise and joy on seeing a paragraph in the *Tablet* of April 25th mentioning the sale of this stone among the effects of Senator de Vadder, deceased. He was a large brewer, and it seems that it is the custom in Belgium for brewers to buy up gravestones, the hard quality of such stones being suitable for rolling their heavy casks. Fortunately, this Senator de Vadder had too good taste and feeling to put this stone to such a use, but kept it in his wine cellar with the face to the wall. No time was lost by the nuns in endeavouring to secure this relic. They ascertained that it had been purchased by an undertaker, who, receiving several offers for it, raised his price, and finally declared he would not sell it. Owing to the kind assistance, the tact, and energy of a Belgian lady and gentleman in Brussels, his reluctance was overcome, and the monu-

ment was bought and secured for those who had the best right to it. The stone weighs twelve cwt., and measures in length 6 ft. 7 in., in breadth 3 ft. 10 in., and 5 in. in thickness. It is of blue Belgian marble, the figure in bas-relief, with the face, hands, and wimple in white marble. The stone, which arrived at the abbey on the 30th of May, is to be placed in an upright position in a central situation in the cloister leading to the choir of the monastery at East Bergholt.

A curious discovery has been made in taking down, for rebuilding, the comparatively modern church at Iping, erected only about forty years ago on a site of a building known to have been of Early Norman date. When the work was removed to the original level the foundations of the ancient church were found. Below them the architect found a number of fragments of ancient pottery, which prove to be of Romano-British date. Remains of fully a dozen different vases and urns have been found. Among them, derived from other portions of the site, are fragments of Norman pottery with the usual finger-marked patterns. The floor line of the most ancient of the churches erected on the site was cut through, and found to be formed of beaten mortar similar to what is met with in some of the Roman villas as well as in some early churches. A portion of a Saxon pilaster strip was taken from the old Norman foundations used as old material. This will be preserved in the new building, as well as a curious thirteenth century sepulchral slab of very small size which has lain in the churchyard for many years.

The celebrated rocking-stone at Buckstone, in Monmouthshire, was accidentally thrown down by six excursionists. While making the stone vibrate they used too much force, and the stone, after rocking twice, tilted over and fell from its position on the summit of the high hill into the wood below. The stone measured 56 ft. round the top, and tapered down to about 3 ft. at the base. The stone is now lying point upwards in the valley. It was Crown property, and was one of the chief attractions in the Wye Valley.

Mr. Owen Angel has taken a very interesting series of photographs of the Exeter civic regalia. There are ten of them, each about eight inches by six inches square. These illustrate respectively the two royal swords, the loving cup, the mayor's and the sheriff's chains, the cap of maintenance, the maces, etc. The careless manner in which the most valuable portion of it is preserved at the Guildhall is open to the gravest objection. The priceless swords,—the only known examples of early royal swords existing in England to-day,—the maces, and other things appertaining thereto, are kept in a flimsy cupboard on the top of the stairs — a cupboard that any schoolboy could break open with a jack-knife. A window is close by, communicating with the roofs of adjacent houses, and through it any one, with even only ordinary address, could readily make off with the whole paraphernalia, without the inspector and the police in their offices beneath being any the wiser. Further, if the thief took the trouble to fasten the cupboard doors again after him, the loss would, in all probability, not be discovered until the next time the insignia were wanted. By that time the lot might all be in the United States.

A very important acquisition has been made by the Trustees of the British Museum from the Osterley Park library. It is a copy of Ovid's *La Bible des Poetes Metamorphoses*, Paris, 1493, folio, translated by Colard Mansion. It is printed on vellum in black letter, and ornamented with fourteen magnificent large-bordered miniatures, 643 initial letters, and 205 small paintings illustrative of poets' metamorphoses, all beautifully illuminated in gold and colours. This volume was evidently executed for Henry VII. of England, as his arms, emblazoned in gold and colours, are inserted in each of the fourteen exquisite borders. The price paid was £510.

Lately, in clearing some ground about two hundred yards north of Cwnwythig farmhouse, in the township of Parcel Canol, Cardiganshire, the surface of a finely metalled road, about twelve feet wide, running north and south, came to view, under about ten inches of ground. It is close to a field known as "Cae-pen-sarn," and is believed to be a portion of the original bed of Sara Helen, laid down eighteen centuries ago by the Romans.

The old town hall of Vienna, which has been abandoned for the new palace on the Ring, is to be demolished. The old building was refronted in the last century, so that it looks modern, but many parts of it date from the thirteenth century, and it has been identified with all the historical events in the annals of Vienna for more than 600 years.

The following is a list of the numerous presentations which have been made to the Museum of the Peterborough Scientific, Natural History, and Archæological Society from June 1884 to June 1885. The collection is now getting most valuable and interesting, and will well repay the visitor for the trouble of an inspection. The museum is in Long Causeway, and open every Tuesday evening:—Mr. David Mobbs.—Saxon boss from shield, ditto spear-head, ditto vase, ditto pottery in fragments, ditto two fibulæ, ditto clasp of buckle, dug up in Woodstone, May 1884, from a small gravel-pit on the north-west side of Woodstone Hill, just before the descent into the valley in passing on to St. Botolph's field. Three or four almost perfect skeletons were found in the same place, also several charred animal bones, and a number of burnt stones; the latter were in the form of a square, the larger stones belonging to the cornbrash. Three abbey tokens, found on the top of the crypt in the Palace, June 1864; Jacobin (?) pipe-head, from the Palace yard; three teeth, from the Gravels, Woodstone; Ostrea Marshii, forest marble, St. Botolph's; ammonites; lias, Whitby; jet, from Whitby.

In the course of the excavations for the dock and river improvement at Preston, many "finds" of great interest have been made by the workmen. Among these are the remains of extinct animals, the horns and skull of the *Bos longifrons* (the wild ox, described by Cæsar), stags' antlers of enormous size, etc. But the most interesting discovery yet made is the remains of an ancient fishery mentioned in Domesday Book, where it is said that "King Edward held Peneverdant

(Penwortham)," and that Roger de Poictou held lands wherein was "half a fishery." At the depth of ten feet the workmen came upon an old weir made of oak stakes firmly embedded in the earth. The first series was arranged in three rows, and their direction was north-east and south-west, and over two hundred yards distant from the nearest portion of the present bed of the Ribble. Thirty yards nearer Preston there was a similar arrangement of piles, forming two sides of a triangle.

The restoration of St. Mary's Church, Gedding, was undertaken last summer by Mr. Bisshopp, and the church has recently been reopened for Divine service. Gedding shows plain tokens of Norman origin, with later additions of Decorated work. The great thickness of the walls, the narrow loop-hole windows, and the engirdling moat, indicate that in all probability the church was built by the crusader Sir John de Geddynge, on his coming home from Palestine, not only as a thankoffering to God for his safe return, but also as a place of refuge and security for his poor labourers in that stormy period. A few months ago the nave was a melancholy ruin. The tiles had been mostly stripped off the roof, leaving the exposed timbers to decay. Mortar from the walls and rubbish from the plastered ceiling lay in heaps among the ancient low oak benches and the modern high deal pews. The font, a large and handsome stone octagon, lay partly buried in the brick floor, sadly disfigured with barbarous paint and neglectful carelessness. The triple chancel arch, a quaint and curious feature, resembling old Temple Bar, with its needle eye for pedestrians on either side of the main opening, had been deplorably mutilated, while the chancel itself was wretchedly mean-looking, with its weather-stained walls and shabby furniture, and the churchyard was as unsightly as the building in its midst. Its restoration has been conducted strictly on the lines of the original, so as to lose no ancient feature that could possibly be preserved. The roof, a good specimen of fourteenth century work, is of oak, and every available bit of the old timber has been worked up in it. The removal of the patchwork stucco from the outside walls disclosed capital flint-work on every face, with two Norman loop-holes in the nave, and a curious leper's-grating in the chancel, which carry back the date of foundation to the twelfth century.

The demolition of the old chambers at Lincoln's Inn has, according to the *Citizen*, brought to light in one of the apartments some curious old frescoes containing emblematic representations of the seasons and the gifts of the earth.

A remarkable discovery has been made within the last month at the parish church at Folkestone Whilst Mr. Hems' foreman, Mr. D. Delafield, was removing some of the old thirteenth century wall on the north side of the chancel, he came across a leaden casket sixteen inches by ten inches and six inches deep, deeply imbedded in the rubble. This is richly ornamented with diapered and geometrical enrichment, and has fastenings of lead encircling it to keep it securely closed. Within are female bones, consisting in the main of the upper portion of a skull, two thigh-bones, some fingers, and a well-preserved tooth. In all probability these are the remains of the Saxon princess, St. Eanyswyth, originally buried in the chapel of St. Peter, at the priory she founded in the sixth century, on the cliff. When the encroaching sea destroyed this priory, the old historian Lambard tells us the saintly relics did not share the fate of the fabric, but were removed to the new building on the site of the present parish church. There, close by the altar, they have rested secure and undisturbed until unearthed in this unexpected manner. A large number of antiquaries, amongst them the Bishop of Truro, have visited the relics, which are now in the possession of the Rev. Matthew Woodward, the excellent vicar of Folkestone.

Among the recent additions to the Historic Loan Collection at the Inventions Exhibition is Queen Elizabeth's lute (lent by Lord Tollemache, of Helmingham), which was left by the Queen, in 1584, at Helmingham Hall, Suffolk, where it has been preserved until the present day. The lute is in exceptionally fine condition, and bears the maker's name—"Joannes Rosa, Londini, fecit. In Bridwell, the 27th of July, 1580."

The solitary and romantic churchyard at Glenbervie is situated on a picturesque plateau, at a finely-wooded curve of the River Bervie, and there, under the shadow of the Knockhill, rest the remains of the progenitors of the national poet Burns. The family of Burnes, Burness, Burnas, Burnasse, or Burnace, as the name is variously spelt, rented land in Kincardineshire, especially in the parishes of Kinneff, Arbuthnot, Dunnottar, and Glenbervie. At Glenbervie there rested upon the soil two flat or thorough gravestones—one with the dates 1715 and 1719, commemorating William Burnes, tenant in Bogjorgan, great-granduncle of the poet, and his wife, Christian Fotheringham; the other commemorating James Burnes, tenant in Brawlinmuir, and his wife, Margaret Falconer, who died in 1749, these being the poet's great-grandparents. Both memorial stones are considerably decorated, one with symbolic ornaments, indicating on the part of the family a consciousness of superior station. The stones have long been in a state of neglect, but through the efforts of a committee, under the active secretaryship of Mr. J. B. Greig, of Laurencekirk, sufficient funds were procured to effect the necessary renovation.

The restoration of St. Oswald's Church, Filey, has now been commenced. There is one Norman or Transition era, and two eras of Early English, well marked in the church. The Norman portions are the nave and clerestory, and both aisles, with the exception of the first bay westward. It is a fair inference that the original church extended, with nave and aisles, from the second bay westward to the present arch, but whether it had transepts and a central tower does not definitely appear.

We are very glad to hear that the Queen has been pleased to grant a pension of £70 per annum to Mr. Llewelyn Jewitt, the well-known author of several antiquarian and topographical works. Our readers do not want to be told of Mr. Jewitt's many services to literature, but we may remind them that he has for upwards of twenty years been the editor of *The Reliquary*, a Derbyshire periodical devoted to archæology, etc. Amongst his other contributions to litera-

ture are ***Ballads and Songs of Derbyshire, Grave Mounds and their Contents, A History of British Porcelain and Pottery, The Stately Homes of England;*** and he has contributed to our columns from the first.

A new work, comprising a complete history of Runcorn, with historical notices of the neighbourhood, is being prepared for the press by Mr. Charles Nickson, and will shortly be issued by Messrs. Mackie and Co. Several scarce prints will be reproduced for the work, and the whole will form a valuable record of a district singularly rich in historic associations.

During some extensive excavations in High Street, Winchester, for the rebuilding of an inn, some very interesting remains were exhumed. On removing the soil under the level of the old floor and cellars a quantity of made soil was cut through, and in this were found a fine Samian bowl in many fragments, a cup of the same lustrous ware, and many pieces of vessels of it. The bowl and cup, by the care of Mr. H. Jacob, have been put together for the owner, Mr. G. Pointer, who is ever zealous to preserve antiquities. The bowl in its reunited fragments is a splendid vessel, decorated with spirited representations of a gladiator with sword and shield in a circular border, and of Apollo and Hercules in panels, and the circle of the vessel has a fine decoration of a modified egg-and-tongue pattern. Amongst the details of the potter's art are leaves and flowers, and this relic of Roman art is worthy of any museum. The cup is elegant but undecorated, and bears the potter's name, *Alianus.* A few coins were found: one of Antoninus Pius, and another of Claudius Gothicus—much corroded. Deeper down, in the strong cohesive clay, a series of graves were come across; altogether ten were found, and these cists dug in the firm soil presented some interesting features. In another part of the area an undoubted evidence of cremation was found, for amidst large fragments of carbonised wood a broken Roman urn was found within which was an elegant little vase of dark ware, with small rings to its neck, and covered with a vitrified coating of metal and small gravel, which had been fused on to the vase and into it, and which, to a strong glass, disclosed evidences of bright melted metal. With the vase were several burnt fragments of bronze ornaments and a much scorched "small brass." At the close of the excavations, one of those deposits of all sorts of things, a cesspool, was opened, and in this were found two antique and rough pitchers of the fifteenth century, one with a rough outline of an old man's face. Not far off a "Bellarmine" jug was found, whilst a spoon head of iron was an evidence of Plantagenet times and arms; some fragments of Samian ware, an elegant whetstone, a gold ring, and one or two other articles were also dug up, but there were no traces of any Roman buildings or pavement.

At a meeting of the corporation of Colchester on July 1st, Mr. Councillor Laver informed the council that an opening was being made in the Roman Wall, and moved a resolution that immediate steps should be taken to prevent any further damage being done. Mr. Laver told the council, and through it the public, that the wall was a precious treasure, the value of which did not seem to be appreciated. The council unanimously decided to order the work immediately to be stopped. It is to be hoped that now the corporation will take steps to cause this monument of national interest to be preserved in future. All antiquaries owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Laver.

The first series of *Chap-Books and Folk-lore Tracts,* which Mr. Gomme and Mr. H. B. Wheatley have edited for the Villon Society, are now in the binder's hands. They consist of *The Seven Wise Masters, Tom Hickhathrift, Dick Whittington, Mother Bunch,* and *Patient Grissel.* The editors propose commencing the second series at once.

The British Museum has just added a notable specimen to its existing collection of so-called Hittite monuments. It is the cast of a lion from an original which is at present at Marash, now scarcely more than a site, but representing an important and presumably royal city. It is about three feet long and about twenty inches high. The two fore-legs are disposed vertically, the left hind-leg being advanced, and the other (the tail being brought forward and then curved backwards between the two) being nearly upright. The lion's mouth is closed, and his two fangs are capitally shown; but all the rest of the mouth is hollow (not open), a circumstance which enables the fangs to be so well displayed. The mane is treated stiffly and mathematically; it is accurately parted at the back of the neck. The lion bears indications of having been one of a pair of supporters, probably to a throne, the small size being against the supposition that they could have been ornaments to a gate or doorway. On the left shoulder is an elliptical indentation, on which the figure of a Royal personage is executed in relief; elsewhere the surface of the cast is covered with an inscription, the characters of which have been well executed and are well preserved.

Correspondence.

ROMAN ROADS.

Considering the very few perfect specimens yet remaining of these most interesting relics, I think we do not sufficiently prize them. There are unquestionably about two miles of one still existing in Sutton Park, Warwickshire, and probably in much the same state the Romans left it in; excepting, perhaps, the surface paving, if indeed it ever was paved, which I doubt, as the soil is shallow and the subsoil a good pebbly gravel. It is in the extreme north-west corner of the park. Both civil and military engineers tell us that good roads are the best test of civilization. This day a battalion of Warwickshire volunteers are manœuvring upon the spot. They met at Birmingham on Saturday last, marched there (about eight miles), and in doing so traversed a worse and more indirect road than the one the Romans made and used nearly two thousand years ago. So much for civil engineering and civilization.

The pedigree of this park proves that its present state is much the same as when the Romans left it. It was carved out of Cannock Chase, and has never been so much as planted. In early Anglo-Saxon times it was granted to the See of Lichfield, and afterwards resumed again by the Crown, and the emparking of this portion of the forest took place *temp.* Henry VIII.

There is one great peculiarity in this piece of old road. At first sight, a portion of it appears to have been taken away in two places; *i.e.*, where it passes over the tail-ends of two pools. This, after a long and close study of the subject, is, I find, owing to a subsidence having taken place on account of the marshy state of the land, for, when the Romans made it, the pools were not there, of course, but the numerous heads of the springs now supplying them were; so the Romans must have drained it; and doubtless these drains could now be found. They are choked up, of course.

A few common drains only are now used to render the land sufficiently sound to carry the horned cattle.

The rushes and scar-bog grasses upon and around the spot show the primitive state of the surface. It would well repay those who have common rights to have an effective drainage, and the Roman drain would then be found.

This evident subsidence, but apparent removal of portions of the road, could not have been caused by carting away of materials for other roads in Anglo-Saxon or early English times, because at that period (which was before the present common open drains were made) it could not have been carted away on account of the boggy nature of the approaches to it. The portions of the road now perfect would have been utilized for such purposes as they are now, and ever have been wholly surrounded by dry sound land.

I take it that the subsidence of portions of this road is certainly confirmatory of the derivation of the name of Watling Street, given at p. 11 of my work on *Antiquities*; *i.e.*, from "Wad," "Wadan,"—to wade = the street, or road, wading through the meadows (afterwards corrupted to Watling), which is the one peculiar characteristic of that road, whereas Icknield Street (of which this old piece of road is a portion) generally traverses much more elevated districts.

This most interesting piece of Roman road, upon which, no doubt, Tacitus and Agricola have travelled, is well worth going to see. It is well defined on the Ordnance Map, and between Walsall and Sutton Coldfield, close to Streetley Station.

CHRIS. CHATTOCK.

1st July, 1885.

GENERAL INDEX.

With the close of the present year, THE ANTIQUARY will have completed the sixth year of its existence, and the public will be the richer by twelve volumes of great interest and utility. My object in writing is to moot a suggestion that there should be compiled a general index to the first twelve volumes, or, if it is not thought feasible to do so now, that there should be one issued at (say) the end of the first twenty-four volumes, and a similar one compiled, in the future, at the end of each corresponding period of six or twelve years, as the case may be. We all know and appreciate the usefulness of the general indexes to *Notes and Queries*; and, though the number of entries in the indexes of the two publications is not comparable, a general index will nevertheless be of great use, and a great saving of time hereafter, when the volumes of THE ANTIQUARY have trebled and quadrupled their present number. By printing the proposed index in larger type (which would be a decided improvement for the better), a respectably sized volume might be made. If I am not mistaken, the above suggestion, if carried out, would be warmly welcomed by your readers, as also by the general public at large, who may have occasion to use THE ANTIQUARY for reference.

A. C. WHITEHEAD.

67, Inverness Terrace, W.

THE "PIGS" DRIVEN OUT OF CAMBRIDGE COLLEGE.

It would seem to be in the nature of things that THE ANTIQUARY should remove an ancient slur from the scutcheon of St. John's College, Cambridge, Cuthbert Bede, in *Notes and Queries*, and many other well-read men of research having failed to do so. St. John's—something like Padua, which was once spoken of as the "College of the Ox"—was called the "College of the Pigs" by the older collegians of England, who understood the Keltic language of their country much better than their descendants do. *Suine* was a very ancient Irish term, signifying "learned men," "teachers," etc., and suggesting one more of that great multitude of "puns" which are scattered all over the surface of our literature and folk-lore.

Suine is visible in all old languages with the meaning of "knowledge, magic, or law," as in the Essene school of teachers and philosophers, in the Sanhedrins, the *sencus*, and also in the Old English *sene*, which (Wright) signified "a society of scholars." It may be added that the Irish *sen* or *seun* meant "wizardy, augury, science," etc.; all these instances (to say nothing of a score of others which might be here quoted) showing the original collegiate or instructive meaning of the phonetic *suine*.

Brooklyn. W. DOWE.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We cannot undertake to return rejected MSS. unless accompanied by stamped directed envelope.

MR. J. E. PRICE'S article on the Roman Wall of London is delayed until next month for the preparation of the illustrations.

The following articles are accepted for early publication: "The First Triads of Irish Type," "The Scandinavian element in the English national character."

FORSTER, T.—We greatly regret that your valuable report on the Fingringhoe paintings must stand over for next month.

AXON, W. E. A.—The Swaffham Pedlar Legend is very welcome.

The Antiquary Exchange.

—o—

Enclose 4d. for the First 12 *Words, and* 1*d. for each Additional Three Words. All replies to a number should be enclosed in a blank envelope, with a loose Stamp, and sent to the Manager.*

NOTE.—*All Advertisements to reach the office by the* 15*th of the month, and to be addressed*—The Manager, EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT, THE ANTIQUARY OFFICE, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

FOR SALE.

A few old Poesy Rings for sale.—Apply to 265, care of Manager.

Queen's Etchings of Shrewsbury. Folio copy, rare. Price £11 nett.—Apply Caxton Press, Oswestry.

The first English New Testament. Tyndale's New Testament in English, 1525; facsimiled by Francis Fry, Esq., of Bristol. Only 151 copies were printed, and as the stones were effaced, no more can possibly be produced. A copy of the above valuable reprint for sale.—Apply by letter to W. E. Morden, Lower Tooting, London, S.W.

Copies of 222 Marriage Registers from the parish book of St. Mary's Church in Whittlesey, in the Isle of Ely and County of Cambridge, 1662-72; 1880, 10 pp., 1*s.* 6*d.* A copy of the Names of all the Marriages, Baptisms, and Burials which have been solemnized in the private chapel of Somerset House, Strand, in the County of Middlesex, extending from 1714 to 1776, with an index and copious genealogical notes; 36 pp. and wrapper, 1862, 2*s.* 6*d.* Dr. Robert Mossom, Bishop of Derry, with a bibliography of his works; reprinted with additions and corrections from the Palatine Note Book, by John Ingle Dredge (not published); 1882, 12 pp., with wrapper, 2*s.* 6*d.* Dr. George Downame, Bishop of Derry, by Rev. John Ingle Dredge; 1881, 14 pp. and wrapper (not published), 2*s.* 6*d.*—119, care of Manager.

Some very fine old Mourning and curious Gold and Silver Rings for sale.—282, care of Manager.

Phallicism, Celestial and Terrestrial, Heathen and Christian; its Connexion with the Rosicrucians and the Gnostics, and its Foundation in Buddhism, with an Essay on Mystic Anatomy, by Hargrave Jennings; with Illustrated Supplement. Price 25*s.* nett.—191, care of Manager.

Choice Illustrated Works at low prices for cash. Gray's Elegy (Lippincott, 1883), 4to, artist's edition, India proofs, copy No. 131; 500 only printed, of which 100 only were issued for sale in England. £3 3*s. nett.* Gray's Elegy (Elliot Stock, 1884), small 4to, *large paper*, 50 copies only printed. Very scarce. £1 5*s. nett.* Foxe's Acts and Monuments. 9th edition. London, printed for the company of stationers MDCLXXXIV.; 3 vols. folio, very good tall and clean copy in half leather. £3 3*s. nett.* Hamilton Palace Collection. Priced Illustrated Sale Catalogue. 4to, cloth. Published at £2 2*s.*; *uncut*, £1 *nett.* English Etchings (Reeves). Parts 1 to 12. Good impressions. Clean and new. £1 15*s. nett.* Apply by letter only to J. Cleare, Clapton Pavement, Lower Clapton, London, E.

Six curious MS. Sermons (English) 1692—1740. 2s—5s. each.—Apply 502, care of Manager.

Fifty fine Engravings of Ancient Skulls, by J. Barnard Davis; Proof Impressions on India paper, and Six Plates of Relics, etc.—Apply, 275, care of Manager.

First English Roman Catholic New Testament, Rheims version, 1582, for sale. Its copious notes make it invaluable for controversy.—Bernard Saunders, Albion Terrace, Peterborough.

Antient, unmatchable Equinoctial Sundial, most elaborate, with levels, equation table, etc., maker Thomas Heath. Price Ten Guineas. Also Brass horizontal Sundial (9 inch) latitude 54, One Guinea—or with very curious dialling Quadrant mounted on mahogany pillar and stand. Two Guineas.—Tregurtha, 40, Bedford Row.

The Manager wishes to draw attention to the fact that he cannot undertake to forward POST CARDS, *or letters, unless a stamp be sent to cover postage of same to advertiser.*

WANTED TO PURCHASE.

Dorsetshire Seventeenth Century Tokens. Also Topographical Works, Cuttings or Scraps connected with the county.—J. S. Udal, The Manor House, Symondsbury, Bridport.

Memoirs of the Parish Church of Gillingham, Kent, by Leach, 1868.—272, care of Manager.

Carl Werner's Views in the Holy Land, a good copy wanted, and a fair price offered.—Reports by *Letter* only to M. W., care of Manager.

Rambles in the Isle of Sheppey, by Henry T. A. Turmine (native of Minster), with historical notes by Jas. Bennett, 1843, pp. 91. The Benefactor. The Congregational Economist. Werner's Views of the Holy Land. Stedman's The Victorian Poets.—119, care of Manager.

Wanted, Ancient Almanacs antedating 1800. Address stating price to 280, care of Manager.

Folk Lore Record, vols. 1, 2, 4, 5, and parts 1 and 2 of vol. 3; Orlando Furioso; The Poets' Harvest Home, being one hundred short poems by William Bell Scott, Elliot Stock, 1882.—W. E. Morden, Lower Tooting, S.W.

Shipley's Views in the South Pacific; MacLean Haynes' Monumental Brasses; Mercer's Narrative of the Battle of Waterloo (a good copy); Hales' Essays on Tithes; McCall's Hebrew Primer.—M., care of Manager.

The Gentleman's Magazine, vols. for 1847, 1849, part 2; 1855, 1856, part 1. W. E. Morden, Lower Tooting, S.W.

Obiter Dicta (first edition). Days and Hours in a Garden (first edition). J. Briggs, Sevenoaks.

Turmine's Rambles in the Isle of Sheppey, Kent, 12mo, 1843. East Kent Poll Book for the General Election in July 1852, published by Whittaker & Co., London. 191, Care of Manager.

Scot—(Reynolde). Perfite Platforme of a Hoppe Garden and necessarie instructions for the making thereof. Black Letter Woodcuts. 1578. H. Denham, 283, care of Manager.

The Antiquary.

SEPETMBER, 1885.

Native Painters under James I.

HENRY VIII. had lavishly patronised art and artists; the list of painters and sculptors employed by him is a long one, containing several names of repute. He was the first English king to form a gallery of pictures, and it included a number of notable pictures. One result of this was seen in the time of Queen Elizabeth, when a few native painters began to emerge from obscurity. True, so far as our present knowledge goes, they were mainly miniaturists, but of high consequence in this department, and they founded an illustrious school of "painters in little," which was long famous, and only became extinct when photography practically abolished the art. In James I.'s time the list became more extensive; but some of them to be presently mentioned are known now only by name, and it will always be a matter of great difficulty to recognise any of their productions; for pictures, though frequently inscribed with the name and age of the sitter, were then hardly ever signed by the painter. Indeed, the only chance of recognising the works of this time lies in the publication of family papers, diaries, registers of societies, etc.

F. Meres, "Master of Arts in both Universities," in his *Wits' Commonwealth*, gives a list of painters working in England in 1598, a few years before the accession of James. On folio 287, after quoting some of the chief painters, etc., of ancient Greece, he says, "So England hath these, Hilliard, Isaac Oliver, and John de Creetes, very famous for their painting." The last-named —serjeant-painter to James I. and Charles I. —was a Fleming, and need not be further noticed here. On the reverse of the same folio, Meres goes on, "So in England we have also these: William and Francis Segar, brethren, Thomas and John Bettes, Lockey, Lyne, Peake, Peter Cole, Arnolde," and several others of foreign birth. In the same year, 1598, Richard Haydocke, a physician, having, as he himself tells us, bestowed his spare time mainly on the history of art, published a translation called *A Tracte, etc., by Jo. Paul Lomatius* (Lomazzo's well-known work on painting). In the introduction he regrets wanting the opportunity to write a history of art in this country, or—

> Then would M. Nicholas Hilliard's hand, so much admired by strangers as well as by natives, strive for a comparison with the milde spirit of the late world's wonder, Raphael Urbine; for to speak truth, his perfection in ingenious illuminating or limning, the perfection of painting in them is so extraordinary, that when I devised with myself the best argument to set it forth, I found none better than to persuade him to do it himself to the view of all men by his pen, as he had beforeunto by his very learned pencil, which in the end he assented to; and by me promiseth a treatise of his own practice that way with all convenient speede. Whose true and liuely image you may otherwise behold, more than reflected uppon the mirroures or glasses, of his two schollers, M. Isaac Oliver for Limning and Rowland Lockey for oyle and Lim: in some measure.

It is doubtless ludicrous enough to read of a comparison raised between Raphael and Hilliard, especially from one who evidently has some acquaintance with Italian art; but it is a striking testimony to the renown that Hilliard had by that time earned, and the dignity he was bestowing on English art, while Vasari himself called Giulio Clovio "a new Michelagnolo." The contemporary reputation enjoyed by Hilliard was indeed such as usually only falls to artists of the highest rank. The same writer, in another part of his work, speaks of

> Limnings . . . brought to the rare perfection we now see, by the most ingenious, painful and skilful master Nicholas Hilliard, and his well profitting scholar, whose further commendation I refer to the curiosity of his works.

And, again,

> Limnings much used in former times in Church books [*i.e.*, missal-painting, etc.], as also in drawing by the life in small models: of late years by some of our own countrymen, as Shoote, Betts, etc.

The two painters Bettes are apparently spoken of by Meres as living in 1598, and Haydocke speaks of his practice "in late

years," so that if the "Portrait of a Young Man," dated 1545, belonging to Mr. George Richmond, R.A., be rightly attributed to John, he must have attained to considerable years; but his death has been stated as early as about 1576 (Fox, *Eccles. Hist.*) The Duke of Buccleuch possesses two miniatures by this painter, one of Queen Elizabeth, and another of Catherine de Balzac, who married Esmé Stuart, Duke of Lennox, as well as another of Esmé Stuart himself, which is perhaps also by the same artist. From the Revel's Accounts Xmas XVto Elizabeth (1572), we learn that he was employed upon the same class of work as generally fell to the lot of painters here at that time,—"To John Bette and his wiffe for one daye and one nighte spangling of the head peecs . . . iijs." In January 1561-2, a "John Betts, Servaunte of the Pastrye," gave the queen "one pye of quinces" for a new year's gift, and received in return "twoo guilt spoones, per oz. 4 oz.;" but I have not yet ascertained whether he has any connection with the painter or not. By Thomas Bettes the Duke of Buccleuch has a miniature of Thomas Egerton, Lord Ellesmere, afterwards Viscount Brackley. All these miniatures were exhibited by the Duke at the Winter Exhibition of the Royal Academy in 1879.

Whether Arnolde mentioned by Meres lived into James I.'s reign or not we have no means of knowing; and, indeed, the only notice I have found of him, as yet, is in the Revel's Accounts already mentioned, and on the same occasion, "John Arnolde yoman of the office for mony paid to Arnolde the paynter for the picture of Andromedas xs.," and, later on, "Itm. paide to Arnolde the paynter for & in full paymt. for Andramedas picture, xxs."—that is, thirty shillings in all.

John Shute, mentioned by Haydocke, was a painter and architect, who wrote an *Essay on Architecture* (published 1579 or 1587), and who tells us in the dedication that he was maintained in Italy by the Duke of Northumberland. There is no later notice of him than that in Haydocke.

Leonard Fryer is a painter of whom I find no notices but in the year 1605. A silver cup, belonging to the Painters-Stainers' Company, is inscribed, "Leonhart Fryer, serjeant painter, gave this A. 1605." A

grant with survivorship, to Leonhart Fryer and John de Crites, jointly, of the office of serjeant painter, before granted to Leonhart Fryer with reversion to John de Crites,

is dated April 26th, 1605. Finally, a letter from Charles, Earl of Devonshire, to Sir Thomas Lake, dated from Holborn, November 19th, 1605, asks for "a bill granting to Richard Ratcliffe a gunner's room at Estmessy, Essex, void by the death of Leonard Fryer." As biographical materials are so scanty, it is not easy at the present date to judge very accurately the real characters of the serjeant-painters. The office was instituted by Henry VIII., and the first holders, John Brown and Andrew Wright, do not appear to have been more than clever decorators and heraldic painters. Nicholas Lysarde certainly practised the higher branches; but he was paid fourpence in Queen Elizabeth's time for gilding the weathercock of the chapel at Windsor. John de Critz, associated with Fryer, was considered by Robert Walker to have been the best painter in London during the Commonwealth. Robert Streeter, who held the office under Charles II., was a historical painter of high ambition, and, judging from the effective ceiling in the theatre at Oxford, does not deserve the oblivion which has befallen him. Later serjeant painters were Robert Highmore, and a much more important person, none other than William Hogarth. Thus it is at least plausible to suppose that Leonard Fryer was also something of an artist.

Under Elizabeth, Hilliard had been portrait painter to the Queen, to make "pictures of her body and person in small compasse in lymninge only and without shadows." James I. granted him a still more lucrative post.

Whereas our well-beloved servant Nicholas Hilliard, gentleman, our principal drawer of small portraits, and embosser of medals in gold, in respect of his extraordinary skill in drawing, graving, imprinting, etc., we have granted unto him our special licence for twelve years, to invent, make, grave, and imprint any pictures of our image or our royal family, and that no one do presume to do without his licence obtained, etc.

James I. seems to have had in view the example of his predecessor, who, it is well known, forbade all persons to produce her portrait until she had appointed some

"special cunning painter" to give them a fit example to work from. Hilliard's general court employment under James was fairly extensive, and the following quotations from the Office Books of the Treasurers of the Chambers, indicate the prices he obtained.

To Nicholas Hillyard his Ma[tie] Lyner uppon the Councell's warrant dated at Courte at Hampton Courte, 28 December 1603 for his paynes and travell being appoynted by direction to make certayne pictures of his Ma[tie] w[ch] were by his Highness gyven unto the Duke of Denmarke Embassador.

xix[li] x[s]

To Nichas Hilliarde upon the Lorde Chamberleynes warraunte dated 31 Jan[y]. 1614-5 for a picture of the prince in lynnen [limning] drawen to the waste with a rich christall thereon, and delivered to Mr. Murray his highness Tutor. viij[li].

(Cunningham, *Revels at Court*, Introduction.)

To the testimony of Haydocke and Meres we may add that of Peacham, writing in 1634, some years after the painter's death :—

Nor must I be ingratefully unmindful of mine own countriemen, who have been and are able to equall the best, if occasion served, as old Mr. Hilliard, Mr. Isaac Oliver, inferior to none in Christendome for the countenance in small.

Sir W. Sanderson, in his *Graphice* (1658), gives us two of Hilliard's "secrets," on page 57 :—

In strong touches and deep, hard reflections deepened with Ivory [black] will show marvellous fair; this was the way of that famous Hilliard, the English limner in Queen Elizabeth's dayes.

Again, on page 69 :—

[Liquid] Silver, either with long keeping or the moysture of the ayre, will become starved and rusty, you must prevent this inconvenience before you lay your silver, by covering over the place with a little piece of garlic. It will keep it very fair and bright; this secret I had from Mr. Hilliard.

Whether Hilliard ever did write the treatise mentioned by Haydocke is entirely a matter of doubt. No. 6000 of the Harleian MSS. is entitled on the cover in a later hand than the rest of the MS., "1679 Hilliard Of Limning," but it is merely a copy of another MS. in the British Museum (Addit. 12461), written in a more ancient hand, and dedicated to Mary, Duchess of Buckingham, by Daniel King, the author. It seems to have been written by a master for the instruction of a pupil. Of course, this in turn may be but a copy, or perhaps a *resumé* of Hilliard's notes. Alexander Browne, the limner who taught Mrs. Pepys to draw with a success of which the genial old gossip himself was "mighty proud," has largely borrowed from the same MS., without acknowledgment, for the letter-press of his *Ars Pictora*, published in 1675 (being a second and extended edition of his *Compendious Drawing Book*, 1669).

It would necessarily occupy space to attempt any enumeration of Hilliard's works here; those extant are mostly well known and properly appreciated, but, beyond all doubt, very many have been destroyed, and many more may yet await discovery. In Vanderdoort's Catalogue is mentioned one of unusual size and subject, the present whereabouts of which I am not acquainted with :—

Done by Old Hilliard, which y[e] king had of S[r] James Palmer. Item : y[e] Spanish fleet, in limning, of 88th in a black frame with a shiver, with a glass, done upon ye right light. 6 in. by 1 ft. 1½ in.

In the Commonwealth Sale it was valued at £3 only, and bought for that sum by Mr. Bass, October 8th, 1651. A portrait of Catherine Carey, Countess of Nottingham, has found its way into the Louvre Collection (Musée de la Renaissance, série B., n. 391). Of the fourteen examples in Charles I.'s collection, several are now at Windsor, but they are scarce in our National Collections. A very fine specimen, Queen Elizabeth in a richly-jewelled dress and lace ruff, forms part of the munificent bequest of the late Mr. Jones to South Kensington; and there is another in the National Portrait Gallery. Hilliard is also accredited, but doubtfully, with some half-dozen works in oil, and they are hardly calculated to extend his reputation.

Cunningham's opinion, "The chief merit, indeed, of Hilliard is, that he helped to form the taste and discipline the hand of Oliver," was a somewhat ignorant piece of criticism. Hilliard has an individual merit, quite independent of any second-hand reputation; few artists have surpassed his wonderfully minute touch; the stiffness of his drawing was largely engendered by the costume abominations of his time, and Queen Elizabeth's election to be drawn without shadows may have had something to do with a pervading flatness in his work. Most of his miniatures are now pallid in tint, having faded from exposure, and it must be borne

in mind that the major portion of his examples are three hundred years old. The power of the true artist is evident in all his genuine works, and he is lifelike and vivid when working at his own free will, as in his own portrait, engraved by Chambers in Walpole's *Anecdotes*, where we will find much less restraint than we usually associate with his name.

Hilliard died in 1619, and by his will, dated December 24th, 1618, he leaves the greater part of his effects to his son and pupil Lawrence, his sole executor, but not forgetting twenty shillings to the poor of his parish.

His "well-profitting scholar," Isaac Oliver, had preceded him to the grave. His will is dated June 4th, 1619, and was proved on the 30th of October of the same year; in it he says :—

All my drawings allreadye finished and unfinished, and lymning pictures, be they historyes, storyes, or anything of lymning whatsoever, of my owne hande worke as yet unfinished . . . I give and bequeathe to my eldest sonne Peter, yf he shall live and exercise that arte or science which he and I nowe doe.

As Peter Oliver was then only sixteen years old, we have here a direct testimony to his precocious talent.

Isaac Oliver was employed by Prince Henry. In the *Accompte of Sr. David Murray* (1610—1612), "Keeper of the Privy Purse to the late noble Prince Henry," we read :—

Mr. Isaake for three pictures .	. xxxij[li].
The greate picture	. xxxviij[li].
Three other pictures . . .	. xxx[li].
One greate and two little pictures .	xl[li].

Among the miniatures of Charles I.'s collection were three portraits of Prince Henry, by Isaac Oliver, which are not improbably referred to in the above. One of them was copied, life size, by Daniel Mijtens (Vanderdoort, King's Bed Chamber at Whitehall, no. 3). A portrait of this accomplished prince, very similar to one of Isaac's miniatures at Windsor, is in the National Portrait Gallery, and there ascribed to Paul Van Somer.

One of the "historyes" left unfinished at his decease was very remarkable, both for size and ambition of subject. It is included in the Charles I. collection, among "10 limned pieces . . . in double shutting cases with locks and keys and glasses over them," and is described as follows (by Vanderdoort) :—

Imprimis : y[e] great limned piece which was invented by Isaac Oliver, and was left unfinished at his decease and now by his Majestie's appointment finished by his son Peter Oliver and delivered to y[e] king being included in his Majestie's grant of an annuity to y[e] said.

Which piece is dated 1616 being y[e] burial of X[t] in white linnen by 4 of His disciples and carried to y[e] grave, one standing with outstretch'd arms to receive Him into y[e] said grave and afar off some 5 disciples in sadness a mourning ; and a standing woman taking X[t] by y[e] left arm, kissing His hand, our Ladye lying along in a swoon in a red garment and blew drapery upon St. John's lap ; also a Mary Magdalene sitting upon y[e] ground wringing both her hands a greiving. Likewise another woman in an orange drapery holding a golden vessel ; and also another woman in a yellow habit, looking upward with open hands in sorrow. Behind all these said figures there is a troop afar off some 9 disciples a greiving, whereof one in green, another in yellow, another in blew and 3 in purple draperies ; in all some [24] lesser and bigger figures. 11½ in. by 1 ft. 3½ in.

Norgate, whose manuscript is in the Bodleian Library, mentions the above work in terms of high praise.

As histories in limning were strangers in England [this is not quite exact] the king [Charles I.] commanded the copying of some of his owne pieces of Titian, to be translated into English limning, which indeed were admirably performed by his servant Mr. Peter Oliver. The History of the Entombing of Christ begun by Isaac Oliver, but by the Royal Command finished by the sonne, of which for the rare art, invention colouring and neatness, may be said as Vasari speaks of Giulio Clovio "inde possiam dire che habbia superato gli antichi e moderni; e che sia sta à i tempi nostri, un nuovo Michel Agnolo." A Madonna of Mr. Isaac Oliver's limning cost him two yeares as himself told me. (Quoted by Dallaway in Walpole's *Anecdotes*, i., 182, n.)

Sanderson also mentions this work with much applause, but is mistaken in the subject :—

But that which is instar omnium, is an history of a Buriall of a Gretian monarch, done upon a large Tablet of fine abortive parchment, polished on a smooth and well-seasoned board of pear-tree. It was in the hands of Mr. Endymion Porter and begun by that incomparable master, Isaack Olyver, almost to the end, but it had finishing from his sonne. It was a piece of the greatest beauty and perfection (for so much) as I think all Europe or the World can produce. And I believe if Carlo van Mandras in his Dutch history of the famous painters had seen this picture, his book might have increased to a tone with this worthy description. (*Graphice*, 1658, p. 74.)

Endymion Porter, of whom there is a noble

portrait by Dobson in the National Portrait Gallery, did give several pictures to Charles I., and exchanged or sold others, but this work of Isaac Oliver is not so described in Vanderdoort's MS. In the *Commonwealth Inventory* it is, by an error of the copyist, entered as "The Burning of Christ and Isaac Oliver." [Pictures at St. James's, no. 43]; it was valued at £100, and sold to "Mr. Hunt and Mr. Bass ye 6th March, 1652." A comparison with the valuation, of other pictures at this great dispersal will demonstrate the significance of this price.

The Jones Bequest has also given us an example of Isaac Oliver, which is certainly one of his finest productions, and was painted the year before his death. It is a whole length, 9½ in. by 6¼ in., of Richard, 3rd Earl of Dorset, on a thick card, and in perfect preservation. It is signed

Isaac Olliuierus fecit 1616.

This signature, and some others which are similar, has given rise to the speculation that this artist was a Frenchman, or of French extraction, but otherwise there is no reason for such an idea, and in the case in point, the artist has simply latinised his name in conformity to the practice then, and for some time after, pretty general. The picture in question was formerly in the collection of Jeremiah Harman, and at the Bale sale, in 1881, reached a price not disproportionate to its extreme merits, interest, and rarity.

The dates of several of the works of Peter Oliver are within this reign, but his history more fully belongs to the next, so that he will not be further noticed here; and the same remark applies to the Elder Hoskins and George Jamesone.

Robert Lockey, the second pupil of Hilliard spoken of by Haydocke, is mentioned by Bone in a MS. catalogue of portraits at Cambridge, made in 1834, as a copyist of a portrait of the Lady Margaret, mother of Henry VII.; which copy, now in the college hall of St. John's, he says was made at the expense of Juliana Clippesbey, of Norfolk (W. M. Conway, *Art Journal*, September 1884). He is possibly identical with the painter mentioned by Meres, but there was certainly another of that name, viz., Nicholas Lockey, or Lockie, as we gather from the inscription on the engraved portrait of John King, Bishop of London—"Nicolà Lockey pinx: et fieri curavit, et Simon Passæus sculpsit."

One of the Seagers included in Meres' list is also spoken of in a MS. copy of Henry Howard's translation of the last instructions of Charles V. to his son Philip, transcribed by Paul Thompson at the end of the sixteenth century, where there is a sonnet, of which the commencement, quoted in *Notes and Queries* for May 18th, 1850, p. 469, runs as follows:—

> Whilest thou in breathinge cullers crimson white
> Drewst these bright eyes, whose language sayth to me
> Loe! the right way to Heaven; Love stood by the
> Seager! fayne to be drawne in cullers brighte, etc.

Evelyn, in a letter to Pepys (who was making a collection of prints) dated Deptford, 7ber 26th, 1690, after mentioning the engravers of the early Stuart period, says:—

> These prints were sold by George Humble and Sudbury, at the Pope's Head, in Cornhill; by Jenner, at the Exchange; one Seager, I know not where, and Roger Daniel, etc.

Of Peter Cole there is the following notice in the *Pell Records*, March 23rd, 1608:—

> To Peter Cole, picture maker, the sum of xx^li^ in full payment and satisfaction of his demand for the picture of his Majestie's arms by him made and set up in his Highness's Court of Star Chamber (Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer*). Payment had been ordered on July 1st, 1606 (*Ibid*).

Arms painting was not an unusual source of income for the minor works of the time, and at least the price was good.

In the accounts of Prince Henry already alluded to, Robert Peake is mentioned:—

> To Mr. Peake for pictures and frames . . xij^li^.
> Twoe greate pictures of the Prince in Armes at length sente beyond the sees . . . . l^li^.

Walpole, quoting from the books of Lord Harrington, Treasurer of the Chambers, mentions under date October 4th, 1612, a payment "for several pictures made at the commandment of the Duke of York, and given away and disposed of by the Duke's grace." Prince Charles took his degree of

Master of Arts at Cambridge, on March 3rd, 1612-3, and the registry of the University records that £13 6*s*. 8*d*. was paid to Robert Peake to paint a portrait of him in celebration of the occasion. The portrait to which, in all probability, this notice refers is still at Cambridge, and is critically described by Mr. Conway :—

In the portrait Prince Charles stands by a table, on which his right arm rests. Two yellow silk curtains shut off the top corners of the canvas, the one on the left bearing a paper with an inscription recording the occasion in memory of which the painting was done. The prince is elaborately dressed in the fashion of the time. His legs, encased in tight pink silk stockings, are remarkably anatomical and ugly, bones and muscles showing with great distinctness. The face is without expression or any great attractiveness, it is that of a rather dull boy; the features are clearly but stupidly drawn, and are entirely without animation. The painter has devoted the whole of his attention to the embroidered stuff of the garment, and has succeeded in rendering the texture of it fairly ; but his colours were not good, and have become dull in time.

The same writer also says of a portrait of James I. at the same place, it

is clearly by the same hand, and does not call for further remark. It seems to have been copied more than once, one such copy being preserved in the Master's Lodge at Corpus.

Peake was also a printseller, and in this capacity Evelyn mentions him in the letter already quoted :—

But he who had the most choice was Mr. Peake, near Holborn Conduit ; and if there be any that can direct you where you may most likely hear what became of their plates and works of this kind, I believe nobody may so well inform you as Mr. Faithorne, father to the bookseller, who, if I am not mistaken, was apprenticed to Sir William Peake, for both he and Humble were made knights, and, therefore, it may be worth your while to inquire of him.

Larkin, whose Christian name I have not yet met with, was a painter of some ability; he is mentioned in the quaint and entertaining autobiography of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury in the following terms :—

Richard, Earl of Dorset, to whom otherwise I was a stranger, one day invited me to Dorset House, where, bringing me into his gallery and shewing me many pictures ; he, at last . . . shewed me my own picture . . . a copy of one Larkin a painter drew for me, the original whereof I intended before my departure to the Low Countries, for Sir Thomas Lucy ; but not only the Earl of Dorset, but a greater person than I will here nominate [it is surmised that Anne of Denmark, Queen of James I. is here hinted at] got another copy. There was a lady also, wife to Sir John Ayres knight, who finding some means to get a copy of my picture from Larkin, gave it to Mr. Isaac [Oliver] the painter in Blackfriars, and desired him to draw it in little, after his manner, which being done, she caused it to be set in gold and enamelled. (Ed. 1829, pp. 79-80.)

A portrait of Herbert is still preserved at the seat of the Lucys, Charlcote, Warwickshire ; another is in the National Portrait Gallery, and a miniature precisely similar was in the collection of Sir William Stirling Maxwell, Bart. The Earl of Powis has a full-length miniature of him, reclining under trees, by Isaac Oliver. The only other known notice of this painter is in the *Diary* of Anne Clifford, wife of Richard Earl of Dorset ; she sat to him in 1619.

In the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber for 1623, under July 1st, we have another English painter named :—

To George Cuddington, picture drawer, upon the Councell's warrant dated primo Julii, 1623, for drawinge the picture of the Infanta [Maria] of Spayne, which was delivered into His Majestie's bedchamber, xxx[li].

This is the only notice of this painter I have met with ; but it may be noticed that the sum paid is considerable, and should indicate corresponding merit in the work, which has been supposed identical with a picture in the possession of the Earl of Denbigh, at Newnham Paddox. It was exhibited, with the British Portrait Gallery, at Manchester, 1857, afterwards at South Kensington, 1866, and is described as a work of considerable ability. The back is inscribed, "This is the picture of the Infanta of Spain, that was brought over by the Duke of Bucks. She was to have married King Charles the First." It has the additional interest of being a unique (authentic) portrait of this personage. It is a bust portrait, on panel, 22 in. by 16 in., fair hair, in embroidered white dress, with large ruff and large jewelled cross.

Peacham, in his *Compleat Gentleman* (xiii. 126), writes in the following terms of an English amateur, who well deserves his eulogy :—

Nor can I overpasse the ingenuity and excellency of many Nobles and Gentlemen of our owne Nation herein, of whom I know many : but none in my opinion who deserveth more respect and admiration for his skill and practice herein than Master Nathaniel Bacon, of Broome, in Suffolk (younger sonne to the

Most Honourable and Bountifull minded Sir Nicholas Bacon, knight and eldest Baronet), not inferior in my judgment to our skilfullest masters.

Norgate (as quoted by Dallaway in Walpole's *Anecdotes*, v., 190, n.) tells us of a pink colour of his preparation:—

Pinke . . . is a colour soe usefull and hard to get good, as gave occasion to my late deare friend Sir N. Bacon, K.B. (a gentleman whose rare parts and generous disposition, whose excellent learning and great skill in this and good arts, deserves a never dying memory) to make or find a pink, so very good, as my consinell P. Oliver (without disparagement to any the most excellent in this art) making proofe of some that I gave him, did highly commend it and used none other to his dyinge day; wherewith and with Indian Lake hee made sure expressions of those deep and glowing shadows in those histories he copied after Titian, that no oyle painting should appeare more warme and fleshy than those of this hand.

This is followed by the recipe for the pigment in question. The examples of him showed at South Kensington in 1866 caused the late Samuel Redgrave to remark that they showed " none of the timidity of the amateur, and prove him to have been an excellent artist." The most noteworthy specimens of his work are at Gorhambury. The date 1615 usually given as that of his death is clearly erroneous, for on May 19th, 1624, he writes a letter to Jane Lady Cornwallis, in which he says, " Bid Jhon Fenn to send my coullers as soon as possible." Again, on November 6th of the same year, the Countess of Bedford writes to him, telling him, amongst other things, " When you come next to town we shall be able to show you some good new peises of painting at Harrington House." In a letter from Sir Edmund Bacon to Lady Jane Bacon, June 1628, we read: " My brother's monument [that of Sir Nathaniel, in Culford Church] goeth well forward; I saw yt, so much as ys done, the day before I came out of towne." The last three quotations are from the private correspondence of Jane Lady Cornwallis (published by the Chetham Society), respectively on pages 102, 112, and 194, but there are no further notices in that publication, which well might have been expected to yield more.

Robert (or Richard) Greenbury, another painter of this time, is first heard of in 1625, when he was employed by the East India Company to paint a large picture detailing the tortures inflicted on the English at the Amboyna massacre. We learn this from the Carleton correspondence (*State Papers, Domestic Series*). Sanderson had seen this picture and says he wished it to be burnt for fear of inflaming the passions of the people, and proceeds to tells us that it so affected the widow of one of the victims that she swooned at the sight of it. It probably therefore was not wanting in energy of expression, but was destroyed by order of the Council for fear of causing disturbances. It seems an odd sort of work to set an artist upon at all, and if this were the only notice of him we might well suppose him a very inferior fellow indeed. However, in 1627 he sold a portrait of Arthur Lake, Bishop of Bath and Wells (dated 1616), to New College, Oxford, for £4, which is still in existence. The sum is small enough, but the picture is interesting and not ill painted, and we are fairly justified in presuming it to have been his own work. In the following year, 1628, his name appears in the list of Recusants in Westminster, where he is described as a " picture drawer." In 1636 he repaired some of the Crown pictures (here he is called Richard, but in all probability the same person is meant). A copy of a Diana and Calisto sold by the Commonwealth among the goods of Charles I. to Captain Geere for £22, is put down to him (Grimberry). Finally, Evelyn, going to New College, Oxford, on October 24th, 1664, saw in the Chapel a painting on blue cloth, in chiaroscuro, of the Last Supper by " one Greenborow." This is no longer in existence.

Evelyn in his *Diary*, under date 1626, mentions that his portrait was then painted by " one Chanterell, no ill painter." This may be another native artist, but I have met with no other notice of him; the name Victor Chanterelle, however, occurs in the " Certificate of Strangers," resident in Broad Street, and " b. in the city of Paris in Fraunce;" he is not described as a painter, so we hesitate in assuming their identity.

In this limited space I have endeavoured to present a summary of little-known evidences of native art in England in the time of James I. Had I merely desired to string a number of names together, many could have been included, such as Thomas Tylar, Jacob Challoner, Knight, John Mauncby,

Arthur Brown, Hamlett, Camden, and other of the heraldic painters and decorators of the time. I have also omitted one Patoun, whose name and date, 1586, is on a portrait of Fulke Greville, 1st Lord Brooke, and Richard Burbage the actor, generally believed to have practised painting, and whose initials and the date 1597 are on the back of the "Felton" portrait of Shakespeare, the supposed original of Martin Droeshout's engraving, though they be presumed to have lived on till James I.'s time. My aim generally has been to collect the painters of whom we have distinct contemporary notice, and of whom examples are still extant. I have often thought the Winter Exhibitions at the Royal Academy might do much more to illustrate the early periods of English art than has yet resulted from them, and cannot refrain from suggesting that a very interesting special collection, on the plan of the Holbein Exhibition and that of the Norwich School, might be founded on the materials of this paper. The known examples of Rowland Lockey, Robert Peake, George Cuddington, Larkin, Robert Greenbury, and Nathaniel Bacon, together with a representative selection from the works of Hilliard, Isaac Oliver, the brothers Bettes, the pictures ascribed to Burbage, and the Patoun above mentioned, would form a collection of considerable interest, and the evidence to be gathered from the pictures themselves would undoubtedly be of great value in recognising other unassigned works. The utility of such study may be questioned by those who take little or no interest in the past, or who can summon no antiquarian pleasure in the relics of bygone art; but it is doubtless unsatisfactory to have so many anonymous portraits in existence, and all who desire to see the art history of our country placed in its proper light will understand and appreciate the motive of such study.

ALFRED BEAVER.

Notes on London Wall.

BY JOHN E. PRICE, F.S.A., F.R.S.L.

PART I.

Prince. Did Julius Cæsar build that place, my lord?
Gloster. He did, my gracious lord, begin that place,
Which since succeeding ages have reedified.
Prince. Is it upon record, or else reported
Successively from age to age he built it?
Buck. Upon record, my gracious lord.
Prince. But say, my lord, it were not registered,
Methinks the truth should live from age to age,
As 't were retailed to all posterity,
Even to the general all-ending day.

SHAKESPEARE, *Rich. III.* ii. 1.

IF we contemplate for a little the present condition of London, think of its vast extent, and of its rapid growth and ever increasing size, and consider how implicitly its inhabitants have to rely, for the security of their lives and property, mainly on that respect for law and order, which they themselves do so much to foster and encourage, —it is difficult to realize the distinction between the aspect of the city now, and that which it must have presented to the mind of an observer in the middle ages, or at any time when it possessed, as it formerly did, the many and diversified features of a fortified town, environed by a wall of great solidity and strength, supported by bastions and ornamental towers, such walls, with the addition of chains and barriers across lanes and roads, precluding all access to the city, save by the means of gates and posterns, to the care and protection of which the various wards into which the city of London was divided had each to contribute a proportionate quota of armed men, and to the repair and conservation of which, a tax, technically known as "murage," was imposed upon the citizens at large, as was "pavage" for the repairing of the highways, and "pontage" for the privilege of passing over, or beneath, such of the bridges as were subject to civic jurisdiction.

This mural boundary, which once environed London and enclosed an area of some three hundred and seventy acres, has now almost entirely disappeared. Its history will survive in the antiquarian literature of our time; but its actual existence will shortly be only identified by some few remnants which

are still standing, and which, in the interests of archæology, it is to be hoped may long be spared. These comprise an interesting section upon Tower Hill, and the still more important foundations yet existing under the cellars of Messrs. Barber's warehouses in Cooper's Row; a piece in the thoroughfare of London Wall, upon which a commemorative inscription has been placed; the comparatively modern bastion at Cripplegate; and a section uncovered in the Old Bailey, but now effectually blocked in. The latter is shown in the annexed woodcut,

LONDON WALL AT OLD BAILEY.

the portion represented being that adjoining St. Martin's Church, whence the wall pursued its course from Ludgate to the Thames.

There is also an exceedingly interesting fragment, inasmuch as the facing stones are so well preserved, yet cared for beneath the business premises of Messrs. Tylor in Warwick Lane; likewise some few other instances to be hereafter noted in detail; but, with these exceptions, the whole of this wondrous mass of masonry has, to all intents and purposes, disappeared from view; and we find ourselves with an example before us of historical repetition, viz., that, as in the early part of the fourth century London was unfortified and an unwalled town, in the closing years of the nineteenth century it has reverted to a similar condition. This change, as contrasted with others of the walled towns of antiquity, is both curious and interesting; and it is desirable to preserve a record as fully illustrated as is possible of that which has existed in the intervening centuries. At Chester (*Deva*) we can still identify the boundaries of the city on its old Roman lines; so, also, do we still possess the walls at York (*Eboracum*); and the highly interesting remains of those which, fallen, damaged, and broken as they are by the effects of time and other causes, still mark the boundaries of the old town of Colchester* (*Camulodunum*). At Silchester (*Calleva*) they yet stand, rising to a height of 18 feet, with the enormous width of no less than 15 feet, and enclosing an area of some 120 acres,—a space about 12 acres more than that environed by the walls at Colchester, but identical with the area covered by Wroxeter (*Uriconium*), where only portions of the walls are standing on the surface. In other localities, such as at St. Albans (*Verulam*), Lincoln (*Lindum*), Leicester (*Ratæ*), Lymne (*Portum Lemanis*), Richborough (*Rutupiæ*), and some few other sites, illustrations of the walls may yet be seen. As compared with the foregoing, London stands pre-eminent, the area enclosed being more than three times greater than in any of the other places. The limits of this enclosure can now be readily identified, for we are enabled, by the aid of the discoveries which have been made from time to time, to indicate with certainty the line taken by the wall, to note the strict uniformity observed in its construction, and to lay down with accuracy, upon any suitable map, the almost semicircular course it took from its starting-point adjoining the Tower of London on the east, to its termination near to a corresponding

* Further damage to the walls at Colchester was feared a short time since. These time-worn memorials should be protected as national monuments. Thanks to the energetic action of Mr. H. Laver, a member of the Corporation of Colchester, the danger is stayed for the present, but, as intimated in a note published in THE ANTIQUARY for last month, steps should be taken to effectually prevent its recurrence in the future.

fortress familiarly known as Baynard's Castle, near to the Fleet River on the west.

In the quotation which I have introduced from one of Shakespeare's plays, reference is made to what appears to have been always an existing tradition, viz., the association between the Tower of London and the Roman occupation of its site. This tradition, draped in poetic language, is fittingly immortalised for all time, and is further illustrated by the name which still clings to the keep of the great fortress. This has always been designated as the "White" or "Cæsar's" Tower. It is, of course, a certainty that any association with the great Julius is but mythical, for there has certainly been no masonry discovered, in connection with any Wall of London, belonging to that brief period of our history with which he was connected. That Roman work, however, did exist, and still does exist, beneath the foundations of the Tower has now been fully proved, and that by some recent discoveries of a highly interesting character. The tradition, therefore, is not so imaginary as we may have been led to suppose, but derives a further interest from the illustrations which have been recently brought to light; for the masons' work which is still to be seen standing is unquestionably in *Romano more*, if not actually constructed during what is termed the occupation.

These discoveries, moreover, have a further interest inasmuch as they illustrate the account given by Maitland of certain remains which had been observed on the occasion of excavations made within the precincts of the Tower more than 150 years ago. He writes:—*

> That in digging the foundations of large storehouses, which are situate on the south side of the White Tower, the workmen in 1720, or thereabouts, met with old foundations of stone, above three yards in breadth, supposed to be the remains of some ancient tower on that spot, of which history gives no account, and so cemented together that it was with much difficulty they were forced up by beetle and wedges.

It is stated on varying authority † that William the Conqueror, when he crossed the Thames, marched in person to complete the investment of London, and that he found the ancient city resting upon the left bank of its river, protected on its landward side by a strong wall with mural towers and an external ditch. Before entering the city, he is said to have given instructions for a fortress to be built which should command it. This was but a temporary camp, for a further study of the ground led to the selection of a site for his future citadel, and which we are told was on the eastern flank of the city defences, displacing for that purpose a part of the Roman wall, including the two towers next to the Thames. The keep, it is said, was erected on the site of the second of the Roman bulwarks, by Gundulf, a monk of Bec, in Normandy, about the year 1078, and soon after his arrival in this country, where he pursued his profession as an architect. In the accompanying engraving, taken from an original drawing and hitherto unpublished, appears a faithful representation of certain alterations adjoining the apse, which have led to the discoveries to which I have already referred.

In the illustration may be noticed the situation of the Horse Armoury (A), the Wardrobe Tower (B), the site of Depository for Books and Papers (C), the Military Store-office, recently demolished (D), St. John's Chapel, apse of White Tower (E), and, adjacent to the south-east angle, a fragment of the Roman Wall. Its position has a further interest than that already indicated, as it illustrates, to some extent, the question as to where the Liberties of the Tower actually ceased, and the city jurisdiction began, and bears out the statement of Coke, who in his *Institutes* writes:—

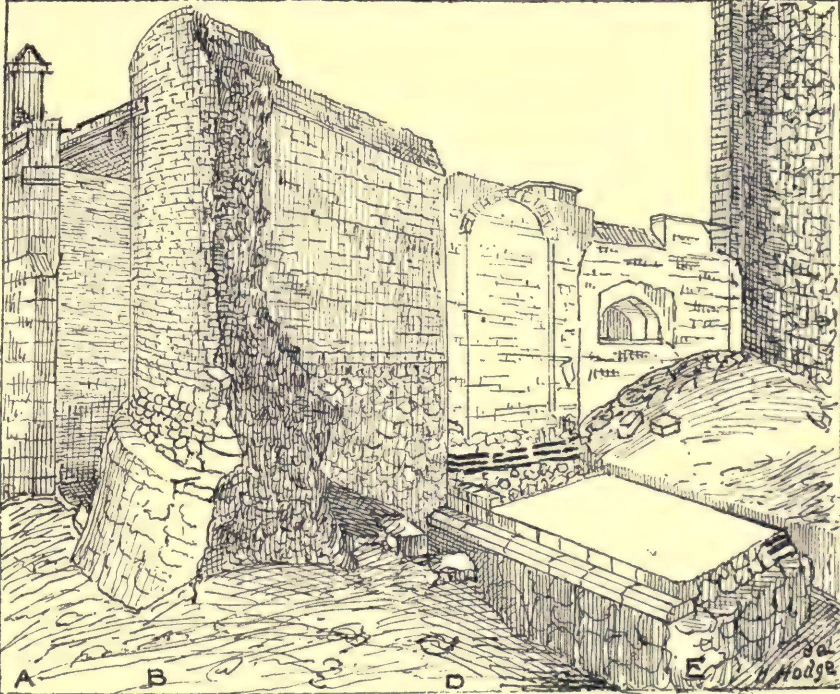
> The Ancient Wall of London extendeth through the Tower; all that part on the West is within the City and Parish of All Saints', Barking . . . Therefore, Weston the principal, and Sir Gervas Elweys the accessory, in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, committed in the Tower on the West of the City Wall, were tried in the City of London.

In the section of the wall which has been exposed we note all the characteristic features of Roman masonry; but its construction, which harmonises in all the various details with that adopted throughout the line, points to a comparatively late period. It may be

* Maitland's *History of London*, vol. i., p. 148.

† See *History and Antiquities of the Tower of London*, by John Bayley, F.S.A.; also *The Military Architecture of the Tower of London*, by G. T. Clark, Esq.

described as an ashlar facing of stone and tile, inclosing a mass of concrete rubble. The carefully-squared blocks of ragstone are well defined, as are the three courses of red bonding tiles, which may be seen in line throughout the wall, together with the ornamental plinth of ironstone blocks, forming a plain projecting face at the base of the wall, and at a short distance only from the ground. These blocks measure from twelve inches to two or three feet in length, and in their position accord with a similar method of construction still to be seen in the city wall at Carlisle and elsewhere.



ROMAN REMAINS AT THE TOWER OF LONDON.

As an illustration of the general method of construction adopted by the engineers and architects who planned and erected the city wall, we have no better than that which was revealed on Tower Hill, not far from the present site, some thirty years ago, and which has been so fitly and ably described by my friend Mr. Roach Smith in his *Illustrations of Roman London*.* Indeed, it was mainly due to his earnest endeavours at the time that this particular portion was not condemned to destruction. By Mr. Smith's exertions it was saved from wholesale demolition; but it became, through the requirements of modern buildings, to a great extent hidden by them, and, unless sought for now by any interested inquirer, is concealed from ordinary view. This particular section rejoiced in the possession of its external facing, such as was recently observed in so perfect a condition in the fine and perfect section, over seventy feet in length, lately removed in order to meet the necessities of the new Inner-Circle Railway on Tower Hill. Any description of the latter, which has now disappeared, accords so identically with that which still exists, and has been recorded by so acute an observer as Mr. Roach Smith,

* *Vide Illustrations of Roman London*, by C. R. Smith, F.S.A., p. 15.

that I am induced to quote his account of the examination he was enabled to make of the piece referred to :—

> The wall (he says) was laid open quite to its foundation. A trench had been dug between two and three feet deep. This trench was filled in, or "puddled in," as it is termed, with a bed of clay and flints; upon this were laid boulders and concrete to about a foot thick. Upon the foundation was placed a set-off row of large square stones; upon them four layers of small stones, regularly and neatly cut; then a bonding course of three rows of red tiles, above which are six layers of stones separated by a bonding course of tiles as before, from a third division of five layers of stones; the bonding course of tiles above these is composed of two rows of tiles, and in like manner the facing was carried to the top. The tiles of the third row were red and yellow; and they extended through the entire width of the wall, which was about ten feet, the height having been apparently nearly thirty feet. The core of the wall is composed of rubble cemented together with concrete in which lime predominates, as is usual with Roman mortar. Pounded tile is also used in the mortar which cements the facing.

It is to this particular kind of cement that Fitzstephen refers when he speaks of the existence of Roman masonry beneath the foundations of the Tower. Writing in the reign of Henry II., he refers to the Palatine Tower as being a fortress on the east of the city, of great size and strength, with a court and walls erected on a deep foundation, the mortar used in the building being "tempered with the blood of beasts." This latter singular expression, the full importance of which was probably not thought of by the chronicler, is well illustrated by the researches of modern times. The *cæmento cum sanguine animalium temperato* of Fitzstephen can be no other than Roman mortar, the peculiar salmon-coloured hue of which at once clearly distinguishes it from the mortar employed in buildings of a later age. As a combination of pounded brick or tile with a due proportion of lime, this cement acquired great tenacity, and became so firm and solid that, in attempting to dislodge the ruins of Roman buildings, it is frequently found to be even harder and more difficult to remove than are the bricks or stones of which the building has been constructed. This peculiarity is usually attributed to the fact of the lime being burnt on the spot where it was to be used, and there mixed with the broken stones or tiles while hot and fresh. Fitzstephen also tells us that the wall of the city was high and thick, with seven double gates, having on the north side towers placed at proper intervals; and further, that it was formerly protected on the south in like manner, but "that most excellent river, the Thames, which abounds in fish, and in which the tide ebbs and flows, runs on that side, and has in a long space of time washed down, undermined, and subverted the walls in that part."

It is to be feared that, were the chronicler writing of the "excellent river" and as "abounding in fish" at the present day, he would adopt a somewhat different strain. Evidence has, however, been met with of late years of the southern wall of which he speaks as "undermined and subverted," and this of itself is a testimony to the general truthfulness of his record. Indications of the wall were discovered by Mr. Roach Smith some years ago at a depth of fourteen or fifteen feet, in Thames Street. He traced it from Lambeth Hill to Queenhithe.* In thickness it measured from eight to ten feet and its height, from the bottom of the sewer then in course of formation, about eight feet. It was constructed on oaken piles, over which was laid a stratum of chalk and stones, and upon this a course of hewn sandstones, each measuring from three to four feet by two and two and a-half feet, cemented with the well-known compound of quicklime, sand, and pounded tile. Upon this solid substructure was laid the body of the wall, formed of ragstone, flint, and lime, bonded at intervals with courses of plain and curved-edged tiles. The construction, in fact, harmonising, as do the measurements, with that observed along other portions of the line.

These foundations, however, presented some unusual features, which illustrated the comparatively late date at which the wall had been erected. They were found to be composed to a great extent of large worked stones, many of which were ornamented and decorated with sculptured figures, indicating that they had belonged to buildings of higher antiquity than the wall, and been here made

* *Archæologia*, vol. xxix., pp. 150, 151, and *Illustrations of Roman London*, by C. R. Smith, F.S.A., p. 19.

use of as building materials. There were pieces of worked marble, fragments of tombs, mouldings, cornices, and other architectural details in large quantities. They had proved useful to the builders of a former age, had served their purpose, and were now about to be utilised in similar fashion, for, carted away by the contractors, they were simply broken up, and worked into concrete for the foundations of some of our modern buildings. There was, however, time for them to silently tell their story, and that is one of no mean importance to the student of the early history of our city, especially when taken in connection with the still more important remains of a like nature, which have been recently discovered in other portions of the city wall. The number of these stones, their size, variety, and the artistic detail upon them, confirmed beyond question what has often been denied,* viz., the existence of notable public buildings and structures of importance in the old and prosperous days of the Roman city.

(*To be continued*).

Two Old Religious Plays.

THE words *miracle-plays* and *mysteries* indefinitely applied to early dramatic literature are misleading, inasmuch as a large proportion of the plays that have come down to us, especially in England, are not plays founded on the miracles of saints; and the use of the word mystery by a trade body of skilled workmen is almost forgotten. Yet that sense of the word, *mistère*, *misterium*, shortened from the Latin *ministerium*, *act* or *function*, which, as M. Petit de Julleville shows, was employed in the middle ages to denote a liturgic drama simply as part of the "function" of the church, without any reference to the hidden mysteries of faith, as well as the work-action or art of combined workmen, is the origin of a truly historic term. When the drama stepped out of liturgic action in the church, the secularized religious play was still called a *mistère*, or mistery; when the same play came to be "produced" by the members of a secular "art, craft, or mystery," it had a double claim to the use of the name. The French have adopted the two offspring, mistère and *mestier* (métier), each with its clear signification. For us the term *religious plays* is now far more descriptive, and less ambiguous or open to misconception than either miracle-play or mystery.

The cogency of these remarks was suggested on considering how to designate two interesting plays to which I should like to call attention. There is at present in one of the cases at the British Museum, among the valuable collection displayed by the trustees to illustrate the history of musical notation, a small manuscript quarto, which contains the Office of the Circumcision, and at the end several other short offices for Christmas, Easter, etc., including the music to be sung throughout. This precious volume, written in the twelfth century, in ancient days belonged to the Cathedral of Beauvais (about forty miles from Paris, in Oise); after the French revolution it found its way abroad, in 1860 was in the possession of M. Pacchiarotti of Padua, and has recently been purchased for our national collection. While rejoicing at our good fortune, one cannot help a sympathetic regret that the French have thus lost one of the most interesting relics of their early drama. For, however valuable to the lovers of early music (and we have the testimony of M. Danjou to the elevated and expressive character of some of that contained in the

* But for the discovery of these remains in Thames Street the erection of a wall upon the river bank could hardly have been actually proved. Its existence had been always doubted from the fact of there being no traces of it visible. Lord Lyttelton, however, probably gives the correct explanation for their absence. He says that "in the reign of Henry II. it was not necessary to repair the ruined wall of the city along the river, as there was no danger of an enemy being able to sail up to it after the Tower and Bridge were built." Malcolm, writing with the imperfect knowledge of his time, speaks of the paucity of all remains to be associated with the buildings of Londinium. What up to his day had been discovered leads him to say that "the Romans erected very few buildings of solidity in this metropolis, or that the ruins were worked into succeeding buildings. We have no shafts of columns, no capitals or cornices, nor any large squared plain stones, demonstrative of ruins of magnificence; the splendour of Augusta was confined to the decorations of internal walls and pavements."

volume), it is one of the short pieces at the end which stamps the book with its peculiar mark. "A play of *Daniel* was found in Beauvais to Thy honour, O Christ,—found by the young men":—

Ad honorem tui, Christe,
Danielis ludus iste,
In Belvaco est inventus
Et invenit hunc juventus.

Here we have a play, in Latin verse interspersed with some French words, of 392 lines, together with the music to which it was intended that the young clerks should chant it. It was, in fact, something between an opera and an oratorio. The story is the old one, of King Balthazar, the mysterious writing, Daniel's interpretation, and the lion's den, with his miraculous preservation. I may say in passing that the prophet Habakkuk (Abacuc) for this purpose was rather badly treated; an angel catching him by the hair of his head leads him to the den, and orders him to feed Daniel, after which he is taken back. The personages are numerous,—Balthazar, his princes, satraps, and magi, the queen, Daniel, Darius with princes, a citharist, Abacuc, and an angel, also a chorus (conductus), who brings in the queen, and afterwards Daniel—

Congaudentes celebremus Natalis solempnia.

The play ends, as of course was its object, with prophecies of Christ, by Daniel, "Ecce venit sanctus ille sanctorum sanctissimus," etc., the angel exclaiming:—

Nuncium vobis fero de supernis
Natus est Christus, Dominator orbis,
in Bethleem Jude,
Sic enim propheta dixerat ante.

The play, well-known to French writers, and published in the works of Danjou and Coussemaker, resembles the *Daniel* of Hilarius (a pupil of Abelard), also of the twelfth century; both are semi-liturgic, dramas of the transition period, as they were never an integral part of the office, being intended, it is supposed, for the recreation of the young clerks who played them, but also used to heighten the effect of the sacred feast of Christmas, at which they are known to have been performed.

Now, it is this fact of the performance of the *Daniel* of Beauvais at Christmas that supplies us with a clue to the history of these and some other early French plays. Through this clue which has been elaborately worked out by M. Sepet (*Les Prophètes du Christ*, Paris, 1878),* a most interesting link is given with some of the plays in English collections, although these are of later date. There exists a sermon, very generally ascribed in the middle ages to Augustine (though rejected as apocryphal by the Benedictines), which is found in a breviary of Arles of the twelfth century as a lesson for the office of Christmas, in which the writer adjures the Jews to come forward and testify to Christ; and he brings forth in succession, dialogue-wise, quoting their own words, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Moses, David, Habbakuk, Simeon, Zachariah and Elizabeth, John the Baptist, Virgil, Nebuchadnezzar, and the Sybil. This "lesson," which there is reason to believe was intoned or recited by one or perhaps two voices, is the germ from which grew the early French liturgic drama of *The Prophets of Christ* (Limoges), containing nearly the same personages, also performed at Christmas. In the various dramatic developments of the idea furnished by this sermon, others, such as Balaam, Aaron, even Adam, Abel, and Abraham, were added to the *Procession of Prophets*, who were all to do honour to the coming Christ. Further, the stories of certain members of the "Procession" were selected as subjects for entire plays; hence we get the plays of Daniel (as that of Beauvais); of Balaam, a favourite subject; of Abel; of Adam, *e.g.*, *Le Drame d'Adam*, the third act of which consists of the procession headed by Abraham; and others, possibly too the idea for a separate play of Abraham. M. Sepet goes so far, in effect, as to say that the collection of plays or "mystère du Viel Testament" of the sixteenth century is but a further amplification of this process of assimilation and disintegration.

But however far the dramatization of separate histories went, the notion of a series of prophets uttering their testimony for Christ was still retained, either as play, monologue, or show. In our own cycles of

* First issued as five articles in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, Sér. 6, vols. iii., iv., and vol. xxxviii.

the fifteenth century, the plays taken from the Old Testament are set at the beginning, in chronological order, and are usually linked to those of the New Testament by a play or plays dealing with prophecy; the idea naturally occurring that they are so arranged in accordance with the order of the Bible. But this idea does not explain the great blanks, or the apparently arbitrary choice of subjects; M. Sepet's essay introduces a unity of design and of growth, which enables a comprehension of the scattered plays and allusions, not only in English and French, but in every literature where the so-called sermon of Augustine was known. Thus, in the Chester collection, the fifth play on Moses, Balaak, and Balaam with his ass (a very important personage!) introduces the Salutation; while the prophecies of the Sybil follow that subject; at Coventry a long row of "The Prophets" come between the stories of Moses and of Anna (mother of Mary); while in the two Yorkshire cycles, York and Woodkirk, (Towneley), "Processus Prophetarum" either follows or precedes (this latter probably is an error of the old copyist) the history of Pharaoh and the Red Sea. In a series where the subjects are treated with such dramatic and metric ability as, for example, the York plays, it is particularly puzzling to come upon a long monologue with quotations from the Vulgate; read in the light of M. Sepet's essay, it becomes apparent how the old Christmas "lesson," handed down through various plays, had been introduced into the later cycles, and become a necessary portion of their teaching.

By the time that the story of Abraham came to form a part of these later cycles of plays, the patriarch had lost his character as prophet of Christ, though this typical value may have been commonly understood. The second play under our eye, on the history of *Abraham and Isaac*, which has been disinterred in a fifteenth century manuscript at Brome Hall, Suffolk, and printed in a recent number of *Anglia*,* shows this completely. The play appears to have been written for separate performance, and is concluded by the address of a "Doctor" to the audience, in which he enforces the lessons of faith and obedience, but says not a word about prophecy or type of Christianity. The subject of Abraham and Isaac was a favourite in England; it is found in each of our four cycles, and we have the Dublin and Brome plays besides. There was one also at Beverley, and mention has just turned up of "A booke of Abraam and Isaacke, in the kepyng of the churche wardeyns" of St. Dunstan's, Canterbury, in 1491. But of all the six texts remaining, this of Brome is the most pathetic and true to nature; in its play of feeling between father and child, the struggle between obedience and duty, the reference to the mother, the joyful rebound of emotion after the painful strain between duty and affection, expressing itself in the kisses of Abraham, and the apostrophes of Isaac to the "gentle sheep,"—all these make up a moving dramatic treatment worthy the perusal of a modern reader. By such means was simple faith taught and nourished, the elements of everlasting interest, human and divine, within the old story were seized and recognised in this play of our East Anglian forefathers.

L. TOULMIN-SMITH.

* *Anglia*, Band vii., heft 3, 1884, p. 316.

Ralph Allen, Prior Park, and Bath.

PART I.

BY R. E. PEACH.

THERE is a very general feeling prevalent that the epoch of Beau Nash in Bath is that of which the Bathonians of to-day are most proud, and which they regard as most honourable in their annals. If a Bath resident visits a distant locality, and falls amongst strangers, as he is likely to do, the first reference to his famous city is certain to be in connection with the times and exploits of Beau Nash. This is very natural when it is considered that Goldsmith took such pains to invest the life of the vulgar old charlatan with such interesting attributes, and that he lent the aid of his irresistible pen to describe the deeds of a man, who, if he had lived in the present day, would scarcely have aspired

to the dignity of a billiard-marker. If, to some extent, Nash reflected in his life and character the coarseness and vulgarity of a certain portion of the upper class of his day, and if, to some extent also, he toned down and reduced to subjection the unruly spirits, which, in a rude and coarse age, gravitated to Bath, he did so, not because he cared one jot for refinement or morality, but because he could not rule over anarchy and disorder. The chief object of Nash was personal aggrandisement and power. To this end he framed his code of laws *Arbiter Elegantiarum.* Such a code of laws showed how well Nash understood the "little people of his little kingdom," and in applying them he displayed decision, tact, and judgment.

Making due allowance for the difference in the times in which we live, such leading-strings would now be regarded as a ponderous joke. It is scarcely possible to believe that ladies and gentlemen could have submitted to such a Draconic code. So far Nash showed his sagacity that in all the public assemblies he took care that the most rigid decorum should be observed. He put down the booted bully,* and deprived the arrogant duchess of her apron; and in this he did well, that is, if we can realize in these days the heinousness of the crime of a man wearing top-boots, and a woman an apron, in a ball-room 140 years ago. In so far as he suppressed duelling he doubtless did better. The top-boots, it may be assumed, symbolized the bully and blackguard ; and, though we forbear to promulgate scandal, even against the ladies of King Nash's court, the dainty apron, it has been whispered, was the symbolic invitation to a flirtation or an intrigue, and the King, therefore, banished boots and aprons from his presence. The suppression of duelling was a gain to society at large. The same motive which impelled him to insist upon external propriety also influenced him in the matter of duelling. Scandal and rowdyism and fighting would have spoiled his game. He entertained no moral objection to either; but the open sanction of them he knew would bring about a reaction which would shatter his power and ruin his kingdom. But all these seemingly fair phenomena, this gaiety, these charming *re-unions,* were but the fair and glittering sheen which concealed the hideous life beneath,—the life of gambling, gluttony, debauchery, lying, and unrestrained passion and villany of every kind ; the worse because they were not open to the public gaze, whilst yet they were carried on under the criminal sanction of Nash. It has been said that Nash was a coward, and in formulating his decree against duelling he was actuated by a nervous regard for the safety of his own person ; that it enabled him, like O'Connell's vow registered in Heaven, to bully and insult with impunity. Nash was not a coward, not a proved coward at any rate; but it would never have done to allow men to set his laws at defiance within the precincts of his kingdom, and he worked all the elements, from without as well as from within his own dominions, to support his authority. His motives were mixed; but he knew that the days of his reign were numbered unless he could curb the spirits of the bloods of the day.

Men and women in public must be polite and observe the king's decrees ; in private they might tear each other's characters to rags and tatters, gamble away their last farthing, and Nash would pocket his commission with complacent satisfaction. The fowler spread his net, and Nash enticed the pigeons to enter, and then stripped them of their last feather. Laws were made expressly to stop the games in vogue; the genius of Nash invented new ones to evade those laws. But then, Nash was pious and charitable ! Well, that is true. He went to church, and, with tongue in cheek, collected alms for the hospital he had helped better men to found. His charitable instincts he gratified by

* The *booted beau* was succeeded by another kind of beau, the thing called into existence by Nash. There was something manly in the booted creature, who, if he were coarse and vulgar, possessed a certain kind of courage ; but it would be difficult to imagine what the beau, the refined beau of the *Arbiter Elegantiarum* epoch, could be fit for. A writer about the middle of the century says, speaking of the dancers at the old rooms, which stood upon the site of the present Royal Literary Institution :— "Its" (he does not call the thing even a he) "hat was black sattin with a white feather ; coat, waistcoat, and breeches were pink sattin embroidered with silver ; stockings were flesh-coloured silk, and black sattin shoes with fine stone buckles." These "itses" capered about with the "itses" of the other sex, and their conversation was just what might be expected from the fribble and the fal lal.

borrowing money to enable him to give; and these loans he always forgot to repay. He scoffed and blasphemed in private, whilst in public he played the sanctimonious hypocrite to perfection. Goldsmith's *Life of Nash* is an early example of the whitewashing process which has since become an art; but, like many of the later specimens, it should be read occasionally between the lines. What is surprising with regard to Goldsmith's *Life of Nash* is that he should have chosen such a subject for his exquisite pen, which brought him neither emolument nor literary honour. Before Nash died his glory had departed; the times had changed; the blustering gamester and the fast ladies of fashion were already relegated to the limbo of things which had better never have been. He who had so long presided over the private orgies and the public assemblies had outlived the age, the manners, and the morals of which he had been the incarnate representation. Poor, sick, and despised, his occupation gone, he had for years become a pensioner upon the bounty of the Corporation. Goldsmith might have spared posterity the story of his life, in which are mixed up the worst elements of human nature, with scarcely a redeeming feature; as it is, the charm of his style has given immortality to what was almost forgotten before the chief subject who figures in the foreground was consigned to his last resting-place in the abbey. *Sic transit gloria mundi!*

The position of Bath at the beginning of the last century varied very little, either in its general character or in the number of its population, from what it was in the middle of the previous century, and the reasons are obvious enough. The city itself occupied a site of about twenty-three acres, surrounded by a high wall, with four gates; the *liberties* —*i.e.*, the portion within as well as without the walls, enfranchised under Queen Elizabeth's charter—consisted of a part of the Prior's estate, of twenty acres in the parish of Walcot without the walls, so that the whole borough at this time consisted of about fifty-three acres. The great and now populous parishes of Bathwick, Lyncombe, Widcombe, St. Michael's, and Walcot (with the exception referred to), containing, in the aggregate, 48,000 souls, were not included in the city; they were, in fact, mere hamlets, and at no period during the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth centuries did they collectively contain more than 2,000 people. After the Civil Wars, during which Bath was alternately in possession of each of the contending parties, little is known of its internal position. The civic records tell us nothing, whether as the result of the suspension of all civic action, or from the caution exercised by the corporate body not to commit themselves to either side, cannot be determined now. The waters continued to flow, and it is clear that invalids found their way to them; and many found a hospitable refuge in the old Abbey House (which was originally intended, but the Dissolution occurring before it was completed it was never used, as a monastery), which, at that time, was under the direction of Dr. John Sherwood,* and was the resort of all the aristocratic valetudinarians of the day. After the Restoration, Charles II. and Katharine of Braganza, with their whole court, occupied the same mansion, then conducted by Sherwood's successor, the famous Dr. Peirce, who, with the not less distinguished Dr. Guidott, almost monopolised the medical practice in connection with the thermal springs for the best part of half a century. Each of these old physicians has recorded his experience in a book of considerable interest and value. There were few amusements, and it was difficult to imagine a more gloomy place than Bath, whose streets were narrow and ill-paved,† and whose walls ex-

* 1598-1620.

† Henry Chapman, a prominent Bath citizen, in 1673 wrote a very amusing little work, entitled *Thermæ Redivivæ: The City of Bath Described, etc.* The original edition is scarce, but it is reprinted in the later edition of Guidott's Treatises, published by Leake in 1725. In this treatise Chapman draws a vivid picture of the city, the streets, and the baths. The principal streets were Cheap Street, Stall Street, Westgate Street, and Southgate Street, and the *Vicus*, or High Street, the continuation of which was the Northgate Street. These streets, with the Abbey Yard, really constituted Old Bath, and as late as 1775 the mediæval mansions, with their overhanging upper storeys, or their lower protruding fronts, were the characteristic features of the city. There was, notwithstanding the many discomforts of a fortified mediæval city, much that was picturesque in the old houses, and not a little that was supremely comfortable in the wainscoted rooms, with their quaint, but not

cluded those joyous scenes and lovely peeps which we now get at the corner of every street, whilst rickety gentlemen and pale-faced ladies were carried about in the quaint old hand-chairs of the period. There was then no blending of gaiety, gambling, and reckless pleasure with the bathing, water-drinking, and feeble gossip of a later period. The pious puritanism of the Commonwealth had left a deep impression upon the City of Invalids, and it was not until the close of the century that the reaction began which burst asunder the bonds of propriety and decency, and ran riot, under varying phases, for nearly three-quarters of a century. This kind of life was not alone peculiar to Bath : it was a licentious age, and here it was that vice and licentiousness attracted the largest number of its votaries. It will seem incredible to any one visiting Bath at the present day, that its first Master of Ceremonies, Captain Webster, conducted the dances in a booth erected on the bowling-green. Webster was a ruined gambler, a roué, and a profligate. As was the master of ceremonies, so, for the most part, were the dancers. The scenes were such as would not now be tolerated at a village fair. It was on the death of Webster that Nash, in 1704, came to Bath; *veni, vidi, vici.* He came; he saw that vulgar vice would not do; it must be respectable, it must be seemly, or it could not last; he conquered! But it is a curious fact to note, that all the proceedings of Nash and his Cappadocian kingdom were confined within the walls, and that *that other life*, which was about to begin, knew not Nash, nor his people. If he had never lived, the Bath of to-day would have been the same as it is, without the evil traditions which he bequeathed; *if only such as he had lived*, Bath might have still remained the old-fashioned city within its sculptured walls as it was when Holinshead compiled his chronicles, and when good Queen Bess declared that her royal nose was offended by unpleasant effluvia, which she called "stinkes."

inelegant, chimneypieces, and the *entourage* of the period. These mansions were occupied by the chief physicians, notaries, and other professional men, who provided for their own residential needs, and turned a pretty big penny, by letting out their superfluous apartments to the sick visitors who sought the aid of the baths.—See Gilmour's *Map*, 1691.

Shortly after Nash came another phase of life;* a great and rapid transition from the dull and torpid state of the former century, as distinct from, and as independent of, what has been called the fashionable epoch, took place—I mean the advent of Ralph Allen and John Wood the architect, and their respective and united influence upon the immediate and future fortunes of the city.

All kinds of romances and fictions have been invented about Ralph Allen, his success in life, and the causes thereof. The chief part of what follows in reference to him will have more to do with the building of his magnificent mansion, rather than with the man himself; only so much of his personal biography will be given as will render the story clear, and perhaps add something to its interest.

Ralph Allen† was born at St. Blaise, or St. Blazey (as it is now called) near St. Austell, in Cornwall, in the year 1693. The place of his birth was a public-house, called the Duke William Inn, situated in St. Blazey Highway, about a mile and a-half from the town and church of St. Blazey. The house, the property of Major Carlyòn, of Treyrehan, in the same parish, has been for some years converted into dwelling-houses. So says Mr. Bartlett, the present vicar. The Rev. R. Graves, of Claverton, author of *The*

* To describe this "other life" means to give a history of the city from 1727, when the work of Wood began, to the end of the century. Two distinct classes of visitors and residents occupied the city—those who came purely for excitement, pleasure, and dissipation, and those who came for health, retirement, and refined society. The former, for the most part, until 1755, when the walls were pulled down, and all things changed, were the *habitués* of the old lodging-houses, some of the most obscure dens; twelve shillings a week was the maximum cost of lodgings, and the minimum would be difficult to guess even. This class of visitors were all "gentlemen"—that is, they had no visible or ostensible profession or calling; they were adventurers, looking for rich widows, or for pigeons to *rook.* The rich and opulent lived chiefly at the Bear Inn, made famous by Smollett and Anstey; whilst others found all they sought in the way of comfort, elegance, and refinement in the palaces Wood had erected without the gates: The Parades, Queen's Square, and other localities, which Wood himself describes in his book on the city which, by his genius, he called into existence.

† I have quoted from the late Rev. F. Kilvert's essay those portions which relate to Allen's earlier career, and which comprehends all that can, with anything like accuracy, be known about him.

Spiritual Quixote, writing about the year 1800, says :—

An ingenious young gentleman, who has lately made a tour of the West, showed me a drawing of the house where Mr. Allen was born, which is still shown to strangers, not merely as an object of curiosity, but by many of those who had partaken of his bounty, and are still living, with a kind of religious veneration. The house (he continues) seems to have been the residence of a gentleman's family; and, though now converted into a farmhouse, by no means warrants Mr. Pope's epithet of "low-born Allen," which, on a hint from Bishop Warburton, was changed into "humble Allen."

Some probability that the latter couple were Mr. Allen's parents arises from the circumstance of a sister of Mr. Allen's having, as we shall presently see, married a person of the name of Elliot.

John Allen, of the parish of St. Blazey, and Mary Elliott, of the parish of St. Austell, were marryed the 10th of February.

Many entries of births, marriages, and deaths of the Allen family occur in the registry of St. Blazey, even as late as the year 1810; but these may be passed over as foreign to the present design. Of Ralph Allen himself the baptismal register does not appear. The name of Allen is now no longer known in the parish.

Mr. Allen's father seems, from the brief records that have come down to us, to have borne a high character for honesty and straightforwardness. Mr. Polwhele gives the following anecdote of him :—

In a severely-contested election for the county (Cornwall), in which the candidates were Edgcumbe, Boscawen, Granville (of Stowe), and Trevanion, Mr. Boscawen called upon Mr. Allen, and asked for a pint of his beer, requesting Mr. Allen to drink with him. Mr. Allen, being naturally obliging, had no hesitation in complying with the request of the stranger. Mr. Boscawen (who was *incog.*) took an occasion to inquire the news of the neighbourhood and day; and, the election being then most prominent, the subject was immediately introduced. After conversing in a mere cursory manner, Mr. Boscawen began to inquire into the general opinion of the private characters of the candidates, which Mr. Allen as freely gave him. Mr. Boscawen then inquired who this Boscawen was, and what Allen thought of him? Allen observed, "He is much respected, I believe, in his neighbourhood; but, in his public capacity, we all suspect him to be unsound." The conversation having proceeded thus far, several of Mr. Boscawen's attendants came up, and addressed him in his proper form. Mr. Allen felt abashed, and apologised for the freedom which he had ignorantly taken. "Give me your hand, my honest friend" (cried the gentleman); "you have given me no offence; here is your money for the beer. I hope soon to undeceive the county, and prove that Boscawen is not unsound."

The first mention I find of Ralph is his having been placed under the care of his grandmother (whether paternal or maternal does not appear), who kept the post office at St. Colomb.

He there discovered (says Mr. Graves) a turn for business, a cleverness in arithmetic, and a steadiness of application, which seemed to indicate his future eminence. The inspector of the post office having come into Cornwall, and, among other towns, having visited St. Columb, was highly pleased with the uncommon neatness and regularity of young Allen's figures and accounts, and expressed a wish to see the boy in a situation where ingenuity and industry might have a wider scope and more encouragement. Not long afterwards, Allen's friends consented to his leaving Cornwall, and he appears to have come to Bath.

For what next follows I am indebted to Mr. Graves, who prefaces his reminiscences with the following modest and candid statement :—

In what I am going to relate in these few anecdotes, I do not pretend to great accuracy as to time and other circumstances; but they are what were generally known and related fifty years ago (about 1750), when I first came to reside in the vicinity of Bath, as facts of which few people in the neighbourhood could be ignorant. In the year 1715, Mr. Allen was one of the clerks in the post office in this city. In this situation, having got intelligence of a waggon-load of arms coming up from the west for the use of the disaffected in this part of England (who were supposed to have projected an insurrection in order to co-operate with that in Scotland and in the North of England), he communicated this to General Wade, who was then quartered at Bath with troops; and who, finding him a sensible, prudent young man, got him advanced, after the death of Mr. Quash who was then postmaster, to that station, and afterwards married him to Miss Earl, his natural daughter.*

Mr. Allen's progress in civic standing and consideration must have been rapid; for we find him, in 1722, on the evidence of a picture of him lately discovered, a member of the Common Council.†

* This is one of many other stories, all more or less conjectural. It seems most unlikely that Allen would have opened letters on his own responsibility. Wade was likely to be well informed upon the rising that was in contemplation, and no doubt empowered Allen to watch the correspondence, which at that time must have passed through the Bath post office.

† The influence of Allen was supreme in and out of the Corporation; so much so that that body was called "The one-headed Corporation"; but his ser-

In 1742 he served the office of mayor; his sole mayoralty. In his situation of postmaster, Mr. Allen projected the plan of multiplying the cross posts upon so extensive a scale as to add £6,000 a year to the revenue. Upon the success of which speculation he was so confident, that he himself farmed it at that price; and ventured at a later period to take a lease of it at £20,000 a year; yet he was supposed to have had a very advantageous bargain. It is stated, by another authority, that he enjoyed his contract forty-two years; during which time he derived, on an average, £12,000 a year from it.

The Blue Book on the late Mr. Palmer's claims to compensation for further extensive improvements in the post office * refers to Mr. Allen's last contract with the Government as being still extant, and as having been made for seven years from 1760. Of his former contracts there is no record remaining; but it is doubted by competent authorities whether they could have been made for so long a term as twenty-one years.

(*To be continued.*)

vices were so eminent and his conduct so prudent that he never for a moment ceased to possess the absolute confidence of the whole city.

* Mr. Palmer originated mail coaches, which largely superseded the cross-posts system. It is not a little to the honour of Bath that post office reform, in its earliest and successive stages, originated, and was first tried there; the mail coach, No. 1, was driven from the "Lamb," in Stall Street, by John Dover, the landlord, in 1784, as far as Devizes, Palmer sitting on the box-seat by his side.

Uncollected Tenures and Manorial Customs.

BY W. CAREW HAZLITT.

PART II.

GARRETT OR GARVETT, CO. OF SURREY.

THIS was an ancient hamlet between Wandsworth and Wimbledon, and consisted of about fifty houses when Lysons wrote in 1792. According to that writer, in the time of James I. there was only one house here, known as the Garvett. Garrett used to be celebrated for the election of a mock mayor annually at the meeting of parliament, when a burlesque ceremony, accompanied by a good deal of noise and drinking at the public-house, took place, and considerable diversion was created by the appearance of the candidates—some more or less well-known characters in low life—in tawdry finery and in smart equipages provided by the tavern-keepers. The custom, which forms the basis of Foote's play called *The Mayor of Garrett*, was on the decline in the last century, and has been lately wholly discontinued. The place itself, which was within present memory a retired and rural nook, is now almost covered with houses.

The last member for Garrett (for it had its parliamentary as well as its municipal representation) was Sir Jeffrey Dunstan, Kt. Cosmopolite and Muffin-Seller.

GLAMIS OR GLAMMIS AND TANADICE, CO. OF FORFAR.

In April, 1363, John de Logy, probably the father of Margaret de Logy, who in that month married David II., King of Scots, received charters of these two thanedoms, the first to be held of the king by the delivery of a red falcon, the latter by that of a sparrow-hawk, at Pentecost yearly. This John de Logy was doubtless the same who, in 1359, had obtained from David II. a grant of the lands of Strongartnay, in Perthshire.

GLYMPTON, CO. QF OXFORD.

In the time of James II., there was a fee-farm rent of 6*s*. 8*d*. payable to Mr. Samuel Barton at or about Christmas. All house-keepers received a peck of wheat and a shilling, or in lieu thereof a dinner. The Easter offerings (2*d*. a head) were discontinued in consequence of a compromise by which the parishioners renounced their old usage of coming to the incumbent's house and regaling themselves at his expense. This is curious, because it is now understood that the clergyman of a parish is entitled to an Easter poll-tax of fourpence, but instead of his parishioners bringing it to him and having refreshment, the minister must collect the money himself. The offering was originally, it seems, therefore, not an imposition. An equivalent was expected and received in the shape of hospitality.

* *Current Notes*, July, 1854.

Haddington, East Lothian.

It is said that there is a grant of old standing in this borough town for the purpose of enabling the bellman on every evening, from Martinmas to Candlemas, to chant a set of doggerel verses admonishing all good folks to be cautious in the use of fire and candle. It is called the "Coal and Candle Grant," and originated in the former frequency of disastrous conflagrations from the carelessness of householders. The lines are printed in *Current Notes* for July, 1854.

Hammersmith, co. of Middlesex.

Faulkner, in his account of this parish or hamlet (1839, p. 128), refers to the preservation of the heart of Sir Nicholas Crisp in an urn on a pedestal beneath a bust of Charles I. within the old church; and he informs us that Crisp's body was interred in the family vault at St. Mildred's, Bread Street, London, but that he directed that his heart should be deposited as described above. It used to be the custom to take out the heart on each anniversary of its entombment, and to refresh it with a glass of wine; but after the lapse of a century and a half it became decayed, and it was finally enclosed in a leaden case, and allowed to repose undisturbed. There is a considerable property in the neighbourhood, known as the Crisp Charity, administered by trustees; but I have not ascertained whether the ceremony above referred to was connected therewith.

Hatfield Broad Oak, co. of Essex.

According to Lambarde, a grant of this Hatfield was made by Alberic de Vere, to which he attached, in lieu of a seal, a black-hafted knife, "like unto an olde halfepenny whittle."

Horstead Keynes, co. of Sussex.

From the diary of the Rev. Giles Moore, vicar of this parish from 1655 to 1679, it appears that it was the custom for the church-wardens to receive one penny for each communicant out of the threepence payable to the vicar for new communicants, or two-pence for persons who had had the sacrament administered on a former occasion.*

* *Sussex Archæol. Coll.* i. 72.

Hudson's Bay.

By the charter granted to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670 by Charles II., that association obtained the sole and absolute government of the Hudson's Bay territory or Rupert's Land, on condition that it should pay yearly to the king and his successors two elks and two black beavers whenever and as often as they should enter into the said territories. The charter expired in 1869; and the territory is, in consideration of the payment of £300,000, transferred to the Dominion of Canada.

Kendal, co. of Westmoreland.

It appears from Bruce's notes to Manningham's Diary, temp. James I., p. 130, that this place enjoyed the right of holding fairs, like Manningtree, subject to the performance of stage plays, every year.

Kepperton and Allerton, co. of Kent.

King John gave several lands at Kepperton and Allerton to Solomon Attefield, to be held by this singular tenure, that so often as the king should be pleased to cross the sea, the said Solomon, or his heirs, should be obliged to go with him, to hold his Majesty's head, if there should be occasion for it, that is, if he should be sea-sick; and it appears by the record in the Tower that this same office of head-holding was actually performed in the reign of Edward I.*

Kiddington or Kidlington, co. of Oxford.

Hearne, in his diary, 1723, seems to think that Kidlington is a mistake on Blount's part for Kirtleton, but the fact seems to be that Kirtleton is merely a corruption of Kidlington, as Burlington, in Yorkshire, is of Bridlington. The only place indeed approaching Kirtleton in name is, so far as one can see, Kirtlington, in Nottinghamshire.

Kintail, co. of Ross.

A large sheep farm here, according to the *Wrexham Advertiser* for April 4th, 1874, was then held on a lease of two hundred years by the tenure of a bunch of heather annually and the services of clanship.

* Collet's (or rather Byerley's) *Relics of Literature* 1823, p. 152.

KIRKCUDBRIGHT.

The steward depute of Kirkcudbright stewartry was entitled by immemorial custom to take a mart cow out of each of the twenty-nine parishes within his jurisdiction on payment for each cow of five shillings Scots, which was called the *Queen's Money*. The fellow-parishioners of the owner were bound to make up to him under these circumstances the market value of the beast.*

KNARESBOROUGH, CO. OF YORK.

Henry II., to reward the loyal services of two generations of De Stutevilles, granted Knaresborough and Burgh, with their appurtenances, to William de Stuteville and his heirs, to hold by payment of three knights' fees.†

In 2 Henry V. (1415), Sir Robert Plumpton, Seneschal of the Honour of Knaresborough, and afterwards steward of the forest, was retained to serve the Duke of Bedford, Constable of England, in peace and in war, at a fee of twenty marks in time of peace, and wages suitable to his degree in time of war, together with *bouche de court* (Skelton's *bowge of court*) for himself, an esquire, and his two valets, when at the hostelry of the Duke, or in his company.

KNIGHTLOW, KNYTHLAW, OR CNUTSHETSLAW, CO. OF WARWICK.

By the side of the London and Holyhead road, about six miles from Coventry, stands a somewhat large tumulus or mound, on which is a stone, supposed to be the socket of an ancient cross. Here, before sunrise, on each Martinmas Day (Nov. 11th) the steward of the Duke of Buccleuch receives from representatives of all the parishes within the manor what is called wrath money, varying from a penny to 2*s*. 3½*d*., under forfeiture of 30*s*. and a white bull. The whole amount collected does not exceed 10*s*., and the Duke or his agent subsequently entertains the party with a breakfast at Stretton. In the year 1881, at the appointed time, the lord's bailiff or steward appeared, approached the spot, and opened a book, containing the register. He then read aloud a notice, beginning :

Wrath money collected by his Grace the Duke of Buccleuch, as lord of the manor of the hundred of Knightlow.

And as he called out the names, each contributor successively walked thrice about the stone, pronounced the words *wrath money*, and then threw his dole into the hollow of the stone. There was a good attendance, a few defaulters being recorded, among them Leamington, Hastings (for the second time), and Arbury. The breakfast is probably the sole reason why the absentees are not more numerous.

It is said that there were six hundreds here at the Norman Conquest, and that these were subsequently reduced to four. The four firs on the mound are supposed to mark the burial places of as many knights, though Dugdale mentions only one knight, and so far as the etymology of the name is concerned, it has no necessary connection with one or the other.

LEWES, CO. OF SUSSEX.

See *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vii. 215, for a notice of a tenure *per cultellum*, as at Abingdon Abbey.

LICHFIELD, CO. OF WARWICK.

They had here a custom called the Green Bower Feast annually on Whit-Monday and Tuesday, by which, it is said, they held their charter. The bailiff and sheriffs took part in it.

LONDON.

At the coronation of Queen Anne Boleyn, in 1533, in response to a royal proclamation, the Duke of Norfolk claimed to be earl marshal, the Earl of Arundel high butler, the Earl of Oxford to be chamberlain, Viscount Lisle to be pantler, Lord Abergavenny to be chief larderer, Lord Bray to be almoner, and Sir Henry Wyat to be ewrer.

Besides these, the Mayor of London claimed to serve the queen with a cup of gold, and a cup of assay of the same, and that twelve citizens should attend on the cupboard, and the mayor to have the two cups for his labour, which was allowed. The Cinque Ports claimed to bear a canopy over

* Chambers' *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, iii. 362.

† *Plumpton Correspondence*, Camd. Soc. xiii. See *ibidem* some further curious information as to the tenure of this property.

the queen's head on the coronation day, with four gilt bells, and to have the same for a reward, which was also allowed.*

In 1343, a piece of land in Seacoal Lane, contiguous to the Fleet River, was granted to the butchers of St. Nicholas Shambles on condition that they should keep certain buildings thereon in good repair, and send the Lord Mayor annually on Christmas Day a boar's head.†

By the custom of London, a man's estate was divisible into three portions, the widow's, the eldest son's, and the younger children's. The last was called *the dead man's part*, and paid the debts.

Maryland, in America.

Maryland, so called after Henrietta Maria, had been originally given by Charles I. to the first Lord Baltimore, Secretary of State for many years to James I. His son Cecil, named after Sir Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury, turned Papist, and all the settlers in the new province were intended to be of the same persuasion. In the first place, Secretary Calvert had founded a settlement at Avalon, in Newfoundland, on which he expended a large sum of money, but which, in consequence of the hostility of the French, he was eventually obliged to abandon.

Maryland, like all the early American colonies, was held, as we see by the charter 4 Charles I., in free and common socage. There are shillings, sixpences, and groats, with the head of the second Lord Baltimore on the obverse and the legend "✠ CÆCILIVS : DNS : TERRÆ-MARIÆ : ETC.," and on the other side, "CRESCITE ET MVLTIPLICAMINI," with the Calvert arms and the value. There was also a separate coinage, in connection with this grant, for Annapolis, in Maryland.

Master of the Requests.

It was usual for this functionary to receive at Christmas from the Custom House two tuns of wine. He had also a bountiful allowance out of the Wardrobe of plate and furniture, a Church Service, and by strict right a velvet bed. Lady Fanshawe‡ mentions that, in her husband's absence, she received this gratuity of wine in 1661, as well as Sir Richard Fanshawe's due, as Secretary of the Latin Tongue, of fifteen ounces of gilt plate out of the Jewel House. But her ladyship lets us know that the velvet bed was withheld.

* Holinshed, edit. 1808, iii. 779.
† Riley's *Memorials of London*, 1868, p. 214.
‡ *Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe*, 1830, pp. 134, 137.

Midleton and Langher, co. of York.

About 1295, Sir Robert Plumpton gave in frank marriage to his son of the same name and his wife Lucy, daughter of Sir William de Ros, land to the value of 100*s*. in Midleton and Langher, with common of turbary and right of stray in the pasture and wood of Nessfield, under a quit rent of a root of ginger to Sir Patrick de Westwick in lieu of all suit and secular service, save that the tenants were to grind at the mill of Nessfield *ad vicessimum vas.**

Newcastle-on-Tyne.

It seems to have been the custom for the Sheriff of Northumberland, on the judges in eyre, or on circuit leaving Newcastle, to present them with "all arms," for in North's *Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford* it is said:—

> From Newcastle his lordship's road lay to Carlisle. The Northumberland sheriff gave us all arms, that is, a dagger, knife, penknife, and fork, all together.

Oxnead, co. of Norfolk.

The parson of this parish, on his first entering into the benefice, was bound by ancient custom to pay to the Bishop of Norwich fourteen marks, as we learn from a document printed with the *Paston Letters*, 31 July, 1478. But it seems that the growing crop at the time of his induction was the property of the new incumbent, and was likely to be worth the amount of these first-fruits. But the new-comer was not to be liable for his predecessor's arrears, if any.

Pennsylvania.

By charter of Charles II., March 4, 1681, the tract lying to the north of Maryland, bounded on the east by the Delaware river, and extending as far west as Maryland, and as far northward as was capable of cultivation, was granted to William Penn to hold under the British Crown by fealty, in common socage, paying two beavers' skins yearly and a fifth of all gold and silver ore discovered. This grant appears to have been in satisfac-

* *Plumpton Correspondence*, 1839, xx.

tion of the debt of £16,000 due from the Government to Penn's father, the admiral.

POINSTON, CO. OF YORK.

A farm at Brookhouse, in Langsett, in this parish, paid yearly to Godfrey Bosvile, Esq., or his representative, a snowball at Midsummer and a red rose at Christmas.*

PRIVY COUNCILLOR.

On New Year's Day it was the custom for each privy councillor to present the king with ten pieces of gold in a purse, taking from the privy chamber a receipt for the same. On the delivery of this voucher to the Master of the Jewel House, the latter gave the councillor by his servant 20*s.*, of which 1*s.* 6*d.* went to the master's servant. A privy councillor was also entitled to two tuns of wine yearly.

RICHMOND, CO. OF SURREY.

Walpole, in a letter to Sir Horace Mann, July 27, 1752, mentions that a Mr. Bird ceded a piece of ground near the park here to the Princess Emily [Amelia], when ranger, on the condition or tenure that he should have a key and two bucks a year.

SAINT LAWRENCE, CO. OF CORNWALL.

At the winter cattle fair here, one of two held in the course of the year, and very numerously attended, it used to be customary to elect a mayor of St. Lawrence for the time being; and the way was that whoever could drink most was the successful candidate, and on investiture was placed on a barrel, and rolled down into the Camel, which flows past the village. The inns here have or had a licence serving only for the duration of the fair.

SAINT MERVYN, CO. OF CORNWALL.

For generations the family of Edwards held a cottage adjoining the church of Constantine in this parish by the yearly tribute of a pie made of limpets, raisins, and herbs, on the eve of the tutulary saint. This was known as the Harlyn pie, the service being payable to the owner of that property. The sea has long since covered the spot, and determined the usage.

* Collet's *Relics of Literature*, 1823, p. 153.

SHERBORNE, CO. OF DORSET.

Hutchins mentions Pentecost money as collected here in his time from twelve surrounding parishes. For the year which he cites the levy produced 9*s.* 3*d.*

SHERBURN, CO. OF YORK.

Brathwaite, in his *Barnaby's Journal*, 1638, has the following:—

> Thence to Sherburne, dearely loved,
> And for Pinners well approved;
> Cherry tenths the pastor aymeth
> More than th' soules which he reclaimeth.

This cherry tenth, like the tithe of hops, would be regarded in the light of an extraordinary or special tax.

STIRLING, SCOTLAND.

Until a comparatively recent period, the Jaffreys were portioners at Chartershall, in this vicinity. Their own property appears to have consisted only of about sixteen acres, but the owner enjoyed the right of levying a ground rent of trifling amount on every house and garden in the contiguous village The Bannockburn, which gave its name to the battle, ran through the estate.

SWAINSTHORP, CO. OF NORFOLK.

It appears from one of the Paston Letters that this manor was then held of the king by the third or fourth part of a knight's fee and by castle guard, the owner being obliged to find an armed man, in time of war, to guard the Castle of Norwich for forty days free of cost. In 1444, a rent-charge was settled out of the manor by the Pastons to find a priest to pray for the soul of Justice Paston in the Chapel of Our Lady the Great in Norwich Cathedral.

TAVISTOCK, CO. OF DEVON.

William Rufus granted to the Abbot of Tavistock in 1096 the land or manor of Wherington *per cultellum eburneum*, which ivory knife was laid up in a shrine at that abbey, and had the terms of the grant inscribed on the haft.

TATTERSALL, CO. OF LINCOLN.

Shortly after the Conquest, the lordship of Tattersall (called otherwise Tateshall), together with Tattersall Thorpe and other Lincolnshire estates, was bestowed by William on two Norman nobles, Eudo and Pinso.

On the division of these estates, Tattersall fell to the former, who resided there; and in 1139 his son Hugh founded at Kirkstead an abbey of Cistercians. In 1201, the great-grandson of Eudo received from King John a grant of a weekly market by payment of a well-trained goshawk; and in 1231, Henry III. authorized his son, Robert FitzEudo, to embattle Tattersall, which was the origin of the first castle erected on the spot—a building of which there is no trace. Even the second castle exists only in a fragmentary form.*

THE TEMPLE, LONDON.

Pepys, under date of March 3rd, 1668-9, notes a disturbance which took place here on the occasion of the Lord Mayor dining at the Recorder's, when he held his sword himself, instead of allowing the students to do so, which they claimed as an ancient privilege whenever the Lord Mayor entered those precincts.

TREVENIEL, CO. OF CORNWALL.

The lord of this manor claimed the right of holding the stirrup of the Mayor of Launceston, whenever the latter should mount his horse, on the occasion of the Duke of Cornwall coming into his duchy. †

TRURO, CO. OF CORNWALL.

On the election of a mayor, the mace of the borough was delivered to the lord of the manor, who retained it till a sum of money, equal to 6*d.* for each house, was paid. This was called smoke-money.

WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD.

This college was founded by Mr. Nicholas Wadham, an Essex man, and completed by his wife after his death according to his directions. Natives of the county have a preferential right of admission, *cæteris paribus*, for three scholars and three fellows.‡

WOOLBEDDING, CO. OF SUSSEX.

This manor was held by Odo of the king at the time of the Doomsday Survey. A carucate of land here was possessed at a later date by Roger de Ulebedding by the serjeanty of carrying the gonfalon before the king at Sparkford in Hampshire.

* *Lincolnshire Topographical Collections*, 1843.
† Wallis's *Cornwall Register*, 1847, p. 296.
‡ Sir John Bramston's *Autobiography*, p. 102.

Early English Inventions.

PART III.

THE remaining inventions which we are able to present to the readers of THE ANTIQUARY extend from October 1612 to October 1617; and as these are taken from the records known as the *Pells Privy Seal Books*, they have never before been published. I am indebted to Mr. R. B. Prosser for these valuable documents.

"October 1612. Alday, Grant.—A graunt unto Edward Alday for 21 yeares at the suite and noiacon of Susanna Hardanville widow heretofore wife of Thomas Morley sometime one of the gentlemen of the Chapple to the late Queene Elizabeth (to whome the said Queene made the like graunt) of the benefit of the sole printing of anie set songs in parts in the English french and Italien tongues to be song or plaid in anie Church or Chamber or otherwise and to rule and sell anie printed bookes or papers of songs in anie the said tonge wth prouiso that it shall not extend to the printing of ballads and that upon significacon of anie inconvenience in this graunt frõ anie six of the privie Counsell the patent to be revoked and made void. Subscribed by the lords of the Counsell. Procured by Sr Thos. Lake."

In the following patent for making artificial stone it will be noticed there is some variation in the terms of the grant:—

"November 1612. Endecot and al Priviledg. Stayed at the Privy Seale.—A priviledg graunted vnto John Endecot and Mathew Burghe that they and their assignes only for xxi yeares shall and may make and compose w^th^in the Realmes of England and Ireland artificiall stones resembling marble Porfrey and Ramize or resembling any other Stone fit to be vsed for building or for Tombstones or tablestones or for the garnishing of buildings or Tombes wch they have invented before the date hereof and the same to vtter w^th^in the said Realmes. Subscr̃ by Mr. Attorney vpon direccon from Sr Roger Wilbraham vpon certificate made vnto him by the Earle of Shrewsbury the Lo : Lisle and the Lo : Stanhope of the first invention and the conveniency thereof vpon reference vnto their Lo^ps^ from his Matie Procur by Sr Rog^r^ Wilbraham."

Here we have a licence for a sort of peripatetic Inventions Exhibition :—

"March 1613. Pendleton, Priviledge.—A Priviledge for George Pendleton during his life to shew any Artificiall Instrum^{te} Motions and Modells of ancyent Citties and other showes (wch by his industry and at his great charges he hath devised) wthin any his Ma^{te} Domynions Dat vt supr̄ [29th of March]. Subscr̄ by Sr Tho : Lake Procur̄ by Sr Xpofer Parkins."

The next was probably devised for mining purposes :—

"March 1613. Levingston, Grant.—A Graunt vnto Mr Levingston of his Ma^{te} Bedchamber in regard of his service of xxx^{li} p̧ ann reserved vpon a Lease of Priviledge for 14 yeares of a new invention for the raysing and avoyding of water wth the arrerages herof wch are not one yeare. Subscr̄ by Sr Fra : Bacon Procur vt supr̄ [Sr Tho. Lake]."

The following is an agricultural invention of much interest :—

"May 1613. Newton, Priviledge.—A Priviledge graunted vnto Adam Newton, John Southcote and John Wood, Esq^{rs} for 11 yeares of the sole benefitt of a new invencon and meanes to make all manner of graine prosper and thrive much more fruitefull then it doth wthout any helpe of soyling onely by some steeping and dressing of the seed. Reserving to his Matie a full fift pte of the cleere yearely benefitt to be made by vertue of this graunt, wth proviso that if the same hath ben knowne and practized by others heretofore and be not a new invencon then the graunt to be void. Subscribed by Sr Fra. Bacon, procur. by Sr Tho. Lake."

In July 1613 a privilege was granted for twenty-one years "to make all paving tyles, dishes, potts, postes for Gardens, and vessells of all Fashions in such manner as is vsed in Fiansa and other p̧tes beyond the seas Provided that they make them as good and as durable and sell them as cheape as the like brought from beyond the seas have heretofore ben." Here we get very clearly the principle of "new manufacture," not an invention. The underlying reason for monopolies, and on which they were sustained in common law, was "novelty." A new manufacture, by giving employment, conferred a public benefit; and, if a man travelled abroad and brought home with him the knowledge of some new process or industry, he received the same protection as a man who evolved an invention by experiment and research. The quality that connects the two is "novelty;" and, as the public benefited equally, both were equally protected.

In January 1613 [1614] there was a grant for twenty-one years "of the benefitt of a new Invencon (not heretofore practised) for the gathering and dressing of heath to make brushes. Reserving to his Matie 40^{s}. p. an. wth a pviso that they shall vtter them at such Rates as the heath now brought from beyond seas are sold for."

"February 1613 [1614].—A Priviledge vnto Edmund Brunt during the terme of 21 yeares of the benefit of a new invencon for dressing and boulting of meale according to a modell wch is to be d^{d} to his Ma^{ts} Attorney Gnall. Reserving 10^{li} a yeare to his Matie subscr̄ by the Attorney gn̄rall."

In March 1614 there is a grant of the benefit of a new invention for making or converting iron into steel, "as good as is brought from beyond the seas," reserving ten pounds annually to his Majesty, with the usual condition that the patent is to be revoked if inconvenient to the State.

The following highly important invention for obtaining copper in what is now known as the "wet way" we give in full.

"July 1614. L^{d}. Sheffield, & al Priviledge.—A Priviledge to the L^{d}. Sheffield S^{r}. John Bourcheir kt. and Tho. Russell Esqr. for 31 yeares of the sole working and making of copper by a new way of dissolving the vres in water or liquor paying to his Ma^{ty} yearely 200^{li} the first paym^{t}. to begin at Midsomer three yeares hence wth pvision that his Ma^{ty} be noe looser in his Customes or ymposicons vpon ymportacons when the Patentees can make proofe that they can furnish his H^{s}. Kingdomes. And also that the Price of copper shall not be raysed. And that this graunt be not priudiciall to a Patent form'ly made vnto S^{r}. David Murray and Thomas Russell for the making of Brimstone and Danske Copperons. Subscr̄ by Mr. Attorney by order from the lord Trer̄ Procur̄ by S^{r}. Tho. Lake."

"August 1614.—A Priviledge for xxi yeres

graunted to Charles Thynn Thomas Moseley John Moore and Thomas Gedstow of the benefitt of a new Invencon for making of Bay and white salt of Sea water or other Salt water by the heate of the sunne and for venting of the same salt. Together wth a tenth ꝑt of the benefit that shall accrue to his Ma^{ty} by venting the same. And it is intended that his Matie (in consideracon of this graunt) besides the profitt of exportac̃on shall haue a proporc̃on towards the serving of his H^{s}.howse and Navy at easear rates then heretofore procured vt sup̄ [Mr. Secretary Winwood] Subscr̄ by Mr. Attorney gn̄all."

The following commission referring to this invention may be added.

"January 1614 [1615]. Thinne, Commission.—A Com̃ission to Charles Thinne and others partners or interested in the priviledge of making of salt by a new way to treate and conclude in his Mat^{s} name wth the saltmakers and saltowners at what rate they wilbe content to sell their salt that the same may be served at a price certaine for the more ease of the people then now it is. Subscr̄ and pcur̄ vt supra [Mr. Attorney General]."

"September 1614. Browne and al Priviledge.—A Priviledge vnto Tho. Browne Tobie Steward and Nicholas Burleigh for the terme of 21^{tie} yeares for the making of stone potts stone juggs and stone bottles being a new invenc̃on attayned vnto by some charge wch since was referred to the Com^{rs} for suits and vpon examinac̃on thereof found to be convenient wth a proviso that there shalbe no restraint of importac̃on of anye vessell of that nature. Subscr̄ by Mr. Attorney gen̄all. pcur by S^{r}. Daniel Dun."

"May 1615.—A graunt to James Wood John Parker and others and to their assignes for 21 years for the sole making and vsing of an Instrument or engine by them newly invented for sowing setting or seeding and for the better manuring composting and making fertile of arrable ground, wthin the Realme of England and Dominion of Wales, wth speciall authoritie to their patentees and their assignes to contract and License others desiring the same to make or vse the said Instrum^{t}. And that noe ꝑsons wthout such License or agreem^{t} first had and made shalbe ꝑmitted to make or vse the same Reserving to his Mat^{ie} one full tenth ꝑte of all such monies or other cleere pfitt as shalbe yearely obtayned."

The next invention was probably a retort or boiler, and the object was doubtless the saving of wood fuel:—

"June 1615. Windham, Priviledge.—A Priviledge of a new invenc̃on vnto Sr Henry Windham and Nicholas Geff, for the sole making of oyle and pitch, boyling of sope, and melting of Iron wth seacoale and earth coale for xxi yeares Rendring to his Matie the yearelie Rent of 20li Procur̄ by Mr Secretary."

"December 1615. Sturtevant, Priviledge.—A Priviledge of the benefitt of a new Invenc̃on of Lineage and fortage of paper for the vse of Schollers and Shopkeepers (whereof fortage is an art to strengthen weake and bibulous paper to make it beare Incke and Lineage is a ready ruling of paper for the vses aforesaid) graunted to Symon Sturtevant and Abraham Williams for xxxi^{tie} yeres Paying to his Matie the yerely Rent of 4^{li}" . . .

"January 1615. Bassano, Grant.—A Graunt from his Matie vnto Paule Bassano and John Vaudray for xxxi yeares of the benefitt of an invenc̃on to bring in Salmons and Lobsters freshe and vnsalted from the Irish Seas, the north part of England or any other place where the like hath not ben in trade or practise for wch there is reserved to his Matie the yearely rent of x^{li} contayning severall clauses to prevent inconveniences that may arise by this Graunt. Subscr̄ and procur̄ vt supra. [Attorney generall and M^{r}. Secretary Winwood.]"

Here we have possibly the original of a long series of calculating machines:—

"March 1615. Harpur & al Licence.—A Licence for 21 yeares granted to John Harpur Wm Pratt and Jeremy Drewery for the sole making and publishinge of an Instrum^{t} to cast accomptes wthout pen or compters wth inhibic̃on to all others to pubish or imitate the like during the said tearme wthout the Patentees consẽt Reserving to his Matie 3^{li} ꝑ ann Subrcr by Mr Sollicitor Generall Procur̄ v^{t}. supra [Mr Secretary Winwood]."

The next invention also was designed to save wood fuel:—

"July 1616. Ellyotts & al Licence.—A Licence to Willm Ellyott and Mathias Mesey

for the sole makinge of Steele w^th^in the Realme of England in a Reverberatory furnace wth pitcoale from coale and other fuell not beinge woode Reservinge in lieu of his Mat^s^ customes in respect of ymported Steele after or Lady day nexte (at wch tyme ymportacõn is phibited) the yeerly rent of $\overset{li}{293}$—$\overset{s}{16}$—$\overset{d}{8}$ wch is a medm̃ of 3 yeeres pfitt made vpon ymportacõn of that comodity Subscr̃ by Mr Attorney geñall—pcur̃ by Mr Secr̃ Lake."

"February 1616. Retchet, Grant. — A Graunt vnto John Retchet for 21 yeres of the benefit of a new invencõn of wynd-mylles and water mills and other engynes by him devysed for drayning of sourrounded grounds removing of shelves and hurtfull sands in ryvers and such like workes not heretofore practised or knowne w^th^in his Ma^ts^ dominions wth prouiso that these priviledges extend not to the piudice of wyndmills and water-mills for Corne and prouided that if they or anie of them be knowne and practised then for soe much practised or knowne this graunt to be declared void. His Mat^s^ pleasure signified by Mr Secretary Winwood who procured it. Subscr by Mr Attorney gñrall."

"March 1616. Van Elderhuis, Grant.—A Graunt of Priviledge to Michael Van Elderhuis a strainger for 21 yeeres for the sole vse and practise of certaine Workes and engines of his owne invention not heretofore vsed or practised w^th^in his Mat^s^ dominions wch are of singular vse for raysing Water from draynyng surrounded ground wth suche priviledges as in suche grants are vsed. Reserving to his Mat^y^ his heires and successors the Yeerly rent of fiue pounds. There is a puission that the Comissioners of Sewers in eu^r^y County where the said Workes shalbe erected shall allow or disallow thereof as they shall think fitt. It is likewise prouided that for so many of the said workes as shalbe founde to have been formerly practised this grant to be voyde. By order of the Lls of the Counsell. Subscr̃ by M^r^. Attorney gñall Procur̃ by Mr. Chancellor of the Excheq^r^."

"March 1617. Sr John Spilman.—A Priviledge to Sr John Spilman knight for 21 yeeres for the sole makinge of a new kinde of playing card wth the Armes of England and theise 2 lres J. S. imprinted thereon Rendring therefore to his Matie 3^li^ 6^s^ 8^d^ pr annũ Subscr̃ by Mr. Atturney generall Procur̃ by the lo: Fenton."

"Aprill 1617. Powell & al Priviledge.—A priviledge for 21 yeares graunted to Daniell Powell Andreas Palmer and George More and their assignes of the benefitt of a new Invencõn for making of steele of broken cast iron in England and Ireland Paying to his Matie for the same x^li^ ꝑ ann wth Proviso that any former course of making steele shall continew w^th^out restraint. And is revokeable eyther by his Matie or 6 of the Privy Councell in case it shall be found preiudiciall to the Comonwealth. Subscribed by Mr Attorney generall procur̃ v^t^. sup̃."

"April 1617. Murray, Priviledge. — A Priviledge of making and venting of Salt in England and Ireland after a new way graunted to John Murray and others for 21 yeres Paying to his Matie the yerely rent of 4^li^ wth Proviso that notwithstanding this graunt All other former graunts shall continew in force Subscribed by Mr Attorney geñall. Procur̃ by the Earle of Buckingham."

"May 1617. Wildgoose, Priviledge.—A Priviledge for 21 yeares to Thomas Wildgoose and David Boswell gent and their assignes for the sole making of clocks watches and mooving dialls w^th^in the Realmes of England and Ireland after a new forme by them invented whereby such clocks watches and dialls shall continue longer in frame w^th^out repaire and be sold at a farr lower price then heretofore others have vsually ben the rent reserved to his Matie is 40^s^ ꝑ ann Subscr̃ by Mr Atturney. Procur̃ by Mr Henry Gibb."

"June 1617. Gason, Priviledge. — A Priviledge to John Gason and his Asignes for the sole making and vsing of Certaine Engines and instruments by him newly invented for the contryving of locks sluces cuts Draines Mills and Dames for grynding of Corne raizing of Water and making of Rivers nauigable and passable for boates and other vesseles w^th^in the Realme of England and Dominion of Wales for the terme of 21 yeares wth prohibicõn that none shall vse or imitate the same or the like engynes w^th^out the Lycense of the said Gason And is revokeable if it be found inconvenient to this

Realme his Mat[s] pleasure signified by S[r]. Jo Dackomb being then M[r] of Requests. Subscr̃ by M[r] Attorney gñrall."

"October 1617. Wolfen, Grant.—A Graunt to John Jaspar Wolfen one of the gent: of the Privie Chamber and to John Miller a German and their Assignes for the sole makeing and vttering w[th]in his Mat[s] dominions a certaine Oyle or composic̃on of oyles by them newly invented whereby Armo[rs] and Armes shalbe kept from rust and Canker and that at a verie small charge. It is for 21 yeres w[th] a resyvacon of a Rent of 40[ss] to his Ma[tie] ꝑ annũ His Mat[s] pleasure signified and procur̃ by Mr. Secretarie Lake Subscr̃ by Mr. Attorney gñrall."

The patents here given under date 1617 may be interleaved with those in the official printed series which commences in that year.

Among the MSS. of the House of Lords is a collection of documents relating to a patent for making gold and silver thread.* The original grant appears in the *Privy Seal Record* as follows :—

"A priviledge and Lycence graunted to Richard Dike, Mathias Fowler, Humphrey Phippes and John Daide Marchant for the sole making of gould and silver threed com̃only called Venice gould and silver during the terme of 20 yeares yeilding therefore to his Ma[tie] his heires and successors the yearlie rent of x[li] w[th] prohibic̃on to all others to make the like w[th]in the Realmes of England and Ireland. Subscribed by Mr. Attorney geñall. By order from the L. Trer."

The patent was probably not granted, for it was neither signed nor sealed.† But subsequently, in September 1614, the monopoly was granted to Richard Dike, Mathias Fowle, and Fra: Dorrington for twenty-one years. The patentees are to pay his Majesty ten pounds a year, and they covenant to bring yearly from beyond the seas "so much of gold and silver thredd or one of them in bullion as shall amount in value to 5000[li]." This monopoly was apparently an abuse. It was no invention or new manufacture. There is a certificate, dated April 6th, 1616, by Parket Nightingale and others, stating that they spun gold and silver thread for Thomas Williams many years before the granting of the patent.* Again, on April 2nd, 1617 :—

"Certificate of wardens and assistants of the Mystery of Goldsmiths of London, that the trade of gold and silver wire drawing and spinning upon silk is no new invention, but used for sixty years past, and that Thomas Ledsam, now prisoner in the Marshalsea, has served ten years' apprenticeship to the same."

In spite of this there was a re-issue of the monopoly on April 11th, 1618, to Mathias Fowle alone; and there are various warrants for imprisonment for breaches of the patent. The monopoly appears to have been a very lucrative affair, and changed hands at different times. On May 24th, 1619, we have a "License from the King to Sir Nicholas Salter and Richard Dike, the present holders of the patent for making gold and silver thread, to import gold and silver thread from abroad, forasmuch as they cannot make gold thread of a good colour."

A great deal on the subject of this manufacture will be found in the Report quoted. Enough has been adduced to show that it was not an English invention, although it has often been so considered. Perhaps we may find a colourable pretext for the grant in the name "Venice gold and silver," by which the article was sometimes designated; the manufacture may have been new in this country when the grant was made.

Among the patents excepted in the *Statute of Monopolies* is Mansell's Glass Patent. This invention grew out of the necessity for economizing wood fuel. There are various grants on the subject in the *Privy Seal Record*, and some notes from the *State Papers*, which might be given. But the whole subject, which is very interesting, is well recapitulated in Mansell's Patent, which may be read *in extenso* in Webster's *Patent Law Reports*, pp. 17—27.

The various devices for consuming coal instead of wood are worthy of much attention. There was great anxiety at this period with regard to the timber resources of the country, evident in numerous orders which are printed in the *Calendars of State Papers*. To economize wood was a national benefit, and patents for invention with this object rested on a very secure basis. Altogether these Early English

* *Hist. MSS. Commission Report*, iii., p. 14, *et seq.*
† *Ibid.*

* *Ibid.*

inventions lead us to realize how thoroughly national and popular an institution is the English patent law; and it should be a source of gratification to us to know also that it is the foundation and model of the patent laws of the whole world.

In a notice of our first article on the present subject, the *Academy* (July 18th) drew attention to the patent for making the philosopher's stone, which we believe to be the earliest record of an English invention. In a letter to the *Academy* (July 25th), I communicated three patents for the transmutation of metals, *temp*. Edward III., Edward IV., and Henry VI.; and I hope to be able before long to lay before the readers of THE ANTIQUARY the original patent for the philosopher's stone.

T. FAIRMAN ORDISH.

An Episode of Mediaeval Nihilism.

BY HUBERT HALL.

PART II.

WILLIAM TAYLBOIS was arrested in the spring of 1450, probably for suspected complicity in the premature rising of the Kentish "Bluebeard," and was lodged in Newgate. For the next year he seems to have been a political prisoner under the surveillance of Sir John Middleton, one of the sheriffs. Here we have found him, in constant communication with the agents of his party, engaged in active conspiracy against the Government. It was in the autumn of this same year that the King inaugurated the Kentish assizes which dealt with the participators in the recent insurrection. During the whole of the year, however, libels against the ministers were manufactured by the prisoner's chaplain under his patron's eye, and were scattered broadcast through the land, from north to south. Popular discontent was again awakened by the serious loss to the English revenue threatened through the abandonment of Aquitaine, and full advantage was taken of the circumstance by the conspirators. These libels had already borne fruit with the Commons. An earlier object of their ribald invective, Lord Say, had been barbarously murdered by the late insurgents under Jack Cade. Lord Cromwell was a marked and discredited man, whose life was scarcely worth a day's purchase. Their next victim was Somerset, whose house in the Blackfriars was pillaged by the mob, amongst whom these seditious hand-bills had just been distributed. We hear that the authors even contemplated the inclusion of Cardinal Kemp's name amongst the statesmen held up to execration, notwithstanding that this prelate was himself a Kentishman, one of the people, and the benefactor of his native place. Even so, no considerations of that kind would have weighed with the grandchildren of the murderers of Simon de Sudbury!

Itm ye said Sr J. Stanes, preest & servaunt to William Talybois, Squire, hath confessed yat in the tyme the said William Talybois was in the prison of Newgate in the City of London and also in ye house of John Myddylton, shirref of the said cite, commaunded the said Sr John and his fellawe John Millom, servaunt & clerk to his said maister Talybois, to make, conceyve, & ymagine divers billes & letteres ayenst the lord Cromwell, geving therin plaine instructyon in ye said prison & hous of ye said shireef of the matter of the said billes [& letteres]. Wherthurgh the commons of this land shulde engruege agayn ye said lord Cromwell and Ryse upon hym—sayeing plainly it was the next meane & way yat he couth finde to the destruccon of ye said Lord Cromwell. Wheron the said Sr John & his felawe went into a place in Aylerysgate strete in London at ye signe of ye Cristofer, and ther they made [divers] billes & letteres, the which they shewed to their said Maister Taylbois in the said pryson & hous of ye said shiryef. The which letteres & billes by th advyce, commandement, & informacon of their said maister they both added to & mynyshed & writ them clere and theym fixed & sett up & sent forth into divers places according to his commandment, for the which he paide for theyr costes at everye tyme where as they rode or went abowte the setting up of ye said billes & letteres. That is to say. At Sandwych in a Tavern they fixed and sett up a bille. They [delyvered at] Billynsgate to John Richardson certeyn billes to bere to Rouchestre and gaf hym a peny. At London upon Poule's [crosse] they fixed & sett up divers billes. At the Crosse in the Chepe they fixed & sett up divers billes. At the standard in the Chepe the[y fixed & s]ett [upp] divers billes. On ye standard in Cornhill they fixed & sett upp divers billes. And on ye stulpes* at London brigge ends [they fixed &] sett up divers billes.

Yt upon Saterday next before St Margarete day† the yere ye kyng oure sovereyn lorde yat now is xxixth he came to London from Kyme to his said

* Posts.

† 20th July.

maister Tailboys w[t] xx[ti] of gold & silver, and there he [instructed] the said S[r] John how & in what wyse he shulde mak a bille for to be sette up in Kent. And thanne he & John Millom [mad a bille by] his informacon, and after yat it was made bare it to hym and showed it to hym, the wych he lyked well, and [gaf] xx[s] of gold to hyre withall horsez and for their expensez. And on the Monday next after they come to London agayn to hym and here they were accorded that the said S[r] John and John Millom shulde ryde to Grantham and so Northward to sett up [divers] billes; and the said S[r] John departed from hym at London and John Millom lefte still w[t] hym. And he gaf the said S[r] John in commandement to ryde to Kyme in his way to gav iiij dere be slayn & sende to hym to London baken. And so they were sente by a man of his owne. And whanne thiese dere come to London thenne John Millom was sent by hym unto Kyme upon ye same horse y[t] brought ye venyson to London. And thenne John Millom & he tok their journey northwordes as they were accorded in London before and thenne he brought word to the said S[r] John from his maister Tailbois howe & in what wise they shulde make y[e] billes that they shulde sette up in the North contray and to incresse ye same after ye noyse as they herd in ye contre aboute as they rid.

Itm. Afterward by commandement they went home to Kyme. And there they made [dyvers billes & letteres] to ye nombre of xxx[ti] & moo. And there toke of Richard Weaselaw resceyvor, to their said maister, xx[s] to r[yde to the] north contraye to sette up billes. That is to say. The Thursday at even next after Saynt Barth' day* vj. The Friday after they fixed & sett up iiij billes. The Satterday at night next after yat they sette up & fixed at York upon ye [crosse]. . . [& in ye] Thursday market iiij billes. And on the mynstre dore there & in other places of ye said cite. And on Soneday n[ext] after [yat] in the forest of Galtres they delyvered a letter and therin iiij billes to on Robert Atkynson, charman, for to bere to Matthew Stubbes and his felawe shireefs of Hull & gaf hym a penny for his labor. The same Soneday at nyght they fixed & sett [upp] on the Crosse in ye market at thirske iiij billes. The Moneday at even next after folwyng they fixed & sett up [iiij billes] at the New Castell upon the Crosse and other places in ye market place called Sand hyll.

Examined as to whether they made any bills without the knowledge of their master Taylbois, they answer—

None, save one bille yat they mad in Kent of the lords Cromwell & Say & iij letters & billes by theym made & in divers places sette up with the names of the honorable princes the Dukes of York & Somersett put and made in Ryme in this wyse—

York & Norfolk, Come restowe Caleys;
And we will go with you, Bothe more & lesse.
That as Somersett hath eten France & Normandie;
So Cromwell lereth to ete Gascoigne & Guyanie.

For this that y say is true as y shall answer afore God upon ye dredeful daye of dome and for drad of God, for I am passed all drede save only Goddes drede.

* 24th August.

The confession of Taylbois' agents was probably taken in the beginning of 1452, after the collapse of York's armed demonstration and the temporary triumph of the Somerset faction. The officials who conducted the examination were the lords Willoughby and Roos, both in the front ranks of the Lancastrian party. At the same time Cardinal Kemp was advocating a policy of severity towards disaffection, which had received a fresh stimulus through failure of the expedition to Guienne. Then followed the stroke which affected the king's reason and the birth of a prince of Wales. York was unwillingly admitted into office, and displaced as quickly upon the first signs of the king's recovery. Then came the first battle of St. Albans, and the commencement of civil war. After this, we find fresh symptoms of unquietness in the South. There was an outbreak of the London rabble against aliens, and we read in the *Paston Letters* that "ye commons of Kent, as yei were wontte, er no[t] all weel disposid for yere is in doyng amonges hem, whatevere it bee."* In the North, too, Egremond was at open feud with the Salisburys, and was committed to Newgate for the offence. Thence, however, he escaped, no doubt with the connivance of the sheriff;† and other prisoners, amongst them William Taylbois, may have taken advantage of this opportunity, especially if it were true, as we read, that the gaol was for some time in their hands.

In 1459, there was a great meeting of the hostile factions in London. It was spring when the two parties thus occupied the capital, holding themselves aloof from one another, Yorkists in the city and Lancastrians in the western suburbs. A forced reconciliation was patched up, ratified by an imposing ceremony at St. Paul's, but nevertheless stormy councils were the order of the day.

We can almost follow the course of contemporary politics in the petitions and patents of the period: on the one side, the claims

* *Paston Letters*, i. 136.

† It was stipulated in the subsequent convention that the sheriff should not be called to an account for this escape.

of Yorkist veterans and loyal refugees demanding compensation for their losses in France, and the Duke of York himself extorting a grant of 10,000 marks out of the great customs for his unsatisfied expenditure in Ireland; on the other side, a shower of rewards and favours to protégés of the queen and to courtiers such as the young Somerset, Rivers, and others.* Probably one of the chief obstacles to a lasting reconciliation was the overbearing attitude of Warwick. In the *Paston Letters* of this date we read that "the duke of Excester takyth a grete displesr that my Lord Warwyke occupyeth hys office and takyth the charge of the kepyng of the see uppon hym."† On the 12th of April, Warwick pressed for a commission to check the maritime excesses of the Duke of Burgundy's subjects, in his own interests as admiral, a step that must have been most distasteful to the court. On the following day there was a serious faction fight in Holborn. A few months later, a still more violent outbreak took place on the same score, and the Yorkist nobles withdrew from London. A renewal of civil war quickly followed.

The attitude of the Commons during this and the following period of the military and political campaign was one of outward indifference and inexplicable treachery. In 1458, we hear of the attempted arrest of one of Cade's old comrades in Kent. In the next year, a French descent on Sandwich was feebly opposed by the natives. We should here note that the popular feeling, following the policy of its leaders, was all against Burgundy and in favour of France. On the other hand, we have to deal with the strange defection of Troloppe and Lovelace from the Yorkist cause. But this is not all. Meanwhile, Edward of March had taken his father's place as leader of the party, and had been crowned in London. Sir Thomas Kyriel, the Kentish veteran, after the queen's success at St. Albans, had made his peace with the captive king, but was put to death in the heat of victory. It was in this engagement that the desertion of the Kentish division aided the Lancastrian arms. At the same time we find the Corporation of London disposed, as usual, to favour the

* *Billæ Signatæ*, 36 Henry VI.

† *Paston Letters*, i. 154.

royal cause, but overruled by the mob of the city, the old allies of the men of Kent. Under circumstances reminding us forcibly of the rebellion ten years back, Philip Malpas, the notorious alderman, fled the country with his ill-gotten treasure. It is for the plunder of this man's larder that Jack Cade has incurred the stigma of ingratitude and treachery at the mouth of most recent historians. Surely the victim's very name bewrayeth him!*

Edward IV. followed the retreating Lancastrians northward, and won the battle of Towton, which secured to him his crown. The remnant of the ex-king's party took refuge in Scotland. After this battle, we read in Stowe, Edward proceeded to York, and there caused the heads of his father, brother, and mother's brother to be taken down, and the heads of the Earls of Devon and Kyme, and of Sir William Hill, to be set up in their place. Now, who was this Earl of Kyme? None other than our old friend William Taylbois! This was before Easter, 1461. In August of that year† we read in the list of Lancastrian fugitives with Henry in Scotland, appended to one of the *Paston Letters*, the names of William Taylbois and Myrfyn of Kent! Then followed the second attempt of the Lancastrian party from the North, and the battle of Hexham in 1464.

> From this battle (writes another chronicler) escaped Kyng Henry the vj., Sir Humfrey Nevell, William Taylbois, callyng hymself Erle of Kent, Sir Raufe Gray, and Richard Tunstall, and diverse other, whyche beyng in feare of takyng, hid themselfes and lurked in dennes and wholes secretly. Thei wer not so closely hid but they were espied; for the Earle of Kent was taken in a close place in Riddesdale and brought to Newcastle, and there with an axe lost his life. Sir Humfrey Nevell, after long lurking in a cave, was taken in Holderness and at York beheaded. Thus every man almoste that escaped was after taken and scorged: ‡ so that it should seme that God had ordeined all such persons as rebelled against Kyng Edward to have in conclusion death for their reward and guerdone.§

A similar version is given by another chronicler, in almost the same words, saving the sufferer's title:—

* It is quite curious to observe how many names of npopular persons in mediæval times are compounded of *mal*, from Chaucer's "wikkë neste" downwards.

† 30 Aug., 1461.

‡ esgorgé (?).

§ Hall, p. 260.

Sir Humphry Nevil and William Tailbois, calling himself Earl of Kyme, Sir Ralph Grey, and Richard Tunstal, with divers others, that escaped from this battel, hid themselves in secret places ; but yet not so closely but that they were espyed and taken. The Earl of Kyme was apprehended in Riddesdale, and brought to Newcastle and there beheaded.*

Yet, even after our hero has been thus satisfactorily accounted for, we find him once again after this battle making fresh head against the Yorkists.

In the moneth of May (writes Stowe, who had already led Taylbois to the scaffold four years before) the Duke of Somersett, the Lord Roos, the Lord Molyns, Talbois Earl of Kyme, Sir Philip Wentworth, Sr Thomas Finderne gathered an hoste in the North country. Sir John Nevill, Earle of Northumberland, with 10,000 men, came upon them, whom the Commons forsaking, their captaines were taken and beheaded.

This is positively Taylbois' last appearance on the page of history, and it is refreshing to be able to think, according to this latest version, that his life-long treachery met with a reward in kind, deserted and overcome in turn by each of his new-found friends.† Five years after his death, we read of risings amongst his old followers and his Lincolnshire countrymen in favour of the late dynasty, with the Kentish men taking part against a Yorkist king, who is supported by the London mob, while the rulers of the city proclaim King Henry. Once more there is a descent on Sandwich by the refugees in France, and another Kentish assize, conducted with all the old rigour of the law by the son of the champion of the Commons of 1450.

It seems scarcely possible to unravel any portion of this network of treachery and crime, unless we permit the supposition that the Commons of 1450 had finally abandoned that political faith in themselves and their cause which had once prevailed above the mere interests of conflicting parties. The spark of rebellion, which they had kindled anew, was diligently fanned by agitators of the rank above their own till it leaped into a flame which enveloped the whole land in civil war. Yet they alone, the sober-minded reformers of an earlier period, looked on well pleased at the conflagration, without even attempting to make capital out of the crisis which had befallen. Their political attitude, indeed, may be gathered from the historical data recapitulated above; and their social attitude was, if anything, still more degenerate. In the *Paston Letters* of the first year of Edward IV., we read,

Itm. ther was shrewd rewle toward in this cuntre, for ther was a certeyn person forthwyth after the jurney at Wakefeld gadered felaship to have modered John Damme, as is seyd, and also there is at the Castell of Rysing and in ij other plases made gret gaderyng of þe pill and hyryng of harneys, and it is wele undyrstand they be not to the kyng-ward, but rather the contrary andfor to robbe.*

And again: "Itm. my brother is redy to Yarmouth for to lette bribers that wold 'a robbed a ship under color of my Lord of Warwyk and longe nothyng to hem-ward."†

We may safely guess at the pretext advanced by the rioters themselves for their levity and wrong-doings. "For they grudge and sey how that the king resayvith sych of this cuntre &c as haff ben his gret eanemyes and Oppresseors of the Commynes, and such as haff assysted his Hynes be not Rewardyt."‡

Was this the spirit of the age, we might justly ask, or that of a single class? Whichever it were, the less would imply here the greater, and the greater would include here the less. Small matter, after all, when none of these things find a place in our modern histories.

The Pedlar of Swaffham.

PERHAPS you will allow me to add a Yorkshire version of the legend of the Chapman of Swaffham.

T' LEEALHOLM CHAP'S LUCKY DREEAM; OR, AN AWD THING RENEW'D.

Yah Kessenmas neet, or then aboot,
When meeasons all wor frozzen oot,
Ah went te see a cuntry frinnd,
An hospitubbel hoor te spinnd.
Fer gains Ah cut across o' t' moor,
Whoor t' snaw seea furosly did stour.

* Baker, p. 218.

† Northumberland on this occasion was a traitor to the Lancastrian cause.

* I. 226.

† *Ibid.*

‡ I. 239.

T' hoos Ah geeand, an' enter'd in,
An' wer az welcome az a king.
T' storm ageean t' awd winder patter'd,
An' t' hailsteeans doon t' chimber clatter'd ;
All hands wer in, an' seeam'd content,
An' neean did frost er snaw lament.
T' lasses all wer at ther sewin',
Ther cheeaks wi' hilth an' beauty glowin'.
Aroond t' looa heearth, i' cheerful chat,
Tweea 'r three frinndly nighbers sat ;
Ther travils tellin',—whare tha'd been,
An' what tha hed beeath heeard an' seen ;
Tell yan uz all did mitch amuse,
An' thus a stooary introduce.
"Ah rickollect lang sahn," sez he,
"A stooary 'at wer telt te me,
'At seeams seea strange i' this oor day,
That trew or fause Ah cannut say.
A man liv'd i' this nighberhud,
Neea doot ov reputashin gud,
An' lang tahm straahve wi' stiddy care,
Te keep hiz hooshod i' repair.
At length he hed a curos dream,
(Fer three neets runnin' 't wer all t' seeam,)
'At if on Lunnon Brigg he stud,
He'd hear sum news wad deea him gud.
He laber'd hard beeath neet an' day,
Tryin' te drahve thooas thowts away,
Bud daily grew mair discontent,
Till he at last te Lunnon went.
Bein' quite a stranger te that toon,
Lang tahm he wanner'd oop an' doon,
Tell led biv sum mysterous hand,
On Lunnon Brigg he teeak hiz stand ;
An' just wer boon te cum away,
Seea mitch he thowt he wer te bleeam,
Te gan' seea far aboot a dreeam,
When thus a chap, as he drew near,
Did ax, 'Good friend, what seek you here,
Where I have seen you soon and late ?'
Hiz dreeam liv him he did relate.
'Dreams,' sez the man, 'are empty things,
Mere thoughts that flit on silver'd wings ;
Unheeded we should let them pass.
I've had a dream, and thus it was :
That somewhere round this peopled ball,
There'z such a place as Lealholm Hall.
Yet, whether such a place there be
Or not, is all unknown to me.
There, 'neath a cellar dark and deep,
Where slimy creatures nightly creep,
And human footsteps never tread,
There is a store of treasure hid.
If it be so, I have no doubt
Some lucky wight will find it out :
Yet true or false is nought to me,
For I shall ne'er go there to see !'
Oor Leealholm frinnd did twice er thrice
Thenk t' cockney chap fer hiz advice ;
Then heeam ageean withoot delay,
He cheerfully did tak hiz way.
Settin' aboot hiz wark he sped,
Fund ivvery thing az t' man hed sed ;
Wer invor efter seen te florrish,
T' fahnest gentleman i' t' parish.
Fooaks wunner'd sair, an' weel tha meet,
Whare he gat all hiz ginnees breet !
If it wer trew, i' spite o' feeam,
It wer te him a lucky dreeam !"

This will be found in *Poems in the North Yorkshire Dialect*, by the late John Castillo, Stokesley, 1878. WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

Distemper Paintings in Fingringhoe Church, Essex.

WHEN this church was repaired after the earthquake of last year, traces of colour were discovered, which led to further search, with the following result:—The church consists of a nave and south aisle, the four chief paintings being upon the pillars separating the nave from aisle, or rather a wall with two archways separates them. A third archway is between the chancel and the chancel aisle; the pillars are four-sided. Entering the church from the south porch—its only present entrance—the font is on the right hand, an old one, in character with the church, having a fine carved oak canopy, the lower part of which opens as two doors.

On the pillar facing the font are three of the paintings. That on the south side is a nearly life-size standing representation of St. Michael weighing souls. Enough of the figure remains to clearly trace the outline. His whole body, including the arms and legs, is covered with feathers. In his left hand he holds the scales or balances, the beam of which is distinctly visible; his right hand is lifted, holding the sword. To his left is a seated figure of the Blessed Virgin Mary, interceding for the souls in Purgatory. The lower part of the painting has a number of faces, of which the eyes form a striking feature—at first sight it appears to be nothing but eyes. Little more than the face ever appears in pictures of this subject. The sword held by St. Michael is for slaying the dragon, upon which he usually treads, but no trace of it has yet been found here.

The second painting is on the west face of the pillar; it is the "Vision of St. Gregory,"

commonly known as "The Mass of St. Gregory;" this saint while saying mass was (so says the legend) allowed to see a representation of our Saviour. Fortunately, this also is very plain in its general outlines; there is a standing figure of our Saviour, the arms hang down and cross one another just below the wrist; they are not bound together as in the scourging, the head droops on the breast; behind the figure is a Latin cross, and the open sepulchre, the bar of the cross being much longer over the left arm of the figure than over the right; the remaining portion of the picture is diaper work with rings along the top, which appear to hang upon nails. The fourth one also had rings and nails.

The third painting is on the north side of the pillar, but is greatly injured, partly by having two others painted over it, also by a lamp bracket fixed there before any were discovered; enough, however, of the original remains to know that it was a seated figure of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Child, and that on the curtain above the letter "M" was repeated some twenty or thirty times; scroll work with inscriptions and other figures are below, but it is not yet clear as to which they belong. This and the first one have plain borders, representing frames round them. The east front of this pillar bears traces of colour, but is not yet uncovered.

The fourth painting is on the east side of the archway or wall which extends from the west end of the church, and is opposite the mass of St. Gregory above described. It is far from distinct; there is a standing figure, above which is the upper part of another, crowned with two wings partly open, and bearing in its hands a scroll inscribed—

IN OMNI OPERE MEMENTO FINIS
(In every work remember the end).

Between each word is a scroll similar to the letter "S." It has been suggested that the standing figure may be St. Eligius or Eloi, the patron saint of blacksmiths, as on the lower part of the picture are representations of wheels, also hands appear holding up to the figure hammers, hatchets, etc. It is well known that instruments of the craft were often held by or presented towards a patron saint (as, for example, St. Blaize, who holds a woolcombe, over which craft he presided), and taking into consideration that the instruments with the hands holding them are very plain, it seems reasonable to conclude that the suggestion as to the standing figure is correct, more so as there was a guild of blacksmiths in the fifteenth century, to which period these distemper paintings belong. The inscription also points to a similar conclusion, and the hammer is one of the emblems of St. Eligius.

Traces of colour may be seen in various other parts of the church, though it is doubtful if more will be brought to light of the original work; over the arches is modern scroll work, in various stages as to condition, but of no interest in comparison with the old ones.

At the entrance to the church, on the south front of the porch, is a carved representation in the west spandrel of the arch of St. Michael, covered with feathers, a sword in his right hand and a shield in his left. In the opposite spandrel, the east, is the dragon. Both are carved in high relief. Over the centre of the arch is a recess which some thirty years ago contained an image of the Blessed Virgin and Child. This, joined to the fact that one of the bells is inscribed—

SANCTA MARIA ORA PRO NOBIS,

would lead us to imagine that the church was originally dedicated to SS. Mary the Virgin and Michael, particularly as St. Mary is represented on two paintings and St. Michael on one; and both appear outside the porch also, though Morant and others ascribe the dedication to St. Andrew alone.

A second bell is inscribed—

James Graye made me. 1625.

The third is without inscription. Formerly there was a fourth, but, becoming cracked, it was removed some years ago.

Since the above was written further search has resulted in the discovery of faint traces of the scale depending from the end of the beam under St. Michael's right hand, and of portions of the wing of the dragon.

On the third one the cruciform nimbus of the Child stands out clearly, and above its head, on a scroll, are the letters MA . . A : DEI : M . . . Possibly MARIA : DEI : MATER.

Of the fourth one there is still a doubt,

but from faint traces of a cruciform pattern on the nimbus (pointing to the Godhead), and the want of clothing, excepting a cloth round the loins, it is most probably intended for the crucifixion of our Saviour; being drawn up by means of ropes under the arms; the shoulders are much raised, and the head sinks in between them; the arms form an acute angle, and the figure has more the appearance of hanging than standing. If it was intended for St. Eligius we should expect to see him in the vestments of a bishop; at the same time, we must remember that the hammer on the picture, which is very plain, is one of his emblems.

Colchester. T. FORSTER.

Reviews.

The Life of the Renowned Doctor Preston, written by his pupil, Master Thomas Ball, D.D., minister of Northampton, in the year 1628. Now first published and edited by E. W. HARCOURT, M.P. (Oxford and London, 1885: Parker.) 8vo, pp. xv, 176.

T Nuneham Park were two biographies in MSS. One, the *Life of Mrs. Godolphin*, by John Evelyn, was printed by Bishop Wilberforce, and has never been returned to its place in the Nuneham Park Library; the other has, until this year, been lying quietly by unnoticed. Its owner need make no apology for now publishing it, for in its quaint and simple style it takes us behind some of the scenes connected with "Babie Charles and Steenie." Dr. Preston was earnest in the cause of the reformation, and it is curious to observe how his honesty of purpose was used by the skilful Buckingham for his own ends. Besides the curious side lights on court matters, one or two interesting facts are related on other subjects dear to antiquaries. When King James visited Cambridge, "the Heads agree to enterteine him wth a comedy. There was one Inggles of Clare Hall, that had made a jeering comedy against ye lawyers, called 'Ignoramus.' This was resolved on to be acted before the king, and great care was taken to accomodate all parts, wth Actors answerable. Mr. Morgan was a comely modest gentleman, and was supposed would well become a woman's dress, and accordingly his tutor Mr. Preston sent to that he would admit and give all encouragement to the service." This description is a useful comment on the actors of the day; and another passage, where Dr. Preston was recommended to smoke, and found "that this hot copious fume ascending did draw those eruditыes from the stomach's mouth y^t hindered concoction of his meate," will be read with amusement by our readers. Quite irrespective of the high biographical value which such a book has, it will interest all Cambridge men to hear about one so earnest and learned as the master of Emmanuel College, and the side lights on other topics will amply repay perusal by those who love a glimpse at the past.

Northamptonshire Notes and Queries. Part vii., July, 1885. (Northampton: Taylor & Son, 1885.) 8vo.

This is a very interesting in-gatherer of local facts, and when we mention that its contents include the following among other items, it will be readily understood that our opinion will be shared by many:—Farthinghoe Constables' Accounts, 1700-1730; Customs of the Town of Northampton; Local Dialect; the King's Evil; Boughton Green Fair; Ancient Village Sports; Manor House at Sulgrave; besides several useful family notes. The paper on Timber Stealing Riots in the forests of Whittlebury and Salcey, being the third of a series, is a real contribution to history. We hope to see other parts of this excellent journal as they come out.

Anecdota Oxoniensia: texts, documents, and extracts, chiefly from MSS. in the Bodleian and other Oxford Libraries. Mediæval and modern series, vol. i., part iv. Cath Finntrága. Edited by KUNO MEYER. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1885.) 4to, pp. xxiv, 115.

This is a most important contribution to Irish traditional lore, and we cannot sufficiently praise the workmanship of Dr. Meyer, and the spirited enterprise of the Clarendon Press authorities. As Dr. Meyer says:—"Nowhere is there a better opportunity for the student of folk lore to trace the development of popular tradition from stage to stage through more than a thousand years." There are the old Irish MSS. dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries reflecting a still older tradition, and there are among the people of Ireland and Scotland at the present day the same old stories still alive. The MS. here printed for the first time is the oldest extant version of one of the Ossianic cycle of tales, the numerous copies of which show that it was one of the favourite romantic compositions of the Irish. Dr. Meyer not only gives us a very valuable and careful transcript of the original text, but a word-for-word translation, an excellent introduction, an appendix of variants from other MSS., notes, glossary, and indices, besides an excursus on old Irish metric. To the Celtic philologist such a piece of work will be most invaluable, and very little less so to the student of folk-lore and Celtic tradition. Dr. Meyer points out how the critics of Macpherson have, in one instance at all events, failed through want of knowledge of the principles of Irish romance literature, and his observations on the classical influences are very valuable. The heroic and mythic cycles of tales want a deal of study before they are mastered, and one great means towards this end is the possession of accurate texts. It is right to add that Dr. Meyer's notes are most useful, and altogether there are few books on this subject which we have studied with greater interest than this one. The learning and painstaking industry it exhibits throw a flood

of light upon that most interesting of problems—popular tradition.

An Archæological Description of Saltwood Castle, near Hythe, Kent. By FREDERICK BEESTON: *The Historical Notes* by C. BEESTON. (London [no date]: Kent & Co.) 8vo, pp. 76.

Saltwood Castle has not been described in Mr. Clarke's valuable work, and we welcome, therefore, all the more the pamphlet before us. It is illustrated by all the necessary plans and sections to enable the reader to properly grasp the description of the castle, and there seems little left to desire, except it may be a fuller historical narrative, which, we think, the writers might have given while they were dealing with the subject.

The chief feature of interest in the outer line of defence is the gateway, facing north-west, with a drawbridge, portcullis, and double gates, portions of which date from the rebuilding of the castle by Henry de Essex, Baron of Raleigh, *temp.* Henry II., about 1154. The castle was again almost entirely rebuilt by Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1381-1396, and the remainder of the present ruins, with the towers, were his work. The difference between the old and the new work may still be traced, and Mr. Beeston gives a succinct and useful account of this phase of the structure. Recently the restorer has been at work upon the gatehouse, and we are assured that it was solely for the purpose of preserving this interesting relic, and that nothing has been done beyond the necessary work.

The Handbook to the Roman Wall: a Guide to Tourists traversing the Barrier of the Lower Isthmus. Third edition. By J. COLLINGWOOD BRUCE. (London and Newcastle-on-Tyne: Longmans, 1885.) 8vo, pp. viii, 272.

Every one will welcome this new edition of Dr. Bruce's *Guide to the Roman Wall*, accompanied as it is by beautiful illustrations, giving every possible view of this important monument of antiquity, and by an excellent map, properly protected by a linen mount. Those of us who have had the privilege of hearing Dr. Bruce explain the many interesting details of a subject he has made peculiarly his own, will, none the less, welcome this substantial aid to the memory, and those who have not heard the veteran antiquary will gladly read him. Dr. Bruce is not the first author on the subject, and he duly sets out the particulars of the works that have gone before him. The first beginnings of the wall must be referred to the time of Hadrian, who visited Britain in A.D. 119. During the reign of Antoninus Pius, commencing A.D. 138, the wall extended between the Frith of Forth and the Frith of Clyde, and memorials of the severe fighting that took place at various points in its extent, during the reigns of later emperors, are to be seen to this day. On a subject like this, many important details of the military occupation of Britain are illustrated, and we close the book with a distinct feeling of having added considerably to our knowledge of the history—stirring and eventful—of the period to which it refers.

The Antiquities of Hastings and the Battlefield, with maps and a plan of the Battle. By THOMAS HALWELL COLE, M.A. New edition, enlarged and revised. (Published by the Hastings and St. Leonards Philosophical Society. 1884.) 8vo.

Nearly twenty years ago, when the British Archæological Association assembled in congress at Hastings, Mr. Cole yielded to a request that he would draw up some account of the ancient and historical town; and accordingly the first edition of his work was issued by way of celebrating the octo-centenary of the battle which gave to William I. the title of the Conqueror. The information then brought together has now been, for the most part recast, while much that is new has been added, the whole forming not only an interesting piece of local history, but what will have attractions for historical students and archæological votaries all over the country.

In his opening chapter on the physical causes which have exercised an influence on the history of Hastings, Mr. Cole shows that through the action of the sea the modern town has no affinity in regard to its site with the old, the latter having stood "a great deal to the south of the present town," which "doubtless shared the same fate with other neighbouring towns on the coast by being swallowed up and buried in the sea." Having studied well the ground as well as the histories of former chroniclers, Mr. Cole is able to make these observations on Old Hastings and its Harbour:—

"The Priory Valley, as we term that to the west of the castle, has a much larger basin than the other—*i.e.*, the Bourne. Of fan-like shape, it receives the drainage of several thousand acres, and its surrounding hills, when crowned with the trees of the primeval forest, were sources of streams ample enough to form a capacious haven for the light barques of Briton and of Saxon; and it is actually shown as a considerable inlet in Speed's map of Sussex, 1608. Indeed, it is easy to trace the harbour now. . . . In the Corporation map of 1742, the haven is shown in the Priory Valley with vessels in it, and the sea has not quite done with it yet, for several times, in my own recollection, the whole valley has been under water. . . . If 600 years have sufficed to destroy all vestiges of Old Winchelsea, what wonder if in 800 years all tokens of the old burg of Hastings have been effaced! . . . Our cliffs, under the restless action of the waves, are receding yearly before our eyes, and ever have been so receding. Our hills and the intermediate valleys once stretched far out to seaward. The Martello Towers, which were strongly built as recently as the year 1805, and were all standing, with one exception, in 1841, have been successively undermined by the sea, and now we have to go for miles along the coast westward before coming to a tower that is still able to bid defiance to the waters. We have a map, dated 1646, carefully and correctly drawn, in which we have a startling proof of change in our shore—nothing less than the existence of *a large island off St. Leonard's*, so late as the time of Oliver Cromwell—which has been so completely effaced that even all memory of it has gone."

It is thus maintained that there was not only a convenient harbour in ancient times known to the legions who came with Cæsar, but the Roman Portus

Novus is thought to have been identical with the Hastings of these days.

The castle appears to have been a peculiarly unfortunate structure, having suffered successively from fire, from water, and from general neglect, so that it would hardly have been wonderful if every relic of the once formidable stronghold had disappeared. The town itself, in mediæval times, was subject to many disasters arising from storms, fire, and war, having been thrice burnt in forty years during the fourteenth century.

In his account of what he calls New Hastings, Mr. Cole mentions many curious things which have happened since the Reformation. Queen Elizabeth showed considerable interest in the town; but money collected in her reign for pier and other improvements "were quickly converted into private purses, and the public good neglected." Then, in 1632, the growth of morality became so marked, that there were "only 27 rogues whipped in 4 months." The first house of the present town appears to have been put up in 1657, at which date ship-building and rope-manufacturing were actively carried on, while bachelors and widows each paid an annual tax of one shilling. In the sixteenth century the rental of the present Clive Vale estate, amounting to sixty acres, was five shillings a year.

Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Suffolk Institute of Archæologists.—July 6th.—The members and friends of the above institute took their first excursion to South Town, Yarmouth. The president of the institute, Lord John Hervey, with one of the secretaries, the Rev. C. H. Evelyn White, conducted the party. The members repaired to Gorleston Church, where they were met by the vicar, who explained to them the interesting and antique objects which the church contains. From Gorleston the party went to Burgh Castle, which afforded a fine field for the antiquaries. After visiting Burgh Church the party went to Bradwell Church, where they were received by the Rev. J. Walker, who undertook the duties of guide. A visit to Belton Church was next on the programme. Fritton Church was inspected. Before leaving Fritton Church the Rev. Evelyn White read a letter from Mr. Crowfoot, of Beccles, upon the subject of Fritton Lake, expressing a belief that the supposition that a part of the lake had been an ancient lake dwelling was correct. Yarmouth was reached shortly before five o'clock, and the opening of the Toll-house Hall by the Mayor was proceeded with.

Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club.—July 10th.—The third field meeting of the year took place at Abergavenny. An ascent of the Sugar Loaf Mountain was the *pièce de résistance*; but time was also given for the visitors to inspect the interesting monuments in the church at Abergavenny and the Castle Grounds.—A paper on the "Old Red Sandstone" was read by Mr. George H. Piper.—Enthusiastic botanists were somewhat disappointed at the paucity of rare plants and the poverty of the *flora* of the district. The church was reached about four o'clock. Here the Rev. F. T. Havergal described, with much minuteness, the series of curious old monuments and effigies which are to be seen in this interesting edifice. Many are of great antiquity.—The members then assembled within the Castle walls to listen to the papers. The first was a paper on "Herefordshire Orchidaceous Plants," illustrated with specimens, which was read by the President.—Dr. Bull then read an amusing and instructive paper on "Herefordshire Doves."—At the conclusion of the papers a short time still remained for an inspection of the ruins, which are, happily, in a good state of preservation.

Liverpool Geological Society.—July 18th.—A field meeting was held at the Wrekin. The members were under the guidance of Dr. C. Calloway. The route was along a romantic road which intersects the hill near its northern extremity, and where the quartz rock, holly bush, sandstone, and shineton shales were exposed. A path through the woods along the south-east of the Wrekin presented an outcrop of the quartz rock. At Primrose Hill a reddish gneiss was examined, and a splendid view of the surrounding country obtained. The return journey was by Charlton Hill, where the volcanic grit and quartz rock were again seen at the side of the road, and the outcrop of mica schist was found exposed near Rushton. Some of the members remained to visit the remains of the ancient Roman city of Uriconium.

Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club.—July 14th.—Excursion to Tewkesbury. The necessity of an hour's halt at Gloucester enabled those who were not already familiar with the beauties of the cathedral to pay it a hasty visit. A hot walk through the picturesque streets of the town, lined on each side with overhanging timber and plaster gable-ended houses, brought the members to the abbey churchyard. Beginning with the west end, the magnificent deep Norman arch with its six recessed shafts (the seventh hidden by the more recent Perpendicular wall and exposed in part during the restoration) was as usual the subject of discussion. The insertion of the Perpendicular window has obscured the original design. On the south the foundations of some old buildings connected with the monastic establishment have been quite lately laid bare, and the remains of the cloister exposed to view. Recent alterations have thrown open the south side very materially, and the view of the whole building at the south-east end has been much improved. From this point the original form of the Abbey was plainly seen. Begun in the 12th century, and consecrated 1123, it was cruciform, taking the form of the Latin cross. A long nave with aisles, central tower, two transepts, a sexagonal choir with ambulatory, and three apsidal chapels. To these have since been added several other chapels in the Decorated period, somewhat obscuring the old design. The monuments of the Despencers, Beauchamps, Abbot Richard Cheltenham and others, for which the Abbey is so famous, elegant examples of early Decorated and late Perpendicular, attracted the admiration of all. The unique Sanctus bell canopy on the face of the north wall of the chancel arch was especially admired,

and the remains of the beautiful sedilia on the south of the chancel. On passing out of the north porch several masonic signs were noticed on the old masonry, and the structural peculiarities of the tympanum of the Norman doorway.

Plymouth Institution.—July 9th.—Excursion to Restormel and Fowey.—Restormel is a very fine shell keep of peculiar interest, and is of considerable size. The internal diameter is about 105 feet from outer rampart to outer rampart; but an inner wall of less height and thickness than the main cincture runs concentric to it, and in the annular space between the two are a number of apartments, divided by radiating walls. The open area within the inner walls is 64 feet across. The outer castle wall is about 9 feet thick and 40 feet high in all, and parapeted with plain embrasures. The moat is 50 feet in width. Three staircases, one on each side of the gateway and one opposite, lead to the ramparts. The kitchen, with its fireplace, is on the right of the gateway, and the hall immediately beyond. The chapel projects from the eastern side of the castle into the moat rectangularly, and once had a window of three lights. This has been long walled up and the mullions have been removed, but have left the groovings from which they were taken intact. There is a small pointed shelfed piscina in the chapel. The moat was originally supplied with water from the hill above by leaden pipes. Probably in the first instance a simple earthwork, it became a stronghold of the Cardinhams, one of whom handed it over to Simon de Montfort in the Barons' war, not being able to defend it himself. The widow of the last of the Cardinhams sold it to Richard, Earl of Cornwall and King of the Romans, and by him between the years 1226 and 1272 the present structure was probably erected, while his son Edmund added the chapel. For some little time it seemed to have then become a palace rather than a fortalice, and when it was in its glory it was twice visited and occupied by the renowned Black Prince in 1354 and 1363. After that it returned to the condition of a fortress, and the chapel window was walled up to increase its strength. It has, however, ceased to be occupied either as a residence or as a stronghold for something like four centuries, and even in the time of Elizabeth it was such a ruin that it was described as "beginning to mourne and to wringe out hard stones of teares; that she that was embraced, visited, and delighted with great princes is now desolate, forsaken, and forlorn."—At Lostwithiel, the ancient Stannary court or palace, built by Earl Edmund, and the church of St. Bartholomew, with its unique octagonal spire were visited. A start was then made for Fowey. By the courtesy of Mr. Treffry, Place was visited, and it is needless to say, delightedly admired. Here dwelt the Sir John Treffry who carried the Royal Standard at the great battle of Poictiers, and acquired thereby the honourable distinction of supporters to the family arms, as carven on the building, with their pious motto, "Whyle God wyll." Here, too, lived and is memorialised Dame Elizabeth Treffry, who, while her husband was away, with a mere handful of men, repelled an attack by the French in 1457. The house and grounds and gardens are worthy of their antiquity and fame, and much interest was shown in their unique modern feature, the "porphyry hall," commenced by the late Mr. Austen Treffry and finished by the late J. Treffry, the floor and walls and ceiling of which are of the most beautiful polished porphyries and granites raised on the Treffry estate. Probably the oldest part of the present mansion is the dining hall, which is dated in the 16th century, but of course there are far older examples of its masonry, etc., than that. Immediately under the shadow of Place is the church. It is a fifteenth century structure, with the novel feature for an ancient Cornish church of a fine clerestory.

Essex Field Club.—Aug. 25th.—Excursion to Witham, Cressing, Black Notley, Faulkbourne, and Terling.—On arriving at Witham Church they were shown over the building by the Rev. Canon Snell. The vestry, which was a priest's residence in pre-Reformation times, was especially noticed. This vestry is very curious. It formerly had an upper storey, the priest's sleeping room, the narrow doorway of which is still preserved. The recumbent effigies of Judge Southcote and his Lady (formerly of Witham Place), and the mural monument of Sir Thos. and Lady Neville, were also duly examined. The party then adjourned to Witham Bury. This is a fine old circular camp, which was, at one time, considered to be Roman. Some well-executed plans of the camp by Mr. F. C. J. Spurrell were distributed. Professor Meldola read a paper on the subject. The *English Chronicle* tells us:—"A.D. 913. And then (after the Hertford Burg was finished), during the summer between Rogation days and midsummer, King Edward went with some of his forces to Mœldune, in Essex, and there lived the while the Burg at Witham was wrought and (*getimbred*) built." Within the larger circuit is an inner wall, having nearly the same shape as the outer one, and preserving a regular distance from it. On the south-west side, or that on which the river Panta runs, the hill side is very steep, on the other sides the land slopes gently from the middle of the camp. On that side facing the river there were two walls joining the inner and outer, as if marking a second or third sub-division (but very faintly seen now). Here and there faint signs of a ditch may be seen. The ditches were about thirty feet wide and of slight depth. In one or two places they did not exceed three feet deep, except on the side toward the church, and there apparently the depth was much greater. This was needed in consequence of the ground not falling away in that direction. As usual the banks were made of the material thrown out of the ditches, and these were regulated by necessity as to height, and varied. Measured from the inside, the average height was seven feet. The visitors next proceeded to Cressing. Here there was a short pause in order that the party might inspect some fine old Elizabethan (or Jacobean) panelling at Mr. Shoobridge's. Temple Farm, Cressing, is said to have been celebrated even in Saxon times for its water-cresses, and later on for its hop-gardens. Mr. Shoobridge had caused some old foundations, and also part of a wall, to be excavated for the benefit of his visitors. The foundations, however, are of no antiquity, but seem to indicate that a rather large building had stood in the close neighbourhood of Cressing Farm a century or so ago.—Black Notley was the next halting-place. This quiet village was the birth-place, dwelling-place, and

burial-place of John Ray, the celebrated naturalist of the 17th century, a man who, on account of his character, as well as his abilities, is one of whom Essex may be ever proud. The interior of the ancient Norman church was first inspected, after which the party assembled in the churchyard round the well-preserved tomb of the great naturalist, and listened to a paper by Professor Boulger on "The domestic life of John Ray at Black Notley."—The party then inspected some palæolithic implements and other curiosities, shown in the school-room by the Rev. J. W. Kenworthy, and then drove to "Dewlands," said to be the birthplace and home of Ray. The building is of no special interest excepting for this fact. It has not, apparently, been much altered since it was first built.—From Dewlands the party drove to Faulkbourne. Faulkbourne is said to have been a "folks-brook" or well, dedicated to St. Germain. The saint gives the name to the antique Norman church, in which are some fine brasses and interesting monuments of the Bullock and Fortescue families. The Rector (Rev. F. Spurrell) gave an interesting account of the building, which he said was probably built about 1080. The rector referred to Faulkbourne Hall, remarking that not a single atom of the Hall was Norman, though a portion of it was said to have been erected by the Earl of Gloucester, in the reign of King Stephen. He believed that the oldest part of the Hall was of the date of about 1480. Amongst other relics in the old church was pointed out the helmet of the first of the Bullock family in the parish. This helmet, which hangs as a memorial over the tomb of Sir Edward Bullock (who bought Faulkbourne Hall in 1637), dates from about 1650.

Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland.—29th July—1st August.—Never, perhaps, in the history of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland has the society had such a series of interesting meetings and delightful excursions as this year. The district visited extended from the Brighton of Ireland to Fair Head, —the rugged promontory from which the length of Ireland is measured—and embraced the leading features of the ancient kingdom of Dalriada. Noting the circumstance that the new royal patron-in-chief was for many years President of a kindred association, and referring to the losses by death which the association had sustained during the year, the President, the Rev. Canon Grainger, said the question which pressed upon the attention of members was whether they should encourage great central collections or small local collections. He was himself in favour of encouraging small local collections, having seen the vacant countenances of visitors at the great national museums, wearied by the extreme length of the galleries. Ireland would, however, be honoured by having soon in Dublin one of the finest museums in the world, under the directorship of Mr. Valentine Ball, director general. His idea would be that their local secretaries should make a record of all private collections in their limits, and place the names of the owners on the pages of their journal. Even small collections thus recorded might prove of value to experts in the various subjects. The clergy, for instance, might have a number of interesting articles as heirlooms in their homes, handed down from century to century. If this were done, Ireland would soon become rich in objects of historical interest. His own parish of Skerry and Rathoavan had two cartloads of antiquities taken out of it before he came on the scene. Amongst the reports of the local county secretaries that of Mr. J. W. Browne contained an interesting item in reference to the title of the late Lord O'Hagan—"Baron O'Hagan of Tullahogue." Mr. Browne stated that, a short time ago, on looking over the "Book of Rights," which was translated from the valuable Irish manuscripts by the late Mr. John O'Donovan, he found that there were some eight references to Tullahogue, near Cookstown, a small village in the parish of Desertcreight, barony of Dungannon. After the establishment of surnames in the tenth century, the chief family of this place took the surname of "O'H. Again" (O'Hagan). One of the references to Tullahogue is as follows :—"To the man who has the green tumulus, to the chief of the green Tulach Og." This alludes to the hill on which the Chief of Tulach Og used to inaugurate the Irish monarchs of the Northern O'Neill race. Another instructive report was that of Mr. Jas. G. Barry, in reference to "Anan of the Saints." He treated in an exhaustive manner on the system of land tenure as well as the general geological features of these isles of the west, giving details respecting the customs of the inhabitants, and particulars of the most remarkable objects in the vicinity. The report of Mr. W. J. Knowles referred to an arrow-head with a shaft and tying of gut attached, found in Glenarm deer park. Perhaps the most interesting paper was that by Mr. Robt. Young upon the far-famed Dunluce Castle, the ruins of which stand upon a majestic natural rock, about three miles from Portrush. The archæological portion of the paper stated that the walls throughout are built on the local basalt, exhibiting the columnar structure so well seen in the Giant's Causeway, and this is used in forming the dressings of windows and other apertures where cut stone is ordinarily found in most old castles, so that it is very difficult to compare it with other buildings whose date is known. It is admitted that the native Irish did not erect stone and lime castles, so that, in all probability, the first buildings of masonry were by the M'Quillans, who are supposed to be of English extraction, and to have derived their title from De Burgo, one of De Courcy's followers. It is likely that the walls, round towers, and barbican at the northern end of the rock were erected by the M'Quillans early in the sixteenth century. At the north and west, where the fortress was most exposed to attack, the strongest walls were erected, and the general arrangements seem to have been made with much skill, and taking full advantage of the contour of the ground. The only entrance was by a narrow bridge, placed where a projecting point of the rock is separated from the mainland by a deep chasm, twenty feet broad. Only one of the original walls now remains, and forms the rather trying means of present entrance. After passing the bridge, which was doubtless capable of being removed at the discretion of the garrison, a small enclosed courtyard is reached, at the lower end of which stands the tower known as the barbican, in which is the main entrance door. From the barbican a very strong wall extends

for about seventy feet on the edge of the cliff, until it meets a circular tower at the north-west angle, known as M'Quillan's Tower. The walls are eight feet thick, and a small staircase is preserved in it by which access is gained to the top and to the parapet of the defence wall between it and the barbican. The only other structure of much strength is at the western end of the cliff, about sixty feet south of M'Quillan's Tower, and, like it, circular, but some feet less in diameter. This is known as Queen Mave's Tower. The wall which connected it to the other tower has long since fallen down in consequence of the decay of its rocky foundation. The remainder of the rock on the east and south is partly surrounded by walls of great thickness, and partly covered by domestic buildings. At the extreme south, and overhanging the mouth of the cave, which penetrates entirely through the rock, are the remains of the kitchen. The residence of the lord of the castle occupies the level platform behind the towers at the western side. The principal apartment was the great hall, seventy feet in length by twenty-three in width. It was lighted at the east side by three large bay windows, giving beautiful glimpses across the sea of the blue hills in the distant Scotch Isles and of Cantyre. The house, which forms a continuation of the hall, towards the south, and contains one good room about thirty-two feet by twenty feet, on the ground floor, had its two windows also to the east. The sleeping apartments for the family were doubtless above this, and the great hall was lighted by the windows still to be seen in the gables, and by others in the roof, which has disappeared. The castle yard, which occupies the entire space between the hall and the parapet on the edge of the cliff, is about one hundred and twenty feet long by twenty-five feet wide, and must have been the only substitute for the terraced gardens of the modern castle. Two parallel ranges of narrow buildings, separated by an enclosed courtyard, lie next to the lord's residence. These were the servants' apartments and kitchen offices, probably anterior to the MacDonnell occupation. The great hall was built, or at least remodelled, by Sorley Boy for the use of his son Sir James. The group of buildings on the mainland, with the enclosing walls, which lie to the northward of the bridge, are much later than those on the rock, and may with fair certainty be assigned to a period later than 1640. The local tradition says they were erected by Randal, second Earl of Antrim.—Upon the same day Mr. William Gray gave an account of the principal cashels or ancient stone residences in Antrim and Down, and the Rev. D. Mulcahy treated of "Old Irish MSS.," with special reference to the Irish Oghams.—Upon the second day, the Rev. Leonard Hasse read a paper upon "A Classification of Flint Flakes, found on the raised beach at Camlough, co. Antrim."—Mr. Knowles read a paper on a somewhat similar subject: "Prehistoric Remains from the Sandhills of the North of Ireland;" but his observations had special reference to Whitepark Bay. The Rev. George R. Buick read an interesting paper on "Some Indian Burial Urns," in the course of which he described four cinerary urns from huge megalithic structures in Coimbatore, Madras. The same popular member contributed a brief paper on "Ancient Coins found at Portstewart."—Mr. Gray read an interesting paper—illustrated by large drawings, by Mr. S. H. Owens—upon Mellifont Abbey, co. Louth, while Mr. Seaton F. Milligan read an able and exhaustive contribution upon "Crannoges, or Lake Dwellings in co. Cavan," remarking, that he had received a very interesting letter from the Very Rev. Dr. Reeves, Dean of Armagh, who informed him that the founder of Drumlane (anciently Drumleathim) Church was St. Mogue, or Macdoc, who was born about the year 555 in East Breffoy, and whose day in the calendar is 31st January. Mr. Milligan gave some information respecting a sycamore tree that had taken root on the top of one of the buttresses of the church, the four walls of which are still standing. He exhibited a very unique and rare example of ancient Irish workmanship—a metal cauldron, made in strips riveted together—of very graceful shape, with two rings to suspend it, twisted in a very artistic manner. This cauldron was found in a bog quite close to the ruins at Drumlane, and belonged to the monastery in ancient times.—Mr. Gray read a paper on "The Glenny Collection of Antiquities at Newry," and Mr. W. H. Patterson exhibited and described a beautiful bronze and gilt fibula.—On the first afternoon the members proceeded to Dunluce Castle. The party then drove to Ballylough, the residence of Dr. Traill. The old M'Quillan castle at Ballylough, and the crannogs and old canoe (twenty-seven feet long), found adjacent, were visited, and attracted a good deal of attention.—On the second day a large number of the members left Portrush in the evening for the Giant's Causeway. There were also visits to the following places not embraced on previous days—Dunseverick Castle, the neolithic-remain beds at Ballintoy, the Cromlechs on Mount Druid, Glegnah and Cloughna boghill at Ballintoy, the Swinging Bridge at Carrick-a-Rede, Kenbane Castle, Ballycastle, the ruins of the Franciscan Priory of Bonnamairgie, the Old Cross at Ballyvoy, the ice-scratchings at Fair, Head and the lake and crannoge on the mount of this bold headland.

French Academy of Medicine.— In a paper read before the last meeting M. Lagneau described his researches into the anæsthetics employed in Europe by physicians in the Middle Ages. That such were known is beyond any doubt. Abelard, speaking of the creation of Eve from a rib of Adam, speaks of the deep sleep which fell upon the latter as similar to that which physicians produce in patients upon whom they wish to operate. Pliny speaks of a stone of Memphis which, when crushed and treated with vinegar, renders any part to which it is applied insensible to pain; and many old authors speak of surgeons producing sleep in their patients before an operation by mixing with their food a decoction of the leaves or root of the mandragora, or some grains of the plant called "morion." Preparations of these two plants, as well as of other narcotics, were employed by surgeons down to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but much less in subsequent times. Opium was also used for a similar purpose, while in the East the anæsthetic properties of hemp have been known from the earliest times. These were all taken into the stomach; but anæsthesia by inhalation

was also known. Two different preparations were discovered in the thirteenth century — one by a Dominican of Rome, the other by a surgeon named Theodoric, who was also a preaching friar, and subsequently a bishop. Both of these were prepared from opium, henbane, mandragora, hemlock, and many other plants, and were inhaled from a sponge. It is, however, difficult to believe that preparations so little volatile could produce anæsthesia by simple inhalation. M. Perrin, who has studied ancient anæsthetics, has given the composition of a liquid which contains all the ingredients required for chloroform, and it is said that this was applied to witnesses or prisoners who were about to be tortured in the judicial tribunals of the Middle Ages. After inhaling it the unfortunate subject was plunged into a semi-comatose state, which diminished, in a certain degree, the pain of the torture.

The Antiquary's Note-Book.

The Beef-Steak Society.—A list of the original members of the Sublime Society of the Beefsteaks, instituted 6th December, 1735, and their successors. The members were twenty-four, and their names and the names of their successors are given in twenty-four columns. The first members were George Lambert, William Hogarth, John Rich, Lacy Ryan, Ebenezer Forrest, Robert Scott, Thomas Chapman, Dennis Delane, John Thornhill, Francis Niveton, Sir W. Sanderson, Richard Mitchell, John Boson, Henry Smart, John Huggins, Hugh Watson, William Huggins, Edward Tufnell, Thomas Salway, Charles Neale, Charles Lalauze, Alexander Gordon, William Tothall, and Gabriel Hunt. In later years appear the names of the Earl of Sandwich, William Fitzherbert, Dr. Antony Askew, Samuel Johnson [he was admitted in 1780. His residence was Gloucester Street, Queen Square, his title and profession are left blank. He was not *the* Dr. Johnson], George Colman, John Wilkes (19th January, 1754), William Savage, Thomas Potter, Paul Whitehead, the Earl of Surrey, Theophilus Cibber, Thomas Hudson. There is an alphabetical index, and the addresses of the members. Michael Adolphus, and afterwards the Earl of Effingham, was Prelate, and J. C. Bolton (of the Temple) was Recorder of the Society.—*Hist. MSS. Com.*, vol. iv.

Interior of House of Commons in 1651.—Mr. George Scharf has presented to the National Portrait Gallery electrotypes in silver of the Great Seal of England under the Commonwealth, showing, on the obverse, a view of the interior of the House of Commons, dated 1651. Engraved by Thomas Simon. For the curious history of this seal see Bulstrode Whitelock's *Memorials*. The obverse represents, within a circular border, inscribed "*In the third yeare of freedome, by God's blessing restored*, 1651," the interior of the House of Commons at that date, with the Speaker (Lenthal) wearing his hat, seated in a canopied chair, and two clerks at the table before him. A mace lies upon the table. In the background is a large square window with thick mullions and glass in lozenge panes. Curtains fall at each side of the window, and rich patterns decorate the tapestry on the walls. The members are seated on benches four rows deep. All wear their hats excepting the member, presumed to be Oliver Cromwell, who is on his feet, addressing the House. He holds his round hat in his right hand planted on his hip, and extends his left as in the act of speaking. A youthful doorkeeper standing in front is bareheaded and wraps his mantle about him. The floor is uncovered, and the long wooden planks composing it are distinctly marked. The total number of figures introduced is 102. On the reverse, within a similar circular border, inscribed "The Great Seal of England, 1651," is a geographical map of England (not Scotland) and Ireland, expressed in relief, with the names of the principal places in projected characters like printers' type. At the top, close to the date in the border, is a shield for England bearing the cross of St. George, and below, to the south of Ireland, is a similar shield bearing an Irish harp. A fleet of ships in full sail appears in the lower part of the map, and a compass indicating the north is half way between the Land's End and Cork Harbour. The celebrated medal issued as a military reward to commemorate the battle of Dunbar, 3rd September, 1650, exhibits a similar representation of the House of Commons, with Parliament assembled, but no one addressing the House. The side walls of the apartment are not indicated, but, as in the Great Seal of 1651, behind the Speaker's chair there is a large square window similar to the one still in Westminster Hall, which continued to the year 1683, as it is represented in the frontispiece to vol. ii. of *Nalson's Collections*, published at that date. In the reign of Queen Anne, on the occasion of the passing of the "Act of Union with Scotland" in 1706, when additional accommodation was required for members, Sir Christopher Wren was employed to newly fit up the Lower House, and then the three round-headed windows, and the galleries with strong iron pillars to support them, were introduced. This general arrangement appears to have continued till the total destruction of the building by fire in 1834.*

Interior of the House of Commons in the Year 1793.—A picture painted in London by Karl Anton Hickel was presented, June 1885, by his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary to Lady Paget for the National Portrait Gallery. It contains ninety-six portraits, with the Right Hon. William Pitt addressing the House, Speaker Addington in the chair, and the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, Sheridan, and Erskine on the Opposition benches. The view, looking eastward, shows the Speaker's chair with three large arched windows behind it, and the mace lying with books upon the table in front, at which the two parliamentary

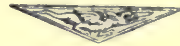
* See *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, by T. Carlyle, 1857, vol. ii., page 253, and *Medallic Illustrations*, published by the Trustees of the British Museum, 1885, vol. i., page 391. J. T. Smith's *Westminster*, page 144, and Brayley and Britton's *Palace of Westminster*, page 393.

clerks are seated. The spectator is so placed as to see more of the ministerial side of the House, and a strong light is thrown upon the principal members. All, except Mr. Pitt, are seated. Three persons hold long wands. Most of the company are bareheaded. Ten wear either black broad-brimmed or three-cornered military hats. All wear knee breeches, and some gaiters. The completely shaven faces and the uniform use of powder increase the difficulty of identifying individuals. Mr. Pitt, attired in a blue-grey coat and knee breeches, gilt buttons, and a white waistcoat, raises his right arm and hand with a somewhat deprecatory gesture. His powdered hair gives a strongly florid tone to the complexion. Mr. Fox wears a broad-brimmed black hat very much pressed down on the forehead, adding force to his intensely dark eyebrows. In the front row, to the left of the spectator, may be recognised Sir R. Pepper Arden (Master of the Rolls), wearing a black gown and clerical bands, Henry Dundas (Home Secretary), Richard Earl of Mornington, wearing a blue ribbon as K.P., Robt. Dundas (Lord Advocate), Dudley Ryder (Paymaster General), Canning, Sir John Mitford (Solicitor General), Lord Macartney, Jenkinson, and Lord Bayham. At the table are seated Mr. John Hatsell and Mr. John Ley. The date of this picture appears to be early in the month of February 1793, and to represent the animated debate upon a royal message which was delivered to Parliament, informing them that the King had determined to augment his forces "for supporting his allies and for opposing views of aggrandisement and ambition on the part of France." A moment like this, involving a discussion on the abolition of monarchy, would naturally, after his painful experience in the country which he had just quitted, interest the artist, and he appears to have at once selected it, and to have been specially favoured with sittings from members who were present.

Early Satirical Prints.—A letter dated December 16th, 1671, to Sir Robert Paston, afterwards 1st Earl of Yarmouth, a descendant of the celebrated Pastons, known to us by the *Paston Letters*, contains some curious allusions to early satirical prints. It says: "Before a French almanack of this year in a single sheet they have, as is usual with them, pictured their king riding in a triumphant chariot like the sun. The Dutch in scorn of this rant have before an almanack set the picture of a man eclipsing the sun with a Holland cheese."

An Ancient Drainage Scheme.—In 1876 Prince Torlonia completed the improvement of 50,000 acres of the ancient Lake of Fucino in Italy, a work conceived by Julius Cæsar, initiated by Claudius Nero, continued by Trojan and Adrian, and again attempted by Frederick II. and Alphonso of Aragon. Prince Torlonia recommenced the work in 1854, and terminated it in 1876. Probably this is the longest undertaking on record, it having just occupied 2,000 years.

Contemporary Account of Colonel Blood.—Sir Henry Ingilby has in his MS. collection some letters to Sir Robert Paston (1st Earl of Yarmouth). One of these, dated May 13th, 1671, says: "Blood [was] as gallant a villain as ever herded in that sneaking sect of the Anabaptists; when he was examined before the king he answered so frankly and undauntedly that everyone stood amazed. He thought the crown was worth £100,000 (when crown, sceptre, globe, and Prince Edward's staff cost the King but £6,000). He was to have headed the party that was to have surprised Dublin Castle eight years ago. He and his company carried off the Duke of Ormond. There was found about him a little book of paper, wherein he had set down sixty signal deliverances from eminent danger; men guess him to be about 50 years of age by the grey hairs sprinkled up and down in his head and beard, but he says he is not above 45 and his son 21. . . . . . Prince Rupert remembers he served under him, and says he was a very stout bold fellow." Another letter, dated August 5th, 1671, says, "On Thursday last, in the courtyard of Whitehall, I saw walking in a new suit and periwig Mr. Blood, extraordinary pleasant and jocose: he has been at liberty this fortnight; he is nothing like the idea I had made to myself of him, for he is a tall rough-boned man, with small legs, a pock frecken face with little hollow blue eyes."—See *Hist. MSS. Com.*, vol. vi., p. 370. Evelyn records in his diary of May 10th, 1671, that he "dined at Mr. Treasurer's, where dined Monsieur de Gramont and severall French noblemen, and one Blood, that impudent bold fellow who had not long before attempted to steale the imperial crowne."



Antiquarian News.

Dr. Hicks, president of the Royal Geological Society, has been making explorations of the two caves in the rear of Ffynnon Beuno, at Tremeirchion, near St. Asaph. This cave is situate on the estate of Mr. P. P. Pennant, and the other, Cae Gwyn, although close by, is on property owned by Mr. Edwin Morgan. The owner of the land offering no objection to the operation, a grant was made by the Royal Society, out of which a body of labourers have been employed, under the personal supervision of Dr. Hicks. The caves penetrate to a good distance from the mouth, and they have not been particularly difficult to work. To the question which of the caves—Cefn or Tremeirchion—had claim to the greater geological interest, Dr. Hicks's reply was in favour of the latter. The first substance encountered was a stalagmite floor covered with limestone, and beyond this a large variety of bones, including those of the mammoth and rhinoceros, some of which were embedded in the underside of the stalagmite. A few yards from the entrance was a quantity of charcoal, which, from its position, Dr. Hicks said was the remains of a fire made by primitive man for the purpose of cooking his food. The cave has been open to the extent of a few yards for generations, and was utilised as a cattle shed, but most of the inhabitants of the district were ignorant of the existence of the larger tunnels beyond. The mouth of the cave is 280 feet above sea level, and 42 feet above the stream running along the valley. The Cae Gwyn cave is 20 feet above the other, and it is sup-

posed they will eventually be found to communicate. Along with some remains of the reindeer a flint implement has been discovered. This implement has been described by Dr. J. Evans as a scraper, bearing similar evidences of wear to those found in La Madelaine, a reindeer cave in France. The matrix in which it was discovered was similar to that which encased the mammalian remains. A quantity of sand is found in the cavities of the bones. Dr. Hicks also shows a piece of granite which had evidently been brought down from Scotland by glaciers.

Mr. William Nelson, the publisher, has offered to defray the cost of restoring externally the little Norman church within the walls of Edinburgh Castle. Is it a necessary restoration?

Much interest has been excited in Peterborough by the unearthing of a massive stone bridge immediately in front of the west gate of the cathedral. The existence of it, however, was not unknown. It was originally brought to light some twenty-two years ago during the course of a sewerage excavation, and caused considerable interest. A short time ago the buried bridge was again disclosed and cut through in the course of the construction of a new drain. It has evidently some time spanned a waterway as an approach to the cathedral. The bridge was possibly erected over a stream which ran from Swanspool into the waterway from the river, which in late years became the stagnant dyke at the back of the houses in Broad Bridge-street, and filled up in the time of the old Improvement Commissioners. Old records dub the waterway as the Bull or Bolthe Dyke. During the excavations for a cellar in some new premises being built in Westgate for Mr. Frank, pork butcher, several old tradesmen's tokens have been discovered, and also a brass token commemorating the accession of George III., dated 1760.

The Corporation of Bath have commenced uncovering a second Roman bath contiguous to the large one previously exposed. It is very massive in construction and circular in shape, a series of curves forming the circle. The workmen have discovered at the bottom of the bath a human skull with the brains petrified inside.

Two more cists have been discovered at the Pitreavie tumulus, one containing human remains, and the excavations will be continued until the whole place has been thoroughly searched.

Attention has recently been directed by German art critics to a newly-discovered portrait of Albert Dürer, painted by himself in 1493; and it seems to be assumed that the painter has left no other portrait of himself. In the Albertina collection of Vienna, however, there is a portrait which bears the following inscription:—"This is a likeness of myself, made in 1484, by means of a looking-glass, when I was a child.—Albrecht Dürer." The picture is drawn on tinted paper, with a silver style, and shows a freedom of design astonishing in a child.

On 29th June last, in Wells Cathedral, the celebration of the Ken bicentenary commemoration, which was proposed by the Dean of Wells in the spring of 1884, took place. St. Peter's day, the 29th of June, was fixed upon as the day of the commemorative festival, that being the anniversary of the trial of the seven Bishops in the reign of James II. Among the defendants on that memorable occasion were Archbishop Sancroft and Bishop Ken, and the offence with which they were charged, and of which they were acquitted, was the refusal to read King James II.'s Declaration of Indulgence. In the following year the Bishop declined to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, and was afterwards deprived of his See. The hymns for which Ken's memory is held in honour are for the most part known only in fragments, and as a tribute of reverence to his memory in connection with the present commemoration the Dean of Wells had the morning and evening hymns printed *in extenso*, as they appeared in the "Manual for Winchester Scholars" in 1700.

The old church of St. Sebaldus in Nuremburg is to be restored.

The crucifixion group in the Frankfort Cathedral, supposed to be by Peter Fischer, is to be restored.

An interesting discovery, illustrating the commerce and the luxury of ancient Rome, has been made close to Monte Testaccio and the English cemetery. The whole of that district to the west of the Aventine outside the Porta Tregemina was occupied by granaries and warehouses for the storage of imports of all kinds. Between the northern side of Monte Testaccio and the Tiber there still exist colossal remains of the great emporium built by Marcus Emilius Lepidus and Emilius Paulus nearly two hundred years before the Christian era. In the year 1868 a considerable portion of the quays was discovered, together with some six hundred blocks, many of them of large size, of rare variegated marbles of all kinds, lying just where they were landed from the galleys which had brought them from Numidia, the Grecian Islands, and Asia Minor fifteen centuries ago. Now, in the course of the building operations in this locality, two warehouses have been discovered, one filled with elephants' tusks and the other with lentils.

The work of church restoration is, alas! being pressed forward with much zeal in North-East Yorkshire, and there are now within a small radius of Malton at least half-a-dozen churches in process of restoration or about to be restored. The latest addition to this list is the ancient Parish Church of North Grimston, East Riding. The edifice is dedicated to St. Nicholas, and there are remains of fine Norman work in the chancel arch and the north wall, a magnificent Saxon font, a Transitional south doorway, and Early English tower and south-west window of nave. The old font deserves more than passing notice, as it is said to be one of the most remarkable examples of its kind. It is of stone and large enough for immersion. On its surface is carved a number of figures representing "The Crucifixion," "The Last Supper," and a bishop with his crosier. The church itself comprises chancel and nave, with tower, in which are a clock and two bells. The arch, through porch, and chancel arch show fine zig-zag Norman moulding.

The restoration of the chancel of the parish church of Ramsey, in Huntingdonshire, has just been completed. The chancel is considered to be the oldest part of the sacred edifice, and to have originally occupied more space, from the presence of Norman piers and arches in the side walls, etc. It is much higher than the nave, being reached by two separate sets of steps. At the eastern end are four flat buttresses; between these three circular-topped narrow windows. Over the central one there is an oval light surmounted by a smaller one in the gable of a similar character. The roof is of stone, groined, with flat ribs. The piscina, which is of great antiquity, is carved in Purbeck marble. The lectern in the chancel is of great beauty and antiquity, being made A.D. 1450; and chained to it is a brass-bound, black-lettered volume, supposed to have been placed there towards the close of the seventeenth century.

At the meeting on July 2nd of the Royal Archæological Institute the following resolution was carried unanimously:—"That we learn with great regret that, notwithstanding the almost unanimous decision of a meeting of influential citizens of York, convened by the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings, at which we were represented, the committee who proposed the destruction or disuse of certain of the old parish churches still persist in their objectionable scheme without providing a fund for the sustentation of the fabrics of these churches." The Archbishop of York is now anxious to disclaim any desire of destroying these churches, and we can only wish his Grace had shown this laudable feeling a little earlier.

A discovery of ancient implements of warfare has been made at Wingham, Kent. The relics were found by some workmen who were excavating a gravel pit. There are numerous spear heads, and near them were three perfect skeletons.

In consequence of one or two of the crockets of the north-west pinnacle of the tower of St. Mary's Church, Whittlesey, having recently fallen, it was deemed by the vicar and churchwardens expedient to have the pinnacle and battlements of the church repaired, their condition being considered unsafe for pedestrians passing through the churchyard by the path immediately under the tower.

An interesting "find" was made by the workmen engaged on the railway line Bellegarde-Evian-Bouveret in Canton Valais. While excavating the soil at the back of the church of St. Gingolph, they opened a grave in which two small silver coins were found, which proved upon inspection to be oboli of Louis le Débonnaire, the son and successor of Charles the Great. They bear on one side a cross, and the words "Ludovicus Imp," on the other side an altar with the words "Xrictiana Relig'o." The discovery has settled the vexed question as to the age of the so-called "Burgundian graves," proving that they are not older than the ninth century.

An interesting local discovery has been made in Lordship-lane, East Dulwich, as some old property was being demolished on the Bradbury Estate. Upon removing the roof of an old cottage, the workmen came upon the chancel end of St. John's Chapel of Ease, a building of ancient origin, which disappeared about half a century ago. The brickwork of this interesting memento of the past is in excellent preservation, and the tablet with the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments and the Creed can be clearly read.

Recently, in removing the flat stones which for many years have formed the uneven flooring of a cottage in Prebend End, Buckingham, the workmen were surprised to find on the under side of one of the stones the following inscription:—"To ye memory of John, ye son of Michal Dimmock, who dyed April 29, An. Dom. 1690."

The worthy rector of Aveton Gifford parish has now finished a complete restoration and renovation of the one time famous carved oak screens, which were made in Richard II.'s time, and which stood in the church from those days until a very recent date. They were removed some twenty years ago. These fine parclose screens are the work of the same clever craftsman who made the beautiful ones in the parish church at Kingsbridge.

The important manuscript known as the Calton-Alleyne Agreement of 1605, stated as lost in the 1881 catalogue of the documents belonging to Dulwich College, by which agreement Edward Alleyne obtained by purchase the large estate with which he subsequently endowed his "College of God's Gift," has just been most unexpectedly restored to the College strong-room. Mr. T. C. Noble, who, in *Notes and Queries*, has described the history at length of this famous document, found that it had been sold by public auction, in March last, to a bookseller, who was the agent of Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, the Shakespearian scholar. Upon Mr. Noble making known to Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps that the manuscript belonged to the College, that gentleman generously restored it to the Foundation.

Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge recently sold at their rooms, Wellington Street, Strand, the remarkable collection of Anglo-Saxon and English coins formed by the late Reverend Edward J. Shepherd. Prices throughout were good, some being extraordinary. Of early British coins a Boldred penny realized £40, an Ecgberht penny £22, a very fine penny from the Cuerdale Find £22 10*s*., a very rare Beornwuf penny from the Murchison cabinet £39 10*s*., and Archbishop Jaenberht's penny, a double cross, also from the Murhison cabinet, £24 10*s*. Of the gold coins, a gold penny of Henry III., weighing 45½ grains, realized £205; Henry VIII. half George noble, unqiue and unpublished, £255 (this coin was bought in Paris many years ago for 3*s*. 6*d*.); Mary rial, 1553, Queen standing in ship, £80 10*s*.; George III. five-gninea piece, pattern by Tanner, £44; another pattern by Pistrucci, with St. George and the Dragon, £48 10*s*. The silver coins which were sold for the highest, prices were: Henry, Bishop of Winchester, penny-profile bust of King Stephen, £35 10*s*.; Henry IV. groat, after thirteenth year, £28.

An interesting discovery has been made at Deerhurst, near Tewkesbury, of a very ancient structure, which there is good reason to believe is an Anglo-Saxon house.

Correspondence.

DISCOVERIES AT GREAT YARMOUTH.

It may be interesting to your readers to know that some few years ago I purchased from the workmen employed, and saved from breaking up, an Early English water urn or jar with a drinking cup, found at the same time, in digging a cellar for the purpose of a tavern to be constructed. It was at Great Yarmouth in what is now known as, and for centuries past called, "King Street" that these alterations were taking place. The premises abounded on what is now "Castle Row," running over where the castle originally stood, and is shown on the map which was drawn in pen and ink (crow quill) by Swinden, the historian, and which is now in my possession. The workmen, in digging the cellar, some fourteen feet from the surface, came upon a brick foundation, which, when uncovered, seemed a dungeon or cell, no light being admitted, and one man entered the cell *nolens volens*, fortunately receiving only an unpleasant shaking, that was the first notice of a cell being there. They dug still lower and came upon sand, and upon sand the town is erected. Embedded in this sand was found the water jar, urn, or vessel, and glass. Yarmouth is described as a sand originally, like Scroby or "Scroteby," as written in the past. *Ergo*, allowing the premises logically, I respectfully submit that these articles must have been thrown into the jaws of Neptune by the Early British race from some vessel, and was originally an Early British water *urn*, used for fresh water "aboard ship." We know the old map of 1000 from the British Museum, described by Ives in his *Garrionomum*, representing Yarmouth as a sandbank, and the estuary of the three rivers which caused a confluence or delta which was afterwards Yarmouth. See Nash's *Lenten Staff.* To describe the urn, it is in height, with blemishes, 31 in. deep, 35 in. from damage to mouth on one side, on the other 32 in. to mouth. This is vertical. The circumference at the mouth 46 in., the thickness 1½ in. It is of the pale red colour, with ornamental bands of white dashes and vertical stripes in the form of ladders round. The glass is of light green bubbled glass, like to the Early British ware, 5 in. to the broken, 9 in. in bulge, and 10 in. to the drinking edge. This glass was found within the urn, and evidently thrown to its resting-place at the same time.

PROCTOR BURROUGHS.

MAIDEN LANE, LONDON.

[*Ante*, p. 68.]

Probably the origin of the name Maiden Lane has puzzled others besides Mr. Wheatley; that of Covent Garden, the district in which it lies, is ascribed to the site having been used by the monks of Westminster, partly as a kitchen garden, partly as a burial ground. But the nunnery of which Maiden Lane has been assumed to be a precinct seems purely hypothetical. Such a mistake may have arisen from the word convent being often restricted to mean a religious house for *women* only; an error into which Landor seems to have fallen when he describes Covent Garden as once "formal and quiet, where a salad was cut for a lady abbess."

At all events, I am unaware of proof of the existence of any "studious cloisters pale" hereabouts, and would be interested to learn if wherever we find the word Maiden, we must conclude that there stood a nunnery. For instance, does this derivation apply to Maiden Lane, Battle Bridge; to Maiden Lane, Wood Street; to Maiden Bradley; and to Maiden Newton? Etymology is a sad snare to folks with imaginative minds; thus we read in that delightful book *Words and Places*, how the name Maidenhead has arisen from the myth that there was buried one of the eleven thousand Virgins of Cologne,—concerning whom, by the way, Professor Owen has made a discovery which somewhat shakes the reverence with which the pious pilgrim of the Rhine feels he ought to regard these precious relics; the discovery being that the bones of the eleven thousand maiden saints comprise the remains of almost all the *quadrupeds* indigenous to the district. But Maydenhithe, the ancient form of the name, "was," says Mr. Taylor, "the wharf midway between Marlow and Windsor."

So, too, Maidstone is not the town of maids, but the town on the Medway.

A still more striking example of erroneous etymology is Maiden Castle, in Dorset. This gigantic hill-fort, probably the largest earthwork in the kingdom, with an area of full 115 acres, is certainly Celtic in its origin, and there is no trace of stone work about it; yet popular tradition asserts that it derives its name from its being the site of a maiden castle, *i.e.*, one never taken.

A far more probable origin of the name is to be found. The Gallo-Brythonic *dūnon* makes in Welsh *din*, a fort or town, and is of the same meaning as Old Irish *dún*. This word has found its way from the Celtic into Italian and Spanish as *duna*, into English as *down*, and into French as *dune*. As *don* and *dun* it is familiar to us, and very common both as a suffix and prefix; Lon*don* and *Dun*stable may suffice as examples. So much for *dun*, *don*, or *den*. The *mai* is not quite so clear. It has been derived from the British *Madan*, fair, and from the Saxon *mai*, great. Skeat derives the word Maiden in its commonly accepted signification from a Teutonic base *Mag*, to have strength, and an Aryan root *Magh*, to be strong.

Either, or all, of these meanings fit perfectly, and the word thus comes to mean simply the strong hill fort, terms which exactly describe Maiden Castle. Besides this great stronghold of the Durotriges, there is a Maiden Castle near Penrith, and another near Wooller. Moreover, there is under the Castle of Wark, in Northumberland, a walk called "Maiden Walk;" and from the before-mentioned Maiden Castle, in the parish of Brough, there is a *Maiden Way*. This last fact has suggested a theory to the writer, which, improbable as it may appear at first sight, may yet deserve a moment's consideration. The Strand runs immediately above the descent leading to the river; parallel to it, and a little north, along what, before the Strand was made a road, was pro-

bably the first level ground we should come to after leaving the Thames, runs Maiden Lane, which, under other names, is continued right into the city. May not this once have been a British trackway, and led eastward to the *Dun*, which in early times doubtless crowned the height whereon St. Paul's now stands? Or, looking westward, may not the swamps and thickets of what we now call Westminster have had a stockade, a *dun*, on the higher ground above them, hard by which the little village of Charing was afterwards to grow, and of which Castle Street, just north of Trafalgar Square, may preserve some distant memories?

J. J. FOSTER.

THE BIBLE AS A FOLK-LORE TREASURY.

I think that the earliest person who took the view of the Bible that, in the Old Testament, we have, to a large extent, a body of popular traditions and superstitions framed into a narrative shape, was no less than Christopher Marlowe. For in Mr. Dyce's edition of his works, referring to his alleged atheism, Dyce quotes Beard, author of the *Theatre of God's Judgments*, 1597 (published four years after Marlowe's death) for the dramatist's opinion that, among other points, the Holy Bible was "but vaine and idle stories." In a volume of *Indited Poetical Miscellanies*, which I printed in 1870, I gave an extract from the MS. Commonplace Book of Henry Oxenden, of Barham, 1647, furnishing an ampler account of Marlowe's death and its surroundings than occurs in Dyce and elsewhere.

W. CAREW HAZLITT.

BEACHLEY AND BUTTINGTON.

[*Ante*, p. 25.]

As Mr. Hillman, in his paper on the district "'twixt Severn and Wye," states that he is unable to identify "Cingestún," he may be glad to know of the admirable chapter on this district (as "the Manor of Tidenham") in Mr. Seebohm's *English Village Community*, pp. 148-160. *Cinges tune* is there identified with Sedbury.

J. H. ROUND.

MR. FREEMAN'S ACCURACY.

It is a pity that Mr. Round should devote so much trouble and ingenuity to the discovery of mares' nests. I read in your current number a vehement attack on Mr. Freeman for a mistake *which he himself corrected nine years ago.* Mr. Round, who prides himself so much on his accuracy, has been guilty of an amazing anachronism. I have been at the pains of collating his quotations from the fourth volume of *The Norman Conquest*, and find that not one single word of the passages to which Mr. Round objects has been allowed to stand in the second edition *published in* 1876. Mr. Round concludes his article by promising "*revelations on the Norman Conquest*, of which the contents of the present paper afford but a trifling specimen." I am glad that "the present paper" is a "specimen," so that scholars may be able to judge beforehand whether the character of the *Norman Conquest* or of its critic will suffer most from Mr. Round's "revelations." Why is one of the two or three foremost historical scholars in England singled out for these irresponsible random attacks, which can deceive only the ignorant, and which a moment's examination will confute?

REGINALD LANE POOLE.

12th August, 1885.

ENGLISH INVENTIONS.

In the report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records, just issued, there is a notice (p. 59) of the travels in England of S. Buschenfeldt, who describes a "Petrifaction nye Harwich," and "Inention pä grinder och porter" (for gates and doors). What was this?

W. E. A. AXON.

THE BURIAL-PLACE OF CAVALLIER THE CAMISARD.

The question as to the precise burial-place of Jean Anthony Cavallier, the well-known leader of the revolt in the Cevennes, against the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, has been again brought before public attention, and is probably now finally settled. Attention was called to the matter by a letter in the *Times*, from Mrs. J. B. Marsh, who published an extract from an old London paper recording the death, and a certificate of the place of interment. This was followed by an able leading article in that paper, dealing with the whole question of the revolt of the Camisards. It is curious that so many different stories have found their way into reputable books about the burial of this man. There can be no doubt that a few literary men and women were convinced that he lay in the old churchyard at Chelsea—St. Luke's by the Thames; but this was by no means the popular belief, the most general idea being that he was buried in the small graveyard attached to Chelsea Hospital, in the Queen's Road. The statements are in printed books, which declare he was interred in Dublin, at Mount Nod, in Wandsworth, in the Moravian burial-ground, Chelsea, and in the old graveyard in the King's Road, opposite the Vestry Hall. It is made clear, however, now, that he was interred on the north side of the graveyard of the Old Church by the Thames, Chelsea; and a certificate of his burial was furnished, at her request, to Mrs. Marsh by the Rev. R. H. Davies, the incumbent. So well was the mystery kept up, that until this certificate was solicited Mr. Davies had no idea that the distinguished Camisard lay in his graveyard. Now where is the gravestone? Lysons saw it, and so did Faulkner. The north end of the yard is bounded by cottages, whose inhabitants for the last half-century have made the graveyard a common dust-heap—ashes, bones, and every kind of refuse having been "thrown over the wall," and this *débris* rises from a foot at the pathway to four or five feet at the boundary wall. Under this rubbish lies the body of the man who convulsed France with the heroic deeds of the Camisards whom he led. A small sum of money would clear the yard, and towards this object several subscriptions have already been promised to the incumbent.

J. G. B.

The Antiquary Exchange.

Enclose 4d. for the First 12 *Words, and* 1*d. for each Additional Three Words. All replies to a number should be enclosed in a blank envelope, with a loose Stamp, and sent to the Manager.*

NOTE.—*All Advertisements to reach the office by the* 15*th of the month, and to be addressed*—The Manager, EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT, THE ANTIQUARY OFFICE, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

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A few old Poesy Rings for sale.—Apply to 265, care of Manager.

The first English New Testament. Tyndale's New Testament in English, 1525; facsimiled by Francis Fry, Esq., of Bristol. Only 151 copies were printed, and as the stones were effaced, no more can possibly be produced. A copy of the above valuable reprint for sale.—Apply by letter to W. E. Morden, Lower Tooting, London, S.W.

Copies of 222 Marriage Registers from the parish book of St. Mary's Church in Whittlesey, in the Isle of Ely and County of Cambridge, 1662-72; 1880, 10 pp., 1*s.* 6*d.* A copy of the Names of all the Marriages, Baptisms, and Burials which have been solemnized in the private chapel of Somerset House, Strand, in the County of Middlesex, extending from 1714 to 1776, with an index and copious genealogical notes; 36 pp. and wrapper, 1862, 2*s.* 6*d.* Dr. Robert Mossom, Bishop of Derry, with a bibliography of his works; reprinted with additions and corrections from the Palatine Note Book, by John Ingle Dredge (not published); 1882, 12 pp., with wrapper, 2*s.* 6*d.* Dr. George Downame, Bishop of Derry, by Rev. John Ingle Dredge; 1881, 14 pp. and wrapper (not published), 2*s.* 6*d.*—119, care of Manager.

Some very fine old Mourning and curious Gold and Silver Rings for sale.—282, care of Manager.

Phallicism, Celestial and Terrestrial, Heathen and Christian; its Connexion with the Rosicrucians and the Gnostics, and its Foundation in Buddhism, with an Essay on Mystic Anatomy, by Hargrave Jennings; with Illustrated Supplement. Price 25*s.* nett.—191, care of Manager.

Choice Illustrated Works at low prices for cash. Gray's Elegy (Lippincott, 1883), 4to, artist's edition, India proofs, copy No. 131; 500 only printed, of which 100 only were issued for sale in England. £3 3*s. nett.* Gray's Elegy (Elliot Stock, 1884), small 4to, *large paper*, 50 copies only printed. Very scarce. £1 5*s. nett.* Foxe's Acts and Monuments. 9th edition. London, printed for the company of stationers MDCLXXXIV.; 3 vols. folio, very good tall and clean copy in half leather. £3 3*s. nett.* Hamilton Palace Collection. Priced Illustrated Sale Catalogue. 4to, cloth. Published at £2 2*s.*; *uncut*, £1 *nett.* English Etchings (Reeves). Parts 1 to 12. Good impressions. Clean and new. £1 15*s. nett.* Apply by letter only to J. Cleare, Clapton Pavement, Lower Clapton, London, E.

For sale or exchange, a few old halberds or pikes, of very good shape, guaranteed from the Tower of London, mounted on ancient musket barrels, length altogether four and half feet. This rare opportunity for collectors. Fair prices given for ancient weapons or armour.—Apply, Mr. Wade, Portland Square, Plymouth.

ANTIQUARY, from January 1880 to December 1883. Complete, newly-bound, half-calf, rough edges. Price £2.—Address, preliminary letter, to Mr. J. H. Matthews, Grosvenor Place, Ripley, Derbyshire.

Autograph Letters. Dickens, 4 pages and envelope. 1844. £2 2s.—Leigh Hunt, note to T. Carlyle. 12s. 6d. Daniel O'Connell, 1 page. 10s. 6d.—Bond, Blackett Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Silver Coins.—Charles II. sixpence; Charles II. penny; James II. 1687 threepenny bit; Queen Anne 1713 threepenny bit; George II. 1745 shilling; George III. 1797 shilling; George IV. 1821 groat. What offers?—W. E. Morden, Lower Tooting, S.W.

Silver penny of Athelred II., coined at Lincoln.—Apply by letter to Rev. Dr. Wood, N. Somercotes, Grimsby.

Warner's Albion's England, quarto size, first edition, 1586, very scarce. What offers?—S., Carogate, Retford.

The Manager wishes to draw attention to the fact that he cannot undertake to forward POST CARDS, *or letters, unless a stamp be sent to cover postage of same to advertiser.*

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Dorsetshire Seventeenth Century Tokens. Also Topographical Works, Cuttings or Scraps connected with the county.—J. S. Udal, The Manor House, Symondsbury, Bridport.

Memoirs of the Parish Church of Gillingham, Kent, by Leach, 1868.—272, care of Manager.

Carl Werner's Views in the Holy Land, a good copy wanted, and a fair price offered.—Reports by *Letter* only to M. W., care of Manager.

Rambles in the Isle of Sheppey, by Henry T. A. Turmine (native of Minster), with historical notes by Jas. Bennett, 1843, pp. 91. The Benefactor. The Congregational Economist.—119, care of Manager.

Wanted, Ancient Almanacs antedating 1800. Address stating price to 280, care of Manager.

Folk Lore Record, vols. 1, 2, 4, 5, and parts 1 and 2 of vol. 3; The Poets' Harvest Home, being one hundred short poems by William Bell Scott, Elliot Stock, 1882.—W. E. Morden, Lower Tooting, S.W.

Shipley's Views in the South Pacific; MacLean Haynes' Monumental Brasses; Mercer's Narrative of the Battle of Waterloo (a good copy); Hales' Essays on Tithes; McCall's Hebrew Primer.—M., care of Manager.

The Gentleman's Magazine, vols. for 1847, 1849, part 2; 1855, 1856, part 1. W. E. Morden, Lower Tooting, S.W.

Turmine's Rambles in the Isle of Sheppey, Kent, 12mo, 1843. East Kent Poll Book for the General Election in July 1852, published by Whittaker & Co., London. 191, Care of Manager.

Scot—(Reynolde). Perfite Platforme of a Hoppe Garden and necessarie instructions for the making thereof. Black Letter Woodcuts. 1578. H. Denham, 283, care of Manager.

The Antiquary.

OCTOBER, 1885.

Robin Hood and Robin Crusoe.

By David Fitzgerald.

He is already in the forest of Arden, and a many merry men with him; and there they live like the old Robin Hood of England . . . fleet the time carelessly, as they did in the golden world . . . There's no clock in the forest.—*As You Like It*, Act I. sc. 1, Act III. sc. 2.

Roger Bontemps.—*Adages François* (sæc. xvi.).

He was gone while you could say Jack Robinson. —Grose, *Glossary*.

Sometimes would he goe like a Belman in the night. —*Life of Robin Goodfellow*.

Robin a des sonnettes Autour de sa jaquette, Qui font drelin dindan, Maman, j'ai vu Robin.—Hécart, *Dict. Rouchi-Français*, v. *Robin*.

Poor old Robinson Crusoe. They made him a coat of an old nannygoat. . . . With a ring-a-tang-tang, etc.—*English Popular Rhyme*.

I.

MANY readers will be disposed to question the possibility of any real connexion between the names, the myths, or the legends of the two heroes named together above. Euhemerism would seem to have entered on a new life in our days. No later than last Christmas one of our leading weekly reviews, noticing a new book on the Sherwood outlaw, spoke of Robin Hood as one of the best examples, not of historicized myth, but of fact turned into myth.* The Tell story, which, as Ritson noticed, reappears in *Adam Bel*, *Clym of the Clough*e and *Wyllyam of Cloudesle*, is, Mr. Black thinks, "in the main a true one." The Odyssey is to Mr. Lang no myth, or series of myths, but "a composition of old fanciful incidents" regarded as not uncommon by the savage story-maker. Cronus (Kronos = χρόνος), most transparent, surely, of time-myths, is treated as mysterious and inexplicable. Andromeda exposed to the sea-monster, according to an explanation quoted by Lemprière, was a fair maid "courted by a captain of a ship," etc. The new disciples of Euhemerus and Palæphatus (who are very hard upon Lemprière) suggest the exposure of a girl to a shark, as among African blacks. There is an instructive old French riddle which would not seem to have fallen in the way of either class of commentators, where *Day* says of itself, "D'un monstre dévorant je suis toujours la proye."

Mr. Isaac Taylor makes Robin Hood a sun-myth. Mr. Bradley suggests the hood-wearing Odin. Others explain Robin Hood as Robin of the Wood. Grimm's explanation that Robin Hood is a hooded sylvan goblin (the same as Hödeken, Hutgin, and Redcap) we take to be a true one—so far as it goes.

But *Robinson Crusoe* is at least a mere romantic creation, first heard of in 1719, his adventures being largely imitated from fact? This will not account, either for the *name* Defoe gave his hero, or for certain obvious relations of the *tale* to other traditions, *e.g.*, that of the wrecked and wandering "Rupert" (Robin) of Farne Island, or that of the New Jersey rover, "Robin Day," who was first washed ashore in a wreck "one stormy night in September in the year 1796," according to the circumstantial Dr. Bird.*

The truth is that (as rhymes show) the goat-skinned Crusoe is the goat-skinned Robin Goodfellow, Tomalin, and Bryan-o-lynn. He is originally a comic half-priapic character, like Pan. He has several Hellenic analogies, including ægis-wearing Zeus himself, "child of Time of crooked counsels;" for the ageless, precious, petrifying αἰγίς is a *goatskin*. The Irish satyr corresponding to Crusoe is Giolla-an-croicinn-gabhair; and the nickname, in a rude Leinster attempt at trans-

* Compare *Time*, 1 March; the *Athenæum*, 7 March; the *Academy*, 16 May (347); and the *Saturday Review*, 4 July (27).

* "Robin Day" (= Robin Goodfellow, Roger Bontemps) may be compared with Daniel Day, "surnamed the Good Day," of legends of Hainault fair, mixing up fact and myth.

Again, there are numerous and ancient myths in which *Light* or *Time* first appears floating on the waves, or newborn on the shore, etc. Arthur, Find, Viracocha, Lug Longhand, Perseus, and Aphrodite seem examples.

lation, became notorious not long ago in the "Skin-the-Goat" of the Dublin murder trials.

There are a score of other Robins. *Hob-o'-the-Hurst* is Rob of the Wood. *Robin-the-bobbin* is an archer, a devouring ogre, and is connected with Robin Hood's day at Yule.* *Hobthrush*, *Robin Rush*, suggests Robin Goodfellow carrying a candle. *Rob-o'-the-bowl* (explained as bowling or rolling R.) recalls "Rowling Davy" = the Púca, Robin Goodfellow: or the "bowl" may be the bowl of liquor. *Robin Artysson* (son of *Artus*, the Great Bear, Charles's Wain?), *Robinson*, or *Robin the Carter* (also from the Wain?), the "Hob Carter" of the English Jacquerie. *Jack Robinson*, making his mercurial round, just as Robin Goodfellow, and in some legends Gargantua, are said to do. *Robinson* (Saxony), *Robertson* (Sweden), *Rogero*, with his wild Púca steed and magic glass (Italy), *Knecht Ruprecht*, *Roppert*, *Rübezahl* (Germany). *Roland* also has found his way into this circle.

The French forms are important. The unhistorical Norman *Robert le Diable* is the *Robin the Devil* (R. Goodfellow) of *Wily Beguiled*. *Robert* is the king of the modern Norman fays: "Robert est mort!" That Duke William invented the nickname *Robert Curthose* for his son we do not think. It is to be compared with "Kurt Steffan," "Tom Thumb," and other names for heroes of time, the week, and year, often the personified shortest day. Compare the Norwegian Shortshanks. *Robinet* is a wood satyr, or giant, in the old French translation of Straparola (i. 324),† and there is, as is said, a *Robin de Bois*.

These matters do not seem to be very deeply studied in France; and we have seen recently a Parisian scholar pointing to the title of a German opera as the source, by a free translation, of "Robin des Bois," or Robin de Bois. Now, Robin de Bois, genuine or not, answers to Robinet, the sylvan goblin of the French Straparola, to Robin Goodfellow as a wood satyr, to the Chasseur Vert, to Reynauld Grenelefe (Robin Hood), and to the "Sir Rowland de Bois" of *As You Like It*. The Der Freischütz tale seems radically related to the Robin Hood legend.

"Sir Rowland de Bois" and his three sons, "Oliver, Jaques, and Orlando," have a very large list of analogies in triads which we cannot speak of here. One example may however be cited from Mr. Bell's interesting if too speculative book. "In the Roxburgh Collection of Ballads, vol. ii., 358, the same wild man is introduced, to usher in one entitled Robin Hood, Will Scadlock,* and Little John along with these three as Bowmen" (168). What we have to offer below may make it probable that these are but *the three children of Father Time*—the Past, Present, and Future. The unfailing arrows are those of Apollon and Odysseus. Now, when Apollon and Artemis shoot down Niobe's twelve children, it is Day and Night, Sun and Moon, slaying the months of the year. Odysseus is another time and year hero, completing his round in winter, to bring ruin on the improvident and reckless suitors. His 360 hogs are the days; and his feat in driving his arrow through the twelve axe-heads is another myth of the course of time through the months.

Rowland and *Orlando* are forms of *Hruotlandus*, alternating in these legends occasionally with *Robin*, *Ruprecht*, *Hruodperaht*. Oliverus may have something to do with the Olovernes (= Holofernes?) of legend. Jaques is, so far as name goes, *Jacques Bonhomme*, patron of the French, as Robin Hood (= Robin Goodfellow) is patron of the English, Jacquerie.

The fragment in *King Lear*, "Child Rowland to the dark tower came; His word was still, Fie, foh, and fum," etc., is ordinarily explained by filling an assumed hiatus, because commentators cannot understand how Roland should be described as a devouring giant or ogre. But (1) this is precisely the character yet attributed to him in traditions from the Stendal and Bismark neighbourhood. (2)

* Compare the rhymes, Camden edition, pp. 346, 39, 348, etc. The wren is in Buckinghamshire called *Robin Wren*; and, like "little Bob Robin" himself, this small bird, with twelve young, clearly had mythological relations to the year and the shortest day.—*Time*, p. 310.

† Il veit saillir hors du bois un homme sauvage, assez grand et gros, etc. This voracious and truth-telling satyr answers to Robin or Tom Telltroth, and the all-devouring Robin-the-bobbin.

* Qy. *Scald-lock*, Barepoll, the Anglo-Irish "Scald Brother" (or Bald Friar). It is otherwise explained as "Scarlett."

"Childe" is, of course, explained to be a sort of knightly title. Yet *Childe Rowland* is curiously like *Knecht Ruprecht*, a Yuletide children's bugbear akin to "Bloody Tom," "Bloody Jack," "Whipping Tom," and perhaps "Tom Butcher."

These figures have relation to the shortest day; and probably, on one side, to pagan notions of the slaughter of the days and death of the year at this time; on the other, to Herod and his slaughter of the children. Many things suggest that *Herodes*, *Hruotlandus*, *Hruotperaht*, *Ruprecht*, *Robin*, were associated in the mediæval mind. Knecht Ruprecht, "Child Robin," could be connected with "Bloody Thursday," the day of the massacre of the Innocents (28 December).

II.

THE citation at the head of this paper relative to the "old Robin Hood," fleeting the time in his golden world, suggests at once Cronus and his golden age. Now Cronus is one Greek form of a universal myth of Time; and if the hooded Cronus is the same as Robin Hood, the latter is simply Father Time. Skelton again introduces him as a graybeard, "*Enter Robin Hood, like an old man.*" And Drayton describes Nottingham's device:

> Which in a chequered flag far off was seen;
> It was the picture of *old Robin Hood.*

This "chequered flag" points, as we shall see below, to day and night.

That Robin is at least related in some way to Herod is again suggested by his companion, "Maid Marion," or *Mariamne*. Now in the Seven Wise Masters, or *Orologium Sapientiæ* (itself a suggestive title), "Herowdes, Emperor of Rome," is a time giant. The modern French proverb is "Plus vieux qu'Hérode." Here Herowdes is blind, and, by Merlin's advice, recovers his sight by successively decapitating the seven sages; a myth of the death and renewal of the week. It is not clear but modern Greek legends of Erotas (Eros) and his mother have felt the influence of the history of Herod.

Again, Herodias or "Maid Salome" heads the host of the Dominæ Albæ, the night elves, or the like. This *huesta antigua* seems to ourselves to be that of Pan, the Hours and Satyrs, Time and his days and seasons. It is needless to add that it is much more than this, counting also the spirits of the dead, and witches.

Robin's time relations are indicated by his connection with *bells* (see head of paper). "Bell the giant," Gargantua carrying off the bells of Notre Dame, "little Tom Tittlemouse" (Didymus) in his "bell-house," "Jacques Desloges" (des horloges), Jaquemart, Jacques Bonhomme, "Jack-in-the-clockhouse," "Jack-in-the-pulpit" (where hour-glasses were fixed, as yet in Wales), are among the analogies, which we can here do no more than name.

The Robin Hood of various provincial traditions is clearly a *giant*. He has many traits in common with Gargantua; and Gargantua and Robin Hood *bleeding* to death, Diarmaid and Roland *dying of thirst*, when the water had been maliciously spilled, may be conceptions of the running out of the water or sand of Time.

These explanations are, however, strongly confirmed, or put beyond doubt, so far as regards Robin Goodfellow, by the old traditional representations of that goblin. One of these, "from a unique copy of the *Robin Goodfellow, his Mad Pranks and Merry Jests*, in the Egerton Library," has been reproduced by Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, and by Mr. W. Bell in his *Shakespeare's Puck* (i. 156). A horned man, with goat's legs and feet, is making his round within a double circle, like that seen on dials. In one hand he holds a candle,* over the other shoulder he carries a broom, and by his side is a horn. Eleven other smaller figures follow or dance, hand in hand, in the same round. This seems an English Pan, leading the dance of the Hours or months. [See Fig. 1.]

Another representation of Robin Goodfellow has been reproduced from old broadsides by Mr. Collier, by Mr. Bell, and in the fourth edition of Percy's *Reliques* (1794, vol. iii., p. 368). Here half Robin's body is black, half white. On the dark portions are moons, on the light, suns. Two great feathers (= wings?) ornament his temples, and (suggesting Robin Hood) he carries an arrow or dart in his hand. All this implies conscious

* "The sun goes round the world like a candle round a big stane," said the good people of Crieff in old times.

allegory of *Time*, day and night, and perhaps death. [See Fig. 2.]

If we could have any doubt, once the explanation has suggested itself, that these figures represent Time, such doubt would seem to be removed by an ancient printer's device, which, like other things of the kind, was probably borrowed by an artist of the Renaissance from some classical source. We have before us a *Dictionarium Ciceronianum, authore Huberto Sussanæo, Parisiis, apud Simonem Colinæum*, 1536. On the title-page is a winged, bearded man, bald on poll, with long forelocks. He has goat's legs and feet, and is mowing with a large scythe, so drawn that in grasping its handle the satyr seems to grasp his own tail. On a scroll are the words, *Virtus hanc aciem sola retundit.* The meaning of the whole is explained by the inscription below: TEMPVS. [See Fig. 3.]

To these figures should be added that in which Robin Goodfellow was shown as a shaggy leaf-clad wood goblin (see the cut, *Reliques, loc. cit.*), suggesting Robin Hood and his foresters, and "Robin de Bois," or "des bois." [See Fig. 4.]

FIG. 1.

III.

Why is Time half man, half goat? Sometimes the figure is half man, half fish (Dagon, Vatea, Fintán); and one thinks of the classical Centaurs, the Hindu Gandharvas. All these seem to be attempts to combine the notions Day-Night. In confirmation of our explanation, Vatea, a Polynesian Dagon, is explained to be "Day;" and the late M. Biot (*O. und Occident*, i. 750) rightly, as we think, saw in the Gandharvas the days of the month. M. Meyer and the *Saturday Review*, however, regard them as clouds.

The Time satyr *holding his own tail* does not seem to be a meaningless trait. It is probably related to the image of Thumbling with his thumb* (that is, the last finger in the hand of the week) in his mouth; and Cronus as a serpent with his tail in his mouth—Time returning upon itself, and beginning its courses anew. There are various hints of

* *Tom* Thumb is the shortest day (S. Thomas). Cf. the toothache charm in the Irish *Leabhar Breac*, "The thumb of chosen Thomas In the side of Christ the sinless," etc. (ii. 177).

this significance of the Thumbling myth. Sir Aminadab, in an old play, swears "by Saturn's thumb." A great hand, in the Leofric missal, is an ancient symbol of the calendar and year, with Paschal dates written

FIG. 2.

on the fingers. In old French almanacks we find the *Calendrier sur la main*, and this is not yet wholly forgotten by French shepherds.

M. Nisard, who mentions this (i. 112), has some remarkable almanack cuts, where, with

FIG. 3.

other curious symbolism, we meet regularly the figure of a little boy hiding his face with a handkerchief.* (1) This may be an image of the veiled *future*. It suggests one relation of the Hödeken conception. (2) The lame Jew, Juif Errant, Messager Boiteux, of these almanacks must be the hobbling Hephaistos of Homer, and Le Sage's Diable Boiteux. The primary sense seems to be the limping, tardy, "lazy foot of *Time*."

"Cronus, or Time," is, says Plutarch (*Roman Questions*), the Father of Truth. "Veritas temporis filia," says the Latin proverb:

> Let none dispair, though long they down are cast;
> Ne none presume in Ill to persevere;
> Sith though Time long do travell; yet at last
> Shee's brought to Bed of Truth, her daughter deer.

Now, "Truth is in a well": so is Tommeling, *i.e.*, True Thomas, Tom Telltroth—truthful *Robin* in Anglo-Irish tales: so is Robin again, under the name Hob-in-the-

FIG. 4.

Well. That "Robin Hood's Well," "Redman's Well," "Three Sisters' Well," the well of the Irish fatal mowing hag, the Cailleach Bhéara, are all the *well or cauldron of Time* is, we think, clear enough. Out of a number of analogies we can here only mention two.

(1) "Sunday's Well," localized in Cork, in Mullingar, and elsewhere. The white shining child who emerges from this on the Sunday—the sun or new-born week—is the Radiant Boy of English ghost stories.

(2) Miss Burne (whose interesting book it would be an advantage to have complete) has a comical but ancient Shropshire version. "An old woman named Mrs. Ellis had a pump in her yard. She would not sell or give any water to her neighbours. One night the well overflowed. Only the large mere covered the country, which is called after her

* The curious may see something of the kind in a good cut of French origin, at present doing duty as an advertisement for a certain patent medicine.

Ellesmere" (p. 72). "Mrs. Ellis" is the hag *Elli*, Age, or Time, the Norse Cailleach Bhéara, with whom Thor wrestles in the Edda.*

The following rhyme of Vogtland children (Dunger, No. 107) must be compared with English rhymes about Robinson Crusoe :

> Robinson, Robinson,
> Fliegt mit einem Luftballon
> In die Höh', in die Höh'
> Zu der Jungfer Salome.
> Als er wieder runter kam
> Hatt' er weisse Hosen an.

This further suggests Jack Robinson (*i.e.*, flying Time), Robin Hood, and "Maid Mariamne." The "white hose" probably means that Robin comes back in the snowy season.

We may conclude with some brief further considerations supporting the explanation of Robinson Crusoe as, in name and original character, a time-myth, like "Poor Robin" of the almanack, "the old Robin Hood," and the bellman Robin Goodfellow.†

1. Crusoe deduces his origin from Bremen and Hull : "My father being a foreigner of Bremen, who settled first at Hull." Now, in the Bremen neighbourhood there are yet children's rhymes about "Peter Kruse" ("Eia in Suse Waar wahnt Peter Kruse? In de Rosmareenstraat,") etc.

On the other hand, Robin Goodfellow, in *Wily Beguiled*, says of himself, "By birth I am a boat-wright's son *of Hull*," wandering under a curse. Robinson Crusoe, Peter Kruse, may be related to other legendary wanderers, Peter Pilgrim, Peter the Pedlar, and Bonhomme Misère. Defoe, in his solemn style, tells us the name was originally Low Dutch, "Robinson Kreuznaer," which was corrupted in England to Crusoe. Of various etymologies of *Crusoe*, one could be Peter, or Robin, that took the *cross*—Peter the Pilgrim, or Roger the Palmer. Robin Hood's "holy crosse" is mentioned by Skelton. *Kruyse* is, however, Old Dutch for *cruse*, or "bowl ;" and some may think of *cruise*, to sail, or *krusig*, "curly," and "mad Crisp."

2. A Northumbrian Crusoe is "Rupert," the unlucky shipwrecked mariner of Farne Island (Service, p. 29). Another is the Wandering Knight of Dunstanborough. The fair one, in this story, shut up, like Rogero, Arthur, Merlin, and Velint, *in a glass tomb* must, like certain embottled devils, be again imprisoned Time. "The Devil is in the horologe."

3. Robin, or Hob, appears in many forms in Northumbrian tradition. One of these is Wag-at-the-Wa'. "Wag-o'-the-wa'," we have heard in Carlisle, as a name for a common house *clock*. Others have suggested the crook at the fireplace. Shall we be thought fanciful if Wag-at-the-Wa' reminds us (*a*) of Mother Ludlam's dog (Tommeling) that *leant against the wall to bark ;* (*b*) of the dreadful eyeless hooded Brown (or grey) Woman who comes out of the wall in Northumbrian and Norfolk ghost stories ?

4. Robinson Crusoe has a more famous analogue than any of these in much-enduring Ulysses. Writers of very respectable learning (as Von Hahn) have seen in Odysseus the sun. Others, regarding the story as merely romantic, and unable to find any particular meaning in it, dispose of this theory by a contemptuous comparison : "So we suppose was Robinson Crusoe," etc.* Now, the "slie Ithacan," sly Sisyphus, and sly Cronus—Sisyphus rolling his stone (the sun), wearily wandering Odysseus, and Poor Robin Crusoe, seem to be all myths of Time, its revolutions and its burdens.

But time-myths and sun-myths have close relation. Helios is sometimes a devouring Robin-the-bobbin. Odysseus's 360 swine are again Helios's oxen, *i.e.*, the days, the cattle of the sun.

It would be easy to produce various confirmatory analogies. Old Robin Hood and the pilgrim Robin Crusoe are both suggested by *Old Robin of Portingale* (an early *Auld Robin Gray*), married to "the Mayor's daughter of Lin, God wott."

* Mr. Lecky, in an eloquent passage, has compared the French Revolution to the Irish Time well, touched by the fatal sunlight. "That moment it arose, responsive to the beam," etc. Compare the sunlight let in in the Seven Sleepers story.

† The footprint in *Robinson Crusoe* suggests "Horseshoe Robinson." Old Pel of St. Ives used to brand people with a red-hot horse-shoe. However, we may have here but mere coincidence, or invented incident.

* *Saturday Review*, 10 November, 1883, *The Myth of Kirke*.

Twenty-four good knights, shee sayes,
That dwell about this towne,
Even twenty-four of my next cozens,
Will helpe to dinge him downe.

The twenty-four hours make away with Old Time. The last verse tells us how, as Percy puts it, Robin "went on a Croisade to the Holy Land." Compare "Peter Pilgrim," "Peter Kruse," old "Robin Crusoe."

The myth of Robin Hood's or Sunday's Well has relations to the tale of the *Jew*, or *Jew's Daughter, of Lincoln;* and English rhymers clearly made out Tom-a-Lin to mean Tom of Lincoln. Here, again, everything seems to suggest old myths of slain and resurgent Time. Tom Thumb lies under a blue stone in Lincoln Minster; the cathedral bell is a namesake of his; and the saying that "the Devil looks over Lincoln" suggests the proverbial time devil "in the horologe," and "the Devil's Knell" (the knell of the year) rung at Dewsbury by Black Tom of Sothill on Robin-Thumbling's own day, the 24th of December.

The Open-field in Herefordshire.

There are plenty of outward marks and traits by which the open common field may be recognised wherever it occurs,—the acre or half-acre strips or *seliones*, the gored shape of some of them, the balks and sometimes lynches between them, the shots or furlongs (*quarentenæ*) in which they lie in groups, the headlands which give access to the strips when they lie off the field-ways, the butts, and lastly the odds and ends of "no man's land."—SEEBOHM'S *English Village Community*, p. 6.

AS a small contribution to the accumulating evidence on the open-field system in England, I here give some extracts relating to its survival in the West of England, from some Deeds of the Herefordshire family of Caswall now in my possession.

The first of these is dated 15th April, 1687, and recites the transfer, by an Indenture of 20th February, 1658-9, of the following property:—

All that messuage or tenement with the appurtenances situate lyeing and being in Mooreton in the parish of Eye in the said County of Hereford . . .

And all those other severall parcells of land arrable meadow and pasture with their appertenances . . . lyeing and being in the Towneshipps of Eye, Mooreton, and Ashton in the said County of Hereford (that is to say)—

In the Parke feild, fower acres of arrable land . . . Three ridges in the same feild . . . butteth to the highway leading towardes Leominster . . . One ridge . . . tends to the same way. Three ridges more . . . leades to the aforesaid way towards Leominster. About half an acre . . . Two ridges and one ridge lyeing in the aforesaid feild . . . lyeth to a meadow called Easebrooke on the west part thereof.

In Sigmore feild, two ridges lyeing betweene . . . a husbandry way on the east end and a meadow called Priors meadow on the west end. One other acre, being fower ridges and a butt, betweene . . . the said way on the east end and Priors meadow on the west end thereof. One other acre, being five ridges in the same feild in the same length of land betweene . . . the aforesaid way on the east and a meadow called Shutip meadow on the west. Three ridges in the said feild betweene . . . and the way on the west end thereof. Nine ridges in the same length . . . shutteth [shooteth] to the said way on the west end. Eight ridges in the same feild betweene . . . the said way on the west . . . Half an acre in the same feild betweene . . . and the way att the west end thereof. One other acre in the same feild betweene . . . and the aforesaid husbandry way on the west end thereof . . . Half an acre more in the said length betweene . . . the aforesaid way at the west end . . . Two ridges lyeing betweene . . . and the aforesaid husbandry way on the west end thereof. Two ridges in the said field . . . Five ridges more . . . Eleaven ridges . . . One other half acre, being three ridges in the same feild betweene . . . and a way leading towards Orleton on the west and one other half acre betweene . . . and the said way on the west end thereof.

One acre lyeth upon the hill in the same feild betweene . . . and the church path way on the south side thereof.

One parcell of pasture called the Moore Furlong lyeing betweene . . . and the husbandry way on the east.

One other close of pasture, being now enclosed, lyeing near the aforesaid demised Messuage.

I now pass from the parish of Eye, some three miles to the north of Leominster, to that of Stretford, some four miles to the east of it.

The Deeds from which the following extracts are taken, are dated 4th October, 1698, and 3rd May, 1705. As they correspond exactly, I need only quote from the latter.

The special point to be observed in this case is the persistence of the *virgate* or *yard-land.* It aptly illustrates Mr. Seebohm's definition:—

We know now what a virgate or yard-land was. We shall find that its normal area was 30 scattered acres—10 acres in each of the three fields (p. 27).

The property is thus described:—

All that Messuage or Tenement with the Appurtenances together with the Garden Orchard and backside thereunto belonging . . .

And all those several parcells of Arable land conteining by estimacion Twenty Acres, be the same more or less, whereof

Ten acres doe lye in a field called the Dean [*i.e.* Dene] field, Two Acres thereof, containing seaven ridges, doe lye in a place called the Deep Dean between . . . and shooteth upon land . . . Two acres more thereof in the same field containing eleven ridges or Butts lye between lands . . . and shooteth upon lands . . . One Acre more containing six ridges in the same field in a place there called the Marsh Gobbet . . . and shooteth upon lands . . . Two Acres more in the same field or place, containing Tenn ridges . . . Three acres more thereof, being Tenn ridges and two long hedelonds, in the same place, and both extending up towards the West to the further side of the s[d] six ridges . . . and extendeth to lands . . .

Tenn acres more thereof doe lye in a feild called and known by the name of the Witheridge feild or by such like name, whereof Three Acres conteining sixteen small ridges, Two Butts, and two Hadelands doe lye there between lands . . . and shooting to a Lane leading towards the Grovehouse and the North end . . . Seaven Acres more thereof in the same field, conteining Twenty four ridges and three hadelands doe lye there between lands . . . and doe shoot to a lane towards the Grovehouse aforesaid at the North end.

Here it will be seen we have all the distinctive features of the open-field system. The use of the term "husbandry-way" for the "field-way" of Mr. Seebohm may be worth noting, and still more the term "shooting." Mr. Seebohm says of "the *shots* or *furlongs*" (p. 4) "that the word *shot* is probably the Anglo-Saxon *sceot* or *division*" (p. 380). This may be so, but the derivation strikes one as somewhat forced, when one bears in mind the usual meaning of *sceot*, and it might perhaps be worthy of consideration whether some better one might not be found.

The chief point, however, to notice is the occurrence throughout these measurements of the term "ridges." The impression conveyed is that here they represent the original local land-measure, the "acre" measurement being superimposed. The number of "ridges" to an acre varies, in these measurements, as follows: $3\frac{1}{2}$, 4, 5, $5\frac{1}{2}$, 6, etc. According to Mr. Seebohm the English unit appears to have been the half-acre. The "ridge" unit, on the contrary, must have varied from a quarter to a sixth of an acre. Now I am not myself sufficiently well-informed on this subject to do more than make suggestions (which may have been made before), but we have here, surely, the traces of the "run-rig" system, which, according to Mr. Seebohm, was that of "the tribal community," and characterized "the western districts of Great Britain and of Ireland" (p. 438). Mr. Seebohm describes "run-rig" as the Irish and Scotch system. Is there anything, as I have suggested, in the occurrence of the term "ridge," and, if so, how far eastward, and over what extent of country, can it be traced? Mr. Seebohm speaks of "ridges—possibly Irish acres"—and of "scattered acres or ridges" (p. 227); but what is the evidence that a "ridge" was normally an "acre"—Irish or otherwise? I cannot myself follow his argument from the poem quoted on p. 226, or see how it proves the share of each household to have been reduced to twenty-seven ridges instead of thirty. Is there any means of ascertaining the real dimensions of the normal Irish "ridge"? For, if it was not an acre, but the fraction of an acre, Mr. Seebohm's argument on the Irish system is surely thereby somewhat impugned.

Some interesting remarks on "ridges" and "lands," by Mr. Smith Woolley, President of the Surveyors' Institution, will be found in its *Transactions* (xvi. 313-14). Mr. Woolley, who has had unusual experience of the subject, estimates that these "lands . . . vary in width from 5 yards to 18 or 20, but they are most commonly about 8 yards wide. This, it will be seen, differs considerably from the "ridges," of which those we have been examining must have varied in width from about $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards to 6.

I hope these rough notes may elicit from some one better qualified than myself further suggestions on this interesting subject, to the study of which so great an impetus has been given by the appearance of Mr. Seebohm's invaluable work.

J. H. ROUND.

Labour Songs and Cries.

UDWIG NOIRÉ, in his *Der Ursprung der Sprache* (1877), recalls the rhythmical cries or sounds which a body of men will make when engaged in a common work, and which seem the product of a common impulse; and in such cries and shouts he would discover the beginnings of speech. "We are all familiar," says Professor Sayce, in his *Introduction to the Science of Language* (i. 82), "with the cries of sailors when hauling a rope or pulling the oar; with the shout of the Eastern vintagers as they beat time in the wine-press;* or with the yell of savages when they attack a foe. They seemed called forth by the work in which men were engaged for a common purpose, and so became to them the expression and symbol of it. Once established as intelligible symbols, they constituted those roots which are at once the earliest form of language, and the germs out of which all future language has grown."

Perhaps this theory does not meet all the requirements to make it thoroughly account for the origin of language; but as Professor Sayce goes on to say, Noiré's "theory doubtless explains the origin of much that is in speech, though it does not explain everything." But the proof of all theories lies in the collection of detailed examples of fact, so that a widespread comparison may be made, and it is in this spirit that the following notes taken from various sources are here brought together. They are curious and interesting of themselves, but if they have come down to us from the earliest time of speech, they are the oldest survivals, perhaps, which can be produced.

Nothing seems to have been more common to the human race, in modern times as in early times, among civilized people as among savage people, than the practice of accompanying the action of labour by a cry, or a song. Our own sailors' "Yo, heave Ho!" and the paviors' "Hoh!" will occur at once to the mind of English readers. Their stirring tones, by their effect upon ordinary bystanders, give some indication of the power they exercise upon the minds of the labourers. The rhythm and tune of the songs aid regular action, and keep time during a succession of labour efforts. Thus musical instinct plays a large part in the origin of these labour songs. But by taking a somewhat wide range of observation in this interesting subject, I think we can gain some information which may help us to understand some of the higher anthropological facts which are to be obtained from a study of man's doings in the world.

* I may refer the curious reader to Le Grand d'Assoucy's *Histoire de la Vie privée des Français* for a description of the vineyard songs of France.

Professor Sayce, in the volume already quoted, observes a few pages later on that:

"The sense of life and power that makes a child shout, or the bird sing, and is the ultimate motive of human speech, causes us to beat time by the help of rhythmical utterances. And though the utterance be but a monotonous sing-song, it becomes a symbol and sign of the action it accompanies, to all those who have taken part in it, and in course of time may pass into a word. How many of the roots of languages were formed in this way, it is impossible to say, but when we consider that there is no modern word, which we can derive from such cries as the sailor makes when he hauls a rope, or the groom when he cleans a horse, it does not seem likely that they can have been very numerous. Still they were probably more numerous than the roots formed from other interjectional cries."* It is clear that this subject is well worth the attention of the antiquary and student of the unrecorded past of man's history, and the few notes which I have been able to put together in these pages may induce others to turn their attention to it.

Of the simple cry we have some very interesting examples, and these I am sure could be added to very extensively, if people would take the trouble to note them. Mr. Lewin says, in his *Wild Races of South-Eastern India*, that "in carrying loads or cutting joom, the Lhoosai clear the lungs with a continuous 'Hau! hau!' uttered in measured time by all. Without making this sound they say they would be unable to work" (p. 271), This, it will be noticed, is exactly parallel to a well-known English custom. Mr. Solly,

* Sayce's *Science of Language*, i. 110.

writing in *Notes and Queries* (5th series, x., p. 345), says he has often, between 1820 and 1830, watched London paviors at work, and observed that each man, as he threw down the ram with a thud, at the same time shouted out *hah*, *hoh*, *hi*, or *huff.* It used to be said in elementary works on natural philosophy that when a man, by using violent muscular exertion, compressed his chest, the air being then suddenly forced through the larynx caused him to cry out involuntarily *hoh* or *hah.* A correspondent of the same journal, following up this communication from Mr. Solly, observes that forty years ago a pavior who neglected to groan after this fashion was "fined a pot" by his companions (5th series, x. 477).

Thomas Duffett, in his poem entitled *The Pavior's Song*, set by Mr. Marsh, junr., 1676, proves by the chorus that the paviors in Charles II.'s time cried out the *hoh* or *hah.* The words are:

> With full double potts
> Let us liquor our throats,
> And then we'll to work with a *hoh, ho, ho!*
> But let's drink ere we go, let us drink ere we go.

And Gay, in his *Trivia*, 1715, said (book i., line 13):

> For thee the sturdy pavior thumps the ground,
> Whilst every stroke his lab'ring lungs resound.

These interjectional exclamations are clearly of great antiquity. It is a matter of plausible conjecture that, as language developed, the simple cry became attached to a song as the chorus or burden of the accompanying action, because we almost everywhere meet with labour-songs having some significant and yet untranslatable chorus.

The Sonaris have boat-songs, or professional melodies of their own; when wading or hauling the canoes up the rapids they sing a sort of "Cheerly, boys," the chorus of which is "Yoho Ram," and which, heard above the roar of the waters, has a good effect.* In Madagascar the men often beguile the time by singing their musical canoe chants, in which one of them keeps up a recitative, usually an improvised strain, to which all the rest chime in with a chorus at regular intervals, a favourite one being *Hé! misy và* (Oh! is there any).† Mr. Acland, in his *Manners and Customs of India*, p. 40, mentions the chant of the palanquin bearers, and says, "though they keep to the same sing-song tune, yet they generally invent the words as they go along." Mr. Acland then quotes a humorous example which he himself experienced.

In Thomson's *Story of New Zealand* (vol. i., p. 136) we have a very good instance of the labour-song among savages, and the significance of the accompaniment of action to the chorus. He says, "Launching war canoes into the ocean was weary work, and there were several chants for the purpose of enabling warriors thus occupied to exert simultaneous efforts. These songs had various measures adapted, either for pulling heavy or pulling light. For up-hill work there were long syllabled words in the chants, each of which seemed to issue from the puller's mouths with the same difficulty as the canoe advanced. But when the hill was crowned, a succession of one-syllable words composed the chant." Mr. Thomson then gives a specimen of the song, which we should like to quote at length, but space forbids. He says of it: "The first five lines of the following chant were sung by one voice, to give notice for all to prepare pulling. Afterwards, when the pullers had arranged themselves along the gunwales of the canoe, one line was chanted by a single voice, while the pullers breathed, and the response was shouted by all, who at the same time pulled together." Mr. Thomson, elsewhere in the same volume (p. 167) summarizes the subject thus: "Whenever men worked together appropriate airs were sung, and although these compositions have not much meaning, they invariably produced regularity and cheerfulness. Trees were dragged out of the forests, pas were built, food was planted, and paddlers dipped their paddles together under the influence of spirit-stirring chants."

Mr. Gover, in his *Folk-Songs of Southern India*, devotes a section to labour-songs, and a very instructive portion of his interesting book it makes. They were all taken down, he says, on the spot, as they were sung by a gang of coolies engaged in arduous manual labour. The custom follows that of the English sailor—one member of the gang gives the strain, the rest join in the chorus. It

* *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xiv. 251.
† Sibree's *Great African Island*, p. 178.

generally happens on board ship, however, that the singer is the same throughout, and is exempted from great muscular exertion as a recompense for the stimulant his song gives to the others. In coolie gangs they usually take turns with the strain, each man giving a complete song.

Mr. Gover gives an amusing account of a stout gentleman being carried up a ghaut, but who was so impecunious or illiberal as not to offer a handsome present in consideration of his unusual weight. Unfortunately he knew the low Tamil language well. Hardly were they well on the ghaut before his torment commenced. Mile after mile produced a portrait of him by some new hand. His protests were all in vain. They broke forth into a monotonous wail against the untoward fate that compelled them to carry a mountain up a mountain! The traveller was obliged to give in, and he travelled the last part of his journey himself, crawling into Coonoor a sorrowful victim of Dravidian impromptus.

The specimens of songs given by Mr. Gover are of very high order. The first is a joyous offering to Pillaiyar, commonly called the Belly God.

Pillaiyar brings good luck to you
And Saraswati wit.
Ho! Ho! work hard!
The God was born before Kudu,
O clear our way some whit.
Ho! Ho! work hard!

Then the song in nine verses describes some various ways of obtaining food.

I'll take green grain and mix it well
With ten full pounds of rice.
Ho! Ho! work hard!
And add oil seeds—how rich they smell—
They make the rice so nice.
Ho! Ho! work hard!
* * * * *
Then with a crook and knife are shorn
The buds both rich and rare.
Ho! Ho! work hard!
And soon the opening flowers adorn
Some lock of jet black hair.
Ho! Ho! work hard!

A song entitled "Mother" is a very beautiful one, and is illustrative of the worship of the village deities.

We have bowed three times at your feet,
We have bowed with our head.
Yo Ho! Yo Ho!
Oh our mother, our thanks we repeat;
And we wait in dread.
Yo Ho! Yo Ho!
We were born of thee, and our hope
Is in none but thee.
Yo Ho! Yo Ho!
Give us food and a sword; else we mope
And from foes we flee.
Yo Ho! Yo Ho!

Another song will be recognised, says Mr. Gover, as no mean member of the great array of poetical attacks upon man's "better half."

To every man is tied a wife,
She clings to him as long as life.
Yo Ho! Heave Ho!
Of all our wealth she takes two thirds,
Yet thinks we pick up more like birds.
Yo Ho! Heave Ho!
If any day we give her none,
You'd think her wrath would ne'er be done.
Yo Ho! Heave Ho!
We toil all day with spade or bar;
To bring our dinner 'tis too far.
Yo Ho! Heave Ho!
* * * * *
No moment may we stay to rest;
She works an hour a day at best.
Yo Ho! Heave Ho!
We are too busy e'en to eat,
She scarcely leaves her seat.
Yo Ho! Heave Ho!
What comes of all the wage we earn?
Ah! that from her no man can learn.
Yo Ho! Heave Ho!
* * * * *
We rest—the master stops our pay—
She scolds and bawls till morn is gray.
Yo Ho! Heave Ho!
How strange and odd a world this is,
To us the work, to them the bliss!
Yo Ho! Heave Ho!

With one other example we will leave this portion of our subject. Mr. Gover was taking down the words of a Christian labour-song, and the leader of the singing thought the opportunity might be improved to gain something for himself; so without a moment's hesitation he tacked on, impromptu, three new verses. This gift of impromptu singing is better illustrated in this example perhaps than in any we know, and we will give the three verses entire.

Our pay is small,
Yo Ho! Heave Ho!
Oh, kind good sir!
Yo Ho! Heave Ho!
We one and all,
Yo Ho! Heave Ho!
Ask you for more.
Yo Ho! Heave Ho!

This kindly man,
Yo Ho! Heave Ho!
If we but pray,
Yo Ho! Heave Ho!
He'll find a plan,
Yo Ho! Heave Ho!
To give more pay.
Yo Ho! Heave Ho!
His Highness then,
Yo Ho! Heave Ho!
Will hear our prayer,
Yo Ho! Heave Ho!
And give us men,
Yo Ho! Heave Ho!
Good gifts to share.
Yo Ho! Heave Ho!

In Greece it was a very general custom to carry on great works of labour accompanied by singing, and Athenæus, says Isaac Disraeli, has preserved the Greek names of different songs as sung by various trades, but unfortunately none of the songs themselves. There was a song for the corn-grinders; another for the workers in wool; another for the weavers. The reapers had their carol; the herdsmen had a song which an ox-driver of Sicily had composed; the kneaders, and the bathers, and the galley-rowers, were not without their chant.*

In our own country these trade-songs were once no doubt very numerous. A poem, quoted by Disraeli (*loc. cit.*), from Harl. MS. No. 913, says of the entrenchment of New Ross in Ireland, in 1265:

Monday they began their labours,
Gay with banners, flutes, and tabours;
Soon as the noon hour was come,
These good people hastened home,
With their banners proudly borne,
Then the youth advanced in turn.
And the town they made it ring
With their merry carolling;
Singing loud, and full of mirth,
Away they go to shovel earth.

Mr. Pennant in his *Voyage in the Hebrides*, and Dr. Johnson in his *Journey through the Western Islands of Scotland*, both mention the custom of singing at the cutting down of corn. Dr. Johnson says: "The strokes of the sickle were timed by the modulation of the harvest song, in which all their voices were united. They accompany every action which can be done in equal time with an appropriate strain, which has, they say, not much meaning, but its effects are regularity and cheerfulness. There is an oar-song used by the Hebrideans." This quotation, I may observe, exactly fits in with Professor Noiré's theory above quoted. Dr. Johnson has preserved from extinction a beautiful verse on this subject, lately quoted in the *Standard* newspaper. "The accepted version," says Mr. G. T. Sherborn, "is—

Verse sweetens toil, however rude the sound:
All at her work the village maiden sings:
Nor while she turns the giddy wheel around,
Revolves the sad vicissitudes of things.

Its history is curious. It only survived in the retentive memory of Dr. Johnson. It is given in the *Tour to the Hebrides*, and in the notes to *Boswell's Life* (temp. 1771) its author is mentioned as "one Gifford," a clergyman; but, according to Malone, the poem itself is undiscovered. It has been much admired. Southey—*Life of Cowper* (vol. ii.)—prints it as above, and says, "Johnson may be forgiven all the wrongful decrees which he pronounced in criticism for having preserved this stanza." Mr. Alexander Carmichael, in his report to the Crofter Commission of last year, says the Highlanders of old "had songs for all the avocations in which they engaged, particularly for love, war, and the chase. They had labour-songs, with which they accompanied themselves in rowing, shearing, spinning, fulling, milking, and in grinding at the quern." A specimen of a milking-song is given by Mr. Carmichael, and his translation is well worth quoting here:

Behold that cow on the plain,
With her frisky calf before her,
Do thou as she did a while ago,
Give thy milk, thou calf of Fianach.
Ho, my heifer! ho, my heifer fair!
Ho, my heifer! ho, my heifer fair!
Ho, my heifer! ho, my heifer fair!
Thou heartling, heart, I love thee.
Give thy milk, brown cow,
Give thy milk, so abundant and rich,
Give thy milk, brown cow,
And the gentles coming to the townland.
Ho, my heifer! etc.
Give thy milk, brown cow,
And that there is nothing for them but bread;
Give thy milk, brown cow,
Macneill! Macleod! Clanranald!
Ho, my heifer! etc.

The practice of singing to the oxen during their ploughing operations is a very old one. Lady Duff Gordon, in her *Letters from Egypt*, mentions an instance, and gives a line or two of the verses then sung; and a contributor to

* *Curiosities of Literature*, vol. ii., p. 143 (edit. 1867).

Bye-Gones for February, 1882, p. 8, gives a long Welsh song, which the boy ox-driver used to sing to his cattle in Glamorganshire.

In Pennant's *Voyage to the Hebrides* there is described the custom of Luaghadh, or walking of cloth, a substitute for the fulling-mill. Twelve or fourteen women, divided into two equal numbers, sit down on each side of a long board, ribbed lengthways, placing the cloth on it; first they begin to work it backwards and forwards with their hands, singing at the same time, as at the quern; when they have tired their hands every female uses her feet; as by this time they grow very earnest in their labour the fury of the song rises; at length it arrives at such a pitch, that one would imagine a troop of female demoniacs to have been assembled.

These trade-songs abounded in the days of Elizabeth and James, even if they are lost to us now. Bishop Hall in his satires notices them as—

> Sung to the wheel, and sung unto the payle.

Durfey, in *Wit and Mirth*, 1682, preserves several trade-songs. One on the blacksmith begins:

> Of all the trades that ever I see,
> There's none to a blacksmith compared may be,
> With so many several tools works he,
> Which nobody can deny.

And Mr. F. E. Sawyer, in the *Folklore Journal* (vol. ii., pp. 321—329), has collected some very interesting relics of blacksmiths' lore, including some trade-songs. Mr. Sawyer has also recently given some further specimens of his unwearied research into Sussex folklore, in a paper he read before the Archæological Association, at Brighton, and one of the songs he preserves is a labour song. He says, "The Brighton fishermen, before commencing mackerel fishing, observe a curious custom called 'bending in,' doubtless corrupted from 'benediction,' and now consisting of a meal of bread-and-cheese given to any child who might be found on the beach; and every night during the mackerel and herring fishing seasons, as the nets are cast over, they repeat, as each barrel (which is attached to every ten nets) goes over:

> Watch, barrel, watch! mackerel for to catch;
> White may they be, like a blossom on the tree.
> God send thousands, one, two, and three,
> Some by the heads, some by the tail—
> God send mackerel, and never fail."

Some trade-songs are preserved in our London street-cries and nursery rhymes, and these are closely allied to the war-cries and slogans of old. Ritson has printed a song of the weavers, and Disraeli notes that the titles of the songs of the more masculine trades have been preserved, even if the songs have perished—"The Carman's Whistle;" "Watkin's Ale;" "Chopping Knives."

Of course, when we arrive at these later trade-songs, the oldest portion of them, relics of the most archaic times, have entirely disappeared. In place of the single-cry chorus we get a tuned chorus. But I venture to think that the historical connection between the two classes is not incapable of proof, and if the few examples I have quoted from my already large collection will induce readers of the *Antiquary* to forward to these pages instances of old trade-songs, I shall be personally obliged, and I am sure all readers delighted. I may add, perhaps, that I am preparing my collection of trade and labour-songs for publication as soon as possible, and should, therefore, be glad of every assistance.

G. LAURENCE GOMME.

The Old Tabard Inn.

IN an alley, leading out of the High Street, Southwark, there stood, until recently, an old historic building which, by every lover of English literature, should have been regarded with a reverence second only to that in which is held the house at Stratford-on-Avon where Shakespeare was born; for it was that old Tabard Inn, at which Chaucer's Pilgrims assembled before setting out on their journey to the shrine of Thomas-à-Becket at Canterbury.

There are few streets in London which can lay claim to higher antiquity than the one in which this ancient hostellerie was situated. From the time of the Roman occupation of Britain, until a recent period—when the introduction of railways diverted the course of travel—it was the great highway from the Metropolis to the ports on the southern coast.

For several centuries, High Street and Kent Street were the route adopted by kings of England when leaving the capital for the Kentish ports to take shipping for their possessions in France; and it was through these streets that Henry V. made his triumphal entry into London, after the battle of Agincourt.

The High Street was early famous for its inns; and, after the canonization of Thomas-à-Becket, the crowds that thronged to his shrine—the most popular in England—tended still further to create a demand for houses of entertainment in the vicinity of the only bridge by which the river was then crossed. Stow, writing some two centuries later (in 1598), says, "In Southwark be many fair inns for receipt of travellers;' and he adds, "amongst the which, the most eminent is 'The Tabard,' so called of the sign, which as we now term it, is of a jacket or sleeveless coat, whole before, open at both sides, with a square collar, winged at the shoulders: a stately garment; of old time commonly worn of noblemen and others, both at home and abroad in the wars; but then (to wit in the wars) their arms embroidered or otherwise depict upon them, that every man by his coat of arms might be known from others. But now these Tabards are only worn by the Heralds, and be called their coats of arms in service."

High Street is even now full of quaint old inns, situated in quiet alleys, leading out of the main thoroughfare; and it is not many years ago that one of the most ancient of these, the White Hart—introduced by Shakespeare in *King Henry VI.*, and famous in our own time as the place where Mr. Pickwick first met the immortal Sam Weller—was pulled down, warehouses being erected on its site, a fate which the Tabard was later destined to meet.

The entrance to the yard, at the bottom of which the Tabard stood, was through an old, dilapidated gateway, immediately opposite a block of buildings called "The Town Hall Chambers," erected in 1861, on the site of the former Town Hall of the Borough. The "Talbot Inn" was painted over the alley-way, and, some sixty years ago, the following inscription was still legible on the wall: "This is the Inne where Sir Jeffry Chaucer and the nine and twenty Pilgrims lay in their journey to Canterbury, anno 1383."

THE OLD TABARD INN.

This inscription had originally been on the frieze of a beam laid crosswise upon two uprights, supporting a swinging sign of the inn, in the High Street, in the front of the

Tabard. But, in 1766, this sign and its supports were taken down, in conformity with an Act of Parliament, by virtue of which various obstructions existing in the thoroughfares of London were removed. The writing of this inscription was not—as is evident from the spelling—of old date; but it had, probably, been renewed from time to time from a very early period, and the orthography more or less modernized on each occasion: indeed, a writer of the Elizabethan age speaks of the inscription as having been in existence long before his day. The date, also, 1383, is precisely that which best agrees with the incidents of the *Canterbury Tales*, and the known period of their composition, the latest historical event mentioned in them being Jack Straw's insurrection, which occurred in 1381. The tradition, therefore, that Chaucer was himself—as he has hinted in the poem—one of the pilgrims, is most likely well founded.

From the gateway, already referred to, the Abbey—which gradually widened until it ended in a large court-yard—was open to the sky. On either side of it there was a range of brick buildings, extending from the High Street, some 50 ft. down the yard; the range on the left was joined, and continued, by one wing of the Tabard, which—as will be seen by the sketch given of the building—formed a right angle with the main edifice, which was directly opposite the entrance from the High Street.

The inn was built partly of brick and partly of wood, but principally of the latter. The wooden gallery, which extended the whole length of the building, was supported by thick, round pillars, also of wood, and above, on other pillars of slenderer make, rested the front of the high, sloping roof. In the centre of the gallery was a picture—said to have been painted by Blake—which was, from long exposure to the elements and ill-usage, in so dirty and decayed a condition that the subject was barely discernible.

The building on the right-hand side of the alley was occupied as a tavern, as two signs, "The Tabard" and "The Talbot," indicated. It forms, however, no portion of the original structure, having been built in the time of Charles II., after the great fire in Southwark, to which more particular reference will presently be made. It was after this fire, in fact, that the name of the original inn was altered from "The Tabard" to "The Talbot," by a dependent of the then Earl of Shrewsbury, into whose possession the property passed at this time. But the old name was subsequently restored; and the building was thereafter designated, indifferently, by either.

The Tabard, after having been an inn for upwards of four centuries and a half, ceased to be one, having, about thirty years ago, passed into the occupation of the Midland Railway Company, which made use of it as a receiving-house for heavy goods: the brewers' signs, however, remained to indicate its former character.

On entering the building, the low doorway, winding passages, broken ceilings, and heavy projecting chimney-arches, at once struck the eye. Several of the rooms, however, on the lower story had been thrown into one; and the entire floor was covered with large packages and bales of merchandise. This portion of the building had, indeed, lost many of the distinctive features of the old inn; but the upper stories had not been altered to any great extent since the property had been in the hands of the Midland Company.

After the building ceased to be an inn, it became more difficult to obtain admission to the upper portion of it than had formerly been the case. However, a few years ago the writer was permitted to examine the apartment known as the *Pilgrims' Room.*

Crossing the central part of the yard to the lower gallery, a narrow flight of stairs—lighted by a small latticed window on the landing—led to various passages affording access to several rooms, which had formerly been the dormitories of the inn. In the centre of the upper gallery was a door opening into a lofty passage, with a room on each side; that on the right was the *Pilgrims' Room* of tradition. Even so late as the early part of this century, there was a large panel above the square chimneypiece, on which there was some ancient needlework or tapestry, representing a procession to Canterbury; but it was subsequently removed.

The size of the room did not accord with the idea of the hall of the ancient Tabard, which a reader of the *Canterbury Tales* would

naturally have formed from the description of it given in the poem. This is, however, to be accounted by the fact that the apartment had been cruelly shorn of its fair dimensions since the time of Chaucer. Mr. Saunders, who visited the Tabard about forty years ago, made a careful examination of the whole building, and he discovered that two rooms had, at different periods, been partitioned off from the hall. Mr. Saunders, in his essay on Chaucer, speaking of the *Pilgrims' Room*, says:

> The depth from wall to window was satisfactory, so was the height; the latticed window itself was large, and antique in its expression, notwithstanding the alterations it had certainly experienced; but the *length* of the room—so much less than the depth—appeared, to say the least of it, extraordinary. We went into the chamber on the other side of the passage, which, with a similar window, of the same depth and height, was still shorter; but that the landlord of the inn explained—he had cut off a room beyond. We went into this, and there found a fireplace and panel corresponding exactly to those in the *Pilgrims' Room*. Could the whole three chambers have originally formed one apartment? There was, undoubtedly, a great difficulty in the way; the intervening door, passage, and staircase, with a portion of the ancient balustrade, still apparently remaining. We could not, however, avoid expressing our belief that such must have been the case. Scarcely had the words passed our lips, than the host called out: "You are right! Where the door now is, there has been a third window." True enough, there were undeniable evidences of a middle window, half of its outlines visible in the wall, agreeing in height and dimensions with those on either side, and the remainder cut away by the door. Were further proof wanting, it exists in the staircase itself, the marks of the original ceiling, which crossed the space it occupies, being still visible. The whole three rooms had then clearly been originally one, measuring some 45 ft. in length, 12 in height, and about 20 in breadth. Thus doubtless it was when newly repaired by Master I. Preston in the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth—the period to which the more modern features of the room—the fireplace and panels—may be ascribed. Here then is a place worthy of the tradition, which, too, is in no slight degree confirmed by the circumstances narrated.

I may add that, after a careful examination of both the exterior and the interior of the building, I am disposed fully to agree with the opinion expressed by Mr. Saunders in another part of the essay, that there can scarcely be a reasonable doubt but that the inn was erected as early as the reign of Henry IV. It has, indeed, been asserted that no portion of the building existing in our own day was as old as the fourteenth century; and it is indisputable that *part* of the original structure was destroyed by the great fire in Southwark in the time of Charles II. On the occasion of this conflagration—which occurred in 1676, ten years after the Great Fire of London—upwards of six hundred houses fell a prey to the devouring element. Amongst them was the Town Hall, which stood immediately opposite the Tabard; and the flames, crossing the narrow street at this spot, the *exterior* buildings of the inn were burnt down. It is, however, an error to assume—as some writers have done—that the place was then *totally* destroyed. The mistake has arisen, in fact, in great measure from ignorance of the character of the structure. The Tabard was originally a large straggling building, or rather group of buildings, occupying three sides of an irregular spot of ground. It was not even covered by one roof, the different houses being connected by means of bridges, which rendered it practicable to pass from the external gallery of one building to that of another. One of these bridges—arched, and balustraded in the same style as the galleries—was still standing so recently as 1830, in one part of the yard. Evidence, too, of the existence, at one period, of another bridge, was to be seen in the blackened ends of a row of joists inserted in the wall of the main building, by which it had once been supported.

That the old house over the gateway, and the buildings extending laterally from it, were burnt down in the fire referred to above, must be admitted, the brickwork of these structures being undoubtedly of the seventeenth century. But there is no proof that the *interior* portion of the inn likewise fell a prey to the flames on this occasion. It stood apart from the other houses, and the bridges of communication could easily have been broken down. That the fire, too, did not rage with any very great fury after it had crossed the street, may be inferred from the circumstance that it did not extend so far as the White Hart.

Again, the whole of the architecture of the house at the bottom of the yard was, obviously, of a much earlier period than the seventeenth century. The external galleries, for instance, did not indisputably belong to the time of Charles II.; nor, it may be added, did the

rooms which opened on the gallery on the upper story, nor the passages and corridors, nor the quaint old attics, nor, indeed, any features of the place.

Speght, a contemporary of Stow, speaks of the inn as the one from which Chaucer and the pilgrims started for Canterbury, and he adds, that having become "much decayed through the effects of time, it had been recently 'repaired' by 'Master I. Preston,' with the *addition* of new rooms for the reception of guests." It is obvious from the language used by Speght that the Tabard was, on the occasion alluded to, only renovated and enlarged, and that a portion of the Chaucerian hostelry survived the alterations and repairs. It is, therefore, most certain that that portion remained to our time; since it has been pretty conclusively shown by Mr. Saunders that the house at the bottom of the yard was spared by the fire of 1676.

On visiting the *Pilgrims' Room* one peopled it, in imagination, with that "goodlie companie," so admirably described by Chaucer—the Knight and his Squire; the Prioress; the Monk; the Wife of Bath; the Franklin; and other of the pilgrims; not forgetting Harry Bailly, the host, whose good-nature and homely mother-wit must ever render him a special favourite with the reader of the *Tales*. The poet says:

> A seemly man our hoste was withal
> For to have been a marshall in a hall,
> A largè man he was, with eyen steep,
> A fairer burgess is their none in Cheep:
> Bold of his speech, and wise and well taught.
> And of manhood him lackèd right nought.
> Eke thereto was he right a merrie man.

And then the Shipman! How well has the poet delineated a character with which, reasoning *à priori*, one would suppose he could have had but little in common; for Chaucer was essentially an "inland man." And yet, his large humanity—second only to that of Shakespeare—has enabled him to limn the portrait of the mariner of the period—half-trader, half-buccaneer—with a cunning hand. Indeed, there is not one of the various personages who figure in the *Canterbury Tales* who is not an admirable type of the class it represents.

The quaint old inn was destined, after being in existence for five centuries, to give way to the devastating progress of modern change. The Tabard, some six years ago, was pulled down, and a range of warehouses erected upon its site.

Thus, this most interesting memorial of the earliest work of genius in the English language, instead of being preserved with reverential care—notwithstanding the protests of scholars and archæologists alike—was permitted by the nation to pass away without any public effort being made to avert its demolition.

W. C. MILLER.

Notes on our Popular Antiquities.

By W. CAREW HAZLITT.

THE matter printed below has accumulated during the last fifteen years, when I issued a small edition of my *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain* (1870, 3 vols., 8vo.). This book was founded on the so-called edition by Henry Ellis, F.R.S. and F.S.A., of the raw material collected by John Brand, F.S.A., and I not only do not regret that I rejected a good deal that the latter had brought together, and the former had printed, but I feel sure, if I should reprint the book, that the expurgating and castigating process would be carried yet further. These notes represent a selection merely of the more important and special additions, which I shall incorporate with the volumes on their reappearance.

I. THE CALENDAR.

NEW YEAR'S DAY.

The following passage from Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, under 1819, seems to be worth a place here: "In the next of these letters [one to Joanna Baillie], Scott alludes among other things to a scene of innocent pleasure, which I often witnessed afterwards. The whole of the ancient ceremonial of the *daft days*, as they are called in Scotland, obtained respect at Abbotsford. He said it was *uncanny*, and would certainly have felt it very uncomfortable, not to welcome the new year in the midst of his family and a few old

friends, with the immemorial libation of a *het pint* . . ."

Candlemas Day.

The word "Purification" itself carries in its original meaning the idea of cleansing by fire or light, and hither, rather perhaps than to Jesus Christ being the Spiritual Light, we ought to refer the connection of candles with this festival.

St. Apollonias' Day.

(*February* 9.)

In the *Conflict of Conscience*, by N. Woodes, 1581, this "virgin and martyr," it is said, should be invoked in cases of toothache; and this is also to be found in the earlier comedy of *Calisto and Melibœa* (about 1520), both of which pieces are given in my Dodsley. The passage from *Calisto and Melibœa* is as follows:—

It is for a prayer mastres my demandyng,
That is sayd ye haue of Saynt Appolyne,
For the tooth ake wher of this man is in pyne.

St. Scholastica's Day.

(*February* 10.)

The legend of this saint occurs among the hagiology in the Vernon MS. at Oxford, written before 1400.

Shrovetide.

A counterpart to the Terræ Filius at Oxford existed in the sister university under the name of *Prevaricator.* Randolph the poet appears to have been the prevaricator for 1632; and his jocose *Oratio* delivered on that occasion will be found printed for the first time from a MS. in my edition of his writings.

Rivett, in his Reply to Smirke, 1676, has the following curious passage: "It was Shrove-Tuesday with them, and, not having yet forgot their Boys-play, they had set up the cock, and would have been content some of them to have ventur'd their Coffee-Farthings, yea their Easter-pence by advance, to have a fling at him." It is a remarkable thing that the difficulty of suppressing this ignorant amusement remains to be overcome. One reason probably is that influential English gentlemen take an interest in its continuance.

Hearne, in his *Diary*, 1724-5, writes: "At Sunningwell, near Abbington in Berks, they have a custom (which I suppose was formerly in other places, tho' I do not know of any else where it is now) every Shrove Tuesday, at night, in the dusk of the evening, for the boys and girls to say these verses about the village—

Beef and bacon's
Out of season,
I want a pan
To parch my peason;

which they repeat several times, and then throw stones at all people's doors, which makes the people generally to shut up their doors that evening."

St. Winwaloe's Day.

(*March* 3.)

The name of the saint is variously spelled, Winwalli, Winwolano, Vinwoley, Walovay, etc., and it appears that he was Abbot of Tauracune in Brittany. A section of a recent work* is devoted to the district of St. Winwaloe, in Cornwall, of which he was the patron saint, and which derived its name from him.

Palm Sunday.

It may be worth mentioning that the Field of Towton, near Tadcaster, where the last battle was fought between the two Roses in 1461, is sometimes known as "Palm-Sunday Field."

In Wales (and doubtless elsewhere) they commonly employ on this festival, in lieu of palm, what is popularly called *goose and goslings.* It flowers early, especially in mild seasons.

This is doubtless the palm, or palm-twig, which we see in the lists of plants in our early Vocabularies.

Gabriel the Archangel.

(*March* 26 *and April* 13.)

In the *Vertue of the Masse* (*circâ* 1500), by Lydgate, St. Gabriel is named as the patron

* *Churches and Antiquities of Cury and Gunwalloe*, by A. H. Cummings, 1875, pp. 116-32, 182-7.

of "good rydynge"; but the whole passage seems worth copying, especially as it mentions one or two points not generally known:

Herynge of masse dooth passynge grete auayle,
At nede at myschefe folke it doth releue,
Causeth saynt Nicholas to gyue good counsayle,
And saynt Iulyan good hostel at eue;
To beholde saynt Crystofer none enemy shall try greue,
And saynt Loy your Iourney shall preserue,
Horse ne caryage that daye shall not myscheue,
Masse herde before who dooth these sayntes serue.
Partynge fro masse begynnynge your Iourney,
Call saynt Myghell you to fortefye,
For sodayne haste and good prosperyte,
And for good rydynge saynt Gabryell shall you gye.
And Raphaell by recorde of Thobye,
Shall be your leche and your medycyne,
Masse herde your hertes dooth applye,
These obseruaunces to kepe eche daye or ye dyne.

Shere or Maundy Thursday.

In the same work it is said:

So as thyn heed hath a precellence,
Aboue all membres in comparyson,
So cryst Ihesu of magnyfycence,
Thrugh his dyuyne dysposycyon.
Sette the masse for shorte conclusyon,
As on Shyrethursdaye the gospell ye maye rede,
For a prerogatyfe aboute euery orayson,
To helpe all them that to hym call at nede.

Good Friday.

There is a curious usage still in vogue among the Spanish and Portuguese sailors who happen to be in the English Docks at this time, of flogging an effigy, which they call Judas Iscariot, in commemoration of Judas's share in Christ's death.

Among Good Friday customs still observed (1877), may be enumerated that of laying one-and-twenty sixpences on the spot in the churchyard of St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield, in London, supposed to be the resting-place of a lady who left the fund for as many aged widows, on condition that each recipient should be able to stoop, and pick up the coin without help. A small sum is also payable from the same source for a sermon on this day.

At All Hallows, Lombard Street, after the service, sixty of the younger scholars from Christ's Hospital were presented by the incumbent, under the will of Peter Symonds (1687), with a new penny and a packet of raisins. In Langbourne Ward, such of the school-children as assisted in the choir received hot-cross buns and trifling gratuities in money.

Easter Day.

Suckling, in his famous ballad *Upon a Wedding*, in speaking of the bride, says:

Her feet beneath her petticoat,
Like little mice, stole in and out,
As if they fear'd the light;
But, O, she dances such a way,
No sun upon an Easter-day
Is half so fine a sight.

The poet, of course, refers to the familiar superstition.

A pair of gloves was not only a present at Easter, but at Christmas.*

Low or White Sunday.

(*First Sunday after Easter.*)

Sometimes called Quasimodo Sunday. It is spelled *Loe* Sunday in a printed copy of the Sermon delivered by the King's chaplain, before James I., his family, and council, on that anniversary in the year 1606.

Hoke Day.

In the Churchwardens' Accounts of Cheddar, co. Somerset, under 1612 and 1631, are two entries of amounts received as *hogling money*, namely, £9 13s. 4d. and £9 3s. 4d.† I conclude this to be connected with Hoc or Hog Tide; yet the amounts collected are far in excess of what seems to have been usual.

St. George's Day.

(*April* 23.)

In the hamlet of Y Faerdref, in the commote of Isdulas, in Denbighshire, is a small village called St. George, on the churchyard-wall of which it was formerly believed that the print of the shoes of St. George's horse could be seen. The neighbouring woods were supposed to be haunted by fairies and other spirits.‡

* See Whitelocke's *Liber Famelicus*, ed. 1858, p. 49, under date of 1615.

† *Notes and Queries*, 3rd. ser., iii., p. 423.

‡ *Denbigh and its Lordship*, by John Williams, 1860, pp. 217-18.

THE CROSS DAYS.

These are the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday preceding Holy Thursday in Rogation week. They are referred to under this name in the *Plumpton Correspondence*, under date of May 18, 1501.

The place called *Gospel Oak*, near Kentish Town, doubtless derived its name from the same custom as the Gospel Trees mentioned in vol. i., p. 112, of my *Popular Antiquities*, 1870.

It appears that in North Wales, among the slate quarrymen of Penrhyn, there is a superstition still prevalent that, if any work is done on Ascension Day, some accident will follow, and the *Daily News* of June 10, 1878, reports that "during last week thousands of men employed at the Welsh slate quarries, at Penrhyn, refused to work on Ascension Thursday." It adds: "A few years ago the agents persuaded the men to break through the superstitious observance, and there were accidents each year, a not unlikely occurrence, seeing the extent of the works carried on and the dangerous occupation of the men. This year, however, the men one and all refused to work."

In connection with this part of the subject, it may, perhaps, be allowable to note that somewhere about the middle of the last century Thomas Day, author of *Sandford and Merton*, 1786, instituted what became known as Fairlop Fair, which used to be opened in Epping Forest by drawing a ship made from a fir-tree on a truck with six horses, round a certain area in the forest three times.

MORRIS DANCERS.*

The custom of wearing the hair down the back loose, and a coif between the crown and the head, seems to have been preserved for a long time, and to have been in vogue on the Continent. The Princess Catherine of Aragon is described as wearing her hair so arranged in the contemporary narrative of her journey to England, previously to her espousal to Prince Arthur, son of Henry VII., and her ladies-in-waiting appear to have followed the same fashion.†

At the coronation of Elizabeth of York, in November, 1487, the Queen is described as wearing her fair yellow hair plain behind her back, with a caul of pipes over it, somewhat, perhaps, in the later Roman style, as we see it on coins.

TOM THE PIPER.

There is a curious passage about this character in the *Morris-Dance*, in a tract by Breton:* "In the parish of Saint Asse, at the signe of the Hobbi-horse, Maid Marian and the Foole fell together by the eares with the Piper; so that, had not the good-man of the Pewter Candlesticke set in for the Morris-dance, the May-game had beene quite spoyled: but when the game had gone round, and their braines were well warmed, their legges grew so nimble that their heeles went higher then their heads: but in all this cold sweate, while lusty guts and his best beloued were casting Sheepes-eyes at a Cods head, Hue and Cry came suddenly thorow the streete *The Foxe hath killed a tame Goose.* At the sudden noise whereof the multitude were so scared, that all the Morris-dancers were divided, and the Foole ran home to your towne."

ST. HELEN'S OR ELINE'S DAY.

(*May* 2.)

In the *Northumberland Household Book*† mention occurs of *Saint Elyn Day* as a day when certain servants were to receive their yearly allowance for horsemeat; but the editor supposes (I do not know why) that the reference is to dies Helenæ regis, viz., May 21; and I see that Nicolas, in the *Chronology of History*, makes only one saint of this name fall in May, namely, Queen Helena, on the 21st.

WHITSUNTIDE.

They have a custom at Whitsuntide at Lichfield, it appears from Mr. Fienne's MSS., quoted by Southey, on Monday and Tuesday, called the Green Bower Feast, by which they hold their charter. The sheriff and bailiff assist at the ceremony of dressing up babies with garlands and greens, and carry them in procession through all the streets;

* *Pop. Antiq. of Great Britain*, i., p. 140, line 18.
† *Antiq. Repert.*, 1807, ii., p. 278.

* *A Post with a Packet of Mad Letters* (1603), undated ed., p. 58.
† Ed. 1827, p. 68.

and then they assemble themselves at the market-place, and go in a procession through the great street to a hill beyond the town, where is a large green bower made, in which they have their feast. Many smaller bowers are made round for company, and for booths to sell sweetmeats, etc.

St. Richard.

(*Ninth day after Whitsunday.*)

It is mentioned* that the unexpected and miraculous recovery of a young child, over whom the wheel of a vehicle had passed in the street of Winterbourne Earls, near Salisbury, was ascribed at the time (A.D. 1278) to this canonized Bishop of Chichester. The person who drove over the boy is called a *carter;* but that term, like *cart*, was formerly understood in a wider and different sense.

(*June* 7.)

White Kennet, in a letter of June 19, 1716, mentions that the Jacobites, on the 7th, had bought rue and thyme.†

St. Barnabas.

(*June* 11.)

Manningham, in his *Diary*, May 2, 1602, speaking of Glastonbury, says: "There is a walnut-tree which hath no leaues before Barnabies Day in June, and then it beginns to bud, and after becomes as forward as any other." The diarist was indebted for this piece of intelligence to a friend.

St. Anthony of Padua.

(*June* 13.)

St. Anthony's Fire.—Sir John Bramston, in his *Autobiography*, p. 348, notes the death of his daughter, Elizabeth Moundford, 9th December, 1689, and describes this complaint, to which she seems to have succumbed. "She had been very ill," he says, "with a distemper called St. Anthonies fier; her eyes, nose, face, and head swelled vastly; at length it tooke her tongue and throat."

* *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, i., p. 178.

† See Brydges' *Restituta*, iv., 73; and *Hamlet*, iv., 5.

Summer Solstice.

(*Midsummer Eve.—Vigil of St. John the Baptist*).

At Norwich, says a writer in *Current Notes* for March, 1854, the rites of St. John the Baptist were anciently observed, "When it was the custom to turn or roll a wheel about, in signification of the sun's annual course, or the sun, then occupying the highest place in the zodiac, was about descending."

Translation of St. Swithin.

(*July* 15.)

The christening of the apples by St. Swithin is supposed to affect the flavour of the fruit. In Somersetshire and Wiltshire, or some parts of them, that day indeed is known as Apple-Christening Day.

The same superstition prevails in France respecting St. Medard's Day (June 8). But it is remarkable that in this year (1885) a great drought followed St. Swithin's Day, although rain fell upon the day itself.

St. Rock or Roche's Day.

(*August* 16.)

In the *Conflict of Conscience*, 1581, by N. Woodes, this saint is mentioned as the one to whom prayers should be offered up against disease, plague, and pestilence.

(*September* 18.)

Speaking of the different conduits in or about London, Strype, in his additions to Stow,* says: "These Conduits used to be in former times visited: And particularly, on the 18th of Sept., 1562, the Lord Mayor [Harper], Aldermen, and many Worshipful Persons, and divers of the Masters and Wardens of the Twelve Companies, rid to the Conduit Heads for to see them after the old Custom: And afore Dinner they hunted the Hare, and killed her, and thence to Dinner at the Head of the Conduit. There was a good Number, entertained with good cheer by the Chamberlain. And after Dinner they went to hunting the Fox. There was a great Cry for a Mile; and at length the Hounds killed him at the End of S. Giles's. Great

* *Survey of London*, 1720, book i., p. 25.

Hallowing at his Death, and blowing of Horns . . ."

St. Luke's Day.

(*October* 18.)

The author of the *Mastive or Young Whelpe of the Olde Dogge*, 1615, in his Preface observes: "I'll not defile my hands by giuing such the least of chastisement, but leave them peremptorily for the lashing *Dogge-whipper*, for those curres provided."

Mr. Atkinson gives the following account: "Dog-whipper. A parish official, whose duties consisted in expelling any dog or dogs which might intrude into the church during the performance of any service. The office was usually joined with that of sexton and pew-opener. The short, stout dog-whip was a regular part of the Dog-whipper's equipment . . . In Derby Church the office has existed down to the year 1861, and has become almost hereditary in one family . . ."* But, as is so often the case, the usage was not confined to this country, and I remember to have seen an engraving in Lacroix of a scene in an old French church, where a man is engaged in whipping a dog out of the building.

It appears that in King Charles II.'s time, it was customary at Hull to carry home what they called the Down-Plat on St. Luke's Night with great formality and show.†

(*November* 5.)

The ignorant processions of boys, who carry about the effigy of the unfortunate Yorkshire gentleman, sing the following verses, which are, perhaps, scarcely worth insertion on any other ground than the gradual evanescence of all our old vulgar usages:

> Remember, remember
> The fifth of November,
> Gunpowder treason and plot:
> I see no reason,
> Why gunpowder treason
> Should ever be forgot.
> Guy Fawkes, Guy,
> Hit him in the eye, etc.

The late Mr. Robert Davies, Town-clerk, of York, devoted a pamphlet to the family history of the Fawkes's of York, small 8vo., 1850.

* *Cleveland Glossary*, 1868, p. 145.

† *Poems* by W. C., 1684, p. 48.

St. Catherine's Day.

(*November* 25.)

Woodes, in his *Conflict of Conscience*, 1581, tells us that we ought to pray to this Saint to cure "lawlessness of mind."

St. Eligius, Eloy, or Loy.

(*December* 1.)

Woodes in the same production has:

> Saint Loy saue your horse, Saint Anthony your swyne.

Bull Week.

In Sheffield, this is the name given to the week before Christmas. The men work overtime, and often do not leave off till one or two in the morning, in order that they may earn money to spend in celebrating the great Christian festival. Their festive enjoyment chiefly consists in brutal drunkenness.

Christmas.

Sir Walter Scott, in a letter to Joanna Baillie, 1st January, 1819, says: "I wish you could have seen about a hundred children, being almost supported by their fathers' or brothers' labour, come down yesterday to dance to the pipes, and get a piece of cake and bannock, and pence apiece (no very deadly largess) in honour of *Hagmanay*. I declare to you, my dear friend, that when I thought the poor fellows who kept these children so neat, and well taught, and well behaved, were slaving the whole day for eighteenpence or twentypence at the most, I was ashamed of their gratitude, and of their becks and bows." In another letter (Jan. 1, 1815), Scott says: "Yesterday being Hogmanay, there was a constant succession of *Guisards—i.e.*, boys dressed up in fantastic caps, with their shirts over their jackets, and with wooden swords in their hands. These players acted a sort of scene before us, of which the hero was one Goloskin."

A proclamation issued 8 Edward III., A.D. 1334, by the authorities of the City of London, concludes thus: "Also we do forbid, on the same pain of imprisonment, that any man shall go about at this feast of Christmas with companions disguised with false faces, or in any other manner, to the houses

of the good folks of the City, for playing at dice there . . ."*

CHRISTMAS DAY.

This is observed without any real authority or probability of correctness on the 25th of December.

YULE.

Hearne, in his *Diary*, December 21, 1710, mentions the supposition that Yule may be derived from Ioulos, the name of the month in which our Christmas occurs with certain nations.

LORD OR ABBOT OF MISRULE.

In a similar way, Peter the Great of Russia had his prince-pope, who was head of a College of Fools. One of Peter's last acts was to hold an election to supply the place of Buturlin; and an account of the ceremony has been given in a Transatlantic magazine.†

GAWBY DAY.

(*December* 28.)

This day at Wrexham is called Gawby Day, and the town is filled with servants, both men and women. Formerly and originally they came up from the country to be hired; but now (1875) it has become a mere holiday.

ST. GERMANUS.

There were apparently two or three sainted persons of this name, nor is it clear to which Woodes refers where, in his *Conflict of Conscience*, 1581, he makes one of the characters say:

> "Sent Iob heale the pore, *the Agew Sent Germayne*."

SAINT SUNDAY.

This saint is jocularly introduced into the interlude of the *Pardoner and the Frere*, 1533, attributed (perhaps wrongly) to John Heywood. The blessed arm of Sweet Saint Sunday is one of the charms against diseases, etc., cited by the worthy Pardoner.

* Riley's *Memorials of London*, 1868, p. 192.
† *Scribner's Monthly*, xxii., p. 886.

The First Triad of Irish Type.

BY JOSEPH MANNING.

PART I.

HE subject of early printing has been investigated with great diligence for other countries; very little labour has been bestowed on it for Ireland. The efforts of Ames, Bagford, Archdeacon Cotton, and Mr. Power have been directed thereto with but a very slight share of success. A letter, which Ames published in his *Typographical Antiquities*, from Dr. Rutty of Dublin, to Dr. William Clark of London, of June 28, 1744, illustrates either the fewness of the books printed in Dublin till a late period, or the dearth of information among savants as to their existence. Dr. Rutty appealed to "a learned man, a particular acquaintance of his, who had made things of this sort his particular study for many years, and he could furnish him with but one book, which he can assure to have been printed here before 1600, viz., *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church: in officina Humphredi Powelli*, 1551—a black letter quarto." Ames describes this book more correctly, "rather as in Emmanuel College Library a folio," where it still exists, having once belonged to Archbishop Sancroft, whose arms it bears. The printer, Humphrey Powell, exercised his trade above Holborn Conduit in London in 1549, and came to Dublin in the very year that he issued this *Book of Common Prayer*. "Of this folio," says Archdeacon Cotton, "which is a book of great rarity, a fine and perfect copy may be seen in the library of Trinity College, Dublin." "Powell," he tells us, "continued to exercise the printing-business in Dublin for fifteen years or more, during which he removed from the river-side to a more southern residence in St. Nicholas Street. His productions are certainly most creditable to the Irish press" (*Typog. Gazetteer*, 2nd Ed., 1831). The Archdeacon, when he penned this, must have formed his judgment from the single work which was then known to have been printed by Powell in Ireland. Another has since been discovered, which

represents the last of the printer's fifteen years of labour, to wit: "A brief declaration of certain principal Articles of Religion set out by Sir Henry Sidney, the Archbishops, Bishops, and High Commissioners of the Realm of Ireland, January 20, 1566." That there were other printers in Dublin, or at least another, before the close of the sixteenth century, appears from the Proclamation, preserved in the State Paper Office in Dublin, which was printed in 1595 in that city by William Kearney: "Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majestie." Kearney, like Powell, was a transplant from London.

Dublin had thus during the latter half of the sixteenth century two Queen's printers, and yet only three of the productions of their press have survived, and one of these is a mere sheet of paper. These, in all probability, but ill represent many years' labour. Other English books must have issued from the Dublin press during their career, but such is the oblivious gluttony of time that we have now no trace of them. The satire on the Irish Government to which Sir Henry Sidney alludes in his parting speech to Parliament, 1570: "I mean not the pretended Commonwealth seditiously promoted in Tom Loodle's ryme," may have been one of these secretly printed in Dublin. Campion describes it as "a seditious libell intituled Tom Troth (let fall in the streets of Dublin), which nipped by name diverse honorable and worshipfull of the realme." But this and other English issues of the Dublin press, in the sixteenth century, if any, have not survived, or if they have, they retain no mark of identification with the Irish metropolis. John Olde's *Purgation* bears the Waterford imprint on its title page of 1555. But this is thought to be a mere feint to mislead the authorities as to the real place of issue. John Scory's *Epistle* is a companion volume of the same year. Cranmer's *Confutation of Unwritten Verities* is another pretended Waterford publication of 1555, which made its escape nobody knows whereto, over fifty years ago, in the satchel of a thieving confidential servant, it is thought, with other choice morceaux, from the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. The use of Waterford as a feint rather tells in favour of the existence of a printing-press there at the time, as those that use feints always consult vraisemblance. But the books of the Waterford press have perished, if there were any such, as utterly as those of the Dublin one.

If so with the English, it fares worse with the Latin issues of the time. Latin was then an almost universal language, and the chief vehicle in which the learned conveyed their thoughts. Not a single Latin book of the sixteenth century, if such ever issued from the Irish press, has come down to us. A reference made by James Seaton Reid, an Ulsterman by birth, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Glasgow, and the historian of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, to the first Latin book printed in Ireland, produced a lively passage between him and Dr. Charles Richard Elrington, Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin (son of the Bishop of Ferns, so well known by his *Elements of Euclid*), and author of an interesting *Life of Archbishop Ussher*. Dr. Reid had pointed out the error of those who followed Parr, one of Ussher's early biographers, in supposing that the Archbishop's *Life of Gotteschalcus*, printed in 1631, was the first Latin piece of the Irish press, inasmuch as two Latin works of Sir James Ware were printed in Dublin before it—to wit, his *Archbishops of Cashel and Tuam* in 1626, and his *Bishops of Leinster* in 1628. "This little scrap of literary information," he says, in his *Letters on Dr. Elrington's Life of Ussher*, "I was the first to furnish, and since, I have discovered another Latin work published in Dublin in 1619." The title or author of this new discovery he does not add, but he further conjectures that "but for his own correction, the usual statement (of Ussher's biographers) would have appeared in (Dr. Elrington's) *Life* of the Primate, and he complains of the doctor's 'copying it without acknowledgment into his *Life of Ussher*.' Dr. Elrington's defence is that he was too long a time Librarian in Dublin College not to have seen Sir James Ware's two works, and not to have frequently discussed the subject of early printing in Dublin;" and that he "did not copy Dr. Reid's remarks,' but "told *him*, what *he* did not know, that Dr. Parr was not the originator of the story, but Archbishop Ussher himself." He adds: "By the Latin work printed at Dublin in 1619, Dr. Reid, I suppose, alludes to the

Pathologia, by Dermitius Meara, which certainly has Dubliniæ on the title-page, but was printed, I believe, in London. There is a copy of it in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, among Archbishop Ussher's works."

If there is room for doubt about the first Latin issue of the Irish press, there seems a general agreement among authorities as to the first issue in the language of the country itself—the first Irish book printed in Ireland. All the authorities are agreed that it was the little *Catechism* of John O'Kearney, printed in 1571. Among others John Reid (*Bibliotheca Scoto-Celtica*, Glasgow, 1832); O'Reilly (*Irish Writers*); Dr. J. S. Reid (*History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*); Archdeacon Cotton (*Typographical Dictionary*); and John O'Donovan (*Irish Grammar*) are of this view. Harris, whom they have followed, adopts a tone of doubt which his copiers have not all imitated. His expression is: "*This is said* to have been the first Irish book that was ever printed in that character." Those who had an opportunity of examining O'Kearney's *Catechism* seem never to have gone beyond the title-page. Had they only opened the book, and glanced over the Preface, they would have found the error they committed in supposing the book they were reading to have been the first; for O'Kearney himself says that he had already, in 1563, brought out an earlier edition of the work. As the very existence of the latter issue has not so much as been dreamt of by our bibliographers, needless to say no trace of it remains.

We should almost say we are sorry for depriving this little book of 1571 of its metrotypical dignity, but in doing so, we feel that we are not at all detracting from the interest that surrounds it. If it be not the first book of printed Irish, it is so far, and may long remain, the first to us. The almost solitary existence it enjoys deepens our interest in the frail volume. Only three copies exist—one in the Bodleian, one in the British Museum, and one in the Library of Lincoln Cathedral. Catechisms are books of an ephemeral nature; their bulk is slight; the interest they create limited; their use temporary and brief; they are destined for a class who lay little store by them, and for a time of life characteristic of revel and wreckage. Nor, indeed, do many of those maturer in years seem to trouble themselves very much either, to preserve exemplars of the manual on which the foundations of their spiritual life had been laid in youth. Is it astonishing, that notwithstanding the vast number of Catechisms which have been published, few should survive? Let anyone turn over the numerous pages occupied by the word, "Church of England—Catechism," in the *British Museum Catalogue*, and he shall find these remarks strongly exemplified in the comparative fewness of the copies of the *Catechism* itself that are to be met with there, as contrasted with the multitudinous explanations to which it has given birth. That every copy of the earlier edition of the *Irish Catechism* in 1563 should have perished, will therefore appear no wonder. Yet, perhaps, one may still survive; and diligent search may yet disentomb it from the grave of some public library, or the horde of some world-old book-fancier.

Another point gained by the date of 1563 to the *Irish Catechism*, is the priority of time to the appearance of the Irish in the printing arena over the Gaelic. Hitherto the daughter dialect was thought to have been born to typographical life before the mother-tongue. Now things have regained their natural order, and the mother-Irish is first in the field.

The first Gaelic book, like our *Catechism*, had well-nigh suffered complete extinction, as only three copies have survived the spoil of time. These preserve to us *The Formularies of Prayer and Ministration of the Sacraments*, of John Carsuel or Carsewell, Bishop of the Isles, printed at Edinburgh, alias Dunmony, by Robert Lekprevik, which is a translation of John Knox's *Liturgy or Book of Common Order*. Only one of these copies is perfect, of which the Duke of Argyll, to whose ancestor the book was originally dedicated, is the possessor. The second is in the Library of the University of Edinburgh, and the remaining copy in the British Museum. The last mentioned was found in a farmer's house at Stretherrick, near Inverness; and its appearance witnesses to the soil of time and the grime of the rustic household that sheltered it. No wonder that the Venerable Dean of Armagh should be touched by the danger, age, and misfortunes of so venerable a relic

of antiquity. With the concern of a true antiquarian bibliophile, he finds the position of these frail remains to lie "between the four cardinal points of mischief—fire, damp, worms, and thieves;" and he tells his trouble to a learned Scotchman, Thomas McLauchlin, LL.D., translator of the *Book of the Dean of Lismore*, and author of several erudite works on the early Gaelic, to stir his sympathy and excite his interest in favour of the preservation of this interesting volume. "My anxiety," he writes, "has become more intense, and I have resolved on appealing to you to take active steps for the perpetuation of this literary treasure. Here is a chapter in the history of Scotland, and much more a philological treasure, in one important branch of the most interesting language in existence, combining all the charms of living excellence, and all the prestige of unfathomable antiquity; and this on the very verge of extinction—one life in a lease of incalculable value. Oh! do try and convert that terminable lease into one of lives renewable for ever."

Dr. McLauchlin did respond to this impassioned appeal, by bringing out a new edition of Bishop Carsuel's work, to which he adapted Knox's *Liturgy* in the English version of David Laing, LL.D.; and this adaptation at times, as he tells us, cost him no small trouble, as he had, where the two versions did not correspond, to translate his original directly from the Gaelic.

It seems to us that the appeal of the Venerable Dean of Armagh, so passionately made in favour of the Scotch Liturgy, might be turned with no diminution of impassioned effect towards himself in favour of the *Irish Catechism*. If there are only three of the Scotch works remaining, there are only two of the Irish—one in the Bodleian, and one in the British Museum, which is perhaps, suggests Archdeacon Cotton, the one which appeared in the *Catalogue* of President West's Library (No. 1415), sold in 1773. The prestige of unfathomable antiquity, which he makes the Gaelic work to enjoy, will scarce be considered forfeit to its Irish contemporary by a minority of four years; and although the brevity of the Irish work, as contrasted with the length of the Gaelic, necessarily contracts its comparative philological value, still is there sufficient of intrinsic worth, even in this regard, to enable us to pronounce this little Irish work a literary treasure, if of small compass, yet of great price; and finally, it has some historic value in furnishing us with another copy of the "Articles" which formed the dogmatic charter of the Established Church in Ireland for half a century of its existence.

The title of this little work is *The Gadelic Aibidil* (*Alphabet*) *and Catechism*, *i.e.*, the Christian doctrine and instruction along with certain Articles of the Christian Rule, that must be embraced by everyone obedient to God, and the Queen of this kingdom, which have been drawn from the Latin and English into Irish by John O'Kearney. Printed at Dublin at the expense of Master John Uiser, Alderman. Over the Bridge, 20th day of June, 1571.

The Preface begins: "Here you have, O Reader, the good work of that great labour I have been collecting and conveying to you for a long time, such as is the faithful and perfect impression of the Gadelic tongue, which opens to you the way, and guides you to knowledge that has hitherto been always closed to you, and for want of which it has happened to us, as I think, that we are drowned in blindness and ignorance of the laws of God and the world until now, and that we are more wild and barbarous in our manners and in our customs than any people in the western division of Europe. But that you may find some opportunity of medicine or salve to heal this most poisonous mischief with which we are afflicted, by the grace of God and by the order of the Governor (to bring it forth to you in its native tongue, and its own proper dress), I have willingly taken upon myself, since I saw none other who would do so, the labour and adventure of bringing this into the state in which you see it now, at the expense of our high princess Elizabeth; and with the consent of the noble and illustrious knight, and our Lord Deputy Sir Henry Sidney, and the rest of the most honourable Council of the Queen in this Island of Erin."

The great work to which O'Kearney alludes as occupying so lengthened a portion of his labour, is perhaps that spoken of by Sir James Ware: "Walsh, Bishop of Ossory, by the assistance of Nehemiah Donellan, afterwards Archbishop of Tuam, and the said

John Kerney, set about translating the New Testament into Irish, which was afterwards done from the Greek by William Daniel, Archbishop of Tuam." As the subject of this first translation of the Testament into the native language is interesting and not unimportant, we may be pardoned for digressing from our catechism to pursue the scattered traces of information that we can glean concerning it. The impression left on the minds of readers by Ware's expression, is that Daniel's work had no connection with Kearney's labours. This was probably Sir James Ware's own idea, and the one that all subsequent writers have gathered from him; but we shall show that such an idea is an error, and that the incomplete work of Walsh, O'Kearney, and Donnellan fell into the hands of William Daniel or O'Donnell, who continued and completed what they had initiated and carried forward.

In Irish literature, when its sources are vigorously searched, there will, we imagine, be some appeals granted in the Court of Literature to forgotten authors, whose claims to works, that now pass as the fruit of another's pains, will be pressed home on the attention of the learned. So far, however, as the translation of the New Testament into Irish is concerned, such an appeal, we think, shall not be lodged against the labours of our most reverend father in God, William O'Donnell, Archbishop of Tuam, for he tells us freely of the various parties who were engaged in the work with him and before him. The passage is interesting, as affording information which has hitherto passed unnoticed, regarding the translation of the first Irish Testament. It occurs in his address "To the Reader." This address is in Irish. Had it been in English, Sir James Ware and Harris could not fail of embodying in their account of the translation the information it contains. But it escaped them under the cloak of the Irish, where it has remained concealed to the present time. "The New Testament," says this address, "is a work the end of which was long expected by our fathers, but it has not been brought to completion until now. Pious, perfect, and exceedingly learned men bestowed abundance of labour on it, erewhile, namely, John O'Kearney, who was Treasurer of the Church of St. Patrick in Dublin; and Nicholas Walsh, who was the most illustrious Bishop of Ossory, together with Ferganainm (lit. 'Man without a name'), O'Domhnallain (Nehemias O'Donellan), who is now Archbishop of Tuam, who took the great labour on himself together with me, and with Maoilin og MacBruaideadha (MacBrody), a man skilful in the Gadelic tongue, in the new college near Dublin, a place where we finished the putting into the Gadelic type (at the charge of the Province of Connaught in the time that Sir Richard Bingham was President of it), as far as the sixth chapter of the Gospel of St. Luke; and the rest of that Gospel, and the Gospel of St. John, was written with the hand, without being put to type at that time nor yet till the end of five years after, until I was able by the will of God, through the help of Domhnall og Juginn (Donnell og Higgin), (upon whom I put the burden of writing out the rest, according to the ogum and correctness of the Gadelic), to bring it to a completion, at the cost of Master William Uiser, Clerk of the Council, who was happy to bear the expense."

This passage establishes the claim of the sixteenth century to another Irish printed book—the New Testament, as far as the sixth chapter of St. Luke. This must have been put to press before 1595, "as a Privy Seal, 24th May that year, for the advancement of O'Donnellan to the see of Tuam, mentions as one of his merits his great pains in putting to press the New Testament."—(*Harris*). At the very latest it must have been printed before the end of the following year, in which Sir Richard Bingham, at whose official expense the work was so far executed, was superseded in his governorship of Connaught by Sir Conyers Clifford (Four Masters). Sir Richard's removal from office may indeed be the cause of the interruption of the work. That interruption appears to have been sudden, and to have arisen from some unforeseen check, else St. Luke's Gospel would not have been embarked on. By this time, and probably even before the printing was begun, a sort of completeness had been arrived at: for the whole four Gospels stood ready to the printer's hands.

(*To be continued.*)

Celebrated Birthplaces.

YORK HOUSE AND FRANCIS BACON.

York House is the house where my father died, and where I first breathed, and there I will yield up my breath, if so please God and the King will give me leave.

IF some antiquary new to London were to follow Dr. Johnson's example and take a walk along Fleet Street, he would find, if his face were turned westward, his way blocked at Temple Bar by something which, like Vice,

> Is a monster of so frightful mien
> As, to be hated, needs but to be seen.

YORK HOUSE, STRAND.

Could he, however, muster courage to pass the Griffin, he would find the short mile thence to Charing Cross equal, if not exceeding, in historical interest any district which can be named in this ancient city so full of "ghosts of the remembered past."

The Strand has not been immortalized by a great lexicographer, and *as a street* it does not possess such antiquity as do others within the City walls; but yet it can claim a direct descent, so to speak, from Roman times, of which it still possesses a relic in the shape of its Roman Spring Bath. Its name is pure Saxon, and for centuries it was the great land thoroughfare between the Court and the City.

True, the tide of fashion has long since flowed westward, and the Strand can no longer boast of the long line of palaces which once stood on the banks of the Thames "as Venetian palaces do along the Grand Canal."

If its relative importance is not what it was in the days of Elizabeth and her successors, everywhere it teems with recollections of some of the greatest names in our history, of whom many of the side streets still preserve the titles. York House, with which we have now to deal, did not stand alone in historic significance, for when Bacon lived there the whole neighbourhood was the home of the leaders of England, and he could scarcely walk from his house in any direction without passing the residences of his colleagues or his enemies. Such a street at that time scarcely existed in Europe. We have nothing like it now, for the men of "light and leading" in the Victorian age are scattered far apart in this great metropolis, and no spot can equal what York House and its surroundings were in the past.

The street names which meet the eye right and left as one walks along the Strand help us to understand something of this. Northumberland Avenue preserves the memory (and, alas! it is all that is left of it) of the last of the Strand palaces, that great Jacobean mansion in which was married Lady Margaret Howard, the bride so daintily described in Suckling's "Ballad upon a Wedding":

> Her feet beneath her petticoat,
> Like little mice stole in and out.

And here for centuries the proud Percies dwelt.

We are reminded by Cecil and Salisbury Streets of Salisbury House, where dwelt Sir R. Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, and treasurer to James, that "most high and mighty Prince." In Beaufort Buildings Fielding lived, and here once stood Worcester House, the palace of the Bishop of Carlisle, afterwards occupied by Lord Clarendon, where, in the middle of a September night, in 1662, the Duke of York married Anne Hyde. Readers of Pepys will remember the scandal he relates in connection therewith. Then we come to the Savoy, with its crowd of memories: of John, King of France, who died here; of John of Gaunt, who lived here; of Dan Chaucer, who is believed to have been married here; of Wat Tyler, who laid it in ashes; and so on, and so on, for nearly six centuries of eventful history. It was in Surrey Street that Congreve was visited and snubbed by Voltaire; and we can remind ourselves how his friend, the beautiful and "immaculate" Mrs. Bracegirdle was the cause of the fatal duel in Howard Street, in which poor Mountford was killed.

Norfolk Street recalls Sir Roger de Coverley and the dreaded Mohocks, and here Peter the Great drank his peppered brandy; and here, before he exchanged an old world for a new one, lived William Penn. The last-named streets commemorate Arundel House, once the palace of the Bishops of Bath and Wells, where died the Countess of Nottingham who kept back Lord Essex's ring, which she should have sent to that bright occidental star Queen Elizabeth, of most happy memory. Here Lord Thomas Seymour, described by a contemporary as the most wicked man that there was in England, ill-treated Queen Catherine Parr; and here, in later days, the Arundel marbles were deposited before they were left to Oxford. Essex Street marks the site of Exeter House, the Inn of the Bishops of Exeter, and built by them in Edward III.'s time. When Isabella, "the she-wolf of France," and consort of Edward II., advanced upon London, Walter Stapleton, then Lord Treasurer of England, and Bishop of Exeter, held out for the King, and to prevent a rising demanded the keys of the City, a course which resulted in his being dragged to Cheapside, after vainly attempting to take sanctuary at Paul's; then he was pulled off his horse, beheaded, and buried under a dust heap by his own gateway.

Exeter House, too, is noteworthy as the sometime residence of both Elizabeth's favourites, Leicester and Essex. The latter altered the name of the house. In the days of Pope, Addison, and Goldsmith, Essex Street was one of the most frequented in the town, for there stood "Tom's" and the "Grecian." From the latter famous coffee-house Steele dated the first number of the *Tatler*.

North of the Strand, Burleigh and Exeter Streets cover the site of another Exeter House, where the great Burleigh lived and died, and where Elizabeth stooped her head as she entered her Minister's door, declaring, as she did so, that "she would not do the like for the King of Spain." Catherine Street was named after the neglected consort of Charles II.

These names take us up and down the stream of time, but it is not idle to recall them as a part and parcel of prosaic London, to remind the daily toilers in and through the Strand that here, in the midst of such historical surroundings, Bacon was born and lived. For among all the crowd of illustrious persons whose history is connected with this part of London, this one great name towers head and shoulders above the rest, though his life, as Dean Church has justly said, "is a pain to read or write," and though it must be owned that his character has been justly summed up in a single line by Pope in those familiar words:

> The wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind.

Francis Bacon was born at York House on the 22nd of January, 1561, three years before Shakespeare and Galileo. His father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, the "Great Eliza's" first Lord Keeper, is a prominent and well-known figure in the band of those remarkable men, the Statesmen who served the Virgin Queen, whilst his mother was a woman highly accomplished and of great strength of character. But she seems also to have been a woman of violent temper, and whilst an affectionate parent, she was also full of the arrogance, hardness, and tyranny of Calvinistic infalli-

bility. It would be interesting to trace how much a reaction from the Puritan cast-iron formalism may have had to do with the want of moral fibre which so sadly marred the life and dimmed the splendour of Bacon's fame; but we must not stop to speculate, nor need we dwell upon the history of this distinguished man.

If the melancholy story of Bacon's rise and fall be familiar, his connection with York House may not be quite so well known, and it is this we now propose briefly to trace. Fenced securely in by the sanctities of their office and position, the great dignitaries of the Church were the first to leave the safe precincts of the city, and to build unto themselves pleasant houses by the riverside, an example in which they were followed by the great nobles as the times grew less turbulent.

Not a little picturesque must have been

> Those bricky towers
> The which on Thames' broad aged back do ride,

each enclosed in its walls, with open country to the north, with spacious gardens sloping down southwards to the river, which then no doubt justly deserved Spenser's epithet of "silver-streaming Thames." Just within the boundary of Westminster, and next to Salisbury House, stood York House; but of this celebrated old house nothing now remains save the watergate. This, classic in style, and built of white Portland stone, designed by Inigo Jones and carved by Nicholas Stone senior, stands in its old place, and, as Mr. Loftie reminds us, shows "both where York House was, and the old level before the Embankment was made." Two crouching lions support each a kind of shield bearing an anchor, the badge of Lord High Admiral Buckingham. It has been stated that in 1754 an Act of Parliament was passed to enable the inhabitants to make a rate for the maintenance of the gate and terrace, but thirty years since this fell into desuetude, and the gate has since been neglected.

When the Embankment was proposed, Sir Joseph Bazalgette, the engineer, reported as follows: "Between Westminster and Hungerford Bridges would be landing stairs for smaller craft, and here it is proposed to introduce the beautiful watergate now situate at the end of Buckingham Street, and erected after a design by Inigo Jones." Mr. D. G. Laing, writing to the *Times*, states:

> This scheme was, however, not carried out, in consequence of opposition by one of the adjoining owners. He, however, has given way, and is willing that the Metropolitan Board of Works should raise it out of the mud cast around it, and I will pledge myself to obtain the assent of all the proprietors on the estate to permit the Board of Works to do so, if they will kindly engage at their own cost to elevate the same on the present site.

Alas, however, this pledge could not be fulfilled, for private ownership does not care for the past.

It is possible, from various sources, to trace many of the owners and occupiers of York House from the time of the Tudors and earlier, down to the days of the Merry Monarch, when its site was sold by Buckingham to pay his debts. Thus we know that originally it was called Norwich House, and was the "inn" of the Bishops of Norwich, who, in the early part of Henry VIII.'s reign, exchanged it for an abbey in Norfolk. The quondam companion and brother-in-law of Henry, Charles Brandon, who married the Princess Mary, widow of Louis XII., and was made Duke of Suffolk, obtained it in exchange for his own residence, Suffolk House, over against St. George's Church, Southwark.

This mansion on the Surrey side seems to have reverted to the Crown, for Mary gave it to the Archbishops of York, who had been despoiled by Wolsey of their town-house, York Place, Whitehall. Probably, being over the water, it was inconvenient, hence Archbishop Heath, who was also Mary's Chancellor, obtained, in August, 1557, "a licence for the alienation of this capital messuage of Suffolk Place, and to apply the price thereof for buying other houses, also called Suffolk Place, lying near Charing Cross," and thus old Norwich House became the second York House.

Yet for some reason or other their Graces of York did not live here. Archbishop Heath seems to have been the only one who did so, and it became an official residence for Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal. Thus Sir Nicholas Bacon certainly dwelt there as early as the second year of Elizabeth's reign, as in all probability did Sir Thomas Bromley, the next Lord Chancellor. Lord Keeper Sir John Pickering removed

from Russell House, Ivy Bridge, to York House under a lease from the Archbishop, which enabled his widow to keep possession for a year after his death. At the end of that year a new lease was granted to Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper, who resided in it till 1617, and then came its most famous occupant, Francis Bacon, who after residing for a short time in Dorset House, Fleet Street, removed, when raised to the dignity of Lord Chancellor, to York House. Soon after he came there application was made to him to part with his interest. The Duke of Lennox would fain have bought the place, or made an exchange of it. But Bacon, then at the height of his greatness, made answer in the words I have quoted at the beginning of this paper. Yet this house wherein his father died, where he first breathed, and where he celebrated his sixtieth birthday, was fated to witness his degradation, and it was here that he was deprived of the Great Seal.

After Bacon's disgrace the Duke of Buckingham got possession of it, and 1st July, 1622, Chamberlain writes to Castleton: "Viscount St. Albans has filed a bill in Chancery against Buckingham on account of the non-performance of his contract for taking York House" (Calendar of State Papers). "Steenie," by the King's intercession, induced Archbishop Matthew to part with the freehold, and in May, 1624, a Bill passed in Parliament for the Crown to have York House in exchange for manors in the far North.

The favourite had plans prepared for rebuilding it in a sumptuous manner,* but these were never carried out; only the watergate was finished, and that stands now close to the very heart of modern London, where the pulse of life of the great city beats fullest. Time has stranded York Gate, and now how many of the myriad passers over Charing Cross Bridge stop to look at the neglected, solitary, and almost forgotten relic of Jacobean days!

In place of high-born ladies and stately gallants in all the bravery of ruff, and lace, and velvet, landing from their barges at York Stairs, adventurous urchins from the Dials and dirty children from the purlieus of Drury Lane play around it, and wonder, open-mouthed, at the ducal arms and the motto of the Villiers family, "Fidei Corticula crux."

From the Calendar of State Papers we learn how "In July, 1637, Augst. Lady Mary Villiers was married to the Duke of Lennox, and Charles went to York House to give the lady away. The Duchess of Buckingham feasted their Majesties in that house of hers with their court. The house was very gloriously furnished."

But a temporary structure seems to have been used for the fêtes which amazed Bassompierre, who declared that he never witnessed similar magnificence, accustomed though he was to the lavish splendours of the French court.*

After Buckingham's death, the artist Gerbier was keeper of York House, and it was there that he entertained Rubens during his stay in England. Gerbier writes to Dorchester in July, 1629, stating that all he had for twelve years' service with the late Duke was an annuity, the old house in which he lived, and the keepership of York House.

But this truly historic house was destined to see further changes, for the year after the execution of Charles, the Parliament gave it to General Fairfax; and this was the means of bringing it back to the Villiers family again, his daughter having married the second Duke of Buckingham,

> Who in the course of one revolving moon,
> Was chemist, fiddler, statesman, and buffoon;
> Then all for women, painting, rhyming, drinking,
> Besides ten thousand freaks that died in thinking.

This marriage was very distasteful to Cromwell; he permitted the Duke to live at York House with his wife, but for going without leave to Cobham, Buckingham was arrested and sent to the Tower, where he remained till the Protector's death.

We get a glimpse of the house in the pages of Evelyn, who tells us that on 27th November, 1655—"I went to see York House and gardens, belonging to the former great Buckingham, but now much ruined thro' neglect." The visit was impressed on his

* A warrant was granted 1625, June 22, to pay to the paymaster of the works £1,400, residue of £1,800, which the late King intended to bestow on Buckingham for 2,000 tons of Portland stone for the building of York House.

* Vide *Curiosities of Literature.*

memory, for he adds: "I returned home that evening by water, and was afflicted for it with a cold that had almost killed me."

After the Restoration, one morning in May, 1661, worthy Mr. Samuel Pepys records how, it being "Lord's Day," he walked towards Westminster, "and seeing many people at York House I went down and found them at masse, it being the Spanish Ambassadors, and so I got into one of the gallerys and there heard two masses done, I think in not so much state as I have seen them heretofore. After then into the garden and walked an hour or two, but found it not so fine a place as I always took it for by the outside." Ultimately the extravagant owner sold it and its gardens for building purposes, at the same time buying property in Dowgate. But even in this matter he indulged in one of his ten thousand freaks, for he insisted as a condition of purchase that he should be commemorated by the names of the streets built upon it, which were called respectively *George* Street, *Villiers* Street, *Duke* Street, *Of* Alley, and *Buckingham* Street.

Such are some of the memories of York House. The writer is conscious that he has been unable to deal with them in more than a fragmentary and imperfect manner; but if he dares not indulge the hope of having interested antiquaries in the associations with the past which cling around the old Thames-side mansion, yet nothing that he has said or left unsaid can rob the spot of its supreme interest to Englishmen as the birthplace of Francis Bacon.

J. J. FOSTER.

The Battle of Brunanburgh.

NO study has had greater delight for our learned than the search for the sites of the conflicts in our earlier civilization. What numberless efforts have been made to identify Ethandune, and the subject of this paper, viz., Brunanburgh! [See *ante*, vol. xi., p. 68.]

This mighty conflict, the decisive Waterloo of the Ante-Senlac era, has given occasion for much speculative writing by antiquaries, and it is curiously interesting to observe that, when the identification has been made, historians *overlook* the fact. Mr. Green, in his *History of the English People*, makes no attempt to identify the site. Miss Edith Thompson, in the *History of England*, issued under the editorial supervision of Mr. E. A. Freeman, says, "the site is somewhere north of the Humber." Archdeacon Churton, in his pleasing *Early English Church*, identifies the site with Brunton (on-the-Wall), Northumberland, and quotes Prof. Bosworth as agreeing with this view, both taking it to be the *Broninus urbs* of Eddy's *Life of St. Wilfrid*. Thus we may go on quoting from moderns.

Of the older writers, Sharon Turner, who, in his *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, has fully examined the subject, apparently, leans to "Brunton." Dr. Giles accepts Brumby; Ingram places the site as on the Trent; Gibson, Brunburh, or Bunbury, in Cheshire. Brinkburn, in Northumberland, is accepted by John of Hexham, and by Camden with Tymms. Still earlier, Ethelward calls the place Brunandune; Simeon of Durham, Wendune, in Northumberland; William of Malmesbury and Ingulphis de Croyland, name it Brunsford, or Brunford; Florence of Worcester accepts Brunanburh; Henry of Huntingdon gives Brunesburh; Geoffree Gaimar writes Bruneswerce, Burnswest and Brunewerche.

In the *Annales Cambriæ*, and also in the *Brut y Tywysagion*, we find *Bellum Brune*, or "The Battle of the Brune." Camden's *Britannia* specifies Brumford, near Brumridge, in Northumberland. Other places are Brunboro', in Cheshire; Banbury (Oxon); Burnham and Bourne, in Lincolnshire; Brownedge, in Lancashire; and Broomridge or Brinkburn, in Northumberland. We gather from the *Saxon Chronicle* that the events leading to the occasion of the conflict arose as follows:

After Alfred's decease, Athelstane, his "golden-haired grandson," found, in ascending the throne, that he was not seated on a "bed of roses." Scotland and Northumbria had to be subdued. Cumberland, then a subordinate kingdom attached to Scotland,

gave him trouble to incorporate with England, and Ireland became a recruiting ground for the Danes. Wales had been compelled to acknowledge Athelstane as her supreme lord.

It shows shrewd prescience in the greatest of our early kings, noting in his grandson "the future hopes of England," when he selected Athelstane as his successor, for in the latter were found the very qualities needed for governing the numerous and contentious people of these lands. One ruler after another was encountered, and that victoriously, and there was internal peace within the whole realms. Occasion for an external rupture arose under these circumstances. Sihtric, the son of Mawar, and grandson of Ragnar Lodbrog, ruled then in Northumbria, and Athelstane, in the early part of his reign, wisely allied himself with Sihtric by giving him his sister to wife.

Sihtric was tainted with the blood-loving ferocity apparently then inherent in the Danish race, and, Herod-like, had murdered his own brother. Irish history perpetuates this king's name for his piratical depredations on that "green isle." On his marriage, as often happened, and in all probability Athelstane had stipulated he should do, he was baptized. Repenting his conversion, he put away his wife, and relapsed into idolatry. Athelstane marched to punish him, but, ere he invaded Northumbria, Sihtric died. The sons of Sihtric, Anlaf and Godfrid, were driven into exile, whereupon Athelstane annexed the province to the rest of his kingdom. During the struggle Ealdred lost Bebbanburh, and Anlaf's stronghold at York was demolished. The king subsequently penetrated into Scotland, as far as the Highlands, while his fleet ravaged the coast to beyond Caithness. Anlaf fled to Dublin, where he was acknowledged chief by the Anglo-Danes there, who were very numerous in the east of Ireland; and Godfrid, after fleeing to Constantine, King of Scotland, escaped from that court and betook himself to a life of piracy on the seas. All these subjugated kings felt that, as the bundle of sticks exemplified, if they were no match singly against Athelstane they might, by confederation, prove victorious. So from the Baltic States to Holland's flats, Hibernia's bogs, Scotia's hills, and Cambria's fells, were soon moved hosts of warriors. Ireland, being near, and having skilled Danish *jarls* and sailors, accustomed to descents upon Albion's shores, became the rendezvous of the rebellious and piratical hordes. Thorolf and Egils, two eminent Vikings, sailed, with 300 men, from Flanders to join Anlaf at Dublin. This chieftain at once, in the autumn of 927, ascended the Humber with 615 ships. Gudrek and Alfgeirr, Athelstane's governors in the northern province, were overpowered. The former fell, and the latter hastened to his king with the terrible tidings of the great invasion. Like a true hero, Athelstane's courage rose with the occasion, and he prepared, without delay, nay, with all energy, to drive the invader back, and magnanimously offered—while still retaining Northumbria—to allow the invader to depart safely, providing he returned the plunder he had secured already, and became a vassal. These terms Anlaf rejected with scorn. Nevertheless, Palgrave states, he yet feared to make an attack, and, in the close of the day, disguising himself as a harper, entered the Saxon camp, but he, on retiring, was identified by a Scald, who had formerly served under him, and who, but too late for the securing of Anlaf, gave notice of the visit to Athelstane. Anlaf resolved to attack in the night. So ordering the Welsh and Danish leaders, Adalis and Hyrrgyr, to commence by an onslaught upon Athelstane's right wing, commanded by Thorolf and Alfgeirr, they marched on the Saxon camp, when a preliminary conflict began, in which the general results were unfavourable to Athelstane, who lost two of his best generals:—Werstan, Bishop of Sherbourne, and Hyrrigr; also, Adalis retreated. Anlaf set his hopes upon gaining the victory by night attacks, and for these, learning the position of Athelstane's tent, he assaulted the Saxon king, but was driven off. Athelstane now saw the mettle of his opponents, and he prepared himself accordingly. A day or two's rest ensued. Athelstane first arrayed his forces by placing his bravest troops, under Egils, in front. Thorolf led his own, being opposed to the "Wild Irish." The brave Turketul led the warriors of Mercia and Middlesex. The king himself headed his favourite West-Saxons.

Brunanburgh, which, says Phillips (*York-*

shire), saw "three nations crushed, has no fixed place, and no settled name," was the scene of the battle, which Thorolf began, and who, pressing too eagerly forward, was slain by Adalis, but was quickly avenged by Egils, who turned and slew Adalis. Then, Turketul gathered a chosen band of London citizens and Worcestershire levies, the latter under the magnanimous Singin, and with these he pierced through the ranks of Picts, Orkneymen, Cambrians, and Scots; and, after a hard contest, Constantine, the King of the Grampian Hills, was slain by Singin, whereupon panic ensued amongst the Northerns. Athelstane and his brother Edmund were hotly engaged with Anlaf, and the former in the *mêlée* had his sword broken at the hilt, but, being soon supplied with another, smote his enemies "hip and thigh." At this critical juncture, Egils and Turketul fell upon the flank of Anlaf's army, and the victory was complete. Anlaf fled. The eyes of all Europe, and the praises of all men, were now upon and given to Athelstane, who was accounted the greatest warrior of the age, and, as customary, poesy and music soon recorded his noble deeds. The effect of this, the greatest Anglo-Saxon victory, was such that, says Palgrave, the "sisters of Athelstane shared in the estimation he acquired. Otho, son of Henry, Emperor of Germany, sought the hand of one, and another married Louis, Duke of Aquaitane." Phillips says "that to St. John of Beverley, Athelstane offered the sword which he had waved at Brunanburgh;" and at "'Eamot' (river's mouth) he made peace with his humbled enemies." (See Index to Phillips's *Yorkshire.*) In Great Driffield Church, just restored, lies the eminent St. John of Beverley, where there is a fine monument and effigy over the tomb.

Brayley says "that in Bishop's Stortford Parish Church window (West) is a picture of Athelstane" (p. 117). The Salt Library at Stafford contains a charter of Athelstane's (937). (*Gentleman's Magazine*, November, 1880.)

Now, the question arises, Where is Brunanburgh? The late talented Lancashire antiquary, T. T. Wilkinson, Esq., published a paper, to which we are in this article much indebted, for *The Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society*, 1857, in which he gave, as the result of his investigations into the case, his conviction that the probable scene of the immediate battle-ground was his own native town of Burnley. We will select a few points in his identification. First, Burnley is, properly, Brunley. The river on which it stands is the Brun. The late Rev. T. D. Whitaker, who—curiously enough, neither in his *Whalley* nor *Craven*, names Brunanburgh—gives in the map of Whalley Parish the spelling as Brunley. Secondly, the whole neighbourhood, as is well known, swarms with evidences of British, Roman, Saxon, and Danish remains, etc. There is a remarkably large fortification at Castercliffe, this locality having evidently been the key of this part of Lancashire, and so would not be overlooked by the *after* invaders. There is a line of forts stretching from Colne (close by) to Manchester. At Shelfield was a large round encampment. A similar one is at Ring Stones Hill. At Broad Bank is another, overlooking the vale of Thursden (Thorsden). Another is found at Bonfire Hill, on the opposite slope. Pikelaw and Beadle Hill speak for themselves. Twist Castle was a strong square camp. Ring Stones Camp and Worsthorn are traditionally declared to contain in their tumuli the remains of Hyrrgyr and the other five kings. The Red Lees Entrenchments, High Law, Oliver Hill, Easden Fort, Thieveley Pike, Old Dyke, and Broadclough Dyke, are all significant names. Worsthorn may be "Werstan's Moor," thus perpetuating the memory of the fighting prelate. But Saxifield, *i.e.*, Saxonfield, where there are evidences of a gigantic conflict in the great numbers of human remains from time to time discovered on its slope, affords still stronger reason for identification. And in 1815, Whitaker tells, the mounds were uncovered, and, perhaps, Alric's* grave may be here. No find of coins has aroused greater interest than that at Cuerdale. Mr. Wilkinson, owing to the moneys themselves, aptly conjectures they were the treasure lost by Anlaf after his defeat. In all probability, as he made his way up the Humber, and along the basin of the Swale and the Aire (there is a road from

* This "Alric" was a king slain during the Penda conflicts earlier.

Halifax to Colne which is known as the "Danes' Way"), he crossed the Pennine, through the Gorge of Cliviger (Cleavager) *per* the Yorkshire or East Calder, into the basin of the Lancashire or West Calder, in which Burnley stands.

Along the Fylde District, "which stretches from the Wyre at Fleetwood to the Mersey at Liverpool, is a road—the Danes' Pad;" and broken vessels, with other Danish relics, have been numerously discovered within it. It may, perhaps, have been Anlaf's way to Ireland after his defeat.

Mentioning the facts recorded in Mr. Wilkinson's paper to the late Rev. R. N. Whitaker, M.A., Vicar and Rural Dean of Whalley (the son of Dr. Whitaker), he informed us that he had himself discovered Alric's grave (one of the kings). We believe that the late Rev. Canon Raines, Vicar of Milnrow, Rochdale, and the late Sir J. P. K. Shuttleworth, Bart., whose seat at Gawthorpe Hall, Padiham, lies on the site, were satisfied with the identification proposed by Alderman Wilkinson: "The transition from Brunford to Brunnley, Brunley, Brunanley, and Brunanburh is not a violent one."—(*Wilkinson.*)

Alric's grave, we understand from the late Vicar of Whalley, was in or near Ribchester, the camp of the famous Roman Tenth Legion, and from whence they could overawe the whole of Northumbria. Cliviger, Dr. Whitaker states, had not a sheep fence within it till long after the century had begun.

Lastly, Warcock Hill, close by, speaks for itself. Everyone knows that the Danes carried standards with figures or paintings of beasts, birds, etc. Ravensburgh, Ravensthorpe, and Ravenscliffe, in York, probably perpetuate the erection of the dreaded Danes' Raven standard.

W. M. BROOKS.

[A valuable note from Mr. C. Staniland Wake upon the same subject will be printed next month.—ED.]

Reviews.

East Barnet. Part I. By FREDERICK CHARLES CASS. (Westminster, 1885: Nichols). 4to, pp. 124.

THIS town has been intimately connected with the families of Butler (of Coates, co. Lincoln), Weld, Conyers, Berkeley, Morley (of Glynde, Sussex), Trevor, Ashhurst, Hadley, Alston, Woodroffe, Bourchier, Parker (co. Devon), Cotton (co. Stafford), and Cass (co. York), and it therefore possesses a history which is well worth the telling. Mr. Cass tells it well and succinctly in the handsome volume before us, and we cordially recommend it to all lovers of local topographical study. The pedigrees of the above-named families are all worked out in detail, and Mr. Cass gives a history of their connection with and residence in the parish. Besides this phase of the subject, Mr. Cass enters into the history of manorial rights and privileges in connection with East Barnet, and on this branch of the subject we could have wished some more information, and, we will add, a map or two from some of the old family papers, which no doubt Mr. Cass must have consulted for his laborious researches. Few things are more important just now than old local maps, and we would urge their reproduction in as strong terms as we can employ. It seems a little ungracious to say these apparently complaining things, but we do so in no spirit of antagonistic criticism of Mr. Cass. Probably he may intend giving these very matters his attention in Part II. of his work, and if so we would gladly welcome the news; but if we can in any way influence Mr. Cass on the subject, we shall be carrying out one of the duties which we think our position enjoins. We have read Mr. Cass's history, so far as it goes, with unalloyed pleasure, and when the book is complete we feel quite sure that our good opinion will be sustained. Mr. Cass possesses all the requisites of a local historian, unwearied powers of research, and labour and judgment in the use of his material.

The Murder of Amy Robsart; a Brief for the Prosecution. By WALTER RYE. (London, 1885: Stock.) 8vo, pp. 91.

To the many who like piquant historical disquisitions, we can thoroughly recommend Mr. Rye's clever pamphlet. He does, indeed, hold a brief for the prosecution, and, we think, shows with tolerable evidence that Good Queen Bess was as a woman little better than she ought to be; little better, in fact, than her parents or her contemporary and less clever sister-sovereign Mary of Scotland. Mr. Rye does not bring any accusation against Elizabeth which he does not support by documentary evidence, and the only question therefore which we have to ask him is, what proof does he offer of the value of his documents? Some of them he admits have been classed as forgeries by eminent critics, and some are suspicious on other grounds. But on the whole we are bound to admit

that Mr. Rye proves his case—*et après?* Dr. Lingard long ago brought forward the evidence of Elizabeth's shameless amours: we know she was not liberal to the ministers who so well governed under her; we know she was cruel, unscrupulous, and treacherous; we know that Mary's death is a lasting shame upon her memory. But she served England well. If she did descend to an intrigue with Leicester, and knew of the murder of her rival, Amy Robsart, she stopped short of marrying the murderer, and bringing herself and country into ruin and anarchy. If she had other love affairs with Hatton and Essex and Raleigh, she was queen as well as woman, and governed her country well. We are not saying Mr. Rye has not done good service in reminding us of this side of Elizabeth's character, at a time when Mr. Froude for dramatic effect has whitewashed so effectually the character of Elizabeth; on the contrary, with Mr. Rye's masterly insight into documentary history, his unwearied research, and his curious collection of proofs, showing how all interested in the death of Amy Robsart received benefit from the Queen's or from Leicester's hands, we are indebted to him for a chapter of history which is as interesting as it is valuable.

Shropshire Notes and Queries. Part I., Vol. I. (Shrewsbury Chronicle.) 4to, pp. 64.

We are very pleased to see this reprint of what has long been one of the most useful of country newspaper *Notes and Queries*. It contains among its useful items contributions upon Parish Accounts, Dialect, Deer Parks, Worthies, Rights of Shrewsbury Freemen, Constables' Presentments, Churchwardens' Presentments, Inn Signs, etc. One of the most interesting topics touched upon is that of Shrewsbury Street Names, and we hope the contributors will pay more attention to this important subject. There are certain things which only local knowledge can get at, and street names are one of these. So much history is sometimes contained in these names that local antiquaries would be doing a real service if they would find out all about them, and record their researches in their local *Notes and Queries.* We believe Mr. R. Onslow is the editor of this little journal, and we congratulate him upon his good work.

The University of Cambridge, from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 *to the Accession of Charles I.* By JAMES BASS MULLINGER, M.A. (Cambridge University Press, 1884.) 8vo.

The history of the two great English Universities is so intimately connected with the history of the country itself, that a narrative such as Mr. Mullinger has written helps us to clear up difficulties, and throws special light upon the lives of the actors in the great drama of history. Thus in the volume before us we are brought closer to such men as Burghley, Whitgift, and Parker, for we see how they acted in circumstances widely different from those which occurred at Westminster and Lambeth. The period covered by the present volume is somewhat less than 100 years, but during it the University passed a very troubled life. Mr. Mullinger has told his story with fulness, clearness, and spirit, so as firmly to hold the reader in hand during the flow of his narrative. This second volume is well worthy to stand by the side of the previous one, and higher praise could scarcely be given to it.

On an early page will be found a notice of *The Institution of a Christian Man*, that important theological treatise, the joint production of a commission which included the whole episcopacy, eight archdeacons, and seventeen doctors of divinity and civil law. Mr. Mullinger refers to this book as a valuable illustration of the spirit and theology of the school of thought predominant in the Cambridge of that day, and adds: "Cambridge, in fact, was already identified in the eyes of the nation at large with that eclectic spirit which subsequently resulted in the position taken up by the Church of England, and in this relation exercised an influence over the state policy and religious thought of the nation throughout the century to which their sister university could make no claim." The growth of Puritanism has, however, due attention paid to it in these pages.

During the period included in this volume several colleges were founded—Magdalen, in 1542; Trinity, in 1546; Caius (refounded), in 1558; Emmanuel, in 1584; and Sidney Sussex, in 1596; and full particulars of these foundations are here given.

It is impossible in the short space at our disposal to give anything like a complete account of the contents of this valuable volume, but mention must be specially made of the account of the Regius Professorships, and of the controversy respecting the pronunciation of Greek. Mr. Mullinger has entered very fully into the history of College Plays, and he devotes considerable space to an analysis of the famous *Ignoramus* of George Ruggle. Not only do the leaders of the University—the makers of its public history—pass before us in these pages, but the incidents of college life, and the condition of the students, are not overlooked.

The volume closes with a reference to the ominously black appearance of public affairs when Charles I. ascended the throne, and we shall eagerly look forward to the time when, under Mr. Mullinger's guidance, we are allowed in a future volume to enter into the consideration of the stirring incidents of this reign.

The Works of Thomas Middleton. Edited by A. H. BULLEN, B.A. In eight volumes. (London: John C. Nimmo, 1885.) Vols. I.—IV.

It may safely be affirmed that few of our great dramatists are less known to the public than Thomas Middleton, and of those to whom his name is familiar a large proportion are content to associate it with *The Witch*, on account of the supposed connection between that play and *Macbeth.* Middleton's plays were not easily to be obtained before Mr. Bullen published this very pleasant edition. That by Dyce has long been out of print, and practically unattainable. With such readable and convenient volumes as Messrs. Nimmo have produced ready to hand, the number of readers should be largely increased, and if those who take up the first volume will read Mr. Bullen's interesting introduction, they cannot help wishing to read the plays there so glowingly described.

Very little is known of the incidents of the dramatist's life. He was born about six years after Shakespeare, and died eleven years after him. It is conjectured that Middleton was born in London about the year 1570, and he is supposed to have been the Thomas Middleton who was admitted a member of Gray's Inn in 1593. His literary career appears to have commenced with the publication, in 1597, of *The Wisdom of Solomon Paraphrased.* Two years afterwards appeared his *Microcynicon, Six Snarling Satyres*, and although it is impossible to say with certainty when he began his dramatic work, there is reason for attributing his comedy *The Old Law*, which was first published in 1656, to the year 1599. The earliest reference to Middleton in Henslowe's *Diary* is an entry dated 22nd May, 1602, from which it appears that Henslowe advanced five pounds on account of a play called *Cæsar's Fall*, to be written by Middleton, Munday, Drayton, Webster, and some others not named. In this same year Middleton's *Blurt, Master-Constable* was published; and in 1602 or 1603 the author married Mary, daughter of Edward Morbeck, one of the six clerks in Chancery. His only child, Edward, was born in 1604. To judge by the publication of his plays Middleton appears to have been at the height of his popularity in 1607 and 1608. In 1613 he wrote the City Pageant for his namesake, Sir Thomas Middleton, the Lord Mayor of that year, under the title of *The Triumphs of Truth*, and he took the opportunity of sneering at the City poet, Anthony Munday. In 1617 he wrote the Pageant for Lord Mayor George Bowles, and called it *The Triumphs of Honor and Industry;* and in 1619, *The Triumphs of Love and Antiquity*, for Sir William Cokayn. He was appointed City Chronologer in 1620, and after that date produced Pageants for the following Lord Mayors: Edward Barkham (*The Sunne in Aries*, 1621); Peter Proby (*The Triumphs of Honor and Virtue*, 1622); Martin Lumley (*The Triumphs of Integrity*, 1623); and Cuthbert Hashet (*The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity*, 1626). Anthony Munday appears to have also prepared a Pageant for Martin Lumley in 1623, which has been printed (*The Triumphs of the Golden Fleece*). Middleton was living at Newington Butts in 1623, and there he died in 1627. That which Mr. Bullen calls the most curious incident in Middleton's career occurred near the end of his life.

"When the proposed Spanish marriage, which had been very unpopular with the English people, was broken off in the autumn of 1623, Middleton in *A Game of Chess* gave voice to the satisfaction of his countrymen at the failure of negotiations, and their detestation of Spanish intrigues. The play was acted with great applause in August, 1624, for nine days continuously; then a strong protest from Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, caused its withdrawal, and both author and actors were summoned to appear before the Privy Council."

The success of this play remained a stage tradition for many years, and in Davenant's *Playhouse to Let* (1663) an actor brings word to his fellows, "There's such a crowd at doors, as if we had a new play of *Gondomar.*"

The plays printed in these four volumes are: *Blurt, Master-Constable; The Phœnix; Michaelmas Term; The Mayor of Queenborough; The Old Law; A Trick to Catch the Old One; The Family of Love; Your Five Gallants; A Mad World, my Masters; The Roaring Girl; A Fair Quarrel;* and *No Wit (Help) Like a Woman's.* None of these contain Middleton's best work, but they are all excellent reading for those who wish to enter into the life of the seventeenth century, where this life only can be thoroughly seen—in the contemporary drama. The titles which the old dramatists chose for their plays were usually misleading, and Middleton forms no exception to this rule. Who would expect that the scene of *Blurt, Master-Constable* was laid in Venice; that *The Phœnix* is the son of the Duke of Ferrara; or that the *Mayor of Queenborough* refers to the times of Hengist, Vortigern, and Uther Pendragon? Much of Middleton's work was done with other authors: thus he co-operated with Decker in *The Roaring Girl;* with Rowley in *A Fair Quarrel, The Spanish Gipsy*, and *The Changeling;* with Massinger and Rowley in *The Old Law.*

These four volumes, the first half of the complete works, form admirable successors to the volumes of Marlowe already noticed in these pages. The interior and exterior of the books are alike good, and, as we said before, Mr. Bullen's Introduction is particularly interesting and valuable. An etched portrait of the author is given as a frontispiece to the first volume. Readers will look forward longingly for the four volumes which are still to come, for they will contain Middleton's finest plays, as *The Changeling, Women beware Women*, and *The Spanish Gipsy.* We may add that as 400 copies only have been printed, there is some chance that this edition may soon become as scarce as Dyce's edition.

Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

British Archæological Association.—The Forty-second Annual Congress of the British Archæological Association, held this year at Brighton, under the presidency of the Duke of Norfolk, was opened on Monday, August 17th, at the Pavilion, where, after a hearty reception by the Mayor, Mr. Alderman E. J. Reeves, Sir James A. Picton, F.S.A., delivered, in the absence of the president, the inaugural address. The address was followed by a paper by Mr. F. E. Sawyer, F.S.A., on "Old Brighton." The principal point of interest in this was that Brighton affords (according to the author of the paper) a perfect illustration of an ancient village community. The visit to St. Nicholas's Church, under the guidance of Archdeacon Hannah, drew attention to the ancient font carved in high relief with four tableaux, considerably the oldest detail of or in the church. The Brighton Museum, visited during the afternoon, is a model of its class, and contains numerous objects of local antiquity, including the celebrated amber cup

found in a Saxon grave near Hove in 1856, with a polished stone hatchet-head and other sepulchral remains. One of the principal features pointed out to the Congress party was the collection of seventeenth-century English pottery lent to the museum by Mr. Henry Willett, who described the objects, here arranged in a large and well-lighted room. Tuesday's programme was long and varied. At Chichester Museum, where the party was cordially received by the Bishop and Dean, several examples of Roman fictilia from excavations in the cathedral and its vicinity were inspected; a rough-hewn Roman sarcophagus or cist found in 1817 at Avisford Hill, near Arundel, containing a goodly number of specimens of pottery, and a fine glass cinerary bottle; and another not very dissimilar, but of better workmanship, and furnished with a lid, found at Densworth, in the parish of Funtington: this contains a fine glass vase of somewhat unusual shape, with glass cover and two ample handles of the broad ribbon form generally found upon these vessels. Mr. C. Roach Smith gave some remarks on the origin and early history of Chichester. The base of one of the bastions of the city walls had been excavated on the outer side, in obedience to the suggestion of Mr. C. Roach Smith, who stated that the results had exceeded his anticipations. A square stone base of two stages was found, supporting a circular substructure of stone roughly chamfered, on which was a course of rubble work about twelve inches thick with Roman mortar, supporting in turn the lower part of a circular bastion of greater radius than the more recently built upper part of the same bastion. A marble colossal head was seen in the grounds of the palace, which Dr. Birch thought might be that of an early unbearded emperor or of a deity, and an inscribed tablet, too much mutilated for satisfactory decipherment. It was found comparatively recently, built up into a wall. The most interesting of the details, other than architectural, in the cathedral are the two archaic *alti-rilievi*, representing the arrival of our Lord at the house of Mary and Martha, and the raising of Lazarus, probably of the late eleventh or early twelfth century, built up into the south wall of the south aisle of the choir. A visit to Boxgrove Priory Church elicited an excellent paper from Mr. C. Lynam, in which, after reviewing the present condition of the church, he gave an account of its architecture. In the evening a paper was read by Mr. E. P. L. Brock, "On the Peculiarity of the Old Churches of Sussex."

Royal Archæological Institute at Derby.—On Wednesday, July 29th, the Institute visited the beautiful church of Ashbourne, distinguished by its fine lofty spire, and known as "the Pride of the Peak." Norbury Church has a grand decorated chancel. The precise date of its erection as well as of its re-roofing in Perpendicular times is known from the Fitzherbert monuments with which the church abounds. The closely adjoining manor-house of Norbury, though looking at first sight like an ordinary brick farmhouse, is of exceptional interest. At the back of the now tenanted part is the east side of the inner court of the old manor-house. It consists of the great hall with the state-rooms above. Though much altered at later dates, it is substantially as originally erected, *temp.* Edward I.; to which time, too, may pertain parts of an old granary of the outer court. There is here also a great abundance and variety of oak panelling of the sixteenth century. Dr. Cox briefly described the more salient features of both church and manor-house. At Longford Church are excellent alabaster military effigies of no fewer than four Sir Nicholas Longfords. The opening address of the Historical Section was delivered on Wednesday evening by the Dean of Lichfield. The Dean's address was followed by a paper from Prof. E. C. Clark, "On the Romano-Greek Inscriptions of England." On Thursday, July 30th, Hardwick Hall, seven miles from Chesterfield, was first visited. It is a fine specimen of late Elizabethan architecture, and was built from the designs of the Smithsons between 1590 and 1597. A ten miles drive thence brought the party to Winfield Manor, which is the remains of a most extensive mansion erected by Ralph, Lord Cromwell, in the reign of Henry VI. It consists of two great courts, in the inner one of which are remains of considerable beauty, of the great hall, with its porch and undercroft, and of the state-rooms adjoining. On one side of this courtyard Mary Queen of Scots was for a long period imprisoned, at the time when she was in the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury. A paper on the history and plan of this fine manor-house, so pleasantly situated, was read by Dr. Cox, followed by a short paper on the architecture by Mr. Ferrey. Mr. Beresford Hope delivered his deferred opening address of the Architectural Section, under the chairmanship of Earl Percy. It was characteristic and amusing, and made rather clever fun of "Old London" at the Inventions Exhibition. Later on the same evening a paper was read by Mr. St. John Hope "On Mediæval Chalices and Patens."

[*The remainder of our report is unavoidably postponed.*]

Bucks Architectural and Archæological Society.—Aug. 25th.—The annual excursion.—On reaching Whitchurch a short departure from the main-road brought the party to the site of the extensive mansion (every vestige of which has disappeared) of the Norman family of Bolebec. The castle was erected early in the twelfth century, about A.D. 1105, and was surrounded by a moat. The place for the drawbridge is now clearly made out, and part of the moat water is now represented by a small pond near where the drawbridge was. The castle was strongly fortified, and had its "outer baileys," where the dependents of Hugh de Bolebec and his successors lived. After the De Bolebecs vanished from the scene the old castle was taken possession of by the De Veres, Earls of Oxford; and in the seventeenth century it was much knocked about by the Parliamentary cannon under one of Cromwell's leaders, the De Veres being staunch adherents of Charles I.; and it was about this time, 1642 or a year after, that a subterranean passage was discovered leading from the Castle Hill to an old house in the village. This ancient building, called "The Priory House," is said to be some 650 years old or more. The castle was partly dismantled soon after the Restoration, 1662, and it soon became a ruin. Part of the castle walls were used for building walls in the village. It is stated that the drawbridge was remembered by aged persons who were living towards the close of the last century. The remains of four or

five barrows are said to form part of the elevated ground. It was mentioned by Mr. Holloway that iron spears had been found in the vicinity, and also that there was a tradition of a religious house having existed near the castle. A quantity of the materials of this castle are reported to have been removed to Wing for the reparation of the church there. The foundations are supposed still to remain intact. A desire to see Whitchurch parish church being expressed, the company went thither. The church consists of a nave, with two aisles, a chancel, and a square, embattled tower. A short drive brought them to Creslow Manor House, an old gabled dwelling of great interest and antique beauty, and the residence of Mr. and Mrs. W. R. Rowland. The Rev. R. H. Pigott gave a short account of the house, to which he referred as one of the most interesting of the old manorial dwellings remaining in the country. The original parts of the fabric, including the crypt and tower, were said to be of the time of Edward III. Some alterations were made in the fifteenth century, of which a doorway remains; other changes, such as the plastering of ceilings, took place in the time of Charles I. The tower is built of stone, with walls six feet thick. What was now a coach-house was the old parish church, desecrated by Cornelius Holland, one of the regicides, who was responsible also for the desecration of Fleet Marston, Quarrendon, and several other churches. Time did not permit the visitors to inspect the remains of the church, but some skulls and bones which had been dug up in its vicinity were seen in a cellar in the basement of the house, called the dungeon—a gloomy structure, entered by a flight of stone steps. The roof, which is a good specimen of light Gothic vaulting, is supported by arches springing from four short columns, groined at their intersections and ornamented with carved flowers and bosses. In a chamber over the crypt is a good painted doorway, with hood-moulding following the form of an arch, and resting on two well-sculptured human heads. The tower, which some of the company ascended, passing up a narrow winding stone staircase, bears a turret, and is 43 feet high. It is not embattled, but coped with plain chamfered moulding, and ornamented with a cornice of carved heads and flowers. A long, upper room of the house, now used as the nursery, was stated to have been originally a banquet-hall, and Mr. Rowland pointed to the commencement of an ornamental moulding on the ceiling, which had been prepared on the occasion of an expected visit by Queen Elizabeth, the work being abandoned on good Queen Bess forsaking her intention. The spacious oak staircase is an important feature of the house, and it was also pointed out that by the removal of a number of knobs from the banisters space was found for the flambeaux used in illuminating the mansion. A long and pleasant drive through Granborough brought the party through the vicinity of Claydon House. Sir Harry Verney read a description of Claydon House, which had been written by Lady Verney. The house at Claydon is spoken of as having been rebuilt in the reign of Henry VII., but there had been an "ancient seat" on the spot in the days of the De la Zouches and Cantelupes, from whose descendants Sir Ralph Verney, Lord Mayor of London in 1465, and M.P. for London in 1472, acquired the property. He was a strong Yorkist, and was knighted by Edward IV. for his loyalty to the White Rose. A pencil sketch exists, of uncertain date, representing at least one phase of the old building, with gables in "corbel steps." Its lines were framed on the initial letter of the King's name, as was common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. H during the reign of the Henrys; E during that of Edward and Elizabeth; while the fashion seems to have lasted into the reign of James I. Although added to, altered, and almost transmogrified, the form of the ancient manor-house may still be traced at the core of the present building. The central, narrow part, which joins the two blocks, I=I, consisted, until five-and-thirty years ago, of two rows of rooms, back to back, so that the ends of the house could only be reached by passing through a whole suite; passages were unknown at that period of architecture, none of the walls were at right angles, the floors rose and fell again in the same room three or four inches in level—it was like walking over a ridge in a ploughed field, and a ceiling varied in height as much as six inches in a length of thirty feet. In the centre of the house a great chimney with open corners belonged to the hall kitchen, in which, when the house was repaired, a small chamber of concealment was found, in which ten men could stand. The church at Middle Claydon is "good fourteenth work." The house had been let for 100 years to the Giffards, of whom one, Sir Roger, and Mary Verney, his wife, rebuilt the chancel in 1517. There is a fine brass of them both, with thirteen little sons on one side, at his feet, and eight little daughters at hers.

Essex Archæological Society.—Aug. 11th.—Annual meeting at Colchester.—The President, Mr. G. Alan Lowndes, occupied the chair.—Mr. Henry Laver read a paper on "Roman Roads near to and radiating from Colchester." Dr. Guest, in his article on the Four Roman Ways in the *Archæological Journal*, states that a Roman boundary trench may be distinguished from a road by having a fosse on only one side. But in this district, through our gravels, it will be found that our Roman roads are formed in this manner: there is only one trench, the gravel raised in making this trench being piled up to form the agger, the Romans, like all good builders, using the material of the district, and unless this fact is borne in mind, mistakes are liable to occur. However, in our larger and more important roads they are formed in the recognised Roman manner. The top soil was first removed and the gravel was rammed down, apparently with chalk or lime on the solid substratum. No remains of pavement have been found. The scarcity of stone may account for this in more ways than one; probably it was never there, or if there its value as a building material would have caused it to be removed during the many years the roads were neglected after the Romans. For the same reason—the scarcity of stone—no remains of the mansions on the lines of our principal roads are to be found; and even the walls of the Roman villas have been removed down to the foundations, the hypocausts being broken up for the sake of the tiles. The road from London through Colchester, forming as it does part of the fifth and ninth itineraries of Antoninus, claims our first consideration, being, both during ancient and modern times, the most important highway through the county.

Instead of following the present course from Head Gate through Lexden, this road left the Decuman Gate at the top of Balkern Hill, and crossed the present turnpike road diagonally, just beyond the Hospital, on its way to the south end of the earthwork at the back of Lexden Park. In cutting the drain in Rawstorn Road in 1884, the workmen cut through considerable remains, and also in the road at the back of Mr. Brightwell's playground; but here only about nine inches in thickness of the foundation remained. In the playground of the Grammar School is a considerable depth of stones; and it was also cut through opposite the fourth house on the left in Beverley Road, and close to it, at this spot, Mr. Joslin discovered his well-known Centurial tombstone. In West Lodge Road in the same line, in 1884, the workmen came on to it in laying the water-pipes, and these are placed on its even surface. No remains have been seen between the end of the Avenue and the earthwork at the back of Lexden Park, but Miss Knight's foreman, Kettle, informs us that formerly, before the stones were removed, and the land had not been so long in cultivation, the course might be easily traced by the altered appearance of the crops directly across the fields, from the end of the present street called the Avenue, to the south end of the earthwork. Carrying out the same line from the earthwork, known as Blue Bell Grove, there are considerable remains plainly visible across the next two fields to a lane by Pretty Gate Farm. This part, which has a footpath running on the site, was levelled early in this century. Still going on in the same line it may be distinguished crossing the lane and passing beside the cottage garden opposite. It then follows the hedge across the fields to the road known as the Straight Road, Lexden Heath. A straight line drawn from this point to the Balkerne or Decuman Gate, gives the exact line on which all the remains just mentioned are to be found. [*The remainder of this valuable report is postponed till next month.*]

Kent Archæological Society.—July 29th, 30th.—The annual meeting was held at Sandwich, Deal, and Walmer, the preliminary meeting for despatch of business taking place at the Court Hall of Sandwich, Lord Northbourne presiding. The parish churches of the town, St. Mary, St. Peter, and St. Clement were visited; the excellent Norman tower of the latter and some internal work of the same period eliciting much interest. The beautiful Early English Chapel of S. Bartholomew's Hospital was inspected, and in the afternoon a special train conveyed the party to Richborough Castle, where the ruins were ably described by Mr. C. Roach Smith. Deal Castle and its grounds were by the kindness of Earl Sydney thrown open to the Society. On Thursday Walmer Castle was visited, and in the course of a pleasant excursion the following churches of architectural and historical interest were inspected: Great Mongeham, Northbourne, Betteshanger, Eastry, Knowlton, and Barfreston. The last church is a perfect gem of Norman work, and illustrations taken from it occur in all works on Gothic architecture. At Betteshanger House, the seat of Lord Northbourne, the company were courteously and most hospitably entertained by the noble owner and again by Mr. Narborough H. D'Aeth, at his interesting Jacobean Mansion, Knowlton Court. A choice heir-loom in his family is the silk shirt in which King Charles I. suffered martyrdom.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.—Aug. 26th.—The Rev. J. L. Low read "Notes on Whittonstall," giving most interesting facts about this ancient parish. Dr. Bruce read some jottings "On the Founders of the Society." Attention was drawn to the fact that the Roman inscription, "(P)etra Flavi Carantini," on the face of the stone at Fallowfield Fell, had been damaged by a person carving the name "A. L. Henderson," in similar lettering, immediately above it. It is supposed that from that quarry some of the stone was obtained for building the Roman wall.

Cambrian Archæological Association.—Aug. 24th-28th.—Under the presidency of Lord Tredegar, this Association opened its annual congress at Newport. The district round Newport has a great deal of interesting ground to the archæological visitor, and many castles, churches, and ancient British remains. For the four days appropriated to excursions a wise selection was made of these, and at the evening meeting, held at the Town hall and the museum, papers were read descriptive of the places visited and on the general subject which has brought the members together. On Tuesday morning the visitors assembled at nine, and departed by train northward, alighted at Magor Station on the Caldnop Level, lying between Newport and Chepstow. Magor Church was first looked into, and then Sudbrook Chapel and ancient camp, Mathern, finishing at Chepstow Castle, and returning thence to Newport, in time for the evening meeting. On Wednesday Caerleon, Usk, and Raglan Castles were visited, and afforded work of historical interest for a long day. On Thursday Monmouth and the romantic abbey of Tintern, in the valley of the Wye, between Monmouth and Chepstow, came under observation; and Friday the visitors went to Caerphilly Castle, in the iron and coal district, returning from Caerphilly to Bassaleg and Newport, where the Castle (or what remains of it which has not been appropriated to utilitarian purposes) was shown, and the ancient Saxon Church of St. Woollis.

Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Association.—Aug. 26th.—The Rev. Wm. Hutchinson (Vicar of Howden) said it was well known that the Bishops of Durham had very large powers conferred on them by William the Conqueror, and that they had several vills granted them in Yorkshire, one of which was Howden and Howdenshire. They might take it for granted that a hall or manor house would be built for the Bishop's reception when he visited his vills. In the twelfth century Bishop Pudsey was frequently in his vill of Howden, and he was one who endowed Roger de Hoveden with the tithes of the parish. Bishop Pudsey, after a very brilliant, but a stormy career, died in the Manor House of Hoveden, where King John frequently stayed as a guest of the Bishop, and to him he granted the privilege, in the year 1200, by charter, of holding a fair at Hoveden annually. Again, in 1260, Walter de Kirkham died here, whose body, after the process of disembowelling for its better preservation, was removed for burial to the Cathedral of Durham. His viscera were laid in the church, as testified by a beautiful marble slab still existing, and inscribed with his name. They had no further notice of the Manor House of any moment

until they came to Bishop Walter Skirlaw, a native of Holderness, to whom they were indebted for large portions of the buildings of the Manor House, which was in the form of a quadrangle, whose inner dimensions were 186 feet from east to west, and 126 feet from north to south. Bishop Skirlaw built the hall which occupied the extreme eastern portion of the south side, and was 62 feet long by 24 broad. The last addition made to the Manor House was the gateway, which formed the highest adornment to the present vicarage grounds, erected by Cardinal Longley, whose arms it bore. Few changes occurred for many years until the reign of Queen Elizabeth. To Bishop Pilkington is ascribed the inglorious task of stripping the roofs of the hall and larger structures of their lead, and breaking down the battlements for mere waste and destruction, and of thus leaving the crumbling walls to hasty wreck and desolation. Claims for dilapidations were made in 1634, but disallowed. The materials were in part used up after the demolition of the Manor House in the building, with its misleading air of quaintness, which stood near the gateway; in part these being dispersed, like the stones of the choir, in patches in several buildings of the town; in part they have been broken up for repair of roads. Notwithstanding this dispersion those scattered notices he had given would help them, he trusted, to realise in thought what for 600 years were the ups and downs of the Bishop's Manor House of Howden.

[*Our reports of the meetings of the Surrey Archæological, Bradford Historical, Leeds and Yorkshire Architectural, Berwickshire Naturalist and Penzance Natural History Societies are unavoidably postponed.*]

The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Deposition of Richard II.—In Vol. XX. of *Archæologia* is given a translation of a French metrical history of the deposition of King Richard II., written by a contemporary, and now preserved in the British Museum. One of the plates we now give a woodcut of, showing the King descending from the throne in Westminster Hall. The assembly is thus described: "First came all the prelates—archbishops and bishops. Next came the dukes, marquesses, earls, and knights, squires, varlets, and archers, with many sorts of folks who were neither noble nor gentle. . . . These had already prepared the King's seat in very fair array. . . . The prelates were seated close to the seat around it. On the other side all the lords of all degrees and conditions were seated in the fairest order I ever heard of." The narrative then goes on to say that the Archbishop of Canterbury asked the people "whether they would have the Duke of York for king; next the Duke of Aumarle (eldest son of the Duke of York); then the youngest son of the Duke of York. They replied, 'Nay, truly.' Finally the Archbishop inquired, 'Will you have the Duke of Lancaster?' They all at once replied with so loud a voice that the account I have heard appears marvellous to me, 'Yea; we will have no other.'" Mr. Wylie, in his *History of England under Henry IV.*, describing the scene from the chronicles, says the throne stood empty, dressed in cloth of gold, and then goes on to relate the dramatic action of Henry's speech to the council. The whole episode is one of great interest in English history, and the quaint illustration gives us a curious view of the throne.

DEPOSITION OF RICHARD II.

London Cries.—In Tom Brown's *Amusements, Serious and Comical, calculated for the Meridian of London*, 1779 (8th edit.), we have the following passage illustrative of this interesting subject:—"One tinker knocks, another bawls 'Have you brass pot, kettle, skellet, or a frying-pan to mend?' Whilst another . . . . yelps louder than Homer's Stentor, 'Two a groat and four for sixpence mackerell.' One draws his mouth up to his ears and howls out, 'Buy my flounders.'"

Curious Obsolete Shrovetide Custom in South Somerset.—Sixty or seventy years ago it was the practice of the young folk of both sexes to meet in or near the market-place of South Petherton, and there commence "threading the needle" through the streets, collecting numbers as they went. When this method of recruiting ceased to add to their ranks, they proceeded, still threading the needle, to the church, which they tried to encircle with joined hands; and then, whether successful or not, they returned to their respective homes. I am told by old people who remember having taken part in the game, that it always commenced in the afternoon or evening of Shrove-Tuesday, "after having eaten of their pancakes." I may add that South Petherton is a very old Saxon town, and, at the date mentioned, its Teutonic origin was sufficiently obvious in the character of its inhabitants and its dialect.—(*Communicated by* HUGH NORRIS.)

Private Libraries.—It is well to note from time to time the existence of special collections of books, and we hope our readers will send any notes thereon. In the new volume of *Hearne's Collections* (Oxford Hist. Soc.), p. 73, is the following quaint note written in 1705: "Dr. Francis Carswell, Vicar of Bray in Berks (and author of two sermons which contradict one another, being it seems resolv'd to keep up the old Proverb which had it's original from one of his predecessors, the Vicar of Bray will be the Vicar of Bray still), has a very curious study of Books, as I am inform'd by one of Exeter College a native of ye Place, who lately perus'd them and drew up a catalogue for ye Doctor. He is a very rich man, and minds nothing but pelf as his neighbours say."

Chaucer's English preserved in Ireland, temp. 1819.—The following curious account is taken from Mason's *Statistical Account of Ireland* (vol. iii., pp. 411-412): "The people of the Union of Tacumshane at this day speak the language in which the first English poet Chaucer wrote, in the middle of the fourteenth century, which the writer is warranted to state from the following circumstance. He was in a field on his farm reading Ogle's edition of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, and near to labourers who were conversing in this to him unknown tongue. It chanced that he threw his eyes toward some words, that he fancied might resemble those they were repeating, if sounded; he arrested their attention whilst he read the lines. He cannot, however, describe the surprise, pride, and pleasure which these creatures manifested in being able to understand what was in a 'book.' They were fully competent to interpret, explain, and even to translate every line and passage; and that more to his satisfaction than did Dryden or Johnson. This language was imported by their ancestors, and whether they were settlers in the fourth or fifth century, as asserted by our Irish antiquarian, Dr. Ledwick, or came over in the army with Strongbow in the twelfth century as is the opinion entertained by their descendants, it is still a matter of some surprise that they have preserved any vestige of a tongue for even the shortest of these periods six hundred years. It may be accounted for partly in this manner: they were a colony planted in this retirement, in the room of the inhabitants who were displaced, were compelled to seclusion, dared not to mix with the late and jealous occupiers, and of course could have no knowledge of the customs, manners, or language of the country. They intermarried with their own tribe, and dressed in their own manufacture, which until of late years, was confined to two colours, brown and yellow, but uniformly of only one shape or fashion. By means of increase in population, those colonists were obliged to migrate and break fresh ground, but carried with them their native tongue and habits; still, however, keeping within the barony and as near as possible to the seat of their ancestors. The Irish language is not spoken, nor even understood by any of them."

Obituary.

WILLIAM JOHN THOMS, F.S.A.

When the writer of these lines became editor of the *Antiquary*, Mr. Thoms was one of the first kind friends who wished him success, and prognosticated it would come. Although his pen was weary in his hands, and his memory was treacherous, Mr. Thoms yielded to the request for a paper from his hand, and his pleasant chatty paper on "Chap Books" in our pages was the result. He was, indeed, a friend not easily replaced, and one, too, who linked the past with the present in a way which perhaps no other man can now do. Always kind and cheerful, and, above all, "chatty," Mr. Thoms lived and died surrounded by his books and his friends.

Mr. Thoms was the son of the late Mr. N. Thoms, Secretary to the Commission of Revenue Inquiry, and was born in Westminster on the 16th Nov., 1803. He was for some time a clerk in the secretary's office at Chelsea Hospital. His first publication was a collection of early prose romances, carefully edited, in three volumes, which appeared in 1828, and was many years afterwards revised and furnished with valuable historical and bibliographical introductions. As secretary of the Camden Society he contributed to their publications some important volumes. His interest in the languages and literature of Northern Europe led him to translate and edit, with additions, the famous work on the *Primeval Antiquities of Denmark*, by his friend, the venerable Professor Worsaae, of Copenhagen, whom he has scarcely survived. He was proud of his coinage of the word "folk-lore," his contributions on the subject first appearing in the columns of the *Athenæum*. He contributed studies upon many interesting subjects—Shakspearean literature, Charles I. and his death-warrant, Queen Anne literature, Pope and his quarrels, down to Hannah

Lightfoot, Mrs. Serres, and Mrs. Ryves's *Appeal for Royalty.* He was also the secretary of the long-extinct Ælfric Society. He was transferred from other official duties to the congenial post of Deputy-Librarian of the House of Lords in 1863.

The following paragraph from the *Daily News* is so true to life that we do not hesitate to transfer it to our pages:

"It is now some four years since the spare, slight, semi-clerical figure in the white cravat so familiar to the peers disappeared from its long-accustomed place among the sumptuously-bound folios, quartos, and octavos of the Library of the House of Lords. At last the weight of years had begun to tell upon the deputy-librarian. The hitherto never-failing memory and wide reading, which so many a time had enabled him to render a ready help to orators in search of a fact or an apt quotation, served him no longer, or served him not so well; the well-bred jest, the quiet chuckle, the merry twinkle of the eye, never in better play than when Conservative prospects were supposed to be brightening, had grown fainter and lost something of their old heartiness and fire. There was nothing left but to retire, to sit among the old books in the house in St. George's Square, and there quietly and contentedly await the end, which friends, who knew how true it is that men are creatures of habit, sorrowfully predicted would not long delay to follow upon the breaking off of the old daily journey in session to and fro between Pimlico and Palace Yard. A curious library indeed it was, or rather is, and far other than that sumptuous collection so long under his official care. Almost from his youth upwards Mr. Thoms had been a constant haunter of bookstalls. He began before the great American demand, which takes so exorbitant a share of our old editions of old authors across the Atlantic. 'Tall Copies' and *Editiones Principes* of the Greek and Latin classics were in those days the objects of fierce competition; but old English books were still to be had for reasonable prices, and old pamphlets and out-of-the-way publications regarding distinguished, eccentric, or notorious personages, or bearing upon literary frauds and impostures, or mysterious questions of authorship; biographies and tracts about the drama and the stage, and numberless other things which now occupy the minds of collectors, were as yet little prized, save by here and there a busy historical inquirer like Macaulay, whom Mr. Thoms was wont to meet in many a dusty repository of such unconsidered trifles. Thus had the house in St. George's Square become filled above and below with books, shabby enough many of them in external aspect, yet such as would delight the heart of the typical contributor to his little quarto weekly paper, so familiar to the learned. At last, defying all classification, and outrunning all possibility of shelf-accommodation, they rose in lofty piles from ground almost to ceiling, where none but the owner would have had the least chance of finding any cherished literary treasure."

Of Mr. Thoms' connection with the Folk-Lore Society it is perhaps needless to speak—he was the founder of it, together with Mr. Solly, Mr. Coote, and Mr. Ralston; and if it, and the science it teaches, flourish now, it is mainly due to Mr. Thoms.

Antiquarian News.

We have reason to believe that at an early meeting of the Executive Committee entrusted with the Peterborough Cathedral Restoration, the question will be discussed as to the desirability of restoring the gorgeous illumination of the figures on the ceiling of the Lantern Tower as far as it can be traced beneath the paint and whitewash. The carved figures on being taken down were immediately locked up to prevent damage, but have now been removed for inspection and repair. They are in a remarkably fine state of preservation. In the centre of the ceiling is a handsome boss about three feet across, representing our Lord in the midst of clouds with a nimbus; in His left hand is a globe, and His right is upraised, apparently in the act of blessing. Around are the four Evangelists. Next are a host of figures, and at the extreme edges are groups of angels. The carvings are possibly of Edward II. time, and are perfect works of art. The original colours can in places be seen.

The *Magdeburger Zeitung* is anxious that advantage should be taken of the present "restoration" of the famous Schloss-Kirche at Wittenberg to settle the disputed question concerning Luther's grave. According to the widely received legend, which is illustrated by Teich's noble picture in the church, Duke Alva, at the capitulation of Wittenberg in 1547, desecrated the tomb of the reformer. When the Emperor Charles V., after the capitulation, visited Luther's grave, Alva petitioned the monarch to allow him to have Luther's corpse dug up, burned, and the ashes thrown into the Elbe. It was then that the Emperor made his memorable reply, "I do not wage war with the dead, but with the living." It is now questioned whether the famous speech has any historical veracity, for it is not recorded by either of the contemporaries who would have been most likely to record it had they known of it, Luther's best friend, Bergenhagen, or the conscientious chronicler, Menz. But the legend has been further developed by the assertion that Alva, in spite of the Emperor's prohibition, ordered the corpse of the detested heresiarch to be dug up. There is now an opportunity, such as will not occur again, to examine the grave, and settle the question for all time whether the body of Luther was infamously "translated."

A tradesman's token of Kingston, in fine preservation, has been discovered; and specimens of the local coinage issued during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are scarce. The token was found in the upper (northern) portion of the Fairfield, now under cultivation, and was at once handed over to Mr. W. Chapman, of Fairfield Road. The token is of brass, bearing on the obverse the figure of a chandler, in the act of dipping candles in a cauldron of liquid fat before him. The inscription reads (obv.), "George Woodman at (rev.) Kingsto-in-Thames. G.W.R."

The interior of the upper floor and the front of the Falcon Cocoa House, Lower Bridge Street, Chester, are now being improved at the expense of the Duke of Westminster. The *Chester Chronicle* says that, in examining the front room upstairs, and in pulling off

the plaster for the purpose of restoring the front, the original window was brought to light. It is, in fact, one long mullion and transom window, running from one end of the building to the other, and, in fact, extending round the corner of the building which faces towards St. Michael's. Further than that, the original ornamental woodwork, which is interposed between the sill of the window and the beam which makes the floor level, has been exposed by the removal of the plaster. It is decidedly exceptional in character, inasmuch as the design—a trefoil in the centre of each space—is of plaster, while the remainder of the space is filled in with solid oak. Reverting to the window, we may say that it is almost unique, the only other example of this kind of long window—probably seventeenth-century work—is to be seen in the Bear and Billett, lower down in the same street.

Excavations at the back of Mr. Edmond's wine and spirit warehouse, Market Place, have brought to light some more remains of monastic times in Peterborough. At the depth of six feet from the surface in Mr. Edmond's yard, the workmen came upon a portion of a stone apartment, which is surmised to have been the lower part of what were known as the King's Lodgings, or lodgings provided by the King for travellers to the shrines in the Monastery. No floor was discovered, but amongst the earth inside were found some old earthenware jars, highly glazed, with brilliant ornamentations, three curious bottles, and an ivory Maltese cross. The cross had a hole through the centre, and leads to the very probable surmise that it belonged to an ancient Rosary. One of the pots had evidently been used for paint, for in the interior was a chalk-like substance, in the centre of which were evident traces of congealed turpentine. Little is known of the actual boundaries of the original monastic buildings, and the present discovery is an assistance in confirming a suggested limit, which had been received with some doubt. The whole of the articles are now in the possession of Mr. Robinson, on the premises. An interesting tradesman's token, possibly from Chichester, was also unearthed, and is in the hands of Mr. Irvine, of the Cathedral works.

The Lord Bishop of St. David's opened Henry's Mote Church, Pembrokeshire, after restoration. The old Norman front and credence-table have been cleaned and refixed.

In the ancient parish church of St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside, in conformity with bequests left for the purpose by a Mr. Chapman and other citizens of London nearly three centuries ago, a short service was held, on August 12th last, in commemoration of the "defeat of the Spanish Armada and the happy and merciful deliverance of the realm and people of England from civil and religious thraldom."

The skeletons of two full-grown male persons discovered at Welbeck Abbey, the Duke of Portland's Nottinghamshire seat, are supposed to be the remains of persons connected with the old abbey before the present mansion was erected, and they must have been buried for several hundreds of years.

The excavations at the Queen's Bath at Bath, mentioned in our last issue, have brought to light the hall containing this bath, 40 feet long by about 35 feet wide, with pilasters attached; the arched roof that covered this hall formed of Tuga, apparently the same as that now from Derbyshire, with very wide joints of the usual red mortar, and plastered on the underside with the same mortar. The bath is very nearly circular, about 29 feet from east to west, and about the same from the top steps on the south to the upper steps on the north side. A step goes all round just above the bottom of the bath, which slightly exceeds 5 feet in depth. Some handsomely formed steps are in the centre of the north side, and projecting into the bath is a flight of steps on the south-west end, and another on the south-east; these steps break into the upper curve. The sides of the bath are formed either of brick concrete alone, or a thick layer on a stone backing, the whole being faced with a material so hard as almost to turn the edge of the tools. The bottom is of concrete faced with tiles, to which portions of lead coating still adhere. A great part of the flooring, walls and steps, are curiously covered with iron pyrites that gives almost the appearance of a plating of silver.

The movement to restore and preserve the Queen Eleanor Cross at Waltham, and to improve its environment, is making progress. Erected about 1291 or 1292, the cross had fallen into a sad state of ruin even at the beginning of the present century, but it is believed that this result has been brought about less by the encroachments of time and the decay of the stone, which is of excellent quality, than by wilful injury. A somewhat extensive restoration of the cross was effected in 1833, involving the reconstruction of the two upper stages, but the work, unhappily, was carried out without a becoming respect for the original. In a report upon the monument drawn up by Mr. C. W. Pointing, architect and diocesan surveyor for Wilts, it is stated that several pieces of the cornice of the lower stage, and one complete side of the upper stage, as well as several terminals, had been built into the wall of the adjacent house, and are on the whole in a good state of preservation. There are also, it is said, other fragments of the old stone in other parts of the town, and Mr. Pointing adds that doubtless a diligent search would discover a great deal that is capable of being replaced. Quite recently an interesting discovery has been made, by the unearthing of what there is every reason to believe to be the original cross which crowned the monument, and which, legend says, was broken down by Oliver Cromwell.

A most interesting archæological exhibition has been held in London, of some of the antiquarian treasures lately exhumed from Nekratis, the ancient Liverpool of the Mediterranean, which was founded by Milesian colonists, and became both the cradle of Greek art and the "central mart of all the seafaring trades" in that part of the world. It is a far cry from to-day to the reign of the second Ptolemy, but in the Nekratis manufactories artizans were then perfecting the fish-hooks, the bodkins, the amphoræ, and the white Faïence pottery which the curious Cockney may go and study in London to-day.

When excavating at the foundation of the adjoining premises to Mr. Scott, grocer, Culver Street, Colchester, the workmen found a small copper vessel, much corroded, evidently of great antiquity, and

thought to be Roman. The base of the vessel is deeply indented with a series of concentric grooves.

Another important find has been made on Pitreavie Estate, near Dunfermline, where recently an ancient cemetery was discovered. The latest find was in a large mound near Calais Muir, and consisted of a stone cist lying north and south. Inside was a beautiful urn, measuring 5 inches high and six inches wide at the mouth. Further excavations were made, and other seven urns were found. They are all of the cinerary type, and contained calcined human bones.

One of the Honorary Canons of Canterbury Cathedral has received the following letter from a gentleman at the Papal Court: "I have been intending to write to you for some time to tell you that I have at length discovered the Canterbury stone (sought for at Rome by Dean Stanley), of which you were good enough to send me the measurement. I found it, with a number of relics, in the sacristy of a church at Siena on my way here (Lucerne) from Rome a month ago. The stone itself is of a brownish colour, and only 1⅓ of an inch square; probably a portion may have been once cut off and taken away as a relic. On the edge is the incised inscription, of which I send you a rubbing, and I shall be glad if you can throw any light upon what it refers to. There is a small hole in the stone, through which is drawn a bit of narrow parchment, and in it is the following writing, which the archivist of the State papers at Siena had some difficulty in deciphering, but which he pronounced to be in characters of the twelfth century—'De lapide super quem sanguis beati Thomæ Cantuariensis effusus est.' ('From the stone on which was shed the blood of the blessed Thomas of Canterbury.') Not being an antiquary I was unable to decipher the incised inscription." "J. O. W.," writing from Magdalen College, Oxford, with reference to the above alleged discovery, says: "The small piece of stone, described as 'the Canterbury stone sought for at Rome by Dean Stanley,' and found in the sacristy of a church at Siena, proves to be a medicine stamp, the letters inscribed on the four narrow edges of the stone being inscribed backwards, so as to be legible only when reversed, either by pressure upon a waxen or other soft surface, or by having the incised letters filled with ink and printed off upon paper."

The Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund have recently received a contribution to the geography of Eastern Palestine. It is a survey covering 200 square miles of the country lying east of the Sea of Galilee, executed by Herr C. Schumacher. It is accompanied by a memoir, and is enriched with drawings, plans, and photographs of the ruins. The most important Biblical discovery is the identification of the ancient site of Golan. A new identification, less probable, is also proposed for Argob. In one place is a vast field containing hundreds of dolmens, some of which are sketched. For the first time, the curious subterranean city Dera has been partly planned. A few inscriptions were found and a few coins collected.

The parish church of South Wingfield, after being closed several months for the purpose of renovation, has been reopened. The church is one of the oldest in the county of Derby, dating back to the time of Henry II. It was restored and enlarged by Ralph, Lord Cromwell, in the reign of Henry VI., soon after he (Cromwell) obtained possession of Wingfield Manor. It was rebuilt at the commencement of the present century.

Correspondence.

MR. FREEMAN'S ACCURACY.

[*Ante* pp. 49, 135.]

What, if any, are Mr. Poole's qualifications for dealing with the period of the Norman Conquest, or pronouncing an opinion on Mr. Freeman's work, his writings, I regret to say, do not enable us to determine. If we may judge from his assertion that Professor Freeman "is one of the two or three foremost historical scholars in England," it is evident that, at least on the Norman period, he has yet much to learn. Mr. Poole, we gather, is not one of those of whom Mr. Lang has lately observed in his delightful *Letters to Eminent Authors*, that they "shun the appearance of seeking the favour of the famous, and would not willingly be regarded as one of the many parasites who now advertise each movement and action of contemporary genius." To quote Mr. Poole's own expression, his "random irresponsible" opinion on the merits of Mr. Freeman's work may prove profoundly gratifying to the Regius Professor himself; but it is scarcely of interest to the general public: it does not bear upon the question at issue; and it is not of the smallest importance to anyone but the Professor and himself. If, instead of taking his history, cut and dried, from Professor Freeman, Mr. Poole will, even to a limited extent, test that history by original research, he will learn (I speak from my own experience) that neither "bursts of admiration" nor "the daubing of flatterers"—I borrow these graceful expressions from the Regius Professor himself—can secure for the author of *The Norman Conquest* the place which Mr. Poole assigns him among the "historical scholars of England."

I have, however, to thank Mr. Poole for calling attention, as he does, to the fact that Mr. Freeman himself has pleaded guilty to the singular tissue of errors which formed the subject of my paper. Mr. Freeman, we learn, has tacitly admitted that at the height of his reputation, and in his greatest work, he produced an account of the Attack on Dover, as the result of "minute study," which he has since been forced totally to recant, as resting solely on his own failure to understand his own authorities. And if, as was the case, this story was not inserted by mere oversight, but originated wholly with Mr. Freeman himself, and was elaborated by "minute study," one is led to wonder how he came to see what he failed so signally at the time to discover, unless he possessed some "candid friend" less credulous than his present champion.

The explanation of Mr. Poole's "vehement" wrath would appear to be the fact that he is forced himself

to bear witness to the truth of my charges, and that the very worst he can say of them is that they came too late, Mr. Freeman's singular errors having been already corrected.

Ex pede Herculem. I cannot regret, as the case stands, that I have drawn attention to "The Attack on Dover," and the results of Mr. Freeman's "minute study." For I need hardly observe that if the Regius Professor could blunder so strangely as he there did, by his own and Mr. Poole's admission, "what errors may not be found," in Mr. Vincent's words,* "in the five volumes of *The Norman Conquest*," especially in those passages which are not, as this, the result of "minute study"? *Pace* the Professor's indignant champion, I have given a "specimen," a suggestive "specimen," of Mr. Freeman's historical scholarship, and, what is more, of his *modus operandi.*

But I hasten to add that as a matter, not of right, but of courtesy, I should of course have selected another specimen had I known that these errors were already corrected. To those conversant with the puzzling system on which the several volumes of *The Norman Conquest* are from time to time more or less re-edited, it will not be strange that I should only be acquainted with my own edition of the fourth volume, which is also the one upon the shelves of the British Museum Library. Mr. Poole's contention comes to this: that historical students should be always buying fresh editions of Mr. Freeman's work—a doctrine to which their author would scarcely object—in order to ascertain how many of his errors are corrected in each successive issue, and, I fear we must add, how many fresh ones are introduced to take their place. For in the other matter, on which Mr. Poole is now rushing forward to fight, the passages to which I take exception do not appear in the earlier editions, but have been introduced by Mr. Freeman subsequently, in later issues of his works. Will Mr. Poole, with equal "vehemence," there denounce it as an "amazing anachronism" to turn to any but those early editions, which he would here so gladly ignore?

"Of making of books there is no end," still less when each book becomes a very hydra of editions. My own "revelations," at the prospect of which Mr. Poole is so vehemently indignant, will render needful at least one more edition, I may inform him, of the Professor's works, embodying the grave corrections I shall find it necessary to make. Whether Mr. Freeman is fortunate in his champion, I must leave it to others to decide. For myself, I am determined that the truth shall be known, and a mischievous superstition exposed; in so doing, I may remind my critic I am acting in the interest of the public at large, and (*experto crede*) against my own.

The shield of Ajax may again be raised, and reveal a would-be Teucer twanging his tiny bow. But of this Mr. Poole may rest assured: he cannot avert the result of my labours—a result which will leave him a sadder, but, let us hope, a wiser man.

J. H. Round.

Brighton.

* *Genealogist* (July, 1885), ii., 179.

MAIDEN LANE.

[*Ante*, pp. 68, 134.]

I am extremely glad that Mr. Foster has raised this question. I have spent much time in collecting and examining "Maiden" place-names in the hope of arriving at Mr. Foster's conclusion, but had to give it up in despair, understanding that Professor Rhys could throw no light on the prefix "Mai—," which Mr. Foster admits to be obscure. It is certain that this word, which occurs all over the country (I may add to Mr. Foster's instances that of "Maidens Castle"—*castrum puellarum*—the early name of Edinburgh) has some distinct meaning, and is of exceedingly early origin. If Mr. Foster can succeed in establishing its true meaning, beyond dispute, he will have rendered valuable service to the study of topography and place-names.

J. H. Round.

Colchester.

PLAYDEN CHURCH, SUSSEX.

[*Ante* vol. xi., p. 279.]

I have delayed replying to Mr. Thomas Elliott's communication printed in your June number, hoping that Mr. Tyssen, or some one else better qualified than myself, would do so.

It is quite superfluous to point out to readers of the *Antiquary* that Arabic numerals were not in use in England until at least four centuries after the Domesday Survey. The earliest instance of the use of them *on a bell* that I have found is 1505.

The initials R. K., G. F. at Playden are doubtless those of the then churchwardens. It was not until the time of Queen Elizabeth that these officials began to hand down their names or initials to posterity by inscribing them on bells—bell-frames, etc. We may then, I think, fairly conclude that the date *may* be 1586, and cannot be an earlier one. It is, however, by no means certain that it is not 1786, the 1 having disappeared from wear, and the figure which Mr. Elliott takes for 1 being really a badly cut 7. If the parish accounts are in existence they may very possibly determine the question.

As regards curious belfry-ladders, the most curious one I have seen is at Elstead in Surrey. It consists of the solid trunk of an oak-tree, placed at an angle of about 45°, the steps being simply sawn out of the upper side, and every other part left quite in the rough.

J. C. L. Stahlschmidt.

Fontenoy Road, Balham, 26th August, 1885.

NUMISMATIC QUERY.

In the Subsidy Act of 1512 (Stat. 4. Hen. VIII., c. 19), provision is made (s. 14) that the collectors shall "take and nott refuse in payment of and for the seid subsidie all manner of pennys beyng Silver, havynge the prente of the Coigne of this realme, nott regardyng the quantitie, greatnesse, or smalnes of the same penyes, Excepte onely peynes [sic] beryng lyke dyverse Rowles of Spurres betwyxte the barres of

the crosse. And those penyes to be taken and have course oonlye for halpens." Can any of your readers say of what reign or reigns these depreciated coins were, and whether anything is known as to the reason of the refusal to accept them for their face value? If some one could supply in addition a cut of one of these pennys it would be interesting, as the description above is a little vague. Q. V.

RALPH ALLEN.

In reference to his current article on Ralph Allen in the *Antiquary*, Mr. R. E. Peach may like to know —if he is not already aware—that there is a good portrait of him, by Hudson, at the Devon and Exeter Hospital, Exeter, of which I could send him further details.

ROBERT DYMOND, F.S.A.
1, St. Leonard Road, Exeter.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME LONDON.

I venture to think the enclosed notes from the pen of the well-known philologist, the Rev. W. Barnes, B.D., may be of interest to readers of the *Antiquary*.

May I be permitted to add that in the manuscripts of the Ravenna list preserved in the National Library, Paris, and in the Vatican, there are the following variations, viz.: in the French MSS. the name is written "Landinis"; in that of the Vatican "Lindinus." The latter form corresponds so closely with Mr. Barnes's derivation as to deserve notice.

By "the high ground further back from the river," of which Mr. Barnes speaks as being in my humble opinion probably the site of the earliest settlement, I mean the low bluffs of which Dowgate was the eastern boundary.

J. J. FOSTER.

Came Rectory, Dorchester,
7th Sept.

DEAR MR. FOSTER,

As to the name of London, of which I spoke to you when I had the pleasure of seeing you here, there is in the cosmography of the anonymous writer of Ravenna, between Dorchester and Truro, a Roman station called "Londinis." Casting off the ending "is," which was put on for the sake of declension, we have Londin: in which form I believe that I found the British "Llyndain," meaning the "Broadpool," and by the turning of it into Saxon it comes out "Bradpol," meaning "Broadpool," the name of a parish in or by which Bridport was built, and I concluded that there was the station.

But where was the "Broadpool"? A friend of mine, Mr. Thomas Colfox, of Bridport, wrote to me that when a digging was made for the railway by Bradpole, it was cut through what had been a broad pool, which had been filled up, in the run of hundreds of years, by drift washed down from the high ground by the stream Asker.

In "Llyndain," "Llyn" is pronounced as "Lon" in London; the "da" in "dain" like "da" in "dab," and "in" as "in." As to the name London, I hold (in Latin, "Londinis") that it is also "Llyndain," the "Broadpool." But what pool? Why, that broad share of the Thames still called "The Pool," and thence the name of the Middlesex "Bradpole," namely, London.

There is an ancient tradition that London was first called "Trinobantum," and we know that the Middlesex folk were called "Trinobantes." This is to me pretty clearly true. "Trinobant" was, as I read it, the British "Treyn y bant," or shortened in a common Welsh way, "Tren y bant," the village on the high ground, whether Tower Hill, or the high ground, as you think, further back from the river. The article "y" before "bant" is pronounced as the French "e" in the word "le."

The Welsh now write for London, "Llundain." When the Trinobantes began to build a suburb down by "The Pool," they could not call it "Tren y bant" because it was not on the high ground, "Yn y bant"; therefore they called "Llundain" "The Broadpool."

W. BARNES.

"DON."

Can any readers of the *Antiquary* explain the meaning of the Spanish word "Don"? It seems to be applied to persons of several grades, from the King—Don Alphonso—down to the lower grades of nobility. Is it a title, or has it any meaning in a titular point of view? and what title or word would it be equivalent to in other countries? A. C.

PRESERVATION OF ANCIENT BUILDINGS.

Cannot something be done before the Election by antiquaries to urge on candidates for Parliament the need of more stringent and effective laws for the preservation of ancient buildings and antiquities generally? It seems to me that neither Conservatives nor Liberals ought to object to such law. Conservatives, if true to their name, ought to wish to conserve ancient things; Liberals, who desire progress and culture, ought surely not to be so enamoured with rights of landowners as to wish them to retain the power to injure society by destroying ancient monuments on their estates. Sir J. Lubbock's Bill was a step in the right direction; but we want more stringent measures. I am sure if the antiquaries of England, who, unobtrusive though they may be, have some influence in the nation, were one and all to demand promises from candidates on this point, we should secure our antiquities to posterity.

W. S. LACH-SZYRMA.

Notices to Correspondents.

(*We cannot undertake to return MSS. unless accompanied by stamped directed envelopes*).

SAVAGE (R.)—We are sorry we cannot assist you in the subject about which you inquire. Shall we print your query?

WAKE (C. S.)—We deeply regret not having been able to insert your paper. It will be inserted next issue.

MR. PEACH'S second paper on Ralph Allen is deferred for next month.

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Enclose 4d. for the First 12 Words, and 1d. for each Additional Three Words. All replies to a number should be enclosed in a blank envelope, with a loose Stamp, and sent to the Manager.

NOTE.—*All Advertisements to reach the office by the 15th of the month, and to be addressed*—The Manager, EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT, THE ANTIQUARY OFFICE, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

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Some very fine old Mourning and curious Gold and Silver Rings for sale.—282, care of Manager.

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Choice Illustrated Works at low prices for cash. Gray's Elegy (Lippincott, 1883), 4to, artist's edition, India proofs, copy No. 131; 500 only printed, of which 100 only were issued for sale in England. £3 3*s.* *nett.* Gray's Elegy (Elliot Stock, 1884), small 4to, *large paper*, 50 copies only printed. Very scarce. £1 5*s.* *nett.* Hamilton Palace Collection. Priced Illustrated Sale Catalogue. 4to, cloth. Published at £2 2*s.*; *uncut*, £1 *nett.* English Etchings (Reeves). Parts 1 to 12. Good impressions. Clean and new. £1 15*s.* *nett.*—Apply by letter only to J. Cleare, Clapton Pavement, Lower Clapton, London, E.

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Ejected Minister's Farewell Sermons, 1663, 12*s.* 6*d.* Ayscough's Lyttleton, 6*s.* Doddridge's Hymns, by Job Orton. 1st edition, 1755, 10*s.* 6*d.* Foxe's Acts and Monuments, 1838, 10*s.* Watson's Biblical Dictionary, 1833, 6*s.* Bayly's Wall Flower, 1650, 15*s.*—T. Forster, Rawstorn Road, Colchester.

First 6 volumes *Antiquary*, 4 unbound. Bound folio of 30 facsimiles, 11 of which copied and coloured by Dr. Adam Clarke, with autograph letter of presentation; only one other set of these in existence. 35 County maps of England, date 1608. London Directory, 1802, etc.—Particulars from Geo. C. Newstead, Aughton, near Ormskirk.

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Carl Werner's Views in the Holy Land, a good copy wanted, and a fair price offered.—Reports by *Letter* only to M. W., care of Manager.

Rambles in the Isle of Sheppey, by Henry T. A. Turmine (native Minister), with historical notes by Jas. Bennett, 1843, pp. 91. The Benefactor. The Congregational Economist.—119, care of Manager.

Will any gentleman possessing old letters bearing the stamps of any countries not European, the older the better, and willing to part with them, kindly communicate with Edward Hawkins, Esq., Beyton, Suffolk?

Wanted, Ancient Almanacs antedating 1800. Address, stating price, to 280, care of Manager.

Folk Lore Record, vols. 1, 2, 4, 5, and parts 1 and 2 of vol. 3; The Poets' Harvest Home, being one hundred short poems by William Bell Scott, Elliot Stock, 1882.—W. E. Morden, Lower Tooting, S.W.

Shipley's Views in the South Pacific; MacLean Haynes' Monumental Brasses; Mercer's Narrative of the Battle of Waterloo (a good copy); Hales' Essays on Tithes,—M., care of Manager.

The Gentleman's Magazine, vols. for 1847, 1849, part 2; 1855, 1856, part 1.—W. E. Morden, Lower Tooting, S.W.

East Kent Poll Book for the General Election in July, 1852, published by Whittaker and Co., London.—191, care of Manager.

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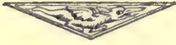
Wanted to purchase, Masson's Milton. Large paper edition, published by Macmillan.—100, care of Manager.

Life of Ebenezer Elliott, the Corn Law Rhymer, born 1789, died 1849.—100, care of Manager.

The Antiquary.



NOVEMBER, 1885.

Extracts from Diaries of Early Travel.

I.—The Japanese amongst the Jesuits.

IN the year 1582 the Jesuits, who had for years carried on mission-work in Japan, induced three kings to send an embassy to Europe to present their allegiance to the Holy See. A Jesuit Father was always in attendance on the four Japanese who were chosen for this mission, and from his diary, written at considerable length, the following experiences are taken.

On the 20th of February the ambassadors left Japan on a Portuguese trading-ship; they had to tarry nine months at the Portuguese settlement of Macao, awaiting a ship to take them to India, which time they employed in the study of Latin, and in writing in European characters. Many months' delay was caused by contrary winds, but they passed a pleasant time at Goa, where the Portuguese viceroy, Don Francesco Mascaregna, received them with every honour, placing gold chains, with relics attached, round their necks. They had to return from India to Cochin, the then centre of Portuguese trade, on purpose to catch a fleet of five vessels freighted with spices, which was bound for Europe; and not till the 20th of February, 1584, the second anniversary of their departure from Japan, were the travellers able to start definitely for Europe. On the 10th of April they rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and in doing so encountered a fearful gale; and then we have an account of the grand festivities held after this danger was passed, and of the presents which everybody on board gave to the pilot.

St. Helena was their next halting-place. "An island," says the diary, "placed by Divine Providence in mid-ocean for the benefit of mariners, abounding in figs, oranges, lemons, and, above all, in fresh water. The first who made this place so convenient was a Portuguese soldier, in the year 1512, who, on returning from India, elected to stay there in solitude by way of penance for his sins. He took a vast quantity of goats, hens, and such animals, also seeds of herbs; and owing to the fertility of the country these things multiplied rapidly. After this man died, the King of Portugal prohibited anyone to dwell there, and ordered that all these provisions should be free for the ships, which wait for one another here, in order that they may make the rest of their voyage together, for fear of the corsairs, which are waiting to rob them."

At St. Helena the Japanese fished and hunted a great deal, besides attending Mass every day in a little chapel erected for the purpose.

The ships landed the Japanese at Lisbon on the 10th of August, 1584, "having accomplished the voyage from Japan to Europe," says the diary, "in the surprising short time of two years and a half." Here the Jesuit Fathers immediately took possession of them, and conveyed them to the Convent of San Rocco, where sumptuous apartments had been prepared; and they stayed twenty days there to rest after their long voyage, and to visit the sights of the place. The governor of the kingdom, Cardinal d'Austria, received them kindly, gave them handsome presents, and received in return from the Japanese a cup of rhinoceros horn, mounted in silver. On the 5th of September they set off again in a carriage belonging to Don Teotino di Braganza, Archbishop of Evoca, who wished to entertain them at his own house at Evoca; but, says the diary, "according to their custom they went to the house of the Company of Jesus," and were only permitted to dine with the archbishop one day after attending a great ceremony in the church. "The archbishop's table was well spread, and lovely music played the while; but what interested them most was a table set out near them, at which the

archbishop entertained twelve poor beggars, waiting upon them himself, and expounding the Scriptures during the meal, after which he washed their feet, and sent them away with his blessing, to the great admiration of the Japanese."

At Villa Vitiosa the Duke of Braganza received them most cordially; he got up a wild-boar hunt for their special edification, and his wife covertly took a pattern of their dress, and made a suit for her second son, Don Duarte, who appeared in it, to the great astonishment of the strangers. Their progress to Madrid was one scene of festivities; relics were exposed for them, special masses were sung in every church, and crowds came forth to gaze on these first representatives of their race who had appeared in Europe.

The 12th of November was the day appointed for a solemn interview with King Philip II. "They wore their white silk robes, all woven with various colours, and figures of birds, flowers, and leaves scattered thereover. This was a long flowing robe, open in front, and with sleeves only reaching to the elbow, while the rest of the arm was bare; their scimitars were inlaid with precious stones, and their whole appearance created such a profound impression on the Spaniards present, that scarce a breath was heard as they passed on to the royal palace. So intent were the bystanders in gazing, that they generally drove about in a closed coach to escape observation."

On this occasion the royal guard had much to do to check the crowd; they passed through twelve rooms before reaching the king's reception-room, where they handed to his Majesty letters from the sovereigns, kissed his hand, gave him a present, and were received most graciously—"so graciously," says the diary, "that all the countries expressed great surprise at the unwonted affability of the taciturn king." Afterwards the king led them to his private chapel, where vespers were sung by two of the best choirs of Madrid; the Japanese sat on seats close to the high altar, and the chapel was crowded with nobility. It was night before they reached home, and the Jesuits illuminated their church with torches to receive them after so much honour had been paid to them by the king.

Much is told us of their admiration on visiting the Escurial, the royal armoury, and treasury, and a "detailed account is given of their further travels through Spain; how at Alcala the Rector of the University prepared for them a theological dispute between two learned divines; during the wrangling the Japanese sat and listened attentively, but the writer of the diary doubts if they understood much of what was going on. When the dispute was over the Master of the Ceremonies gave the Japanese a pair of gloves on a silver basin, as it was the custom to do when the king attended like discussions. At Origuela the citizens celebrated a game or tournament by torchlight beneath their windows, to the great delectation of the strangers; and passing through numerous towns, where they were received in similar fashion, they reached Alicante, from whence they sailed for Italy, reaching Leghorn on the 1st of March, 1585, having narrowly escaped from corsairs, which the Bey of Algiers had sent out expressly to capture them.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany sent two coaches, and an English gentleman who was at his court at the time, to fetch them to Pisa, where he was then residing. Their first visit was to the cathedral, where they went to return thanks for their safety; and in the evening they were conducted by torch-bearers to the ducal palace, where they were warmly received, and invited to spend the Carnival week, when every kind of sport was arranged for them in the duke's hunting-grounds.

On Ash Wednesday morning the more serious duties of their religious mission began. They sat by the ducal throne in the Church of St. Stephen at Pisa, and witnessed the annual ceremony at which the Knights of the Order of St. Stephen took ashes, and did homage to their grand master, the duke himself, who was dressed for the occasion in long flowing robes of white. Next day they set off for Florence, and spent five days there, devoting their time exclusively to religion, visiting the churches, worshipping relics, and making themselves acquainted with the ritual of the Holy Church.

Pope Gregory XIII. awaited the pilgrims, who had come from so far to worship him, at Siena, and accompanied them to Rome in

person. At each town on the way the crowds and enthusiasm exceeded anything they had yet seen; and finally, on the 22nd of March, they reached the Eternal City, "the goal for which they had travelled so long and so far."

The description of their sojourn here is described at very minute length, and a most interesting account it is, for they were received in full consistory, for which purpose the Sala Regia was thrown open. During their stay Gregory XIII. died, and they assisted at the election of his successor.

On arrival the Father-General of the Jesuits met them, and the quadrangle of the college was brilliantly illuminated with torches as they were conducted to the adjoining church, where a *Te Deum* was sung to them as they knelt on four velvet cushions; and the diary tells us how tears of joy and gratitude flowed from their eyes. Every luxury was lavished on the adornment of their apartments.

Next morning Pope Gregory held his con sistory. The Japanese were driven in a coach secretly to a spot termed the "Vineyard of Pope Julius," just outside the Porta del Popolo, where kings, cardinals, and ambassadors were wont to make their public entry into Rome. One of the Japanese, called by his Christian name Don Manlio in the diary, had a fever at the time, and the doctors admonished him not to go; but so great was his enthusiasm that he could not be prevented, declaring that the sight of the Pope would cure him. His weakness increased so greatly that he was unable to sit on his horse, so Monsignore Pinto conveyed him to the consistory in a covered carriage, and during the remainder of his travels he felt the evil results of his folly.

The three others on horseback were joined by a numerous accompaniment of cardinals outside the gate, and the Bishop of Fiesole on behalf of the Pope bade them welcome to Rome; and then the procession began—a glorious *cortége* from the description given. In the Sala Regia the Japanese were led up to the Pope's throne, where three times they rapturously embraced his foot, delivered to him letters from their sovereigns, and offered to the "Vicar of Christ and universal Pastor" homage in the name of the kings of Japan. The Pope read aloud the letters, and a Jesuit Father pronounced an oration in Latin, giving a glowing account of the Japanese mission, and after the conclusion of the ceremony the pilgrims had the honour of holding up the train of the papal mantle, and of being invited to dine at the Vatican with several cardinals, who were struck, says the diary, with "their prudence of speech, and with their cleanliness and modesty in eating."

Next day, the Feast of the Annunciation, they went with the Pope to Sta. Maria Sopra Minerva, and were so much molested by the crowds that henceforth they gave up wearing their national dress, and Pope Gregory sent them three suits of clothes in the Italian fashion: "one a court dress, and another a long black velvet robe embroidered with gold and coloured damask, and a dressing-gown of the same material and equally handsome trimmings for indoor wear; and as a further mark of favour he sent them the choicest of fish for their Lenten board."

It is interesting to read how energetic the Japanese were in sight-seeing, and the Pope deputed his master of the chamber to conduct them through the galleries and churches. "Adagio, Adagio, so that each gem might be studied in its turn."

"It was with the greatest grief," says the diary, "that the Japanese heard on the 10th of April of the death of the Pope; they felt as if their own father was dead, and that they were left orphans. So great was their distress that it was thought necessary to send Monsignore Sasso to console them. Divine Providence was not long in consoling his afflicted Church. On the 13th of April Sixtus V. came out of the conclave as a new father to the mourning Japanese."

Sixtus V. was equally kind to them; they assisted the other ambassadors in carrying the baldacchino over his head; they gave water into his hands at the mass, and the Pope not only confirmed a gift of 4,000 scudi, which his predecessor had promised for the Japanese mission, but added 2,000 more from his own purse. To their three kings the Pope sent as gifts three rapiers, with the hilts and scabbards of silver gilt, beautifully wrought, and caps of velvet covered with pearls, such as the Popes were wont to bless annually, and to send to sovereigns of Europe as a mark of special favour.

Besides this, he gave the Japanese for their own private travelling expenses 3,000 scudi,

and made them Knights of the Golden Spurs with his own hands, on the vigil of the Ascension, in the presence of all the cardinals, princes, and ambassadors; the Pope himself girt them with the sword of office, whilst the ambassadors of France and Venice fastened it. Finally, the Pope cast around their necks golden collars, and embraced them. Through their interpreter they promised not only to defend the Christian religion with sword and spurs, but to pour out their own blood if necessary in its defence.

Before leaving Rome the Japanese publicly took leave of the people assembled in the Campidoglio, where many congratulatory speeches were made to them, and a richly adorned parchment was presented to them, making them Roman citizens. In the response to this their interpreter said, "Rome had reason to be proud of having once ruled the world with her arms, but now the Holy Faith had added additional laurels to her crown, and had extended her dominions even to the Island of Japan."

On their departure Sixtus V. gave them an unlimited number of indulgences, and a guard of honour to conduct them to the confines of the papal territory.

The annals of their journey through Italy give us an interesting insight into contemporary customs. At Venice their reception by the Doge surpassed almost everything else in magnificence. Every treasure the city possessed was brought forth to make the pageant effective as it went up the canals, in which the diary tells us 10,000 people took a part; boats with tableaux representing Scriptural scenes, martyrdoms, passion plays, and such-like things floated down the streets; and last of all, a boat with representations of the four Japanese being blessed by the Pope, passed before them. "Nothing," says the diary, "during the whole of their long voyage gave them so much pleasure as this."

At Mantua a Hebrew Rabbi was publicly received into the bosom of the Church for their edification, and Don Manlio was asked to stand as godfather, and to give the proselyte his name. "The Japanese was shy," says the diary, "but they continued pressing him to give this lasting memorial of his visit, and the Hebrew Rabbi was received into the Church under the name of Michele Manlio."

One town vied with the other in doing honour to the strangers, and the diary of their progress through Italy and their return through Spain, which country they did not leave till 13th of August, 1586, forms a valuable insight into mediæval life.

J. THEODORE BENT.

Municipal Offices.

As the national customs which belong to the lowest range of machinery are subject to the fewest organic changes, these courts have continued to exist until the present day. . . . In the courts of the manor are transacted . . . . the election of the capital-pledges of frankpledges, of *plebiscitarii* or by-law men, ale-tasters, constables, and other officers of a character of which nine-tenths of Englishmen know nothing. . . . Nor can the importance of this point be exaggerated, when we look further on and see in these local gatherings the chief element in the origination of the borough system of the later date.—Stubbs' *Const. Hist.*, cap. v. sec. 42.

I.—INTRODUCTION.

I CANNOT introduce more favourably to the contributors and readers of the ANTIQUARY the scheme which I am about to lay before them, than by stating that it has received the most cordial approval of one who has done more than any other worker to promote the study of Municipal Institutions, and to reveal to us its interest and its value. For myself it is a pleasure to express my sense of the importance of Mr. Gomme's labours, and of the debt of gratitude due to him from those who are engaged in this branch of historical research.

Like Mr. Gomme, I soon became conscious that the scientific study of this important subject was rendered for the present virtually impossible, by a difficulty which confronts every student at the very threshold of his inquiries. This difficulty consists in the recent origin of this special department of research, and in the consequent lack of trustworthy *data* on which to base his conclusions. If, then, we would advance in this study beyond the empirical stage, we must at once begin from the beginning. First let us lay our foundations; then, upon these foundations, we may raise a stable edifice.

The first step in this direction was taken by Mr. Gomme himself, when he issued his *Index to Municipal Offices.** This, which is at present the best handbook for all students of the subject, consists of an alphabetical list of all Municipal Offices named in the Appendices to the First Report of the Commissioners of 1835, prefaced by an Introduction from Mr. Gomme's pen. To that Introduction I would refer those readers who desire further information, as I merely propose to carry out what has there been so well begun.

"It can only," says Mr. Gomme of his Index, "be suggestive of what may possibly hereafter be done upon the lines now indicated." The imperfections of the lists at his disposal are alluded to by him, and I would here briefly enumerate what I consider their chief shortcomings. Firstly, their scope is only partial, being confined to the 178 Boroughs reported on. Secondly, they, apparently, are not exhaustive; and, moreover, the offices omitted, though now effete survivals, are precisely those which to the student are the most interesting. Thirdly, they of course wholly omit offices extinct before the date of the Report, being precisely those which have most to teach us on an earlier stage of society. Fourthly, their mere lists of names are to a great extent valueless without that explanation of the meaning of the words, and of the duties of those who held the offices, which in the case of the older and obscurer names none but those with local knowledge can be fully competent to give. "This part of the subject," says Mr. Gomme, "most certainly wants attention; for we may turn in vain to the pages of Nares, Cowell, and Jacob for an explanation of some of the titles to be found in the list."

I now come to the plan of action which has occurred to me as the best suited to promote the object in view, and which, at Mr. Gomme's invitation, I bring forward in the ANTIQUARY'S pages.

I propose that typical communities should be selected, and that exhaustive lists of the Municipal Offices which have existed in them from the earliest times down to the Municipal Reform Act should be compiled by writers specially qualified by the necessary local knowledge. These lists should be carefully annotated with descriptions, where necessary, of the office and its duties, with the earliest and latest dates at which the office is found in existence, with modes of election, where curious or noteworthy, and with other similar information.

The time has, I think, now come when this scheme can be taken in hand. It will be assisted by, and will in turn assist, the growing interest in the subject, while the materials which are now beginning to accumulate in publications dealing with Municipal Archives and in the Reports of the Commissioners on Historical Manuscripts render it the more desirable that we should now attempt a scientific treatment of the subject, and establish some sound general principles for dealing with these materials as they accumulate.

It is, of course, to the comparative method that we must, here as elsewhere, look for obtaining these general principles, and I feel confident that as we proceed we shall be able, by grouping Municipal Offices on a sufficiently extensive scale, according to resemblance and also to locality, to secure results of real value, providing the English historian of the future with a fund of virtually novel and peculiarly welcome information. How much light may thus be thrown on our Institutional History Dr. Stubbs has already shadowed forth. But he, like others, was hampered by the lack of recorded phenomena. Useful and instructive as are existing survivals, they are as nothing compared with those phenomena which we may yet hope to recover. I would here refer to Mr. Seebohm's *Village Community in England*, as illustrating what may be done by similar scientific treatment. With Municipal Institutions, in the same way, it should be possible to work back from the known to the unknown, and, by classification on Mr. Gomme's lines, to trace, in the various groups of offices, various stages of corporate development, each of which, in spirit as in form, has influenced all that followed.

I have little doubt that such an inquiry will, in the main, confirm Mr. Gomme's well-known views. It is in detail only, I think, that they will be modified, some offices perhaps having been claimed as evidence, which in the light of fuller knowledge will assume a

* *Index Society Publications*, 1878 (III.).

different aspect. But here again, I repeat, it is local knowledge that we want. Without such knowledge we may grope in the dark, or, worse still, follow an *ignis fatuus*. Who, for instance, without local knowledge, would suppose that the Mayor of Overton dated only from "a convivial party" in 1830,* that the Mayor of Garrett was a mock-Mayor,† that the Mayor and Corporation of St. Pancras, Chichester, with its Town-Clerk, Common Council, Serjeants-at-mace, etc., was wholly a convivial institution, dating from "the glorious Revolution,"‡ or that "the Mayor and Corporation of the ancient Borough of Walton," with its mace, staves, and sword of state, was nothing but a similar parody, started in the opposite or Jacobite interest in 1701?§ Who, again, without such knowledge, could give us an explanation of such obscure offices as the "Picager" of Salisbury and the "Bottle-maker" of Colchester, neither of them, it is said, known elsewhere? I shall now give an instance or two of the offices with which it is proposed to deal, in illustration not only of the interest of the subject, but also of its bearing on constitutional history and the development of our social polity.

Mr. Gomme classes the "Deciners" of Burton-on-Trent (p. 56) with the "Dozeners" of Lichfield (*Ib.*) and the "Dozeners" (or "Inspectors of Pinders") of Derby (p. 57), and lays it down that *Dozener* is "a corrupted form of *Deciner* (*Decennarius*)," both names belonging "to that system of mutual pledging known as frith-borh, or frank-pledge" (p. 23).

Now if this were so, we should here have evidence of considerable value bearing on those obscure and disputed institutions, the "tithing" and the "frank-pledge." But, in the first place, Mr. Gomme has, I think, misread the passage he refers to in Dr. Stubbs's work; for so far from the "frith-borh or frank-pledge," as he claims, "belonging to Anglo-Saxon polity," we are told by Dr. Stubbs that of this institution "there is no definite trace before the Norman Conquest;"‖ or, indeed, he appears to hold, before "the middle of the twelfth century;"* and, in the second place, although Mr. Gomme gives us the form *decennarius*, he gives no authority for its use, while in the very "article of the laws of Edward the Confessor," to which he himself refers, "the chief of the frank-pledge" is termed, not *decennarius*, but *decanus*.†

* *Index of Municipal Offices*, p. 11, *note*.
† *Book of Days; Antiquary*, xii., p. 108.
‡ *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xxiv., pp. 135—138.
§ Baines' *Lancashire*, iv. 329-380.
‖ *Const. Hist.* [1874], i., p. 87.

It would seem that at Lichfield the "dozeners" (or "decenners") were in a position of some authority as constables or heads of the watch.‡ This explanation of their office at once suggests a comparison with the twenty-man, or *vintenarius*, of the south coast,§ and so throws further doubt on their connection with the institution of the frank-pledge.

One might even be tempted to believe, if one could, that the "Dozener," or "Deciner," is a trace of an even older and more interesting institution. The explanation of the name, I once thought, might be found in "the *Duodecenarii* or *Dozen* of Jurors on the homage," who actually occur at Rye.‖ It seemed to me that "Deciners" might represent a corruption, and "Dozeners" an excellent translation, of *Duodecenarii*. But this I now doubt. We have a remarkable parallel to the "Dozeners" in the "municipal officers called 'Douzeniers'" of Jersey,¶ where "Douzaine" similarly seems the natural origin of the name. It may be observed that a body of twelve men must have been early known as a "dozen," for "Fleta speaks of the frank-pledges as *dozeins*," implying that there were twelve, not ten, in each.**

The several members of such a "Dozen" might each be known as a "Dozener."

* *Const. Hist.* [1874], i., p. 89.
† *Select Charters*, p. 75. Cf. *Const. Hist.*, i., p. 86, *note* 1.
‡ "The dozeners, decenners, or constables of wards, in number twenty-one; who formerly had considerable authority, taking cognisance of all causes within their decennary or ward, redressing wrongs by way of judgment, and commanding the armed men of their district."—*Short Account of Lichfield* [1819], p. 86.
§ John Hughelyn presented at New Romney for that he "contradicted his twentyman [*vintenario*] and the Jurats in making watch of the same town." Another man "arrested because he left the watch without leave of his twenty-man [*vintenarii*]."—*App. to 5th Report Hist. MSS.*, pp. 538, 543.
‖ *App. to 5th Report Hist. MSS.*, p. 489.
¶ *Quarterly Review* (July, 1885), No. 321.
** *Const. Hist.*, i., p. 86, *note*.

This, then, would at once have brought the "Dozeners" into connection with "the Twelve" of Beccles (p. 75), and "the Twelve Affeering-men" of Berwick-upon-Tweed (pp. 33, 37). But we need only take the county of Sussex to be struck by the importance and wide extension of this remarkable institution. Passing westward from Rye, with its "Dozen" of jurors, we come to Lewes, with its "Twelve," or "Fellowship of Twelve," for its ruling body down to little more than a century ago;* Brighton with its "Twelve," or "Society of Twelve," lasting on till about the same time;† and Arundel, with its "Twelve," or "Affeerors," lasting on till the end of the chapter.‡ This last example brings us at once into connection, on the one hand, with the "Affeerers" of Clitheroe, and on the other with "the Twelve Affeering-men" of Berwick-upon-Tweed.

Moreover, we learn that at Lewes "the Twelve" were "never so few as twelve nor more than twenty-four,"§ while at Arundel, though similarly terming themselves "Twelve," they almost always exceeded that number, being "frequently fourteen, and sometimes eighteen, in number."|| This suggests not only the need for caution in accepting as accurate these conventional numbers, but also the possibility, by local research, of tracing such bodies as "the Fifteens" of Kingston (p. 86), or even "the Twenty-men" of Totnes (p. 75),¶ to an original "Twelve."

Again, if the deviation of Dozeners from the institution of the "Dozen" be inadmissible, it is, in any case, of interest to note that Burton-on-Trent, with its "Deciners," is situated near to, and between, Lichfield and Derby, with their respective "Dozeners." This illustrates the importance, as we extend our information, of grouping "municipal offices" by localities, and the likelihood of thus obtaining most interesting results.

* *History of Lewes* (1795), pp. 190—215; *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xxi., p. 90.

† *History of Brighthelmston* [1795], pp. 470, 496, 500, 518. This should be carefully noticed as an instance of important municipal offices expiring too early to appear in the Report on Municipal Corporations.

‡ Tierney's *Arundel*, pp. 692—705.

§ *History of Lewes* [1795], p. 191.

|| Tierney's *Arundel*, pp. 692-3.

¶ Unless these represent a different institution, and correspond with the *vintenarii* of New Romney.

But to what are we to trace back this institution of "the Twelve"? Surely it takes us back to the Twelve "witnesses" for the "burh" mentioned in the ordinances of Edgar,* and to the Twelve Lawmen of Lincoln, and the Twelve *judices civitatis* of Chester, a century later.† So, too, we have the "twelve men" of York in 1106,‡ the "twelve men" representing the Kentish boroughs at the Courts of the King's Justices;§ the "twelve men" of Dunwich similarly occurring (1200);|| and the "twelve men" similarly representing each *burgus* in 1231.¶

Here, then, we have a problem to work out in the course of the inquiries I propose. If in these Dozens or bodies of Twelve, we have the direct descendants and representatives of the witnesses or jurors of "the sworn inquest" of those early times, we ought to be able, before we have done, to accumulate a mass of very valuable evidence upon this point alone.

It may further be pointed out that, in addition to "the Twelve," we have also, at Lewes, "the Twenty-four," a co-existent body of similarly elastic numbers,** while "the full number of Twenty-four" is also, though somewhat incomprehensibly, mentioned at Arundel.†† It would seem that at Beccles (p. 75), precisely as at Lewes, there was both a "Twelve" and a "Twenty-four," while at York we have "the Twenty-four" (p. 75), at Winchester "the Twenty-four men" (p. 75), and we may perhaps include the twenty-two jurors and two affeerers of Portland.‡‡

Here is a body of which the origin and history will have to be worked out separately from that of "the Twelve." It will have to be treated in connection with the "Twenty-four" from whom the Mayor was chosen at Preston, the "Twenty-four" by whom the Bailiffs were elected at Col-

* *Select Charters*, p. 71; *Const. Hist.*, i., pp. 93-4.

† *Domesday.*

‡ *Const. Hist.*, i., p. 611, *note.*

§ Customs of Kent (*Statutes of the Realm*, i., p. 223).

|| "mittant pro se xii. legales homines de burgo suo qui sint pro omnibus."—*Select Charters*, p. 303.

¶ "de quolibet burgo duodecim legales homines."—*Ib.*, p. 349.

** *History of Lewes* [1795], p. 193.

†† Tierney's *Arundel*, p. 700.

‡‡ *British Archæological Journal*, xxviii., p. 35.

chester, and even with the two bodies of "Twenty-four" Barons elected in accordance with the Provisions of Oxford (1258), which number, as also that of "the Twelve" and "the Fifteen," was doubtless chosen as already familiar to those who framed the Provisions.

Next, as to what Mr. Gomme terms "Agricultural Offices (pp. 26-32). Such an office as "the Town Swineherd" of Shrewsbury (p. 74) might seem to be one of immemorial antiquity, and indeed I have myself called attention to the mention of "the towne swyne-heard," at Carlisle in the Ballad of Adam Bel.* Yet it was not till 1574 that a town-flock was formed at Lydd, and a town "shepperd" appointed,† nor till 1573 that "Drivers of the Commons" were first appointed at Colchester.‡ It is therefore important to bear in mind that although these offices are undoubtedly connected with common rights of ancient origin, we must not assume, without evidence, that they are themselves necessarily ancient.

So, too, with what Mr. Gomme describes as "peculiar modes of payment" (pp. 34-5). In them we have an almost inexhaustible fund of curious and instructive research,§ yet here also caution is needed. By the Brighton Custumal of 1580, "every constable," in addition to a money-payment, was also to "have . . . . one horse-lease." This may, however, have been a new introduction based on an old principle, for the next clause provides that the two head-boroughs should "have . . . . one cow-lease and twenty-five sheep-leases, *according to the ancient custom*."‖ Again, "the common shepherd" was allowed, for his services, to "pasture eighty sheep in summer and seventy in winter,"¶ but such payment cannot be older than his office. The same remark applies to the privilege of pasturing a lamb, recognised in 1381 as the right of the Mayor of Corfe,** and to the "allotment" of land to the Constable of Hedingham Castle, "who, over and above his salary, had a meadow in this town [Hedingham] still called *Constable's Meadow*."* Thus we must look, in every instance, to local knowledge and special research for the origin and history of every office. So shall we gradually accumulate a fund of authentic *data* which there is no means of acquiring otherwise, and without which it is obviously impossible that we can approach this subject in a scientific manner.

I propose to begin this series myself with a list of the Municipal Offices of Colchester. I select this town, not merely as that with which I am best acquainted, but also as, perhaps, the oldest in origin of all our existing towns; as a great centre of Roman rule, and therefore a spot where, of all others, we should look for traces of Roman Institutions; as a community admirably illustrative of a distinct and important type; and as a borough of which neither were the offices entered in the Report of 1835 (on which Mr. Gomme's Index is based), nor have the records been yet calendared for the Commission on Historical MSS. In so far as its Municipal Offices are yet undescribed, should a list of them prove the more acceptable.

J. H. ROUND.

* *Antiquary*, x., p. 183.

† *App. to 5th Report Hist. MSS.*, p. 531*b*.

‡ Morant's *Colchester*.

§ Cf. Seebohm's *English Village Community*, pp. 70-71, 115.

‖ *History of Brighthelmston* [1795], p. 518.

¶ Paper read by Mr. F. E. Sawyer, before the Brit. Arch. Ass. at Brighton, 18th August, 1885.

** "That the Mayor every year, in right of his office, may have one lamb feeding in the pasture of our lord the king, called Castle Close, quit of [payment for] herbage."—Bond's *Corfe Castle*, p. 133.

* Morant's *Essex*.

London Theatres.

BY T. FAIRMAN ORDISH.

No. II.—The Globe and Lesser Bankside Playhouses.

Part IV.

THE construction of the Globe and some of its accessories and surroundings were revealed in the course of our preceding article. Some attempt will now be made to fill in the outline and produce a semblance which shall approximate to the playhouse as it appeared to Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and their contemporaries.†

The Surrey side of London was but thinly

† For many references to writers of the period, I am indebted to Harrison's *Description* (New Shakspere Society, ed. F. J. Furnivall); and Malone's *History of the Stage*.

populated, and most of the visitors to the theatres on the Bankside came by water. Many of the actors, however, resided near the scene of their labours; and when the playhouses became more famous there were pleasure-seekers who likewise took up their residence on the Bankside. In *The Gul's Hornebook*, 1609, we read: "If you can either for love or money provide yourselfe a lodging by the water-side: it adds a kind of state to you to be carried from thence to the staiers of your playhouse."

The performance began at one o'clock in the afternoon, and was announced by hoisting a flag, visible in the representation of the Globe in our previous article. There are various allusions to this flag in contemporary literature. In the early part of the reign of James I. plays were not allowed during Lent, and in Middleton's *A Mad World, my Masters*, we read:

'Tis Lent in your cheeks—the flag is down.

We can imagine servants on the Middlesex side being sent to posts of observation to see whether the flag was up; the subsequent ordering of the barge or boat to be ready; the mid-day dinner hastened, and then the starting on the pleasure excursion. The Thames must have presented quite an animated appearance at noon on many a day before the Puritan revolt. All classes mingled in the pursuit of amusement, from the noble to the apprentice. The prices of admission ranged from sixpence upwards. Malone writes: "The galleries or scaffolds, as they are sometimes called, and that part of the house which in private theatres was named the pit, seem to have been at the same price; and probably in houses of reputation, such as the Globe and that in Blackfriars, the price of admission into those parts of the theatre was sixpence, while in some meaner playhouses it was only a penny, in others twopence. The price of admission into the best rooms or boxes was, I believe, in our author's time, a shilling; though afterwards it appears to have risen to two shillings and half a crown. At the Blackfriars Theatre the price of boxes, I imagine, was higher than at the Globe."

Of the characters that frequented the playhouse we have several notices. Here we have the prototype of the "playgoer" of the present century:

Momus would act the fooles part in a play,
And cause he would be exquisit that way,
Hies me to London, where no day can passe,
But that some playhouse still his presence has;
Now at the Globe, with a judicious eye,
Into the Vice's action doth he prie,
Next to the Fortune, where it is a chance,
But he marks something worth his cognizance;
Then to the Curtaine, where, as at the rest,
He notes that action down that likes him best.
Being full fraught, at length he gets him home,
And Momus now knows how to play the Mome.*

The original of the London "Man about Town" was also an *habitué* of the theatre. He is thus sketched in Sir John Davies' *Epigrammes*, under the name of Fuscus:

Fuscus is free, and hath the world at will;
Yet in the course of life that he doth lead
He's like a horse which turning round a mill
Doth always in the selfsame circle tread:
First, he doth rise at ten; and at eleven
He goes to Gill's, where he doth eat till one;
Then sees a play till six, and sups at seven;
And after supper straight to bed is gone.
And there till ten next day he doth remain,
And then he dines: then sees a comedy;
And then he sups, and goes to bed again.
Thus round he runs without variety;
Save that sometimes he comes not to the play,
But falls into a . . . . . house by the way.

Gallantry was conspicuous during the performance, and the combat of wit between Hamlet and Ophelia in the play-scene may be taken as a sublimed indication of much that took place at the Globe. As early as 1580, we have the following description of the use to which theatres were put by young people:

"In the playhouses at London it is the fashion of youthes to go first into the yarde and to carry their eye through every gallery; then, like unto ravens, where they spy carrion, thither they flye, and presse as nere to the fairest as they can. Instead of pomegranates, they give them pippines; they dally with their garments to passe the time; they minister talke upon al occasions, and eyther bring them home to their houses upon small acquaintance, or slip into taverns when the plaies are done."†

Many of the ladies wore masks. In Ben Jonson's verses addressed to Fletcher on his *Faithful Shepherdess*, we read:

The wise and many-headed bench that sits
Upon the life and death of plays and wits,

* Heath's *Epigrams* (1610).

† Stephen Gosson, *Playes confuted;* Collier's *Bibl. Cat.*, i. 322.

Compos'd of gamester, captain, knight, knight's man;
Lady or *pusil*, that wears maske or fan,
Velvet or taffata cap, rank'd in the dark
With the shops foreman, or some such brave sparke,
(That may judge for his sixpence) had, before
They saw it half, damn'd the whole play.

Another author thus refers to the more aristocratic part of the audience:

For your own sakes, poor souls, you had not best
Believe my fury was so much supprest
I' the heat of the last scene, as now you may
Boldly and safely, too, cry down our play;
For if you dare but murmur one false note
Here in the house, or going to take boat,
By heaven I'll mow you off with my long sword,
Yeoman and squire, knight, lady, and her lord.*

The courtier at the theatre is thus sketched by Sir John Davies in his *Epigrammes:*

Rufus the Courtier, at the Theatre,
Leaving the best and most conspicuous place,
Doth either to the stage himself transfer,
Or through a gate doth show his double face,
For that the clamorous fry of Inns of Court
Fills up the private rooms of greater price;
And such a place, where all may have resort,
He, in his singularity, doth despise.

The neighbourhood of the Bear Garden acted rather as a clog upon the refinement of the drama at the Globe. The taste of those who found pleasure in the associations and diversions of the Bear Garden was naturally robust, and at the theatre mere show and noise and excitement attracted many of the audience. Hamlet speaks of "berattling the common theatres," and his warning to the players doubtless had an educational aim for Shakespeare's own company:

"O, it offends me to the soul, to hear a robustious periwig-pated fellow tear a passion to tatters, to very rags, to split the ears of the groundlings; who, for the most part, are capable of nothing but inexplicable dumb-shows and noise."

That portion of the audience here referred to as the "groundlings" occupied what was the equivalent of our modern pit. The groundlings were not provided with seats, but stood to witness the performance; hence they were also called "understanders." Ben Jonson speaks of "the understanding gentlemen of the ground here;" and in the prologue to Shirley's *The Doubtful Heir*, performed at the Globe in 1640, we read:

Gentlemen, I am only sent to say
Our author did not calculate his play
For this meridian. The Bankside, he knows,
Is far more skilful at the ebbs and flows
Of water than of wit; he did not mean
For the elevation of your poles this scene.
No shows—no dance—and what you most delight in,
Grave understanders, here's no target fighting
Upon the stage; all work for cutlers barr'd;
No bawdry, nor no ballads;—this goes hard:
But language clean, and, what affects you not,
Without impossibilities the plot;
No clown, no squibs, no devil in't.—Oh now,
You squirrels that want nuts, what will you do?
Pray do not crack the benches, and we may
Hereafter fit your palates with a play.
But you that can contract yourselves and sit
As you were now in the Blackfriars pit,
And will not deaf us with lewd noise and tongues,
Because we have no heart to break our lungs,
Will pardon our vast stage, and not disgrace
This play, meant for your persons, not the place.

While waiting for the play to begin, the audience beguiled the time with reading, playing cards, drinking ale, smoking, or eating nuts and apples. Hentzner, in 1598, says: "In these theatres fruits, such as apples, pears, and nuts, according to the season, are carried about to be sold, as well as ale and wine;" and the clamour of the vendors is loudly complained of by a satirical writer of the time of James I. Hentzner thus quaintly describes the habit of smoking: "At these spectacles and everywhere else the English are constantly smoking tobacco, and in this manner: they have pipes made on purpose made of clay, into the farther end of which they put the herb, so dry that it may be rubbed into powder, and putting fire to it, they draw the smoak into their mouths, which they puff out again through their nostrils, like funnels [and] along with it plenty of phlegm and defluxion from the head." In *The Gul's Hornebook*, 1609, we read: "Before the play begins, fall to cardes;" and in the Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, by Ben Jonson, 1601: 'Now, sir, I am one of your gentle auditors that am come in;—I have my three sorts of tobacco in my pocket; my light by me; and thus I begin." Tobacco, like other refreshments, was sold in the theatre. Ben Jonson, in his *Bartholomew Fair*, 1614, writes: "He looks like a fellow that I have seen accommodate gentlemen with tobacco at the theatres." In 1633, Prynne, in *Histriomastix*, says that women smoked tobacco as well as men.

* Sir William Davenant, in Epilogue to a vacation play acted at the Globe.

Thus we may imagine the audience waiting for the commencement of one of those plays which have continued to thrill the world ever since. Suppose it to be *Hamlet*, the part of the Danish Prince to be taken by Richard Burbage, who, in actor's phrase, was the first to create this character, which has continued ever since the crowning test of supremacy among succeeding generations of players. Swains of all degrees, who fail to find their "metal more attractive," fall to other amusements—here a knot are gathered at cards; here some are smoking over the latest scandal, or talking over the latest suitor for the hand of Queen Bess; here and there a few are reading, perhaps the *Faerie Queene*, or Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, or perhaps a play; while among the "groundlings" the cracking of nuts and munching of apples mingles with the confusion of many tongues. Anon they grow impatient, and signify their feeling in a manner similar to that with which play-goers in our time are familiar; only instead of clapping the hands or thumping the floor with umbrellas, sticks, and feet, or that peculiar shrill whistle which usually proceeds from the gallery—instead of these familiar signs of impatience our forefathers indulged in a sustained kind of call with the voice. Reginald Scot, in 1587, notes that the song of the workmen at Dover Harbour "is a more ciuill call than the brutish call at the theatre for the comming awaie of the plaiers to the stage."

Presently the sound of music is heard, and the silence of expectation ensues. Malone says: "The band, which I believe did not consist of more than eight or ten performers, sat (as I have been told by a very ancient stage veteran, who had his information from Bowman, the contemporary of Betterton) in an upper balcony, over what is now called the stage-box." The instruments consisted of trumpets, cornets, hautboys, lutes, recorders, viols, and organs. The curtain did not ascend as at present, but opened in the middle, and was drawn backwards on an iron rod. The band having executed three flourishes—called in contemporary language "soundings"—the Prologue enters. This personage wore a long black velvet cloak, and Malone writes, (in 1790,) that the complete dress of the ancient prologue-speaker is still retained in the play exhibited in *Hamlet* before the King and Court of Denmark. In Decker's *Gul's Hornebook*, 1609, a graphic picture of this point in the exhibition is suggested: "Present not yourselfe on the stage (especially at a new play) untill the quaking prologue hath by rubbing got cullor into his cheeks, and is ready to give the trumpetts their cue that he's upon the point to enter." And in the Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, 1601, we read:

1 *Child.* Pray you, away; why, children, what do you mean?
2 *Child.* Marry that you should not speak the prologue.
1 *Child.* Sir, I plead possession of the cloak.
Gentlemen, your suffrages, for God's sake.

The actors are all in the "tiring-house," the original of our "green-room," and the prompter or book-holder is ready at his post. Another quotation from *Cynthia's Revels* will suggest this part of the picture to us: "I assure you, sir, we are not so officiously befriended by him [the author] as to have his presence in the tiring-house, to prompt us aloud, stamp at the book-holder, swear for our properties, curse the poor tire-man, rayle the musicke out of tune," etc.

Among the properties in the tiring-house we see a considerable assortment of various dresses, periwigs, vizards, foils, and pieces of ordnance. The actors are dressed ready for their parts, and we notice that the male characters wear periwigs and some of the female characters wear vizards. We just quoted Hamlet's reference to "a robustious periwig-pated" player, and we remember the survival of the custom in the last century, when Garrick played Macbeth in a wig. We also read in *Every Woman in Her Humour* (1609): "As none wear hoods but monks and ladies—and feathers but fore-horses, etc., none periwigs but players and pictures."

The female characters were represented solely by boys or young men, and the vizards were worn to help their disguise. We remember that, in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Flute objects to a woman's part because he had a beard coming, but Quince tells him: "That's all one; you may play it in a *mask*, and you may speak as small as you will." This custom of men dressing in women's clothes, and acting women's parts, was one of the things assailed by the puritan senti-

ment in England at that time. In the Tanner MSS., in the Bodleian Library, there is a letter from Dr. Rainolds to Dr. Thornton, in which he very abundantly and learnedly explains that for men to dress as women is unlawful, wicked, and abominable. Dr. Thornton had asked him to witness a play, and Dr. Rainolds's letter, which is dated "Quene's Colledge, Febr. 6, 1591," begins: "Because your curteous invitinge of me yesterday agayne to your playes doth shewe you were not satisfyed with my answer and reason thereof before given"—he proceeds to enlarge his opinions as described. He afterwards published a work on the same subject, in 1600.* We also learn that these masks or vizards answered another purpose. In Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie* (1589) we learn that they were sometimes worn "partly to supply the want of players when there were more parts than persons."

But the Prologue has besought the sufferance of the audience, and the play begins. The stage is separated from the pit only by poles. In the *Black Booke* (4to., 1604) we read:

> And now that I have vaulted up so hye,
> Above the stage-rayles of this earthen *globe*
> I must turn actor.

The stage was probably strewed with rushes, the usual covering of floors in England at that time; only on very special occasions was it matted over. Towards the rear of the stage, Malone tells us, there was "a balcony or upper stage; the platform of which was probably eight or nine feet from the ground. I suppose it to have been supported by pillars. From hence, in many of our old plays, part of the dialogue was spoken; and in the front of it curtains likewise were hung, so as occasionally to conceal the persons in it from the view of the audience. At each side of the balcony was a box very inconveniently situated, which sometimes was called the private box. In these boxes, which were at a lower price, some persons sate either from economy or singularity."

As we are supposing a performance of *Hamlet*, we witness another use to which this stage balcony was put. It appears from the stage-directions given in *The Spanish Tragedy*, in which also a play is exhibited within a play, that the court or audience before whom the play-scene was performed sat in this stage balcony. A curtain being hung across the stage, the performers entered between this curtain and the general audience in the theatre; and when the curtain was drawn the players addressed themselves to the occupants of the balcony, regardless of the spectators in the theatre, to whom their backs must have been turned during the whole performance. The balcony was doubtless used also in *Richard III.*, act iii., scene 7, where Gloster and Buckingham enact their piece of comedy knavery with the mayor and citizens. The stage-direction is: "Enter Gloster *aloft* between two Bishops. Catesby returns." At the remarkable revival of this play at the Lyceum Theatre, in which Colley Cibber's adaptation was courageously discarded, and the original drama was produced, Richard appeared on a balcony or platform at the rear of the stage, in accordance with the directions; only (if the present writer's memory serves him) there were steps leading from the balcony to the stage itself; in which particular probably the Lyceum representation transcended the scenic possibilities of the ancient Globe playhouse. The stage balcony was doubtless used in the representations of *Midsummer Night's Dream*, when Quince, Bottom, Flute, and the others, present their play before Theseus and Queen Hippolyta; and probably also the balcony was used for the balcony scene in *Romeo and Juliet*. In the second scene of the Induction to *The Taming of the Shrew* we read: "Enter *aloft* Sly, with attendants, etc."

With regard to what we now call scenery at dramatic exhibitions, we must conclude that the Globe and other playhouses of this period did not possess any. Malone argues exhaustively that the stage of Shakespeare's time was not furnished with movable painted scenes, but was merely decorated with curtains and arras or tapestry hangings, which, when decayed, appear to have been sometimes ornamented with pictures. The various references to change of scene which we find in Shakespeare and his contemporary dramatists refer only to change of place in the progress of the drama. On the other hand, that stage machinery and other illusory contri-

* See Collier, *Hist. Dram. Poetry*, iii. 201.

vances were used at the Globe there can be no doubt. We need only recall the directions in some of Shakespeare's dramas to be quite convinced of this. In the first scene of *The Tempest* a tempestuous noise of thunder and lightning is heard; in act iii., scene 2, Ariel plays on tabor and pipe, and in scene 3, solemn and strange music accompanies the setting of Prospero's banquet by the "several strange shapes." The music was probably supplied by the orchestra, after the modern manner. When Alonzo determines to partake of the weird and gruesome banquet, Ariel again enters amid thunder and lightning, "like a harpy, claps his wings upon the table, and with a quaint device the banquet vanishes." It was probably either taken up in the wings, or a spring was touched and it disappeared in a cavity within the table.

The fourth act of *The Tempest* is very interesting for its indications of its stage effects. In the fairy play displayed by Prospero before Ferdinand, there is music and what we should now call a ballet: "Enter certain Reapers, properly habited; they join with the Nymphs in a graceful dance; towards the end whereof Prospero starts suddenly, and speaks; after which, to a strange, hollow, and confused noise, they heavily vanish." Anon Ariel comes in again, "loaden with glistering apparel;" and presently when Caliban, Stephano, and Trinculo are punished: "A noise of hunters heard. Enter divers Spirits, in shape of dogs and hounds, and hunt them about, Prospero and Ariel setting them on."

Although there were no movable painted scenes in Shakespeare's time, there can be little doubt that the stage contrivances were not altogether so crude as has been sometimes supposed. We need only study the various inventories and accounts of the Masters of the Revels in the Calendars of State Papers and elsewhere to perceive that much labour and ingenuity were bestowed upon the various accessories of the Court Revels and Masques; and in considering the scenic resources of the Globe, we have to bear in mind that the players there were his Majesty's servants, a part of the royal establishment, and that the representations at the playhouse would not lag very far behind those produced by the ingenious Inigo Jones at the Court. Much has been made of the limitations and crudities of our ancient theatre, but with the exception of the modern contrivance of movable scenery it lacked nothing of dignity or efficiency. The position of players was far from being contemptible. The Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission teem with notices of the strolling actors, who acted in the various towns of the kingdom, receiving largesses of the mayors, or in the houses of the nobility, receiving entertainment there such as Hamlet directs shall be given to the players visiting Elsinore. Hamlet says to Polonius: "Good my lord, will you see the players well bestowed? Do you hear, let them be well used; for they are the abstract and brief chronicles of the time: after their death you were better have a bad epitaph, than their ill report while you live."

The criticisms on players in *Hamlet*, and the burlesque rehearsal and performance in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, imply at least a great relative improvement: how great was the absolute perfection attained we cannot determine. Elocution, declamation—in a word, *acting*, was doubtless the chief excellence in the exhibitions; but we are not to suppose that the stage surroundings were either so crude or so absurd as to detract from the effect produced by good acting. Dramatic exhibition that could afford to introduce the ridiculous contrivances of Wall, Moonshine, and the Lion in *Midsummer Night's Dream* must have left such and kindred absurdities at a safe distance behind in its progress of development. There is one special indication in the rehearsal of Bottom and his company which is worthy of observation.

Quince says:

"But there is two hard things: that is, to bring the moonlight into a chamber: for you know, Pyramus and Thisby meet by moonlight.

Snout. Doth the moon shine that night we play our play?

Bottom. A calendar! a calendar! look in the almanac; find out moonshine, find out moonshine.

Quince. Yes, it doth shine that night.

Bottom. Why, then may you leave a casement of the great chamber window, where we play, open; and the moon may shine in at the casement."

There is extreme likelihood that this device was resorted to either then or formerly when it was desired to produce the effect of moonlight. In the beautiful last act of *The*

Merchant of Venice, "the moon shines bright." If the play were produced when the days were short it would be nigh six o'clock before the fifth act were reached: the moon might be shining brightly into the theatre, either through the uncovered portion of the roof over the pit, or through a casement above, or on the stage.

Apologies, such as we read in the prologues to *Henry V.*, need not be taken *au pied de lettre;* good taste, sense and tact alike, must always make such deprecation apt in mimic exhibitions. Probably it would not be too much to say that even our pampered senses would not revolt at the representation of *Hamlet* which we have been supposing; nor probably would Hamlet's advice to the players appear ridiculous to us in sight of the quality of the acting at the Globe playhouse.

The conveniency of pausing between the acts was answered then as now, and was beguiled with music and the wit and antics of the clown. We also learn from Prynne's *Histriomastix* that there were songs between the acts, "to supply that chasme or vacant interim which the tyring-house takes up in changing the actors' robes, to fit them for some other part in the ensuing scene." The clown possessed great licence, and Hamlet's rebuke on this head doubtless applied with much force to various theatres of the time. Malone says that the clown entered between the acts, and sometimes between the scenes, and excited merriment by any species of extemporal buffoonery that struck him. He entered into raillery and sarcasm with the audience, and composed doggrel on the spot. Thomas Wilson and Richard Tarleton, servants to Queen Elizabeth, were the most popular performers in this way. Various jests of the latter were collected and published in 1611, and are known as Tarleton's *Jeasts.*

At the end of the play the actors in the public theatres, such as the Globe, prayed for the Sovereign. The prayer was sometimes made part of the epilogue. Malone says that this custom was the origin of the addition of "Vivant rex et regina" to modern play-bills; and we must suppose that the execution of "God save the Queen" by our orchestras at the close of the performance is a survival of the same formality. Other and lighter diversions closed the entertainment. These were either dancing, or a jig, or in some theatres tumbling and other "activities."

It will be remembered that the epilogue to *Henry IV.* is spoken by a dancer; and at the close of *Much Ado About Nothing* Benedick bids the pipers strike up, and they all dance. The clown also gave an entertainment after the play, the audience sometimes giving him themes to descant upon. The "jig," which sometimes followed upon plays, was a ludicrous metrical composition, often in rhyme, which was sung by the clown, who, Malone supposes, also occasionally danced, and was always accompanied by tabor and pipe. Sometimes more persons were introduced in the jig.

Some interesting points as to the proprietorship of the Globe and other matters must remain until we treat of the Blackfriars Theatre, with which it was allied; but it may serve to give a finishing-touch to such imperfect picture as we have been able to draw of the old playhouse if we introduce a note in which the dramatic author is presented to the notice of the reader. We must not be so irreverent as to continue our supposed exhibition of *Hamlet* so far as this, and imagine William Shakespeare in the position indicated; but the quotation graphically describes a situation which was doubtless frequently occupied by Shakespeare's fellow-playwrights: "There is no poet acquainted with more shakings and quakings towards the latter end of his new play when he's in that case that he stands peeping between the curtains so fearfully that a bottle of ale cannot be opened but that he thinks somebody hisses."—*Woman Hater*, Beaumont and Fletcher, 1607.

[We had intended to include an account of the Swan playhouse in the present paper; but space compels a separate treatment of this remaining Bankside playhouse.]

Scotter and its Manor.

By Edward Peacock, F.S.A.

HE village of Scotter lies about four miles to the north of Northorpe Station, on the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway. It is noteworthy among the villages of its neighbourhood, in having a history which extends beyond the time of the Domesday Survey. The parish is, on the average, about two miles wide. Its western boundary is the river Trent.

Of its early history little need be said. A charter of Ulfhere, King of the Mercians, carries back the name and something more, if it be accepted as genuine, to the year 664. It is, however, not easy to reconcile it with a charter of Edward the Confessor, from which it would seem that the Abbey of Medeshamslide, afterwards called Peterborough, derived its rights in Scotter from a certain person named Brand.*

The interest which attaches to Scotter depends mainly on its Manor and Liberty. As to when the franchise originated it would be rash for us to speak. Much work has to be done, and many theories now popular cast aside, before we shall find ourselves in a position to explain how the original village communities of our Teutonic ancestors moulded themselves into the manors of the later middle ages. We know, however, enough already to be quite sure that Sir William Blackstone was hopelessly wrong when he informed his readers that a manor was "a district of ground, held by lords or great personages, who kept in their own hands so much land as was necessary for the use of their families . . . . [and] the other, or tenemental lands they distributed among their tenants."† That the English manorial system was in process of development before the Norman Conquest cannot be called in question. It is, however, important to discover whether the free tenants and the various class of unfree had come into the positions in which we find them by voluntary acts of their own or their forefathers, or whether the village community was originally constituted on a basis of servitude. We believe that the former solution will be found to be the one most in accord with the facts of history; but in the present state of knowledge it is premature to affirm anything definitely on a subject which is so obscure.

The Manor and Liberty of Scotter can, as we have said, be proved to have existed, in some form or other, for more than eight hundred years.

We are justified, perhaps, in assuming that in reality its origin dates from a much more remote time. The Manor proper includes only the parish of Scotter with its hamlet of Scalthorpe or Scawthorpe, a place which in most modern books and maps is perversely spelt Scotterthorpe, a corrupt form for which we are pretty certain there is no early authority whatsoever.* The Liberty in which the lord exercised true manorial rights, though of a somewhat different character, extended over the townships of Manton, Holme, Yawthorpe and parts of Scotton, Cleatham, Northorpe, Hibbaldstow, East Butterwick and Messingham. To distinguish exactly what was the different status of the lord in the two districts is, we fear, impossible, unless evidence has eluded us which has been carefully searched for.

It would be interesting to know how the successive Abbots of Peterborough managed this property. It is very improbable that in the earlier time it was let either on lease or by year. We know that many estates, both secular and ecclesiastical, were managed by farm bailiffs. As time went on, it became less and less common for corporate bodies to farm their own lands; the lands were let on

* Kemble, *Codex Dipl.*, v. 7; iv. 169.

† *Commentaries*, book ii., ch. 6, 16th ed., vol. ii., p. 90.

* At the time of the great inclosures of the last century the names of many of our villages were distorted in a most provoking manner, for the purpose, it would seem, of pleasing the uninstructed ears of ignorant people who thought that the forms used by the common people must, of necessity, be wrong. This process of name-corruption may not unfairly be compared with the "restoration" of old buildings which takes place in our own day. It is as stupid a thing to "restore" a word as an abbey, but in the one case the evil is capable of being set right by the exercise of the intelligence, in the other the harm done is for all succeeding time. It is said that we owe the form Scotterthorpe to the "genteel" tastes of the inhabitants of the rectory of some ninety years ago.

long leases. The Lincolnshire estates of the Abbey of Peterborough were no exception. The first extant lease of the Manor of Scotter is dated 1 Richard III.;* but it was not the first of the series, for reference is made in the document to the person who was then the present holder, John Atcliff. This lease of 1483 was granted to George Sheffield and Richard his son † for a term of fifty years. It was, however, terminated in 1538, for in that year a member of another old Lincolnshire family — Sir William Tyrwhitt, of Kettleby ‡—became the tenant under an eighty years' lease. This document presents many points of interest.§ It conveys the Manor-house, all the demesne lands, the wind-mill, "with the sute of the tennantes to the same milne;" certain shops in the market-place, with profits of fairs and markets,|| profits of courts-leet in Scotter, and within its liberties; waifs', estray, and felons' goods, "as well within the libertys of Scottour as within the Towne of Scottour;" right of fishing "in the water callyd Scottour Ee," and a warren of conies.

This right of fishery is remarkable, not in itself, but on account of the spelling of the name of the stream. The little river Eau is an affluent of the Trent. How long the present spelling has been used we do not know. The popular pronunciation is Eá. We have met with it more than once spelt Eay and Hay.

The abbot and convent reserve the advowson of the church, the woods, underwoods, suits of court and many other things, among which we may mention fines on marriage "leachewhites" and "marcheates," also "gressomys for londes and tenements lettyn or to be lettyn by copy of courte rolle, or other wyse." The rent was £8 6s. 8d. per annum. There are the usual covenants for keeping the buildings in repair, and also a clause that Sir William Tyrwhitt and his successors shall not "texe trobble ne sew" the manorial tenants in any court except that of the abbot and convent within the said lordship. The tenant also binds himself to find board and lodging for the abbot and his servants, and food and litter for their horses when they come twice a year for "kepyng of the greate courtes."

The covenant that the chief tenant should not take proceedings against the lord's vassals except in the Lord's Court is very interesting, being, as we have no doubt it is, a survival from the time when all offences, civil and criminal, were adjudicated upon by the members of the small communities wherein they occurred. The Manor-house in which George Sheffield and after him Sir William Tyrwhitt lived, has long ago disappeared. It stood adjoining the churchyard, on the north. It is almost certain that a house of considerable size existed here from an early period, for King John spent the night in Scotter on Sunday, 25th September, 1216. It is certain that there was no other house in Scotter capable of entertaining a royal guest and his retinue.

The early Court-rolls of the Manor have been lost. The oldest now known to exist is dated 1519. We have an almost complete abstract of those that remain now before us.* We propose at the present time only to notice those entries which have a direct relation to the social life of the people. Fines for assault, for bad language and for not baking and brewing according to assize are common to almost all manors, and do not require notice.

In the year in which the records now commence we find proof that, although the herbage in the common pasture belonged to the townsmen, yet that the thorns which grew there did not do so, for William Grey was

* Original among the Bodleian Charters, *Northamptonshire*, No. 12.

† George Sheffield was a younger son of Sir Robert Sheffield, of West Butterwick, who was ancestor of the line of Sheffield, the members of which were successively Lords Sheffield, Earls of Mulgrave, and Dukes of Buckingham.

‡ Sir William Tyrwhitt was eldest son of Sir Robert Tyrwhitt, of Kettleby, by his wife Maud, daughter of Sir Robert Tailboys, of Goulton and Kyme. Sir William married Isabel, daughter of Robert Girlington, of Normanby. He died in 1541, and was buried at Scotter. When Gervaise Holles, the seventeenth-century antiquary, made his church notes, there was in Scotter Church: "In cancello ad austrum tumulus marmoreus ere insculptus *Hic jacet Willelmus Tyrwhitt Miles, qui obiit* 19° *die Martii, Anno Domini* 1541." See *Harl. MS.* 6829, p. 197.

§ The original is among the Bodleian Charters, *Northamptonshire*, No. 13. It is printed in *Pro. Soc. Ant.*, II. S., vol. vi., p. 416.

|| A charter of fair and market was granted by Richard I. See *Mon. Ang.*, vol. i., p. 392.

* Some extracts from my abstract are printed in *Archæologia*, vol. xlvi., pp. 371-388.

presented because he "cutted ligna vocata qwyckwoode;" whether these thorns which William Grey had "cutted" belonged to the lord or whether they were, as is more probable, vested in some of the manorial officers for the purpose of repairing the common hedges, of which there were several, is very uncertain. At the same court Henry Peke was ordered to repair his tenement. Orders of this kind are common in the subsequent rolls, and we have found similar entries in the records of other manors which we have examined. In the case of copyhold tenants the meaning is obvious. It was contrary to the interest of the lord that the property should deteriorate, but there seems proof that in several instances orders of this kind were made upon free-holders. If this be so, it points to a state of society very different from that of the sixteenth century—to a time when the common duty of defence and succour was so much more important than those abstract rights of property which have been the creation of more recent circumstances, that it was held to be a violation of the common law of the community if any one of its members permitted his dwelling to become ruinous. The next important entry is a note of a merchet or payment for marriage of a non-free woman. It is the only one to be found on the rolls. The entry informs us that Alice Overye, "filia Wilhelmi Overey, nativi domini de Scotter," came to the manor-court "et petit licentiam se spontanie et voluntarie maritari." The lord, through his steward, granted the young woman's request on the payment of five shillings. So much learned rubbish has been written concerning the "mercheta mulierum," that it is still needful to bring forward instances to show that it was merely a tax or fee paid to the lord by the vassal when he gave his daughter in marriage, or by the woman herself when not in her father's custody, to compensate the lord for the loss of customary services.*

In 1529, we find an order that no one was to permit his horses to depasture themselves in the cornfields except they were tethered. The meaning of this is not obvious to those who have not local knowledge. The horses, whether tethered or not, were of course not to be permitted to trample upon or eat the growing corn. The open fields of Scotter, like most of the neighbouring manors, were held in long strips. At the ends of these long and narrow plots there was a broad border of grass, like a fringe on a striped hanging; this grass belonged to the owners of the strips, but they could not exercise their right of grazing it with cattle unless the beasts were tied so as to hinder them from trampling down the corn. In 1553, Richard Balay was fined because he suffered a calf to wander in the sown field and to destroy what was there growing. It is pretty certain that this man had turned his calf upon his own bit of grass, and that while he was away it had strayed among the corn.

An order was made this year which, to our modern notions, seems very arbitrary. John Raysbeck was forbidden to remain in the town after the feast of SS. Philip and James under pain of a fine of ten shillings. We presume that Raysbeck was some stranger who had forced his unwelcome company on the community. It is probable, though by no means certain, that if he had been a tenant of the Manor the Court would not have had power to drive him away unless he had incurred a forfeiture; but as to strangers—foreigners as they were called, and the name is itself suggestive—the power of the Court was well-nigh despotic. The village existed for its inhabitants and for them only; if landless strangers came among them—men who had no rights and owed no duties—the whole mechanism of rural life would be thrown out of order. The villagers, when assembled in what was really their common council, exercised here and elsewhere a right which is now, we believe, never enjoyed by authorities that are not sovereign except in some of the communes of Switzerland. How late the practice was continued in England we do not know. It must have been an absolute necessity in times when the office of Justice of the Peace had not been called into existence, and when in practice, if not in theory, manors were self-governing communities whose members never came in contact with royal officers of any kind except when there

* The Court-rolls of the Manor of Isleworth, 7 Edward II., mention a naif being amerced for marrying without a license, *Hist. MSS. Com.*, vol. vi., p. 232. The "droit de seigneur" legend has been admirably exposed in Dr. Karl Schmidt's *Jus Primæ Noctis: cine geschichtliche Untersuchung*, *cf. Academy*, March 25, 1882, p. 207.

was a subsidy to pay or a military force to be raised. There was also a small fine imposed on all persons who did not fill up their "furstowk holes." This order, we may assume, would not be readily intelligible to those who do not live in Lincolnshire or other parts of England where underground timber exists. In much of the low land within the Manor of Scotter the peat-moss contains large quantities of timber. These trees have been dug up from time immemorial for the purpose of making spars for roofs and gate-posts; their roots were used as fuel. If the holes from which they were taken were not filled up level with the rest of the common, water would accumulate, and cattle run much risk of being drowned. Another instance now occurs of a person being ordered to quit the town. In this case there can be no doubt that he was a stranger, not a manorial tenant, for his Christian name was unknown. He is simply described as . . . . Patyson. He had been guilty of what must have seemed a grave offence to the villagers. He had sold to strangers—that is, folk outside the Manor, furze and turves. It must be borne in mind that in the sixteenth century coal was almost unknown in Lincolnshire. If used at all, of which we have not seen conclusive evidence, it was only a luxury of the rich. To sell the turves which were required for the fires of the household, and the furze which were wanted for the purpose of heating the ovens for baking bread, was an action which must have seemed particularly atrocious, especially when committed by one who had himself no right to the use of them. Wanderers of this kind were a constant source of trouble to the orderly people who wished that the town should be governed with a strict regard to the common welfare. An order occurs in the same roll that no two inhabitants—families is no doubt meant—shall live on the same toft. A fine of 6s. 8d. is directed against the practice of taking in lodgers. We have ourselves often cause to wish, in the presence of the overcrowding which degrades the lives of so many of the poor, that a local court had power to make and enforce laws similar in spirit to those of the old time, to which the people seem to have given unmurmuring obedience.

In 1556 we find an order of some interest, as showing that certain portions of the arable land were held strictly in common. It was ordered that no one should gather "any peyse-coddes without lycence upon payne of iij^{s} iiij^{d}." In many, perhaps most of the Lindsey Manors, it was the practice to sow each year a certain portion of land with peas for the use of the poor. Strict regulations had to be made and enforced as to the time of the year when the peas were to be gathered, and the hours of the day when it should be lawful to do so. In the Louth churchwardens' accounts for this very year there is a payment entered to "William East for knylling the bell in harvest for gathering of pescodes," and in a fine roll of the Manor of Kirton in Lindsey for 1631, we find a person mulct one shilling for "gathering peascods contrarie to order."

In 1559 we find for the first time in the records a limitation of the right of turning stock on the common. In earlier times it is probable that the commons of Scotter, and the neighbouring manors, were what is called "unstinted." As time went on, and money became more plentiful, this was found to lead to grave injustice. In the olden time men had only kept as much stock on the common as their land, which was held in severalty, could maintain throughout the year; but now persons having money in hand invested it in sheep, not for their own use, but for the purpose of selling them again at a profit. Thus the poorer class of manorial tenants suffered a heavy wrong, for the number of cattle became so great that the animals could not find food needful to keep them alive. To remedy this state of things, it was enacted that "Nullus vocatus husbandman custodiet ultra quadraginta oves pro uno bovato terre," and the cottagers only half that number.

In 1562 an order was made that no one should brew or bake in the night-time. This is probably a re-enactment of an order of much older date. Almost every house in the village was built of "stud and mud," that is, timber and clay. The covering was universally thatch; such an order was most needful for the prevention of fires. The same year furnishes us with an order that no one should plough up "le meaerffurres" within the fields. The meerfurrow, or marfur,* in

* Meere, mere, or mear, means any mark or

an open field, is the narrow strip of grass which divides one property from another. If these strips were encroached upon, the boundaries of estates became liable to dispute.

In 1565 another precaution was taken against fire. George Lee was fined one shilling because he had put hemp near his fire. The practice is described as "malum et perniciosum exemplum." Another still more foolish person, called Thomas Dawson, actually broke hemp in his chimney. To break hemp means to separate the fibre from the bark, or husk. It was a common, but a most dangerous practice in the cold nights of winter to sit on the bench in the large open chimney, and spend the time in talking, while the fingers were occupied in disengaging the hemp-fibre from its surroundings. The refuse of hemp is highly inflammable, and fires must constantly have resulted from this cause. Almost every manor whose records we have examined contain injunctions against this very dangerous practice.

In 1578 Nicholas Hugget was fined the large sum of one pound because he occupied two leas near Messingham. A lea signifies in this neighbourhood not natural grass-land, but land that has been at one time or other under plough, and has afterwards been laid down to grass, or gone out of cultivation. Leas seem always here to have been held in common, not in severalty. Hugget's crime, for which he was fined so heavily, was great. He had robbed the whole community by appropriating to himself, and we imagine ploughing up, some of the common pasture.

It would be possible to extend this paper to a very much greater length than it has already reached, for almost every entry that is not merely formal furnishes food for thought, and might be an apt text for a discourse on those old modes of rural life, which began we know not when, and only came to an end during the childhood of some who are yet among us. The writer will feel that he has done some good should his paper be the means of inducing anyone who has the custody of, or access to, old manorial records, to examine every entry carefully, and give to the public, in some form or other, every fact that bears on the social life of the past. One other remark must be made ere we conclude. The court-rolls of manors are often quite as serviceable as parish registers in furnishing evidence of pedigree. Some, too, as those of the great Manor of Kirton in Lindsey, contain many wills entered at length, which do not, as far as is known, exist elsewhere.

boundary which divides one person's land from another, or any division between one parish, township or manor and another. George Gascoigne uses the word in his *Fruites of Warre:*

"Oh countrie clownes, your closes see you keepe
With hedge and ditche and mark your meade with meares.
Ed. Chalmers, 24.

Witchcraft in the Sixteenth Century.

THE records ofwitchcraft are among the most painful and the most curious of past times. How terribly the superstition worked upon the minds of the poorer class is shown by the fearful experiences which they had to undergo; how the upper classes were impressed is shown by such curious cases as Mistress Jane Shore and Dr. Fian. But there is something much more important than even these details of the workings of witchcraft, namely, the consideration as to how very nearly it became a power in the land with a recognised priesthood and cult, and with votaries and believers among all classes. Mr. Keary, in his *Origin of Primitive Belief*, has ably touched upon this side of the question, and it is a side which to the scientific spirit of the present age is one of deep and curious significance in the history of civilization. All branches of folk-lore now are recognised to be of scientific value, but the recognition has been tardy and partial. In the branch relating to witchcraft, however, it has very long been recognised that no inquirer into the history of man in civilized Europe during the Middle Ages can afford to ignore the influence of witchcraft in the moulding of events.

Perhaps the most curious book in the English language upon witchcraft is Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, first published in 1584, "imprinted by William Brome," and now about to be reprinted by Dr. E. B.

Nicholson.* Copies of this edition have long been extremely scarce, and one sold for twenty guineas at a sale a few months ago. Other editions were issued; that of 1651, "printed by R. C., and are to be sold by Giles Calvert," being, next to the first edition, the most curious. But after this date, the book has never been reproduced. The great rarity of the first edition is perhaps to be accounted for by the fact that James I. had a great many copies of it burnt.

Scot is most curious in the information he gives about those who believed in and practised witchcraft, and his book is a mine of wealth to those who interest themselves in this subject. "They can raise spirits, drie up springs, turne the course of running waters, inhibit the sunne, and staie both day and night, changing the one into the other. They can go in and out at auger-holes, and saile in an egge-shell, a cockle or mussel shell, through and under the tempestuous seas . . . . They can teare snakes in peeces with words, and with looks kill lambes . . . . They can also bring to passe that, chearne as long as you list, your butter will not come." It is not to be supposed that old Scot agrees with all this. Some curious observations are interspersed up and down the book, which is, of course, written against the prevailing belief in witchcraft, showing in quaint, dry humour how thoroughly the author laughed at the superstition he was endeavouring to disprove. "But in this case a man may saie," he says, referring to the passage above quoted about killing lambs with looks, etc., "that miranda canunt sed non credenda poetæ."

Scot quotes largely from Bodin's *De Dæmoniis*, and in a curious passage describing the assemblages of witches, says, "Here some of Monsieur Bodin's lies may be inserted, who saith that at these magicall assemblies, the witches never faile to danse; and in their danse they sing these words:

> Har, Har,
> Divell, divell,
> Danse here,
> Danse here,
> Plaie here,
> Plaie here,
> Sabbath, Sabbath;

and whiles they sing and danse, everie one hath a broome in her hand and holdeth it up aloft. Item he saith that these night-walking or rather night-dansing witches brought out of Italie into France that danse which is called La volta."

Often does Scot indulge in sly sarcasms against the doings of the day, and the next passage to the above gives a good example of this: "A part of their league is to scrape off the oile which is received in extreame follie (unction I should have said)."

Witchcraft became much used to obtain the nefarious ends of a licentious nobility or wealthy merchant princes, and this is the largest and most instructive portion of Scot's book. He tells story after story, often as entertaining as those given in Boccaccio, and very little better in their method of thoroughly unveiling the corruptness of the times in which he wrote; and Scot has to exclaim of more than one story that he relates, that as for the lewdness, neither of the writers who support the existence of witchcraft "doo once so much as speake in the dispraise thereof."

His fourth book is devoted to stories dealing with such matters; and he prefixes to it a curious "request to such readers as loath to heare or read filthie and bawdie matters (which of necessitie are heere to be inserted) to passe over eight chapters." All these stories are extremely amusing, but they serve only as evidence, already pretty well accumulated, of the growing evils which priestcraft and other powers were exercising upon the minds of a credulous and ignorant people. "O, excellent peece of witchcraft or cousening wrought by the holie bishop Sylvanus!" exclaims Scot, after one of the stories.

Some of the stories told as witch stories are of more general interest. Thus we get the Legend of Tel in the story of Pumher: "One souldier [who] dailie through witchcraft killed with his bowe and arrowes three of the enimies as they stood peeping over the walles of a castell besieged: so as in the end he killed them all quite saving one . . . . This was he that shot at a pennie on his sonnes head and made readie another arrow to have slaine the duke Remgrave that commanded it."

There are other scraps of folk-lore to be obtained from this book. The visit of Incubus or his cousin Robin Goodfellow at

* We have been favoured with some advanced sheets of this interesting reprint, and make use of them in the following article. The book is to be issued to subscribers by Mr. Elliot Stock.

night and their sweeping the kitchen is a well-known piece of fairy-lore. All goes well until the maids in mistaken kindness laid some "clothes for him besides his messe of white bread and milke which was his standing fee; for in that case he saith:

> What have we here?
> Hemton hamten,
> Here will I never more
> Tread nor stampen.

One very curious section of the book is devoted to the art of juggling, and it shows

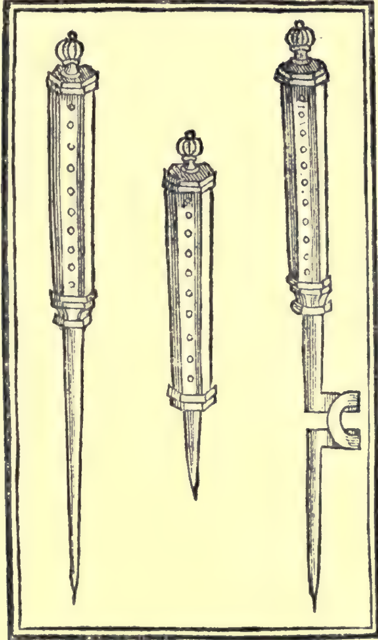


FIG. 1.

how the people were deceived by the most transparent devices. One of these tricks is "to thrust a bodkin through your toong and a knife through your arme—a pitifull sight—without hurt or danger;" and the quaint marginal note says, "A forme or patterne of this bodkin or knife you shal see described if you turne over a few leaves forward" (Fig. 1). The block here used by Scot we reproduce, and it shows the device by which, by means of a peculiarly made knife, it was made to appear that a cut had been produced. "The hethermost is the bodkin w^{t} the bowt; ye middlemost is the bodkin with the holow haft; the furthermost is the plain bodkin serving for shew," says Scot in explanation; and in another place he quaintly observes, "And the wound will appeare to be more terrible if a little bloud be powred thereupon." A more elaborate trick was "to cut off one's head and to laie it in a platter which the jugglers call the decollation of John the Baptist." This is also exposed by Scot, both in his text and

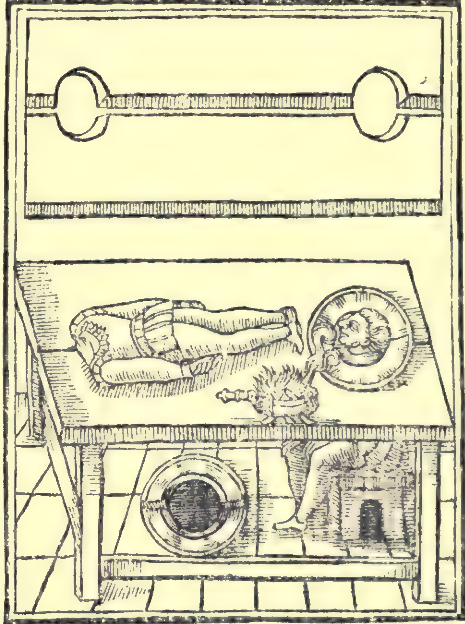


FIG. 2.

by means of an illustration, which, we think, will be acceptable to our readers (Fig. 2). There is no necessity, indeed, to quote Scot's description of the trick, as the curious block explains it fully. One could go on quoting such interesting memorials of past social life from this curious old work, but enough has been said, we think, to point out some of its chief peculiarities.

Dr. Nicholson has, we understand, discovered some interesting facts about Scot's life, and these will be recorded in the introduction to the forthcoming edition of the *Discoverie of Witchcraft.* Scot was a gentleman of Kent, and was educated at Oxford. He was twice married—first, to Jane (not Alice) Cobbe; and secondly, to Alice (Collyar?), a widow, whom he left a widow.

The Battle of Brunanburgh.

[*Ante*, vol. xi., p. 68; xii., 168.]

BY C. STANILAND WAKE.

IF Mr. Welby had looked a little nearer the Humber for the site of this famous battle, he would, I think, have been more correct in his identification. There does not appear to be any historical ground for associating the name Brunanbyrig with Flamborough; and even if these two words had the same meaning, the locality is not a suitable one. It may be assumed that Anlaf's fleet entered the Humber, and it no doubt remained there until after the battle which determined the fate of the expedition. The *Saxon Chronicle* says that the Northmen's chieftain fled with a little band to a ship in which they departed on the "fallow flood." This description applies well to the Humber, whose muddy water may fairly be termed *fallow*, that is, reddish yellow. The Northmen knew well the broad road into the heart of Northumbria furnished by that river and its tributaries, and in seeking a position for Brunanburh the real question to decide would seem to be whether the fleet of Anlaf remained in the Humber itself, or made for a point further inland. In Harold's reign the five hundred vessels of Hardràda and Tostig went up the Ouse as far as Rickall, ten miles from York. This invasion, which the battle of Stamford Bridge terminated, exhibits in its incidents a close parallelism with that which was brought to a close by the battle of Brunanburh. There can hardly be a doubt that the point aimed at in each case was the same. Lappenberg supposes that Anlaf and his brother-in-law Constantine, King of Scotland, wished to form a Dano-Northumbrian kingdom, which might serve as a defence for both Scotland and the Welsh kingdom of Cumberland. The chief Danish city of Northumbria was York, and although Athelstan had some years before Anlaf's invasion caused the fort constructed there by the Danes to be destroyed, that city was still looked upon as the northern capital. There is nothing to show, however, that the invaders who fought at Brunanburh had approached York, or that they advanced far from their fleet. Mention, indeed, is made of a city in connection with Athelstan's movements. It is not named, but it cannot have been far from Athelstan's camp; as the attack on Athelstan's quarters took place on the night of the same day as that on which Anlaf visited the Saxon encampment in disguise. There are reasons for fixing on Beverley as the city in question. After the battle Athelstan visited that place to redeem a dagger which he had a few years previously, when on his way to Scotland, placed on the high altar of Saint John of Beverley.

Among other places in which the battle of Brunanburh has been located, a spot near the mouth of the Humber is named by Florence of Worcester, and Brunesburh-on-Humber by Peter Langtoft, while a modern writer, Mr. C. H. Pearson, favours Brunanbeorh, near Beverley. As it happens, there is no such place as Mr. Pearson mentions near Beverley. If there was, it would be difficult to dispute its claim to the honour of having given its name to the great fight. Peter Langtoft is, however, more accurate. A glance at Mr. Welby's list of names given to the place of battle shows that nearly all of them include the word *Brunan* or *Brune*. In Knight's *Pictorial History of England*, *Brugh*, said to be in North Lincolnshire, is mentioned as the locality. There is a Bourne, formerly Brune, in South Lincolnshire, but there is no Brugh in any part of the county. North of Lincolnshire, however, on the Yorkshire bank of the Humber, is a place called Brough. Here was the Roman station and camp of Ad Petuarium, on the road from Lincoln to York, established to protect the ferry across the Humber. We have thus at Brough a place exactly fitted as a landing-place for the invading Danes and Northmen. It not only furnished a favourable base for operations which were intended to lead to the conquest of Northumbria, but it commanded one of Athelstan's most important lines of communication. A confirmation of the opinion that Brough is intended by *Brunan* or *Brune* may be found in the fact that Symeon of Durham calls the place where the battle was fought Brunanbyrge, *Weondune*, or *Ethrunnanwerck*. A local antiquary states that the Roman camp has evidently been much

enlarged by a formidable chain of earthworks, still in existence, which enclose an elevated district forming the southern extremity of the Yorkshire Wolds. The earthworks extend beyond a village called Little Weighton towards Beverley, and the enclosed space is amply sufficient to contain the entire army of the invaders. The names *Weondune* and *Ethrunnanwerck* may have been learnt on the spot by Symeon, and may well refer to the village of Weighton and its surrounding earthworks, near which the battle was actually fought. The neighbourhood of Little Weighton is noted for its earthworks, and the place appears to take its name from being situate on the road or way between Brough and Beverley; as Market Weighton, a few miles further west, is the town on the road to York. Brunanburh has been supposed to have a similar meaning in Celtic, from *brwynen*, a path, and *bur*, an entrenchment. That a great battle was in Saxon times fought on the elevated plain enclosed by the fortifications referred to is certain. Along its whole extent, in every direction, are found long trenches, about seven feet deep and nine feet across at the top, "in which the remains of many thousands of bodies of men and horses, the remnants of leathern belts, accoutrements, iron-bossed shields, dresses, armour, etc., have been from time to time, and are still, found." The bodies had evidently been burnt, as at the bottom of each trench was found about three inches of charcoal and twelve inches of bone-earth, etc. The plain and its surroundings must have answered exactly to the description given in Egil's *Saga* of the field of battle.

I lay no claim to the merit of this identification, which appears to me to be well established. The credit of it is due to the late Mr. Edward Witty, of Cottingham, near Hull, who some years ago, I believe, laid a paper on the subject before one of the Archæological Societies.* Mr. Witty supported this theory by reference to various local names† which he thought related to incidents of the battle, and which will be found on the Ordnance Survey map. Some of those names at least had probably a different origin, but they are very suggestive.* Among them is one which certainly does not bear the interpretation put upon it. Numerous tumuli exist in the neighbourhood of "the plains," as the field of battle is still called, and a very large one is known as Howe Hill. This is supposed to have been erected in honour of Howel Dha, the famous Welsh monarch. Apart from the fact that the name Howe may be attached to any tumulus, there is nothing to show that Howel Dha was at the battle of Brunanburh. It could probably be proved that he was not there at all, and he appears to have died A.D. 948, that is, about ten years after the battle. The tumulus on Howe Hill was opened some years ago, and in it were found many hundreds of skeletons, besides portions of iron-bossed shields, weapons, and other objects. If the tumulus did take its name from any Welsh or British prince, it is more likely to have been Owen of Cumberland, who was in the fight, but he is not named among the slain.

* I have been indebted chiefly to a "Lecture on the Battle of Brunanburgh," by Mr. C. S. Todd, based on Mr. Witty's researches.

† Many of the villages show their Danish origin by the termination *by*. The battle took place in the parish of Skidby, and Athelstan's camp was at Risby.

* Among them are *Rush Hill*, *Westamwoods*, *Thickerdales*, *Cowlers*, *The Blackery*, *Hindercroft*, *The Stripes*, *Beatrix Garth*, *Hell Garth*, *The Lion's Den*, *Warnutts*, *Backaties*, *Loscars*.

The First Triad of Irish Type.

BY JOSEPH MANNING.

PART II.

IT is plain from the account given in last month's issue that the translation of the New Testament engaged three separate sets of labourers, and the present article will be devoted to these workers. O'Kearney and Walsh began the work; O'Donnellan, O'Donnell, and MacBrody continued it, bringing it to the end of the four Gospels; and O'Donnell and O'Higgin completed it. The latter gave the epistolary part of the work the last finish of oghum and correctness.

The work was evidently regarded as one of great importance by the Government, as

appears by its anxiety to promote those embarked on it to important positions. Kearney and Walsh were both offered bishoprics in 1572, the former that of Tuam, and his collaborateur the neighbouring one of Kilmacduagh. Both declined. O'Donnellan was promoted to the Archbishopric of Tuam in 1595. Walsh in 1577 accepted the Bishopric of Ossory, where he met his death at the hands of an assassin named Dullard, whom, Sir James Ware tells us, revenge for being cited into the Bishop's court on an accusation of adultery armed with a skein, with which he stabbed the Bishop in his own house in 1585.

The name of Maoilin og MacBrody is identified with the evangelic part of the work. He stood in all likelihood in the same relation to this part that O'Higgin did to the epistolary. He gave it the last polish of oghum and correctness. This connection of two Irish scholars with the revision of the style, will serve to enhance the value of this Irish Testament as a literary production. The work was one of an exceedingly slow growth, extending with intervals of interruption over a space of thirty years, and engaging the exertions of six scholars, four divines, and two Irish literati. One of the Irish scholars, MacBrody, was of a family of the hereditary historians of Thomond; and he himself so early as the year 1563 arrived at the position of chief poet of his tribe, which was seated in the south-west of Clare, and occupied the territories of Ui Fermaic and Ui Brecain (Ibrikane), the chief families of which were the O'Gradys and O'Gormans. That he was no mean poet we have the testimony of the Four Masters; and we must remember that the title of "poet," as used by them, is equivalent to some such expression as "Professor of Literature and History" with us. His abilities as an historian are proved by the *Book of Maoilin og Mac Bruaideadoa*, an historical compilation bearing his name, which dealt with recent events from 1588 to 1602, and which the Four Masters thought worthy of incorporation into their own celebrated production. The work itself of Maoilin og has not survived to show to what extent this was done, but the Four Masters are emphatic in their praise of the author. "There was not in Ireland," say they, "in the person of one individual, a better historian, poet, or rhymer than he."

His poetry served him in good stead on one occasion. When Red Hugh O'Donnell in 1599 made a raid into Thomond, the cattle of Maoilin og were carried off by some of his plundering parties. Maoilin followed the retreating chieftain, and presented him with an Irish quatrain, which so pleased O'Donnell that he restored the cattle to the poet. The composition of such an affair seems to have been a delicate piece of business just at the time. By flattering the northern Prince, he was almost certain to offend his own immediate lord, Donogh O'Brien, fourth Earl of Thomond, whose lands O'Donnell had ravaged. But Maoilin steered clear of the difficulty by his skill in poetry and prosody. His verse described the raid as being foretold long ago by St. Colmcill. The northern chief was flattered by the prophecy, which made him a heaven-appointed agent; while the southern earl was helped by it to shift the blame of what his people suffered from his own unguardedness to the door of a destined fate. The closing line was framed with art to represent, according to the way it was punctuated, all assistance as coming from the north, or from the Lord. The northern chief read it, it may be supposed, the former way, for Maoilin got back his cattle; nor was Donogh O'Brien offended, for he naturally removed the point, and read it the latter way. (See O'Donovan's *Four Masters, an.* 1599, note). The poet did not long survive the close of his history and the publication of his labours on the New Testament, for he died on the very last day of the year 1602, which terminated the one and gave the other to the world.

Of O'Higgin we can ascertain nothing certain. There are some slight poetic remains of two persons who bear his name, viz., Donnell O'Higgin—one, the son of Brian—the other, the son of Thomas. The editor of the Testament may be identical with the latter, who was alive in the year 1600, according to the *Poetic Collection of Fergal MacWard*, which contains a poem of his of 164 verses, on the election of Turlogh Luineach O'Neill as chief of his tribe in 1567.

From the dedication of the New Testament

to King James I., which is in English, and signed William Daniell, we gain little further information, beyond an acquaintance with the author which is scarcely calculated to improve our esteem of him. A servile canting tone pervades it, and the utter contempt of the Irish people it betrays is simply an outrage. "They have been sitting in darkness," he says, "and in the shadow of death, without hope, without Christ, without God in the world, deprived of this heavenly comfort, but notwithstanding that our late dread Soveraigne Elizabeth of famous memorie, in the beginning of her most happie raigne provided the Irish characters, and other instruments for the presse, yet hath Sathan hitherto prevailed, and still they remain Lo-ruchama, Lo-ammi, through the ignorance of our Ministers, the carelessness of our Magistrates, and the subtilitie of Antichrist and his vassals, the filthy frye of Romish seducers, the hellish firebrands of all our troubles. Yet blessed be the memorie of such as have given the first attempt to enterprise the worke, namely, Maister Nicholas Walsh, that famous Bisshoppe and Martyr, Maister John Kearny, and Nehemias Donellan, whose godly indevours were notwithstanding untimely cut off in God's secret judgment, and the waight of the burden cast upon my weake shoulders, under which burden how conscionably I have groned they only can judge, that can confer this translation with the original Greeke, unto which I tyed myself as in dutie I ought." The absence of all mention of his Irish collaborateurs is as remarkable as the singular expression with which he accompanies the mention of the English ones, 'that their godly indevours were untimely cut off in God's secret judgment." He compliments Sir William Usher's "fervent zeal and Christian affection, which," he says, "did greatly kindle mine affection to follow the worke with all earnestnesse." He tells us that "following the steps of his most religious father, he willingly undertook the greater part of the charges of this impression." He further makes allusion to the disastrous time of war in which the work was carried forward, blesses in three successive sentences the memory of Elizabeth, Jehovah, and Lord Mountjoy, and prays thus in conclusion, "that your Majestie may never want of the fruite of your bodie, to sit on your throne as long as the sunne and moone shall endure. Amen."

The imprint at the foot of the title-page informs us that the work was "printed at Dublin, in the house of Master William Uiseir, near the Bridge, by John Francke, 1602."

The names of the two Ushers, father and son, are inextricably linked with the earliest issues that remain to us of the Irish press. They put their hands into their private purse to tide over the penurious halt of the Government. John, the Alderman of 1571, became Mayor of Dublin in 1574. He seems to have had a reforming mind, in which revolved for the Irish people vast schemes of piety, polity, and plunder. He writ a book, says Sir James Ware, *De Reformatione Hiberniae.* The State Papers tell us of a scheme of his for debasing the coinage, which Archbishop Loftus strongly recommends to the Council in England, as sure to enrich her Majesty to the amount of £10,000 per annum. The same Loftus pressed on the same Council, in the year 1564, Usher's "zeal in the religion of Christ" as a qualification he possessed for farming the tolls of Dublin next Michaelmas. We find him employed on missions between the Irish Government and her Majesty's English Council. Two of his proposals to her Majesty's Council, and these probably in his own handwriting, still remain among the Burghley Papers in the British Museum; one, "for the mayntenance of the staple in her Majestie's realme of Irelande"; the other for the appointment of an agent in Ireland, "who should worke with the companyes of merchaunds, as well of fflaunders and france, as also Spaine and portingall, for the dispache of our hides at the prices they are now sold for, which is fiftie pounds a laste." This document was entertained, as an elaborate answer divided into nine headings which accompanies it, shows. (In Lansdowne MSS., cxiv. 36.)

Sir William Usher, the elder, Knight, his son, was appointed Clerk of the Council 24th March, 1594. He, too, was zealous for the Reformed Religion, and a faithful servant of the Crown. He contributed his money

to bring out the New Testament, in the interests of the former; and he generously subscribed £200 in 1606 to the army, in the interests of the latter. Another connection of the New Testament, Franckton, its printer, subscribed £40 to the army at the same time.

(*To be continued.*)

Notes on our Popular Antiquities.

By W. Carew Hazlitt.

II. CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

The Borrowed Days.

SPEAKING of the death of King James I., in 1625, at a time when a furious storm was raging along the Scottish coast, Chambers remarks:* "This was long after remembered as the storm of the *Borrowing Days* . . . It is a proverbial observation of the weather, which seems to be justified by fact, the bad weather being connected with the vernal equinox."

Nuptial Usages.

Rings.—Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, in his *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, 1883, has shown that the great poet had a precontract with his wife, a matter of common occurrence in those days. The parties plighted their faith to each other before two or more witnesses, and considered themselves practically united in wedlock. The lady seems to have usually received as a token a bent or crooked sixpence, but sometimes, as we shall see, the money was broken between them. Mr. Phillipps cites a case in which the lover presented his mistress with a pair of gloves, two oranges, two handkerchiefs, and a red silk girdle, and this was in the same year (1582) in which Shakespeare was engaged to Anne Hathaway.

The practice of giving Rush rings reminds us to some extent of this system of precontracts, to which an allusion has just been made in connection with Shakespeare himself. All these loose and uncertain bonds, unsanctioned by the law or the Church, were naturally more or less prone to abuse.

* *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, 2nd ed., i., p. 553.

Lady Fanshawe, in her *Memoirs*, mentions that she was married with her mother's wedding-ring, which her father gave her for the purpose. Her words are: "None was at our wedding but my dear father, who, at my mother's desire, gave me her wedding-ring, with which I was married . . ."

The usage of lovers wearing on holidays the rings given to them by their mistresses, may seem to be partly borne out by Chaucer, although the reference occurs in a poem which was little more than a paraphrase of Boccaccio's *Filostrato*. In the second book of *Troilus and Cressida* the poet makes Troilus and Cressida exchange rings, "of wych," he adds, "I cannot telle no scripture;" that is, I cannot say what were the posies.

In Cartwright's *Ordinary*, apparently written in 1634, the Antiquary betrothes the widow Potluck with his biggest cramp-ring.

Bandling.—According to a writer in the *Penny Magazine*, bandling was well known in Northumberland in or about 1830; but the writer does not seem to have heard that it was attended by very serious evils. But the practice is not confined to this country.

Banns.—In the early ballad of *Robin Hood and Allen a Dale*, we have a curious reference to the banns, where the bishop says, in answer to Robin:

> That shall not be, the bishop he said,
> For thy word shall not stand;
> They shall be three times askt in the church,
> As the law is of our land.

Giving away the Bride.—In *Friar Bacons Prophesie*, 1604, the father is made to give away his daughter. At one time he also performed the civil ceremony of marriage.

The Service in the Church.—In the account of the wedding of Sir William Plumpton and Joan Wintringham about 1450, it is said that the bridegroom took the bride with his right hand, and repeated after the vicar: *Here I take the Jhennett to my wedded wyfe to hold and to have, att bed and att bord, for farer or lather, for better for warse, in sicknesse and in hele, to dede us depart, and tharto I plight the my trouth*, and that Joan made like response incessantly to Sir William, after which the minister said in their presence the mass of the

Holy Trinity. The bridegroom, it seems, was dressed in green checkery, and Joan in red.*

Ribbons.—It is particularly stated by Lady Fanshawe, in her account of the marriage of Charles II. and Catherine of Braganza, at which Sir Richard Fanshawe was a special guest, that the bride's ribbons were cut into pieces, and distributed among the company.

We see in a note to Pepys' *Diary*, under date of January 17, 1667-8, that at the marriage of Princess Anna of Prussia with Prince Frederic of Hesse, May 30, 1853, the Oberhofmeister distributed to the gentlemen present small pieces of riband, on which the initials of the bride were embroidered, and the editor adds that this was a modified form of cutting up the bride's garter. "Formerly," he observes, "it was the custom for a Prussian Princess, immediately on leaving the company, to take her garter from her knee, and send it to the King, who tied one half of it round his own sword-knot, and sent the remainder, as the most attractive present he could offer, to a neighbouring and chivalrous monarch."

Invitation to the Feast.—In the *Penny Magazine* for January, 1835, an improved and more ambitious form of communication (among the humbler classes) to the friends of the parties is given. A couple, belonging to Caermarthenshire, are represented as addressing to friends a circular as follows:

"DEAR FRIEND,—We take the convenience to inform you that we confederate to such a design as to enter under the sanction of matrimony on the 19th of February inst. And as we feel our hearts inclining to regard the ancient custom of our ancestors, *of Heliogaeth Gomer*, we intend to make a wedding-feast the same day, at the respective habitation of our parent; we hereby most humbly invite your pleasing and most comfortable fellowship at either of which places; and whatever kindness your charitable hearts should then grant, will be accepted with congratulation and most lovely acknowledgment, carefully recorded and returned, with preparedness and joy, whenever a similar occasion overtakes you, by your affectionate servants,
DAVID JOSHUA,
MARY WILLIAMS."

* *Plumpton Correspondence*, Camd. Soc., lxxvii.

The Feast.—At the marriage of Philip and Mary, at Winchester, July 25th, 1555, the second course of dishes was claimed, as of custom, by the bearer. One of these, Edward Underhill, in the extant narrative of his imprisonment, etc., 1553-5, has left the following account: "The second course at the marriage of a King is given unto the bearers; I mean the meat, but not the dishes, for they were of gold. It was my chance to carry a great pasty of a red deer in a great charger, very delicately baked, which, for the weight thereof, divers refused. The which pasty I sent into London, to my wife and her brother."

The Posset or Caudle.—Montaigne, in his essay *Of the Force of Imagination*,* speaks of the caudle as having in his time been administered to the bridegroom, not prior to the retirement of the guests, but in the course of the night. He observes in relation to a friend: "For I would do him the office of a friend, and, if need were, would not spare a miracle it was in my power to do, provided he would engage to me, upon his honour, to keep it to himself; and only when they came to bring him his caudle, if matters had not gone well with him, to give me such a sign and leave the rest to me."

But in the story of the *Curst Wife lapt in Morels Skin* (about 1575) the caudle is brought by the mother in the morning.

Consummation.—In the time of Montaigne, at least, it came to be a belief in France that, where any ill-will or jealousy existed against the husband, the latter might counteract the malignant influence by repeating a certain charm three times, at each time tying round his middle with a ribbon a certain thin plate of metal inscribed with cabalistic characters; and the essayist furnishes an account of a case in which he assisted a friend in this sort of dilemma. But the idea was of course not confined to the French, though we do not seem to have recognised the practice here in the same form, and our marriage ribbons, whatever their secret import might be, were differently in outward semblance treated and viewed. The same writer† adduces in his graphic fashion many other illustrations of the same kind relevant to nuptial proceedings; but

* *Essays*, ed. 1877, i., pp. 102-3.
† *Essays*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, i., p. 102.

they are derived, as is usual and natural with him, from any source rather than English, and so fall outside the immediate object before us.

The Dunmow Flitch.—In Playford's *Catch that Catch Can*, 1685, is a copy, *set to music*, of the oath to be taken at Dunmow. See a letter from Horace Walpole to Lady Aylesbury, August 23rd, 1760.

Maritagium.—This was a fine on the marriage of an heiress similar to the *mercheta mulierum*, but devolved, not on the lord, but the King. An exemption from this tribute formed one of the immunities of the Cinque Ports.

Mercheta Mulierum.—With reference to what I have said in the Glossary to the last edition of Blount's *Tenures*, 1874, I now desire to record my impression that this *mercheta* was at the outset both here and elsewhere an incidence of serfdom, that it was subsequently commuted for a fine, but that, as I have shown in my Blount, a freeman could plead exemption even from the latter. But I believe that in Scotland, Wales, and Ireland the practice, like every other relic of antiquity, lingered much longer, and that the commutation was not so great, or the line of distinction so clearly defined; and the laxity in this respect, when the laws of property began to assert themselves, may have had something to do with the discredit cast on the first issue of a marriage among the lower class, and the tendency to favour the second son in testamentary dispositions.

Cuckoldom.—A great deal has been said of the cuckoo building no nest of its own, and making use of those of other birds, both for accommodation and hatching. A case lately* occurred in Cheshire, in which a cuckoo was found to have deposited its eggs in the nest of a wagtail, which was sitting upon them.

The Skimmington.—Pepys in his *Diary*, June 10th, 1667, writes: "Down to Greenwich, where I find the street full of people, there being a great riding there to-day for a man, the constable of the town, whose wife beat him."

Child-bearing.—It is a belief among the Cornish fishwomen, that the use of the ray-fish, which is common on the north-west, is conducive to parturition.

* *Daily News* for Sept. 4, 1879.

It was (1877) stated in the *Daily News*, that the practice was known at Bearn or Berne, in Switzerland, of the husband lying down in the wife's stead; and it is also still believed that a pregnant woman may be exempt from suffering or pain, if her husband bears it by proxy.

It is related that when Mary, Queen of Scots was lying in, the Countess of Athole, who was supposed to have magical powers, was at the same place in a similar situation; and it is stated by some one who was at Edinburgh Castle at the time, that Lady Athole cast the pains of her own childbirth on the lady who was attending on the Queen.

Chambers remarks:* "It was a prevalent belief of that age, that the pains of parturition could be transferred by supernatural art; and not merely to another woman, but to a man or to one of the lowest animals. Amongst the charges against an enchantress of the upper ranks called Euphani McCalyean, twenty-five years after this time, is one to the effect that, for relief of her pain at the time of the birth of her own sons, she had had a bored stone laid under her pillow, and enchanted powder rolled up in her hair, likewise "your guidman's sark taen aff him, and laid whomplit under your bed-feet: the whilk being practisit, your sickness was casten aff you unnaturally upon ane dog, whilk ran away, and was never seen again."

Christening.—At ordinary christenings, at least, it appears to have been the custom in Pepys's day (*Diary*, August 28th, 1667) for the godfather to give the name in the case of a boy, and the godmother otherwise.

Bishopping.—There is another and very different process, known technically as *bishopping*. In the printing business it used, before the introduction of the roller, to be the duty of the pressman to see to the bishopping of the balls, made of sheepskin and attached to a stock, which are used to ink the type before printing. These balls, which are of a considerable size, must be kept soft and moist to receive the ink, and this result is, or used to be, obtained by wrapping them after employment, against the following occasion, in a blanket dipped in a fluid not now to be mentioned.

* *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, 2nd ed., i., p. 39.

Customs at Deaths.

Gloves.—At the funeral of John Wilson, a Sussex gentleman, in 1640, there were one hundred and fifty pairs of gloves.*

The Procession.—In Cornwall, the manner among the lower orders is to bear the coffin almost level with the ground, slung on trestle-boards, the members of the procession taking turns; and the dead body occupies the centre of the group. There is no hearse or vehicle of any kind (1875). What Gough says about the friends expostulating with the corpse, as they carry it along, makes a little more intelligible the Irish, "Och! why did ye die?"

A writer in the *Penny Magazine* for 1837, in reference to Northumbrian manners and customs, says: "In many places it is usual to invite not only the friends, but also the neighbours of a deceased person to his funeral. This is done by bidders, dressed in black silk scarfs, going round formally. The bidders never used the rapper of the door, but always knocked with a key, which they carried with them for that purpose. In the town of Hexham, until within the last few years, the public bellman went round publicly to invite attendance at a deceased's funeral; on such occasions, a notice somewhat similar to the following was used: 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord. John Robson is departed, son of Richard Robson that was. Company is desired to-morrow at five o'clock, and at six he is to be buried. For him and all faithful people give God most hearty thanks.'"

Burial Fees.—At Wrexham in North Wales, at Seaford in Sussex, and doubtless elsewhere, it is customary to give the clergy double fees where a person is buried not belonging to the parish.

Hangman's Wages.

The earliest example of the grant of a prisoner's clothes to anyone is not to the executioner, but to the person whom the authorities chose to dig his grave. Thus in *Adam Bel*, 1536:—

> The Justice called to hym a ladde,
> Cloudesles clothes sholde he haue,
> To take the mesure of that yeman,
> And therafter to make hys graue.

It reads as if the justice himself performed the office in this particular case; yet the sheriff was present.

Sanctuaries.

It is said that even assassins were secure from the arm of the law by the payment of five pounds, if they could reach the principal gate of Chirk Castle in Denbighshire. A privilege, of course, enjoyable only by rich persons. This was a survival of the were-gelt.

Drinking Customs.

Healths.—In Decker's *Lanthorne and Candle-light*, 1608, sign. H2, we have: "The third man squires her to a play, which being ended, and the wine offered and taken (for she's no Recusant, to refuse anything), him she leanes too; and being set vpon by a fourth, him she answers at his own weapon, sups with him, and drincks Vpsie Freeze. . . ." The Chinese are said to have a custom somewhat similar to our old supernaculum. When anyone's health is proposed, they empty their glasses and then tap them in concert with or against the thumb-nail.

But in a narrative of the visit of a King of Spain to Petworth House in Sussex, about 1703, it is said: "He, the King, eat and drank very heartily, but tasted no liquors but his own, which were the small drink—water discoloured by the infusion of cinnamon, and the strong red and white Tyrol wine. When he called for either of them, his taster, who is always one of the lords of his bedchamber, brings the liquor in a little bottle, and covers it, or rather hides it with a salver, upon which he pours out what he tastes, near as much as what we call a supernaculum."*

Oaths.

In farther illustration of the early employment of the thumb in contracts between man and man, this is an apparent testimony to the existence of a similar usage and creed among the Romans, whose verb *Polliceor* is formed from *Pollex* in its substantive meaning.

In the *Squire of Low Degree*, where the King of Hungary takes the hero out of prison, and makes him swear to keep his counsel, it is said:

> The squyer there helde vp his hande,
> His byddyng neuer he should withstande.

* *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xi., p. 14.

* *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xiv., p. 15.

TAVERN SIGNS.

Hanging out the Besom.—The appearance of a besom on the top of a ship's mast is certainly not always an indication of the vessel being for sale, as it is also usual to place it there when the craft is in port being cleaned. To hang out a besom from a house is, in some places, received as an indication that the master is from home.

The Red Lattice.—As Douce long ago pointed out, these lattices were at times occasionally blue, or perhaps rather a bluish-green, and by no means invariably red.

(*To be continued.*)

Ralph Allen, Prior Park and Bath.

BY R. E. PEACH.

PART II.

ERHAPS the most important building, regarded as a single work, on which Wood was employed, was Allen's mansion of Prior Park. It was begun about 1737, and completed about 1743. The traditions as to the relations between Wood and Allen are incorrect. Wood knew, almost as well as Allen himself, the reasons which induced him to build a great house. From the first these two acute gentlemen never attempted to deceive each other by sentiment and flattery. Wood built Allen's town house, and had frequently been his guest and his confidential adviser in business matters. When Allen, therefore, wanted to build Prior Park, Wood knew his man too well to question his ability to pay for it; and the tradition, therefore, that Allen showed Wood drawers full of treasure to convince him that he possessed the wealth required to build the great palace he proposed to erect is a romance.

Thicknesse* did Allen an injustice when he charged him with carrying on the stone-quarrying business as a blind to conceal the extortionate wealth of which he was robbing the Government in his P. O. contracts. There is no doubt that Allen had acquired considerable wealth, before Wood came to the city, by his P. O. contracts. Allen first bought some of the quarries and the land around them about 1725, just after the Avon had been rendered navigable to Bristol. By dint of his own enterprise and the invaluable aid of Wood, Allen availed himself very largely of the river communications to send the stone to Bristol, and thus developed the stone-quarrying to a very large extent. For centuries the quarries had been worked, and the stone wrought for facing noble buildings, as well as being largely used for small ornamentations in courtyards, gardens, etc. These smaller articles in Bath stone found their way to all parts of the kingdom, the stone being so soft and easily worked into the most ingenious forms and patterns; and, being skilfully carved and as durable as the hardest stone known, admitted of little competition. It was, in fact, a very important trade, whilst the larger blocks of stone were used chiefly in the locality. One of the most enterprising of the ornamental stone-cutters was Thomas Greenway, who brought the business to a very high state of perfection, and for forty or fifty years it continued to develop and flourish in the hands of many others, some of whom had been taught their business by Greenway. The house, now known as the Garrick's Head, was built by Greenway, ostensibly to display the elaborate Bath-stone ornamentation. This is the house in which Nash lived, before he removed into the "next door," in which he died, and in which Mrs. Delany, and then Miss Berry, afterwards severally resided. Just before Wood built the "Grand Parades," as he originally designated them, he finished Allen's house* at the west end of the site. It was here Allen resided, when he gave orders for the quarrying of the stone which constituted only a part of his benefaction to that hospital which has conferred such unexampled blessings upon countless poor sufferers who might have sought relief in vain elsewhere; and which, as a consequence, has made Bath

* *Prose Guide*, 1788. Thicknesse, it is said, had a spite against Allen.

* This house is not only still standing, but one of its façades is almost intact. In one of those fits of "improvement" which now and then afflict communities, some Bath citizens, with more money than taste, purchased the house and site in front of it, on which they built mean edifices, which effectually obscured the beautiful house of Wood.

and its waters famous throughout Christendom. The stone business in Allen's hands increased so rapidly that he, about six years after purchasing the quarries on Combe Down, acquired the entire estate of Prior Park and Combe Down, with a single exception, as will be seen, with all the quarries and royalties; and the first thing he did was to construct the two tramways, one connecting the works from Combe Down with the river on the quay in the "Strand," in Claverton Street, and the other from the opposite side, with the river a mile eastward of Bathampton, remains of which can still be seen *in situ*. But more than this, modern Bath was springing up; Queen Square* was already built, the parades were in progress,† and all built with Bath stone; but still Allen had to contend with the prejudice, the professional opposition of architects, and every species of difficulty by which interested persons could and did impede the sale and use of Bath stone for important buildings remote from Bath.‡ He seemed to have exercised all his faculties in the development of the stone trade; he built cottages for the workmen to be near their work; he erected sheds to protect them whilst dressing the stone; and in thus saving time he saved the cost of production, and also very greatly increased the "out-put;" he established the principle of piece-work, and he did also—what seems to have been unusual in those days—he paid his men weekly, and treated them humanely. The exception, to which reference has been made, was the quarry of Milo Smith,§ one of the promoters of the navigation. He, it appears, opposed Allen on his own ground; but there was another opposition from the master masons, who were determined, if possible, to get the control of the business into their own hands. Allen dealt equitably with Milo Smith, and having purchased his quarry, soon convinced the masons that he was too just to act oppressively to them, and also proved to them that in the matter of the domestic trade he was their best friend. The London architects, as early as 1728, set their faces against the Bath stone; they were interested in other quarries, and refused to look at the product of the Bath quarries. They compared it to Cheshire cheese, not only in its colour and texture, but in its liability to breed maggots, which would soon devour it; they said it would not bear any weight, and was wholly unfit for London work. At a meeting held in the presence of the governors of Greenwich Hospital, Mr. Colin Campbell, their architect, being present, Wood, with a Bath stonemason, attended to submit specimens of the Bath stone and to compare it with other stone, all of which was laid upon the table. Campbell, by mistake, took up the wrong stone, and pointing out the defects, which he alleged were peculiar to the Bath stone, opened the eyes of the governors to the unprincipled opposition to its use. The direct consequence of which was, that they effected a contract for Portland stone for the works then about to be added to the Hospital at a reduction in price of 30 per cent. One of Mr. Allen's purposes was thus realized; he had exposed the selfish objects of those who opposed the use of Bath stone, and opened the eyes of many whose minds had been prejudiced against it. Many men would have been discouraged by the great difficulties by which his efforts to bring Bath stone into the London market were met; and having so far succeeded, he continued for some time to persevere, though he did not attain complete success. In this spirit he resolved to exhibit the Bath stone in a mansion "near his works, to much greater advantage, and in much greater variety of uses than it had ever appeared in any other structure." When Prior Park was built the fame of Bath stone spread everywhere, and contracts were sought for public and private buildings—in some cases *en bloc*, in others in detail—and these contracts were entered into under the personal supervision of Wood. This arrangement with Wood lasted for five years, and although it terminated amicably, and a clerk of the works,* together with a staff of competent persons, was appointed to conduct Allen's business, Wood evidently thought himself inadequately paid for his services.

* Began December 10, 1728.

† Finished in 1735.

‡ Block stone in the rough at this period was delivered at the Avon side for 7s. 6d. per ton, and, as Wood asserts, "stone fit for the walls of a palace for the greatest prince in Europe."

§ Mayor of Bath in 1732.

* Richard Jones, to whom Allen left one year's salary.

It may be unnecessary to take my readers through the records relating to the Priory Estate. At the time Ralph Allen purchased the estate it was of comparatively little value. The fences were dilapidated, and the lands had been much neglected. The situation was noble, and the configuration admirably adapted for a grand mansion. In the "olden time," before the Dissolution, it would seem that the Priory lands were laid out tastefully and with some degree of grandeur; but even as early as Leland's visit to Bath, during Prior Holeway's time, the "waulles" were neglected and the "dere" were sold, and there were other symptoms of decay. The presage of coming troubles seems to have cast a gloom over the capitular executive, who, though anxious to build a new cathedral or abbey, had allowed their estates to fall into neglect, apparently because exhausting demands had been made upon their financial resources for the building of the abbey, the foundations and a portion of the walls of which were begun by Birde* and continued by Holeway. Both Birde and Holeway seem to have been men of eminent piety and virtue; no gold stuck to their fingers; and, without discussing the policy of that sublimated ruffian, Henry VIII., in the dissolution of the Monastic institutions, it may fairly be questioned whether it was a righteous act to reduce the Church to beggary; to allow this Prior, by whom the Bath Monastery was surrendered, to starve on "£80 a yere" in a "dwellyng at 20s." per annum; whilst nearly the whole of the Church lands were lavished upon his illegitimate girl by the daughter of the Royal tailor—yet so it was. Holeway's last days were spent in Stubbs Street,† within the South Gate,‡ and the fair work of his and his predecessor's hands (the abbey) was sold with remorseless disregard as to its sacred character, and without the smallest provision being made for the sustentation of the clergy of Bath and all within its jurisdiction. The Royal Reformer thought the Bathonians had no souls, and it is pretty clear that the members of the Corporation had very small ones, if it be true, as there is little reason to doubt, that the Commissioners offered them the "carcass" of the abbey, which they declined, on the ostensible ground of their distrust of the Royal Commissioners, but really because they shirked both expense and responsibility. After the Reformation many of the benefices which had been confiscated at the time of the Dissolution were repurchased and restored by the lord and the squire. The Priory lands at the time of the Dissolution originally comprised the Widcomb* of Camalodunum,† the Lyncomb,‡ the Smallcomb,§ Bathwick, and certain property within the precincts of the walls or liberties of the city. Allen bought the Camalodunum, and it was just under the brow of the hill, at the head of the combe, he resolved to build his great mansion. At the period to which I am referring the site rose somewhat abruptly, and the land was full of water. It was necessary, therefore, to take a wide sweep from the east side and to level it into the grand terrace-like form to the west, which gives it its dignified aspect. It was in the year 1728 that the incident connected with the Greenwich Hospital Governors occurred as to the relative qualities of Bath and Portland stone, which decided Allen to build a large mansion with Bath stone, though it was not until some years afterwards he carried that resolution into effect. When the ground was broken and prepared for the foundation is not clear from any authority to which I have access; but

* I am speaking of Birde as the coadjutor of Bishop King, whom he survived, and whose work he continued, devoting all his fortune and revenues to its completion.

† Ultimately merged into Stall Street.

‡ Removed bodily when the walls and gates were pulled down in 1755.

* The wide combe, or valley, extending from the road bounding Widcombe House to the head of the *Dunum*, or hill, as the word signifies.

† This Camalodunum must not be confounded with the Camalodunum of Colchester.

‡ Lyncombe signifying the watery valley.

§ The small combe, or valley, running parallel with Widcombe Hill. At the time referred to there was no road either up Widcomb or Lyncomb Hill. The main-road was over the Old Bridge, along *the beach* and Prior Park road, which led to the private drive to Mr. Allen's house, and was the only carriage access to Widcomb House and Church. Widcomb House was for some years before, and a short time after, Prior Park was built, the residence of Lord Anne-Hamilton, godson of Queen Anne, and third son of the sixth Duke of Hamilton; but I cannot ascertain whether it was he by whom the house was built. Lord Anne-Hamilton was succeeded by Philip Bennet the elder, the friend of Allen, and he by Philip Bennet his son.

from the nature of the soil, and some natural difficulties that had to be overcome, it is probable that the site was not ready until about 1735. Some idea may be formed of the nature of the preparatory work from the fact that, for the foundation or stereobata of the central mansion alone, 800 tons of freestone in large blocks were required, so that for the whole work it may be assumed that the foundation walls required in the aggregate not less than 30,000 tons of stone. The conception of the general plan was on a larger scale, and the building itself more ornate than that which was finally determined upon and carried out. The original design represented "three sides of a duodecagon inscribed within a circle of a quarter of a mile diameter," but one of the offices being merged into the east wing, the extent of the circle was proportionately circumscribed. Nor was this the only important modification of the design. In the first dream of this big house—in the exuberance of his fancy to "exhibit the Bath stone in a seat he had determined to build for himself near his works"—Allen had pictured a mansion in which the "Orders of Architecture were to shine forth in all their glory." But ultimately this ideal, whether on the persuasion of Wood or from his own taste, yielded to a style less elaborate in principle and detail. Writing some seven years after the completion of the house, Wood says (vol. i., p. 96, 2nd edit.), the "Seat consists of a Mansion House in the Center, two Pavilions, and two Wings of Offices. All these are united by low Buildings; and while the chief Part of the whole Line fronts the Body of the City, the rest faces the summitt of *Mars's* Hill."* It is more likely that the adoption of the less magnificent and costly design was due to Allen's own desire, because Wood says in reference to the grander design, "the warmth of this Resolution at last abating, an humble Simplicity took place." In pursuance of the modified design, the west wing was begun, but again some deviation from the design was made before its completion. This wing consisted of a principal and half-storey, extending 172 feet 8 inches in front, by 34 feet 4 inches in depth on the plinth course of stone. In the centre there was the hay-house, 20 feet high, with a pigeon-house over it of the same altitude; four six-horse stables; three coach-houses, with a harness-room behind them, at one end; a barn at the other end; and proper granaries, in so much of the half-story as was to be over the stables, coach-houses, and harness rooms. The stables and hay-house were arched or vaulted over with stone, which was so intended from the first by the architect, who borrowed the idea from the stables of Mr. Hanbury, of Pontypool. The rest of the floorings and roof of the whole were intended to have been of timber, covered with Cornish slate. But in the execution of the building, Allen resolved to make use of nothing but stone for a covering for this wing of offices. This substitution of stone for timber disarranged the architect's plan, and the changing the material of the roof not only interfered with the altitude of some of the offices, but also greatly interfered with the essential characteristics of the building itself. Of the external walls only that which fronts the south was faced with wrought freestone, and this was to have exhibited the Doric order in its plainest dress, but so high as to include the principal and half-storey, those separated by a fascia. A tetrastyle frontispiece in the middle of the whole line before such an advanced part of the building was to have contained two of the staircases, one on each side of the end of the hay-house, and at the same time appear as a proper basement of the pigeon-house, which was to have crowned the edifice with magnificence and beauty, for the basement extends 50 feet, and a square of that size in the middle of the building was to have been covered with a pyramidal roof, divided into two parts, and to have discovered the body of the crowning ornament. It will be seen, therefore, in what respect the change affected the edifice. The joists intended for the timber roof had such a projection given them in the design as would have afforded protection in wet weather to persons walking from one part of this wing of offices to the other; when, however, the ends of the joists came to be represented in stone, they were contracted to small corbels, of little use, and less beauty, when considered

* Applied to that part of Mons Badonca, or Mount Beacon, which we now distinguish as Lansdown. Wood says the name is called so from the initial signifying Temple, and *Dunum*, a hill.

as part of the crowning ornament to columns of the Doric order.

The stables were divided into six recessed stalls on every side, arched, and lined with dressed stone. Allen treated his horses like gentlemen. They were richly caparisoned, and he always had four to his coach, in which he drove out with much state. Wood was not quite satisfied, however, with the stables; he wanted a little more magnitude, and would have preferred a recess at the end of each stall to contain a bin for each horse. This wing was finished about 1736 or 1737, for it must be observed that to follow Wood is like groping in the dark without a single ray of light in the shape of a date to guide one.* After the completion of the west wing the pavilion was to serve as an arch for coaches to drive under, and as a poultry and pigeon house. This structure was built and finished with wrought freestone; the lower part of it was composed of four hollow legs, each 9 feet square by 13½ feet in length, every front containing an aperture of 16 feet in breadth, all arched over. The body of the building was crowned at the altitude of 22½ feet with a cornice, surmounted by a plain attic, 6 feet in height, supporting a pyramidal design, terminating in an octangular pedestal turret, 10 feet in diameter, covered with a dome, the whole being finished with an ornament consisting of a base, ball, baluster, and vane, making the extreme height 59 feet or 39 feet above the vaulted arch for coaches. The cells for the pigeons were made with wrought freestone. The poultry were similarly cared for in the low building, by which the west wing was united with the pavilion. It consisted of three rooms facing southward, with three apertures to every room, arched over, the whole being constructed of wrought freestone. Some deviation from the plan was rendered necessary by the addition of a closet, which destroyed the continuity of the basement lines of the whole building, from the necessity it involved of placing the pavilion lower than was intended. Another consequence was that, the line having thus been broken, the architect felt no scruple in laying the foundation of the main central structure higher than was originally intended, and the bottom of the plinth was therefore 15 inches higher than that of the west wing. The building thus elevated stood upon the plinth course of stone, 147 feet in length by 80 feet in breadth, inclusive of the projections in front and rear; and consisted of basement, principal, and chamber storeys, with garrets taken out of the altitude of some of the rooms of the latter. The mansion was constructed of solid wrought freestone of very large dimensions, in equal courses both within and without, so that the walls were equally strong on both sides, and were able to support the incumbent work without being liable to "buckle" under the weight. The rooms in the basement storey were 12 feet in altitude, but a narrow passage running through the middle of the house from end to end was lower by 1 foot; the chimneys in the several rooms were dressed with architraves, some of which were crowned with their proper friezes and cornices all in freestone, and with the same material the door-cases next the passage were made, architraves being worked upon the external faces as the proper dress for the apertures. This passage, by being divided into five equal parts, regularly finished with freestone ornaments, became the beauty of the inside of the basement storey, the rooms of which received their light from square windows in the north front, but those on the south from oblong windows. It should be added, that not only were the walls of the entire house outside and inside built of Bath stone of the best quality, carefully wrought in the sheds—every stone for its place—but the floors of the basement rooms were laid with the hard calcined shelly ragstone, which is the first bed or stratum, or, as Wood further says, the roof of the subterraneous quarries, the next stratum being the "Picking Bed," which is not so hard and durable. On this basement storey was a servants' hall, a housekeeper's room, a butler's pantry, and a room for the footmen, a small-beer cellar, a strong-beer cellar, wine-vault, laundry, bakehouse, kitchen, scullery, larder and pantry; there were also a dairy, milk-room, with scullery, and there was an apartment set aside for

* It may be well to state that the domain as well as the mansion during the occupancy of Mr. Thomas, from 1817 to 1827, suffered very much from parsimonious neglect. In 1829 Bishop Baines, of honoured memory, purchased the estate, and repaired as far as possible the mischief done; and, I believe, it was he who built the stately flight of steps on the north side.

w.c.'s, should "any such conveniences be wanted within the body of the house." The several rooms and passages were arched or vaulted over by stone, and the stairs were also made of stone, so that all the defects peculiar to plaster were effectually avoided in this almost uniquely constructed house. The hall extended from the front (in the south) to the rear of the house, and to the eastward of the hall there was a parlour, study, store-rooms, chapel and back staircase; to the westward a dining-room, drawing-room, bed-chamber, dressing-room, and principal staircase; and to the northward a portico or grand pavilion. The altitude of this pavilion, as well as that of the chapel, was determined by the base of the room, but all the other rooms were covered over at 16 feet in height, the whole of the architectural ornamentations being of Bath stone, though afterwards they were removed from the parlour and dining-room, which, to the disgust of Wood, were then lined with wood, the irate architect denouncing it as a "depredation." Some compensation, however, was vouchsafed to him by his being permitted to finish the whole of the upper stories, passages, and gallery (20 feet high), as well as the chapel, with dressed stone. The chapel was of the Ionic order, sustaining the Corinthian. The parlour was finished in the Ionic order, and the hall, dining-room, principal staircase, and gallery were completed in the Corinthian order. The portico, already mentioned, on the north front was a hexastyle, and it seems that, although divested of its beauty for the convenience of the garret windows, it was designed by Wood to excel in grandeur that which had just been executed by his old rival, Colin Campbell, at Wanstead. The portico consisted of Ionic columns supporting a Corinthian entablature. The columns were 3 feet 1½ inches in diameter, which exceeds the Wanstead column by 1½ inches, the inter-columnation being what is called a *systylos* or systyle.* The entablature was carried all round the house with the exception of the west end, and here it was sacrificed to the exigencies of the windows. Each front was crowned by a handsome balustrade. The grounds from the terrace in front of the mansion sloped down to a lake, which was spanned by an exquisite Palladian bridge.

* The meaning of this term is that the space between the columns is equivalent to two diameters of the shaft at the bottom, whilst the distance between each of the plinths on which the column or shaft rests is equivalent to its own diameter.

Ralph Allen was about the middle height, with handsome mouth, firmly set, and this gave him a rather severe expression; but it evinced nothing more than the depth and earnestness of his character, for no man was more sympathetic and capable of tender feeling for others. His ordinary dress was a brown "cut-away" coat of the period, long waistcoat with large pockets, the flaps of which were simply braided, white cambric neckerchief, fine leather "tights," silk stockings, and shoes; for dress, substitute velvet for cloth, and black silk for leather. Prior Park at Allen's death ceased to be what it had been. The society could no longer be kept up. Bishop Warburton, whose wife was the second Mrs. Allen's niece, resided there but little; and after the Bishop's death his widow, who married the Bishop's chaplain, the Rev. Stafford Smith, lived chiefly in Queen Square. Prior Park, after Bishop Warburton's death in 1779, became, either by arrangement or by inheritance, the residence of the first Viscount Hawarden, who married Mary, daughter of Philip Allen, Ralph Allen's brother. Lord Hawarden died in 1803, and was succeeded by Thomas Ralph, second Viscount Hawarden, who died without issue in 1807. With the death of this nobleman all direct connection of Prior Park with the Allen family came to an end.

Reviews.

The Ancient Stone Cross at Ambleside. By Cornelius Nicholson. (Kendal, 1885: E. Gill.) 8vo, pp. 12.

THE ancient stone cross at Ambleside was pulled down about twenty years ago, and Mr. Nicholson now comes forward to give us a very interesting little history of this monument of the past. We can assure Mr. Nicholson that his little monograph will be considered not without value to those who interest themselves in these side-lights of history.

Edward Grey, the Last Feudal Baron of Powys, his Will and "Inventorie of his Household Stuff, Plate, and Cattalles." Introduction by DAVID JONES, with notes by H. W. KING. (Reprinted from *Montgomeryshire Collections.*) 8vo, pp. 28.

This reprint from a volume containing other papers is an interesting relic of an important family history. The Barons of Powys were regal in their power and position, and their inventories are therefore of special interest. This one tells us of domestic utensils, articles of clothing, plate, etc., and Mr. King's notes illustrate some of the obscurer portions very admirably. We should like to see a collection of such useful documents put together into one volume. Mr. Peacock has printed some in *Archæologia* with admirable annotations, and there are many others scattered through the transactions of learned societies. The authors would not, we should think, object to their collection into a single volume, and the result would be of immense use for historians of domestic England.

Culross and Tulliallan; or, Perthshire on Forth, its History and Antiquities, with Elucidations of Scottish Life and Character from the Burgh and Perth Session Records of that District. By DAVID BEVERIDGE. (Edinburgh and London, 1885; Blackwood.) 8vo., 2 vols.

The design and working of this book are admirable—just, in fact, what a local history should be; and Mr. Beveridge has, in the execution of his self-appointed task, exercised a rare care and judgment which in these days of hasty and careless work is much to be commended. It has been his object to write the history of this locality from the only sources of history—namely, the muniments and documents of the government centres; and whether we look at the interesting phases of past life which are thus presented to us, or whether we consider the deeper topics of national history which have tinged the local records with something of more than local interest, we are equally bound to record how greatly indebted historical students are to the patient and unwearied labours of Mr. Beveridge.

Culross has not a very startling or exciting history to tell, but it is none the less important. There is a detached portion of the county of Perth lying south of the Ochils along the Firth of Forth, and in this territory is comprised two parishes — Culross and Tulliallan—which are in extent about twenty-two square miles, Culross being distant from Dunfermline about seven miles to the west. The Romans were in this district in A.D. 81 under Agricola, and it was a seat of the early Christian missionaries under St. Serfs in the fifth century, and later on of St. Mungo. The intervening years between these two events have no history to tell; but, at all events, the interest of the district becomes at once clear when we arrive at this early chapter in the history of Christianity.

The town of Culross rose into prosperity under the industrial enterprise of Sir George Bruce in the sixteenth century. The rise of the family of the Bruces opens up a new era in the history of the town—one of them, Edward Bruce, having been created Lord Bruce, of Kinloss, and at the height of his fortune having built in his native place a fine family seat known as Culross Abbey; the second of them, afterwards Sir George Bruce, having embarked the coal and salt trades, and carried on such extensive commerce as to make his name famous throughout the country. It was to the latter of these two brothers that Culross owes its erection into a borough.

It would be impossible to relate all the numerous points of interest which the burgh records as made known to us in this book have to tell; for they deal with all the subjects of domestic history from the seventeenth century downwards, and they show in more ways than one—as, for instance, the meeting of the borough court in the open air at the Borestone—how deeply the roots of local history penetrate to the earliest days of our race. There are records of local government when it was not a mere sham delegated from Parliament, but when it was really an historical succession from the earliest times, with life and vigour in it, and plenty of room for development. There are records of old superstitions and faiths, withcraft, charms, and other fanciful relics of old religion; and there are glimpses into the historical doings of Cromwell, the rebellion of 1715 and 1745, and many other incidents.

The Tombes, Monuments, and Sepulchral Inscriptions lately visible in St. Paul's Cathedral and St. Faith's under it. By P. F., London, 1684. Edited by G. BLACKER MORGAN. Privately reprinted 1885. (Hazel, Watson, and Viney, Aylesbury.) 4to., pp. iv., 190.

Hearne said of Pain Fisher's book that "The tombes, monuments, and sepulchral inscriptions lately visible in St. Paul's Cathedral, etc., written by Pain Fisher is a silly book (abating only the inscriptions), there being nothing of learning or diligence shew'd in it;" but as the only authority on this interesting topic, modern antiquaries will be disposed to say that this is another instance of Hearne's hypercriticism. But whether Mr. Morgan knew of this opinion or not, in his hands the new edition is a work of a very different character from the original, for he has been at pains to thoroughly collate the inscriptions with any other known examples in Dugdale and other authorities, and the result is that the majority of the inscriptions have been re-written and many additions made. Mr. Morgan's book is therefore a boon to London antiquaries and to genealogists. Many important personages, as may well be imagined, were buried in old St. Paul's. The first inscription recorded by Fisher is that of Sir Philip Sidney, said to have been written by King James I. The house of the Sidneys at Penshurst is still a memorial of old English family life, and it is pleasing to turn to St. Paul's Cathedral for a touching monument to perhaps the greatest of a great family. Fisher gives an interesting biographical and genealogical memoir of the men whose memorials he treats of, and this portion of the book will be found to be not the least interesting. This epitaph on Sidney and the adjoining one on Walsingham were written on "only small tablets" and there were no tombs; which occasioned, says Fisher, "a wit of the

late times, merily to discant on the defect thereof in this distique:

> Philip and Francis have here no tomb,
> Since great Sir Christopher hath all the room,

which was meant by that memorable man of his time, the late Sir Christopher Hatton, the Lord High Chancellor of England, etc." The tomb of Hatton stood close by, and Fisher gives the elaborate inscription, together with a curious acrostic, which hung "close by, written by a poet of those times." Then follow the inscriptions on the tombs of "the pious St. Erkenwald," the "third Bishop of London after the coming in of the English-Saxons," Sebba, King of the East Saxons and others. But of the many "fair memorials" to the great men of the past we cannot speak at length in the space allotted to us for this object. They include the tombs of some of the most interesting men in English annals, and Mr. Morgan has been careful to supply a good index of names occurring throughout the volume, about which we will venture to express an opinion that the tomb-names should have been distinguished from the names mentioned by Fisher in his biographical accounts.

Besides the family history contained in this book, there are many interesting topographical details, such, for instance, as the mention of the houses where the deaths took place, and the birth-places. Fisher lets us take a glimpse, too, at some of his contemporaries, descendants of those whose memorials he records, as when speaking of the Aubreys he says, "A branch of which fair family is that most ingenious gentleman, John Aubrey, of Eston Pierce, com. Wilts, Esquire;" and of Richard Fletcher, Lord Bishop of London, who died in 1596, having "no better monument than those peaces he set forth, the well-begotten offspring of his brain, and also that lovely child of his body, the most ingenious Mr. Fletcher, a person of good learning, and the most ingenious dramatick poet of that age." It will be seen that Fisher is sometimes amusing in his account of these tombs, and there are also some most extraordinary examples of epitaphs which will delight those who have collected such samples of human folly from the records of "God's acre."

We must add that paper, binding, and printing are of the most suitable description and in the best taste, and the issue of only one hundred and eighty copies, each copy being numbered, will make the volume a rarity which many will like to possess.

The Journal of William Dowsing, of Shalford, Parliamentary Visitor for Demolishing the Superstitious Pictures and Ornaments of Churches, etc., within the County of Suffolk, in the years 1643—1644. A new edition by REV. C. H. EVELYN WHITE. (Ipswich, 1885; Pawsey and Hayes.) 4to., pp. 62.

The Great Domesday Book of Ipswich. By the REV. C. H. EVELYN WHITE. (Ipswich, 1885.) 4to., pp. 36.

Old Inns and Taverns of Ipswich, their Memories and Associations. By the REV. C. H. EVELYN WHITE. (Ipswich, 1885.) 8vo., pp. 48.

Mr. White is well known as an industrious and painstaking Suffolk antiquary, and these three interesting publications will not be otherwise than welcome to a larger class of readers than those hailing from the land of the South-folk. They all deal with objects of far wider interest than local antiquities can lay exclusive claim to, and so much the more, therefore, are we indebted to the reverend editor who thus places at our disposal such interesting books. Dawson Turner many years ago, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, dealt with the taverns of Norwich, and it is fitting that similar labour should be done for the sister city of Ipswich. Mr. White has entered into his subject with great breadth of knowledge, although he calls it a "holiday" compilation; and we get, therefore, a more than usual interesting memoir on a subject which gives a greater insight into the domestic life of England than almost any other.

The "Domesday Book of Ipswich" is one of the most precious documents now belonging to the ancient borough, and contains some very important entries of 12 Henry VIII., showing "What taxes evȳ towñ in Suffolk payeth to the Kyng's grace," perhaps the most perfect book of taxation belonging to any court in England; and affording, of course, a good idea of the position held by the several parishes and townships in the early part of the fifteenth century. The list of Knights' fees of the honours of Lancaster and Leicester, lying within the county of Suffolk, also finds a place; and then comes a brief but singular memorandum of ancient lineal measurements, which is unquestionably of the greatest importance.

We have no space to dip into the dismal record of William Dowsing's doings, but no doubt it is a specimen of what went on all over the country at that time of fanatical hatred. We of this age who love art and antiquarian objects for their own sake cannot but lament such terrible doings; but in some measure we can understand the spirit which dictated the need for them. Suffolk suffered severely, and the bare walls of her churches represent evidence only too patent of the truth of Dowsing's journal, although it is interesting to note that her own sons lent no willing hand in the work; for, relative to some windows at Cochie, it is said they "could not reach, neither would they help us to raise the ladders."

Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Royal Archæological Institute (*continued from p.* 174).—On Friday, July 31st, Bakewell Church was visited, where there is a most extensive and varied collection of Saxon and early Norman headstones, crosses, and memorials. Arbor Low, on the summit of the moor between Youlgreave and Hartington, was next visited. On the return to Rowsley Station a short call was made at Youlgreave Church, which was pleasantly explained by the vicar, the Rev. R. C. Roy. The most noteworthy object therein is the font, which has

a small projecting basin attached to the side. This unique feature in an English font is most probably explained by its being designed for use as a holy-water stoup at the time when the font stood close to the entrance. On Friday evening the Rev. G. F. Browne, of Cambridge, gave an admirable address, rich in painstaking research, "On the Pre-Norman Sculptured Stones of Derbyshire." It was profusely illustrated with full-size rubbings and drawings. On Saturday, August 1st, the first visit of a long day's excursion was paid to Sawley Church, chiefly remarkable for the remains of its ancient fittings and arrangements. Dale Abbey, with its Hermitage, quaint little church, and carefully excavated ground-plan accomplished by the local society in 1878-9, was most carefully inspected. A wooden but well-adapted building has been built over most of the exposed site of the chapter-house, thereby securing shelter for the effigy and various incised memorials there uncovered *in situ*. Round the building are ranged on shelves the tiles and various interesting fragments then unearthed. Subsequently the churches of Morley and Breadsall were visited, and both described by Dr. Cox. Morley is rich in brasses and in old glass, chiefly from Dale Abbey on its suppression. Breadsall is famed for a beautiful alabaster Pieta, or Virgin and the dead Christ, recently discovered beneath the flooring. On Saturday evening, Mr. H. S. Skipton's paper "On the House of Cavendish" was delivered. On Monday, August 3rd, the antiquaries made their first pause at Repton, so celebrated in Saxon times as the capital of Mercia, and the first seat of a Christian bishopric in the Midlands. The great monastery founded here in the seventh century was a favourite burial-place of the Saxon kings. The fine parish church of St. Wystan afterwards rose upon the site of the old monastery. The church, which in its main features is of Decorated date, was briefly described from the interior by Dr. Cox. From Repton the party proceeded to Breedon Priory, the only part of the whole expedition that has transgressed into other counties. Breedon is a well-known landmark just within Leicestershire, and the summit of the hill is crowned with a church. Mr. St. John Hope pointed out that the present parish church consisted of the choir and side aisles, with what used to be the central tower, of the Augustinian Priory Church of SS. Mary and Hardulf, the south transept being used as a porch and vestry. Melbourne Church is a well-known and grand example of Norman cruciform work, which remains much as it was erected at the beginning of the twelfth century. Melbourne Hall, with its beautiful gardens laid out in the Dutch style, was next visited. Mr. Fane, the present tenant, showed some valuable seventeenth-century documents, including an autograph letter of Archbishop Laud. The feature of the evening meeting was a paper of Baron de Cosson on the military effigies of Derbyshire, which he described as being of special value and beauty, and for the most part unusually well preserved. They are forty-seven in number, and illustrative of most of the types into which the baron divides our English effigies. On Tuesday, August 4th, Castleton was visited, and the ascent from the village to the Peak castle was undertaken, where Mr. St. John Hope read a paper on its history and distinguishing characteristics. Little more than the keep now remains, a Norman rectangular tower, about sixty feet high, probably erected by William Peverel soon after the Conquest. But the herring-bone masonry at the basement points to a yet earlier building. The splendid church of Tideswell occupied the attention of the Institute for some two hours. It is a wonderfully fine example of fourteenth-century work, and the chancel and transepts abound in interest. The Rev. S. Andrew, the vicar, gave the best account of a church to which the members have listened during their present meeting. On Wednesday the last excursion was made to the ruined chapel of the manor-house of Padley, to Hathersage Church, and to the prehistoric fortification of remarkable character termed "the Carl's Wark."

Essex Archæological Society (*continued from page* 176).—At this point where this road reaches the Straight Road it crosses another road or earthwork, which proceeds from a small camp, and runs parallel with the Straight Road, north and south in direction, and this is the starting point of the Colchester and Cambridge Road, the Via Devana. It then makes a bend towards the north-west, going directly across two fields to a spot in Grymes Dyke, where the ditch of this latter earthwork has never been excavated. Across these two fields the plough has almost obliterated it, but it may be readily traced by the different appearances of the crops in a dry spring. Under about fifteen inches of soil that there still exists about a foot in thickness of stones, nearly fourteen yards wide, under which the top soil has been removed. These stones appear to have been mixed with chalk or lime, and rammed down very thoroughly, many, in fact most of them, being broken in the operation. We have now arrived at Grymes Dyke, and a line from this spot to the present bridge at Stanway, where we shall come on to the present London Road, will take us near a raised hedgerow running across two fields to a modern road where the crossing is distinct, and still following the raised bank, which has on it a private road to Black Pits Farm, the house standing also on it, we follow the hedge to the road, by a cottage near Stanway Villa, and find traces across this road and down the next hedge, the bank of which is unusually large. After this the traces are very indistinct to Stanway Church, but in 1884, the spring being very favourable from its dryness, it was very easy to trace the course by the appearance of the growing crops. Having carried this disused road into the present turnpike near Stanway Bridge, it only remains to say that the continuation of it past Stane Street, Marks Tey, and on to Bishop's Stortford through Dunmow is unmistakably Roman, and was probably in existence when Boadicea came in this direction from Verulam to Camulodunum, as is related by Tacitus. The present turnpike road to London, which branches off at Marks Tey, is also, in many parts, clearly Roman in formation. The road from Headgate through Lexden may be Roman, but if so is very late, as in drainage operations many urn burials have been disturbed opposite The Avenue, Beverley Road, and so on. They would not have been deposited by the Romans in a public highway. Taking the next road in order, the Via Devana, leaving the suggested London Road near the spot it crosses the Straight Road, Lexden Heath.

This runs directly north, and parallel to the Straight Road, until we come to Lexden village, opposite to the present entrance to the Cambridge Road, and here a few yards from the turnpike road, in a cottage garden, is a stratum of stones on the sandy subsoil, evidently artificial and apparently mixed with chalk, but from the buildings and fruit-trees Mr. Laver was unable to determine the width. This is a portion of the road, especially as it is in the direct line; if it be so, then the present Cambridge Road is, probably, the remains of the Via Devana. In some places it has a very suggestive appearance of a Roman road. It is an old road, and runs into an unmistakable Roman road, the well-known Causey at Ridgwell, passing on to Haverhill, and over the Gog Magog hills to Cambridge. It may be objected that between Lexden and the present railway bridge it is very crooked; so it is, but why? Anyone inspecting it, will see that it runs just on the edge of the valley of the Colne; had it been more to the north, it would have passed through very broken ground, and nothing would have been saved in distance, and this is the explanation of its tortuous course. Some of this portion is raised, and has a very Roman look, especially near Mr. Jones's lodge, and for some distance beyond. The first village we come to in traversing this road after leaving Lexden is Ford Street, a very suggestive name. Beyond this village the road is evidently modern, still it is probably on the line of the Roman road, as the direction is right for the ford through the Colne at Earls Colne. From the south end of Blue Bell Grove, at the back of Lexden Park, runs an earthwork through the Park, crossing the turnpike road, and passing through the Rectory grounds—here it was levelled by the late rector—and continues to the river near the Oil Mills, crosses the river and proceeds in a direct line to the Bergholt Road. The traces from hence to the brook are very indistinct, the plough having almost obliterated them, but sufficient remain to enable one to follow the course in an almost straight line to Horkesley causey, an unmistakable Roman road as far as the turning near Great Horkesley Church; and as the present road is continued to the river Stour, we may fairly assume that this road also followed the same line into Suffolk. From the North Gate of Colchester, opposite North Bridge, a road may have issued; but, if so, it did not follow the present North Street, as, during the late drainage works, the remains of a Roman villa were found in the middle of the street, opposite the Victoria public-house, and they were continuous with the remains uncovered by Mr. Joslin in the garden of this public-house. This, then, plainly shows that had a road existed in this direction, it could not have been on this line. The next gate on the north side is the Rye Gate, opposite the ford at Middle Mill. From this gate probably a road issued, but no remains of it exist, unless the lane directly opposite the ford on the other side of the meadows may be the road we seek. This lane is raised above the surface of the surrounding fields, but disappears at the next farmhouse; but if we carry the line on towards the railway, we pass close to Mr. Money's brickfield, and here we come on to what was a considerable cemetery, many Roman cinerary urns having been discovered, besides burials by inhumation, accompanied by the usual jet or Kimmeridge shale ornaments, earrings, and one, at least, fine engraved gem. Below the Castle, and to the east end of the Rye Gate, on Mr. Round's property, is the gate, described by Dr. Duncan in his account of the Roman Cloaca, but it is now covered up again. Whether any road left this gate is uncertain, although, as Dr. Duncan mentions the wheelmarks, it is probable some traffic went out, but Dr. Laver has not been able to find any traces of a road. From the East Gate of the town (the Prætorian Gate?) we may suppose a road to proceed, but no distinct traces are found, unless we consider the present road to Stratford (*Ad ansam*) to be this road. The soil over which this straight road passes is mostly clay, until near Dedham, and during the many years when roads were neglected the original road may have perished by wear, and the present road may have been formed on the same line, although not on the exact site; but that this was the course of the Roman Road does not admit of doubt, as it is the shortest course to Stratford (*Ad ansam*) of the Itinerary, and the distance—six miles—tallies. On the Suffolk side of the Stour, at Stratford, the road passes on the right side of the present one through the street, if the gravel beneath the garden soil is an indication, and just beyond this gravel are proofs of urn burial, some portions of the urns being in the Museum. There is now a pretty direct road to Harwich through Elmstead Market, and this may have been the road, a considerable agger existing on the left of the present road near the first brook after passing Elmstead, and this may be traced down the hill across the valley and up the next hill through the wood on the other side; and the next house on the left is named Cold Hall, a very suggestive name taking the place frequently of Cold Harbour. From this road opposite the turning to Elmstead Church is a road leading almost in a straight line to Alresford Ford, this ford being, probably, the means of access to Brightlingsea Island, and it is near this ford that we have discovered and excavated an extensive Roman villa, another villa being known to exist just over the ford. On the south side of the town is the next gate, St. Botolph's Gate, and from this gate issued the road to Mersea Island. The Roman roads in this whole district have usually, as before mentioned a large fosse by the side, especially when passing through gravel, the excavated gravel being used probably to form the road. This formation of the road renders it very difficult, at times, to say when the agger was formed for defence and when for traffic, not that there is any difficulty with this road, its course and termination removing all doubt; but the fact of the knowledge of the fosse helps us to trace what remains of this road, and the first place we notice anything is by the side of St. John's Abbey wall. Here the Norman builders evidently took advantage of the fosse by placing their wall by its side and enlarging the fosse to enable it to be used for traffic, and at the same time to make a better defence on this side of the Abbey. Further on, past the Camp, the enlarged fosse allows the road to pass as far as Plum Hall; at the back of Plum Hall, just at the edge of the valley, is a slight remnant of the road, of which there is no further trace until we cross to the other side, when we find the footpath passing along the fosse for one field; it then mounts the road through two fields, and then we lose

all traces until we get into the field next Monk Wyeke, where we find the stack-yard is on the road, which passed between the ponds at this farm, and then the agger is very distinct on the other side of the field, where there are some large trees. In the next two fields the plough has considerably levelled it, but it still stands up unmistakably two or three feet high, in a line with the present raised road on the east side of Berechurch Park, where the right-of-way still exists. On following this road to the brook, known as the Roman River, we come to a ford, a little to the right of the line. In the exact direction the road takes, there is a foot bridge over the brook just below the junction of the Birch and Layer Breton branches of the streams, and here, probably, was the ford into the park of Abberton House. Although we now lose all traces, still, by following the path into the next road near Abberton Church, we find distinct traces of our road on the opposite hedge, and these continue up to Abberton Church, which stands on it; beyond Abberton Church the traces are lost. Carrying on the same line we have been following, we shall pass near the old parsonage house of Abberton on the top of the hill. Descending to Peet Tye, one of the hedges is considerably raised; this may possibly be a trace, but we get nothing distinct until we come to Peet Hall causey, and if there was nothing more to lead us, this term would, as elsewhere, give a clue. From this point to the Strood we are again on our road, much of it being raised. With regard to the Strood, this causey is of great antiquity, and is probably Roman work. Its antiquity is shown by the fact that there is no tradition as to its origin, and as the Romans occupied the island they would have some means of getting there. We may safely assume this to be their work, especially when we consider the communication there must have been between Camulodunum and Othono on the other side of the Blackwater. We also know that, in addition to the fine villa at West Mersea, there was a fort at East Mersea Point, forming part of the system for the protection of the Saxon shore. The present road from the Strood to East Mersea, straight through the island, is probably Roman, and if so, the termination of the road we have been considering. From Headgate Dr. Laver has not been able to trace any road as issuing, but there may possibly have been one, as there was a considerable cemetery on the right side of the present Butt Road, opposite the Artillery Barracks, and between there and the town. In this cemetery were found the stone coffin now in the Museum, some lead coffins, and many cinerary urns. Many of the interments, indicate rather a late period. At about two miles and a half from the west side of the town is a very extensive earthwork, with the trench on the west side. It is in the greater part of its extent fairly perfect, and may be readily traced from a ford over the Colne, at Newbridge, to Butcher's Green, Stanway, where it makes a turn (with a double entrenchment of a triangular form in the angle) to the south-west, and then passes on to a ford over the Roman River, near Stanway Hall. There is a slight trace in the meadow beyond the river on the Birch side, but here all traces end. Can this enormous earthwork, nearly four miles long, have been simply the boundary of the Roman colony of Camulodunum? It would appear so, as Roman remains of all sorts abound on the eastern or town side, but none are found on the western. From both terminations being fords, it looks as though it might have been used as a road, and there is a road still existing throughout the entire length, on the eastern side as far as Stanway Union House, and then it passes into the trench on the western side, and so continues to the brook near Stanway Hall; but after passing Butcher's Green, the road is partly in the trench and partly in the field, until we reach the present Maldon Road, two fields from Butcher's Green. It may have been that this road on the vallum was made use of in going to the entrenched camp near Birch Church, known as Birch Castle, as there is a branch on Lexden Heath easily traced to Butcher's Green, from the road which has been designated the London Road. The construction of this huge earthwork is not that adopted by the Romans in making their principal roads, and this makes it doubtful whether its primary object was that of a road. In the gravel pit near Stanway Union House, there is a section of this earthwork. It was evidently made by putting the top soil from the trench on to the natural surface, and then as the trench was excavated, the soil was piled up until the vallum was completed.—Mr. Laver also drew attention to a plan drawn by Mr. F. E. Morris, of Colchester, showing the situation and design of the Roman villa excavated at Alresford. He remarked that the villa was formed on the same plan as that which had been excavated, and was now on view at Brading, in the Isle of Wight. At the Alresford Villa there had apparently been two long corridors and a large number of rooms. It was a very extensive villa, and probably only about half had been found. It was one of the largest ever disinterred in the county of Essex. The whole length of the villa was over 200 feet. This had introduced him to a very interesting matter which he had not understood before. It showed him that more than one common hedgerow in this district had been formed in Roman times. This was a very extraordinary fact which did not admit of doubt. There was absolute proof in this case at Alresford that the modern ditch running into the river was in existence in Roman times, its direction being identical with that of the old drain of the villa. There was proof that this Roman house at Alresford had glass windows. Mr. Laver produced several pieces of glass which had been found in the villa, including one which had been the corner of a pane. The glass was plate glass, which had never been polished, a beautiful glass, superior in its manufacture to glass of the present day. That it must have been very excellent glass was testified by its preservation. There was no lead in it; but silicate of soda principally, instead of lead.

Surrey Archæological Society.—July 29th.—The annual excursion to Lingfield and Crowhurst.—In the absence of the Right Hon. Viscount Midleton, Lord Hylton acted as president. The members and friends met at Edenbridge railway station, whence they drove to Lingfield Church. Arrived at the latter place, the history and architectural features of the edifice were described by Major Heales, and Mr. J. G. Waller offered some remarks on the monuments and brasses. The company next visited the old farmhouse of New Place, Lingfield, the history and architecture of which were described by Mr. C. E. Powell.

Passing on to Crowhurst Church, unavoidable circumstances preventing a visit to Crowhurst Place, as was intended, Mr. Ralph Nevill briefly described that structure, and referred to the fine old yew-tree in the churchyard.

Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society.—Aug. 3rd.—Visit to Rievaulx Abbey.—The party went to Helmsley, which is a small market-town picturesquely situated upon the banks of the river Rye. The spacious market-place, with its towering monument erected to the memory of the late Lord Feversham ; its ancient market-cross and rude town's pump, enclosed within palisading, formed an attractive introduction to what proved to be a most enjoyable visit. Helmsley was one of the favourite scenes of the sports and revelries of the notorious George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, after his retirement from the Court of Charles II., and Helmsley Castle is situated upon an eminence overlooking the town. An inspection of the ruins was made, and much information appropriate to the visit had been prepared by the President of the Society, Mr. T. T. Empsall.

Leeds and Yorkshire Architectural Society.—Aug. 22nd.—The members of this society paid their annual visit to York.—A visit was paid to Heslington, where Mr. Bateson-de-Yarburgh, jun., kindly showed the party over the hall and the grounds. It had been arranged by Mr. Shires, who is secretary of the York Architectural Association, to visit several of the churches of the city. Time, however, would only permit of one being visited, that of Holy Trinity in Micklegate, and Mr. Hepper conducted the party over the building.

Berwickshire Naturalists' Club.—July 31st.—The third meeting of this club, in conjunction with the second meeting of the Archæological and Architectural Society of Durham and Northumberland, was held in the neighbourhood of the North Tyne. They drove to Haughton Castle, the interesting history of which was given by the Rev. G. Rome Hall, Vicar of Birtley (North Tyne), while the architectural features were explained by Mr. Hodges. A move was then made to the fine church at Simonburn. After an examination of the edifice, which has undergone considerable restoration, the Rev. Canon Rogers, rector, related the history of the parish. Mr. Hodges again gave a description from an architectural point of view, after which they proceeded to Chipchase Castle, the seat of Mr. Hugh Taylor. The Rev. G. Rome Hall read an account of the Castle from an historical point of view, and Mr. Hodges entered into an architectural explanation. The party drove by way of Chollerton to Chollerford. After dinner papers were laid before the club on a cist found near Eckford, by the President ; on Sculptured Rocks, in Fowberry Park, by W. Gunn ; and on the ravages in the pastures of Upper Ettrick by caterpillars of the Antler Moth.

Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society.—The annual excursion of the Society took place on August 28th. The first place visited was Sancreed Church, where the Vicar, Rev. H. Rogers, read a paper on the sacred edifice, which is of considerable interest from the curious wood carvings of the screen, apparently of Spanish work of the fifteenth century. The three ancient Celtic crosses of the churchyard were then examined, including the curious one, figured in Rev. S. Baring Gould's Curious Myths of the Middle Ages, on which the Holy Grail (a characteristic Cornish symbol, though exceedingly rare, nay, almost unique in church architecture) is supposed to be depicted. This cross is thought to be of the eleventh century. The party then visited an ancient chapelry close by, with a baptismal well. At the Sancreed Vicarage some curious antiquities, coins, and other curios were exhibited. From Sancreed the party proceeded to Goldherring, where the President, Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, read a paper on the ancient-cupped or inscribed stone there, which is almost unique in Cornwall, but seems to have some connection with the Northumbrian inscribed stones. He suggested that it might have been a rude map for the tinners of Goldherring to find their way to certain places in the neighbourhood. An old "Jew's house," or old smelting-place, was next examined, and some pieces of ancient tin slag exhibited. From here the party proceeded to an ancient British village of beehive huts, and then to the famous circle of Boscawen, where luncheon was provided. After a few remarks on this circle from the President, and from the proprietor of the estate, Major Ross, the party proceeded to the celebrated church of Buryan, the points of which were explained by the Rector, Rev. R. Martin. The most interesting points were the beautiful screen (one of the finest in Cornwall), the tomb of Clarice and the Norman Arch. A photograph of the party and of the churchyard cross was taken at Buryan. The seventeenth-century house of Boshenna next commanded attention, where a paper on the history of the building was read by the President, and a detailed account of the structure of the edifice by the architect, Mr. Trounson. The celebrated stone circle of the Nine Maidens, and the Pipers (two fine menhirs), were visited on the road to the cave-dwelling at Trewoofe, which was examined by the party, who thence walked to the ancient manor-house of Trewoofe, once the most important in the Land's End district, but now transformed into four farmhouses ; there the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma read a third paper on the history of the house and the folk-tale attached to it, which is of considerable interest as one of the best-known Cornish folk-tales, having been dramatized in a rude way in one of the most popular old Cornish Christmas plays.

[*Our report of the Meeting of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Archæological Society is unavoidably postponed.*]

The Antiquary's Note-Book.

First Mention of a Blue Book.—Archbishop Laud supplies us with probably the first notice of a Parliamentary Blue Book. On the 2nd of September, 1644, he was brought to the House of Lords to make a recapitulation of his answers to the charges urged against him, and he says : "So soon as I came to the bar, I saw every lord present with a new thin book in folio, in a blue coat. I heard that morning that Mr. Pryn had printed my Diary, and published it to the

world to disgrace me. Some notes of his own are made upon it. The first and the last are two desperate untruths, besides some others. This was the book then in the lords' hands, and I assure myself, that time picked for it, that the sight of it might damp me, and disenable me to speak. I confess I was a little troubled at it. But after I had gathered up myself, and looked up to God, I went on to the business of the day.'—*History of the Troubles and Trials of Archbishop Laud*, vol. iv., p. 369.

Dryden and Pope.—One of the anecdotes told of the late Mr. Thoms, related to an interview with Lord Macaulay when the historian declared that Pope never mentioned Dryden in the *Dunciad*, while Mr. Thoms had the passage turned down in a copy of Pope he then had in his pocket. Mr. Sanderson recently took up the cudgels on behalf of Lord Macaulay, and declared there was no such passage; but the following letter, the signature of which we recognise as that of a great Pope authority, clears up an interesting bibliographical fact. It appeared in the *Daily News* of Sept. 30th last: "There are not many left of the literary friends of the late Mr. Thoms, but there are fortunately others, beside the writer of the paragraph in the *Athenæum*, who have heard Mr. Thoms relate the anecdote of Lord Macaulay and the *Dunciad*. Mr. Sanderson is obviously unaware that there are numerous editions of Pope's satire, which all, more or less, differ one from another. The name mentioned in one edition is omitted in the next, and perhaps restored in a third. There were at least seven editions or issues of the *Dunciad* published in 1728. This is of course puzzling to those who use Abbot's *Concordance of Pope*, of which the references only apply to Warburton's edition of Pope's works, 1751. The passage which Mr. Thoms believed to refer to Dryden occurs only in the issues of the rare first edition—Book l, c. 94. 'And furious D——n foams in W——n's rage.' Whatever Mr. Sanderson's opinion may be on the subject, some of Pope's contemporaries believed that D——n was intended for Dryden, and it is so explained in one of the contemporary *Keys to the Dunciad*. It appears, moreover, from a note in a London edition of 1729, that in a Dublin edition of the work, the name Dryden was actually printed in full.—F. G."

The Dukedoms of England.—In the new report of the *Historical MSS. Commission* just issued, there is given a letter from John Anstis, Garter King-at-Arms, to Lord Townshend (temp. 1727 or 1728) relative to the title to be given to Frederick, Prince of Wales. It is there related that "all the counties of England and Wales gave Denominations save the following ones: Gloucester hath been esteemed unfortunate; Northumberland was an earldom for several descents in Percy; Flint was never a title, but esteemed an appendage to the earldom of Chester; Brecknock is void by the attainder of the late Duke of Ormond; Glamorgan, the family of Beauford allege they have some signet from Charles I., but no patent; Merioneth is a word of that sound that no person ever took it; Cumberland was in Prince Rupert and in Prince George of Denmark, who had an Act of Parliament for precedency, but limited to the term of his own life; Lancaster is of a particular nature, and without consulting two Acts of Parliament, which have not hitherto been printed, I cannot determine whether by that in the first Henry IV. the dukedom can be granted separate from the possessions, or whether by the method of entaile in the first of Edward IV. it can be granted. . . . All the cities of England give denominations to the nobility save London, Westminster, Canterbury, Durham, and Ely, Gloucester, Bath, and Wells." With reference to Northumberland, Westminster, Durham, and Bath, it will be observed that these remarks do not at the present time apply, but the whole letter of Garter King-at-Arms is a curious one, and of not a little interest to those who pay attention to the history of England's titled aristocracy.

A Seventeenth-century Book Collector.—Hearne, in his *Diary* just published by the Oxford Historical Society under the title of *Hearne's Collections*, has the following curious note (p. 268): "Dr. Mill tells me yt ye Duke of Lauderdale was in his younger Days one of the best Scholars of any Gentlemen in Paris, and yt Dr. Hicks learn'd Hebrew just before he went to be his chaplain on purpose yt he might be able to discourse with his Ldship in Rabbinical Learning. That he was a Curious Collector of Books, and when in London would very often go to ye Booksellers shops and pick up wt curious Books he could meet with; but yt in his Elder years he lost most of his Learning purely by minding too much Politicks."

Professional Oath-takers in 1597.—Of the rogueries of the more lax professors of the law there is curious picture in an amusing account of "common baylers," published in 1597, called *The Discoverie of the Knights of the Poste*. It is said, "you may have them most commonly in Fleete Street, about Serjeants' Inn, or else about Chancery Lane, or else in some of the pudding-pie houses at Westminster." Other resorts of these "good oath-takers" are mentioned thus: "Out of Term-time, you shall have them commonly once or twice a day walking in Duke Humphrey's Alley in Powles [St. Paul's], or at the Lion at the back-side of St. Nicholas's shambles, or at the Rose in Pannier Alley, or at the Dolphin at the end of Carter Lane, and sometimes at the Woolsack in the same lane, and there lie crushing of the two-penny ale-pot by halfe a day together."

The Derby "Headless" Cross.—A curious piece of antiquity is to be seen in the Derby Arboretum. It is a fragment of an old stone cross that once occupied a spot in the northern extremity of the town. Considerable historic interest is attached to this archæological curiosity, owing to its being a relic of the great plague of 1665. The fearful pestilence, the historians tell us, raged so fiercely in Derby that the streets were deserted, and business totally suspended. The country-folk fearing to come to market, the supply of food became scarce, and a famine was threatened. To prevent this latter evil, the inhabitants erected a market-cross on what was known as Nun's Green, an open space just out of the town. Hither the market-people, "having their mouths primed with tobacco as a preservative," brought their wares, being cautious, however, to keep at a safe distance from the townspeople with whom they traded. The rules which were established to prevent infection were these: The buyer was not allowed to

handle the goods until he had made arrangements for their purchase; and then, before taking them away, he would drop the money into a bowl of vinegar, provided for the purpose. It is curious to consider what confidence would have to be established betwixt buyer and seller, the former not being able to examine the article before purchase, nor the latter his money. After the plague had ceased, the cross still remained, but time and other destructive natures have dealt roughly with it; and for a great number of years it has been known as the "headless cross," the lower portion being all that is left. Some time ago, the old relic was removed to its present *locale*, a brass plate telling its story placed upon it, and there it stands, an object of interest which the inhabitants of Derby justly prize.

Obituary.

MR. CORNELIUS WALFORD.

In Mr. Walford the *Antiquary* loses another valued friend and contributor. During the present year Mr. Walford had promised to write some papers on "The Early History of Newspapers," and we much fear that now much of the collections of his unwearied hands and brain will become scattered. The editor of this magazine a few years ago dined for the first time with Mr. Walford, at his house, and met there Professor Stanley Jevons, and Mr. W. S. W. Vaux, and it was one of the pleasantest of literary gatherings. But of the men who gathered round that hospitable table, only two are now left, the writer and one other. Perhaps the last complete literary effort of Mr. Walford was his characteristic booklet on "Hospitality," printed for the "Sette of Odd Volumes," of which club he was an honoured member. The *Times*, in its obituary notice, remarks: "He was a man of many and varied attainments, and an indefatigable worker in several branches of literature and science. The eldest son of the late Mr. Cornelius Walford, of Witham, near Chelmsford, Essex, he came of a family long connected with that county. He was brought up to the legal profession, and served his articles in the office of Messrs. Pattisson, of Witham, where he was extensively engaged in the management of landed property." Somewhat late in life he was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple, in Michaelmas Term, 1860. He was the author of *The Insurance Cyclopædia*, of which he has lived to complete five volumes; and not long before his death he had projected a similar Cyclopædia of Serial and Periodical Literature. He was also the author of *The Insurance Guide and Hand Book*, *The Insurance Year Book*, and of works on *Fairs* and *Gilds*. Mr. C. Walford was an active member of the Royal Historical Society, of the Topographical Society of London, and of the Statistical Society, before which he read many elaborate papers. Mr. Walford was three times married, and has left a family.

Antiquarian News.

Mr. E. Cunnington, writing to the *Times* from Dorchester, says:—Among the many Celtic barrows that characterise this part of Dorset, none have yielded such interesting results as the one I have just opened. It is situated on the high ground overlooking the sea, close to the Ridgway, on the part of Mr. John Mayo's farm called Upway Down. Its diameter is 114 feet, its perpendicular now 13 feet above the surrounding soil. In opening the centre only 18 inches deep a cremation interment was reached, the bones remaining few, none longer than 4 or 5 inches. Close to these were deposited two bronze daggers, part of a knife dagger, and two very elegant oval gold ornaments, stamped with a three-line and two-line encircling pattern, and the larger one with a very pretty pointed pattern on the edge of the side. Also a small bronze celt of early pattern; on this is still adhering a small piece of textile fabric. At 6 inches deep a cairn of stones was reached of 7 feet perpendicular in the centre and 13 feet diameter near its base. In this was an interment, an imperfect skeleton, the upper part of the skull showing a low, narrow forehead and large posterior development; enough of the teeth and upper jaw to show that it was a person of not more than twenty-one years of age. This skeleton was protected by flat stones from the Portland beds near, and was an enclosure of not more than 3 feet in length. Close to the skeleton was a fine bronze dagger of 7 inches in length. After the removal of the cairn of stones the chalk beneath was found to have been moved, and 2 feet under a slab of Portland stone was reached, forming the covering of a stone chest or Kistvaen, containing a very decayed and disconnected skeleton. The top stone was 8 inches thick, 4 feet broad, and 5 feet long, weighing about a ton. Two of the stones comprising the sides were 4 feet and 3½ feet, forming an enclosure of 4 feet long, 2 feet broad, and 2 feet high, the whole resting on the hard chalk at a depth of 18 feet from the outside soil. Among the moved stones and material were found a small perforated stone hammer, seven sided, showing horizontal lines in the perforation; a bone ornament with four small cut perforations, probably for rivets, and a cut narrow oblong perforation in the centre; part of a flint polished stone celt, a double cut flint saw, flint scrapers, and a bone needle.

The *Vossische Zeitung* reports that quite lately, when the foundations were being cleared for a building close to the St. Sophia Church at Kief, the workmen came on some weapons, coloured earthenware, and an urn, all in excellent condition. The urn contained a set of ornaments for a woman, in perfect preservation, the importance of which consists less in their antiquity (probably the tenth or eleventh century) than in their completeness. The urn was well fastened, and had evidently never been disturbed since the possessor hid away from enemies her most valuable effects. Along with other articles there were nine old square silver coins known as "grivna." There is a complete head-dress, consisting of a lace work of indescribable intricacy, but which has been kept in its original posi-

tion by silver plates to which it is sewn, so that one can see how a well-to-do Russian woman of the pre-Tartaric times adorned herself. The silver plates are oblong, surrounding the head and forming a sort of diadem. A quantity of silver and gold pendants hung all round from these plates; the pendants which would come over the ears being much larger than the others. There were silver bracelets and necklaces; and a gold ring, which is not soldered, but welded, and probably belongs even to an older date than the other objects. There was a considerable quantity of other silver and gold ornaments, chiefly pendants, many of which show extremely fine filagree work. The larger gold objects are of the class known as *cloisoné* work. All the ornaments show finish and taste; and if they are of native origin, they are evidence of the perfection to which the arts had been brought in Russia nine centuries ago.

The manorial rights of the manor of Graveney, Staines, have been purchased by Mr. John Ashby, banker. They include the ownership of the produce of the Staines Lammas from the 25th of March until the following 12th of August, the parishioners of Staines, after the latter date, having the right of turning out cattle until the next Lady-day. Mr. Ashby has recently had the Lammas fenced in, and this action has caused a great deal of annoyance to many of the townspeople. Printed notices were distributed about Staines, intimating that unless the fences were removed by a certain date they would be pulled down, and Mr. Ashby obtained an injunction to restrain any person from interfering with or injuring them. However, a number of people assembled upon the Lammas at daybreak, and although the police were present, the whole of the fences were taken down by half-past seven o'clock.

A report from the Museum, Muniment, and Library Committee of Colchester has recently been adopted by the Corporation, stating that, owing to the indisposition of Mr. Stevens, sen., Messrs. Stevens and Son have been compelled to postpone from time to time the preparation of the catalogue of Archbishop Harsnett's library, and altogether to abandon the work. Under these circumstances the assistance of Mr. Bullen, of the British Museum, has again been sought, and under that gentleman's advice, the Committee have had an interview, at the library, with Mr. Gordon Goodwin, of South Norwood, London, who is willing to prepare the catalogue during the month of September, and complete it in four weeks.

A discovery of Roman pavement has been made during this week in Sarah Street, Old Bath Lane, Leicester, a neighbourhood which has already proved itself to be rich in relics of archæological interest. This latest discovery was made while excavating for the purpose of building a cellar upon premises the property of the Rev. Mr. Fuller, and occupied by Messrs. Kempson and Howell. The pavement, which measures about 12 or 14 feet by 3 or 4 feet, is in a capital state of preservation, and the pattern is very distinct, the tesseræ being rather coarse. It is of a very much plainer description than that enclosed by the Corporation in Jewry Wall Street, and from its being below the level of the surface of the river, and considerably lower down than that in Jewry Wall Street, it is supposed to have once formed part of the floor of some old Roman baths. It is very possible that further discoveries will be made during the course of the alterations, and it is to be hoped that steps will be taken to ensure the preservation of this most interesting relic. The local Archæological Society are taking steps to have the excavation continued, so as, if possible, to expose further portions which it is hoped exist.

Mr. W. R. Douthwaite, the librarian of Gray's Inn, has in the press a work on the history and associations of that ancient foundation from its institution to the present day, compiled from original and unpublished documents. It will contain many details of archæological, biographical, and historical interest respecting the ancient constitution of Gray's Inn, its eminent members, and distinguished residents within its precincts. Among the illustrations will be views of South Square, Field Court, the Gate House in Holborn, and Barnard's Inn and Staple Inn, which were Inns of Chancery allied to Gray's Inn. The windows of the old dining-hall, with the shields borne by successive generations of members, are explained by diagrams, accompanied by a complete list of names of members. A list is added of the Readers and other eminent persons connected with the Inn, whose armorial bearings as depicted in an unpublished Harleian manuscript will be given in blazon. The list of peers, temporal and spiritual, who belonged to the Inn in the latter half of the sixteenth century contains many of the most illustrious names in British history, while among the lawyers who received their training there are Bacon and Holt. A chapter of exceptional interest will be that on masques and revels, of which there were many of great significance during the reign of Elizabeth, who appears to have held Gray's Inn in special favour.

The freehold estate of Ankerwycke, in Buckinghamshire, was recently offered for sale at the City Auction Mart, Tokenhouse Yard. Included in the sale was Magna Charta Island, the scene of the famous meeting between King John and the barons and prelates of England. The island contains a handsome residence, on the walls of the reception-room being painted the shields and arms of the barons. The reserved price not having been touched the property was withdrawn. It was then submitted in twelve separate lots; but except in one instance the prices tendered were not deemed sufficient, and in the interests of the vendors the eleven lots were also withdrawn.

The parish church of Cottam, Lincolnshire, has been reopened after restoration. This church was, together with the adjoining church of Littleborough, one of the earliest Christian edifices erected by the Saxons when they advanced by the Humber and the Trent; and though the principal features of Cottam church are Norman, there is very little doubt from the masonry that the commencement of the building must have been made in Saxon times. The church is of the usual plain Saxon type, without aisles or

chancel. The walls are of great thickness, with a range of three irregular shaped windows on the north side. At the east end is a large external *quasi*-chancel arch, formed in the thickness of the wall, in which is inserted a three-light window with square head. An ancient stone, inserted in the south wall, contains the inscription, "727—1794," and probably refers to the foundation of the church in 727, and to a restoration in 1794. The present roof was probably put up then to replace an older one. Inside the chancel a tombstone, apparently of gypsum or alabaster, now forms the footplace for the latter. This, with a very fine Norman doorway in the porch, with unusually deep zigzag mouldings, are the only architectural features of the building, which up to recently must have been a mere barn

That it behoves those engaged in the study of archæology and numismatics to be very careful with the term "prehistoric," seems to have been demonstrated by M. Robert in one of the meetings of the *Académie des Inscriptions*, held at the end of August. He showed some coins found in a piece of "prehistoric" earthenware or pottery, declared to be beyond the reach of historical explanation. This crude earthen pot has been found in Languedoc, in the reservoir of the Garonne. But these silver coins are imitations of the Iberian drachm, and belong to the class of Gallic coins which have been called *à la croix*, dating from the year 120, under Cnejus Domitius Ahenobarbus (Robert: *Numismatique de la province Languedoc*). Under this category of so-called "prehistoric" discoveries can be classed the polished stones which were used as axes, hammers, and even as sling stones, *armes* or *pierres de jet*, for the coins lying close by these stones prove evidently that both stones as well as coins belong to the eighth and ninth century after Christ. The last discovery was made by French soldiers during the Crimean War, on the high plateau before Sebastopol.

A new scheme for swindling curiosity-hunters and collectors of *bric-à-brac* has lately been set on foot in Paris. A few days ago an old coffin was dug up by some of the men engaged in excavation in the Rue de Béarn. By its side were found some old swords, which are supposed to have belonged to Knights Templars. Since these discoveries several *chevaliers d'industrie* have been going about Paris selling antiquarian curiosities which they allege to have been dug up in the Rue de Béarn. Their dupes have been remarkably numerous. One of these latter lately received a visit from some of the swindlers and bought for £4 a rusty helmet and sword which, according to the statements of the vendors, had undoubtedly belonged to some baron bold or Knight Templar of the Middle Ages. But they were pronounced to be articles of theatrical "property," which had been plunged into some chemical preparation.

The little two-arched bridge over the Cherwell, at Cropredy, has been reported to the Banbury District Highway Board as out of repair, one of its arches requiring renewal. A highway board is only interested in such a structure so far as it serves the purpose of crossing a stream within its jurisdiction, and fears are entertained that the Board will order such reconstruction of the bridge as will completely obliterate its character. The bridge must have substantial repairs to make it safe for traffic. The cheapest mode of effecting these will cost, it is supposed, about £250. An equal sum to this—and surely there is sufficient interest among English people to contribute it—would enable the architect both to conserve its original character and execute the repairs in stone instead of brick. The ancient bridge at Cropredy was rebuilt, in answer to an appeal of John d'Alderby, Bishop of Lincoln (in whose diocese it was then situated), in the year 1312, and a portion of the structure seems to be of that period. The buttressed angle projecting up the stream was repaired in 1691, and bears that date upon it, while the western arch was built in 1780. It is the old arch on the east side which is in a dangerous state. A considerable part of the cost of the repairs is due to the necessity for providing a temporary means of crossing the stream during the reconstruction of the arch. It was across this bridge, on Sunday morning, October 23, 1642, that King Charles rode to his first battle, fought that afternoon at Edgehill, and two years later it formed the key of the position in the fierce struggle which bears its name, when the king in person here engaged Waller on June 29, 1644.

The workmen engaged in taking down the tower of the parish church, Ashton-under-Lyne, came upon a stone on which were carved the letters "L E" and the figures "1413." As nothing could be made of this inscription the stone was left among a heap of others in the churchyard, and nothing further was thought about it till another stone was subsequently found containing what proves to be the first part of the inscription. This, in its complete form, consists of the name, carved in Old English letters, of Alexander Hyle, with the date 1413. Before the Christian name there is a representation of a butcher's cleaver, and between the Christian name and surname an imitation of a "five of spades" playing-card. The relic is greatly exercising the minds of local antiquaries, some of whom think it confirmatory of a tradition connected with the building of the first tower in 1413. One form of this tradition is that during that erection a butcher bearing the above name was on one occasion playing cards with some companions near the church, and vowed that he would himself build a foot of the tower if the dealer turned up the "five of spades." This having been done, Hyle performed his vow, and had his name and the emblem of his trade carved upon one of the stones. It is supposed that this is the very stone recently found, and that it has been re-inserted in two rebuildings of the tower, the last of which took place in or about the year 1820.

A very handsome Romano-British vase or urn was dug up during October in St. Peter's, Chushell Street, without the old mural boundary of Winchester. It was found by the workmen of Mr. Giles Pointer, a careful regarder of the relics of the past. It was some nine feet under the surface, surrounded, the workmen said, by blocks of chalk and fragments of unburnt human bones; and but for a small injury from the modern pickaxe it is perfect.

One of the most valuable "finds" made in Cornwall for the past few years was made a short time ago at St. Gulval parish church (near Penzance) during some restoration works in the chancel. It is a very ancient sculptured granite pillar, with antique carving of a singular pattern. The only letters deciphered on it are "J. A.," which at first glance may be supposed to connect it with the famous St. Ja, an Irish saint who was martyred near here by the heathen king Pendar about A.D. 450. The Royal Institution of Cornwall has visited the spot, and we hope to give the decision of local archæologists in our next number.

Messrs. Linkskill and G. Bruce are at present conducting excavations in a line with the large passage leading from the Castle at St. Andrews, in the hope of ultimately reaching the Cathedral, and bringing to light the plate used at the dedication service when Robert *the* Bruce was present in 1318. Another discovery of minor importance has just been brought to light by Mr. David Louden, schoolmaster of Morham, in East Lothian—himself a native and enthusiastic antiquary—in the shape of one of the keys of the city, which he has had photographed by G. Rodger same size as the original. It is at present in the possession of Mr. A. Kay, North Castle Street.

At the meeting of the Worksop Local Board on 12th October a letter was read from Mr. Haslam, the Duke of Newcastle's agent, with reference to the Priory Gate-house at Worksop and its unsafe condition. The letter stated that if the Board was satisfied that the Gate-house is unsafe the Duke will do what is needful to protect it, but, at the same time, the Board should take care that too heavily laden vehicles do not pass under. The Duke is very anxious that the Gate-house should be preserved to the town of Worksop, and is willing to assist the town in the matter. With that view Mr. Haslam has proposed to his Grace to divert the roadway, and place the Gate-house where it ought to be—within the precincts of the churchyard. The Duke has been endeavouring to purchase the land that would be required, but owing to the high price asked for the Cross Keys Inn he has not been able to attain his object. If he can purchase at the price he has proposed he is prepared to give the land necessary for the new roadway, the Board giving up the old land for the purpose of adding to the churchyard, and also making the new road. It was afterwards stated that Mr. Garside and the Prior Well Brewery Company were willing to make a considerable sacrifice to meet the wishes of the town.

The re-opening services at Westbere Church, Canterbury, have now been brought to a close. The church is a building of very great antiquity, but the openings are of the middle of the fourteenth century, the windows having characteristic Kentish tracery. There are elegant pedilla and much remarkable ancient carving in the building, all of which has been preserved. The works have been carried out by Mr. Wilson, of Canterbury, from the designs and under the superintendence of Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock. During the progress of the works a great number of fragments of fourteenth-century glass, removed from the church several years, were discovered in an attic, and have been inserted in the church windows.

Correspondence.

THE BATTLE OF BRUNANBURH.

[*Ante*, p. 168.]

In an article under the above heading in the October issue of the *Antiquary*, by Mr. W. M. Brooks, occurs an important error. He says: "In Great Driffield Church, just restored, lies the eminent St. John of Beverley, where there is a fine monument and effigy over the tomb."

This is altogether wrong: St. John never had anything to do with Driffield, either when living or after his death, excepting that he was born at Harpham, a village in the neighbourhood; nor has he either there or elsewhere an effigied tomb. He was Archbishop of York from 705 to 717, when he resigned his office and retired to a monastery he had founded at Beverley, where he died in 721, and was buried in the porch. His relics were afterwards translated to the Minster or Collegiate Church, and placed on a golden shrine, which became eventually, from the donations of pilgrims who had been witnesses of the miracles there, a perfect blaze of gems.

With respect to the site of the battle of Brunanburgh, there can be no doubt, from the fact of Athelstane calling at Beverley and York on his road thither, as well as on his return, that it lay northward of those towns—most probably, from circumstancial evidence, in Northumberland, not far from the walls of Barnborough; the conjectures placing it in Lancashire, Lincolnshire, and Cheshire being wild guesses, unsupported by any reliable evidence, and at variance with such records as we have in the ancient chronicles.

Although Driffield cannot boast of possessing the tomb of St. John, tradition and the Anglo-Saxon chronicles tell us that it was the burial-place of Alfred (or Alchfrid), King of Northumbria, who received his death-wound in a battle (it is presumed with the Picts) at Ebberston, near Scarborough, where there is a cave into which he is said to have fled for refuge, after being wounded, still bearing the name of "Ilfrid's Hole." He is reported to have had a palace at Driffield, on one of two mounds at the north end of the town, where there are foundations of an ancient building. The other mound is called Moothill, round which the folk-mote assembled on public occasions, to hear proclamations of new laws, and discuss questions that came within the scope of their

consideration. Leland, temp. Henry VIII., speaks of his tomb as being then to be seen, and Camden refers to his monument then extant.

FREDK. ROSS.

London.

OLD SCOTCH GENEALOGIES.

Alexander Deuchar, the seal-engraver, author of *British Crests*, a genealogical writer of the chiefs of the battle of Bannockburn, as well as on the early histories of the families of Angus, Aytoun, Blair, Carmichael, Cameron, Crawford, Drummond, Farquhar, French, Hamilton, Hay, Hume, Graham, Grant, Johnstone, Lindsay, Mackenzie, Majoribank, Mowbray, Murray, Nisbet, Robertson, Scott, Sinclair, Southerland, Thomson, Wallace, and many others, left these genealogies in manuscript, as indicated in John Camden Hotten's *Hand Book to the Topography and Family History of England and Wales*, from pp. 336 to 357.

Can anyone give me a list of those published, and where the balance is to be found, including the manuscript entitled "*French Family*—genealogical collection relative to the name of French, folio, 1843"? Any information will be gladly received in the interest of genealogy.

SCOTLAND.

THE HUNTERS MANOR.

Had the earthwork at Little Weldon in what is called the "Hall close" any connection with the Hunters Manor at Little Weldon, spoken of in the *Antiquary* some time back?

H.

SAINT SUNDAY.

[*Ante*, p. 159.]

There was in the middle of the seventeenth century a gate at Drogheda called "Saint Sunday's." Oliver Cromwell, in his letter to William Lenthall, the Speaker of the Long Parliament, dated from Dublin, 17th of September, 1649, says, "About 100 of them [the Royalists] possessed St. Peter's church-steeple; some the west gate, and others a strong round tower next the gate called St. Sundays."—Carlyle's *Cromwell*, ed. 1865; vol. ii. p. 53.

In the "Churchwarden's Account Book of Louth," Lincolnshire, the following entry occurs under the year 1535, "For a hooke of yron to sainct sonday pycture 1*d*." It has been suggested that Saint Sunday is the English form of Saint Dominic. Unless proof can be given of this we may dismiss it as an unlikely conjecture. The Louth churchwarden's accounts have never been published, though some extracts have seen the light, transcribed by a gentleman who could read old handwriting but very imperfectly. I have every intention of publishing the earlier years in full, and of giving copious extracts from those of a more recent time. I transcribed them for that purpose several years ago. Whenever the book appears, I shall endeavour to give all that is known about Saint Sunday in a note on the passage I quote.

EDWARD PEACOCK.

Bottesford Manor, Brigg.

MAIDEN LANE.

[*Ante*, p. 135.]

Surely a superfluous amount of energy has been brought to bear upon the derivation of this unimportant thoroughfare. To suggest a Celtic origin for the name of a street which in all probability was not in existence 350 years ago seems to me the height of futility. Mr. J. J. Foster's theory mentioned in your September number, that "Maiden Lane under other names is continued right into the City," unfortunately is incorrect as a matter of fact.

There ought not to be much difficulty about the matter. The archives of the Russell family, I have little doubt, will show when the street was laid out—probably not long after the grant to that family of the Convent Garden. If it was in existence before then, it was probably a back lane running between the said garden and the back of one of the great houses on the north side of the Strand; and, if so, I would suggest that it may have been called originally "Midden" or Dunghill Lane—an unsavoury derivation, certainly; but, to my mind, more likely than any connected with either cells or convents.

J. C. L. STAHLSCHMIDT.

Fontenoy Road, Balham, 2nd October, 1885.

PRESERVATION OF ANTIQUITIES.

The letter of Mr. Lach-Szyrma is well worth the consideration of antiquaries. In this so-called age of progress, "Vandalism" is rampant nowhere more than in Britain. Men like the Marquis of Bute are few and far between.

One of the chief reasons of the neglect and destruction of old buildings is the fact that the land is passing from the hands of the old families, who have long held it, into the possession of wealthy brewers and merchants, generally having no taste for the picturesque and the antique. Nevertheless, these should be prevented from destroying the old castles and manors on their estates. Much might be done by the public themselves towards the preservation of old buildings. Such a proposal as that to celebrate the anniversary of the Battle of Bosworth by restoring the old church overlooking the scene is a very wise one, and should be carried out.

I sincerely hope that your correspondent's opportune letter will be considered, and its advice followed.

J. A. FRASER.

Cambridge, 14th October, 1885.

The Antiquary Exchange.

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NOTE.—*All Advertisements to reach the office by the 15th of the month, and to be addressed*—The Manager, EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT, THE ANTIQUARY OFFICE, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

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The Antiquary.

DECEMBER, 1885.

Steele's "Christian Hero."

THE second literary production of Richard Steele, entitled *The Christian Hero,* was published in April, 1701, when he was twenty-nine years of age. It is a little tract of very considerable interest, and probably excited at the time a good deal of attention, and sold well, for in three months a second edition appeared. Steele was then a captain in the Fusiliers; he was of an age to enjoy life, and was surrounded by companions almost unavoidably addicted to the unscrupulous and licentious habits of the army of that period. Yet he had a conscience! His wit, his humour, and his many convivial qualities made him a general favourite, and he enjoyed the dissipations incident to his position in life, with a keen and eager zest; yet when the hour of enjoyment was over, doubts, misgivings, and aspirations for a higher standard of existence were ever welling up in his mind, and leading him to wish for a purer and more holy kind of life. It was at this time, and in the first instance with a desire to arrange his own convictions, but in a second thought with the hope of influencing some of his companions, and leading them to the belief that a young man's happiness ought not to be confined to the mere enjoyment of animal appetites, that he wrote, and subsequently published, *The Christian Hero.* It was, so to speak, in the first instance, a kind of "soldier's creed"; but though Steele well knew what was right, and though he was able and willing to state it to his companions, and to the world, yet he was hardly prepared all at once to give up the pleasures of life, or even wholly to practise what he preached. This little book must therefore have brought him an abundant harvest of jeers and sneers which in his position it would be very hard to bear.

But besides the jests of his companions, Steele was also favoured with the animadversions of the critics, and one very prominent instance of this is to be found in Charles Gildon's *Comparison between the Two Stages,* 1702. Steele, when the storm of ridicule was flying round him, at the close of the year 1701, brought out a comedy entitled *The Funeral; or, Grief à la Mode,* which he dedicated to the Countess of Albemarle, and which was acted and very favourably received in Drury Lane. Whilst he devoted his pen to the cause of Morality alone, he might have escaped the animadversions of Gildon, but when he entered into the arena as a play-writer, he at once excited the wrath of the dramatic critic; and hence, when discussing the play Gildon could not leave *The Christian Hero* alone. Gildon's essay takes the form of a conversation between two gentlemen—Ramble and Sullen—and a critick named Chagrin. After well picking the play to pieces, which is declared to be barbarous and shocking, Ramble abruptly asks, "Did you ever read *The Christian Hero?*" Critick replies, "Yes; what do you mean by asking me?" Ramble answers, "Pray don't be angry. Is it not an extraordinary thing?" After a little sparring, not of a high class of wit, the question is repeated, and Critick replies: "Look ye, sir—to answer you dogmatically, and in a few words, No." They ask his reason, and he tells them, "Thus, then, briefly: 'Tis a Chaos, 'tis a confusion of Thoughts, rude and indigested; tho' he had the advice of an ingenious Man to put it into Method. 'Tis Dated from the Tower-guard, as a present to his Colonel, that his Colonel might think him even in time of duty a very contemplative Soldier, and I suppose by the roughness of the Stile, he writ it there, on the Butt-end of a Musquet." Sullen says, "Hush! no Reproaches. The gentleman has done very well, and chose a worthy subject." Ramble adds, "It bore two editions." This enabled Critick to show his bibliographical knowledge, and tell them, "It did not; it was but once

printed, nor is all that Impression sold; 'tis a Trick of the Booksellers to get it off." There is no need to inquire into the value of Critick's opinions, but here he states what is, or ought to be, a matter of fact, and one which for several reasons it is worth while to examine. *The Christian Hero*, as first published by Jacob Tonson, in 1701, is a small octavo, and consists of title-page, dedication 6 pages, preface 6 pages, and pp. 1-95. The second edition is of the same date and size, but the dedication is only 4 pages; there is a new paragraph in the preface, and the book itself has pp. 1-102. It is clearly a new set-up, though probably from the same type, and the work is corrected and enlarged. We may, therefore, wholly dismiss Gildon's ill-natured statement, as it is clearly untrue. The second edition is said to be corrected, and so it is; most of the errors of the first are set right, though, curiously enough, one,—and by no means the least conspicuous—remains. It is in the 60th page, in a quotation from Horace:

> Let not a God approach the scene
> In cases for a God to mean.

Here the whole meaning is lost by the misprint of "to" for "too"; and this misprint was repeated in the second edition, and not corrected till the third edition was printed in 1710.

But the chief point of interest in comparing these two editions of 1701 is in the additional pages. These are eight, and form a new commencement to the fourth chapter, which in the second edition is erroneously called Chapter VI. We may be sure that a handbook of morality written by a soldier in 1701 would be looked on by many as a curiosity; and that though even amongst Steele's own immediate companions many only endeavoured to turn it to ridicule, there would be some, however, at least, who would read it with attention, if only for the writer's sake, and perhaps tell him their opinions about it, and make observations on it more or less to the purpose. What then was the result of his own second thoughts, influenced, it may be, by the suggestions of his friends? Steele commences his new remarks by saying that he has in the three preceding chapters considered the subject as shown in the lives of eminent heathens, in a distant admiration of the life of our blessed Saviour, and in a near examination of that of His Apostle St. Paul. "We must now descend from the bright Incentives of their Actions to consider Lower Life, and talk of Motives which are common to all Men, and which are the Impulses of the ordinary World, as well as of Captains, Heroes, Worthies, Lawgivers, and Saints." He then proceeds to assert that the two great springs of human actions are fame and conscience, and that the passion for fame is so strong in man that it never seems to be wholly extinct. He says that to the soldier it is everything, but that "it Intrudes also as restlessly upon those of the Quill, nay the very Authors who conceal their names are yet vainer than they who publish theirs. They both, indeed, aim at your Applause; but the mock disguise of themselves in the former is but a more subtle Arrogance, at once to enjoy your Esteem and the Reputation of Contemning it." He then, after showing that this leading feeling pervades all classes, even down to the most degraded criminals, proceeds to discuss the "rectifying and adjusting influence of a Living Conscience, or the Knowledge and Judgment of what we are doing, which in the Voyage of Life is our ballast, as the other is our Sail." After this Steele quotes Sallust to show the true nature and aim of mere heathen virtues, and St. Matthew to point to the right aim of the Christian, ending with these words:

"And what more glorious Ambition can the Mind of Man have than to consider itself actually Imploy'd in the Service of, and in a manner in conjunction with, the Mind of the Universe, which is for ever Busie without Toil, and Working without Weariness?"

After this there follows the whole of the fourth chapter as given in the first edition, concluding with a comparison of Louis XIV. with William III., evidently pointing to the latter as "a true Christian Hero."

There is an expression in Gildon's criticism which has possibly a reference to himself, and his own relations towards Steele; after saying that the little book was "rude and indigested," he remarks, "tho' he had the advice of an ingenious Man to put it into Method." This certainly reads a little like as if Gildon himself was the "ingenious man," and that Steele would not hearken to his advice. Gildon

was seven years his senior, had tasted the joys of dissipation, and drank the cup of pleasure to the very dregs. Born a Roman Catholic, and educated at Douay designed for the priesthood, which was hateful to him, he returned to England in 1684, when, his father being dead, he dissipated his fortune, made an improvident marriage, associated with the freethinkers, and became more or less an infidel. In 1693 he published *The Oracles of Reason*; hence when Steele began his London life, Gildon was a noted man, with very uncertain religious views, and no doubt considerable plausibility of manner. The two very probably met, and if so they also must have had some influence on one another.

Though Gildon's sneer about the two first editions of *The Christian Hero* is clearly not founded on truth, yet it is quite possible that the second was issued before the first was wholly sold off. There is some foundation for Gildon's criticism that the book as first published was a little crude and disjointed; and there can be no doubt that it was considerably improved by the additional eight pages. Steele must have felt this, and therefore perhaps he hurried on the issue of the second and corrected edition. Whilst thus suggesting that Gildon with his doubts and difficulties may have had some influence on the mind of Steele, there is also the possibility that Steele, with his purer and more logical mind, may have in turn had some influence on Gildon, who, in 1705, having become convinced of his errors, published *The Deist's Manual.* There is another circumstance connected with Steele worthy of consideration in relation to *The Christian Hero.* At the time when he was thinking over this subject, there was published a small book entitled *The Tradesman's Calling*, written by one Richard Steele, which came to a second edition in 1698. The identity of name seems at once to suggest, firstly, that the two men may have been connected, though distantly; and secondly, that it is more than probable that the young soldier had read one or other of his namesake's little books. Richard Steele, M.A., was born at Nantwich, in Cheshire, in 1629, graduated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and was incorporated at Oxford in 1656. In 1662 he was ejected from the living of Hanmere, after a time removed to London, and in 1667 became minister of a Presbyterian congregation meeting at Armourer's Hall, in Coleman Street, and continued their pastor till the time of his death, in 1692. His portrait, one of much earnest character, was in Dr. Williams's library in Red Cross Street, and was engraved for Wilson's *History of Dissenting Churches* (ii., 448). The precise date when Steele first came to live in London does not seem to be known, but it must have been much about, or shortly after, the death of his namesake, and he may often then have been asked whether or no he was a son of the dissenting minister? This would necessarily lead to some mention of his theological writings, which were numerous, and some of them certainly suggestive of *The Christian Hero.* Such, for example, was *The Temptations, Graces and Duties of the Christian Husbandman*, and *The Properties and Privileges of an Upright Man.*

Montgomery, in his *Memoirs of Steele*, 1861, observes that Steele's little book was several times re-published, and that it is, nevertheless, rather rare. He also truly observes that it is very little read, and has sometimes been very unfairly dealt with by critics. Professor Schlosser, in his *History of the Eighteenth Century*, mentions it only as "a poem which justified no great expectation; a poem with little soul or nature in it." It is reasonable to conclude that the Professor had never read a word of it, or, indeed, seen the little book at all, or he could not thus have described it. Bibliographical writers are very vague about it. Watts only mentions two editions, 1701 and 1755. Lowndes describes three, 1701, 1766, and 1802; but adds, frequently reprinted. Darling only gives the eighth edition—of 1727; and Allibone mentions the editions of 1701, 1727, 1741, 1766, and 1802, adding other editions.

A complete bibliography of this interesting little book would be desirable; and therefore the following list, though manifestly far from complete, may be of service as a first step towards a full and accurate account:

1. First.—London: J. Tonson. Small 8vo. 1701. Title, dedication 6 pp., preface 6 pp. —pp. 1-95.

2. Second.—London: J. Tonson. Small 8vo. 1701. Title, dedication 4 pp., preface 4 pp.—pp. 1-102.

3. Third.—London: J. Tonson. Small 8vo. 1710. Title, dedication 4 pp., preface 4 pp.—pp. 1-93.

4. Fourth.—[Presumed.]

5. Fifth.—London: J. Tonson, and sold by Owen Lloyd. Small 8vo. 1711. Title, dedication 6 pp., preface 6 pp.—pp. 1-68. [H. B. Wheatley, F.S.A.]

6. Sixth.—London: J. Tonson. 12mo. 1712. Title, dedication 6 pp., preface 6 pp.—pp. 1-68.

7. Seventh.—London: J. Tonson. 12mo. 1722. Title, dedication 7 pp., preface 6 pp. —pp. 1-68.

8. Eighth.—London. 12mo. 1727. [Darling.]

9.—London. 12mo. 1741. [Bohn's Catalogue, 1840.]

10.—London. 8vo. 1751. [Allibone.]

11.—London: J. and R. Tonson. 12mo. 1755. Title, dedication 6 pp., preface 7 pp.—pp. 1-78.

12.—London, for T. W. Wentworth. 12mo. 1764. Title, dedication 5 pp., preface 7 pp.—pp. 1-78.

13.—London, for J. and R. Tonson. 12mo. 1766. Title, dedication 6 pp., preface 7 pp.—pp. 1-78.

14.—Berwick: W. Phorson. 12mo. Dedication 3 pp., preface 5 pp.—pp. 1-71.

15.—Oxford. 12mo. 1802. Clarendon Press. Title, preface 11 pp.—pp. 1-145.

From this list, all imperfect as it is, it is clear that the book rather "hung fire" for the first ten years; then, when the *Tatler* was in everyone's hands—from 1710 to 1712—at least four editions were printed.

EDWARD SOLLY.

Extracts from Diaries of Early Travel.

II.—THE JESUITS AMONGST THE JAPANESE.

SOME letters written by Father Luigi Frois, the head of the Jesuit Mission in Japan, in 1585, to the Father-General of the Jesuits in Rome, throw light on early missionary enterprise in that country. They illustrate, too, the state of Japan towards the close of the sixteenth century both socially and politically, just twenty years after the energetic Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the Indies, first preached Christianity in the chief town of the Japanese kingdom of Saxuma. Furthermore, they illustrate the untiring energy of those Jesuit missionaries who braved almost every danger, and penetrated into the heart of a country which now, after a further lapse of three hundred years, is only beginning to be opened out.

The Portuguese silk merchants took them there, glad to give them a free passage, for the Jesuits did much towards opening the channels of commerce, learning, as they did, the habits and language of the country, and identifying themselves with the natives.

Intellectually speaking, Father Frois sums up the Japanese of his days thus:

"The race is very capable, and full of intellect. There is a wonderful aptitude amongst the young for learning our science and discipline, experience of which has been had in the schools of Latin and also of Philosophy, started by the Jesuit Fathers here. . . . also the people themselves. The artisans are not so rough and ready as ours, but of good judgment and well educated, observing the same courtesy amongst themselves, as if they had been born and bred in courts."

In another letter Father Frois illustrates this ability amongst the young Japanese, for in two days some pupils learnt "the Paternoster, Ave Maria, the Creed and Salve Regina in Latin, the Commandments, Confessions, and other prayers in their native tongue, and the first to be able to say them all was a girl of seven years old, who, when she had learnt them, taught them to the others."

The work in Japan was pushed on by the Jesuits with wonderful energy, as may be seen from the following account:

"In the College of Funai this year (1583) has been started the study of Philosophy, never before heard of in Japan; also a school of the Humanists. The Fathers of the College, as well as the scholars, are constantly being called out for confessions, preachings, baptisms, etc. They are for ever occupied in translating into Japanese spiritual books, the Catechism, Lives of the Saints, etc."

This College of Funai was the centre of the missionary work in Japan. From here they sent forth native converts in all directions to pave the way for future work; and King Francis of Bongo—a convert who had taken the name of Francis on his conversion—was their great support. As he grew weakly and old he used regularly to attend the House of Probation and the College of Funai, "as if," says Father Frois, "he had been the father of us all."

King Francis was desirous of being buried in a retired spot outside his city called Ancumi, where he had built a chapel, and had ordered all the idols in the immediate vicinity to be collected together and burnt. He likewise exhorted the Bonzi, or native priests of that neighbourhood, to embrace the new faith, which many of them did. But, at the same time, many refused to do so, and hid their idols in secret places. At this place —Ancumi—Father Frois tells us the Bonzi of Bongo had brought a great treasure of theirs as to a quiet retired spot. It was a wooden case containing a box of beautiful workmanship, which contained the nine books of the laws of Xaca, all written in letters of gold with many ornaments, and beautifully bound. "These were written 270 years ago, but they still appear new, so well have they been kept." The Jesuits got hold of these books, and one of them, Father Frois tells us, they were going to send as a present to the Father-General at home.

About the Bonzi Father Frois tells us a great deal more in his letters. There were some in the kingdom of Saxuma, called Cannusis, married priests skilled in incantations and necromancy. Father Luigi, a Jesuit, went to visit them, and said, "My friends, if you have power to cast out the demons, as you say, into whomsoever you wist, cast them into me; and if your sacrifices and incantations are of no avail, then will you confess that your laws are false."

This plan appeared agreeable to the Bonzi, and Father Luigi, armed only with a cross, sat down in their midst. Around him they placed their Satanic instruments, rubbed their hands with a kind of grain, went into a thousand contortions, put serpents on their necks, and so continuously invoked the demon in a loud voice that they lost their voices. Father Luigi chided them after the manner of Elijah, telling them not to give up, but to shriek louder, for already he began to feel a pain in the tips of his hair, whereupon they reposed themselves for a little while, and then recommenced their incantations with increased vigour.

Suddenly the devil seized upon the host with whom Father Luigi was staying, a quiet inoffensive man, who, when he found that he had been treated in this fashion, rushed upon the Bonzi and belaboured them with his stick; whereat Father Luigi laughed immoderately, so that the Bonzi were filled with shame and confusion, but said that if Father Luigi would tarry amongst them a little longer they would send for a Bonzo who was even better at incantations than they were, and to whom every demon was obedient, and then he would see if their art was efficacious or not.

Father Luigi remained yet many days in those parts, but the Bonzi lost all credit, and consequently left the church and did not return again.

We have many curious stories told us in these letters of miracles and conversions wrought by the Jesuits to confound the Bonzi and their false creed, the efficacy with which portions of the true cross cured diseases, and so forth; but these things are of little value compared to the relation of episodes in Japanese history which occurred at this time, and of which the writer was an eyewitness. There can have been no cause for giving false reports on these points, and the simplicity of the narrative testifies to its genuineness.

The history of the rise and fall of a Prince called Nobunanga is related in very full detail by Father Frois. Nobunanga began life as prince of half a kingdom called Voari,

and early developed great military valour and talent. He was greatly opposed to the priestly power as exercised by the Bonzi, and overthrew their temples and idols in his dominion. Moreover, he was kindly disposed to the Jesuits, as people who had come from far, and gave them leave to preach and build churches; "but nevertheless," adds Father Frois, "his arrogance prevented him from being convinced by our doctrines." By means of his military skill, Nobunanga so rapidly increased his dominions, that he soon became the most potent lord in all Japan, and with his power his arrogance increased, so that, like a second Nebuchadnezzar, he aspired to be adored as God. For this purpose he built a temple on a mountain near to Anzuci, and over it put up the following inscription:

"In the great kingdom of Japan, on this mountain fortress of Anzuci, which even from afar gives joy and contentment to those who approach it. Nobunanga, lord of all Japan, has built this temple, and called it Sochengi. The rewards which all who adore it with reverence and devotion will have, are as follows: Firstly, the rich shall always increase their riches; the poor, the base and miserable shall grow in comfort. Those who have no offspring or successors to propagate their race, shall have descendants forthwith, and shall enjoy a very long life with great peace and repose. They shall even reach eighty years. They shall immediately be healed of any disease, and shall have the fulfilment of their desires with health and tranquillity. Every month they shall celebrate a solemn feast in memory of the day of my birth, which feast shall be concluded by a visit to this temple; and all who shall do this with faith shall obtain all their desires; but the perverse, both in this life and the next, shall go to perdition."

From all the other temples of Japan Nobunanga brought the most celebrated idols, and put them up in Sochengi, and issued a decree that on the fifth month of the year 1582, on the anniversary of his birth, everyone, high and low, rich and poor, should come and worship a stone which he had set up higher than any of the other idols in the temple, and on this day a large concourse of people assembled to worship.

"But," says Father Frois, "God did not allow Nobunanga to remain long in peace." He shortly afterwards sent an army to go against the King of Cainocuni, and after conquering him, to bring the homage of three other kings back to him at his fortress in Anzuci, where he was busily engaged in extending his city, and giving the principal posts to vassals who built the finest houses. One of these, by name Faxiba, spent no less than 15,000 scudi in bringing stones; and when his army returned victorious, Nobunanga was at the zenith of his power.

At length he determined to terminate a war which he had been waging for four or five years with Mori, King of Amangucci. If he conquered again in this war he would be lord paramount of all the sixty-six kingdoms into which Japan was divided. He then purposed to cross over to China, and leave his seven sons to rule in Japan whilst he was pursuing his victories westwards. Faxiba was appointed general of this armament, and after a short absence he wrote for reinforcements to enable him to crush the enemy and to bring back the head of King Mori to Nobunanga.

Nobunanga got together an additional army of 30,000 men to send to Faxiba, and put it under the command of a certain man called Acheci—of low birth, but a skilled architect—whom he had created Prince of Tamba, and to whom he had given all the revenues of the Bonzi's University of Feimama. This was the man who wrought the ruin of Nobunanga, and schemed to make himself lord of Japan. Instead of going to join Faxiba he went to his own fortress of Tamba with his army, disclosed his plans to a few trusted friends, and taking into account the defenceless state in which Nobunanga had been left, it was determined to march back at once and attack him in Meaco, where he was living in an old monastery which had belonged to the Bonzi, and close to which the Jesuits had a church.

Nobunanga was here surprised as he was washing his hands. He hurried on their approach to his own room, and as some affirmed fell on his sword, after the manner of Japanese nobles; or, as others said, he was burnt in the flames of the monastery.

The soldiers of Acheci then marched through the town, cut off the heads of all whom they considered to be partizans of Nobunanga, and carried them to their chiefs, who collected them in a great heap. And the Jesuits who had been so kindly treated by Nobunanga fell into a great dread, for another general of Nobunanga's, Anzuci by name, tried to play the same game as Acheci; and in the horrors of this civil war the Jesuits counselled together and decided to flee to an island in a neighbouring lake, the owner of which pretended to be their friend, whilst he actually was in league with the boatmen to spoil and kill the Fathers. They set off, carrying with them their silver candlesticks, chalices, vestments, and whatever articles of value they possessed. They dressed themselves as Japanese to avoid detection, and when they reached the island they paid the boatmen so handsomely that they were allowed to take their valuables with them, and on an early opportunity they sent them all off to the mountains by the hands of a faithful Japanese; and a Christian who spoke favourably of them to Acheci caused them to be well treated by the conqueror and left in safety on the island.

Acheci meanwhile was dominant in Meaco, and after opening the treasure-houses of Nobunanga, and appropriating all his wealth, he prepared a magnificent funeral for the body of the man whose death he had caused; and while he was in the fortress of Sacomoto, the Jesuit Fathers left their island retreat, and came to him and placed themselves under his protection. "We were kindly received," says Father Frois, "because Acheci wished to gain over a general to his side who professed Christianity"; and Father Organtino, thorough Jesuit that he was, conformed himself to circumstances, and replied with assenting words, but at the same time let the brethren know that under no consideration whatsoever should they league themselves with such a tyrant.

Acheci gave them an escort to conduct them back to Meaco under the guidance of a squire, to whom Father Organtino gave an Indian umbrella, and many thanks, when they reached home safely again, and found that they had lost nothing.

The peace of Meaco was soon disturbed again. One of Nobunanga's sons, Sanxeci by name, succeeded in getting possession of the capital of the palace and of his father's body, for the burial of which he prepared by cutting off the heads of all that were suspected of having joined the revolt. "Obsequies," says Father Frois, "full of pestilential odours, as it was in the middle of summer, and worthy of that tyrant. So horrible was the odour that when the wind was in a certain direction we could not remain in our church."

This wholesale decapitation lasted for a long while and in many places. Two days afterwards Father Organtino and another Father, having occasion to go to the palace, saw some men bringing an offering of more than thirty heads strung on a cord, as if they had been the heads of so many sheep or dogs, "the miserable people believing that in this manner they would gain the esteem of the conqueror."

The body and head of the rebel Acheci were also brought, and "the following miserable end had he who aspired to upsetting the government of all Japan, for Divine justice only accorded him twelve days of life after his horrible conspiracy. His head was first of all presented as an offering to the ashes of Nobunanga; and then, by order of Sanxeci was joined to the trunk, and the entire body was crucified outside the city."

Sanxeci did not long enjoy his triumph, for on hearing of the state of affairs, the General Faxiba, who was fighting against King Mori, abandoned the war and returned with his army to put in his claim for the kingdom. He first attacked Sacomoto, where Acheci and his generals had deposited their wives and their valuables. On Faxiba's approach the wretches inside the fortress first of all threw all their treasures out of the windows into the sea, and then shut themselves up in the highest tower. The women and children were killed; the men fell on their swords, and were burnt in the flames of the tower. "You could not count," says Father Frois, "the number of nobles and others who died in those eight days throughout the kingdom, some by their own hands, others by the hands of assassins. Father Joseph, five days after the victory, in the evening counted as many as five hundred corpses floating down a river."

The victorious army under Faxiba passed on after the sack of Sacomoto to other fortresses held by partizans of Acheci or Sanxeci. They spared no one in their march, and Father Frois estimates the number of those who fell during those few days of civil war at more than 10,000 souls. He concludes the letter with his account of this episode in Japanese history, as follows:

"In this miserable and unhappy manner perished a man who thought that not only in this world but in heaven there was no greater Lord than himself. And Acheci—his companion in pride, and afterwards his scourge—was killed by the hands of two peasants without even being able to cut open his own belly, which this benighted race consider the only honourable way to die. Altogether it cannot be denied that Nobunanga had good parts in him; but at last it was his arrogance which ruined him."

In another letter Father Frois tells us a good deal about the contest between the successors of Nobunanga, and the final triumph of Faxiba. Xibata, another general, who had married a sister of Nobunanga's, set up his claim to the kingdom, but was beaten everywhere by Faxiba, until he was obliged to retire to a mountain fortress, and was then surrounded. He addressed his followers who remained faithful, reminding them that in conformity with the Japanese custom he was about to cut open his belly, and that his body must be consumed in the flames of his castle before it was seen and disgraced by the enemy; he exhorted his followers to flee and save themselves whilst there was yet time; but with one accord they decided to perish with him, together with their wives and their children. Before dying, they instructed their servants to bring in tables with food and musical instruments; and then they all set to work to eat, drink, and sing as if they were celebrating a triumph or a royal dance, and the enemy outside were astonished that instead of the clash of arms they heard nothing but the sound of music and revelry.

Meanwhile the servants placed straw and combustibles below, and they shut the windows and the doors, and when the signal was given that all was ready, Xibata set the example by rushing on his wife, whom he had married only a few months before, and killing her. All his followers did likewise, killing their wives, sons, and daughters, and then they fell on their own swords amidst the flames. Only one old woman was allowed to escape alive, that she might relate to the enemy all she had seen of this triumphant death.

J. THEODORE BENT.

Municipal Offices.

BY J. H. ROUND, M.A.

I.—COLCHESTER.

THE following is as complete a list as I can make of the Municipal Offices which have existed at Colchester. It is the result of somewhat laborious research among original records and printed books. I have not been able to discover any really satisfactory system of arrangement. An alphabetical arrangement has its advantages, but is somewhat unmeaning: on the other hand, attempts at classification are in practice difficult and apt to be misleading, while a chronological list is virtually impracticable. I have, therefore, taken as my starting-point the governing body and its members, and then arranged the various officers in the best order that I could.

(1) BURGESSES. — These are repeatedly mentioned in *Domesday*, where the *Commune Burgensium* is also alluded to.* It is to them that the Charter of Richard I. (6 Dec., 1189) was granted, and it was from their "Burgage-lands" that the Royal "aids" were raised. They were the assessors of the Bailiffs in the Hundred Court of the town, and, as late as Edward II., "the Community of the Burgesses of the Town of Colchester" was the style of the Corporation.† The right to the freedom was a constant subject of dispute. (See Morant, Lib. i., cap. v., sec. 5; Harrod, i. 15, ii. 78, etc.).‡ Mr. Harrod notes (i. 13) a solitary allusion (*temp.* Hen. VIII.) to ringing a burgess out of his freedom.

(2) BAILIFFS.—The Burgesses were empowered by the Charter of Richard I. to elect

* "Domesday of Colchester."—*Antiquary.*

† Harrod, i. 5-6.

‡ The Burgesses have subsequently become known as the "Free-burgesses," or "Freemen."

their own Bailiffs (*quod ipsi ponant de se Ballivos quoscunque voluerint*). Two Bailiffs were chosen annually till replaced by a Mayor in 1635. They were not, however, incorporated with the Burgesses in one governing body till the fifteenth century, when the Charter of Edward IV. (1 Ed. IV.) formally incorporated "the Bailiffs and Commonalty [*i.e.*, the Burgesses] of the Borough of Colchester." For the mode of their election see "Headmen."

(3) ALDERMEN, or AUDITORS.—These are mentioned as then existing in the Ordinances of 46 Edward III.* They were at that time eight in number, but were increased to ten, and eventually twelve, by the Stuarts. They would appear to have been at first elected annually, but afterwards for life.†

(4) ASSISTANTS.—These, sixteen in number, also appear as existing in 46 Edward III. (1372-3), though not as yet known by a distinct name.‡ They were then annually elected by the Bailiffs and Aldermen jointly, and formed, with the Aldermen, a Council to the Bailiffs. As the two bodies forming this Council are of earlier than recorded origin, it may be worth noting that, together, they numbered twenty-four.§ I would note that Maldon, the other ancient Essex borough, had similarly, by its charter of 1553 (presumably confirming the existing state of things), a Corporation consisting of two Bailiffs, a Council of twenty-four, and a Commonalty of Burgesses. It is specially important, I think, to observe that though the *total* of the Council was, there also, twenty-four, it was composed of six Aldermen and eighteen "Capital Burgesses," as against the eight Aldermen and sixteen men of the Colchester Council. Does not this point to the twenty-four being the oldest and original Council, in both these communities, and to its subdivision being a later development?

(5) COMMON COUNCIL.—Unlike the two preceding bodies, this one is of known origin. By the Charter of Edward IV., the Bailiffs, the Aldermen and the sixteen, were jointly to choose sixteen persons (four out of each Ward) as a Common Council. This name, however, was not formally given them till 10 Aug., 1635, when, also in accordance with the Charter of Charles I. (9 July, 1635), the upper sixteen became the "Assistants." The earlier named of these respective bodies had been the *Primum Concilium* (upper), and *Secundum Concilium* (lower).

(6) HEADMEN.—We learn by the Ordinances of 46 Edward III. that the ancient mode of electing the Bailiffs was that the whole body of Burgesses (afterwards termed "the Floor") should elect four men (one from each of the four wards into which the town was divided) who had never been Bailiffs. These were afterwards known as *Headmen*.*

(7) ELECTORS.—At each of the three annual elections the "Headmen" selected twenty Burgesses (five out of each ward, two of whom were to be Assistants or Councilmen), who then formed, with themselves, a body of twenty-four "Electors," by whom the officers were chosen. The number of twenty-four should be noted.†

(8) MAYOR.—By the Charter of Charles I. (9 July, 1635) a Mayor was substituted for the Bailiffs, and the Borough which Edward IV. had incorporated as "the Bailiffs and Commonalty" was now re-incorporated as "the Mayor and Commonalty." The Mayor was then chosen. The Free-Burgesses nominated two Aldermen, and the Aldermen retiring into their chamber, chose one of them to be Mayor. This election took place on the first Monday after the Decollation of St. John the Baptist (29 Aug.), and the new Mayor was sworn in on Michaelmas Day.‡

* "Auditores octo fideles et habiles."—*Oath-book.*

† Morant speaks of them as "Aldermen, otherwise called Auditors." Mr. Harrod states (iii. 34), erroneously, that in the *Oath-book*, the oaths of "Aldermen" and "Auditors" are in one instance given separately. To be quite accurate, the correct version is that "Auditor" was used as *the Latin equivalent* of "Alderman," on the Rolls, down to the fifteenth century. It was part of their office (see their oath) "ad audiendum," or "to hear the accompte." Hence the name.

‡ Their oath is given as that of the "xvi. homines de consilio ville" (say, "the sixteen men").—*Oath-book.*

§ In the 46th Ed. III. they appear as the "sedecim et octo" (*Oath-book*), and the 12th Ric. II. as the "xxiv. de consilio ville" (*Red Paper Book*).

* I find this name in use in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

† There were three elections annually: (1) That of the Bailiffs; (2) of the Justices of the Peace, Coroners, Claviers, and Chamberlains; (3) of the Serjeants. Headmen were chosen in precisely the same manner, and sworn in, for each.

‡ Morant, *ut supra.* I hope to set forth before long the action of Cromwell with reference to the Corporations, so shall here merely mention that it had for its object the restriction of the popular element in this and the other elections of officers.

(9) CORONERS.—By the Charter of Richard I. (1189), the Burgesses were empowered to choose

"Justic' ad servanda placita coronæ nostræ et ad placitanda eadem placita infra Burgum suum. Et quod nullus alius sit inde Justic' nisi quem elegerint."

An Inquest in 1311 was held, it would seem, before a single Coroner, but two Coroners appear on the Rolls as early as 1398, and in the Charter of Edward IV. we find it mentioned as held by two officers, "the King's Coroners," chosen by the Bailiffs and Commonalty. Henry VIII., by Charter (4 March, 1536), confirmed to the Borough its right of appointing two Coroners as by ancient custom. They were chosen annually, on the same day as the Mayor. See "Headmen." *

(10) CHAMBERLAIN, or RECEIVERS.—In the Ordinances of 46 Edward III. we find two Receivers among the officers annually elected.† These, says Morant, were the predecessors of the Chamberlain, who, says Mr. Harrod, first appears on the Rolls of 6 Henry IV. (1404-5), the Receivers still appearing as late, at least, as 1387-8.‡ The Chamberlain acted as Borough Treasurer. He received 13s. 4d. for his "wages" and 15s. for his "livery." The office was very unpopular and continually declined, apparently from its pecuniary responsibility. It lasted down to the Act (1835).

(11) ACCOMPTANT.—I find the livery and salary (£2) of "the Accomptant" figuring in the Chamberlain's accounts from about 1675. But I think it must be the accounting Chamberlain himself who so figures. If not, it would be an officer who eventually became the Treasurer.

(12) TREASURER.—This office is modern, but has existed at least from 1825.

(13) CLAVIERS.—These officers, four in number, were originally known as "Clavigers" (*Clavigeri*), from having charge of the Borough Keys. It is worth noting that this office seems peculiar to the east of England. At least, "Clavers" are found at Norwich, a "Claviger" at Orford, and "Clavigers" at Ipswich.§ It lasted here till the Act (1835).

(14) SERJEANTS.—The great difficulty I have had in tracing the history of this office may serve to illustrate the need for caution in dealing with Municipal Offices. Mr. Harrod, who had been through the whole of the Records, and was most unlikely to be mistaken, speaks (i. 14) of its holders as "the Sergeants, afterwards the Constables;" but Morant speaks of them only as "the Four Sergeants-at-Mace," and has no mention of Constables. By original research I soon found that the two offices were co-existent, and, moreover, distinct in character. This is confirmed by the Serjeants' oath (these oaths are virtually coeval with the offices, and therefore of great weight), which binds them *inter alia* to assist the Constables.* They are mentioned in the earliest Court Rolls (1311), and were officers of the town, not of the several wards. They were elected annually, and were three in number,† till 1383, when their number was raised to four;‡ at which it remained down to the Reform Act. Mr. Gomme has some useful remarks upon the distinction between the Mace-bearer and the Serjeant-at-Mace.§ At Colchester these Serjeants, as elsewhere, had no connection with the Mayor's mace, but were officers discharging the duties assigned by Mr. Gomme to the office. Mr. Harrod alludes to their ignorance and petty tyranny, and quotes a description of them under Edward III., as "lordlike and careless to do their office" (i. 23). Their four maces, the symbols of their authority, are still preserved, and are fine specimens of the older form of the mace. Since the Reform Act, there has been only one Serjeant, who has acted as the Mayor's mace-bearer.

(15) HIGH CONSTABLES, or CONSTABLES.—This very old and interesting office is scarcely mentioned anywhere save by Mr. Harrod, who was so strangely mistaken about it that he confused its earlier bearers with the Serjeants, and imagined the office of High Constable to be a distinct and much later

* Morant, *ut supra.*

† "Duos receptores fideles et habiles."—*Oath-book.*

‡ A "Receiver for Toll on Corn" appears on Rolls of 1382, and a "Collector" on those of 1384.

§ *Index of Municipal Offices*, p. 46.

* "And likewise you shall give Attendance and be aiding and assisting unto the Constables of this Town in anything that they or any of them shall reasonably command you."—*Oath-book.*

† So the Ordinances of 46 Edw. III.: — "tres servientes."

‡ *Court Rolls*, 6 and 7 Ric. II. According to Morant, "a fifth was appointed, in 1623, for the execution of processes and arrests."

§ *Index of Municipal Offices*, p. 19.

one. It is most instructive, I think, to learn that this office, as a matter of fact, is as old as the statutes of Winchester. On the earliest Rolls (1310-12) we find "four constables," one, it should be noted, for each ward,* chosen in, avowedly, accordance with its provisions. When it was needful to distinguish those constables of the *wards* (who were *municipal* officers) from those of the several *parishes* (who were *parochial* officers) the former were termed *High* Constables, and the latter *Petty* Constables. The "High Constables" were responsible for the musters of their respective wards, the Parish Constables acting under them. But the following extract from their "oath" will explain their chief duties:

"You shall take care that watches and wardes be duely kept according to the Statute, and that the Statute of Winchester of hugh and cry and the laws for the apprehending of rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggers be duely put in execucion, and that you shall doe whatsoever else belonges unto the office of a (High) Constable."†

By the Reform Act these four constables were replaced by one, whose dwindling duties caused his salary to be reduced from £20 to £10, and the office itself to be finally abolished in 1884.‡

(16) TOWN (or COMMON) CLERK.—This office, 1372-3, figures in the Ordinances of Edward III.§ According to Mr. Harrod, however, a Town-Clerk first appears on the Rolls of 1404-5. It is obvious enough that some office of the kind must have existed from very early days. A *Deputy* Clerk is also found. The Town-Clerk wore "livery" at least as late as Charles II.'s days.

(17) RECORDER.—This office dates from the Charter of Edward IV. (1 Ed. IV.). It is curious that Henry VI. should have granted by his Charter that the two Bailiffs and four of the Burgesses should act as Justices, or Keepers, of the peace, but that Edward IV. added to these "a Lawyer," who was to be essential to a *quorum*, a predecessor, in spirit, of our Stipendiary Magistrate, but, in practice, of the Borough Recorder. The office of Recorder became one of great dignity, and was accepted by men of high position, whose influence was desired by the Borough. Hence the constant appointment of a *Deputy* Recorder.

(18) JUSTICES OF THE PEACE.—By the above Charters of Henry VI. and Edward IV., the Borough had the right of appointing its own Justices of the Peace, *viz.*, the Recorder and two Bailiffs *ex officio*, and four Burgesses. By the Charter of Charles I. (substituting the Mayor for the Bailiffs), the Justices were to be the Recorder, Mayor, and ex-Mayor, *ex officio*, and two Aldermen annually chosen. In 1825, however (I know not for how long previously), four, instead of two, Aldermen were annually chosen for Justices.

(19) ATTORNEYS, or COUNSELLORS.—Morant enumerates among the "Officers of the Corporation," as "belonging to the Courts in particular, *Counsellors*, occasionally, and four *Attorneys*," but I can find no trace of the *Counsellors*. The oath of the *Attorneys* duly figures in the *Oath-book*, and they were regularly "admitted" down to modern times, to practise in the local courts.

(20) HIGH STEWARD.—This office dates from the Charter of 1635, and is still extant. It is held for life. The office is now merely honorary, but Morant implies that both the High Steward and the Recorder formerly took part in the assemblies of the Corporation.

(21) TREASURERS OF THE WARDS.—At an Assembly of 25 May, 1629, it was ordered that the Free Burgesses should annually choose four Treasurers, one out of each Ward, to receive the fines and forfeitures accruing from the Common Pasture. The *Oath-book* contains the oath of these officers, of whom each acted for his own ward.*

(22) FARMER OF THE TOLLS.—An officer, so styled, was sworn, in the fourteenth century,† to pay the £35 for which he farmed the town tolls. This would seem‡ to have been made up of £18 for land-tolls and £17

* There is at this moment, it may be interesting to note, a proposal before the Colchester Corporation to restore both the number and the names of these wards as existing before the Reform Acts.

† *Oath-book.*

‡ Bawtree Harvey kindly informs me that the High Constable had, at least, only "charge of the precepts for laying rates upon the inhabitants."

§ "Unum clericum communem."—*Oath-book.*

* See "Conservators."

† For instance, in the 19th and 20th Ed. III. (*circ.* 1346).

‡ From an entry in 16th and 17th Ric. II. (*circ.* 1393).

for water-tolls. A similar officer still exists in the "Lessee of the Market Tolls."

(23) CLERK OF THE MARKET. — The Charter of Richard specially alludes to the "forum Colcestriæ," and confirms its rights; and that of Henry VI. recognises the right of the Bailiffs to discharge the office of Clerk of the Market. But no officer of this name appears to have been elected till *circ.* 1558 (4 and 5 Philip and Mary).* His annual salary was £2 (with the fines and fees). I find him entered in the Chamberlain's accounts as "*Deputy*" Clerk, meaning, I presume, that he was the Deputy of the Corporation.

(24) LANDLOOKERS, or SUPERVISORS.—These useful officers first appear, I believe, about 1426.† It was their office to decide, by personal inspection, all questions of "Meets and bounds of Land and houses."‡ They were paid by fees.

(25) DRIVERS OF THE COMMONS.—It was resolved, 6 Aug., 1627, that Drivers of the Commons should be appointed by the Bailiffs, and, on 25 May 1629, that the four Treasurers (*vide supra*) should elect sixteen Drivers (four out of each ward); in addition to which, Morant adds, there were four "Foreign Drivers" (one out of each ward). It was the duty of these Drivers to enforce the regulations for the Commons (first stinted in 1573), collect the fines and forfeitures, and pay them over to the Treasurers.

(26) HEARDSMEN.—It was ordered, in 1633 and 1635, that four Heardsmen (one out of each ward) should be chosen to look after "the freemen's cattle," and should receive a small fee for the same.

(27) WOODWARDS. — The Corporation having obtained the King's Wood from the Crown in 1535, elected four Woodwards (two of them of the Council) annually to manage it.§

(28) RANGER, or WOODWARD.—This officer figures as the "Woodward," the "Woodranger," or the "Ranger." He appears to have had charge of the 300 acres of the King's Wood which the Corporation kept in their own hands. I have found an entry (1696) of his "charges about the stray horse," but I do not find him acting as Poundkeeper. His salary was 10s. (raised to £2, *circ.* 1695);

* Harrod, p. 71.
† *Ibid.*, p. 42.
‡ *Oath-book.*
§ Morant *in loco.*

and he last appears as a municipal officer in 1717-18.*

(29) POUNDKEEP.—The only allusion to this office that I have discovered is the entry: "P[d] the Raynger 6s. 6d., and *the Poundkeep* 8s."†

(30) BOTTLEMAKER.—Mr. Harrod calls attention to this office as unknown elsewhere, and as disappearing, even here, early in the seventeenth century. He discovered its meaning from the entry "that one Thomas Skynner was sworn 24th December, 4 Elizabeth, to make *et purponendum* . . . . or press together Hay by the bottle [or bundle] within the Burgh; his allowance for the halfpenny bottle was £2, says the entry, meaning, doubtless, exactly the reverse, that he was to have a halfpenny for every £2 bundle" (p. 20). Mr. Harrod's suggestion is here unfortunate, and illustrates the danger of straying from the text. He himself has an allusion further on (p. 37) to the "halfpenny bottle of hay," which was ordered, under Edward IV., to weigh 7 lb., and the bottlemaker's allowance of £2 was the same as that assigned to the Crier, the Keeper of the Jail, and the Clerk of the Market. The badges and livery of the Bottle-maker, it may be added, appear regularly in the Chamberlain's Accounts.‡

(31) CRIER.—Apparently this office (or the next) figures in *Domesday*, under the entry "Uluiun monitor."§ It is still in existence. The salary was £2, and the "coat and badge," £1 6s. 8d.

(32) NIGHT BELLMAN.—This officer, who was elected by the Corporation, was in existence in 1825, and even later. "His duty was to call up workmen, or any who needed to rise early, and on the last day of November, at midnight, to recite some lines of doggerel." He was paid by Christmas-boxes.||

(33) POSTMASTER, or TOWN POST.—I find an entry in the *Assembly Books*, that on the 17th January, 1658, a deputation from the Corporation was ordered to visit London, "and *the towne post* to goe to London to wait

* *Chamberlain's Accounts.*
† *Chamberlain's Accounts* (fragment), 1660.
‡ I have noted a solitary appearance of "Le Bottlemaker" as late as 1648. Mr. Harrod must have overlooked it.
§ *Antiquary*, vi. 6.
|| I am indebted for this information to J. Bawtree Harvey, Esq., late Deputy-Mayor.

upon these gentlemen." This officer was, presumably, the ***Postmaster***, who, at least as late as 1668, was a municipal officer, with his salary and "livery," his "cote" costing £2.

(*To be continued.*)

[We regret that, owing to Mr. Round having made some very valuable additions to his researches, it is impossible to print the whole of this paper in the present issue.—Ed.]

London Theatres.

By T. Fairman Ordish.

The Globe and Lesser Bankside Playhouses.—(*Concluded.*)

OUR knowledge of the Swan playhouse is not extensive, but it is not so slight as has been supposed by some critics; for instance, Mr. Fleay, who says of it, "The Swan is usually regarded as a theatre, but it may have been only an inn."† It will be seen by the representation which we here give of it, that it was a theatre, in construction resembling the Globe, with its pole and flag as insignia, like the other public theatres. But incredulity on the part of those who have not studied maps of the period is hardly to be wondered at; for the research that has been so liberally bestowed upon it has succeeded in piecing together only a very small account of facts. The truth is, the Swan was an unfulfilled ideal. Let us glance at the circumstances attending its origin.

In 1592 Henslowe opened the Rose theatre. In this same year Alleyn married Henslowe's step-daughter, and that theatrical partnership began between the two friends to which we have already alluded. In 1594 Alleyn became lessee of the Bear Garden. In this same year the Lord Mayor wrote to Burghley to inform him that Francis Langley, one of the Alnagers for sealing cloth, intended to erect a new stage or theatre on the Bankside, and prayed that the same might be prevented.‡ But the building proceeded, and was opened in 1597 or 1598. This was the Swan, the most westerly of the Bankside playhouses. There is nothing to show who became the lessee of the theatre, but probability points to Henslowe or Alleyn, or both; Mr. Rendle, in his ***History***, tells us that they lived near this playhouse. The Swan was called, in 1600, "the house of Francis Langley;" but from the powers entrusted to the Masters of the King's Game, it would be unlikely that the animals at the Swan existed there independently of Henslowe and Alleyn, and in opposition to their interests. So that, in 1598, Henslowe and Alleyn had all the amusements of the Bankside in their hands, the Rose, the Bear-house, and probably, in some degree, the Swan. We have seen by the contract between Katherens and Henslowe for rebuilding the Bear-house on the plan of the Swan (*see ante*, xi. 247) that the entertainment at the Swan consisted of both baiting sports and plays. In 1598, therefore, when the Swan was opened to the public, there was this combination or alternation of baiting and stage-plays in the easterly portion of Bankside, and also at the westerly portion. It was doubtless thought that as the Rose and the Bear-house were convenient of access by London Bridge, the Swan, placed but a few yards from the river stairs, would offer convenience to the large numbers that came by water; and no doubt, had the Globe remained the Theatre in Shoreditch, the Swan might have had a very eventful history. But it was an unfulfilled ideal. At the time of its erection Henslowe and Alleyn enjoyed what was practically a monopoly of the Bankside places of amusement; and on the other side of the water the Theatre and Curtain were being threatened by appeals from the Lord Mayor to the Council, which recommended that they should be suppressed. The Theatre was being menaced in another way. Although so attractive and largely resorted to, it does not appear to have flourished financially. Poor Burbage went into his enterprise with borrowed capital, for which he had to pay interest; 'hee built his house upon leased ground, by which meanes the landlord and hee had a suite in law;" and all these difficulties culminated just at the time that the Swan was ready to be opened.

The landlord of the Theatre, whose unsatisfied claim threatened Burbage's enterprise

* *Chamberlain's Accounts.*

† *R. Hist. Soc. Trans.*, x. 121.

‡ *Remembrancia*, p. 354.

with extinction, was none other than Alleyn himself. The original lease granted by him to James Burbage expired in the spring of the year 1597; and it was Alleyn's intention, to use his own words, "seeing the greate and grievous abuses that grewe by the Theatre, to pull downe the same, and to converte the wood and timber thereof to some better use." In other words, we must suppose, to take advantage of his privilege as ground landlord, and, on the expiry of the lease, to appropriate the building which Burbage had erected with his borrowed money. The "better use" to which Alleyn intended to put the building materials of Burbage's theatre was the erection therewith of another playhouse; for we know that at this time he was busy with his design of the Fortune Theatre in Golden Lane. It would have been better for the great and prudent Alleyn had he been less absorbing. The effect of his line of conduct upon the enterprising Burbages and the strange and wonderful associate who had joined his fortunes with theirs, was probably a little startling to Alleyn. Taking advantage of a condition in their lease, they removed their building, or rather, all the materials of which it was composed, and set it up again in the midst of Alleyn and Henslowe's happy hunting-ground on the Bankside. One can almost attribute this dramatic and humorous retaliation to the instigation of Shakespeare. It would appear that the Swan and the Globe were opened to the public almost simultaneously, and the natural result was that the Swan went to the wall. Apparently but few plays were presented there, and its stage was chiefly used for exhibitions of skill and curiosity. These rude amusements, however, were sought after sufficiently to cause some natural chagrin on the part of the players. Trinculo, in *The Tempest*, is made to say: "A strange fish! Were I in England now, as once I was, and had but this fish painted, not a holiday fool there but would give a piece of silver: there would this monster make a man: any strange beast there makes a man: when they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian." A valuable note, given by Mr. Halliwell-Phillips to Mr. Rendle, furnishes us with a notice of the Swan in 1600, about two years after it was opened. This interesting notice is a letter to the Justices of Surrey, recommending one Peter Bromville to their favour. The letter states that he was known to the French King for his great skill in feats of activities; "he has exhibited the same before the Queen;" and wishing to appear in some public place, he "has chosen the Swann, in Old Paris Garden, being the house of Francis Langley." In 1602 the spectacle of England's Joy, by Fennor, was shown at the Swan;* and Middleton's play of *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* was acted by the Lady Elizabeth's men at the Swan, but at what date is not known.† Of definite notices of plays acted there these apparently are all we have. When the Globe was burnt, in 1613, it is possible the Swan may have been put to some temporary use by the King's players, but there does not appear to be anything to show that such was the case. After the Globe had been rebuilt, and the Bear-house had been reconstructed and christened the Hope, in 1614, we find the Swan became known as the "Old Playhouse." Apparently it became used solely for shows of various sorts. The Rose had long been extinct: the Bear-house, or Hope, and the Globe divided the pleasure-seekers between them; and the Swan, the "Old Swan," languished its existence along. One feels a sort of compunction for its unfulfilled promise. The stage which, with Henslowe's Rose and Alleyn's playhouse in Golden Lane was to have shared a monopoly in the dramatic exhibition of the time, hardly was trod by actor; and the first theatre built in London, so strangely transferred across the river to the Bankside, has triumphed so completely that we forget how nearly we were to missing that combination of Burbage's acting and Shakespeare's genius, which resulted in those wonderful plays, the possibility of whose non-existence we can scarcely conceive.

And yet, had the Burbages lost their playhouse, it is doubtful how much of Shakespeare we should have possessed now. If they had lost it we should have had a more full and complete history of the Swan playhouse, but it is probable we should not have felt the interest we feel now in the old Bankside playhouses. There can be no doubt of the

* *R. Hist. Soc. Trans.*, x. 124.

† *Ibid.*, 127.

services that the Burbages rendered to posterity: it is true that Shakespeare was their fortune, but they recognised him, and he unfolded his gifts through them and their old playhouse—verily the first English theatre. There is something strange and wonderful in the thought when we realize the dual fact of the high perfection of English drama realized thus in the first English theatre by the greatest English dramatist. For that the Theatre and the Globe are intrinsically one was shown in our first paper on "London Theatres."

Among the actors mentioned by Mr. Rendle in his *Old Southwark* as living near the Swan theatre, was Kempe. Some particulars of him are thus given by Mr. Fleay: * "Died 1608. Acted in *Much Ado About Nothing*, as Dogberry, in 1598-9; in *Romeo and Juliet*, as Peter, 1596, as we learn from the stage directions; perhaps in 2 *Henry IV.*, as Shallow (cf. his quotation in the *Return from Parnassus* in 1601-2); in *The Knack to Know a Knave*, June, 1592, as the Cobbler. I have no doubt whatever that the remarks on extemporizing clowns refer to Kempe, and were written immediately after his leaving Shakespeare's company in 1599; while the eulogy on Yorick refers to Tarleton, Kempe's predecessor, by way of contrast. The document on which Mr. Collier relies to show that Kempe returned to the King's company before 1605 is one of the many forgeries by which he has been so unfortunately taken in."

It appears, then, that Kempe left the Burbages at the period of their trouble and the bold experiment of re-setting up their theatre as "the Globe;" and his coming to live near the Swan, where Henslowe and Alleyn also lived, looks like a going over to the enemy. We can imagine that Kempe's extemporal but low wit found appreciative audience at the Falcon inn, hard by the Swan, and that his unlicensed buffoonery was relished by the spectators who came to see what fun in the way of baiting the Swan could give them. Collier quotes a passage of Holland's *Leaguer*, 1632, which refers to the "Old Playhouse," as "now fallen to decay, and, like a dying swanne, hangs her head and sings her own dirge."

THE SWAN THEATRE.

Our knowledge of Paris Garden has become vastly more clear in the light of investigations which have been published since the re-issue of Collier's *History of Dramatic Poetry and Annals of the Stage*, in 1879; but

* Paper on "Actor Lists," *R. Hist. Soc. Trans.*, ix. 55.

all is not yet absolutely clear. We have identified the Hope theatre with the Bear Garden or Bear-house, and we have seen how the error arose of supposing it to have been Paris Garden. Before the building of playhouses on the Bankside, *i.e.*, before 1591-2, the Bear Garden was called Paris Garden—we read over and over again of the baiting sports in Paris Garden. When the Rose was opened we find it was called the "Playhouse," and the place for baiting became the "Bear-house." After this date, 1592, we may assume that allusions to Paris Garden most likely refer to the Swan, which was opened to the public at some time between 1594 and 1598. Stowe, describing the Bankside in 1598 (at all events prior to 1599) calls the Swan the "newe" bear-garden:

"And to begynne at the west banque as afore, thus it folowith. On this banque is the beare gardens, in nomber twayne; to wite, the olde beare garden, and the newe, places where in be kepte bears, bulls, and other beastes, to be bayted at stakes for pleasure: also mastives to bayte them in severall kenells are there norished. Theis bears, bulls, and other beastes, are ofte tymes there bayted in plots of ground scaffolded about for the beholders to stand upon saffe." *

But it is not clear that references to Paris Garden after 1592 necessarily concern the Swan. For instance, the following refers to the Bear Garden, which was the headquarters of the baiting, although it may be that Henslowe and Alleyn at this time rented or leased or had the use of the Swan for their bears and bulls:

"1611, March 20.—Warrant to pay Phil. Henslow and Edw. Allen, Masters of the King's Game at Paris Garden, £42 10s., and 12d. per diem, in future, for keeping two white bears and a young lion."—*Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1611-18, p. 17.

If there was this sort of link between the Swan and the Hope, Collier's confusion on the subject of Paris Garden has not been so vastly misleading after all. Paris Garden up to 1592 is the Bear Garden; after that the Bear Garden (or Hope) and the Swan more or less share the history of Paris Garden; but references to Paris Garden *theatre* may be attributed without hesitation to the Swan.

* Harl. MSS., 544, given by Collier, *Hist. of Dram. Poetry*, iii. 95, *note.*

We have thus dealt with the Swan, in accordance with our plan, as related in history to the Globe; and we have found, as in the case of the Rose, that the proprietors of the Swan were disappointed of their expected success by the superior attraction of Shakespeare's plays and Burbage's acting at the Globe. In our next paper we shall cross the ferry from Paris Garden Stairs and inspect the Blackfriars playhouse.

Notes on our Popular Antiquities.

By W. Carew Hazlitt.

Sports and Games.

MANY of the diversions practised by our forefathers and foremothers, and handed down to us with greater fidelity, perhaps, than any other sort of heirloom, were current among the nations of antiquity; and it may be useful to suggest to the modern English reader that he should collate what he finds here and other cognate sources of information with the third chapter of Mr. St. John's *Manners and Customs of Ancient Greece*, 1842.

All Hid.—See Levins's *Manipulus*, ed. Wheatley, p. 293. All Hid is termed "an infant play" in *Love's Labour's Lost*, written before 1598.

Balloon. — Randolph, in his eclogue on the revival of the Cotswold Games by Dover* seems to speak of balloon as a sort of football. The whole passage is curious:

> Colin, I once the famous Spain did see,
> A nation famous for her gravity;
> Yet there a hundred knights on warlike steeds
> Did skirmish out a fight arm'd but with reeds;†
> At which a thousand ladies' eyes did gaze,
> Yet 'twas no better than our prison-base.
> What is the barriers but a worthy way
> Of our more downright sport, the cudgel-play?‡

Bars, Prison Bars, or *Prison Base.*—In the Dictionary of Johannes de Garlandia, written in the early part of the thirteenth century, under the enumeration of requisites for the house

* Works by Hazlitt, p. 621.

† Juego di caña. See Hazlitt's *Shakspeare's Library*, iv., p. 279.

‡ Football with us may be with them balloon:
As they at tilt, so we at quintain, run.

of a respectable person, we meet, oddly enough, with *barri*, which are thus explained to us: "Barri sunt genus ludi, Gallicè *barres*;" and the editor,* in a note, adds: "Possibly the game still called bars or prison-base, well-known to schoolboys."

Basset.—Sir Samuel Tuke, in the *Adventures of Five Hours*, 1671,† an adaptation from Calderon, speaks of the chairmen as engaged *a las pintas*, the same game as this, where Diego is made to say:

> They are deeply engaged
> *A las pintas*, and will not leave their game,
> They swear, for all the dons in Seville.

Battledoor.—This still remains a popular amusement. It is usually confined to children, but occasionally, for want of something better to do, grown-up folks take to it on rainy days in the country. Manningham, in his Diary, Feb. 1602-3, notes: "The play at shuttlecocke is become soe muche in request at Court, that the making shuttlecockes is almost growne to a trade in London." Manningham relates an odd anecdote in connection about Lady Effingham.

Blank.—This is no doubt the same as *La Blanque* of the early French drama and poetry, and was a game of hazard, at which even the lower orders in both countries were fond of playing, and in which serious losses were sometimes incurred. In the *Interlude of Youth*, printed two or three times‡ about 1550, there is the following highly curious enumeration:

> Sir, I can teach you to play at the dice,
> At the queen's game and at the Irish;
> The treygobet and the hazard also,
> And many other games mo;
> Also at the cards I can teach you to play,
> At the triump and one-and-thirty,
> Post, pinion, and also aums-ace,
> And at another they call dewce-ace.
> Yet I can tell you more, and ye will con me thank,
> Pink, and drink, and also at the blank,
> And many sports mo.

It is, as will appear, somewhat uncertain whether the writer intended to include *blank* among the games at cards or not, as he catalogues subject to the exigencies of rhyme.

Blind Man's Buff or Bough.—This is known to be an amusement with which the ancients were familiar. It is the Muinda of the Greeks; and it is supposed to have originated in the traditional story of Polyphemus.

Day, in his *Humour out of Breath*, 1608, introduces one of his characters playing at the game, which one of them says that he learned when he was a student at Padua. A lady is told, when she is caught, that she must be hoodwinked, or give a kiss to her captor as a ransom.

Wodroephe, in his *Spared Hours of a Soldier*, 1623, says that it is "to winke and strike." Dr. Walker, in his *Paræmiologia*, 1672, gives the form "Blindman's buffet."

Blow-point.—Among the old proverbs is "To leave boys' play, and fall to blow-point."

Bowls—The Bowling Green at Putney.—This has now long disappeared. It was attached, in the recollection of many old persons now living, to the tavern known as the *Fox and Hounds*, at the top of Putney High Street. The green lay at the back, and is at present covered with buildings. The house itself is said to have been originally founded in 1541.

Camp or Football.—Henry Spelman, in his *Relation of Virginia*, 1609, says: "They vse beside football play, wch women and young boyes doe much play at, the men neuer. They make ther gooles as ours, only they neuer fight nor pull one another doone. The men play wth a litell balle lettinge it falle out of ther hand, and striketh wth the tope of his foot, and he that can strike the balle farthest, winnes that they play for." This is the earliest reference to the game which I remember to have seen. I quote from a modern edition of the original MS.—possibly not a very accurate text. But the sense is sufficiently clear, except that the writer seems to say in one place that the men in Virginia did not play, only the women and boys, and presently he alludes to the way in which his own sex did play.

Day, in the *Blind Beggar of Bednal Green*, 1659, makes Tom Strowd say: "I'll play a gole at Camp-ball or wrassell a fall of the hip or the hin turn with ere a Courtnoll of ye all for 20 quarters of Malt, and match me height for height." Strowd's was probably the rough play, like the modern Rugby.

I shall transcribe hither what I find in a quarter where it might scarcely be looked

* Wright's *Volume of Vocabularies*, 1857, p. 132.
† Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, xv., p. 265.
‡ Ibid., ii., p. 34-5.

for:* "This rough and, it must be confessed, somewhat dangerous sport, originally in all probability introduced into this country by the Romans, may still on Shrove Tuesday be witnessed in certain towns of South Wales. The balls consist of bulls' bladders protected by a thick covering of leather, and blown tight. Six or eight are made ready for the occasion. Every window in the town is shut by break of day, at which time all the youths of the neighbourhood assemble in the streets. The ball is then thrown up in front of the town-hall; and the multitude, dividing into two parts, strive with incredible eagerness and enthusiasm to kick the football to the other extremity of the town. In the struggle several kicks and wounds are given, and many fierce battles take place. The ball sometimes ascends thirty or forty feet above the tops of the highest houses, and falls far beyond, or goes right over into the gardens, whither it is immediately followed by a crowd of young men. The sport is kept up all day, the hungry combatants recruiting their strength from time to time by copious horns of ale and an abundant supply of the nice pancakes which the women sell in baskets at the corner of every street. To view this sport thousands of persons assemble from all the country round, so that to the secluded population of those districts it is in some sort what the battle in the Platanistas was to the Spartans, or even what the Isthmian and Nemean games were to the whole of Greece."

Under date of January, 1664-5, Pepys notes: "The street full of footballs, it being a great frost." There is a proverb: "All fellows at football," to which John Ray, F.R.S., appends a priggish and absurd note, as the saying can mean nothing more than that it is a case where every man must take his chance.

I am informed that at Pocklington, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, there is a narrow strip of ground, where, after the races, they play at football, and it sometimes happens that one of the players throws the ball to a man attending on horseback, who rides off with it, and unless he is overtaken by one belonging to the opposite side, carries it into his own parish, where he is secure.

* *Manners and Customs of Ancient Greece.* By J. A. St. John, 1842, i., p. 157.

Cat.—The phrase "not big enough to whip a cat in" arose doubtless from this diversion, and not in reference to the animal so-called, although the contrary might be inferred perhaps from the well-known anecdote of Foote and his new house at Fulham.

Catch-Fool.—This is named as a game, in the same sentence as *Noddy*, in Johnson's *Academy of Love*, 1641. It occurs under similar circumstances in *A Notable Discovery of Cosenage*, 1592; but it is there called *Catch-dolt.*

Conquering.—This is a game in which schoolboys fit snail-shells together, point to point, and whichever succeeds in breaking the other, is said to be the conqueror. One shell is occasionally the hero, in this way, of a hundred battles, the strength of the shells being very unequal.

Cricket.—It is said, in the *World Bewitch'd*, 1699, p. 22, that, on the approach of summer, "Quoits, *Cricket*, Nine-Pins, and Trap-Ball will be very much in Fashion, and more Tradesmen may be seen Playing in the Fields, than working in their shops."

Cross and Pile.—In the prefatory matter to *Pantagruel's Prognostication*, printed about 1645, this is called *Cross or Pile.* It is apparently the same as Heads and Tails, as technically the obverse and reverse of a coin were known as the pile and cross respectively.

Curcuddoch.—This seems to have been a form of *Hot Cockles.*

Dequoy (*or Decoy*), *Oure le bourse, etc.*—In *A Notable Discovery of Cosenage*, 1592, these, with *Non est possible*, Dutch noddy, catch-dolt, etc., are quoted as the names of cheating games of cards then in vogue. In the margin of the tract a note describes them as "the names of such games as Conycatchers use."

Fast and Loose.—This game, played with a skewer and a leathern belt or girdle placed in folds edgewise on a table, is also known as Pricking at the Belt. A description of it by Sir John Hawkins occurs in a note to Davenport's *City Night-Cap* in Hazlitt's edition of Dodsley.

Fox and Geese.—On the 4th March, 1587-8, John Wolfe, the printer, entered at Stationers' Hall "the Gynnye game, cheste game, and foxe and geese."

Hand in and Hand Out.—Halliwell thus describes this amusement: "A company of

young people are drawn up in a circle, when one of them, pitched upon by lot, walks round the band, and, if a boy, hits a girl, or if a girl, she strikes a boy whom she chooses, on which the party striking and the party struck run in pursuit of each other, till the latter is caught, whose lot it then becomes to perform the same part." It seems equally impossible to determine whether this was identical with the *Hand-out* mentioned by Sir John Harington or with the *Hand-in-Hand-out* prohibited by 17 Edw. IV. c. 2. If the latter were the case, some licentious outgrowth from the original game has to be supposed, and it seems more logical to infer that the Edward statute had a different pastime in view, though Harington's *Hand-out* may very well have been the one objected to by the law, and still more or less pursued.

Handy-Dandy.—This game is mentioned in the dedication to Mr. William Lilly, by Democritus Pseudomantis, of *Pantagruel's Prognostication*, about 1645. But Halliwell (*Archaic Dictionary*, in v.) cites the *Nomenclator* of Adrianus Junius for some description of handy-dandy different from the ordinary game, "the play called handie dandie, or the casting or pitching of the barre." Perhaps this was some foreign variety.

Heads and Points.—A child's game, played with pins. It seems to have been popular in Scotland in 1724.*

Hot Cockles (*or Hautes Coquilles*).—Aubrey says that at funerals in parts of Yorkshire one of the pastimes was Hot Cockles, and what follows illustrates this observation to a certain extent, although Aubrey does not notice the connection. "Young wenches," says he, "have a wanton sport, which they call moulding of Cockle-bread, viz., they gett upon a table-board, and then gather up their knees and their coates with their hands as high as they can, and then they wabble to and fro and say these words, viz.:

> My dame is sick and gonne to bed,
> And I'll go mowld my cockle-bread.

In Oxfordshire the maids, when they have put themselves into the fit posture, say thus:

> My granny is sick, and now is dead,
> And wee'l goe mould some cockle-bread.
> Up wth my heels and down with my head,
> And this is the way to mould cockle-bread.

I did imagine nothing to have been in this but meer wantonness of Youth. [Here he misquotes Juvenal, vi., 129.] But I find in Burchardus, in his *Methodus Confitendi*, on the VII. Comandement, one of ẏ Articles of interrogating a young Woman is, if she did ever *subigere panem clunibus*, and then bake it, and give it to one that she loved to eate, *ut in majorem modum exardesceret amor?* So here I find it to be a relique of Naturall Magick, an unlawfull Philtrum."

The full question put to the women was, according to Grimm's citation of Burchardus, "Fecisti quod quædam mulieres facere solent, prosternunt se in faciem, et disco—opertibus natibus jubent, ut supra nudas nates conficiatur panis, et eo decocto tradunt maritis suis ad comedendum. Hoc ideo faciunt ut plus exardescant in amorem illarum." Aubrey thought that cockle came from an A.-N. word for the buttocks; but it seems to be, in fact, a corruption of the French *coquille*, which Le Roux (*Dictionnaire Comique*, 1786, v. *Coquille*) says, "Dans le sens libre signifie à mots couverts la nature d'une femme," for which he quotes a passage from the *History of Francion*. Hot Cockles is therefore = Hautes Coquilles; and the custom is very likely to have been introduced hither from France.

The quotation from Burchardus is important, because it demonstrates that the practice was not confined to the young, but was a general usage among females. The late Mr. Coote had heard part of the rhyme given above employed in his time by a nurse to a baby, as she tossed it in her lap:

> Up with your heels, and down with your head,
> That is the way to make cockle-bread,

which is a singular instance not only of survival, but of distortion.

Taking this usage of cockle-bread and its sundry outgrowths as a whole, it has merely to be predicated of it, I think, that we owe our knowledge of such practices to the casual removal of the veil, and by men working on totally different lines, like Aubrey and Burchardt, from the darker phases of the human character and the hidden impurities of life. That libidinous impulses are capable of these and similar excesses, no one required to be told; but the Apostle of Folk-lore, Aubrey, and Burchardt, the publisher of real

* Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, iii., p. 491.

or supposed scenes in the Confessional, have, each from his own point of view, disclosed here a touch of the less Divine part of their own physiology and ours. They have given a few paragraphs where they might have given volumes.

After all, I entertain a conviction that, with respect to these Hot Cockles and Leap-Candle, we are merely on the threshold of the inquiry; there is more than Aubrey says, or than appears on the surface, pretty clearly; and the question stands at present much as if one had picked up by accident the husk of some lost substance. Speaking conjecturally, but with certain sidelights to encourage me, this seems a case of the insensible degradation of rite into custom.

Hornpipe.—Henry Spelman, in his *Relation of Virginia*, 1609, says, under the head of *Pastimes*, "When they meet at feasts or otherwise, they vse sports much like to ours heare in England, as ther daunsinge, wch is like our darbysher Hornepipe, a man first and then a woman, and so through them all, hanging all in a round; ther is one wch stand[s] in the midest wth a pipe and a rattell, wth wch when he beginns to make a noyse all the rest Gigetts about, wriinge ther neckes and scrapinge on ye ground."

I love my Love with an A, etc.—Pepys, under March 4, 1668-9, notes being at Whitehall, "And there," says he, "I did find the Duke of York and Duchess, with all the great ladies, sitting upon a carpet on the ground, there being no chairs, playing at 'I love my love with an A, because of this and that'; and some of them, but particularly the Duchess herself and my Lady Castlemaine, were very witty."

Juego de Canas.—Randolph compares it in a passage cited above to *Prison-base.**

Francis Yaxley, in a letter from the Court to Sir William Cecil, October 12, 1554, says: "Uppon Thursday next, there shalbe in Smithfield *Giuoco di Canne*, where the King and Quene wolbe."†

King by your Leave.—This is mentioned as a popular boys' sport by Humphrey King in the third edition of his *Halfpennyworth of Wit in a Pennyworth of Paper*, 1613; but what the nature of it was, he does not state. The phrase also occurs towards the conclusion of the play of *Mucedorus*, 1598, as an allusion in the mouth of the clown, but without any further explanation of what is meant.

Maw.—See also Dyce's *Middleton*, 1840, ii., 197, and the authority there cited; and Pepys, 1st January, 1667-8.

More Sacks to the Mill.—This is called "an infant play" in *Love's Labour's Lost*, written before 1598, iv. 3. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for February, 1773, brackets it with *Hot Cockles*, with which it assuredly has nothing in common. My friend Mr. A. G. Greenhill, of Emmanuel, Cambridge, writes to me: "At Christ's Hospital in my time a game was played, called *Bring the Basket.* Sides having been chosen, one side went in, and formed a line of backs, whereupon the other side had to leap, while a formula was repeated. If successful, the second side went in again; but if not, it became their turn to form a line of backs. Sometimes, of course, the backs broke down, with the other boys on the top, all in confusion, on which the cry was raised: 'Sacks on the mill.' The game was discouraged by the masters, because it was necessarily injurious to the boys' clothes."

There used to be a somewhat similar diversion, known as Hicocolorum, in which the line of backs was formed by the first boy planting himself against a fence or wall, the second leaning upon his chest, and the third placing his head between the second one's legs, and so on, till a line was made, which it was the aim of the opposing side to break. The formula here was *Hicocolorum! Jig, jig, jig!*

Most in Three Throws.—This amusement is cited in the dedication to Lilly of *Pantagruel's Prognostication*, about 1645; but we are left to conjecture its nature.

Pigeon-Holes.—In *The Brothers of the Blade*, 1641, Corporal Dammee says to Serjeant Slice-man: "Thou hadst better turne Tapster, or if (being a Gentleman) thou scornst to be subject to the imperious check and command of every sordid mechanick, I would wish thee to haunt Bowling-allyes, and frequent Gaming-houses, where you may live all day long upon the rooke on

* Works by Hazlitt, 1875, p. 623, and see the note.

† Ellis's *Original Letters*, 3rd Series, iii., p. 313.

the Bankside, or to play at Nine-pins or Pigeon-holes in Lincolnes-Inne fields."

Pins and Points.—In the *History of Tom Thumb*, 1630, this form of juvenile speculation is coupled with *counters* and cherry-stones:

> Then, like a lustie gallant he
> Adventured forth to goe
> With other children in the streets,
> His pretty trickes to show.
> Where he for counters, pins and points,
> And cherry-stones did play,
> Till he amongst those gamesters young
> Had lost his stock away.

Boys, in the time of Elizabeth and her successor, used this medium for their amusement. The author of the poem puts into the hands of Tom the toys of his own young contemporaries.

Post and Pair.—This game is mentioned in the following passage from the play of *Nobody and Somebody* (1606):

> *Sico* [*phant*]. Now sir, as you haue compast all the Dice,
> So I for cards. These for the game at maw,
> All saving one, are cut next vnder that,
> Lay me the Ace of Harts, then cut the cards,
> O your fellow must needs haue it in his first tricke.
> *Clow.* I'le teach you a trick for this yfaith.
> *Sicop.* These for Premero cut vpon the sides,
> As the other on the ends.
> *Clow.* Marke the end of all this.
> *Sicop.* These are for post and paire, these for saunt.
> These for new cut.
>
> —Sign. G 3 *verso.*

Push-Pin.—The equivocal sense in which this term was understood seems to be borne out by the way in which the game is introduced into Fuller's *Gnomologia*, 1732.

Saunt.—In *Lingua*, 1607 (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. 387), Anamnestes says: "As for Memory, he's a false-hearted fellow; he always deceives them; they respect not him, except it be to play a game at chests, primero, *saunt*, maw, or such like."

Shinty.—This is a game played at Christmas in Scotland with a wooden ball, each of the players being provided with a curved stick. It appears to be similar to golf. An account of it, with an engraving, is given in one of the volumes of the *Penny Magazine*. It may be that our colloquialism *shindy* is derived from this game.

Shove-Groat.—In the *Diary* of Philip Henslowe the manager, edited by Collier, is the following curious entry:

"Lent unto John Pallmer, the 8 of July, 1599, when he playd a shove groat at the cort. Redy mony, v^s,

Mr. Griffin, at the hachette,
Mr. Drayton,
Harry Chettelle."

These three names were perhaps added as witnesses.

Silver Games.—In *Green's Tu Quoque*, by John Cook, 1614, we have a passage in which "the silver game" is mentioned as something to do with success in a lovesuit.* Lysons quotes two entries relating to Brentford under 1629: "Received of Robert Bicklye for the use of our games . . . 2/;" and, "Of the said Robert Bicklye for *a silver bar*, which was lost at Elyng . . . 3/6."

Span-Counter. — Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps notices a passage in Dr. Forman's *Diary*, where it is said that Forman used to play at this about 1570, with his companion and bed-fellow, Henry Gird.

Spurn-Point.—Randolph mentions this in his *Conceited Pedlar*, 1630.

Tables or Backgammon.—Latimer, in his sixth sermon before Edward VI., 1549, says: "He maye go where he wyll for any house he shall haue to dwell vpon, or any glebe lande to kepe hospitalitie withal, but he must take vp a chamber in an Alehouse, and there sit and plaie *at the tables* all the day. A goodlye curate."

Tennis.—In 1620, Middleton published his *Courtly Masque; the Device called The World tost at Tennis.*

Day, in the *Parliament of Bees*, 1641, character 7, has the following passage:

> *Par.* Suppose all kingdomes in the world were bals,
> And thou stood'st with a Racket 'twixt foure walls,
> To tosse *ad placitum*: how wouldst thou play?
> *Acol.* Why, as with bals, bandy 'em all away;
> They gone, play twice as many of the score.

We hear casually of this pastime as being in vogue in France in 1316, in which year Louis X., having played at it in the Bois de Vincennes, caught a chill, which is supposed to have been the cause of his death. According to a received tradition, on which a ballad was founded, the invasion of France by Henry V. of England was provoked by the transmission of a load of tennis-balls in lieu

* Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, xi., p. 249.

of the tribute demanded. At the massacre of St. Bartholomew, in 1572, Charles IX. divided his time between playing at tennis and firing out of one of the palace windows upon the Huguenots.

This sport, one of the most ancient, perhaps, in the world, was known to the Greeks under the name of *Sphairisis*, and to the Romans as *Pila*. It was originally, even among the modern nations, played with the hand, which was protected by a thick glove; hence came the French *jeu de paume;* and the racket was a comparatively recent improvement. In Howlet's *School of Recreation*, 1684, occurs a copy of verses entitled "The Tennis Court." The game of hand-tennis, or fives, was a favourite recreation of Hazlitt the essayist and critic; and he has left an entertaining paper upon it, and upon the great expert of that day, Cavanagh. Lawn-tennis has become (1882) a fashionable and popular variety, in which a court, chalked out on a plot of turf, 78 feet + 36 feet, with inner courts, alleys, and a net, does duty for the original one with its four enclosing walls.

Fairs.

Cherry Fairs.—Owing to a pressure of matter I shall for the present content myself with referring to Dyce's *Skelton*, ii. 85.

Mitcham Fair.—On the 12th of August, 1871, Mitcham pleasure-fair was proclaimed open for three days *by gong and kettle-drum.*

Bartholomew Fair.—Pepys, under date of August 25, 1663, says: "It seems this Lord Mayor (Sir John Robinson) begins again an old custome, that upon the three first days of Bartholomew Fayre, the first, there is a match of wrestling, which was done, and the Lord Mayor there and the Aldermen in Moorefields yesterday: second day, shooting; and to-morrow hunting. And this officer of course is to perform this ceremony of riding through the City, I think to proclaim or challenge any to shoot. It seems that the people of the fayre cry out upon it, as a great hindrance to them."

Sir John Bramston, in his *Autobiography*, p. 315, under the date of 1688, refers to the annual custom by which the Lord Mayor proclaimed St. Bartholomew Fair on that Saint's Eve, and riding past Newgate, was accustomed to receive from the keeper or governor a cup of sack.

In *Current Notes* for February, 1851, are some memoranda by Theodore Hook, from a copy of Ackermann's *Microcosm of London*, in one of which he notes the occupation of the site of Bartholomew Fair by Billingsgate Market. Charles Lamb, in one of his letters, speaks of the Wordsworths being in town, and of his having been their guide over the Fair, in September, 1802.

Sturbridge Fair.—Mr. Thorold Rogers has given an interesting account of this.* There is an early allusion to it in *Pasquil's Jests*, 1604. In a satirical pamphlet, published in 1700, it is called Stir-Bitch Fair.† In the old tale of the *Miller of Abingdon*, founded on the *Reeve's Tale* of Chaucer, we see how the miller's servant had to go overnight in order to execute some commission at the fair for his mistress; if this was not Sturbridge Fair, it was another in the vicinity. Proceedings commenced, perhaps, at an earlier hour in those days, and the first comers were the first served.

Rent Dinner, or Supper.

This is, generally speaking, an allowance made to each tenant in proportion to the amounts paid by him to his landlord. Three shillings is perhaps a *minimum*. In the accounts of the Court of Chancery, as much as £150 are sometimes charged for a single entertainment, and occasionally the items under the head of liquor are very extravagant.

* *Account of Agriculture and Prices in England*, 1866, i., pp. 140-1.

† Hazlitt's *Bibliographical Notes*, 2nd Series, i., p. 678.

The Rebellion of the Earl of Essex.

N the fly-leaf of a tract in the British Museum, entitled *A Declaration of the Practises and Treasons Attempted and Committed by Robert, late Earl of Essex, and his Complices* (London, 1601), is written the following contemporary account of the rebellion of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. There are some curious details in this narrative, which makes it worth while transcribing for these pages as a supplement to the narrative already given (*ante*, vol. xi.) [ ]

"A rare accident which happened in London upon Sunday being ye 8th of February 1600. The Earle of Essex being ye night before sent for to my lord Treas. to speake there with ye counsell denyed to come to them. Upon Sunday morning about ten of ye clocke there came to Essex house to speake with him my lord keep^{r} ye Earle of Worcester, ye chiefe justice Popham and Sir William Knowles to examine him to whom he refused to answer and lightly esteemed them, and having all ye morning before bin sending for all his friends they came in multitudes and he imprisoned in his own house the lords. Leaving ye charge of his house and custody of them cherfully to Sir Gotly Merrick and with ye Earles of Southampton, Rutland and Bedford ye Lords Sands, Mounteagle and Cromwell, Sir Christopher Blount, Sir Charles Danvers, 2 of Northumberland and 2 of Rutlands brothers with Catesby and Littleton accompanied with other knts and gentlemen captaines and swaggering companions about 300 they issued out of Essex house without cloakes or armour only with their rapiours and daggers not drawen but their points upwards and some with pistolls and petronells and So about xi of ye clocke, before ye sermons in eny churches were ended, came downe Fleet Streete my Lord Mayor having about an houre before notice to guard ye city rose from ye sermon at Paules and caused ye gates to be shut; but when my Lord of Essex came to Ludgate that was opened him and [t] hen they were 400 strong and drew their swords alledging y^{t} my Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Rawleigh would have murdered him on y^{e} [water] ye night before and y^{t} he came to ye city for ayde, ye good of her ma^{tie}, and maintenance of religion, and so came triumphingly downe Cheapeside with great plaudites (ye boyes of ye city giving shouts of joy) and he went towards Sheriff Smith's house neare ye Exchange, but before he came thither my Lord Burleigh followed him with heralds and proclaymed him in Cheapeside a traitor and also all his followers y^{t} did not p'sently depart his company, and pursuing him neare with ye Lord Mayor assisting, whom Essex with his forces desparately assaulted and caused them to retire killing ye Lord Burleigh's horse with a shot, so coming to Sheriffe Smith's still expecting ye city should rise with him and he tould ye Sheriffe y^{t} he was come to him for ayde to defend ye Queene, religion and his life with y^{e}state of ye city. The Sheriffe went himselfe to ye Lord Mayor left Essex with ye rest in his house when they had some victualls and [ ] some halberds and not likeing his answer he came forth and walked [ ] Cheapeside again, stayd a good space at Pauls gate in ye ende of Cheape then went into Pauls churchyard and there stayed halfe an houre. This while y^{e} [friends of y^{e}] queene raising arms, ye gates made strong, ye streets chayned, there was [ ] violence offered any of them save ye taking of some of ye straglers [ ] committing them. Many fell from him upon his proclamation [ ] notwithstanding ye Mayor and all were up in arms y^{t} walked to and fro till three of ye clocke in ye afternoone and seeing no good [success] to his [ ] enterprise was desirous to goe homeward to Essex house againe, but assaying [to] returne through Ludgate againe, (being not then one hundred strong) he [was] repulsed, one Tracy his page slaine Sir Xtafor Blunt wounded (who was ye most resolute man) Essex himselfe shot through ye hat and some more hurt: then being all [at] their wits end they came to Watling Streete and up Friday Streete into Cheapeside where ye Lord Mayor went to have encountered with him, but before they could [ ] Essex turned into Bow-churchyard and so through Bow Lane went to ye water[side] where as many as could tooke boats and ye rest were taken. Those y^{t} tooke boat landed at Essex house thinking

(as it seemed) to have found ye Lords and [Sir William] Knowles then as Essex left them and by them to have ransomed himselfe. Sir Ferdinando Gorge one of his followers came halfe an houre before with a [ ] message (thereby to save himself) to Sir Gelly Merrycke y^t^ he might deliver ye lords [ ] got for ye Earles to her ma^tie^ upon a message, whereby they were gone before [Essex] came home, else had they not bin so well discharged. There he thought to end [ ] life and with him Southampton, Rutland, Mounteagle and Sands of ye nobility [ ] a good sort playing with muskets from on ye gates into ye streets: ye house was then beset both by land and water all ye gallants and martiall men of y^e^ [ ] with ye guard came downe ye Strand in armes and played with shot upon [ ] windows and ye gates. This while my Lord Admirall General [ ] service with Sir Robert Sidney wonne ye garden and banquetting house [ ]: it was night and ye court (Whitehall) was guarded with 2000 London souldiers, about 2 of ye clocke at night 2 great peeces of ordinance came from ye Tower and were placed ag^t^ Essex gates being before broken downe Captain Owen Salisbury was before slaine with a shot in Essex house. These peeces being placed Essex desired to parle with my Lord Admirall then in ye garden and he upon ye leads at which parle ye admirall willed that ye ladies might be sent forth not willing to doe them any hurt but presently they all yielded and ye three Earles were committed to ye Tower and each had one of the Queene's men to attend them. Mr. Richard Warburton attended Essex. Y^e^ rest of his followers were comitted to other prisons. The Londoners showed themselves either too favourable or too timerous. Her majesty whom God long preserve and ye state is now quiet though lately disturbed—Ffinis February 9° 1600."

[The spaces left blank between square brackets represent words which, having been written at the edge of the book, are obliterated through the cutting of the pages for binding.]

Ordeals and Oaths.

By Douglas M. Ford.

NONE but lawyers can be expected to master the intricacies of the laws of evidence, but there is no reason why people should not be better informed than they are concerning the leading conditions under which they are liable to be called as witnesses in courts of law. The process of legal evolution by which the present conditions have been arrived at is extremely curious and interesting. Starting with the familiar "oath" of the present day, one may move back, link by link, to the superstitious ordeal of the dark ages, taking as it did the various forms of red-hot iron, cold water, judicial pottage, hallowed cheese or dice placed on sacred relics. The lady who goes into the witness-box of the Divorce Court to "deny on oath" the conduct imputed to her, is merely doing in one way what Queen Emma, mother of Edward the Confessor, did in another, when she submitted herself to the ordeal of the nine red-hot ploughshares at Winchester. For what is the oath but a religious asseveration by one who invokes the Supreme Being, renounces all claim to His mercy, and calls for the Divine vengeance in punishment of falsehood? It is the means of bringing controversy to an issue, with one and the same principle underlying the various forms and ceremonies which have been arbitrarily fixed in different ages and in different lands. The ordeal (*ordalium*) was a form of trial which was practised in England down to the reign of Henry III., who abolished it by declaration; whilst on the Continent it seems to have been abandoned after its condemnation by Pope Stephen II.

Nowadays, there is no such thing as swearing by deputy; but in the olden time monarchs, priests, and others belonging to the privileged classes, might select their champions, and even abstract questions were sometimes decided in this fashion. Thus, the monk Sigebert relates, that a difficult point of law being brought before the Emperor Otho I., the monarch remitted it to the ordeal or judgment of arms. Two stout fellows were

set on to maintain the *pro* and *con* respectively; and a law was actually made in accordance with the result. In the same way arose the duel as a mode of settling personal quarrels; the theory being that the wicked never prospered, and that if a man "went to the wall" it was not only because he was weak, but because he was wrong. In such cases matters were pushed to their logical conclusion. The vanquished combatant, whether accuser or accused, was ignominiously dragged out of the camp, and either gibbeted or burnt, according to the circumstances of each particular case. Occasionally he was let off with mutilation.

The last trial by duel in England appears to have taken place in the sixth year of Charles I., when Donald, Lord Rey, was the appellant, and David Ramsay, Esquire, the defendant. They fought in the Painted Chamber, at Westminster. But of course when trial by battle or duel was abolished as part of the judicial machinery of the country, men kept it up as a mode of remedying their private wrongs; and it may be mentioned, parenthetically, that the last of such duels fought by Englishmen on English soil was in 1845, when Lieutenant Hankey shot Captain Seton at Browndown, near Gosport.

In feudal times trials by single combat were nowhere more common than on the borders of England and Scotland. The practice was to draw up and execute a formal indenture setting forth in a schedule and with much precision the causes of quarrel. The following is a specimen:

> It is agreed between Thomas Musgrave and Lancelot Carleton for the true trial of such controversies as are betwixt them, to have it openly tried, by way of combat, before God and the face of the world, to try it in Canonby-holme, before England and Scotland, upon Thursday in Easter-week, between the eight day of April next ensuing, A.D. 1602, betwixt nine of the clock and one of the same day, to fight on foot, to be armed with jack, steel cap, plaite sleeves, plaite breeches, plaite sockes, two baskerd swords, the blades to be one yard and a half a quarter of length, two Scotch daggers or dirks at their girdles, and either of them to provide armour and weapons for themselves according to this indenture.

Then follow provisions for ascertaining that the combatants are equally matched, and other incidental conditions.

In this connection one's thoughts at once recur to the *Lay of the Last Minstrel:*

> The pursuivant-at-arms again
> Before the Castle took his stand;
> His trumpet called with parleying strain,
> The leaders of the Scottish band;
> And he defied, in Musgrave's name,
> Stout Deloraine to single fight.

Yet more memorable than the combat in which Cranstoun of Teviotside personated fierce Deloraine, was the trial described in *Ivanhoe*, when the life or death of Rebecca depended on the result:

> "This is, indeed, the judgment of God," said the Grand Master, looking upwards—"*Fiat voluntas tua!*"

Unscathed by the lance of his enemy, he (Sir Brian) had died a victim to the violence of his own contending passions.

Even yet the world has not seen the last of trial by ordeal. It is still resorted to by the natives of the Garo Hills, Assam. The water-boiling ordeal is, in that region, a popular mode of settling disputed claims. An earthen pot, filled with water, is placed on a tripod over some sticks, which are lighted. The defendant calls upon his gods to be present and do justice. If the water does not boil within a certain time, the defendant is victorious and entitled to receive compensation as for a false accusation. In more serious cases the accused is tied to a tree, in a dense jungle, and left for several days and nights on the chance of a tiger coming that way. If he escapes alive he is adjudged to be innocent.

It is to be observed that the words "So help me God" are no part of the oath itself, but merely indicate the usual form of administering it. It must be taken corporally, that is to say, by the witness laying his hand upon some part of the Scriptures, or, which is sufficient, upon the Common Prayer Book containing the Epistles and Gospels. The words were undoubtedly adopted in very ancient times—the word "oath" itself appears to be derived from the Saxon *âth* or *eoth*—and were always used in the form of "trial by battel" in this kingdom. The custom was for the appellee to lay his right hand on the book, and with his left grasp the right hand of the appellant, swearing as follows:

"Hear this, thou that callest thyself John by the name of baptism, whom I hold by the hand, that falsely upon me thou hast lied,

and for this thou liest, that I, who call myself Harold by the name of baptism, did not feloniously murder thy father, William by name—*So help me God.*"

The appellant then kissed the book, and added: "And this will I defend against thee by my body, as this Court shall award." The appellant was then sworn in like manner, and the mode of battle having been decided on, the combatants fell to.

In some cases the words "So help me God" were followed by "at His dome," meaning doom or judgment. The Homagers' oath in the Black Book of Hereford runs thus: "So help me God, at his Holy dome, and by my trowthe."

It became a well-established part of our criminal procedure to ask the accused person how he would be tried, meaning by battle, or ordeal, or jury. And this practice was continued long after the first two modes had been abolished. The prisoner was supposed to elect to be tried by jury, or *per patriam*, when, in reality, it was Hobson's choice. When Colonel Despard was tried for high treason in 1803, the Clerk of the Court put the usual question: "How will you be tried?" The Colonel replied that he supposed that had already been decided upon. The question was put again, when, prompted by the gaoler, the prisoner replied, according to usage, "By God and my country;" adding, that he had intended no disrespect by the first answer, but that, being unaccustomed to courts of justice, and knowing that all the arrangements of the prosecution were complete, he had been surprised at being asked how he would be tried.

Sixty years ago the broad rule was that every witness must be sworn in the common form; and if, from want of religious belief, or from scruples of conscience, a person was precluded taking the oath, his evidence was not available at all. But commencing at the period just mentioned, there has been a slow and gradual development of exceptions to the general law, leading up to the present, which is by no means the final stage of evolution. Quakers and Moravians first obtained the privilege of making a solemn affirmation in lieu of taking the oath. This departure from the general rule seems to have been conceded rather grudgingly, and the statute which conferred the relief preserves the word "Quaker," which was originally bestowed in derision, as, for instance, by Butler in *Hudibras:*

> Quakers (that like lanterns bear
> Their lights within them) will not swear.

Members of the sect never adopted the name, but, as is well known, describe their body as the Society of Friends. By another Act of Parliament passed in the same year—1833—the Separatists obtained a corresponding privilege. The theory of these exceptions being that Dissenters belonging to such sects were "exposed to great losses in their trades and concerns," besides being subject to fines and imprisonment for contempt of court, the community at large being deprived of the benefit of their testimony. These enactments are still in full force, though, nowadays, it would be somewhat difficult to say who might claim to be a Separatist. According to the statutory form the witness "sincerely and truly affirms" that he is a member of the "religious sect called Separatists." The name was first given to a collection of sects, rather than to any particular body; though, in early times, there was such an agreement amongst them (as dissenting from the Established Church) that the name served well enough for all. But at various subsequent periods they were subdivided into Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Independents, etc.; and at one time there was an offshoot which assumed the name of Semi-Separatists.

In Civil Courts the witness does not himself utter the appeal to the Deity, but the officer of the Court having concluded the form with the words, "So help you God," the witness accepts and seals the oath by kissing the Testament. In Courts-martial witnesses are required to use the words, "So help me God;" and, from force of habit, military and naval men frequently adopt the same course when called to give evidence before other tribunals. There is no hard and fast line in this matter. By the Act 1 and 2 Victoria, cap. 105, it was provided that a person shall be bound by the oath administered, provided the same shall have been administered in such form, and with such ceremonies, as the witness himself may declare to be binding; and, of course, the punishment for perjury is reserved against all witnesses who are

admitted to give evidence whether upon oath or affirmation.

Many curious cases are recorded in regard to witnesses sworn according to the formalities declared by them to be binding upon their consciences. One man, who declined to be sworn in the usual way, placed his hands to his buttons and declared that he was then under oath, and this was held to satisfy the law. A Scotchman has been sworn in the following terms in an English Court: "You swear according to the custom of your country, and of the religion you profess, that the evidence," etc., etc., at the same time holding up his right hand, but without kissing or touching the book. This custom was quoted by Mr. Bradlaugh in the recent proceedings to enforce a penalty by reason of his having sat and voted in the House of Commons, without having taken the oath required by law. The Lord Chief Justice would not allow that such was the custom of Scotch witnesses; but on the other hand, the Solicitor-General mentioned that at Liverpool Court on occasions he had seen Scotchmen sworn in the manner above described, and that the Cameronians would be sworn in no other way. It may be mentioned that such was the form adopted by Lord George Gordon before he turned Jew.

The old form of a Scotch Covenantor's oath is especially solemn: "I, A. B., do swear by God Himself, as I shall answer to Him at the Great Day of Judgment, that the evidence I shall give to the Court shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth—*So help me God.*"

By way of contrast may be mentioned the oath of a Chinaman, who on entering the witness-box, kneels down and breaks a china saucer against the box. The oath is then interpreted to him as follows: "You shall tell the truth, and the whole truth; the saucer is cracked, and if you do not tell the truth, your soul will be cracked like the saucer."

The Mahomedan's oath—sworn on the Koran—is more impressive. The witness first places his right hand flat upon the book, and his left hand to his forehead; he then lowers his head until it touches the book, and declares himself bound to speak the truth. This, at least, was the formality adopted in a "leading case." An instance of eccentricity in the way of "swearing" is recorded in Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors.* The story was attributed to Lord Erskine. When he was counsel in an important cause, a witness was called, who, without describing himself as of any particular sect, stated that he objected to take the oath in the usual form, but said he would hold up his hand and swear, but without kissing the book. On being questioned as to his reason, he stated that it was because it was written in the Book of Revelation, "That the angel, standing on the sea, *held up his hand.*" Against the sufficiency of this objection Erskine urged that in the first place the witness was not an angel; and secondly, it could not be known how the angel would have sworn if he had stood on dry ground as the witness did. The presiding Judge (Lord Kenyon) sent into the Common Pleas to consult Lord Chief Justice Eyre, who thought the witness was entitled to be sworn in the manner he desired, and that was permitted accordingly.

Under the existing law, persons who are unwilling, regardless of sect, from alleged conscientious motives, to be sworn, may make a solemn affirmation, provided the Court is satisfied as to the sincerity of the witness's objection. The first step towards amending the law in this direction was not taken until 1854, when the relief was bestowed in civil cases only. Subsequently the Legislature advanced timidly and haltingly to the opinion that the provision might be extended to proceedings in the Probate and Divorce Court, and finally the like enactment was passed as regards witnesses on criminal trials. But this final step was not taken until 1861, so that for seven years existed the glaring anomaly, that in any trumpery civil cause a man who conscientiously objected to the oath might be allowed to affirm, whilst in the matter of life and death it was not permitted.

As indicating the multiplicity of oaths in vogue in olden times, it may be mentioned that the writer has in his possession a small volume which contains some two hundred and eighty different forms. This volume was printed in 1689, and is entitled "The Book

of Oaths and the several forms thereof, both ancient and modern, faithfully collected out of sundry authentick books of records not heretofore extant. Very useful for all persons whatsoever, especially those that undertake any office of magestracy or publique imployment."

It contains the ancient oath taken by the Kings of England at their coronation, also "the new oath," against which is a marginal note in the following words: "King H. 8 corrected the old oath with his own hand to the effect of this: the original is in the hands of Sir Robt. Cotton, Kt., Bar., 1625." According to this volume, Knights of the Round Table, in the time of King Arthur, were sworn as follows:

Not to put off your armour from your body, but for requisite rest in the night.

To search for marvellous adventures, whereby to win renown.

To defend the poor and simple people in their right.

Not to refuse aid to them that ask it in any just quarrel.

Not to hurt, offend, or play any lewd part the one with the other.

To fight for the protection, defence, and welfare of his friends.

Not to purchase any goods or particular profit, but honour and the title of honesty.

Not to break faith, promised or sworn, for any cause or reason whatsoever.

To put forth and spend his life for the honour of God and his country, and to choose rather to die honestly than to live shamefully.

The oath administered to those who renounced Lollardism ran thus:

I, William Daynet, before you worshipful Fader, Lord Archbishop of York, and your clergy, with my free will, and full-advised, swear to God, and all His saints, upon the holy gospel, that from this day forthward, I shall worship images with praying and offering unto them, in the worship of saints, that they be made offer; and also I shall never despise pilgrimage, ne states of holy church in no degree, and also I shall be buxim to the laws of holy church and to yhom as my Archbishop, and to any other ordinaries and curates," and so on.

The foregoing form appears to have been used in the time of Richard II.

There was a very lengthy oath for "the Lord President of the Council in the Marches of Wales," which, however, was not nearly so voluminous as "the solemn league and covenant," or even as the oath administered by the Bishop, or his Chancellor, to a midwife. Item five of the last-named oath runs:

That you shall not in anywise use or exercise any manner of witchcraft, charm or sorcery, invocation or other prayer than may stand with God's laws or the King's.

In the conspiracy of 1605, the Jesuit Garnet swore Catesby and the other conspirators:

By the blessed Trinity and by the sacrament you now purpose to receive, never to disclose, directly or indirectly by word or circumstance, the matter that shall be proposed to you to keep secret, nor desist from execution thereof, until the rest shall give you leave.

"The oath which the new King of Colonia made to the Turk in anno 1573" is certainly unique:

I promise and swear by the mighty God merciful, and being the maker of heaven and earth and of all things that are therein, by the holy evangelists, by holy baptism, and by Christian faith. That all those that I know shall be manifested to high and mighty Solomon, Emperour of the Turks, whose empire God certifie, I will be friend to his friends, and enemy to his enemies. I will be a redeemer of his captives out of the hands of his enemies; there shall be no fraud or deceit on my part. If I shall neglect thus to do, I will be an apostata, a forsaker of the holy commandments, of the gospel of the Christians; I will say that the gospel is false and untrue; I will cross both altar and priest: I will slay swine upon the fount, I will deny the Holy Trinity, and will [not] worship them; I will commit whoredom upon the altar; and will receive the curse of the saints, even as God shall behold me from heaven.

Amongst miscellaneous forms may be mentioned "the oath which the Honourable George, Lord Nevel, Baron of Abergaveny, used to swear his servants by, at their first coming into his household," the "oath of a merchant adventurer," "the new oath of the writer of the Peel," "the oath of the Governor of Berwick." There are, besides, many quaint oaths which were to be taken by officers of the City of London, such as the "scavenger's oath," "the oath of Franck pledge," "the Trowator's oath," "the oath of the Bayliffe of the Sewers," and "the oath of every Freeman."

"The oath of Henry the Third, French King, observing the Statutes of the Order of the Garter," is short enough to be quoted, and quaint enough to interest:

We, Henry, by the grace of God King of France and Pologne, do swear, vow, and protest solemnly upon our honour and the word of a King, that we shall observe, keep, and maintain the statutes and orders of the right noble order of St. George, called the Garter, so far forth as they shall not be found

contrary to our religion Catholique, greatness and Majesty Royal, with the statutes and ordinances of our two orders of the blessed Holy Ghost, and of St. Michael. In witness whereof we have signed this present with our own hand, and caused the same to be sealed with our Privy Seal at Paris, the last day of February, 1585.

The general conclusion of these oaths is in the words, "So help you God and His saints"—sometimes "*all* His saints," sometimes with the addition, "and by the contents of this Book." A beadle of the wards in London swore "by God, and Holidom, and by this Book." The oath administered to the King's Council in the reign of Henry VI. ended with the words: "So help you God and all saints, and by his holy Evangelists, by you bodily touched."

It need scarcely be said that the forms provided for use in legal proceedings were many and various. Amongst the number is an oath which is occasionally made use of in modern times, viz., the oath of a jury of women returned to try whether a convicted woman is quick with child. This, of course, applies only to capital offences. Doubtless, when next the jury laws are amended, this ancient procedure will be expressly abolished. As regards Ireland the law was altered in 1876, and it was provided that one or more medical practitioners should be sworn to perform the functions which formerly devolved upon the jury *de ventre inspiciendo*.

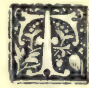
In the latter part of William IV.'s reign was passed an Act of Parliament with a very long title, which had for its object the abolition of sundry oaths and affirmations then made in various departments of the State, and substituting a uniform declaration. By this statute the ancient forms of voluntary and extra-judicial oaths were superseded.

Since the passing of the Statute of 1855 there have been several enactments dealing with unnecessary and promissory oaths; many venerable forms have been abolished and numerous interesting statutes repealed. Nowadays, there are not wanting those who advocate the total abolition of the oath even in judicial proceedings, and it may be that we are within measurable distance of a "reform" which will substitute a simple declaration for the long-descended form of direct appeal to the Supreme Being.

The House of Lords:

VI. Some Noteworthy Incidents in its History.

By Miss Toulmin Smith.



TWO great crises in the story of the English people—both periods when the actions of a tyrannic king, rebellious against the laws of his country, had brought the nation to a desperate pass—illustrate the position of the House of Lords. The one, when worn out by capricious demands, illegal exactions, and arbitrary misgovernment, the people forced King John to respect their rights by signing the Magna Carta, the great Reform Act of 1215. The other, four hundred years later, when a king more cultivated and religious than John, but as despotic and more stubborn, paid with his life the penalty of a lesson still unlearned; when the power of the people was in the hands of a different class of representatives, a small faction of which threw off all bond and restraint of tradition and law; and the House of Lords, at its lowest ebb, was abolished and done away with in 1649. Both these great occasions are instructive and full of light for the part played by the two upper estates, spiritual and temporal, of our realm, and it may be useful to study those memorable events once more.

The old notion that Parliaments began in 49 Henry III. (A.D. 1265) is well-nigh exploded; the true maxim that institutions develop out of principle and circumstances, that constitutions grow and are not made, being now acknowledged by the best historians. The writers of some of the foregoing papers are signal witnesses to this fact. "The fundamental rule of the English Constitution, that all law must spring from the people, and be administered by the people,"* receives important tribute from Mr. Gomme on the one hand, who views this particular part of the Constitution from the broad basis of the ancient people in their communes and their assemblies, and, looking forward, discerns how this immense but scattered voice became partly crystallized into a closer

* Toulmin Smith, *The English Constitution, what is It?* Political Tract Series. Birmingham. 1850.

workable power. On the other hand, Mr. Gairdner, starting from the apex of the State, the sovereign, the expression of the nation's unity, shows us something of the method of this crystallization, which bears no less tribute to that fundamental rule, although we now have to look backwards for it. The truly representative character of the House of Lords in the early centuries of our history, even if irregular according to modern ideas, is necessarily implied in the sketch given of its functions down to Tudor times.

Speaking of the practical forms of self-government, my father pointed out long ago wherein the representative element of the Lords' House lay: men "as homagers went up together, according to their occupancy, to the Feet of him to whom they stood in the voluntary and mutual relation of homage, and who himself went up as their authorized representative, and as responsible for them, to the Shire-mote and to the Great Council of the realm;"* going on to show that this did not exonerate the men from their own duties and responsibilities among each other. It was the carrying out of the feudal idea that each holder must stand for his fief, and answer for his men upon it, in their relations to keeping the peace, to serving in war, to justice, to taxation. "Magna Carta itself gives us two separate illustrations of the representative system. There is the Common Council of the whole realm, without whose consent no tax beyond the accustomed ones is to be levied; even the Barons went to this Council in a representative character."† And again, applying the past to the present, "it must not be forgotten that the Lords do not sit as individual men only. They sit as much as the Commons do, in a representative capacity; though it is in their case a hereditary, instead of an elective, representation."‡

The story of Magna Carta is an old one, and yet in these days it is not often repeated—in practical life it is rather consigned to oblivion as antiquated and now useless. But, said Sir Edward Coke, "Magna Carta is such a fellow that he will have no sovran;" and the force on the side of the people's liberties, which had lived up to his day, ought to be at least intelligently venerated in this. Who were those who at this early period of our constitutional history stood up, with clear vision and firm will, for the free rights of themselves and their "men"? The representative men of the nation, the immediate forerunners of the House of Lords, though not already known by that name.

John, coming to the crown in 1199, promised the people that their grievances should be redressed and rights preserved. Active, fertile in resource, unscrupulous how he gained his ends, and caring little for either law or religion, he lost Normandy after the death of his mother Eleanor in 1204, and embroiled himself with the Church, when he lost his wise adviser, Hubert, in 1205. The Government of the previous reign had laid a heavy hand on the people's wealth; John, instead of lightening his, seized on the riches of bishops and clergy, and, against his coronation oath, levied heavy taxation on the Barons, Knights, and the whole country. No redress could individual resistance obtain for these exactions, but punishment instead. Three times he deceived and taxed the forces assembled in order to cross with him to aid in the French wars; at length, in 1213, the Barons found that the terms of their tenures did not compel them to serve abroad, and they refused to go at all. It is unnecessary to go into all the detail of John's tyranny and misdeeds; the number of charters obtained by the towns during this reign shows the sense of insecurity among the people and the determination to assert local rights; in the affairs of the kingdom the Lords and the counties would act for them. Legal measures were carefully followed; the Archbishop Langton and the Justiciar Fitz Peter, the highest ministers, tried all means of obtaining justice and of keeping the peace through judicial inquiry and settlement. The King made partial, but now ineffectual, reparation to the Church at home, and unpatriotic submission abroad; the assembly of bishops, *magnates regni*, and other representatives gathered at St. Alban's on 4th August, 1213 (summoned by the King the day after the excommunication was taken off), was not, however, blinded; and, discussing the King's

* *Local Self-government and Centralization*, 1851, p. 224.

† *Parliamentary Remembrancer*, 1860, p. 46.

‡ *Ibid.*, 1862, p. 96.

recent promises of good government, the old laws of Henry I. were firmly appealed to.

The Archbishop laid the laws of Henry I. before another council at St. Paul's, held on 25th August. A third council on the common affairs of the kingdom was summoned in November, of which no other record is left than the writ of summons. But it shows that even the King was compelled to resort to regular constitutional forms, under the action of which his people would be satisfied to abide. At these three councils the idea of Magna Carta took shape; whether others were held of which record is lost we do not know, but during the most of the following year, 1214, John was absent in Normandy. During this time strength was added to the resolve of the people's leaders, a settlement on the basis of law should be carried by military force if it were not attained by legal means only. They tried again, meeting John on the 6th January, 1215, asking him to confirm the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom and the Church; in vain—he put them off till Easter, meanwhile appealing to the Pope, and craftily endeavouring to sow division in the kingdom. The Lords paid no heed, but assembled their men; yet even still, though alarmed, he continued stubborn; and it was not till many of them, as a last resort, had renounced their allegiance (5th May), and that the Londoners (24th May) and principal members of the Court had openly joined them, that John gave way. Still, however, he had several friends, among them William Marshall, who acted as go-between; and it cannot be but that this great man threw his weight and used his power with John on the side of law and right. For certainty and legal settlement between ruler and ruled, on the ancient lines with new development, was the one thing desired. Fearing the King's treachery, the Lords were careful to have letters of safe-conduct* for the meeting at Runnymede, which was first fixed for the 9th, but delayed till 15th June. No writ of summons to this great Council has been found or was probably ever issued. The Lords came here to answer for the people's voice, to compel such a written and sealed record of their rights and laws, with a guarantee for the due execution of it, as should be a lasting appeal against the shifty ruler they had to deal with, and against his like in future. Four days of discussion over the Articles and the Charter (the charter itself is dated 15th June; peace was concluded on the 19th) show how strong was the law-abiding element, and how earnest the desire not to push matters to further extremities. The advisers of the Crown and the actors for the people here met in a common attitude of firm dignity, which then resulted in peace and left the enduring key-stone of English history to their descendants.

* The necessity for these letters, renewed a second time, and the mischievous after-effects of the crusading vow administered by John in the early part of the year, throw out the courageous conduct of the national Lords, by indicating the nature of some of the obstacles to be overcome.

The character of the Lords' action throughout, and the effect of the Charter, are at once thus indicated by Bishop Stubbs, who suggests that it was the bishops and the legal members "who fenced round the rights of the freeholders."

"The Barons maintain and secure the right of the whole people as against themselves, as well as against their master. Clause by clause the rights of the Commons are provided for as well as the rights of the nobles; the interest of the freeholder is everywhere coupled with that of the Barons and Knights; the stock of the merchant, and the wainage of the villein are preserved from undue severity of amercement, as well as the settled estate of the earldom or barony."*

We turn to a different epoch. The great factors of the Constitution have long shaped themselves and exercised their settled functions. Again, a great struggle between the people and their ruler, but carried on by another order and other means, in which violence for a time has the upper hand. The attitude taken by the House of Lords from the opening of the Long Parliament would be an interesting study. In spite of the wholesale creation of Peers in the preceding reign, the House had several times offered a formidable opposition to the King, and it was from their ranks that came forth the Earl of Bedford, "the father of Puritan statesmanship,"† and chief of the Puritan Peers. In 1642, when the

* *Constitutional History*, vol. i., p. 596.

† Sanford's *History of the Rebellion*, p. 286.

King attempted to gather a rival Parliament round him at York, the House at Westminster was shorn of a large number by the defection of the Cavalier Lords, which was at once considered to be "contempt done to this House."* Though the body of Peers was thus rent, the House contrived to sit, and actively to ratify and approve the action of the Commons, including the measures for abolition of one of their own estates, the Episcopacy, and the confiscation of bishops' lands (23rd Jan., 1643; 9th Oct., 16th Nov., 1646). Notwithstanding some signs of independence, the two Houses worked so far harmoniously, that on the 28th of April, 1648, in the debate on the Settlement of the Kingdom, the Commons resolved, "That they will not alter the fundamental Government of the kingdom, by King, Lords, and Commons," which, with some other resolutions, was concurred in by the Lords' House on 6th May. The attendance of Peers during the year was not great, the average in any month never exceeding ten. After "Pride's Purge," and the forcible exclusion of the one hundred and forty-three members of the Commons by the army on 6th and 7th December, the Lords made an ineffectual effort in view of the approaching trial of the King; on 23rd December they issued a whip, summoning all Lords within twenty miles "to attend the great affairs of this kingdom, relating in an extraordinary manner to all the peerage of England." Such was the state of intimidation that only eight Peers responded to this appeal. Yet when on 1st January, 1648-9, the faction then in the House of Commons sent up their resolution finding it treason in the King to levy war against the Parliament, and their ordinance erecting a court to try him, the twelve Peers present on 2nd January courageously vindicated their independence by negativing the first and casting out the second *nem. con.* On the very next day the Commons resolved to sit, act, and execute "notwithstanding the Lords do not join with them," and on the 4th assumed to themselves the supreme power of the nation. The Lords met again on the 9th and 18th, and for a few days more in a formal manner, the Commons treating the remnant of them with the greatest contempt.

* Cobbett's *Parl. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 1296.

As soon as the King was executed the Lords, false to their previous declaration, and unconcernedly acquiescing in the deed of the Commons, proposed (1st February) a joint committee to consider the settlement of the Government; but their messengers sent with this proposal to the Commons House were on four successive days refused admission. On 6th February in the Commons the question was raised whether "this House shall take advice of the House of Peers in the exercise of the legislative power," which being negatived, a resolution was passed that "the House of Peers in Parliament is useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished." A Bill brought in to give effect to this was passed on the 19th March, the 6th February, 1648-9, being the last day the Lords met.

Thus fell the Upper House of the Long Parliament, which had become but a tool of the party in power, a mere shadow of the old institution. But, as old Coke would say, "mark the sequel." Even the vigorous and enlightened hand of Cromwell found the necessity of the check afforded by the existence of a second Chamber; and in his third Parliament, the document which settled the bases of government on giving him the title of "Protector," provided that he should "call Parliaments consisting of two Houses" (25th May, 1657). A second House, nominated by Cromwell, and approved by the Commons, was accordingly summoned on December 10th, 1657; and Cromwell addressed the two together on the opening of Parliament on January 20th, 1657-8. But the composition and arrangement did not work well, and Cromwell, fearing the worst, hastily dissolved the Parliament. His words, as indicating what he hoped from a democratic House of Lords, are well worth quoting: "I did tell you that I would not undertake it [*i.e.* the government] unless there might be some other persons that might interpose between me and the House of Commons, who had the power to prevent tumultuary and popular spirits; and it was granted I should name another House. I named it of men that shall meet you wheresoever you go, and shake hands with you, and tell you it is not titles, nor Lords, nor party, that they value, but a Christian and an

English interest: men of your own rank and quality, who will not only be a balance unto you, but to themselves, while you love England and religion (4th Feb.)." On the meeting of Richard Cromwell's Parliament, 27th January, 1658-9, the new Lords took their seats, but the Commons only recognised them as "the Other House," and business with them was continually disputed. But this knot was cut by the proceedings of the army, which caused the dissolution of the Parliament, and the fall of Richard (22nd April). Nor would they permit the Rump Parliament to have a second House, laying down that the government must be established "without a single person, kingship, or House of Peers." In little more than a year all this was reversed, and the Parliament of the Restoration on the ancient lines of the constitution met on 25th April, 1660.

The First Triad of Irish Type.

BY JOSEPH MANNING.

PART III.

WE now return to the preface of the *Catechism*, which, as we have already had occasion to note, shows that the first-born of Irish printed literature is not this *Catechism* of 1571, but an earlier edition of it, now either lost or unknown. "And it is not alone," O'Kearney goes on to say, "to this impression that I ask you to give gentle charitable correction, but also to the translation or rendering I have made of this *Catechism*, which was put forth before at large in its dress by us, in the year of our Lord 1563, and it is now more correct and more entire, with certain articles of the Christian rule imparted to you."

In closing, he again evidently refers to his greater labour—the translation of the New Testament—and we discover in the hope that it will see the light before long, the forward state of some portion of the work even at that early period: "And if you take this trifle with a kindly will, generously and hospitably, you will give cause for a better and more profitable provision being presented to you before long, according as God will give strength and grace to me. A blessing to you."

The chapter on the alphabet follows, occupying from page 6 to 10 inclusively. It begins—"In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." In it we notice that *K* and *Z* usurp the same form in the alphabet, that of the English letter. They differ merely in size, the former being a capital, the latter a small letter. "*X*, *Y*, *Ɔ*, *Z*," remarks O'Kearney, "and every other mark and title are not natural letters of the Irish as they have not ogum names." This remark is curious, as it shows that the names of the Irish letters were deemed in O'Kearney's day to have originally belonged to the oghum alphabet. Thomas Innes, the Scotch priest, attacks Roderick O'Flaherty for regarding the different order and arborescent nomenclature of the Irish alphabet as characteristic of originality and antiquity, and treats the Beth-luis-nion, as that alphabet is called from the names of its leading letters, *b*, *l*, *n*, as "nothing else but an invention of some of the Irish senachies, who since they received the use of letters have put the Latin alphabet into a new arbitrary order, and assigned to each letter the name of some tree." Edmund Burke thought differently: "Neither is the figure of the letters," he says, "very different from the vulgar characters, though their order is not the same with that of other nations, nor the names, which are taken from the Irish proper names of several species of trees, a circumstance which, notwithstanding their similitude to the Roman letters, argues a different original and great antiquity."—(*Burke's Essay towards an Abridgment of English History*, chap. iv.) And certainly we feel more inclined to side with the great orator, philosopher, and statesman on this point than with the discounting Scotch divine. People are strangely retentive of names of this kind, and of the order in which they are repeated. Scarce in the history of alphabets within their national domains can such a change, as Innes contemplates, be paralleled. None of all the nations who have adopted the Latin alphabet have varied the order.

O'Kearney makes a curious remark about *k:* "*K*," he says, "although named in the

aibidil, is neither called a vowel nor a consonant, even though it be used often for *c* and *a*." How to explain the use of *k* for *a*, we are at a loss, unless the apparent *a* be a misprint for *q*. *S*, which with O'Malley and the poets is "The Queen of Consonants," is with our author "the barren consonant." In the closing words of this chapter, he refers his readers for further information on the alphabet, and "on the titles that are in it," to the manuscripts (literally hand-letters), and to the poets, to whom it belongs "to treat intellectually and scientifically of this matter."

The *Catechism* follows the chapter on the alphabet. It is an exact translation of the *Church Catechism for Confirmation*, as found in the *Book of Common Prayer* of that day. This occupies from pp. 11 to 21 inclusively. Thence to p. 40 is taken up with prayers, among which those for morning and night are almost word for word the same as Bishop Carsuel's. It would be interesting to determine, as we could from the edition of 1563, whether O'Kearney or Carsuel was the original translator. In any case the Calvinistic leanings of the Irish divine are manifest from his recourse to the liturgy of Geneva for a form of morning and night prayer.

After the prayers follow the "Articles," which are an exact translation of "The Eleven Articles of Religion" issued in the first year of Elizabeth's reign. Wilkins marks them as set forth during the vacancy of the See ot Canterbury in 1559. Strype attributes them to the Archbishop, since he views them as "evidence of Parker's pastoral care to purge those who got livings of popish doctrines." Their own heading makes them be "set forth by both archbishops, metropolitans, and the other bishops." Jeremy Collier describes them as bearing "a near resemblance with those of 1552" (1553). "This," says Archdeacon Hardwick, "has a germ of truth in it, but these Eleven Articles widely vary in form and matter from previous models. They deliberately omit all mention of the numerous speculative topics, which were agitating our own and foreign communities." They were printed in England in 1561 by Richard Jugge, the Queen's printer, and in Ireland by Humphrey Powell, at Dublin, January 20, 1566. In that year they were set forth as a formulary of faith to the Irish Church. Their preamble tells us the authority by which this was done. In the words of our *Catechism*, it is "by the authority of the noble and illustrious knight, Sir Henry Sidney, Lord and Deputy of the Kingdom of Erin, under the princedom of the Queen; and not that alone, but with the consent of the archbishops, bishops, and other commissioners of the great Queen." They remained the sole formulary of the Established Church from 1566 to 1615, when one tinged more deeply with a Calvinistic spirit, and substantially the same as the Lambeth formulary, which Whitgift suppressed to please Elizabeth—digested into 104 paragraphs, under nineteen heads—took their place.

We shall allude only to the seventh of these Articles. We are warranted in doing so, from the light it throws on another early publication of the Irish press in the Irish tongue—the *Book of Common Prayer*. The first edition of this, according to every authority, is that of 1608 or 1609,* and the translation was executed by William O'Donnell, who was consecrated Archbishop of Tuam, August, 1609, and penned the *Dedication of the Testament* in his house in St. Patrick's Close, Dublin, October 20, 1609. In that *Dedication* we have evidently the source whence Sir James Ware and Harris drew their information concerning the work. The wars were then over, "the Lord," says O'Donnell, "having partly swallowed up in displeasure the disturbers of our peace, and partly spued them out into strange countryes, crauing better inhabitants to enjoy her blessings and discouering her rich bosome for their kinde intertainment. Oh," he most unctuously prays, for the extermination of the remainder, "that the land would swallow or spue out all wicked seducers." He compliments Sir Arthur Chichester, to whom the *Dedication* is inscribed, with "managing the sword of Justice," "often playing the part of a religious bishop by exhorting to Religion, and dehorting from Idolatry;" "and having wisely considered," he goes on to say, "that the liturgy, comming in the cloud of an unknown tongue, can leave no blessing behind it, it pleased your Lordship to impose upon my selfe the burden of translating the *Booke*

* The imprint on the title-page bears the date 1608 and the dedication that of 20th October, 1609.

of Common Prayer (the liturgy of the famous Church of England) into the mother-tongue (for the comfort of the meere Irish Churches). And having translated the Booke, I followed it to the Presse, with jelousy and daiely attendance to see it perfected, payned as a woman in travell desirous to be deliuered. Being now perfected with much difficulty, I present it to your honourable Lordship, beseeching you will be pleased to accept thereof as of your little Beniamin, the sonne of your right hand, the rather because it hath been to the mother (for the space of two years) Benony, the sonne of her sorrow." The impression left by the reading of this is, that the writer was first in comforting the "meere Irish Churches" by taking the liturgy for them "out of the cloud of an unknown tongue." Perhaps he wished to create this impression to add to the glory of Sir Arthur Chichester, to whom he attributes the origination of the work. We have seen him before suppress the "mere Irish" editors of another work where they deserved mention, and we believe he is now emboldened to suppress those of his brethren of the Anglo-Irish ecclesiastical establishment, the memory of whose connection with the work he believes the grave to have rotted. Is it any wonder that the impression thus so industriously created should ever since prevail? And yet we imagine that it is a false impression, and that there are sufficient grounds for believing that a translation of the *Book of Common Prayer* had been executed and put to press long before. The seventh of the Articles, taken in connection with what Harris tells us, will show this. It runs: "In the same way I confess that the *Book of Common Prayer*, and of the *Ministration of the Holy Sacraments*, which the authority of Parliament has published, is according to the Scriptures, and that it is Catholic and Apostolical, and that it is best to publish for the glory of God, and for the instruction of the people, since it is in the language that the people are able to understand, and also on account of the excellency of the forms of the ministry that are in it." One would naturally think from the publication of this declaration in the Irish language, for use by Irish-speaking incumbents, that the *Book of Common Prayer* was already printed in the Irish tongue. A note explanatory of the hindrances to its being so would otherwise accompany this article. The declaration would sound extremely strange on the lips of a minister professing publicly these articles in Irish, were not the *Book of Common Prayer* already in Irish. What Harris tells us adds to the probability of its being so. "Kearney and Walsh," he says, "obtained an order, that the prayers of the Church should be printed in that (the Irish) character and language, and that a church should be set apart in the Shire-town of every diocese, where they should be read, and a sermon preached to the common people, which proved an instrument of conversion to many of the ignorant sort of those days." Nothing seems plainer, from the scope of this, than that the order was executed, as the results anticipated are declared to have followed. "They obtained the order," and "its execution proved an instrument of conversion." If it be so, the work must have been accomplished before Walsh and Kearney were separated in 1577. It may possibly have been undertaken in response to the appeal made to the Queen by the Irish Parliament in 1560, to allow the Common Prayer to be read by such ministers as knew not English, in the Latin tongue. This appeal is appended to the Act of Uniformity passed in the Irish Parliament in that year. Such an appeal may have quickened Elizabeth's zeal to have the Common Prayer rendered into Irish. The types and press were sent over "in the beginning of her most happie raigne." There was something contemplated in sending them. They were not sent to remain idle for a dozen years. The need of the *Common Prayer Book* would be the first and most pressing; and something more, surely, was intended than the issue of the little *Confirmation Catechism*. It may possibly be that the *Common Prayer Book* was printed thus early, partly in Latin and partly in Irish. That the request made by Parliament to allow the liturgy to be recited in the Latin tongue was granted, appears by an incidental notice of the practice in the "Erle of Cumberland's *Voiage to the Azores*, in 1589, written by that excellent Mathematician and Enginier, Master Edward Wright." After being "in a maner halfe dead," he says, "we had our lives restored unto us againe in Dingenacush (Dingle, or

Dingle-i-couch, in Kerry), where the Irish harpe sounded sweetely in our eares. We were intertained at the Soveraigne's house. They have," he goes on to say, "the same form of Common Prayer, word for word, in Latin, that we have here in England. Upon the Sunday the Soueraigne commeth into the Church, with his Sergeants before him, and the Sheriffe and others of the town accompany him, and there they kneele down, every man by himselfe priuately, to make his prayers. After this they rise and go out of the Church againe to drinke, which being done, they returne againe into the Church, and then the Minister beginneth prayers.

"Their manner of baptizing differeth something from ours: part of their seruice belonging thereto is repeated in Latin, and *part in Irish.* The Minister taketh the child in his hands, and first dippeth it backwards, and then forwards, over head and ears into the cold water in the midst of Winter, wherebye also may appeare their natural hardnesse. They had neither Bell, drum, nor trumpet to call the Parish together, but they expect till their Soueraigne come, and then they that have any deuotion follow him."

This is extremely curious, but the evident corollary to be drawn from it is, that the minister must have followed a prescribed rite, and consequently had a book to repeat it from. Here, then, is a *Common Prayer Book*, partly in Latin, and partly Irish, in the year 1589. Where was it printed? Who got it up? Why does not O'Donnell or Ware mention it? are pregnant questions for antiquaries.

We have still another evidence of the *Common Prayer*, or part of it, having been put into Irish, and to the press, before O'Donnell's version, and one that furthermore bestows a share of the undertaking on another of the labourers on the New Testament, viz., O'Donnellan. "It appears," says Harris, "by a Privy Seal, dated 24th May, 1595, for his advancement to the Archbishoprick of Tuam, that one of his merits is mentioned to be, 'that he had taken great pains in translating and putting to the press the *Communion Book and the New Testament*, in the Irish language, which Queen Elizabeth greatly approved of.'"—(Harris's *Ware's Writers*, p. 97.)

In the light of this evidence as to the existence of such a work, the silence of O'Donnell in its regard is passing strange. But we have said enough to kindle the curiosity of antiquarian and bibliographical research. There was a fittingness in our coupling these three works together, as they are all children of the one mother—the first fount of Irish type. That there may have been other offspring of the same parent, the broadside still existing in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge—a poem of Philip MacCuinn—printed at Dublin in 1571, tends to show. We cannot pass from our subject without a word of praise for the type. It produced a clear, bold, open style of letter. Had future type-founders only imitated the taste of those who devised this, we should have had an advance rather than a retrocession. But they were fond of clouds, darkness, and contraction. They disguised the simple beauty of the Irish letter, and created the complaint of the difficulty of its acquisition. With a true discernment of the want of his own and future times, O'Kearney, consulting the genius of written Irish, struck upon a style of letter that, while thoroughly Irish in character, still formed an approach to the Italic of Europe, and combined, moreover, in a degree, simplicity, beauty, and ease of reading.

Reviews.

The Unpopular King: the Life and Times of Richard III. By ALFRED O. LEGGE. (London, 1885: Ward and Downey.) 8vo., 2 vols.

WE do not like catch-titles for an historical work, but, such as it is, the present one fairly represents the position which Richard III. holds in current opinion. It is nearly a century ago since Walpole's famous work, *Historic Doubts*, first appeared, and other writers have since added to the literature concerning the character of Richard III., including, it may be observed, some French writers, among whom is M. T. Rey, who, in 1818, published his *Essais historiques et critiques sur Richard III., Roi d'Angleterre.* Of course Shakespeare's portraiture has had a large influence in deciding the question, but one cannot well get over such testimony as Mr. Gairdner affords when, in his *History of the Life and Reign of Richard III.*, he says that he started, twenty-five years ago, under the influence of Walpole's book, to

doubt whether Richard III. was really a tyrant at all, and finally recorded his impression that a minute study of the facts of Richard's life tended more and more to convince him of the general fidelity of the portrait with which we have been made familiar by Shakespeare and Sir Thomas More.

To the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Gairdner, Mr. Legge sets himself to work to find an answer, and from his own point of view he certainly succeeds. Whatever else may be said of this book, it is thoroughgoing, and, by the breadth of its views and sympathies, insensibly carries the reader towards the conclusions arrived at by the author. Mr. Legge stands on no narrow platform of morality or political necessity. He sees in Richard what Walpole saw, a wantonness of intellectual wealth, a "greatness of soul and generosity, boundless and incapable of exhaustion, because of his instinctive scorn of meanness." Of Richard's intellectual wealth we think there is ample evidence, and scarcely one authority throws doubt upon it; but excess of intellect does not keep back excess of ambition, and these two qualities of the man produced for English history the "unpopular King."

Mr. Legge goes to original sources for his history, and one of these is important, namely, a contemporary MS. in the library at Hardwick Hall, entitled *The Encomium of Richard ye Third*, by William Cornewaleys, to which no former writer has referred. There is, or perhaps was, another MS. by this writer upon Richard III., for it is noted in Hazlitt's *Collections and Notes*, that a MS. described in Osborne and Shipley's catalogue for 1758, and valued at 7s. 6d., bore the title of *Paradoxe in prayse of Kynge Richard the Thirde, or the Life and Reigne of Richard the Thirde, Kynge of Englande, or an Apologie in Prayse of the sayde Kynge Richarde the Thirde, folio.* We have mentioned this in full because it may be the same MS. now preserved at Lord Hartington's library; but if it is a separate document it should be consulted, to see what, if any, variation occurs.

The romance of Richard's life is still one of the most fascinating of English historical episodes, and in Mr. Legge's book the story loses none of its charm. We are carried forward from event to event, from place to place, with a vigour which enhances greatly the pleasure of reading, though it rather detracts from the pure style of the true historian. Mr. Legge is an advocate of no mean acquirements. He treats his subject from every possible standpoint, and if one cannot altogether agree with his conclusions, it is rather because of his sometimes strained logic than from want of material to enforce them. These two goodly volumes, with excellent illustrations, the etched portrait of Richard from the Royal collection being particularly good, abound in matters of deep interest, and when we place them alongside of Mr. Gairdner's study of the same subject, we feel that they deserve a place there, though they represent rather the advocate than the judge of the "unpopular King."

The Champion of Odin; or, Viking Life in the Days of Old: a Tale of Ancient War. By J. Frederick Hodgetts. (London, 1885: Cassell.) 8vo., pp. viii., 376.

Mr. Hodgetts' object is a good one. He has strung together some facts from old Scandinavian history and legend into a narrative of his own, hoping thereby to make the youthful English mind pay some little attention to the myths of our ancestors. We cannot ensure him success in this effort, but we can and do offer him our congratulations upon his courageous attempt to make boys' literature a stepping-stone to the student's researches. The story is well told, and the book is attractively bound and illustrated, though, as a matter of antiquarian criticism, we think neither binding nor illustration equal to the story.

Guides du Collectionneur: Dictionnaire des Emailleurs depuis le moyen age jusqu'à la fin du xviii. siècle. Par Emile Molinier. (Paris, 1885: Jules Rouam.) 8vo, pp. 113.

This is one of those excellent little books for which we are accustomed to look to France, and which English writers so strangely neglect. The amount of useful information crowded together in this volume is astonishing, and we cannot but hope that other subjects will be taken up by the same author. Many of the arts are devoid of such handbooks, and it would be a work worthy of the highest credit to supply this deficiency. Appended is a list of the principal collections of enamels and many well known private and public English collectors are duly recorded. Why should not these great collections be made useful to all by finding a competent historian?

The Stone Crosses of the Vale of Clwyd and Neighbouring Parishes, together with some Account of the Ancient Manners and Customs and Legendary Lore connected with the Parishes. By the Rev. Elias Owen. (London, 1885: Quaritch.) 4to. Parts ii. and iii.

To what we have already said of this projected book, in reviewing the first part, we cannot add more than that we think the author fully keeps up his promise of giving us ample local knowledge, with a wide appreciation of what his subject demands of him. Mr. Owen thoroughly understands, and, if we mistake not, keenly loves his self-appointed task, and, if our readers will turn to the opening passages of part ii., relating to the old parish fights, which lasted from the time of the laws of Howel Dha to modern days, he will have evidence of this. Illustrations are given of almost every cross, and in many cases enlarged facsimiles of the inscriptions. We shall continue to notice the parts as they are forwarded to us, and hope to give our final judgment upon the whole work when it is concluded. We must, however, particularly refer to the curious and very important evidence which Mr. Owen gives in part iii. on agreements at parish crosses, a subject which we know will interest many of our readers.

Aungervyle Society. Nos. V. and VI.: The Navigation and Voyages of Lewis Wertomannus, in the Yeere of our Lorde 1503. (Edinburgh: Goldsmid.) 8vo.

These excellently printed contributions to nineteenth-century reprints are as welcome as the former parts have been. Early travels are always interesting and instructive, and of late they have become valuable

in more ways than one to the historian and student of early man. These chapters give some curious particulars of Indian customs, on "theyr chaungyng wyves," and other subjects. "The gentilmen and merchauntes to shew great curtesie and friendship one to the other, use sometyme to chaunge wyves." Many interesting natural curiosities are noticed, and altogether the travels are as curious as they are valuable.

Merrie Games in Rhyme. By the Hon. EMMELINE M. PLUNKET. (London, 1885: Wells, Gardner, and Co.) 4to., pp. 61.

This is a beautiful present for our English homes this Christmas, and we recommend it cordially. We do not, as a matter of taste, like the border ornamentation, but all the children's figures are charmingly drawn, and each "merrie game," besides being thus illustrated, has the music and words. There is so much history to be obtained from children's games that, if we mistake not, many a paterfamilias will secure unto himself a copy of this book after he has distributed his other copies to the little ones.

The Hull Quarterly and West Riding Portfolio. Edited by W. G. B. PAGE. (Hull, 1885: Brown and Sons.) 4to.

We regret to learn that the editor of this very excellent local antiquarian gleaner cannot continue his work if he does not get more support. We should have thought that Yorkshire would gladly support so interesting and useful a journal, and we can assure antiquaries who are not Yorkshiremen, that there is much to learn from its pages. Some papers, like "The Monastic Institutions of Hull and its vicinity," by J. J. Sheahan; "The Lake Dwellings at Ulsome in Holderness," by T. N. Evans; "Some Old Plans of Kingston-upon-Hill"; are of unusual interest as contributions to subjects which many antiquaries are deeply interested in. If any word of ours can keep this thoroughly deserving local periodical from a too early death we willingly and in all sense of duty utter it.

The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal. Edited by Rev. STEPHEN D. PEET. (Chicago, May to September, 1885: F. H. Revell.) 8vo.

Our Transatlantic contemporary continues its active course, and the parts now before us are more than usually interesting, we think. Dr. Brinton gives a most valuable contribution on "Taensa Grammar and Dictionary," and another on "The Chief God of the Algonkins." Other papers on the "Ancient Dances of the Pawnees," and on the prehistoric cities of Central America, are also very valuable.

Bygones Relating to Wales and the Border Counties. April to September, 1885. Two parts. (Oswestry: Caxton Press.) 4to.

These two parts are much more interesting than usual, the extracts from local accounts of "The Ladies of Llangollen" being particularly amusing. A Shrewsbury rent-roll of 1657, school-rhymes, Oswestry parish book, local portraits, being among the best of the notes. We notice with pleasure that a query has been asked whether Wales knows anything of the "bull-roarer" alluded to by Mr. Lang in his *Custom and Myth*, and we shall look forward to the answers to this, for local inquiry can do much to illustrate these curious facts of history.

Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Bucks Archæological Society.—Nov. 4th.—The Archdeacon of Buckingham in the chair.—A vote of thanks was carried to Mr. Alfred Scrivener, of Wendover, for a present of ancient spurs, horse-shoes, stirrup-irons, spear-blade, key, and other articles found at Stony Stratford, at the bridge, formerly a ford, dividing the counties of Buckingham and Northampton. The horse-shoes are extremely curious; they are made to enclose the hoof of the animal, and to fit on something like a clog; no nails were used, and the shoe appears to have been held in position by a small strap or thong, which passed through a loop at the back of the shoe and fastened round the fetlock. All the articles are much corroded, and must have been buried many years. The ford existed in a district which at times was, and still is, subject to excessive floods; the supposition is that the articles found belonged to a horseman who at some dangerous state of the flood attempted to cross the stream, was overwhelmed by the current, and drowned. This memorandum accompanied the antiquities: "My relative, the late Mr. Richard Sheppard, of Newport Pagnell, was for a number of years county surveyor for the northern part of Bucks; about the year 1840 he had to superintend the constructing of a new bridge over the Ouse, at Stony Stratford, where, in early years, the old Roman Watling Street crossed by a ford. After removing the foundations of the old bridge he found underneath the remains of a still older one, the foundations of which he also had removed, and under which, embedded in the clay, the following articles were dug out, and which are probably 1,500 years old. They were given to me after the death of Mr. Sheppard, and I now present them to the Bucks Archæological Society: Two remarkably formed horse-shoes, which had evidently been tied on the hoof instead of nailed; two curious stirrups, a spear-head, a spur, a curious key, supposed remains of iron lamp, contrived to fix on saddle. I also present fossils found whilst cutting a deep drain on land occupied by Mr. W. Adams, of Haydon Hill, consisting of eight vertebral bones of the Plesiosaurus, in a good state of preservation."

Leeds Naturalists' Club.—Oct. 31st.—About forty members travelled to Sheffield to visit Mr. Ruskin's Museum. The original museum has long since proved too small to enable the valuable specimens to be properly displayed, and recently a larger gallery has been erected, which now contains the chief works of art and some of the larger illustrated works on natural history subjects. The almost unique collection of

minerals and many of the smaller and more precious works of art are retained in the original building. Still, however, many beautiful objects lie hidden for want of greater facilities for exposing them to public view, and large subscriptions are needed to assist Mr. Ruskin in further extending the area of the museum, which, after his great munificence, he cannot be expected to grant out of his private purse. Nearly all the known precious stones are to be seen in their natural rock, and uncut. The club inspected natural diamond crystals from Africa and Brazil, specimens of precious emerald and ruby, besides a magnificent specimen of topaz crystal about nine inches in length, and a particularly fine instance of blue topaz on a slab of rock matrix. A specimen of meteoric iron attracted particular attention, it being so extremely heavy in proportion to its bulk. A complete system of crystal models was shown, whereby the student of crystallography is enabled to complete his theoretical knowledge of the formation and growth of crystals. Specimens of blue and yellow sapphire were also noted, as well as beautiful beryl crystals in a group. The attention of the club was also particularly drawn to the magnificent collection of rare and unique illustrated works on natural science, the most notable being the original drawings, in seven elephant-folio volumes, for Donovan's celebrated work on insects, shells, and reptiles. In obtaining this work Mr. Ruskin found it necessary to outbid the authorities at the British Museum, which he did in order to procure it for the benefit of the museum at Sheffield. Mention must be made of the drawing, by Mr. Ruskin himself, of a single feather from the breast of a peacock, which is executed in water-colours, and when examined with a powerful glass, appears merely a magnified reality, so exquisite is the delicacy of the workmanship.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society.—Oct. 26th.—The Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D., President, in the chair.—The President exhibited and described a stone cross-head presented by the Royal Architectural Museum, Westminster. In *Archæologia*, vol. xvii., p. 228, there is a letter from the Rev. T. Kerrich, librarian of the University of Cambridge, dated March 29th, 1813, describing a number of sculptured stones found in the course of demolishing Cambridge Castle in 1810. They were found under part of the original ramparts, so that Mr. Kerrich took them to be at least as early as the erection of the castle by William I. The letter is accompanied by two plates (xv., xvi.), which show, besides some small stones, five complete stones like coffin-lids, and portions of two others, all ornamented with interlacing work. Mr. Cutts, in his *Manual of Sepulchral Slabs*, shows two of these stones, and states that one of them was in the Fitzwilliam Museum. His engraving (pl. xxxiv.), however, does not represent this stone, now in the portico of the Fitzwilliam Museum, but merely reproduces that one of Mr. Kerrich's engravings which is most like it. The Fitzwilliam stone was found more recently, Mr. Way stated in the *Archæological Journal* (xii. 202; a woodcut is given on p. 201), ten or twelve feet from the foundation of the Castle, to the south. It lay outside the Castle, in gravel, about six feet deep, and north and south. Mr. Way gives as its date 'about tenth century.' It deserves a more protected position, especially now that the discovery of like stones under the early work at Peterborough has shown that the Cambridge stones are not isolated specimens in this district. One in particular of the stones shown by Mr. Kerrich must have been a remarkably handsome example. In the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xi., p. 70, there is a woodcut and a description of the head of a stone cross found at the same time with the stones described by Mr. Kerrich, *i.e.*, in 1810. It had been in the possession of the Camden Society, and at the date of the description in the *Journal*, 1854, it was in the Royal Architectural Museum, Westminster. Mr. Browne's attention was called to its existence there by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, C.E., and he thereupon wrote to the secretary of the Museum, Mr. J. P. Seddon, setting forth the efforts the University was making in connection with archæology, and the fitness of this cross-head being restored to its original home, now that Cambridge possesses a proper place in which to put it. The request was at once acceded to. The cross-head is about eighteen inches high, fourteen wide, and six thick. It is a simple but interesting and unusually perfect example of a "wheel-cross," probably the only one in all East Anglia. The upper limb and the two arms are of the same size; the lower limb expands into the shaft without any boundary line. The portion of the shaft which remains shows the commencement of simple interlacing bands, of the same character as those on the stone in the Fitzwilliam Museum. So far as style and material are concerned, there is no reason why this cross-head, with its shaft, and the stone in the Fitzwilliam Museum or one of those shown in Mr. Kerrich's plates, should not have formed respectively the head-stone and body-stone of the grave of some East Anglian magnate a hundred or a hundred and fifty years before the Norman Conquest. The account in the *Archæological Journal* states that the cross is plain on the back. That is not so, for the back, though somewhat damaged, is ornamented in the same way as the front. The edge, too, is ornamented, and in a very unusual manner, by a single band forming a rectangular scroll; this, perhaps, developed lower down the shaft into the key-pattern so usual on the Anglian sculptured stones. The Rev. W. F. Creeny, vicar of St. Michael's, Norwich, then proceeded to give a lecture upon foreign monumental brasses. His remarks were illustrated by thirty magnificent rubbings, which were hung round the room and excited universal admiration.

Hellenic Society.—Oct. 22nd.—General Meeting.—Prof. C. T. Newton in the chair.—The Chairman read a paper by Mr. A. S. Murray, "On a Terra-Cotta Diadumenos recently acquired in Smyrna by Mr. W. R. Paton." The Vaison and Farnese marble copies in the British Museum of the original bronze Diadumenos of Polycleitus were clearly executed at a date when the canon of Lysippus had superseded that of Polycleitus, so that an artist even when copying the latter could hardly shake off the influence of the former. This was especially noticeable in the length of the thigh. It was therefore difficult to form a just idea of the style of Polycleitus. The present terra-cotta, however, seemed to some extent to bridge over the gulf between the extant marble copies and the original works. Its proportions approximated far more nearly to the known canon of Polycleitus, and in the work-

manship there was more effort shown to imitate the effect of the bronze. As to date, Mr. Murray was inclined to assign the statuette, from certain traces of the influences of Praxiteles, to the short period between that sculptor and Lysippus.—Mr. Macmillan read a paper by Prof. W. Ridgeway "On the Land System of Homer." The writer's object was to prove, by minute examination of words and passages bearing on agriculture, that traces of the primitive common field system were to be found in the *Iliad*, while the *Odyssey* seemed to imply a later system, tending towards the hereditary and separate ownership, which in the time of Hesiod had become thoroughly established.—Prof. Campbell, while admitting the great interest of the paper, was inclined to think that it contained some assumptions which would hardly bear examination.—Mr. Gennadius illustrated and confirmed the Homeric use of certain agricultural customs and phrases from the usage of modern Greece, and maintained that a knowledge of the language and customs of the Greece of to-day was essential to a true understanding of the classical texts.

Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society.—Sept. 28th.—A paper on St. Lawrence's Church, Appleby, was read by the Rev. W. Arnold Mathews.—The earliest mention that we find of a Church of St. Lawrence in Appleby is in a grant from Ranulph de Meschines to the Abbey of St. Mary's at York. This was dated A.D. 1088; and the grant was confirmed afterwards by Henry I., and by Athelwald and Hugh, the first Bishops of Carlisle, with the limitation "that the Priory (or cell) of Wetheral should possess the church to their own in the name of the said Abbey." Hence the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle, as the successors in title of the Cell of Wetheral, have always presented to the living of St. Lawrence, and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, in their right, are rectors of the church, and impropriators of the tithe. In 1176 the town of Appleby was sacked by William King of Scots, and the church was burned down. At that time Hugh Morville, the lord of the manor, was under attaint for the murder of Thomas à Becket, 1170; his castles of Burgh and Apelby had been taken into the King's hand and entrusted to Gospatric, the son of Orme, as warden, but not in fee. Henry II. therefore was himself personally the lord of Appleby at the time of this catastrophe, and it is on record that the King gave orders for the rebuilding of the Church of St. Lawrence two years after. If we take our stand at the west end, we see distinct traces of three buildings, the latest of which is in the early English style of the thirteenth century. (I.) At the west end of the north aisle is the relic of unquestionably the oldest church of which anything is still extant. The base course lately laid bare, of an old north aisle, 4 feet 6 inches narrower than the present one, with a string course 3 feet above it—a flat Norman buttress (to which the later tower has been built) running up for 12 feet, above which the end of the church is still to be traced: the angle of the aisle roof at a height of 16 feet 6 inches—then 3 feet of dressed stone as clerestory, and the coping with a bold chamfer that received the timbered and thatched roof—all distinctly visible, and giving a very clear idea of the style and dimensions of the earliest church of which we can find any traces. (II.) Then we have the tower, unmistakably built on to the west end of that earlier church—the end buttress, with the marks of a cemented face still visible under the mortar of the tower, proving this conclusively. The tower is without any wrought base course or buttresses. It has one string course, and a Norman lancet window, long walled up, and lately opened out. The present west window, though handsome, is hopelessly incongruous with the tower in which it was inserted at the restoration in 1862. (III.) Then proceeding to the south-west corner, we have the very fine early English doorway and porch, distinct in style, date, and workmanship, from either the tower or the original small towerless church to which that was built on; though itself certainly not later than the thirteenth century, and probably earlier, because we have clear evidence internally, that the present tower arch was a later insertion, and we see also a smaller arch inserted into the south side of the tower. And to remedy any weakening of the south-east angle of the tower thus caused, a very fine flying buttress was carried across to the porch to support it. If we proceed to the east end of the church, though that has been entirely rebuilt more than once, we shall notice a curious feature: that the tower is square to the chancel, and the centre line of both true. But the nave is quite out of square, and its centre line not true. And if we look for a cause, we see that the respond of the northern arcade stands at a little projection from the tower to the north, corresponding to the projection of the old nave wall exteriorly. We have, then, these steps seemingly established. (I.) An early Norman, narrow, and low church, without a tower, but with end buttresses. May we think that Ranulph de Meschines built this church, *a*, between 1072 (when Appleby was surrendered to William, twenty years before the rest of the Strathclyde Welsh were subdued to Rufus) and 1088, when he gave the church to the Abbey of St. Mary's at York, and that it was as founder that he so gave it? (II.) Then, if this church was ravaged in the incursion of the Scots in 1176, was it rebuilt by Henry II., mainly as it had been designed, but with the addition of the strong defensive tower, of which the lancet window and whole lower stage remain? (III.) Then, in the subsequent (thirteenth) century, the church was found insufficient for the use of the burghers of Appleby (an important and rapidly growing place), *b* the nave and aisles were taken down and rebuilt of wider dimensions, the south porch added, and the south aisle carried nearly to the end of the tower; the tower arch enlarged, the small arch opened into the south aisle, and the flying buttress thrown across from the porch to strengthen the angle of the weakened tower. We may now turn to the south chancel isle. In 1286 Alan de Goldington founded here a chantry chapel to the Blessed Virgin Mary. The arches and the pier, opening from the chancel into that chapel, in their style bear out well the assumption that they were built at that date. The east end of that chapel has been taken down to permit of its enlargement into the present mortuary chapel of the Parkins. Any characteristic east window of the chapel of St. Mary is therefore lost. But the outline of a late Early English, or early decorated, window opening south from the east end of the chancel, and to the east of the original east end of St. Mary's

Chapel, is still to be seen, and the tracery of a window from the south side of the chapel is still preserved over the gateway towards the Vicarage. Turning now to the north side of the chancel, we see another chapel, dedicated to St. Nicholas, which is extremely puzzling. The arches have clearly been rebuilt, and so irregularly that it is difficult to say what they originally were. In 1331 Bishop Ross granted a license to Robert de Threlkeld to aliene in mortmain a farm called Danegeld, held in burgage of the King. If, as it seems, that was to endow this chantry, there is one further evidence to connect the chapel with this date. The whole of the walls have been rebuilt, and the windows are altogether new. But up to 1862 one fragment of an original window remained, and is described as a side jamb, with deep hollow moulding, and the ball flower ornaments characteristic of the decorated period. 1331 may very well, therefore, have been the date of Robert de Threlkeld's chantry chapel of St. Nicholas, though that does not clear up all the history of the piers and arches of the north chancel aisle. We may now turn to the clerestory and roof of the nave; which obviously have no connection with any date that we have yet arrived at. The church of the thirteenth century had no clerestory but an open timbered roof, rising from above the arcade to the pitch indicated by the gable over the chancel arch, with the little arched turret for the sacring bell still existing. But at the close of the fourteenth century (in 1388, after the battle of Otterburn, celebrated in "Chevy Chase") the Scotch sacked the town, and destroyed nine-tenths of it by fire. In such a devastation it is not to be thought that the Church of St. Lawrence, with its central position, could escape. And its demolition then was probably the cause of a further rebuilding, which added the clerestory and the upper part of the tower. The former is clearly a late addition to the building, imposing a weight upon the piers of the arcades which they were never intended to bear, and causing a serious subsidence and bulging, which was partially cured by underpinning at the last restoration in 1862. If we allow that it must have been some time after such an overthrow as that of 1388 before the burghers could take in hand to restore their church, we have in that a reason for its rebuilding at the period, and in the style of the perpendicular architects. We have now to pass over a considerable space of time. In 1655 the celebrated lady of Appleby Castle, Anne, Countess of Pembroke, "repaired all this building." It is an interesting question, which never will be solved, in what condition it was, needing restoration, and what she did to it. It is on record that she "took down all the timber and the walls of most part of the chancel, where a vestry was heretofore; and instead thereof a vestry was taken out of the west end of the church." Now, in 1617 the Countess of Pembroke had erected a large tomb with recumbent figure to the memory of her mother, the Countess of Cumberland, which, with its high surrounding iron railings, occupied so much space, just in front of the south end of the altar, that the table was thrust out of its proper central position. It is probable that the Lady Anne, finding that she had so encroached upon the Sacrarium, tried to throw the chapel of Robert de Threlkeld, with the vestry at the east end, into the sacrarium to supply the space thus taken up; and that this is the origin of the almost unique arrangement by which the altar rails are continued through to embrace the north chancel aisle. If, as is probable, the then Chapel of St. Nicholas had some connection with St. Nicholas' Hospital, the estates of the latter had passed into the hands of the Lady Anne, who therewith endowed the Almshouses which she founded, and she would thus have a proprietary right to deal with it. At all events, there she made the spacious vault below, in which she now lies, "lapt in lead," beneath the black marble tomb which she caused to be erected, with the heraldic insignia of the several noble families of which she was the last direct representative.

Somerset Archæological Society. — Annual Meeting at Weston-super-Mare. — Sept. 8—11. — Lord Carlingford was re-elected to the presidentship. Mr. Green read the annual report. It stated the formation of a branch of this society, to be called the Somerset Record Society for discovering and publishing private records relating both to families and events connected with the history of the county of Somerset. It also stated the destruction by fire of an ancient building regarded with interest by many members, viz., the Old Fish House of Meare, of which an engraving is given in the ninth volume of the society's proceedings. Lord Carlingford then delivered his presidential address. After luncheon the party started by break to Worlebury camp, over which they were guided by Mr. Dymond, who gave an interesting description of its various peculiarities. The visit occupied about two hours, after which the Albert Museum, which contains many interesting objects connected with the camp, was visited by a portion of the company, others going to the residence of Col. Abbott, in the South Road, to see a collection of antiquities. There was an evening meeting for the reading of papers and discussion.

The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Story of an Index.—Hearne records in his *Diary*, July 17, 1706, that "Mr. Wood made a compleat Index to His History and Antiquities, but ye book being in hast to be published Bp Fell would not have it printed to ye great Regret of ye Author." —*Hearne's Recollections* (Oxford Hist. Soc.), vol. i., p. 273.

Destruction of Books.—In the *Ballad in praise of London Prentices, and what they did at the Cockpitt Playhouse in Drury Lane*, 1617, which has been reprinted in one of the Percy Society volumes (vol. i., pp. 94-97), occurs the following interesting verse:—

> Books old and young on heap they flung,
> And burnt them in the blazes—
> Tom Dekker, Haywood, Middleton,
> And other wand'ring crayzes.
> Poor Daye that daye not scapte awaye;
> And what still more amazes,
> Immortall Cracke was burnt all blacke,
> Which every bodie praises.

All these names are well known but the last, and Mr. Collier was bound to confess that, "Regarding this person or play, whichever it might be, I can give no information."

Houses in England, temp. 1663.—"In Canterbury," says M. Sorbière, in his *Journey to England*, "the houses are low, and the stories scarce high enough for a man of middle size, who can touch the ceiling with his hand. They glaze their windows on the outside, and fix the same to the wall, only they leave a casement to open in the middle; and this they do only in the upper rooms, for below their windows have iron bars on the inside, and a curtain to draw before them in the night, without any shutters, which is a sign that they are neither afraid of insults nor robbing. Besides, their windows are very low, and scarce higher than a man's waist as he goes along the street. This is a common thing all England over, that they raise their buildings balcony-wise into several angles or semicircles, like so many little towers, that are an ornament without to the houses when you are once accustomed to the sight. This makes the room more commodious and lighter, and you may see without being discerned yourself what is done at the corners of the streets. The stories of their houses jet out one above another, so that the highest rooms are larger than the lowest, and you can pass along the streets without being so much as wet with rain." (See p. 11.)

Land Tenure at Apse, Co. of Surrey.—Land, in this manor, was held in capite 12 Edw. II. and 37 Edw. III., by the service of rendering fifteen bushels of malt, oats, barley and wheat to make ale, and two bushels and a half of wheat and barley to make bread, together with a hog or 12d. to be distributed in alms annually on All Souls' Day in the Manor of Apse, for the souls of all the kings of England.—*Excerpta Historica*, 1833, p. 19.

Cromwell's Method of Supporting Public Libraries.—In *Hearne's Collections*, just published by the Oxford Historical Society (p. 187), we have a good anecdote of Cromwell. "Oliver Cromwell had amongst his Remarkable Vices some little Sparks of Virtue; as being Chancellor of ye University of Oxon he gave several valuable MSS^ts to ye Publick Library there, and such a Respect for ye Learned Bp. Usher that he was at ye Expence of his Funeral, wch amounted to 2 or 300 libs, and made his Souldiers then in Ireland be content to have so much deducted out of their Pay as raised so considerable a sum as purchas'd his Library for the use of Trinity College in Dublin, where it now remains."

An Old Bookselling Law.—The *Printing Times* of October 15th calls attention to a curious law, which gives some information well worth noting in these columns:—"Nowadays, when drapers and other shopkeepers encroach upon the business province of the bookseller and stationer, it is interesting to recall a decree passed some two centuries and a half ago, in the interest of the two last-named trades. A decree of the Star Chamber, promulgated in 1637, provides:—'Item, that no haberdasher of small wares, ironmonger, chandler, shopkeeper, or any other person or persons whatsoever, not having been seven years apprentice to the trade of a bookseller, printer, or bookbinder, shall, within the City or suburbs of London, or in any other corporation, market-town, or elsewhere, receive, take, or buy, to barter, sell again, change, or do away any Bibles, Testaments, Psalm-books, primers, A B C's, almanacks, or other book or books whatsoever, upon pain of forfeiture of all such books so received, bought, or taken as aforesaid, and such other punishment of the parties so offending as by this Court, or the said High Commission Court respectively, as the several causes shall require, shall be thought meet.'"

Antiquarian News.

A sale of the furniture and pictures took place at Llantarnam Abbey, in Monmouthshire, on the 22nd ult. In the large hall were seven full-length portraits, supposed to be originals, of Henry VIII. when Prince of Wales, James I., his Queen, Anne of Denmark, Somerset, Buckingham, Salisbury, and Raleigh, which sold for £169. These portraits are believed to have hung at the Abbey ever since the property was acquired by the Morgan family, of Caerleon, soon after the Reformation. The first owner, William Morgan, Esq., M.P., died there, Oct. 29, 1582. Only two of the ancestral portraits remained, which were withdrawn—viz., of Edward Morgan, Esq., M.P., of Llantarnam, dated 1627, and one supposed to be of a Mr. Bray. Two cabinets in the drawing-room sold for £100. The Llantarnam estate was put up for auction at the Mart, Tokenhouse Yard, July 14 last, but was not sold.

The house in Zante where Ugo Foscolo was born in 1778 was recently in danger of being pulled down as dilapidated. An energetic protest, however, on the part of the poet's admirers in Zante induced the municipality to acquire the house, and to undertake its preservation. The idea is to establish in it a Foscolo museum.

The house where Goethe lived when at Naples is the Palazzo Sirignana, the front of which, formerly hidden in a by-street, now lies open to a large square, in consequence of the removal of the block of buildings in which the celebrated little Theatre of San Carolino was situated.

A short time ago, while some workmen were pulling down an old building in the town of Svendborg, on the island of Fünen, they came upon a valuable treasure, which included ten bars of very fine silver and 3,774 silver and gold coins, all dating from the reign of the Danish King Eric of Pomerania (A.D. 1396 to 1412). The whole lay together buried in the basement close to the foundation. It is singular that a tradition of centuries pointed to this house as a place where treasure had been buried, and the owner when selling it a short time since expressly reserved the ownership of any treasure that might be found on the premises.

Some very interesting discoveries have been made in the bed of the Itchin River at Winchester whilst

excavating therein for the purpose of improving Messrs. Gifford and Simmonds' mill, which dates back an existence to the time of Bishop Waynflete, Master of St. Mary's College, First Provost of Eton, founder of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Bishop of Winchester, and who gave it to St. Mary's, and the water of which still drives the wheel which pumps the water to the College from a fine spring in St. Giles' Hill. The excavations have gone down several feet below the level which carried the mill stream, and there were found a massive construction of oak and elm beams, with other timbers morticed to them, and the whole resting on stone-work, some of the beams twenty-one inches square, and in good condition. It is presumed with good reason that these form part of a lock of the old navigation of Bishop Godfrey de Lucy, who, in the reign of Richard I., made the stream navigable for barges from Southampton to Alresford, Lis Pond, and Great Mole, a dam running at the latter perfect to this day, and useful as a water-regulator. In the excavated soil were found several iron arrow and spear heads, and also fragments of fishing spears. The former were, doubtless, used in the siege of the adjoining episcopal castle in 1141, when the city and castle suffered in the civil strife between Maud and Stephen; and at this spot the siege was hottest, and it is no unreasonable assertion that these are some of the "ammunition" and weapons of the besieged or besiegers. Some knives, metal spoons, and other domestic articles of the mediæval period were found, and also a fine shilling of Queen Elizabeth. Mr. Stopher, the architect, carefully preserves the "finds."

The ancient Corporation of Appleby is about to disappear. The last Michaelmas head court has just been held, and the last mayor's feast given. At the latter gathering regret was expressed by the Rev. Arnold Matthews that a body that had existed for 700 years, and which with the limited powers they possessed had always managed the affairs of the town with credit and efficiency, was about to disappear. Appleby first returned Pitt to Parliament.

Vienna papers report that a subterranean church has been discovered at Constantinople, in the Salma-Tomruk quarter, situate beneath a Turkish mosque. Its dimensions and arrangement have not yet been ascertained, as it seems to be made up of several small vaulted passages, quite corresponding to the descriptions of *oratoria* in the Roman Catacombs. The walls must have been profusely adorned with religious pictures, the remains of which are still visible; among them are the *Ecce Homo*, the Virgin, and John the Baptist.

Archæological research has recently revealed in the neighbourhood of Nantes the existence of a race-course of presumably Roman origin. The foundations of the hippodrome occupy an area of about 223 by 174 mètres. Further discovery has been made in the vicinity of an ancient roadway leading to the Loire, near the banks of which river traces of a number of villas prove the existence of a buried city, inasmuch as a theatre capable of accommodating 4,000 persons has been brought to the light of day. A quantity of ornaments, jewels, and pottery has been recovered among the ruins. Thus far the absence of coins has frustrated the endeavours of *savants* engaged in unearthing the relics to establish the epoch of this most recently found city of the Roman occupation.

An Italian gentleman has translated Mr. Gairdner's two articles on "The House of Lords" that appeared in our columns last year, and published them in the Florentine periodical *Rassegna di Scienze Sociali e Politiche.*

An event of no little importance in the history of West Cornwall occurred on Oct. 5th, when the annual convocation, or court, of the mayor, burgesses, and capital inhabitants of Marazion met together, in accordance with old custom, to elect "one fit and sufficient person" to serve the office of mayor for the ensuing year. It is about 290 years since the first mayor of Marghasiewe was chosen. Under a recent Act of Parliament the borough loses its charter in March next. "Before eleven o'clock" in the forenoon the mayor, accompanied by the town-clerk, took their places in the council-chamber. In accordance with the ancient custom the insignia of the corporation were placed on the table. In the centre of the table lay the charter. On either side of the charter were laid the maces. These are of silver, and date from 1786. They have the town arms (three castellated towers embossed on the coronæ), and also the inscription, "Purchased by the Corporation of Marazion: Humphrey Coles, mayor, 1768." On the second department of their shafts are engraved the names of the eight burgesses and nine capital inhabitants. The length of the maces is 3 feet 1 inch each, and their weight 67 ounces 2 pennyweights each. The mayor's staff of office (a walking-stick) bears the date of 1684. On the top of the silver-mounted head, inscribed in a circle surrounding the town arms, "Sic ille majoris vivet de borou Marasionis" (Long live the mayor of Marazion). There were also the inscription, "Francis St. Aubyn, armiger, mayor of this corporation in 1694." The seals, too, lay in their proper place: the one cut in ivory, and the other sunk in copper, plated, are 1¾ inches in diameter, and have inscribed in a circle surrounding the town arms, "Sigill. maioris ville et borou de Marghasion." On the table also lay a copy of the notice convening the meeting, drawn up in accordance with ancient usage, and printed, as deemed appropriate for this occasion, on black-edged note-paper. The question as to whether some steps should not be taken with a view of keeping the charter, muniments, papers, and maces of the corporation in the borough was discussed. A letter was read from the town-clerk with respect to a deputation which waited on the Charity Commissioners on the question, at which Sir Henry Longley stated that their request to keep the corporation muniments in the borough was perfectly reasonable, but that a unanimous request to that effect should come from the whole of the inhabitants.

It is announced in some of the London papers that the fine old ecclesiastical structure of the Abbey Church, Shrewsbury, is about to be still further "improved" by the addition of a new chancel, for which purpose some generous-hearted individual has contributed the munificent sum of £10,000.

A writer in the *Shrewsbury Chronicle* observes that he has for years looked with regret upon the waste piece of ground in front of the Abbey Church, and thought what a pity it is that it should be allowed to remain in so unsightly a condition. He suggests that the space be enclosed within a low wall, with a light, neat palisading, and that the fine old stone pulpit be removed, and re-erected within the enclosure, and the ground be turfed and planted with a few pretty evergreens. If this was carried out it would be the means of preserving one of the fine old relics of bygone times from destruction, and tend greatly to improve the general appearance of the grand old Norman building.

The Governor of the Isle of Man merits the gratitude of all interested in archæological research for the valuable "memorandum," which at his request Prof. Boyd-Dawkins has recently prepared with a view to assisting the passage through the local legislature of a Bill to preserve from destruction the many antiquities of the island. The prehistoric remains alone, as Prof. Dawkins points out, are more numerous in the Isle of Man than in any other equal area of the British Isles, and, sad to say, remain as yet entirely unprotected from wanton destruction. The interest of the antiquities of the ancient kingdom of Man is not a purely local one; as Prof. Dawkins urges, they merit preservation on the score of the light they throw, not only on early Christian art, but on the complicated and little known relations of the Northmen and the Celtic population of the British Isles. The principal objects to be attained are, first, the protection of the existing remains; secondly, a notice, where possible, of all those which have disappeared; and, lastly, the record of the old Manx place-names. The Runic crosses, of which many well-known specimens exist in the island, are, it appears, rapidly disappearing, and, it is urged, should be immediately placed under shelter. The island is also especially rich in prehistoric remains, camps and ramparts, stone circles, tombs, tumuli, cairns, and cists; these are, for the most part, unrecorded, or very incorrectly marked, on the Ordnance maps. Long protected by local superstition, they are at present being ruthlessly destroyed; among them the interesting Braddan alignments should certainly be protected from further injury.

An unknown friend has presented to the Berlin Picture Gallery an interesting work of art, dating from the fourteenth century. It is an *antependium*, or altar front painted on both sides, and is beautifully preserved, the original frame being yet quite perfect. What may be presumed to be the principal side, or face, represents the Crucifixion, with what is doubtless the kneeling figure of the founder of the altar. The reverse represents Mary painted on glass, and again the portrait of the founder. The picture is dated 1370, and is signed "Francesco da Vannucio da Siena."

In the march of improvement in Newcastle an old public-house, famous in its day, known as the "Admiral Duncan," has lately been swept away, to make room for a warehouse now in course of construction. The house occupied the site at the corner of Silver Street. There was nothing remarkable in the exterior, and it was not a house likely to attract notice. A few years ago, a young architect was deputed to examine the house, with a view of making some structural alterations then in contemplation, and having measured the exterior, he proceeded to examine the interior, when he found that he could not make his measurements agree without allowing for a wall being some six feet thick. On going to the top of the house the architect found that off the topmost floor in the attic there was a communication with a staircase which descended by the side of the fireplace—where there is usually either a cupboard or a recess—to the ground-floor, and leading out at the rear of the premises. This staircase, it seems, was made use of by seamen and others when the press-gang was about. To watch the movements of the latter, women were posted as scouts in the street, and as the "Admiral Duncan" was one of the first places which invited attention from the gang, intimation that a visit might be expected was usually given by those on the look-out, when the seamen in the bar and any other persons having in them the making of man-o'-war's men went up by the usual staircase to the upper rooms, and then mysteriously disappeared, to the perplexity no doubt of the recruiting officers.

Another artistic find has been made in the City of London. Recent researches in the cellars beneath the old Courts of Law in the Guildhall have brought to light three statues which formerly stood in front of Guildhall Chapel. They are life-size representations of Edward VI., Charles I. and his consort, Queen Henrietta Maria. They are said to be of the date of the Great Fire of London, and are all well preserved.

A short time ago a Yorkshire bookseller, who was waiting at Thorparch Station, near Harrogate, for his train, went into a room there, and on opening the door he saw hanging against the wall an old and curious-looking volume, which on examination proved to be a copy of the "Recueil of the Historie of Troye," one of the first works printed by Caxton, with the title, introduction, and most of the contents in good preservation. He interviewed the porters to see if there were any more Caxtons in the vicinity, but without success, though he learned that had he been a few days earlier he might have obtained the book in a far more perfect condition. Shortly afterwards he disposed of his lucky windfall to a well-known firm of Manchester booksellers for thirty guineas.

Professor Judd writes to *Nature:* Visiting the "Cutties Hillock" quarry near Elgin early in September, I found that the workmen had recently obtained a new specimen of a reptile of which the head was preserved. On examining this I found that there were clear indications of two large canine teeth in the upper jaw with permanent pulp-cavities. These characters and the general form of the skull left scarcely the smallest doubt in my mind that the remains must belong to a reptile closely allied to Dicynodon. From the examination of a photograph which I submitted to him, my friend Dr. Traquair was able to fully confirm this conclusion. As Dicynodonts have hitherto been only found in South Africa,

in India, and in the Ural Mountains, this discovery is an exceedingly important one. Seeing that doubts have been expressed concerning the Triassic age of the South African deposits, the occurrence of the very characteristic African form in the Trias of Western Europe is an important link in the chain of evidence by which these beds have been correlated. It is interesting, too, to be able to point out that the sandstones of Elgin, concerning the age of which such a great amount of controversy has taken place, have now yielded reptiles belonging to no less than *four* orders—namely, the Lacertilia, the Crocodilia, the Dinosauria, and the Dicynodontia.

By order of the trustees of the British Museum, a photograph has been taken of the original deed of mortgage by William Shakspeare and others to Henry Walker, of London, vintner, of a dwelling-house in Blackfriars, dated the 11th of March, 1612-13, with autograph signature of the poet. Accompanying the deed is a letter of Albany Wallis to David Garrick, stating that the document had been found among the title-deeds of an estate at Blackfriars belonging to the Reverend Mr. Fetherstonhaugh, of Oxford, who presented it to Garrick April 18th, 1768.

Prof. Thorold Rogers, M.P., has made a very important discovery while pursuing his investigations at Cambridge for additional volumes of his work on the "History of Prices." This is a set of accounts kept at King's College during 120 years, with the exception of one year, beginning with the year 1583. There is information accessible with regard to the missing year, so that the series of accounts is practically complete for the entire period. In addition to the facts furnished as to prices, these accounts contain many curious details illustrative of social life in olden days.

St. Sebald's Church, at Nurnberg, a famous monument of the most beautiful German mediæval art, is, it is said, in danger of tumbling down. Some £40,000 will be required to restore the building, and efforts are being made to raise the sum.

Some very singular discoveries are now being made at Athlone, in the west of Ireland. At the new convent there, which is built on a hill, which was one of the fortresses of the Williamites during the siege of Athlone, the nuns have directed flower walks and terraced grounds to be made. Part of the hill had to be levelled for a private convent cemetery, and during this work the skeletons of three perfect adults were unearthed. Subsequently a great quantity of skulls, legs and arms, and other parts of human skeletons were dug up. It is conjectured they are the remains of the Williamites who fell at the siege so far back as 1691. The skeletons were wonderfully well preserved.

The process of restoring a characteristic old wooden church at Hopperstad, in the Hardes district of Sogne, in Norway, has brought to light an interesting Norwegian mediæval relic. In a closed niche a book, consisting of six wax tablets, was found, carefully enclosed in a casket of wood and leather. The tablets are of boxwood, covered with wax, each tablet having a thin border, so as to hinder the tablets from sticking together on closing the book; this precaution has helped to keep it in excellent preservation. The contents are chiefly drawings, made by a fine style, representing scenes from village and rural life. At the end there is a large catalogue in Latin of various kinds of animals, with a translation into old Norwegian; and from this it has been conjectured that the greater portion of the book dates from the close of the thirteenth century. But there are indications that part of the book is of earlier date. The tablets are fastened together at the back, and the cover is carved and inlaid with various small pieces of differently coloured woods. The book has been placed in the Museum of Antiquities in the University of Christiania, and it is intended to publish it shortly in facsimile.

The *Gazette de Cologne* gives a report of the antiquities found in Lothringia. When the floor of the church of Parquimpol was restored last autumn (Parquimpol is a village situated on a piece of land that extends from the south into a lake called Lindre-See, situated in the south of Dieuze) five coffins were found under it, bearing inscriptions in large letters. The Government of Alsatia and Lothringia granted the necessary means to the architect of the district, P. Pornow, to make further excavations. They were begun about two months ago, and show already a good result—thirty-nine coffins have been brought to light until now. Every one of these coffins seems to have contained several persons, as in some coffins there were found as many as five skulls. About 200 well-preserved skulls have been found altogether until now, which have been buried here nearly 2,000 years. The second class contain coffins which are composed of rough broad stone slabs: four or five pushed together form the lower part, the sides and the cover, whilst the head and foot are closed with one slab each. But the third class is the most remarkable. Three or four rough stones form the bottom and the cover of the coffin, whilst the other parts are made of dry mason-work. There are four or five layers of stone, one above the other, the worked-out part being in the interior of the coffin. The objects are valuable as well through their number as their age. They are as follows: 1. Fragments of an ornamental comb with geometrical designs. 2. Fragments of a necklace as it was worn in the time of the Franks. The single parts of this necklace, in the form of a thimble or small balls made of earthenware, are ornamented with coloured decorations in enamel, and alternately placed with glass pearls. In the same are fine pearls of amber, which have particular ornaments on the surface, whilst the round amber pearls have several colours. 3. A massive coin (medallion) in genuine gold, a chief part of the discovery. It represents a Venus in the folds of a veil riding on a dolphin. The coin is characterised by its classical beauty; the work is perfect, and shows at the first glance the Roman art. 4. Two parts of a shoebuckle in bronze covered with silver. 5. Part of a small buckle of the time of the Franks. 6. A small coin of bronze, on which a bird's head is believed to have been engraved. 7. A shell, which served probably as an amulet. 8. Fragments of a small wheel of bronze and other unimportant objects of bronze. 9. A ring of bronze covered with silver. 10. A genuine gold ring, showing very skilful work. The excavations in the interior of the church

have led, moreover, to the discovery of a number of fragments of a column of Venus. Also two pieces of stone with inscriptions have been found.

A committee, headed by the Baron Alphonse de Rothschild, and including his two brothers and about twenty other eminent Parisian amateurs, has just made a very important present to the Louvre. It consists of six pictures—a "Dead Christ," by Carlo Crivelli, and an "Annunciation," by Fra Angelico—both from the Hamilton Palace collection; an "Annunciation," by a painter of the school of Bruges; "The Virgin of the Well," by Sandro Botticelli; "St. George," by Lucas Gassel; and "The Virgin of the Lily," painted by Hugo van der Goes for Giovanni Grimaldi, on the occasion of his marriage with the daughter of the Duke of Savoy. Could not we in England sometimes do the same on behalf of the National Gallery? For instance, Raphael's "Three Graces," the famous little picture in the late Earl of Dudley's collection, is at this moment in imminent danger of leaving the country, unless private munificence of this kind comes forward to prevent it.

Correspondence.

SCOTTER AND ITS MANOR.

[*Ante*, p. 199.]

Mr. Peacock's very interesting paper on the above subject suggests how much our knowledge of the true history of England might be extended if others would follow his example. But what I would invite special attention to is the importance of such evidence as bearing on certain "waves" of social movement as they passed over the country. Such, for instance, is the "stinting" of the commons in the sixteenth century. If these "waves" are kept steadily in view, much in these records that might be passed over, becomes, as at Scotter, eloquent with meaning. With reference to the orders in the Rolls to repair tenements (1519), to which Mr. Peacock calls attention as pointing "to a state of society very different from that of the sixteenth century," it may be interesting to note that Morant (1748) was struck by the occurrence of this same phenomenon, in that same century, at Colchester. He writes (i. 49): "Others" (*i.e.*, houses) "were grown very ruinous; for which the owners of them were presented and prosecuted; *a thing very uncommon and extraordinary*, unless these had been town-houses, which doth not appear."

J. H. ROUND.

"MAIDEN" PLACE-NAMES.

[*Ante*, pp. 68, 134, 183, 231.]

I cannot help thinking that Mr. Stahlschmidt, in his letter in this month's number, is rather uncomplimentary to the owners of the great houses which he reminds us stood on the north side of the Strand, when he suggests that the street running past their garden walls was originally called *Midden* or *Dunghill Lane*; indeed, he may be said to cast a reflection upon the whole of what Sydney Smith called "the amorous and herbivorous parish of Covent Garden," which, as late as the time of the Stuarts, was one of the most fashionable quarters of London. If, as he also implies, the street was laid out and presumably named by the Russell family (and 'tis true that John, Earl of Bedford, built his town-house close by, viz., on the site of what is now Southampton Street), the noble lords certainly chose a very unsavoury title.

Although Mr. Stahlschmidt terms the suggestion of a Celtic origin for the name of a street "the height of futility," I am relieved to find that another of your correspondents, Mr. J. H. Round, is kind enough to say (vide *Antiquary*, October, p. 182) that he is "extremely glad I have raised the question," adding that he has himself "spent much time in collecting and examining 'maiden' place-names." I will therefore venture to observe that whatever may be the correct origin of the name of this particular street, Mr. Stahlschmidt's derivation does certainly not apply to such places as Maiden Newton, Maiden Bradley, and Maiden Castle, and I must prefer to believe with Mr. Round, that "this word, which occurs all over the country, has some distinct meaning, and is of exceedingly early origin."

Mr. Round's interesting example of another "Maidens Castle," *castrum puellarum*, the early name of Edinburgh, will scarcely be deemed likely, by those who have seen the frowning Castle Rock, to have had a *dunghill* origin!

It may, perhaps, be worth mentioning that Barnstaple (as I observed the other day, when strolling about the pleasant little town) has its "Maiden Lane," and, like the London one, this, too, runs immediately behind the "Strand."

J. J. FOSTER.

36, Alma Square, N.W.

THE OPEN FIELD SYSTEM.

[*Ante*, p. 143.]

Your able contributor, Mr. J. H. Round, in No. 67 of *Antiquary*, gives some very interesting quotations from ancient documents in his possession relating to the open field system of agriculture in England. Mention is made of the ridges, the balks, the butts, the headlands, the field ways, of which the common field consisted.

I cannot help thinking that the ridges were what in many places in the Eastern counties are called stretches or lands, and furlongs in the Western—without any reference whatever to the quantities contained in them, the land or furlong being composed of a number of furrows laid together, and ploughing them up and down, and depending for breadth on the nature of the soil and custom of the country. They are always narrow in the heavy soils and broad in the light soils.

I know of very few examples of the common field still in existence. There are, however, considerable portions unenclosed of at least two parishes in the neighbourhood of Buntingford in Herts, and the explanation of some of the terms above referred to might be arrived at by actual inspection.

To the deeds relating to those common fields I have no means of access, but he that runs or drives

along the roads may read the page of the book which lies open before him.

Perhaps if the archæology and practice of the common field system were better understood there would not be so many regrets expressed at the disappearance of the commons which has taken place in this century. Of the millions of acres said to have been enclosed during the last fifty years, arable land has constituted an enormous proportion, the enclosure of which has been of undoubted advantage to everyone connected with it, whether as owner or occupier or labourer, and also to the public at large.

C. SOAMES.

Mildenhall Rectory, Marlborough.

LABOUR SONGS AND CRIES.

[*Ante*, p. 145.]

In Hare's *Walks in London*, p. 20, I read that in the time of Charles II. the watermen used to keep time with their oars to songs with the chorus—

"'Heave and how—rumbelow,'

like the gondoliers at Venice;" and, with regard to the last curious word, "rumbelow," it may be remarked that Skeat defines "rumb, rhumb" as a line for directing a ship's course on a chart, and "rumbo," a ship's course.

A nautical friend told me, on my calling his attention to the interesting paper in last month's *Antiquary*, that our sailors possess a very rich assortment of labour songs, many unfitted for ears polite, and has promised to collect some decorous ones *bien entendu*.

The persistent sibillation which grooms and carriage-washers employ in their labour seems to have escaped Mr. Gomme's notice.

I suppose it will be objected that war-cries have no sort of connection with labour-cries; but the use of the word "Soho" in the games of Somersetshire peasant children on Sedgemoor is an interesting example of survival. It originated from Soho, the residence of Monmouth, being the pass-word of "King Monmouth's men" on the night of the "last fight deserving the name of battle that has been fought on English ground," as Macaulay terms it. Just two hundred years ago, by the way.

J. J. FOSTER.

PLAYDEN CHURCH.

[*Ante*, xi. 279, xii. 182.]

I have to express my thanks to Mr. J. C. L. Stahlschmidt for his kindness in replying to my inquiry as to the proper reading of the date on the old belfry ladder in this church.

I stated in my inquiry that the two first numerals were *quite perfect*, therefore I cannot conceive how Mr. Stahlschmidt could suppose I had made such a mistake as that the *round* numeral could be a badly cut 7.

The two first numerals being quite perfect, and being so, *quite legible*, and in their form, as correctly represented in vol. ii., p. 279, open to no mistake as to what they are, consequently it is by no means un-"certain that it is not 1786."

Immediately under this, the original date and initials, some person at some former period of time, thinking, it may be supposed, that the original would by time wear off, cut a literal date, 1086, with the initials, *into* the wood, evidently taking that as the proper date.

I have heard Mr. William Fisher, who was born in the parish, and baptized July 12, 1775, who died about twenty years since, at the ripe age of ninety-one, say that he had heard his father, when speaking of this, the *second cut*, state that it had been there as long as he could remember, thus showing that the original could not have been 1786, or even of the eighteenth century, and, further, the wood shows itself of much greater age. If 1586 is the correct date, is it known in any other instance of a round numeral, *just half* the size of the other numerals, being used as representing five hundred, or half a thousand?

Taking the date to be 1586, this old belfry ladder would have now stood for just three hundred years, and from the soundness of the wood, it would, and it is to be hoped that it will be allowed to, do duty for a further period of three hundred years, and that the Legislature may soon see its way to the passing an Act of Parliament to preserve these old relics of the past.

THOMAS ELLIOTT.

28, Watchbell Street, Rye, Sussex.

INSCRIBED STONES AT GOLDHERRING.

[*Ante*, p. 225.]

It is stated in the last number of the *Antiquary* that, at the annual excursion of the Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society, a paper was read, by the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, on the ancient cupped or inscribed stone at Goldherring, which is said to be almost unique in Cornwall. Some years ago I was in Cornwall, and was much struck with the appearance of several large cupped stones which formed part of a fence by the road side, about a mile from the Land's End, towards St. Buryan. I particularly noticed at the time that those stones had much the same markings on them as those inscribed on a stone at Penzance, which forms, I believe, part of a cross. On inquiry as to the meaning of this stone, I was told that it was supposed to state the amount of money paid to the Algerine pirates for the ransom of a Cornish governor, whom they had taken prisoner! If any of your readers can give me any information as to the origin of the Penzance stone I shall be much obliged to them.

C. STANILAND WAKE.

Welton, near Brough, East Yorkshire,
9th November, 1885.

Notices to Correspondents.

In consequence of great pressure on our space Mr. Bickley's article on George Fox's birthplace stands over till our January issue.

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