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SECCOMBE (Balliol) and H. SPENCER SCOTT (New  
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IN PRAISE OF OXFORD. An Anthology.

VOL. II: OXFORD SOCIETY  
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# IN PRAISE OF OXFORD

AN ANTHOLOGY  
IN PROSE AND VERSE


COMPILED BY  
THOMAS SECCOMBE  
BALLIOL COLLEGE  
AND  
H. SPENCER SCOTT  
NEW COLLEGE

History and Topography

LONDON  
CONSTABLE AND COMPANY LTD  
10 ORANGE ST. LEICESTER SQUARE W.C.

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## FOREWORD

THE present work owes its origin to the suggestion of one of those gifted friends whose day dreams sometimes take the form of book-titles. Travelling upon the London and North-Western Railway one evening in the summer of 1904, he saw the words 'In Praise of Oxford,' in letters of gold upon the horizon somewhere above Harrow Weald Common. For some weeks after this I devoted all my spare time to transcribing passages about Oxford that I had become familiar with in my reading. The result was a triumphant solution of the problem of writing without tears. The pieces transcribed were all charming and all well known. In a plush binding, during the first half of December, in Oxford Street, among the feminine relatives of 'Oxford men,' they would have sold, as Jasper Milvain puts it, like hot cakes. But the well-known nerve which has stood so many of our anthologists in good stead failed me at this juncture.

Thinking it desirable, in the case of so august a subject, that knowledge should be added to enthusiasm, I was happily inspired to call in the aid of my friend Harold Spencer Scott. Under his tuition I soon discovered that what I had hitherto regarded as one of the easiest achievements in the sphere of compilation was in reality one of the most difficult. I now perfectly understood—what I had always hitherto professed to regard with incredulous amazement—why Oxford had never managed to write its own history. The fact being that Oxford is not merely an exceptionally bright or vivid page from the History of England, but that in order that we may understand it, it needs the whole of that history as a commentary. The story is told of the candidate for orders, who, when asked if he had been at Oxford, replied that he thought not, but that he had been twice at Abingdon. He made the mistake of regarding Oxford as a place, nor is Oxford by any means devoid of locality. To many besides the county historians it appears as the capital of a shire. To many it is a noisy market-town, full of bright shops, to others a yeomanry centre, to others an assize town, and to not a few an annual fair. The point of view of Oxford that

is most conservative of all and least susceptible to the ravages of time, is that of the city shopkeepers. Oxford again in its purple cup among the low hills of the heart of England, surmounted by its spires, and bathed in the lush greens of the Thames Valley, appeals to many as the place beautiful, the porch of the west. The county in which Shelley learned to observe nature, described for a later age in *Thyrsis* and the *Scholar Gipsy*, lends a glamour to every name on road or river within ten miles of the city—undissipated, intact from the days when a walk with a friend meant a solution of almost every earthly problem. Oxford of course is more than a place. To a large class of Englishmen it represents the wild freshness of the morning with all its haze of hope, inexperience, wonder, and glory—the romance in other words of young life, without love, but with all the other ingredients of faith and enthusiasm which make life sweet and full of joy—at Oxford where one walks at night amid gardens, weaving stars, wind, and tree-tops into music, entranced by the dawn. To many thus recalling their youth and all that Oxford atmosphere and companionship meant to them, Oxford may well represent the very inmost heart of the English rose. To many, on the other hand, it is more than possible that Oxford represents haughty exclusiveness and insolent isolation—the last entrenchment of the *ancien régime*, together with national religion and old Whig effrontery, against the rising tide of fraternity and equality. To the foreign savant Oxford appears in the same guise as it appeared to Professor Vandermast in Marlowe's time:—

‘ That lordly are the buildings of the towne,  
Spatious the romes and full of pleasant walkes :  
But for the doctors, how that they be learned,  
It may be meanly, for ought I can heare.’

To the Greek who expects an acropolis of learning, or to the American who anticipates a vast open Campus surrounded by stone monsters (and adorned by living idols of the lecture-hall), Oxford is frankly a disappointment. To most of us indeed, Oxford represents a character, a deportment, an essence, an assurance, a tone of voice, a guarantee of gentility, the merest hue<sup>1</sup> of a scarf or a hat band—anything rather than the *ultima ratio* of erudition.

<sup>1</sup> Oxford again we must remember is far more than a point of view—an *état d'âme*: it is a household word, a popular cry, an unflattering colour. To the multitude in March, Oxford is a harsh elder brother, ever repelling the legitimate ambitions of plucky little Cambridge; or to those who regard Harrow as preparatory to Eton, proud Oxford College is joyfully within an ace of eventual extinction and defeat by irrepressible, democratic, elementary Cambridge.



But for all that the adjustment of Oxford to the needs of the national life has been perhaps far more complete and efficient than its critics, or even than those who seek to remedy its defects by engineering schools and working-men students, imagine. In its earlier ages Oxford was an European school, swarming with poor students and hungry foreigners prepared to vindicate its claim of supremacy over Paris or Bologna by an immediate appeal to the knife. By the time of Elizabeth Oxford appears to have learned the lesson of the Norman Conquest, that Englishmen need governors. It endeavoured to supply them on national lines by becoming the nursery of the rich. It has succeeded ever since to a certain extent in subjecting the sons of the rich to a more or less voluntary discipline as a preparation for those places on the quarter-deck of the vessel of state which it inculcates, by means chiefly of an appeal to experience, that they have every right to expect. It aims far less at the creation than at the communication of ideas (already well aired in the world) through the personal influence of the Oxford coach—Oxford's prime product of the last century, who at the expense of much private exhaustion and public indifference consecrates his best hours not to the University Press but to his particular pupils. This is the Oxford system to dispossess or disinherit which will require the most strenuous and unremitting labour on the part of the ages.

To describe its growth and its becoming is no easy matter. To assemble excerpts describing fragments of the picture is pleasurable enough. But how to reduce the resulting snowstorm into even the remote semblance of a book! From one extreme our design oscillated violently to another. The proposal was to illustrate first the history, then the buildings, walks, and gardens, and finally the social state and evolution, the manners and customs of Oxford people, town and gown, in their habit as they lived: to supplement this with a few lineaments of Oxford in the twentieth century, with lists of famous alumni of the several colleges, a hand list of Oxford portraits, and a complete analytical and bibliographical index of the whole work. We have long realised that the universality of Oxford renders futile our original ambition to furnish material for a complete picture. An instalment of the work now lies before the reader—Oxford in two dimensions. Facets of Oxford in history; dissolving views of its landscape and buildings. The lighter vein of 'Oxford men' is already in type to follow the solid foundation of 'Oxford movements.' The completion of the design may depend to some extent upon the reception accorded to the first two volumes. In the earlier portion of the history with old Anthony à Wood behind us to fill in interstices we have been frankly selective, nor

have we hesitated in several cases to give the same story twice, once in an antique garb and again in more modern raiment. Where the reader encounters some otherwise unintelligible gap, let him turn to the last section of the table of contents in this volume. Selections which might seem at first sight to be almost indispensable to History or Topography will be found it is hoped to fall in more fitly and easily to the cadres there represented. References have been inserted in some cases to places in which excerpts in this volume are supplemented materially by excerpts in the second volume.

The editors have been encumbered at every stage by the infinite volume of material at their disposal. For that portion of it protected by copyright they beg to tender their respectful thanks to the publishers for the generosity with which in nearly every case they have acceded to their wishes. As they have pursued the unusual course of appending the publisher's name to each extract as printed, they have postponed a more formal list of extracts and acknowledgments to the concluding volume. In case in the multiplicity of citation a name has been omitted or a passage printed without express permission or acknowledgment, they hereby proffer their most sincere apology.

I have said enough to show how *In Praise of Oxford* differs from an old-time *Anthologia Oxoniensis*. It is more than a series of copies of Latin or Greek verse. It serves automatically as an index to many sources of information; it collects about Oxford many inspired passages of prose, and not a few inspired passages of verse. It touches lightly upon a great variety of themes. Throng with its myriad voices of myriad moods, Oxford, as the moderate Hawthorne affirms, is a place it would take a lifetime and more than one fully to comprehend or enjoy. Oxford has no stable equilibrium. So far from maintaining a rigid devotion to impossible loyalties, Oxford is, and has always been changing. As you look to describe it, lo! it alters like a cloud in the wind; while, unmoved to all outward appearance by tendency and theory alike, the younger generation flits heedlessly by, takes an impress—and vanishes.

The object usually avowed in the case of such a book as ours is to send readers to some shrine. But we have no particular wish to enrol pilgrims for Oxford. What would they see there? They would find a rapidly-grown and straggling midland town in which the old and dignified collegiate buildings, constructed for the most part in the latest and least inspired type of Gothic, are almost submerged by the perennial vulgarity of 'up-to-date' commerce. They would find it liberally supplied with intricate

and well-willowed waterways, rich lawns, luxuriant foliage, and other accessories of homely English pastoral beauty. They would not find such an Oxford as Lamb saw in vacation, still less such an Oxford as many a writer in these pages saw in term time. There is an eloquent *genius loci*; but there is more in Oxford's halo than the *genius loci* will ever confess. Though the votaries are numerous and the initiates not a few, the secret has hitherto been well preserved. Even now the real truth about Oxford's charm is not, perhaps, in immediate risk of detection. But by the time the reader has concluded the seven or eight hundred pages of this Anthology, he will, it is hoped, be nearer the heart of the mystery than ever before.

T. S.





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BOOK I  
OXFORD HISTORY



## PREHISTORIC OXFORD

THE name of Oxford tells the story of its birth. At a point where the Thames bends to the south round the headland of Wytham and just before its waters are swollen by those of the Cherwell, a wide reach of the river offered a ford where cattle-drivers could cross the stream, and traversing the marshy fields which edged it, mount the slow slope of a gravel spit between the two rivers, that formed the site of the later city. In the windings of the streams that form the Thames the channels often pass through marshy and reedy clays, with failing banks and no secure bottom. For the wain bearing salt, for horses and men, for sheep and oxen, these were no fit passing places, however small the stream. Fords then had to be sought where firm rock made a solid floor or hard gravel offered equal security. Thus at Oxford the gravelly bed of the valley not only at Folly Bridge, but also near Hincksey and Binsey, presented the natural condition which was desired. A ford did not imply merely a place where the water was shallow, but where there was a firm road through the stream, by which men might fare across safely.

The Ford

*Oxford*, by Charles W. Boase. Longmans, 1887.

No good thing is remembered of Memprick, King of the Britains [1109 years or thereabouts before Christ], but only that he begat an honest son and heir called Elerank, and that he built a noble city and called it after his own name Caer-Memprick, but afterwards in following times it was called Bellesite, then Caer Bossa, at length Rydychen, and last of all by the Saxons Oxenford, from a certain ford running near it. In which afterwards arose a famous general study derived from the University of Greeklade, and situated between the Rivers Thame and Cherwell, meeting there. This city, as it appears, was like to that of Jerusalem; for Mount Calvary, where Christ suffered, was near the walls of the said place, but now it is contained within the walls. So now without Oxford is a certain large plain, contiguous to the walls, and it is called Bellemont, which signifies the same that Pulcher Mons doth; and this after a manner doth agree with one of the ancient names of the city of Oxford before mentioned. Whence 'tis that

Beaumont

many do suppose the University of Greeklade to have been transferred to the said Bellemont or Bellesilum,<sup>1</sup> when the Britains reigned in this isle before the coming of the Saxons, and that the church of St. Giles, then known by the name of another saint, was the place of creating graduates, as St. Mary's Church within the walls is now. Joh. Rous [1483] apud Wood's *History and Antiquities*.

Why at  
Oxford.

(1) The importance in very early times of Oxford, mentioned in pre-Roman documents as on a par with London; (2) the selection of Oxford as a centre for great assemblies; (3) the nearness of Dorchester, an ecclesiastical centre, and of Bensington, a military centre; (4) the singular safeness of the place—with London below it, on the Thames, blocking the water-way against the Danes; a town standing, as Oxford does, on a thin tongue of healthy gravel at the junction-point of two rivers—rivers running through clay marshes, and often impassable for months; and lastly (5) being on the border stream between Mercia and Wessex, and thereby attainable from both divisions of England.

Dean Kitchen, *Ruskin in Oxford*. Murray, 1904.

Alfred Myth

It is almost impossible to take up any book which touches on the early history of Oxford without discovering, if not the glaring myths themselves, at least their influence, in one way or another; and this in books of all kinds, from the great folios of the *Acta Sanctorum*, where the author of the article on St. Frideswide has filled whole columns with a recapitulation of the myths, to the little guide-book, which is thrown away when done with. The *Oxford University Calendar*, too, in its account of University still has: 'The College of the great hall of the University is said to have been founded in the year 872 by Alfred the Great,' and always has had it. And it is not long ago that on the occasion of the imaginary one thousandth anniversary of this foundation, those in high position in the Church and in the State joined together in a dinner to celebrate it.'

NOTE.—The dinner took place in University College, June 12, 1872. The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Rt. Hon. Robert Lowe) is reported to have said on that occasion, 'I have always made it a matter of principle to believe in King Alfred in connection with the college. I was told it was founded by him. I read it in the *University Calendar*, and I never heard any argument against it until I listened to the perfidious advocacy of the Dean of Westminster.'

*Early History of Oxford*, by James Parker.  
Oxford Hist. Soc., Clar. Press, 1885.

<sup>1</sup> Called after the French way in ancient writings Beaumont, and in Latin Bellus Mons, the site of which was afterwards taken into the parishes of St. Giles and St. Mary Magdalen in the north suburbs of Oxford.



UNDOUBTEDLY the most interesting point in the history of University College is a fiction. It claims to have been founded by King Alfred the Great, and the development of this story is a striking instance of the uncritical character of mediæval history. The college for a century after its foundation [1249] had been known as the Hall of Nitham of Durham; yet in 1381, being engaged in a lawsuit against Edmund Franceys, a citizen of London, it boldly appealed to King Richard II. to interfere, on the ground that it had been founded by his predecessor, King Alfred. A forged deed was actually produced, sealed with the seal of the University, which invented an imaginary Master of University College, and an equally imaginary chancellor; and, thanks to this and other equally trustworthy documents, the college received recognition as a Royal Foundation, though it had to pay a large sum to the heirs of Franceys. The fiction became even more circumstantial as time went on. Fuller, in his *Church History*, records how the scholars of University were robbed by William the Conqueror of their pensions from the Royal Exchequer, because they 'sought to preserve and propagate the English tongue,' which he designed to suppress.

King Alfred  
and  
University  
College

Finally in 1726 the legend was confirmed by a judgment of the Court of King's Bench, when the Fellows actually pleaded that 'religion would receive a great scandal,' if it were decided in a court of justice, that a 'succession of clergymen' had 'returned thanks for so many years for an idol, a mere nothing.' Hence King Alfred holds his place in the thanksgiving for benefactors; and in 1872 the college celebrated its millenary by a dinner, at which the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Robert Lowe, gravely argued that the fact that Oxford was in 872 in the hands of the Danes confirmed the tradition that Alfred was the college founder, for he was a man before his time, and had anticipated the great modern political doctrine, that the surest way to popularity was to give away the property of your opponents. The fiction is visibly embodied in the marble bust of King Alfred which adorns the fellows' common-room.

*Oxford and its Colleges*, by J. Wells. Methuen, 1903.

THERE were in the flourishing times of the Britains (as from a History, not as yet of an approved credit to me, appears) two Schools, abounding as well with erudition as eloquence, situated on the banks of Isis. One of them was commonly called Greek-lade, because certain men professed the Greek tongue there . . . and the other from the masters of the Latine tongue, Latine lade;

Greeklade and  
Latinlade

though there be not wanting some that stile it Lechelade (I know not whether they write truly) and affirmed it to have been a School for Physicians. Now who was the first author that appointed the said two Schools I cannot as yet (though diligently have sought after it) learn of any. In the meantime it hardly appears from so slender a testimony when they flourished: yet notwithstanding Joh. Rouse of Warwick in his book of the Universities or Academies of Britaine . . . writeth that Sampson who was elected Archbishop of York by Aurelius Ambrosius, the invincible king of the Britains, studied at Greeklade but afterwards, as the vicissitude of all things are, the glory of both Schools was translated to Bellosite, which they now call Oxford.

Leland apud Wood's *History and Antiquities*.

John of  
Beverley

WHEN these two schooles should be first builded and who were their originall founders as yet it is uncerteine: nevertheless, as there is great likelihood that Cambridge was begun by one Cantaber, a Spaniard, so Alfred is said to be the first beginner of the universitie at Oxford, albeit that I cannot warrant the same to be so yong, sith I find by good authoritie, that John of Beverleie studied in the universitie hall at Oxford, which was long before Alfred was either borne or gotten.

Harrison's *Description of England*, apud Holinshed's *Chronicle*.

St. Grimbald  
and St. Neot

IN the year of our Lord 886, the second year of the arrival of St. Grimbald in England, the University of Oxford was begun; the first who presided and read divinity lectures in it being St. Neot, an abbot and able divine, and St. Grimbald, a most eminent professor of the incomparable sweetness of the sacred pages; Asser, the monk, an excellent scholar, professing grammar and rhetoric; John, monk of the church of St. David, giving lectures in logic, music and arithmetic; and John, the monk, colleague of St. Grimbald, a man of great parts and a universal scholar, teaching geometry and astronomy before the most glorious and invincible King Alfred, whose memory will dwell like honey in the mouths of all both clerics and people of his whole Kingdom. Then the most prudent King Alfred issued a decree that his nobles should avail themselves of the liberty granted them, by entrusting their sons to the discipline of learning, or if they had no sons, at least their servants, if they showed any natural ability.

Camden's *Britannia a Liber Monasterii de Hyda*, Rolls Series.

St. Neot's  
School

THERE is a legend that Neot after death administered consolation to the fugitive King in the marshes of Athelney; and on the night before the defeat of Guthrum and the Danes the saint is said again

to have appeared before Alfred 'his countenance beaming with glory and his robe white as driven snow.' By the advice of the Saint, Alfred restored the English school at Rome and legend tells how 'among the praiseworthy acts of his munificence the King, at the instigation of St. Neot, instituted public schools for the various arts at Oxford, where Neot was the chief man and read only divinity to them; but he continued that employment not long, for being possessed with an ardent desire to lead a solitary life, he retired into Cornwall and there spent the remainder of his days in peace.'

*History and Antiquities of Eynesbury and St. Neot's,*  
by G. C. Gorham, 1820.

THE importance of Oxford consisted always in its being the frontier city of Mercia, and its growth was in the natural course of things, arising from its command of the through route into the south by the ford and of the traffic along the river. The main road running from north to south was later on crossed at right angles by the line of the present High Street, which was probably continued over Shotover and so connected Oxford with Thame and Uxbridge . . . The first parish church of which we have any clear account was St. Martin's, at the meeting of these cross roads (afterwards called Carfax—the four ways), at the highest point on the gravel bank, and it became the nucleus round which the other parishes were formed. It is still the city church, and there is evidence that the Portmannimot, or town council, was held in the churchyard. . . . Its bell summoned the burghers to counsel or to arms. But though the city was already important, yet 'if any man had stood in the days of Eadweard on the hill that was not yet Shotover, and had looked along the plain to the place where the grey spires of Oxford are clustered now, as it were in a purple cup of the low hills, he would have seen little but "the smoke floating up through the oak-wood and the coppice." The low hills were not yet cleared, nor the fens and the wolds trimmed and enclosed. Centuries later, when the early students came, they had to ride through the thick forest and across the moor to the east gate of the city. In the midst of a country still wild, Oxford was already no mean city; but the place where the hostile races of the land met to settle their differences, to feast together and forget their wrongs over the mead and ale, or to devise treacherous murder and close the banquet with fire and sword.'

Saxon  
Oxford

Boase's *Oxford*.

LONDON seems to have been the only town on the Thames until

Foundation  
of Oxford

the roth century. The latest authority puts the foundation of Oxford not before 890. Yet the rivers would be the natural channels of trade; and Oxford must have had some form of market and chepe-place, even when it was no more than an open village. We find an Abbot of Abingdon cutting a new barge channel in return for a toll of herrings.

*Social History of England.* Cassell, 1893.

#### Historical Oxford

BESIDE the mythical and the theoretical origin of Oxford, there is the legendary, and with those who accept this as history there is a date which with reason may be insisted on, namely the year 727 (or thereabouts), at which time there is some evidence for fixing the foundation of a nunnery [St. Frideswide's] upon the spot now occupied by Christ Church. . . . Lastly there is the truly historical method in following which . . . only facts duly recorded in documents of undoubtedly genuine character are adduced in evidence. The answer which would be given to those who follow this method would be that the history of Oxford cannot be traced further back than A.D. 912, when King Edward the elder took possession of the place.

*Early History of Oxford*, by James Parker.  
Clarendon Press.

#### A shallow bend of the River

ONE of the most important results of the long peace under Cnut and of the new connection with the Scandinavian countries which was brought about by his rule, was the development of English trade and commerce. As yet indeed the inland trade of the country was very small. The rivers were its roads, and it was along its rivers that the trading towns for the most part sprang up. But though the Thames was already a waterway by which London could communicate with the heart of England, no town save Oxford had as yet arisen along its course. The name of the place tells the story of its birth. At a point where the Thames suddenly bends for a while to the south, and just before its waters are swollen by those of the Cherwell, a wide and shallow reach of the river offered a ford by which the cattle-drovers from Wessex could cross the stream, and traversing the marshy fields which edged it, mount the low slope of the gravel spit between the two rivers that formed the site of the latter city. On this slope a house of secular canons had grown up by the close of the ninth century round the tomb of a local saint, Fritheswith or Frideswide; and at the point where the road, reaching its summit, broke into three branches, to run northward, eastward and westward, a little town furnished the germ of



the future Oxford. It probably extended only over the site of three of its later parishes, that of St. Martin, whose claims to be the earliest of its churches were confirmed by its recognition as the 'City Church' and by the meeting of the Portmannimot in its Churchyard; that of St. Mildred whose name shows its Mercian date:—and the Parish of All Hallows between them; while it was linked to the ford by a thin line of houses, the later Fish Street, with a Church of St. Aldad or Aldate in the midst of it. The little borough was probably extending its bounds to the westward over the grounds marked by the parish of St. Ebbe when Aelfred established his mint there; and the presence of a mint shows that it was already a place of some importance. The loss of London and of the lower Thames Valley in the Danish Wars had in fact made it a border-town of the Mercian ealdormanry after the peace of Wedmore; and the mound upon which its castle-keep was afterwards reared may have been the first of those works of fortification by which Aethelred and his Lady held their own against the Danes. As from this time it grew in importance and wealth, Oxford divided with London the traffic along the Thames: we catch our first glimpse of its burghers when an Abbot of Abingdon, in return for a toll of herrings which their barges paid in passing, consented to cut a new channel for their transit.

J. R. Green, *The Conquest of England*. Macmillan, 1883.

LITTLE does the traveller imagine as the train passes by the cemetery, just outside the Great Western Station at Oxford, that he is going over the site of what was one of the grandest monastic piles of England. The Norman Lords of Oxford, the D'Oyly, had gained great territory and power. In the reign of Henry I., Edith, the wife of Robert D'Oyly, the second of that name, persuaded her husband to give the southern half of Osney, an island formed by the two branches of the river Isis, to found thereon a house of Canons Regular. 'She used,' says Leland, 'to walk out of Oxford Castle with her gentlewomen for recreation, and that oftentimes; when in a certain place in a tree, as often as she came, certain magpies used to gather to it, and there to chatter and as it were to speak unto her. Edith much wondered at this matter and was sometimes sore afraid as at a wonder.' She asked advice of one Ralph, a canon of Frideswide's, and he told her at once they were not birds but souls in purgatory, asking that for their sakes she would build some building for the sake of God—as her husband's uncle had built and endowed the Collegiate Church

of St. George within the Castle Garth. So with the approval of Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury, and of the diocesan Alexander of Lincoln, and being backed up by her sons, Edith obtained from her husband, a soft and pleasure-loving man, to devote all his lands in Osney Isle for the new foundations. Thus in 1129 a house of the Canon Regulars was founded. Small in its beginnings, like most things born to be great, the steady inpour of donations made it before long a rich and powerful Abbey.

*A Bygone Oxford*, by Francis Goldie, S.J.  
Burns and Oates, 1881.

Osney  
Abbey

OXFORD castell was founded by the lord Robert de Oilie, a noble man which came in with the Conqueror, whose wife Editha, a woman given to no lesse superstition than credulitie, began also the abbeie of Oseneie neere unto the same upon a fond (but yet a rare) occasion, which we will heere remember, though it be beside my purpose, to the end that the reader may see how readie the simple people of that time were to be abused by the practise of the cleargie. It happened on a time as this ladie walked about the fields, neere unto the aforesaid castell, to recreate hir selfe with certeine of hir maidens, that a number of pies sat chattering upon the elmes, which had beene planted in the hedgerowes, and in fine so troubled hir with their noise, that she wished them all further off or else hirselfe at home againe and this happened diverse times. In the end being wearie of hir walke, she demanded of hir chapleine the cause wherefore these pies did so molest and vexe hir. Oh madam (saith he) the wiliest pie of all, these are no pies but soules in purgatorie that crave releefe. And is it so in deed? quoth she. Now De pardieux, if old Robert will give me leave, I will doo what I can to bring these soules to rest. Hereupon she consulted, craved, wept and became so importunate with hir husband, that he joined with hir, and they both began that synagog, 1120, which afterward proved to be a notable den. In that church also lieth this ladie buried with hir image, having an heart in hir hand couched upon the same, in the habit of a vovesse, and yet to be seene, except the weather have worne out the memoriall.'

Harrison's *Description of England*, apud Holinshed's *Chronicle*.

Beaumont  
and Wood-  
stock

ABOUT the same time that Osney Abbey was finisht, the Mansion or Palace of King Henry 1., surnamed Beauclerk, was finisht in Beaumont near Oxon also. The year following, namely 1130, he came to the said Palace and kept the Passover, pleasing himself

much with the air and conversation of Clerks. Of this matter hear I pray what John Rous saith, ‘Rex Henricus novam Aulam, Regiæ mansioni congruam incepit, in qua anno domini 1130 Pascha regaliter tenuit; et ibi modo est Domus Carmelitarum.’ At which time, ’tis thought, he granted several liberties to the University and City, which though long since lost, yet there is mention made of them in the Charter of his successors. But as the renowned Beauclerk did solace himself with those delights of Oxford, so also with those at Woodstock, 6 miles distant; where in the park there, containing 14 English miles in circuit built by him about the year 1114 (to make room for which he had destroyed several villages) were kept many strange sorts of beasts—‘And because of the said noble Pallace in Oxford (as the said Author tells us) and conversation of Clerks and the new Park and Pallace at Woodstock, he the said noble King, a person of great literature, took great delight to abide and inhabite in the County of Oxford. To him, the said King, were, for that reason, sent from divers outlandish Lands lyons, leopards, strange spotted beasts, porcupens, camells and such like animals. His new Park at Woodstock was enclosed round with stone walls in which the said King did nourish and maintain the delights of such creatures.’

Wood’s *Annals*.

ABOUT 1076, in consequence of a papal decree forbidding the location of sees in small towns, Remigius moved the capital of his large diocese from Dorchester, near Oxford, to Lincoln. In 1539, after the dissolution of mitred abbeys of Benedictines at Abingdon, Reading, Eynsham, and Godstow, of Augustinians at Notley, Dorchester, and Oseney, and Cistercians at Thame, it was decided by Henry VIII. to create a new bishopric at Oxford; and the rich foundation of Oseney was selected to furnish the site of the cathedral and the bishop’s throne. Robert King, the abbot of Oseney, having duly resigned his post, there remained only to constitute the see, by letters patent, as follows:—

Oxford  
Diocese

‘That whereas the king is in possession of the monastery by the surrender of the abbot, and desires nothing more than that the true religion and worship of God should not only be maintained but promoted, and reformed according to primitive rule and form, after the correction of the enormities of the life and profession of the monks: and that considering also that the site of the above monastery, being near to the town of Oxford, is a place apt and convenient for the institution of a bishop’s seat and a cathedral church for a bishop, a dean, and six prebendaries who

are priests, he has decreed that the said monastery shall be so constituted to the honour and glory of Christ and of the blessed Virgin: and that the town of Oxford and the College, named Gloucester College, in the parish of St. Nicholas, in the suburbs, shall be now and for ever named "the city of Oxford": and that the see shall be for ever separated from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Lincoln, and limited to the Bishop of Oxford and his successors, of which Robert King, the Abbot aforesaid, shall be the first bishop, who shall have, moreover, Gloucester College for his palace: and that John London shall be the first dean: and that the dean and chapter shall be a corporate body annexed for ever to the bishopric, in the same manner as the dean and chapter of Lincoln are to that see, and shall have the estates of the monastery, with the two closes of the extent of nineteen acres, reserved to the use of the bishop: and that there shall be also an archdeaconry of Oxford, in like manner separate, with the same privileges and jurisdiction which the archdeaconry of the same name formerly enjoyed: and that the Bishop of Oxford shall have and exercise the same jurisdiction with that which was exercised by the Bishop of Lincoln.'

On 4th November 1546 the seat of the bishopric was removed from Oseney to St. Frideswide's.

Adapted from Ed. Marshall's *Diocesan History of Oxford*, 1882.



## UNIVERSITY ORIGINS

IT would be absurd to attempt a demonstration *a priori* that the first and most important English University could have arisen nowhere but at Oxford. But when it is remembered that a central position was a great *desideratum*, that only one of the largest towns in the kingdom would be equal to the housing and feeding of many hundreds or thousands of strangers, and that a Royal vill would be preferred for security and protection alike against hostile townfolk and oppressive ecclesiastical authorities, it will be evident that hardly one other town could be named which satisfied in equal perfection the requirements of the case.

*Universities of Europe*, by Rev. H. Rashdall.  
Clarendon Press, 1895.

Beginnings  
of the  
University

WHY should Oxford of all places have become the earliest and greatest national university? Ecclesiastically it was a place of very minor importance and no historical prestige. It was not the see of a bishoprick. Its earliest ecclesiastical foundation was poor and insignificant when compared with Abingdon and Glastonbury . . . Even the statelier Oseney was a House of the second rank and was not founded till 1129. . . . The foundation-bulls for erecting new universities commonly recite in their preambles that the place in question is adapted by reason of the amenity and salubrity of the air, and the cheapness and abundance of victuals, for the use of students. Mediaeval writers exhaust the resources of their vocabulary in praise of the climate of Paris. Oxford, then, almost as completely water-girt as Cambridge, could never have afforded many attractions of that kind. The other recommendation, cheapness and abundance of victuals, it may well have possessed. Another essential qualification for a university town often insisted upon in foundation-bulls is facility of access. Oxford was marked out as a convenient meeting-place, alike for the magnates attending a council or parliament, and for the assemblage of teachers and students from all parts of England, by its central position. It was situated on the border between Wessex and Mercia—the two great divisions of the southern and then most important and

Why Oxford?

civilised half of the kingdom. It was not inaccessible from London, not too distant from the continent, and yet as conveniently situated as any southern town could be for students from the far north and far west. Not least important, it was in the great waterway of the Thames. The strategic value which resulted from such a position led in the Conqueror's time to the building of the existing castle-tower, which is still the first object that attracts the visitor's attention upon arriving at Oxford by the railway, and later to the construction of those venerable city walls which still impart so unique a charm to the most delightful of college gardens. To its position too must be ascribed the rapid increase in the commercial importance of Oxford after the final cessation of Danish devastations, and especially after the beginning of the twelfth century, when one of the earliest Jewries was established within its walls. In short Oxford must be content to accept its academic position as an accident of its commercial importance, not as the offspring of the often exaggerated importance and splendour of its churches and its monasteries.

Rashdall's *Universities of Europe*.

#### City and University

OXFORD had already seen five centuries of borough life before a student appeared within its streets. Instead of its prosperity being derived from its connection with the university, that connection has probably been its commercial ruin. The gradual subjection both of markets and trade to the arbitrary control of an ecclesiastical corporation was inevitably followed by their extinction. The university found Oxford a busy, prosperous borough, and reduced it to a cluster of lodging-houses. It found it among the first of English municipalities, and it so utterly crushed its freedom that the recovery of some of the commonest rights of self-government has only been brought about by recent legislation. Instead of the mayor being a dependant on chancellor or vice-chancellor, chancellor and vice-chancellor have simply usurped the far older authority of the mayor.

*Oxford Studies*, by J. R. Green. Macmillan, 1901.

#### From Schools to University

THE University of Oxford did not spring into being in any particular year or at the bidding of any particular founder; it was not established by any formal charter of incorporation. Taking its rise in a small and obscure association of teachers and learners, it developed spontaneously into a large and important body, long before its existence was recognised by prince or by prelate. There were certainly schools at Oxford in the reign of Henry I., but the previous

history of the place does not throw much light on their origin or explain the causes of their popularity.

*A History of the University of Oxford, from the Earliest Times to the Year 1530*, by H. C. Maxwell Lyte. Macmillan, 1886.

THE University of Oxford, scarcely less ecclesiastical in character than that of Paris, took its origin in a town which did not contain a cathedral church or even a monastery of the highest rank. . . . The cloisters of St. Frideswyde's Priory and of Oseney Abbey were probably the earliest schools of Oxford, though it should be remarked that neither of them ever attained to any great celebrity as a place of education. Of the masters who may have taught at Oxford before the year 1133 there is no record whatever, and it is not known how many of the seven liberal arts were studied there.

*History of University of Oxford*, by H. C. Maxwell Lyte. Macmillan, 1886.

The earliest  
'Schools'

IT is early in the reign of Henry Beauclerc that we first hear of Oxford as a place of study. Between 1116 and 1120, one Theobald of Étampes was imparting secular literature there to classes of from sixty to a hundred scholars. . . . Theobald was certainly a priest, probably at some period of his life a secular canon, but seems chiefly to have been known as a teacher. In his earlier lectures he describes himself as doctor (or master) at Caen. He seems to be included in the abuse poured by the author of the *Rescriptum* upon 'wandering chaplains, curly haired and effeminate in their dress, no clerks, because ashamed of the clerkly tonsure and habit.' The date of his arrival at Oxford cannot be fixed, though there is some ground for thinking it may have taken place as early as 1094, but he must have been established there as a teacher sometime before the death of Faritius in 1117, and he continued to teach there after Thurstan had become Archbishop in 1119.

*The University of Oxford of the 12th Century*, by T. E. Holland. Oxford Hist. Soc., *Collectanea*, 1890.

Theobaldus  
Stampensis

WHAT brought students to this thriving mediæval town it is impossible to say, but that there were 'schools' in Oxford as early as the first part of the twelfth century is certain. Perhaps they were attracted there in part by the palace of the scholar king, Henry I. (Beauclerc), which lay to the north-east of Worcester College, pretty much where Beaumont Street has revived the name of the old royal residence. At any rate, Theobald of Étampes, before 1120, had under him, 'sixty or a hundred clerks, more or less,' and maintained a vigorous quarrel with the monks; he calls a monastery 'a prison of the damned, who have condemned themselves to escape eternal

The Coming  
of the Clerks

damnation.' Thus early were Oxford scholars on the side of the secular against the monastic clergy.

*Oxford and its Colleges*, by J. Wells. Methuen, 1903.

**Empress  
Maud**

THE king having thus got the victory over the city, betakes himself to the besieging of the Castle, that so he might take the Empress therein. . . . The siege continued three months, that is to say, from the time of St. Michael to Christmas. . . . At length hunger, that great and pressing enemy, possessing the besieged so disadvantageously in the cold months of November and December, and they not in the least hoping for any relief, policy for flight and safety was now only their entertainment. Wherefore the as yet miserable but crafty Empress being forced to avoid death, which was ready to overtake her divers ways, clothes herself with three or four of her trustiest knights, all in white from the head to the foot, and taking advantage of the season which was of frost and snow (the last now lying deep on the ground) passeth from the Castle over the trench, and so unseen by any but one of those that watched (who were so vigilant that the least noise would make them stand to their guard), escaped thence, and with her company travelled six miles on foot with great labour and danger over frozen rivers and unbeaten ways, and at length with much ado got to the city of Wallingford. Soon after the soldiers in the Castle surrendered it to the king.

Wood's *History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*.

**The  
University  
in Embryo**

THERE are two indisputable pieces of evidence which tend to prove the existence of not unimportant Schools at Oxford before the year 1167 [the supposed date of a migration of English scholars, or of their recall by Henry II. from Paris to form a Studium Generale at Oxford]. Two letters are preserved from a certain Theobaldus Stampensis, one of them addressed to Faritus, Abbot of Abingdon from 1101 to 1117; the other to the illustrious Roscellinus after he had been compelled to flee (possibly to England) from the violence of his theological opponents. The writer is described as 'Master at Oxford.' In other and earlier letters he appears as 'Doctor at Caen.' A comparison of dates thus makes it clear that at some time before the year 1117 this French or Norman ecclesiastic, who had hitherto taught at Caen transferred his School to Oxford. . . . Another theologian is mentioned as teaching at Oxford in the year 1133. This was Robert Pullus or Pullen, the author of one of the most important collections of 'Sentences.'

Rashdall's *Universities of Europe*. Clarendon Press.



JOHN of Beverley, Alfred, Grymbald, S. Neot and the like, are the demi-gods of the Oxford world; then come the degenerate race of mortal heroes. Vacarius and Giraldus Cambrensis, and others of their time, who undoubtedly were connected with the University of Oxford, and whose giant forms, girt with gowns, and armed with books, seem to stalk through the hosts of innumerable boys assembled at the schools, much as we fancy the heroes of the *Iliad* wielding their weapons among the ranks of men.

*Munimenta Academica*, edited by Rev. H. Anstey, Rolls Series, 1868.

‘NICHOLAO clerico de Hungaria, viii<sup>li</sup> et xvi<sup>s</sup> et viii<sup>d</sup> ad sustentandum se in scholis a festo Sancti Michaelis anni preteriti usque ad Pascham per breve Regis.’—Pipe Roll of Richard I.

The first  
recorded  
Scholar of  
Oxford

‘Nicholao clerico de Hungaria v<sup>s</sup> ix<sup>d</sup> de liberatione sua quam habet ex dono regis, videlicet a die lune proxima ante festum Sancti Andree usque ad Purificationem per breve Regis: et eidem Nicholao lvi<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup> a liberatione sua a festo Sancti Petri ad Vincula usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis scilicet dimidiam marcam per ebdomadam per idem breve.’—Pipe Roll of Richard I., co. Oxon.

Lyte’s *History of Oxford*. Macmillan, 1886.

WHEN Vacarius opened his lectures on the study of civil law, Oxford stood in the first rank among English towns. Its town church of St. Martin rose from the midst of a huddled group of houses, girded in with massive walls, that lay along the dry upper ground of a low peninsula between the streams of Cherwell and the Thames. The ground fell gently on either side, eastward and westward, to these rivers: while on the south a sharper descent led down across swampy meadows to the ford from which the town drew its name and to the bridge that succeeded it. Around lay a wild forest country, moors such as Cowley and Bullingdon fringing the course of Thames, great woods, of which Shotover and Bagley are the relics, closing the horizon to the south and east. Though the two huge towers of its Norman castle marked the strategic importance of Oxford as commanding the river valley along which the commerce of Southern England mainly flowed, its walls formed the least element in the town’s military strength, for on every side but the north it was guarded by the swampy meadows along Cherwell or by an intricate network of streams into which the Thames breaks among the Meadows of Osney. From the midst of these meadows rose a mitred abbey of Austin Canons, which with the older priory of St. Frideswide gave Oxford some ecclesiastical dignity. The residence of the Norman house of the

Thirteenth  
Century  
Oxford



D'Oillis within its castle, the frequent visits of English kings to a palace without its walls, the presence again and again of important Parliaments, marked its political weight within the realm. The settlement of one of the wealthiest among the English Jewries in the very heart of the town indicated, while it promoted, the activity of its trade. No place better illustrates the transformation of the land in the hands of its Norman masters, the sudden outburst of industrial effort, the sudden expansion of commerce and accumulation of wealth which followed the Conquest. To the west of the town rose one of the stateliest of English castles, and in the meadows beneath the hardly less stately abbey of Osney. In the fields to the north the last of the Norman kings raised his palace of Beaumont. In the southern quarter of the city the Canons of St. Frideswide reared the church which still exists as the diocesan cathedral, while the piety of the Norman Castellans rebuilt almost all its parish churches and founded within their new castle walls the church of the Canons of St. George.

We know nothing of the causes which drew students and teachers within the walls of Oxford. It is possible that here as elsewhere a new teacher quickened older educational foundations, and that the cloisters of Osney and St. Frideswide already possessed schools which burst into a larger life under the impulse of Vacarius. As yet, however, the fortunes of the University were obscured by the glories of Paris. English scholars gathered in thousands round the chairs of William of Champeaux or Abelard. The English took their place as one of the 'nations' of the French University. John of Salisbury became famous as one of the Parisian teachers. Thomas of London wandered to Paris from his school at Merton. But through the peaceful reign of Henry the Second Oxford quietly grew in numbers and repute, and forty years after the visit of Vacarius, its educational position was fully established. When Gerald of Wales read his amusing Topography of Ireland to its students, the most learned and famous of the clergy were to be found within its walls. At the opening of the thirteenth century, Oxford stood without a rival in its own country, while in European celebrity it took rank with the greatest schools of the Western World. But to realise this Oxford of the past we must dismiss from our minds all recollections of the Oxford of the present. In the outer look of the new University there was nothing of the pomp that overawes the freshman as he first paces the 'High' or looks down from the gallery of St. Mary's. In the stead of long fronts of venerable colleges, of stately walks beneath immemorial elms, history plunges us into the mean and filthy lanes of a mediæval

town. Thousands of boys, huddled in bare lodging-houses, clustering round teachers as poor as themselves, in church porch and house porch, drinking, quarrelling, dicing, begging at the corners of the streets, take the place of the brightly-coloured train of Doctors and Heads. Mayor and Chancellor struggled in vain to enforce order or peace on this seething mass of turbulent life. The retainers who followed their young lords to the University, fought out the feuds of their houses in the streets. Scholars from Kent and scholars from Scotland waged the bitter struggle of North and South. At nightfall roysterer and reveller roamed with torches through the narrow lanes, defying bailiffs, and cutting down burghers at their doors. Now a mob of clerks plunged into the Jewry, and wiped off the memory of bills and bonds by sacking a Hebrew house or two. Now a tavern squabble between scholar and townsman widened into a general broil, and the academical bell of St. Mary's vied with the town bell of St. Martin's in clanging to arms. Every phase of ecclesiastical controversy or political strife was preluded by some fierce outbreak in this turbulent, surging mob. When England growled at the exactions of the Papacy in the years that were to follow, the students besieged a legate in the Abbot's house at Osney. A murderous town and gown row preceded the opening of the Barons' War. 'When Oxford draws knife,' ran an old rhyme, 'England's soon at strife.'

*Short Hist. of the Eng. People*, by J. R. Green. Macmillan, 1874.

THE Oxford schools in the later decades of the twelfth century, possessed the essentials of a University, though the corporate character afterwards conceded to such an institution had not yet been acquired by them; nor were they described by a term which was not applied to such an institution before the century following. The 'scholae' of Stampensis and Robert of Cricklade had developed, as we learn from Abbot Emo [1190], into the 'Commune studium literarum Oxonie.'

Scholae and  
Commune  
Studium

*The University of the 12th Century*, by T. E. Holland.  
Oxford Hist. Soc., *Collectanea*, Second Series, 1890.

IN the first half of the thirteenth century, the University in its corporate capacity was not possessed of any property whatever. The schools in which lectures were given and the hostels and chambers in which students lodged, were alike hired from the townsmen or other landlords; public business was generally transacted in parochial or conventual churches lent for the purpose. Poverty,

No abiding  
City

however, had its compensating advantages, for it left the University free to settle itself wherever it pleased, without risk of forfeiting buildings or endowments. The chief contests of the University against the townsmen of Oxford, as against the Bishop of Lincoln, were fought and won before it became riveted to a particular spot by material interests. If argument failed and physical force was unavailing, the clerks could, at any rate, leave Oxford, their departure entailing pecuniary loss on the burghers, and grave discredit on the ruling powers in church and state.

*Lyte's Oxford.*

**Migration of  
Clerks, 1209**

AN. DOM. 1209. A most unfortunate and unhappy accident fell out at Oxford, which was this. A certain Clerk, as he was recreating himself, killed by chance a woman : which being done, he fled away for fear of punishment, that he thought must necessarily follow. But the fact being soon spread throughout the Town, the Mayor and several Burghers made search after him, and having at length received intelligence in what Town or Hall he was resident, made their repair thither and finding there three other clerks laid hold on them, and though innocent of the fact, yet cast them into prison. After they had remained there certain days, King John (no great lover of the clergy) being then in his Manor of Woodstock, commanded the said three (some say only two) Scholars to be led out of the town, and there to be hanged by the neck 'in contempt of ecclesiastical liberty.' Whereupon the scholars of the University, being much displeased at this unworthy act, they, to the number of three thousand (as well Masters as Juniors) left Oxford, so that not one (as some say) remained behind, but either went some to Cambridge, some to Reading and others Maydestone in Kent, to make a farther progress in their studies.

An. Dom. 1210. These things being done, intelligence was immediately sent to the Diocesan (the Bishop of Lincoln) and at length to the Pope, who having heard the matter with patience did forthwith interdict the Town, that is, commanded all religious Services to cease, Church doors to be shut up, none to be buried in consecrated ground, none to have the Sacrament administered to them, only at the point of death, etc. The King also, as I conceive, was in a manner forced to seize upon the Liberties of the Burghers and to take the Town into his hands, lest in doing nothing in the matter, he should displease the Clergy, and so consequently the Pope. Howsoever it was, we cannot imagine to the contrary but that this dispersion was a great stop to the progress of Literature, and the more because that such that lived remote and



beyond the seas never returned again, but either went to their respective homes or to Paris. As for the report made by some Authors that 'not one Scholar or Clerk was left in Oxford,' appears to the contrary; for whereas divers Masters did read 'irreverenter' (as 'tis said) this and the year following, they were by the Letters of the Pope's Legate suspended for three years from their office of Reading for their contempt of the Pope's authority and for breaking the custom or statute, which enjoyns all Scholastical Arts to cease, when an interdict is issued forth.

An. Dom. 1213. The Town being as yet empty, trading low, and the Burghers under interdict or excommunication, great lamentation there was among them, and the more for this reason, that they found no rent coming in for their houses, and that most of the Scholars went away abruptly in their debt. At length Nicholas, Bishop of Tusculum, commonly called Frascati, in Italy (the Pope's Legate), coming into England in the month of September this year, the chiefest of the said Burghers repaired to him at Westminster to obtain absolution for their offences, in presuming to hang three Clerks, to the great terror of all the residue. After many intreaties and most humble supplications they were absolved conditionally they perform this penance following: that is to say, that after their return to Oxford, they strip themselves of their apparel and go barefoot with scourges in their hands to every church in the town of Oxford and there to require of the Parish Priest the benefit of absolution by saying the 51st Psalm, 'Have mercy on me, O God,' etc. This being their sentence they returned and performed it in every particular, not all in one day, but in as many as there were churches, by taking for one day one Church, so that they, as well as others, might dread to do such wickedness again.

An. Dom. 1214. But this punishment it seems was not all . . . for the said Legate by his Bull dated at Ramsey the seventh of the calends of July this year, inflicted a larger punishment, not only on the said Burghers, but on their heirs and successors, thus:—

1. He appointed that from Michaelmas after date of the said Bull even to the end of 10 years following, half the rents of the said Inns or Halls of Clerks, which belonged to the Burghers, should be abated, that is half the same rent that had been agreed upon by the Clerks and Burghers before they left Oxford after three of them had been hanged.

2. That the next ten years after the first ten, their Inns should be set at a rent, as the Clerks thought fit in conscience, extending only to such Inns that were built before the departure or dispersion

of the said Clerks. But as for those that were afterwards built, to be built, or others that were built before and not valued or rated, were by the arbitration of four Masters and four Burghers to be every ten years ordered at a set rent, as they thought equitable.

3. That the commonalty also of Oxford give yearly two and fifty shillings to be paid for the use of poor Scholars into the hands of the Abbot of Osney and Prior of St. Frideswyde, by the council or appointment of Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, and his successors, or the Archdeacon of Oxford or his official or the Chancellor of the University, of which six and twenty shillings was to be paid on the feast of All Saints and the remainder in the beginning of Lent.

4. That the said Commonalty feed and refresh an hundred poor Scholars with bread, ale and pottage, and one large dish of fish or flesh yearly on the feast of St. Nicholas by the appointment of the aforesaid persons, namely the Bishop of Lincoln, Archdeacon, etc. as before.

5. That the said Commonalty swear that they should sell victuals and other necessities to Scholars at a just and reasonable rate and to procure of other sellers the like reasonableness according to their power.

6. That the said Commonalty should not make grievous or burdensome constitutions to the deceit of the aforesaid provision by which the provision of Clerks might be made worse.

7. That if it should happen that any Clerk should be taken in a fault by any of the said Commonalty, they should not deal with him or them according to the power given to them, to the infringing of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Lincoln, but that when he or they are taken, they the said Commonalty should deliver or cause him or them to be delivered to the said Bishop, his official or Chancellor of the University, to be punished.

8. That fifty of the chiefest of the said Commonalty should swear for themselves, the Commonalty and all their heirs to observe faithfully the aforesaid matters.

9. That the oath by which they were to swear should be renewed every year at the command of the Bishop of the diocese.

10. That they the said Commonalty cause a Charter to be made wherein the said Articles should be put down, that they seal it with their common seal and deliver it into the hands of Hugh Bishop of Lincoln to be by him committed to safe custody. . . .

In the aforesaid Bull 'tis specified, 'that all those that were guilty of and convicted for the hanging of the Clerks, were to come at the command of the Bishop of Lincoln, after the interdict



was released, to the graves or sepulchres of the said Clerks barefooted and ungirt of their capae and pallii, with the Commonalty following them, and from thence carry their bodies with honour and reverence to be buried in a churchyard, which the Clerks or Scholars should provide.' Furthermore also 'tis there said, 'that after the Burgesses or Commonalty had sworn to perform the said articles, made a Charter also for the observance of them and had given it to the Bishop of Lincoln, it should be lawful for the Masters and Scholars to return to Oxford and read there, excepting such who were suspended for three years for reading irreverently after the Scholars had left Oxford and the town interdicted. . . . So that now all things being concluded and justice done to the utmost, the Scholars returned again to the University to the great joy of the generality of the inhabitants, reassumed their Lectures and followed that course of discipline, which before they used, and as for the taking of the said oath by the Burghers or Citizens, it is to this day observed every year at or a little after the feast of St. Michael.

Anthony à Wood, *Hist. and Antiquities of Oxford*.

UNIVERSITY buildings there were none, but the old Congregation Origins  
House was built in 1320. Before this, business was transacted in monastic rooms, cloisters, or the Churches of St. Mildred or St. Mary, where the books were kept in large chests. At Oxford in 1300 or thereabouts, the number of students was not far from three thousand, and ranged from the poor scholar who supported himself during term by the profits of licensed mendicancy, or manual labour, to the privileged sons of earls and nephews of bishops. They lived in halls, their rations being commons, and their extras battels. In a small garret or bedroom would be kept their chattels, a fife perhaps or a hurdy-gurdy, a sword, a dagger, one or two books, bedding and cooking utensils. On 'legible' days they flocked to lecture from an early hour in the morning, and 'disputations' marked their progress in the ladder of learning. Master-ship involved a sound exercise in the seven arts and three philosophies (grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, music, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy+physics, metaphysics, ethics). Besides the lecturers or regents, there were numerous tutors, paid terminally, by means of 'Collections.' Alms were doled out from iron boxes to promising scholars. A regular 'exhibition' fund was started in 1243. In 1249, Master William of Durham left 310 marks to the University for the support of 12 masters. A few years later John Balliol maintained a few clerks from the north in a kind of alms hall.

THE schools of Oxford, which had been growing in fame and popularity during the later part of the twelfth century, had a narrow escape of total extinction at the beginning of the thirteenth. An untoward event that occurred at the close of the year 1208 led to a serious breach between the burghers and the clerks, and for a while it appeared as though English learning would be compelled to abandon Oxford for some more congenial abode. A young woman was one day found lying dead at a house, afterwards known as Maiden Hall, and there was clear proof that she had met her end at the hands of a certain student of the Faculty of Arts. According to one account, she had been killed by accident, according to another, she had been outraged and brutally murdered, but the offender, whatever the amount of his guilt, had already sought safety in flight. The enraged townsmen at once started in quest of him, and failing to find him, seized in his stead two innocent students who lodged in the same house with him, cast them into prison, and after a brief delay hanged them outside the walls of Oxford. These summary proceedings were, it is said, countenanced by King John, who was at that time specially incensed against clerks of all sorts on account of the papal interdict on his realm. The students were filled with alarm and indignation. It mattered little whether the young men who had fallen victims to popular revenge were or were not concerned in the tragedy at Maiden Hall; they were scholars, or clerks, and as such, in the opinion of their comrades, subject only to ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Masters and pupils were alike concerned to withstand so gross a violation of their common rights. Some had already quitted Oxford in fear of the king's wrath, and now, almost all the remainder, to the number, we are told, of no less than three thousand, determined to abandon the schools. Some of the seceders went to pursue their studies at Paris, some at Reading, some at Maidstone, and others perhaps at Cambridge. It was commonly reported that not a single scholar remained at Oxford.

The matter did not end here, for the ecclesiastical authorities proceeded to lay the whole town under an interdict. The burghers were thus made to suffer spiritually as well as temporally. On the one hand the interdict deprived them of all ordinary religious ministrations, while on the other, the departure of the clerks left their inns and halls tenantless, and greatly restricted the sphere of their commerce. This state of things lasted for more than four years, the burghers being tenacious of their municipal liberties, and unwilling to submit to any external authority. At last, soon after the arrival in England of the Papal

Legate, Nicholas, Bishop of Tusculum, in 1213, they applied to him for forgiveness and protection. They pledged themselves to abide by his decision, and at his bidding they went day after day in procession to the different churches of Oxford, stripped and barefoot, carrying scourges in their hands and chanting penitential psalms, until they had obtained absolution from the parish priests.

This was but a preliminary act of humiliation, for the Legate did not issue his final sentence until the end of June, 1214. . . . He made the townsmen swear that if, at any future time, they should arrest a clerk, they would on demand deliver him up to the Bishop of Lincoln, to the Archdeacon of Oxford or his official, to the Chancellor set over the scholars by the Bishop, or to some other authorised representative of the episcopal authority. Thus he established the immunity from lay jurisdiction which, under somewhat altered conditions, is to this day enjoyed by every resident member of the University of Oxford. He further vindicated the same principle by ordaining that, as soon as the interdict should be removed, all who had taken any part in the arrest and execution of the two clerks should go bareheaded, barefoot, and half-naked to the place where the dead bodies lay, and should reverently carry them to a churchyard, the rest of the commonalty following as witnesses. Moreover for a lasting memorial of these events, he decreed that the townsmen should annually provide a dinner for a hundred poor scholars on St. Nicholas's day, and pay fifty-two shillings a year to the Abbot of Oseney and the Prior of St. Frideswyde's, for the use of poor scholars. . . .

The Legate further showed his favour to the clerks, by ordaining that they should not be made to pay more than a reasonable price for provisions or other necessities, and by framing some regulations about the rent of the inns and halls in which they lodged. He decreed that for the next ten years to come, they should pay only one-half of the rent agreed on by them and their respective landlords before the secession, and that for ten years more they should pay according to their own valuation. The assessment of the rent of any hall which had not already been inhabited by clerks was referred to a board, consisting of four masters and four townsmen, who were instructed to make a new assessment every ten years. Finally the Legate ordered that at least fifty of the chief townsmen should annually swear, on behalf of the whole community, to obey all the permanent injunctions contained in his decree, and he declared that unless all these particulars were duly observed the townsmen would be held excommunicate and the interdict would be reimposed by the Bishop of Lincoln. The students were



forbidden to return to Oxford until after the reconciliation had been formally effected ; and those few masters who had ' irreverently ' continued to lecture there during the secession were suspended from the exercise of their rights for the space of three years.

The interdict was accordingly removed, the clerks returned, lectures were resumed, and Oxford again became a place of study.

*Lyte's History of the University of Oxford.*

Grosseteste  
and the  
Franciscans

WHAT WAS Grosseteste's main object in encouraging the settlement of the Grey Friars at Oxford, and in undertaking the task of becoming their first lecturer? In the position which he then occupied as former, or possibly actual, Chancellor of the University, as its leading scholar, as regent in arts and doctor of theology, and with the reputation of being *summus philosophus*, it must have required a certain amount of moral courage on his part to identify himself so prominently with a body of men whose views and whose practice were little in harmony with received notions. Doubtless he felt deeply the charm and freshness of the movement, and admired the unselfish devotion of its leaders. His object, however, in helping to bring about and in strengthening their connection with the University must have been twofold. He desired to promote the revival of learning and also the revival of religion. His action furthered both ends. It brought the University into touch with a great spiritual and moral influence, which was calculated and qualified to appeal to the people as a whole, whilst at the same time it imparted to the friars a culture to which they would not otherwise have attained. Every friar who passed from the Franciscan school at Oxford to do his duty in the world in accordance with his calling, would thus carry with him, and be able to convey to others, some of the learning he had acquired, or at any rate, its spirit ; and in turn, every friar who came to the University would help to raise the tone of the studies, and to direct them to the worthiest purposes. Grosseteste's attempt to combine the revival of learning with the revival of religion was largely justified by its results. Nowhere has the Franciscan order done so much as in England for the advancement and dissemination of knowledge ; nowhere has it furnished so long a list of distinguished names, and nowhere has it presented so clear and so clean a record of useful work. With few exceptions every really great man of learning belonging to the order came from these islands. It was from the very school at which Grosseteste was the first lecturer, and at which Adam Marsh, his most intimate friend, subsequently read, that proceeded Richard of Coventry, Roger Bacon,

John Wallensis, Thomas Dockyng, Thomas of Bungay, Archbishop Peccham, Richard Middleton, Duns Scotus, Occham, and Burley.

*Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln*, by F. S. Stevenson.  
Macmillan, 1899.

LYONS, Paris and Cologne were indebted for their first professors to the English Franciscans at Oxford. Repeated applications were made from Ireland, Denmark, France and Germany for English friars; foreigners were sent to the English school as superior to all others. It enjoyed a reputation throughout the world for adhering the most conscientiously and strictly to the poverty and severity of the order, and for the first time since its existence as a University, Oxford rose to a position second not even to Paris itself. The three schoolmen of the most original and profound genius, Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus and Occham were trained within its walls. . . . No nation can show three schoolmen like the English, each unrivalled in his way, and each working with equal ability in opposite directions. The influence of the English school was consequently more profound, more brilliant the reputation of its teachers.

Oxford  
Franciscans

*Monumenta Franciscana*, ed. J. S. Brewer, Rolls Series, 1858.

DUNS Scotus has been claimed as a fellow-countryman by Englishmen, by Scotchmen, and by Irishmen alike. . . . All that is certainly known about his life may be summed up in a very few words: he was born in the British Islands, he became a Grey Friar, he lectured at Oxford in or about the year 1304, and after resuming his lectures at Paris, he died at Cologne in 1308.

Duns Scotus

*History of the University*, by Maxwell Lyte.

THERE'S as much contending for the breeding place of this rare man, as hath been for the birth of Homer. We conjecture him to have been of this Colledge of Balliol, inasmuch as he was by Country of Northumberland, and of Duns there, as might be seen not only in *Pitsaeus* but before every Volume of his Works in MSS. in our Library, of the gift of Bishop Gray, but torn off in the time of the late war; and for that in Northumberland was the first Endowment of our Colledge.

*Balliofergus*, by Henry Savage, 1668.

THE Friars were the only mediæval clergymen who seriously cared about the study of the Bible for its own sake: the mendicant Doctors alone cared to comment on the fourfold sense of Scripture as a preparation for the work of the preacher and the pastor. To the secular masters, fresh from disputations on the nature of Univer-

The Friars  
and the  
Bible



sals and lectures on the *De Anima* of the Arts Schools, Theology was chiefly interesting as a field for the exercise of metaphysical acuteness and dialectical ingenuity. The Sentences of Peter the Lombard, the mediæval text-book of dogmatic Theology, attracted him more than the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles; not till his mind was steeped in the subtleties of the Scholastic Theology was the student qualified (in his estimation) to extract the dogmatic and metaphysical mysteries which lay hid beneath the apparently simple narrative of the Galilean Evangelists and the impassioned argument of the Missionary Apostle.

*The Friars Preachers v. the University*, by Rev. H. Rashdall.  
Oxford Hist. Soc., *Collectanea*, Second Series, 1890.

**The Friars  
and their  
'captures'**

IN England the first convent of the Dominicans was established at Oxford [1221]. . . . It was to the Universities that the Friars looked for recruits for their own orders. The Dominican General, Jordan of Saxony, as he wanders from one *Studium* to another, gives the number of 'captures' which he had made at each. He is pleased when he can add that some of them were men of good family; but still more evident is his triumph when he can record a goodly take of 'Masters of competent literature' or of 'respectable Bachelors.' . . . So far from trying to wrest the instruction of Secular Students from the Secular Doctors, the Friars were content in their early days at Oxford to invite Secular Doctors to lecture to their own novices in their own convent.

*The Friars Preachers v. the University*, by Rev. H. Rashdall.  
Oxford Hist. Soc., *Collectanea*, Second Series.

**Bishop  
Grosseteste**

MATTHEW PARIS sums up Grosseteste's character as follows. He was, he says, 'A manifest confuter of the Pope and the King, the blamer of prelates, the corrector of monks, the director of priests, the instructor of clerks, the support of scholars, the preacher to the people, the persecutor of the incontinent, the sedulous student of all Scripture, the hammer and the despiser of the Romans. At the table of bodily refreshment he was hospitable, eloquent, courteous, pleasant and affable. At the spiritual table, devout, tearful and contrite. In his episcopal office he was sedulous, venerable and indefatigable.'

*Roberti Grosseteste Epistolae*, ed. Henry Richard Luard.  
Rolls Series, 1861.

**Roger Bacon**

I SHALL proceed to speak of a philosopher the most celebrated that England had hitherto produced; I refer to Roger Bacon, a

Franciscan friar, of the University of Oxford. . . . His first years were spent at Oxford in the study of grammar and logic, where he made such unexpected progress that the greatest hopes were conceived of him. In due time he devoted himself to philosophy, penetrating into those hidden mysteries of science that might be useful to him in after life. . . . With these accomplishments he proceeded to Paris, according to the fashion prevalent among English scholars of those times, especially among the members of the University of Oxford. . . . In France he devoted himself earnestly to the study of theology and the languages, especially to mathematics, medicine, jurisprudence and history; and he made such progress in these sciences that he was considered the ornament of the University and honoured with the degree of Doctor in Divinity. He returned to his own country and university, which readily confirmed the distinctions bestowed upon him at Paris. Turning his back on wealth and distinction, Bacon entirely devoted himself to natural philosophy and to the languages, then little known or studied. He tells us himself that whilst he was a young man he had given great attention to philosophy and the sciences; had made many collections on these subjects and reduced them into a method. He successfully sought the acquaintance of all scholars of any eminence in Latin Christendom; he employed himself in instructing youths in the knowledge of languages, figures, numbers, tables, and the profitable science of other things. He thought much and anxiously on the means of perfecting instruments for carrying on his inventions; and when he could not himself raise the funds required for the purpose, the event seldom disappointed those who followed his directions. For twenty years during which he was thus employed, not without the sneers and reproaches of the vulgar, he had expended upwards of £2000 in the purchase of secret books and in making experiments to the astonishment of all men in Oxford. He was actuated by such a generous spirit, that he not only freely disclosed to his pupils the most precious and abstruse results of his inquiries, but never more congratulated himself than when he fell in with any one who had genius and inclination to receive his instruction. . . .

*Rogeri Bacon, Opera Inedita*, ed. by J. S. Brewer, 1859: 'From Wood's *Hist. and Antiq. Univ. Oxon.*'

I HAVE laboured from my youth up at the sciences and the tongues; I have sought the friendship of all men among the Latins who had any reputation for knowledge. I have caused youths to be instructed in the languages, in geometry, in arithmetic, in the formation of tables and instruments, and in many needful things

A Scholar's  
Life

besides. I have examined all that is requisite: I know how to proceed, what aids are required, and what are the impediments. But I cannot proceed from want of the requisite means. . . . And yet if any other man had expended as much as I have done, certainly a large portion of the desired results might have been achieved. For, during the twenty years that I have specially laboured in the attainment of wisdom, abandoning the vulgar path, I have spent upon these pursuits more than 2000*l.*, not to mention the cost of secret books, of various experiments, languages, instruments, tables and the like; add to all, the sacrifices I have made to procure the friendship of the wise and to obtain assistants instructed in the tongues, in geometrical figures, tables and instruments.

*Rogeri Bacon Opera Inedita*, ed. Brewer, Pref. Rolls Series, 1859.

#### Mathematics

'THE neglect of mathematics for thirty or forty years has nearly destroyed the entire studies of Latin Christendom. For he who knows not mathematics cannot know any other sciences; what is more, cannot discover his own ignorance, or find its proper remedies. So it is that the knowledge of this science prepares the mind and elevates it to a well-authenticated knowledge of all things. For without mathematics neither antecedents nor consequents can be known; they perfect and regulate the former, and dispose and prepare the way for that which succeeds.'

It must, however, be remembered that mathematics in the language of Bacon had a wider significance than now. He included therein geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music. In its application to theology it embraced the heavenly bodies, geography, chronology, the reformation of the calendar, numbers, geometry, and music. . . . For theologians, he observes, are frequently employed in discussing these subjects, and many things are found in the text of Scripture and its exposition, and in the books of holy men, which have many difficulties.

*Rogeri Bacon Opera Inedita*, ed. Brewer, Pref.

#### Bacon on Scientific Research

THE second root of the difficulty is that we ought to have excellent mathematicians. . . . For without mathematics nothing worth knowing in philosophy can be attained. . . . And besides their expenses, other great expenses would have to be incurred. Without mathematical instruments no science can be mastered. . . . But more than any of these it would be requisite to obtain men who have a good knowledge of optics and its instruments. For this is the science of true vision, and by vision we know all things.

This science certifies mathematics and all other things, because astronomical instruments do not work except by vision, in accordance with the laws of that science. Nor is it wonderful if all things are known by mathematics, and yet all things by this science, because, as I have said before, the sciences are intimately connected, although each has its proper and peculiar province. But this science has not hitherto been read at Paris or among the Latins, except twice at Oxford in England.

*Rogeri Bacon Opera Inedita*, ed. Brewer, Pref.

SOME, in fact, imagined that Bacon was in alliance with the evil one, and that by the aid of spiritual agency he made a brazen head and imparted to it the gift of speech; and these magical operations were wrought by him whilst he was a student at Brazen Nose Hall. Whether he did this by the powers of natural magic is for the present a question. . . . Certainly John Ernest Burgravius, in a work on these subjects, contends that Bacon was indebted to celestial influences, and to the power of sympathy for these operations. To this he refers the talking statues (*statuæ mercuriales*) and the brazen head fabricated by Bacon, or as some assert by Albertus Magnus. This was nothing else than natural magic, in which Boethius was greatly skilled, and of which he writes in these words to Cassiodorus: 'Tuæ Artis ingenio metalla mugiunt, Diomedes in ære gravius buccinatur, æneus anguis insibilat, aves simulatæ sunt; et quæ vocem propriam nesciunt habere dulcedinem cantilenæ probantur emittere.' However it was, I am certainly of opinion that the Devil had nothing to do with them. They were produced by Bacon's great skill in mechanics and his knowledge of the powers of electricity, and not as the ignorant and even the better informed surmised, molten and forged in an infernal furnace.

Bacon and  
the Brazen  
Head

. . . Such deep ignorance shrouded convents and hosteleries, that the monks and friars could not believe that any one could gain acquaintance with the learned languages except by the aid of secret intercourse with the Devil; of the circle they knew nothing more than its property of keeping away evil spirits, and they dreaded lest religion itself should be wounded by the angles of a triangle.

*Rogeri Bacon Opera Inedita*, from Wood's *Hist. and Antiq.*  
*Univ. Oxon.*

ROGER BACON'S Works were neglected and regarded with a pious horror in the middle ages. . . . 'It is easier,' said Leland, 'to

Bacon's  
Scattered  
Leaves



collect the leaves of the Sibyl, than the titles of the works written by Roger Bacon.'

*The Grey Friars in Oxford*, by A. G. Little.  
Oxford Hist. Soc., 1892.

**A once  
Famous  
Library**

LELAND visited the Friary of the Franciscans shortly before the Dissolution, and we have from his pen the last description of the once famous library :—

'At the Franciscans' house there are cobwebs in the library, and moths, and bookworms; more than this—whatever others may boast—nothing, if you have regard to learned books. For I, in spite of the opposition of all the friars, carefully examined all the bookcases of the library.'

*The Grey Friars in Oxford*, by A. G. Little.  
Oxford Hist. Soc.

**The Doctors'  
Learning**

TRUST me, Plantagenet, these *Oxford* schooles  
Are richly seated neere the riuer side :  
The mountaines full of fat and fallow deere,  
The batling pastures laid with kine and flocks,  
The towne gorgeous with high built colledges,  
And schollers seemely in their graue attire,  
Learned in searching principles of art.  
What is thy iudgement, *Jaques Vandermast*?  
That lordly are the buildings of the towne,  
Spatious the romes and full of pleasant walkes :  
But for the doctors, how that they be learned,  
It may be meanly, for ought I can heere.

Greene's *The Honorable Historie of Frier Bacon  
and Frier Bungay*, 1594.

**Attack on  
the Legate**

AN DOM. 1238. Otho, Deacon-Cardinal of St. Nicholas chapel on Tully's dungeon or the Tullianum, came into England to correct the vices of the clergy as being sent Legate by the Pope (Gregory IX.), and coming to Oxford to visit the University (as some are pleased to report) . . . was on St. George's day (23 April) kindly received into Osney Abbey by the Abbot and Canons thereof. To him straightway the Clerks of the University sent several presents of meats and drinks before dinner, to the end that after they might come and compliment and render their service to him with all reverence that was fit to be given to such a personage. But when they came (not without solemn procession) to the door of the Guests Hall, the Porter who was an Italian belonging to the Cardinal, spake with a loud voice after the Roman fashion (by no



means fit and opportune in this solemnity), and rudely asked them their business, what they would have, what they came for, etc. To which the Clerks gave answer, 'that they might approach the presence of the Lord Legate and offer him their devoirs,' for they confidently believed that they should be received with honour, forasmuch as they had before sent in their presents. But the said Porter speaking tauntingly to them, denied entrance with great haughtiness and scorn. The Clerks, taking this for a great affront, forcibly rushed in and those Italians, the Legate's servants, that would have thrustured them back and were ready to oppose them with their swords—they beat with their fists and staves that they then had. While these things were in doing, it hapned that a certain poor Chaplain of Ireland, at this time a student in the University, was standing at the kitchen door, and, after the manner of a poor hunger-starved wretch, was begging for God's love some boon to relieve his hungry stomach; but him, when the Master or Clerk of the Legate's cooks (brother to the said Legate, whom he had appointed in that office lest poison should be mingled with his meat) heard, and not able any longer or at least would not endure his solicitations, being at the same time or soon after that the Scholars had beaten the Italians, took scalding liquor out of a cauldron, wherein some fat meat had been newly boiled and cast it into his face. A Welsh Clerk who stood by and beheld this injury, cried out, 'Fie for shame, shall we suffer this?' and so being not able to endure that affront given to his Fellow-academian, bent his bow which he had with him (for it was now the fashion for secular Academians to carry arms about them) and shot the said Master or Clerk (whom they satyrically called Nabuzarden, *i.e.* Magister Coquorum) through the body dead in the place. The man being thus killed a great noise was made in the Abbey, at which the Legate being amazed and jealous lest the same fate should befall him, puts on his Canonical Cope and locks himself up safe in the Tower of the Church; where he abiding till night, at which time certain Soldiers were sent by the King from Abendon for his relief, came forth, put on his Canonical Vestments and mounting the best horse which he had, was conveyed over the rivers adjoining by a guide that knew where they were fordable. In the meantime the Clerks who were yet in their fury and had searched all private places for him, ceased not to cry out, 'Ubi est ille Usurarius, Simonialis, raptor reddituum et sititor pecunie, qui regem pervertens et regnum subvertens, de spoliis nostris ditat alienos?' All which he patiently hearing, became in policy as a deaf and dumb man, not in the least retorting to those about him to what

they had uttered, but said within himself,

*'Cum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori.'*

Soon after he came puffing and blowing to the King, then with his court at Abendon Abbey, five miles from Oxford, and without any demur or patience entering his presence, relates to him and the standers-by, as well as tears and sighs would permit, the great abuses that he had received from the Clerks of Oxford.

The King, who received this complaint with very great compassion, sent letters immediately (for they were dated the same day) to the Mayor and Burghers of Oxford, that they give him a faithful account concerning the transgressions of the Clerks. They therefore forthwith made enquiry . . . and with forces sent by the King, under the conduct of William, Earl of Warren, did in the first place free the Italians that were left behind and sent them under guard to their Master, lest they should be taken from them by the Scholars. Then did they make close enquiry as well of rich as poor, great or Scholars of less repute, that had an hand in the outrage, and finding out many that were guilty, clapt them in prison, some say thirty, others but eighteen, besides one of the principal actors called Odo de Kilkenny, Canon of Lichfield and Legist. Others also that fled to Walingford for security were by command sent from the King to Richard de Turri put in the dungeon there and elsewhere with great ignominy, notwithstanding some of them were of noble race.

Soon after these things were done, came to Oxford by the King's command Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, and Ralph Nevyle, Bishop of Chichester and Chancellor of England, who with the Abbots of Evesham and Abendon meeting in St. Frideswyde's Church on the morrow after the Feast of St. Philip and Jacob, suspended in the presence of the Clerks and people . . . the Study or University of Oxford and forbad all Service, Exercises and ordinary Lectures to be performed.

About the same time the Legate, who was either at Abendon or Reading . . . summons together several Bishops that were nearest to him and in their presence did solemnly interdict the University (and the Abbey of Osney . . .) and excommunicated all such that had a hand in the outrage, who were not only the Juniors but Regent-masters, beneficed Clerks and Doctors, nay the Chancellor himself. Which being done was soon after published with bell, book and candle in every place in Oxford. The Scholars therefore seeing what was already done both by imprisonment, excommunication, suspension and I know not what and were not certain what would befall them farther, many, who thought themselves in the

least suspicious, fled from Oxford, choosing rather to undergo any hardship in another place than there, where liberty was denied. But they being numerous and their departure noted by many, the King sent his Breve forthwith prohibiting that none under severe corporal punishment should depart, unless they had licence from him so to do. . . .

By this time things being a little composed through the mitigation of the Legate's anger or else that the prisons were not able to contain more Scholars, security was taken by the Sheriff of the County from all Regents and beneficed Clerks to answer for all transgressions done by them against the Legate when time should be appointed. Others also by mainprize given in by several persons were delivered from prison . . .

Within few days after, viz. May 15, the Town was open for all Clerks to go and come and their chattells, which before were seized, were restored. . . . At the same time also Roger Nigel, Bishop of London, and Rob. Grossteste, Bishop of Lincoln, offering mainprize for several Clerks that were clapt up in the Tower of London with several layicks that were engaged in the said insurrection, the said Clerks were by the King's command delivered thence, namely Mr. Odo de Kilkenny. . . .

But as for these that were fled into the country divers Breves issued out to the Sheriffs . . . that they should date them in their respective Counties of what nation soever they were, whether Irish, Welsh, Scotch, English or others and send in their names and the names of their sureties. How many withdrew themselves or were taken it appears not. But those that the Inquisitors had notice of that were present at the said insurrection and were gone, they returned : among whom I find these, viz. William the Writer, Rob de Tysford, Simon the son of Waryn de Brackley, present at the fray with bows and arrows ; Adan de Wolton, parchment maker, living in Catstreet, present also with bow and arrows ; Elizeus and John, who made their abode and studied in the house of John le Tournour living in Grope Lane ; John Currey of Scotland, Mr. Peter de Gosyngton of the county of Leycester, William and John de Hoyland who made their abode and studied in the house of Will Maynard ; Hugh le Verrer, who abode in the house of Osmund the Miller ; Raynold de Hybernia and his seven fellows in the house of the said Osmund : John de Cassells and Walter Yriffe his fellow, in the house of John Ingram : Henry the chaplain of Edwardstowe in the same house : John Mortimer and Rob. Norensis in the house of Augustine Gosse : Roger a Scot and Peter a Scot, his fellow, in the house of Mr. William de Lychfield (which



was Wylleby Hall in the parish of St. Peter in the East), Reginald de Cumberland, Writer, in the Inn or Hall of John the Writer in S. Cross's parish: Hamo de Stratford near Buckingham in the house of John the Writer, sometime Richard's the Weaver. One Colinus also of eighteen years of age, who was present at the fray and flung two stones against the gate of the guests hall at Osney, was fled, etc. . . .

Many also in the prisons at Oxford that found security for their appearance were let loose, among whom were . . . Galfridus de Hereford, son of the Parson of Bromyard, who was present at Osney and sorely cudgelled Thomas Terry of Oxon, supposing him to be a Roman, fled away and was not to be found; but the said Th. Terry because he was present at the fray found for his sureties Richard Segrym and Laurence, the Provost, Burghers of Oxford . . .

Some, and those not a few, were freed from prison by the worthy Dr. Grosstest who passed his word for their appearance, so that now those that had any sureties were set at liberty, but for those that were fled (of which many never returned), the King by his Letters to the Chancellor and Archdeacon of Oxford, commanded them to publish abroad that all that were fled upon account of the fray at Osney, should return to Oxford without fear and be ready to receive absolution of their offences.

By this time the Legate, who had intentions to go into the North parts of England, took his course to London and lodged himself and retinue at Durham house, the King charging the Mayor of London to keep him as the apple of his eye with watch and ward continually about him. To that place he assembled the Archbishop of York and all the Bishops of England by that authority which he did enjoy, to the end that they should consult concerning the state of the Church and reparation of the late offences done to him by the Clerks of Oxford. His will being performed, the Bishops stood up stiffly for the University, particularly Dr. Grosstest, Bishop of Lincoln, who as 'tis reported did solemnly excommunicate in the presence of the Legate and King all those that had laid violent hands upon the Clerks. He and the rest of the Bishops also alledged that Oxford was '*secunda ecclesia*,' the second church, and one of the famousest nurseries for learning and religion in the Christian World; and now to be dealt with more severely, seeing that the Scholars had already suffered imprisonment, deprivation of goods and other miseries, could not but provoke them to utter dispersion. Furthermore to satisfy the Legate and give him a right understanding of the truth, they told him that the difference arose from the incivility and sauciness of



his servants in their actions and speech towards them, which was so foul and gross that they could do no otherwise than what they did.

An. Dom. 1239. The Legate having heard these things with patience and his anger a little cooled, breaks up the meeting and after divers letters between him and the Pope and certain Cardinals concerning the business, ponders on the matter. At length, after the Clerks had stood interdicted almost one year (if not above) and for that reason their Lectures and Exercises were omitted and divers (as Authors report) had retired to Northampton and Salisbury to study; he, by his letters to the Chancellor of Oxford, invites and summons the excommunicated to repentance and ordered their punishment to be thus performed.

That the Clerks gather together at S. Paul's in London, and thence go to Durham house on foot (which is near an English mile) accompanied with the Bishops to Carlisle (now Worcester) house, and from thence go barefooted 'sine capis et mantellis discincti,' without their caps and hoods and gowns, the rest of the way and there humbly to beg mercy and pardon of the Legate for their offences. All which being punctually performed (for the Legate would never have taken it for satisfaction enough unless many of the Bishops had accompanied the Scholars in their procession) he by his letters released the Interdict: which being done, the Scholars reassumed their Lectures, but not in that number as before, being highly offended for the injuries they had received.

Anthony à Wood, *Hist. and Antiq. of Univ. of Oxford*.

THE next disturbance at Oxford arose by mere chance on the occasion of the visit of the Papal Legate, Cardinal Otho, to Oseney Abbey in 1238. Some members of the University having sent him some delicacies for his table on the morning of the 23rd of April, went in the afternoon to pay their respects in person and to ask of him a favour in return. The doorkeeper, however, a suspicious Italian, absolutely refused to admit them to the guests' hall. Irritated by this unexpected rebuff, they collected a great number of their comrades and made a determined attack on the foreigners, who defended themselves with sticks, swords, and flaming brands plucked from the fire. The fury of the clerks reached its height when the Legate's chief cook took up a cauldron full of boiling broth and threw its contents in the face of a poor Irish chaplain, who had been begging for food at the kitchen door. A student from the Marches of Wales thereupon drew his bow and shot the cook dead on the spot, whilst others tried to set fire to the massive

Attack on  
the Legate

gates which had been closed against them. The terrified Legate, hastily putting on a canonical cope, fled for refuge to the belfry of the Abbey, and there lay hid for several hours, while the clerks assailed the building with bows and catapults.

News of the fray soon reached King Henry III., who happened to be staying at Abingdon, and he lost no time in despatching some soldiers to the rescue. Under their powerful escort the Legate managed to ford the river by night. Still as he galloped away he seemed to hear the shouts of his adversaries ringing in his ears: 'Where is that usurer, that simoniac, that spoiler of revenues, and thirster after money, who perverts the King, overthrows the realm, and enriches strangers with plunder taken from us?' Breathless and in tears he hastened to lay his complaint before the King, his grief and indignation being intensified by the fact that the man slain was his own brother, who had undertaken the office of chief cook in order to protect him from the danger of poison. His tale met with ready sympathy. That very night a writ was issued ordering the Mayor and good men of Oxford to assist two commissioners sent by the King to make enquiry about the riot, and the Earl of Warren started with an armed force to arrest the chief offenders. Twenty or thirty scholars, some of them youths of noble birth, were consequently committed to prison in Wallingford Castle, and thence, at the request of the Legate, conveyed in open carts like felons to the Tower of London, where they were heavily laden with irons. The Lord Chancellor and Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, went to Oxford in person, and guards were stationed at all the gates of the town to prevent the egress of a single member of the University. . . .

The Legate on his side was not slow to make the offending clerks feel the full weight of ecclesiastical censure. Two or three days after the riot, he pronounced sentence of excommunication on all who were responsible for it, prohibited all scholastic exercises and lectures in the University, and laid the whole town under interdict. . . .

The King's wrath began to abate before very long . . . and eight days after the 24th of May, the gates of the town were thrown open without any special restriction. Cardinal Otho proved less placable than the King. . . . The English bishops, however, told him bluntly that the riot at Oseney was entirely due to the insolence of his own servants, and complained that by his appeal to the secular arm, he had sacrificed the liberties of the Church to his private feelings of animosity. The Bishop of Lincoln, in par-

ticular, took up the matter warmly, and pronounced a counter-excommunication on all who had interfered with his jurisdiction by arresting clerks residing in his diocese. When all other arguments in favour of leniency had failed, the bishops tried to work on the Legate's fears, warning him that among the students recently suspended from their studies at Oxford there were many Welshmen, Scots, and other foreigners, who were likely to take a bitter revenge. Under this pressure he gave way. . . . But he declared that he would not restore the University to his favour until its chief members had publicly begged for pardon. They accordingly assembled in the cathedral church of St. Paul in London, and walked in procession to Carlisle House in the Strand, accompanied by the bishops who had pleaded their cause, and by the canons of Oseney. . . . Then taking off their copes, their mantles, their girdles, and their shoes, in token of penitence, they went on to Durham House, where their submission was at length accepted by the aggrieved prelate. On the 29th of May, he issued a formal document, relaxing the interdict, and giving permission for the resumption of academical teaching at Oxford. At the beginning of July, the King . . . authorised the Archdeacon and the Chancellor to proclaim that all who had lately fled in consequence of the riot might safely return to seek absolution without fear of arrest or injury. Finally the Legate offered his full pardon to all penitent clerks without distinction, taking care, nevertheless, to exact from each of them a sum of money equivalent to a week's 'commons,' for the benefit, as he declared, of his brother's soul.

*Lyte's Hist. of the University of Oxford.*

At Oxford, as elsewhere, the Jewry was a town within a town, **The Jewry** with its own language, its own religion and law, its peculiar commerce, its peculiar dress. The policy of our foreign kings secured each Hebrew settlement from the common taxation, the common justice, the common obligations of Englishmen. No city bailiff could penetrate into the square of little streets which lay behind the present Town-hall; the Church itself was powerless against the synagogue that rose in haughty rivalry beside the cloister of St. Frideswide. . . . At Oxford the attitude of the Jewry towards the national religion showed a marked consciousness of this royal protection. Prior Philip of St. Frideswide (1180-88) complains bitterly of a certain Hebrew with the odd name of Deus-cum-Crescat, who stood at his door as the procession of the Saint passed by, mocking at the miracles wrought at her shrine. Halting, and then walking firmly on his feet, showing his hands



clenched as if with palsy, and then flinging open his fingers, the mocking Jew claimed gifts and oblations from the crowd who flocked to St. Frideswide's, on the ground that such recoveries of limb and strength were quite as real as any Frideswide had wrought. But though sickness and death in the prior's story avenged the insult to his shrine, no earthly power, ecclesiastical or civil, seems to have ventured to meddle with *Deus-cum-Crescat*. With the Jewish settlement began the cultivation of physical science in Oxford. The Hebrew instruction, the Hebrew books which he found among its rabbis, were the means by which Roger Bacon penetrated to the older world of material research.<sup>1</sup>

*Oxford Studies*, by J. R. Green.

**Jewish  
attack on  
a Procession**

AN. DOM. 1268. According to a custom had from the time of the translation of the reliques of St. Frideswyde, the Chancellor and Scholars of the University would in the middle of Lent and on the day of the Ascension of our Saviour, go in a general procession to her Church as to the mother Church of University and Town, there to pray, preach, and offer oblations to her shrine.

This year on Ascension day the said Chancellor and Scholars with the parish priests and Commonalty of Oxford, went according to the manner thither where Mr. Nicholas de Ewelme, then Chancellor, preached. But in their going or returning thence, a certain Jew, encouraged by others of his profession, did in contempt of Christ crucified lay his hands upon the Cross that was carried before them, snatched it from the bearer, trod it underfoot and broke it in pieces. This being no sooner done and the heinousness of the fact manifested to the King from Edward his son then at Oxford, he sent his Precept to the Sheriff to take into his hands all manner of Jews to remit them to safe custody, and in no wise suffer them to have the use of their goods and chattels till such time as they should raise up from the ground a fair and stately cross of marble, very curiously wrought with the image of the crucifix on the one side, and the picture of the blessed Virgin with her Babe on the other, and both fairly to be gilded over and to be set in the place where this fact was committed. Besides this obligation they were to provide a portable cross of silver neatly wrought and gilded over with a staff or spear to it of the same bigness (like to those that Archbishops have carried before them) to be delivered into the hands of the Proctors of the University and at usual times to be borne before the Masters and Scholars in their solemn processions. . . . The money being levied to make

<sup>1</sup> This is denied by Dr. Neubauer in *Oxf. Hist. Soc.*



the said Crosses, the King was informed that in the place where the crime was committed there could not be conveniently built a Cross without great prejudice and annoyance to certain Burghers living near it and thereupon proposed to erect it just over against the Jews' Synagogue, but that place also thought inconvenient by the King and his Council, another place was allotted near to the House of Merton and particularly near the Church of S. John Baptist.

At the same time also it was appointed that the other portable Cross should be delivered into the possession of the Chancellor and Scholars of the University, to be carried before them in Processions as aforesaid. Which being accordingly done and an acquittance given for the receipt of it, was reposed in the Monastery of S. Frideswyde, with the treasure they had in a chest there.

*Wood's History and Antiquities of University of Oxford.*

ON Ascension Day, 1268, as a long procession of clergy was wending its way towards the cemetery of St. Frideswyde's, to hear the public sermon, which the Chancellor of the University was wont to preach on that day, a number of Jews made a sudden attack on the cross-bearer, and having wrenched the cross out of his hands, trampled it under foot ignominiously. The King's son, Edward, who happened to be in the town at the time, at once sent news of the outrage to his father at Woodstock, and then the King in council decreed that the Jews at Oxford should be forced to atone for this insult to the Christian religion by providing two new crosses in the stead of the one they had broken. The larger of these crosses was directed to be 'made of marble, fair, lofty, well and suitably carved and polished, with a crucifix above on one side, and a figure of the Blessed Virgin with her Son on the other, conveniently arranged and gilded'; and it was to be set up on the very spot where the outrage had been committed, with an inscription explaining the cause of its erection. The other cross was to be carefully wrought in silver gilt, having a staff of the same size as that of an archbishop's cross, and was to be given to the University to be carried in procession on all solemn occasions.

**Jewish  
Attack on  
a Procession**

*Lyte's Hist. of the University.*

IN Leonard Hutten's *Antiquities of Oxford* an account is given of two Houses of the Cistercian Monks in Oxford, namely Rewley and Barnard College. The Abbey of North Osney was otherwise called Rewley. 'In the year 1281 Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, founded a monastery of the Cistercian Order in Oxford and

**Rewley**

brought from Thame monks of that fraternity, and he called the church by the name of North Osney (though afterwards it was better known by the name of Rewley). The number of monks I can better deliver by unwritten tradition than by any written verity that I have seen, that is to say by 21 elme trees standing in two ranks on each side of the way from the outward gate to the dwelling-house and of one tree planted at the upper end, which they say representeth the Abbatt and his Convent capitularly assembled. This house also susteyned the common calamity of Henry the Eighth his displeasure and is now a parcel of the possession of Ch. Ch.'

*Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata.* Joseph Skelton's *Antiquities of Oxon.*  
Oxford, 1823.

Simon de  
Montfort  
and Prince  
Edward

HIS [Edward's] way he nome by Oxenford, but the burgesses anon  
The gates made against him of the town each one.  
He went and lai withoute town, atte Kinges halle,  
And went forth amorrow with his men alle.  
The gates, when he was went, were alle up brought  
Soon, but Smithe gate, but that was undone not.  
The clerkes had there through much solace ilore  
To play toward Beumond, annoyed they were therefore.  
The bailiff they bid oft, to grant their solace,  
To play and undo that gate, but for nought it was.  
So that a few wild hinds a light plan thereof nome  
And a day after meat with axes thither come,  
And that gate to-hew and to-dashed there  
And after through Beumond to Harewell it bare  
And *subvenite sancti* fast began to sing,  
As man doth when a dead man men will to pitte bring.  
William the Spicer and Geoffray of Hencsei that then were  
Portreven, and Nicole of Kingstone that was mayor,  
Nome of these clerkes, and in prison cast,  
And would not them deliver, yet the chancellor prayd fast.  
The clerkes were wroth, the burgesses were so bold  
And threatened to nime more and of their wrath little told.  
The first Thursday in Lent the burgesses were well fers,  
And the while men were atte meat, areared two banners,  
And went them forth armed with all their power there,  
To defoul all the clerkes, ere they iware were.  
As they came against All Halwen with power so strong,  
At Seinte Marie church a clerc the common bell rong.

Those clerkes up from their meat, and to Godes grace truste,  
 And saw that they were shent, but they the better them wuste,  
 They met with those burgesses and began to shoot fast.  
 Iwounded there was many one, but the burgesses atte laste  
 They began to flee fast, them thought long ere,  
 So that the clerkes had the stretes soon clear.  
 The bowyers' shops they broke, and the bowes nome each one.  
 Afterwards the Portreves houses they set afire anon,  
 In the south half of the town, and afterwards the Spicerie  
 They brake from ende to other, and did all to robberie.  
 For the mayor was vintner, they brake the Vintnerie  
 And all other in the town, and that was little masterie.  
 They cast away the dosils that wine ran abroad so,  
 That it was pity great, of so much harm ido.  
 Therefore when the King came and wist such trespass  
 Alle the clerkes out of the town he drove for that case  
 Nor before after Michaelmasse they came no more there.

*Robert of Gloucester.*

A COUNCIL was convened in 1160, at which thirty Vaudois or Publicani were sentenced to be branded and flogged out of the city for setting at naught Baptism, the Eucharist, Marriage, and other sacraments and ordinances of the Church. **Councils of Oxford**

A second council was summoned by King John with a view of exacting a larger proportion of the ecclesiastical revenues.

A third and great council was held at Oseney on 11 June 1216 by Stephen Langton, in which fifty canons were promulgated in accordance with the decrees of the Lateran Council.

A fourth council was held in 1322 by Archbishop Reynolds by which ten constitutions were published.

A fifth was held in 1408 by Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, and directed against the Lollards. Wiclif's books were strictly forbidden, and the University was declared to be dangerously infected with damnable doctrine. A thorough lustration was prescribed, and a new scheme of pains and penalties was enacted.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Johnson's *Ecclesiastical Canons*; Wilkin's *Concilia*; M'Clintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia*.

## MEDIÆVAL OXFORD

The First  
Collegium

It was at Oxford that the first *college*, as we understand the term, rose into being. It was Walter de Merton, Lord High Chancellor of England, who was the father of the collegiate system in England. So far from embarking upon a new experiment without careful deliberation, he spent twelve years of his life in working out his ideas and in elaborating the famous *Rule of Merton*, of which it is not at all too much to say that its publication constituted an era in the history of education and learning in England . . . Be it noted that until Merton's day people had never heard of what we now understand by a *college*. It was a novelty in English institutions. . . . The religious orders were religious or they were nothing. Each new rule for the reformation of these orders aimed at restoring the primitive idea of self-immolation at the altar—a severer ritual, harder living, longer praying. Nay, the new rule, in not a few instances, was aimed against learning and culture. The Merton Rule was a bringer in of new things. Merton would not call his society of scholars a *convent*, as the old monkish corporations had been designated. That sounded too much as though the mere promotion of pietism were his aim; he revived the old classical word *collegium*. There had been *collegia* at Rome before the imperial times; though some of them had been religious bodies, some were decidedly not so; they were societies which held property, pursued certain avocations, and acted in a corporate capacity for very mundane objects. Why should not there be a *collegium* of scholars? Why should students and men of learning be expected to be holier than other people? When Merton started his college at Oxford he made it plain by his statutes that he did not intend to found a society after the old conventual type, but to enter upon a new departure.

The scholars of the new college were to take no vows; they were not to be worried with everlasting ritual observances. Special chaplains, who were presumably not expected to be scholars and students, were appointed for the ministration of the ceremonial in the Church. Luxury was guarded against; poverty was not enjoined. As long as a scholar was pursuing his studies *bonâ fide*,



he might remain a member of the college ; if he was tired of books and bookish people, he might go.

When a man strikes out a new idea, he is not allowed to keep it to himself very long. The new idea soon gets taken up ; sometimes it gets improved upon ; sometimes very much the reverse. For a wise man acts upon a hint, and it germinates ; a fool only half apprehends the meaning of a hint, and he displays his folly in producing a caricature. Hugh de Balsham seems to have aimed at improving upon Merton's original idea. He meant well, doubtless ; but his college at Peterhouse, the first college in Cambridge, was a very poor copy of the Oxford foundation. Merton was a man of genius, a man of ideas ; Balsham was a man of the cloister. Moreover, he was by no means so rich as his predecessor, and he did not live to carry out his scheme. The funds were insufficient. The first college at Cambridge was long in building ; Cambridge, in fact, was very unfortunate. Somehow there was none of the dash and enthusiasm, none of the passion for progress which characterised Oxford. Cambridge had no moral genius like Grosseteste to impress his strong personality upon the movement which the friars stirred, no commanding intellect like that of Roger Bacon to attract and dazzle, and lead into quite new regions of thought the ardent and eager spirits who felt that a new era had begun ; no Occam or Duns Scotus or Bradwardine ; no John Wiclif to kindle a new flame—say, rather, to take up the torch which had dropped from Bradwardine's hand, and continue the race which the others had run so well. What a grand succession of men it was !

Canon Jessopp's *Coming of the Friars*. Unwin, 1889.

THE first thing to be impressed upon all visitors to Merton College is that it is the oldest in either Oxford or Cambridge ; it is also a year older than the English Parliament. The first regular Parliament was summoned in 1265, and Merton College was founded in 1264. It is true that two other colleges are placed before Merton in the *University Calendar*, and claim to be older ; and as benefactions for the support of poor students in Oxford, they are, . . . but as a college in our sense of the word, that is as a corporate community governing itself, possessing estates in the country, and its group of buildings in Oxford, housing its members within its walls, providing instruction for them, and exercising discipline over them, Merton is sixteen years older than University College, and eighteen years older than Balliol. And Merton gave the example not only to Oxford but to Cambridge ; the system of

**The Antiquity  
of Merton**

life established by our Founder (Walter de Merton) was copied quickly at the sister University; and when Hugh de Balsham, Bishop of Ely, founded the College of Peterhouse in 1280, he commanded that his scholars should live according to the rule of the scholars at Oxford who are called 'of Merton.'

*Merton College*, by Rev. H. J. White. Dent, 1906.

#### Balliol and Merton

BALLIOL men stoutly claim precedence for their college on the ground of seniority. They yield to the legendary antiquity of University College, but they will not give place to Merton. To tell the truth, the beginnings of Balliol were very small and not to be compared with the foundation of Walter de Merton. John de Balliol, Lord of Barnard Castle, married the Lady Dervorguilla of Galloway through whom his son afterwards claimed the Scots crown. In 1260 this turbulent John offended the Church. Penance, imposed by the Bishop of Durham, comprised a scourging at the door of Durham Abbey and a sum for the perpetual maintenance of poor scholars: but it was not until 1266 that he established a party of scholars in a hired house by the church of St. Mary Magdalene. He died in 1269 and, thirteen years later, his widow Devorguilla, moved by her conscience and her confessor to execute her husband's last wish fulfilled the foundation—to wit a body of sixteen scholars, governed by two proctors, with suitable statutes and property in Horsemonger Street (now Broad Street) sufficient for a modest maintenance. Among the college's early alumni were John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester; Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and William Grey, Bishop of Ely. At the cost of such magnates was built the Library, still the peculiar glory of the college: coeval with the Vatican Library, it is probably the oldest collection of books having continuous existence north of the Alps.

Merton claims to be the oldest of University colleges. In 1265 Walter de Merton obtained a site for permanent buildings in Oxford, and the College as a building dates from that year. The scholars were limited to twenty, their statutes date from 1274. Merton borrowed from the monastic institutions the idea of an aggregate body, living by common rule under a common head, provided with all things needful for a corporate life, fed by secure endowment, fenced from external interference, with study (rather than religion) as their chief object. In these statutes he founded not merely a college, but the whole system of English University Education. The Library, in the famous 'Mob Quad,' was built in 1377. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Merton sent

out six Archbishops of Canterbury. John Wiclif was fellow, before he went as Master to Balliol. A Merton Vice-Chancellor preached before Ridley and his faggots from the text 'Though I give my body to be burned and have not charity it profiteth nothing.' The most munificent of wardens was Henry Savile, who spent £8,000 on his edition of St. Chrysostom, as much went to the College, to the Bodleian and to the Chairs named after him. Under him the Eton Postmastership was founded in 1604. In 1644 the Queen held her court at Merton, over the archway of the Fellows Quad. In 1665 Charles II. brought wife and mistresses thither. To Merton, above all, we owe Anthony à Wood.

Adapted from *Oxford and Cambridge*. Delineated by Hanslip Fletcher. Pitman. 1909.

THE Lord Walter de Chirkham, Bishop of Durham, departed this life full of days, a gentle and pure man, in person little, but in mind very large and devout, who loved to traverse, not the woods, but the psalms. He was of such authority in the exercise of his office that he was honoured and feared by the mightiest, and sternly checked those that rebelled against the Church. Now it happened that a Baron of his diocese, the most famous in the whole of England, had gotten himself drunk with beer, quite contrary to the fair esteem beseeming his rank, and had done other evil disrespectful to the Church. When he heard of the audacity of that effrontery, the good shepherd admonished him that he should make amends; but inasmuch as pride chooses rather to be confounded than to be corrected, he added scorn to effrontery. But the Bishop, strengthening his heart, so shrewdly brought back his truant son to his bosom, that with much ceremony at the entrance of Durham Cathedral, before the eyes of all the people, he suffered scourging at the hands of the Bishop, and assigned a sum of fixed maintenance to be continued for ever to scholars studying at Oxford [*Chronicon de Lanercost*]. This was the penance of John de Balliol, and was the origin of Balliol College.

John de  
Balliol and  
Dervorguilla  
his wife

In the nine remaining years of his life, Balliol seems to have fulfilled his obligation of 'maintaining scholars' at Oxford. . . . As far as we can ascertain, an House was established, known as the 'House of Balliol,' where poor scholars were received, and a sum of eightpence a week was allowed to each of them, towards the expenses of a common table. But the House appears to have had no rules for self-government, and it was not in Balliol's lifetime definitely endowed. John de Balliol died in 1269, at Barnard

Castle, and Dervorguilla [his widow] continued the maintenance of the Oxford Scholars until she was able to give a more distinct character to the 'House of Balliol,' by endowing the community which bore her husband's name with permanent buildings and substantial funds. And then she gave to the Scholars those beautiful Statutes [1282], which, in their wisdom, charity, and simplicity, and in the evidence of tender care for all her poorer scholars, must ever be prized as the best and richest of her gifts, who was 'mulier magna opibus et prædiis tam in Anglia quam in Scotia; sed multo major ingenuitate cordis.'

*Early History of Balliol College*, by Frances Paravicini.  
Kegan Paul, 1891.

**Merton  
Fellows  
and King  
Edward II.**

SCHOLASTIC philosophy and dialectical subtleties were the chief delight of the age and pursuit of the University. As it was to Merton that were ascribed the greatest names in these studies, so it was certain Merton Fellows who displayed proficiency in them before the wondering King Edward II., as runs the 'merry tale' preserved by Anthony Wood.

'Several of the fellows of the said College, being desirous to have a backgate to take the aire (to walk in the meadows), make their address to the King . . . Being come before him, the senior of them began to speak:—

'Insignissime domine rex' . . .

REX. 'Quinam estis vos?'

MRI. 'Nos sumus de magistris vestris.'

REX. 'De quibus magistris?'

MRI. 'De magistris venerabilis domus Convocationis et de collegio Merton.'

REX. 'Quid vultis, magistri?'

MAGISTER SENIOR, 'Insignissime domine rex, volumus ostium factum.'

'No!' (answered another Master), 'nolumus ostium factum, sic enim injurabimus proximos, sed volumus ostium in fieri.

'Nay, not soe!' (replied another Master). 'Nolumus ostium in fieri' (saith he), 'nam tunc potest esse in hoc fieri illo fieri et altero fieri et sic in infinitum; sed volumus ostium in facto esse.'

To whom the King deliberately answered: 'Egregii magistri, discedite et inter vos concordate; et tum demum habebitis ostium.'

So like the men of Gotham they went away as wise as they came.'

*Merton College*, by B. W. Henderson. 'College Histories,'  
Hutchinson, 1899.



[THE Secular Masters of Arts shared to the full the hostility against the Mendicant Orders which the beginning of the fourteenth century witnessed, and in the course of the disputes between the University and the Friars, the Friars appealed to the Holy See. Of an effort on the part of the Dominicans' Proctor to serve a Notice of Appeal from recent statutes of the University upon the Chancellor and Masters in the congregation, Dr. Rashdall has given the following graphic summary]:—

The  
Dominican  
vs. the  
University

On the 30th of Nov. [1311], the first Congregation day since the acts complained of, the Dominican Proctor proceeded with Notary and witnesses to St. Mary's for the purpose of serving the notice; but before he had begun to read it, certain of the Masters compelled him and his companions to leave the church. Accordingly he left in confusion—in fact, he was hustled out, 'protesting' the while 'that he intended effectively to prosecute the aforesaid Provocations and Appeal, and offering a copy of the same.' But though the church door was shut against him, the zealous Friar was not going to retire without duly performing his errand. Accordingly he went round to the south side of the church, in the presence of the 'copious multitude of persons,' who had by this time collected to witness the fracas, mounted a tombstone, and thence, being perhaps further hoisted upon the shoulders of the companions who (it is said) 'assisted him' in the arduous enterprise, he shouted his Notice of Appeal through the open window into the ears of the Congregation assembled in the Choir within, concluding with the following little speech by way of peroration: 'Reverend Masters, I would have notified this process to you within, if I had been permitted to do so; but inasmuch as I have been expelled with violence, I have read it here before Notary and witnesses, and I call upon all who stand around to witness the premises, and further I leave you, affixed to the door of this church, a copy of the aforesaid process.' Dismounted from his temporary pulpit, the gallant Friar went back to the door which had been shut in his face, and nailed his document thereto, not, however, without coming in for a volley of 'maledictions' and invectives and some 'injuries' from the crowd of maniciples and servants who were hanging about. "'Twere a sin,' they were told, 'to give alms to you Friars!' "'Twere a pious deed to shut up your doors and burn you, saucy fellows that you are! you who dare—wretches and beggars that you are—to promote an Appeal against so great a Congregation of such reverend and excellent persons.'

[In 1313 the University succeeded in getting the controversy

submitted to arbitrators in England, whose award in substance confirmed all the University Statutes against which the Friars had complained. Yet certain concessions were made, of which, perhaps, the most important was one intended to check unreasonable or malicious refusal of a grace to a Friar wishing to graduate in Divinity without having first graduated in Arts.]

*The Friars Preachers v. The University,*

by Rev. H. Rashdall. Oxford Hist. Soc., *Collectanea*, 1890.

Election of a  
Chancellor,  
1349.

AN. DOM. 1349. Mr. John Wyllyot, lately Fellow of Merton College, was designed to the office of Chancellor by the generality, but some discovering an opposition caused all the quarrel and at length divided the University into parties, for while Mr. Wyllyot with his men were plotting and contriving to bring their designs to pass, his Antagonist would do the like and take all advantages to draw off or at least lessen his party. The chiefest persons on Wyllyot's side . . . with many more would usually come into St. Mary's Church and there summon all their confiding men together not only to the disturbance of those that solemnized the University meetings or that celebrated Masses for the souls of deceased Benefactors, but some time to the dispersion of them. At length the Bull of John XXII. obtained by King Edward III. against unusual meetings, brawlings, conventicles, merchandizing, etc., used in the church and yard of St. Mary's being openly read before them and afterwards hung up under the hand (it being only a transcript) of John Weston, Publick Notary, they did not afterwards so much frequent that place, but retired to another as convenient for that purpose. So that the said factions continuing till the beginning of this year, Wyllyot's party, about the latter end of March, entered unduly into St. Mary's Church at the time when the Chancellor was to be elected and there with clamours and shoutings cried him up to be their Chancellor and on those that did oppose him they laid violent hands, beat, kicked about and cudgeld till some were sorely wounded and others in a manner killed.

At length after much ado Wyllyot's party had the better, installed him, and put the Fasces of his authority into his hands and caused Roger Ingram the Northern Proctor, who was a great opposer of Wyllyot's party, to be banished Oxford.

In this riot one of the University chests was broken open and the common seal with money, books, and certain chattels therein were taken away and diverse insolencies relating to other matters were committed. These things being done, the particulars came

to the King's knowledge who forthwith sent his letters dated 2 Apr. to Mr. John Wyllyot . . . and the chief leaders in the said riotous election (and most of them, Merton College men) that they should under pain of forfeiting all they have or enjoy, restore the said seal and goods and other things taken away into the Proctors' hands. . . .

At the same time also another command was sent to the said Mr. Wyllyot, denoting that whereas he and his complices had proceeded against the customs and statutes of the University in their late election of Chancellor and had banished one of the Proctors with other persons and had imprisoned divers that he forthwith upon the sight thereof cause them to be recalled and restored to their liberty . . . and that neither he nor any of his party hold any meetings, etc., to the disturbance of the peace under forfeiture of all they were worth.

Not long after several Commissioners were sent to Oxon to examine into the said riot and after they had so done were to settle a right understanding between the said parties. But in their proceedings finding much wrong to have been committed they punished divers persons and would have removed Mr. Wyllyot from his place had they not feared the scholars, whom they saw ready (notwithstanding the King's Letters) to vindicate their late actions. So unanimous they were to defend what they had done either by argument or blow that rather than their man should be put by, they would venture their greatest strength and if that would not do, then were they resolved to relinquish the University and settle themselves elsewhere to study and so by that means draw all the southern men after them.

*Wood's Hist. and Antiq.*

THE leading spirit of the Southern faction was a doctor of divinity, one John Wyllyot, Fellow of Merton in 1334, whom his partisans by violence and rioting triumphantly created chancellor in 1349. His opponent, the Northern Proctor, was banished from Oxford. 'On those that did oppose him they laid violent hands, beat, kicked about and cudgeld, till some were sorely wounded and others in a manner killed.' In vain the Royal Commissioners strove to depose him from office. The Merton men stood firm. If worsted after a final effort by superior force of arms, they would retire from the University and draw all the Southern men after them. Chancellor was John Wyllyot and chancellor he remained. Nor in after years was he ungrateful.

Northerners  
and  
Southerners



Even in the sixteenth century these struggles of North and South continued. On August 8th, 1506, at four in the afternoon, the High Street by St. Mary's was a scene of battle royal. Masters and scholars indifferently, even the reverend Principals of Halls, plunged into the fray with swords and bows. The then Principal of S. Alban Hall, John Forster, Fellow of Merton, and four other Merton masters battled for the South, inflicting divers wounds on the enemy. Punished as they were by the warden and seniors afterwards by the loss of commons, and the charge to attend each and every 'disputation' (the equivalent of the modern lecture) in the College Hall, whence at meal time they were strictly banished, none the less they had some compensation. They had escaped with their lives, while S. Alban Hall and Stapeldon Hall had left each a scholar and Hart Hall its Principal dead on the field.

*Merton College*, by B. W. Henderson. Hutchinson, 1898.

AN DOM. 1274. As the University was now out of order in relation to learning and true discipline, so was it also by strifes and faction between men of divers countries that were students therein, that is to say, between the Southern, those of the Marches of Wales, Irish and Welsh on the one part, and the Northern and Scotch Scholars on the other. For whereas there had been a grievous contention between them on the morrow after St. Paul's day the last year concerning various petitions, reconventions and transgressions, in which contention divers goods were lost on each side, they by the intercedings of some of the chief men of the University were by a composition brought to an amicable peace on the Tuesday after Palm Sunday this year. For the conclusion of which were divers, as well Masters as Scholars of quality, of each party constituted in a most solemn manner . . . all which had a general and spiritual power given to them of composing, ordaining, remitting and doing all things whatsoever pertained to and making up of a peace. . . . And for the firmer peace and tranquillity of the University, it was agreed upon by each party, that if any one was found suspected to be a perturber of the peace, pledges should be taken for his behaviour of beneficed clerks within the dioceses of Canterbury and York, or of such Burghers of the Town of Oxford that had lands. Further also that he should behave himself peaceably and quietly, neither carry nor bear arms, nor give his helping hand to others to do the like, or frequent assemblies or conventicles wherein mischief and injuries are hatched. Also if any such perturbers would not or could not be made to take heed, but remain lurking about the



town, it was ordered that he or any that should receive such an one should have his goods sequestered and be expelled and banished from the University.

Which articles every one of the University, as well seniors as juniors, were to swear that they would observe them; and to their oath to add this article, viz., that if any one was found a rebellious contradictor of this ordination and that he refuse to undergo the correction of the Chancellor in the premises, that all the University should be ready at the command of the said Chancellor to lay hands upon him as a son of perdition, a perturber of the peace, of God, the Church and University, and turn him out for ever thence as an useless and putrid member, etc.

Certainly these controversies were very high and disturbed much the course of learning, forasmuch as such strict provisions were made for the observance of peace and that also the fray on the morrow after St. Paul's Day was bloody and to the great loss of divers scholars. If not it would not have been so solemnly composed by the chiefest of the University, neither the composition subscribed by so many of each party and sealed with 43 Seals, as it is to be seen to this day remaining in our Archives.

Wood's *Hist. and Antiq.*

AN. DOM. 1303. On the 21st of Febr. being the Vigil of S. Peter in the Chair, fell out a grievous discord between the Southern and Welsh Scholars on the one part and the Northern Scholars on the other, the beginning of which was thus:—About candlelighting or the hour of six, Lewis of North Wales and David ap Owen, Clerks, with others, whose names were not then known, met together in Schoolstreet, and being in discourse, passed by them two of the companions of Will. de Roule of the Bishopric of Durham, then lodging in an Hostel without Smithgate, whom when the Welsh Clerks and their fellows saw, gave them reproachful language and urged them to fight. Whereupon they raised an hue and cry for help, which being no sooner done, but several Northern Clerks came in and particularly the said Will. de Roule, who lodged in an Hall in S. Mildred's parish. But though he came in armed with a lusty cudgel, yet the Welsh Clerks and their assistants being numerous, did so much prosecute their blows upon Roule, that he was straightway carried to his Inn and there in the middle of the night expired. Hereupon others coming in, the fight was carried on, and because they would avoid authority, translated their stage; but then again dark night coming on, they parted.

Wood's *Hist. and Antiq.*

1314. On the Sabbath day, being the morrow after the Invention of the Holy Cross, fell out a sore conflict between the Northern Scholars on the one part and the Southern and Western on the other. For so it was that from a small occasion many of them came into S. John Baptist's Street and Grope Lane, armed with swords and bucklers, bows and arrows, with other weapons and there continued fighting divers hours. But the Northern party finding themselves to be worsted, some of them retired into an Hall opposite to the south end of Grope Lane called Goter Hall. Their names were Robert de Bridlington (of Merton College), Adam de Alderbeck, Richard de Louthby, Richard de Holewel, and Adam de Lymby, who standing in a window of a chamber of the said Hall, shot divers arrows into Grope Lane and that Bridlington shot killed Henry de Insula, Clerk. At the same time also David de Kirkeby unmercifully perished; for after John de Benton had given him a dangerous wound in the hinder part of his head with his fauchion, came Will. de la Hyde and wounded him in the knee with his sword and Will. de Astele gave him a cut under the left arm. About the end of the next month following the Northern and Western Clerks fought again within Northgate at the Vesper House; in which conflict (very hot for the time) came Stephen de Capergege and wounded to the heart one Gilbert de Crofton, who seeing himself mortally hurt went towards Smithgate in his way to his Hostel, but before he could get in, Roger de Northerne shot him with an arrow in the head, which touching the brain, fell down immediately dead. This fight being very furious and a great many hurt thereby, as in the former, the King of his Letters dat. 28 June appointed Henry Spygurnell, Henry le Scrope, and John de Foxley Commissioners to make enquiry into the said outrages.

Wood's *Hist. and Antiq.*

St. Scholas-  
tica's Day,  
Feb. iv. 135 $\frac{4}{6}$

ON Tuesday came Walter de Springheuse [Rector of Hameden in the diocese of Bath and Wells], Roger de Chesterfield, and other clerks to the tavern called Swyndlestock (the Mermaid Tavern at Carfax), and there calling for wine, John de Croydon, the vintner, brought them some, but they disliking it, and he avouching it to be good, several snappish words passed between them. At length the vintner giving them stubborn and saucy language, they threw the wine and vessel at his head. The vintner therefore receding with great passion and aggravating the abuse to those of his family and neighbourhood, several came in, encouraged him not to put up the abuse and withal told him they would faithfully stand by

him. Among these were John de Bereford, owner of the said tavern by a lease from the town, Richard Forester and Robert Lardiner (one of the bailiffs), who out of propensed malice seeking all occasions of conflict with the scholars, and taking this abuse for a ground to proceed upon, caused the town bell at Martin's to be rung, that the commonalty might be summoned together in a body. Which being begun, they in an instant were in arms, some with bows and arrows, others with divers sorts of weapons. And then they, without any more ado, did in a furious and hostile manner suddenly set upon divers scholars, who at that time had not any offensive arms, no, not so much as anything to defend themselves. They shot also at the Chancellor of the University, and would have killed him, though he endeavoured to pacify them and appease the tumult. Further, also, though the scholars at the command of the chancellor did presently withdraw themselves from the fray; yet the townsmen thereupon did more fiercely pursue him and the scholars, and would by no means desist from the conflict. The chancellor, perceiving what great danger they were in, caused the University bell at St. Mary's to be rung out, whereupon the scholars got bows and arrows, and maintained the fight with the townsmen till dark night, at which time the fray ceased, no one scholar or townsman being killed or mortally wounded or maimed. On the next day, albeit the chancellor caused public proclamation to be made in the morning, both at St. Mary's Church in the presence of the scholars and also at Quatervois among the townsmen, that no scholar or townsman should wear or bear any offensive weapons or assault any man . . . the bailives of the town had given particular warning to every townsman at his respective house in the morning, that they should make themselves ready to fight with the scholars against the time when the town bell should ring out, and also given notice before to the country round about, and had hired people to come in, and assist the townsmen in their intended conflict with the scholars. In dinner time the townsmen subtilly and secretly sent about four-score men, armed with bows and arrows and other manner of weapons, into the parish of St. Giles in the north suburb; who, after a little expectation, having discovered certain scholars walking after dinner in Beaumont (being the same place we now call St. Giles's Fields) issued out of St. Giles's Church, shooting at the said scholars for the space of three furlongs. Some of them they drove into the Augustine Priory and others into the town. One scholar they killed without the walls, some they wounded mortally, others grievously, and used the rest basely. All which being done



without any mercy caused an horrible outcry in the town, whereupon, the town bell being rung out first, and after that the University bell, divers scholars issued out armed with bows and arrows in their own defence and of their companions, and having first shut and blocked up some of the gates of the town (lest the country people who were then gathered together in innumerable multitudes might suddenly break in upon their rear in an hostile manner and assist the townsmen, who were now ready prepared in battle array, and armed with their targets also), they fought with them and defended themselves till after vespertide; a little after which time entered into the town by the Westgate about two thousand countrymen with a black dismal flag, erect and displayed. Of which the scholars having notice, and being unable to resist so great and fierce a company, they withdrew themselves to their lodgings. The countrymen cried, *Slea, Slea; Havock, Havock; Smyt fast, give gode knocks*. But the townsmen finding no scholars in the streets to make any opposition pursued them, and that day they broke open five Inns or Hostels of scholars with fire and sword, crying, *By the Sun, come forth*. Such scholars as they found in the said Halls or Inns they killed or maimed or grievously wounded. Their books and all their goods which they could find they spoiled, plundered, and carried away. All their victuals, wine and other drink, they poured out; their bread, fish, etc., they trod underfoot. After this the night came on and the conflict ceased for that day, and the same even public proclamation was made in Oxon in the King's name, 'that no man should injure the scholars or their goods under pain of forfeiture.' The next day, being Thursday (after the Chancellor and some principal persons of the University were set out towards Woodstock to the King, who had sent for them thither), no one scholar or scholar's servant so much as appearing out of their houses with any intention to harm the townsmen, or offer any injury to them (as they themselves confessed), yet the said townsmen, about sunrising, having rung out their bell, assembled themselves together in a numberless multitude, desiring to heap mischief upon mischief, and to perfect by a more terrible conclusion that wicked enterprise which they had begun. This being done, they, with hideous noises and clamours, came out and invaded the scholars' houses in a wretched sort, which they forced open with iron bars and other engines; and entering into them, those that resisted and stood upon their defence (particularly some chaplains) they killed, or eke in a grievous sort maimed. Some innocent wretches, after they had killed, they scornfully cast into houses of easement, others they



buried in dunghills, and some they let lie above ground. The crown of some chaplains, viz., all the skin so far as the tonsure went, these diabolical imps flayed off in scorn of their clergy. Divers others whom they had mortally wounded they haled to prison, carrying their entrails in their hands in a most lamentable manner. They plundered and carried away all the goods out of fourteen Inns or Halls, which they spoiled that Thursday. They broke open and dashed to pieces the scholars' chests and left not any moveable thing which might stand them in any stead; and which was yet more horrid, some poor innocents that were flying with all speed to the Body of Christ for succour (then honourably carried in procession by the Brethren through the town for the appeasing of this slaughter), and striving to embrace and come as near as they could to the repository wherein the glorious Body was with great devotion put, these confounded sons of Satan knocked them down, beat and most cruelly wounded. The crosses also of certain Brethren (the Fryers), which were erected on the ground for the present time with a *procul hinc ite profani*, they overthrew and laid flat with the cheynell. This wickedness and outrage continuing the said day from the rising of the sun till noontide, and a little after, without any ceasing and thereupon all the scholars (besides those of the colleges) being fled divers ways, our mother the University of Oxon, which had but two days before many sons, was now almost forsaken and left forlorn.

Anthony à Wood, *History and Antiquities*.

THE mediæval student, although miserably poor and enthusiastically eager for learning, was riotous to a degree that would have shocked the silliest and wealthiest set that ever made a modern college uncomfortable. The ordinary undergraduate, as well as the ordinary townsman, possessed a sword, which he girded on for his protection on a journey, or for any other special cause, so that the riots in the streets of Oxford were affairs of life and death, and the feud of town and gown a blood-feud. Many of the students were laymen, but the majority were in training to be clerks; there can be little doubt that the lawless habits contracted at the University account in part for the violent and scandalous life of the innumerable clergy in lower orders. The college system had already risen to meet this evil, but it was not till the fifteenth century that any very large proportion of the 'secular' students were brought under college discipline. Heresy could more easily spread in the inns and lodging-houses where the students then

**Friars and  
Seculars**

lived than in colleges which could be supervised by orthodox masters and visited by inquisitorial bishops.

Side by side with the 'secular' University lived the 'regulars.' The monks and friars had long played an important part in Oxford life. Outside the walls stood the colleges of Gloucester and Durham, where Benedictine monks lived under their own rule and at the same time enjoyed the education of the place. Within the city itself, over against Oriel, rose Canterbury College, lately converted into a house for the education of the monks of Canterbury by the ejection of the secular clerks and their warden. But the great strength of Oxford regular clergy lay in the friars. They had four convents outside the walls, one belonging to each order. In the thirteenth century they had raised the fame of the University to the height where it still rested, by producing Grossetête, Roger Bacon, and Duns Scotus. But though the friars had once been respected, they had never been loved by their brother academicians, for they attempted to take advantage of the University without conforming to its rules. They wished to become masters and doctors in theology without studying the prescribed course of 'arts.' Being themselves great theologians, they wished to make Oxford more theological. The seculars, on the other hand, were more secular in spirit as well as in name, and struggled to preserve, as an indispensable part of the University course, and as the principal factor in University education, those mediæval 'arts' which, narrow as they might seem to us now, were then the only studies by which learning was saved from being confined to theology and law. Disputes and jealousies had gone on for over a hundred years, and with special bitterness since 1300.

One of the chief causes of quarrel in the time of Wycliffe was the assiduity with which the friars proselytised among the secular students. Many undergraduates came up to Oxford at twelve or fourteen, and were set down moneyless, friendless, without experience, and far from home, in the midst of that extraordinary pandemonium. The insinuating friar knew well how to win these poor boys to join the cheerful and ordered life of the Franciscan or Dominican convent outside the city walls. Once he had taken the vows, the novice was caught, and a temporary convenience became a life-long bond. The seculars regarded this practice as poaching, the more so as it brought Oxford into such discredit with parents who did not wish their sons to become friars, that the number of undergraduates was said to fall off in consequence. The hatred of the two sections was further increased by professional jealousy, which was augmented when the spiritual Franciscans declared for evangelical poverty and

denounced the possessions of the Church. This jealousy was as strong in Oxford as in the rest of England. The monks and friars detested each other only one degree less than they both detested the seculars.

G. M. Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe*.  
Longmans, 1899.

[ATTACK on the Friars by Richard Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh, Chancellor of the University in 1333, in a speech before the Pope at Avignon.] **The University vs. the Friars**

‘Enticed by the wiles of the Friars and by little presents, these boys, for the friars cannot circumvent men of mature age, enter the Orders, nor are they afterwards allowed, according to report, to get their liberty by leaving the Order, but they are kept with them against their will until they make profession; further, they are not permitted, as it is said, to speak with their father or mother, except under the supervision and fear of a friar; an instance came to my knowledge this very day; as I came out of my inn, an honest man from England, who has come to this court to obtain a remedy, told me that immediately after last Easter, the friars at the University of Oxford abducted in this manner his son who was not yet thirteen years old, and when he went there he could not speak with him except under the supervision of a friar.’

In 1358 the University passed a statute forbidding the admission of boys under eighteen to the Orders.

‘It is generally reported and proved by experience,’ the statute ran, ‘that the nobles of this realm, those of good birth and very many of the common people, are afraid, and therefore cease to send their sons or relatives or others dear to them, in tender youth, when they would make most advance in primitive sciences, to the University to be instructed, lest any friars of the Order of Mendicants should entice or induce such children, before they have reached years of discretion, to enter the Order of the same Mendicants; and because owing to the admission of such boys to the Mendicant orders, the tranquillity of the students of the University has been often disturbed; therefore the said University, zealous in the bowels of piety both for the number of her sons and the quiet of her students, has ordained and decreed that if any of the Order of Mendicants shall receive to their habit in this University, or induce, or cause to be received or induced, any such youth, before the completion of his eighteenth year at least, or shall send such an one away from the University . . . in order that he may be received into the same Order elsewhere: then *eo ipso* no one of



the cloister or community of such a friar, . . . being a graduate, shall during the year immediately following read or attend lectures in this University or elsewhere where such exercises would count as discharge of the statutory requirements in this University; and this penalty shall be inflicted on all those of the Order of Mendicants and the associates of all those who shall be convicted by credible persons of having withdrawn youths in any way from the University or from hearing philosophy.'

The friars did not deny the charge, but defended their conduct . . . and in 1366 the statute was annulled. . . . The University, however, did not abandon the struggle.

*The Grey Friars in Oxford*, by Andrew G. Little.  
Oxford Hist. Soc., 1892.

#### The Age of Wycliffe

THE great University at this time occupied an independent place in English life and thought. It was not, as it became in the following century, an instrument used by the Church to force her own beliefs on the national intellect. It was not, as it became for a while under the Stuarts, a subservient body, willing to confirm the decrees of the Crown by its approval, and to defend the theory of tyranny in its schools. Oxford was at this time an intellectual world by itself, influencing the world outside, but jealous of outside interference. If it had not that liberty of thought in matters political and religious which the Universities enjoy to-day, it possessed more than other corporate bodies of the time. Owing half its privileges to the Pope and half to the Crown, it was not entirely in the hands of either power. Geographically, its site was well chosen to secure independence; it was not, like the University of Paris, seated under the very walls of the royal palace; it was far from Canterbury, it was very far from Rome, and there was no Bishop of Oxford; even Lincoln, the see to which it appertained, was more than a hundred miles distant. This independence was further strengthened by the prestige naturally belonging to a University which had admittedly no equal save Paris, and had surpassed even Paris in the production of men who gave the law to the learned throughout Europe. It is difficult for us to appreciate its singular importance as a national institution. The monastic schools where, in the days of Becket, the learning of the country had been centred, had sunk to be places of merely primary education in so far as they were educational at all. The grammar schools thickly scattered over the country only undertook to prepare boys for the University, so that the higher studies were monopolised by Oxford and Cambridge. Of these one was so far



inferior that it would be hard to find before the sixteenth century a single Cambridge man of any academical fame. Mediæval Oxford, pre-eminent, proud, and free, dared to admire and follow Wycliffe, the latest but not the least of the great men whom she had produced. She quickened the intelligent life of England by an Oxford movement.

Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe*.  
Longmans, 1899.

A FEW days before Christmas Day [1378], the Lord Pope sent his Bull to the University of Oxford by the hands of Master Edmund Stafford, rebuking them with fatherly correction for their manifest slothfulness, in that at such a crisis they had allowed the erroneous opinions of a disciple of very Antichrist, to wit Master John Wyclif, to take root among them, while there was not one who laboured to take up the sword of Catholic doctrine to extirpate a poisonous root of such pestiferous planting. How in these present days the proctors or rectors of this University had degenerated from the prudence or wisdom of the ancients may be easily conjectured by the fact that, after hearing the cause of the said Papal Nuncio's coming, they long kept hanging in the balance the question whether they should receive the Papal Bull with honour or reject it entirely with dishonour. University of Oxford! how hast thou fallen with heavy fall from the tower of wisdom and learning, in that thou who once was wont to declare to the whole world things inextricable and doubtful, now wrapt in a cloud of ignorance, dost not fear to doubt on points which it is not fitting that any Christian laic even should doubt. I am ashamed to record such ignorance, and so I cease to dwell on such a subject, lest I may seem to tear with my teeth the breasts of a mother which once were wont to give milk, the drink of knowledge.

From Thomas Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana*.

Wyclif  
and the  
University

CONSEQUENTLY upon the condemnation of the conclusions [*i.e.* Wiclif's] as heretical and erroneous, by the Lord Archbishop and the assembly of the wise, the Archbishop sends a mandate to the Chancellor of Oxford, Robert Rugge, declaring therein the condemnation, and commanding him either himself or by another, to make public declaration that the said conclusions were condemned, and commanding him moreover to forbid that these or any other similar matters should be either imparted or received in the schools, or handled in sermons henceforth; and bidding him labour the more

A Wicliffe  
Chancellor  
1382

effectually in the execution of the mandate directed to him, so that the Lord Archbishop might openly perceive that he was in no wise stained by such errors, or an adherent to the preachers of such doctrines. But the wickedness preconceived in his heart could not be dissimulated, so as not to display openly and abroad the poison which had established a settlement for itself in his mind. Of a truth on solemn days when it was incumbent on his office to preach before the people, he entrusted the burden of preaching to those whom he knew to be very ardent supporters of John Wiclif, scorning the Archbishop's mandate or making it of little account. And indeed he assigned to Philip Rypyndone, a canon of Leicester, the duty of preaching on the feast of Corpus Christi; who in his sermon, among much that was improper and misapplied, thus ended: 'But in speculative doctrine as to the nature of the material of the sacrament of the altar, I will place,' he said, 'a guard on my lips, until God shall otherwise illuminate or instruct the hearts of the clergy.' And so it came to pass that the Chancellor did not employ the mandate of the Archbishop so as to amend the evils, but to increase them and to irritate the paternal patience and lenity. The Archbishop, forsooth enraged by this, again collected the Assembly of the Masters, and had the said Chancellor cited with others named above, so that he should answer publicly before them for this great act of contempt, and himself declare his opinion concerning the condemned articles. Who at length after many shifts, placing a double meaning on the articles, and after divers sophistical remarks, were compelled, although unwillingly, to declare their opinions simply, having first made protest that they wished and intended to be humble and faithful sons and to obey the Church in all things. They acknowledged therefore that all the said conclusions were heretical and erroneous, understanding them in their verbal sense, in accordance with the definitions which the Lord Archbishop and the Assembly of Masters, after full deliberation, had put forth concerning them.

*Historia Anglicana*, by Thomas Walsingham.

Archbishop  
Arundel's  
Visitation  
and Oriel

[IN 1411 Archbishop Arundel resolved to *visit* the University and root out Wiclif's 'heresy.' The Chancellor, Richard Courtenay, Bishop of Norwich, and the Proctors resisted on the ground that the University had been exempted from any visitation by Pope Boniface IX. Oriel was the centre of resistance.]

When Arundel arrived at St. Mary's to hold his visitation, John

Byrche and William Symon, Proctors respectively in 1411 and 1412, and both Fellows of Oriel, locked the church doors against him, and in spite of his interdict, defiantly celebrated high mass. . . . Oriel played its own very special part, and was full of anarchy and rebellion. A formal inquiry into the behaviour of the Fellows was afterwards held. . . . The ringleaders were Symons, Robert Dykes, and Thomas Wilton. They were accused of every kind of vulgar brawling in the streets; of wounding and robbing and (in one instance at least) of slaying; of haunting taverns and returning to college sometimes as late as two in the morning, climbing over the walls and bringing in armed outsiders to pass the night in college, in clear violation of the statutes. The Provost acknowledged that he had often risen from his bed to let them in just before or just after midnight.

Wilton was charged with having gone to the Provost's chamber one night, called him a liar to his face, and proposed to fight him. On the eve of St. Peter's Day, the Provost, on the order of the Chancellor, exhorted the college against such practices; but the three chief offenders only turned their efforts against the Chancellor, on whose house they made a violent and murderous attack. So impossible at last was Courtenay's position made that he was forced to resign office. Dykes and Wilton refused to appear before Arundel's inquisitory court to answer to the charge of heresy.

As for John Byrche, the Proctor, his offences cut deeper into the constitution of the University. He was charged with having insidiously brought forward a motion in the *Magna Congregatio* to deprive of their power the twelve persons elected to examine into Wiclif's writings, and with having obstinately continued the session into the following day with the view of overpowering opposition. Byrche and his colleagues had also attempted in a *Parva Congregatio* to prosecute Courtenay for dissolving the *Magna Congregatio* by means of an extemporised court of judges of doubtful orthodoxy. He had tried by captious cross-examination to overbear the orthodox members of the college, and had led a stout resistance against the collegiate renunciation of Pope Boniface's Bull. . . . John Kote, the Dean, alike by the explicit obligation and by the dignity of his office, was bound to be the Provost's right-hand man; but he had misused his power in the interests of heresy and disorder. Once upon a day, in the hearing of many he had said openly, with a haughty mien: 'Let the Archbishop have a care what he tries to do; once before he tried to visit the University, and was banished the kingdom for his pains.' . . . The voice of Leyntwardyn [a Fellow] was heard on the other



side: 'O John,' said he, 'do you not consider what was the end of those who opposed in that way, and how gloriously he returned?'

Again and again the Dean had openly talked flat Lollardy. He tried to poison men's minds against Arundel: 'I have heard, the Archbishop say: "Do you think that Bishop overseas (meaning thereby the Pope) can give my benefices in England to whomsoever he will? No, by St. Thomas!"' By this Rote clearly implied that, even as the Archbishop despised Papal authority, so was episcopal authority to be set at naught. . . .

Three hours after Arundel's departure from Oxford, Rote came into the college and with a fierce look said, in the hearing of many: 'Why should we suffer interdict in our church for the misdeeds of others? Truly it shall be said of the Archbishop, *Let the devil go with him* and break his neck.'

*Oriel College*, by D. W. Rannie, 'Oxford College Histories.' Hutchinson, 1900.

**College Ideals  
in the 14th  
Century**

IN the middle of the fourteenth century the foundation of a college presented itself as the most natural and obvious outlet for the spirit of ecclesiastical munificence. It was the college-founding epoch *par excellence* . . . At Oxford six colleges had come into existence between 1263 and 1341.

To realise what a college in the fourteenth century was and what it was not, it is essential to bear in mind that the universities were older than the colleges, and had reached the period of their highest intellectual vitality almost without their aid. The universities were originally great guilds or autonomous corporations . . . which had grown up, not in the first instance through the will of any definite founder, but by a process of spontaneous and astonishingly rapid evolution. They had gradually acquired legal prerogatives, privileges, immunities of all kinds, but they still possessed almost no endowments. In the north of Europe the university teachers were still dependent entirely upon the fees of their students or upon the ecclesiastical benefices held by the teachers. Every newly-made Master of Arts was compelled to teach for a time in the schools of the university; every Master of Arts and every graduate of a higher faculty might continue to do so as long as he felt disposed. So long as he did so, he was called a regent, doctor, or master.

The college introduced no revolution into the university system. It was simply a way of supporting students who were attending the

<sup>1</sup> The Proctors were imprisoned in the Tower of London, and the young men who 'with swords, bows and arrows,' had insolently confronted the Archbishop were 'corrected by the rod and ferula.'—Wood's *Hist. and Antiq.*



schools of the university regents. A community of clerks living together in the university schools was naturally expected to live more or less after the fashion of other clerical communities. Even in the unendowed halls, in which students of all ages had been accustomed to reside before the era of colleges, there was a certain amount of order and discipline. . . . The college was originally nothing but an endowed hall. We must not therefore attribute to the earliest college founders any idea of introducing a revolution into the educational system ; it was not their primary design to supplement by a system of private discipline and domestic superintendence the unchastened liberty of the old student-life. Men like Robert de Sorbonne at Paris or Walter de Merton at Oxford only aimed at providing endowments and houses of residence in which poorer students might live very much as students of average means had hitherto lived in the unendowed halls at their own expense. And in particular they aimed at enabling the poorer men to extend their residence to a longer period than they could have done without such assistance. When it is remembered that the 'standing' now required of graduates in the superior faculties was formerly a period of actual residence, it is clear that only well-to-do students could without assistance attain to those degrees. But although the provision of stricter discipline was not the primary aim of college founders, the conditions of college life naturally made stricter discipline possible. The Head of a college was, indeed, in this country usually elected by the community, but he could neither be removed by it nor be deserted in favour of a more easy-going Principal. The community was autonomous ; but the degree to which different grades of scholars participated in the government was minutely prescribed by the statutes. The statutes were made by the founder, and their execution was watched over by his representative, the external visitor. The foundation of colleges naturally led to the growth of a stricter, more disciplined, and more orderly form of academic life than had hitherto been known in the universities, and the advantages which the system revealed in its practical working served as an additional inducement to add to the number of such foundations.

*New College*, by Rev. H. Rashdall and R. S. Rait.  
Hutchinson, 1901.

AMID all this elaborate machinery of devotion, the idea that these boys of sixteen and upwards, destined for the priesthood, might want some instruction in the principles of the Christian religion or any advice or encouragement about life and conduct, never entered

Religious  
Instruction  
and the  
Statutes of  
New College

into the founder's head. Any such provision would have probably carried with it in his view a dangerous savour of 'Lollardy.' For men like Wykeham religion was almost wholly an affair of external performance and this could be secured by statute. Only once a year, on the Feast of the Annunciation, is a sermon to be preached in college. Sermons—except, perhaps, when preached by well-disciplined friars—always brought with them a danger of heresy. There were, indeed, the university sermons, but these would often at this time be preached by Lollards. Wykeham would probably not be particularly anxious that his scholars should attend them. The only religious instruction provided is instruction in plain-song and the mechanical art of saying Mass by the chaplains. The theological teaching of the schools was, of course, only for the theologians. Wykeham's statutes are a typical and peculiarly elaborate expression of a religious ideal which his contemporary and enemy, Wycliffe, had already undermined.

*New College*, by Rashdall and Rait. Hutchinson, 1901.

**Henry V.  
of Queen's**

THIS King Henry v. before he ascended the throne of England studied at Oxford in Queen's College, his chamber being that above the gateway in the entrance of the said College, where he was under the tutorship of his uncle, the venerable father Henry Beauford, then Chancellor of Oxford . . . The glorious king himself from that time forth ever held this University of Oxford in great honour and favour, and closely loved her, and those whom he then knew to be virtuous and noble in knowledge and morals he advanced afterwards to the highest honours. . . . This King Henry, if he had lived, purported to have nobly founded at Oxford [*in castro Oxoniae*] a college in which the seven sciences should be profoundly and laboriously studied and abundantly taught in order to the teaching of others. This I saw in the records of Oxford while I was a boy, but because I was then under age, I did not long retain in my memory what I saw.

Joannes Rossus, *Historia Regum Angliae*, ed. Hearne, 1716.

**Riotous Clerks  
and Scholars**

WHEREAS many clerks and scholars of Oxenford, unknown, armed and arrayed in the manner of war, have often disseised and put divers persons out of their lands and tenements in the counties of Oxford, Berks, and Buckingham, and also have hunted with dogs and greyhounds in divers warrens, parks, and forests in the same counties, as well by days as by nights, and have taken deer, hares, and conies, and moreover have threatened the keepers of the same to take away their lives; and also with a strong hand have taken

clerks, convicted of felony by due process of law, out of the Ordinary's ward, and those prisoners they have brought with them, and have set them at open liberty, as the King by public complaint to him made in the parliament hath conceived. The King, therefore, willing to make remedy of these things, did this year ordain that due process should be made against such scholars for their offences as the law and statutes of the land require, according to the case, till they come to answer, or else be outlawed. And if any such scholar be so outlawed, then the justices before whom such outlawry shall be returned shall certify the Chancellor of the University of the said outlawry. Which being so done, the said Chancellor shall cause him to be forthwith banished without any more ado.

*Statutes of the Realm* [9 Hen. v. c. 8] 1421.

FROM the beginning of the fifteenth century may be dated the decline of the Nations. To this result a variety of causes contributed. The cosmopolitan character, which had marked the University in the first two centuries of its existence, was disappearing. In 1369, all scholars, as well religious as secular, of the kingdom of France and the dominions thereof abiding and staying in Oxford, were ordered to depart thence, and the kingdom of England, within eight days. Religious schisms in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries deterred foreigners from resorting, as formerly, to the English University. In 1413, all Irish people were ordered to depart the realm, except some that were religious, and others that were graduates, and these were allowed to remain only upon condition of putting in security for good behaviour, and agreeing not to take upon themselves the Principality of any Hall. No Irishman was to presume to come to either University, unless he could show to the Chancellor thereof testimonials from the Lieutenant or Justiciar of his native country. This statute does not seem to have been strictly enforced. Licences to reside in Oxford were easily procured from the king. In 1422, however, the Irish were alleged to have committed many robberies and manslaughter, both within and without the University, and among other great incivilities to have hindered the king's baillives in collecting the fee-farm rents. A petition against them was addressed to Parliament, and the statute of 1413 was revived, and strictly enforced. The Welsh about this time quitted Oxford for a time on the outbreak of Owen Glendower's insurrection, and many others fled after a riot in 1437.

The Decline  
of the  
Nations

Samuel F. Hulton, *Rivae Oxonienses*. Oxford, 1892.



**All Souls**

MOVED by compassion, Archbishop Chichele recites, for the state of the unarmed soldiery of the Church, and with no less pity for the general ailment of the armed militia of the world, he desires to erect a college of poor and indigent clerks bounden with all devotion to pray for the souls of the glorious memory of Henry v., lately King of England and France, the Duke of Clarence, and the other lords and lieges of the realm of England whom the havoc of that warfare between the two realms hath drenched with the bowl of bitter death, and also for the souls of all the faithful departed. . . . In pursuance of this object, prayers for the souls of the faithful departed are specially required in the private devotions of the Fellows, a weekly requiem for the dead is prescribed for every Friday throughout the year, while the Feast of All Souls Day is naturally singled out as 'the great day of the whole society.' Yet All Souls was intended to be much more than a chantry *ad orandum*; in fact the statutes creating a college *ad studendum* practically relegate its function as a chantry to a second place.

*All Souls College*, by C. G. Robertson. Hutchinson, 1899.

**The University  
Letter Book**

OCCUPIED almost entirely with the state of the University and its ordinary business, these records<sup>1</sup> give us a vivid record of the past. The condition of learning, its fears and anxieties, its hopes and projects, are traced by contemporary hands, and we are made witnesses of the bloodless warfare which the university 'this fortress of learning,' was ever waging against the compassing foes of culture and religion. Whilst, on the one hand, vaunt is continually made of its constant care for religion and zeal for the maintenance of the purity of the faith, and for the diffusion of learning, there is on the other, a curious combination of unblushing begging for help and favour, and of sturdy resistance against every attempt at invasion of the rights and privileges that had been acquired.

*Dublin Review*, July 1901, 'University Life in  
Mediaeval Oxford,' by J. B. Milburn.

**Numbers of  
Students  
1300-50**

A CENTURY before Gascoigne's<sup>2</sup> time, he tells us that there were thirty thousand students in Oxford, and that he counted them from the Rolls of the old Chancellors, when he was himself Chancellor. They came from all parts of Europe. Alexander v. graduated at Oxford, and then proceeded to Paris. Students came from Bohemia, sat at the feet of Wiclif, and carried his books back to their native country. The number seems incredible, but Oxfordshire was, to judge from its rating for exceptional taxation, after Norfolk, then at the best of its industries, the wealthiest

<sup>1</sup> *Epistolae Academicae*, ed. Rev. H. Anstey. Oxford Hist. Soc., 1898.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Gascoigne, Chancellor in 1434 and 1444.



county in England by a considerable proportion, and the circuit of its walls by no means included all its inhabitants, for there was a large population on the north side of the town, and even in some of the villages near it. This concourse of students was diverted by the great plague, the ravages of which were the more serious, because our forefathers were closely packed together, and were utterly indifferent to sanitary conditions. Even after the plague, the first quadrangle of New College, minus one of the stories, was supposed to give ample room for a warden, seventy fellows and scholars, ten chaplains, a number of clerks and choristers, and servants too. The site of New College had been once a densely peopled part of Oxford, but now, owing to the plague, was ruinous, deserted, and a hiding-place for thieves and other bad characters. I see no reason to doubt the statement about the exceeding populousness of Oxford in the first half of the fourteenth century. The University had great privileges and a great reputation, and Oxford was a secure retreat against violence, for it was almost the strongest fortress in England, probably even stronger than London.

Preface to *Loci e Libro Veritatum* of Thomas Gascoigne,  
ed. J. E. Thorold Rogers. Clarendon Press, 1881.

GASCOIGNE tells us little about the colleges. He alludes to Balliol, but only in connection with his two friends, Thwaites and Grey; to New College, but only because the Warden happened to be Chancellor when Pecok's books were burnt at Carfax; to the libraries of Exeter and Durham Colleges, the latter of which fell with the monastery whose novices it was founded to educate. He refers to a sermon of one Holcot, who may have been the Warden of Merton, and lived in Oxford during Gascoigne's residence, which is quoted to show that a man may get a dispensation, even from a Pope, and be damned for using it, but he gives the preacher neither Christian name nor place. The fact is, the colleges in Oxford were at this time mere fragments in the University. Some were wealthy, like Merton, New, and All Souls; but the resources of these foundations were limited to the recipients of the benefaction, and the rule of the founder was to put as many persons on the endowment as the funds would bear. Besides the fellow was always to be poor. Chichele allowed no man to share his benefaction who had five pounds a year income. The fellows of Merton, to judge from the furious quarrels among them and the trivial causes of the quarrel, must have housed together, and seen hardly any one else, like the Spanish monks in Browning's poem. The Fellows of New College were often constrained to go into

Early College  
History

religion, like because they could hardly live. Those of the poorer colleges, like University, Balliol, Oriel, Exeter, Queen's, and Lincoln, were the recipients of small stipends, derived from some tithes and buildings, and eked out their scanty revenues by taking lodgers. Thus Wiclif took lodgings in Queen's, and was probably acceptable, because he was then high in favour with the King and his son, John of Gaunt, whose son, afterwards Cardinal Beaufort, and grandson, afterwards Henry v., were educated within the same college. So George Nevil, Bishop of Exeter, the son of the Earl of Salisbury, was at Balliol, Archbishop Courtenay was at Exeter, Archbishop Arundel was at Oriel; but they were there, as the Duke of Exeter's sons were in the early part of the same century at King's Hall, Cambridge, lodgers on pension within the precincts of a humble foundation. So Gascoigne himself lived at Oriel: the only fellow of which, or indeed of any College, that he recognises in his book is the hateful Pecok. He did not concern himself with institutions which were at that time mere excrescences on the University, and were inhabited by students who were only just different from monks by the rule of their foundation, and bettered their fortunes by turning monks. The day had not come for the more opulent College of Waynflete, into which Cecily, the mother of Edward iv., vainly begged the bishop to introduce a protégé of hers.

*Loci e Libro Veritatum*, Preface. Clar. Press, 1881.

University  
Library

IN the north-east corner of St. Mary's Church, a church full of nooks little known to ordinary visitors, is a dark-vaulted chamber (once dark because its windows had been built up), whose doors, when opened, only used to reveal the abiding place of the University fire-engines. Here of old sat the Chancellor of the University surrounded by the doctors and masters of the Great Congregation, in the fashion which was formerly depicted in the great west window of St. Mary's Church, and is still represented on the University seal. . . . Above this chamber there is another, lighted by four windows, containing forty-five feet in length and twenty in breadth, and now nominally assigned as the lecture-room of the Professor of Law. Here was begun, about 1367, and finally established and furnished in 1409, the first actual University library, called after Bishop Thomas Cobham, of Worcester, who about 1320 (seven years before his death) had commenced preparations for the building of the room and the making provision for its contents.<sup>1</sup> . . . Not a

<sup>1</sup> Before this time Wood tells us there were 'some books kept in chests in St. Mary's Church.' Another collection was bequeathed to Durham College in 1345 by Richard of Bury, author of the *Philobiblon*.

score of years had passed after Cobham's Library had been actually completed and opened before the building of a room more worthy of the University was commenced. In 1426 the University began to erect the noble Divinity School for the exercises in that faculty; but as their own means soon failed they betook themselves to all likely quarters to procure help. And Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, the patron of all learning, and the fosterer of the New School of theological thought responded so liberally to the petition of the University for aid to the fabric of their Material School, that he is styled (says Wood) in the Bedell's Book its Founder, while the roof to this day perpetuates his memory among the shields of arms of benefactors with which its graceful pendants terminate. His gifts of money for the School were quickly followed by still larger gifts of books for the Library. Between the years 1439 and 1446 he appears to have forwarded about 600 MSS., which were for the time deposited in chests in Cobham's Library. The first donation, consisting of 129 volumes, was forwarded in November 1439. The letter of thanks from Convocation is dated the 25th of that month, and on the same day a letter was sent to the House of Commons, to the 'ryght worshypfull syres, the Speaker, knyghtes, and burges of the worshepful parliament,' informing them that the Duke had magnified the University with a thousand pounds worth and more of preciose bokes,' and therefore beseeching their 'sage discrecions to consider the gloriose gifts of the graciose prince . . . for the comon profyte and worshyp of the Reme, to thanke hym hertyly, and also pray Godde to thanke him in tyme comyng wher goode dedys ben rewarded.' Statutes for the regulation of the gift were made on the same day, prayers appointed, and provision made for the observance of the Duke's obit.

*Annals of the Bodleian Library,*  
by W. D. Macray. Clarendon Press, 1890.

It was the donations of Humphrey, 'the good Duke of Gloucester,' which first gave the University an important library of its own. His gifts, which began in 1411, were continued throughout his lifetime, the whole number being more than 300, and after his death there came under his will a further very large addition. Yet of all these books only one is supposed to be now remaining in the Bodleian Library.

**Duke  
Humphrey's  
Manuscripts**

On an inspection of the catalogues 'a very large proportion of the books,' says Mr. Anstey (*Munimenta Academica*), 'are found to be theological works, with a less number of mathematical, medical, and astronomical.' Not a few copies of parts of Aristotle (translations, it would appear), but of other classical authorities



a few. We find, however, copies of Cicero, Seneca, Cato *moralizatus*, Pliny, Quintilian; one copy of Plato, one of Suetonius, one of Æschines, one of Livy, one of Ovid: of Greek classics none besides Æschines, unless we except the portions of Aristotle and the copy of Plato, and these were probably Latin translations. English Chronicles are almost unrepresented (Capgrave and the Polychronicon being the only specimens). Of the works of Petrarch and Boccaccio there are very numerous copies, and of Dante more than one.

*Apud* Rev. H. Anstey, *Munimenta Academica*, Rolls Series, 1868.

Duke  
Humphrey  
and his Gifts

IN Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, Oxford found one of her most generous and constant patrons of any age, one who laid the University under an obligation which not all her sons are ready to recognise. Certainly no contemporary of the 'Good Duke' could rival his generosity to the 'Clerks of Oxford,' though they were not destitute of important patrons. Henry iv. was numbered among the benefactors of the early library. Henry v. took an interest in the welfare of the University, on one occasion making special ordinances to be proclaimed and observed therein, and at his death bequeathing certain books to the Library. It is said that he had intended to found a great college there, and though this plan was never carried out, Archbishop Chichele built and endowed his foundation of All Souls in memory of his royal master. Of Henry's sons, Bedford had 'the intention' of founding lectures in the seven liberal arts, and three philosophies. Henry vi. was but a churlish friend of the University in spite of the obsequious flattery he received therefrom, and on more than one occasion we find him as a harsh landlord, raising the rent of 'Bedal Hall,' or cutting down the hard-earned fees of the masters teaching in arts. On the other hand, Queen Margaret was the founder of a lectureship in theology, while Cardinal Beaufort, who had neglected his Alma Mater during his life, thought it well to add to his chances of eternal salvation by bequeathing five hundred marks towards the completion of the Divinity School. . . . Oxford, therefore, was a fashionable object of interest for sumptuous donors, and for many years the Duke of Gloucester was the 'great protector' of Oxford . . . in quarrels with the Benedictine Order . . . in intestine quarrels between Bachelors and Masters . . . and in dangers from the insolence of heretics. But the chief lament of Oxford at the time was occasioned by its poverty. Once she was famous in the world, and students flocked to her from all parts. Now [1438] there was a scarcity both of food and money. Scarcely one thousand



scholars and masters remained in the University; doors were locked, buildings in ruins. . . . Probably the lack of books was the greatest want; and in answer to the direct appeal of 1438, Duke Humphrey, who had already presented money and books, sent to Oxford what must have been an important part of his library, in the shape of 129 volumes, 'a more splendid donation than any prince or king had given since the foundation of the University,' valued at over a thousand pounds. . . . On 5th November 1439, an indenture in receipt of the books was drawn up, and thereon were inscribed the first word or words occurring on the second folio of each volume, so that identification in case of loss might be possible. . . . Two more gifts followed in 1441, the first consisting of seven, the second of nine books. On both occasions the books were conveyed to Oxford by Sir John Kirkby, a soldier who had served under Humphrey in the campaign of 1417. Finally, in 1444, came a gift of 134 volumes, which were indented for in the usual manner. Gifts of books in such numbers were unique in the history of the University, and the possession of such a library did much to restore the old prestige of Oxford.

Condensed from Kenneth H. Vickers, *Duke Humphrey of Gloucester*.  
Constable, 1907.

THIS Indenture made at Oxford on the 25th day of November in the year of our Lord 1439, and in the eighteenth year of the reign of King Henry vi. Between the most serene and illustrious prince and lord, the most renowned Lord Humphrey, son, brother, and uncle of Kings, duke of Gloucester, earl of Pembroke, and great chamberlain of England of the one part, and his most humble and ever praying University of Oxford of the other part: Witnesseth that the said University of the great and magnificent liberality of the aforesaid renowned prince has received by the hands of his beloved and special envoys, Master Gilbert Kymere, Doctor of Medicine, and Ralph Drewe, Bachelor of Civil Law, one hundred and twenty volumes destined for the said University: and also nine other volumes from the same most serene prince at the hands of other his former envoys transmitted to the same University: of which volumes the names are below described for the perpetual record of the matter.

From *Munimenta Academica*, Rolls Series, 1868.

Now as to the Jurisdiction of the University (and all its privileged members) it belongs to the Chancellor of the University (or his Commissary or Deputy, now commonly called the Vice-Chancellor), exclusive of the Mayor and other Governors of the Town or City of Oxford. And (for instance) according to the Composition of

The 'Good  
Duke  
Humphrey's'  
Manuscripts

University  
Jurisdiction

37 Henry VI. (as to the custody of the peace and punishing the breach thereof) 'it is agreed and accorded, that if the peace be broken between any two persons, if the one is of the privilege of the University, that the correction and punishment thereof only pertains to the Chancellor, according to the Statutes of the University; and if the peace happen to be broken between any two laymen of the Town of Oxenford or of the Suburbs of the same; or else between any foreigners, or any foreigner and a layman of the Town, that then, if the Mayor, Aldermen, Bailifs, or any of their officers, first arrest such breakers of the peace, that the correction and punishment of the said trespass pertain wholly to the said Mayor and Bailifs: And if such breakers of the peace be first arrested by the Chancellor, Proctors, or any of their officers that then the correction and punishment of such trespass pertain only to the Chancellor according to the Statute of the University. Provided always that if neither party be of the privilege of the said University, ne no such person as is before rehersed, that should have the privilege of the said University, that then the suit for the party grieved or wronged be had and determined before the Mayor or Bailifs of the said Town.'

An Abstract of divers Privileges and Rights of the Univ. of Oxford,  
by Dr. Wallis,<sup>1</sup> *Apud Gutch's Collectanea Curiosa*, 1781.

**Hostels and  
Private  
Lodgings**

THE students found lodgings in private houses and in inns or hostels. . . . A hostel was usually a private house hired by a group of students that they might live together more economically; and the senior man among them, who was responsible to the landlord for the rent, and to the University for the good conduct of his men, gradually came to be called the Principal. . . . Many students, however, still lodged singly in private houses. Chaucer's poor scholar lodged with a carpenter who worked for the Abbot of Osney. . . .

Before the charter granted by Henry III. in 1268, houses were let to the clerks by citizens on their own terms, extortionate terms, as the scholars said; but afterwards the clerks had it more their own way, and the city complains to the king in 1290 that the chancellor and scholars will not allow the townsmen to let their houses for a less term than ten years. Repeated attempts were made to regulate rents by joint committees of Taxors, chosen from the two corporations jointly, but complaints did not cease on either side. In 1421 the King, alarmed at the frequent violations of the peace at Oxford, issued an ordinance which required all scholars to be under some sufficient principal. The University complains

<sup>1</sup> Dr. John Wallis, Savilian Professor of Geometry, 1649-1703.

in 1432 that grave crimes are committed by scholars, falsely so-called, known under the evil name of chamberdekenys (*in camera degens*), who live in no hall, but sleep away their days and pass their nights in riot and debauchery, crime and violence. The early matriculation oath was merely an engagement to keep the peace. All this was one of the chief reasons which finally led to the complete success of the collegiate organisation and the suppression of this unattached system.

Boase's *Oxford*.

It has been suggested that Simnel was a name given to the impostor, Lambert, now aged about fourteen, from the trade of his father—a baker, who baked simnels or small flat cakes. But the official account described the boy in 1487 as ‘oone Lambert Symnell, a child of ten yere of age, sonne to Thomas Symnell late of Oxforde, joynour.’ In his letter to the Pope on the 5th July 1487, Henry VII. merely calls him ‘quemdam puer um de illegitimo thoro natum.’ Other authorities represent his father as an organ-builder and shoemaker, and the discrepancy between the various accounts suggests that the Government and the chroniclers alike were ignorant of his real origin.

Lambert  
Simnel

According to Polydore Vergil, from whom all other accounts are derived, Lambert was ‘a comely youth, and well favoured, not without some extraordinary dignity and grace of aspect,’ and one Richard Simon, an ambitious and unscrupulous priest, conceived the idea of passing him off as one of the princes believed to have been murdered by Richard III. in the tower, and thereby securing an archbishopric for himself.

It is a circumstance not a little remarkable that on the revision, or rather destruction, of the statutes in Laud's time, the names of all or nearly all these charitable benefactors [the founders of ‘chests’ for loans to poor scholars] should have ceased to be commemorated, and as far as any grateful recollection of their bequests is concerned, should have ceased to be known in the University at all. What ordinary member of the University is aware of the pious benefactions, by which the University in its early poverty was nursed, of John Pontysera, bishop of Winchester, Gilbert Routhbury, Philip Turville, John Langton, W. de Seltone, Dame Joan d'Anvers, and others; and yet to their generosity many a starving clerk was indebted in days when the learned professions were recruited far more than they have ever since been from the humblest ranks of society.

Forgotten  
Benefactors

Rev. H. Anstey, *Munimenta Academica*, Rolls Series, 1868.



## RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION

Erasmus  
on Oxford  
Learning

ERASMUS had come to England because he could not raise the means for a longer journey to Italy. To prosecute his studies in Italy had been for years an object of anxious yearning; but now, after a few months' experience of Oxford life, he wrote to his friend [Robert Fisher, on December 5, 1498 or 1499], who was himself going to Italy, 'that he had found in England so much polish and learning—not showy, shallow learning, but profound and exact, both in Latin and Greek—that now he would hardly care much about going to Italy at all, except for the sake of having been there.' 'When,' he added, 'I listen to my friend Colet, it seems to me like listening to Plato himself. In Grocyn, who does not admire the wide range of his knowledge? What could be more searching, deep, and refined, than the judgment of Linacre? . . . Whenever did nature mould a character more gentle, endearing, and happy than Thomas More's?'

*The Oxford Reformers, John Colet, Erasmus,  
and More, by Frederic Seebohm.  
Longmans, 1887.*

The New  
Learning  
and the Old  
Schoolmen

IT was probably in Michaelmas Term of 1496 that the announcement was made to doctors and students of the University of Oxford that John Colet, a late student, recently returned from Italy, was about to deliver a course of public and gratuitous lectures in exposition of St. Paul's Epistles.

This was an event of no small significance, and perhaps of novelty, in the closing years of that last of the Middle Ages; not only because the Scriptures for some generations had been practically ignored at the Universities, but still more because the would-be lecturer had not as yet entered deacon's orders, nor had obtained or even tried to obtain any theological degree. . . .

Before the days of Wiclif, the Bible had been free, and Bishop Grosseteste could urge Oxford students to devote their *best morning hours* to Scripture lectures. But an unsuccessful revolution ends in tightening the chains which it ought to have broken. During the fifteenth century the Bible was not free. And Scripture



lectures, though still retaining a nominal place in the academical course of theological study, were thrown into the background by the much greater relative importance of the lectures on the 'Sentences.' What Biblical lectures were given were probably of a very formal character.

The announcement by Colet of this course of lectures on St. Paul's Epistles was in truth, so far as can be traced, the first overt act in a movement, commenced at Oxford in the direction of practical Christian reform—a movement, some of the results of which, had they been gifted with prescience, might well have filled the minds of the Oxford doctors with dismay.

They could not, indeed, foresee that those very books of the 'Sentences,' over which they had pored so intently for so many years, in order to obtain the degree of Master in Theology, and at which students were still patiently toiling with the same object in view—they could not foresee that, within forty years, these very books would 'be utterly banished from Oxford,' ignominiously 'nailed up upon posts' as waste paper, their loose leaves strewn about the quadrangles until some sportsman should gather them up and thread them on a line to keep the deer within the neighbouring woods. . . .

Already Oxford students had been to Italy, and returned full of the new learning. Grocyn, one of them, had for some time been publicly teaching Greek at Oxford, not altogether to the satisfaction of the old divines, for the Latin of the Vulgate was, in their eye, the orthodox language, and Greek a pagan and heretical tongue. Linacre, too, had been to Italy and returned, after sharing with the children of Lorenzo de' Medici the tuition of Politian and Chalcondyles.

These men had been to Italy and had returned, to all appearances, mere humanists. Now, five years later, Colet had been to Italy and had returned, not a mere humanist, but an earnest Christian reformer, bent upon giving lectures, not upon Plato or Plotinus, but upon St. Paul's Epistles.

Seebohm's *The Oxford Reformers*. Longmans, 1887.

THE scholastic divines, holding to a traditional belief in the plenary and verbal inspiration of the whole Bible, and remorselessly pursuing this belief to its logical results, had fallen into a method of exposition almost exclusively *textarian*. The Bible, both in theory and in practice, had almost ceased to be a record of real events, and the lives and teaching of men. It had become an arsenal of texts; and these texts were regarded as detached

Colet's  
Lectures  
at Oxford

invincible weapons to be legitimately seized and wielded in theological warfare, for any purpose to which their words might be made to apply, without reference to their original meaning or context. . . .

The very boldness of the lecturer, and the novelty of the subject, were enough to draw an audience at once. Doctors and abbots, men of all ranks and titles, flocked with the students into the lecture hall, led by curiosity doubtless at first, or, it may be, like the Pharisees of old, bent upon finding somewhat whereof they might accuse the man whom they wished to silence. But since they came again and again, as the term went by, *bringing their note-books with them*, it soon became clear that they continued to come with some better purpose. . . .

Colet's lectures were . . . in direct contrast with those of the dominant school. They were not textarian. They did not consist of a series of wiredrawn dissertations upon isolated texts. They were no 'thread of nine days long drawn from an antitheme of half an inch.' Colet began at the beginning of the *Epistle to the Romans*, and went through with it to the end, in a course of lectures, treating it as a whole, not as an armoury of detached texts. There is hardly a quotation from the Fathers or Schoolmen throughout the exposition. . . .

Colet . . . had but one object in view—to bring out the direct practical meaning which the apostle meant to convey to those to whom his Epistles were addressed. To him they were the earnest words of a living man addressed to living men, and suited to their actual needs. He loved those words because he had learned to love the apostle—the *man*—who had written them, and had caught somewhat of his spirit. He loved to trace in the Epistles the marks of St. Paul's own character. . . . Colet sought also to throw a sense of reality and life into their teaching, by showing how specially adapted they were to the circumstances of those to whom they were addressed. When, for instance, he was expounding the thirteenth chapter of the Epistle, he would take down his *Suetonius* in order to ascertain the state of society at Rome, and the special circumstances which made it needful for St. Paul so strongly to urge Roman Christians 'to be obedient to the higher powers, and to pay tribute also.' . . .

It is very evident too . . . what pains he took to realise the apostle's actual meaning, not merely in one text and another, but in the drift of the whole Epistle; now ascertaining the meaning of a passage by its place in the apostle's argument; now comparing the expressions used by St. Paul with those used by St. John, in

order to trace the practical harmony between the Johannine and the Pauline view of a truth, which, if regarded on one side only, might be easily distorted and misunderstood. . . .

Connected with this habit of trying to look at all sides of a doctrine, there is, I think, visible throughout, an earnest attempt to regard it in its practical connection with human life and conduct rather than to rest in its logical completeness. . . .

Nor was he afraid to apply these practical lessons to the circumstances of his own times. Thus, in speaking of the collections made by St. Paul in relief of the sufferers from the famine in Judea, he pointed out how much better such voluntary collections were than money extorted by bitter exactions under the name of 'tithes and oblations.' And referring to the advice to Timothy, 'to avoid avarice, and to follow after justice, piety, faith, charity, patience, and mercy,' he at once added that 'priests of our time' might well be admonished 'to set such an example as this amongst their own parishioners,' referring to the example of St. Paul, who chose to 'get his living by labouring with his hands at the trade of tent making, so as to avoid even suspicion of avarice or scandal to the Gospel.'

One other striking characteristic of this exposition must be mentioned—the unaffected modesty which breathes through it, which, whilst not quoting authority, does not claim to be an authority itself, which does not profess to have attained full knowledge, but preserves throughout the childlike spirit of inquiry.

Seebohm's *The Oxford Reformers*. Longmans, 1887.

CORPUS [1517] and the subsequent foundations of Christ Church at Oxford, and Trinity at Cambridge, constitute what may be distinctively called the Renaissance group of colleges. The greatest novelty of the Corpus Statutes is the institution of a public lecturer in Greek, who was to lecture to the entire University. . . . This readership appears to have been the first permanent office created in either University for the purpose of giving instruction in the Greek language; though, for some years before the close of the fifteenth century, Grocyn, Linacre, and others, had taught Greek at Oxford, in a private or semi-official capacity. On Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, throughout the year, the Greek reader was to give instruction in some portion of the Grammar of Theodorus or other approved Greek grammarian together with some part of Lucian, Philostratus, or the orations of Isocrates. On Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, throughout

A College  
of the  
Renaissance



the year, he was to lecture in Aristophanes, Theocritus, Euripides, Sophocles, Pindar, or Hesiod, or some other of the more ancient Greek poets, with some part of Demosthenes, Thucydides, Aristotle, Theophrastus or Plutarch. It will be noticed that there is no express mention in this list of Homer, Aeschylus, Herodotus or Plato. Thrice a week, moreover, in vacations, he was to give private instruction in Greek grammar or rhetoric, or some Greek author, to all members of the College below the degree of Master of Arts. Lastly, all Fellows and Scholars below the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, including even Masters of Arts, were bound, on pain of loss of commons, to attend the public lectures of both the Greek and Latin reader; and not only so, but to pass a satisfactory examination in them, to be conducted three evenings in the week.

Similar regulations as to teaching are laid down with regard to the Professor of Humanity or Latin, whose special province it is carefully to extirpate all 'barbarism' from our 'bee-hive,' the name by which, throughout these Statutes, Foxe<sup>1</sup> fondly calls his College. The lectures were to begin at eight in the morning, and to be given all through the year, either in the Hall of the College or in some public place within the University. The authors specified are Cicero, Sallust, Valerius Maximus, Suetonius, Pliny's *Natural History*, Livy, Quintilian, Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Juvenal, Terence, and Plautus. . . . Moreover, in vacations, the Professor is to lecture, three times a week, to all inmates of the College below the degree of Master of Arts, on the *Elegantiae* of Laurentius Valla, the *Attic Nights* of Aulus Gellius, the *Miscellanea* of Politian, or something of the like kind according to the discretion of the President and Seniors.

The third reader was to be a Lecturer in Theology, 'the science which we have always so highly esteemed, that this our bee-hive has been constructed solely or mainly for its sake.' But, even here, the spirit of the Renaissance is predominant. The Professor is to lecture every working-day throughout the year (excepting ten weeks), year by year in turn, on some portion of the Old or New Testament. The authorities for their interpretation, however, are no longer to be such mediæval authors as Nicolas de Lyra or Hugh of Vienne, 'ac cæteros, ut tempore, ita doctrina, longe posteriores,' but the holy and ancient Greek and Latin doctors, especially Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Origen, Hilary, Chrysostom, John of Damascus, and others of that kind. . . .

Thomas Fowler's *Corpus*. Hutchinson, 1898.

<sup>1</sup> Richard Foxe, Bishop of Exeter, the Founder of Corpus Christi College.



SUCH were the studies, and such was the discipline of an Oxford College at the beginning of the sixteenth century; nor is there any reason to suppose that, till the troubled times of the Reformation, these stringent rules were not rigorously enforced. They admirably served the purpose to which they were adapted, the education of a learned clergy, trained to habits of study, regularity, and piety, apt at dialectical fence, and competent to press all the secular learning of the time into the service of the Church. Never since that time probably have the Universities, or the Colleges, so completely secured the objects at which they aimed. But first, the Reformation; then the Civil Wars; then, the Restoration of Charles II.; then the Revolution of 1688; and lastly, the silent changes gradually brought about by the increasing age of the students, the increasing proportion of those destined for secular pursuits, and the growth of luxurious habits in the country at large, have left little surviving of the cunningly devised system. The aims of modern times, the material with which we have to deal, have necessarily become different; but we may well envy the zeal for religion and learning which animated the ancient founders, the skill with which they adapted their means to their end, the system of instruction and discipline which converted a body of raw youths, gathered probably to a large extent from the College estates, into studious and accomplished ecclesiastics, combining the new learning with the ancient traditions of the ecclesiastical life.

Ancient  
Founders  
and their  
Statutes

Fowler's *Corpus*, 1898.

To the credit of Wolsey it must be told, that in the midst of all his troubles his anxiety for his new college was unabated; and it is upon record, that among his last petitions to the king was an urgent request that 'His Majesty would suffer his college at Oxford to go on.' Touched, perhaps, by this appeal, from his former favourite, and urged by the solicitations of those who regretted the injury religion and good learning had sustained by the abandonment of Wolsey's project, Henry, in 1532, consented to restore, not without mutilations, what had been the Cardinal's college, and transferring the credit of the measure to himself, became the founder of the *College of King Henry the Eighth*, which he endowed with an annual revenue of £2000, and dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary, and St. Frideswide. Here then we have the first draught of the College: but even this arrangement was not of long continuance. In 1546, Henry having previously (and, it may be conjectured, in some measure by way of reparation for the

Founding  
'the House'

destruction of so many religious bodies) erected, among other new bishoprics, the See of Oxford, resolved to connect it with his lately endowed college. He accordingly procured a surrender of its site and possessions, and then, removing the see from Osney Abbey, where he had first fixed it, to St. Frideswide's, he established a foundation partly academical and partly cathedral, which, though at first called Cardinal College after its founder, has since his fall been known as Christ Church, and has not, it may be safely affirmed, any precise parallel in the world.

*Hand-Book for Visitors to Oxford.* Parker, 1875.

#### Cardinal College

CHRIST CHURCH is a royal foundation and King Henry VIII. is its undoubted founder. And yet the visitor to Oxford, as he walks down St. Aldate's and gazes at the stately College front, which stretches for 400 feet along its eastern side, will look in vain for any indication of its connection with the great Tudor sovereign. The devices which meet his eye on the corner turrets are the Cardinal's hat, and the pillars set saltire-wise, one of Wolsey's favourite emblems. In the solitary niche above the main entrance, or 'Fair Gate,' unoccupied for nearly two centuries, is placed the statue, not of Henry, but of Cardinal Wolsey, and the arms at its base are royal arms indeed, but those of Charles II. marking the date of the completion of the Tower. In the vaulted ceiling of the gateway Henry's shield has been placed: but it is there grouped with the arms of Charles I. and Charles II., and with the heraldic achievements of the various noblemen and others who contributed to the erection of the Tower which rises above more than one hundred and twenty years after Henry's death. Within the Quadrangle itself there is little to recall Henry's name. The statue on the eastern side of the gate is that of Queen Anne, and her arms are carved below. Henry's shield is there indeed, but almost obliterated. The magnificent Hall which rises on the south side was completed in 1529, seventeen years before Henry's foundation. The domestic buildings which surround the Quadrangle show the piers constructed to carry the vaulting of Wolsey's cloister and in front of the terrace are seen the foundations of the buttresses which were to form its external support. The visitor must enter the hall and walk up to its extreme end, and then at last he will see Holbein's portrait of the royal founder of Christ Church in its proper central position; but next to it, and claiming almost equal honour, is the portrait of the famous Cardinal, painted by the same skilful artist.

Rev. H. L. Thompson, *Christ Church.* Hutchinson, 1900.

Not long after [1517] raged a pestilential disease in the University, to the dispersion and sweeping away of most, if not all, of the students thereof. The occasion proceeded from the stopping of water courses about Oxford, which causing frequent inundations in the meads and low places, would for want of due conveyance, putrefy and infect the air. The waters were always standing like to those of ponds, which when by the sun exhaled, the remainder would be converted into mud and dirt, made loathsome and stinking also by the fish that perished therein. So far were these inundations from doing good that quite contrary to the Nile in Egypt, they brought a sterility and converted the pleasant meads into foggy and dirty places.

Flood and  
Pestilence

Wood's *Antiquities*.

AN enlarged experience of the world which years, at Oxford as well as elsewhere, had not failed to bring with them, a just apprehension of the condition of the kingdom, and a sense of the obligations of subjects in times of political difficulty, sufficed to reconcile the heads of the colleges to obedience; and threats were not required where it is unlikely that a thought of hesitation was entertained. But there was a class of residents which appears to be perennial in the University of Oxford, composed out of the younger masters; a class of men who, defective alike in age, in wisdom, or in knowledge, were distinguished by a species of theoretic High Church fanaticism; who, until they received their natural correction from advancing age, required from time to time to be protected against their own extravagance by some form of external pressure. . . . In order to avoid difficulty, and to secure a swift and convenient resolution, it was proposed that both at Oxford and Cambridge the Universities should be represented by a Committee composed of the heads of houses, the proctors, and the graduates in divinity and law: that this Committee should agree upon the form of a reply; and that the University Seal should then be affixed without further discussion. . . . The masters who were to be thus excluded refused however to entertain this view of their incapacity. The question whether the Committee should be appointed was referred to Convocation, where, having the advantage of numbers, they coerced the entire proceedings; and some of them 'expressing themselves in a very froward manner' to the royal commissioners, and the heads of houses being embarrassed, and not well knowing what to do, the king found it necessary again to interpose. . . .

Oxford and  
Henry VIII.'s  
Divorce



'To our trusty and well-beloved the heads of houses, doctors, and proctors of our University of Oxford :

'Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well ; and of late being informed, to our no little marvel and discontentation that a great part of the youth of that our University, with contentions and factious manners daily combining together, neither regarding their duty to us their sovereign lord, nor yet conforming themselves to the opinions and orders of the virtuous, wise, sage, and profound learned men of that University, wilfully do stick upon the opinion to have a great number of regents and non-regents to be associate unto the doctors, proctors, and bachelors of divinity for the determination of our question ; which we believe hath not been often seen, that such a number of right small learning in regard to the other should be joined with so famous a sort, or in a manner stay their seniors in so weighty a cause. And forasmuch as this, we think, should be no small dishonour to our University there, but most especially to you the seniors and rulers of the same ; and as also, we assure you, this their unnatural and unkind demeanour is not only right much to our displeasure, but much to be marvelled of, upon what ground and occasion they, being our mere subjects, should show themselves more unkind and wilful in this matter than all the other Universities, both in this and all other regions do : we, trusting in the dexterity and wisdom of you and other the said discreet and substantial learned men of that University, be in perfect hope that you will conduce and frame the said young persons unto order and conformity as it becometh you to do. Whereof we be desirous to hear with incontinent diligence ; and doubt you not we shall regard the demeanour of every one of the University according to their merits and deserts. And if the youth of the University will play masteries as they begin to do, we doubt not but they shall well perceive that *non est bonum irritare crabrones*.

'Given under our hand and seal, at our Castle of Windsor.

'HENRY R.'

It is scarcely necessary to say, that, armed with this letter, the heads of houses subdued the recalcitrance of the over-hasty 'youth'; and Oxford duly answered as she was required to answer.

Froude's *History of England*.

A Scene in  
St. Mary's

THERE was one Master Malary, Master of Arts of Cambridge, Scholar of Christ's College, who, for opinions holden contrary to the Catholic determination of holy mother Church of Rome—that is, for the right truth of Christ's gospel—was convented before the



bishops : and, in the end, sent to Oxford, there openly to recant, and to bear his faggot ; to the terror of the students of the University. The time and place were appointed that he should be brought solemnly into St. Mary's Church upon a Sunday ; where a great number of the head Doctors and Divines and others of the University were together assembled, besides a great multitude of citizens and town-dwellers, who came to behold the sight. Furthermore, because that solemnity should not pass without some effectual sermon for the holding up of the mother Church of Rome, Dr. Smith, Reader then of the Divinity Lecture, was appointed to make the sermon at this recantation. Briefly, at the preaching of this sermon, there were assembled a mighty audience of all sorts and degrees ; as well of students as of others. . . . All things being thus prepared and set in readiness, cometh forth poor Malary with his faggot upon his shoulder. Not long after, also, proceedeth the Doctor into his pulpit to make his sermon ; the purpose and argument whereof was wholly upon the sacrament : the which Doctor, for the more confirmation and credit to his words, had provided the holy catholic cake and the sacrament of the altar, there to hang by a string before him in the pulpit. Thus the Doctor, with his God-almighty, entering his godly sermon, had scarce proceeded into the midst thereof (the people giving great silence with all reverence unto his doctrine), but suddenly was heard in the church the voice of one crying in the street, 'Fire ! Fire !' . . .

This sound of fire<sup>1</sup> being heard in the church, first of them that stood outermost next to the church door, so increased and went from one to another that at length it came to the ears of the doctors, and at last to the Preacher himself. Who, as soon as they heard the matter, being amazed with sudden fear, and marvelling what the matter should mean, began to look into the top of the church and to behold the walls. The residue seeing them look up looked up also. Then began they in the midst of the audience to cry out with a loud voice, 'Fire ! Fire !' 'Where ?' saith one ; 'Where ?' saith another. 'In the church,' saith one. The mention of the church was scarce pronounced, when, as in one moment, there was a common cry among them, 'The church is on fire ! The church is set on fire by heretics !' And albeit no man did see any fire at all, yet forasmuch as all men cried out so, every man thought it true that they heard. Then was there much fear, course, and tumult of people throughout the whole church, that it cannot be declared in words as it was in deed. . . . After this, through the rage of the people and running to and fro, the dust

<sup>1</sup> A chimney was on fire in a house in the High Street,

was so raised that it showed as it had been the smoke of fire, which thing, together with the outcry of people, made all men so afraid that leaving the sermon they began all together to run away. But such was the press of the multitude running in heaps together, that the more they laboured the less could they get out. For while they ran all headlong to the doors, every man striving to get out first, they thrust one another in such sort, and stuck so fast that neither they that were without could get into the church again, neither they that were within could get out by any means. So, then, one door being stopped, they ran to another little wicket on the north side, towards the college called Brasenose, thinking so to pass out. But there again was the like or greater throng. So the people, clustering and thronging together; it put many in danger, and brought many unto their end, by bruising of their bones or sides. There was yet another door towards the west, which, albeit it was shut and seldom opened, yet now they ran to it with such sway, that the great bar of iron (which is incredible to be spoken), being pulled out and broken by force of men's hands, the door, notwithstanding, could not be opened for the press or multitude of people.

At last, when they were there also past all hope to get out, then they were all exceedingly amazed, and ran up and down, crying out upon the heretics who had conspired their death. The more they ran about and cried out, the more smoke and dust rose in the church: even as though all things had now been on a flaming fire. I think there was never such a tumultuous hurly-burly rising so of nothing heard of before; nor so great a fear where was no cause to fear, nor peril at all: so that if Democritus, the merry philosopher, sitting in the top of the church, and seeing all things in such safety as they were, had looked down upon the multitude, and beholden so great a number, some howling and weeping, running up and down, and playing the mad men, now hither now thither, as being tossed to and fro with waves or tempests; trembling and quaking, raging and faring, without any manifest cause; especially, if he had seen those great Rabbins, the Doctors, laden with so many badges or cognisances of wisdom, so foolishly and ridiculously seeking holes and corners to hide themselves in; gasping, breathing, and sweating, and for very horror being almost beside themselves: I think he would have satisfied himself with this one laughter for all his lifetime; or else rather would have laughed his heart out of his belly, whilst one said that he plainly heard the noise of the fire, another affirmed that he saw it with his eyes, and another swore that he felt the molten lead dropping down upon his head and

shoulders. Such is the force of imagination, when it is once grafted in men's hearts through fear.

In all the whole company that there was none behaved himself more modestly than the heretic that was there to do penance ; who, casting his faggot off from his shoulders upon a monk's head that stood by, kept himself quiet, minding to take such part as the others did.

Foxe's *Acts* (apud *Tudor Tracts and Monuments*). Constable.

AFTER the apprehensyone of John Frythe many were detected in Oxforde, as this mr. Quynby, Talbot, John Man, all of the New Colledge ; and Bartholomew Traheron, an olde disciple. John Man recanted, whom mr. Traheron called the stonny ground, on whom the good seedes of God's worde tooke no rowte. Talbote also steept backe lyke Deimcy and were never the lesse expelled by the warden, doctor John London. Quynby was imprisonned veary strayghtely in the steeple of the New Colleadg and dyed halfe sterved with colde and lacke of foode. He desyred his fryndes that came to see hym that he myght receave the Lordes Supper in both formes ; but it wold not be graunted. He was axed of his fryndes what he wold eate ; he sayd his stomache was gonne from all meate except it wer a warden pye. 'Ye shall have it,' quod they. 'I wolde have but two wardens (quod he) baked : I meane to be playne (sayde he) our warden of Oxforde and our warden of Wynchester, London and More ; for suche a warden pie might do me and Christes church good : wheare as other wardens from the tree can doo me no good at all.' Thus jestyng at their tyranny thorow the cherfulness of a saffe conscience, he turned his face to the walle in the sayd belfry ; and so after his prayers sleapte swheetly in the Lorde.

Camden Society, *Narratives of the Reformation*,  
ed. by J. S. Nichols, 1859.

IN the Universities they have ordained that no man shall look at the scripture until he be noselled in heathen learning eight or nine years, and armed with *false principles*, with which he is clean shut out of the understanding of the scripture. And at his first coming unto the University he is sworn that he shall not defame the University, whatsoever he seeth. And when he taketh first degree he is sworn that he shall hold none opinions condemned by the church ; but what such opinions be, that he shall not know. And then when they be admitted to study divinity, because the scripture is locked up with such false expositions, and with *false principles*

'Two  
Wardens'

The Scriptures  
and the  
University



*of natural philosophy*, that they cannot enter in, they go about the outside, and dispute all their lives about words and vain opinions, pertaining as much unto the healing of a man's heel as health of his soul.

Tyndale, *Practice of Prelates*.

Thomas  
Cromwell  
Commis-  
sioners

PLEASIT your goodnes to be advertisyde that in Magdalen Colege we fownde stablisshe one lecture of divinitie, two of philosophie, one morale another naturale, and one of Latin tonge, well kept and diligently frequented. To this we have adjonede a lecture in the Greke, that is, the grammar in Greke perpetually to be rede there, and all the yewthe thereunto to have confluence for ther principalles. In New Colege we have stablisshe two lectures publike, one of Greke, another in Laten, and have made therfore for evermore an honeste salarie and stipende. In Allsowlen Colege we have in lyke maner stablisshe two lecturres, one of Greke, another in Laten, with a good stipende and salarie therunto assignede for ever. In Corpus Christi Colege we fownde two lecturres stablisshe by the founder, one in Greke, another in Latten, publike for all men therunto to have concourse. We have further stablisshe a lecture in Laten tonge, publike in Marten Colege; and another in Qwenes Colege; and have assignede and made a sufficiente stipende for either of thes for evermore. Bicause we fownde all other the colegeis not able in londes and revenewis to have within them lectures publike, as the other afore rehersed hathe, we have injoned the saide poire colegeis that they and evere of them shall frequent and have dayly concourse unto the saide lectures.

*Penam imposuimus* to evere scoler within the universitie not heryng at the leste one of thes lectures, for that day that he shalbe absent from one of the saide lectures to be punissede in the losse of his commons for that day, the saide paine evere day *totiens-quociens absens fuerit, nisi concurrenti causa aliqua legitima, approbanda tamen per prepositum collegii sive aule*.

We have sett Duns Scotus [Dunce] in Bocardo, and have utterly banisshe hym Oxforde for ever, with all his blinde glosses, and is now made a comon servant to evere man, faste nailede up upon postes in all comon howses of easment: *id quod oculis meis vidi*. And the seconde tyme we came to New Colege, after we hade declarede your injunctions, we fownde all the gret quadrant court full of the leiffes of Dunce, the wynde blowyng them into evere corner. And there we fownde one Grenefelde, a gentelman of Bukyngham-shire, getheryng up part of the saide bowke leiffes (as



he saide) therwith to make hym sewelles or blawnsherres to kepe the dere within the woode, therby to have the better cry with his howndes.

We have also, in the place of the canon lecture, joned a civil lecture, to be rede in evere colege, hale and in.

We have further, in visitynge the religiouse studenttes, emongyste all other injunctions adjoynd that none of them for no maner cause shall cum within any taverne, in, alhowse, or any other howse whatsoever hit be, within the towne and the suburbs of the same, upon payne onse so taken by day or by nyght to be sent immediatly home to his cloister whereas he was professed. Without doubte we here say this acte to be gretly lamentede of all the duble honeste women of the toun and specially of ther laundres that now may not onse entere within the gaittes, and muche lesse within ther chambers, whereunto they wer ryght well accustomed. I doubt not but for this thynge onely the honeste matrones will sew unto yowe for a redresse. . . .

This Sonday by nyght we shall make an ende; for all this day we repaire to colageis for the redresse of division and complaintt put unto us. . . . We fynde here all men applyng and glade to accomlishe all thynges. From Oxforde, thys Sonday, the xii day of Septembre.

Camden Society, *Letters Relating to the Suppression of Monasteries*,  
ed. by Thos. Wright, 1843, 'Dr. Layton to Cromwell.'

THUS much in generall of our noble universities, whose lands some greedie gripers doo gape wide for, and of late have (as I heare) propounded sundrie reasons, whereby they supposed to have prevailed in their purposes. But who are those that have attempted this sute, other than such as neither have learning, pietie and wisdom; or else have spent all their owne and know not otherwise than by inroching upon other men how to mainteine themselves? When such a motion was made by some unto King Henrie the eight, he could answer them in this manner; Ah sirha, I perceive the abbeie lands have fleshed you and set your teeth on edge to aske also those colleges. And whereas we had a regard onelie to pull downe sinne by defacing the monasteries, you have a desire also to overthrow all goodnesse by subversion of colleges. I tell you, sirs, that I judge no land in England better bestowed than that which is given to our universities, for by their maintenance our realme shall be well governed when we be dead and rotten. As you love your welfares therfore, follow no more this veine, but content your selves with

'Greedy  
Grippers'

that you have alreadie, or else seeke honest meanes whereby to increase your livelods, for I love not learning so ill, that I will impaire the revenues of anie one house by a penie, whereby it may be upholden. In king Edward's daies likewise the same sute was once againe attempted (as I have heard) but in vaine, for saith the duke of Summerset among other speeches tending to that end, who also made answer thereunto in the kings presence by his assignation; If lerning decaie, which of wild men maketh civill, of blockish and rash persons wise and godlie counsellors, of obstinat rebels obedient subjects and of evill men good and godlie christians; what shall we looke for eke but barbarisme and tumult? For when the lands of colleges be gone, it shall be hard to saie, whose staffe shall stand next the doore, for then I doubt not but the state of bishops, rich farmers, merchants and the nobilitie shall be assailed, by such as live to spend all and thinke that what so ever another man hath is more meet for them and to be at their commandement, than for the proper owner that hath sweat and laboured for it: In queene Maries daies the weather was too warm for anie such course to be taken in hand, but in the time of our gracious queene Elizabeth, I heare that it was after a sort in talke the third time, but without successe as mooved also out of season, and so I hope it shall continue for ever. For what comfort should it be for anie good man to see his countrie brought into the estate of the old Gothes and Vandals, who made lawes against learning, and would not suffer anie skilfull man to come into their councill house, by meanes whereof those people became savage, tyrants and mercilesse helhounds, till they restored learning againe, and thereby fell to civiltie?

Holinshed's *Chronicle*.

*The Behaviour of Dr. Ridley and Mr. Latimer, at the time  
of their death, which was the 16 of October 1555.*

Ridley and  
Latimer

UPON the North-side of the Town, in the Ditch over against Bailly Colledge the place of Execution was appointed: and for fear of any Tumult that might arise, to let the burning of them, the Lord Williams was commanded by the Queen's Letters, and the house-holders of the City to be there assistant, sufficiently appointed; and when everything was in a readiness, the Prisoners were brought forth by the Mayor and the Bayliffs.

Mr. Ridley had a fair black Goun furred, and faced with Foins, such as he was wont to wear being Bishop, and a Tippet of Velvet furred likewise about his neck, a Velvet Night-cap upon his head,

and a Corner-cap upon the same going in a pair of slippers to the stake, and going between the Mayor and an Alderman, etc.

After him came Mr. Latimer in a poor Bristow freez Frock all worn with his buttoned Cap and a Kerchief on his head, all ready to the Fire, a new long Shroud hanging over his Hose down to the feet: which at the first sight stirred mens hearts to rue upon them, beholding on the one side, the honour they sometimes had, and on the other, the calamity whereunto they were fallen.

Mr. Doctor Ridley, as he passed toward Bocardo, looked up where Mr. Cranmer did lye, hoping belike to have seen him at the Glass-window, and to have spoken unto him. But then Mr. Cranmer was busie with Frier Soto and his Fellows disputing together, so that he could not see him through that occasion. Then Mr. Ridley, looking back, espied Mr. Latimer coming after. Unto whom he said, 'Oh, be ye there?' 'Yea,' said Mr. Latimer, 'have after as fast as I can follow.' So he following a pretty way off, at length they came both to the stake, the one after the other, where first Dr. Ridley entring the place, marvellously and earnestly holding up both his hands, looked towards Heaven; then shortly after espying Mr. Latimer, with a wondrous chearful look he ran to him, imbraced and kissed him, and as they that stood near, reported, comforted him, saying, 'Be of good heart, Brother, for God will either asswage the fury of the flame or else strengthen us to abide it.'

With that went he to the Stake, kneeled down by it, kissed it, and effectually prayed, and behind him Mr. Latimer kneeled, as earnestly calling upon God as he. After they arose the one talked with the other a little while, till they which were appointed to see the Execution removed themselves out of the Sun. What they said I can learn of no man.

Then Dr. Smith, of whose Recantation in King Edwards time ye heard before, begun his Sermon to them upon this Text of St. Paul, in the 13th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, 'Si corpus meum tradam igni, charitatem autem non habeam, nihil inde utilitatis capio'; this is, if I yield my Body to the fire to be burnt and have not charity, I shall gain nothing thereby. Wherein he alledged that the goodness of the cause and not the order of death, maketh the holiness of the person; which he confirmed by the examples of Judas and of a woman in Oxford that of late hanged her self, for that they and such like as he recited, might then be adjudged righteous, which desperately sundered their lives from their bodies, as he feared that these men



that stood before him would do. But he cried still to the People to beware of them, for they were Hereticks and died out of the Church. . . . At which place they lifted up both their hands and eyes to heaven as it were calling God to witness of the truth. The which countenance they made in many other places of his Sermon, whereas they thought he spoke amiss. He ended with a very short exhortation to them to recant and come home again to the Church, and save their lives and Souls, which else were condemned. His Sermon was scant ; in all, a quarter of an hour.

Doctor Ridley said to Master Latimer, will you begin to answer the Sermon or shall I? Master Latimer said, begin you first I pray you. I will, said Master Ridley.

Then the wicked Sermon being ended, Doctor Ridley and Mr Latimer kneeled down upon their knees towards my Lord Williams of Tame, the Vice-chancellor of Oxford and divers other Commissioners appointed for that purpose, which sate upon a form thereby. Unto whom Mr. Ridley said, I beseech you, my Lord, even for Christs sake, that I may speak but two or three words ; and whilst my Lord bent his head to the Mayor and Vice-chancellor, to know whether he might give him leave to speak, the Bayliffs and Doctor Marshall, Vice-chancellor, ran hastily unto him, and with their hands stopped his mouth, and said, Master Ridly, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions and recant the same, you shall not only have liberty so to do, but also the benefit of a subject, that is, have your life. Not otherwise, said Master Ridley? No, quoth Doctor Marshal, therefore if you will not so do, then there is no remedy but you must suffer for your deserts. Well (quoth Mr. Ridley) so long as my breath is in my body I will never deny my Lord Christ and his known truth : Gods will be done in me. And with that he rose up and said with a lowd voice, well then I commit our cause to Almighty God, which shall indifferently judge all. To whose saying, Mr. Latimer added his old Posie, Well there is nothing hid but it shall be opened ; and he said he could answer Smith well enough if he might be suffered. Incontinently they were commanded to make them ready, which they with all meekness obeyed. Mr. Ridley took his gown and his tippet and gave it to his Brother in Law, Mr. Shipride, who all his time of imprisonment although he might not be suffered to come to him, lay there at his own charges to provide him necessaries, which from time to time he sent him by the Serjeant that kept him. Some other of his apparel that was little worth, he gave away, other the Bayliffs took.

He gave away besides, divers other things to Gentlemen standing



by, and divers of them pitifully weeping, as to Sir Henry Lea, he gave a new groat, and to divers of my Lord Williams Gentlemen some napkins, some nutmegs and races of Ginger, his Dial and such other things as he had about him, to every one that stood next him. Some plucked the points off his hose. Happy was he that might get any rag of him.

Master Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly suffered his Keeper to pull off his hose and his other array, which to look unto was very simple: and being stripped into his shrowd, he seemed as comely a person to them that were there present, as one should lightly see; and whereas in his clothes he appeared a withered and crooked silly old man, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might lightly behold. . . .

Then they brought a Faggot, kindled with fire and laid the same down at Doctor Ridley's feet. To whom Mr. Latimer spake in this manner: Be of good comfort, Mr. Ridley, and play the man, we shall this day light such a candle by Gods grace in England, as I trust shall never be put out.

And so the fire being given unto them, when Doctor Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with a wonderful lowd voice: In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum: Domine, recipe spiritum meum, and after repeated this latter part often in English, Lord, Lord, receive my spirit: Master Latimer crying as vehemently on the other side, O Father of Heaven, receive my Soul: who received the flame as it were imbracing of it. After that he had stroaked his face with his hands, and, as it were, bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died (as it appeareth) with very little pain or none. And thus much concerning the end of this old and blessed servant of God, Master Latimer, for whose laborious travels, fruitful life and constant death, the whole realm hath cause to give great thank to Almighty God. . . .

Signs there were of sorrow on every side. Some took it grievously to see their deaths, whose lives they held full dear. Some pitied their persons, that thought their souls had no need thereof. But whoso considereth their preferments in time past, the places of honour that they sometime occupied in this Common wealth, the favour they were in with their Princes, and the opinions of learning they had, could not chose but sorrow with tears, to see so great dignity honour and estimation, so necessary members sometime accounted, so many godly virtues, the study of so many yeares, such excellent learning, to be put into the fire and consumed in one moment. Well, dead they are and the reward of this World they have already. What reward remaineth for them in Heaven,

the day of the Lords Glory, when he cometh with his Saints, shall shortly, I trust, declare.

*Foxe's Acts and Monuments.*

**Ridley and  
Latimer**

THE place selected for the burning was outside the north wall of the town, a short stone's throw from the south corner of Balliol College, and about the same distance from Bocardo prison, from which Cranmer was intended to witness his friend's sufferings.

Lord Williams of Thame was on the spot by the queen's order; and the city guard were under arms to prevent disturbance. Ridley appeared first, walking between the mayor and one of the aldermen. He was dressed in a furred black gown, 'such as he was wont to wear being a bishop,' a furred velvet tippet about his neck and a velvet cap. He had trimmed his beard, and had washed himself from head to foot; a man evidently nice in his appearance, a gentleman, and likely to be known as such. The way led under the windows of Bocardo, and he looked up; but Soto, the friar, was with the archbishop, making use of the occasion, and Ridley did not see him. In turning round, however, he saw Latimer coming up behind him in a frieze coat, with the cap and handkerchief—the workday costume unaltered, except that under his cloak and reaching to his feet, the old man wore a long new shroud.

The brief preparations were swiftly made. Ridley gave his gown and tippet to his brother-in-law, and distributed remembrances among those who were nearest to him. To Sir Henry Lee he gave a new groat, to others he gave handkerchiefs, nutmegs, slices of ginger, his watch, and miscellaneous trinkets—some 'plucked off the points off his hose.' Happy, it was said, was he that might get any rag of him.

Latimer had nothing to give. He threw off his cloak, stood bolt upright in his shroud, and the friends took their places on either side of the stake.

O Heavenly Father, Ridley said, I give unto Thee most humble thanks, for that Thou hast called me to be a professor of Thee even unto death. Have mercy, O Lord! on this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies.

A chain was passed round their bodies, and fastened with a staple.

A friend brought a bag of powder and hung it round Ridley's neck.

I will take it to be sent of God, Ridley said. Have you more for my brother?

Yea, sir, the friend answered. Give it him betimes, then, Ridley replied, lest ye be too late.

The fire was then brought. . . . The lighted torch was laid to the faggots. Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, Latimer cried, at the crackling of the flames ; play the man. We shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as I trust shall never be put out

Latimer died first ; as the flame blazed up about him, he bathed his hands in it, and stroked his face. The powder exploded and he became instantly senseless. Ridley's  
Agony.

His companion was less fortunate. The sticks had been piled too tightly over the gorse that was under them ; the fire smouldered round his legs, and the sensation of suffering was unusually protracted. I cannot burn, he called : Lord, have mercy on me ; let the fire come to me ; I cannot burn. His brother-in-law, with awkward kindness, threw on more wood, which only kept down the flames. At last some one lifted the pile with 'a bill,' and let in the air ; the red tongues of fire shot up fiercely. Ridley wrested himself into the middle of them, and the powder did its work.<sup>1</sup>

The horrible sight worked upon the beholders, as it has worked since and will work for ever, while the English nation survives, being, notwithstanding,—as in justice to those who caused these accursed cruelties, must never be forgotten,—a legitimate fruit of the superstition, that, in the eyes of the Maker of the World, an error of belief is the greatest of crimes ; that, while for other sins there is forgiveness, a mistake in the intellectual intricacies of speculative opinion will be punished, not with the brief agony of a painful death, but with tortures to which there shall be no end.

Froude, *History*.

IN this so great frequency and expectation, Cranmer at the length cometh from Bocardo Prison unto St. Marie's Church, the chief church in the University, because it was a foul and rainy day, in this order. The Mayor went before, next him the Aldermen in their place and degree ; after them was Cranmer brought between two Friars which, mumbling to-and-fro certain Psalms in the streets, answered one another untill they came to the Church door and there they began the Song of Simeon, Nunc dimittis, and entring into the Church, the Psalm-saying Friars brought him to his landing and there left him. There was a stage set over against the Pulpit, of a mean height from the ground, where Cranmer had his standing, waiting until Cole made him ready to his Sermon. Cranmer

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vol. ii. ('Oxford Manners'), p. 760.

The lamentable case and sight of that man gave a sorrowful spectacle to all Christian eyes that beheld him. He that late was Archbishop, Metropolitan, and Primate of England and the King's Privy Councillor, being now in a bare and ragged gown and ill favouredly clothed, with an old square Cap, exposed to the contempt of all men, did admonish men not only of his own calamity but also of their state and fortune. For who would not pity his case and bewail his fortune and might not fear his own chance, to see such a Prelate, so grave a Councillor and of so long-continued honour after so many dignities, in his old years to be deprived of his estate, adjudged to die and in so painful a death to end his life, and now presently from such fresh ornaments to descend to such vile and ragged apparel? In this habit, when he had stood a good space upon the stage, turning to a pillar neer adjoining thereunto, he lifted up his hands to Heaven and prayed unto God once or twice, till at length Dr. Cole coming into the Pulpit began his Sermon. . . .

The latter part of his Sermon he converted to the Archbishop whom he comforted and encouraged to take his death well, by many places of Scripture; bidding him not to mistrust but he should incontinently receive that the Thief did, to whom Christ said, *Hodie mecum eris in Paradiso*, that is, This day thou shalt be with me in Paradise: And out of St. Paul he armed him against the terror of the fire by this, *Dominus fidelis est, non sinet vos tentari ultra quam ferre potestis*, that is, The Lord is faithful, which will not suffer you to be tempted above your strength: by the example of the three children to whom God made the flame to seem like a pleasant dew, adding also the rejoycing of St. Andrew in his Cross, the patience of St. Laurence in the fire. . . .

He glorified God much in his conversion, because it appeared to be only his work, declaring what travel and conference had been with him to convert him, and all prevailed not till that it pleased God of his mercy to reclaim him and call him home. In discoursing of which place, he much commended Cranmer and qualified his former doings, thus tempering his judgement and talk of him, that all the time (said he) he flowed in riches and honour, he was unworthy of his life, and now that he might not live, he was unworthy of death. But lest he should carry with him no comfort, he would diligently labour (he said), and also he did promise in the name of all the Priests that were present, that immediately after his death there should be Dirges, Masses, and Funerals executed for him in all the Churches of Oxford for the succour of his Soul.



Cranmer in all this mean time, with what great grief of mind he stood hearing this Sermon, the outward shews of his Body and countenance did better express then any man can declare, one while lifting up his hands and eyes unto Heaven and then again for shame letting them down to the Earth. A man might have seen the very image and shape of perfect sorrow lively in him expressed. More then twenty several times the tears gushed out abundantly, dropping down marvellously from his Fatherly Face. . . .

Cole after he had ended his Sermon called back the people that were ready to depart to prayers. Brethren (said he) lest any man should doubt of this mans earnest conversion and repentance you shall hear him speak before you and therefore I pray you, Master Cranmer, that you will now perform that you promised not long ago: namely that you would openly express the true and undoubted profession of your faith, that you may take away all suspicion from men and that all men may understand that you are a Catholick indeed. I will do it (said the Archbishop) and that with a good will; who by and by rising up and putting off his cap began to speak thus unto the People. . . .

And now I come to the great thing which so much troubleth my conscience more than any thing that ever I did or said in my whole life, and that is the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the truth; which now I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death and to save my life if it might be, and that is, all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation; wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefore: for may I come to the fire it shall be first burned. And as for the Pope, I refuse him as Christ's enemy and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine. . . .

HERE the standers by were all astonied, marvelled, were amazed, did look one upon another, whose expectation he had so notably deceived. Some began to admonish him of his recantation and to accuse him of falsehood.

Cruelty  
cheated

Briefly, it was a World to see the Doctors beguiled of so great an hope. I think there was never cruelty more notably or better in time deluded or deceived. For it is not to be doubted but they looked for a Glorious Victory and a perpetual Triumph by this man's retractations. Who, as soon as they heard these things, began to

let down their ears, to rage, fret, and fume; and so much the more because they could not revenge their grief. For the most miserable man in the World can die but once. . . .

And when he began to speak more of the Sacrament and the Papacy some of them began to cry out, yelp, and bawl and specially Cole cried out upon him: 'Stop the Heretick's mouth and take him away.' And then Cranmer being pulled down from the stage was led to the fire, accompanied with those Friars, vexing, troubling, and threatening him most cruelly. What madness (say they) hath brought thee again into this error, by which thou wilt draw innumerable Souls with thee into hell? To whom he answered nothing, but directed all his talk to the people, saving that to one troubling him in the way he spake and exhorted him to get him home to his study, and apply his book diligently, saying if he did diligently call upon God, by reading more he should get knowledge.

But the other Spanish barker raging and foaming was almost out of his wits, always having this in his mouth, *Non fecisti?* didst thou it not?

But when he came to the place where the Holy Bishops and Martyrs of God, Hugh Latimer and Ridley, were burnt before him for the confession of the truth, kneeling down he prayed to God and not long tarrying in his prayers, putting off his garments to his shirt, he prepared himself to Death. His shirt was made long down to his feet. His feet were bare. Likewise his head, when both his caps were off, was so bare that one hair could not be seen upon it. His Beard was long and thick, covering his face with marvellous gravity. . . . Such a countenance of gravity moved the hearts both of his friends and of his enemies. . . . Then the Spanish Friars, John and Richard, began to exhort him and play their parts with him afresh, but with vain and lost labour. Cranmer with steadfast purpose, abiding in the profession of his doctrine, gave his hand to certain old men and others that stood by, bidding them farewell.

And when he had thought to have done so likewise to Ely, the said Ely drew back his hand and refused, saying it was not lawful to salute Hereticks and specially such a one as falsely returned unto the opinions that he had forsworn. And if he had known before that he would have done so, he would never have used his company so familiarly and chid those Sergeants and Citizens, which had not refused to give him their hands. This Ely was a Priest lately made, and a student in Divinity, being then one of the fellows of Brasen-nose.

. . . And when the wood was kindled and the fire began to

burn near him, stretching out his Arm, he put his right hand into the flame, which he held so stedfast and immovable (saving that once with the same hand he wiped his face) that all men might see his hand burned before the Body was touched . . . and oftentimes he repeated 'this unworthy right hand.' . . . This fortitude of mind, which perchance is rare and not found among the Spaniards, when Frier John saw, thinking it came not of fortitude, but of desperation . . . ran to the Lord Williams of Tame, crying that the Archbishop was vexed in mind and died in great desperation. But he who was not ignorant of the Archbishop's constancy, being unknown to the Spaniards, smiled only, and (as it were) by silence rebuked the Friars folly. And this was the end of this learned Archbishop, whom, lest by evil subscribing he should have perished, by well recanting God preserved; and lest he should have lived longer with shamed reproof, it pleased God rather to take him away, to the glory of his name and profit of his church. . . .

Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, 1684.

IN connection with the fires in the city it will not be out of place to mention the martyrdoms and 'book-fires' that have been carried out in Oxford, in accordance with the sentence of University and other tribunals. In the reign of King John it is traditionally related that three Jews were burnt at a stake on Jew's Mount (whence the name), at the top of New Road for refusing to pay tribute to the King. Bishops Ridley and Latimer perished at the stake in Broad Street, October 16, 1555, and Archbishop Cranmer on March 21, 1556, on the same spot. On August 31, 1681, Stephen Colledge, the 'Protestant Joiner,' was executed at Oxford Castle for alleged sedition. He was sentenced to be hung, quartered, disembowelled, and his entrails 'burnt.' In May 1723, Johanna Meade was strangled and 'burnt,' at Greenditch, without the North Gate, for poisoning her husband at Coombe, near Woodstock. In 1527 there was a public bible-fire at Carfax, when twenty-seven students, condemned for reading Tyndale's New Testament, had to cast their testaments into the fire. On August 27, 1660, John Milton's *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio* and *Iconoclastes* were burnt at Oxford by an appointed official. In 1683 the *Leviathan*, written by Thomas Hobbes, the freethinker, was burnt in the Schools Quadrangle. On Saturday, April 20, 1693, sentence was pronounced on Anthony Wood, in the Apodyterium, for writing *Athenæ Oxonienses*. A fine was imposed, and a copy of the book ordered to be burnt, which was

**Burnings  
of Books  
and Men**

done on May 1. Wood says, 'Monday about 10 of the clock in the morning, Skinner, the apparitor, made a fire of two faggots in the Theatre-yard, and burnt the 2nd volume of *Athen. Oxon.*' The publication of Dr. John Ayliffe's *Ancient and Present State of the University of Oxford*, 1714, gave much dissatisfaction. Ayliffe was a Fellow of New College. On October 7, 1714, Dr. Gardener, Warden of All Souls' College, and Vice-Chancellor at that period, publicly condemned the history as being unworthy of credence. On February 4, 1715, Dr. Ayliffe was expelled the University, and copies of his work ordered to be burnt, which was carried into effect.

J. J. Moore, *Guide to Oxford*.

Queen Mary  
our Bene-  
factor

1555.—The Queen having now a regard to the Privileges of the University, confirmed them, as well antient as of a later Grant, and caused a Decree to be made in the Star Chamber by the Lords of the Council for the ingress of the Chancellor and Masters of the University into the Guildhall, to keep their accustomed Court Leets and other Sessions, under pain of £200 if it were denied by the City. About the same time an Act of Parliament was made that no Purveyors or Takers should take or bargain for any victuals or grain within 5 miles of Oxford, against the will of the owners; the which, though a great Privilege, yet K. Hen. VIII. did before grant it for 20 miles.

Much about the same time also she caused them to be exempted from those two subsidies raised this year, supposing that by the said exemption and other favours, which she had lately bestowed, the University might recruit itself, which before had been almost lost. So great a Benefactress and friend she was to us, that several Articles and Covenants were made this year in order to the perpetual celebration of her memory, as also that of her husband King Philip, to be performed by the Members of the University and their successors for ever.

Wood's *History and Antiquities*.

Queen Mary  
among the  
Benefactors

It is a noble ritual,—to tell  
Out before God our Founders, name by name;  
It is a Christian rite saints will not blame,  
And doth beseem this quiet city well,  
Many and mighty in the bead-roll swell:  
But, when I think of who we are and where,  
Thy name doth vibrate strangely on the air,  
Stern Benefactress! Strange, yet sweet, it falls  
With Charles and Laud, as though a church were Heaven,  
Where good deeds stay and evil is forgiven;



Strangely, yet sweetly, to the heart it calls,  
Warning strife off from these memorial halls ;  
Scarcely recalling thy disastrous sway,  
Yet taking thoughts of cold, rude hate away.

Frederick William Faber, *The Cherwell Water-Lily  
and other Poems*, 1840.

No sooner had the Visitors entered upon their Visitation but they purged all College Chapels of such utensils that they thought superstitious . . . Those also that were ejected or left their places in Queen Mary's reign, they restored. The Statutes of K. Edward vi. they brought into use and those of Cardinal Pole they for the most part annulled. So moderate they were and so equally, as 'twas thought, did they perform all things that the University sent great thanks to the Queen for giving the Visitors so moderate a Commission. . . .

Visitation  
under  
Elizabeth

Wood's *History and Antiquities*.

IN 1559 Jewel wrote from England to Bullinger, 'the great divine and superintendent of Zurich,' touching the state of the University of Oxford: 'that whatsoever had been planted there by Peter Martyr was, by the means of one friar Soto, and another Spaniard monk, so wholly rooted out, that the Lord's vineyard was turned into a wilderness; so that there were scarce two to be found in the University of their judgment.' And therefore he told Bullinger he could not advise any of their youths yet to be sent to Oxford unless they would have them sent back thence wicked and barbarous.

Oxford on  
the Accession  
of Elizabeth

Strype's *Annals of the Reformation*, 1709.

AMONG the members of Corpus Christi ejected in 1568 by the Queen's Commissioners were Edmund Rainolds, Miles Windsore, and George Napier. The first, who was elder brother to John Rainolds, receded to Gloucester Hall (a place to which lovers of the Catholic religion retired for their quiet), where living in great retiredness, arrived to the age of 92, and died a wealthy man. The second lived afterwards for the most part in Oxford and became not a little eminent for his learning [as an antiquary]. He died a moderate Catholic, or such as we call a Church Papist an. 1624, aged 86 or thereabouts, and was buried in Corp. Ch. Coll. Chapel, to which College he left money and Books. As for the third, George Napier, he went afterwards beyond the seas, where spending some time in one of the English colleges, that was about these times erected, came again into England and lived as a seminary

A Roman  
Catholic  
Martyr

Priest among his relations, sometimes in Holywell near Oxford, and sometimes in the country near adjoining, among those of his profession. At length being taken at Kertlington and examined by one Chamberlaine Esq., a Justice of the Peace, was sent prisoner to the Castle of Oxford, and the next sessions after, being convicted of Treason, was on the 9 Nov. 1610 hanged, drawn, and quartered in the Castle yard. The next day his head and quarters were set upon the 4 gates of the City and upon that great one belonging to Ch. Ch. next to St. Aldate's Church, to the great terror of the Catholics that were then in and near Oxford. He was much pitied for that his grey hairs should come to such an end, and lamented by many that such rigour should be shewn on an innocent and harmless person. No great danger in him (God wot) and therefore not to be feared, but being a Seminary and the Laws against them now strictly observed, an example to the rest must be shewed. Some, if not all, of his quarters were afterwards conveyed away by stealth and buried at Sandford, near Oxford, in the old Chapel there, joining to the Manor House, sometime belonging to the Knight Templars.

*Wood's History and Antiquities.*

**The Old  
Religion**

COMPLAINTS came up this year concerning the prevalency of Popery in Oxford; and particularly in Corpus Christi College and the New College; and that of Winchester appertaining to it. Wherein were strong parties of such as inclined that way. As for Corpus Christi, the Queen appointed one Cole, a learned and good man, once an exile, to be President there. But the college would not admit him and elected another, named Harrison, who had before left the college out of an affectation to the Popish religion. Inso-much that the Bishop of Winchester, the Visitor of that college, was fain to institute a visitation and placed the said Cole by force in the said presidentship, breaking open the gates of the house which they had shut against him. And when the said Bishop had made some progress in visiting the house, in order to the purging it of some of the worst affected Fellows, they were so refractory and abusive, that the visiting Bishop sent a letter to Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, showing that it was his judgment that the irregularities of this college, as likewise of New College and Winchester, would be better remedied by the Ecclesiastical Commission than his private visitation. The Archbishop signified this to the Bishop of London, and withal sent him Winchester's letter. He, considering the stubbornness of these

University men, approved of the counsel of bringing them before the Commission, perceiving well what seminaries of irreligion and disobedience they might prove: and sending the letter back again, he wrote his mind at the bottom briefly in these words, 'My Lords, I like this letter very well, and think as the writer, if by some extraordinary ready means that house and school be not purged, those godly foundations shall be but a nursery of adder's brood to poison the Church of Christ.'

*Strype's Life of Grindal.*

THE one and thirtieth of August [1566] the queenes majestie in hir progresse came to the universitie of Oxford and was of all the students which had looked for hir comming thither two yeares, so honorablie and joifullie received as either their loialnesse towards the queenes majestie or the expectation of their freends did require. Concerning orders in disputations and other academically exercises, they agreed much with those which the universitie of Cambridge had used two yeares before. Comedies also and tragedies were plaied in Christs Church, where the queenes highnesse lodged. Among the which the comedie intituled Palemon and Arcit, made by maister Edwards of the queenes chappell, had such tragicall successe, as was lamentable. For at that time by the fall of a wall and a paire of staires and great presse of the multitude three men were slaine.

Queen  
Elizabeth's  
Progress

The first of September after disputations, the queene at the humble sute of certeine hir nobilitie and the King of Spaines ambassador, made a breefe oration in Latine to the universitie; but so wise and pithie, as England may rejoise that it hath so learned a prince, and the universitie may triumph that they have so noble a patronesse. The sixt of September after dinner, hir grace comming from Christs Church over Carfax and so to S. Maries, the scholers standing in order according to their degrees even to the east gate, certeine doctors of the universitie did ride before in their scarlet gownes and hoods and maisters of art in black gownes and hood. The maior also with certeine of his brethren, did ride before hir in scarlet to the end of Magdalen bridge, where their liberties ended; but the doctors and maisters went forward still to Shootover, a mile and more out of Oxford, bicause their liberties extended so far: and there after orations made, hir highnes with thanks to the whole universitie bad them farewell and rode to Ricote.

*Holinshed's Chronicle.*

'Farewell  
the Worthy  
University  
of Oxford'  
[1566]

THEN she and her nobility, with the retinue, went from Christ Church to Carfax, and thence to the Eastgate, with those members of the University and City going before that brought her in. As she passed through the street, the scholars stood in order crying, 'Vivat Regina'; the walls also of St. Mary's Church, All Souls, and University College, were hung with innumerable sheets of verses bemoaning the Queen's departure. . . . When she came to the forest of Shotover, about two miles from Oxford, the Earl of Leycester, Chancellor of the University, told her that the University liberties reached no further that way; whereupon Mr. Roger Marbeck spake an eloquent oration to her, containing many things relating to learning and the encouragement thereof by her; of its late eclipse, and of the great probability of its being now revived under the government of so learned a Princess, etc., which being done she gave him her hand to kiss with many thanks to the whole University: Speaking these words (as 'tis reported) with her face towards Oxford: 'Farewell, the worthy University of Oxford; farewell, my good subjects there; farewell, my dear scholars; and pray God prosper your studies; farewell, farewell.'

Wood, *History and Antiquities*.

A Noble  
Polonian's  
Visit, 1583

TOUCHING the enterテインement which Albertus de Lasco, palatine of Siradia in Poland had at Oxenford, and how the universitie did congratulate his comming, it is somewhat worth the noting. In the moneth of June, the said Albertus de Lasco, comming from the marriage of the lord Norris his daughter with Sir A. Paulets eldest sonne at Ricot, he put himselfe on the waie to Oxenford, whereof the universitie (doctor Hovenden then vice-chancellor and maister Leison with maister Edes proctors) having intelligence, provided for his convenient receiving; insomuch that in the waie to Oxenford, there met him doctor Westfailing, who greeted him with a pithie salutation. In like sort did the maior and his breethren, in whose behalfe for the whole citie, the towne clerke, a worshipfull maister of art, pronounced his short and sententious speech in Latine, not without some gratulatorie gift from that corporation. On the east gate whereat he entered stood a consort of musicians, who for a long space made verie sweet harmonie, which could not but moove and delight.

'Inscia plebs populusque arrectis auribus astat  
Dulciferumque rudi suscipit aure melos.'

All up the high street unto saint Maries church, on either side the waie, were decentlie marshalled scholers in their gownes and caps,



batchelors and maisters in their habits and hoods. At saint Maries the orator of the universitie (notable in his facultie) presented him a booke, in which were closelie couched verie rich and gorgeous gloves. From thense he marched to Christs church, where he was whilst he abode in the universitie most honourable interteined. And the first night being vacant, as in which he sought rather rest in his lodging than recreation in anie academicall pastimes, strange fire works were shewed in the great quadrangle besides rockets and a number such manner of devises. On the second daie, his first dinner was made him at Alsoules college, where (besides dutifull receiving of him) he was solemnlie satisfied with scholerlie exercices and courtlie fare. This night and the night insuing, after sumptuous suppers in his lodging, he personally was present with his traine in the hall, first at the plaieng of a pleasant comedie intituled *Rivales*; then at the setting out of a verie statelie tragedie named *Dido*, wherein the queenes banket (with Eneas narration of the destruction of Troie) was livelie described in a marchpaine patternne, there was also a goodlie sight of hunters with full crie of a kennell of hounds, Mercurie and Iris descending and ascending from and to an high place, the tempest wherein it hailed small confects, rained rosewater and snow an artificiall kind of snow, all strange, marvellous and abundant.

Most of the actors were of the same house, six or seaven of them were of saint Johns and three or foure of other colleges and hals. His second dinner the third daie was at Magdalen college, with oratorie welcomming and bountifull feasting. His third dinner the fourth daie at New college. The eloquent speech in Greeke, Latine and Dutch with his owne unstudied answer thereunto and all other before rehersed, are not to be omitted; nor the publike philosophie, physike and divinitie disputations, in all which those learned opponents, respondents and moderators, quited themselves like themselves, sharplie and soundlie, besides all other solemne sermons and lectures. At afternoone the fourth and last daie, he went towards Woodstocke manour and without the north gate by the waie he was invited unto a banket at saint Johns college, where the gates and outward wals overcovered with thousands of verses and other emblematicall poetries then offered him, argued their hartie goodwils; but his hasting to his journies end caused him not to tarie the delicat banket: yet onelic stainging the deliverie of a sweet oration and his owne quicke wittie replie thereunto, he departed immediately, accompanied for a mile or two with the most of those reverend doctors and heads of houses all on horssebacke, where the orator againe gave him an

orators farewell. And this is the summe of his interteinement, not delivered in such sort as the dignitie of the same requireth; howbeit sufficient for a sudden remembrance.

Holinshed's *Chronicle*.

**Elizabethan  
Universities**

Is it not become a byeword amongst the common people that they had rather sende their children to the carte, then to the Universitie, being induced so to say, for the abuse that reigneth in the Universities, who sending their sonnes to attaine knowledge, find them little better learned, but a great deale worse lived, then when they went and not onely unthrifts of their money, but also banckerouts of good manners: was not this the cause that caused a simple woman in Greece, to exclaime against Athens, saying: 'The Master and the Scholler, the Tutor and the Pupil be both agreed, for the one careth not how lyttle payne he taketh for his mony, the other how lyttle learning.'

Lyly's *Euphues*, pt. i.

**Rise of  
Calvinism  
in Oxford,  
1586**

THAT the distance between the Churches should be made wide enough, a new Divinity Lecture was founded this year in the University by Sir Francis Walsingham, Kt., Principal Secretary of State, a man of great abilities in the Schools of Policy, an extreme hater of the Popes and Church of Rome, and no less a favourer to those of the Puritan Party. . . . The design of the Founder and others in the University, with whom he took counsel in this matter, was to make the Religion of the Church of Rome more odious and the difference betwixt them and the Protestants to appear more irreconcilable than before they did, or as the Chancellor's letters say 'that the common places of the Scripture, the Principles of Religion, and matters of controversy might be handled and expounded like as at Rheims and other places beyond the seas, the like are erected for the nursing and training up of our English students and others of the like disposition in the grounds of Popery and Superstition, wherein they profit much and in a short time in their own opinion become learned.'

Further, also, that Sir Francis might not fail of his purpose to rout the Papists and their religion, he could not make choice of a fitter man [than Dr. John Rainolds] in the University, unless it were Dr. Humphrey, but he being Regius Professor of Divinity could not attend both lectures so well. The truth is, for none can deny it, Rainolds [Dr. John Rainolds, son of the President of Corpus Christi College] was a man of infinite reading and of a vast memory, who having lived some time in one of the English

Seminaries beyond the seas (as 'tis commonly reported, but I believe 'tis false) declared himself, as they further say, as profest a Roman Catholick, and as eager in pursuit of that way, as any other whatsoever. But being regained into the Church of England by his brother William (so the Report goes) who lost himself in the encounter, he thought he could not sufficiently express his detestation of such matters as he accounted errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome, but by running to the other extreme making himself thereby considerable among the Puritans.

He read this lecture in the Divinity School thrice a week in full term, had constantly a great auditory and was held by those of his party to have done great good. . . . How long this lecture lasted, I cannot tell, yet certain I am that the Lectures or at least some of them were published after the author's death, to the great profit of Theologists, and that by the power and practice of these men, the disposition of the times and the long continuance of the Earl of Leycester (the principal Patron of the Puritanical faction) in the place of Chancellor of Oxford, the face of the University was so much altered that there was little to be seen in it of the Church of England, according to the principles and positions upon which it was first performed.

*Wood's History and Antiquities.*

IN 1586 certain scholars of Magdalen College, stealing deer in the forest of Shotover belonging to the King, one of them named Thomas Godstow was taken, carried before the Lord Norreys, and by him imprisoned. The rest of his fellows resenting the matter, resolve with a party that they would make an assault on him the next time he came to Oxford. The quarter sessions drawing near, which were about Michaelmas, the Lord Norreys with his retinew came to Oxford and lodged himself in the Bear Inn, near All Saints' church. The said scholars having notice of it, gather together with their gowns girt about them, armed with divers sorts of weapons, and coming courageously up to the said Inn, made an assault on some of the Lord's retinew, intending at length to lay hold on the Lord himself. But timely notice being given to him, he sends out his son Maximilian, attended with his servants, and making an onslaught on the scholars, beat them down as far as St. Mary's church. Whereupon a great outcrie being raised, the Vice-Chancellor, Proctors, and others are called, who rushing suddenly in among the scholars, appeased and sent them away with fair words, yet some of them were hurt, and Binks, the Lord's keeper, sorely wounded. Soon after the Vicechancellor sent word

**Deerstalking  
in Shotover  
Forest**



to all Heads of House, that they should command their scholars into their respective Colleges, which being accordingly done, and all kept within, the Lord departed the town. But the scholars of Magdalen College being not able to pocket these affronts, went up privately to the top of their tower, and waiting till he should pass by towards Ricot, sent down a shower of stones that they had picked up, upon him and his retinew, wounding some and endangering others of their lives. It is said that upon the foresight of this storm, divers had got boards, others tables on their heads, to keep them from it, and that if the Lord had not been in his coach or chariot, he would certainly have been killed. But however it was, the result came to this pass, that some of the offenders were severely punished, others expelled, and the Lord with much ado pacified by the sages of the University.

Wood's *History and Antiquities*.

Queen  
Elizabeth's  
Entrance  
into the  
City, 1592

COMING into the city [from Woodstock] she was received with great acclamations of the people, and from the Northgate to Quatervois and so to Christ Church great gate with that of 'Vivat Regina' of Undergraduates, Bachelours and Masters of Arts. From the Undergraduates she had an oration and verses spoken by two of them, and from the Bachelours and Masters of Arts of the like: all which she with brevity answered in the Latin tongue; and in the conclusion gave them her benediction. At Quartervois, she was saluted by the Greek Reader with a Greek oration; for which she thanked him in that language. At length she alighting in Christ Church Quadrangle, the orator of the University welcomed her in the name of its Members. After which was done, she was conducted into the Cathedral under a canopy supported by four Doctors, where she heard a *Te Deum* and other service done by way of thanks for her safe arrival.

Wood's *History and Antiquities*.

Queen  
Elizabeth at  
'Disputations'

ON the next day in the morning divers Nobles and others were created Masters of Arts, and in the afternoon the French Ambassador. After which were Divinity Disputations performed in St. Mary's Church before Her Majesty. . . . One of the questions was, 'Whether it be lawful to dissemble in cause of religion?' Which being looked upon as a nice question caused much attention from the courtly auditory. One argument more witty than solid, that was urged by one of the opponents, was this—'It is lawful to dispute of religion, therefore 'tis lawful to dissemble': and so going on said, 'I myself now do that which is lawful; but I do now



dissemble: ergo it is lawful to dissemble.' At which Her Majesty and all the auditory were very merry. The Bishop of Hereford [Dr. Westphaling] in his oration concerning the said question, allowed a secresy, but without a dissimulation; a policy, but not without piety, lest men taking too much of the serpent, have too little of the dove. All that was disliked in him was the tediousness in his concluding oration; for the Queen, being something weary of it, sent twice to him to cut it short, because herself intended to make a public speech that evening; but he would not or, as some told her, could not put himself out of a set methodical Speech for fear he should have marred all, or else confounded his memory. Wherefore seeing it was so, she forbore her Speech at that time; and more privately the next morning sending for the Heads of Houses and other persons, spake to them her mind in the Latin tongue . . . And when she was in the midst of her oration, she cast her eye aside and saw the old Lord Treasurer Burleigh standing on his lame feet for want of a stool: whereupon she called in all haste for a stool for him; nor would she proceed in her speech till she saw him provided of one. Then fell she to it again, as if there had been no interruption. Upon which, one that knew that he might be bold with her, told her after she had concluded, that she did it of purpose to shew, that she could interrupt her Speech, and not be put out, although the Bishop durst not adventure to do a less matter the day before.

Wood's *History and Antiquities*, 1592.

ROBERT Persons was *Socius Sacerdos* of this Colledge, commonly called Chaplain-Fellow; and consequently entered into Holy Orders when but Bachelour of Arts (for so 'tis required of every one that is to be chosen Chaplain-Fellow). He resigned his Fellowship, Anno 1573, Feb. 13, with dispensation granted him to keep his Chamber and Scholars as long as he pleased; and his Commons to be allowed him till Easter following. But afterwards he turned Jesuite, received Orders from the Church of Rome, and became Rector of the English Colledge there, Anno 1587. . . . It was the wisdom of the Society [*i.e.* Balliol] to use that gentleness and moderation as they did, towards a man of his excellent parts, wavering in his Religion, and already wandering in his mind towards Rome, to the end that they might allure him to stay: which had they prevailed upon him to have done, it had been good service to God and an acceptable one to the Queen of England, which the events of things proved to be true.

Parsons of  
Balliol

Henry Savage, *Balliofergus*, 1688.

Parsons, the  
Jesuite

THE causes of Mr. Parsons giving over [his fellowship at Balliol], as far as I could ever comprehend were these: Bagshaw being a smart young man, and one who thought his penny good silver, after that he had his grace to be batchelor of arts; was with some despight swinged by Parsons, being dean of the colledg: *Hoc manet alta mente repostum*. And Bagshaw afterward coming to be fellow was most hot in prosecution against Parsons. It was the more forwarded by Dr. Squire's displeasure, who was then master of Baliol Colledg, and thought himself to have been much bitten by vile libels, the author whereof he conceived Parsons to be: who in truth was a man at that time wonderfully given to scoffing, and that with bitterness which also was the cause that none of the company loved him. Now Dr. Squire and Bagshaw being desirous of some occasion to trim him, this fell out: In the year 1572, Parsons had been boursier and being joyn'd in office with one Stanclif, a very simple fellow, he took the advantage of the weakness of his colleague and falsified the reckonings much to the damage of the colledg, as also deeply polling the commoners names, whereof there was store in the colledg; and withall, not sparing his own scholars. . . . His office expiring there were some scanned over the books, being moved therein by the secret complaints of some of the commoners their scholars; and finding it apparent that he was a bastard, whereas it is the first quality there required by statute, that every fellow should be *legitimo thoro natus*, they proceeded to have his expulsion solemnly. . . . Parsons being put to this push in the colledg chappel, and ways sufficient concurring to expell him, and in truth no man standing for him, maketh humble request that he might be suffered to resign, which, with some ado, was yeilded to him. . . . Afterwards before the assembly broke up, he entreated that his giving over might be conceal'd. . . . and that he might keep his scholars, chamber, etc. and be reputed as a fellow in the house, the matter being concealed from all the boys and the younger sort in the house; which then in words was yeilded unto. . . . And soon after their coming out of the chappel, by Bagshaw's means a peal of bells was rung at Magdalen parish church, being the parish wherein Balliol Colledg standeth, the reason of which ringing, as it was imparted to some few, to be to ring out Mr. Parsons. . . . When Parsons was expell'd he was one of the deans of the colledg, and so was to keep corrections in the hall on the Saturdays. The next time therefore of corrections. . . . Dr. Squire causeth Parsons to go into the hall as dean and to call the book and roll, etc., and then cometh Dr. Squire himself in, and as if it had been in kindness to countenance

him (but in truth more profoundly to deride him) he calleth him at every word, Mr. Dean, and desireth him often to have a strict care to the good government of the youth; and not only for a fit, but all the time of his year that he was to continue in office. Some of the commoners knew all this pageant and laught the more sweetly; and Parsons, in the end, spying how he was scorned . . . for very shame got him away to London; and there, not knowing what course at first to take, at length resolved to try his fortune beyond sea, purposing, as it should seem at his departure, to study physick; but afterward, when he came into Italy, resolving rather to study the civil law; which he did for a time at Bononia; . . . but afterwards, be-like wanting means of continuance, he turn'd to be a Jesuit.

GEORGE ABBOT.<sup>1</sup>

Feb. 1, 1601,  
At University Colledg.

Wood's *Athenae Oxon.*

RALPH KETTELL (1563-1643)

*President of Trinity College, Oxford.*

THE lady Elizabeth Pope brought him in to be a scholar of the house at eleaven years of age (as I have heard Dr. Ralph Bathurst say). I have heard Dr. Whistler say that he wrote good Latin and Dr. Ralph Bathurst . . . that he scolded the best in Latin of any one that ever he knew. He was of an admirable healthy constitution. He dyed a yeare after I came to the Colledge and he was then a good deal above eighty, and he had then a fresh ruddy complexion. He was a very tall well growne man. His gowne and surplice and hood being on, he had a terrible gigantique aspect with his sharp gray eies. The ordinary gowne he wore was a russet cloath gowne. He was, they say, white very soon; he had a very venerable presence, and was an excellent governour. One of his maximes of governing was to keepe downe the *juvenilis impetus*. He was chosen President Anno Domini 1598-9, the second after the foundation of the College.

Kettell,  
President of  
Trinity

He was a right Church of England man, and every Tuesday in terme time, in the morning, the undergraduates (I have forgot if baccalaurs) were to come into the chapell and hear him expound on the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. I remember he was wont to talke much of the rood-loft and of the wafers: he

<sup>1</sup> Abbot, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, was elected a Fellow of Balliol in 1583, and Master of University, 1597.



remembred those times. On these days if any one had committed a fault, he should be sure to heare of it in the chapell before his fellow collegiates.

On these days he would be sure to have at him that had a white cap on; for he concluded him to have been drunke and his head to ake. Sir John Denham had borrowed money of Mr. Whistler, the recorder, and after a great while, the recorder askt him for it, again. Mr. Denham laught at it and told him he never intended that. The recorder acquainted the President, who at a lecture in the chapell, rattled him and told him, 'Thy father (Judge) haz hanged many an honest man.' In my time, Mr. Anthony Ettrick and some others frighted a poor young freshman of Magd. Hall with conjuring, which when the old Dr. heard of: on the next Tuesday, said he, 'Mr. Ettrick'—who is a very little man—'will conjure up a jackanapes to be his great-grandfather.' He sawe how the factions in religion in those dayes drew and he kept himselfe unconcerned. W. Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, sent him one time a servant of his with venison, which the old Dr. with much earnestness refused and sayed that he was an old man and his stomach weake and he had not eaten of such meats in a long time and by no means would accept of it; but the servant was as much pressing it on him on the other side, and told the President that he durst not carry it back again. Well, seeing there was no avoyding it, the President asked the servant seriously, if the archbishop of Canterbury intended to putt in any scholars or fellowes into his college? . . .

He had two wives, if not three, but no child. His second wife was a Villiers, or rather (I thinke) the widowe of . . . Villiers, Esq., who had two beautiful daughters, co-heirs. The eldest, whom severall of good estate would gladly have wedded, he would needs dispose of himselfe, and he thought nobody so fit a husband for this angelique creature as one Mr. Bathurst, of the College, a second brother, and of about 300 li. per annum, but an indifferent scholar, red fac'd, not at all handsome. But the Doctor's fashion was to goe up and down the college and peepe in at the key-holes to see whether the boys did follow their books or no. He seldome found Bathurst minding of his book, but mending of his old doublet or breeches. He was very thrifty and penurious and upon this reason he caried away this curious creature. . . .

He observed that the howses that had the smallest beer had most drunkards, for it forced them to goe into the towne to comfort their stomachs; wherefore Dr. Kettle alwayes had in his college excellent beer, not better to be had in Oxon; so that



we could not go to any other place but for the worse and we had the fewest drunkards of any howse in Oxford.

He was constantly at lectures and exercises in the hall to observe them and brought along with him his hower-glasse; and one time, being offended at the boyes he threatned them, that if they would not doe their exercise better he 'would bring an hower-glass two howers long.'

He was irreconcilable to long haire; called them hairy scalpes, and as for perewigges (which were then very rarely worne) he believed them to be the scalpes of men cutt off after they were hang'd, and so tanned and dressed for use. When he observed the scolars' haire longer than ordinary (especially if they were scholars of the howse) he would bring a paire of cizers in his muffle (which he commonly wore) and woe be to them that sate on the outside of the table. I remember he cutt Mr. Radford's haire with the knife that chipps the bread on the buttery-hatch and then he sang (this is in the old play of *Grammar Gurton's Needle*):

'And was not Grim the collier finely trimm'd?  
Toned, Toned.'

'Mr. Lydall,' said he, 'how do you decline *tondeo*? *Tondeo* tondes, toned?'

He dragg'd with one foot a little, by which he gave warning (like the rattlesnake) of his comeing. Will Egerton, a good witt and mimick, would goe so like him, that some-time he would make the whole chapell rise up, imagining he had been entering in. . . .

Upon Trinity Sunday (our festival day) he would commonly preach at the colledge, whither a number of the scholars of other houses would come to laugh at him. In his prayer (where he was of course to remember Sir Thomas Pope, our founder, and the lady Elizabeth his wife, deceas'd), he would many times make a willful mistake and say, 'Sir Thomas Pope our *Confunder*,' but then presently recall himself. He was a person of great charity. In his college where he observed diligent boyes that he guessed had but a slender exhibition from their friends, he would many times putt money in at their windowes; that his right hand did not know what his left did. Servitors that wrote good hands he would sett on worke to transcribe for him and reward them generously and give them good advise.

Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, ed. by A. Clark. Clarendon Press.

NEXT in importance among the libraries of the British Empire, is **The Bodleian**<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the chapter on Clubs and Libraries in our second volume.

the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Its founder, Sir Thomas Bodley, was a worthy of Devon who had been actively employed by Queen Elizabeth as a diplomatist, and had returned tired of court life to the University, where long before he had been Fellow of Merton College. He found the ancient library of the University (which, after growing slowly with many vicissitudes from small beginnings, had suddenly been enriched in 1439-46 by a gift of 264 valuable MSS. from Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester) utterly destroyed by Edward VI.'s commissioners, and the room built for its reception (still called 'Duke Humphrey's Library') swept clean even of the readers' desks. His determination to refound the library of the University was actively carried out, and on November 8, 1602, the new institution was formally opened with about 2000 printed and manuscript volumes. Two striking advantages were possessed by the Bodleian almost from the first. Sir Thomas Bodley employed his great influence at court and with friends to induce them to give help to his scheme, and accordingly we find not only donations of money and books from personal friends, but 240 MSS. contributed by the Deans and Chapters of Exeter and Windsor. Moreover, in 1610 he arranged with the Stationers' Company that they should present his foundation with a copy of every printed book published by a member of the company; and from that time to this the right to every book published in the kingdom has been continuously enjoyed.<sup>1</sup>

*Books in Manuscript*, by Falconer Madan. Kegan Paul, 1893.

#### Tudor and Stuart Days

FOR a time it seemed as if Oxford itself would perish with the monasteries, for the appetite of Henry VIII.'s courtiers once whetted for church property, was not easily sated; but that monarch was a scholar as well as a spendthrift. He told the would-be robbers: 'Sirs, I judge no land in England better bestowed than that which is given to our Universities.' The number of students, however, fell off terribly; the old schools of the University were many of them let for drying clothes, and the shelves of the library were sold (the books were destroyed by the visitors of Edward VI.) for what they would fetch.

England has rarely been in a worse plight than it was when Elizabeth ascended the throne, and the state of Oxford reflected

<sup>1</sup> Among the chief MS. accessions from 1629 may be noted the Barocci Greek MS., Sir Kenelm Digby's MSS., Archbishop Laud's collections, the Fairfax, Cromwell, and Dodsworth collections, the Selden, Pococke, Carte, Rawlinson, Clarendon, Gough, Douce, Bruce, Ouseley, Ashmolean, Anthony à Wood, and other minor collections.

that of the nation. The wise and strong rule of the great Queen restored both, and the number of students at Oxford steadily rose as the prosperity of England increased. But a change was coming over the character of the students. It is in the sixteenth century that Oxford begins to be a rich man's university, though the wise arrangements of founders for the aid of poor students were still partly maintained. The Queen did her best to encourage work by picking for her service the 'eminent and hopeful students' and the consideration that their sovereign's eye was upon them 'did switch and spur on their industries.' Such a man was Sir Thomas Bodley.

J. Wells, *Oxford and its Colleges*. Methuen, 1897.

QUEEN ELIZABETH being now dead (whom the University suddenly after voted to be inserted in their Album of Benefactors) King James, King of the Scots, came to the Crown; and being no sooner settled in his throne, but so vehement a Plague broke forth in London, that in short time after died in one week within its liberties, three thousand three hundred and odd persons. Spreading itself, it came into these parts in the month of July, and increasing very much in a short time after by the lewd and dissolute behaviour of some base and unruly Inhabitants, the beginning of Michaelmas Term was prorogued till the 2 day of November. But the Plague not ceasing by that time it was prorogued till the first of December and from that time again till the 5; yet when a Congregation was then solemnized, few or none appeared, because the infection continued, and did not cease till February following.

Plague at  
Oxford

The City meanwhile had petitioned Convocation that 'before you dissolve your Colledges and Companies (a thing most grievous and lamentable for us to hear of) you will of your charities and goodnes take order for some weekly contribution from your Universitye towards the relief and keeping in of the diseased.' . . .

This Petition being openly read and sent to the respective Colleges, there was a weekly collection made and duly paid, to the great relief of the infected. The truth is, the times were very sad, and nothing but lamentation and bemoanings heard in the streets. Those that had wealth retired into the country, but those that were needy were, if not taken away by death, almost starved and so consequently ready to mutiny against their superiors for relief. All the gates of Colleges and Halls were constantly kept shut day and night by a few persons left in them to keep possession. Shop-windows all close and none, except the keepers of the sick and collectors of relief, stirring in the streets, no, not so much as dog or cat, so that they, nay the common market place, bore grass.



Churches were seldom or never open for divine service, only College Chapels for those few left behind, to put up their devotions for the abatement and utter removal of the infection. After it had ceased and most of the Scholars returned, it brake forth again in April following, but the spreading thereof quickly prevented by the care of the Magistrates. Also that after the King and Court had left Oxford, it brake forth again, and the infected persons sent to their former habitations, viz. Port-medec house, the cabins near it, and others by Cheney Lane, near Hedington hill.

*Wood's History and Antiquities.*

James I. at  
Oxford,  
1605.

THE 27 of August, the King, Queen, Prince of Wales, and a considerable number of the nobility, came from Woodstock to Oxford, to the end that they might see the place and entertain themselves with the delights of the Muses. At the end of the University limits north Ward, they were met and congratulated by the Chancellor, Vicechancellor, Proctors and certain Heads of Houses in their formalities, with an eloquent oration; which being done, they presented to the King Stephanus his Testament. Coming nearer, they were entertained by the Mayor, Steward, and the chiefest of the Citizens of Oxford; after whose compliments finished also they gave the said King a rich pair of gloves, and as 'tis reported, a purse of gold. At St. John's College gate, they had a speech spoken to them by one of that Society, and the view of divers copies of verses hanging on the walls. When the King came within the North Gate, he was saluted thence to Christ Church with great acclamations and shoutings of the Scholars (in number now 2254) besides Laicks innumerable. At Quatervois he was stopped by Dr. Perin, the Greek Reader, with an excellent Greek Oration, from a pew or desk set up there for the purpose. At Christ Church by Wake the ingenious Orator; who, after he had pleased the auditory with his Ciceronian style, the King was conducted to the Cathedral Church under a canopy supported by Doctors in their scarlet habits. After service mixt with instrumental and vocal musick by way of thanks for his safe arrival, he was led to his Lodgings through the throng of people, who being in a manner overjoyed for his happy appearance, made the walls of the Quadrangle shake with their acclamations. In the meantime Prince Henry with his Court went to Magdalen College, where received him the President and Fellows with an eloquent Oration . . . the gates and walls being at that time hung with verses. After he had viewed the Quadrangle, was conducted to the Presidents' Lodgings, where were ready to receive him certain Noblemens Sons of that House, who then entertained him



with speeches and Philosophical Disputations. After the King, Queen and Prince had supped, they were conveyed to Ch. Church Hall, where they saw a Latin Comedy called *Vertumnus* acted by the Students of that House. The next day in the morning they went to St. Mary's Church, where they heard Divinity Disputations. . . . In the afternoon were Disputations in the Civil Law . . . the Regius Professor in that Faculty moderating. All which being exceedingly well performed, gave great content to the King and the Auditory.

The third day were Disputations in Physick, performed also admirably well by the best of that Profession in the University: which being done they went to New College, where they were entertained with a royal feast and incomparable musick. After dinner they went to St. Mary's again where they heard Disputations in Philosophy: which being concluded the King sum'd up all with an elegant Oration much applauded by the Auditory. Afterwards he went to Christ Church, but Prince Henry to Magdalen College, where he supped that night in the common Hall, and had divers Speeches, Verses and gifts spoken and presented to him by the young gallantry of that House. After supper he and the King went to St. John's College, where they were diverted with a Play called *Annus recurrens*, penned by Dr. Gwynne of that Society which pleased his Majesty and the auditory very much. The fourth and last day (30 Aug.) the King, Prince and Court went to the publick Library, newly restored by Sir Thomas Bodley, consisting then only of the middle part that now is erected by the benefaction of Duke Humphrey and others: there he spent at least an hour, took into his hands several books, perused and gave his learned censure of them. Then the Divinity School under it and Schools of Arts adjoining. From thence they went to Brazenose, where the Principal and Fellows received them at the gate with a speech. Thence to All Souls College, where they saw the Chapel, Hall and Library; then to Magdalen College, where they visited what was worthy of Majestick eyes: at which time divers Nobles and others were with great solemnity created and incorporated Masters of Arts in a Convocation at St. Mary's. . . . After dinner the King being about to depart the University assembled to take their leaves and being admitted into his presence, the Junior Proctor gave him a farewell Speech, and being well accepted by the King, he gave the Academians his hand to kiss, and then expressed many honorable matters of the University and his entertainment, with a promise that he would be a gracious Sovereign to it. . . .

While the aforesaid Exercises were performing, the King shewed himself to be of an admirable wit and judgment, sufficiently applauded by the Scholars by clapping their hands and humming : which though strange to him at first hearing, yet when he understood, upon enquiry, what that noise meant (which they told him signified applause) was very well contented.

Wood's *History and Antiquities*.

#### Census of Students

THE total number of members of the University in 1552, according to a list of that year, was 1015. In 1612, when the University had recovered from the troubles of the previous century, the number was 2920, but this number included choristers, servants, etc. (40 at Christ Church, 30 at New College). Before the Reformation the numbers were not so large. Thus the number of determining bachelors is 36 in the Lent of 1507, 47 in 1508, 41 in 1509, 55 in 1511, 42 in 1512. These numbers lend no support to the well-known statement that there had once been 30,000 students at Oxford, a statement made by Richard Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh, once fellow of Balliol, and Chancellor of Oxford 1360, before the Pope at Avignon in 1357. . . . Matthew Paris states the number at 3000, and this includes all the cooks, barbers, parchment makers, illuminators, stationers and others who were matriculated, that they might share in the privileges of the University as against the city. The numbers naturally fell off somewhat after the suppression of the monasteries. Three-fourths of the Benedictine abbeys and priories in England sent their novices to Oxford. . . . It is to be noticed also that degrees were given for grammar, and that these did not cease until 1568.

Oxford Historical Society's *Register of the University*.  
Edited by C. W. Boase, 1885.

#### Fellow- Commoners at Balliol

THE great number of Commoners who resorted to Balliol at the commencement of the seventeenth century is only another proof of the pecuniary embarrassments which their presence did something to alleviate. With the exception of Magdalen and Exeter, none of the wealthy Colleges were anxious to burden themselves with ordinary educational work. . . .

In 1610 the Master and Fellows made a bold bid for popularity by providing for the admission of Fellow-Commoners, a class of students hitherto encouraged at two or three Colleges only. The decree authorised the admission of 'extraneos quoscumque quos appellat communarios' to the High Table. They were to attend chapel and pursue the same course of studies as the Scholars, but

they were subject merely to lighter punishments. . . . Evelyn, who entered as a Fellow-Commoner in Balliol in 1637, bears witness to the laudable impartiality with which these rules were enforced. 'The Fellow-Commoners in Balliol were no more exempt from exercise than the meanest Scholars there.' In return for his privileges each Fellow-Commoner was required to give £5 for the purchase of books or plate; but it appears that, after 1630, these sums were often appropriated to the Chapel, which needed many small repairs and additions to bring it up to the high standard of decency required by Laud. . . .

*Balliol*, by H. W. C. Davis, 'Oxford College Histories.'  
Hutchinson, 1899.

AMONG Balliol men there were some who had travelled in the Levant and were linguists 'to whom great Avicenne might speak and be understood without an interpreter.' Greeks at Balliol

Foreign [Greek] scholars were naturally attracted to such a society, and three at least are specially mentioned as having entered their names at Balliol, and resided there some little time. The first to arrive was one Christopher Angelus, a native of the Peloponnesus, whom the persecutions of the Turks had forced to quit his country. After dwelling for about three years in Trinity College, Cambridge, he migrated in 1610 to Balliol, which pleased him so much that he made it his home. He became celebrated as a teacher of Greek, and his popularity was much increased by the scars, which he would display as a proof of his sufferings to sympathetic auditors. . . . The third and the most described of these visitors was a Cretan, Nathaniel Conopius, who had been chaplain to Cyril, Patriarch of Constantinople, but was obliged to flee from that city in consequence of the murder of his patron. Conopius was well known to Savage and Evelyn, who were his contemporaries in College. The former tells us that Conopius 'spake and wrote the genuine Greek, which must be understood of prose, for the poetical Greek he had not. As for his writing, I have seen a great book of music, as he said of his own composing'; but remembering proverbs as to Cretan veracity, Dr. Savage declines to endorse this statement; neither will he vouch for the merits of the music, for 'the notes were such as are not in use by any of the Western Churches.' Evelyn remarks the curious fact that the practice of drinking coffee was introduced into Oxford by Conopius, who drank it every morning of his own making.<sup>1</sup>

*Balliol*, by H. W. C. Davis. Hutchinson, 1899.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vol. ii., *Oxford Society*, 383-386.

The English  
Bible of  
1611.

It may be remembered that the best matter produced by Hampton Court Conference was the resolution of K. James, for a new Translation of the Bible, which intent was now effectually followed, and the Translators, being 47 in number, and divided in six companies, did the work sooner than was imagined. Two companies were from Westminster, two from Oxford, and as many from Cambridge. The names of those of this University were:—

	John Hardyng of Magd.	} College.
	John Raynolds, President of C. C.	
	Thomas Holland, Rector of Exeter	
Dr.	Rich. Kilby, Rector of Lincoln	
	Miles Smyth, sometime of Brazenose	
	Rich. Brett, Bach. of Div. of Lincoln	
	Rich. Fairclough, sometime of New	

All which were to translate the four greater Prophets, with the Lamentations and the 12 lesser.

	George Abbot, Dean of Winchester and Master of Univ. C. [afterward Archb. of Cant.].	} College.
	Giles Thompson, Dean of Windsor, sometime Fellow of All Souls C. [and afterward Bp. of Glouc.].	
Dr.	John Harmar, Warden of Winchester, sometime Fellow of New C. [and Reg. Prof. of Greek].	
	John Aglionby, Principal of Edmund Hall.	
	John Perin, Greek Reader, Fellow of St. John's College.	
	Leonard Hutten, Canon of Ch. Ch.	

Which six last, with others, as 'tis reported (of which were Dr. Tho. Ravis, Dean of Ch. Ch., and chiefly Sir Hen. Savile, Warden of Merton College) were to translate the four Gospels, Acts of the Apostles and Apocalypse; and all, for their better information, had the Copies of such Bibles that could be found in the publick, or those Libraries belonging to Colleges. Which great work being finished, soon after, divers grave Divines in the University, not employed in translating, were assigned by the Vice-chancellor (upon a conference had with the Heads of Houses) to be overseers of the Translations as well of Hebrew as of Greek. The said Translators had recourse once a week to Dr. Raynolds his Lodgings in Corpus Christi College, and there as 'tis said perfected the work, notwithstanding the said Doctor, who had the chief hand in it, was all the while sorely afflicted with the gout.

After the task of translation was finished by the whole number, it was revised by a dozen selected from them, and at length referred



to the final examination of Bilson [of New College], Bishop of Winton, and Miles Smith [of Brasenose, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester], who, with the rest of the twelve, are stiled in the History of the Synod of Dort, '*vere* eximii et ab initio in toto hoc opere versatissimi,' as having concluded that worthy labour. All being ended, this excellent person, M. Smith, was commanded to write a Preface, which being by him done, 'twas made publick and is the same that is now extant in our Church Bible, the original whereof is, if I am not mistaken, in the Oxonian Vatican.

Wood's *History and Antiquities and Athenæ Oxonienses*.

WHEN visiting Bodley's Library at Oxford, James I. is reported to have said: 'Were I not a king I would be a university man; and if it were that I must be a prisoner, if I might have my wish, I would have no other prison than this library, and be chained together with these good authors.' It would have sounded highly absurd at the time, but now, after the lapse of three hundred years, it is an obvious enough remark to make that it would have been better for James, as well as for the country over which he was called to rule, if such had been his fate. . . .

James  
and the  
Bodleian

John Fyvie, 'A Forgotten Royal Writer,'  
*Literary Eccentrics*, 1906. Constable.

It hapned that Laud [then President of St. John's] preaching on Shrove-Sunday, Anno 1614, insisted on some points which might indifferently be imputed either to Popery or Arminianism (as about that time they began to call it), though in themselves they were no other than the true and genuine Doctrines of the Church of England: and having occasion in that sermon to touch upon the Presbyterians and their proceedings, he used some words to this effect, viz.: that the Presbyterians were as bad as the Papists: which being so directly contrary to the judgment and opinion of this Doctor Abbot [Robert Abbot, Master of Balliol and Regius Professor of Divinity], and knowing how much Laud had been distasted by his brother [George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury] when he lived in Oxon, conceived he could not better satisfy himself and oblige his brother the Archbishop, than by exposing him (on the next occasion) both to shame and censure which he did accordingly. For being Vice-chancellor for the year and preaching at St. Peters upon Easter day in the afternoon, he pointed at him so directly that none of the Auditors were so ignorant as not to know at whom he aimed. Laud not being present at the first preaching of the sermon, was by his friends perswaded to shew

Vice-  
Chancellor's  
Sermon v.  
Laud

himself at St. Maries on the Sunday after, when it should come to be repeated (according to the ancient custom of that University) to whose persuasions giving an unwilling consent, he heard himself sufficiently abused for almost an hour together, and that so palpably and grossly that he was pointed to as he sate. . . .

'Some,' said the Doctor in his sermon, 'are partly Romish, partly English, as occasion served them, that a man might say unto them, *Noster es, an adversariorum?* who under pretence of Truth and Preaching against the Puritan strike at the heart and root of the Faith and Religion now stablished amongst us, etc. . . . If they do at any time speak against the Papists, they do but beat a little about the bush, and that but softly too, for fear of waking and disquieting the birds that are in it; they speak nothing but that wherein one Papist will against another; as against Equivocation and the Pope's Temporal Authority, and the like; and perhaps some of their blasphemous speeches. But in the points of Free Will, Justification, Concupiscence being a sin after Baptism, Inherent Righteousness and certainty of Salvation; the Papists beyond the Seas can say they are wholly theirs; and the Recusants at home make their brags of them. And in all things they keep themselves so near the brink, that upon any occasion they may step over to them. Now for this speech that the Presbyterians are as bad as the Papists, there is a sting in the speech, which I wish had been left out, for there are many Churches beyond the seas which contend for the Religion established amongst us and yet have approved and admitted the Presbytery, etc.

'Might not Christ say,' saith he, 'What art thou, Romish or English? Papist or Protestant? Or what art thou? A Mongrel or compound of both: A Protestant by Ordination, a Papist in point of Free Will, Inherent Righteousness and the like. A Protestant in receiving the Sacrament, a Papist in the Doctrine of the Sacrament? What, do you think there are two Heavens? If there be, get you to the other and place yourselves there, for into this where I am ye shall not come.'

*Life of Archbishop Laud*, by P. Heylyn, D.D., 1671.

Prince  
Charles's  
Matriculation

IN the latter end of August this year [1616], Prince Charles came honourably attended to the University, and after he had been entertained with ceremonies and feasting suitable to his dignity and merit, he was pleased with his own handwriting to matriculate himself a member of the said University, Aug. 28, with this symbole or sentence, *Si vis omnia subdicere, subijce te rationi*. To

say no more, he was afterwards a king of great religion and learning, but unfortunate.

Wood's *Fasti*.

THIS year [1621] the King, Prince and Divers of the Nobility came to Woodstock, to whom receeded the Vicechancellor, certain Doctors and both the Proctors, who being gratusly received by his Majesty (to whom the Orator spoke a Speech) they were dismissed, leaving then behind them many pair of rich Gloves to be given to the King, Prince, and the chief of the Nobility.

James I.  
bored by a  
Comedy

It must be known now, that Febr. 13, an. 1617, the Comedy of Barten Holyday, student of Christ Church, called the *Marriage of Arts*, was acted publickly in Christ Church Hall with no great applause, and the wits now of the University being minded to shew themselves before the King, were resolved to act the said Comedy at Woodstock; wherefore the Author making some foolish alterations in it, was accordingly performed on a Sunday night, 26 Aug. But it being too grave for the King and too Scholar-like for the Auditory (or as some say that the Actors had taken too much wine before), his Majesty after two Acts offered several times to withdraw; but being perswaded by some of those that were near him, to have patience till it was ended, least the young men should be discouraged, adventured it, though much against his will.

It is by no means impossible that the Royal author of *The Counterblast to Tobacco* was most offended by a Song in praise of tobacco introduced into the play. The first verse runs:—

'Tobacco's a musician  
And in a pipe delighteth;  
It descends in a close  
Through the organs of the nose,  
With a relish that inviteth.  
This makes me sing so ho, so ho boyes,  
Ho boyes! sound I loudly,  
Earth ne'er did breed,  
Such a jovial weed,  
Whereof to boast so proudly.'

Wood's *History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*;  
Nichols's *Progresses of James I.*

THE Calvinistical opinions disappearing, the *Tenents* of Arminius (as they were called) began to gather head, by the means of certain scholars, admirers of Laud, now a rising star in the Court. But the said *Tenents* being for the most part disrelished by the generality of Academians, were not wanting divers combinations who met

From Calvin  
to Arminius

and contrived arguments to confound their Author. I have heard that some young Divines, at this time [1623] students in Oxford, had their meetings once in a fortnight, wherein were handled controversies, relating to Arminianism, not for, but chiefly against it; one of which was lately Archbishop of Canterbury [Sheldon] and others whose minds changed became Bishops and Deans; and the person at whose chamber they usually met had the honor to be called Bogermannus [Dr. Newlin], at this time President of Corp. Ch. Coll.

Wood's *History and Antiquities*.

Blake and  
Raleigh at  
Wadham

THE very year in which Blake [the great Admiral] joined the college he had an experience of Stuart respect for statutes and constitutions which may well have had something to do with forming the Republican notions which he is supposed to have held at Oxford, and later. On October 30, 1618, King James wrote to 'our trusty and well beloved, the Wardens and Fellows of Waddam College,' bidding them elect Walter Durham of St. Andrews a Fellow, 'notwithstanding anything in your statutes to the contrary.' But the college had that English regard for legality which the Stuarts never could understand; Durham had not been a scholar of the college, and so was ineligible, and moreover the Foundress [Dorothy Wadham], for whose funeral 'their eyes were still wet,' had filled up the place beforehand. They were much afraid that the King might put down their refusal to dislike of a Scotchman, but while they 'feared the King, they feared Almighty God still more.' Durham, as the official Latin narrative preserved among the Warden's MSS., quaintly says, 'nullum non movebat lapidem ut voti compos fieret'; he even called on the fellows 'in their bedrooms'; but the college stood stoutly to its guns, and, thanks to the help of the Chancellor, William Herbert, the great Earl of Pembroke, they had their way. Durham did not get his fellowship, and the statutes remained inviolate. It is impossible not to connect this aggression on the part of the King with an entry in the Admission Register of next year; the bald list of names suddenly becomes eloquent, when Carew Raleigh is entered as 'fortissimi doctissimique equitis Gualteri Raligh filius.' Warden Smith was only voicing in Latin what all England was saying as to the King's victim of the preceding year. Carew Raleigh seems to have had some at least of his father's ability; James told him to leave the Court, because he looked so like his father's ghost. . . .

Wells, *Wadham College*. Hutchinson, 1898.



IN Oxford the King's Booke was receaved with a great deale of solemnitie, and in a solemne procession was carried from St. Marie's (where the Convocation was) by the Vice-Chancellor, accompanied with some 24 Doctors in scarlett, and the rest of the bodie of the Universitie, unto the Publick Librarie where the Keeper, one Mr. Rows, made a verie prettie Speech, and placed it *in archivis, intuentibus nobis et reliquis academicis*, with a great deale of respect. In this they far surpassed Cambridge; and their love to me and the rest who were in companie was extraordinaire. They invited us often to these Colledges; they defrayed all our charges for horse and man at our inne; they gave us all gloves; they took no fees of Dr. Read, and gave him a most ample testimoniall and me £20 in golde.

A Royal  
Author

The King at our returne saluted me Lord Ambassadour, and when I kneeled to present him the letters of the Universitie, merrilie did bidd me stand up and be covered. His Majesty was exceeding well pleased with the letters of the Universitie, and with our relation of all that past, and does preferre Oxford unto your Mother Cambridge.

*Letter of Dr. Patrick Young to his brother, dated London, the 8th of June 1620.*

[In May or June 1620, the King, having lately had a new edition of his Works printed, made a present of copies to both Universities.]

Nichols's *Progresses of King James I.*

IN May 1613 Casaubon made an excursion to Oxford, primarily for the purpose of reading in the Bodleian (now nine years old). Sir Henry Savile took him in his coach from Eton. He was struck by the buildings and by the repairs going on—rendered necessary then as now by the soft oolite stone. He was honoured in a succession of banquets, but declined the Oxford degree. He read greedily six hours a day for twelve days. He met three men of erudition, Abbot of Balliol, Prideaux of Exeter, and Kilbye of Lincoln. Kilbye introduced him to a young Hebrew instructor, Jacob, learned alike in Latin and Talmudic lore. He took Jacob back with him to London to read rabbinical Hebrew with him, but the burden of his board was too great and he had to resolve to send him back to Oxford. He wrote to Abbot, to Kilbye and even to the king about this Jacob as evincing dispositions towards Christianity. The conversion became the topic of all Oxford. Twisse of New College prepared a sermon for his baptism which

A Jacobean at  
Oxford, 1613

was undertaken by the Vice. Michaelmas Day was fixed for the catechumen to be received with a special rite (for no form of adult baptism existed in the liturgy).

The day before the ceremony Jacob decamped, but was eventually taken on the London road and thrown into Bocardo, a miserable hole, where he was like to perish of filth and evil fare. Kilbye as most compromised was most indignant, and had him out of his hole at intervals to play with as a cat does with a mouse. Casaubon was profoundly annoyed. Jacob was banished the University together with rabbinical learning. He owed it to Casaubon that his punishment was no worse. Twisse came best out of the affair, for at short notice he converted his discourse from one on the joys of conversion to a spicy harangue upon Jewish perfidy.

Compiled from Mark Pattison's *Casaubon*, 1875.

**Savilian  
Professors of  
Geometry and  
Astronomy**

In the year 1619, Sir Henry Savile, Knt., observing that the Study of Mathematicks was very much neglected; and being desirous to apply a Remedy thereunto, lest that the same should wholly decay; by Royal Authority and with the Consent of the University, founded and endow'd for ever two publick Lectures, the one in Geometry and the other in Astronomy. The Professor of Geometry is properly to read on the 13 Books of Euclid's *Elements*, Apollonius's *Conick Sections*, and all Archimedes's Books; and expounding on the same, to leave his Notes and Observations thereon in the University Archives in writing: It is, moreover, the Duty of this Professor to teach and explain Arithmetick of all kinds, Practical Geometry or Measuring of Land, Musick and Mechanicks, at a proper season most convenient for him. . . .

The Professor of Astronomy's Business is to explain the whole Ptolemaick System, and (in due season) that of Copernicus, Geber, and other modern Astronomical Discoveries; and to leave his Notes in Writing as aforesaid: And it is moreover his Duty to teach and read on Opticks, Dialling, Geography, and Navigation, at proper Times; but he is prohibited the Doctrine of Nativities and Judicial Astrology. Besides publick Lectures in the Schools, the Geometry Professor is bound to instruct all Youth willing to learn, in practical Arithmetic once a Week (at least) at his own Lodging or some other adjacent Place for the space of an Hour. All Persons from two Years standing till one Year after Batchelor compleat are to attend this Professor; and then they are obliged to be present at Astronomy-Lectures, until they take their Master

of Arts Degree, under the Pain of 6d Mulct for their Absence *toties*, etc.

These Professors may be chosen out of any Nation in Christendom, provided they be Persons of good Reputation and have a tolerable Knowledge in the Greek Tongue.

*The Ancient and Present State of the University of Oxford*, by John Ayliffe, D.D., 1714.

THE most important works produced at Oxford between 1585 [when a press was definitely established] and 1640 were Richard de Bury's *Philobiblion*, 1599; Wycliff's treatises, 1608; Capt. John Smith's Map of Virginia, 1612; Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1621; Field on the Church, 1628; Sandys's translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, 1633; the University Statutes, 1634; Chaucer's *Troilus and Cressida*, in English and Latin, 1635; Chillingworth's *Religion of Protestants*, 1638; and Bacon's *Advancement and Proficiency of Learning*, in English, 1640.

Oxford  
Printing

*The Early Oxford Press*, by Falconer Madan. Clarendon Press, 1895.

THIS growth of prosperity continued for more than a generation after the death of Elizabeth. The first forty years of the seventeenth century are well called the 'Laudian Age' in Oxford, for his was the ruling spirit in the changes that were going on. He recast the statutes of the University, and they continued as he had left them for more than 200 years; hence it is fitting that the Convocation House, Oxford's Parliament House, should remain to this day as Laud built it. His changes brought order, discipline, learning, and greater wealth; the marks of this are seen in the new foundations which date from this period, e.g. the Schools, Wadham College, and the Botanic Gardens (1632, first of its kind in England), and in the rebuilding of old foundations, e.g. University and Oriel Colleges. At the same time it must be admitted that Laud did not extend to divergencies of ritual the liberty which he was ready to grant to religious thought; his methods for suppressing his opponents were those of his age. With political liberty he had little sympathy. Hence it was natural that Oxford should be the Royalist capital of England.

The Laudian  
Age

J. Wells, *Oxford and its Colleges*. Methuen, 1897.

LAUD's intimate knowledge of the University enabled him to do more for it than had been done for centuries. Three points appeared to him especially to require attention. He was convinced of the necessity of personal supervision from outside, in

Laud  
Chancellor

order to prevent petty quarrels—he saw the necessity for a revival of discipline among the undergraduates, and a revision of the statutes.

From the first, he required the Vice-Chancellor to send him weekly an account of University affairs, upon which he promised to send every week his own censure or approbation. He kept a book, it is clear, into which the University letters and his replies were copied, and in which he noted down all events of importance as they occurred. . . . The Regius and Margaret Professors of Divinity needed admonition to 'read their lectures as the statutes require': the proctors' authority required support even against the Dean of Christ Church (whom Laud in 1639 sharply informed that he had 'carried this business like a sudden hasty and weak man, and most unlike a man that understands government'). Dr. Prideaux had to be continually rated for unsound doctrine and ill manners; the Westminster supper at Christ Church on December 20 deserved suppression as a cause of disorder; the cellar of Brasenose required to be 'better looked to, that no strong and unruly argument be drawn from that topic place'; the citizens quarrelled with the University about the night-watch—a traditional quarrel—and the Chancellor must make peace: the Mitre, ever a famous inn, was declared to be 'the general rendezvous of all the recusants, not in this shire only, but in the kingdom,' and the Winchester scholars of New College required to be checked in too early reading of Calvin.

The studies of the University could not be properly carried on when the government of the students was so lax as Laud found it. In 1631 he issued orders to check the extravagance of apparel, the 'boots and spurs together with their gowns,' which the young men affected, and to enforce the due respect of juniors towards seniors. The statutes were to be put in force 'for haunting of inns or taverns, especially of masters of art, that should give younger youths better example.' The next year similar injunctions were issued, that the heads of colleges should see that the youth conform themselves to the public discipline of the University. 'And particularly I pray, see that none, youth or other, be suffered to go in boots or spurs, or to wear their hair undecently long, or with a lock in the present fashion, or with slashed doublets, or in any light or garish colours.' . . . Laud's intimate knowledge of the University had given him a scheme for its improvement as well as the understanding of its disciplinary defects. He desired especially to make the power of the Chancellor more real, and secondly, to exercise that power, through the heads of houses,



over all members of the University. . . . Tact and a strong hand soon re-establish discipline; and by 1636, Mr. Secretary Coke could congratulate the students on the revival of studious manners, and state that the University in this matter, 'which before had no paragon in any foreign country,' had now 'gone beyond itself.'

*William Laud*, by W. H. Hutton. Methuen, 1895.

No place could have been found which offered more to interest and delight a man of Inglesant's temperament than Oxford did at this time. It was still at the height of that prosperity which it had enjoyed under the King and Laud for so many years, but which was soon to be so sadly overcast. The colleges were full of men versed and intelligent in all branches of learning and science, as they were then taught. The halls and chapels were full of pictures, and of rich plate soon to be melted down; the gardens and groves were in beautiful order, and the bowling-greens well kept. The utmost loyalty to Church and State existed. Many old customs of the Papists' times, soon to be discontinued, still survived. One of the scholars sang the Gospel for the day in Hall at the latter end of dinner. The musical services in the Chapels on Sundays, Holy Days, and Holy Day Eves were much admired, and the subject of great care. Music was studied deeply as a science, antiquity and every country being ransacked for good music, and every gentleman pretending to some knowledge of it. The High Church Party which reigned supreme, were on excellent terms with the Papists, and indeed they were so much alike that they mixed without restraint. No people in England were more loyal, orthodox, and observant of the ceremonies of the Church of England than the scholars and the generality of the inhabitants.

The Oxford  
of Laud

Every kind of curious knowledge was eagerly pursued; many of the fellows' rooms were curious museums of antiquities and relics, and scarce books and manuscripts. Alchemy and astrology were openly practised, and more than one Fellow had the reputation of being able to raise spirits. The niceties of algebra and the depths of metaphysics were inquired into and conversed upon with eagerness, and strange inquiries upon religion welcomed. Dr. Cressy, of Merton, was the first who read Socinus's books in England, and is said to have converted Lord Falkland, who saw them in his rooms. A violent controversy was going on among the physicians, and new schools had risen up who practised in chemical remedies instead of the old-fashioned vegetable medicines.

*John Inglesant*, by J. H. Shorthouse. Macmillan, 1880.

THE Laudian Code, as it came to be called, marked an epoch in University law. The casual and temporary orders of the Middle Ages and of the Revival of Learning had lain down together in poor harmony. It was possible for a pedantic student or an ill-disposed agitator to delay business and reduce government to an absurdity. Convocation was constantly called together, and the 'Whole University' was troubled 'for every boy's business.' Laud introduced system and tolerance. He gave the government to a board of Heads who should meet weekly to 'consider of the peace and government of the University as occasion shall arise.' He substituted for the unsatisfactory method of choosing proctors by general election a choice by the colleges according to a definite cycle. It was under his direction also that examinations were instituted, including far more subjects than are now required of passmen.' . . . The Laudian Code remained in force with but slight changes till the modern era of legislation set in, and even now in matters of ceremonial and of discipline it forms the basis of University rule. There is no need to exaggerate Laud's personal influence in the codification. He knew what it was necessary to do: he employed capable agents, and he supervised their work when it was accomplished. The result bore markedly the impress of his mind. But he did not, in any general sense, create or originate; his wisdom lay rather in the adaptation and in the intention. Nevertheless, his work was one of the most valuable and the most permanent that the University has known. He was a genuine University Reformer, and in that aspect of his life he might be content to go down to posterity with his code in his hand.

*William Laud*, by W. H. Hutton. Methuen, 1895.

## OXFORD DURING THE TROUBLES

THERE has perhaps never existed so curious a spectacle as Oxford presented during the residence of the King at the time of the Civil War. A city unique in itself became the resort of a court under unique circumstances, and of an innumerable throng of people of every rank, disposition, and taste, under circumstances the most extraordinary and romantic. The ancient colleges and halls were thronged with ladies and courtiers; noblemen lodged in small attics over bakers' shops in the streets; soldiers were quartered in the college gates and in the kitchens; yet with all this confusion, there was maintained both something of a courtly pomp and something of a learned and religious society. The King dined and supped in public, and walked in State in Christ Church Meadow and Merton Gardens and the Grove of Trinity, which the wits called Daphne. A Parliament sat from day to day; service was sung daily in all the chapels; books both of learning and poetry were printed in the city; and the distinctions which the colleges had to offer were conferred with pomp on the royal followers as almost the only rewards the King had to bestow. Men of every opinion flocked to Oxford, and many foreigners came to visit the King. There existed in the country a large and highly intelligent body of moderate men, who hovered between the two parties, and numbers of these were constantly in Oxford—Harrington the philosopher, the King's friend, Hobbes, Lord Falkland, Lord Paget, the Lord Keeper, and many others.

King Charles  
at Oxford

Mixed up with these grave and studious persons, gay courtiers and gayer ladies jostled old and severe divines and college heads, and crusty tutors used the sarcasms they had been wont to hurl at their pupils to reprove ladies whose conduct appeared to them at least far from decorous. Christmas interludes were enacted in Hall, and Shakespeare's plays performed by the King's players, assisted by amateur performers, and it would have been difficult to say whether the play was performed before the curtain or behind it, or whether the actors left their parts behind them when the performance was over, or then in fact resumed them. The groves and walks of the colleges, and especially Christ Church Meadow

and the Grove at Trinity, were the resort of this gay and brilliant throng; the woods were vocal with song and music, and love and gallantry sported themselves along the pleasant river banks. The poets and wits vied with each other in classic conceits and parodies, wherein the events of the day and every individual incident were portrayed and satirized. Wit, learning, and religion joined hand in hand, as in some grotesque and brilliant masque. The most admired poets and players and the most profound mathematicians became 'Romancists' and monks, and exhausted all their wit and poetry and learning in futhering their divine mission, and finally, as the last scenes of this strange drama came on, fell fighting on some hardly-contested grassy slope, and were buried on the spot, or in the next village churchyard, in the dress in which they played Philaster, or the court garb in which they wooed their mistress, or the doctor's gown in which they preached before the King, or read Greek in the schools.

*John Inglesant*, by J. H. Shorthouse. Macmillan, 1880.

**Oxford as a  
military  
Depôt**

THE strategical importance of Oxford is shown by the fact that so many of the battlefields of the first civil war are within a small radius of the city. Edgehill lies just over twenty-five miles to the north. Cropredy about twenty-one north. Newbury is only twenty-five miles south-west of the city. Chalgrove field is ten miles to the south-east.

For nearly four years, from October 1642 until June 1646, Oxford was the centre and focus of royalist England. To Oxford all the machinery of government and administration was, as far as possible, transferred. There met the Royalist parliament—a majority of the House of Lords, a minority of the House of Commons; there courts sat; there the King dwelt. . . . The King and the young Princes, and the chief members of the staff, were lodged at Christ Church; the Queen, after her arrival in July 1643, made Merton her home. Between the two colleges a backway was specially made 'through one of the canon's gardens, another garden belonging to Christ Church, and then through Merton College grove.' The Queen was lodged in the Warden's House, occupying at intervals for nearly three years the room still known as the Queen's room, and the drawing-room adjoining. The King was constantly there, probably finding Merton a pleasant retreat from the bustle of Christ Church. Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice occupied the Town Clerk's residence, and Culpepper lived in Wood's own house opposite Merton College. Oxford was not really besieged except for a fortnight in the spring



of 1645, until after the King's final departure in 1646; but every preparation for standing a siege had long since been made. Trenches were dug on the north and south of the city, and partially in the west. . . .

Bells were melted down for the casting of ordnance, and New College cloister and tower were converted into a magazine for arms and gunpowder . . . and while most of the 'armes and furniture of artillerie, as bullets, gunpowder for the ordinance, match, etc., was laide up in Newe College Cloyster and Tower a gunpowder mill was set up at Oseney'; drawbridges were manufactured in the Rhetoric School; wheat was stored in the Guildhall; oats and corn at the Law School and Logic School; and military outfits at the Music School. A small army of tailors, 'foreigners as well as townsmen,' were engaged to cut out and make up these uniforms 'to the number of four or five thousand.' The lawyers jostled the soldiers. The Court of Chancery, under the Presidency of Lord Keeper Littleton, was held in the New Convocation House at the Schools; the Court of Requests sat under Sir Thomas Ailesbury, one of the Masters in the Natural Philosophy School. The Assizes of Oyer and Terminer were held before Lord Chief-Justice Heath at the Guildhall. Services appear to have been held regularly in the College Chapels, and during the Queen's stay at Merton there were, as Wood remarks, divers marriages, christenings, and burials at the chapel. Sermons were preached regularly at St. Mary's.

*Life and Times of Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland,*  
by J. A. R. Marriott. Methuen, 1907.

My father (Sir John Harrison) commanded my sister and myself to come to him at Oxford, where the Court then was; but we, that had till then lived in great plenty and great order, found ourselves like fishes out of the water, and the scene so changed, that we knew not at all how to act any part but obedience, for, from as good a house as any gentleman of England had, we came to a baker's house in an obscure street, and, from rooms well-furnished, to lie in a very bad bed in a garret, to one dish of meat, and that not the best ordered, no money, for we were as poor as Job, nor clothes more than a man or two brought in their cloak bags. We had the perpetual discourse of losing and gaining towns and men; at the windows the sad spectacle of war, sometimes plague, sometimes sicknesses of other kind, by reason of so many people being packed together, as I believe there never was before of that

Court at  
Oxford

quality ; always in want, yet I must needs say that most bore it with a martyr-like cheerfulness.

*Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe.*

Unstatutable  
Demands on  
Bodley

ANOTHER provision of Bodley's Statutes renders the Library unique among its peers. This is the absolute prohibition of lending printed books or manuscripts out of the library. Through evil report and good, after argument and counter-argument, this statute has, in the main, been enforced. Lord Chancellor Clarendon's state-papers have preserved a slip which tells how Bodleian fidelity sorely tempted, yet remained true. On one of his last days in Oxford, Charles I. desired a book to read, to wile away a long winter evening. So, December 30, 1645, there came the order :

'Deliver unto the bearer hereof for the present use of his Maiesty, a Book Intituled *Histoire Universelle du Sieur D'Aubigné* : and this shall be your warrant.

'Counter-signed by the Vice-Chancellor,

'His Maiesty's use is in command to us.

'S. FELL, Vice-Can.'

Instead of obeying, the Librarian went to the King, with his statutes, and Charles obligingly withdrew his unstatutable demand.

In April 1654, Oliver Cromwell, as Lord Protector, wrote to ask the loan of a manuscript for the Portuguese Ambassador. There was sent, in answer, a copy of the prohibitory statute. Thereupon the Lord Protector wrote again, withdrawing his request, and 'commending the prudence of the Founder, who had made the place so sacred.'

*A Bodleian Guide*, by Andrew Clark. Clar. Press, 1906.

Charles I.  
and *Sortes*  
*Virgilianae*

THE King being at Oxford during the Civil Wars went one day to see the Publick Library, where he was show'd among other Books, a Virgil nobly painted and exquisitely bound. The Lord Falkland to divert the King would have his Majesty make a trial of his fortune by the *Sortes Virgilianae*, which everybody knows was an usual kind of augury some ages past. Whereupon the King opening the book, the period which happen'd to come up was that part of Dido's imprecation against Aeneas, which Mr. Dryden translates thus :—

'Yet let a race untam'd, and haughty foes,  
His peaceful entrance with dire arts oppose,  
Oppress'd with numbers in th' unequal field,  
His men discourag'd and himself expell'd,  
Let him for succour sue from place to place,  
Torn from his subjects, and his son's embrace.

First let him see his friends in battel slain,  
And their untimely fate lament in vain :  
And when at length the cruel war shall cease,  
On hard conditions may he buy his peace.  
Nor let him then enjoy supreme command,  
But fall untimely by some hostile hand,  
And lye unburi'd in the common sand.'

*Aeneid*, ii. 881.

It is said K. Charles seem'd concerned at this accident, and that the Lord Falkland observing it, would likewise try his own fortune in the same manner ; hoping he might fall upon some passage that could have no relation to his case, and thereby divert the King's thoughts from any impression the other might have upon him. But the place that Falkland stumbled upon was yet more suited to his destiny than the other had been to the King's, being the following expressions of Evander upon the untimely death of his son Pallas, as they are translated by the same hand :—

' O Pallas, thou hast fail'd thy plighted word,  
To fight with reason, not to tempt the sword.  
I warned thee, but in vain, for well I knew  
What perils youthful ardor would pursue ;  
That boiling blood would carry thee too far,  
Young as thou wert in dangers, raw to war.  
Oh ! curst essay of arms, disastrous doom,  
Prelude of bloody fields and fights to come.'

*Aeneid*, xi. 230.

[Mr. Macray remarks that there is no copy of Virgil now in the Library which answers the description ; and adds that Archbishop Sancroft and Aubrey have left versions of the same story differing as to *locale* and even substituting the Prince of Wales for the King.]

*Annals of the Bodleian*, by W. D. Macray.  
Clarendon Press, 1890.

THE new buildings [at St. John's] were the completion of the work of the 'second founder' [Laud] which gave to Sir Thomas White's College, for a time, the leading place in the University. Well might the President and Fellows exceed the language of academic eulogy and declare that 'if their gratitude were mute, the very stones of their college would, like the statue of Memnon, commemorated by Tacitus, give forth music to his glory.'

The new buildings were opened [in 1636] on the occasion of a visit of the King and Queen. Laud as the Chancellor of the University welcomed the royal party with elaborate ceremonial. . . . The Royal visit lasted from the 29th to the 31st of August. The King, as usual, resided in Christ Church, and the customary speeches and sermons were delivered. The Elector Palatine and

Charles I. and  
Henrietta  
Maria visit  
St. John's,  
1636.

Prince Rupert, sons of Charles' unhappy sister Elizabeth, received honorary degrees and their names were entered on the books of St. John's. . . .

On Tuesday the 30th ('it was St. Felix his day,' Laud, with his love of good omens, notes in his diary, 'and all passed happily'), the King and Queen came to the Chancellor's College. 'When they were come to St. John's they first viewed the new building, and that done I attended them at the library stairs; where so soon as they began to ascend the music began and they had a fine short song fitted for them as they ascended the stairs.' When they had passed through the door, over which the King's bust now stands, they entered the old library. . . . There one of the Fellows welcomed them with a speech. Then, continues Laud, 'dinner being ready, they passed from the old into the new library, built by myself, where the King and Queen and the Prince Elector dined at one table, which stood cross at the upper end. And Prince Rupert with all the lords and ladies present, which were very many, dined at a long table in the same room. All the several tables, to the number of 13 besides these 2, were disposed in several chambers of the college, and had several men appointed to attend them; and I thank God I had that happiness, that all things were in very good order and that no man went out at the Gates, courtier or other, but content, which was a happiness quite beyond expectation. . . .

'When dinner was ended I attended the King and Queen, together with the nobles into several with-drawing chambers, where they entertained themselves for the space of an hour. And in the meantime I caused the windows of the hall to be shut, the candles lighted and all things made ready for the play to begin. When these things were fitted, I gave notice to the King and Queen, and attended them into the hall, whither I had the happiness to bring them by a way prepared from the President's lodging to the hall without any the least disturbance: and had the hall kept as fresh and cool, that there was not any one person when the King and Queen came into it. The princes, nobles, and ladies entered the same way with the King and then presently another door was opened below to fill the hall with the better sort of company, which being done the play was begun and acted.' It was *Love's Hospital*, written by George Wilde, one of the Fellows, who after the Restoration, became Bishop of Derry. 'The plot was very good and the action. It was merry and without offence and so gave a great deal of content.' St. John's had long been a home of acting, since the time when the *Christmas Prince* had been the envy of the University, and Laud adds with pride that 'the college



was at that time so well furnished that they did not borrow any one actor from any college in town.' When the play was over the King and Queen returned to Christ Church; and the next day they left Oxford with 'a great deal of thanks.' On the evening of the 31st, Laud gave a dinner in his new library to the heads of colleges, doctors and proctors, 'which gave the University a great deal of content, being that which had never been done by any Chancellor before. I sat with them,' he says, 'at table, we were merry and very glad that all things had so passed with great satisfaction of the King, and the honour of the place.' The whole entertainment, which had been given on a munificent scale—for Laud, though simple in his own tastes, could, on occasion, emulate the historic grandeur of the mediæval bishops—cost the Archbishop £2660. His careful steward remained at Oxford a week to collect the accounts and pay the bills, while Laud himself, with a retinue of 'between 40 and 50 horse,' returned by slow stages to Croydon.

*William Laud*, by W. H. Hutton. Methuen, 1895.

IN his will there was no place with which he had been connected that was forgotten, but nearest to his heart lay his College. The two references to it are full of personal feeling.

Archbishop  
Laud and  
St. John's

'Item, I give to S. John Baptist College, in Oxford, where I was bred, all my chapel plate, gilt or parcel-gilt; all my chapel furniture; all such books as I have in my study at the time of my death, which they have not in their library; and 500*l* in money, to be laid out upon land. And I will, that the rest of it shall be equally divided to every Fellow and Scholar alike, upon the 7th day of October, every fourth year. Something else I have done for them already, according to my ability: and God's everlasting blessing be upon that place and that society for ever.' . . .

'And for my burial, though I stand not much upon the place, yet if it conveniently may be, I desire to be buried in the Chapel of S. John Baptist College, in Oxford, under the Altar or communion table there. And should I be so unhappy as to die a prisoner; yet my earnest desire is, I may not be buried in the Tower, but wheresoever my burial shall be, I will have it private, that it may not waste any of the poor means which I leave behind me to better uses.'

His last wishes were not fulfilled. Little if anything of what he bequeathed reached the College, and it was not till sixteen years after his death that he was laid beside Sir Thomas White [the Founder] in the chapel they had both loved so well.

W. H. Hutton, *St. John the Baptist College*.  
Hutchinson, 1898.

Popish Gear  
detected at  
Oxford

IN August 1642, the lord viscount Say and Seale came [by order of the Parliament] to visit the colleges, to see what of new Popery they could discover in the chapells. In our [Trinity] chapell, on the backside of the skreen, had been two altars (of painting well enough for those times, and the colours were admirably fresh and lively). That on the right hand as you enter the chapell was dedicated to St. Katharine, that on the left was of the taking our Saviour off from the crosse. My lord Say sawe that this was donne of old time, and Dr. Kettle told his lordship 'Truly, my Lord, we regard them no more than a dirty dish-clout,' so they remained untoucht, till Harris's time [President 1648-1658], and then were coloured over with green.

. . . Till Oxford was surrendred we sang the reading psalmes on Sundayes, holy-days and holy-day eves; and one of the scholars of the house sang the gospell for the day in the hall, at the latter end of dinner, and concluded, *Sic desinit Evangelium secundum beatum Johannem* (or etc.): *tu autem, Domine, miserere nostri*. He [Kettle] sang a shrill high treble: but there was one [J. Hoskyns] who had a higher and would play the wag with the Dr. to make him strain his voice up to his.

Aubrey's *Brief Lives*.

Dr. Kettell's  
Hour Glass  
broken by a  
Foot-soldier

'Tis probable this venerable Dr. Kettel might have lived some years longer and finisht his century, had not those civil warres come on: which much grieved him, that was wont to be absolute in the colledge, to be affronted and disrespected by rude soldiers. I remember being at the Rhetorique lecture in the hall, a foot-soldier came in and brake his hower glass. The Dr. indeed was just stept out, but Jack Dowch pointed at it. Our grove was the Daphne for the ladies and their gallants to walke in and many times my lady Isabella Thynne (she lay at Balliol College) would make her entrey with a theorbo or lute played before her. I have heard her play on it in the grove myselve, which she did rarely; for which Mr. Edmund Waller hath in his poems for ever made her famous. . . . I remember one time Lady Isabella Thynne and fine Mistress Fenshawe<sup>1</sup> (her great and intimate friend who lay at our college) would have a frolick to make a visit to the President. The old Dr. quickly perceived that they came to abuse him; he addresses his discourse to Mistress Fenshawe, saying, 'Madame, your husband and father I bred up here, and I knew your grand-

<sup>1</sup> 'She was wont, and my lady Thynne, to come to our chapell, mornings, halfe dressed, like angells.'

father; I know you to be a gentlewoman, I will not say you are a —: but gett you gone for a very woman.'

*Aubrey's Brief Lives.*

THE total amounts of the plate surrendered are partly given in Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, under the head 'An Abstract of the Plate presented to the King's Majesty by the several Colleges of Oxford and the Gentry of the Country, the 20th January 1642.'

	lbs.	oz.	d.
The Cathedral Church of Christ . . . . .	172	3	14
Jesus Coll . . . . .	86	11	5
Oriel Coll . . . . .	82	0	19
Queen Coll . . . . .	193	3	1
Lincoln Coll . . . . .	47	2	5
University Coll . . . . .	61	6	5
Brazen Nose Coll . . . . .	121	2	15
St. Mary Magdalen Coll . . . . .	296	6	15
All Souls Coll . . . . .	253	1	19
Balliol Coll . . . . .	41	4	0
Merton Coll . . . . .	79	11	10
Trinity Coll . . . . .	174	7	10
	<u>1610</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>18</u>

No repayment has ever been made in any case, and all that the Colleges have to show for their loyalty, and for the sacrifices which they made for the Royal cause, are the receipts of the two officers of the Mint at New Inn Hall.

H. C. Moffat, *Oxford Plate*. Constable, 1906.

[NOTE.—The omission of certain Colleges from this list is not proof of any disloyalty on their part. New College, for instance, freely gave almost all its plate to the royal cause. See Rashdall and Rait's *New College*.]

JULY 21, 1724. Old Mr. Bremicham of Oxford tells me that he very well remembers the siege of Oxford . . . he says that during the siege of Oxon, all parts were drowned, excepting the north side which could not be drowned, and the way from Oxford to Abingdon which lay open to bring in provisions, which were constantly brought by waggons, etc., from Abingdon.

**A Watery  
Siege**

*Reliquiae Hearnianae*, ed. P. Bliss, 1857.

At the last Lord's day [Oct. 6, 1644] in the morning, some of the soldiers had appointed a merry meeting at a fiddler's profane tap-house near the *Red Lion* by the Fishmarket, going towards Carfax

**God's  
Judgment  
by Fire**

. . . with music, drink and tobacco, one drinking an health to the king, another to the next meeting of Parliament. Other healths they drank to the confusion of them at Westminster and to the destruction of the city of London. Thus by drunkenness, music, scurrilous songs, cursing and swearing, profaning God's holy day. About three o'clock in the afternoon the fire began to appear, which by the just hand of God hath burned about 300 houses. . . . The only church that was fired and defaced, though not wholly burnt, was Carfax, whereof Giles Widdows (the same that boasted that he had cuffed the Devil in his study, and wrought the schismatical puritan) was parson, and had therein often preached against the observation of the Lord's day: saying that dancing and playing was as necessary as preaching; so that this part of the town, being so well taught, were always the most evident profaners of the Sabbath day, by keeping Whitsun Ales and dancing; amongst whom lame Giles himself would put off his gown and dance with them on that day. . . . Most of the goods which were plundered by the Cavaliers from Cicester in Gloucestershire and from Oxfordshire, and Berkshire, were here laid up, and most of them either spoiled or burned; God not permitting those ill-gotten goods to prosper, but herein in spoiling spoiled the spoiler. . . ! Observe that the headquarters of those who had fired so many towns should now be visited with the most sad and wonderful fire that hath happened these many years in any part of the kingdom.

Nehemiah Wallington's *Historical Notices of Events*, 1869.

Young  
Windebank

THEY shot young Windebank just here  
By Merton, where the sun  
Strikes on the wall. 'Twas in the year  
Of blood the deed was done.

At morning from the meadows dim  
He watched them dig his grave.  
Was this in truth the end for him,  
The well beloved and brave?

He marched with soldier scarf and sword  
Set free to die that day,  
And free to speak once more the word  
That marshalled men obey.

But silent on the silent band  
That faced him stern as death,  
He looked, and on the summer land  
And on the grave beneath.



Then with a sudden smile and proud  
 He waved his plume and cried,  
 'The king! the king!' and laughed aloud,  
 'The king! the king!' and died.

M. L. Woods, *Lyrics and Ballads*. Bentley, 1889.

AFTER the attempt made by the Presbyterians in June 1647 to reform the University had been laughed off the stage, week after week was allowed to pass away, without any attempt to uphold the insulted dignity of Parliament against the authorities at Oxford. It was not till Aug. 26, . . . that an additional Ordinance was passed, giving to the Visitors the requisite powers to administer the Covenant and the Negative Oath, to send for books and papers, to imprison those who resisted, and to require the magistrates to assist them in carrying out their orders. . . .

Loyal Oxford's  
 Sufferings

On September 29, 1647, the Visitors, having received their new powers, ordered the Heads of Houses to bring in their books, and the Vice-Chancellor to appear before them. Neither did the Heads of Houses produce their books nor did the Vice-Chancellor answer to the summons. On October 8, the Proctors protested that the Visitation was illegal, on the ground that the King was the sole lawful Visitor of the University. On the 11th the Visitors, overruling this objection, deprived Fell of his Vice-Chancellorship. Resistance, however, did not slacken, and it was seen that the only way in which obedience could be obtained lay in the appointment of a Puritan Vice-Chancellor, who by gathering into his hands the threads of authority within the University organisation would save the necessity of coercing it from without.

The first step towards the attainment of this object was to meet the legal objections raised against Fell's deprivation. On November 15, Fell and his principal supporters attended at Westminster before the Committee of the two Houses entrusted with the supervision of the Visitors. Pembroke, as his manner was in dealing with the weak, overwhelmed them with intemperate abuse, but the majority of the Committee, being less unscrupulous, allowed counsel to the defendants and time to prepare their case. The sentence of the Committee was, however, a foregone conclusion, and on December 9, those who had resisted the Visitors were pronounced guilty of contempt in defying the authority of Parliament.

In their struggle against overwhelming power, the University authorities had the support not only of Selden, by whose advice they were guided in the conduct of their case, but also of Vane and

Fiennes. 'We find,' wrote Fell, 'the Independants generally favourable to us, and conceive it hard to press us against our consciences.' Whether owing to the opposition of the Independants or not, there was again delay, and it was only on December 28, 1647, that the sentence of deprivation from the offices of Vice-Chancellor and Dean of Christ Church was pronounced by the Committee against Fell.

Other deprivations followed in due course. It might have been expected that Pembroke, in his capacity of Chancellor of the University, would have at once proceeded to impose on it a new Vice-Chancellor. Yet, though the authority of the Committee was daily set at naught at Oxford, more than seven weeks were allowed to pass away before any such step was taken.

. . . It was not till a week after the Declaration in support of the Vote of no Addresses had cut the last bonds between Parliament and the Royal House that, on February 18, at Pembroke's recommendation, Reynolds was appointed by Ordinance of Parliament to the Vice-Chancellorship and the Deanery of Christ Church. . . . Reynolds was not only a man after Cromwell's own heart, but his appointment was the outcome of that policy of conciliating the Presbyterians which now occupied the foreground of Cromwell's mind. A persuasive preacher, who in an age of controversy made it his rule, so far as it was possible, to keep silence on controversial points, Reynolds was marked out by his piety and integrity for a post in which it was so easy to make enemies, and so very hard to conciliate opponents. If there was to be a change in the government of the University—and it is difficult to see how such a change could be avoided—Reynolds was the man to conduct it with the least possible amount of friction. Under the most favourable circumstances, however, the friction would be enormous. On March 17, the Visitors at last commenced their proper work, from which time it went on without open resistance. The opponents of Puritanism were swept away, and replaced by others more friendly to the ruling powers. One after another, Heads of Houses, Fellows of Colleges, and even undergraduates, were called up to answer the crucial question, 'Do you submit to the authority of Parliament in this Visitation?' One by one they answered; some absolutely submitting, some attempting by evasive answers, to avoid the alternative between material ruin and betrayal of conscience, and others, again, boldly facing consequences and refusing to submit. Only by absolute submission could expulsion be avoided with all its accompaniments of loss of standing in the world and deprivation of the means of livelihood. Amongst those expelled were a few

men of high intellectual renown, such as Sanderson and Hammond, but the greater number were undistinguished in any way, except by the constancy with which they went forth into the wilderness without hope for the future rather than soil their consciences with a lie.

S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*.  
Longmans, 1901.

IN 1646, when Oxford was taken by the forces of the parliament, and the reformation of the University was resolved, Mr. Cheynel was sent, with six others, to prepare the way for a visitation; being authorized by the parliament to preach in any of the churches, without regard to the right of the members of the university, that their doctrine might prepare their hearers for the changes which were intended. . . . Thinking sermons not so efficacious to conversion as private interrogatories and exhortations, they established a weekly meeting for *freeing tender consciences from scruple*, at a house that, from the business to which it was appropriated, was called the *Scruple-shop*. . . .

Presbyterians  
and  
Independents

But their tranquillity was quickly disturbed by the turbulence of the independents, whose opinions then prevailed among the soldiers, and were very industriously propagated by the discourses of William Earbury, a preacher of great reputation among them, who one day gathering a considerable number of his most zealous followers, went to the house appointed for the resolution of scruples, on a day which was set apart for the disquisition of the dignity and office of a minister, and began to dispute, with great vehemence, against the presbyterians, whom he denied to have any true ministers among them, and whose assemblies he affirmed not to be the true church. He was opposed with equal heat by the presbyterians, and, at length, they agreed to examine the point another day, in a regular disputation. Accordingly, they appointed the 12th of November for an inquiry: 'Whether, in the christian church, the office of minister is committed to any particular persons?'

On the day fixed, the antagonists appeared, each attended by great numbers; but, when the question was proposed, they began to wrangle, not about the doctrine which they had engaged to examine, but about the terms of the proposition, which the independents alleged to be changed since their agreement; and, at length, the soldiers insisted that the question should be, 'Whether those who call themselves ministers, have more right or power to preach the gospel, than any other man that is a christian?' This question was debated, for some time, with great vehemence and



confusion, but without any prospect of a conclusion. At length one of the soldiers, who thought they had an equal right with the rest to engage in the controversy, demanded of the presbyterians, whence they themselves received their orders, whether from bishops, or any other persons. This unexpected interrogatory put them to great difficulties; for it happened that they were all ordained by the bishops, which they durst not acknowledge, for fear of exposing themselves to a general censure, and being convicted from their own declarations, in which they had frequently condemned episcopacy, as contrary to christianity; nor durst they deny it, because they might have been confuted, and must, at once, have sunk into contempt. The soldiers, seeing their perplexity, insulted them; and went away, boasting of their victory; nor did the presbyterians, for some time, recover spirit enough to renew their meetings, or to proceed in the work of easing consciences. Earbury, exulting at the victory, which, not his own abilities, but the subtlety of the soldier had procured him, began to vent his notions of every kind, without scruple, and, at length, asserted, that 'the saints had an equal measure of the divine nature with our Saviour, though not equally manifest.' At the same time he took upon him the dignity of a prophet, and began to utter predictions relating to the affairs of England and Ireland.

His prophecies were not much regarded, but his doctrine was censured by the presbyterians in their pulpits; and Mr. Cheynel challenged him to a disputation, to which he agreed, and, at his first appearance in St. Mary's church, addressed his audience in the following manner:

'Christian friends, kind fellow-soldiers, and worthy students, I, the humble servant of all mankind, am this day drawn, against my will, out of my cell into this publick assembly, by the double chain of accusation and a challenge from the pulpit. I have been charged with heresy; I have been challenged to come hither, in a letter written by Mr. Francis Cheynel. Here, then, I stand in defence of myself and my doctrine, which I shall introduce with only this declaration, that I claim not the office of a minister on account of my outward call, though I formerly received ordination, nor do I boast of illumination, or the knowledge of our Saviour, though I have been held in esteem by others, and formerly by myself; for I now declare, that I know nothing, and am nothing, nor would I be thought of otherwise than as an inquirer and seeker.'

He then advanced his former position in stronger terms, and with additions equally detestable, which Cheynel attacked with the



vehemence which, in so warm a temper, such horrid assertions might naturally excite. The dispute, frequently interrupted by the clamours of the audience, and tumults raised to disconcert Cheynell, who was very unpopular, continued about four hours, and then both the controvertists grew weary and retired. The presbyterians afterwards thought they should more speedily put an end to the heresies of Earbury by power than by argument; and, by soliciting General Fairfax, procured his removal.

Johnson's *Life of Cheynell*.

THE London Committee and the Visitors were in entire accord as to the compulsory use of Latin in familiar discourse by members of Colleges when within their own walls. It was ordered that no other language whatever was to be spoken; and the reason given is that 'a complaint is made by divers learned men of the defect that English scholars labour under, both in their private and home exercises and in their public discourses with foreigners, by their speaking English in their several Colleges and Halls.' The order was so constantly repeated that it suggests a persistent and insuperable opposition. . . .

**Oxford Latin  
under the  
Protectorate**

It is not easy to discover when the practice had become obsolete; but Dr. Bond, Vice-Chancellor and President of Magdalen could say [1590]: 'I know myne owne House, and divers other Colleges whose schollars dare not presume to speake any other language then Latine.' This reply was given to Bancroft by way of answer to reprimands from two successive Chancellors, Leicester and Hatton, who had complained of the use of Latin. At the same time Dr. Bond claims to have entirely restored the use of Latin in Convocation and Congregation, 'whereby hath ensued great quietness in our public assemblies.' But in 1609 Bancroft, now Chancellor, insists with vehemence on the neglect of speaking in Latin; and in 1622, Abbot, in a letter to All Souls College, finds fault with the general deterioration of Latin style in Oxford. 'The style of your letter is somewhat abrupt and harsh and doth rather express an affected brevity than the old Ciceronian oratory. And I am sorry to hear that this new way of writing is not only become the fault of the College itself but of the University itself.' . . .

The habit of speaking in Latin was, however, kept up to some extent by its retention as the only language in which Convocation could be addressed, and it was not till the last reform of the University constitution by the Royal Commission of 16 and 17 Vict. and the formation of a 'Congregation' of residents, which was to be addressed in English, that the custom altogether decayed. Con-

vocation itself is now addressed in English, when 'Decrees' the more usual form of reference to that body are discussed; and since custom renders it no longer necessary even to frame a sentence in Latin asking leave to be excused from speaking it, the last vestige of colloquial Latin has been swept away. Statutes indeed can still (1881) only be discussed in Latin at their final stage in Convocation, but as they have already been fully discussed during their progress through Congregation no one takes advantage of this privilege, the occasion being now by common consent merely used for voting '*Placet*' or '*Non Placet*.'

*The Register of the Visitors of the University of Oxford, 1647-1658.*

Introduction by Montagu Burrows. Camden Society, 1881.

**Cromwellian  
Oxford**

IN this year, 1647, the parliament had begun a visitation of the University of Oxford; which they finished not till the next year, in which the Earl of Pembroke had been contented to be employed as chancellor of the university, who had taken an oath to defend the rights and privileges of the university: notwithstanding which, out of the extreme weakness of his understanding and the miserable compliance of his nature, he suffered himself to be made a property in joining with Brent, Prynne, and some committee men and presbyterian ministers, as commissioners for the parliament to reform the discipline and erroneous doctrine of that famous university, by the rule of the covenant; which was the standard of all men's learning and ability to govern; all persons of what quality soever being required to subscribe that test; which the whole body of the university was so far from submitting to, that they met in their convocation, and to their eternal renown (being at the same time under a strict and strong garrison, put over them by the parliament; the King in prison; and all their hopes desperate,) passed a public act, and declaration against the covenant, with such invincible arguments of the illegality, wickedness, and perjury contained in it, that no man of the contrary opinion, nor the assembly of the divines, (which then sat at Westminster, forming a new catechism and scheme of religion) ever ventured to make answer to it; nor is it indeed to be answered, but must remain to the world's end, as a monument of the learning, courage, and loyalty of that excellent place, against the highest malice and tyranny that was ever exercised in or over any nation; and which those famous commissioners only answered by expelling all those who refused to submit to their jurisdiction or to take the covenant; which was, upon the matter, the whole university; scarce one governor or master of college or hall and an incredible small number of the fellows or scholars

submitting to either ; whereupon that desolation being made, they placed in their rooms the most notorious factious presbyterians in the government of the several colleges or halls ; and such other of the same leaven in the fellowships and scholars' places, of those whom they had expelled, without any regard to the statutes of the several founders and the incapacities of the servants that were put in. The omnipotence of an ordinance of parliament confirmed all that was this way done ; and there was no farther contending against it.

It might reasonably be concluded that this wild and barbarous depopulation would even extirpate all that learning, religion, and loyalty which had so eminently flourished there ; and that the succeeding ill husbandry and unskilful cultivation would have made it fruitful only in ignorance, profanation, atheism, and rebellion ; but by God's wonderful blessing, the goodness and richness of that soil could not be made barren by all that stupidity and negligence. It choked the weeds and would not suffer the poisonous seeds, which were sown with industry enough, to spring up ; but after several tyrannical governments, mutually succeeding each other and with the same malice and perverseness endeavouring to extinguish all good literature and allegiance, it yielded a harvest of extraordinary good and sound knowledge in all parts of learning, and many who were wickedly introduced applied themselves to the study of good learning and the practice of virtue and had inclination to that duty and obedience they had never been taught ; so that when it pleased God to bring King Charles the Second back to his throne he found that university (not to undervalue the other which had nobly likewise rejected the ill infusions which had been industriously poured into it) abounding in excellent learning and devoted to duty and obedience little inferior to what it was before its desolation ; which was a lively instance of God's mercy and purpose, for ever so to provide for his church, that the gates of hell shall never prevail against it ; which were never opened wider, nor with more malice than in that time.

*Clarendon's History of the Rebellion.*

A GENTLEMAN, who was lately a great ornament to the learned world, has diverted me more than once with an account of the reception which he met with from a very famous Independent Minister, who was Head of a College in those times. This gentleman was then a young adventurer in the Republick of Letters and just fitted out for the University with a good cargo of Latin and

The Reign  
of the Saints  
at Magdalen



Greek. His friends were resolved that he should try his fortune at an election, which was drawing near in the College, of which the Independent Minister whom I have before mentioned was Governor. The youth, according to custom, waited on him in order to be examined. He was received at the door by a servant, who was one of that gloomy generation that were then in fashion. He conducted him, with great silence and seriousness, to a long gallery which was darkened at noon-day and had only a single candle burning in it. After a short stay in this melancholy apartment, he was led into a chamber hung with black, where he entertained himself for some time by the glimmer of a taper, till at length the Head of the College came out to him, from an inner room, with half-a-dozen night-caps<sup>1</sup> upon his head and religious horror in his countenance. The young man trembled; but his fears increased, when, instead of being asked what progress he had made in learning, he was examined how he abounded in Grace. His Latin and Greek stood him in little stead; he was to give an account only of the state of his soul, whether he was of the number of the Elect; what was the occasion of his conversion; upon what day of the month and hour of the day it happened; how it was carried on, and when compleated. The whole examination was summed up with one short question, namely, *Whether he was prepared for Death?* The boy, who had been bred up by honest parents, was frighted out of his wits at the solemnity of the proceeding, and by the last dreadful interrogatory; so that upon making his escape out of this House of Mourning, he could never be brought a second time to the Examination, as not being able to go through the terrors of it.

*The Spectator*, No. 494, Sept. 26, 1712.

‘*Conanti nihil  
difficile*’

CONANT was the third and last of the great Devon Rectors of this time. It was his task to restore the discipline of the College, to enforce the severe economy made necessary by losses in the Civil War, and to revive the spirit of learning which had characterised Exeter under Holland and Prideaux. . . . ‘*Conanti nihil difficile*,’ Prideaux had once said of him, and indeed his Conation, to use the term of that day, made light of difficulties all through his life. . . . The Visitors of 1648 had expelled ten Fellows and eighteen others, including the sub-rector, dean, bursar, and cook; there was much difficulty in getting the arrears due from the tenants, and some of the Fellowships had to be suspended for a time. As a

<sup>1</sup> ‘Mr. Thomas Goodwin, President of Magdalen College [1650-60], commonly called Nine-caps,’ says Wood, ‘because having a cold head he was forced to wear so many.’



natural result the College had fallen off greatly in discipline and learning. Conant at once set to work to repair the damage. He kept a tight hand over tutors and scholars alike, and especially took pains to revive 'religious and godly exercises.' Attendance at chapel was made so strict an obligation that 'you should hardly find one who absented himself from public prayers twice a week throughout a whole year.' He preached every Sunday morning and also held catechetical lectures for the undergraduates in the week, besides giving private instruction in divinity to the servitors and servants. . . . 'He looked very strictly to the keeping up of all exercises, and would often step into the hall, in the midst of their lectures and disputations, to see that they were performed with that accuracy and exactness as they ought to be. He would always oblige both opponents and respondents to come well prepared and perform their respective parts agreeably to the strict laws of disputation. Here he would often interpose, either adding more force to the arguments of the opponent, or more fulness to the answers of the respondent, and supplying where anything seemed defective and clearing where anything was obscure. He would often go into the chambers and studies of the young scholars, observe what books they were reading, and reprove them if he found them turning over any modern authors, and sent them to Tully, to learn the true and genuine propriety of language. . . . He would constantly look over the observator's roll and buttery-book himself; and whoever had been absent from chapel prayers or extravagant in his expenses or otherwise faulty, was sure he must atone for his fault by some such exercise as the Rector should see fit to set him.'<sup>1</sup>

*Exeter College*, by William Keatley Stride.  
Hutchinson, 1900.

THOSE few scholars that were remaining were, for the most part, especially such that were young, much debauched, and become idle by their bearing arms and keeping company with rude soldiers. Much of their precious time was lost by being upon the guard night after night, and so consequently had opportunities, as lay-soldiers had, of gaming, drinking, swearing, etc., as notoriously appeared to the Visitors that were sent by the Parliament to reform the University. The truth is that they (I blame not all) were so guilty

Effects of  
Civil War

<sup>1</sup> After the Restoration, Conant, who was 'a loyalist in politics, but something of a Puritan in religion,' was deprived of his Rectorship under the Act of Uniformity. He soon after, however, conformed, was ordained priest, and held a prebend in Worcester Cathedral from 1681 to his death in 1693.

of those vices, that those that were looked upon as good wits and of great parts at their first coming, were by strange inventions (not now to be named) to entice them to drinking, and to be drunk, totally lost, and rendered useless. I have had the opportunity (I cannot say happiness) to peruse several songs, ballads, and such-like frivolous stuff, that were made by some of the ingenious sort of them, while they kept guard at the Holybush and Angel near Rewley in the west suburbs; which, though their humour and chiefest of their actions are in them described, yet I shall pass them by as very unworthy to be here, or any part mentioned.

Wood's *History and Antiquities*.

**Parliamentary  
Visitors**

FOR nearly a year after the capitulation of Oxford the University had been left to recover itself as best it might from the distractions of the evil days when the colleges had been crowded with soldiers and courtiers, and when the few scholars who remained thought more of the drill-sergeant than of their books. . . . It was not till May 1, 1647, that an ordinance was issued appointing twenty-four persons to visit and reform the University in which the principles instilled into it by Laud were completely predominant, though a Puritan minority was still to be found in the Colleges. The chairman of the visiting commissioners was Sir Nathaniel Brent, Warden of Merton, who after conducting, as Laud's Vicar-General, the Archbishop's Metropolitan Visitation, had changed his principles with the change of times, and now stood forward to destroy what he had once built up, and to build up what he had once destroyed. Those of his colleagues who interested themselves personally in the visitation were mostly Presbyterian clergymen, amongst whom Francis Cheynell, the fanatical antagonist of Chillingworth was perhaps the most conspicuous. The Visitors were to act under the direction of a large committee of Lords and Commons, of which Francis Rous, a Puritan of the Puritans, was the chairman.

Before long the Visitors gave notice to the University to meet them in the Convocation House, between the hours of nine and eleven, on June 4, probably expecting that the Vice-Chancellor and the Convocation would make no difficulty in submitting to their authority. They little knew the temper which prevailed at Oxford. A Convocation, held on June 1, resolved to hold out against the Visitors to the uttermost. A delegacy was appointed to guard the interests of the University, and a statement of reasons in defence of the course adopted was accepted with unanimity. This statement, afterwards known as *The Judgment of the University of Oxford*, had been drawn up by Robert Sanderson, and it argu-

mentatively condemned the Covenant, the Negative Oath, and the Ordinances for church discipline and worship. Its importance lay in the firmness with which it connected the monarchical system in the State with the ecclesiastical system, which had before the late convulsions prevailed in the Church of England.

Before the day fixed for the meeting of Convocation to receive the Puritan intruders, events took place which delayed their arrival. On the 1st Joyce passed through Oxford on his way to Holmby, and on the next day there was a fight in the High Street over the treasure which had been sent for the soldiers' pay. Accordingly the Visitors, fearing to trust themselves amongst a mutinous garrison, delayed their arrival in Oxford till the morning of the 4th. They proceeded to St. Mary's, where one of the number preached at so inordinate a length, that before they could reach the Convocation House the last stroke of eleven had sounded. The time mentioned in their summons having thus elapsed, the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Samuel Fell, Dean of Christ Church, dissolved the House in literal obedience to their orders. As the throng poured out the two processions met face to face. 'Room for Mr. Vice-Chancellor!' shouted the Bedell, and the Visitors, as was long remembered with glee in the University, shrank aside to allow those very men whose conduct they had come to arraign to pass in triumph. 'Good morrow, gentlemen!' said Fell, with polite sarcasm, as he swept by, 'tis past eleven o'clock.'

S. R. Gardiner's *Civil War*. Longmans, 1901.

ON May 18, 1648, the members of Jesus College were summoned before the Visitors and required to answer the question, 'Do you submit to the authority of Parliament in their present visitation?' These are some of the answers:—

Jesus Loyalty

John Hughes: 'Seeinge I have not so large a conscience as to entertaine everie cruditie of Doctrine: Bee it knowne unto you, that I will not (were it to save my life) nor can as a member of this Universitie, or as a Student of Jesus College, acknowledge this present Parliament, much less submit thereto, nor to your pretended authoritie as derived from them.'

Phillipp Flower: 'I dare not condemn myself to receive a portion with hypocrittes in yeldinge upp (as I cannot obtaine sufficient reasons yet to judge otherwise) my conscience and rightful liberties to the present demanders of my submission.'

Tho. Ellis: 'After a seriouse and diligent consultation had with my owne conscience, I have at length pitched upon this resolution, that I cannot submit to this your Visitation without the



hazard of shipwrackinge of my soule: how pretious a thinge that is to everie man, I need not insist to tell you.'

Peter Meyricke: 'I cannot with a safe conscience, neither will I upon any condition, submit to this Visitation, seeing the authoritie thereof is not derived from his Majestie.'

James Vaughan: 'I, James Vaughan, Fellow of Jesus Colledge, am not otherwise convinced in judgment than to conceive this Visitation legall, and therefore doe submit to the present Visitors.'

With the exception of James Vaughan, only one other Fellow seems to have submitted.

*Jesus College*, by E. G. Hardy. Hutchinson, 1899.

**The Book of  
Common  
Prayer,  
April 15,  
1648**

WEE the Visitors of the University of Oxon., authorised by severall ordinances of Parliament and a special Commission under the great Seale of England, to reforme and regulate the aforesaid University, Takinge into seriouse consideratione the great abuse and disobedience of authority of Parliament by the publike use of common Prayer, in the Chappells of the severall Colledges and Halls in this Universitie, notwithstanding an ordinance of Parliament to the contrary: As also the great slacknesse in settinge up, and puttinge in execution the Directory according to the said Ordinance, in their severall Chappells aforesaid: These are therefore to will and require all Governours, Masters, Heads of Colledges and Halls in this University to cause to be sett upp and put in execution, the Directory for publike worshippe in their said severall Chappelles, according to Ordinance of Parliament: And wee also require that the said Governours, Masters, Heads of Colledges and Halls, shall suffer noe more, or give way to the publike use of the Common Prayer, in theyre severall Chappells as aforesaid: As they will Answer the Contrary at their Perills.

**Weekly  
Catechising,  
Dec. 3, 1657**

FOR the better instruction of youth in the principles of true religion and saving knowledge of Jesus Christ: It is agreed and ordered by the Visitors of this University: that there be catechising weekly in every Colledge and Hall in this University, upon Saturday in the afternoone, betweene the houres of five and six: to be performed by the Head of the House. . . . All undergraduates are hereby enjoyned to attend in the place appoynted to be instructed. . . .

*The Register of the Visitors of the University of Oxford.*  
Camden Society, 1881.

**Cromwell's  
D. C. L.**

MAY 17, 1649, Thomas Lord Fairfax, the General, and Oliver Cromwell, Lieutenant-General, with divers Commanders came to



the University, to the end that they might see what reformation or alterations had been made and be entertained by their creatures with such ceremonies and solemnity as great persons formerly had been. Fairfax and Cromwell lay in the Warden's Lodgings of All Souls Coll. upon the invitation of Proctor Zanchy of that House, lately (and now as I think) an officer in the Parliament's Army, the Warden himself being sitting in the House of Commons.

May 18. The Provicechancellor Dr. Rogers, with the Heads of Houses, Dr. Joh. Wilkinson, Dr. Langbaine, etc., and the Proctors, went to wait on the said persons. After reception, one of the new Fellows of All Souls College spake a speech to them, which, though bad, yet good enough for Soldiers. That being done, Cromwell, who undertook to answer them, gave them smooth words, and told them (the poor spirited Presbyterians believing him) 'that they knew no Commonwealth could flourish without Learning, and that they, whatsoever the world said to the contrary, meant to encourage it, and were so far from substracting any of their means, that they purposed to add more, etc.'

May 19, Saturday. Fairfax, Cromwell and the Commanders, dined at Magdalen College, in the Common Hall, having been invited by the new President in the name of the College, where they had good cheer and bad speeches. After dinner they played at Bowls in the College Green, the Vicechancellor who was now in the University being with them. After they had done there, they went to the Schools, at which time a Convocation being held, it was proposed by Zanchy the Proctor, to the members of the University then present thus, '*Supplicatur Venerabili Convocationi Doctorum, Magistrorum, Regentium et non Regentium, ut Exercituum a Parlamento conscriptorum Generalissimus ejusque Locumtens honoratissimus ad Doctoratum in Jure Civili promoveantur. Causa est quod Clarissimi Maecenates nobis ornamento fuerint, in quibus, spes omnis et ratio Studiorum reponitur.—Conceduntur ista certantibus Votis et ardentibus Studiis.*' In the meantime they being adorned with scarlet and such formalities that belong to a Doctor of Civil Law, were conducted by the Bedells into the Convocation House, where after Zanchy had delivered a short speech, presented Fairfax, and afterwards Cromwell to the Assembly; which done, the Vicechancellor admitted them, with a short speech, to the Degree of Doctor of Civil Law, and then Fairfax sat on the right and Cromwell on the left of the Vicechancellor. After this the Bedells conducted up into the Convocation their chief officers . . . and being all presented by Zanchy in Masters Gowns, were admitted Masters of Arts. This done, and

other supplicates for their retinue proposed, Mr. Button, the Orator, concluded with an Oration, not without sensible flattery, and then the Vicechancellor dissolved the Convocation. Thence, after they were dismantled of their Academical formalities, they went to the public Library, where being received with a speech . . . were entertained with a sumptuous banquet at the University charges.

May 20, Sunday. Mr. Hen. Wilkinson, Principal of Magdalen Hall, and Mauditt, the Senior Proctor, preached at St. Mary's before them, and though rank Presbyterians, yet prayed hard, if not heartily, for the Army and their blessed proceedings.

May 21. The Generals left the City. . . .

Wood, *History and Antiquities*.

**Cromwell  
Chancellor**

JAN. 23 [1650], died Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, Chancellor of the University, whose place lying void till Jan. 1 following, was then chosen by an unanimous consent Oliver Cromwell, General of the English Army.

1654. The Protector was graciously pleased to continue Chancellor of this University, and upon his own charges to bestow on the public Library 25 ancient MSS., ten of which in folio, and 14 in quarto, all of the Greek Language, except two or three. As a farther addition of honour to the University also, he very munificently ordered a private Divinity Reader (newly chosen to the place) an annuity of 100<sup>li</sup> per ann. out of the Exchequer for the said Reader's encouragement. So that by these and other favours the University in general was devoted to him, and ready upon all opportunities to express their affections.

Wood's *History and Antiquities*.

*To the Reverend Dr. Greenwood, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and other Members of the Convocation.*

EDINBURGH, 4<sup>th</sup> Feb. 1650-1.

**Cromwell on  
his Election  
as Chancellor**

HONOURED GENTLEMEN,—I have received, by the hands of those worthy Persons of your University sent by you into Scotland, a Testimony of very high respect and honour, in 'your' choosing me to be your Chancellor. Which deserves a fuller return, of deep resentment, value and acknowledgment, than I am any ways able to make. Only give me leave a little to expostulate, on your and my own behalf. I confess it was in your freedom to elect, and it would be very uningenious in me to reflect upon your action; only

(though somewhat late) let me advise you of my unfitness to answer the ends of so great a Service and Obligation, with some things very obvious.

I suppose a principal aim in such elections hath not only respected abilities and interest to serve you, but freedom 'as' to opportunities of time and place. As the first may not be well supposed, so the want of the latter may well become me to represent to you. You know where Providence hath placed me for the present; and to what I am related if this call were off,—I being tied to attendance in another land as much out of the way of serving you as this, for some certain time yet to come appointed by the Parliament. The known esteem and honour of this place is such, that I should wrong it and your favour very much, and your freedom in choosing me, if, either by pretended modesty or in any unbenign way, I should dispute the acceptance of it. Only I hope it will not be imputed to me as a neglect towards you, that I cannot serve you in the measure I desire.

I offer these exceptions with all candour and clearness to you, as 'leaving you' most free to mend your choice in case you think them reasonable; and shall not reckon myself the less obliged to do all good offices for the University. But if these prevail not, and that I must continue this honour,—until I can personally serve you, you shall not want my prayers That that seed and stock of Piety and Learning, so marvellously springing up amongst you, may be useful to that great and glorious Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ; of the approach of which so plentiful an effusion of the Spirit upon those hopeful plants is one of the best presages. And in all other things I shall, by the Divine assistance, improve my poor abilities and interests in manifesting myself, to the University and yourselves.—Your most cordial friend and servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

*Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, ed. by Thomas Carlyle, 1845.  
Chapman and Hall.

6TH JULY, 1654. I went early to London, and the following day met my wife and company at Oxford, the eve of the Act.

8th. Was spent in hearing several exercises in the schools; and, after dinner, the Proctor opened the Act at St. Mary's (according to custom), and the Prevaricators their drollery. Then, the Doctors disputed. We supped at Wadham College.

9th. Dr. French preached at St. Mary's, on Matt. xii. 42, advising the students the search after true wisdom, not to be had

Commem.  
temp.  
Cromwell

in the books of philosophers, but in the Scriptures alone. In the afternoon, the famous Independent, Dr. Owen, perstringing Episcopacy. He was now Cromwell's Vice-Chancellor. We dined with Dr. Ward, Mathematical Professor (since Bishop of Sarum), and at night supped in Baliol College Hall, where I had once been student and fellow-commoner, and where they made me extraordinarily welcome.

10th. On Monday I went again to the schools to hear the several faculties, and in the afternoon carried out the whole Act in St. Mary's, the long speeches of the Proctors, the Vice-Chancellor, the several Professors, creation of Doctors, by the cap, ring, kiss, etc., those ancient ceremonies and institution being as yet not wholly abolished. Dr. Kendal, now Inceptor amongst others, performing his Act incomparably well, concluded it with an excellent oration, abating his Presbyterian animosities, which he withheld, not even against that learned and pious divine, Dr. Hammond. The Act was closed with the speech of the Vice-Chancellor, there being but four in theology, and three in medicine, which was thought a considerable matter, the times considered. I dined at one Monsieur Fiat's, a student of Exeter College, and supped at a magnificent entertainment at Wadham Hall, invited by my dear and excellent friend, Dr. Wilkins, then Warden (after, Bishop of Chester).

*Evelyn's Diary.*

**Matriculations in the  
Seventeenth  
Century**

THE number of matriculations during the time of the Commonwealth shows no decline in the vitality of University life. In fact the average number of students matriculated at colleges and halls when the Commonwealth system prevailed not only varies but little from the average number of matriculations both before the troubles and after the Restoration, but was not exceeded in later times until the middle of the last century. In the Laudian period, the matriculations for the years 1638 and 1639, before the events of 1640 had occurred to diminish their flow, average 417. Under the Commonwealth for the years 1650 and 1651, when the Parliamentary Visitation had completely triumphed, the matriculations average 410. Indeed, in 1658, when Conant was Vice-Chancellor, 460 students matriculated. In 1663 and 1664, when the Restoration of Church and State had in its turn had time to operate, the average is 398. Coming down to the early part of the last century [the nineteenth] the average number of matriculations falls considerably below 300. In 1835 the number had, however, reached 369; while in 1849, a normal year in modern times before the



changes effected by the Royal Commission of 17 and 18 Vict. had come into operation, and before any general enlargement of Colleges had taken place, there were 440 matriculations. In 1858 the number fell to 399. In 1869 it had reached 583, and in 1877, 769. In 1879 it was 798. The matriculations in 1906 numbered 1018.

*The Register of the Visitors of the University of Oxford.*  
Camden Society.

A SERVANT girl, named Annie Green, was hung in the Castle-Twice Hanged  
Yard, December 14, 1650, for murdering her illegitimate child. After hanging for half-an-hour, her body was cut down and sent to the Anatomy School, Christ Church, but warmth being found, the knife was withheld, and she was resuscitated. Several tracts and copies of verse celebrated the event.<sup>1</sup> These are now very rare, but some can be seen in the Bodleian Library. Dr. Bathurst, President of Trinity College, and afterwards Dean of Wells, wrote a Latin epigram upon the subject, thus translated:—

‘Thou more than mortal, that, with many lives  
Hast mocked the sexton, and the doctors knives;  
The name of *Spinster* thou mayest justly wed,  
Since there’s no *halter* stronger than thy thread.’

Annie Green, after her resuscitation, retired to the village of Steeple Burton, where she married and had three children. She died in 1659. On July 25, 1654, two officers of the royal army, named Hussey and Peek, were executed for highway robbery. Their bodies were taken away by some royalists, and buried at night in the old Church of St. Peter-le-Bailey (which fell down in 1726). A somewhat similar case to that of Anne Green, but more excessively cruel, took place in Oxford, May 4, 1658. A servant maid, named Elizabeth, living with Miss Clive, in Magdalen parish, was executed at Greenditch, St. Giles, without the North Gate, the public place of execution for the City, also for the murder of her illegitimate child. Her body was ordered for dissection; but after it was taken from the gallows, Coniers, a young physician, of St. John’s College, and others, discovered life, which was speedily restored. She was taken to a public-house in Magdalen parish. The bailiffs of the city went between twelve and one at night, broke into the house, seized her, placed her in a coffin, and conveyed her to Broken Hayes (near where the City Gaol now stands), and rehung her on a tree. The poor creature was so sensible of her fate, that she ejaculated, ‘Lord, have mercy

<sup>1</sup> See also vol. II. p. 762.

upon me !' The citizens were in a state of ferment, and threatened vengeance—but this passed over.

J. J. Moore's *Oxford Guide*.

The soft side  
of Cromwell

JAMES QUIN had been turned out of his student's place at Christ Church by the visitors ; but being well acquainted with some great men of those times, that loved musick, they introduced him into the company of Oliver Cromwell, the protector, who loved a good voice and instrumental music well. He heard him sing with very great delight, liquor'd him with sack, and in conclusion said, 'Mr. Quin, you have done very well, what shall I doe for you?' To which Quin made answer, with compliments, of which he had command, with a great grace, that 'your Highness would be pleased to restore him to his student's place,' which he did accordingly, and so kept it to his dying day.

*Life of Anthony à Wood.*

Proclamation  
of Richard  
Cromwell

SEPT. 6, 1658. Oliver, Lord Protector, having been lately dead, Richard, his Son, was proclaimed Protector at Oxford after this manner. The Mayor and his brethren meeting at the Guild Hall, went thence to Quatervois in their Gowns with the City Officers before them, where being settled, Major Croke with his Troopers came to them, and the Proclamation being produced, the Town Clerk, Martin, read it with an audible voice. The beginning of which is this : 'Whereas it hath pleased the most wise God, in his Providence, to take out of this world, his most serene and renowned Oliver, late Lord Protector of this Commonwealth, etc.' ; which being done, the Soldiers and others tossed up their hats, and cried 'God save his Highness Richard, Lord Protector.' Afterwards they marched to St. Mary's Church door, where met them the Vice-Chancellor, Doctors, and Proctors, and several Masters, and there also reading the Proclamation, concluded it as before : but in the action were pelted by some junior Scholars and others with turnip and carrot tops.

*Wood's History and Antiquities.*

Royal Society  
Origins

NOR can I, more than others, resist my inclinations, which strongly force me to mention that, which will be for the honor of that place, where I receiv'd a great part of my education. It was, therefore, some space after the end of the Civil Wars at Oxford, in Dr. Wilkins his lodgings, in Wadham College, which was then the resort for Vertuous and Learned men, that the first meetings were made, which laid the foundation of all this that follow'd. The University had, at that time, many Members of its own, who had

begun a free way of reasoning; and was also frequented by some Gentlemen, of Philosophical Minds, whom the misfortunes of the Kingdom, and the security and ease of a retirement amongst Town-men, had drawn thither.

Their first purpose was no more, than onely the satisfaction of breathing a freer air, and of conversing in quiet one with another, without being engaged in the passions and madness of that dismal Age. And from the Institution of that Assembly, it had been enough, if no other advantage had come, but this: That by this means there was a race of young Men provided against the next Age, whose minds receiving from them, their first Impressions of sober and generous knowledge, were invincibly aim'd against all the enchantments of *Enthusiasm*. But what is more, I may venture to affirm, that it was in good measure, by the influence, which these Gentlemen had over the rest, that the University it self, or at least, any part of its Discipline and Order, was sav'd from ruine. And from hence we may conclude, that the same men have now no intention of sweeping away all the honor of Antiquity in this their new Design; seeing they imploy'd so much of their labor, and prudence, in preserving that most venerable Seat of Antient Learning, when their shrinking from its defence, would have been the speediest way of having destroy'd it. For the truth of this, I dare appeal to all uninterested men, who knew the Temper of that place; and especially to those who were my own contemporaries there: of whom I can name very many, whom the happy restoration of the Kingdom's peace, found as well inclin'd, to serve their Prince, and the Church, as if they had been bred up in the most prosperous condition of their Country. Nor, indeed, could it be otherwise: for such spiritual Frensies, which did then bear rule, can never stand long, before a clear and a deep skill in Nature. . . .

The principal and most constant of these men were Dr. Seth Ward, the present Lord Bishop of Exeter, Mr. Boyle, Dr. Wilkins, Sir William Petty, Mr. Mathew Wren, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Goddard, Dr. Willis, Dr. Bathurst, Dr. Christopher Wren, Mr Rook. . . .

For such a candid and unpassionate company as that was, and for such a gloomy season, what could have been a fitter subject to pitch upon, than Natural Philosophy? To have been always tossing about some Theological question, would have been to have made that their private diversion, the excess of which they themselves dislik'd in the publick: To have been eternally musing on Civil business, and the distresses of their Country was too melancholy a reflexion: It was Nature alone, which could pleasantly entertain them in that estate. The contemplation of that, draws

our minds off from past and present misfortunes, and makes them conquerors over things, in the greatest publick unhappiness. . . .

Their meetings were as frequent as their affairs permitted : their proceedings rather by action, than discourse ; chiefly attending some particular Trials, in Chymistry or Mechanicks ; they had no Rules nor Method fixed : their intention was more to communicate to each other, their discoveries, which they could make in so narrow a compass, than an united, constant or regular inquisition. . . . Thus they continued without any great Intermissions, till about the year 1658. But then being call'd away to several parts of the Nation, and the greatest number of them coming to London, they usually met at Gresham College. . . .

*Sprat's History of the Royal Society, 1667.*

**Convocation  
damns the  
Common-  
wealth**

EVOLVENTES praesens hoc Registrum Venerabilis Domus Convocationis, quod ab anno 1648 ad annum fere 1660 ejusdem res gestas continet, durante tyrannide Parliamentaria, Philippo Comiti Pembrochiæ, Olivario et Richardo Cromwelliis, Cancellarium nomine sese hic venditantibus, Acta pleraque officio subditorum erga Principem, Scholarium erga Matrem Academiam, famae demum bonae et honestati publicae, prorsus repugnantia reperimus. Itaque pro jure et potestate nobis hac ex parte per Venerabilem domum Convocationis Octob. 31 an<sup>o</sup> D<sup>mi</sup> 1666 concessis ista omnia praedicta (singulis enim percensendis piget) censurae subjecimus et Damnamus.—Johan. Fell, Vice Chanc., etc. etc.

Dat. 25 Jan. 1666 [1666-7].

*The Register of the Visitors of the Univ. of Oxford.*

**Restoration of  
Book of Com-  
mon Prayer**

DR. LANGLEY having by the King's Visitors been displaced from his being Master of the College [Pembroke], the Eldest Fellow was introduced. He seem'd then to have nothing of Learning or Civility, whatever he had when he was in the College. If he had any Learning before, it look'd as if he had left all behind him, or had dropp'd it in his careers, for he was famed for a great Racer.

One morning, if I mistake not, it was on the Lord's Day, our Chaplain (a pious and gracious person, who had an excellent gift of Prayer) having pray'd in a very affecting way, and that largely, with the most proper language and heavenly matter, and with more than ordinary elevation of soul ; this new Master, then in the Chappel, as soon as the other had concluded his Prayer, ranted and unworthily reviled him, taxing him with pride and impudence, and that he thought his own tautological Prayers and crude notions better than the Common-Prayer. Thus he treated him with a



great deal of passion and virulency of language before all the scholars present. . . .

This chaplain thus unhandsomely treated, and his pious Prayers thus basely derided, and he discharged from his office, the old gentleman, but new Master, undertook the chaplain's place, brought up the Common-Prayer-Book into the Desk, and there read it: the novelty whereof was enough to startle us, and I am sure it did me. And grieved I was to see a Prayer read, as a School-Boy reads his lesson, instead of the pouring out of such warm Prayers as we had been accustom'd to. But that which did more especially offend us, was his irreverent manner of reading it; which was with incredible swiftness and confused rapidity: so that I never heard it read so ill in all my time, as far as I can remember. A man would have been tempted to think that he had been running a Race, rather than presenting of a Prayer to God in the Chappel. . . .

After the change made in the University, I found the Constitution and the Manners of it such, as no way suited a person of my principles, persuasion and inclinations; therefore resolved to leave it. So I got my name struck out of the College-Book, and laid aside my Gentleman-Commoner's Gown. I had no Degree all that time. I was loth to take the Degree of a Batchellour of Arts at my age lest I should be a derision to the young lads; but hoped to have gotten that, and the Degree of Master of Arts accumulatively at the end of seven years: But just before that time came such an alteration was made in the University, and such terms required to gain a Degree that I could not comply with them. Thus I left Oxford (having spent several hundreds of pounds there) with little Learning and no Degree; but yet I bless God daily, and I hope always shall, for my Education there.

*Life of the Rev. George Trosse, 1714.*

Of all places the University being fast to the monarchy, suffering most and being most weary of the usurpation; when Oliver was dead and Richard dismounted, they saw through a maze of changes that in little time the nation would be fond of that government which twenty years they hated. The hopes of this made the scholars talk aloud, drink healths, and curse *Meroz* in the very streets. Insomuch that when the King came in, nay, when the King was but *voted* in, they were not onely like them that dream, but like them who are out of their wits, mad, stark, staring mad. To study was *fanaticism*, to be moderate was downright *rebellion*, and thus it continued for a twelvemonth; and thus

Restoration  
Oxford

it would have continued till this time, if it had not pleased God to raise up some Vice-Chancellours who stemmed the torrent which carried so much filth with it, and in defiance of the loyal zeal of the learned, the drunken zeal of dunces, and the great amazement of young gentlemen who really knew not what they would have, but yet made the greatest noise, reduced the University to that temperament that a man might study and not be thought a dullard, might be sober and yet a conformist, a scholar, and yet a Church of England man. And from that time the University became sober, modest, and studious as perhaps any University in Europe.

*The Guardian's Instruction*, by Stephen Penton, 1688.

**After the  
Restoration**

IN most Colleges the Royal Commissioners [1660] followed a very safe and popular course. Where no ejected Head, Fellow or scholar, appeared to claim his place, they silently allowed the holder of it to retain it, if he submitted. And, as it was now ten years from the time of ejection, the ranks of such claimants were thinned by death, marriage, and promotion. Lincoln was apparently the only College where a different course was followed, the reason perhaps being the rooted animosity which there existed between the Presbyterian element and the turbulent Independent faction. . . .

One of the ejected, George Hitchcock, refused to go, and on Sept. 22 the Commissioners sent a bedell to arrest him. He gave the officer the slip, ran up to his own room, and with drawn sword defied his pursuers. Cautious old Hood [the Rector] called two of the king's Commissioners into counsel, and, on their advice, offered twenty shillings to a Captain Bacon and his men, then in town, to effect the arrest. Hitchcock, on the arrival of the military, 'sporting his oak,' but the soldiers forced it, and after a scuffle, in which Hitchcock himself and two Lincoln M.A.'s who were in the room with him received sundry scratches, he was marched to jail in the Castle. Released after some weeks' imprisonment, he retired to London, to legal studies, in which he made such progress that when Hood went to town next Michaelmas term Hitchcock, 'arrested him for false imprisonment, and gave him some trouble.'

Andrew Clark, *Lincoln*. Hutchinson, 1898.

**Ashmolean  
Museum**

ABOUT the latter end of Octob. 1677 Elias Ashmole<sup>1</sup> made a motion to severall heads of this University that he would bestow

<sup>1</sup> [Elias Ashmole, Antiquary and Astrologer, F.R.S., M.D.; born at Lichfield in 1617, the son of a saddler, educated at the grammar school, and chorister of the Cathedral. Went up to London, and admitted a Solicitor in

on it all his rarities that he had obtained of a famous gardiner called Joh. Tradescant a Dutchman and his wife, all his coynes and meddals and all his MSS., conditionally that they would build a fabric to receive them: which motion being well accepted and applauded, they promis'd him so to do. On the 26th of Jan. 1678, a fire breaking out in the chamber next to his lodgings in the Middle Temple, his said lodgings were utterly consum'd. His losses were exceeding great, all his library of printed books, the collection of 33 years mostly from abroad, was consumed . . . but all his chief manuscripts escaped, he having them at S. Lambeth: so likewise his gold coyns and gold medals; but those of silver were all melted and cost him as much as the worth of them in weight, in digging among the ruins, sifting the rubbish and hiring the silver-smiths to wash the dust. The copper coins were found but miserably defaced . . . Also a large collection of ancient evidences and seals of the English nobility and gentry. All the great seals of England from the conquest hitherto, with many of the religious houses both in England and Scotland; those of England hanging at their several instruments. He lost also there his observations upon history, coins, medals, heraldry and some other subjects, being the effects of his studies for about 30 years, which lay there in his said chambers for improvement as he had leisure. And also divers valuable pieces of antiquity and sundry curiosities both of art and nature, a paper book containing pictures or faces of eminent persons of England and another folio containing pictures of processions at coronations, marriages, interviews, funerals, etc., many subterranean antiquities, as rare stones, besides a chizel or axe framed from a flint stone before the framing or working of iron was invented. . . .

But now let's proceed: on the fifteenth day of May, 1679, the first stone of that stately fabric, afterwards called Ashmole's Museum, was laid on the west side of the theatre, and being finished by the beginning of March, 1682, were put therein on the 20th of the same month, about 12 cart loads of rarities sent to Oxon by Mr. Ashmole: Which being fixed in their proper place by Rob. Plot, LL.D., who before had been entrusted with the custody of the said

1638; joined the royalists at Oxford in 1644, was entered into Brazenose College, where he had a chamber, and followed his studies in natural philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and astrology; commissioner of excise, captain of horse and controller of ordnance at Worcester; on the Restoration appointed Windsor Herald, etc. 'Uxor Solis,' says Wood, 'took up its habitation in his breast, and in his bosom the great God did abundantly store up the treasure of all sorts of wisdom and knowledge.']



Museum, were first of all publicly viewed on the 21st of May following by his royal highness, James, duke of York, his royal consort Josepha Maria, princess Anne, and their attendants, and on the 24th of the same month by the doctors and masters of the University. In a convocation held on the 4th of June 1683 were letters openly read whereby Mr. Ashmole gave for ever to the Univ. of Oxon. all the said rarities, notwithstanding he had been courted by others to bestow them elsewhere, and that others had offer'd great sums for them. . . . And in July 1690, his body being then much out of order, and brought very low by divers indispositions contracted together in it, he came with his wife to Oxon, was received there with great observance, and on the 17th of the same month was sumptuously entertained by the Vicechancellor and heads of houses at a noble dinner in the long room of rarities within the said museum: at which time was an eloquent speech spoke before him and the said heads by Edw. Hannes, M.A., of Ch. Ch., the chymical professor. . . . Mr. Ashmole bequeathed to the university 1758 books whereof, there are in manuscript 620, and of them are 311 folios.

Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*.

The Shel-  
donian

UPON the Restoration of K. Charles II., thoughts were entertained of erecting some public fabric, wherein the Act exercises that were and had been performed beyond all memory in S. Mary's Church, might, with better convenience, and according to the dignity of the University, be celebrated; and the House of God, which had been too much profaned by the sacrilege of those times during the Rebellion, might hereafter be wholly employed to sacred uses. Animated thereunto by the piety of the design . . . divers houses were bought to the end that room might be made for the said fabric, which about the latter end of 1663 were pulled down. The next year (1664) the University having received a thousand pounds by the gift of the Right Reverend Father in God, Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, they resolved forthwith to proceed to the laying of the foundation. And because they would begin it with a solemnity fitting for such an intended structure, they appointed themselves that the 26 of July following should be the day; and the rather because that then some eminent persons would be present in the University. That wished for time being come, the Vicechancellor, with all the Heads of Houses, other Doctors and both the Proctors, with certain persons of note then in the University, resorted to the Convocation House in the afternoon about three of the clock. And being met together, with the



Masters of the University, they all proceeded in their formalities to the place where the first stone was to be laid, and the public orator of the University ascended into a pew set before the foundation on purpose from whence he delivered an eloquent Oration. That being done, the Vice-chancellor and Dr. George Morley, Bishop of Winchester (then in the University visiting the Colleges belonging to his See), went down to the bottom of the foundation and laid each of them a stone on the north side of the intended fabric, with the offering of gold and silver on them according to the manner. They being come up, descended Dr. William Paul, Bishop of Oxford, and Dr. William Nicholson, Bishop of Gloucester, and laid each of them a stone, with the offering of money on them as the former did. After them, Dr. Warmstrey, Dean of Worcester, then the Heads of Houses, Proctors, and other Members of the University in order. Which solemnity being finished, the workmen the next day proceeded, and carrying it on with great labour, brought up the foundation level with the surface of the ground by the beginning of the winter following.

The Archbishop having been thus noble, it was hoped that others would have succeeded unto the example, but those expectations being frustrate, the Archbishop took the whole matter on himself, and paid all to a farthing, both for the out and inside thereof, as also for the furniture and utensils belonging to it.

In 1669, that is in less than five years from the laying its foundation, it was totally finished by the contrivance of Dr. Christopher Wren, the Savilian Professor of Astronomy, and by the care and oversight of Dr. Fell, Dean of Christ Church. . . .

*Wood's History and Antiquities.*

IN 1667 Dr. Sheldon was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford, but was never install'd, nor ever was there after that time, no not so much as to see his noble work call'd the Theatre. [The Archbishop lived till 1677, but the Duke of Ormonde was elected Chancellor in 1669.] His works of piety and charity were many in his life time, as the building of the theatre at Oxon, which cost him more than £16,000, besides the gift of £2000 to buy lands worth and £100 per. an. to keep it in repair.

Pietas  
Sheldoniana

*Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses.*

THE stile or name of our University is the Chancellor, Masters and Scholars of the University of Oxford. . . . The Body of the University were reported to consist of Scholars and their Servants (*servientes Scholarium*, or Privileged Persons), under which were

'The Body of  
the Univer-  
sity'

comprised not only Personal Servants (such as received Livery or Wages of any Scholars), but such Trades or Employments as were subservient to Scholars. Of these, where some doubts or controversies did arise, it was adjusted by a composition in Parliament 18 Edward 1., and (by mutual consent) limited to 'Clerks (that is Scholars), their Families and Servants, Parchment Sellers, Limners, Writers, Barbers, and other persons of Office or the Livery of Clerks; and these in case they did exercise a trade of Merchandise to be therein taxable with the Burgesses or Townsmen.'

This is further explained by a Composition between the two Bodies (ratified under the Great Seal) 37 Henry VI., to extend to 'the Chancellor, all Doctors, Masters, and other Graduates, all Students, all Scholars, all Clerks dwelling within the Precincts of the University, of what condition, order, or degree soever they be; any daily continual servant to any of them before rehersed belonging; the Steward of the University, and feed men of the same University with their menial men; also all Bedels, with their daily servants and their household; All Stationers, Bookbinders, Limners, Writers, Pergamenors, Barbers, the Bell-Ringer of the University, with all their households; all Catours, Manciples, Spencers, Cooks, Lavanders, poor Children of Scholars or Clerks within the precincts of the said University; also all other servants taking clothing or hire by the year, half year, or quarter of the year, taking at least for the year vjs. viijd., for the half year iii. iiijd., the quarter xxd. of any Doctor, Master, Graduate, Scholar, or Clerk, without fraud or malengin; Also all common Carriers, Bringers of Scholars to the University or their Money, Letters or any special message to any Scholar or Clerk, or Fetcher of any Scholar or Clerk from the University, for the time of such fetching or bringing or abiding in the University for that intent; provided always that if any Clerk or Scholar having a Wife and Household within the Precincts of the University, or any Scholar's servant, sell any open merchandise by way of merchandising; that as touching such merchandising, they be taxable with the Burgesses of the said Town. Also it is accorded, that if any Scholar's servant, by livery or hire under the form aforesaid, not dwelling in household with the same scholar, be arrested by the Mayor or Bailifs, or any officers of theirs, if any inhibition be sent from the Chancellor or his Commissary to the Mayor or Bailifs for the said person so arrested, that the Officer of the University that executeth the said inhibition, with an officer of the said Mayor or Bailifs bring without delay the person so arrested to the said Chancellor or his Commissary and there by strict examination, after the discretion of the said Chancellor of

his Commissary, by an oath to be proved whether he ought to enjoy the privilege of the University or not ; And if it be proved that he be not of the said privilege that then he be remitted by the said officers to the Mayor or Bailifs.

And by a Charter of 14 Hen. VIII. (to prevent all doubts and ambiguities) it is granted, that the Chancellor and all Scholars of the said University and their ministers and servants and every one of them with their households, and all others who now are or hereafter shall be registered in the register of the said University, henceforth shall have and enjoy for ever, and any one of them shall have and enjoy, all liberties and privileges of the said University now and hereafter granted, without difficulty, ambiguity, doubt, interpretation, or impediment by us our heirs and successors, or any of our lieges made or to be made to the contrary.

Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, an abstract of divers Privileges and Rights of the Univ. of Oxford, by Dr. Wallis.

A PARLIAMENT at Oxford, 1680, but was soon dissolved then on the Pretence of a Plot hatcht by the Earl of Shaftsbury against the King ; but in reality a Plot of the Kings against our Government in Church, thro' his obstinate Refusal of Passing the Bill of Exclusion against a Popish Duke.

**Parliament in Oxford, 1680**

*Ayliffe's State of Oxford, 1714.*

On the 31st past [Aug. 1681] Mr. Stephen Colledge (the Protestant joiner) was conducted to the place of execution in the City of Oxford, where being come and in the cart, he made a speech, which was to clear himself from being a papist, as he was reported to be ; that he never was at any popish service but once, and that out of curiosity ; and as to any treason whereof he stood convicted, he took it on his salvation he was no waies guilty, nor knew of any such design or plott but only the popish plott ; and that whatever the witnesses swore against him was false : that as for his riding armed to Oxford, it was to defend the parliament from popish assaults ; and he did acknowledge he had been very zealous against popery, and that he might in heat have uttered some words of indecency concerning the king and his council ; thus desiring the people to pray for him, he wish't his blood might be the last protestants blood the church of Rome might shed, so prayeing for the king and the protestant religion ; which being done, he was turned off, and some time after cut down and quartered, and his quarters given to his friends ; who brought them to London, and buried them the next evening in St. Gregories church by St. Pauls. There

**Execution of Stephen Colledge**



was an order for setting his head on Temple barr, but his majestie was pleased to revoke the same.

There are some persons that would hence inferr there is a presbyterian plott, and a design to seize his majestie at Oxford; but that is most improbable; for it cannot in reason be apprehended that those lords and gentlemen could entertain a purpose of seising the king at Oxford, who were affraid of venturing themselves thither, and so importunate with his majestie that the parliament might sitt at Westminster; then it would have been a strange piece of madnesse, when the members, instead of being accompanied with a train suitable to such a design, they abridged themselves of some of their usuall meniall servants, but his majestie was surrounded with his guards, the militia of the citty, and the posse comitatûs in hands his majesty could trust; and then these witnesses were villains they did not discover it before, but let his majesty expose himself to so much danger.

*Luttrell's Brief Relation.*

**The Dissolu-  
sion of 1681**

ON Sunday 27th, 1681, the king busied himself with preparing the Sheldonian theatre for the Commons, who complained that Convocation House was too small; he viewed the plans, strolled among the workmen, congratulated himself on being able to arrange for the better comfort of his faithful Subjects, and made all show of expecting a long session. That night his coach was privately sent a stage outside Oxford with a troop of horse. Next morning he was carried as usual to the House of Lords in a sedan chair, followed by another with drawn curtains, seeming to contain a friend. When the king stepped out, his friend was found to be a change of Clothes. He had come to make his enemies tremble. At the last moment an accident nearly wrecked the scheme. The wrong robes had been brought. Hastily the chair was sent back for the robes of State, while Charles held an unwilling peer in conversation, that he might not give the alarm. Then, when all was ready, he swiftly took his seat on the throne, and, without giving the Lords time to robe, summoned the Commons to attend. As Sir William Jones was in the act of appealing to Magna Carta as the safeguard of the subject's right, the Black Rod knocked at the door. The Commons thronged eagerly through the narrow passages to the King's presence, the Speaker leading with Russell and Cavendish at either hand. They thought they had come to receive Charles' surrender. When the tumult was calmed the King spoke: 'My lords and gentlemen, that all the world may see to



what a point we come, that we are not like to have a good end, when the divisions at the beginning are such, therefore, my Lord Chancellor, do as I have commanded you.' Finch thereupon declared Parliament, which had lived for exactly one week, to be dissolved, and Charles immediately left the throne. As he reached his dressing-room he turned to a friend, his eyes gleaming, with the remark that it was better to have one King than five hundred. He made a short dinner, and, leaving by the back stairs, drove off in Sir Edward Seymour's coach to where his own was waiting. That night he was in Windsor.

The dissolution scattered the opposition as a gust of wind the leaves of a tree in autumn. Shaftesbury in vain attempted to hold the Houses together. His followers in the Lords remained for an hour under pretence of signing a protest, while messengers were dispatched, urging the Commons to fulfil their promises. But they were too much cowed by the stroke. They feared 'if they did not disperse, the King would come and pull them out by the ears.' Presently they fled. In a quarter of an hour the price of coaches in the town doubled. Oxford had the appearance of a surrendered city disgorging its garrison.

John Pollock, *The Popish Plot*.  
Duckworth, 1903.

IN 1666, 67, 68, and part of 69, Dr. Fell was invested with the office of Vice-chancellor, in which being settled, his first care was to make all degrees go in caps, and in public assemblies to appear in hoods. . . . His next care was to look narrowly towards the performance of public exercise in the schools, and to reform several abuses in them; and because coursing in the time of Lent, that is the endeavours of one party to run down and confute another in disputation, did commonly end in blows, and domestic quarrels (the refuge of the vanquish'd side) he did by his authority annul that custom. . . .

'I do not like  
you, Dr. Fell'

However Dr. Fell, that he might as much as possibly support the exercises of the university, did frequent examinations for degrees, hold the examiners up to it, and if they would or could not do their duty, he would do it himself to the pulling down of many. He did also sometimes repair to the ordinaries (commonly called wall lectures from the paucity of auditors), and was frequently present at those exercises called disputations in Austin's, which he would make the disputants begin precisely at one and continue disputing till 3 of the clock in the afternoon, so that upon his

appearance more auditors were then present than since have usually appeared at these exercises.

It was his endeavour before and while he was vicechancellor, as also the endeavours of his friends and fellow-sufferers, to reduce the university to that manner and form, as to preaching, disputing, discipline, opinion, etc., as 'twas while Dr. Laud was chancellor thereof ; but because of the twenty years interval, wherein a most strange liberty, looseness in manners and religion had taken place, they could not do it ; and I remember many made it a ridiculous thing, that he and they should in the least think of such a matter, which a whole age could not do, nor that also, unless a succession of good kings came, that should be of the same mind and opinion with Charles I. of ever blessed memory. He was a most excellent disciplinarian, kept up the exercise of his house severely, was admirable in training up youth of noble extraction, had a faculty in it peculiar to him, and was much delighted in it. He would constantly on several mornings in the week take his rounds in the coll. go to the chambers of noblemen and gent. commoners, and examine and see what progress they made in their studies. He constantly frequented divine service in public four times in a day, and had, besides, prayers twice every day in his own family. He was the most zealous man of his time for the Church of England, and none, that I yet know of, did go beyond him, in the performance of the rules belonging thereunto.

He was a great encourager and promoter of learning in the university and of all public works belonging thereunto, witness not only the edifices before mentioned, but his solicitation for the building of the public theatre, to the end that the house of God might be kept free for its own use. He likewise advanced the learned press and improv'd the manufacture of printing in Oxford in such manner as it had been designed before by that public-spirited person Dr. Laud, archbp. of Canterbury ; and certainly it would have been by him effected, as other matters of greater concern relating to religion and learning, had not the iniquity of the restless presbyterians prevented him. He was also a person of a most generous spirit, undervalued money and disburs'd it so freely upon learned, pious, and charitable uses, that he left sometimes for himself and his private use little or nothing. He was an eager defender and maintainer of the university and its privileges (especially while he executed the office of vice-chancellor) against the oppugners of them and always endeavour'd to advance its liberties, for which he often gained the ill opinions of the citizens. He was a bold and resolute man and did not value what the

generality said or thought of him so that he could accomplish his just and generous designs, which being too many to effect, was the chief reason of shortning his days. His charity was so great that he was a husband to the afflicted widow, a father to the orphan, and a tender parent to poor children. He constantly allowed a yearly pension to a poor man of St. Thomas's parish in the suburbs of Oxon, purposely that he should teach gratis 20 or 24 poor children of that parish to read; some of which he afterwards bound apprentices or made scholars. He was a person of great morals and virtues, spent his time in celibacy, and was never known to be an admirer of women, unless it were for their virtues.

Wood's *Athenae Oxon.*

WHERE J[ohn] L[ocke] goes I cannot by any means learn, all his voyages being so cunningly contrived; sometimes he will goe to some acquaintances of his near ye town, and then he will let anybody know where he is; but other times when I am assured he goes elsewhere, noe one knows where he goes, and therefore the other is made use of only for a blind. He hath in his last sally been absent at least 10 days, where I cannot learn. Last night he returned; and sometimes he himselfe goes out and leaves his man behind, who shall then to be often seen in ye quadrangle to make people believe his master is at home, for he will let noe one come to his chamber, and therefore it is not certain when he is there or when he is absent. I fancy there are projects afoot.

Locke at  
Christ Church

*Letters of Prideaux to Ellis*, March 1681 [2]. Camden Society.

JOHN LOCKE hated tyranny and persecution as a philosopher, but his intellect and his temper preserved him from the violence of a partisan. He had lived on confidential terms with Shaftesbury, and had thus incurred the displeasure of the Court. Locke's prudence had, however, been such that it would have been to little purpose to bring him even before the corrupt and partial tribunals of that age. In one point, however, he was vulnerable. He was a student of Christ Church in the University of Oxford. It was determined to drive from that celebrated college the greatest man of whom it could ever boast. But this was not easy. Locke had, at Oxford, abstained from expressing any opinion on the politics of the day. Spies had been set upon him. Doctors of Divinity and Masters of Arts had not been ashamed to perform the vilest of all offices, that of watching the lips of a companion in order to report his words to his ruin. The conversation in the hall had been purposely turned

John Locke at  
Oxford

to irritating topics, to the Exclusion Bill, and to the character of the Earl of Shaftesbury, but in vain. . . . After vainly trying to inveigle Locke into a fault, the Government resolved to punish him without one. Orders came from Whitehall that he should be ejected; and these orders the Dean and Canons made haste to obey. Locke was travelling on the Continent for his health, when he learned that he had been deprived of his home and of his bread without a trial or even a notice. The injustice with which he had been treated would have excused him if he had resorted to violent methods of redress. But he was not to be blinded by personal resentment: he augured no good from the schemes of those who had assembled at Amsterdam; and he quietly repaired to Utrecht, where, while his partners in misfortune were planning their own destruction, he employed himself in writing his celebrated *Letter on Toleration*.

Macaulay's *History of England*.

Locke's  
deprivation

RIGHT Reverend Father in God and trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we have received information of the factious and disloyall behaviour of ——— Lock, one of the Students of that our Colledge, we have thought fit hereby to signify our will and pleasure to you that you forthwith remove him from his said Student's place, and deprive him of all the rights and advantages thereunto belonging; for which this shall be your warrant. And so we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 11th day of November, 1684, in the six and thirtieth yeare of our reigne. By his Maj<sup>ties</sup> command, Sunderland.

To the Right Reverend Father in God, John, Lord Bishop of Oxford, Dean of Christ Church, and to our trusty and well-beloved Chapter there.

By the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Christ in Oxon, 15 November, 1684, the day and year above written his Majesty's mandate for the removal of Mr. Lock from his Student's place and deprivation of him from all the rights and advantages thereto belonging was read in Chapter and ordered to be put in execution, there being present Jo. Oxon, Dean, Dr. Ed Pocock, Dr. Henry Smyth, Dr. Jo. Hammond, Dr. Henry Aldrich.

*Christ Church*, by H. L. Thompson. Hutchinson.

Roman Catho-  
lic Propa-  
ganda.

THE King granted a Licence May — 1686 to Obadiah Walker and his assignees only for 21 years to print and sell the books following, without incurring any penalty, loss or disability whatsoever;



so that the number of any one of the said books printed in any one year exceed not 20,000.

Succession of the Clergy.	Life of Jesus Christ.
Church Government.	Benefits of the H. Ghost.
Eucharist.	Adam's Fall.
Communion in one Kind.	Litanies and Hymns.
Eucharist in Compendium.	Pietas Romana et Parisiensis.
Motives to Christian Piety.	Rubric.
Necessary Faith.	Consid. on the Lives of Saints.
Infallibility.	Oral Tradition.
Obligation of Judgments.	Instit. of the Soc. of Jesus.
Short Confessions of Faith.	State of the Dead.
Danger of Schism.	Guide in Controversies.
Concerning Sacred Things.	Roman Devotions Vindicated.
Celibacy.	Roman Doctrine of Repentance and
Miracles.	Indulgencies Vindicated.
Idolatry.	Stillingfleet's Principles Considered.
Anti-Christ.	S. Teresa's Works.
Append. to Roman Devotions.	S. Austin's Life.
Paraphrase on S. Paul's Epistles.	Greg. Lopez's Life.
Benefits of our Saviour.	

Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, 1781.

OBADIAH WALKER [the Master of University, 1676-1690] set to work to forward the Roman Catholic cause in Oxford with all the energy and enthusiasm of a pervert. Mass was now openly said in the Master's Lodging. . . . One of the most remarkable features of this peculiar chapter of the College history had been the absence of all violence or bitterness . . . within the College itself. Outside the Master and his following were exposed to savage enough criticism, but within the walls of his own society Romanists and Anglicans seemed to have lived in fair comfort together. Services in the 'New Masshouse' and in the College Chapel appear to have been carried on simultaneously, and such disturbances as took place in the conduct of the former seem always to have been due to outside instigation. Amicable existence under such difficult circumstances was probably due in great measure to Walker's personal character, and to the fact that he had been long a member of the Society, and understood well its constitutions and traditions. William Smith [a Fellow of strong anti-Romanist sentiment] admits that he has 'many good things to say of him; as that he was neither proud nor covetous.' His academic character and literary gifts were in harmony with his office. The bent of inquiring minds in the Society at this time inclined towards antiquarianism. The Master and his Fellows were here on grounds of common interest, and this, combined with mutual respect and a scholarlike

Obadiah  
Walker

distaste for extreme courses, prevented Walker's religious zeal from interfering with his personal friendships.

*University College, by W. Carr. Hutchinson, 1902.*

**Oxford and  
James II.**

WAR was at once declared against the two most venerable corporations of the realm, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The power of those bodies has during many ages been great; but it was at the height during the latter part of the seventeenth century. None of the neighbouring countries could boast of such splendid and opulent seats of learning. The schools of Edinburgh and Glasgow, of Leyden and Utrecht, of Louvain and Leipsic, of Padua and Bologna, seemed mean to scholars who had been educated in the magnificent foundations of Wykeham and Wolsey, of Henry the Sixth and Henry the Eighth. Literature and science were, in the academical system of England, surrounded with pomp, armed with magistracy, and closely allied with all the most august institutions of the state. To be the Chancellor of an University was a distinction eagerly sought by the magnates of the realm. To represent an University in Parliament was a favourite object of the ambition of statesmen. Nobles and even princes were proud to receive from an University the privilege of wearing the doctoral scarlet. The curious were attracted to the Universities by ancient buildings rich with the tracery of the middle ages, by modern buildings which exhibited the highest skill of Jones and Wren, by noble halls and chapels, by museums, by botanical gardens and by the only great public libraries which the kingdom then contained. The state which Oxford especially displayed on solemn occasions rivalled that of sovereign princes. When her Chancellor, the venerable Duke of Ormond, sate in his embroidered mantle on his throne under the painted ceiling of the Sheldonian theatre, surrounded by hundreds of graduates robed according to their rank, while the noblest youths of England were solemnly presented to him as candidates for academical honours, he made an appearance scarcely less regal than that which his master made in the Banqueting House of Whitehall. At the Universities had been formed the minds of almost all the eminent clergymen, lawyers, physicians, wits, poets and orators of the land, and of a large proportion of the nobility and of the opulent gentry. It is also to be observed that the connection between the scholar and the school did not terminate with his residence. He often continued to be through life a member of the academical body and to vote as such at all important elections. He therefore regarded his old haunts by the Cam and the Isis with even more than the affection

which educated men ordinarily feel for the place of their education. There was no corner of England in which both Universities had not grateful and zealous sons. Any attack on the honour or interests of either Cambridge or Oxford was certain to excite the resentment of a powerful, active, and intelligent class scattered over every county from Northumberland to Cornwall.

*Macaulay's History of England.*

BUT the King had already begun to treat Oxford with such rigour that the rigour shown towards Cambridge might, by comparison, be called lenity. Already University College had been turned by Obadiah Walker into a Roman Catholic seminary. Already Christ Church was governed by a Roman Catholic Dean. Mass was already said daily in both these colleges. The tranquil and majestic city, so long the stronghold of monarchical principles, was agitated by passions which it had never before known. The undergraduates, with the connivance of those who were in authority over them, hooted the members of Walker's congregation, and chanted satirical ditties under his windows. Some fragments of the serenades which then disturbed the High Street have been preserved. The burden of one ballad was this :

**Roman  
Catholic  
Menaces**

‘Old Obadiah  
Sings Ave Maria.’

So mutinous indeed was the temper of the University that one of the newly raised regiments, the same which is now called the Second Dragoon Guards, was quartered at Oxford for the purpose of preventing an outbreak. . . .

*Macaulay's History of England.*

THAT Oxford, the seat of loyalty, the headquarters of the Cavalier army, the place where his father and brother had held their court when they thought themselves insecure in their stormy capital, the place where the writings of the great republican teachers had recently been committed to the flames, should now be in a ferment of discontent, that those high-spirited youths who a few months before had eagerly volunteered to march against the Western insurgents should now with difficulty be kept down by sword and carbine, these were signs full of evil omen to the House of Stuart. The warning, however, was lost on the dull, stubborn, self-willed tyrant. He was resolved to transfer to his own Church all the wealthiest and most splendid foundations of England. It was to no purpose that the best and wisest of his Roman Catholic counsellors

**Papistical  
Terrors**

remonstrated. They represented to him that he had it in his power to render a great service to the cause of his religion without violating the rights of property. A grant of two thousand pounds a year from his privy purse would support a Jesuit college at Oxford. . . . Such a college, provided with able, learned and zealous teachers, would be a formidable rival to the old academical institutions, which exhibited but too many symptoms of the languor almost inseparable from opulence and security. King James's College would soon be, by the confession even of Protestants, the first place of education in the island, as respected both science and moral discipline. . . . The Earl of Ailesbury, one of the most devoted servants of the royal family, declared that, though a Protestant and by no means rich, he would himself contribute a thousand pounds towards this design rather than that his master should violate the rights of property and break faith with the Established Church. The scheme however found no favour in the sight of the King.

*Macaulay's History of England.*

**Insults to  
Loyal Oxford**

THE great moral and intellectual influence of the English Universities had been strenuously exerted on the side of the crown. The headquarters of Charles the First had been at Oxford; and the silver tankards and salvers of all the colleges had been melted down to supply his military chest. . . . Both Universities had been treated with extreme severity by the victorious Puritans. Both had hailed the Restoration with delight. Both had steadily opposed the Exclusion Bill. Both had expressed the deepest horror at the Rye House Plot. . . . Oxford, which lay nearer to the Western insurgents, had given still stronger proofs of loyalty. The students, under the sanction of their preceptors, had taken arms by hundreds in defence of hereditary right. Such were the bodies which James now determined to insult and plunder in direct defiance of the laws and his plighted faith.

*Macaulay's History of England.*

**The Fellows  
of Magdalen**

THE Fellows of Magdalen were, by the statutes which their founder had drawn up, empowered to select their own President from among persons who were, or had been, Fellows either of their society or of New College. This power had generally been exercised with freedom. But in some instances royal letters had been received recommending to the choice of the corporation qualified persons who were in favour at court; and on such occasions it had been the practice to show respect to the wishes of the sovereign.



In March 1687 the President of the College died. One of the Fellows, Doctor Thomas Smith, popularly named Rabbi Smith, a distinguished traveller, book-collector, antiquary and orientalist, . . . aspired to the vacant post . . . and hoped to obtain by the interest of Parker, Bishop of Oxford, a royal letter to the college. Parker . . . soon reported that he had found difficulties. 'The King,' he said, 'will recommend no person who is not a friend to His Majesty's religion. What can you do to pleasure him as to that matter?' Smith answered that, if he became President, he would exert himself to promote learning, true Christianity and loyalty. 'That will not do,' said the Bishop. 'If so,' said Smith manfully, 'let who will be President: I can promise nothing more.'

The election had been fixed for the thirteenth of April, and the Fellows were summoned to attend. It was rumoured that a royal letter would come down recommending one Anthony Farmer to the vacant place. This man's life had been a series of shameful acts. He had been a member of the University of Cambridge and had escaped expulsion only by a timely retreat. He had then joined the Dissenters. Then he had gone to Oxford, had entered himself at Magdalen and had soon become notorious there for every kind of vice. He generally reeled into his college at night speechless with liquor. He was celebrated for having headed a disgraceful riot at Abingdon. He had been a constant frequenter of noted haunts of libertines. . . . This wretch, however, had pretended to turn Papist. His apostacy atoned for all his vices; and though still a youth, he was selected to rule a grave and religious society in which the scandal given by his depravity was still fresh.

As a Roman Catholic he was disqualified for academical office by the general law of the land. Never having been a Fellow of Magdalen College or of New College, he was disqualified for the vacant presidency by a special ordinance of William of Waynflete. William of Waynflete had also enjoined those who partook of his bounty to have a particular regard to moral character in choosing their head; and even if he had left no such injunction, a body chiefly composed of divines could not with decency entrust such a man as Farmer with the government of a place of education. . . .

The Royal letter arrived. It was brought down by one of the Fellows who had lately turned Papist, Robert Charnock. . . . On the thirteenth of April the society met in the chapel. Some hope was still entertained that the King might be moved by the remonstrance which had been addressed to him. The assembly therefore adjourned till the fifteenth, which was the last day on which, by the constitution of the college, the election could take place.

The fifteenth of April came. Again the Fellows repaired to their chapel. No answer had arrived from Whitehall. Two or three of the Seniors, among whom was Smith, were inclined to postpone the election once more rather than take a step which might give offence to the King. But the language of the statutes was clear. Those statutes the members of the foundation had sworn to observe. The general opinion was that there ought to be no further delay. A hot debate followed. The electors were too much excited to take their seats; and the whole choir was in a tumult. Those who were for proceeding appealed to their oaths and to the rules laid down by the founder whose bread they had eaten. The King, they truly said, had no right to force on them even a qualified candidate. . . . It was at length resolved by a great majority that it was necessary to proceed immediately to the election. Charnock left the chapel. The other Fellows, having first received the sacrament, proceeded to give their voices. The choice fell on John Hough, a man of eminent virtue and prudence. . . .

**The Election  
of Doctor  
Hough**

THE society hastened to acquaint the King with the circumstances which had made it necessary to elect a President without further delay and requested the Duke of Ormond, as patron of the whole University, and the Bishop of Winchester, as visitor of Magdalen College, to undertake the office of intercessors: but the King was far too angry and too dull to listen to explanations.

Early in June the Fellows were cited to appear before the High Commission at Whitehall. Five of them, deputed by the rest, obeyed the summons. Jeffreys treated them after his usual fashion. When one of them, a grave Doctor named Fairfax, hinted some doubt as to the validity of the Commission, the Chancellor began to roar like a wild beast. 'Who is this man? What commission has he to be impudent here? Seize him. Put him into a dark room. What does he do without a keeper? He is under my care as a lunatic. I wonder that nobody has applied to me for the custody of him.' But when this storm had spent its force and the depositions concerning the moral character of the King's nominee had been read, none of the Commissioners had the front to pronounce that such a man could properly be made the head of a great college. . . . The Commission pronounced Hough's election void and suspended Fairfax from his fellowship; but about Farmer no more was said; and in the month of August, arrived a royal letter recommending Parker, Bishop of Oxford, to the Fellows. Parker was not an avowed Papist. Still there was an objection to him which, even if the presidency had been vacant, would have been decisive:

for he had never been a Fellow of either New College or Magdalen. But the presidency was not vacant: Hough had been duly elected; and all the members of the college were bound by oath to support him in his office. They therefore, with many expressions of loyalty and concern, excused themselves from complying with the King's mandate. . . .

In the evening the King reached Oxford. He was received there with the wonted honours. The students in their academical garb were ranged to welcome him on the right hand and on the left, from the entrance of the city to the great gate of Christ Church. He lodged at the deanery, where, among other accommodations, he found a chapel fitted up for the celebration of the Mass. On the day after his arrival the Fellows of Magdalen College were ordered to attend him. . . . 'You have not dealt with me like gentlemen,' he exclaimed. 'You have been unmannerly as well as undutiful.' They fell on their knees and tendered a petition. He would not look at it. 'Is this your Church of England loyalty? I could not have believed that so many clergymen of the Church of England would have been concerned in such a business. Go home. Get you gone. I am King. I will be obeyed. Go to your chapel this instant; and admit the Bishop of Oxford. Let those who refuse look to it. They shall feel the whole weight of my hand. They shall know what it is to incur the displeasure of their Sovereign.' The Fellows, still kneeling before him, again offered him their petition. He angrily flung it down. 'Get you gone, I tell you. I will receive nothing from you till you have admitted the Bishop.'

They retired and instantly assembled in their chapel. The question was propounded whether they would comply with His Majesty's command. Smith was absent. Charnock alone answered in the affirmative. The other Fellows who were at the meeting declared that in all things lawful they were ready to obey the King, but that they would not violate their statutes and their oaths.

The King, greatly incensed and mortified by his defeat, quitted Oxford. . . . The agency of Penn was employed. He had too much good feeling to approve of the violent and unjust proceedings of the government and even ventured to express part of what he thought. . . . Ruin, he said, impended over the society. The King was highly incensed. The case might be a hard one. Most people thought it so. But every child knew that His Majesty loved to have his own way and could not bear to be thwarted. Penn, therefore, exhorted the Fellows not to rely on the goodness of their cause, but to submit or at least to temporise. . . .



In answer to his alarming hints he was reminded that in the last generation thirty-four out of the forty Fellows had cheerfully left their beloved cloisters and gardens, their hall and their chapel, and had gone forth not knowing where they should find a meal or a bed, rather than violate the oath of allegiance. . . .

Then Penn . . . had an interview with Hough and with some of the Fellows, and, after many professions of sympathy and friendship, began to hint at a compromise. The King could not bear to be crossed. The college must give way. Parker must be admitted. But he was in very bad health. All his preferments would soon be vacant. 'Doctor Hough,' said Penn, 'may then be Bishop of Oxford. How should you like that, gentlemen?' . . . 'We stand,' said Hough, 'on our statutes and our oaths; but even setting aside our statutes and oaths, we feel that we have our religion to defend. The Papists have robbed us of University College. They have robbed us of Christ Church. The fight is now for Magdalen. They will soon have all the rest.'

Penn was foolish enough to answer that he really believed that the Papists would now be content. 'University,' he said, 'is a pleasant college. Christ Church is a noble place. Magdalen is a fine building. The situation is convenient. The walks by the river are delightful. If the Roman Catholics are reasonable they will be satisfied with these.' . . . The negotiation was broken off and the King hastened to make the disobedient know, as he had threatened, what it was to incur his displeasure.

#### A Special Commission

A SPECIAL commission was directed to Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, to Wright, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and to Sir Thomas Jenner, a Baron of the Exchequer, appointing them to exercise visitatorial jurisdiction over the college.

On the twentieth of October they arrived at Oxford, escorted by three troops of cavalry with drawn swords. On the following morning the Commissioners took their seats in the hall of Magdalen. Cartwright pronounced a loyal oration which, a few years before, would have called forth the acclamations of an Oxonian audience, but which was now heard with sullen indignation. A long dispute followed. The President defended his rights with skill, temper and resolution. He professed great respect for the royal authority. But he steadily maintained that he had by the laws of England a freehold interest in the house and revenues annexed to the presidency. Of that interest he could not be deprived by an arbitrary mandate of the sovereign. 'Will you submit,' said the Bishop, 'to our visitation?' 'I submit to it,' said Hough, 'so far as it is con-



sistent with the laws and no farther.' 'Will you deliver up the key of your lodgings?' said Cartwright. Hough remained silent. The question was repeated; and Hough returned a mild but resolute refusal. The Commissioners pronounced him an intruder and charged the Fellows no longer to recognise his authority, and to assist at the admission of the Bishop of Oxford. Charnock eagerly promised obedience; Smith returned an evasive answer: but the great body of the members of the college firmly declared that they still regarded Hough as their rightful head.

And now Hough himself craved permission to address a few words to the Commissioners. They consented with much civility. . . . 'My Lords,' said he, 'you have this day deprived me of my freehold. I hereby protest against all your proceedings as illegal, unjust and null; and I appeal from you to our sovereign Lord the King in his courts of Justice.' A loud murmur of applause arose from the gownsmen who filled the hall. . . . 'Do not think to huff us, sir,' cried Jenner, punning on the President's name. 'I will uphold His Majesty's authority,' said Wright, 'while I have breath in my body. All this comes of your popular protest. You have broken the peace. You shall answer it in the King's Bench. I bind you over in one thousand pounds to appear there next term. I will see whether the civil power cannot manage you. If that is not enough, you shall have the military too.' . . . The Bishop of Oxford was quietly installed by proxy; but only two members of Magdalen College attended the ceremony. . . . The porter of the college threw down his keys. The butler refused to scratch Hough's name out of the buttery book, and was instantly dismissed. No blacksmith could be found in the whole city who would force the lock of the President's lodgings. It was necessary for the Commissioners to employ their own servants, who broke open the door with iron bars. The sermons which on the following Sunday were preached in the University church were full of reflections such as stung Cartwright to the quick, though such as he could not discreetly resent.

And here, if James had not been infatuated, the matter might have stopped. The Fellows in general were not inclined to carry their resistance further. They were of opinion that by refusing to assist in the admission of the intruder, they had sufficiently proved their respect for their statutes and oaths, and that, since he was now in actual possession, they might justifiably submit to him as their head, till he should be removed by sentence of a competent court. . . . The Commissioners would gladly have compromised the dispute on these terms. . . . The Fellows found that the

popular voice loudly accused them of pusillanimity. The townsmen already talked ironically of a Magdalen conscience, and exclaimed that the brave Hough and the honest Fairfax had been betrayed and abandoned. Still more annoying were the sneers of Obadiah Walker and his brother renegades. This then, said those apostates, was the end of all the big words in which the society had declared itself resolved to stand by its lawful President and by its Protestant faith. While the Fellows, bitterly annoyed by the public censure, were regretting the modified submission which they had consented to make, they learned that this submission was by no means satisfactory to the King. It was not enough, he said, that they offered to obey the Bishop of Oxford as President in fact. They must distinctly admit the Commission and all that had been done under it to be legal. They must acknowledge that they had acted undutifully; they must declare themselves penitent; they must promise to behave better in future, must implore His Majesty's pardon, and lay themselves at his feet. Two Fellows of whom the King had no complaint to make, Charnock and Smith, were excused from the obligation of making these degrading apologies.

Even James never committed a grosser error. The Fellows, already angry with themselves for having conceded so much, and galled by the censure of the world, eagerly caught at the opportunity which was now offered them of regaining the public esteem. With one voice they declared that they would never ask pardon for being in the right, or admit that the visitation of their college and the deprivation of their President had been legal.

**Expulsion of  
the Fellows**

THEN the King, as he had threatened, laid on them the whole weight of his hand. They were by one sweeping edict condemned to expulsion. Yet this punishment was not deemed sufficient. It was known that many noblemen and gentlemen who possessed church patronage would be disposed to provide for men who had suffered so much for the laws of England and for the Protestant religion. The High Commission therefore pronounced the ejected Fellows incapable of receiving the clerical character. James might enjoy the thought that he had reduced many of them from a situation in which they were surrounded by comforts, and had before them the fairest professional prospects, to hopeless indigence.

But all these severities produced an effect directly the opposite of that which he had anticipated. The Vice-chancellor had been asked to dine with the Commissioners on the day of the expulsion. He refused. 'My taste,' he said, 'differs from that of Colonel

Kirke. I cannot eat my meals with appetite under a gallows.' The scholars refused to pull off their caps to the new rulers of Magdalen College. Smith was nicknamed Doctor Rogery and was publicly insulted in a coffee-house. When Charnock summoned the Demies to perform their academical exercises before him, they answered that they were deprived of their lawful governors and would submit to no usurped authority.

They assembled apart both for study and for divine service. Attempts were made to corrupt them by offers of the lucrative fellowships which had just been declared vacant; but one undergraduate after another manfully answered that his conscience would not suffer him to profit by injustice. One lad who was induced to take a fellowship was turned out of the hall by the rest. Youths were invited from other colleges but with small success. The richest foundation in the kingdom seemed to have lost all attractions for needy students. Meanwhile, in London and all over the country, money was collected for the support of the ejected Fellows. The Princess of Orange to the great joy of all Protestants subscribed two hundred pounds. Still, however, the King held on his course. The expulsion of the Fellows was soon followed by the expulsion of a crowd of Demies. All this time the new President was fast sinking under bodily and mental disease. A few weeks after the expulsion of the Demies, Parker died in the house of which he had violently taken possession. Men said that his heart was broken by remorse and shame. He lies in the beautiful antechapel of the college: but no monument marks his grave.

Then the King's whole plan was carried into full effect. The college was turned into a Popish seminary. Bonaventure Giffard, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Madura, was appointed President. The Roman Catholic service was performed in the chapel. In one day twelve Roman Catholics were admitted Fellows. Some servile Protestants applied for fellowships, but met with refusals. Smith, an enthusiast in loyalty, but still a sincere member of the Anglican Church, could not bear to see the altered aspect of the house. He absented himself; he was ordered to return into residence: he disobeyed: he was expelled: and the work of spoliation was complete.

*Macaulay's History of England.*

THE Fellows of Magdalen College were on the 25th of October, 1688, restored to their Fellowships by the King's Letter to the Bishop of Winchester, when the King saw himself falling from the

An Oxford  
Whig on  
James II.

Throne for his Tyranny and unjust Usurpations on our Religion, Liberties and Properties, according to the common Fate of wicked Princes, who would enslave their People to gratify their own Abominations.

*The Ancient and Present State of the University of Oxford,*  
by John Ayliffe, D.D. 1714.

**The Orange  
Riband in  
Oxford**

THE people of Gloucester rose and delivered Lovelace from confinement. An irregular army soon gathered round him. Some of his horsemen had only halters for bridles. Many of his infantry had only clubs for weapons. But this force, such as it was, marched unopposed through counties once devoted to the House of Stuart, and at length entered Oxford in triumph. The magistrates came in state to welcome the insurgents. The University itself, exasperated by recent injuries, was little disposed to pass censures on rebellion. Already some of the Heads of Houses had despatched one of their number to assure the Prince of Orange, that they were cordially with him, and that they would gladly coin their plate for his service. The whig chief, therefore, rode through the capital of Toryism amidst general acclamation. Before him the drums beat Lillibullero. Behind him came a long stream of horse and foot. The whole High Street was gay with orange ribbons. For already the orange riband had the double signification which, after the lapse of one hundred and sixty years, it still retains. Already it was the emblem to the Protestant Englishman of civil and religious freedom, to the Roman Catholic Celt of subjugation and persecution.

Macaulay's *History of England*.



## HOME OF LOST CAUSES

AT Oxford William III. was received with great pomp, complimented in a Latin oration, presented with some of the most beautiful productions of the Academic press, entertained with music, and invited to a sumptuous feast in the Sheldonian theatre. He departed in a few hours, pleading as an excuse for the shortness of his stay that he had seen the colleges before, and that this was a visit, not of curiosity but of kindness. As it was well known that he did not love the Oxonians and was not loved by them, his haste gave occasion to some idle rumours which found credit with the vulgar. It was said that he hurried away without tasting the costly banquet which had been provided for him, because he had been warned by an anonymous letter, that, if he eat or drank in the theatre, he was a dead man. But it is difficult to believe that a Prince who could scarcely be induced, by the most earnest entreaties of his friends, to take the most common precautions against assassins of whose designs he had trustworthy evidence, would have been scared by so silly a hoax; and it is quite certain that the stages of his progress had been marked, and that he remained at Oxford as long as was compatible with arrangements previously made.

William III.'s  
hurried  
Departure

Macaulay's *History of England*.

CHRISTCHURCH at Oxford was then widely and justly celebrated as a place where the lighter parts of classical learning were cultivated with success. With the deeper mysteries of philology neither the instructors nor the pupils had the smallest acquaintance. They fancied themselves Scaligers as Bentley scornfully said, if they could write a copy of Latin verses with only two or three small faults. From this College proceeded a new edition of the *Letters of Phalaris*, which were rare, and had been in request since the appearance of Sir William Temple's *Essay on Ancient and Modern Learning* mentioning them as the best letters in the world. The nominal editor was Charles Boyle, a young man of noble family and promising parts; but some older members of the society lent

Phalaris  
Controversy

their assistance. While this work was in preparation, an idle quarrel, occasioned, it would seem, by the negligence and misrepresentations of a bookseller, arose between Boyle and the King's Librarian, Richard Bentley. Boyle in the preface to his edition inserted a bitter reflection on Bentley. Bentley revenged himself by proving that the Epistles of Phalaris were forgeries, and in his remarks on this subject treated Temple, not indecently, but with no great reverence.

Temple . . . complained, very unjustly, of Bentley's foul-mouthed raillery, and declared that he had commenced an answer, but had laid it aside, 'having no mind to enter the lists with such a mean, dull, unmannerly pedant.' . . . Like Hector, when struck down prostrate by Ajax, he was in an instant covered by a thick crowd of shields. Christchurch was up in arms; and though that College seems to have been almost destitute of severe and accurate learning, no academical society could show a greater array of orators, wits, politicians, bustling adventurers, who united the superficial accomplishments of the scholar with the manners and arts of the man of the world. . . .

Out came the Reply to Bentley, bearing the name of Boyle, but in truth written by Atterbury with the assistance of Smalridge and others. A most remarkable book it is, and often reminds us of Goldsmith's observation that the French would be the best cooks in the world if they had any butcher's meat; for that they can make ten dishes out of a nettle-top. It really deserves the praise, whatever that praise may be worth, of being the best book ever written by any man on the wrong side of a question of which he was profoundly ignorant. The learning of the confederacy is that of a schoolboy and not of an extraordinary schoolboy; but it is used with the skill and address of the most able, artful, and experienced men; it is beaten out to the very thinnest leaf and is disposed in such a way as to seem ten times larger than it is. The dexterity with which the confederates avoid grappling with those parts of the subject with which they know themselves to be incompetent to deal is quite wonderful. Now and then, indeed, they commit disgraceful blunders, for which old Busby, under whom they had studied, would have whipped them all round. But this circumstance only raises our opinion of the talents which made such a fight with such scanty means. Let readers who are not acquainted with the controversy imagine a Frenchman, who has acquired just English enough to read the *Spectator* with a dictionary, coming forward to defend the genuineness of Ireland's *Vortigern* against Malone, and they will have some notion of the feat which Atterbury

had the audacity to undertake, and which, for a time, it was really thought that he had performed.

The illusion was soon dispelled. Bentley's answer for ever settled the question and established his claim to the first place amongst classical scholars. Nor do those do him justice who represent the controversy as a battle between wit and learning. For though there is a lamentable deficiency of learning on the side of Boyle, there is no want of wit on the side of Bentley. Other qualities, too, as valuable as either wit or learning, appear conspicuously in Bentley's book, a rare sagacity, an unrivalled power of combination, a perfect mastery of all the weapons of logic. He was greatly indebted to the furious outcry which the misrepresentations, sarcasms, and intrigues of his opponents had raised against him, an outcry in which fashionable and political circles joined, and which was echoed by thousands who did not know whether Phalaris ruled in Sicily or in Siam. His spirit, daring even to rashness, self-confident even to negligence, and proud even to insolent ferocity, was awed for the first and for the last time, awed not into meanness or cowardice, but into wariness and sobriety. For once he ran no risks; he left no crevice unguarded; he wanted in no paradoxes; above all, he returned no railing for the railing of his enemies. In almost everything that he has written we can discover proofs of genius and learning. But it is only here that his genius and learning appear to have been constantly under the guidance of good sense and good temper. . . .

Temple did not live to witness the utter and irreparable defeat of his champions. He died, indeed, at a fortunate moment, just after the appearance of Boyle's book, and while all England was laughing at the way in which the Christchurch men had handled the pedant. . . .

While the controversy about Phalaris was raging, Swift wrote *The Battle of the Books*. The bitter dislike of Bentley, bequeathed by Temple to Swift, seems to have been communicated by Swift to Pope, to Arbuthnot, and to others, who continued to tease the great critic, long after he had shaken hands very cordially both with Boyle and with Atterbury.

Macaulay, *Sir William Temple*.

WIT can stand its ground against truth only a little while. The honours due to learning have been justly distributed by the decision of posterity.

Johnson, *Lives of the Poets*, 'Swift.'

Atterbury's  
'warm,  
quiet  
Deanery'

[ON August 28, 1711, Swift wrote to Stella: 'It is now fixed that Atterbury is to be the Dean of Christ Church. . . . He will get into his own warm, quiet deanery, and leave ministers to themselves.' Atterbury was indeed installed in September, but there was little quiet in Christ Church during the two years of his deanship, as may be seen in the following extracts from letters which Dr. Stratford, one of the canons, wrote to Edward Lord Harley, the Lord Treasurer's son. Charles Aldrich, nephew of the late Dean, at Dean Atterbury's instigation, as Stratford believed, had brought a charge against Stratford of embezzlement of books, papers, and money from his uncle's study.]

1712. October 22, Christ Church.—A Chapter was called to-day to consider about Aldrich's paper. The Dean came; Aldrich was without, and Dr. Smalridge proposed, in order to our peaceable proceeding, a question whether every member of that board had not a right to propose such questions to Mr. Aldrich as he should think fit. Mr. Dean [Atterbury]: 'To that question I will give no answer, but I will acquaint you with something that looks towards an answer.' The Canons took pen and papers into their hands, upon which the Dean said, 'Nay, if you write down what is said here, I will go out of the Chapter.' He rose out of his seat and cried, 'Good-bye to you,' and went out. Dr. Hammond, Dr. Burton, Dr. Smalridge, and I followed him to his lodgings, in order to desire him to return to Chapter. He came out of his study; he would not let us speak; he bid us not to offer to come into his study, he did not desire to see us in any room of his house. He would neither hear anything we had to say, nor give us any answer to anything we asked. I must leave it to Dr. Smalridge to give you an account of the rage with which he treated us. Though no words can describe it, nor can anything but a sight of it give any one a true idea of it, no footman could be treated with the contumely we were. As we went out he cried, 'I despise you.' Dr. Smalridge thinks all his rage was real; I think it was in good part affected and that he took the first opportunity he could to break up the Chapter and to prevent Aldrich from being examined there.

'I don't look upon myself to be a very fiery man,' wrote Dr. Smalridge of Dr. Stratford, whose temper and patience he praises under Atterbury's 'ill, inhumane, and unchristian treatment,' 'but I could not promise that I could be so easy under so grievous provocation.' Stratford made a formal protest against young Aldrich's charges, who indeed had himself given him receipts which completely exonerated him. The Canons at a subsequent meeting of the Chapter so pressed Dean Atterbury with uncomfort-



able questions that at last he 'bounced out of his chair and ran out of the Chapter House.'

Other causes of dissension arose. The Canons refused to sign 'a great glut of fines' which were about to come in and of which the Dean's share would be some £400. Each party hoped that lack of funds would have brought the other to submission, but both held out. 'We are now at a stop in our audit,' writes Stratford on Dec. 29, 1712. 'The Dean had tried several methods to oblige us to break off; we were resolved to bear everything, and that the step should not come from us. When we had this morning gone through the first quarter of the disbursements he declared he would not proceed further till his claims were stated and the money actually paid to him. We desired that might be no stop; we told him we were ready to refer it when he pleased. He said he would be paid off all before he proceeded. He fell on a sudden into a violent passion; he hopped up to Dr. Gastrell, from whom he had not had the least provocation; he pushed him with great violence several times and cried, "Get out of my house, you pitiful fellow." We all expected he would have struck him, it was plain he had much ado to prevent it. I never yet saw any man so much under the power of rage, his face looked black, every joint about him trembled. I was in the bow-window at the further end of the room. Dr. Burton and Dr. Potter, who was nearest, ran in between the Dean and Dr. Gastrell, and Dr. Potter begged the Dean to sit down again. As he was sitting down he held up his cane and shook it at Dr. Gastrell, and cried, "Dare to give me any indecent language in my house!" This whole storm proceeded from these words. Dr. Gastrell had said in answer to very provoking language, "Mr. Dean, do not use me so, you know that I know you." When he was sat down again he fell into better language, and at last turned from Dr. Gastrell to me. I had not said one word, nor did I return one word, I only made him a low bow.'

1713, June 12.—I hear from London that warrants are passing for making our villain Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster. You may think I give him a hard word but I am persuaded he is the greatest either in or out of a gown in the three kingdoms, except the person that supports him. Nothing that has been done since your father's ministry has struck such a damp upon the hearts of all that have honour and honesty as this promotion. All of any weight here wondered that such a one should be permitted to act as he did here, but they lift up their hands to see him preferred for it.

**Atterbury's  
Plan of Setting  
the House in  
Order**

FROM Westminster Atterbury passed in 1686 to Christ Church, and found himself in congenial society. The Dean of Christ Church at the time was Dr. Fell of dubious memory; but among the canons and soon to be Dean, was Henry Aldrich, eminent for his genius alike in logic, architecture, and music. The Society of the House at that period was spoken of commonly as 'the Christ Church wits' on account of their general turn for epigram. . . . Atterbury, on being appointed censor in 1698, determined to set the House in order. . . . He was by temperament a reformer; a man of strong principles and earnest zeal; and a little disposed to carry through his reforms without much thought to the human feelings of the objects of his reformation. There is some evidence that the experience Christ Church had of him as censor made the college a little reluctant to welcome him afterwards as dean; and there is a sentence attributed to his friend Smalridge (who oddly enough succeeded him in the two deaneries of Christ Church and Carlisle) which shews that the warning had not much effect on his dictatorial temper. 'Atterbury goes before and sets everything on fire, and I come after him with a bucket of water.'

'It was not in his nature,' says Macaulay, 'to be a mild or equitable governor. . . . Under his administration Christ Church was in confusion; scandalous altercations took place, opprobrious words were exchanged, and there was reason to fear that the great Tory college would be ruined by the tyranny of the great Tory Doctor.'

*Provincial Letters and other Papers*, by Canon Beeching.  
Smith Elder, 1906.

**Thomas  
Hearne**

IN the eighteenth century, the vitriolic diary of Thomas Hearne gives us a direct insight into the trivialities of the collection and the petty malice of party feeling in Oxford. On February 20, 1712-3, Hearne, as janitor of the Bodleian, showed an Oxford Professor and an Irish gentleman over the Anatomy School. For their entertainment he delivered a grotesque rigmarole about an oak tobacco-stopper in the collection, to the effect that when Charles II. was hiding in the Royal Oak from Cromwell's Ironsides, he wiled away the time by filling his waistcoat pocket with acorns. One of these he carried with him throughout his exile, and at the glorious restoration planted it in St. James's Park. There it grew into a tree, which the Duke of Marlborough, base Whig! cut down to clear the site for Marlborough House. A loyal, pious, and (need it be added) truthful divine had this tobacco-stopper made out of the timber, and sent it to Oxford. Continuing his janitorial

## THE DUKE OF BRUNSWICK'S BIRTHDAY 191

'patter,' Hearne went on to make vile charges against the wife of a Whig divine, and exhibited, without naming him, but with many encomiums of his virtues, the picture of 'the King over the Water.' The Professor passed all this over with the jesting remark, 'In Oxford we are all rebels.' His companion, of bitterer mood, delated Hearne to the Vice-Chancellor, who deprived Hearne of the custody of the room. Hearne's subsequent departure from the Library, as a non-juror, was a great misfortune to it, for, with all his sweltered venom, personal and political, he had brought to its service unwearied diligence, genuine love of books and varied learning, in a measure seldom equalled and still more rarely surpassed in its history.

*A Bodleian Guide*, by A. Clark.  
Clarendon Press, 1906.

MAY 28, 1715.—This being the Duke of Brunswick, commonly called King George's birth-day, some of the bells were jangled in Oxford, by the care of some of the whiggish fanatical crew; but as I did not observe the day in the least myself, so it was little taken notice of (unless by way of ridicule) by other honest people, who are for King James III. who is the undoubted king of these kingdoms, and 'tis heartily wished by them that he may be restored.

'Duke of  
Brunswick's'  
Birthday

MAY 29, 1715.—Last night a good part of the presbyterian meeting-house in Oxford was pulled down. There was such a concourse of people going up and down and putting a stop to the least sign of rejoycing, as can not be described. But the rejoicing this day (notwithstanding Sunday) was so very great and publick in Oxford, as hath not been known hardly since the restauration. There was not an house next the street but was illuminated. For if any disrespect was shewn the windows were certainly broke. The people run up and down, crying King James the third! the true king! No usurper! the Duke of Ormond! etc., and healths were everywhere drank suitable to the occasion and every one at the same time drank to a new restauration, which I heartily wish may speedily happen.

'Restoration  
Day' 1715

In the evening they pulled a good part of the Quakers' and Anabaptists' meeting houses down. This rejoicing hath caused great consternation at court. The heads of houses have represented that it was begun by the whiggs, who met at the King's Head Tavern on Saturday night, under the denomination of the constitution club, and being about to carry on extravagant designs,



they were prevented by an honest party, that were in an adjoining room and forced to sneak away. Some of these fanatical persons shot off guns in some places and had like to have killed many. Two or three were wounded.

Hearne, *Reliquiae*.

'Bells only  
Jumbled'

AUG. 1, 1715.—This being the day on wh. the late queen Anne died and on wh. George, duke and elector of Brunswick, usurped the English throne, there was little rejoicing in Oxford. For tho it be appointed a publick thanksgiving and tho' Dr. Gardiner, our present pharisaical vice-chancellor in a silly programma he hath published, calls it a just occasion of rejoycing, yet the generality of people turned it rather into a day of mourning. The bells only jumbled, being pulled by a parcel of children and silly people: but there was not so much as one good peal rung in Oxford. Many shops were opened, and such as kept them shut (excepting the puritans), did it more out of sorrow than joy. There was a sermon at St. Marie's by Dr. Panting, master of Pembroke; but few people were at the thanksgiving service. For my own part I did not stir out, but kept in a mourning condition at home. Dr. Panting is an honest gent. His sermon took no notice, at most very little, of the duke of Brunswick.

Hearne, *Reliquiae*.

A Jacobite  
Riot

THE peace was not disturbed till October 30 in the following year (1716). It was the Prince of Wales's birthday, but learned though the University was in dates generally, of that one date it was in profound ignorance. No less ignorant was the mayor. Not a bell was rung in honour of the day. Major d'Offrainville, who was in command of the regiment, could not contain his indignation. He came into a coffee-house cursing and swearing, and said that not a bell had stirred that morning. A Bachelor of Arts of Brasenose College, who happened to be present, turned to his companion, and innocently asked what day it was. 'It was the Prince's birthday,' the Major answered, 'and it was the disaffection of the governors, who were a pack of villains, which occasioned the bells not ringing.' 'Why,' asked the simple Bachelor, 'did not the Merton bells ring?' No one could think that Merton, the stronghold of the Constitution Club, was disaffected. 'No,' said the Major, 'that was a good, honest college.' He went on swearing, and said over and over again that he would send soldiers at night to break the windows of the colleges. This however the Major afterwards denied. He admitted that he had said that the colleges deserved to have their



windows broken, but he had never said that he would send soldiers to break them. The same day he met one of the magistrates of the town, and told him that the towns-people deserved to have their windows broken also. At five o'clock in the afternoon, when it must have been growing dark, the Major drew up his regiment all along High Street, from the Conduit, that at that time stood before Carfax Church, to the East Gate by Magdalen College. The mob cried out, 'Down with the Roundheads.' The Major, hearing the cry, turned his horse about, and seeing 'some one who had on the habit of a clergyman told him he was the rogue, and that if he could get at him he would break his head, or any disaffected person's head, as soon as he would a dog's, or words to that effect.' The soldiers discharged their three rounds in honour of the day, the colours were lodged, and the regiment was dismissed. The officers, with some, honest gentlemen of the Constitution Club, went to the Star Inn [now the Clarendon Hotel] to finish up the day with a dinner. A bon-fire had been made in front of the inn, by the Major's order. After dinner, they all went out into the street, and round the fire drank health to His Majesty, the Prince of Wales, and the Royal Family, and to the pious memory of William III. . . . No sooner had the officers gone back into their inn than a volley of stones shattered the windows. The soldiers who were in the crowd below at once broke the windows of a Jacobite ironmonger, on the other side of the street. The inn was a second time attacked by the mob, and the soldiers then began to break the windows of all the houses that were not illuminated. The Major went down into the street and ordered his men to drive away all the Jacobites. Mr. Wilson, a cutler, prayed that he might be allowed to stay, for he was an honest man, and had been so in the worst of times; whereupon the Major made him drink two or three glasses to His Majesty's health. He asked the cutler if there were many such men as he in the town. There were a few of them, he answered; and pointing towards a mercer, he said, 'that is a man that suffered much in the bad times,' and then towards a barber's shop, 'that is another.' The Vice-chancellor, attended by a man bearing a lanthorn and candle, came up to help to keep the peace. But the soldiers went up to the Vice-Chancellor and asked him if he carried any fire-arms, and continued whooping and hallooing, and one of them struck the lanthorn with a great stick, and beat out the candle. The account that the soldiers gave differed not a little. A shot had been fired at them out of a window of St. John's College, and soon after, up came the Vice-Chancellor and several of the

gownsmen. The soldiers asked why they fired at them thus; whereupon one of them answered, 'We can fire for the king as well as you.' In another part of the town the mob seized one of the patrol, who thereupon fired his piece and shot the Mayor's mace-bearer through the hat. One man swore that he had heard the gentlemen of the Constitution Club hallooing out of the windows, and crying out, 'A Marlborough, a Marlborough,' while those in the street cried out 'Ormond.' . . .

In the following spring 'a great debate' over the affair arose in the House of Lords; and by 65 to 33 votes it was carried that the Heads of the University and the Mayor were in fault and that the conduct of the Major seemed well justified.

*Dr. Johnson, His Friends and His Critics*, by Geo. Birkbeck Hill.  
Smith, Elder, 1878.

#### Jacobite Sermons

ONE of the most daring of Jacobite sermons was preached at Oxford by the elder Warton, Professor of Poetry, on May 29th, 1719. The obvious parallel between the First Charles and his deposed son was dexterously used to point the covert allusions of the preacher, and the fidelity of Oxford dwelt upon as an example in times of similar difficulty. 'Justice,' ended the Professor, with a slight perversion of the words of St. Paul, 'Justice beareth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things, restoreth all things,' and the emphasis on the word 'restoreth' left no doubt of the meaning of this clerical pun. Men praised it as the boldest, and as the most guarded sermon that had ever been heard at Oxford; the masters waved their caps to the preacher as he passed through them out of the church and his health was drunk in every Common-room.

*Studies in Oxford History*, by J. R. Green.  
Oxford Historical Society, 1901.

#### Quarrels and Decay of Good Letters

THERE are such differences now [June 1726] in the University of Oxford (hardly one college but where all the members are busied in law businesses and quarrels, not at all relating to the promoting of learning) that good letters miserably decay every day, insomuch that this last ordination on Trinity Sunday, at Oxford, there were no fewer (as I am informed) than fifteen denied orders for insufficiency, which is the more to be noted, because our bishops and those employed by them are themselves generally illiterate men.

*Reliquiae Hearnianae*, 1857.

#### Restoration Day, 1727

MAY 29, 1727. This being the Restoration of K. Charles II., there was very great and very good ringing of bells in Oxford, but very

little and very poor yesterday, which was the birthday of the duke of Brunswick, commonly called King George. Mr. Jonathan Colley being chanter of Christ Ch., he yesterday set a penitential anthem, which enraged the dean, Dr. Bradshaw, to that degree, that after service he sent for and reprimanded him.

*Reliquiae Hearnianae.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the presentation by the University in 1746 of a loyal address to the King on the suppression 'of the most wicked rebellion in favour of a popish pretender,' Dr. King, the Principal of St. Mary Hall, 'the idol of the Jacobites,' delivered amidst the greatest applause a violent Jacobite speech at the opening of the Radcliffe Library. This speech made a great stir at the time, and even twenty years later John Wilkes, in a letter to the editor of the *Political Register*, wrote, 'Methinks, Sir, I still hear the seditious shouts of applause given to the pestilent harangues of the late Dr. King when he vilified our great deliverer, the Duke of Cumberland, and repeated with such energy the treasonable *redeat*.' With scarce an attempt at disguise he had, in a series of eloquent sentences, each of which began with *Redeat*, prayed for the return of the Pretender. The great Hero of Culloden, the Darling of the people, as he was styled, he had, indeed, treated with the greatest contempt.

Dr. King's  
Jacobite  
Speech

'Learned men,' he said, 'we may acknowledge to be the pride of their age, the ornament of mankind, and the most illustrious heroes of the world; and indeed, always to be preferred to those heroes, foreign ones I mean, for our own as is becoming I always except, who delight in the slaughter of mankind and the destruction of cities, and cruelly contrive the ruin of those they govern as well as of others. . . . Shall these pretend to be adored by the people? These expect us Oxonians to adore them, who are inveterate enemies to this celebrated University, whose glory they envy, and to letters themselves which they do not understand? He who was the first author of moulding an earthen vessel used for the vilest purposes or of weaving a wicker basket, that man has deserved more from all nations than all the generals (except those who fought for their country like ours, whom on that account I distinguish)—I say than all the generals, emperors, nay conquerors, that now are or ever have been.'

*Dr. Johnson, His Friends and His Critics*, by G. Birkbeck Hill.

On the 23rd of February 1747-48, not two years after the battle of Culloden, there was another Jacobite riot in Oxford. It so

'God bless  
K—g James  
the Third'



happened that on the evening of that day one of the Canons of Windsor, the Rev. R. Blacow, was in Winter's Coffee House in Oxford. He was told that there were in the street at the door of the coffee-house some rioters shouting K—g J—s for ever, Pr— C—s for ever. It is amusing that the loyal Canon cannot bring himself to write such treasonable names in full. There had been that day an entertainment in Balliol College, a very hot-bed of Jacobites, to which had been invited among other out-college guests, Mr. Dawes, Mr. Whitmore, and Mr. Luxmore. No doubt many a toast had been drunk to the king over the water. The guests, as soon as they left Balliol, had begun their treasonable cries. The Canon hurried into the street, and heard the rioters as they went down High Street not only bless King James and Prince Charles, but also d—n K—g G—e. He boldly laid hold of one of them, but his comrades desired him to let him go. Some of them even pulled off their clothes and struck the Canon. They then went down St. Mary Hall Lane, waving their caps and shouting the most treasonable expressions, where they met two soldiers. The gowmsmen, being seven or eight in number, demanded the soldiers' swords, tore the coat of one of them and insisted on both crying King James for ever. The Canon tried to take refuge in Oriel College, for the rioters had now increased to forty in number. Some of them cried D—n K—g G—e and all his assistants, and cursed the Canon in particular. Mr. Dawes laid hold of him, and then stripping to fight, cried out, 'I am a man who dare say, God bless K—g James the Third, and I tell you my name is Dawes of St. Mary Hall. I am a man of an independent fortune, and therefore afraid of no man!' The Proctor came up at that moment, and seized Mr. Dawes, who even when in the Proctor's hands shouted, 'G—d bless my dear K—g J—s.' Mr. Luxmore made his escape, though the Proctor adjured him to stop by the solemn and peremptory command of *Siste per fidem*.

The Canon called on the Vice-Chancellor and informed him of what he had seen. The Vice-Chancellor made light of the occurrence. The young fellows should, however, be delayed a year in taking their degree and they should have an imposition of English to be translated into Latin. The Canon was not satisfied and required the Vice-Chancellor as a magistrate to receive his depositions. The Vice-Chancellor refused. 'In consequence of this,' says the Canon, 'the rioters were treated with general respect and I was, as generally, hissed and insulted.' . . .

News of the riot, however, reached the Court, and messengers were sent down to arrest the three chief rioters. They were



brought before the Court of King's Bench on May 6th for drinking the Pretender's health and other disorders and were admitted to bail. They were tried in the following November. Luxmore, after an eight hours' trial was acquitted. Whitmore and Dawes were found guilty and were sentenced 'to be fined five nobles each; to suffer two years' imprisonment in the King's Bench Prison, and to find securities for their good behaviour for seven years, themselves bound in £500 each and their sureties in £250 each; and to walk immediately round Westminster Hall with a libel affixed to their foreheads denoting their crime and sentence, and to ask pardon of the several courts. The whole sentence was strictly carried out.

*Dr. Johnson, His Friends and His Critics.*

OF the great religious movements which have from time to time produced a deep impression on the English people, three have had their origin at Oxford. It was at Oxford that John Wyclif gave oral instruction to the early Lollards; it was at Oxford that the Wesleys began the Methodist revival; it was at Oxford that John Henry Newman and his colleagues issued their famous *Tracts for the Times*.

Wyclif,  
Wesley and  
Newman

*Early History of Oxford*, by Maxwell Lyte.  
Macmillan, 1886.

I HAD not been long in the University before I found the benefit of the foundation I had laid in the country for a holy life. I was quickly solicited to join in their excess of riot with several who lay in the same room. God, in answer to prayers before put up, gave me grace to withstand them; and once in particular, it being cold, my limbs were so benumbed by sitting alone in my study, because I would not go out amongst them, that I could scarce sleep all night. But I soon found the benefit of not yielding; for when they perceived they could not prevail, they let me alone as a singular, odd fellow. . . .

Methodists  
and Whitefield

I now began to pray and sing psalms thrice every day, besides morning and evening, and to fast every Friday, and to receive the sacrament at a parish church near our college, and at the Castle, where the despised Methodists used to receive once a month.

For above a twelvemonth my soul longed to be acquainted with some of them, and I was strongly pressed to follow their good example, when I saw them go through a ridiculing crowd to receive the Holy Eucharist at St. Mary's. At length, God was pleased to open a door. It happened that a poor woman in one of the work-

houses had attempted to cut her throat, but was happily prevented. Upon hearing of this, and knowing that both the Mr. Wesleys were ready to every good work, I sent a poor aged apple-woman of our college to inform Mr. Charles Wesley of it, charging her not to discover who sent her. She went, but contrary to my orders, told my name. He having heard of my coming to the Castle and a parish-church sacrament, and having met me frequently walking by myself, followed the woman when she was gone away and sent an invitation to me by her, to come to breakfast with him the next morning.

. . . By degrees, he introduced me to the rest of his Christian brethren. . . . Like them, having no weekly sacrament (although the rubric required it) at our college, I received every Sunday at Christ Church. I joined with them in keeping the stations, by fasting Wednesdays and Fridays. I had no sooner received the sacrament publickly on a week-day at St. Mary's but I was set up as a mark for all the polite students that knew me to shoot at. By this time they knew that I was commenced Methodist; for though there is a Sacrament at the beginning of every term, at which all, especially the seniors, are by statute obliged to be present, yet so dreadfully has that once faithful city played the harlot that very few masters, no undergraduates (but the Methodists) attended upon it. Mr. Charles Wesley walked with me from the church over to the college. I confess, to my shame, I would gladly have excused him; and the next day, going to his room, one of our Fellows passing by, I was ashamed to be seen to knock at his door.

Soon after this, I incurred the displeasure of the Master of the college, who frequently chid, and once threatened to expel me, if ever I visited the poor again. Being surprised by this treatment and overawed by his authority, I spake unadvisedly with my lips, and said, if it displeased him, I would not. My conscience soon pricked me for this sinful compliance. I immediately repented, and visited the poor the first opportunity. My tutor, being a moderate man, did not oppose me much, but thought, I believe, that I went a little too far. He lent me books, gave me money, visited me and furnished me with a physician when sick. In short, he behaved in all respects like a father. . . . I daily underwent some contempt at college. Some have thrown dirt at me; others by degrees took away their pay from me<sup>1</sup>; and two friends that were dear unto me grew shy of and forsook me.

At this time Satan used to terrify me much, and threatened to punish me if I discovered his wiles. It being my duty, as servitor,

<sup>1</sup> Whitefield was a servitor at Pembroke.

in my turn to knock at the gentlemen's rooms by ten at night, to see who were in their rooms, I thought the devil would appear to me every stair I went up. . . .

*A Short Account of God's Dealings with the  
Rev. George Whitefield. 1740.*

I TALKED of the recent expulsion of six students from the University of Oxford, who were methodists and would not desist from publickly praying and exhorting. JOHNSON. 'Sir, that expulsion was extremely just and proper. What have they to do at an University who are not willing to be taught, but will presume to teach? Where is religion to be learnt but at an University? Sir, they were examined, and found to be mighty ignorant fellows.' BOSWELL. 'But, was it not hard, Sir, to expel them, for I am told they were good beings?' JOHNSON. 'I believe they might be good beings; but they were not fit to be in the University of Oxford. A cow is a very good animal in the field; but we turn her out of a garden.'

Six expelled  
Methodists

*Boswell's Johnson. Clarendon Press.*

ALL the six were members of St. Edmund Hall. The Principal was satisfied with their conduct, and had no wish to trouble them. But the Vice-Principal, who was their tutor, appealed to the Vice-Chancellor as the Visitor of the Society to expel them. He thereupon, acting, it must be remembered, in his capacity of Visitor and not of Vice-Chancellor, held an enquiry. The chief charges made against them by the Vice-Principal were as follows:—

Methodists  
St. Edmund  
Hall

'1. Three of the six had been bred to trades, while all the six were at their entrance, and still continued to be, destitute of such a knowledge of the learned languages as is necessary for performing the usual exercises of the Hall and the University.

'2. They were all enemies to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, which appeared either by their preaching or expounding in, or frequenting illicit conventicles, and by several other actions and expressions.

'3. They neglected to attend lectures, or misbehaved themselves when they did attend.'

In a pamphlet published by Dr. Nowell, the Principal of St. Mary Hall, in defence of the Vice-Chancellor, a full report is given of the proceedings. Considerably abridged, it is as follows: 'J. Matthews, thirty years of age, accused that he was brought up to the trade of a weaver, and had kept a tap-house.—Confessed. Accused that he is totally ignorant of Greek and Latin, which appeared by his declining all examination. Accused of being a

reported Methodist, that he entered himself at Edmund Hall with a design to get into holy orders, that he still continues to be wholly illiterate and incapable of doing the exercises of the Hall.—Proved. That he had frequented illicit conventicles held in a private house in Oxford.—Confessed.

‘T. Jones, accused to have been brought up to the trade of a barber, which he had followed very lately.—Confessed.

‘J. Shipman, accused that he had been brought up to the trade of a draper, and that he was totally illiterate, which appeared in his examination.

‘B. Kay confesses that he has been present at meetings held in Mrs. Durbridge’s house, where he heard extempore prayers offered up by a stay-maker. Had endeavoured to persuade a young man of Magdalen College to attend also. Holds that the Spirit of God works irresistibly.

‘T. Grove confessed that he had lately preached to an assembly of people called Methodists in a barn, and had offered up extempore prayers.’

These four and two others were expelled. One, Benjamin Blatch, had also been accused. He confessed his ignorance, and declined all examination. ‘But’—we quote Dr. Nowell’s own words—‘as he was represented to be a man of fortune, and declared that he was not designed for holy orders, the Vice-Chancellor did not think fit to remove him for this reason only, though he was supposed to be one of “the righteous over much.”’ The Vice-Chancellor had been reproached with his cruelty in thus depriving these men of their living. ‘There is no fear of their starving,’ replied Dr. Nowell. ‘Mr. J——s makes a good periwig; he need not starve. Mr. M——s and Mr. S——n may maintain themselves and serve their country better at the loom, or at the tap, or behind the counter, than they were likely to do in the pulpit. *Tractant fabrilia fabri.*’ There was, he maintained, no need of excuse, for the Vice-Chancellor’s whole proceeding ‘was an act of discipline commendable in itself and pleasing to the true friends of learning and religion.’

*Dr. Johnson, His Friends and His Critics*, by Geo. Birkbeck Hill.  
Smith, Elder, 1878.

A Drunken  
Infidel before  
the ‘Vice’

IF, it was objected, all academics were expelled who could not construe the Greek Testament and the University Statutes, the colleges would be much more empty. ‘At the great examination,’ as the advocate for the six students asserted, ‘all the classical learning required is to be able to construe one Greek and two



Latin books; and the custom of the place while I resided there allowed the candidate himself to fix on the three books—Epictetus, for instance, Eutropius, and Cornelius Nepos.’ Why were not the vicious expelled? Why was not Mr. Welling expelled, who also belonged to Edmund Hall, and who had said that whoever believed the miracles of Moses must be a knave. What was the history of this drunken infidel? He was a poor foundling beggar-boy, bred in a workhouse, and thence received into the house of a hatter to run errands. Next he had been the scout of an apothecary. Then he had been taken into the house of a pious clergyman and school-master, where he got a smatter of learning. Next he had been assistant in a school. Here he maintained his deistical principles till the maid-servant being found with child, both he and she were dismissed. He married her, and she getting a place in a Jew’s family could now contribute to his support.

The charge brought against Mr. Welling about Moses’ miracles was too serious for the Vice-Chancellor to overlook, and he at once instituted an enquiry. Mr. W. Wrighte, a gentleman-commoner of Edmund Hall, gave evidence as follows. When walking in St. John’s Garden, he saw the said Welling to be concerned in liquor. (It was St. John the Baptist’s day, and Welling had been helping to celebrate the patron saint of the college at the college dinner.) He took occasion to expostulate with him thereon. A dispute then arose concerning some points in religion. Welling said, ‘What, fool, do you believe in the miracles of Moses?’ Upon which informant threatened him very severely. Next day Welling came to ask pardon, and since then informant has taken occasion to examine into his real sentiments in regard to the miracles of Moses. Before the Vice-Chancellor Welling declared his unfeigned assent to Divine revelation in general, and the miracles of Moses in particular. But the Vice-Chancellor was not satisfied till he had read a declaration of orthodoxy and regret of drunkenness before Congregation. He had since obtained a cure of souls, and, as it was asserted, when asked why he had been ordained, had replied, ‘Why should I not read the Bible for money as well as any other book?’

A yet worse instance was brought forward by the advocate of the six Methodists than even Mr. Welling’s. Not many years before this the Sacrament had been administered to an ass in the chapel or the ante-chapel of one of the colleges; and yet the man who had administered it was not expelled, but had merely lost his fellowship.

*Dr. Johnson, His Friends and His Critics*, by G. Birkbeck Hill.

Horace Wal-  
pole on Oxford,  
1753

ON my way to Hagley I dined at Park Place and lay at Oxford. As I was quite alone, I did not care to see anything; but as soon as it was dark I ventured out, and the moon rose as I was wandering among the colleges, and gave me a charming venerable Gothic scene, which was not lessened by the monkish appearance of the old fellows stealing to their pleasures. . . . I can't go and describe so known a place as Oxford, which I saw pretty well on my return. The whole air of the town charms me: and what remains of the true Gothic un-Gibbs'd, and the profusion of painted glass were entertainment enough to me. In the Picture Gallery are quantities of portraits; but in general they are not only not so much as copies, but *proxies*—so totally unlike they are to the persons they pretend to represent. All I will tell you more of Oxford is, that Fashion has so far prevailed over her collegiate sister, Custom, that they have altered the hour of dinner from twelve to one. . . . Methodism is quite decayed in Oxford, its cradle. In its stead, there prevails a delightful fantastic system called the sect of the Hutchinsonians. After much enquiry, all I can discover is that their religion consists in driving Hebrew to its fountain head, till they find some word or other in every text of the Old Testament, which may seem figurative of something in the New, or at least of something that may happen, God knows when, in the consequence of the New. As their doctrine is novel and requires much study, or at least much invention, one should think that they could not have settled half the canon of what they are to believe—and yet they go on zealously, trying to make and succeeding in making converts. I could not help smiling at the thought of etymological salvation; and I am sure you will smile when I tell you, that according to their gravest doctors, 'Soap is an excellent type of Jesus Christ, and the York Buildings waterworks of the Trinity.'

*Letters of Horace Walpole.* Clarendon Press, 1903.

Oxford's  
Awakening

LOWTH's *Prælectiones De Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum* was the first sign of the awakening of Oxford from the torpor under which two generations had now lain, under the besotting influence of Jacobite and high church politics. The Lectures seemed to combine the polish of a past generation, long gone, with the learning of a new period to come. The lore of Michaelis was here dressed out in Latin as classical as, and more vigorous than, that of Addison. . . . Lowth's audience, though no judges of Hebrew, were connoisseurs in Latin; and these lectures, interspersed with frequent passages of tasteful Latin translations, were delivered (1741-51) to

thronging crowds, such as professional lecture rooms had long ceased to hold. In the ten years of Lowth's tenure of the chair, he could boast that the study of Hebrew, which had been almost extinct, had been rekindled by his exertions.

Mark Pattison's *Essays*. Clarendon Press, 1889.

WITH the accession of George III., the history of Merton, like that of Oxford, gradually loses even its antiquarian interest, and glides placidly into the familiar stream of modern academical life. That event practically effaced Jacobite sentiment, and the loyal type of Toryism which succeeded it met with little opposition at Oxford. Indeed, this University had ceased to be an important centre of political opinion or even of educational activity. The annual number of matriculations which had often exceeded 300 in the first quarter of the century, never reached that modest total between 1726 and 1810, while it often fell below 200 in the middle of the century. Oxford continued of course to produce scholars and gentlemen . . . but it was distanced in learning by Cambridge, where the Examination system was developed earlier, and the real intellectual leadership of the country was transferred from both to London. The old mediæval couplet which described Oxford as the gathering-ground of political storms destined to sweep over the nation had been amply verified in the generation which preceded the Reformation and the Civil Wars, but it was true no longer. Except Methodism, the great movements of thought which underlay the Artificial Society of the eighteenth century had no connection with the University, and the minds which dominated the world of politics and literature were trained in a wholly different school. The literary sterility of Oxford during the reign of George III. may have been overstated, but we can hardly overstate its failure to keep pace with the progressive ideas of this memorable age. Not until the English party had recovered from the effects of the French war, and the consequent reaction, was the University roused from its ignoble lethargy by that great revival, so fruitful in religious, political, and speculative energy of which the origin is still within the living memory, and of which the force is very far indeed from being yet exhausted.

*Memorials of Merton*, by G. C. Brodrick.  
Oxford Historical Society, 1885.

**Eighteenth  
Century  
Lethargy**

FORTY years wandering in the wilderness of opposition had brought the 'Jacobite capital' at last to the promised land of reconciliation with the powers that be: the Encaenia of 1763, which cele-

**The Prodigal's  
Return**



brated the conclusion of peace after the Seven Years' War, celebrated also the treaty of peace between Oxford and the House of Hanover. In April of that year the loyal address of Convocation to George III. received a very cordial answer. . . . Evidently we have travelled a long way from the days when the Universities were homes of disloyalty and 'cages of unclean birds'! But now a Tory administration was at last in power: and even the aged Principal of St. Mary Hall, the secretary of Ormond and Arran, the very central figure of Oxford Toryism for forty years, the deliverer of the celebrated Jacobite '*Redeat*' address,—even Dr. King himself could without theoretical inconsistency appear at the Encaenia as the eulogist of Government, and 'in a most spirited and elegant oration . . . enlarge on the salutary effects arising from a general peace.' Thus the hatchet was buried: as *Terrae Filius* said in the same year, the Tories were all at court and Oxonians were made bishops. Twenty-two years later 'Their Majesties and the Royal Offspring' visited Oxford from Nuneham, spending a few hours of a September day in the town and seeing the sights. They held a kind of extemporised levee in the Theatre, where Dr. Hayes played the organ while the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors and Heads of Houses 'Kissed hands.' All was loyalty and propriety of demeanour.

Oxford had entered upon that period of 'dull, uninterrupted sycophancy' which, according to Mr. J. R. Green, was even worse than the Jacobitism which he cannot condemn too strongly. Indeed an Oxford Tory fares hardly at the hands of Liberal historians. He is a fool when he rebels, and a sycophant when he submits.

*Oxford in the Eighteenth Century*, by A. D. Godley. Methuen, 1908.

George III's  
Visit, 1786

AND now for the Oxford expedition. The party consisted of their majesties the Princesses Royal, Augusta and Elizabeth, the Duchess of Ancaster, Lord and Lady Harcourt, Lady Charlotte Bertie, and the two Miss Vernons; General Harcourt, Colonel Fairly, and Major Price and Mr. Hagget, with Miss Planta and myself completed the group. Miss Planta and I, of course, as the only undignified persons, brought up the rear.

The city of Oxford afforded us a very noble view on the road, and its spires, towers, and domes soon made me forget all the little objects of minor spleen that had been crossing me as I journeyed towards them; and indeed, by the time I arrived in the midst of them, their grandeur, nobility, antiquity, and elevation impressed my mind so forcibly, that I felt for the first time since



my new situation had taken place a rushing in of ideas that had no connection with it whatever.

The roads were lined with decently dressed people, and the high street was so crowded we were obliged to drive gently and carefully, to avoid trampling the people to death. Yet their behaviour was perfectly respectful and proper. Nothing could possibly be better conducted than the whole of this expedition.

We all drove straight to the theatre in procession. Here, in alighting from the carriages, there was some difficulty, on account of the pressure of the people to see the king and queen, and princesses: however, even then, it was still the genteelest and most decent crowd I ever saw.

At the outward gate of the theatre, the vice-chancellor, Dr. Chapman, received their majesties. All the professors, doctors, etc., then in Oxford, arrayed in their professional robes, attended him.—How I wished my dear father amongst them!

The vice-chancellor then conducted their majesties along the inner court, to the door of the theatre, all the rest following; and there, waiting their arrival, stood the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, the Marquis of Blandford, in a nobleman's Oxford robe, and Lady Caroline and Lady Elizabeth Spencer.

After they had all paid their duties, a regular procession followed, which I should have thought very pretty, and much have liked to have seen, had I been a mere looker-on; but I was frequently at a loss what to do with myself, and uncertain whether I ought to proceed in the suite, or stand by as a spectator; and Miss Planta was still, if possible, more fearful.

The theatre was filled with company, all well dressed, and arranged in rows around it. The area below them was entirely empty, so that there was not the least confusion. The chancellor's chair, at the head of about a dozen steps, was prepared for the king; and just below him, to his left, a form for the queen and the princesses.

The king walked foremost from the area, conducted by the University's vice-chancellor. The queen followed, handed by her own vice-chamberlain. The princess royal followed, led by the king's aide-de-camp, General Harcourt; and Princess Augusta, leaning on Major Price. Princess Elizabeth walked alone, no other servant of the king being present, and no rank authorising such a conduct, without office.

Next followed the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough; then the Duchess of Ancaster, and Marquis of Blandford; next, Lord and Lady Harcourt, then the two Lady Spencers and Lady Charlotte

Bertie, then the Miss Vernons, and then Miss Planta and a certain F. B.

We were no sooner arranged, and the door of the theatre shut, than the king, his head covered, sat down; the queen did the same, and then the three princesses. All the rest, throughout the theatre, stood.

The vice-chancellor then made a low obeisance to the king, and producing a written paper, began the address of the University, to thank his majesty for this second visit, and to congratulate him and the nation on his late escape from assassination. He read it in an audible and distinct voice; and in conclusion, an address was suddenly made to the queen, expressive of much concern for her late distress, and the highest and most profound veneration for her amiable and exalted character.

An address, to me so unexpected, and on a subject so recent and of so near concern, in presence of the person preserved, his wife, and his children, was infinitely touching.

The queen could scarcely bear it, though she had already, I doubt not, heard it at Nuneham, as these addresses must be first read in private, to have the answers prepared. Nevertheless, this public tribute of loyalty to the king, and of respect to herself, went gratefully to her heart, and filled her eyes with tears—which she would not, however, encourage, but, smiling through them, dispersed them with her fan, with which she was repeatedly obliged to stop their course down her cheeks.

The princesses, less guarded, the moment their father's danger was mentioned, wept with but little control; and no wonder, for I question if there was one dry eye in the theatre. . . .

When the address was ended, the king took a paper from Lord Harcourt, and read his answer. The king reads admirably; with ease, feeling, and force, and without any hesitation. His voice is particularly full and fine. I was very much surprised by its effect. When he had done, he took off his hat, and bowed to the chancellor and professors, and delivered the answer to Lord Harcourt, who, walking backwards, descended the stairs, and presented it to the vice-chancellor.

Next followed music: a good organ, very well played, anthemed and voluntaried us for some time.

After this, the vice-chancellor and professors begged for the honour of kissing the king's hand. Lord Harcourt was again the backward messenger; and here followed a great mark of goodness in the king: he saw that nothing less than a thorough-bred courtier, such as Lord Harcourt, could walk backwards down these

steps, before himself, and in sight of so full a hall of spectators ; and he therefore dispensed with being approached to his seat, and walked down himself into the area, where the vice-chancellor kissed his hand, and was imitated by every professor and doctor in the room.

Notwithstanding this considerate good-nature in his majesty, the sight, at times, was very ridiculous. Some of the worthy collegiates, unused to such ceremonies, and unaccustomed to such a presence, the moment they had kissed the king's hand, turned their backs to him, and walked away as in any common room ; others, attempting to do better, did still worse, by tottering and stumbling, and falling foul of those behind them ; some, ashamed to kneel, took the king's hand straight up to their mouths ; others, equally off their guard, plumped down on both knees, and could hardly get up again ; and many, in their confusion, fairly arose by pulling his majesty's hand to raise them.

As the king spoke to every one, upon Lord Harcourt's presenting them, this ceremonial took up a good deal of time ; but it was too new and diverting to appear long.

It was vacation time ; there was therefore none of the students present.

When the whole was over, we left the theatre in the same form we had entered it.

We went to all the colleges in the same order that we came to the theatre. I shall attempt no descriptions ; I shall only mention a few little personal circumstances, and some of those court etiquettes which, from their novelty to me, will, I judge, be new also to my Susan ; and what is new in customs or manners is always worth knowing.

At Christchurch college, when we arrived at about three o'clock, in a large hall there was a cold collation prepared for their majesties and the princesses. It was at the upper end of the hall. I could not see of what it consisted, though it would have been very agreeable, after so much standing and sauntering, to have given my opinion of it in an experimental way.

Their majesties and the princesses sat down to this table ; as well satisfied, I believe, as any of their subjects so to do. The Duchess of Ancaster and Lady Harcourt stood behind the chairs of the queen and the princess royal. There were no other ladies of sufficient rank to officiate for Princess Augusta and Elizabeth. Lord Harcourt stood behind the king's chair ; and the vice-chancellor and the head-master of Christchurch, with salvers in their hands, stood near the table and ready to hand, to the three



noble waiters, whatever was wanted: while the other reverend doctors and learned professors stood aloof, equally ready to present to the chancellor and the master whatever they were to forward. We, meanwhile, untitled attendants, stood at the other end of the room, forming a semi-circle and all strictly facing the royal collationers. . . .

A whisper was circulated which made its progress with great vivacity to offer us whatever we would wish and to beg us to name what we chose. Tea, coffee, and chocolate were whispered back. The method of producing, and the means of swallowing them, were much more difficult to settle than the choice of what was acceptable. Major Price and Colonel Fairly, however, seeing a very large table close to the wainscot behind us, desired our refreshments might be privately conveyed there, behind the semi-circle, and that, while all the group backed very near it, one at a time might feed, screened by all the rest from observation.

I suppose I need not inform you, my dear Susan, that to eat in presence of any one of the royal family is as much *hors d'usage* as to be seated. This plan had speedy success, and the very good doctors soon, by sly degrees and with watchful caution, covered the whole table with tea, coffee, chocolate, cakes, and bread and butter.

The further plan, however, of one at a time feasting and the rest fasting and standing sentinels, was not equally approved; there was too much eagerness to seize the present moment, and too much fear of a sudden retreat, to give patience for so slow a proceeding. We could do no more, therefore, than stand in a double row, with one to screen one throughout the troop; and, in this manner, we were all very plentifully and very pleasantly served.

The Duchess of Ancaster and Lady Harcourt, as soon as the first serving attendance was over, were dismissed from the royal chairs, and most happy to join our group, and partake of our repast. The duchess, extremely fatigued with standing, drew a small body of troops before her, that she might take a few minutes' rest on a form by one of the doors; and Lady Charlotte Bertie did the same, to relieve an ankle which she had unfortunately sprained.

The beautiful window of Sir Joshua Reynolds and Mr. Jervis, in New College, would alone have recovered me, had my fatigue been infinitely more serious.

In one of the colleges I stayed so long in an old chapel, lingering over antique monuments, that all the party were vanished



before I missed them, except doctors and professors; for we had a train of those everywhere; and I was then a little surprised by the approach of one of them, saying, 'You seem inclined to abide with us, Miss Burney?'—and then another, in an accent of facetious gallantry, cried, 'No, no, don't let us shut up Miss Burney among old tombs!—No, no!'

After this, many of the good doctors occasionally spoke to me, when there happened to be opportunity. How often did I wish my dear father amongst them! They considered me as a doctor's daughter, and were all most excessively courteous,—handing, and pointing, and showing me about as much as possible.

I think it was in Trinity College that we saw the noblest library I have ever happened to enter. For 'tis but little I have seen of such sights. Here we had new court scenery in which I acted but an uncourtier part.

The queen and princess had seats prepared for them, which, after a stroll up and down the library, they were glad, I believe, to occupy. The ladies of their suite were then graciously ordered by her majesty to be seated, as there was not here the state or public appearance that was observed at the theatre and in the college where the refreshments were given. As to the poor men, they never must sit in the presence of the queen, be they whom they will or what they will: so they were fain to stand it out.

Miss Planta glided away behind a pillar, and, being there unseen, was able to lounge a little. . . . For me my curiosity was so awake to everything that I seemed insensible to all convenience. I could not, in such a library, prevail with myself to so modest a retirement as Miss Planta's: I considered that the queen had herself ordered my attendance in this expedition, and I thought myself very well privileged to make it as pleasant as I could. I therefore stole softly down the room to the further end, and there amused myself with examining what books were within reach of my eyes, and with taking down and looking into all such as were also within reach of my understanding. This was very pleasant sport to me; and had we stayed there till midnight would have kept me from weariness.

In another college (we saw so many, and in such quick succession, that I recollect not any by name, though all by situation) I saw a performance of courtly etiquette, by Lady Charlotte Bertie, that seemed to me as difficult as any feat I ever beheld, even at Astley's or Hughes's. It was an extremely large, long, spacious apartment. The king always led the way out, as well as in, upon all entrances and exits: but here, for some reason that I know not, the queen was handed out first; and the princesses, and the aides-

de-camp, and equerry followed. The king was very earnest in conversation with some professor ; the attendants hesitated whether to wait or follow the queen ; but presently the Duchess of Ancaster, being near the door, slipped out, and Lady Harcourt after her. The Miss Vernons, who were but a few steps from them, went next. But Lady Charlotte, by chance, happened to be very high up the room, and near to the king. Had I been in her situation, I had surely waited till his majesty went first ; but that would not, I saw, upon this occasion, have been etiquette ;—she therefore faced the king, and began a march backward,—her ankle already sprained, and to walk forward, and even leaning upon an arm, was painful to her : nevertheless, back she went, perfectly upright, without one stumble, without ever looking once behind to see what she might encounter ; and with as graceful a motion, and as easy an air, as I ever saw anybody enter a long room, she retreated, I am sure, full twenty yards backwards out of one.

For me, I was also, unluckily, at the upper end of the room, looking at some portraits of founders, and one of Henry VIII. in particular, from Holbein. However, as soon as I perceived what was going forward,—backward, rather,—I glided near the wainscot (Lady Charlotte, I should mention, made her retreat along the very middle of the room), and having paced a few steps backwards, stopped short to recover, and, while I seemed examining some other portrait, disentangled my train from the heels of my shoes, and then proceeded a few steps only more ; and then, observing the king turn another way, I slipped a yard or two at a time forwards ; and hastily looked back, and then was able to go again according to rule, and in this manner, by slow and varying means, I at length made my escape. Miss Planta stood upon less ceremony and fairly ran off.

In another college, in an old chapter house, I had the opportunity to see another court scene. It was nearly round in shape and had various old images and ornaments. We were all taken in by the doctors' attendant, and the party, with doctors and all, nearly filled it ; but finding it crowded, everybody stood upon the less ceremony, and we all made our examinations of the various contents of the room quite at our ease : till suddenly the king and queen, perceiving two very heavy, old-fashioned chairs were placed at the head of the room for their reception, graciously accepted them and sat down. Nothing could exceed the celerity with which all confusion instantly was over and the most solemn order succeeded to it. Chairs were presented to the three princesses by the side of the queen, and the Duchess of Ancaster and Lady Harcourt planted themselves at their

backs, while Lady Charlotte instantly retreated close to the wall, and so did every creature else in the room, all according to their rank and station, and the royal family remained conspicuous and alone, all crowd dispersed, and the space of almost the whole room unoccupied before them, so close to the walls did everybody respectfully stand.

The last college we visited was Cardinal Wolsey's—an immense fabric. While roving about a very spacious apartment Mr. Fairly came behind me and whispered that I might easily slip out into a small parlour to rest a little while. . . . He conducted us into a very neat little parlour belonging to the master of the college and Miss Planta flung herself on a chair half-dead with weariness. . . . Mr. Fairly now produced from a paper repository concealed in his coat pocket, some apricots and bread and insisted upon my eating, but I was not inclined to the repast and saw that he was half-famished himself—so was poor Miss Planta: however, he was so persuaded I must both be as hungry and as tired as himself, that I was forced to eat an apricot to appease him.

Presently, while we were in the midst of this regale, the door suddenly opened and the queen came in! followed by as many attendants as the room would contain. Up we all started, myself alone not discountenanced; for I really think it quite sufficient never to sit down in the royal presence without aiming at having it supposed I have stood bolt upright ever since I have been admitted to it. Quick into our pockets was crammed our bread and close into our hands was squeezed our fruit: by which I discovered that our appetites were to be supposed annihilated at the same time that our strength was to be invincible.

Very soon after this we were joined by the king, and in a few minutes we all paraded forth to the carriages and drove back to Nuneham. . . . This Oxford expedition was, altogether, highly entertaining to me; but I ought not to close it without telling you the sweetness of all the princesses, who each made a point of speaking to Miss Planta and to me upon entering or quitting every college as we stood in the ranks, while they passed.

*Madame D'Arblay's Diary and Letters.*

At a late meeting of the Unitarian Society, Dr. Priestley in the chair, the following sentiment was given after dinner: 'May the sun of liberty rise on Oxford, as it has on Cambridge, and long since on Dissenters.'

'The Sun of  
Liberty'

*Gent. Mag.*, 1791.

Burning Tom  
Paine in Effigy

JAN. 6th, 1793. An effigy of the notorious revolutionary and infidel writer, 'Tom Paine,' was burnt at night 'on Carfax,' the usual scene of rows and bonfires. It being vacation at Oxford, the act was manifestly a *town* business; the magistrates, in consideration of the *right feeling* thus roughly displayed, wisely connived at the tumultuous and somewhat riotous expression of it. The blazing bonfire, and the rush of people with contributions and faggots, nay of hurdles, old doors, empty tubs, tar-barrels and anything that was combustible, formed a sight not easily forgotten. The open space, called Carfax, had been *made open* in 1787, by the removal of Otho Nicholson's handsome Conduit, now standing in Nuneham Park.

G. V. Cox's *Recollections of Oxford*, 1868.



## NEW MOVEMENTS

THAT by the middle of the eighteenth century the education of English youth at Oxford and Cambridge had fallen very low is a matter of common knowledge. Graduation had become a farce and tuition was casual or non-existent. Companionship and mere aggregation could not fail to have their influence for good or evil, but whether the result was upwards or downwards was left very much to chance. . . . Almost all the Fellowships were confined to those who were willing to take Orders, and the management of the colleges as private corporations was such as practically to limit their membership to persons who could afford a large annual outlay. The universities as a whole were clerical and aristocratic. . . .

Old and New

The first signs of an intellectual revival appeared in the institution of the Tripos at Cambridge in 1747 and the Oxford Examination Statute of 1807. With the former are associated the great names of Newton and Paley; with the latter, among others, that of Cyril Jackson, Dean of Christ Church from 1783 to 1809, whose success as an educator of young men anticipated much that followed, and whose interest in the work induced him to refuse two bishopricks and the Irish Primacy. . . .

Nearly coincident with the institution at Oxford of a higher standard of university training through the Examination Statute of 1807, was the important step in advance made by two colleges, Oriel and Balliol, of which the former threw its Fellowship open to the world, and the latter, anticipating the legislation of 1850, in like manner opened its scholarships to general competition. These acts of wise foresight were mainly due to Ogilvie, Copleston, and Davison.

*The Nationalisation of the Old English Universities*, by  
Lewis Campbell. Chapman and Hall, 1901.

ALMOST Sheridan's last recorded utterance in Parliament was to advocate aid to Spain on the largest scale, and it is noticeable that on this occasion he singled out his old adversaries, Wyndham and Burke, for special eulogy. The only practical recognition of

Sheridan  
among the  
Doctors<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See also vol. ii. p. 637.

Sheridan's patriotism in these matters came in 1809 from the undergraduates of Oxford. At Lord Grenville's installation as Chancellor in 1809 Sheridan's name was not included among the recipients of honorary degrees, through the opposition of two masters of arts, one of whom was the son of a clergyman who found it impossible to collect tithes from the impecunious statesman. Sheridan attended the ceremony as a private guest. But as soon as he was seen in the theatre a shout arose, 'Sheridan among the Doctors; Sheridan among the Doctors!' and order could not be restored till he had taken his seat among the honorary graduates. This time at least the generous fervour of young men redeemed the baseness of their seniors; Sheridan counted his reception that day among the highest honours of his life.

*Reviews and Critical Essays*, by Charles Henry Pearson.  
Methuen, 1896.

Marat at  
Oxford

I SHALL now tell you a piece of news respecting a robbery which was committed here lately. . . . About a week ago, a native of France, who calls himself M. le Maitre, and was formerly a teacher in Warrington Academy, being invited here by a gentleman of this College to teach the French language, came over, and met with great encouragement in the university, but, happening to get acquainted with Mr. Milnes, a gentleman of Corpus Christi College, who is the keeper of the museum and several other natural curiosities, he prevailed on him, by repeated importunities to let him have a view of them. Accordingly, they both went together, and after M. le Maitre had viewed them a great while, Mr. Milnes, from the suspicions he entertained of his behaviour, under pretence of getting rid of him, told him that several gentlemen were waiting at the door for admittance, and that he must now go out immediately; but the Frenchman excused himself by saying he would retire into the other apartments, and whilst the strangers that were admitted were surveying the curiosities with more than ordinary attention, this artful Villain retired from them, and concealed himself under a dark staircase that led into the street, where he stayed till the company had gone out, after which he stole away medals and other coins to the amount of two hundred pounds and upwards, and got clear off with his booty. It was somewhat observable that he was often seen lurking near the museum some time before this affair happened, and very frequently desired to be admitted as soon as he had got a view of the medals. I am sorry I have not time to tell you a few more particulars concerning this transaction, but shall defer it till I know further about it.

In a subsequent letter Mr. Creswell informed his correspondent that the Frenchman who robbed the museum was tried, and being found guilty, was sentenced to work on the river Thames for five years.

These extracts appear, with due authentication, in *Notes and Queries* (September 16, 1860), and they are supported in their tenor by the publications of the day. The robbery of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford by a person styled at first 'A Swiss hair-dresser,' and afterwards 'Le Mair, now a prisoner in Dublin,' is noticed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for February and March 1776. Subsequently it is stated in the same work, under September 1, that 'Petre le Maitre, the French hair-dresser, who robbed the museum at Oxford of Medals, etc., to a considerable amount, was brought by *habeas corpus* from Dublin, and lodged in Oxford Castle.' Unfortunately this record fails to take notice of the trial.<sup>1</sup>

Chambers's *Book of Days*, 14 July.

IN April 1791 Dr. Routh succeeded Bishop Horne as President of Magdalen. Two months later Worcester College Chapel was consecrated. Its chief characteristic was described as a simple elegance which it owes to the taste of Mr. Wyatt. Next year several refugees from France arrived in Oxford. The colleges between them raised over £1000 towards the *émigré* fund. Mr. Aubry wrote a guide to Oxford in Latin elegiacs (*Oxonii duæ Poeticus*) and afterwards became a French bishop. In 1795 the coal famine was severe owing to the freezing of the canals. In 1798 University and City volunteer corps were enrolled of 500 and 250 men respectively. The uniform was a blue coat with white facing, white duck pantaloons, and short black cloth gaiters—the whole surmounted by a bearskin. The corp was reviewed by the Duke of York in 1799. In 1802 the new Public Examinations came into operation. The candidates were very few. The further system of classes was introduced in 1807. In 1806 the *Oxford Herald* first appeared in rivalry with the old monopolist, *Jackson's Journal*. In 1809 *The Oxford Calendar* was issued for

Chronological  
Notes

<sup>1</sup> The identification of this J. Peter Le Maitre, Maire, or Mara with J. Paul Marat is now considered as more than doubtful. The criminal was convicted of Grand Larceny, and ordered to be 'kept to hard labour in the raising sand, soil, and gravel from, and cleansing the River Thames or any other service for the benefit of the navigation of the said river' for the term of five years. See H. S. Ashbee's *Marat in Angleterre* (1891). By E. Belfort Bax and other modern writers on the Friend of the People, the identification of the thief with Marat is ascribed to Anti-Jacobin spite.

the first time. Next year was celebrated the Jubilee of George III.'s accession. In 1811 the sum of £300 was voted by Convocation for the aid of the English *détenus* in France. The Prince Regent, Blucher and other lions were at Oxford in 1814. The Prince 'groaned audibly' as he went up the Bodleian staircase. A shoemaker threw a pair of boots into Blucher's carriage and described himself henceforth as Blucher's boot-maker. 1825, the Ireland scholarships founded. 1834, Wellington installed Chancellor. 1836, Sir Rob. Taylor's bequest (the Taylorian). A branch line planned from Didcot to Oxford . . . 1838, Subscription raised for the Martyrs Memorial. In 1839 the 'Russian Archduke' [Alexander II.] was received at Oxford and had an honorary D.C.L. conferred upon him; in the same year William Wordsworth was similarly honoured. The salary of the Proctors, hitherto fluctuating, was fixed at £350 per year of office. In 1840 the Great Western advanced as far as Steventon. In June 1844 the railway was continued to Oxford. 1847, second meeting of the British Association at Oxford (3rd in 1860). In 1850 the Law and History School was passed in the New Examination Statute. In 1852 Wellington was succeeded as Chancellor by Lord Derby. Exeter College Chapel completed in Oct. 1859. In the same month his late Majesty, Edward VII., matriculated from Christ Church.

Light in  
Dark Places

It may be doubted whether any so-called learned society, professing at the same time to be an educational body, ever sank lower than the University of Oxford in the eighteenth century. . . . The University neither taught, nor maintained discipline, nor examined. The professors had, with rare exceptions, ceased to lecture; there was no examination for degrees; there were no distinctions for merit—within the Colleges the Fellowships were, with some few exceptions, appropriated to persons born in particular localities, or educated at particular schools, or connected by descent with the founder; moreover, the great majority of Fellows were bound to be clergymen. The scholarships were in part attached to schools, the remainder were usually bestowed by favour, as pieces of private patronage. In some cases, as at New College, the nomination to a school scholarship carried with it the certainty of a College scholarship and fellowship; such nominations were therefore sought as soon as a child was born, and the Fellow of New College was in fact appointed in his cradle. . . . The University was closed to Non-conformists. Most of those who came up came with the view of taking orders, and the University was regarded both within and



without as in the main a training place for the clergy. But the instruction given amounted to little or nothing ; life was loose and coarse, and at the end of three or four years' residence, a man might take his degree and go away with no more knowledge than he brought with him. Among the resident Fellows there was scarce a pretence of learning or the love of it. They were dull, often hard-drinking, men, who had gained their posts without exertion, and held them without profit to themselves or others, waiting for the time when a college living should enable them to marry and to devote their days to domestic ease.

It was at the beginning of the present century that light began to break in upon these dark places. It was felt to be a scandalous thing that the University should give its degrees without any examination ; and the first step in the reform was the establishment of an examination for the B.A. degree, accompanied by the publication of the names of the twelve men who had most distinguished themselves. This rudimentary separation of the sheep from the goats soon afterwards developed into the Honour Lists in Classics and Mathematics. . . . Peel, Keble, Arnold, Whately, Milman, adorned the early class-lists. Ere long the better Colleges began to think of opening their Fellowships to general competition. . . . Oriel, throwing open its Fellowships, made itself the home of a body of men of whom many were destined to leave their mark on English life. Balliol, opening its scholarships as well as its Fellowships, gained an educational pre-eminence which it retains to this day. Beyond this reform did not far extend. The Tractarian Movement, which began soon after 1832, gave, indeed, a certain stimulus to learning, but it was primarily to learning of a theological kind. . . . At the accession, therefore, of Queen Victoria, Oxford had indeed risen some degrees above the low-water mark to which it had sunk under the Georges. Men of eminence were not wanting to it. Its studies, however, were still narrow, its constitution radically bad, its usefulness restricted to members of the Church of England, its spirit exclusive and ecclesiastical.

*The Reign of Queen Victoria*, by C. A. Fyfe.  
Smith, Elder, and Co., 1887.

'THE studies of the University were first raised from their abject state by a statute passed in 1800.' Such is the testimony of the Oxford University Commissioners appointed in 1850. The Laudian system was doomed to failure from the first, inasmuch as it provided no security for the capacity of examiners or against their

**The Invention  
of 'Honours'**

collusion with the candidates, while these were animated by little fear of rejection and no hope whatever of distinction. That the statute of 1800 was regarded as a vigorous attempt to raise the standard of degree examinations is proved by the fact that in 1801, the last year of the 'old system,' the number of B.A. degrees suddenly rose to 250, largely exceeding the average of degrees and even of matriculations in several preceding years. The new statute was deliberately based on the Laudian system, in so far as it presupposed an inherent supremacy in the Faculty of Arts, and it was unconsciously based on the old mediæval curriculum of Trivials and Quadrivials, in so far as it specified grammar, rhetoric, logic, moral philosophy and the elements of mathematics—with the important addition of Latin and Greek literature—as the essential subjects of examination. But it effected a grand reform in the method of examination. Candidates were to offer themselves either for what has been since known as a 'pass,' or for Honours, and the Honour-list was to be divided into two classes, in which the names were to be arranged in order of merit. There was also to be a further examination for the M.A. degree, comprising higher mathematical subjects, history and Hebrew; while candidates for the B.C.L. degree were to be examined in history and jurisprudence, besides the subjects required for the B.A. degree. Moreover, the examiners were thenceforth to be paid by salary, and chosen by responsible officers to serve for considerable periods. They were solemnly charged to deliberate maturely and secretly on the merits of the candidates, *sepositis omnino amicitia et odio, timore ac spe*. Material changes were introduced into this system by statutes of 1807, modified again in 1809, 1825, and 1830. The general effect of these changes was to substitute, in the main, written papers for oral questions, to subdivide the list of honours into three classes, to relegate mathematics to a 'School' by itself, to abrogate the examination for the M.A. degree, and to make the Greek and Latin languages, philosophy, and history, the staple of examination in what now came to be called the *Litteræ Humaniores* School, though permission was given to illustrate the ancient by modern authors. Meanwhile the old scholastic exercise of Responsions *in Parvulo* was replaced by an elementary examination, bearing the same name, to be passed in the second year. Such was the Oxford examination-system when it was transformed afresh in 1850. . . . A 'First Public Examination,' popularly known as 'Moderations,' was interposed between Responsions and the final examination for the B.A. degree. . . . This intermediate examination, in which honours are

awarded, was specially designed to encourage and test a scholar-like knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages; ancient history, philosophy, and logic being mainly reserved for the Final Classical, or *Litteræ Humaniores*, School. Two new Schools were established, the one for Natural science, the other for Law and Modern History. This last School was afterwards divided into two schools, of Jurisprudence and of Modern History respectively, while a sixth Honour School was added for Theology. . . .

*Hist. of the Univ. of Oxford*, by Hon. G. C. Brodrick.  
Longmans, 1886.

At Christ Church Jackson soon became famous. He possessed a Cyril Jackson<sup>1</sup>  
genius for government, and enforced discipline without any distinction of persons. He took a large share in framing the 'Public Examination Statute,' and always impressed upon his undergraduates the duty of competing for exhibitions and prizes. Every day he entertained at dinner some six or eight members of the foundation, and on his annual travel in some part of the United Kingdom took the most promising pupil of the year for his companion. He was a good botanist and a student of architecture, and under his charge the buildings and walks of Christ Church were greatly improved. By some he was considered cold in his manners and arbitrary in his tone, but Polwhele and John James, then an undergraduate at Queen's College, praise his kindly bearing. C. Kirkpatrick Sharpe wrote of him in 1798 as 'a very handsome oldish man.' Copleston highly commended his talent in governing and his love of encouraging youth. He declined the bishopric of Oxford in 1799, and the primacy of Ireland in 1800. When offered an English See on a later occasion, he is said to have remarked: 'Nolo episcopari. Try Will [William Jackson, Bishop of Oxford]; he'll take it.' In 1809 he resigned his deanery, and retired to the Manor House at Felpham, near Bognor.

*Dict. Nat. Biog.* Smith, Elder.

At a meeting of the Chancellor, Heads of Houses and Proctors Crowned  
Heads at  
Oxford  
holden in the Delegates Room, June 11, 1814, in consequence of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent having been graciously pleased to notify his Intention of honouring the University with a Visit, accompanied by the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia and other Foreign Princes,

It was ordered—

That all Members of the University, Undergraduates and Bachelors, as Masters of Arts, Proctors, Doctors, Heads of

<sup>1</sup> See also vol. ii. ('Personalia') p. 617.



Houses, and Noblemen, go out to meet His Royal Highness in their proper academical habits ; and that the station of those who are not included in the Procession, as well as the Procession itself, be arranged according to the plan agreed on in the year 1703. In conformity with this plan, the Members of the University will, according to their respective gowns and seniority, range themselves at half-past ten in the morning of Tuesday, the 14th instant, on each side of High Street, in lines extending from St. Mary's Church to the further extremity of Magdalen Bridge, the Seniors being nearest to the Bridge so as to leave the centre of the Street open for the accommodation of spectators, between whom and the line of Gownsmen Cavalry will be stationed.

The Noblemen, Heads of Houses, Doctors, Proctors, and delegated Masters, will wait upon the Chancellor at 10 o'clock, at the Lodging of the Vice-Chancellor at Exeter College, and from thence attend him to the Hall of Magdalen College, where by permission of the President and Fellows, the persons constituting the Procession will assemble.

Upon the Prince Regent's approaching Magdalen Bridge, the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Noblemen, Heads of Houses, Doctors, Proctors, and delegated Masters, will move forward, when the Chancellor will lay the Bedels' staves at the feet of His Royal Highness.

*An Account of the Visit of H.R.H. the Prince Regent . . .  
to the University of Oxford, in June 1814.*

#### Blucher at Christ Church

PERHAPS on no occasion did the hall of Christ Church present a more imposing spectacle than in the month of June 1814, when the allied sovereigns honoured Oxford with a visit, after the capitulation of Paris. A public entertainment was then given to the Prince Regent, H.R.H. the Duke of York, Prince Metternich, Marshal Prince Blucher, and a large assemblage of foreigners of high distinction. The room was filled with men of rank and eminence : but among them all, attention was particularly directed to the veteran Blucher, who, sensible of the feeling, rose and addressed the company in his native German ; which was immediately and eloquently translated into English by the Prince Regent, omitting only (with that exquisite taste which distinguished him) those parts which were complimentary to himself.

*Memorials of Oxford*, by James Ingram, D.D., 1837.

#### Debate in Convocation, 1829

I SAW yesterday [writes Mr. Gladstone] a most interesting scene in the Convocation house. The occasion was the debate on the anti-



catholic petition, which it has long been the practice of the university to send up year by year. This time it was worded in the most gentle and moderate terms possible. All the ordinary business there is transacted in Latin; I mean such things as putting the question, speaking, etc., and this rule, I assure you, stops many a mouth, and I dare say saves the Roman Catholics many a hard word. There were rather above two hundred doctors and masters of arts present. Three speeches were made, two against and one in favour of sending up the petition. Instead of *aye* and *no* they had *placet* and *non placet*, and in place of a member dividing the House, the question was, '*Petitne aliquis scrutinium?*' which was answered by '*Peto!*' '*Peto!*' from many quarters. However, when the scrutiny took place, it was found that the petition was carried by 156 to 48. . . . After the division, however, came the most interesting part of the whole. A letter from Peel, resigning the seat of the university, was read before the assembly. It was addressed to the vice-chancellor, and had arrived just before, it was understood, and I suppose brought hither the first positive and indubitable announcement of the government's<sup>1</sup> intention to emancipate the Catholics.

*Life of Gladstone*, by John Morley. Murray, 1903.

'KING RICHARD was born here, and to do honour and service to his native place, especially as he was going abroad into foreign parts, thinking it would advance the strength of his dominions at home, confirms a mayor with the addition of two aldermen; that the Oxford citizen's rights and privileges should be the same, and in as ample a manner as the City of London; that the Mayor should be butler at the Coronation Feast.' This means that the Mayor should assist the Lord Mayor of London, who assisted the chief butler. The City put in a claim to this at the Coronation of George II., and was 'allowed to perform the service and to have and receive three maple cups for their fee.' At the coronation of George II. the service was performed, and 'to the Mayor of Oxford was presented a high gilt bowl and cover richly chased, of 110 ounces, as a gift from the King to the City with his Majesty's arms engraven on it.' The ceremony was performed for the last time at the coronation of George IV.

The Mayor of  
Oxford and the  
Coronation

*Studies in Oxford History*, by J. R. Green and G. Robertson.  
Oxford Hist. Soc., 1901.

<sup>1</sup> Peel, after accepting the Chiltern Hundreds, allowed himself to be brought forward for re-election, but was defeated.

**Vice v. Mayor**

It had been the custom for many centuries for the Mayor of Oxford when elected to take an oath of allegiance before the vice-chancellor to respect the 'rights and privileges of the university.'

In this year, 1857, Mr. Alderman Grubb was elected Mayor, and refused to take the oath, whereupon the University authorities threatened legal proceedings against the City to compel him to do so. I knew the Alderman fairly well in my early life, as I met him occasionally at the vestry meetings of St. Peter-le-Bailey, of which parish we were both residents, and I felt sure that all the 'Queen's horses and all the Queen's men' would not make him alter any opinion that he had once formed. After much correspondence between both parties, the University 'made a virtue of necessity,' and the old supremacy became obsolete, after existing about six hundred years, from 1248 to 1857.

*Early Recollections of Oxford*, by an Old Freeman, 1900.

**Priest Craft  
and Church  
Crafts**

THE Oxford movement, unforeseen by the chief movers and to some extent in spite of them, has produced a generation of ecclesiologists, ritualists, and religious poets. Whatever may be said of its priest-craft, it has filled the land with churchcrafts of all kinds.

*Reminiscences of Oriel*, by Thomas Mozley. Longmans, 1882.

**Ideal Ward**

SHALL I ever forget when I first heard W. G. Ward's name, and heard it too associated with my own? My father had allowed me to come up from Eton to try my luck for a Balliol scholarship. The examination was over, and the boys from various schools were assembled in the College hall on the tiptoe of expectation to hear the announcement. At length there emerged from the common room into the hall good, cultivated little Mr. Oakeley, and the hubbub of eager youthful voices was hushed in a moment. All of us clustered like bees round Mr. Oakeley, some who could not get close enough to satisfy them clambering up on the benches to get a sight of one who was little of stature. After a generally complimentary exordium, probably *de rigueur* on these occasions, to the effect that as all had done so well, the Master and Fellows wished they had as many fellowships and scholarships to give away as there were competitors, but as only two of each were vacant, they had been obliged to make a choice; that choice he said had fallen on Mr. Tait (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) and Mr. Ward for the fellowships, and on Mr. Lake (the present Dean of Durham) and myself for the scholarships. I have a sort of dim memory that shortly afterwards when we had all streamed out of the hall, I saw (for the first time) your father [W. G. Ward] in the quadrangle,

friends gathering round him, and warmly grasping his hand; and somebody told me, 'That is Mr. Ward.'

*W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*, by Wilfrid Ward.  
Macmillan, 1889.

'WE find, oh, most joyful, most wonderful, most unexpected sight! we find the whole cycle of Roman doctrine gradually possessing numbers of English Churchmen. . . . Three years have passed since I said plainly that in subscribing the Articles I renounce no Roman doctrine; yet I retain my fellowship which I hold on the tenure of subscription, and have received no ecclesiastical censure in any shape.' [So runs a passage in Ward's *Ideal of a Christian Church, considered in Comparison with Existing Practice*, published in the summer of 1844.] . . . As soon as term began the Board of Heads of Houses took up the matter; they were earnestly exhorted to it by a letter of Archbishop Whateley's. But they wanted no pressing, nor is it astonishing that they could not understand the claim to hold the 'whole cycle' of Roman doctrine in the English Church. . . . To the University authorities this was taking advantage of his position in the Church, to assail and if possible to destroy it. And to numbers of much more sober and moderate churchmen, sympathisers with the general spirit of the movement, it was evident that Mr. Ward had long passed the point when tolerance could be fairly asked, consistently with any respect for the English Church. . . . A Committee of the Board examined the book . . . and in December 1844 the Board announced that they proposed to submit to Convocation without delay these measures:—(1) to condemn Mr. Ward's book; (2) to degrade Mr. Ward by depriving him of all his University degrees; and (3) whereas the existing statutes gave the vice-chancellor power of calling on any member of the University at any time to prove his orthodoxy by subscribing the Articles, to add to this a declaration, to be henceforth made by the subscriber, that he took them in the sense in which 'they were both first published and were imposed by the University,' with the penalty of expulsion against any one lay or clerical who thrice refused subscription to this declaration. The third measure aroused 'the cry, almost the shriek, that it was a new test,' and the Board withdrew it. But 'bitter and intemperate spirits,' not content with a certain victory on the first two proposals, saw an opportunity of branding *Tract 90* and its author with University condemnation. The Board hastily assented to submit to Convocation a decree embodying this requisition. On the 13th Feb., amid slush and snow, Convocation met in the

The Battle  
about Ward's  
Book



theatre. Mr. Ward asked leave to defend himself in English, and occupied one of the Rostra, usually devoted to the recital of prize poems and essays. He spoke with vigour and ability, dividing his speech and resting in the interval in the Rostrum. There was no other address and the voting began. The first vote, the condemnation of the book, was carried by 777 to 386. The second by a more evenly balanced division, 569 to 511. When the Vice-Chancellor put the third, the Proctors, who were friends of Newman, rose, to exercise their right of veto, and the Senior Proctor stopped it in the words '*Nobis procuratoribus non placet.*' Such a step, of course, only suspended the vote, and the year of office of these proctors was nearly run. But they had expressed the feeling of those they represented. . . . All attempts to revive the decree at the expiration of their year of office failed. Through the autumn of 1845 and the next year, friends, whose names and forms were familiar in Oxford, one by one disappeared and were lost to it. Fellowships, livings, curacies, intended careers, were given up. . . . On Oct. 8 Newman was received into the Church of Rome. . . . Dr. Pusey, Mr. Keble, and Mr. Marriott accepted with unshaken faith in the cause of the English Church the terrible separation. . . . All the world knows that the movement was not in fact killed or even much arrested by the shock of 1845; but after 1845 its field was at least as much out of Oxford as in it—it ceased to be strongly and prominently academical.

*The Oxford Movement*, by Dean Church. Macmillan, 1891.

#### The Tractarians

MANY of the above [the Tractarian leaders] and many more that could be named had taken high university honours, had won prizes and were in university offices, then more than now the road to the highest promotion. They sacrificed a good deal to what they must have considered the obligation of duty and of truth, exposing that for the time to some degree of obloquy also. They were denounced and abused from pulpits and platforms; by controversialists and novelists, and by many whose good opinion they could not but grieve to have lost. Most of these volunteers to the standard of truth, as they deemed it, would have been much greater men in their own original lines. Nay, the coast was all the clearer and the competition the less fierce, for the number of those that were leaving the great highway to eminence and taking a side path leading to nothing in this world.

It is true that common action and the spirit of a common cause keep up the fire and light of life, foster many virtues and bring out unknown powers. But what was the common action to which



many of these men of mark, of genius and of high expectations were taking themselves? Many of them, almost before they knew well what they were about, were giving up the best years of their life and the first fruits of their newly acquired scholarship to the most laborious drudgery and most thankless of all works—Translations of the Fathers. . . . The old editions of the Fathers and great Divines that had long been the lumber of old libraries and second-hand book shops, folios that had been almost on their way to the grocers or to the pulp-vat, the survivors of many that had gone that way, were now quoted in the market with rising prices. . . . To this day possessors will sometimes find not quite rubbed out 7s. 6d. and in its place five guineas.

*Reminiscences, chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement,*  
by Thomas Mozley. Longmans, 1882.

THE tutorial movement at Oriel<sup>1</sup> was the real Oxford movement **Oriel Tutors** connected with the college on which its historian has most reason to dwell. The succession of eminent tutors in Oriel from the days of Eveleigh (1781-1814) to the days of Hawkins was the direct result of that openness of the Fellowships . . . which made Oriel, beyond any other college, sensitive to and representative of the most eminent and various talent which the University had to offer. . . . The eminent tutors attracted prominent undergraduates and helped their promise to issue in performance; and thus the college built up a solid and lasting intellectual reputation. That reputation was at its height long before there was any thought of Tractarianism or even any premonition of a High Church revival. Its material was of a wholly different quality. There ran in the common-room, when the century was in its teens, a spirit of inquiry—an almost sceptical leaven. When the High Church revival began to stir and move the minds of able men at Oxford, it could not but visit Oriel, where so many able men were congregated; it could not but pass into the common-room and enter partly into antagonism, partly into strange union with the restless dialectic prevalent there. But for one circumstance, however, it might be argued that the High Church movement, in so far as it led to the Tractarian propaganda, stifled Oriel's pre-eminence rather than fostered it. For 'the movement,' which involved so many eminent Oriel men, failed at a critical moment to take possession of the college as a whole. The election to the Provostship in 1828 of Edward Hawkins rather than John Keble was significant of the fact that when the combustibles, all over the University, were nearly ready

<sup>1</sup> See also vol. ii. pp. 415, 666, etc.

for the match, Oriel as a whole would have no hand in applying it. When the blaze was ready to spring up, there came, first, an enfeebling schism in the college and then a decline in vogue and power. The intellectual pre-eminence of the college was gone.

It has been said there was one thing which prevented all this from wholly happening. There was one prerogative of Oriel which almost justifies the popular view that she owes her fame to Tractarianism; and that prerogative was her long possession of John Henry Newman. Though he passed his undergraduate days elsewhere, Newman came to Oriel on the wings of his first academic success; at Oriel he pieced together his early creed; at Oriel he acquired and used, long before he knew, his vast personal power over the minds of men; from the pulpit of St. Mary's, Oriel's own church, he revolutionized English religious thought; to Oriel he returned from his Italian tour with its weird experiences, its delicious forebodings; at Oriel he composed his *Tracts for the Times*: Oriel held him until every mooring was loosened and he set sail for strange seas. No man more earnestly than Newman himself repudiated his parentage of the Tractarian movement. Yet it is impossible not to feel that, however the movement might have fared without Newman, it is to him that it owes its chief power and charm for the observer who is not a partisan. If any one ghost more than another haunts the precincts of St. Mary's College, it must be the ghost of Newman; and while that presence is there, the popular feeling about Oriel will never be wholly changed.

*Oriel College*, by D. W. Rannie. Hutchinson, 1900.

*Tracts for  
the Times*

ON Sunday, July 14th [1833], Mr. Keble preached the Assize Sermon in the University Pulpit. It was published under the title of *National Apostasy*. I have ever considered and kept the day as the start of the religious movement of 1833. . . .

When I got back from abroad I found that already a movement had commenced in opposition to the specific danger which at that time was threatening the religion of the nation and its Church. Several zealous and able men had united their counsels and were in correspondence with each other. The principal of them were Mr. Keble, Hurrell Frowde, Mr. William Palmer of Dublin and Worcester College, Mr. Arthur Perceval, and Mr. Hugh Rose. . . .

Out of my own head I began the *Tracts* [*for the Times*]. . . . I had the consciousness that I was employed in that work which I had been dreaming about, and which I felt to be so momentous and inspiring. I had a supreme confidence in our cause; we were upholding the Primitive Christianity which was delivered for all

time by the early teachers of the Church, and which was registered and attested in the Anglican Formularies and by the Anglican divines. That ancient religion had wellnigh faded out of the land, through the political changes of the last 150 years, and it must be restored. It would be in fact a second Reformation;—a better Reformation, for it would be a return not to the sixteenth century but to the seventeenth. No time was to be lost, for the Whigs had come to do their worst and the rescue might come too late. Bishoprics were already in course of suppression; Church property was in course of confiscation; Sees would soon be receiving unsuitable occupants. We knew enough to begin preaching upon, and there was no one else to preach.

*Apologia pro Vita Sua*, by John Henry Newman.

IF ever I publish them [the papers which now form his *Oxford Movement*] I must say distinctly what I want to do, which is, not to pretend to write a history of the movement . . . but simply to preserve a contemporary memorial of what seems to me to have been a true and noble effort which passed before my eyes, a short scene of religious earnestness and aspiration with all that was in it of self devotion, affectionateness, and high and refined and varied character, displayed under circumstances which are scarcely intelligible to men of the present time; so enormous have been the changes in what was assumed and acted upon and thought practicable and reasonable, 'fifty years since.' For their time and opportunities, the men of the movement, with all their imperfect equipment and their mistakes, still seem to me the salt of their generation. . . . I wish to leave behind me a record that one who lived with them, and lived long beyond most of them, believed in the reality of their goodness, and height of character, and still looks back with deepest reverence to those forgotten men as the companions to whose teaching and example he owes an infinite debt, and not he only but religious society in England of all kinds.

*The Oxford Movement*, by Dean Church. Macmillan, 1891.

Dean Church  
on the Oxford  
Movement

I HAD known Dr. Pusey well since 1827-8 and had felt for him an enthusiastic admiration. I used to call him *ὁ μέγας*. His great learning, his immense diligence, his scholar-like mind, his simple devotion to the cause of religion, overcame me, and great of course was my joy, when in the last days of 1833, he showed a disposition to make common cause with us. . . . He at once gave to us a position and a name. Without him we should have had little chance . . . of making any serious resistance to the Liberal aggres-

Dr. Pusey



sion. But Dr. Pusey was a Professor and Canon of Christ Church; he had a vast influence in consequence of his deep religious seriousness, the munificence of his charities, his Professorship, his family connexions and his easy relations with the University authorities. . . . He was, to use the common expression, a host in himself. He was able to give a name, a form, and a personality, to what was without him a sort of mob; and when various parties had to meet together in order to resist the liberal acts of the Government, we of the Movement took our place by right among them. . . . Such was the benefit which he conferred on the Movement externally, nor were the internal advantages at all inferior to it. He was a man of large designs. He had a hopeful, sanguine mind; he had no fear of others; he was haunted by no intellectual perplexities. People are apt to say that he was once nearer the Catholic Church than he is now. I pray God he may one day be far nearer the Catholic Church than he was then, for I believe that, in his reason and judgment, all the time that I knew him, he was never near to it at all.

*Apologia pro Vita Sua*, by J. H. Newman.

#### The Oxford Movement

THE men we read of in these works were, no doubt, men of very great personal influence, with a wondrous power of imparting their deep convictions and sound theological learning; but this influence, great as it was, could only reach a certain number. We do not find . . . 'a knowledge of how the Church Movement reached the country generally, the gradual trickling of the stream through the quiet drowsy villages, washing away the dust of a century and a half.' But neither Dean Church, nor Canon Mozley, nor Thos. Mozley, nor Dr. Pusey, nor Canon Liddon could have told all this part of the story. My object is to tell some part of that story about men and places here and there . . . to show how the movement progressed in the country generally, in the quiet towns and sleepy villages.

*The Oxford Church Movement*, by G. Wakeling.  
Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1895.

#### Newman at Oxford<sup>1</sup>

WHEN I entered at Oxford, John Henry Newman was beginning to be famous. The responsible authorities were watching him with anxiety; clever men were looking with interest and curiosity on the apparition among them of one of those persons of indisputable genius who was likely to make a mark upon his time. His appearance was striking. He was above the middle height, slight, and spare. His head was large, his face remarkably like that of Julius

<sup>1</sup> And see vol. ii. bk. iii. *passim*.



Cæsar. The forehead, the shape of the ears and nose, were almost the same. The lines of the mouth were very peculiar, and I should say exactly the same. I have often thought of the resemblance, and believed that it extended to the temperament. . . . Greatly as his poetry had struck me, he was himself all that the poetry was, and sometimes far beyond. I had then never seen so impressive a person. I met him now and then in private; I attended his church and heard him preach Sunday after Sunday; he is supposed to have been insidious, to have led his disciples on to conclusions to which he designed to bring them, while his purpose was carefully veiled. He was, on the contrary, the most transparent of men. He told us what he believed to be true. He did not know where it would carry him.

J. A. Froude in *Good Words*, 1881.

THE influence he had gained, without apparently setting himself to seek it, was something altogether unlike anything else in our time. A mysterious veneration had by degrees gathered round him, till now it was almost as if some Ambrose or Augustine of older ages reappeared. . . . In Oriel Lane, light-hearted undergraduates would drop their voices and whisper, 'There's Newman!' when, head thrust forward, and gaze fixed as though on some vision seen only by himself, with swift, noiseless step, he glided by—awe fell on them for a moment, almost as if it had been some apparition that had passed. For his inner circle of friends, many of them younger men, he was said to have a quite romantic affection, which they returned with the most ardent devotion and the intensest faith in him. But to the outer world he was a mystery.

A Light in  
Oriel Lane

Principal Shairp, *Studies in Poetry and Philosophy*. 1868.

HIS dearest friends had to choose between Newman and the English Church. And the choice was made by those who did not follow him, on a principle little honoured or believed in at the time on either side, Roman or Protestant; but a principle which in the long-run restored hope and energy to a cause which was supposed to be lost. It was not the revival of the old *Via Media*; it was not the assertion of the superiority of the English Church; it was not a return to the old-fashioned and ungenerous methods of controversy with Rome. . . . It was not the proposal of a new theory of the Church—its functions, authority and teaching, a counter-ideal to Mr. Ward's imposing *Ideal*. It was the resolute and serious appeal from brilliant logic and keen sarcasm, and

The Survivors  
of the Oxford  
Movement

pathetic and impressive eloquence to reality and experience, as well as to history, as to the positive and substantial characteristics of the traditional and actually existing English Church, shown not on paper but in work, and in spite of contradictory appearances and inconsistent elements; and along with this, an attempt to put in a fair and just light the comparative excellences and defects of other parts of Christendom, excellences to be ungrudgingly admitted, but not to be allowed to bar the recognition of defects. The feeling which had often stirred, even when things looked at the worst, that Mr. Newman had dealt unequally and hardly with the English Church, returned with gathered strength. The English Church after all was as well worth living in and fighting for as any other: it was not only in England that light and dark, in teaching and in life, were largely intermingled, and the mixture had to be largely allowed for. We had our Sparta, a noble, if a rough and an incomplete one: patiently to do our best for it was better than leaving it to its fate in obedience to signs and reasonings which the heat of strife might well make delusive. It was one hopeful token that boasting had to be put away from us for a long time to come. In these days of stress and sorrow were laid the beginnings of a school whose main purpose was to see things as they are: which had learned by experience to distrust unqualified admiration and unqualified disparagement: determined not to be blinded even by genius to plain certainties: not afraid to honour all that is great and beneficent in Rome, not afraid with English frankness to criticise freely at home; but not to be won over in one case by the good things to condone and accept the bad things: and not deterred, in the other, from service, from love, from self-sacrifice, by the presence of much to regret and to resist.

*The Oxford Movement*, by Dean Church. Macmillan, 1891.

#### B. Jowett<sup>1</sup>

IN some points we might compare Jowett with the man whom he so greatly admired—Dr. Johnson. It is true that they followed different walks in life; and if Jowett had gone out into the world as Johnson did, if he had remained free from the limitations which were imposed upon him by his position as a clergyman, a Professor, and Head of a College, the parallel might have been closer still. But in many respects they were alike. Both had a remarkable gift for incisive sayings, which put an argument into a nutshell, to confuted an opponent with an epigram. Of course their attitude in conversation was very different. Johnson was always the central figure; Jowett was shy and diffident. If Johnson was the bull who

<sup>1</sup> See also 'Personalialia,' vol. ii. bk. iii.

'tossed and gored a good many persons last night,' Jowett was the matador who could give the *coup de grâce* with effective skill. Like Johnson, Jowett detested all exaggeration, and had a wholesome horror of cant. To both language was a sacred gift and to be used with reverence. Both delighted in the society of younger persons, and of women. Both were men of scholarly instincts, and yet both loved desultory reading; round both, even to the end of life, clung something of the habit of the teacher. Both objected to any philosophy which seemed to persuade men out of their senses: but while Johnson confuted Berkeley by kicking the stone, Jowett met him with the observation that he had merely exchanged two words, putting 'sensation in the place of "sense"'; and this difference in the manner of their criticism is characteristic of the men.

There is also another, greater than Johnson, with whom Jowett has been compared. He was 'the Socrates of my youth,' Sir Alexander Grant said of him. He was the great teacher, unwearied in his own search after truth, and endeavouring by every means to shape and guide the minds and characters of those who came under his care. This, he would have acknowledged, had been the best work of his life. An old pupil wishing at the time of his death to express his feeling towards his master, could find no better words than those with which Plato closes his narrative of the death of Socrates:

'Such was the end, Echecrates, of our friend; concerning whom I may truly say that of all men of his time whom I have known he was the wisest and justest and best.'

And with these words we will leave him.

Ave pia anima; ave, atque vale.

*Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett*, by Evelyn Abbott and  
Lewis Campbell. Murray, 1897.

THE famous meeting of Section D of the British Association at Oxford in 1860 has been told by many pens. The paper on Intellectual Development in relation to Darwin's views was by Dr. Draper from New York. The clergy at the close of it shouted lustily for Wilberforce. Finally the Bishop got up. It was evident from his mode of handling the subject that he had been crammed to the throat and knew nothing at first hand. He used no argument beyond those in the famous *Quarterly* article, which he wrote and Owen inspired. He ridiculed Darwin badly and Huxley savagely, but 'all in such dulcet tones,' so persuasive a manner, and in such well-turned periods that all were delighted.

The Bishop spoke thus 'for full half-an-hour with inimitable

**Huxley and  
Wilberforce**

spirit, emptiness, and unfairness.' 'In a light, scoffing tone, florid and fluent, he assured us there was nothing in the idea of evolution; rock-pigeons were what rock-pigeons had always been. Then, turning to his antagonist with a smiling insolence, he begged to know, was it through his grandfather or his grandmother that he claimed his descent from a monkey?'

This was the fatal mistake of his speech. Huxley instantly grasped the tactical advantage which the descent to personalities gave him. He turned to Sir Benjamin Brodie, who was sitting beside him, and emphatically striking his hand upon his knee, exclaimed, 'The Lord hath delivered him into mine hands.' The bearing of the exclamation did not dawn upon Sir Benjamin until after Huxley had completed his 'forcible and eloquent' answer to the scientific part of the Bishop's arguments, and proceeded to make his famous retort.

On this Mr. Huxley slowly and deliberately arose. A slight, tall figure, stern and pale, very quiet and very grave, he stood before us and spoke those tremendous words—words which no one seems sure of now, nor, I think, could remember just after they were spoken, for their meaning took away our breath, though it left us in no doubt as to what it was. He was not ashamed to have a monkey for his ancestor; but he would be ashamed to be connected with a man who used great gifts to obscure the truth. No one doubted his meaning, and the effect was tremendous. One lady fainted and had to be carried out; I, for one, jumped out of my seat.

The fullest and probably most accurate account of these concluding words is the following, from a letter of the late John Richard Green, then an undergraduate, to his friend, afterwards Professor Boyd Dawkins.

'I assert—and I repeat—that a man has no reason to be ashamed of having an ape for his grandfather. If there were an ancestor whom I should feel shame in recalling it would rather be a *man*—a man of restless and versatile intellect—who, not content with an equivocal success in his own sphere of activity, plunges into scientific questions with which he has no real acquaintance, only to obscure them by an aimless rhetoric, and distract the attention of his hearers from the real point at issue by eloquent digressions and skilled appeals to religious prejudices.'

Adapted from *The Life and Letters of Thomas Huxley*,  
by Leonar Huxley. Macmillan, 1900.

Changes—  
1830-1890

To a casual observer the most striking change which of late years has taken place either in Oxford or Cambridge has been occasioned by the marriage of Fellows; another striking development has been



the organisation amongst the undergraduates of cricket, boating, and other athletic exercises, in which some of the junior Fellows also take part. But it is not the less true that a deeper and less obvious revolution has altered the entire relation of the ancient Universities to the national life. Their offices and emoluments are no longer confined to a class or section of the people of Great Britain. All parts of the United Kingdom, nay, even of the empire, are represented there; and in particular the ecclesiastical restrictions which towards the middle of the nineteenth century were threatening to stifle their activities, have been effectually removed.

*Nationalisation of the Old English Universities*, by Lewis Campbell.  
Chapman and Hall, 1901.

THIS year [1846] has left little to recollect and to record in connection with Oxford. Controversy had worn itself out; the *ferrea via*, or railroad, notwithstanding the Bishop of Exeter's warning about speculating in shares, attracted even the Clergy more than the *via mediæ*. Instead of High Church, Low Church, or Broad Church, they talked of high embankments, the broad gauge, and low dividends: Brunel and Stevenson were in men's mouths instead of Dr. Pusey or Mr. Golightly; Mr. Hudson was in the ascendant instead of Dr. Faussett; and speculative theology gave way to speculations in railroad shares.

**Railways  
invade**

*Recollections of Oxford*, by G. V. Cox.

FOR about two hundred years from the passing of the Act of Uniformity, no one could graduate at Cambridge or be admitted to matriculation at Oxford without professing adherence to the Church of England or subscribing to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion. And the difference between the two ancient Universities in this respect was felt to be more apparent than real; for no one could reside in either University without belonging to a college, and constant attendance on the chapel services was part of the college discipline enforced no less strictly at Cambridge than at Oxford. Moreover in both Universities, emoluments, academical and collegiate, and all University and College offices were absolutely confined to members of the Church of England. In the earlier years of the century, while conscientious Nonconformists still formed an inconsiderable minority, such limitations were commonly regarded as inevitable or as a matter of course, and the adherence alike of undergraduates and graduates to the National Church appeared to have little more than a formal significance. Agitations for the abolition of subscription had occasionally been rife amongst

**Profession of  
Faith**

the thoughtful clergy of former days, as on the part of so-called Arians in the reign of Queen Anne, or of Latitudinarians in the time of Fox and Pitt. But these exceptional and abortive attempts had passed out of memory long before 1830.

*Nationalisation of the Old English Universities*, by Lewis Campbell.  
Chapman and Hall, 1901.

#### The Oxford Commission

THE liberal spirit that had so alarmed Oxford had been hard at work since 1832 destroying abuses, rectifying remediable evils, and generally reconstructing society in accordance with liberal ideas. It was inevitable that in due course attention should be directed to the two ancient Universities. They were supposed to be enormously rich, but with an output ludicrously small in proportion to their income. Regarded as homes of reaction and centres of opposition to liberal ideas and as the theological seminary of a single sect in which theology was neglected and in which no secular studies (except the barren learning of classical texts) were admitted except in the most grudging and parsimonious spirit, what wonder if liberal statesmen determined that national property administered by the Universities should be utilised for the national good. Accordingly in 1850 a Royal Commission was appointed by Lord John Russell for the purpose of holding an inquiry into the 'state, discipline, studies, and revenues of the University and Colleges of Oxford.' The commission included some very able men—Dr. Tait, afterwards Primate; Dr. Jeune, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough; Dr. Liddell, afterwards Dean of Christchurch; and Professor Baden Powell. The Secretary was the Rev. A. P. Stanley, afterwards Dean of Westminster, assisted by Mr. Goldwin Smith. Their report was a very strong one. It recommended that all clerical restrictions should be abolished, that a new governing body should be created, that undergraduates should be admitted without becoming members of any College or Hall, that subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles at matriculation should be abolished, that Mathematics and the new studies, such as Modern History and Natural Science, should have their fair share of rewards, that the Professorships should be revived and extended, and unprofitable Fellowships reduced, that the condition of celibacy should be abolished in cases of Professors or University Lecturers, and above all that the principle of open competition should be applied to Fellowships and Scholarships. . . . A bill embodying most of these recommendations in a fairly adequate form became law in 1854, and the executive commission constituted by the Act began

its work of gradually transforming the Oxford of Keble, Newman, and Pusey into a comparatively modern and useful institution.<sup>1</sup>

*A Short History of the Oxford Movement*, by Sir Samuel Hall.  
Longmans, 1906.

THE relaxation of the 'classical monopoly' and the opening of scholarships was supplemented in 1871 by the complete abolition of University tests already reduced by the Act of 1854. This great concession to religious liberty was brought about by a persistent movement chiefly emanating from the Universities themselves . . . In the year 1863 a petition was presented from 106 Heads, professors, fellows, ex-fellows and college tutors at Oxford, praying for the removal of all theological restrictions on degrees. In the year 1868 a petition against all religious tests, except for degrees in theology, was signed by 80 Heads, professors, lecturers and resident fellows at Oxford, while a similar petition was signed by 123 non-resident fellows and ex-fellows . . .

*History of the University of Oxford*, by Hon. G. C. Brodrick.  
Longmans, 1886.

A PROFOUND and most beneficial reform was wrought in the whole spirit and working of the University system by the Act of 1854 and the College Ordinances framed under its provisions. The Hebdomadal Board was replaced by an elective Council, on which Heads of colleges, professors and resident Masters of Arts were equally represented. A new 'Congregation' was created, embracing all resident members of Convocation, and soon became a vigorous deliberative assembly, with the right of speaking in English. The monopoly of colleges was broken down and an opening made for ulterior extension by the revival of private halls. The professoriate was considerably increased, reorganised and re-endowed by means of contributions from colleges. The colleges were emancipated from their mediæval statutes. . . . The fellowships were almost universally thrown open. . . . The number and value of scholarships were largely augmented, and many of the restrictions upon them were abolished. The great mass of vexatious and obsolete oaths was swept away. . . .

Far greater progress was made by the University during the thirty years immediately following this comprehensive reform than in any previous century of its history. The impulse given to education reacted upon learning and research; Oxford science began once more to command the respect of Europe; the professoriate received an accession of illustrious names; and college

<sup>1</sup> Cf. G. C. Brodrick, *Memories and Impressions*. 1900.

tuition, instead of being the mere temporary vocation of fellows waiting for livings, gradually placed itself on the footing of a regular profession. Instead of drying up the bounty of founders, as had been confidently predicted, the reforms of 1854 apparently caused the stream of benefactors to flow with renewed abundance. Nearly all the older colleges have extended their buildings, mostly by the aid of private munificence, a new college has been erected, bearing the name of the Rev. John Keble, and Magdalen Hall has been refounded under its original name of Hertford College with a large new endowment, provided by Mr. C. Baring. Meanwhile, a new class of 'unattached' or 'non-collegiate' students has been created, the number of whom rose to 284 in 1880 . . . The aggregate strength of the University has been doubled under the same period of 32 years, and the net total of undergraduates in residence has been swelled from about 1300 to upwards of 2500.

*History of the University of Oxford*, by Hon. G. C. Brodrick.  
Longmans, 1886.

**Ordinances  
of '58**

MEN talk here of a new University Commission. The last turned out a magnificent speculation for its promoters. Some got mitres, some deaneries; all were regaled with plums of size and sweetness. They contrived to reform nothing. Abuses were whitewashed, and indeed sanctified and legalised. There was a superabundance of tall talk written in a blue book. Then a little mischief-making and petty spite. Wherever there was found to exist a sentimental love of founder, or statutes, or integrity of foundation, it was rudely crushed. The author of *Phrontisterion* bravely exposed the motives of certain amateur destructives. He stood up to defend the most beautiful organisation that this country has known. His satire did but increase the vindictive greed of those whom it attacked. Measures were passed which, to a reformer, must have appeared beneath contempt, to a conservative as wanton sacrilege. One college, indeed, threatened to take the bones of their founder, and the stones of his college, and to re-establish his foundation in Austria or some other free country, where they had not yet learned the morality of spoliation. However, no greater condemnation need be uttered of the last Commission than can be found in the fact that another Commission is needed to undo the errors of the first. In short 'the Ordinances of 1858' have been on trial but thirteen years, and are found to be impracticable. What next?

*The Dark Blue*. London, 1871.

**Oxford's out-  
look in 1861**

WHAT may in time to come be the work of this ancient and richly endowed seat of learning, will depend upon the wisdom with which



it adapts itself to the wants of the age, the judgment with which it exercises its invaluable privileges of self-government, and the liberality with which it admits students into its arms and gifts them with its emoluments. . . . In many points the direct tendency of the university is to meet the needs of the time by cautious concessions. With very different views as to points of detail, most Oxford men are agreed in considering that what now forms the staple of academical instruction should be retained. It has stood the test of centuries, it is prolific of useful men, and it is due to other causes than these which are derived from it, that it has not produced great scholars and profound thinkers. Whatever may be their faults and shortcomings, no national institutions are so pure in their practice and so conscientious in their public life as the universities. The worst jobbing in the worst times at the worst college was integrity itself by the side of the dishonesty with which the emoluments of endowed grammar-schools have been administered.

That the universities should exercise an increasing control over the education of the country must, it appears, result from their secularisation, their accommodation to modern habits of thought, and their public acts. It is not necessary that conformity should henceforth be the condition of academical destruction. Oxford has accepted the importunate wooing of physical science and recompensed it with a prodigal self-sacrifice. It has initiated a voluntary system of school inspection. It has even opened its arms, at the earnest request of some among its body and a few of those without it, to medicine and mechanics, the nymphs who have either jilted it long ago or disdained its addresses.

The universities have done much for the present, are doing more, and are strong in the past. They have been for centuries the nurseries of English youth, and have been democratic both in their meanness and in their dignity. The dawn of English history exhibits the prime of their rude strength; their pedigree begins with that of the national liberties, and their domestic struggles coincide in all points with the best and worst ages of the national character.

*Education in Oxford*, by Thorold Rogers, 1861.

THE one or two sages who really made themselves felt in modern thought were the worst off after all. They really were scholars desiring to think and to instruct, and they found themselves made into political projectiles. They were good teachers and disciplinarians, and found themselves adored by young men who wanted chiefly to annoy their own tutors. They longed for quiet kingdoms

**Liberal  
Leaders**

of the mind, and patient companions to help them to understand themselves and possess their own souls, and they found themselves ticketed in review articles ; while their best pupils became partisans, as if they had taught nothing but premature politics. As men grew hot in faction, in learning they waxed cold—and the great Liberal leaders had their trials though all the clever lads in the university ran after them. What they went through from the horrible crudity and precipitancy of the ingenious competition-wallah could only be known to themselves, and by themselves were best forgotten.

*Hugh Heron*, by Richard St. John Tyrwhitt.  
Strachan and Co., 1880.

#### Religious Tests

‘My attention,’ said Lord Westbury in 1863, was singularly fixed upon this matter many years ago, when I matriculated at the University at the early age of fourteen. I was told by the Vice-Chancellor, ‘You are too young to take the common oath of obedience to the Statutes of the University, but are quite old enough to subscribe the Articles of Religion.’

*Life of Lord Westbury*, by T. A. Nash. Bentley, 1888.

#### The Camera Reading-Room

A MOST seasonable and valuable enlargement of the Library was effected by an addition which henceforth marks an era in our Annals. On June 12th Convocation thankfully accepted an offer from the Radcliffe Trustees (which had been first mooted by Dr. Acland in 1856) of the use, as a Bodleian reading-room, of the noble building hitherto under their control, the existing contents of which had (for the most part) been removed to the New Museum. Dr. Radcliffe’s own original intention had been the building an additional wing to the Bodleian rather than the erecting a library of his own ; and subsequently the idea had been entertained of devoting his structure to the exclusive reception of manuscripts. Its appropriation, therefore, to the Bodleian upon the removal of the library of medicine and natural history, was, in some sort, a return to the founder’s first design. And the return came most seasonably, when the old walls of the school’s quadrangle were well-nigh bursting from a plethora of books, and still the cry ‘they come,’ daily caused fresh bewilderment as to whither those that came should go. It was resolved that the new reading-room thus opportunely gained should be appropriated to new books (arranged under a system of classification) and magazines ; that it should be called the ‘Camera Radcliviana,’ and that it should be open from 10 A.M. to 10 P.M.,

thus affording the facilities for evening use of the Bodleian which had often been desired for those who were occupied in the day, and on January 27, 1862, the necessary alterations and preparations having been completed in the short space of the Christmas vacation, it was announced by the Vice-Chancellor to be open as a reading-room in connection with the Bodleian.

*Annals of the Bodleian*, by Rev. W. D. Macray. Rivington, 1868.

IN the year 1889 the municipal constitution of Oxford, which had been highly anomalous, was entirely remodelled. The old local Board, on which the University had been represented, was merged in the new City Council, in which three Aldermen and seven ordinary Councillors, being one-sixth of the whole body, were allotted to the University Aldermen, and sat for three years on the Council. During this period, I was favourably impressed by the public spirit and capacity for business generally shown by my associates from the City; indeed, I could have wished that some of the latter quality could have been transfused into certain academical conclaves.

Town and  
Gown. Muni-  
cipal Oxford

Only two burning questions emerged from the ordinary topics of discussion, while I was on the Council, and on both the old feud between the City and the University flickered up into life. One was the proposed erection of a statue to Cardinal Newman on a conspicuous site in Broad Street, which the Duke of Norfolk and other Catholics had offered to provide at their own expense, and which had been provisionally accepted by some influential citizens. Considering that it was intended to place it within twenty or thirty yards of the stone marking the spot on which Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer were burned to death, I could not but agree with Sir M. E. Grant Duff's remark that, except Smithfield, no more inappropriate site could have been elected in all England for a memorial of Newman.

But, apart from this objection, a large majority of Academical residents felt strongly that Newman was not the one *alumnus* of the University who should be singled out as the first to receive this unique honour, while his connection with the city was of the very slightest. The knowledge of this disapproval on the part of the University was enough to inflame the zeal of citizens into a white-heat of hero worship. Men who had been adverse to public monuments in Oxford, who had probably never read a line of Newman's writings except the hymn 'Lead, kindly Light,' and whose Non-conformist bias would naturally have been altogether on the other

side, became enthusiastic advocates of the statue, and roundly denounced the bigotry of their University colleagues. They carried their point, but the Duke of Norfolk wisely declined to foment an angry controversy at Oxford over the memory of Newman, and withdrew the offer of his statue.

*Memories and Impressions*, by Hon. G. C. Brodrick. Nisbet, 1900.

#### Physical Science

As a factor—probably of increased force and influence—in mental training, the pursuit of physical science will continue to assert its place with eager and well-grounded assurance. The expansion of human interest, the increasing diversity of human employment, the multiplication of human requirements, will probably develop this assertiveness with progressive pertinacity until the leeway has been made up, and until the methods of science have learned to take their place alongside of other intellectual effort, and fall naturally and easily into that general intellectual equipment which is the common possession of all educated men. That some glimmering of this penetrated to Oxford about the middle of last century is matter not of regret but of congratulation. But its first advocates were not men who could win the battle, or make themselves masters of this commanding post. They were superficial in their own subject; it was not given to them to wield the weapons of protagonists. They were unattractive in their methods. They were imbued with an almost pharasaical complacency as to their own eminent superiority. They were familiar terrors of our youthful days; not keeping their pursuits for the recesses of the study, and not subjecting them to the accurate tests of the laboratory, but obtruding them on the long-suffering patience of popular audiences, and content with that measure of scientific accuracy which such audiences encouraged. It was a phase that must pass away after it has bored the world sufficiently through the instrumentality of various annual associations. But in Oxford it found a congenial soil, and those who could not hold their own in other intellectual fields, and from whom the arcana of higher scientific truths were hidden, found their opportunity in these new pursuits and compelled the university to turn an indulgent, but often wearied, ear to their self-assertion. Then, in alliance with a passing whim of the artistic faddists, they forced her to perpetrate that abiding incongruity, the Natural History Museum—to jar for ever on the quaint and characteristic harmony of her gardens and quadrangles. When that was done, they sounded a great paean of victory—and for its fruits we are still waiting.

*Blackwood*, March 1901, 'Oxford in the Victorian Age.'



THERE are probably many residents at Oxford who think that Oxford's chief interest is to remain as it is—the most immobile of all great universities, slowly affected by the great changes which have taken place and are taking place in the educated world. Some of my American friends, when they visit Oxford, say: 'Change nothing; Oxford is perfectly delightful.' But they would not dream of introducing in their own universities the ways which make Oxford interesting and picturesque; they want to retain Oxford as a charming place to visit, and to reserve for the universities of America the primacy in the working world. . . .

The fact is that at present Oxford is at the dividing of the ways. Of the two paths before us, one tends more and more towards narrowness and stagnation, the other towards effectiveness and energy.

*Oxford at the Cross Roads*, by Percy Gardner. Black, 1903.

EVEN of our policy, the policy of our immediate future . . . the part which can be distinctly forecast and set down at once in writing is small. Men, able men, acting singly in the interest of the University, scanning with a clear and steady eye the circumstances of a time full of change, open to the rational influences of the age, yet self-reliant enough to keep their feet in a strong current of temporary opinion, are the one great need of the University. Unless a serious effort is made to put such men at the head of affairs, the multiplication of paper schemes of University Reform, in which mere visions mingle with proposals more or less practical, or even legislation itself, whether Parliamentary or Academical, will never make Oxford what every one who has long and affectionately studied her history, her resources and her opportunities, and who understands what the feeling of the nation towards her is, must well know she might be.

*The Reorganization of Oxford*, by Goldwin Smith. 1868.

A DREADFUL railway accident in which thirty-one people were killed and seventy wounded occurred yesterday morning [24 Dec. 1874] a few hundred yards from the village of Hampton Gay and close to Shipton-on-Cherwell near Oxford. . . . Near Woodstock Road, the first station beyond Oxford, the line runs along a steep embankment overhanging the Cherwell, and here, while the train was going full speed, a portion left the rails and was precipitated down one of the undefended sides of the track. The carriages, dragged from the metals, crashed one upon the other as they toppled into the chasm. Some were shattered in pieces in

**The Wolver-**  
**cot Accident,**  
1874

the meadows at the foot of the embankment, others were flung into the river. . . . A great number of wounded of both sexes, some of whom have since died, were removed with all practicable speed to Oxford, where they are being cared for either in the Radcliffe Infirmary, in the hotels, or in New College. . . . Hundreds of people drove over from Oxford in vehicles of every kind. . . . Lady Randolph Churchill and other ladies from Blenheim, with a Christian feeling which entitles them to the heartiest gratitude, administered nourishment and stimulants to those who stood in need of them.

BLENHEIM PALACE,  
WOODSTOCK, *Christmas Day*, 1874.

‘SIR,—I happened to arrive early on the scene of the late disaster at Shipton-on-Cherwell. The result of my observations leads me to remark on two points, not, I venture to believe, without importance to the general public. Firstly, had the breakage of the wheel tyre,—which, I believe, was the first cause of the accident—been perceived immediately, and had the engine drivers and guards been communicated with, the brakes might have been applied, the engines reversed, and the speed of the train might have been so greatly reduced that in all probability the accident would not have been followed by such appalling consequences. Secondly, had the express been fitted with powerful continuous brakes, it is most likely that no disaster, beyond a temporary stoppage of traffic, would have occurred at all. The spot where the tyre snapped, or where the carriage first left the rails, could be distinctly traced, and was at the very least a quarter of a mile from the bridge over the canal where the general smash occurred. When I mention that the guard of the train told me that he felt the carriages oscillating violently for about a minute before the train broke up, the speed being over 40 miles an hour, it will be perceived that I have not exaggerated the distance. . . .

RANDOLPH S. CHURCHILL.’

*Times*, 28 Dec. 1874.

#### Mansfield

Soon after the change of 1871 it became a serious question with the English Protestant Nonconformists how best to take advantage of the newly granted opportunities. Like the Roman Catholics, they were anxious not to lose their hold upon the youth of their own Communion, and cases arose which gave grave cause for apprehension amongst those ‘who loved freedom much, but religion more.’ Professor T. H. Green, an unimpeachable witness, wrote a letter to Dr. Dale, in which he stated that the opening of the National Universities to Nonconformists had, in his judgment,

been an injury rather than a help to Nonconformity. He said that Nonconformists were sending up to Oxford year after year the sons of some of their best and wealthiest families, and that they were often altogether uninfluenced by the services of the Church which they found there, and therefore that they not only drifted away from Nonconformity, but also from Christianity, and lost all faith. Nonconformists were bound, he said, now that they had secured the opening of the Universities for their sons, to follow them there in order to defend and maintain their religious life and faith. . . . Shortly after this it was determined (1885) to transfer to Oxford the Spring Hill College, Birmingham, originally founded 1838 according to the bequest of Mr. G. S. Mansfield, and associated with the memories of Drs. Pye Smith and Angell James. Dr. Fairbairn, an Aberdonian graduate, then Principal of Airedale College, Bradford, already famous as a theological teacher and writer, was invited to be the first Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford. He established himself with several students at Oxford in 1886, and the College was opened three years afterwards. No success could well be more complete. Dr. Fairbairn's learning and eloquence, his genuine liberality and wide culture, his candour and his unfailing tact, have not only raised Mansfield to a high place among academical institutions, but have made it a centre of religious influence in the University to an extent which few can have anticipated.

*Nationalisation of the Old English Universities*, by L. Campbell.  
Chapman and Hall, 1901.

THE University has ceased to be a mere aggregate of colleges, but it has not ceased to be essentially collegiate in many parts of its organisation, and the dualism of the professorial and tutorial systems has been perpetuated. Professorships have been freely created, but attendance on their lectures has not been made obligatory, and it has been found easier to provide them with salaries out of college revenues than to provide them with audiences at the expense of college lecturers. The number of necessary examinations has been increased and many obstacles have been thrown in the way of persistent idleness, but the door of the University has not been closed against complete ignorance by an effective entrance examination, and a dunce ignorant of his letters may still matriculate and reside, if he can find a college to admit him. The student is free to choose his final school, and unless he chooses the Classical school he may abandon Latin and Greek, in any case after Moderations. But a minimum of proficiency in these languages is still necessary for Responsions as well as for Moderations, several

Oxford in 1886

alternatives for which have been offered with an utter disregard of symmetry or equality between studies. Women have been admitted to certain University examinations, but not to all, nor on the same terms as men; and the names of those who obtain honours are published in a class-list but not the ordinary class-list. Religious equality has been established for most purposes but not for all, and the Faculty of Theology maintains its exclusive connection not only with the Anglican Church but with the Anglican clergy. Such are some of the anomalies which have been left to adjust themselves by successive commissions and successive groups of University legislators. They have not proved inconsistent with a vigorous internal life, but while they exist and continue to be multiplied, the University cannot be said to have attained a state of stable equilibrium, nor can a poetical unity be imparted to an historical narrative of recent University reform.

*History of the University of Oxford*, by Hon. G. C. Brodrick.  
Longmans, 1886.



BOOK II

OXFORD TOPOGRAPHY



## YE ANTIQUE TOWERS

SUPPOSE a man to have gone down the Thames when the new **Osney on Thames** discussions were beginning in London, and (as was customary even at the close of the Middle Ages) were spreading from town to town with a rapidity that we, who have ceased to debate ideas, can never understand. Let such a traveller or bargeman have gone down from Cricklade to the Tower, how would the Great Houses have appeared to him?

The upper river would have been much the same, but as he came to that part of it which was wealthy and populous, as he turned the corner of Witham Hill, he would already have seen far off, larger and a little nearer than the many spires of Oxford, a building such as to-day we never see in our rare and half-deserted cathedral country towns. It was the Abbey of Osney.

It would have been his landmark, as Hereford is the landmark for a man to-day rowing up the Wye, or the new spire of Chichester for a man that makes harbour out of the channel past Bisham upon a rising tide. And as he passed beneath it (for, of the many branches here, the main stream took him that way) he would have seen a great and populous place with nothing ruinous in it, all well ordered, busy with men and splendid; here again that which we now look upon as a relic and a circumstance of repose was once alive and strong. . . . Osney dated from the twelfth century, and was almost contemporary with Reading. It stood just outside the walls of Oxford Castle to the west, and upon the bank of the main stream of the Thames, and owed its foundation to the Conqueror's local governing family of Oilei. Though at the moment of its suppression it hardly counted a fifth of the revenues of Westminster, yet its magnificence profoundly affected contemporaries and has left a great tradition. It must always be remembered that the great monasteries were not only receivers of revenue as are our modern rich, but were also producers, or rather, could be producers when they chose, and that therefore the actual economic power of any one foundation might always be higher, and often was very considerably higher, than the nominal revenue, the dead

income, which passed to the spoliators of the sixteenth century. When a town is sacked the army gets a considerable loot, but nothing like what the value was of the city as it flourished before the siege.

At any rate, whether Osney owed its magnificence to internal industry, to a wise expenditure, or to a severity of life which left a large surplus for ornament and extension, it was for four hundred years the principal building upon the upper river, catching the eye from miles away up by Eynsham meadows, and forming a noble gate to the University town for those who approached it from the west by the packway, of which traces still remain, and over the bridges which the Conqueror had built. So deep was the impress of Osney upon the locality and even upon the national government, that Henry proposed, as in the case of Westminster, to make of the building one of his new cathedrals, and to establish there his new See of Oxford. The determination, however, lasted but for a very short time. In a few years the financial pressure was too much for him; he transferred the See to the old Church of St. Frideswide's, where it still remains, and gave up Osney to loot. It was looted very thoroughly.

*The Historic Thames*, by Hilaire Belloc. Dent, 1907.

Oxford from  
afar

AMONG inland towns I know none that can surpass Oxford in the beauty of its approach.

Beautiful as youth and venerable as age, she lies in a purple cup of the low hills, and the water meads of Isis and the gentle slopes beyond are besprent with her grey 'steeple-towers and spires whose silent finger points to heaven.' And all around her the country is a harmony in green—the deep, cool greens of the lush grass, the green of famous woods, the soft, juicy landscape of the Thames valley. . . .

You may approach Oxford in Summer by road, rail or river. Most wise and most fortunate perhaps is he who can obtain his first view of Oxford from Headington Hill, her Fiesole. . . .

*Oxford and its Story*, by Cecil Headlam. Dent, 1904.

From the Roof  
of the Camera

THERE is in Oxford much that is not as old as it looks. The buildings of the Bodleian Library, University College, Oriel, Exeter and some others, mediæval or half mediæval in their style, are Stuart in date. In Oxford the Middle Ages lingered long. Yon cupola of Christ Church is the work of Wren, yon towers of All



Souls are the work of a still later hand. The Headington stone, quickly growing black and crumbling, gives the buildings a false hue of antiquity. An American visitor, misled by the blackness of University College, remarked to his host that the buildings must be immensely old. 'No,' replied his host, 'their colour deceives you; their age is not more than two hundred years.' It need not be said that Palladian edifices like Queen's or the new buildings of Magdalen are not the work of a Chaplain of Edward III., or a Chancellor of Henry VI. But of the University buildings, St. Mary's Church and the Divinity School, of the College buildings, the old quadrangles of Merton, New College, Magdalen, Brasenose and detached pieces not a few are genuine Gothic of the Founders' age. Here are six centuries, if you choose to include the Norman castle, here are eight centuries, and, if you choose to include certain Saxon remnants in Christ Church Cathedral, here are ten centuries, chronicled in stone.

*Oxford and Her Colleges*, by Goldwin Smith. Macmillan, 1894.

IN truth there is scarcely a spot in the world which bears an historical stamp so deep and varied as Oxford:—where so many noble memorials of moral and material power co-operating to an honorable end, meet the eye all at once. He who can be proof against the strong emotions which the whole aspect and genius of the place tend to inspire, must be dull, thoughtless, uneducated, or of very perverted views and understanding. Others will bear us witness that even side by side with Eternal Rome, the *Alma Mater* of Oxford may be fitly named, as producing a deep, lasting and peculiar impression.

General  
Aspects.  
Oxford as a  
Microcosm

Perhaps in all the world it might be hard to find so many forms and types, evidently the stately representatives of the genius of the place, as are to be found in the Fellows and Masters of the Colleges of an English University. It is a peculiar type propagated from generation to generation. . . . Each of the larger and more ancient colleges looks like a separate whole; an entire town, whose walls and monuments proclaim the vigorous growth of many centuries. In fact every College is in itself a sort of Chronicle of the History of Art in England, and more especially of Architecture.

Huber's *English Universities*, ed. by Francis W. Newman. 1843.

THE Quarry at Heddington, scarce two miles from Oxford, supplies us continually with a good sort of stone and fit for all uses but that

The Stone  
of Oxford

of fire; in which that of Teynton and Hornton excel it. In the Quarry it cuts very soft and easie, and is worked accordingly for all sorts of Building; very porous and fit to imbibe lime and sand, but hardening continually as it lies to the weather. Of it in general there are two sorts; one that they call Free-stone and the other Rag-stone: but these again are subdivided into several species, according as they are cut or put to divers uses. The Free-stone, if cut cubically into very great blocks, is then by way of eminence called nothing but Free-stone; but if cut into oblong or other sorts of squares, of a lesser bulk, they then call it Ashler; and the fragments of these of inequilateral, multangular figures Scabble-burrs. The two first are used in principal Buildings. . . .

Of the stone afore-mentioned consists the gross of our Buildings; but for Columns, Capitals, Bases, Window-lights, Doorcases, Cor-nicing, Mouldings, etc. in the chiefest work they use Burford-stone, which is whiter and harder and carries by much a finer *Arris* than that at Heddington: but yet not so hard as that at Teynton, nor will it like that endure the fire, of which they make Mault-kills and hearths for ovens. . . . Besides the fire, it endures the weather, for of this mixed with another sort dug near Whateley on the Worcester road side are all the oldest Colleges in Oxford built; as Baliol, Merton, Exeter, Queens, Canterbury [now part of Christ Church] College, Durham [now Trinity] College, New College, Lincoln, All Souls, Magdalen, Brasen-nose and the outermost Quadrangle of St. John Bapt. Coll. Yet it endures not the weather so well as Heddington, by reason, I suppose, of a salt it has in it, which the weather in time plainly dissolves, as may be seen by the Pinnacles of New College Chappel, made of this stone, and thus melted away.

*The Natural History of Oxfordshire*, by Robert Plot. 1677.

#### The Site of Oxenford

OF these two, that of Oxford (which lieth west and by north from London) standeth most pleasantlie, being invironed in manner round about with woods on the hilles aloft and goodlie rivers in the bottoms and vallies beneath, whose courses would breed no small commodotie to that citie or countrie about, if such impediments were remooved as greatlie annoie the same, and hinder the carriage which might be made thither also from London.

Harrison's *Description of England*; Holinshed's *Chronicle*, 1587.

#### General Situation

THE northside of the city is open to corn-fields and enclosures for many miles together, without an hill to intercept the free current

of air, which purifies it from all noxious vapours. The soil is dry, being on a fine gravel, which renders it as healthful and pleasant a spot as any in the kingdom.

*Pocket Companion for Oxford.* 1762.

OXFORD stands in a beautiful plain and sweet air.

*Gent. Mag.* 1765.

THE flood of modern progress has overwhelmed the city of Oxford, but the rural villages have slept on, undisturbed in their peaceful seclusion. Yet still, on market days, the flocks and herds obstructing the narrow mediæval Oxford Streets, and the carriers' waggons clustered about the Church of St. Mary Magdalen, recall the fact that only a few miles from that busy centre of activity lies a county of archaic survivals and old-world traditions, 'a fertile country and plentiful, the plains garnished with cornfields and meadows, and the hills beset with woods.'

The County  
Town

*Victoria History of the County of Oxford* (Beatrice A. Lees).  
Constable, 1907.

AFTER many turnings he came up to the first ancient mediæval pile that he had encountered. It was a college, as he could see by the gateway. He entered it, walked round, and penetrated to dark corners which no lamplight reached. Close to this college was another; and a little farther on another; and then he began to be encircled as it were with the breath and sentiment of the venerable city. When he passed objects out of harmony with its general expression, he allowed his eyes to slip over them as if he did not see them.

The shadowy  
past

A bell began clanging, and he listened till a hundred and one strokes had sounded. He must have made a mistake he thought; it was meant for a hundred.

When the gates were shut, and he could no longer get into the quadrangles, he rambled under the walls and doorways, feeling with his fingers the contours of their mouldings and carving. The minutes passed, fewer and fewer people were visible, and still he serpentine among the shadows, for had he not imagined these scenes through ten bygone years, and what mattered a night's rest for once? High against the black sky the flash of a lamp would show crooked pinnacles and indented battlements. Down obscure alleys, apparently never trodden now by the foot of man, and whose very existence seemed to be forgotten, there would jut into the

path porticoes, oriels, doorways of enriched and florid middle-age design, their extinct air being accentuated by the rottenness of the stones. It seemed impossible that modern thought would house itself in such decrepit and superseded chambers.

*Jude the Obscure*, by Thomas Hardy. Osgood, M'Ilvaine, 1896.

**Genius Loci** Of all the educational agencies at Oxford, Oxford itself is the most potent.

'That sweet city, with her dreaming spires ;  
She needs not June for beauty's heightening.'

*Surveys Historic and Economic*, by W. J. Ashley. Longmans, 1900.

**Oxford of Old**

HE that hath Oxford seen, for Beauty, Grace,  
And healthiness ne'er saw a better place.  
If God himself on earth abode would make,  
He Oxford, sure, would for his dwelling take.

Anon.

**Towers and  
Groves**

WHERE shall I first the beauteous scene disclose,  
And all the gay variety expose ?  
For wheresoe'er I turn my wandering eyes,  
Aspiring towers and verdant groves arise,  
Immortal greens the smiling plains array,  
And mazy rivers murmur all the way.

Thomas Tickell's *Oxford*.

**Aged Cities**

I HAVE known cities with the strong-armed Rhine  
Clasping their mouldered quays in lordly sweep ;  
And lingered where the Main's low waters shine  
Through Tyrian Frankfort ; and been fain to weep  
'Mid the green cliffs where pale Mosella laves  
That Roman sepulchre, imperial Trèves.  
Ghent boasts her street, and Bruges her moonlight square ;  
And holy Mechlin, Rome of Flanders, stands,  
Like a queen-mother, on her spacious lands ;  
And Antwerp shoots her glowing spire in air.  
Yet have I seen no place, by inland brook,  
Hill-top, or plain, or trim arcaded bowers,  
That carries age so nobly in its look  
As Oxford with the sun upon her towers.

**General  
Situation**

*The Cherwell Water-Lily, etc.*, by Frederick William Faber.  
Rivington, 1840.



THE measure form and sight I bring  
Of antient Oxford, nobleness of skill  
A city seated rich in every thing,  
Girt with wood and water, pasture, corn and hill :  
He took the vewe from north, and so he leaves it still,  
For there the buildings make the bravest show,  
And from those walks the scholars best it know.

Geography  
of Oxford

Ralph Agas's Map of Oxford, 1578.

ON returning, I recast this judgement in regarding the architecture anew ; it also is three centuries old, and seems rooted in the soil by the same right as the trees ; the tint of the stone is accommodated to the climate ; age has imparted to it something of the majesty of natural things. One does not feel there the mechanical regularity, the official imprint, each college has been developed by itself, each age has built in its fashion : here the imposing quadrangle of Christ Church, with its turf, its fountains, and its staircases, there close to the Bodleian library, a mass of edifices, sculptured portals, lofty bell-towers, all flowered and embroidered, cupolas circled with small columns. Sometimes the chapel is a small cathedral. In several colleges the dining-hall sixty feet in height, vaulted, appears the nave of a church. The council-hall, wholly lined with antique wood, is worthy of our venerable old halls. Imagine the life of a Master of Arts, of a Fellow, amid these monuments, beneath that Gothic wainscoting, before the windows of the Revival or of the Middle Ages, in the midst of severe luxury and in the best taste, engravings, copper-plates, admirable books. In the evening, when descending the stair, when the light flickers upon the large black forms, one thinks that one is walking in a true piece of scenery.

Ye Antique  
Towers

Taine, *Notes on England*. Translated by Fraser Rae. 1872.

SOUTHEY . . . says that he never dreamt of Oxford. He was unhappy. There is, I should say, no place which so often reproduces itself in the dreams of those who are fortunate enough to be dreamers and into whose spirit its spirit has once entered. A man's own College will generally, but not necessarily, be most prominent in these dreams—not necessarily, for it is the glory of the place that the Collegiate and University attractions interpenetrate each other and make a sort of community of goods in an Oxford memory. I think I dream of the Magdalen cloisters and open-air pulpit as often as anything in Oxford, and yet I never had any relations with that College, nor, so far as I can remember, ever knew intimately

Oxford in  
Dreamland

a single Magdalen man. Certain things seem especially to belong to the general patrimony and panorama of the place as it exists in memory—the fragments of wall in New College and Merton Gardens; the famous or once famous passion-flower of St. John's; the copper beech in Wadham, and that uniquely complete and satisfying scheme of domestic architecture which the same College, alone of all those either of Oxford or of Cambridge presents: the magnificent unpretendingness of Tom Quad: the admirably turreted front of University—a dozen and a hundred other things of the same kind, or rather of kinds infinitely different.

*Sights and Scenes in Oxford*, Cassell, 1896,  
Introduction, by George Saintsbury.

To Oxford by  
Road<sup>1</sup>

THE Road from Bensington to Oxford is pleasant enough, but not particularly interesting. For the most part it descends by a series of undulations into the level plain, watered by the Isis, the Cherwell, and the Thames. But the mere notion of approaching that famous city, which is consecrated with memories of England's greatest men—statesmen and divines, melancholy philosophers and ill-starred poets—is in itself impressive, and lends to the rather common-place landscape an air of romance. While as yet the old town lies unseen amid the woods that crowd up to the very edge of the sky, one fancies the bells of the colleges are to be heard, as Pope heard them when he rode, a solitary horseman, over these very hills, and down into the plains, and up to Magdalen Bridge. We cared little to look at the villages, strung like beads on the winding thread of the road—Shellingford, Dorchester, Nuneham Courtenay, and Sandford—nor did we even turn aside to go down to Iffley and the Thames. It was seven when we drew near Oxford. There were people sauntering out from the town to have their evening walk. When at last we stopped to pay toll in front of the old lichen-covered bridge across the Cherwell, the tower of Magdalen College, and the magnificent elms on the other side of the way, had caught a tinge of red from the dusky sunset, and there was a faint reflection of crimson down on the still waters that lay among the rank green meadows. Then we drove on into the High Street, and here, in the gathering dusk, the yellow lamps were beginning to glimmer. 'We put up at the Angel Inn,' writes Mr. Boswell, 'and passed the evening by ourselves in easy and familiar conversation.'

Alas! the Angel has now been pulled down. Or shall we follow the hero of the Splendid Shilling, who

'When nightly mists arise,  
To Juniper's Magpie or some Hall repair'?

<sup>1</sup> In bk. iii. on 'Oxford Manners' a section is given to 'The Road to Oxford.'

They, too, are gone. But as Castor and Pollux, during these moments of doubt and useless reminiscence, are still taking us over the rough stones of the 'High,' some decision must be come to ; and so at a sudden instigation, Count von Rosen pulls up in front of the Mitre, which is an appropriate sign for the High Street of Oxford, and betokens age and respectability.

*Strange Adventures of a Phaeton*, by W. Black.  
Macmillan, 1872.

OXFORD owes much of her beauty to the humidity of the atmosphere, for the Thames Valley is generally humid, and when the floods are out, and that is not seldom, Oxford rises from the flooded meadows like some superb Venice of the North, centred in a vast lagoon. And just as the beauty of Venice is the beauty of coloured marbles blending with the ever-changing colour of water and water-laden air, so, to a large extent, the beauty of Oxford is due to the soft stone of Headington, which blends with the soft humid atmosphere in ever-fresh and tender harmonies, in ever-changing tones of purple and grey. By virtue of its fortunate softness this stone ages with remarkable rapidity, flakes off and grows discoloured, and soon lends to quite new buildings a deceptive but charming appearance of antiquity.

Venice of the  
North

*Oxford and its Story*, by C. Headlam. Dent, 1904.

O BAGLEY ! thou art fair at break of day,

Bagley

When freshest incense breathes from waking flowers,

Fair when the songless noon hath come to lay

Her spell of sylvan silence on thy bowers ;

But night is thine enchantment, magic night,

When all is vast and strange and dusky bright.

The winter night when, as a welcome boon,

Down giant stems the stealthy beams may glide,

And the stray sheep lie sleeping in the moon,

With their own fairy shadows at their side ;

While through the frosty night-air every tower

In Abingdon and Oxford tolls the hour.

*Poems*, by Frederick William Faber. 1857.

WHAT city boasts herself the peer of thee,

Oxford in  
May

Dear Oxford, when the mist of morning clings

Round Magdalen elms, or when the even flings,

Her rosy robe on river, hill, and lea ?

The spirit of the summer rises free

From winter sleep and spreads her silver wings,  
 The sunny sky holds dreams of nobler things,  
 Dreams drifting helmless on a fairy sea !  
 In the green distance smites through cloister doors  
 The swift and rhythmic throb of racing oars,  
 The shout of victory and of defeat.  
 Oxford is Oxford most when May is May,  
 And Cherwell oarsmen pluck the hawthorn spray  
 From trees unpruned that shelter stripling wheat.

*The Oxford Year*, by James Williams.  
 Blackwell, Oxford, 1901.

Oxford, the  
 Native Muses'  
 Home

OXFORD, the Goddess Muses' native home,  
 Inspired like Athens and adorn'd like Rome !  
 Hadst thou of old been Learning's famed retreat,  
 And Pagan Muses chose thy lovely seat,  
 O, how unbounded had their fiction been !  
 What fancied visions had adorn'd the scene !  
 Upon each hill a sylvan Pan had stood,  
 And every thicket boasted of a God ;  
 Satyrs had frisk'd in each poetic grove,  
 And not a stream without its nymphs could move ;  
 Each summit had the train of Muses show'd,  
 And Hippocrene in every fountain flow'd ;  
 The tales, adorn'd with each poetic grace,  
 Had look'd almost as charming as the place.

Ev'n now we hear the world with transports own  
 Those fictions by more wond'rous truths outdone ;  
 Here pure Eusebia keeps her holy seat,  
 And Themis smiles from Heaven on this retreat ;  
 Our chaster Graces own refin'd desires,  
 And all our Muses burn with vestal fires ;  
 Whilst guardian-angels our Apollos stand,  
 Scattering rich favours with a bounteous hand,  
 To bless the happy air and sanctify the land.

O pleasing shades ! O ever-green retreats !  
 Ye learned grottoes ! and ye sacred seats !  
 Never may you politer arts refuse,  
 But entertain in peace the bashful Muse !  
 So may you be kind Heav'n's distinguished care,  
 And may your fame be lasting, as 'tis fair !  
 Let greater bards on famed Parnassus dream,  
 Or taste th' inspired Heliconian stream ;



Yet, whilst our Oxford is the blessed abode  
Of every Muse, and every tuneful God,  
Parnassus owns its honours far outdone,  
And Isis boasts more bards than Helicon.

Tickell's *Oxford*.

*Oxford, August 31, 1156.*

IF I remember aright, I spoke very slightly of the exterior aspect of Oxford, as I saw it with J. during an hour or two's stay here, on my way to Southampton. I am bound to say that my impressions are now very different; and that I find Oxford exceedingly picturesque and rich in beauty and grandeur and in *antique stateliness*. I do not remember very particularly what we saw,—timeworn fronts of famous colleges and halls of learning everywhere about the streets, and arched entrances; passing through which, we saw bits of sculpture from monkish hands—the most grotesque and ludicrous faces, as if the slightest whim of these old carvers took shape in stone, the material being so soft and manageable by them: an ancient stone pulpit in the quadrangle of Magdalen College, one of only three now extant in England; a splendid—no, not splendid, but dimly magnificent—chapel, belonging to the same College, with painted windows of rare beauty, not brilliant with diversified hues, but of a sombre tint. In this chapel there is an alabaster monument—a recumbent figure of the founder's father, as large as life, which, though several centuries old, is as well preserved as if fresh from the chisel.

**Antique  
Stateness**

*Passages from the English Note-Books of Nathaniel  
Hawthorne.* Strahan and Co., 1870.

EVERYTHING wearing the impress of a grave, peaceful stateliness—hoary towers, antique battlements, airy porticoes, majestic colonnades, lofty poplars and elms; wide, spacious, solemn streets; everywhere a monastic stillness and Gothic grandeur:

**Oxford in  
Autumn**

Alas!

'To see the changes of this age  
Which fleeting Time procureth.'

*Reginald Dalton*, by John Gibson Lockhart. 1823.

AN unseen clock chimed the quarter before six. I was early for the service in Magdalen College Chapel, so I wandered through the quadrangles, loitered in the dim cloisters, and invited the salient impressions of that day in Oxford to visualise themselves. Here,

**Unseen Oxford**

in this place of repose, and memories of Wolsey, Addison, and Gibbon, dominated by the Founders' Tower, where the Latin hymn is sung on May morning, the new and the old buildings united by the darkness, I was again conscious of the insistent impression that the stranger feels as he roams Oxford: the young life moving blithely against the grey and often peeling walls—ancestral buildings fostering infinite generations of children. You cannot escape the undergraduate. You do not wish to escape him. He is the butterfly of a day against an immemorial background. He is ubiquitous, ever busy, ever lively. He dresses carelessly and roughly as for a country walk, all but his waistcoat, which is always almost outrageous. Yet there must be a dandy set. Else how explain the vivid scarlet socks and the rainbow dressing-gowns in shop windows. The solemn night-gloom of Magdalen cloisters shrouded all colour, but life persisted. Beyond the arches, now here, now there, figures flitted, their gowns blown out by the wind, their feet skirting the lawns (those wonderful Oxford lawns); above them the old trees, and everywhere the spirit of the place brooding in the secrecy of the night. To the last frontier of Empire, Alma Mater breathes her benedictions upon her sons, remaining as much a part of them as their childhood. And here am I, a stranger, trying to give an impression of Oxford in a page. Why, one college would overflow the space; one Hall of portraits; one wing of the Bodleian; one room of the University Galleries; one night at the Union; one dinner in the Hall; when the Eight, a little late, bounce in so vivid with vitality that they startle you like the shower of rockets at the end of Henley Week; one sight of a piece of venerable and lovely tapestry ('It was given to the College by Henry VIII.' remarked my informant casually); one grave Professor with a European reputation as a philosopher, seated at the High Table of his Hall at eight in the morning solemnly checking the butter, milk, and bread bills of his undergraduates. The choir boys, a long sinuous line of small figures in cap and gown, wind through the quadrangle into the chapel. I follow, am given a seat in the choir, and methodically count the fifty-four candles. The roof is dark, the picture over the altar is dim; but above the faces of the choristers those candles flare. Canticles, psalms, the Amens, even, take on a new meaning carolled by those young voices, with the rumble of the bass undertone. The bodies of the boys fidgeted, their hands were not lily white, but I heard the young-eyed cherubim choiring beneath the morning stars. 'O sing unto the Lord a new song,' ran the psalm of the day, and the song was new that night in old Oxford.

It was a wrench to return to High Street, and to jump upon a tramcar, but the full moon hung over Magdalen Tower. Those voices still sounded in my ears as the train rushed towards London. I could not easily shake off the memory of Oxford. When we stopped at Ealing I knew that at that moment a very learned man was lecturing in his study on 'Justin Martyr: His First Apology'; when I picked my way through the bustling streets of London, Great Tom was pealing the curfew, and the College gates were swinging into their locks.

*The Diary of a Looker-on*, by Lewis Hind. Nash, 1908.

AND yet the old tower is not quite unadorned; it too has its circle of gargoyles high up where they do not trouble the gazer. Once the gargoyles were white and new, and all could tell at a glance what each one was meant for; doubtless in those days men cried, 'Well done, Master Carver! this is a brave new tower for our city of the meeting waters, good for beauty, and for defence in time of need.'

Old Saints and  
New Demons

But now the gargoyles are crumbled away with sun-smiles and the anger of the storms. A Griffin and an Abbot stand side by side, and many things have they endured together, and many things have they seen. Fair weather and foul, feast days and fast days, cropped heads and flowing wigs, the pulling down of old houses and the building up of new, all these things have they watched with steadfast hearts.

But at last a thing came to pass which brought doubt and grief to the hearts of the ancient Friends. A new craze seized hold of the University, a craze for olden times. 'Nothing is good,' quoth one and all, 'that happened later than the times whereof Stubbs writes: let us therefore return to those times. Let us live and think and talk of those heroic ages, and, above all, let us build our houses after the fashion followed by our forefathers.'

When the city spoke of its forefathers it passed over in silent forgetfulness some dozen generations, and referred to men who lived not less than four hundred years ago. . . . So the city raised itself new houses with small windows, though glass was cheap and the arrows of foemen no longer disputed with light and sweet air the passage-way through the casement. Much ornament, too, did they place on their houses and gargoyles innumerable.

It chanced that a house of this sort was built not far from the belfry-tower and within the college boundaries, a house whose

proud boast was that where every other house had one demon gargoyle it had two. Oh, happy house!

A high chestnut stood between the tower and the new building, but still glimpses of it could be seen through the branches.

The Abbot and the Griffin watched with doubtful looks the growth of one demon after another on the white walls. They looked well at what was left of themselves, they noted with care their curves, their scales and the folds in their garments, then they shook their heads and sighed. The Master Carver of long ago believed in griffins,—and in abbots no less.

Belief wonderfully helps the grace of a curve and the grimness of a demon.

*Old Saints and New Demons.*  
Blackwell, 1886.



## SOME ENGLISH VISITORS TO OXFORD<sup>1</sup>

MONDAY 9 *Sept.*: 1603: I was at Oxford; wher lying at the Crosse  
Inne the best in the citie, yet was ther two howses on either side  
adjoining infected with plague: *sed deus nos protegat.*

A Jacobean  
Judge's  
Verdict

There was the Spanishe Ambassador lodged in Christchurch  
and the Archduke's Ambassador lodged in Mawdelin Colledge:  
the attended ther audience at the king's coming to Wodstock.

I surveyed the chiefest colledges: 1<sup>o</sup> Christchurch which was  
ment to have ben a famous monument, but never finished by the  
founder Cardinall Wolsey: it was ment to be a square of 8 score:  
three parts built, but the church not builded: ther is the fairest  
hall with great church windoes, & the largest kichin I ever sawe.

Mawdelins is the second chief colledge: a large uniform square,  
about 4 score yardes within & all clostered benethe: a hall with  
church windoes, & a chappell fairer then faire & lardge churches:  
ther are walkes sufficient to environ a litle towne: for besides a  
close of x acres walled about for walkes & severall divided walks  
with ash trees, they have manie orchards walled in, & ech  
chamber to 2 Fellows have a peculiar orcharde.

They have walkes also made in the medowes wherin the river  
of Temmies, & of Charwell do runne & meete; invironed close  
walk of willow & some elmes, to walk the distance of half a mile,  
in shadowes: this is the most compleet & fairest colledg & walks  
in England: (tho Trinitie Colledg square is much larger & fairer.)

Martyn College is a second to this & with statlie hall & Chappell  
& square equall almost to Mawdelin: & I think a cloister in a  
second court fairer: a faire garden but not such large walks as the  
former.

All Sowles Colledg doth almost equall Martyn Colledg, but the  
square not so great: & without cloister.

Brazen Nose Colledg hath a nose of brass upon the gate: it is a  
pretie square uniform, but the hall square & chappell nothing to  
the former: yet statelie & colledg like: & to this most colledgs in  
Cambridg are equall.

<sup>1</sup> A separate section in vol. ii. bk. iii. is devoted to 'Foreign Impressions.'

Universitie Colledg is the auncientest Colledg. Jesus Colledg, Lincolne Colledg & others I saw on the outside: they seme farr inferior to the former.

All these 4 great colledgs have ther halles mounted 20 steppes from above the grounde: but in Cambridge the halls stand upon the grounde: & all in Oxford built of free-hewen stone: the most in Cambridg of bricke.

Yet the gatehouses & coming into Trinitie & St Johns in Cambridge is more statelie then any in Oxford.

Ther is 16 Colledges & 8 Halles in Oxford.

Eche of the 5 colledges I surveyed have good libraries; but the chiefest wonder in Oxford is a faire Divinitie Schole with church windoes: and over it the fairest librarie called the Universitie Librarie founded & supplied dailie by Mr. Bodley, that is thought for bewtie of building & wainscott frames & chaynes to kepe the books, will equall any in christendome: all the windoes of all the libraries have but two lightes & a transome, & sett nere together of equall distance, the one half wall thother windowe, by equall distance. All the Colledg windowes are likewise but 2 lightes, & some have transomes & some none: & the toppe of ech window is not flatt or square, but round as an arch at the toppe.

Mawdelins, Martyn Colledg & as I remember All Sowles Colledges wer builded by 3 successive bishops of Winchester<sup>1</sup> wholie: the towne of Oxford fairer & larger then Cambridge, but Cambridge hath a farre fairer markt place.

Oxford stands lowe, with rich meadowes about the rivers that runne by it: & Oxford is invironed with pretie litle hills two miles off by south & west: that part northward a flatt: the soile is clay & sand: a lighter ground & mold.

But Cambridge standes in a large flatt every way close to the river: & in a miry depe clay soile: all arable about it, in effect wanting the pleasure of medowes.

*Journal of Sir Roger Wilbraham.* Camden Misc., 1902.

Drunken  
Barnaby at  
Oxford

VENI Oxford, cui comes  
Est Minerva, fons Platonis;  
Unde scatent peramœnè  
Aganippe, Hippocrene;  
Totum fit Atheniense  
Imò Cornu Reginense.

<sup>1</sup> There is some error here: only Waynflete the Founder of Magdalen was a Bishop of Winchester.

Inde Godstow, cum amicis,  
Vidi Tumbam Meretricis ;  
Rosamundam tegit humus,  
Pulvis et umbra corpore sumus ;  
Sic qui teget, quæ tegetur,  
Ordinè certo sepelietur.

Inde Woodstock, quò spectandum  
Labyrinthum memorandum  
Ferunt, sed spectare nollem,  
Reperi vivam Hospitem mollem ;  
Gratior sociis est jocundis,  
Mille mortuis Rosamundis.

*Barnabæ Itinerarium, Pars Prima.*

IN March 1795, a Bill for the better observance of Sunday was introduced into Parliament by Sir Wm. Dolben and Sir Richard Hill. In debate it was warmly as well as wittily attacked by Mr. Courtenay, who, among other things, said he would read to the House six lines, whimsically prophetic of this very Bill, extracted from a curious little book, called *Rowland's Itinerary*.

‘ In Oxford, much against my will,  
I met two knights, Dolben and Hill,  
The first he was a most profane one,  
The next a rigid Puritane one,  
Who hang’d his wicked cat on Monday,  
Because she catch’d a mouse on Sunday.’

Sir Wm. Dolben, in reply, treated the quotation as a mere fiction, and compared Mr. Courtenay to Lauder, the calumniator of Milton. Mr. Courtenay, in explanation, said, the Honourable Baronet had given him more credit than he deserved in ascribing the lines to him: they were taken from a book called *Drunken Barnaby's Travels*.<sup>1</sup>

The parliamentary jester, however, mixed up two places.

‘ In my progress travelling northward,  
Taking farewell of the southward,  
To Banbury came I, O profane one !  
Where I saw a Puritane One

<sup>1</sup> See *Parliamentary Register*, xli. 151. The full title of the book is *Drunken Barnaby's Four Journeys to the North of England. In Latin and English Verse. Wittily and Merrily (tho' near One Hundred Years ago) compos'd: found among some old musty books that had a long time laid by in a corner; and now at last made publick. To which is added Bessy Bell.* London, 1716.

Hanging of his cat on Monday,  
 For killing of a mouse on Sunday.  
 To Oxford came I, whose companion  
 Is Minerva, well Platonian ;  
 From whose seat do stream most seemly,  
 Aganippe, Hippocrene ;  
 Each thing there's the Muses minion,  
 The Horn at Queen's speaks pure Athenian.'

**Pepys at  
Oxford**

9TH (Tuesday). Came to Oxford, a very sweet place ; paid our guide, £1 : 2 : 6d. ; barber, 2s. 6d ; book, *Stonehenge*, 4s. ; boy that showed me the colleges before dinner, 1s. To dinner ; and then out with my wife and people, and landlord ; and to him that showed us the schools and library, 10s., to him that showed us All Souls' College and Chichly's picture, 5s. So to see Christ Church with my wife, I seeing several others very fine alone, before dinner, and did give the boy that went with me 1s. Strawberries, 1s. 2d. Dinner and servants, £1 : 0 : 6d. After coming home from the schools, I out with the landlord to Brazenose College ;—to the butteries, and in the cellar find the hand of the child of Hales . . . long. Butler 2s. Thence with coach and people to Physic Garden, 1s. So to Friar Bacon's study : I up and saw it, and gave the man 1s. Bottle of sack for landlord, 2s. Oxford mighty fine place ; and well seated, and cheap entertainment. At night came to Abingdon, where had been a fair of custard ; and met many people and scholars going home, and there did get some pretty good music, and sang and danced till supper : 5s.

*Diary of Samuel Pepys, June 1668.*

**Evelyn at  
Oxford**

12TH. We went to St. John's, saw the library and the two skeletons, which are finely cleansed and put together. Observable is here also the store of mathematical instruments, chiefly given by the late Archbishop Laud, who built here a handsome quadrangle.

Thence we went to New College, where the chapel was in its ancient garb, notwithstanding the scrupulosity of the times. Thence, to Christ's Church, in whose library was showed us an office of Henry VIII., the writing, miniatures, and gilding whereof is equal, if not surpassing, any curiosity I had seen of that kind ; it was given by their founder, Cardinal Wolsey. The glass windows of the cathedral (famous in my time) I found much abused. The ample hall and column, that spreads its capital to sustain the roof as one goes up the stairs, is very remarkable.

Next, we walked to Magdalen College, where we saw the library



and chapel, which was likewise in pontifical order, the altar only I think turned tablewise, and there was still the double organ, which abominations (as now esteemed) were almost universally demolished; Mr. Gibbon, that famous musician, giving us a taste of his skill and talents on that instrument.

Hence, to the Physic Garden, where the sensitive plant was showed us for a great wonder. There grew canes, olive-trees, rhubarb, but no extraordinary curiosities, besides very good fruit, which, when the ladies had tasted, we returned in our coach to our lodgings.

*Diary of John Evelyn, July 1654.*

I HAVE been at Oxford; how could you possibly leave it? After seeing that charming place, I can hardly ask you to come to Cambridge. Magdalen Walks please me most; I felt a pensive joy in them occasioned by thinking two Lytteltons had been drowned in the adjoining stream; and another had so often walked there.

H. Walpole  
to Charles  
Lyttelton

King's Coll., May 22<sup>d</sup>, 1736.

Walpole's *Letters*.

OXFORD, June 13, 1782. Who do you think is my principal *Cicerone* at Oxford? Only Dr. Johnson! and we do so gallant it about! You cannot imagine with what delight he showed me every part of his own College (Pembroke), nor how rejoiced Henderson looked, to make one in the party. Dr. Adams, the master of Pembroke, had contrived a very pretty piece of gallantry. We spent the day and evening at his house. After dinner Johnson begged to conduct me to see the College, he would let no one show it me but himself,—‘This was my room; this Shenstone’s.’ Then after pointing out all the rooms of the poets who had been of his college, ‘In short,’ said he, ‘we were a nest of singing-birds.—Here we walked, there we played at cricket.’ He ran over with pleasure the history of the juvenile days he passed there. When we came into the common room, we spied a fine large print of Johnson, framed and hung up that very morning, with this motto: ‘And is not Johnson ours, himself a host.’ Under which stared you in the face, ‘From *Miss More’s Sensibility*.’ This little incident amused us; but alas! Johnson looks very ill indeed—spiritless and wan. However, he made an effort to be cheerful, and I exerted myself much to make him so.

Johnson and  
Hannah More  
at Pembroke

*Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More.* 1834.

**No Mean City** WOE to him who does not feel in passing through Oxford that he is in 'no mean city,' that he is surrounded with the monuments and lordly mansions of the mind of man, outvying in pomp and splendour the courts and palaces of princes, rising like an exhalation in the night of ignorance, and triumphing over barbaric foes, saying, 'All eyes shall see me, and all knees shall bow to me!'

Hazlitt's *Sketches of the Principal Picture Galleries of England*. 1824.

**The Oxford Guide.**

As they went out at the gate, they inquired of the porter for Mr. Charles Larkyns, but they found that he had not yet returned from the friend's house where he had been during the vacation; whereupon Mr. Green said that they would go and look at the Oxford lions, so that he might be able to answer any of the questions that should be put to him on his return. They soon found a guide, one of those wonderful people to which show-places give birth, and of whom Oxford can boast a very goodly average, and under this gentleman's guidance Mr. Verdant Green made his first acquaintance with the fair outside of his Alma Mater.

The short, thick stick of the guide served to direct attention to the various objects he enumerated in his rapid career. 'This here's Christ Church College,' he said, as he trotted them down St. Aldate's, 'built by Card'nal Hoolsy, four undred feet long and the famous Tom Tower as tolls wun undred and wun hevery night that being the number of Stoodents on the foundation,' and thus the guide went on, perfectly independent of the artificial trammels of punctuation, and not particular whether his hearers understood him or not: that was not *his* business. And as it was that gentleman's boast that he 'could do the 'alls, collidges, and principal hedifices in a nour and a naff,' it could not be expected but that Mr. Green should take back to Warwickshire otherwise than a slightly confused impression of Oxford.

When he unrolled that rich panorama before his 'mind's eye,' all its component parts were strangely out of place. The rich spire of St. Mary's claimed acquaintance with her poorer sister at the Cathedral. The cupola of the Tom Tower got into close quarters with the huge dome of the Radcliffe, that shrugged up its great round shoulders at the intrusion of the cross-bred Graeco-Gothic tower of All Saints. The theatre had walked up to St. Giles's to see how the Taylor Buildings agreed with the University galleries; while the Martyrs' Memorial had stepped down to Magdalen Bridge, in time to see the College taking a walk in the Botanic Gardens. The Schools and the Bodleian had set their backs against the stately portico of the Clarendon Press; while the

antiquated Ashmolean had given place to the more modern Town-hall. The time-honoured, black-looking front of University College had changed into the cold cleanliness of the 'classic' *façade* of Queen's. The two towers of All Souls,—whose several stages seemed to be pulled out of each other like the parts of a telescope,—had, somehow, removed themselves from the rest of the building, which had gone, nevertheless, on a tour to Broad Street, behind which, as every one knows, are the Broad Walk and the Christ Church Meadows. Merton Chapel had got into *New* quarters; and Wadham had gone to Worcester for change of air. Lincoln had migrated from near Exeter to Pembroke; and Brasenose had its nose put out of joint by St. John's. In short, if the maps of Oxford are to be trusted, there had been a general *pousset* movement among its public buildings.

Cuthbert Bede, *Adventures of Mr. Verdant Green.* 1853.

ON the following morning as he sat at breakfast, the head-waiter, at the request of the 'gen'tleman in No. 1,' procured and introduced a specimen of that now nearly extinguished genius, an Oxford guide. The specimen was dressed, as all of his species were wont to be of yore, in a tutor's left-off coat and waistcoat, purchased of one of us scouts, and in drab knees and drab gaiters (*si hyems esset vel foret*—but without the continuations if the weather was warm), an unstarched and cable-like white tie, and a hat, which, in these times of four-and-sixpenny ventilators, would be pronounced a shocking bad one.

An Oxford  
Guide

'The guide, sir,' said the waiter, bowing.

'Come in,' said Winkey. 'Will you take a——'

'Little beer, if you please, sir. Never drinks no coffee, tea, or spirituous liquors.'

'A seat I was going to say,' said Winkey.

'Never takes nuffin of the sort, sir, much obliged to you all the same. If you'd ha' stood as long as I have, and walked about all day, showing of people the lions of the 'varsity, as our young gentlemen calls the curiosities, your *calves* would not be "staggering bobs."'

Mr. Winkey did not exactly understand this *standing* joke of the guide, but rung the bell for a glass of ale for his new acquaintance; an order that the head-waiter, knowing his customer, executed by bringing in a large quart-cup of Squire Broadbrim's best, which in those days was exceedingly bad.

'I have sent for you to point out to me,' said Mr. Winkey, 'the best——'

'Way of seeing everything in a day,' said the guide (who was called 'Old Explicator' by the men), setting down his emptied mug with a loud ah! ah! 'always begins at the schools—central like—*meado tissimis tibus*, as we say in these classical regions—Bodleian—lots of books—Elgin marbles—five orders of archy-tecter, one above t'other—Saxon at bottom, or Doric, no matter which—High-on-ick—composite and tip-top—upper—sawyer-like—Corinthian—pictor-gallery—cat looking every way at once—Lord Pembroke's statty—Charles First's warrant—and no end of hinteresting hobjects—only a shilling! into schools, responsions only on now—young uns in a funk—across to the Radcliffe—pay a shilling—set your name down in the book—out upon the roof—fine view of Oxford—to the North Wadham College—Clarendon—theatre—not a play house—Ashmole's museum—Trinity and Baliol, with a distant peep at St. John's and St. Giles's church. South: Brazenose—St. Mary's, All Saints—Tom Tower—Merton and Broadwalk, with Bagley-wood in the distance. East: All-Souls, notorious for its two lanterned towers, and the non-residence of its fellows—Queens—Maudlin—University, and Joe Pullen on the hill. West: Carfax church—Castle Tower—William the Conqueror—hang criminals—above in the distance romantic woods of Wytham—Lord Abingdon—Lord-leeftenant of the county—city prison and Worcester College—only you can't tell which is which.'

*Peter Priggins, The College Scout*, by J. T. J. Hewlett. 1841.



## DREAMING SPIRES AND FRETTED PINNACLES

YE fretted pinnacles, ye fanes sublime,  
 Ye towers that wear the mossy vest of time ;  
 Ye massy piles of old munificence,  
 At once the pride of learning and defence ;  
 Ye cloisters pale, that, lengthening to the sight,  
 To contemplation, step by step, invite ;  
 Ye high-arched walks, where oft the whispers clear  
 Of harps unseen have swept the poet's ear ;  
 Ye temples dim, where pious duty pays  
 Her holy hymns of ever-echoing praise ;—  
 Lo ! your loved Isis, from the bordering vale,  
 With all a mother's fondness, bids you hail !—  
 Hail, Oxford, hail ! of all that's good and great,  
 Of all that's fair, the guardian and the seat ;  
 Nurse of each brave pursuit, each generous aim,  
 By truth exalted to the throne of fame !  
 Like Greece in science and in liberty,  
 As Athens learned, as Lacedemon free !

**Ye fretted  
Pinnacles**

Thomas Warton.

THERE were probably not many pinnacles on Oxford churches, as distinguished from spires, in the fourteenth century.

**A Paradise of  
Pinnacles**

The man who really set the fashion of making Oxford a city of many pinnacles was William of Wykeham. Very beautiful they are : they seem to figure the aspiration of a university after the ideal of truth.

By the reign of Henry VII. St. Mary's had become a completely pinnacled church. The Schools and Library gradually developed into a magnificent pile, ornamented by not far short of a hundred pinnacles. No time was lost in the seventeenth century before applying the principle of pinnacle-clusters to St. Mary's spire—though such an application can surely never have been part of the original design.

See *St. Mary's Clusters*, by Thomas Case. Parker, 1893.

## St. Mary's

A STRONG-HELD arm that stretches up and spires  
 Away, to reach the far heart of the sky  
 Thou risest . . . while around thee pressing vie  
 The grey-robed company, the mouthless choirs  
 Of thy compeers, who bring their stone charm'd lyres  
 And circle thee, with great unutter'd cry  
 To touch the blue heart of that summer sky—  
*This lordly company of towers and spires.*

*Leaves in the Wind*, by Elsa Lorraine. Blackwell, 1908.

Oxford Bells  
and Towers

I WENT into a grey quadrangle . . . and in a high attic I heard once again the laud or summons or complaint of bells. That was All Saints'; that St. Mary's; that the Cathedral's; and that was their blended after-tone seeming to come from the sky. Each bell had its own character or mood, sometimes constant, sometimes changing with the weather of the night. . . . Once again I felt the mysterious pleasure of being in an elevated Oxford chamber at night, among cloud and star,—so that I seemed to join in the inevitable motion of the planets—and as I saw the sea of roofs and horned turrets and spires I knew that although architecture is a dead language, here at least it speaks strongly and clearly, pompous as Latin, subtle as Greek.

*Oxford*, described by Edward Thomas. Black, 1903.

## Great Tom

THE stately tower over the great and principal gate next to Fish Street, begun on the old foundation (laid by Wolsey) in June 1681 and finished in November 1682, mostly with the moneys of benefactors, whose arms are with great curiosity ingraven in stone on the roof that parts the gatehouse and the belfry. To this tower was translated from the campanile of the church, the bell called Great Tom of Christ Church, after it had been several times cast, an. 1683, and on the great festival of the 29th of May 1684, it first rang out, between 8 and 9 at night; from which time to this, a servant tolls it every night at 9, as a signal to all scholars to repair to their respective colleges and halls, as he did, while 'twas in the campanile.

Wood's *Athene Oxonienses*.

Osney and  
Great Tom

OSNEY ABBEY had two lofty towers. The seven bells in the western tower were the finest in England; they are still the 'bonny Christ Church bells,' and one of them is the famous Great Tom, though it was recast in 1680. The names of the bells were recorded in a rude hexameter

'Hautclere, Douce, Clement, Austyn, Marie, Gabriel, et John.'

The great bell weighed seventeen thousand pounds, and bore the inscription, *In Thomae laude resono Bim Bom sine fraude*. Now it is 'Magnus Thomas Clusius Oxoniensis renatus April 8, 1680.' The church itself under Henry VIII. became for a moment the cathedral of a new diocese, when the unwieldy diocese of Lincoln was subdivided. . . . Agas' map of 1566 represents much of Osney as still standing, though unroofed; and there is a glass painting of it in the first window of the south choir aisle of Christ Church. There had been elm walks on the south side of the church, with dove-houses and fish-ponds. The abbot's chamber and the great stone staircase were still standing in 1718. Now nothing remains but a small outbuilding.

Boase's *Oxford*. Longmans, 1887.

BEAR me, some God, to Christ Church, royal seat,  
And lay me softly in the green retreat,  
Where Aldrich holds o'er wit the sovereign power,  
And crowns the poets which she taught before.  
To Aldrich Britain owes her tuneful Boyle  
The noblest trophy of the conquer'd isle;  
Who adds new warmth to our poetic fire,  
And gives to England the Hibernian lyre.

Christ  
Church

Philips, by Phœbus and his Aldrich taught,  
Sings with that heat wherewith his Churchill fought,  
Unfetter'd, in great Milton's strain he writes,  
Like Milton's angels whilst his hero fights;  
Pursues the Bard, whilst he with honour can,  
Equals the Poet, and excels the man.

Tickell's *Oxford*.

IN the south aisle of the choir of the cathedral is the shrine of St. Frideswide, the workmanship of which belongs to the later fifteenth century. The lower part is of stone, the upper part of wood: within the lower part is a tomb of the altar form, with the matrices of brasses of a male and female of the fifteenth century, said by a doubtful tradition to have been representations of the father and mother of St. Frideswide. But in truth the wooden part only belonged to St. Frideswide's shrine, being the watching chamber of the date of Henry VII. or Henry VIII. The real shrine was broken up at the Reformation. . . . The East Window represents the life of St. Frideswide who ended her days on this spot in 740. In the first light she is seen at school; founding her nunnery;

St. Frides-  
wide

sought in marriage by King Algar; lastly, the king approaches to carry her off. In the second light she is seen leaving Oxford, and descending the river to Abingdon; Algar ravages the country; she is befriended by a swineherd. In the third light she retreats to a nunnery at Binsey; the king, finding no trace of her, returns sorrowfully; her companions join her at Binsey; where she becomes distinguished by miracles and alms-deeds. In the fourth light the king again seeks her; she flies to Oxford; the men of Oxford resist the Mercians; the king is struck by lightning. Then follow the death of St. Frideswide, the ship of souls convoyed by angels, and the trees of life and knowledge.

Parker's *Oxford Guide*, 1881.

### The Cathedral

'THE Cathedral Church of Christ in Oxford' has had a somewhat unfortunate history. Built for the small monastery of St. Frideswide, with no thought of any ampler destination, it was in the sixteenth century raised to the rank of a cathedral, just after it had been reduced in size by the destruction of half the nave and sunk out of sight among a mass of college buildings. Nor was this all the indignity it suffered; for it had also to do duty as the chapel of the new academic foundation, which Wolsey established, and very soon the cathedral was forgotten in the college chapel. So neglected was it that Britton wrote at the beginning of the nineteenth century, 'It is very common for visitors, and even those of rather refined and critical minds, to leave Oxford without examining the building.' . . . 'The present state of the cathedral,' said a writer in *The Ecclesiologist* for February 1847, 'is more deplorable than can be imagined. It is really wonderful that the cathedral of an English diocese and the chapel of one of our greatest colleges should remain in a condition which would disgrace the meanest hamlet.' . . . Dean Liddell began the restoration in 1856 . . . and in 1870 employed Sir. G. Gilbert Scott to carry on the great restoration, whereby very considerable changes were wrought in the fabric itself.

On the whole it has been real restoration and not destruction. . . . The difficulties to be encountered were very great, for the church had suffered unusually; a certain amount of rebuilding was therefore inevitable, and, besides, provision had to be made for the church as a college-chapel as well as a cathedral.

*The Cathedral Church of Oxford*, by Rev. Percy Dearmer.  
George Bell and Sons, 1897.

THE peculiar position of Christ Church, as a cathedral which is



three parts college chapel, is apparent to the most casual observer who, passing by the college in the gateway of Tom Tower, finds himself in a great open quadrangle with a fine hall on one side, but no sign of a cathedral anywhere, except a spire which seems so far off that it might very well belong to another college. He may well be struck by that doubtfulness as to any means of exit, which makes most of the colleges appear to the stranger as if they consisted of one quadrangle only. There really seems no way of getting to the cathedral, for the incipient cloisters of Tom Quad stretch in unbroken array round the four points of the compass; and no one could be expected to guess that the two rat-holes at one side of the eastern terrace stand for the west front of a great church. But so it is, and on Sundays a crowd of citizens mingle with the undergraduates in their curious open surplices, and drift across the Quad, past Mercury fountain, leaving no doubt in the mind of the traveller that this is a cathedral church.

**Cathedral  
Church and  
College  
Chapel**

*The Cathedral Church of Oxford*, by Rev. Percy Dearmer. Bell, 1897.

HARK, the bonny Christ Church bells—1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6—  
They sound so wondrous great, so wondrous sweet,  
As they trowl so merrily, merrily,  
Oh! the first and second bell,  
That every day, at four and ten, cry  
'Come, come, come to prayers!'  
And the verger troops before the Dean.  
Tinkle, tinkle, ting, goes the small bell at nine,  
To call the bearers home:  
    But the devil a man  
    Will leave his can  
Till he hears the mighty Tom.

**The Bonny  
Christ Church  
Bells**

Dean Aldrich.

WE sat in the window listening to great 'Tom' bell as it tolled at nine o'clock. One hundred and one times it tolls: great Tom which came from Osney Abbey to hang in the gate tower of Christ Church.

**Great Tom**

'Why does Tom toll a hundred and one times?' we asked Mrs. Codlicott.

'Because it always 'as, miss,' she replied, in all confidence that we need ask no more.

*Barbara goes to Oxford*, by Barbara Burke. Methuen, 1907.

**The Bells of  
Oxford**

THEN let the village bells, as often wont,  
Come swelling on the breeze, and to the sun,  
Half-set, sing merrily their evening song,  
I ask not for the cause—it matters not.  
It is enough for me to hear the sound  
Of the remote exhilarating peal,  
Now dying all away, now faintly heard,  
And now with loud and musical relapse  
Its mellow changes huddling on the ear.  
So have I stood at eve on Isis' banks,  
To hear the merry Christ Church bells rejoice.  
So have I sate too in thy honoured shades,  
Distinguished Magdalen, on Cherwell's brink,  
To hear thy silver Wolsey tone so sweet.  
And so, too, have I paused and held my oar,  
And suffered the slow stream to bear me home,  
While Wykeham's peal along the meadow ran.

*The Village Curate*, by James Hurdis. 1788.

**Bishop Fell's  
Statue**

AUG. 13, 1717.—Going this day through Christ Church, I took the opportunity to view distinctly the statue just put up in one of the niches within the college, by the dean's lodgings, of bishop Fell. The statuary was at work. All people, that knew the bishop, agree 'tis not like him, he being a thin, grave man, whereas the statue represents him plump and gay. I told the statuary that it was unlike and that he was made too plump. 'Oh,' says he, 'we must make a handsome man.' Thus this fellow. Just as if we were to burlesque the bishop, who is put in episcopal robes, and yet by the statue is not represented above 20.

Hearne, *Reliquiæ Hearnianæ*.

**Christ Church  
Hall**

ON Tuesday, our first visit was to Christ Church, where we saw the large and stately hall, above a hundred feet long by forty wide, and fifty to the top of its carved oaken roof which is ornamented with festoons, as it were, and pendants of solid timber. The walls are panelled with oak, perhaps half-way upward, and above are the rows of arched windows on each side; but, near the upper end, two large windows come nearly to the floor. There is a dais, where the great men of the college and the distinguished guests sit at table, and the tables of the students are arranged along the length of the hall. All around, looking down upon those who sit at meat, are the portraits of a multitude of illustrious personages, who were members of the learned fraternity in times past; not a portrait

being admitted there (unless it be a King, and I remember only Henry VIII.) save those who were actually students on the foundation, receiving the eleemosynary aid of the college. Most of them were divines; but there are likewise many statesmen, eminent during the last three hundred years, and among many earlier ones, the Marquis of Wellesley and Canning. It is an excellent idea, for their own glory, and as examples to the rising generations, to have this multitude of men, who have done good and great things, before the eyes of those who ought to do as well as they, in their own time,—Archbishops, prime ministers, poets, deep scholars,—but doubtless, an outward success has generally been their claim to this position, and Christ Church may have forgotten a better man than the best of them. It is not, I think, the tendency of English life, nor of the education of their colleges, to lead young men to high moral excellence, but to aim at illustrating themselves in the sight of mankind. Thence we went to the kitchen, which is arranged very much as it was three centuries ago, with two immense fire-places. There was likewise a gridiron, which, without any exaggeration, was large enough to have served for the martyrdom of St. Lawrence. The college dinners are good, but plain, and cost the students one shilling and elevenpence each, being rather cheaper than a similar one could be had at an inn. There is no provision for breakfast or supper in commons; but they can have these meals sent to their rooms from the buttery at a charge proportioned to the dishes they order. There seems to be no necessity for a great expenditure on the part of Oxford students.

From the kitchen we went to the chapel, which is the cathedral of Oxford, and well worth seeing, if there had not been so many other things to see. . . . There is a shrine of a saint with a wooden canopy over it, and some painted glass, old and new; and a statue of Cyril Jackson, with a face of shrewdness and insight; and busts, and mural monuments.

*Hawthorne's English Note-Books.*

THE Bishop of Oxford has a goodly palace at Cuddesdon, built by Bishop Fell in 1680. An earlier house existed here, but it was destroyed during the great Civil War. This palace was built by Bishop Bancroft at the persuasion of Laud, the King contributing a liberal grant of timber taken from Shotover Forest in 1634. The Bishop spent no less than £3,500 on his new palace, then a very large sum. He procured from the King an annual rent-charge of £100, secured on the forests of Shotover and Stowood. Here

The Palace

Archbishop Laud came to stay with the Bishop in 1635. Sir Thomas Gardiner burnt his own house on the South of the Church during the rebellion, lest it should become a garrison for the Parliamentary forces; and Colonel Legge, governor of the garrison at Oxford, followed his example and destroyed the palace for strategic reasons in 1644. The present palace has a chapel built by Bishop Wilberforce, and contains an interesting series of portraits of the distinguished men who have held the See of Oxford. Cuddesdon in ancient times belonged to the Abbey of Abingdon, King Edwy having granted the Vill of Cuthenesdum to Earl Elfer, who conveyed it to the Abbey; and at the Dissolution a portion passed to the newly-created See of Oxford, while the greater part was sold to the Gardiner family.

*Memorials of Old Oxfordshire*, by P. H. Ditchfield. Bemrose, 1903.

#### St. Mary's

IN each of these universities also is likewise a church dedicated to the Virgin Marie, wherein once in the yeare, to wit, in Julie, the scholers are holden, and in which such as have beene called to anie degree in the yeare precedent, doo there receive the accomplishment of the same, in solemne and sumptuous manner. In Oxford this solemnitie is called an Act, but in Cambridge they use the French word Commensement: and such resort is made yearelie unto the same from all parts of the land, by the friends of those which doo proceed, that all the towne is hardlie able to receive and lodge those gests. When and by whom the Churches aforesaid were builded, I have elsewhere made relation; that of Oxford also was repared in the time of Edward the fourth, and Henrie the Seventh, when Doctor Fitz James a great helper in that worke was warden of Merton College, but yer long after it was finished, one tempest in a night so defaced the same, that it left few pinacles standing about the Church and steeple, which since that time have never been repared.

Harrison's *Description of England*. 1577.

#### St. Mary's Spire

OXFORD. The front of Magdalen Hall, about which the least said the soonest mended. On the left, further on, All Souls, which seems to have been built by the same happy hand which built the new courts of St. John's, Cambridge (for they are about equally bad). On the right, the Clarendon and the Schools, blocking out the western sky. Still more to the right, a bit of Exeter, and all Brazenose. In front, the Radcliffe, the third dome in England, and beyond, the straight façade of St. Mary's, gathering its lines upward ever, till tired of window and buttress, of crocket, finial,



gargoyle, and all the rest of it, it leaps up aloft in one glorious crystal, and carries up one's heart with it into the heavens above.

*Ravenshoe*, by Henry Kingsley. Macmillan, 1862.

ACCORDING to Giraldus Cambrensis a wild swan (or hooper) took up its quarters on the swamp in Stowe Park, near Lincoln, on the day of the installation of St. Hugh as Bishop in his cathedral. It soon afterwards became tame and would eat out of his hand. Emboldened by the tenderness with which its advances were met, it passed half its time at the palace, whenever he was at home; but when he was absent nothing could tempt it away from the swamp. It was accustomed, when fed by the Bishop, to thrust its long neck into the ample folds of his sleeve, and to keep it there for some time, devouring the supply which it found there, chattering all the while, as though muttering compliments or preferring further requests. After his death it was no more seen.

St. Mary's  
Tower  
St. Hugh and  
the Swan

It is this swan, literally, with its head in that attitude, which interprets for us the arrangement of those life-like figures on the north, east and west of the stately tower of St. Mary's; and which fixes their date by recalling the pageant [the translation of St. Hugh's remains to the angel choir in Lincoln Cathedral in 1280] which they were clearly meant to commemorate. For there stands St. Hugh on the N.E. corner of the tower with his faithful swan in front of him, its neck buried as of wont in the ample folds of his sleeve.

*A History of the Church of St. Mary the Virgin*, by  
Rev. E. S. Ffoulkes. Longmans, 1892.

THE whole church was assigned to different stages of University life. According to a very probable theory, it was in the 'Porch' (parvis) of St. Mary's that a man disputed for a year as a 'general sophister,' this being one of the qualifications for his degree; a trace of this ceremony survived till 1893 in the 'Testamurs' given to successful candidates in 'Smalls,' who were said to have answered 'in parviso' the questions of the Masters of the Schools.

St. Mary's a  
Focus

The various chapels of St. Mary's were assigned to the different Faculties for their deliberations, and the congregations of all the Faculties, Regents (*i.e.*, teachers) and non-Regents alike, met in the choir, forming the supreme governing body of the University. Finally, in the nave was held the solemn Act—corresponding to the modern Encaenia—when the new masters were admitted to

'incept,' *i.e.*, enter on their new rank by their performance of their duties and lecturing.

This ceremony continued to be held in St. Mary's till the growing feeling against the incongruity of secular shows in churches led Archbishop Sheldon to present his University with the magnificent Theatre that still bears his name. It seems strange that the Buffooneries of the *Terrae Filius*, the licensed jester, which formed a regular part of the Act should have been allowed in a consecrated building as late as the Restoration. A generation earlier the legislative work of the University had already been transferred by Archbishop Laud to his new Congregation House; and in 1646 the Chancellor's Court sat for the last time in Adam de Brome's Chapel. But in mediæval times the lines between sacred and secular were not so sharply drawn.

*Oxford and its Colleges*, by Joseph Wells. Methuen, 1903.

## OLD STREETS AND LANES

THE city was divided into four wards (S.E., S.W., N.E., and N.W.) and the suburbs included St. Thomas, Stockwell St., and Twenty Acre, Walton, Dunseye, Osney, St. Mary Magdalen, St. Giles, Holy Cross and St. John's Hospital. All the secular colleges (Merton, Exeter, Oriel, Queen's) were within the walls, except Balliol (University was not yet incorporated). The monastic colleges and seminaries were outside, with one exception, Canterbury. There were at least thirty-three halls. Among trades-folk assessed are 49 tailors, 23 webbs (or weavers), 15 souters (cobblers,) 12 cordwainers, 6 fletchers, 12 tapsters, 3 cursors, 3 leeches, 2 spurriers, 2 lotrices and 2 horners, 1 cap-maker, 1 patten-maker and 1 garlick monger. The four wards contained 1293 persons liable to taxation, the suburbs 742 persons. The Colleges, Halls, and monasteries contained at least 1500 souls who were exempt. If this be fairly accurate, the total population of Oxford in 1381 must have been near five and a half thousand.

Oxford Census  
of 1381

Compiled from *Oxford City Documents*, edited by  
J. E. Thorold Rogers. 1891.

IT is a pity that so many of the old street names in Oxford have been changed, too purposely in most cases, every antiquary will think. Thus the present Cornmarket Street was North Gate Street, St. Aldate's was Fish Street. Market Street that now is was formerly Cheney Lane, Ship Street was Sommers Street, Brasenose Lane was St. Mildred's Street, St. Catherine's Street was Cat Street, Merton Street was St. John's Street, taking its name from the parish church of St. John. Oriel Street was Schydyard Street, Grove Street was Gupe Lane, Pembroke Street was Pennyfarthing Street, Queen Street was Great Bailey. New Inn Hall Street in 1530 was North Bailey, later Seven Deadly Sins Lane. The present St. Michael Street was Bedford Lane, and the Broad Street of to-day was once Horsemonger Street.

Old Street  
Names

From H. J. L. J. Massé, *Oxford*. Siegle, Hill, 1906.

EVEN the immediate town has moods of lurking in lanes apart from the busier streets, and offering the consolation of low, stone

Lodgings in  
Mediæval  
Lanes

dwellings faced by college walls, and dedicated to the uses of furnished lodgings. If it should be your fortune to find your sojourn in one of these, you may look down from your front window perhaps into the groves that shade Addison's Walk; or you may step from your back door into a grassy nook where a tower or bastion of the old city wall will be hiding itself in a mesh of ivy. The lane before may be dusty with traffic and the garden behind may be damp with the rains that have never had intervals long enough to dry out of it; but the rooms with their rocking floors will be neatly kept, and if they happen to be the rooms of a reading or sporting undergraduate, sublet in some academic interval, you will find the tokens of his tastes and passions crowding the mantels and the walls. He has confided them with the careless faith of youth to your chance reverence; he has not even withheld the photographs which attest his preference in actresses, or express a finer fealty in the faces self-evidently of mother or sister or even cousin, or some one farther and nearer yet.

W. D. Howell's 'Oxford,' *North American Review*, Oct. 5, 1906.

Cat Street and  
its Book-  
binders

THE earliest dated Oxford binding of which we have record was burned in 1467 in Cat Street [now labelled St. Catherine's Street] where it is said the bookbinders dwelt. Unfortunately the record made by a librarian in the reign of George II. is alone left to us as the MS. itself has been rebound and the original binding destroyed. In 1478 Theodoric Rood of Cologne, one of the earliest and most important of Caxton's contemporaries in the art of printing in England, emigrated to this country and settled at Oxford, where he entered into partnership with Thomas Hunte, an Englishman, who styles himself 'Stationarius Universitatis Oxon.' Rood appears to have brought with him types and bookbinding tools, and he and his partner soon commenced the business of printers, issuing several carefully printed folios. The Bodleian possesses seven specimens of these first-fruits of the Oxford Press, the earliest dated 1479, the latest 1486, all in original bindings.

*Historic Bindings in the Bodleian*, by W. Salt Brassington.  
Sampson Low, 1891.

The Turl

OPPOSITE to Trinity Gate is the end of Turl Street, once really possessing a 'twirl' or turnstile, a cross on a post set in a narrow doorway. In a City deed of Aug. 18, 1614, the gate is called 'the Turning Gate or the Whole in the wall.' The older name for the street, as far as present documents inform us, is 'The Street of All Saints' or 'from All Saints to St. Mildred.'

Herbert Hurst, *Oxford Topography*. Oxford Hist. Soc., 1899.



JOHN GYBBYS, Mayor of Oxon, gives evidence concerning the place where New College was founded; that at the time of the foundation of the said college [1379] and for many years previously, the place had been empty, barren, and derelict without inhabitants but dangerous on account of a concourse thither by day and night of evil doers congregating there; now many years ago many deep pits and caverns had been made there by the abstraction of gravel and sand, wherein thieves and malefactors often lay concealed, whence homicides took place and other evil deeds, many and intolerable, were perpetrated; this gave rise to alarms and great disturbances of the peace, and the seeds of discord were scattered or sprung up both in the town and in the university; moreover into the same spot were cast dung, corpses of dead animals and their intestines, and whatever else was stinking or unpleasant was hidden or buried.

Hurst's *Oxford Topography*, Oxford Hist. Soc.

The Wilderness  
and the soli-  
tary place  
shall be glad  
for them and  
the desert  
shall rejoice  
and blossom  
as the rose

THERE is in *Oxford* a narrow Defile, where the Partisans used to encounter, for which Reason it still retains the name of *Logic-Lane*. I have heard an old Gentleman, a Physician, make his Boasts, that when he was a young Fellow he marched several Times at the Head of a Troop of Scotists, and cudgel'd a Body of Smiglesians half the length of the *High Street*, till they had dispersed themselves for Shelter into their respective Garrisons.

Logic Lane

*Spectator*, No. 239 (4 Dec. 1711).

DURING the seven days of St. Frideswide's fair at Oxford the prior of that house had jurisdiction over the whole city (eleventh century). A court of 'pie powder' dealt out summary merchant's law in such assemblages. All other trading in the town or district was generally suspended while the fair lasted. The wooden booths were arranged in streets; each calling had its own row.

Fair of St.  
Frideswide

*Social History of England*, ed. by H. D. Traill. Cassell, 1893.

OXFORD does not fling itself in one bold appeal upon you and acknowledge defeat if that fails. The High, the Broad, the Radcliffe Quadrangle, the view northwards from the Meadows, even St. Aldates would each of them be enough for a much more than ordinary town to pride itself on. Oxford gives them all, and a great deal more too. Not only can the interior of no College be neglected without loss, but there is hardly a bye-street which does not contribute something to the general effect. In fact these same bye-streets, separating and contrasting the different colleges them-

The Bye-  
Streets of  
Oxford

selves, bestow a grace, a curious attraction, which the juxtaposition of all or most in one set-piece could never attain. Oriel Street and the Turl, Long Wall and Holywell Street, are not merely, as the French say, 'channels of vicinal communication.' They are, whether intended or not (the best things never are intended), a cunning device for multiplying points of view, subdividing without reducing picturesque effect, and giving the whole the complex and passionate charm of that Romantic literature of which it is the embodiment—a genuine embodiment this time—in stone and lime.

*Sights and Scenes in Oxford City and University*, described by Thomas Whittaker. Introduction by George Saintsbury. Cassell and Co., 1896.

#### St. Giles

It has been a most beautiful morning, and I have seen few pleasanter scenes than this street in which we lodge [St. Giles] with its spacious breadth, its two rows of fine old trees, with side-walks as wide as the whole width of some streets; and on the opposite side, the row of houses, some of them ancient with picturesque gables, partially disclosed through the intervening foliage. . . . From our window we have a slantwise glimpse, to the right, of the walls of St. John's College, and the general aspect of St. Giles. It is of an antiquity not to shame those mediæval halls. Our own lodgings are in a house that seems to be very old, with panelled walls, and beams across the ceilings, lattice-windows in the chambers, and a musty odour, such as old houses inevitably have. Nevertheless, everything is extremely neat, clean, and comfortable; and in term-time our apartments are occupied by a Mr. Stebbing, whose father is known in literature by some critical writings, and who is a graduate and an admirable scholar. There is a bookcase of five shelves, containing his books, mostly standard works, and indicating a safe and solid taste.

Hawthorne's *English Note-Books*.

#### St. Giles's Fair

THE fair is held, as all the county of Oxford knows, on the first Monday after St. Giles's Day, and on the broad space in front of St. John's College, which as lord of the manor receives a moderate rent from such owners of booths as squat upon the college property, while the city takes toll of the rest. The number of pitches this year was, as I learned from my host, greater than usual, he put the number of vans as a hundred and thirty-five; but as I walked with him through the crowd of sightseers, I could not but feel that there was somehow a change in the spirit of the thing from the fair as I had seen it in younger days. Not that there were fewer shows or fewer steam organs, or less gold and yellow paint—there were

far more ; I saw afterwards in the local paper that one carved figure on an organ had cost the showman as large a sum as £28 ; and everywhere, instead of the flaring petroleum of my youth, there was electric light. But I could not shake off the conviction that something was radically wrong—that the glory was departed ; I seemed to detect a new spirit everywhere, materialistic, scientific, mechanical. . . .

In old days one of the most interesting features of the fair beyond question was the ghost, which as an old Doctor of Divinity used to say, was a standing witness to the supernatural. The ghost was not remarkable in anything but its mere ghostly quality, for it belonged to an unhealthy boy, one 'poor Jim,' who died to slow music in the presence of several angels, and was beyond doubt better dead. But it was a ghost, and as the learned divine said was *pro tanto* a witness to the supernatural. Then as I am told it became the fashion for the showman to preface his story by saying 'Ladies and gemmen, there's no such thing as spiritualism ; it's all an opcallusion.' Such a cut at modern spiritualism was itself unobjectionable ; but it proved the thin end of the wedge of materialism. . . . I was sorry, though not surprised, to see none of the Heads of Houses present. It is good for us all now and then to get back to mother earth ; and for no class of men is it so necessary as for those who live among ideas, like the fellows of Oxford colleges. This, with their usual wisdom, they recognise ; and one of the most captivating sights of the fair in old days was the sight of the venerable — of — throwing for cocoa-nuts. To any one who was incautious enough to recognise him on such occasions he would say, 'The Romans, sir, were an imperial people : and they knew the value of the Saturnalia.' Never, too, shall I forget the spectacle of a Professor of Ancient History upon the switch-back ; being borne aloft and swept down again in a state of apparently frantic happiness. On that occasion our eyes met, and when he joined me subsequently he explained that, being engaged upon a description of Hannibal's passage of the Alps, he was endeavouring to gain local colour by a substitute for the exhilaration of high mountain air.

*Provincial Letters*, by Canon H. C. Beeching. Smith, Elder, 1906.

LIKE many other ancient towns which have preserved the tra-  
 The High  
 ditional plan of the Roman camp, Oxford has its four main streets  
 meeting near the centre of the space enclosed by the old walls.  
 Though they are known by other names, Oxford has, like Gloucester,  
 its East Street, West Street, North Street, and South Street,

which converge on the spot known as Carfax or Quatre Voies, where in 1610 was erected the well-known conduit now to be seen in Nuneham Park. Queen's Street, which runs westward, is somewhat narrow and tortuous, but the Corn-market and St. Aldate's, running north and south, are fairly spacious, and the East Street is the famous 'High,' the glory of Oxford. Narrow at first, it gradually expands to a noble width, occasioned perhaps by the need of space for the ancient markets in a town which has no *place* or *piazza*; and by a fortunate accident of the lie of the ground, as it follows the brow of a gentle slope, it assumes that regular curve which brings into view successively, and with an almost dramatic effectiveness, the fine buildings with which it is adorned. No street in the world has been more praised than this, and none perhaps so well deserves its renown. Nothing can be more charming than the variety of grouping offered by the several towers and spires of the colleges and churches from different points of view, and nothing more interesting than the successive revelation of fresh building as one follows the sweep of the street from end to end. It is to this that its great charm is due, and the effect is so successful and apparently so well managed, that an ordinary observer may very likely think it the result of contrivance and of a single architectural design.

And yet it is nothing but the outcome of accident to begin with, and gradual alteration and addition bit-by-bit in after-ages; and it is only in quite modern times that it has arrived at anything like its present number of public buildings. Its curve is accidental, much older than the foundation of any of the colleges, and probably older than the University itself.

T. G. Jackson, 'The High Street and Brasenose College,'  
*Magazine of Art*, Aug. 1889.

Suburbia  
Oxoniensis

It would be the opinion of outsiders, who have not visited Oxbridge—if they had formed an opinion at all upon the subject and were asked for it—that the inhabitants of that University town dwell in grey and ancient houses, time-coloured, and with flavours of old learning still hanging about their massy roof-trees. In point of fact, their lives are passed for the most part in flippant spick and span villas and villakins, each with its half acre of tennis-ground and double daisies, all so new that scarcely any one has had time to die there, though numerous people have taken leave to be born there, and forming in this *ensemble* an ugly, irrelevant, healthy suburb, that would not disgrace a cotton city of to-day.

*Belinda, A Novel*, by Rhoda Broughton. Bentley, 1883.



COLLEGIA QUAEDAM<sup>1</sup>

LUDOVICUS VIVES being sent in the year 1520, by Cardinal Wolsey to Oxford, to be publick Professor of Rhetorick there and placed in the College of Bees (Corpus Christi being so called by the Founder in his Statutes) was welcomed thither by a swarm of bees, which to signifie the incomparable sweetness of his eloquence, settled themselves over his head under the leads of his study (at the west-end of the Cloyster), where they continued about 130 years. . . . In the year 1630, the leads over Vives his study being pluckt up their stall was taken and with it an incredible mass of honey: but the Bees, as presaging their intended and imminent destruction (whereas they were never known to have swarmed before) did that spring (to preserve their famous kind) send down a fair swarm into the President's garden, which in the year 1633, yielded two swarms; one whereof pitched in the garden for the President; the other they sent up as a new colony to preserve the memory of this mellifluous doctor. . . . And there they continued, as I am informed by several ancient members of that Society that knew them, till by the Parliamentary Visitation in Anno 1648, for their Loyalty to the King, they were all but two turned out of their places, at what time with the rest of the inhabitants of the College, they removed themselves, but no further than the east end of the same Cloyster, where, as if the feminine sympathised with the masculine monarchy, they instantly declined and came shortly to nothing. . . . And thus unhappily after above six score years continuance ended the famous stock of Vives his Bees where 'tis pity they had not remained as Virgil calls them, an *Immortale Genus*. However, since they are now irrevocably lost, it would not I think be amiss, if the College provided them another Colony; not that I think that Learned Society wants any such Monitor of Industry, but that it seems but congruous, they should always have by them the Thing, whereof their whole House is but the metaphor, the Founder calling it *Alvearium* and the Students '*Ingeniosas apes, dies noctesque ceram ad Dei honorem, et dulcia mella conficientes, ad suam et universorum Christianorum commoditatem.*'

The Bees of  
Corpus

*The Natural History of Oxfordshire*, by Robert Plot,  
Doctor of Laws. Printed at the Theatre in Oxford. [1677.]

<sup>1</sup> With this must be compared the chapter in vol. ii. on 'Colleges: Manners and Customs.'

**The Radcliffe**

THE Radcliffean Library is a noble piece of building situated between St. Mary's Church and the Public Schools, built at the sole Expence of that eminent Physician, Dr. John Radcliffe, who bequeathed £40,000 for this purpose; Part of which money went towards purchasing and demolishing the houses in Cat-street, to make room for this Library; and by this means a fine view is open'd of several noble buildings round it, so that strangers have here a curious taste of the beauty of Oxford. He also bequeath'd 150*l* per Ann. for ever to the Library Keeper for the Time being; also 200*l* per Ann. for ever for buying books; also 100*l* per Ann. for ever for repairing the said Library; the Foundation-Stone of which was laid May 17, 1737. And the Library was open'd on the 13th of April, 1749, with the following ceremony:—

The Trustees, viz., the Duke of Beaufort, the Earl of Oxford, Sir Walter Wagstaff Bagott and Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Barts.; and Edward Smith, Esq.; being arrived at Oxford, the Degrees of Doctor in Physic and in the Civil Law were conferred on several gentlemen at their recommendation on the 12th of April. And on Thursday the Vice-Chancellor, Heads of Houses, Young Noblemen, Doctors and Proctors, Bachelors in Divinity, Law, and Physic, and Masters of Arts, met in their respective Habits at St. Mary's, and from thence went in procession to All Souls College Hall, to wait on the Trustees, who return'd with them in a solemn and more grand procession than has been known for many years to the Radcliffean Library; where the Duke of Beaufort deliver'd the Key to the Vice-Chancellor, for the use of the University, who return'd their thanks for the same in a short but elegant speech. From thence they walk'd in the same order to the Theatre, where after several elegant orations made the Vice-Chancellor in the name of the University return'd thanks to the Trustees, which was succeeded by an Anthem and then the Assembly was dismissed. And the next day there were several Honorary Degrees conferred on some other gentlemen, and the Ceremony was concluded with the Coronation Anthem.

It is call'd the Physic Library, being to consist of all Sorts of Books belonging to the Science of Physic, as Anatomy, Botany, Surgery, and Philosophy. In time it may be the compleatest Physic Library in the world. This magnificent Rotunda, of a very extensive circumference, is most curiously contriv'd, with lights all round to every stall, gallery above gallery, and stalls above stalls, all the way up, in these rooms one above another.

*Oxoniensis Academia*, by John Pointer, 1749.

[The Camera Radcliffiana with its noble dome is known to every one who has seen Oxford, but perhaps comparatively few bear in grateful memory the name of the architect Gibbs from whose design it was erected. No longer does the Radcliffe serve as a scientific library. Since 1860 it has been used as a reading-room and storehouse of modern books for the Bodleian.]

WE ate and drank . . . and pursued our way to the Radcliffe Library. This is a very handsome edifice, of a circular shape; the lower storeys consisting altogether of arches, open on all sides, as if to admit any body to the learning here stored up. I always see great beauty and lightsomeness in these classic and Grecian edifices, though they seem cold and intellectual, and not to have had their mortar moistened with human life-blood, nor to have the mystery of human life in them, as Gothic structures do. The library is in a large and beautiful room, in the storey above the basement, and, as far as I saw, consisted chiefly or altogether of scientific works. I saw *Silliman's Journal* on one of the desks, being the only trace of American science or American learning or ability in any department, which I discovered in the University of Oxford. After seeing the library we went to the top of the building, where we had an excellent view of Oxford and the surrounding country. Then we went to the Convocation Hall, and afterwards to the theatre, where S. sat down on the Chancellor's chair which is very broad and ponderously wrought of oak. I remember little here, except the amphitheatre of benches, and the roof which seems to be supported by golden ropes, and on the wall, opposite the door, some full-length portraits, among which one of that ridiculous coxcomb, George IV., was the most prominent. These Kings thrust themselves impertinently forward by bust, statue, and picture, on all occasions, and it is not wise in them to show their shallow foreheads among men of mind.

Hawthorne's *English Note-Books*.

AND now being come to the East gate of the Cittie, I make this observation, that prudent Antiquitie provided that the two churches of St. Michael should be placed at the South and North gate, and St. Peter not far from the West and Eastern gates, according to an old verse :

Invigilat portae Australi Boreaeque Michayell,  
Exortum solem Petrus regit atque cadentem.

The north and south gates St. Michael doth guard,  
The east and west St. Peter's care doth ward.

Hutten's *Antiquities of Oxford*, from *Elizabethan Oxford*.  
Oxford Hist. Soc., 1887.

The Radcliffe  
and Shel-  
donian

St. Michael  
and St. Peter  
guard the  
City gates

Balliol and  
St. John's

THENCE we went through High Street and Broad Street, and passing by Balliol College,—a most satisfactory pile and range of old towered and gabled edifices,—we came to the cross on the pavement, which is supposed to mark the spot where the bishops were martyred. But Mr. Parker told us the mortifying fact, that he had ascertained that this could not possibly have been the genuine spot of martyrdom, which must have taken place at a point within view, but considerably too far off to be moistened by any tears that may be shed here. It is too bad. We concluded the rambles of the day by visiting the gardens of St. John's College; and I desire, if possible, to say even more in admiration of them than of those of New College,—such beautiful lawns, with tall, ancient trees, and heavy clouds of foliage, and sunny glimpses through archways of leafy branches, where to-day we could see parties of girls, making cheerful contrast with the sombre walls and solemn shade. The world, surely, has not another place like Oxford; it is a despair to see such a place and ever to leave it, for it would take a lifetime and more than one, to comprehend and enjoy it satisfactorily.

Hawthorne's *English Note-Books*.

The Schools,  
Ashmolean

ALOFT in state the airy towers arise,  
And with new lustre deck the wandering skies;  
Lo! to what height the schools ascending reach,  
Built with that art which they alone can teach;  
The lofty dome expands her spacious gate,  
Where all the decent graces jointly wait;  
In every shape the God of Art resorts,  
And crowds of sages fill th' extended courts.

With wonders fraught the bright Museum see,  
Itself the greatest curiosity!  
Where Nature's choicest treasure, all combin'd,  
Delight at once, and quite confound the mind;  
Ten thousand splendours strike the dazzled eye,  
And form on earth another galaxy.

Tickell's *Oxford*.

Sheldon's  
haughty  
Dome

SEE where the sacred Sheldon's haughty dome  
Rivals the stately pomp of ancient Rome,  
Whose form, so great and noble, seems design'd  
T' express the grandeur of its founder's mind.  
Here, in one lofty building, we behold  
Whate'er the Latian pride could boast of old.



True, no dire combats feed the savage eye,  
 And strew the sand with sportive cruelty ;  
 But, more adorn'd with what the Muse inspires,  
 It far outshines their bloody theatres.  
 Delightful scene ! When here, in equal verse,  
 The youthful bards their godlike Queen rehearse,  
 To Churchill's wreaths Apollo's laurel join,  
 And sing the plains of Hochstet and Judoign.

Tickell's *Oxford*.

AMID a crowd of difficulties the heads of the University had the courage, in the early part of the fifteenth century, to put their hands to a task of no mean magnitude—the provision of a Divinity School. A site was obtained from Balliol College, and the letters in the volumes before us<sup>1</sup> are an evidence of the splendid pertinacity with which the heads pressed the claims of the new building upon the generosity of the wealthy. One awkward cause of delay was the commandeering of the workmen for the King's Foundation at Eton and his Chapel at Windsor, but the year 1480 saw the completion of a building in the perpendicular style of two storeys, the lower being the Divinity School and the upper a library for the reception of the books bequeathed by the Bishops of Durham and Worcester and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.

*Dublin Review*, July 1901, 'University Life in  
 Mediæval Oxford,' by J. B. Milburn.

**The Divinity  
 School**

THE common schooles of Cambridge also are farre more beautifull than those of Oxford, onelie the divinitie school at Oxford excepted, which for fine and excellent workmanship commeth next the moold of the king's chappell in Cambridge, than the which two with the chappell that King Henrie the seaventh did build at Westminster, there are not (in mine opinion) made of lime and stone three more notable piles within the compasse of Europe.

Harrison's *Description of England*, 1577.

**Divinity  
 School**

FROM the Bodleian we went to the Taylor Institute. . . . It would have been a pity to miss ; for here, on the basement floor, are the original models of Chantrey's busts and statues, great and small ; and in the rooms above are a far richer treasure—a large collection of original drawings by Raphael and Michael Angelo. These are far better for my purpose than their finished pictures,—that is to say, they bring me much closer to the hands that drew them and

**The Taylorian  
 and Raphael**

<sup>1</sup> *Epistole Academicæ Oxon.*, by Rev. H. Anstey.

the minds that imagined them. It is like looking into their brains, and seeing the first conception before it took shape outwardly. I noticed one of Raphael's drawings, representing the effect of eloquence; it was a man speaking in the centre of a group, between whose ears and the orator's mouth connecting lines were drawn. Raphael's idea must have been to compose his picture in such a way that their auricular organs should not fail to be in a proper relation with the eloquent voice; and though this relation would not have been individually traceable in the finished picture, yet the general effect—that of deep and entranced attention—would have been produced. In another room there are some copies of Raphael's cartoons, and some queer mediæval pictures, as stiff and ugly as can well be conceived, yet successful in telling their own story. We looked a little while at these, and then, thank Heaven! went home and dressed for dinner. I can write no more to-day. Indeed, what a mockery it is to write at all!

Hawthorne's *English Note-Books*.  
Strahan, 1870.

**The distant  
heights of  
Worcester'**

THERE was a flower-show in the gardens of Worcester College, once fabled to be so remote from the centre of Oxford civilization as to require a cab-journey to find it. Then the University poet sang of the men who

Τηλεπόρω ναίουσ' ἐνὶ Ὑστέρω τηλόθι πάτρης,

and another young academic bard, in one of the funniest parodies ever written, 'Augustus Smalls of Boniface,' discoursed of the classic Balliol—

'Whose third floor men descry  
The distant heights of Worcester,  
Fringing the western sky.'

But the broad and fine street which runs by the Taylor Buildings has dissipated the clouds of distance.

*Faucit of Balliol*, by Herman Charles Merivale.  
Chapman and Hall, 1882.

**Merton  
Terrace Wall**

SURE man's heart-anguish ne'er hath broken here  
This smiling air of natural repose,  
Which over Merton's meadowed landscape glows.  
Yes, on this spot where the gray stone walls rear  
Their hoary height, fell that poor cavalier  
Who gave his post up to his monarch's foes,  
At iron Cromwell's summons, without blows,  
Through gentle courtesy, not coward fear.

Perchance beneath where now I stand he stood :  
 Setting his back against the College wall,  
 Baring his breast, not dabbled yet with blood,  
 A bold unflinching mark for many a ball,  
 His young wife's name borne on his latest breath ;—  
 Short trial his, brief shrift—and soldier's death.

J. B. Norton, *Memories of Merton.* 1861.

[Poor Windebank was shot by sudden court-martial, so enraged were they at Oxford ; for Cromwell had not even foot soldiers, still less a battering gun. It was his poor young wife, they said, she and other ladies on a visit there, at Bletchington House, that confounded poor Windebank. He set his back to the wall of Merton College, and received his death-volley with a soldier's stoicism.

Carlyle's *Cromwell*.]

AND then we enter the oldest Quad in Oxford, 'Mob Quad,' or as it always used to be called, 'the Bachelors' Quad' or 'the Little Quad.' Here we find ourselves in a College Quadrangle very much as it must have been in the fourteenth century ; the dormer windows on the south and west sides certainly date from the beginning of the seventeenth, and the windows on the ground and first floors may have been enlarged after the original date ; the arched door into the Library must belong to the fifteenth or sixteenth century ; the attic windows were renovated within living memory ; the strong doors which barred the Quad not only from the outside world but from other parts of Merton have disappeared, though the iron staples and deep slots for the bolts are still visible ; but with these exceptions the Quad is much as it was when first completed. . . . Old though the Quad is, it does not look so ancient as many Oxford buildings which are centuries later ; and this is largely due to the fact that it was built of stone from Teynton, before the discovery of the quarries at Headington ; it is the Headington stone which so soon turns black and crumbles away, gives a fine old-world look to the buildings, but nearly breaks the hearts of College Bursars.

**Merton Mob  
Quad**

*Merton College*, by H. J. White. Dent, 1906.

MR. E. showed us the library of Merton College. It occupies two sides of an old building, and has a very delightful fragrance of ancient books. The halls containing it are vaulted and roofed with oak, not carved and ornamented, but laid flat so that they look very like a grand and spacious old garret. All along, there

**Merton  
College**

is a row of alcoves on each side, with rude benches and reading-desks in the simplest style, and nobody knows how old. The books look as old as the building. The more valuable were formerly chained to the bookcases; and a few of them have not yet broken their chains. It was a good emblem of the dark and monkish ages, when learning was imprisoned in their cloisters, and chained in their libraries in the days when the school-master had not yet gone abroad. Mr. E. showed us a very old copy of the Bible; and a vellum manuscript, most beautifully written in black letter and illuminated, of the works of the Duns Scotus who was a scholar of Merton College. He then showed us the chapel, a large part of which has been renewed and ornamented with pictured windows and other ecclesiastical splendour, and paved with encaustic tiles, according to the Puseyite taste of the day; for Merton has adopted the Puseyite doctrines, and is one of their chief strongholds in Oxford. If they do no other good, they at least do much for preservation and characteristic restoration of the old English churches; but perhaps, even here, there is as much antiquity spoiled as retained. In the portion of the chapel not yet restored, we saw the rude old pavement, inlaid with gravestones, in some of which were brasses, with the figures of the college dignitaries, whose dust slumbered beneath; and I think it was here that I saw the tombstone of Anthony à Wood, the gossiping biographer of the learned men of Oxford.

From the chapel we went into the college gardens, which are very pleasant, and possess the advantage of looking out on the broad verdure of Christ Church meadows and the river beyond. We loitered here awhile, then went to Mr. E.'s rooms, to which the entrance is by a fine old staircase. They had a very comfortable aspect,—a wainscoted parlour and bedroom, as nice and cosy as a bachelor could desire, with a good collection of theological books; and on a peg hung his gown, with a red border about it, denoting him to be a proctor. He was kind enough to order a lunch, consisting of bread and cheese, college ale, and a certain liquor called 'Archdeacon.'

Hawthorne's *English Note-Books*. Strahan, 1870.

Merton  
Library

QUAINT, gloomy chamber, oldest relic left  
Of monkish quiet; like a ship thy form,  
Stranded keel upward by some sudden storm.  
Now that a safe and polished age hath cleft



Locks, bars, and chains, that saved thy tomes from theft,  
 May Time, a surer robber, spare thine age,  
 And reverence each huge black-lettered page,  
 Of real boards and gilt-stamped leather reft.  
 Long may ambitious student here unseal  
 The secret mysteries of classic lore ;  
 Though urged not by that blind and aimless zeal  
 With which the Scot within these walls of yore  
 Transcribed the Bible without breaking fast,  
 Toiled through each word, and perished at the last.

J. B. Norton, *Memories of Merton*.

I WENT to my passion, Oxford, and saw Sir Joshua's 'Nativity.' But, alas ! it is just the reverse of the glorious appearance it made in the dark chamber in Pall Mall. It is too high, the anti-chapel where it is placed [New College] is too narrow to see it but fore-shortened, and the washy Virtues round it are so faint and light, that the dark shepherds and chiaroscuro, that are meant to relieve the glory, Child, and angels, obscure the whole. I foresaw, long ago, that Jarvis's colours, being many of them not transparent, could not have the effect of old painted glass. Indeed, to see his window tolerably, I was forced to climb into the organ-loft, by such a pair of stairs, that, not having broken my neck, I can almost believe that I could dance a minuet on a horse galloping full speed, like young Astley.

New College  
Chapel

Walpole's *Letters*. Clarendon Press, 1905.

THE famous library of the University of Oxford,<sup>1</sup> where their public lectures are read, requires we should dwell a long while upon it ; but I had only a transient view of it. It's made in the form of an H, has two stories of books : the lowermost has six rows of *folios* and three of *quartos*. In the other, to which you go up by the wooden stairs, very artfully contrived for to give light in the middle and at the four corners, there are nine rows more, whereof three in *folios*, and the rest of different volumes. Those of Selden are on one side, together with the manuscripts given to the Library by the late Archbishop Laud, being two thousand four hundred in number. We took a walk in the galleries above the library and saw a great number of medals there ; and there are the pictures of some learned men round the galleries, where they shewed us the sword which the Pope sent Henry VIII., as Defender of the Faith. Here is a place of anatomy not worth seeing. The schools were

The Bodleian

<sup>1</sup> See also the chapter on 'Clubs and Libraries' in the second volume.

all of them shut up ; and there are scarce any lectures read there, because the private ones draw all the scholars thither.

Sorbière's *Voyage*,<sup>1</sup> 1709.

Queen's  
College

THE building, parent of my young essays,  
Asks in return a tributary praise.  
Pillars, sublime, bear up the learned weight,  
And antique sages tread the pompous height ;  
Whilst guardian Muses shade the happy piles,  
And all around diffuse propitious smiles.  
Here Lancaster, adorn'd with every grace,  
Stands chief in merit, as the chief in place :  
To his lov'd name our earliest lays belong,  
The theme at once and patron of our song.  
Long may he o'er his much-lov'd Queen's preside,  
Our arts encourage, and our counsels guide ;  
Till after-ages, fill'd with glad surprise,  
Behold his image all majestic rise,  
Where now in pomp a venerable band,  
Princes and Queens and holy Fathers stand.  
Good Eggesfield claims homage from the eye,  
And the hard stone seems soft with piety ;  
The mighty monarchs still the same appear,  
And every marble frown provokes a war ;  
Whilst rugged rocks, mark'd with Philippa's face,  
Soften to charms and glow with new-born grace.

Tickell's *Oxford*.

Classical  
Queen's

QUEEN'S College was founded in 1340 by Robert Eglesfield, a chaplain to Queen Philippa, who largely supplemented her priest's endowment. The mediæval buildings have entirely disappeared, and the college consists of a great Italian court, designed by Hawksmoor, Wren's pupil, with a fine pillared screen dividing it from the High Street, and a smaller court behind. The Chapel is a stately classical building, designed by Wren himself, and considered by him one of his most successful works. It is rich with seventeenth century glass by Van Linge, and dignified wood-work. The Library is a magnificent room, with much carving by Grinling Gibbons, certain panels of which are almost perfect examples of freedom of form with an underlying serenity of design. The lofty hall might have come straight out of an Italian picture, and

<sup>1</sup> *Relation d'un voyage fait en Angleterre*. Paris, 1664. The translation with Sprat's *Observations* (1665) was published in 1709.

the mysterious gallery at the west end, opening by curtained porches on balconies of delicate ironwork, seems to be designed to be crowded by fantastic smiling persons in rich garments.

It was a definitely ecclesiastical foundation, and preserved a larger number of quaint names and symbolical customs than are preserved at other colleges; such as announcing dinner by the sound of the trumpet, and the retention of the name Taberdar for scholars.

*Walter Pater*, by A. C. Benson. Macmillan, 1906.

AND first, to begin our entrance into the City, wee'll compose ourselves as coming from Abingdon, and being arrived att the Gate of Balywood [Bagleywood], which is next to Oxford, because that Gate is the outmost Bounds of our Limitts and Jurisdiction Southward, wee will take a view of the next adjacent Villages on both sides, and posting on our waie towards Oxford, wee will observe such things as in each of them shall bee worth observation.

Childswell and  
Friar Bacon's  
Study

The first that occurreth to our eies from this place, is an Huse upon the left hand called Childswell in the ascent of an Hill, where old traditions saie, was sometymes a Religious Chappell neare unto a Well, which Well, by the Holynes of the Chaplaines successively serving there, had a virtue to make Women that were barren to bring forth Children and soe gave name to that Place. . . . Att the Entrance into the Towne [coming from Abingdon] that Tower which standeth upon the Bridge, like a Pharos or Watch Tower, is commonly called by the name of Frier Bacon's Study, not that it was soe, indeed, neither can I learne anie other reason of that name ascribed thereunto, then what is delivered of old Tradition, vizt. that that beeing a remote place, and farr enough from Companie, Fryer Bacon (knowne to bee a great Astronomer) did, perhapps, sometymes use, in the night season, to ascend thither to take the Altitude and Distance of the Stars.

Leonard Hutten's<sup>1</sup> *Antiquities of Oxford*, from *Elizabethan Oxford*.  
Oxford Hist. Society, 1887.

1711, Sept. 11. I will never pass the months of July and August here again. I am almost foundered with showing sights to people that take us in their way to Bath or Blenheim. That Blenheim is a curse upon this poor place, I would at any time make one in a rising of the town and county to raze it to the ground.

Blenheim

*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Portland MS. at Welbeck, 1901, vol. vii.:  
Dr. Stratford, Canon of Christ Church, to Lord Harley.

<sup>1</sup> Student of Christ Church, 1574; Canon, 1599.

**James II.'s  
Statue**

OVER the gate-way of University College within-side the old quadrangle, between the windows of the undergraduates' library, is a good statue of King James II. The inscription beneath it, probably written by Obadiah Walker, is now concealed by a flat stone, which was placed before it, on the accession of King William to the throne.

*Gent. Mag.*, 1786.

**The  
Ceremony of  
Inauguration**

FEB. 6, being Sunday, the ceremony of the king's day could not be well perform'd at Univ. coll. according to their mind, in setting up the king's statua over the common gate, within the quadrangle.

Feb. 7, Munday, about 10. or eleven in the morn., was set up the said statua carved from Portland stone. At which time a partie of horse standing in the street (on horseback) opposite to the common gate, did, upon notice given that it was up, discharge each his pistol: which being done, the spectators in the quadrangle and those in the street, gave a great shout. Afterwards, as soon as they could charge their pistols, they gave two more, at which two shouts followed. Afterwards the quadrangle being emptied they let in all such officers and others that were invited to dinner, and being conducted into the common hall, Mr. Edward Hales, a gent. commoner, spake at a desk an eloquent English speech before them all by heart. Afterwards the master of the college, Mr. Bertie, a nobleman of that house and the officers sitting at the high table and all other guests at the other tables, was a most noble feast, all sorts of wine, sack, claret, Smyrna. At which time the university musick plaid, being their musick day by appointment. At 7. in the evening were candles set up in all the windows of the chambers looking into the quadrangle, and in those looking into the street, as also in the chappell windows. Three candles in every light—that is 6 candles in every window, which continued burning till 9 at night. Musick in the common chamber most of the while.

*Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, ed. by A. Clark.  
Oxford Hist. Soc., 1894.

**College  
Quadrangles**

How ancient is the aspect of these college quadrangles! So gnawed by time, as they are, so crumbly, so blackened, and so grey where they are not black—so quaintly shaped, too, with here a line of battlement and there a row of gables; and here a turret, with probably a winding stair inside; and lattice windows, with stone mullions, and little panes of glass set in lead; and the cloisters, with a long arcade looking upon the green or pebbled enclosure. The quality of the stone has a great deal to do with



the apparent antiquity. It is a stone found in the neighbourhood of Oxford, and very soon begins to crumble and decay superficially, when exposed to the weather; so that twenty years do the work of a hundred, so far as appearances go. If you strike one of the old walls with a stick, a portion of it comes powdering down. The effect of this decay is very picturesque, and is especially striking, I think, on edifices of classic architecture, such as some of the Oxford colleges are, greatly enriching the Grecian columns, which look so cold when the outlines are hard and distinct. The Oxford people, however, are tired of this crumbly stone, and when repairs are necessary, they use a more durable material, which does not well assort with the antiquity into which it is intruded.

Hawthorne's *English Note-Books*.

'SINCE the House hallows not the Man, but rather the Man the House,' wrote the Bishop, [Walter de Stapeldon, Bishop of Exeter, who founded the College in 1314,] 'let the House henceforth take its name from the Fellows who dwell there and not the Fellows from their House; and so often as they shall change their house so often let the new House drop its former name and take the name of Stapeldon Hall in honour of the said Fellows.'

Exeter College

Man proposes, but Time and Custom dispose! Balliol and Merton and Wadham still keep alive the memory of their founders, but Stapeldon's name, like that of Fleming and Rotherham of Lincoln, has long since been displaced by that of his diocese.

QUADRANGLES with a similar designation are not unknown elsewhere. There is still such a quadrangle at Christ Church. Scrupulous persons have endeavoured to find a reminiscence of St. Helen in the name, but without a shadow of evidence. A similar fastidiousness has turned Cats Street, which bore this name for many centuries, into St. Catherine's Street, though there is no evidence that Cats Street or Cat Hall ever had any connection with St. Catherine.

Hell Quad

Will. Keatley Stride, *Exeter College*. Hutchinson, 1900.

APOLLO smiles on Magd'len's peaceful bowers,  
Perfumes the air and paints the grot with flowers,  
Where Yalden learn'd to gain the myrtle crown,  
And every Muse was fond of Addison.  
Applauded man! for weightier trusts design'd,  
For once disdain not to unbend thy mind;

Magdalen

Thy mother Isis and her groves rehearse,  
 A subject not unworthy of thy verse ;  
 So Latian Fields will cease to boast thy praise,  
 And yield to Oxford, painted in thy lays ;  
 And when the age to come, from envy free,  
 What thou to Virgil giv'st shall give to thee,  
 Isis, immortal by the Poet's skill,  
 'Shall in the smooth description, murmur still' ;  
 New beauties shall adorn our sylvan scene,  
 And in thy numbers grow for ever green.

Tickell's *Oxford*.

**The Magdalen  
Oak**

OXFORD, June 30. 1789. About four o'clock in the morning, an uncommon shock, attended with a violent rushing noise, was felt at St. Mary Magdalen's College, and on the other side of the water, occasioned, as it afterwards appeared by the falling of the venerable oak which stood at the entrance into the Water-walk. Its dimensions were as follows :

In girth, . . . .	21 feet 9 inches.
Height, . . . .	71 feet 8 inches.
Cubic contents, . . .	754 feet.

The trunk for more than 9 feet from the ground was reduced to a shell; but upwards the tree seemed to be in full vigour of vegetation, though it had long been kept from falling by two or three roots scarcely so large as a two inch cable. . . . Dr. Stukeley, in 1724, in his *Itinerarium Curiosum*, says: 'The old oak is yet left, nigh which the founder ordered his college to be built.'

Now the college was founded in 1448 . . . and the founder directed the boundary on the north to be near the 'great oak.' But they who are acquainted with our ancient forests, will not think it incredible that an oak of sufficient importance to attract William of Waynflete's attention, should boast of receiving in its green old age a visit from George the Third.

*Gent. Mag.*, 1789.

**Splendours of  
Magdalen  
College**

MAGDALEN College at Oxford, founded in the fifteenth century by William of Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester and Lord High Chancellor, was one of the most remarkable of our academical institutions. A graceful tower, on the summit of which a Latin hymn was annually chanted by choristers at the dawn of May day, caught far off the eye of the traveller who came from London. As he approached he found that this tower rose from an embattled pile, low and irregular, yet singularly venerable, which, embowered in

verdure, overhung the sluggish waters of the Cherwell. He passed through a gateway overhung by a noble oriel, and found himself in a spacious cloister adorned with emblems of virtues and vices, rudely carved in grey stone by the masons of the fifteenth century. The table of the society was plentifully spread in a stately refectory hung with paintings and rich with fantastic carving. The Service of the Church was performed morning and evening in a chapel which had suffered much violence from the Reformers, and much from the Puritans, but which was, under every disadvantage, a building of eminent beauty, and which has, in our own time, been restored with rare taste and skill. The spacious gardens along the river side were remarkable for the size of the trees, among which towered conspicuous one of the vegetable wonders of the island, a gigantic oak, older by a century, men said, than the oldest college in the University.

The statutes of the Society ordained that the Kings of England and Princes of Wales should be lodged in Magdalen. Edward the Fourth had inhabited the building while it was still unfinished. Richard the Third had held his court there, had heard disputations in the hall, had feasted there royally, and had mended the cheer of his hosts by a present of fat bucks from his forests. Two heirs apparent of the crown who had been prematurely snatched away, Arthur the elder brother of Henry the Eighth, and Henry the elder brother of Charles the First, had been members of the college. Another prince of the blood, the last and best of the Roman Catholic Archbishops of Canterbury, the gentle Reginald Pole, had studied there.

In the time of the civil war Magdalen had been true to the cause of the crown. There Rupert had fixed his quarters; and before some of his most daring enterprises, his trumpets had been heard sounding to horse through those quiet cloisters. Most of the Fellows were divines, and could aid the King only by their prayers and their pecuniary contributions. But one member of the body, a Doctor of Civil Law, raised a troop of undergraduates, and fell fighting bravely at their head against the soldiers of Essex. When hostilities had terminated, and the Roundheads were masters of England, six sevenths of the members of the foundation refused to make any submission to usurped authority. They were consequently ejected from their dwellings and deprived of their revenues. After the Restoration the survivors returned to their pleasant abode. They had now been succeeded by a new generation which inherited their opinions and their spirit. During the Western rebellion such Magdalen men as were not disqualified by their age or profession

for the use of arms had eagerly volunteered to fight for the crown. It would be difficult to name any corporation in the kingdom which had higher claims to the gratitude of the House of Stuart. The society consisted of a President, of forty Fellows, of thirty Scholars called Demies, and of a train of chaplains, clerks, and choristers. At the time of the general visitation in the reign of Henry the Eighth the revenues were far greater than those of any similar institution in the realm, greater by nearly one-half than those of the magnificent foundation of Henry the Sixth at Cambridge, and considerably more than double those which William of Wykeham had settled on his college at Oxford. In the days of James the Second the riches of Magdalen were immense, and were exaggerated by report. The college was popularly said to be wealthier than the wealthiest abbeys of the Continent. When the leases fell in,—so ran the vulgar rumour,—the rents would be raised to the prodigious sum of forty thousand pounds a year.

Macaulay's *Hist. of England*.

May Morning  
on Magdalen  
Tower

As to the singing itself, it appears from the earliest account we have of it, not to have been originally a religious ceremony at all. Wood says concerning it: 'The choral Ministers of this House do, according to an ancient custom, salute Flora every year on the first of May at four in the morning with vocal music of several parts. Which having been sometimes well performed hath given great content to the neighbourhood and auditors underneath.' This suggests something of the nature of a secular concert; and it appears that in the middle of the eighteenth century the performance was 'a merry Concert of both Vocal and Instrumental, Music, consisting of several merry Ketches, and lasting almost 2 hours' (John Pointer, *Oxoniensis Academia*).

This concert, as in Wood's day, began at four in the morning. The adoption of the present hour of five, and the substitution of the hymn from the College 'grace' for the 'merry Ketches,' are believed to have been due to stress of weather on a particular occasion in the latter part of the eighteenth century, when, the usual concert being found impossible, the organist and choir ascended the Tower and sang the hymn, choosing it, probably as a piece of which the words and the music were alike known by heart. The alteration, once made, was no doubt found to save trouble in 'rehearsals' and to relieve the choir from an observance which must, in cold or wet weather, have been burdensome. It was only natural that the exception should become the rule. The wearing of surplices by the choir and other foundationers was introduced



at a later time still, after the regular use of the hymn had turned a secular observance into a religious one.

*Magdalen College*, by H. A. Wilson. Hutchinson, 1899.

'ENGLAND and Oxford, Magdalen and May-day'—so sang Cleveland Coke, poet, divine, and bishop, on the other side of the Atlantic. The sequence of ideas is natural; it is indeed capable of being stated proportionally. As Oxford represents everything attractive to the poet's mind, so Magdalen seems to be the quintessence of Oxford, and never so truly as on May morning. According to custom, hallowed by four centuries or so of pious observance, the choir mount to the top of the tower, where, having duly vested, they sing to an admiring audience above and below—no small moiety of whom belong to the fair sex—a Latin hymn, set to music by poor B. Rogers, that same genius whom the college ejected from the office of music-instructor because his daughter was a naughty girl; that same genius, too, who ended a glorious career in inglorious squalor. The music, plaintive to a fault, seems to one who knows the history of its composer to contain in its minor measure a sad satire. For the performance of this service the Rectory of Slymbridge, a village situate some seventy miles away on the banks of the Severn, has ever paid cheerfully a sum stated to be ten pounds annually; this goes to provide a frugal repast for the boys and men. Some twenty years ago the custom developed a corollary. The Choristers used to take up a stock of rotten eggs wherewith to pelt the crowd below. This pastime was especially grateful to a humorous gray-headed chaplain—now, alas! no more—who doubtless ought to have been ashamed of himself, but was not, for he invested in some five score of these dainties for the boys' delectation, and personally directed the artillery. The college authorities 'collided' in consequence with the police, and the belligerent clergyman got a reprimand, which so disgusted him that he never again put in an appearance on the top of the tower on May morning.

**Magdalen  
Music**

*The Dark Blue.* London, 1871.

WE have few traditions of the duration of Addison's residence in College or of his conduct there. A portion of the Water-walks, formerly called Dover-Pier, and supposed to have been his favourite resort, is still called by his name. It has been said, and is highly probable, that he was distinguished by the delicacy of his feelings, by the shyness of his manners, and by the assiduity with which he often prolonged his studies far into the night. It is

**Magdalen  
Walks**

certain that his reputation for ability and learning stood high. His knowledge of the Latin Poets, from Lucretius and Catullus down to Claudian and Prudentius, was singularly exact and profound. His knowledge of Greek, though doubtless such as was in his time thought respectable at Oxford, was evidently less than that which many boys now carry away every year from Eton and Rugby.

*Register of Magdalen College*, by John Rouse Bloxam, D.D.  
Parker, 1879.

**St. John's Eve** THE observance of St. John's or Midsummer Day (24 June) had some peculiar features at Oxford. Within the first quadrangle of Magdalen College, from a stone pulpit at one corner a sermon was always preached on this festival. At the same time the quad was embowered with green boughs that the preaching might resemble that of the Baptist in the wilderness. Towards night, materials for a fire were collected in a public place and kindled. To this the name of bonfire was given, inasmuch as it was composed of contributions collected as boons or gifts of social and charitable feeling. Around this fire the men danced with almost frantic mirth, the men and boys occasionally jumping through the fire, not to show their agility, but in compliance with ancient custom.

*Chambers's Book of Days*, 24 June.

**Magdalen  
Pulpit**

JUNE 25, 1716. Yesterday preached at Magdalen College Mr. Lydall, batchelor of divinity and fellow of that college and rector of Wightham in Berks. It is customary upon this day to preach in a stone pulpit in the quadrangle, all beset with bows, by way of allusion to St. John Baptist's preaching in the wilderness. But this being a damp morning, the sermon was preached in the chapell, as 'tis always when the morning proves such.

*Reliquiæ Hearnianæ*. 1857.

**Magdalen  
Tower**

MAY morning too was a burst of poetry every year of my boyhood. Before the Reformation it had been customary to sing a mass at the moment of sunrise on the 1st of May, and sometime in Elizabeth's reign this mass was exchanged for a hymn to the Trinity. At first we used to spring out of bed, and gather in the grey of dawn on the top of the College tower, where choristers and singing men were already grouped in their surplices. Beneath us, all wrapped in the dim mists of a spring morning, lay the city, the silent reaches of Cherwell, the great commons of Cowley marsh and Bullingdon now covered with houses, but then a desolate waste. There was a long hush of waiting just before five,

and then the first bright point of sunlight gleamed out over the horizon; below, at the base of the tower, a mist of discordant noises from the tin horns of the town boys greeted its appearance, and above, in the stillness, rose the soft pathetic air of the hymn *Te Deum Patrem Colimus*. As it closed the sun was fully up, surplices were thrown off, and with a burst of gay laughter the choristers rushed down the little tower stair and flung themselves on the bell ropes, 'jangling' the bells in rough mediæval fashion till the tower shook from side to side. And then, as they were tired, came the ringers; and the 'jangle' died into one of those 'peals,' change after change, which used to cast such a spell over my boyhood.

*Oxford Studies*, by J. R. Green. Macmillan, 1901.

ONE unparalleled beauty belonging to this College is the extensive outlet. The Grove seems perfectly adapted to indulge contemplation; being a pleasant kind of solitude, laid out in walks, and well planted with elms. It has likewise a bowling-green in it, and having some beautiful lawns, feeds about 40 head of deer. Beside these walks there is a very delightful one round a meadow, surrounded by the branches of the Cherwell; whence it is called the Water-walk.

**Magdalen  
Grove**

*A Pocket Companion for Oxford*, ed. 1762.

'HEWITT [a half crazy ex-Fellow] continued until May, 1816, to occupy his rooms; otherwise the College stood empty, until a solicitor named Robertson introduced himself and his family into the Principal's Lodgings, at first on sufferance,' under colour, it seems, of keeping the house in order. The example was followed by others, who settled themselves in the empty rooms. 'Very queer characters they were,' says G. V. Cox, who was an eye-witness of the state of things; to be 'half-cracked' seemed to be the qualification for rooms in Hertford . . . On May 4 1816 an inquisition held by virtue of a Commission under the Great Seal, found that 'Hertford College in the University of Oxford on the 28th day of June in the year 1805 became and was dissolved and its property escheated to the Crown. The next step was an act of Parliament . . . to enable the Crown to grant the escheated property to the University in trust for Magdalen Hall. . . .'

**Hertford Col-  
lege, the first,  
and Magdalen  
Hall**

Magdalen Hall might have remained longer on its ancient site but for an accident which hastened its removal. Early on Sunday morning, January 9, 1820, the guard of a mail-coach passing through

the street saw and gave the alarm that Magdalen Hall was on fire. The flames had broken out in the rooms of Robert Broadley, an undergraduate with a passion for the stage, who the evening before—it was, of course, vacation time—had given a dramatic entertainment, followed by a supper, and had failed to extinguish all his lights before going to bed. . . . Half of the buildings of the Hall was burnt down. . . . Not long afterwards, the old ‘paper building’ of Hertford College, deprived of its last support by the demolition of the houses between it and Cat Street, came down one morning in a cloud of dust.

*Hertford College*, by S. G. Hamilton. Robinson, 1903.

*Desiderata  
Oxon. (1838)*

1. TRINITY COLLEGE GARDEN to be laid out in the style of St. John's.
2. Balliol College front to be made uniform.
3. The balustrades round Tom quad to be removed.
4. The ‘Cæsars’ (*capita illa horrenda*) fringing the Theatre to be remodelled.
5. New College Quad to be Gothicised to suit the Chapel.
6. Fictitious portraits of founders taken down (John de Balliol said to be really the portrait of an Oxford blacksmith, and Devorguilla that of an Oxford apothecary's daughter).
7. The twisted columns of St. Mary's porch swept away (!)

*Oxford in 1888, a Fragmentary Dream*, 1838.

A ‘fortress  
of study’

BRASENOSE College, with which Pater's life was to be identified, is one of the sternest and severest in aspect of Oxford colleges. It has no grove or pleasance to frame its sombre antiquity in a setting of colour and tender freshness. Its black and sombre front looks out on a little piazza occupied by the stately mouldering pile of the Radcliffe library; beyond is the solid front of Hertford, and the quaint pseudo-Gothic court of All Souls. To the north lies a dark lane, over the venerable wall of which looms the huge chestnut of Exeter, full in spring of white stiff spires of heavy-scented bloom. To the south a dignified modern wing, built long after Pater's election, overlooks the bustling High Street. To the west the college lies back to back with the gloomy and austere courts of Lincoln. There is no sense of space, of leisureliness, of ornament about the place; it rather looks like a fortress of study. The interior of the buildings is still more sombre, with the smoke-stained walls and gables of friable stone.

*Walter Pater*, by A. C. Benson. Macmillan, 1906.



Wadham—  
Afternoon

THE day is like a sabbath in a swoon,  
 Slow in September's blue go fair cloud things  
 Poising aslant upon their charmed wings,  
 Stilled to the last faint backward smiles of June.  
 Softly I tread, and with repentant shoon,  
 Half fearfully in sweet imaginings,  
 Where broods, like courtyards of departed kings,  
 The old Quadrangle paved with afternoon.

No footfall sounds within the empty hall :  
 No echoes people corridor and stairs ;  
 The sunlight slumbers on the silent square,  
 Forgetful of slow shadows by the wall.  
 Yon is the passage where low lights do fall  
 And linger longest (I have watched them there)  
 Beyond which you will find a spot most fair,  
 A comfortable and a holy spot withal.

Here did Wren make himself a student home  
 Or e'er he made a name that England loves.  
 I wondered, as he watched yon chapel doves  
 If he did have some foresight of that dome  
 On Lud's old Hill where now their Coveys come,  
 With them that bear his name, in lofty coves.  
 I wonder if this straying shadow moves  
 Adown the wall as then he saw it roam.

Blake hither brought his book—to con the sky,  
 Commanding squadrons of the upper seas  
 That streamed, impatient of Time's slow degrees,  
 Their pennoned fleets of phantasy on high  
 O winged-shod Time, that we should bid thee fly !  
 Five hundred years good Bishop Wykeham's trees  
 Down there at New have known such lads as these,  
 And they are patient still and standing by.

*From an Oxford Quadrangle, by Arthur Upson. 1900.*

A COLLEGE fair in Oxford I did make  
 A sumptuous House, a stately work indeed.  
 I gave great lands to that for learning's sake  
 To bring up youth and succour scholar's need.  
*The Tragedy of Cardinal Wolsey, by Thos. Churchyard.*

The House

## ISIS AND CHER

**A Network of  
Green**

A LAND of waters green and clear,  
Of willows and of poplars tall ;  
And, in the spring-time of the year,  
The white may breaking over all.

*Rhymes à la mode*, by A. Lang. Kegan Paul, 1885.

**Isis**

THE river runs along the south of the city, getting into the University quarter after it passes under the bridge connecting Berks and Oxfordshire, over which is the road to Abingdon. Just below this bridge are the boat-builders' establishments on both sides of the river, and then on the Oxfordshire side is Christ Church meadow, opposite which is moored the University barge. Here is the goal of all University races; and the racecourse stretches away down the river for a mile and a half, and a little below the starting-place of the races is Iffley Lock.

*Tom Brown at Oxford*, 1861.

**River Isis**

A SONG for thee, sweet Isis, welcome theme !  
Tho' jealous Naiads of my own home stream,  
And old Sabrina, like some doting nurse,  
Grudge the first tribute of my boyish verse.  
A song for thee, sweet Isis : pleasant dream  
Have I beside thee, as I watch thy stream  
Among the broad-leav'd water-lilies creep,  
Tickling the stalks and rushes, till I sleep,  
Lull'd by their whisperings. But other joys  
Thy stream for us possesses ; happy boys !  
What time we watch the drowsy, gulping chub,  
Between the twigs of some o'er-hanging shrub  
And, tap'ring rod in hand, expectant wait  
The prey that sports around the treach'rous bait.  
Or watch, upon thy breast, the dashing spray  
Around our vessel's keel like feathers play,  
Till on thy banks fair Godstow's fields are seen,  
Where buried lies the victim of a queen

Who with the murd'rous blade and cup o'ercame  
 The 'world's fair Rose,' altho' that beauteous dame  
 In cunning lab'rinth, hid from vulgar eyes,  
 Was placed, where those, who knew the king's device  
 Alone, could find a way : but now no more  
 E'en o'er the 'Rose's grave' can lovers pore :  
 For where the holy building used to be,  
 Fern-tufted moss-grown ruins now we see ;  
 And cattle dwell, where once with silv'ry tones  
 The good old monks were wont to lay men's bones.

*Magdalen College School Magazine. No 1, Dec. 1857.*

THEY passed out into the cool and darkness of the cloisters, and soon they were in the Broad Walk, trees as old as the Commonwealth bending overhead, and in front the dazzling green of the June meadows, the shining river in the distance, and the sweep of cloud-flecked blue arching in the whole. **The River in Summer**

The gentlemen were waiting for them, metamorphosed in boating-clothes, and the two boats were ready. . . . On they passed, in the blazing sunshine, through Iffley lock and under the green hill crowned with Iffley village and its Norman church. The hay was out in the fields, and the air was full of it. Children, in tidy Sunday frocks, ran along the towing-path to look at them ; a reflected heaven smiled upon them from the river depths ; wild rose-bushes overhung the water, and here and there stray poplars rose like landmarks into the sky. . . . It was past five before they steered into the shadow of Nuneham woods. The meadows just ahead were a golden blaze of light, but here the shade lay deep and green on the still water, spanned by a rustic bridge, and broken every now and then by the stately whiteness of the swans. Rich steeply-rising woods shut in the left-hand bank, and foliage, grass and wild flowers seemed suddenly to have sprung into a fuller luxuriance than elsewhere.

*Miss Bretherton, by Mrs. Humphrey Ward.*  
*Macmillan, 1884.*

To enjoy the Upper River as it deserves to be enjoyed, you should have laboured at the Torpid oar a Lent term and have found yourself not required ('this year') for the Eight. You know quite enough of rowing in such a case to cut a figure on the Upper River, but you will not want to cut it. If you appreciate your surroundings properly, you will want to sit in the stern while somebody else does the rowing ; or if you take an oar, you will want to **Upper River**

pull in leisurely fashion and to look about you as you please, in the blissful absence of raucous instructions to 'keep your eyes in the boat.' There is much that is pleasant to look upon—the wide expanse of Port Meadow on the right, on the towpath willows waving in the wind, and on the water here and there the white sail of a centre-board. As you draw near Godstow, you may see cattle drinking, knee-deep in the stream; you may land and refresh yourself, if you will, at the Trout at Godstow; may visit the ruins of the nunnery; or, leaning on the bridge-rail over Godstow weir lulled by the ceaseless murmur of the water, may muse upon the vanity of mere ambition and the servitude of such as row in College Eights.

*Oxford*, by R. Peel and H. C. Minchin. Methuen, 1905.

#### The Cherwell

SWEET inland Brook! which at all hours,  
Imprisoned in a belt of flowers,  
Art drawing without song or sound  
Thy salient springs, for Oxford bound,  
Was ever lapse so calm as thine,  
Or water meadows half so green,  
Or weeping weeds so long to twine  
With threads of crystal stream between?

And with my skiff beneath this bower,  
Thatched o'er with luscious elder-flower,  
No sound but my own murmur shall  
The local silence disenthral,  
Save when a coot at times may pass  
Between the blades of milky grass,  
Or with a momentary splash  
A rat between the tree-roots dash,  
Or drowsy music! sedge stalks grind  
On one another in the wind.

In flowery May or shady June  
Oft have I spent a vacant noon  
In Cherwell's matted hawthorn bowers,  
Or coves of elder, while the hours  
In deep sensations of delight  
Sped past me with the silent might  
Of time unnoted, which for ever  
Sweeps onward like a voiceless river;



And now and then a most sweet thought  
 Or outward beauty in me wrought  
 With such blithe trouble as to bring  
 The noontide's pleasant lingering  
 Most sensibly unto me : these,  
 Like the soft shaking of a breeze,  
 The pulse of summer in the trees,  
 Were my sole hours, my notes of time,  
 Joy striking joy, an inward chime  
 Of silent song, yet not the less  
 All resonant with cheerfulness.  
 There, stretched at lazy length, I read  
 With boughs of blossom overhead,  
 And here and there the liquid blue  
 Of the smooth sky was melting through.  
 There—ah ! 'tis years since—did I pore  
 The old Greeks' idylls o'er and o'er,  
 Creating nooks of freshest green  
 By mild sea-bays, the fancied scene  
 Of those bright pastorals.

*Poems*, by F. W. Faber. 1857.

THE famous River Isis hath her spring  
 Neare Tetbury and downe along doth bring  
 (As hand-maids) to attend her progress, Churne,  
 Colne, Windrush, Yenload, Leech, whose windings turne  
 And Meads and Pastures trims, bedecks and dresses,  
 Like an unvaluable chaine of Esses.  
 After releese of many a Ducke and Goose,  
 At Saint John's Bridge they made their rendezvous,  
 And there like robbers crossing London way,  
 Bid many a barefoot Welshman wade or stay,  
 Close under Oxford, one of England's eyes,  
 Chief of the chiefest Universities.  
 From Banbury, desirous to add knowledge  
 To zeal, and to be taught in Magdalen College,  
 The River Cherwell doth to Isis runne  
 And bears her company to Abington.

John Taylor, the Water-poet, 1632.

Thames and  
 Isis

IMPERIAL Ifley, Cumnor bowered in green,  
 And Temple Sandford in the boatman's call  
 And sweet-belled Appleton, and Marcham wali  
 That doth upon adoring ivies lean ;

Water Names

Meek Binsey ; Dorchester where streams convene  
 Bidding on graves her solemn shadow fall ;  
 Clear Cassington that soars perpetual ;  
 Holton and Hampton, and ye towers between.

*IX Sonnets written at Oxford*, by Louise Imogen Guiney.  
 Privately printed, Camb., Mass., 1895.

#### Nuneham

A PICNIC at Nuneham is one of the amusements crowded into the Commemoration week, and when the Long Vacation permits the citizens of Oxford to enjoy their own again, this is the favourite resort of school-treats and other forms of popular pleasure. A more suitable spot for such delight it would not be easy to find, and the kindness of its owners puts it at the disposal of the public. The right bank of the river has little to show beyond an expanse of rich pasture-ground ; but the left has been favoured by nature with advantages which art has done much to increase. The wooded slopes of Nuneham, as one saw them it may be half a life-time ago, lustrous with the sunshine of a noonday in June, made a picture that never can be forgotten. The property was purchased by the Harcourt family in 1710 from Earl Wemyss. The park and the pleasure-grounds of the mansion were laid out by a landscape-gardener famous in his days, whose ingenuity, boldness, and facility of device, earned for him the name of 'Capability Brown.' He was aided by the suggestions of William Mason, a poet of some note in his day, who is now best remembered by his biography of Gray, and by the monument in Poets' Corner which records his name. *The Garden*, in which the poet inculcated in polished verse the precepts of his favourite pursuit, has shared the fate which has overtaken Dyer's *Fleece* and John Philips' *Cyder*: but it shows that the author was a master of his subject. An urn to his memory was erected by Lady Harcourt in the flower-garden of Nuneham, and bears witness to his 'simple manners, piety, and steady friendship.'

*Isis and Thameses*, by A. J. Church. Seeley, 1886.

#### Sandford

MELANCHOLY associations are attached to the Sandford 'lasher.' The fall of the river is here unusually deep, and the main body of the current descends through a single opening, producing below a dangerous eddy, which has sometimes proved fatal even to practised swimmers. A monument bears the names of two undergraduates, one of them the son of Dr. Gaisford, predecessor of Dr. Liddell in the deanery of Christ Church, who perished there now about forty years ago.

*Isis and Thameses*, by A. J. Church. Seeley, 1886.

It is supposed that a bridge existed at this crossing of the Thames in the Saxon Heptarchy, during the reign of King Egbert. In 1075 Robert D'Oyly, who fortified and enlarged Oxford Castle, rebuilt the bridge, calling it 'Magnus Pons,' a term answering to the one afterwards bestowed—'Great Bridge,' since called 'Grandpont.' This name is still in use, the thoroughfare from the bridge to the south retaining it. In the reign of King Stephen, a Pharos, or Watch Tower, was erected on the bridge, in order that the surrounding country might be surveyed, during the incursions of hostile forces. Fifty years after this period (1134-5), it was used as an Observatory by Friar Bacon. In the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I., it is mentioned under the name of 'Nova Porta et Turris supra Pontem Australem' (New Gate and the Tower on South Bridge), not that it was then newly built, but it was the name imposed on it, and by that name called through all the reigns till that of Queen Elizabeth. In 1565 it was let to Dr. White, for several years, conditionally that he should suffer the Archdeacon's Court of Berks to be kept there: and also that the citizens should have free ingress and regress in time of need or danger for the defence of the city. In 1591 it was let to the citizens by the name of 'Batchelor's Tower,' so called by Mr. Windsore. The Tower having in course of time become much dilapidated, the city leased it to a citizen named Welcome, who repaired the lower part, and added to it a storey, which was called by the neighbours 'Welcome's Folly'; and thus the bridge, anciently known as Grandpont, acquired its new title of 'Folly Bridge,' which has been ever since retained, having survived the demolition of the Tower. It was removed altogether on April 6, 1779. The following appropriate lines appeared in the *St. James's Chronicle, or British Evening Post*, four days later:—

'Roger, if with thy magic glasses  
 Kenning, thou seest below what passes,  
 As when on earth thou didst descry  
 With them the wonders of the sky;  
 Look down on your devoted walls,  
 O, save them, ere thy study falls,  
 Or to thy votaries quick impart  
 The secret of thy magic art:  
 Teach us, ere learning's quite forsaken,  
 To honour thee, and—save our Bacon.'

In 1815 the Folly Bridge itself was rebuilt.

*Shrimpton's Oxford Guide.*

**The Isis**

AND there the golden city lay  
 Safe in her leafy nest,  
 And softly on her clustering towers  
 The blush of dawn did rest.

Onward for many and many a mile,  
 Through fields that lay below  
 Old Isis, with his glassy stream,  
 Came pleasantly and slow.

The spring with blossoms rich and fair  
 Had fringed the river's edge,  
 Pale May flowers and wild hyacinths,  
 And spears of tall green sedge.

The ripple on the flowery marge  
 A pleasant sound did yield,  
 And pleasant was the wind that waved  
 The long grass in the field.

*Poems*, by F. W. Faber. 1857.

**The Cherwell  
 and his song  
 at the mar-  
 riage of Thame  
 and Isis**

THUS all things falling out to every one's desire,  
 The ceremonies done that marriage doth require,  
 The bride and bridegroom set and serv'd with sundry cates,  
 And every other plac'd, as fitted their estates ;  
 Amongst this confluence great, wise Charwel here was thought  
 The fitt'st to chear the guests : who thoroughly had been taught  
 In all that could pertain to courtship, long agon,  
 As coming from his sire, the fruitful Helidon,<sup>1</sup>  
 He travelleth to Tames ; where passing by those towns  
 Of that rich country near, whereas the mirthful clowns,  
 With taber and the pipe, on holydays do use  
 Upon the may-pole green, to trample out their shoes :  
 And having in his ears the deep and solemn rings,<sup>2</sup>  
 Which found him all the way, unto the learned springs,  
 Where he, his sovereign Ouze most happily doth meet,  
 And him, the thrice-three maids, Apollo's offspring greet  
 With all their sacred gifts : thus expert being grown  
 In musick ; and besides, a curious maker known :  
 This Charwel (as I said) the first these floods among,  
 For silence having call'd thus to th' assembly sung :

<sup>1</sup> Hill between Northants and Warwick.

<sup>2</sup> Famous rings of bells in Oxfordshire, called the *Crossring*.



‘Stand fast, ye higher hills ; low vallies, easily ly ;  
 And forests, that to both you equally apply  
 (But for the greater part, both wild and barren be)  
 Retire ye to your wastes ; and rivers, only we,  
 Oft meeting let us mix : and with delightful grace,  
 Let every beauteous nymph her best lov’d flood imbrace,  
 An alien be he born, or near to her own spring,  
 So from his native fount he bravely flourishing,  
 Along the flow’ry fields licentiously do strain,  
 Greeting each curlèd grove and circling every plain ;  
 Or hasting to his fall, his shoaly gravel scow’rs,  
 And with his crystal front then courts the climbing tow’rs.

‘Let all the world be judge, what mountain hath a name,  
 Like that from whose proud foot there springs some flood of fame :  
 And in the earth’s survey, what seat like that is set,  
 Whose streets some ample stream abundantly doth wet ?  
 Where is there haven found or harbour like that road,  
 Int’ which some goodly flood his burden doth unload ?  
 By whose rank swelling stream the far-fetch’d foreign fraught  
 May up to inland towns conveniently be brought.  
 Of any part of earth, we be the most renown’d ;  
 That countries very oft, nay, empires oft we bound.  
 As Rubicon, much fam’d both for his fount and fall,  
 The ancient limit held ’twixt Italy and Gaul.  
 Europe and Asia keep on Tanais’ either side.  
 Such honours have we floods, the world (even) to divide.  
 Nay, kingdoms thus we prove are christen’d oft by us ;  
 Iberia takes her name of crystal Iberus. . . .  
 To godly, virtuous men, we wisely liken’d are :  
 To be so in themselves, that do not only care ;  
 But by a sacred power, which goodness doth await,  
 Do make those virtuous too, that them associate.

By this, the wedding ends, and brake up all the show ;  
 And Tames, got, born, and bred, immediately doth flow  
 To Windsor-ward amain (that with a wond’ring eye  
 The forest might behold his awful empery)  
 And soon becometh great, with waters wext so rank  
 That with his wealth he seems to retch his widen’d bank.

Drayton’s *Polyolbion*.

As we have told how Tame holds on his even course,  
 Return we to report how Isis from her source

**The marriage  
 of Thame and  
 Isis**

Comes tripping with delight down from her daintier springs ;  
 And in her princely train, t' attend her marriage brings  
 Clear Churnet, Coln and Leech, which first she did retain  
 With Windrush : and with her (all outrage to restrain  
 Which well might off' red be to Isis as she went)  
 Came Yenload with a guard of Satyrs which were sent  
 From Whichwood to await the bright and godlike dame.

These preparations great when Charwell comes to see,  
 To Oxford got before to entertain the flood,  
 Apollo's aid he begs, with all his sacred brood,  
 To that most learned place to welcome her repair  
 Who, in her coming on, was wax'd so wondrous fair,  
 That meeting, strife arose betwixt them, whether they  
 Her beauty should extol, or she admire their bay.  
 On whom their several gifts (to amplify her dow'r)  
 The muses there bestow ; which ever have the pow'r  
 Immortal her to make. And as she past along  
 Those modest Thespian maids thus to their Isis sung :  
 'Ye daughters of the hills, come down from every side,  
 And due attendance give upon the lovely bride :  
 Go, strew the paths with flowers, by which she is to pass,  
 For be ye thus assur'd, in Albion never was  
 A beauty (yet) like her's : where have you ever seen  
 So absolute a nymph in all things, for a queen ?  
 Give instantly in charge the day be wond'rous fair  
 That no disorder'd blast attempt her braided hair.  
 Go, see her state prepar'd, and everything be fit,  
 The bride chamber adorn'd with all beseeing it.  
 And for the princely groom, who ever yet could name  
 A flood that is so fit for Isis as the Thame ?  
 Ye both so lovely are, that knowledge scarce can tell,  
 For feature whether he, or beauty she excel :  
 That ravished with joy each other to behold,  
 When as your crystal waists you closely do enfold,  
 Betwixt your beauteous selves you shall beget a son  
 That when your lives shall end, in him shall be begun.  
 Thus having told you how the bridegroom Thame was drest,  
 I'll shew you how the bride, fair Isis, they invest ;  
 Sitting to be attir'd under her bower of state,  
 Which scorns a meaner sort than fits a princely rate.  
 In anadems for whom they curiously dispose  
 The red, the dainty white, the goodly damask rose,

For the rich ruby, pearl, and amethyst, men place  
In kings' imperial crowns, the circle that in chase  
The brave carnation then, with sweet and sovereign power  
(So if his colour call'd, although a July-flower)  
With th' other of his kind, the speckled and the pale :  
Then th' odoriferous pink, that sends forth such a gale  
Of sweetness ; yet in scents as various as in sorts.  
The purple violet then, the pansie there supports :  
The mary gold above t' adorn the arched bar :  
The double daisie, thrift, the button-bachelor,  
Sweet-william, sops-in-wine, the campion : and to these  
Some lavender they put, with rosemary and bays :  
Sweet marjoram, with her like, sweet basil rare for smell,  
With many a flower, whose name were now too long to tell  
And rarely with the rest, the goodly flower-de-lis. . . .

Drayton's *Polyolbion*.

## GARDENS OF OXFORD

Gardens of  
Oxford

A WALK in Magdalen College. I never weary of admiring these old edifices festooned with ivy and blackened by age, these crenellated clock-towers, these mullioned windows; above all, these vast square courts, of which the arcades form a promenade like that of the Italian convents. In the afternoon, with the exception of one or two passing undergraduates, they are solitary; nothing is sweeter than this architectural solitude, poetic, intact, where there is never a trace of neglect, of ruin, and of death. Flocks of deer browse peacefully beneath the gigantic elms; a long road, bordered with the finest trees, winds between two rivers. Oxford is in an ancient hollow; hence this softness, this freshness, this incomparable opulence of the verdure. At Worcester College an ample sheet of water, on which swans float, moistens with its slow undulations the green sward constellated with flowers. On every hand cedars, huge yews, oaks, poplars, raise aloft their trunks, and expand their foliage; from branch to branch honeysuckle, Virginia creepers hang and extend. The large gardens of St. John's, the little garden of Wadham, are masterpieces of a unique sort, beyond art itself, for nature and time have been the artificers. Can human art produce anything so beautiful as a group of perfect trees three hundred years old?

*Taine's Notes on England.*

Addison's  
Walk

AN interlacing of elm-arms overhead; a thick bed of periwinkle below; on the left a little classic river and an unexpected park with smoky deer; on the right the sacred College meadow, where never vulgar foot may fall, save of the haymakers, who have but lately built the grass and flowers into a scented stack. Above, below, around, tranquillity and solitude.

*Belinda*, by Rhoda Broughton. Bentley, 1883.

College  
Garden

SACRED to early morn and evening hours,  
Another chapel reared for other prayers,  
And full of gifts,—smells after noon-day showers,  
When bright-eyed birds look out from leafy bowers,



And natural perfumes shed on midnight airs,  
 And bells and old church-clocks and holy towers,  
 All heavenly images that cluster round.  
 The rose and pink acacia, and green vine  
 Over the fretted wall together twine,  
 With creepers fair and many, woven up,  
 When autumn comes, into a tapestry  
 Richly discoloured, and inlaid for me  
 With golden thoughts, drunk from the dewy cup  
 Of morns and evenings spent in that dear ground !

*Poems*, by F. W. Faber. 1857.

MESOPOTAMIA is an avenue of pollard willows, winding between two branches of the Cherwell to the lasher at Parson's Pleasure, well known to all bird-lovers as a favourite haunt of Oxford birds. Here in May you may chance to hear the notes of the nightingale, or in winter to catch sight either of a kingfisher darting upon his prey, or of that most agile and graceful bird of the north as he runs swiftly hither and thither in search of tiny crustaceans—the grey wagtail. For in Oxford gardens and meadows the birds are religiously protected, and encouraged to nest undisturbed. Warblers, finches, and titmice build in the willows or the sedges; the hollow trees are well known to starlings, jackdaws, and sparrows, and in the Botanic Garden even so wary a bird as the lesser woodpecker has made its home.

*Highways and Byeways in Oxford and the Cotswolds*,  
 by H. A. Evans. Macmillan, 1905.

UPON the top of Heddington hill, by Oxford, on the left hand as we go to Heddington, just at the brow of the branch of the Roman way that falls down upon Marsdon-lane, is an elm, that is commonly called and known by the name of Jo Pullen's tree, it having been planted by the care of the late Mr. Josiah Pullen of Magdalen hall, who used to walk to that place every day, sometimes twice a day, if tolerable weather, from Magdalen hall and back again, in the space of half an hour. This gentleman was a great walker, and some walks he would call a mug of twopenny and others a mug of threepenny, etc., according to the difference of the air of each place.

Dr. Bliss in a note (*ib.* 238) writes: 'This tree, mutilated though it be, is still standing (1856), and may in every sense be deemed university property. First from the associations belonging to it and the numerous visitants of early days, as well as of modern times,

who have made it their almost daily boundary of exercise.' (The lower part of the dead trunk stood until October 1909, when it was entirely destroyed by fire.)

*Reliquiæ Hearnianæ*, Feb. 22, 1723 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

**Merton Walks** SOME years agoe came out at Oxford a poem called *Merton Walks*, the walks in the garden of that place being every Sunday night, in the pleasant time of the year, thronged with young gentlemen and young gentlewomen, which growing scandalous, the garden gate was, at last, shut up quite, and thereupon the young gentlemen and others partook themselves to Magdalen College walk, which is now every Sunday night in summer time strangely filled, just like a fair.

*Reliquiæ Hearnianæ*, July 30, 1723.

**Merton  
Garden**

THE garden of Merton, considered the finest in Oxford, consists of a grove or some low dark walks which, as they have no proper air, are not pleasant. At the side is a raised path and a poor pleasure house. . . . Next we went on to a garden which they call Paradise Garden. This is hard by an end of the town, near a tavern, which is in connection with it, and at the back of which, on the water, are countless little boxes, partitioned by hedges, where the fellows drink in summer. There are beautiful fruit-trees and many yew-trees.

Uffenbach<sup>1</sup> ap. Boase's *Oxford*.

**Balliol  
Garden Quad**

THE Garden Quadrangle at Balliol is where one walks at night and listens to the wind in the trees, and weaves the stars into the web of one's thoughts; where one gazes from the pale inhuman moon to the ruddy light of the windows, and hears broken notes of music and laughter, and the complaining murmur of the railroad in the distance. . . . The life here is very sweet and full of joy; at Oxford, after all, one's ideal of happy life is nearer being realised than anywhere else; I mean the ideal of gentle, equable, intellectual intercourse, with something of a prophetic glow about it, glancing brightly into the future, yet always embalming itself in the memory as a resting-place for the soul in a future time that may be dark and troubled after all, with little in it but disastrous failure.

Arnold Toynbee's *Remains*. Rivingtons, 1884.

**Dendrologia**

MORE than one college history is linked with a tree. Lincoln College reverently entreats the solitary plane tree. William of Waynfleet commanded that Magdalen College should be built over

<sup>1</sup> Z. C. von Uffenbach visited Oxford about 1710.

against the oak that fell after six hundred years of life a century ago. Sir Thomas White was warned in a dream to build a college at a place where stood a triple elm tree. Hence arose St. John's College.

*Oxford Described*, by Edward Thomas. Black, 1903.

It was to this quiet little low-roofed common room they now adjourned when dinner in hall was over, and the undergraduates had gone noiselessly off, like so many rabbits, to their respective burrows. There were not more than a dozen round the polished mahogany table. The candles were not lit; there was still a pale light shining over the still garden outside, its beautiful green foliage enclosed on one side by the ivied wall of the Bodleian, and just giving one a glimpse of the Radcliffe dome beyond. It was fresh, and cool, and sweet in here; it was a time for wine and fruit; there were no raised voices in the talk, for there was scarcely a whisper among the leaves of the laburnums outside, and the great acacia spread its feathery branches into a cloudless and lambent sky.

*Green Pastures and Piccadilly*, by William Black.  
Macmillan, 1877.

Exeter  
Garden

On the eastern and western sides of St. John's quadrangle the architect has been very successful in introducing two light colonnades, over the centre of which in niches are placed the bronze statues of Charles I. and his queen, Henrietta Maria, cast by Fanelli of Florence at a cost of £400. From this quadrangle we are conducted by a second very elegant passage-way with fan-tracery ceiling into the garden, celebrated as well for the choice views of the library, Wadham College, and other buildings of the University, as for its fine horse-chestnuts and other trees, and the tasteful manner in which they have been disposed. It occupies a square area of about three acres, and was about a century [and a half] since 'the general rendezvous of gentlemen and ladies every Sunday evening in summer,' where the whole University together almost, as well as the better sort of townsmen and ladies, were wont to take their promenade, a custom which has now very much abated. This beautiful garden is enclosed by stone walls, which separate it on the south from that of Trinity College, and on the east from that of Wadham College, and the avenue leading to the Parks and Keble. If these walls were removed and iron railings substituted, the views would bear comparison with the celebrated 'Backs' at Cambridge.

St. John's  
Gardens<sup>1</sup>

*Parker's Handbook for Visitors to Oxford.*

<sup>1</sup> See also vol. ii. bk. iii. on 'Oxford Manners,' p. 721.

**The Botanic  
Garden**

AMONG the several other noble Structures and great conveniences of Learning wherewith this famous University is adorned, this of the Physick Garden, commodiously situate by the River Cherwell, claims not the least place : founded, built, and the Donation thereof made to the University in the year 1632, by the munificent Benefaction of Henry Danvers, Earl of Danby, then living at his house at Cornbury in Oxfordshire, who purchasing five Acres of Ground south of St. Mary Magdalene College thereon erected about the Square thereof most magnificent Walls and Gates, which walls are fourteen Foot of the best squared and polished stone, the like not to be elsewhere seen ; and the Gate there of the Composited order of Building to the Expense of 500 or 600 £, on the Front whereof is this Inscription to be seen, viz. *Gloriae Dei Optimi Maximi Honori Caroli Regis, in usum Academiae et Rei publicae*, 1632. Henricus Comes Danby. And he endowed the same with an annual Revenue for ever, for the maintenance and keeping up of the same and its great variety of Plants, whereof it now contains many thousands for the use and honour of the University ; serving not only for ornament and Delight and the pleasant Walking and Diversion of Academic Students and of all Strangers and Travellers ; but of great use also, as is easily found, among all Persons willing to improve their Botanical inclinations and studies ; and for the pleasant Contemplation and Experience of Vegetative Philosophy ; for which is here supposed to be as good convenience as in any Place of Europe (if not the best) and also for the service of all Medicinal Practitioners, supply the Physicians, Apothecaries, and who else shall have occasion for things of that nature with what is right and true, fresh and good for the Service of Health and Life.

*The Ancient and Present State of the University of Oxford,*  
by John Ayliffe, D.D. 1714.

**The Physic  
Garden**

IN this Physic Garden there are these Curiosities among many other scarce and rare exotics of all kinds. 1. The true African Rhubarb. 2. The Aloe Plant, with a white flower on it. This Aloe is so succulent a Plant, that it has been preserv'd 10 years above ground without either earth or water and tis thought may be preserved so 20 years, as I was informed by the late excellent Botanist Mr. Bobart Master of this Garden. 3. The true Indian Tobacco Plant and Indian Wheat. 4. Guinea Pepper Tree. 5. Pomum Amoris. 6. Sorbus Vera, the Sorb or Quicken Tree. 7. Cedrus Vera, from Mount Lebanon with leaves like a star, rais'd from a seed. 8. Helianthemus, or Sun Flower, of a fleshy



colour and five leaves. 9. Scylla Vera, which was a six leaved flower almost of a lead colour. 10. Arbor Balsami Peruviani. 11. Paliurus or Thorn with which our Saviour was crowned, as Mr. Bobart told me he has great reason to believe. 12. Pistacia Vera, the true Pistacia Tree, with leaves like a walnut. 13. The Currant Grape grafted upon the Fox-grape. 14. The White Frontina Vine. 15. The Sensible Plant called by some the Chaste Plant, because if it be touched the jagged part of the leaves shrink and run together as if they were withered, but when the hand that touched it is removed, it opens itself and thrives again. This unaccountable Plant grows on the Island of Barbada in North America. . . . And besides these Natural Curiosities, here are several instances of Nature improved by Art, as Trees cut into curious shapes, to which we may add the curious piece of Rustic Rock work over the Gate on each side of which are the Statues of K. Charles I. and II. and over all the Earl of Danby's Statue in Busto, the founder of this Garden. Another curiosity are the Sphinges Megaricae, on each side of the iron gate that leads into the Court before the Garden, which Sphinxes are Hieroglyphics (says the learned Montfaucon) and Emblems of Wisdom.

*Oxoniensis Academia*, by John Pointer, 1749.

PARSONS' PLEASURE, *e.g.* the well-concealed bathing-place which goes by this name, stands at the narrow apex of a large island which is formed by the river Cherwell,—itself here running in two channels which enclose the walk known as Mesopotamia,—and the slow and often shallow stream by which Holywell mill is worked. The bird-lover will never cross the rustic bridge which brings him into the island over this latter stream, without casting a rapid glance to right and left. Here in the summer we used to listen to the Nightingale, or watch the Redstarts and Flycatchers in the willows, or feast our eyes with the splendid deep and glossy black-blue of the Swallow's back, as he darted up and down beneath the bridge in doubtful weather. And here of a winter morning you may see a pair of Moorfowl paddling out of the large patch of rushes that lies opposite the bathing-place on the side of the Parks; here they breed in the summer, with only the little Reed-warblers as companions. And here there is always in winter at least a chance of seeing a Kingfisher.

Birds in Par-  
sons' Pleasure

*A Year with the Birds*, by an Oxford Tutor. Blackwell, 1886.

THE fact is that for several obvious reasons, Oxford is almost a Paradise of birds. All the conditions of the neighbourhood, as it

A Paradise of  
Birds

is now, are favourable to them. The three chief requisites of the life of most birds are food, water, and some kind of cover. For food, be they insect-eaters, or grub-eaters, they need never lack near Oxford. Our vast expanse of moist alluvial meadow—unequalled at any point in the Thames valley—is extraordinarily productive of grubs and flies, as it is of other things unpleasant to man. Any one can verify this for himself who will walk along the Isis on a warm summer evening, or watch the Sand-martins as he crosses the meadows to Hincksey. Snails too abound. Water of course is everywhere; the fact that our city was built at the confluence of Isis and Cherwell has had a good deal of influence on its bird-life. But after all, as far as the city itself is concerned, it is probably the conservative tranquillity and the comfortable cover of the gardens and parks that has chiefly attracted the birds. I fancy there is hardly a town in Europe of equal size where such favourable conditions are offered them, unless it be one of the old-fashioned well-timbered kind, such as Wiesbaden, Bath, or Dresden. The college system, which has had so much influence on Oxford in other ways, and the control exercised by the University over the government of the town, have had much to do with this, and the only adverse element even at the present day is the gradual but steady extension of building to the north, south, and west. A glance at a map of Oxford will show how large a space in the centre of the town is occupied by college gardens, all well-timbered and planted, and if to these are added Christ Church Meadow, Magdalen Park, the Botanic Garden, and the Parks, together with the adjoining fields, it will be seen that there must be abundant opportunity for observations, and some real reason for an attempt to record them.

*A Year with the Birds*, by an Oxford Tutor.

# OXFORD'S MOODS

How different Oxford looks when the road to Cowley Marsh is dumb with dust, when the heat seems almost tropical, and by the drowsy banks of the Cherwell you might almost expect some shy southern water-beast to come crashing through the reeds! And such a day, again, is unlike the bright weather of late September, when all the gold and scarlet of Bagley Woods are concentrated in the leaves that cover the walls of Magdalen with an imperial vesture. Oxford's Moods

Our memories of Oxford, if we have long made her a Castle of Indolence, vary no less than do the shifting aspects of her scenery. Days of spring and of mere pleasure in existence have alternated with days of gloom and loneliness, of melancholy, of resignation. Our mental pictures of a place are tinged by many moods, as the landscape is beheld in shower and sunshine, in frost, and in the colourless drizzling weather. Oxford, that once seemed a pleasant porch and entrance into life, may become a dingy ante-room, where we kick our heels with other weary, waiting people. At last, if men linger there too late, Oxford grows a prison, and it is the final condition of the loiterer to take 'this for a hermitage.' It is well to leave the enchantress betimes, and to carry away few but kind recollections. If there be any who think and speak ungently of their *Alma Mater* it is because they have outstayed their natural 'welcome while,' or because they have resisted her genial influence in youth.

*Oxford. Brief Historical and Descriptive Notes, by  
Andrew Lang. Seeley, 1890.*

CITY of wildest sunsets, which do pile  
Their dark-red castles on that woody brow!  
Fair as thou art in summer's moonlight smile,  
There are a hundred cities fair as thou.  
But still with thee alone all seasons round  
Beauty and change in their own right abound.

Oxford in  
Winter

Whole winter days swift rainy lights descend,  
 Ride o'er the plain upon the swelling breeze,  
 And in a momentary brightness blend  
 Walls, towers, and flooded fields, and leafless trees :  
 Sights of such glory as may not be seen  
 In the deep northern vales and mountains green.

Coy city, that dost swathe thy summer self  
 In willow lines and elmy avenue,  
 Each Winter comes, and brings some hidden pelf,  
 Buttress or Cross or gable out to view :  
 While his thin sunlight frugal lustre sheds  
 On the straight streams and yellow osier beds.

Why is it, city of all seasons ! why—  
 So few have homes where there are homes so fair ?  
 They come and go : it is thy destiny,  
 Which for its very greatness thou must bear,  
 To be a nation's heart, thou city dear !  
 Sending the young blood from thee every year.

*Poems*, by Frederick William Faber. 1857.

**Oxford in  
 Winter**

COLD calm and sad, the soft mists brooding bathe  
 In ghostlier glamour chapel, tower, and hall,  
 Dome, pinnacle, spire ; they clasp and subtly swathe  
 Oxford's grey magic. Cold and calm the pall  
 On blade and branch, as for life's funeral,  
 Clings of the crystal rime. No hue, no breath  
 Marreth the world's white immaterial,  
 Motionless beauty, pure as love's last wreath,  
 Laid on the form austere and solemn lines of death.

Cold, silent, white, the listening willows lean  
 To their grey image, mere mysterious dim,  
 Haunting this mirror of slow-sliding green,  
 Where Cherwell's shadowy windings deeply brim  
 With liquid quiet, or in icy rim  
 Loiter by reed and root. Nor sound nor time  
 Troubles life's true assessor, song. For him  
 Only the rustle of the falling rime  
 Or thinly through the mist a lost and soulless chime.

*Corydon, An Elegy*, by R. Fanshawe. Frowde, 1906.

**Oxford  
 in Flood**

SIXTY years ago Oxford in winter almost resembled Venice, in its  
 apparent isolation from the land and in the appearance of its towers



and spires reflected in the mirror of the floods. . . . We drove out occasionally to the heights above the city, to reach which we were obliged to pursue for some distance a road which resembled a sort of high level or causeway (as in Holland) with water on each side. Looking back from the higher ground, the view of the academic city sitting upon the floods was very picturesque. It was commonly said that Milton had in his mind that sight and the sound of the bell from Christ Church tower, when he wrote the lines in *Penseroso*

‘ Oft on a plot of rising ground  
I hear the far off Curfew sound  
Over some wide watered shore,  
Swinging slow with sullen roar.’

*Recollections of George Butler*, by Josephine Butler.  
Arrowsmith, 1892.

WE may readily imagine how fair Oxford seemed after the black quadrangle and heavy air of Glasgow. In one of October’s crystal days, with the elms not yet stripped of their gold, and with the crimson pall of red leaves swathing the towers of Magdalen, Oxford looks almost as beautiful as in the pomp of spring. To the fresh-man care is unknown, and the shadow of the schools does not overcast his new liberty. **Oxford in Autumn**

*Life of Lockhart*, by Andrew Lang. Nimmo, 1896.

A FORTNIGHT ago last Monday I and another man walked about twenty-six miles; it was St. Matthias’ Day (I am much obliged to his saintship) and therefore we had no lectures; so we took the whole blessed day, and started about 10.15 A.M., after breakfast. **Walks near Oxford**

First we went through Cumnor, where an inn called the ‘Bear and Ragged Staff’ still purports to be kept by one Giles Gosling of *Kenilworth* celebrity. (This however I had been at before.) Thence we proceeded to Bablockhythe Ferry, where we crossed the Isis and kept on through very pleasant rural scenery to Stanton Harcourt, where there is a rum old Manor House, with a kitchen of earlier date than the rest of the building—being, in fact, the kitchen where good Queen Bess had her dinner cooked when staying at Stanton House. I never saw such an old thing. They were killing pigs in it when we were there.

But the most interesting part of the ramble was yet to come. A few yards from the farm-house, just at the end of the garden, there is a beautiful old tower like the kitchen, one of the remains of the old Manor House or Castle: and in an upper chamber thereof for years dwelt no less a personage than Pope the poet. His name is

said to be cut on a pane of glass in one of the windows ; but we could not find it. In the basement of the tower is Pope's chapel (he was a Roman Catholic), the altar still standing, and the arms of the Harcourt family, with sundry griffins and cherubims painted around. Within a few yards of this tower is the churchyard ; and on the wall of the extreme end of the south transept outside is the celebrated tablet erected by Pope in memory of the faithful rustic lovers killed by a flash of lightning in the harvest field. I dare say you remember the lines. I forget them just now : only I know one ends with the words—'the flash that melts the ball.' From Stanton Harcourt we rambled on to Eynsham, a small town on the banks of the Isis, whence, after some beer and biscuits we proceeded to Woodstock, encountering some gipsies by the way, and skirting along Blenheim Park, leaving in the distance the ranger's lodge in the park where the celebrated infidel Rochester died. And so we came to Woodstock, and walked into Blenheim Park, and up to the house. The house is quite a palace ; we only saw the exterior, but it looked like a pretty large village : a hatchment over the front recorded the death of the late Duchess of Marlborough. There is a very beautiful lake in the park ; it was sunset, and the water was so quiet in its deep loveliness ; swans were rowing along in stately pride, but some unfortunate fellows took it into their heads to have a fly, and made precious fools of themselves, I must say. On the northern shore of the lake, nearly opposite the house, is 'Fair Rosamond's' Well ; a fine spring comes gushing out beneath the roots of the old trees, and here until of late years, I believe, there were some remains supposed to be those of the far-famed tower in which Henry II. secluded his mistress.

The waters of the well, if you give your face a good wash with them, are said to call forth all manner of charms and make one quite irresistible : of course I scrubbed away vigorously. Well, we returned to our hostelry, not a little tired, and had tea in the good landlady's special snuggery : and then a gloomy weary walk in the dark of six or seven miles to Oxford.

T. E. Brown's *Letters*. Constable, 1900.

Thyrsis

WELL ! wind-dispersed and vain the words will be ;  
 Yet, Thyrsis, let me give my grief its hour  
 In the old haunt, and find our tree-topped hill !  
 Who, if not I, for questing here hath power ?  
 I know the wood which hides the daffodil ;  
 I know the Fyfield tree ;

I know what white, what purple fritillaries  
 The grassy harvest of the river-fields,  
 Above by Ensham, down by Sandford, yields ;  
 And what sedged brooks are Thames's tributaries ;

I know these slopes : who knows them if not I ?  
 But many a dingle on the loved hillside,  
 With thorns once studded, old white-blossomed trees,  
 Where thick the cowslips grew, and far descried  
 High towered the spikes of purple orchises  
 Hath since our day put by  
 The coronals of that forgotten time ;  
 Down each green bank hath gone the plough-boy's team,  
 And only in the hidden brookside gleam  
 Primroses, orphans of the flowery prime.

Where is the girl who by the boatman's door,  
 Above the locks, above the boating throng,  
 Unmoor'd our skiff when through the Wytham flats  
 Red loosestrife and blond meadow-sweet among,  
 And darting swallows and light water-gnats,  
 We tracked the shy Thames shore ?  
 Where are the mowers, who, as the tiny swell  
 Of our boat passing heaved the river-grass,  
 Stood with suspended scythe to see us pass ?—  
 They all are gone, and thou art gone as well !

Yes, thou art gone ! and round me too the night  
 In ever-nearing circle weaves her shade,  
 I see her veil draw soft across the day,  
 I feel her slowly chilling breath invade  
 The cheek grown thin, the brown hair sprent with gray ;  
 I feel her finger light  
 Laid pausefully upon life's headlong train,—  
 The foot less prompt to meet the morning dew,  
 The heart less bounding at emotion new,  
 And hope, once crushed, less quick to spring again. . . .

But hush ! the upland hath a sudden loss  
 Of quiet ! Look, adown the dusk hillside,  
 A troop of Oxford hunters going home,  
 As in old days, jovial and talking, ride !  
 From hunting with the Berkshire hounds they come.  
 Quick ! let me fly, and cross

Into yon farther field ! 'Tis done ; and see,  
 Backed by the sunset, which doth glorify  
 The orange and pale violet evening-sky,  
 Bare on its lonely ridge, the Tree ! the Tree !

Matthew Arnold, *Thyrsis*.

**September  
in Oxford**

OXBRIDGE is at its emptiest. In a week or so people will be beginning to return ; but for the present it is a desert. It is a pity that they should not return to see with what a kingly red pomp the Virginian creeper is decking the sad-coloured beauty of their town. Over their worn-grey shoulders the Colleges are throwing a cope of shaded crimson ; and from underneath a necklace of rubies, the Renaissance porch of the great University church looks out.

*Belinda*, by Rhoda Broughton. Bentley, 1883.

**May Morning**

MORN of the year, of day and May the prime !  
 How fitly do we scale the steep dark stair,  
 Into the brightness of the matin air,  
 To praise with chanted hymn and echoing chime,  
 Dear Lord of Light, Thy lowlihead sublime,  
 That stooped erewhile our life's frail weed to wear !  
 Sun, cloud, and hill, all things Thou fram'st so fair,  
 With us are glad and gay, greeting the time :  
 The College of the Lily leaves her sleep,  
 The grey tower rocks and trembles into sound,  
 Dawn-smitten memnon of a happier hour ;  
 Through faint-hued fields the silver waters creep ;  
 Day grows, birds pipe, and robed anew and crown'd,  
 Green Spring trips forth to set the world aflower.

*Magdalen College*, by T. Herbert Warren. Dent, 1907.

**Oxford's Three  
High Festivals**

OXFORD is beautiful at all times, beautiful even now, in spite of the cruel disfigurement inflicted upon her by the march of modern vulgarity, but she has three high festivals which clothe her with a special glory, and crown her with their several crowns. One is the Festival of May, when her hoary walls and ancient enclosures overflow with emerald and white, rose-colour and purple and gold ; a foam of leafage and blossom, breaking spraylike over edges of stone, grey as sea-worn rocks. And all about the city the green meadows and groves burn with many tones of colour, brilliant as enamels or as precious stones, yet of a texture softer and richer, more full of delicate shadows, than any velvet mantle that ever was woven for a queen. Another festival comes with that strayed



Bacchanal October, who hangs her scarlet and wine-coloured garlands on cloister and pinnacle, on wall and tower. And gradually the foliage of grove and garden turns through shades of bluish metallic green, to the mingled splendour of pale gold and beaten bronze and deepest copper, half glowing and half drowned in the low mellow sunlight and purple mist of autumn. Last comes the Festival of Midwinter, the Festival of the Frost. The rime comes, or the snow, and the long lines of the buildings, the fretwork of stone, the battlements, carved pinnacles, and images of saints or devils stand up with clear glittering outlines, or clustered about and overhung with fantasies of ice and snow. Behind the deep blue sky itself seems to glitter too. The frozen floods glitter in the meadows, and every little twig on the bare trees. There is no colour in the earth, but the atmosphere of the river valley clothes distant hills and trees and hedges with ultra-marine vapour. Towards evening the mist climbs, faintly veiling the tall groves of elms and the piled masses of the city itself. The sunset begins to burn red behind Magdalen Tower, all the towers and æry pinnacles rise blue yet distinct against it. And this festival is not only one of nature. The glittering ice is spread over the meadows, and everywhere from morning till moonlight the rhythmical ring of the skate and the sound of voices sonorous with the joy of living travel far on the frosty air. Sometimes the very rivers are frozen, the broad bare highway of the Thames and the tree-sheltered path of the Cherwell are alive with black figures, heel-winged like Mercury, flying swiftly on no errand, but for the mere delight of flying.

*The Invader*, by Margaret L. Woods. Heinemann, 1907.

Printed by T. and A. CONSTABLE, Printers to His Majesty  
at the Edinburgh University Press











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