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OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

To-day and here the fight's begun,
Of the great fellowship you're free;
Henceforth the school and you are one,
And what you are, the race shall be.

“Chaque peuple organise l'Éducation à son image,
on vue de ses mœurs et de ses habitudes ; l'éducation,
à son tour, réagit sur l'état social.”

ED. DEMOLINS—*A quoi tient la Supériorité des
Anglo-Saxons.*

OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS

THEIR INFLUENCE ON ENGLISH HISTORY

CHARTERHOUSE .

ETON

HARROW

MERCHANT TAYLORS'

RUGBY

ST. PAUL'S

WESTMINSTER

WINCHESTER

*James
George*

BY

J. G. COTTON MINCHIN

*Author of "Old Harrow Days", "The Growth of Freedom
in the Balkan Peninsula."*

LONDON:
SWAN SONNENSCHN & Co., LIMITED
PATERNOSTER SQUARE
1901

LA 635

M66

TO
MY ESPECIAL
THREE.



P R E F A C E.

Few things in the perusal of biographies have struck me more than the manner in which the influence of the school and its surroundings on the subject of the biography, who spent his boyhood there, has been ignored. Until the publication of the School Registers of Charterhouse, Eton, Harrow, Merchant Taylors', Rugby, St. Paul's, Westminster, and Winchester (all excellent, though some are pre-eminently so), it was sometimes more than difficult to trace the school of a statesman or author. As few of the Registers go back to the seventeenth century, it is not even now easy to locate the school of some distinguished men, who are said to have been at public schools during the seventeenth or early part of the eighteenth century. Sir Francis Dashwood (Chancellor of the Exchequer) is an instance in point, though I have satisfied myself that he was a Commoner at Winchester. The only School Register of the eight schools referred to in this volume that was published in the eighteenth century is Welch's *Alumni Westmonasterienses*. This work was published in 1788 and gives the names (coupled with biographical details) of every King's (or Queen's) Scholar elected to Oxford and Cambridge since 1561, with the names of the Scholars admitted into St. Peter's College, Westminster, since 1663. It is probable that the existence of this admirable work of reference has some connection with the fact that so many Old Westminsters (relatively to the numbers of their school) figure in the pages of the *Dictionary of National Biography*. No one would belittle the merits of Westminster, but, thanks to Welch's book, the Old Boys from the Elizabethan Foundation were more easily ear-marked than those from other Foundations.

As regards the schools of which some account is given

in this volume, the least invidious and best course appeared to be to follow the steps of the Public School Commissioners of 1861, who made a report on these eight Public Schools, with the addition of Shrewsbury School. At the time I first began to collect material, I was aware that the late Mr. George William Fisher was engaged on the *Annals of Shrewsbury School*, published since his death, and therefore I left the famous Salopian School out of the ambit of my inquiry.

How far distinguished men have been influenced by the public schools at which they were educated must always remain a question which can receive no final and conclusive answer. I can only submit that the more keenly alive a man is to the influences of his time and generation—and who were more so than Shakespeare, Milton, and Byron—the more liable must be his mind to receive a bent and a direction from his environment at school.

I have endeavoured to marshal the facts, and must leave the reader to say whether our Public Schools have through their Old Boys influenced for good, or evil, or at all, the history of our country. It is my contention that during the last three hundred years our Public Schools have influenced public opinion and the conduct of public affairs, and for good.

I have received valuable and ungrudging help, not only from friends, but from some who were previously strangers.

Some few to whom I am under special obligations I may be permitted to name.

For Charterhouse: Mr. George H. M. Batten (Old Carthusian).

For Eton: Mr. I. S. Leadam (Author of the "Lives of Bishop Waynflete and Sir Robert Walpole" in the *Dictionary of National Biography*), and Mr. H. D. McLaren (Old Etonian).

For Harrow: Mr. D. F. Carmichael (Old Harrovian), and the Rev. W. C. Stewart (Old Harrovian).

For Merchant Taylors' School, the Rev. William Baker, D.D. (late Head-Master).

For Rugby: Mr. M. Edwardes Jones (Old Rugbeian), and Capt. W. D. Malton (Old Rugbeian).

For St. Paul's: the Rev. R. B. Gardiner (Old Pauline; Editor of *Admission Registers of St. Paul's School*), and Mr. J. A. Moore.

For Westminster: Mr. John Sargeant (Author of *Annals of Westminster School*), and Mr. T. Wheeler, K.C. (Old Westminster).

For Winchester: Mr. Clifford W. Holgate (Old Wykehamist; Editor of *Winchester Long Rolls 1653-1721*), and the Rev. W. H. C. Malton (Old Wykehamist).

It will thus be seen that I have endeavoured to obtain my information from the best sources, but for all statements of fact, as well as of opinion, I desire to be held alone responsible.



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OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

CHAPTER I.

CHARTERHOUSE.

Omnes laudate Dominum
Fontem perennem boni,
Recolentes Fundatoris
Memoriam Suttoni.

CARMEN CARTHUSIANUM.

THE founder of Eton was a King, the founder of Winchester a prince bishop, and the founder of Charterhouse a merchant prince. Of all school-founders Sir Thomas Sutton was the man of the largest fortune; probably he was the only school-founder whom the ranks of the very rich have furnished. As a rule the founders of schools, with the possible exception of William of Wykeham, have been by no means men of great possessions. In many respects Charterhouse and its founder differ from our other public schools. Fuller has called it "The masterpiece of Protestant English Charity." Winchester and Eton were in their conception Catholic Schools; St. Paul's was the creation of a liberal Catholic; Harrow, Rugby, Repton, Uppingham, Merchant Taylors' and Charterhouse have been Protestant from their very foundation.

To take first the chronological order of the Elizabethan Schools—and where all are excellent, no classification by merit is possible—Repton was founded in 1557, Westminster was refounded by Queen Elizabeth in 1560, Merchant Taylors' was founded by the Merchant Taylors' Company in 1561, Rugby in 1567, Harrow in 1571 and Uppingham by Archdeacon Johnson in 1584. Charterhouse, founded in 1611, is a Jacobian School. Just one hundred years after Dean Colet had founded St. Paul's, Sir Thomas Sutton

purchased from the Earl of Suffolk "the lately dissolved Charterhouse, beside Smithfield, in Middlesex," and obtained from James I. Letters Patent which empowered him to found a Hospital and School. A word or two should be said about Thomas Sutton. He was a most remarkable man—an Empire man—of the seventeenth century. Fortunately for him he was sent to Eton, and out of gratitude to Dr. Cox who suggested this step to his father, he bequeathed a legacy to Dr. Cox's children. How the boy Sutton travelled from Lincoln, his native town, to Eton is not recorded, but the journey must in those days have been more arduous than a trip at the present day from London to Cairo. Sutton is another illustration of Lord Rosebery's doubt as to whether Old Etonians or Scotchmen take the larger share in the government of the Empire. Our old Etonian seems early in life to have learnt the value of money for public ends. He became Secretary to the Earl of Warwick, Master General of the Ordnance, and was appointed by him his deputy at Berwick-on-Tweed. This was a post of grave responsibility, but Sutton did not content himself with the mere discharge of his duties. He kept his eyes and ears open and secured leases of undeveloped coal property. Northumberland was his Rhodesia. The consequence was that in about ten years he had amassed a fortune of half a million and returned to London. Sutton was not a man to bury his talent in the ground, but lent his money at the rate of sixteen per cent. The English Government used then to borrow at the rate of 14 per cent. Being a good man, it is, however, on record that he charged poor people only six per cent! He also married an heiress. No wonder people spoke of him as the possessor of more money than was owned by the Queen's Exchequer. But Sutton was no mere money-spinner. He helped the winds and the waves to wreck the Armada. The money required by the King of Spain was to be mainly provided by the Bank of Genoa. Sutton bought up all the drafts he could on the Bank of Genoa and required payment just before Philip's demand was made, so that the Bank was compelled to protest the King's Bills. This meant delay, and delay meant defeat. Sutton also

presented a man-of-war to the English Navy. The Barque *Sutton* was a ship of seventy tons and thirty men. He bequeathed £2000 to "his dread sovereign Queen Elizabeth." This was no figure of speech as applied to the last and the greatest of the Tudors. The Queen's faithful servant, however, survived her. He purchased Howard House, the ancient site of Charterhouse, from the Earl of Suffolk, the son of his earliest patron, the Duke of Norfolk. In 1545 this estate of the dispossessed monks was given by Henry VIII. to the first Lord North. In the Grant it is valued at £50 per annum. In 1565 the Duke of Norfolk bought this property of Lord North for £2500. Unearned increment was an early feature in the history of London land. Here it was that the Duke of Norfolk plotted to rescue Mary Queen of Scots, marry her and establish her on the throne. Forgiven once, he persisted in his treason and was executed. Queen Elizabeth generously granted the Charterhouse (which had reverted to the Crown) to the Duke's second son, the Earl of Suffolk. About 40 years after his father's purchase Lord Suffolk sold Charterhouse to Sir Thomas Sutton for £13,000. This was the purchase price for thirteen acres of then suburban land at the opening of the 17th century. In 1866 five acres two roods of these thirteen acres were sold to the Merchant Taylors' Company for £90,000.

In founding near Smithfield his School and Almshouses, Thomas Sutton was restoring to public uses the very land on which Sir Walter de Manny, more than 200 years before, had founded a Carthusian Monastery. Prior Houghton, the last of the Priors, met his death on the scaffold, like a brave Englishman. The treatment the monks of Charterhouse received at the hands of Henry VIII. roused the indignation of Sir Robert Peel (the Prime Minister and a Governor of Charterhouse), though he was not given to the melting mood.

The great Elizabeth was frugal in her expenditure of public money, but she never attempted to divert the stream of private charity into her coffers. She was no robber of Schools. It was otherwise with her successor. When Thomas Sutton (called by Carthusians "philanthropic Tommy") died, his nephew, Simon Baxter, endeavoured to upset his will and retained the then Solicitor General, Sir Francis

Bacon. No one would be disposed to be hard on the nephew or his Counsel. As Counsel, Bacon was bound to do his best for his client, but when he left the Court and wrote his *Advice to the King concerning Mr. Sutton's Estate*,¹ he took a step which no privilege of Counsel can extenuate. When this *Advice* was tendered to the King, the matter was still *sub judice*. The letter bore fruit. The petition of Simon Baxter was refused, but "a sacrifice to the higher powers" was made. The sum of £10,000 was paid to the Treasury by the Governors. This attempt to throttle a Public School in its infancy is mentioned by Dr. Abbott—himself a great Head Master—in his life of Bacon without any comment. Dr. Haig Brown, the present Master of Charterhouse, has naturally not taken so lenient a view. Though the *Advice* was a new way of advancing learning, yet it may still be read with profit, not only by Carthusians, but by all public-school men. It is written in the pithy style of the better known Essays and points out the dangers from which classical education is not even now quite free. Bacon says that there are already too many grammar schools and that more scholars are bred than the state can employ, "the active part of life not bearing a proportion to the preparative." It cannot, however, now be argued either that there are too many grammar schools, or that they fill the realm with "indigent, idle and wanton people," which are but "*materia rerum novarum*."

That this was not mere rhetoric as applied to the Grammar Schools of the 17th century, some evidence is furnished in the life of Richard Baxter. This famous Puritan divine went to the free school at Utoxeter. It was manifestly not one of the worst, but one of the best grammar schools of that day, as he had for schoolfellows two sons of Sir Richard Newport, and Richard Allerstree, afterwards Provost of Eton and Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford. Yet Baxter always lamented the deficiencies of his education, and Sir James Stephen has thus summed up the matter. "He quitted the endowed school at Utoxeter at the age of nineteen, destitute of all mathematical and physical

¹ Bacon's Works (Basil Montagu's Edition), Vol. v., p. 374.

science, ignorant of Hebrew, a mere smatterer in Greek, and possessed of as much Latin as enabled him in after life to use it with reckless facility." If this description be true of the education of a Baxter, what must have been the grammar-school education of the average boy when Bacon wrote his *Advice*.

Bacon speaks of "the principal readers" (*i.e.*, masters) as "but men of superficial learning." The discovery has been made since Bacon wrote, that a man may not be as learned as many a sixth-form boy, and yet prove an excellent master. He may be thorough and accurate so far as he goes, and be able to convey his knowledge better than a far more erudite scholar. Depth is not everything in a teacher, provided he be apt to teach. Out of Sutton's estate Bacon would have endowed the Universities with well-paid professorial Chairs, but Charterhouse I venture to say has done more good and for a greater number than any Professorial Chair at Oxford or Cambridge. Bacon's arguments have more cogency when he speaks of the Hospital, for Sutton's intent was "a triple good, an hospital and a school, and maintaining a preacher." In attacking the system of almshouses Bacon showed himself in advance of his time. Two hundred and fifty years after his *Advice*, an Act of Parliament (Public Schools Act, 1868) separated what should never have been joined—the Asylum for aged men and the school for the education of boys. Lookers on, who are supposed to see more of the game, may well think that Sutton's Hospital has proved a grave stumbling block to Sutton's School. "Failure of plans, disappointment of hopes, loss of fortune, are generally the passport to Sutton's Hospital."¹ Since Dr. Haig Brown wrote those words, he has become the Master of the Charterhouse, and with the other Governors has done his best to make deserving misfortune "the passport to Sutton's Hospital." One hundred years ago this was rarely the case. Thackeray in *The Newcomes* has popularized the idea that the "Cods"²

¹ Dr. Haig Brown's *Charterhouse* (1879 edition), p. 163.

² "Cods" is the term applied by Carthusians to the Poor Brethren of Charterhouse.

were old boys. Few beliefs could be further from the truth. Among the present Codd's it is believed that there are only two public-school men—one a Carthusian "gown-boy" and the other a Wykehamist Colleger. The Public School Commissioners of 1864 saved themselves much trouble by finding that the Hospital did not come within the scope of their enquiry, but a Codd is far too interesting a figure and too closely bound up with old Charterhouse for us to follow their example.

In the constitution of Eton College, as sketched out by its Royal Founder, there were to be 25 poor and infirm men as well as the same number of poor and indigent scholars. Henry VI., like Thomas Sutton, intended to found an almshouse for poor men as well as a school for boys, but he changed his plans and himself suppressed the almshouse. The Poor Brother of the Charterhouse has survived to this day.

A general regulation, sanctioned by Charles I., directed that candidates for Sutton's Hospital should not be qualified unless they be "gentlemen by descent and in poverty; soldiers that have borne arms by sea or land; merchants decayed by piracy or shipwreck." This regulation was rescinded in 1642 as limiting too much the privileges of the Governors. Bacon's picture of Sutton's Hospital is painted in too gloomy colours to apply to the Poor Brethren or the majority of them of to-day. Of "gentlemen by descent and in poverty" there are more to-day in Sutton's Hospital than at any earlier period. It so happened that when William Makepeace Thackeray was writing *The Newcomes*, there was a Major among the Pensioners who was known to the boys as "Codd Gentleman." No doubt it was this Poor Brother that suggested "Codd Colonell" to the novelist. Dr. Haig Brown, only names three pensioners who can be said to have gained admission distinctly on their merits. These three are Elkanah Settle,¹ who (thanks to his Whig politics) beat John Dryden for the City Laureateship, Stephen Grey, who was elected an

¹ An Old Westminster, like Dryden, but some seventeen years his junior.

F.R.S. while in the Charterhouse, and Zachariah Williams, the father of the blind Miss Williams whom Dr. Johnson's humanity made an inmate of his home. To this list may be added the names of Maddison Morton (the author of *Box and Cox*), John Bagford and Wm. Thomas Moncrieff. John Bagford, the collector of the *Bagford Ballads* and of title pages, was a shoe-maker as well as a book destroyer. The Queen made Wm. T. Moncrieff, the author of *Tom and Jerry, or Life in London*, a Brother. Moncrieff, after a life of literary toil, had become totally blind, and must have entered a workhouse had it not been for Her Majesty's kindness. He was the author of upwards of 170 dramatic pieces, one at least of which, *Tom and Jerry*, had a phenomenal run. A former Lord Mayor of London found a refuge in the Charterhouse; this happened only some fifty years ago. Even this quiet haven of rest did not quite escape the storm which swept the Stuarts finally and for ever from the throne. Compton, Bishop of London, as one of the Governors of Charterhouse, refused to admit into the Hospital a Roman Catholic named Andrew Popham, and withstood Lord Chancellor Jeffreys to the face.

The reader will ask what is the derivation of the word "Codd." The origin of the word is lost in obscurity. The derivation given by Carthusians is the Latin word *caudex* or *codex*—the trunk of a tree. The pensioners were supposed to sit on stumps, and therefore they were called "Codds." Terence uses the word "caudex" as a term of reproach¹—a blockhead. It is just possible that some unkind scholar coined "Codd" in the Terentian sense, and the word being a monosyllable stuck in the boys' memories, while its original meaning was forgotten.

There used to be eighty pensioners; there are now to-day (Founder's Day 1900), owing to agricultural depression, only fifty-five. The curfew bell rings as many strokes as there are Codds alive. In former times the gown-boy (*i.e.*, Foundation Scholar) at his work or his play would count the strokes, and when the bell rang only seventy-nine times, would call out—"A Codd dead!" The gown-boys

¹ Ter. Heaut. 5, 1, 4.

no longer inhabit the Charterhouse, but the Codds are still there and still the curfew bell tolls. The pensioners of Charterhouse are the only subjects of Her Majesty who still obey a curfew bell which rings at eight every evening. All have to be in their rooms by then, though lights and fires are not put out. The only place in which the gown-boys used to see the Codds, was the school Chapel. The gown-boys attended service there only on Sundays and Saint days: the Codds have to attend in Chapel twice every day throughout the year. Their daily attendance is still compulsory. As for their feeding, the Codds can have no reasonable ground of complaint; it is plentiful and nourishing. While the Codds had their meals in the noble banqueting hall, in a side-room the gown-boys dined on "resurrection pie," as they thoughtlessly dubbed it. As regards clothing, a gown-boy had the best of it. The gown-boy was supplied with everything down to his boots, while the Codd got nothing but his Chapel gown. There was something incongruous in a gown-boy, possibly the nephew of a Governor, being clothed as well as fed and taught at the Founder's expense, while the Poor Brother had to pay for his own clothes, but such was the custom. The room of a Codd is 14 feet square; he is allowed candles, two tons of coal, and firewood, is well fed and receives £36 a year or about two shillings a day pocket-money. He has not only a Preacher to look after his spiritual, but a "Manciple" and a physician to look after his physical welfare. Were it possible for man to live in the present, a Codd would be happy.

When a Codd died in former times, he was buried within the walls of the Charterhouse. This burial-ground has long been closed. The obliterated tombstones, overlooked by the upper windows of Wilderness Row, scarcely remind you of Keats' burial-ground at Rome. It is not, like that, a place to make you "fall in love with death." Yet it has a certain charm of its own. It is encircled by that vast City in which these Poor Brothers struggled and failed, but now mid its busy hum they sleep well.

CHAPTER II.

CHARTERHOUSE—(continued).

IF the Hospital was a dubious benefit to the School, the Master has proved an undoubted advantage to it. It must be borne in mind that the Hospital and the school were under the same body of Governors and that they both derived support from the same trust funds in the hands of the Governors. The link between the Hospital and the School was the Master, who must not be confounded with the Head Master of the School. He was the only Governor who was also an officer of the Institution; ¹ he alone had a voice in making the regulations and the responsibility for carrying them out. What the Provost is to Eton, that the Master was to Charterhouse; but the statutory qualifications for the Provost are much stricter than those for the Master. The field of choice at Eton is also more narrow, at least in theory, than at Charterhouse, and at Sutton's Foundation the Governors have never elected a person nominated by the Crown as is the case at Eton College. The only instance in which the election of a Master was not made by the Governors of the Hospital was that of Francis Beaumont who was appointed by the King (James I). The Master's office has become at both Foundations the honorable place of retirement for one who has served the School faithfully. No layman has been elected Master since the death of Nicholas Mann in 1753.

Sir H. Wotton and Sir H. Savile, perhaps the most distinguished in the whole list of Eton's Provosts, were laymen. The same remark cannot be made about the eight

¹ Under the new Statutes the Master is no longer a Governor of the School *ex officio*, yet one cannot imagine the Governors not electing the Master a member of their body.

laymen who have been Masters of Charterhouse, but one of them, Martin Clifford, was a man of some literary note.

To read the Scroll of the Governors of Charterhouse is to read the bede roll of England's rulers. If a statesman lived between 1611 and 1871 (the year in which the Governors ceased to be Governors of the whole of Sutton's Hospital) and was not a Governor of this famous school, that would be presumptive proof that he did not belong to the front rank. The list begins with the names of George Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Lord Ellesmere, Lord Chancellor, and closes with that of Hugh MacCalmont, Lord Cairns. *Absalom and Achitophel* is reputed to be the best written political satire in the language; every leading character in the poem was a Governor of Charterhouse. His Excellency Oliver Cromwell, Lord Richard Cromwell, Charles II. and his Queen, the Duke of Monmouth, Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury, George Duke of Buckingham, Duke of Ormonde, William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, George Marquis of Halifax and James II. had one interest in common, viz., in Sutton's Foundation. In his second edition Dryden softened the satire so far as Shaftesbury was concerned by praising the Judge, while he abhorred the statesmen. Ill-natured critics whispered that this rider was added as a return for the nomination of the poet's son, as a scholar at Charterhouse, by Lord Shaftesbury. Mr. Malone was the first to prick this bubble by his discovery that Erasmus Dryden was nominated by the King himself and that Lord Shaftesbury was dead at the time. A son among the gown-boys was not Dryden's only link with Charterhouse. Martin Clifford was one of the literary syndicate that produced *The Rehearsal*. His colleagues were Samuel Butler, Sprat and the Duke of Buckingham. Poor Butler got nothing for his pains, but Sprat got a Bishopric, and Clifford the post of Master of the Charterhouse. Clifford signalled his preferment by addressing letters to Dryden which a great authority has characterized as "rude, coarse and ungentlemanlike."¹ This is the

¹ The Works of John Dryden, edited by (Sir) Walter Scott, (1808) Vol. i., p. 154.

severest trouncing ever inflicted on the Head Master or "Master" of a famous school by a writer of genius. No one will pity Clifford; he received at Scott's hands only his deserts for falling foul of an old schoolfellow, John Dryden, one of the glories of their common school of Westminster.

By the Public Schools Act of 1868 the Government of the Hospital was separated from that of the School. This disposed of the then Master's (Archdeacon Hale) logical opposition to the removal of the School into the country, though it left untouched the objections of sentiment and affection. Happily for the fortunes of the School at this juncture, the Head Master, Dr. Haig Brown, was not only a man of great energy, but the first Head since Dr. Gray, who had neither been educated at Charterhouse, nor had served as usher there. He was a "Blue Coat boy" and was solely actuated by a rational regard for the welfare of his adopted school. The new Governing Body carried out reforms which have put new sap into the old tree. They abolished patronage in regard to the Foundation, opened all Scholarship and Exhibitions to competition, dispersed the foundation Scholars through the various houses, abolished the office of Usher and passed a code of rules for boys not on the Foundation. But these wise innovations were not passed without much opposition. Archdeacon Hale had told the Commissioners that "the hospital for poor men and the school for poor scholars were one foundation, supported by a common fund."¹ The Master did not regard the paying boys of the school as other than a *quantité négligeable*. He thus offered a determined opposition to the removal of the school into the country on grounds of logic as well as of sentiment. In his opinion the school and the hospital must continue to grow together as apples on the same tree, where it had been planted by the Founder. So far as the Non-Foundations were concerned, he thought they had better all be day-boys, as they were at Merchant Taylors' and St. Paul's. This faithful servant of the School died in December 1871, and

¹ Public School Report, Vol. ii., p. 211.

on the 18th June, 1873, the boys met in their new home at Godalming.

Having described the Cods and the Master, let us now devote a little time to the third member of this singular partnership on the Foundation—the gown-boy. Although it is the life of the gown-boy fifty years ago that will be sketched, a precisely similar life (with certain variations in the games) was lived by Wm. Blackstone early in the 18th, and by Erasmus Dryden in the 17th, century. Whether Dr. Crusius was Head Master and Dr. Bearcroft Master, or Dr. Elwyn Head Master and Archdeacon Hale Master, the life of a gown-boy went on from generation to generation with the least change possible. Now that the gown-boy is a stranger in the house of his Founder and his manner of life there has become a mere tradition, it becomes all the more necessary to attempt some record, however imperfect, before "universal darkness covers all."

The first school was held at 8 a.m. You went into school merely to say your repetitions and to hand in your exercises. Some of the boys, so my informant tells me, got very expert in reading their repetitions upside down, from the book in the hands of the master who heard them. Then came breakfast, when the gown-boys were again separated from their schoolfellows, who went to breakfast in their own houses. The bad and insufficient diet at all our public schools sixty, fifty, and forty years ago was a disgrace to the masters and a calamity to the boys. It is partly accountable by the absence of the Bursar from the ranks of the masters, a want not felt by Carthusian gown-boys as they possessed a Manciple, into whose ears they could pour complaints about their beef and mutton. There are references to insufficient and objectionable food in the evidence taken by the Public School Commissioners of 1864. The following note made by an Old Carthusian is interesting for many reasons, but mainly on account of its transparent truthfulness. He must have been in the school just before Dr. Haig Brown became Head Master (1863). He thus describes his predecessor—Mr. Elwyn—"a charming man, but we were starved—a tiny roll for breakfast and a good hunch of bread for tea. We dined at

Verites (Poynders) off meat, often putrid and always bad, black streaked beef and mutton, and salt meat with scales like a bream. Haig Brown altered all this, but my health was broken and I had to be removed." There was nothing in the gown-boys' experiences to resemble this. He had for breakfast milk, butter and a roll, and as many "beavers" (extra rolls) as he liked to call for. The word "beaver" or "beever" used to be found in the phraseology of three public schools, Charterhouse, Westminster and Winchester. At Charterhouse the term was given by gown-boys to a round-topped roll with a flat bottom. At Westminster school in the 17th century "beaver" or "beever" was a name given to any refreshments taken between the regular meals.¹

At Winchester "beever-time" was the time when the beer was served out, viz., from 4.30 p.m. to 4.45 p.m. in afternoon school. As Mr. Adams says,² the Winchester term was obviously derived from the Italian *bevere*, like beverage. The term and the custom are both obsolete at Winchester now, tea having replaced beever beer in 1839.

In "gown-boys" the best dinner used to be given on Fridays; it was called "Consolation dinner." The fact is worth mentioning, because it seems to point to the anti-Catholic tone of the Foundation. It also bore evidence to the intense conservatism of all public schools, which keep customs on foot long after their salt has lost its savour. In School Chapel in Dr. Saunders' time, and probably later, Tate and Brady's psalms were sung. Hymns were looked down upon as savouring of dissent, and this prejudice was general until dispelled by the publication of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.

The dress of a gown-boy consisted until the close of Dr. Russell's time (1832) of knee-breeches and stockings, and (if he were in the Lower School) without a cap, just like a Blue Coat boy. In Dr. Saunders' time trousers had been adopted, with a jacket, but no waistcoat, and a Lower School gown-boy used still to wear no cap. The Upper School gown-boy wore a trencher, and all gown-boys wore

¹ G. F. Russell Barker's *Memoir of Richard Busby*, p. 79.

² *Wykehamica*, p. 417.

cloth gowns with long sleeves which they used for pockets. On Sundays and Saint days gown-boys used to wear white ties. These were ties such as our grandfathers wore, going twice round the neck. A Carthusian friend of mine was the first to adopt a tie approaching modern style. "What's that?" asked his master, Mr. Phillott, and the boy had to take his new-fashioned tie off.

No one can say that the Carthusian boy was overworked. After breakfast there would be two to three hours' school and then dinner at 1 o'clock—for the gown-boy on a plentiful, for the oppidan (according to the Rev. T. Mozley) on a scanty, scale. If it were not a half-holiday, there would be two hours' work in the afternoon, and with that all work ceased, at least in class. Some of the boys studied out of school under one of the masters, as their private tutor. There were two half-holidays in the week (Wednesday and Saturday), and such additional half-holidays as were earned by the Old Boys gaining honors at the Universities.

In the good old days the dominant feature in the life of a Carthusian was the birch. How much it became a school institution was shown by Dr. Russell's attempt to abolish it, and its triumphant restoration by the boys themselves! Dr. Welldon (the Bishop of Calcutta) has aptly observed that it is the poor, not the rich, who think the birch degrading. There was one most merciful provision in the Carthusian code—every boy began the week with a clean slate. The sins and offences of the past week were not reckoned up against him. The rule was that three entries in one week of a boy's name in the "Black Book" entitled him to a flogging, generally administered after school by the Head Master, but the record was not a cumulative one from week to week, or who would have escaped. It may be thought by an outsider that if it were only the third offence which brought on the catastrophe, it must have been easy to have left Charterhouse unbirched. This was not the case. The punishment system in force under Dr. Saunders and his predecessors was as follows. If a boy committed any unusually heinous offence, nothing short of an immediate flogging could atone for it, but for more trivial peccadilloes a boy was told to put himself

down in the "Black Book." This interesting historical record was kept by the "school monitor" for the week. If your name were down twice, you had to make your Saturday repetitions (which amounted to the whole week's lines) to the Head Master himself. Very early in life we learn the value of tact. A Carthusian friend of mine found himself before the Head Master without his book. "Where is your book?" demanded Dr. Saunders. My friend's name was down twice in the Black Book that week, and a flogging seemed a certainty. "I have mislaid it." The Head Master's frown relaxed into a smile. It is obvious that the offence of mislaying a book was far less heinous than losing one. The most wonderful feat of this kind was performed by W. E. Gladstone, who positively persuaded Dr. Keate not to flog him. This was a victory won over an opponent as redoubtable as Disraeli himself. Dr. Keate made a rule that a boy should lose his remove, if flogged thrice in one day. If Carthusian flogging was not quite up to this standard, it could on occasions be administered with great promptitude. A certain sixth-former pretended to be reading out his notes on Paley, when his notebook was blank. The tittering of the boys woke up Dr. Saunders, who ordered the offender to tell the monitor to enter his name in the Black Book three times and intimated that he would flog him after school for what he was pleased to call "acting a lie." The boy rose to a high official position in later life and thanks this particular flogging in part for his rise. To avoid further flogging he mastered the *Evidences*, and passed first into Haileybury on the strength of his Paley paper.

After tea the gown-boys used to sit for one hour in a room in their house which was called the Writing School, and write their exercises for the first school next morning. This was called "sitting *in banco*." How or when this legal phrase was imported into Charterhouse is not known. Before prayers were said at 9 o'clock, *adsum* was called and then the lower boys went to bed. On Sundays the gown-boys had to go to Chapel, and in Lent to repeat the catechism before the congregation. Each boy had his own question to answer, and if during rehearsal he were asked

a question other than his own, he would reply quite unblushingly—"If you please, Sir, I am not the sixth commandment—that boy is the sixth, I am the fifth."

The monotony of school life was relieved by frequent fights and rare theatrical performances. No unlicensed fights were permitted. A monitor managed every fight and no masters were present. A "mill" at the Charterhouse was like a duel in Hungary—every one knew about it, and every boy could look on if he liked. It was fought with absolutely fair conditions on the Lower Green behind the school, and after the fight it was the monitor's duty to see that the combatants shook hands, if both were in a physical condition to do so. At one of these fights George Stovin Venables (afterwards a Q.C.) broke Thackeray's nose, causing permanent disfigurement. Venables became one of the greatest of anonymous journalists, but it was as a Carthusian that he left his mark on literature. He is said to have been the original of George Warrington in *Pendennis* and to have composed for Tennyson the second line in the couplet—

There sinks the nebulous star we call the Sun
If that hypothesis of theirs be sound.¹

Thackeray was described by him as a "pretty, gentle boy," who did not distinguish himself either at lessons or in the playground, but was much liked by a few friends. Thackeray was the great-grandson of Dr. Thomas Thackeray, Harrow's "Second Founder," a strikingly handsome man. The novelist bore a strong resemblance to the schoolmaster. Nature intended him to charm with looks as with pen. His mother had a little statuette made of her boy before he went to Charterhouse, and Thackeray with comic gesture used to point to this as showing what he would have been, had it not been for Venables' fatal blow. The fact was the nose could have been mended had Thackeray called in the school surgeon in time, but like a boy

¹ "The Princess": see G. S. Venables in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* Vol. lviii., page 204.

of pluck he made light of the matter. Once in later life he was walking up St. James's Street with his friend the Old Harrovian, Charles Buller, who also had had his nose broken, when they encountered a third gentleman who had met with the same mishap. Thackeray stopped and thus gravely accosted the stranger—"What! Are there three of us?" My friend, Mr. Batten, tells me that Michael Angelo and Thackeray, both as boys, had their noses broken, and that this coincidence probably explains why our Carthusian took the *nom de plume* of Michael Angelo Titmarsh.

Thackeray never imputed any of his school troubles to the milling-ground. Little that was bad came of public-school fighting, and much evil was checked by it. It is not what takes place in the open and under the eye of the school—that most severe of schoolmasters—that injures the character. The difference between the prize ring and public-school milling is obvious—the one is for money and the other for love.

Cricket was played on the two greens, known as the Upper and the Lower Green. An old member of the Cricket eleven tells me there was room for twelve practice wickets on the Upper Green, which measured about eighty square yards. To throw a cricket-ball across it was considered a creditable performance. The Lower Green was much larger, but the grass was not so good, as football used to be played there, but never on the Upper Green. Fives were played with little wooden bats, not with the hand. Hockey was played with straight sticks in the Cloisters. Cricket and football have abolished not only brutal, but childish sports. At Rugby, hide-and-seek and leapfrog; at Harrow, archery; at Eton, hopscotch, marbles, puss-in-the-corner; at Winchester, quoits, handball; and at Charterhouse, hoops, and coach-driving with boys as horses, were school games before cricket and football. In Dr. Saunders' time boys regarded hoops and marbles as "totheromitish" and forbade their use, but they still whiled away their leisure with prisoner's-base, "I spy high" and "High cockoloram, jig, jig, jig." The words once so well-known to us were shouted by the gown-boys in their mother tongue

High cockoloram, jig. jig, jig,
 (three times)
 One, two, three
 Off, off, off.

The Latin translation attributed to Mr. E. Pember, Q.C., ran as follows :

High cocoloram, more tripudii,
 High cocoloram, ter iterabiti
 Unus, duo, tres, o sodales
 Vadite, mittite vos, abite.

A small Carthusian had his fair share of fagging. The golden rule for a new boy at a public school in the rougher times of forty years ago, was to regard every hardship as an adventure. If he did that, all the drudgery and even the unpleasantness of fagging vanished. A gown-boy under Dr. Saunders required some imagination to see the silver lining to the cloud which fagging brought on to his horizon. It was his duty to get up early and warm his master's towel, even before he had washed himself. The subject of fagging bulked larger in his mind than the repeal of the Corn Laws and inspired two gown-boys to write a bright play entitled *The Revolt of the Fags*. This was acted by the gown-boys in term time. The two authors were Arthur Locker and George H. M. Batten. Arthur Locker was the son of Mr. Locker, Commissioner of Greenwich Hospital, and became the Editor of *The Graphic*. His elder brother, the late Frederick Locker-Lampson, the minor poet, was at Dulwich College. Arthur Locker is dead. He was a wit and the author of that now forgotten jest after the second Sikh war of 1849: "What were the relative numbers of our late enemies in India and our own forces?" Answer—"They were six (Sikhs) and we one (won)." George H. M. Batten happily is still with us, and long may he represent to his friends the best traditions of his school.

But the great sweetener of a Carthusian's life under Dr. Saunders was not so much fighting or even cricket, as music. Charterhouse has the credit of being the first public

school in England to teach music scientifically. The organists of Sutton's Foundation were composers of distinction. Richard John Samuel Stevens, a famous glee-writer, was organist from 1796 to 1837, when Mr. William Horsley (Mus. Bac. Oxon), composer of "*By Celia's Arbour*", was appointed. His pupil, John Hullah, was appointed teacher of singing in 1842, and in 1858 succeeded him as organist. There was a third music master, Mr. Edward May, organist of Greenwich Hospital, who used to teach the younger boys. The singing lessons were given by John Hullah, LL.D., once a week in the "Governor's Room," and by Mr. May in an adjoining room. He introduced the Mainzer system from Paris and taught singing and the grammar of music as a science. He died in 1884, but his singing classes at the school ceased in 1872 on its transference to Godalming. So great was the enthusiasm for music at Charterhouse in the forties and fifties that the boys used to sing on the Upper Green. Charterhouse was probably the only school in England where the boys sang and sang well for their own amusement and not at the bidding of any master. The late George Sutherland, George Batten and Reginald Lewin were distinguished singers in the forties. The school public concert was first given in 1846 and has ever since been a school fixture. Unfortunately Charterhouse possessed no Edward Bowen to write school songs. Musicians she had both in Horsley and Hullah, but no poet. Many a bullied and harassed boy has in his school chapel made the discovery that music is one of the most glorious gifts of God.

There let the peeling organ blow
 To the full-voiced quire below,
 In service high and anthems clear
 As may with sweetness through mine ear
 Dissolve me into ecstasies
 And bring all heaven before my eyes.

Even those of us who, like Satan (*vide* Luther's *Table Talk*), were, when boys, bitter enemies to music, have not had to reach old age to discover that even from a worldly

point of view music has not only charms, but advantages, There is the story told by Wood ¹ of James Quin, a King's scholar of Westminster, who was turned out of his Christ Church studentship by the Parliamentary Visitors. Quin was by accident introduced to the Lord Protector and so charmed him with his singing that he was restored to his studentship. Oliver Cromwell was not the last ruler to be gracious to musicians. A man with accomplishments often gets a start on the ladder to fame and fortune that is not secured by an abler, but less accomplished man. It is a well-known joke in India that a man who can sing a song, or paint a stage scene, or perform in private theatricals, secures longer leave at Simla than a man with less showy abilities. Carthusians may be grateful on every ground to the shades of Horsley and Hullah.

The 12th of December is the anniversary of the Founder's death. In the period we are describing the oppidans used to go home two or three days before this day, not so the gown-boys. On that day the gown-boys used to be feasted and the head gown-boy (not necessarily the head of the school) used to deliver a Latin oration, which in the forties was prepared for him by the Rev. W. Phillott, one of the masters. The oration was followed by the "Cap," into which visitors used to drop contributions that were intended for the orator's support at the University. Sometimes as much as £300 was collected on these occasions. This Carthusian Montem ceased in 1871 with the removal of the school from its old home. It was quite distinct from the banquet that has been and is still held in the Great Hall at Charterhouse since 1833, to celebrate Founder's Day, and at which all Carthusians (both "togati and oppidani" ²) are welcome.

In the pre-reform days gown-boys were nominated by the Governors. When the Governors held a meeting, the gown-boys would line the hall in the Master's house leading into the room where the Governors sat, and as each Governor

¹ Quoted by Welch in his *Alumni Westmorienses*, p. 114.

² School song, "Carmen Carthusianum," composed by Horsley, written, it is believed, by Phillott.

passed, he would shake hands with the boy he had nominated, while his companions would nudge him and whisper, "That's your Governor." Any old Etonian Oppidan who reads these pages must get rid of the notion that the gown-boys were the "Tugs" of Charterhouse. The gown-boys under Dr. Saunders were socially the *élite* of the school and were so regarded by their schoolfellows.

The visits of the Governors were a cause of rejoicing, not only to the gown-boy who got a tip from his own Governor, but to the Oppidan who shared in the half-holiday given to the school in honor of the visit. Then there was an office peculiar to old Charterhouse—the School Groom. It was he who prepared the birches. When you were ill, the Matron (if you were a gown-boy—"Mother Jeffreys") took care of you. The lucky gown-boys got their physic free like everything else except books. All time-honoured perquisites have been swept away by the besom of reform. The scholars are now sixty in number and are divided into senior and junior. The junior scholars pay £35 per annum for board and tuition instead of £111 10s, while senior scholars pay £15, but with this their privileges cease. They no longer dwell like stars in a cluster, but are scattered among the different Houses.

In pre-reform days the Foundation enjoyed the dual control of the Master and the Head Master, and the wonder is that things went as smoothly as they did. A subtle but clearly marked antagonism existed between Master Hale and Head Master Saunders, as probably it had existed between earlier Masters and Head Masters.

A sentence or two must be devoted to the tempting subject of school slang. A Carthusian friend of mine was conversing at the Cape with a chance acquaintance who used the expression "Totherem":—"Not another word," exclaimed my friend, "you were at Charterhouse." "Totherem" meant the other or private school to which a boy had been before he went to Charterhouse. "Will you take a slice of He?" Is there a modern Carthusian who would not understand this? Cake forms so important an element in our young lives that Carthusians dignified it with one of the shortest and most virile words in the

language. The Houses used to be called with the biblical termination of "ites" ("Moabites," "Ammonites" etc.). Thus the boys in Head Master Dr. Saunders' house were called "Saunderites" and the boys in Oliver Walford's house "Verites," in Mr. Dicken's house "Dickenites" and in Phillott's house "Phillottites." Dr. Haig Brown, though a Reformer, loved to walk as far as possible in the old ways and carefully preserved these names. At Godalming there are houses which retain the time-honoured titles of "Saunderites," "Verites" and "Gownboys," although no gowns are now worn by the scholars on the Foundation. When a Carthusian writes that he dined at "Verites (afterwards Poynders)", he means that he was at the school when Mr. Frederick Poynder had the house which is for all Carthusian time connected with the name of Mr. Oliver Walford, called affectionately by the boys "Old Ver." This master filled the post of usher before Mr. Elwyn, the penultimate usher of the Charterhouse.

CHAPTER III.

CHARTERHOUSE—(continued).

THE Head Masters of Charterhouse that preceded Dr. Raine must be briefly alluded to here. None of them can fairly be compared to the more distinguished of their contemporaries at Westminster and St. Paul's. They would suffer by comparison to Wm. Camden and Dr. Busby, or Mr. Gill senior and Dr. Gale. Still famous *alumni* are found in the school from its very foundation. At that time the statutes required all the officers of the Hospital to be single men, and therefore when Dr. Nicholas Gray, the first Head Master, married he had to resign, and was chosen Head Master of Merchant Taylors' School. He had been there 16 years when he was appointed Head Master of Eton. Owing to the troubles of the times and his Royalist opinions he was soon ejected, but found a shelter as Head Master of Tonbridge School. He ended his life as a Fellow of Eton College. Unfortunately this act of restitution was accompanied by an injustice to John Boncle, a former Head Master of Charterhouse. He was ejected from his Eton Fellowship. Nicholas Gray was buried at Eton by the side of Dr. Horne, his predecessor, as head master, both at Eton and Tonbridge.

Dr. Nicholas Gray was head master of more public schools than any other schoolmaster before or since his time.

Richard Lovelace, the author of that exquisite lyric, "To Althea," was a pupil of Dr. Nicholas Gray, and Richard Crashaw was a pupil of Robert Brooke, a head master whose name is still preserved in the Masters' common room ("Brooke Hall") at Charterhouse as well as in the new buildings at Godalming.

Dr. Johnson on meeting Mr. Edwards who had been at

Pembroke College with him, quoted as the verse of "an Eton boy"—

Vidit et erubuit lympha pudica Deum.

The sage, if he had not himself read the line and only quoted a quotation made by Mr. Edwards 49 years before, may well be pardoned for a double-barrelled inaccuracy. Malone, who brought out the third edition of Boswell in 1799, gives us the correct lines, the point of which partly turns on the word "*Nympha*" in the fourth line, omitted in Dr. Johnson's version.

Unde rubor vestris et non sua purpura lymphis?
 Quæ rosa mirantes tam nova mutat aquas?
 Numen convivæ, præsens agnoscite numen,
 Nympha pudica Deum vidit et erubuit.

The lines have been attributed to Dryden, but neither Eton nor Westminster can claim an honour which clearly belongs to Charterhouse. They occur in some Latin epigrams of Richard Crashaw, the religious poet, which were published when the author was barely twenty-one. As Crashaw was a recognised Latin poet at Charterhouse and inscribed two poems to his Head Master, it is quite possible that this marvellous epigram on Christ's Miracle of turning the water into wine may have been written at Charterhouse. If so, these lines certainly entitle a Carthusian to take the "blue ribbon" of Latin verse. Crashaw was on the Foundation, but Lovelace was not.

The date when boys who paid for their education began to be educated with the gown-boys of Charterhouse is uncertain. Isaac Barrow's father "gave to Mr. Brooke £4 per annum, whereas his pay was but £2, to be careful of him, but Mr. Brooke was negligent of him."¹ Barrow, the future Master of Trinity, as a Carthusian had "an inclination rather to be a soldier than a scholar, his chief delight being in fighting himself and encouraging his playfellows to fight. His father finding no good was to be hoped for there, removed him to

¹ Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, Vol. i., p. 87.

Felstead school." ¹ Barrow, like Pepys, his contemporary at St Paul's, was the son of a tradesman. These two distinguished men illustrate the difference between our social views and those of the seventeenth century. Isaac Barrow was the son of a linen-draper, Samuel Pepys of a tailor, yet both were gentle by birth and well connected. Barrow was the grandson of a country gentleman and the nephew of a Bishop, whose consecration sermon in Westminster Abbey he himself preached; Pepys was the cousin of Sir Edward Montague, afterwards Earl of Sandwich. Sir Thomas Browne, the famous author of *Religio Laici*, is another case in point. He was the son of a Cheshire mercer, yet he came of a good family and was sent to Winchester. ² Two hundred years ago no line was drawn between wholesale and retail trading as it is now. This partly accounts for the fact which has puzzled some writers, that Izaak Walton, who was a linen-draper, should have been on terms of intimacy with the best men of the Royalist Party. Sir George Trevelyan has remarked in his *Competition Wallah* ³—"If you ask how our countrymen manage to appropriate to themselves the 1st-class carriages (*i.e.* in India) without a special regulation to that effect, I ask you in return—How is it that there are no tradesmen's sons at Eton or Harrow?"

Only a short time before Trevelyan came to the School on the Hill, there was an hotel-keeper's son at Harrow who was so brutally used by his school-fellows on account of his father's calling that he was taken away. That much-bullied boy has since died, but not before he had distinguished himself. There are other instances that might be given of school-boys suffering for their father's sins (*i.e.* trades) and distinguishing themselves after leaving school.

¹ Pope's Life of Dr. Ward, p. 131.

² Samuel Pepys was born in 1632 and went to Cambridge in his 18th year; Isaac Barrow was born in 1630 and went to Peterhouse, Cambridge, in his 13th year. Thomas Browne was born in 1605 and went as a Fellow-Commoner to Broadgate Hall (now Pembroke College), Oxford, in his 18th year.

³ 1895 Edition, p. 25.

This is not a creditable feature in school-boy life. Perhaps the modern school-boy is more tolerant than we were.

Dr. Thomas Walker was Head Master for 49 years. He died in harness at the age of 81—an age which rivals that of Dr. Busby. He had as pupils that famous trio, Joseph Addison, Richard Steele and John Wesley. The friendship of Addison and Steele is the most memorable school friendship on record. Steele was Addison's junior by three years—a disparity enormous among schoolboys. Throughout his life Steele looked up to Addison with the same unquestioning faith which a junior at school has for a senior who is kind to him. Although Addison was three years Steele's senior in age, he went to Charterhouse two years later. This may be explained by the fact that Steele was on the Foundation, while Addison was not. Steele owed his nomination to the first Duke of Ormonde, who befriended the poor orphan. Steele was only ten years of age when he became a gown-boy. There are many Carthusians still living who will remember being taught to write and learn English verse in the "Petties", the lowest form.

It is a noteworthy fact that this friendship survived an "execution", but not a difference of opinion. Addison put an execution into the house of his old school-friend to recover a loan of £100! Macaulay admits that few private transactions are proved by stronger evidence than this, yet he has no word of blame for Addison's conduct. It is impossible to praise too highly the amiability of a man who continued to love his school friend even after such treatment. Most of us will agree with Dr. Johnson that "of this memorable friendship the greater praise must be given to Steele." Dr. Johnson's heart was big enough to embrace even the Whigs. Another great Tory critic, De Quincey, tells us that Steele was a man of greater intellectual activity than Addison, though of less genius. Steele had, however, to await the coming of the greatest of Carthusian humourists for a complete vindication of his character. It was Thackeray who first taught us all to "think gently of one who was so gentle", to speak kindly of "poor Dick Steele". In the last year of Addison's life (1719) the historic friendship was severed. Steele attacked the Bill for limiting the number

of Peers. Addison took the other side, and thus the two school friends parted at life's close. When Palmerston was buried amid a nation's lamentations, the head master and the head boy of the school that he loved, appeared among the mourners in the Abbey. It would be well if this precedent were more often followed. When Joseph Addison was buried in the Chapel of Henry VII., at midnight, in the summer of 1719, the King's scholars of Westminster with lighted tapers in their hands stood around his open grave. This is the only instance in our history of a great man being honored by the scholars of a school other than his own. The service was read in so impressive a manner by the Dean that seventy years afterwards one of the scholars who had been present used to speak of it. That scholar became Lord Mansfield, that Dean was Bishop Atterbury. Thus to the Old Carthusian and the Old Westminster our Abbey proved a temple of reconciliation. The inscription on Addison's monument was the work of a Carthusian, William Heberden the younger.

The third member of Dr. Walker's trio was John Wesley. To have educated the greatest religious reformer that England has produced since the death of Cranmer is a great distinction for any school. His two brothers, Samuel and Charles, were both at Westminster. Samuel was an usher at Westminster for nearly 20 years and a devoted friend of Bishop Atterbury—in fact he lost his election to the post of under-master at his own school mainly for this reason. The Wesley power of self-renunciation was equally developed in the three brothers.

Charles learnt Hebrew at Westminster and taught it to his Carthusian brother. It would have been well for John Wesley had he listened to his less distinguished brother on matters more important than Hebrew grammar. Had he acted on Charles' advice he would have abstained from creating Methodist "orders", that great barrier to re-union with the Church. He would not have depleted that Church in whose Orders he died, of much of its Protestant element, while his own work as an Evangelist would have been furthered and strengthened.

John Wesley led a hard life (1714—20) at Charterhouse,

but retained his love for his old school to the last. He made it a custom to walk through the scenes of his boyhood once a year, so long as he had the strength. He used to impute his splendid constitution to the strict obedience with which he performed his father's injunction to run round "the Charterhouse Garden" three times every morning. Southey does not tell us whether this meant the Upper or Lower Green or both. All Englishmen must be grateful to Dean Stanley for putting up a Memorial to this Old Carthusian in Westminster Abbey, and for his noble tribute to the Founder of Wesleyanism.

God buries his workmen, but carries on his work.

Law, Bishop of Carlisle, and the father of that better known Carthusian, Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough, was also under Dr. Walker. The first Lord Ellenborough was in the school under Dr. Crusius; Sir William Blackstone was a gown-boy under his predecessor, Dr. Hotchkis. William Blackstone was the son of a silk-mercator, and it was owing to his father's early death that he did not follow in his footsteps and become in due time a prosperous tradesman. Sir Robert Walpole nominated him on the Foundation; Blackstone rose to be head of the school (1738).

An interesting chapter might be devoted to the subject of heads of schools. All sorts and conditions of boys have reached that position, both those who have proved successes and those who have proved failures in later life. Benjamin Robert Hayden, the historical painter and diarist, who committed suicide, and Stratford Canning, whose monument stands in Westminster Abbey, were both heads of their School. The late Home Secretary and his brother the Judge (Sir Edward Ridley) were both heads of Harrow, while John Henry Newman (the Cardinal) and his no less remarkable brother Frank were both heads of Dr. Nicholas's school at Ealing, a school with 300 boys and said to have been the best preparatory school in England. The subject of Captains of the School is a tempting one, but would lead us too far from Charterhouse. Blackstone is probably the first author since Horace, and Horace wrote before the invention of printing, whose work was read in its manu-

script stage by his sovereign. George III. is said to have read the *Commentaries* before they were printed. There is no monument to Blackstone at Charterhouse, but a monument to the first Lord Ellenborough was erected in the school chapel. In more recent times Charterhouse can lay claim to three distinguished judges—Baron Alderson, Sir Cresswell Cresswell and Lord Alverstone—of whom the latter in the fulness of time and with the approval of all, now fills the seat of Ellenborough.

The tradition runs that the future Chief Justice first painted up on the wall of the Fives Court the outline of a "Crown" to mark the spot from which the boyish Coach and Horses started. The "Crown" was painted fresh in the same place every year until 1897, when the pious custom ceased. I myself saw the half-obliterated symbol in 1898. No other School in England could claim, like Charterhouse, that at one and the same time her Old Boys filled the offices of Prime Minister (Lord Liverpool), Archbishop of Canterbury (C. Manners Sutton), Lord Chief Justice of England (Lord Ellenborough), Lord Privy Seal (Lord Westmoreland) and Lord Chancellor of Ireland (Lord Manners) as well as the three Sees of Chester, Bangor and Chichester.¹ Dr. James, a Carthusian, was Bishop of Calcutta, but this was at a later period. He arrived at Calcutta on the 15th January, 1828, and died on his way to Penang on the 22nd August of that same year. This by no means exhausts the list of distinguished Carthusians under Dr. Crusius and Dr. Berdmore. The first Lord Wharncliffe was educated at Charterhouse. It was due to him and to Lord Harrowby more than to any other two men that the Reform Bill of 1832 was passed by the Lords. Greville, the diarist, also praises Lord Wharncliffe for having restrained the Tory peers from overruling the Law Lords in their historic judgment releasing Daniel O'Connell on a writ of error.

These are names famous in English history, but there are men not so famous in later life, who as boys have done good service to their school. Such a boy was Thomas Day. He is now only remembered as the author of a priggish

¹ G. H. Law, H. W. Majendie and John Buckner.

book, *Sandford and Merton*, yet a priggish boy he certainly was not. He was a good boxer, and fought William Seward of the *Anecdotes*. On discovering that his antagonist was no match for him, Day immediately stopped the fight and shook hands with him. Another forgotten worthy, John Higgs Hunt, wrote in 1807 a favourable notice of "*Hours of Idleness*" in the *Critical Review* and thus established a claim for gratitude on all lovers of the Bard of the Hill. Francis Stone, a gown-boy, who rose to be head of the school, is an instance of the harm that may accrue from making the road into the Church too easy. To him it proved a road to ruin. In 1765 he was presented to the Carthusian living of Cold Norton, Essex. He preached and published a sermon putting forward Unitarian views. For this he was prosecuted, and condemned by Sir William Scott to deprivation, unless he recanted. Our Old Carthusian was too much of a man to recant for the sake of a living. This now forgotten Voysey of the eighteenth century advocated the discharge of the National Debt by the appropriation of the property of the Church after paying all ecclesiastics a uniform stipend of £200 a year!

The large number of livings in the gift of the Governors had something to do with the subsequent clerical careers of the boys in the sixth form at Charterhouse during last century and the commencement of this. Of the eleven sixth-formers in the last year of Dr. Russell's mastership (1832), the head of the school (G. F. Noad) held the living of Cold Norton, while of the remaining ten, five took Holy Orders.¹ How much this alma-mater did for her sons, the gown-boys, is a matter of amazement for some of us who received only the kicks of a public-school education and enjoyed them. There was one family where the father was a gown-boy, held a Carthusian Scholarship at Oxford and then received a Carthusian Living. All his sons, some five or six, were gown-boys. Of these three went on to college with Carthusian Scholarships and two received Carthusian Livings.

¹ This list is given by Dr. Haig Brown in his admirable *Charterhouse Past and Present* (p. 151), a book crammed with Carthusian information concisely given.

No wonder Carthusians sing the praises of their Founder.

Dr. Matthew Raine filled the Head Master's Chair for twenty years (1791—1811) and during his term of office the Charterhouse of Charterhouse Square reached the zenith of its prosperity.

If you wish to know what manner of man was Dr. Raine, you will find his character given by one who was his pupil for seven years. Dr. Raine, said Henry Havelock, was "a man to be praised as often as he is named, and who was only permitted to die unmitred, because his political principles were too liberal to suit the tone of the reigning faction of the day." The fact that the most prominent positions in public life, such as the Premiership and the Primacy of All England, were in Raine's time filled by Old Carthusians was an enormous advertisement to the School. During the last decade of the 18th century Westminster, Winchester and Merchant Taylors' and St. Paul's were declining, while Eton and Rugby had not yet risen under a Keate and an Arnold. Lord Chancellor Thurlow was a man of wide culture, though his knowledge of law (by which he rose) is said to have been superficial. Lord Thurlow's heir (the son of the Bishop of Durham and second Lord Thurlow) was sent to Charterhouse. If it were Lord Thurlow who selected a school for his nephew he made no blunder. Charterhouse was for 60 years—roughly speaking during the reign of George III.—"the crack school" for scholars. Dr. Walker's trio has been spoken of; Dr. Raine's trio was equally famous, and like Dr. Walker's it includes a brace of famous friends. George Grote, Connop Thirlwall and Henry Havelock form a triumvirate as remarkable as Dr. Walker's.

Both Grote and Thirlwall were day-boys. Home-boarders or day-boys have not as a rule conferred much intellectual distinction on the old schools. Westminster, St Paul's, and Merchant Taylors', which are mainly day-schools, are not referred to here. It is, however, a coincidence that Wm. H. Forbes, who won the Newcastle in 1868, was a home-boarder; and Walter Leaf (bracketed Senior Classic with Wm. D. Rawlins, Old Etonian, in 1874) and the late much regretted C. H. Prior (Head of Harrow School) were, for a portion of their stay at Harrow, home-boarders. Speaking generally,

however, the home-boarders at our large schools are more distinguished in athletics than at work. The cause of this may be that the boys only regard preëminence in games, and the home-boarders, who feel they are looked down on by the average boy, determine to excel in that in which excellence is always recognised by their fellows. It is no matter for surprise that during last century and the first half of this Carthusian day-boys intellectually took a much higher rank than Etonian or Harrovian day-boys during the same period. Harrow was only a village, though the village did turn out a scholar and politician so renowned in his time as Dr. Parr. In the matter of day-boys, Eton had not as wide a constituency to draw on as Charterhouse, which was a London school. In addition to Grote and Thirlwall there were the four Palgraves. Sir Francis Palgrave, the intellectual founder of the family, was the son of a Jewish member of the Stock Exchange and did not go to any public school. His four sons, like the late Mr. Bernal Osborne (also the grandson of a conforming Jew), all went to Charterhouse. The eldest son, Francis Turner Palgrave, was the editor of the "*Golden Treasury of English Songs*" and was witness with Robert Browning to Tennyson's will. William Gifford Palgrave was head of the school and gold medallist of the year. He was a traveller, and as fearless as Sir Richard Burton—a man whom he somewhat resembled, to pay Palgrave a high compliment. There was a certain mystery about Palgrave's relations with the third Napoleon, which has never been cleared up. His narrative of a year's journey through Central and Eastern Arabia, where he had been travelling as an emissary of the French Emperor, was read with great curiosity by the public. The reader sought to penetrate the author's reserve, but without success. Then there are Robert Inglis Palgrave, F.R.S., and Sir Reginald Palgrave, who filled the historic post of Chief Clerk to the House of Commons.

The mention of the Palgraves leads us to the subject of the learned schoolboy. At long intervals there turns up at our public schools the juvenile prodigy. He exerts but little influence on his schoolfellows, who regard him as a

mule without ancestry and without posterity. Ben Jonson (an Old Westminster), John Milton (the Pauline), Sir William Jones, George Grote, Connop Thirlwall and Professor R.C. Jebb, M.P., are notable examples of this rare species. To the honor of Charterhouse three out of the six are Old Carthusians, and all (but one) were educated at London schools. The ardour of our Old Harrovian, William Jones, was, so his old schoolfellow and biographer, Lord Teignmouth, tells us, such that he frequently devoted whole nights to study, and that he soon became the prime favourite of his master, Dr. Sumner, who, with an excusable partiality, was heard to declare that Jones knew more Greek than himself, and was a greater proficient in the idiom of that language. A Carthusian tells me that when Professor Jebb, M.P., got into the sixth form of Charterhouse, it soon got rumoured abroad that there was one boy in the school who knew more Greek and Latin than all the masters put together. Considering who the boy was, rumour was probably true, and the truth was not disparaging to Dr. Elder and his staff.

The friendship of Thirlwall and Grote is a friendship more pleasant to contemplate than that between Addison and Steele. No friendship is possible except between equals, and Addison and Steele were never, either at Charterhouse or in later life, on a footing of equality. By a coincidence there was the same difference in years—viz., 3 years—between Grote and Thirlwall as between Addison and Steele, but in every other respect the historians were equal. "Grote was, I think," writes Bishop Thirlwall (22nd June, 1871), "the oldest friend I had left. He was a little my senior at school."¹ Twenty years after they had left school, the two schoolfellows (unknown to each other) were writing on the same subject. On the appearance of Grote's first two volumes in 1846 Thirlwall welcomed them with generous praise, and on the publication of the fourth volume the Bishop wrote to his friend that he was conscious "of the great inferiority of his own performance." Mrs. Grote tells us that her husband was profoundly touched by this letter

¹ *Letters to a Friend*, p. 270.

of his "old schoolfellow".¹ "Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death they were not divided." They lie buried in the same grave in Westminster Abbey.

Henry Havelock never referred to his Carthusian school-days without a feeling of delight and gratitude. He did not consider the severity of its discipline, or even the hardships of fagging which in his time was severe, as furnishing any argument against the system of public schools. "He was often inclined to trace his propensity to strict discipline in the army to his Carthusian experience of its benefits".² What Havelock did at the cost of his life to preserve our Indian Empire is well known; what he did unconsciously, but none the less effectually, in the equally noble cause of bringing the two branches of the Anglo-Saxon race a little nearer to each other is not so well known. On his death the flags of the shipping in New York harbour and on the public buildings were displayed half-mast high. "This," wrote the *New York Times* of that day, "was a tribute of respect which even the Duke of Wellington did not command, and which we believe was never before paid to a foreigner."

The Charterhouse Military Memorial Fund, founded in 1858, was devoted to the foundation of a scholarship at Charterhouse, bearing the name of Havelock, and to the erection of a monument to Old Carthusians who fell in the Mutiny. His mother tongue was wisely selected to commemorate the memory of Havelock, who lived "long enough to learn that the Empire over India had been preserved to England and that his country was grateful". "Thou therefore endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ". Seldom has a man lived up to these words of St. Paul (inscribed on the monument in his school ante-chapel) as our Old Carthusian.

Dr. Russell succeeded Dr. Raine. During much of his mastership Dr. Russell lived at Blackheath. Mr. Mozley tells us that he never knew him a minute behind time for

¹ *Personal Life of George Grote*, p. 173.

² Marshman's *Havelock*, page 3.

first school at seven o'clock. According to Mr. Mozley he taught a hundred and twenty boys single-handed for an hour and a half before breakfast.

Dr. Russell's reforms were too sweeping to be either permanent or beneficial. He abolished the monitorial and fagging system ("Uppers and Unders"). The only result being that legitimate fagging by the sixth form was replaced by unlawful fagging by all the strong boys in the school. His most famous innovation was the adoption of the plans of mutual education imported into England by Dr. Bell. This system had at least the merit of economy. It enabled Dr. Russell with only eight masters to cope with over four hundred boys. A boy had to teach a form satisfactorily for at least six weeks, if he would rise from the fourth form to the third, six weeks more if he would rise from the third form to the second, and again from the second to the first (*i.e.* the sixth).¹ Dr. Saunders in his evidence before the Public School Commissioners and speaking as an Old Carthusian, described the system as if each form in the Under School were taught by the head boy in it. This is something quite distinct from Mr. Mozley's statement. His testimony amounted to this—that to gain the three moves necessary in the Upper School to get into the sixth form, you had to teach a class in the Under School. This discrepancy is a fair illustration of the difficulty of writing school history. Events quite recent are described so differently by two witnesses equally trustworthy. Since Dr. Saunders gave his evidence, Mr. Mozley has written two more delightful volumes of *Reminiscences*, and in these he has insisted on the accuracy of his previous account of the Bell system at Charterhouse.² In most matters Dr. Russell was quite in advance of his time, and in one matter at least all Carthusians would now admit he was right. So long ago as 1814 he advocated throwing open the Foundation to competition. But like many another strong man, Dr. Russell seems to have been a severe task-

¹ Rev. T. Mozley, Vol. i., p. 170.

² *Reminiscences chiefly of Towns, Villages and Schools*, published by Longmans in 1885.

master. Boys do not object to be flogged, but they do object to habitual grimness in their masters. John Batten ¹ writes to his Harrovian brother George on the 1st January, 1827; "I am in the first form in the lags' end, and hope never to be out of it before I leave Charterhouse. Russell is as merry as ever. I go out on Saturdays now to Sir Nicholas Tindal, the new Solicitor General." ² This refers to a delightful custom of weekly "exeats"—to use an Harrovian expression—then in force at Charterhouse. A gown-boy would on Saturday morning appear in his "home clothes," and after class disappear until Sunday evening. The same correspondent writes to his brother soon after, that he has "quitted the Foundation of Charterhouse and all my Carthusian hopes and honors for a much better thing—a writer-ship of Bengal." This sixth-former is doing "fractions and decimals" in his holidays. His reference to his "merry" chief is of course ironical. It was the absence of geniality in Dr. Russell that alienated his best-known pupil. Mr. Mozley tells us that Dr. Russell was rough with Thackeray, who always resented it. Thackeray could and did feel a warm affection for any master who was kind to him. Meeting his old schoolfellow in the Strand, Mozley told him that he had just left Churton, one of Dr. Russell's assistants: "Oh, tell me where he is," exclaimed Thackeray, "that I may fall down and kiss his toe. I do love that man."

Thackeray and Kinglake have both left us portraits of their respective head masters, Dr. Russell and Dr. Keate. Dr. Russell's portrait is that of "the awful chief of the Greyfriars School." "Pendennis, Sir," he said, "you are a disgrace to your school and to your family, and I have no doubt will prove so in after-life to your country. A boy who construes etc. *and* instead of etc. *but* at sixteen years of age is guilty, not merely of folly, and ignorance, and dulness inconceivable, but of crime, of deadly crime, of filial ingratitude, which I tremble to contemplate. A boy, Sir, who does not learn his Greek play etc." After some

¹ Judge of Suddur Court, N.W. Provinces—both he and his Harrow brother are dead.

² Afterwards a Governor of Charterhouse.

more of this rodomontade the Doctor turns round, and finding Major Pendennis (an Old "Cistercian") standing there, invites him to lunch, like the hospitable gentleman he was, and speaks kindly of his nephew behind his pupil's back.

Mrs. Richmond Thackeray's second husband was Major Henry Carmichael-Smyth. He was the son of James Carmichael-Smyth, M.D., F.R.S., Physician Extraordinary to the King, and with five of his brothers went to Charterhouse.

This no doubt was the reason why Sutton's school was selected for his step-son. All the world must thank Major Carmichael-Smyth for sending his step-son, Wm. Makepeace Thackeray, to Charterhouse, as to this we owe the delightful references to "Greyfriars" which are scattered through his works. Otherwise Thackeray, who was the son of an Old Etonian, would have gone to Eton like other members of his family. The choice at first did not seem a happy one. In 1828 there were 370 boys in the school, and Thackeray, writing to his mother, wished there were only 369. It is a noteworthy fact that as the Old Carthusian grew famous, his views of Charterhouse mellowed. Thackeray, "through whose novels" (as I have said elsewhere) "his old school runs like a silver thread", is an illustration of what we often see—a not very happy school-boy developing into an enthusiastic Old boy. Of her famous son Charterhouse possesses four memorials—a tablet in the ante-chapel, which nothing short of an earthquake could move, his portrait (not a very good one) which hangs with that of Addison in the Library of the Old Charterhouse, while the bed in which he died and the manuscript of *The Newcomes* are kept at Godalming. When Thackeray died in the prime of life, his relations would not allow the bed in which he died to be sold, but kindly presented it to his old school. The Master, Archdeacon Hale, has put up an inscription over his bed. Some may regret that this tribute to a master of English in his own "Greyfriars" should not be in his mother tongue, but admitting that Latin was always used for these purposes by masters of the past generation, the inscription could not have been more simple.

Hoc lecto recumbens
 Obdormivit in Christo
 Gulielmus Makepeace Thackeray
 IX Kal. Januar, An. MDCCCLXIV
 Scholæ Carthusianæ quondam discipulus,
 Matura ætate hujusce loci amantissimus
 Uti testantur ejus scripta
 Per orbem terrarum divulgata.
 Vixit annos LII.

But Col. Newcome, that delightful creation, will ever remain Thackeray's most permanent memorial at Charterhouse. When *The Newcomes* appeared, Mr. F. D. Carmichael, a nephew of Major Carmichael-Smyth, told the novelist that he recognised the original of the Colonel. "Of course you would know," replied Thackeray, "but you see I had to angelicize them a little." The humourist used the plural "them", because he had drawn the character of Col. Newcome from two Old Carthusians—his step-father and his step-father's brother. Both, like Col. Newcome, had served long in India. Major Carmichael-Smyth, Bengal Engineers, served in Lord Lake's campaigns, and in the war with Nepal. He was sometime Lt.-Governor at Addiscombe, and died August 1860.

The other brother, Charles Montauban Carmichael-Smyth (afterwards Carmichael), Lt.-General, C.B., Colonel 20th Hussars, commanded 3rd Light Cavalry, Bengal Army, in the first Afghan War. He was born 1790, went to Charterhouse 1801—5, and died 1870.

Over the grave of Major Carmichael-Smyth his wife inscribed the words of her son: "He whose heart was as that of a little child had answered to his name and stood in the presence of The Master."

In the ante-chapel, near Thackeray's, are tablets to two of his dearest friends—Sir Richmond Shakespear and John Leech, whom Mrs. Thackeray Ritchie has described as "a third family Colonel Newcome," and who was only seven when he entered Charterhouse. The caricaturist was present at a Founder's dinner. When called on for a speech, Leech spoke as follows—"I am no speaker, but if any Old Carthusian will call on me, I will put him into *Punch*."

There were a few more Carthusians under Dr. Russell who cannot be passed over in silence in any sketch of old Charterhouse. First and foremost there is the late publisher Mr. John Murray. Mr. John Murray and his brother Hallam were Old Etonians, but their father was an Old Carthusian. This is an instance of the truth that in the interval between the retirement of Dr. Russell (1832) and the removal of the School to Godalming (1872), Old Carthusians would do anything for their school except send their sons there. Then there was the Hon. Robert Curzon, afterwards Private Secretary to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and author of *Monasteries of the Levant*. It has often struck me that this delightful book has been rather underrated by critics, just as *Eothen* has been perhaps rather overrated. John Murray published his schoolfellow's work. A companion of both at Charterhouse was Sir Charles Trevelyan. Like John Murray, he did not send his son, the present Sir George Trevelyan, to Charterhouse, but to Harrow. The brilliant son has overshadowed his father, but Macaulay's brother-in-law was no ordinary man. In announcing his sister's engagement to Charles Trevelyan, then a Bengal Civilian and aged about 28, Macaulay, writing from Calcutta (Dec. 15th, 1834), pays this interesting tribute to Carthusian scholarship and to Dr. Russell's powers of teaching. "He (Trevelyan) came to me the other morning to know whether I would advise him to keep up his Greek, which he feared he had nearly lost. I gave him Homer and asked him to read a page; and I found that, like most boys of any talent who had been at the Charterhouse, he was very well grounded in that language."

After some ten years or so of the Indian Civil Service Charles Trevelyan retired and obtained a post in the Treasury at home. He then distinguished himself by the manner in which he dealt with the Irish Famine. After an absence of some twenty years from India and the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, certain letters, signed under a *nom de plume*, began to appear in the *Times* in which the Government of India was freely and fearlessly criticized. Lord Stanley (afterwards a member both of Disraeli's and Gladstone's Cabinets) was then (1858-59) Secretary of

State for India. The letters attracted his attention and, ascertaining the name of the writer, Lord Stanley offered him the post of Governor of Madras. The offer was accepted, and was honourable both to the Old Rugbeian who made, and the Old Carthusian who accepted it; to Lord Stanley, because he regarded the disposal of public patronage as a public trust; to Trevelyan, because he won an important post through merit alone. His letters to the *Times* were remarkable for the extraordinary knowledge of India shown by a man who had left her shores twenty years before. It was Lord Stanley who drew up the Proclamation of the Queen on taking over the Government of India from the East India Company. The history of the genesis of that remarkable document will perhaps some day be written. It is to his father's return to India and to his son George accompanying him to Calcutta that we owe *Cawnpore* and *The Letters of a Competition Wallah*.

As we are on the subject of Anglo-Indians the name of Walter Fane, a gown-boy under Dr. Saunders, should not be omitted. It was he who raised the troop of horse, known as Fane's Horse, and during the Mutiny saved hundreds of Christian lives. If ever there was a *beau sabreur*, this old Carthusian was he. There was one point of resemblance between him and Thackeray. Both were born with a talent for drawing sufficiently marked to have secured them eminence in that line, had they cared for it. I am not aware that Charterhouse did anything to develop the genius of Thackeray, Leech or Fane as draughtsmen. The Fanes were as much a household word in the mouths of Old Carthusians as Markham, Phillimore or Russell with Old Westminster.

The late Sir James Paget, the eminent Surgeon, was a schoolfellow of the late John Murray. George Palmer, the Samuel Plimsoll of the forties, was also an Old Carthusian.

Dr. Saunders, who succeeded to Dr. Russell in 1832, remained in office for 21 years, when, on the death of Dr. George Butler (ex-Head Master of Harrow), on the recommendation of Mr. Gladstone he was appointed by the Queen to the Deanery of Peterborough. As Dean of Peterborough he attended a Founder's Day dinner, and heard

himself described, not as tutor of Mr. Gladstone (which he was), but as tutor of Sir Robert Peel. This was too much for the Dean, who exclaimed in a stage whisper—"Dum audio senesco." On looking at Dr. Saunders' portrait I observed to an Old Carthusian who had been in the sixth form under him, that his old master looked wide-awake. "Well," replied my friend, "that was exactly what he was not. When in class he was either writing letters or asleep—sometimes he awoke and flogged you." When thoroughly roused his flow of Greek and Latin was worthy of Porson. He would recite to his class pages from Homer and Demosthenes. Under Dr. Saunders Mr. Oliver Walford, a cousin of the compiler of "Who's Who", held the historic post of Usher; while Mr. Dicken was a mathematical master. Mr. Dicken was a rare punster, and with Carthusians has always carried off the palm for that fine pun—*Peccavi* (I have Scinde), though non-Carthusians have claimed another paternity for it.

My space allows me only to name a few more Old boys. There was Julius Hare, the friend of Havelock, of Thirlwall and of Robertson of Brighton—an Archdeacon whose Churchmanship was as wide as the Gospel—Fox Maule, Milner Gibson and Bernal Osborne, typical Parliamentarians of this century, and Sir Richard Webster, for whom all, irrespective of Party, hope that even greater honors are in store than have yet fallen to his lot. All these Old Carthusians have figured in their time at Founder's Day dinners, but never has a toast been more aptly proposed than when the Hon. John Talbot, Q.C., proposed the health of Mr. Fox Maule.¹ Mr. Talbot was the father of that distinguished Carthusian, the present M.P. for Oxford University; Mr. Fox Maule was at the time Secretary for War. Mr. Talbot said, "*Arma virumque cano* I propose the health of the Secretary for War," and sat down. The name of Fox Maule reminds me of that once famous cablegram—"Take care of Dowb." There is probably not a man in the Services who has reached the age of 50 that has not heard of "Dowb." The phrase has become a

¹ Afterwards Earl of Dalhousie and a Governor of Charterhouse.

synonym for unblushing nepotism, and yet was due to an accident. As both the sender and the subject of the cablegram were Old Carthusians, the story can be told here, more especially as the whole truth clears the character of an honorable public man from an unfair aspersion. Montagu Hamilton Dowbiggin was a nephew of Mr. Fox Maule and a Carthusian. He joined the army and went out to the Crimea. His uncle, as Secretary for War, despatched a cablegram to the effect of "Take care of Dowbiggin etc. etc." The cable, which was a new one, broke off at the first syllable, and "Take care of Dowb" got into the papers and excited great laughter.

Dr. Saunders found only 104 boys (including the gown-boys) in the school, and the numbers under him and his two successors, Dr. Elder and Mr. Elwyn, never reached 200. When the late Head Master, Dr. Haig Brown, was appointed in 1863, the numbers stood at 121 boys with six masters, and when the school was removed at 147 with eight masters. The removal to Godalming has had a magical effect on the fortunes of the school. Its numbers have gone up with leaps and bounds in the new home. In Oration quarter ¹ 1873 the number of boys stood at 268, and of masters at 15; in 1874 at 386 and 19, in 1875 at 462 and 22, and in 1876 at 500 and 28. At first the Governors limited the number of the boys to 500, but subsequently raised the limit to 550. No one can visit modern Charterhouse without feeling convinced that Sutton's school has immensely benefited by two wise reforms—its removal to "pastures new", and throwing open the Foundation scholarships to competition. Dr. Haig Brown and other wise friends of the school urged that its intellectual growth was dwarfed by the low standard of qualification, which was adopted to suit those who alone were recognised as the School by the Governing Body.

The present Head Master, the Rev. Gerald Henry Rendall, is qualified both by training and character to keep up a public school at the high-level of proficiency at which it

¹ The year at Charterhouse is divided into three quarters called Long, Summer and Oration.

was handed over to him by his predecessor. He was Head of Harrow School (1869—1870) and Fourth Classic at Cambridge, and has been in succession Principal of University College, Liverpool, and Vice-Chancellor of Victoria University, Manchester. He is an organizer of proved ability. At Harrow he was in the shooting eleven. While Byron's school has beaten all its rivals at rackets, it has also beaten all but Charterhouse in rifle shooting. Charterhouse and Harrow have each won the Ashburton Shield nine times. The rifle corps is a new feature in the school life at Godalming, dating only from its removal to the country.

It is an undoubted but regrettable fact that, speaking broadly, the school Rifle Corps is regarded as a refuge for the destitute at our public schools. The boy who is no good in the cricket field or on the river too often enters the Rifle Corps, and the honours lavished by their school-fellows on the distinguished cricketer, football and racket player are not conferred on the member of the shooting Eight. The result of this is that public-school shooting is not of the high order of excellence of public-school cricket, football and rackets. It is to be hoped that one result of our present war in South Africa will be the sweeping away of many cobwebs, notably of that schoolboy prejudice which does not regard rifle shooting as equally manly as cricket and rowing. Certainly no public schoolman—not even the Old Etonian Lord Roberts himself—has more deeply impressed public opinion throughout the Empire than Gen. Baden Powell. His characteristic despatch—"Heavy bombardment, donkey killed"—will not soon be forgotten. He was admitted a Gown Boy before the school's removal to Godalming and therefore can remember Thackeray's "Greyfriars." He shot for Charterhouse at Wimbledon (1874—5 and 6), kept goal for his school eleven, sang in the choir, and left a monitor. The defender of Mafeking writes to his mother on 18th December, 1899—"To-day I have been trying to find any Old Carthusian in the place to have a Carthusian dinner together, as it is Founder's Day. But so far, for a wonder, I believe I am the only Carthusian amongst the odd thousands here." Though gallant little Mafeking possessed only one Carthusian, there have been

-serving at the front (November 1900) 263 Old Carthusians. In an appendix to this book will be found the names of fourteen Old Carthusians who have laid down their lives in the discharge of their duty. *Ante diem perierunt, sed milites, sed pro patria!* They have fallen before their time, but as soldiers, and for their Queen and Country. In times of strain and stress England can rely upon her public schools. Of Etonians at the front there have been (November 1900) 1110, of Harrovians 400, of Rugbeians 160, of Westminsters 46, of Merchant Taylors 45 and of Wykehamists 250. It has been suggested that a monument should be erected in London, as the Capital of the Empire, to those who have fallen in what may be described as the first campaign of the United Empire. This idea may or may not be carried out, but it is certain that at Charterhouse, Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Winchester and other public schools a monument will be erected in the chapel of each school to those who have fallen in South Africa in discharge of their duty. As boys we read that it is honourable for women to mourn, for men to remember (*fœminis lugere honestum est, viris meminisse*). We have also learnt, through our school, to love and (if need be) to die for our country. Long before the British Public at large had been fired with a faith in the British Empire, one and indivisible, that was the faith in which every English public-school boy was reared, and none more so than those who had the good fortune to go to the Charterhouse.

CHAPTER IV.

ETON.

What bears Etona on her shield?
What her true son should be—
A valiant lion in the field,
At heart a fleur-de-lis.

E. D. STONE.

I CONFESS to approaching the subject of Eton with diffidence and hesitation. Gibbon's exordium to his marvellous chapter on Roman Law is well known. If Eton cannot be said to have "exhausted learned lives", it is a subject that is rapidly "clothing the walls of spacious libraries." It has at least been the subject of more books and pamphlets than the other seven Public Schools treated in this volume put together. The admirable manner in which Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte, Rev. Allix Wilkinson, Mr. A. C. Benson, Mr. A. D. Coleridge, Mr. Wasey Sterry, Mr. Alfred Lubbock, Mr. St. John Thackeray, Mr. H. E. Chetwynd Stapylton and others have done their work leaves but a pitiful gleanings for those who follow them. An outsider can perhaps only advance the time-honoured saying that a looker on sees not most, but something, of the game. The enthusiasts for Eton are not to be found only among Old Boys. The man in the street takes almost as keen an interest in Eton as the Old Etonian. It is the fashion. Not to know Eton or to be in some way connected with it argues yourself unknown. A school which now numbers more than one thousand boys, and many bearing historic names, is a social engine of enormous force. Its powers for good and evil can scarcely be exaggerated. As Lord Rosebery, the most enthusiastic of "Old Etonians", expressed it—"every

day of Eton was instinct with the future life of the nation." A man must be destitute of all feeling for beauty and all reverence for history who can visit Eton on a summer day and leave it unmoved. It is the magnitude of Eton's past, that makes it difficult to give even a slight sketch of her story within the brief compass of a few chapters. It is the love and veneration felt for her and rightly felt by thousands of her sons that makes it more than difficult to offer any criticism even of the most cautious character. Yet it may be doubtful whether Eton does not stand more in need of candour than of sugar candy, of which latter the annual importation into this Royal Foundation shows no signs of diminution.

Attacks on Eton are extremely rare. Joseph Payne wrote an article in the *British Quarterly Review* (April 1868) to prove that "the pretensions of Eton were utterly unfounded and that her boasted education was a lamentable failure." Then there was the late Henry Reeve, the Editor of Greville's *Journal*—he writes to Lord Brougham (March 1861) that he has in preparation "a regular mine under Eton College." ¹ The "mine" duly exploded in the *Edinburgh*.

Two Old Etonians, Sir J. T. Coleridge (Colleger) and Matthew James Higgins (Oppidan) known as "Jacob Omnium", pointed out the defects of Eton education—the first in a lecture at Tiverton in 1860, and the latter in the *Cornhill*, then under Thackeray's editorship. The newspapers took up the cry, and the result was the appointment of a Royal Commission in 1861 to enquire into the nine great Public Schools.

"Was he at Eton?" was the first question put by George III. to Thomas De Quincey, whom he met as a boy on Windsor Terrace. "My mother was making some enquiries," replied De Quincey. "Oh, but all people think highly of Eton; everybody praises Eton. Your mother does right to enquire, but the more she enquires, the more she will be satisfied—that I can answer for." In speaking thus the King was only the mouthpiece of the nation.

Our ancestors selected river banks for their educational

¹ *Memoirs of Henry Reeve*, Vol. ii., p. 66.

foundations,—Oxford, Cambridge, Winchester, Eton and Westminster all attest this fact. Harrow standing on its Hill, and Rugby with no river to boast of, are quite Elizabethan innovations. Our ancestors, practical as we, appreciated rivers as their best modes of conveyance, but with us the Thames has ceased to be a convenience and has become the river of pleasure. No one can visit Eton on the Fourth of June without being impressed with the dreamy air of the place. It is urged by some that this delightful spot is to the average boy a castle of indolence. There is no logical reason why a boy should not work hard at his books and his play, win the Newcastle Medal and play at Lords as H. C. Goodhart did (1877), but the fact remains that very few do. The late Bishop of Liverpool (Dr. Ryle), the late Lord Justice Chitty, the late J. C. Patteson, Bishop of Melanesia, the late Head Master, Dr. Balston, who played in the Eton Eleven of 1836, and the present Head Master of Eton (to take five notable Etonians) are exceptions to the rule, but an English parent is satisfied, and rightly satisfied if his boy works hard either with his head or his hands. Bishop Ryle was Captain of the Eton Eleven in 1834. Three years later he was Craven Scholar, took a First Class in classical honours, and was Captain of the Oxford Eleven. J. C. Patteson, the future Bishop and martyr, rowed in the Eton and Cambridge Eights. Joseph William Chitty was Captain of the Eleven in 1847, *annus mirabilis* for Eton by land and water—notable for the victories over Westminster, Winchester and Harrow. Chitty had no part in the first victory, as he did not belong to the very restricted class of double blues at Eton, though he attained that distinction at Oxford. He also took a First Class in the old School of *Literæ Humaniores*, having as two of his companions in the First Class—the present Bishop of Southwell (Dr. Ridding) and S. R. Gardiner, both distinguished Wykehamists. His subsequent career is too well known to need further reference here. The strong attachment felt (and shown) for him by the then Master of the Rolls, Sir George Jessel, was perhaps his most useful acquisition as a counsel. One of his *bons mots* as Judge must suffice. A Counsel had been for some time prosing before him on a

Bill of Sale case. "And now, my Lord, I address myself to the furniture." "You have been engaged in doing that for some time past," replied Mr. Justice Chitty. Chitty's manly and useful career is one that any public-school boy may be proud to follow.

The fear has been often expressed that the influences of Eton are against work of any kind, but the records of Etonians hardly bear this out. Fancy pictures are drawn of the Eton boy at the bottom of a punt under the branches of a tree that screens him from the sun and from observation. That may be a true picture of a "wet bob" under Dr. Keate, but it is not of a "wet bob" under Dr. Warre. Punts, which evidently played a prominent part in the life of Eton at the commencement of this century, are forbidden at the close. If a "wet bob" wishes to be lazy, he can only be lazy in a whiff-gig or a dingey, but here an unwritten law comes into force. A dingey can be used only by members of the boats. In fact our school days are subject not only to unwritten laws, but to the cross-currents of conflicting laws. You are bound to do something, but you must only do it in a particular way, or you will find yourself in trouble. You might just as profitably argue with a physical law of nature as set up your puny individuality against the wisdom of your ancestors as expressed in the unwritten laws of your public school.

More work is done at Eton now than in days of yore, both on the river and off it. The Ladies Plate at Henley has inspired "wet bobs" with ambition, and the post of Captain of the Boats has become even magnified in its importance, if it were possible. I once asked a Captain of the Oppidans which was the greater man, the Captain of the School or the Captain of the Boats. "There is no comparison," he replied, "the Captain of the Boats is by far the greatest personage at Eton." No wonder that post possesses almost a halo! In the first place it is unique, and in the second it is irresponsible. Other schools possess captains of the Cricket Eleven, champion racquet players, and heads of the school, but Eton alone possesses a Captain of the Boats. It used to be said that the only Public School Americans were interested in was Rugby,

and for the sufficient reason that most cultivated Americans had read *Tom Brown's Schooldays*. When the son of an American, W. W. Astor, filled the post of Captain of the Boats as he did in 1898, this jest had lost much of its savour. The fact that a boy of American extraction should be the greatest man at Eton in 1898 is one of many proofs (though a foreign critic would smile) that the relations between Great Britain and the great Republic are not what they used to be.

The only American Minister at the Court of St. James who sent his sons to an English Public School, was Rufus King. He sent his two sons, both subsequently distinguished, to Harrow as a more democratic school (in his opinion) than Eton. In Mr. Rufus King's time an absurd distinction was conferred on peers and the sons of peers at Eton which was not conferred at Harrow. The Marquises, Lords and Honourables were allowed to sit in stalls in the Chapel, and look down on their humbler brethren. The newest stall-holder, when he succeeded to this dignity, was bound to present a packet of almonds and raisins to each of his brethren. This extraordinary custom was not kept under a bushel, but observed in the light of day. The Rev. Allix Wilkinson, who was Captain of the School under Dr. Keate, tells us that the latest aspirant to the honour of sitting in the stalls was followed to the doors of the Chapel by a lad carrying a tray full of packets of these delicacies, which were then and there handed to each favoured individual for his occupation and amusement during Divine Service.¹ What would the saintly Founder of Eton have said? He who, in the words of Blakman, the Carthusian monk, "would not allow swords or spears to be brought into the church, nor contracts to be made, nor conversations to be carried on there."

"Conduct" is a peculiar Eton term for the two Chaplains, derived from "conductitii" (hired). The word is used by Horace Walpole in his famous letter from the Christopher Inn at Eton—"funking over against a conduct to be catechised"—and has puzzled many a non-Etonian reader. The

¹ Wilkinson's *Reminiscences of Eton*, p. 120.

sermons of these "conducts" do not seem to have impressed the Eton boys in Keate's time any more than the sermons of the Winchester Chaplains impressed their contemporaries. During the first quarter of the 19th century and probably through the eighteenth the sermons of those officials seem to have been treated as a huge joke. And yet, during Keate's time, Eton produced not only a plentiful crop of bishops, but also Mr. W. E. Gladstone. Mr. Gladstone, however, told Mr. Arthur C. Benson that in his time "religion was non-existent at Eton", and that he did not wish to be confirmed there. ¹

The Eton custom of planting in Chapel the sprigs of nobility apart from ordinary mortals has long since been abolished. At Absence the master sometimes gives the boy his prefix, and sometimes not. It depends on the master, but the prefix is always given in the school lists.

When on "the Fourth", Dr. Warre calls over, the flower-bedecked lads in the uniforms of Admirals give a Pirate of Penzance air to the time-honoured ceremony, and yet there are only four of them. The four Coxes of the three Upper Boats and the top Lower Boat are dressed as Admirals. It may be truly said that Eton rowing never had a better friend than her present headmaster. Dr. Warre has left nothing undone that could foster the rowing at his old school. The suggestion of the eight rowing at Henley came from him. Admirable as was the suggestion, it gave the death-blow to any Etonian of the future attaining the proud position of a double Blue—though the term "Blue" is not used at Eton. The ways of the "wet bob" and the "dry bob" diverge, and every year grow further apart. It is the choice of the modern Hercules. It is not possible for a mortal to train for Henley and practise for Lords during the same summer term. There were Eton oarsmen before Guy Nickalls. It is, however, no disparagement to the oarsmen of a past generation to say that sixty or fifty years ago sculling was not the fine art at Eton it has now become. When Dr. Goodford expressed an opinion that it would be useless for a crew of boys to row against University

¹ Benson's *Fasti Etonenses*, p. 499.

men, he expressed only the opinion current in the sixties. "Oppidan Dinner" was a dinner given at the White Hart by the Captain of the Boats to the Captain of the Oppidans, the Captain of the Eleven, and the other members of the Eight and Eleven. The Captain of the School was not included in this athletic symposium. In 1860 "Oppidan Dinner" was discontinued and rowing at Henley took its place—a good exchange from every point of view.

Nothing on the globe's surface can surpass in beauty the Castle, the Chapel and the River on a lovely Fourth of June. If it be pleaded that the Castle and the River form no part of the School, it may be answered that they are as much part of the school as the bloom is part of the peach. You can no more divorce Eton College from Windsor Castle than you can divorce Westminster School from Westminster Abbey. Some would question the choice of the Fourth of June, as the state occasions on which your haunts are overrun by foreigners are not the occasions on which your Old School looks its best, but the Fourth is the day to visit Eton because it is the day on which you have ocular and (if you have the good luck to lunch with the Provost) aural evidence of the intense love that all Etonians bear their alma-mater. As in 1898 we emerged from hearing the "Speeches", the notable feature of which was the little Latin and still less Greek, the following cablegrams on the school notice-board caught our eye:—

"Simla,

"Semper ubique floreat Etona.

"VICEROY."

This of course was from Lord Elgin. Next to it was the following:

"Buluwayo.

"Floreat Etona Etonensibus. Rhodesia,"

Then another:

"Halfa,

"Etonenses in Nubia merentes Almam Matrem salutant Fergusson Lambton Rawlinson Sandbach."

The *merentes* for *maerentes* was not, we may be sure, the slip of any Old Etonian, but of the telegraph clerk unaccustomed to the language of Etonian congratulation. Then another:

“Weimar.

“*Almæ matri tres alumni inter barbaros vagantes salutem dant!*”

What would Goethe have said to our young Philistines calling the elect of Weimar Barbarians! The procession of boats on the “Fourth” would have amused the illustrious Chamberlain of the Court of Weimar; the sight of the Eton Eight shooting under the bridge in “swinging” form would have delighted him. Physical force, like every other kind of force, impressed him. From the days of the Olympian games, to which the author of *Faust* belonged in spirit, there is assuredly nothing more splendidly Greek than the Eton Eight in training for Henley. Such thews and sinews must give the hegemony of the world to the country that can produce these athletes.

The Monarch (manned by ten) which leads the procession on the “Fourth”, is an Etonian institution. In former times some distinguished Old Etonian used to sit in it as a guest. George Canning once filled this post of honour, and, according to an Eton tradition, was nervous about the tenure of his seat, which he did not regard as secure as his Parliamentary one. A seat in the Monarch is always offered by courtesy to members of the Cricket Eleven, but is always refused by them. The only recent exception to this was Robin Lubbock, who accepted a place in the Monarch, because his father, the distinguished cricketer, had also rowed in that boat. Robin Lubbock, the Marcellus of Eton athletics, was killed (like another Etonian, Whyte Melville,) by an accident in the hunting field.

The usual way of making up the team of the Monarch is by giving seats to boys in lower boats, who are not good oars and not young enough to give grounds for improvement. Coxes, who are too heavy to cox, often get an oar in it, as well as Collegers who are not good oarsmen. Hence

it happens that most of the rowers in the Monarch are high up in the school. The Captain of the boats and sometimes the Captain of the Oppidans row in it.

If a boy learns nothing else at a public school, he usually learns to express himself in a direct and intelligible fashion. As I stood on the river bank one "Fourth", I asked an Eton boy who stood by me under the Railway Bridge what he thought of "the Monarch." "The rottenest boat on the river" was his explicit reply, as the august boatful went up stream. There is, however, one boat that takes part in that Procession that should rouse the enthusiasm of any school, and that is a boat entirely manned by sometime Captains of the Boats. In 1898, while H. C. Pilkington was captaining the Eleven in the Playing Fields, M. C. Pilkington was Stroke to the Old Captains of the Boats on the river. Last scene of all that closes this eventful day is the fireworks. It is the duty of the Captain of the Oppidans to buy the fireworks. He is responsible for the expenditure to his successor only. This is one of the many ways in which Eton boys are left to manage their own affairs without magisterial control.

Eton now possesses (like Winchester) two Quadrangles. Her Founder left the west and east ends of the first Quadrangle (called School Yard) open, so that the school buildings, as he left them, consisted of one Quadrangle with a Cloister at the east end. On the south side of the School Yard he built his Chapel, on the north the school and sleeping chamber ("Long Chamber") of his Scholars. In the centre of School Yard stands a statue of Henry VI., erected by Henry Godolphin, ¹ the brother of Lord Treasurer Godolphin. You now enter the second Quadrangle or Cloister Quadrangle, by a towered gateway, the work of Roger Lupton, ² and erected between 1517—20. There can be no question but that the Cloisters of Eton are not comparable in beauty to the Cloisters of Winchester. This is mainly due to the fact that the Cloisters at Wykeham's Foundation have never been used for any purpose but

¹ Provost of Eton from 1695 to 1733.

² Provost from 1504 to 1535.

that of burial and contemplation, while the Cloisters of Eton have been utilized for Chambers. The addition of these has destroyed the symmetry of the Cloisters, and their appearance has been further injured by the third storey which was added in 1758. In fact the Cloisters at Eton are an illustration of the architectural truth that beauty and convenience are not only not the same, but often opposed. The Cloisters of Winchester might be used for the purposes for which all Cloisters were originally intended—viz., for burial. The Cloisters of Eton appear never to have been converted to that purpose. There was not the same practical need for this at Eton as at Winchester. The College Chapel was the Parish Church of Eton with a churchyard attached; while Wykeham's College Chapel was built for his Scholars only and had no churchyard attached. Cloisters Quadrangle is now utilized as the official residence of the Provost and Head Master, with Chambers for the Provost of Kings. The Head Masters of our two oldest Public Schools, Winchester and Eton, do not receive boarders.

On the south side of the Cloisters Quadrangle are the Hall and the College Library. The Hall was completed in 1450 and in spite of the Wars of the Roses was not left unfinished, as the west side of the Cloisters and the Chapel were. In a corner of the Hall is still to be found this inscription—"Queen Elizabeth ad nos gave October X 2 loves in a mes 1569". My friend Mr. Sterry, in his delightful *Annals*, tells us that until recently the boys who sit at the table in this corner had a double allowance of bread given them at dinner. Along the top of the panelling on each side will be noticed a line of nails. From these used to hang the so-called "Bacchus" verses at Shrove-tide, which were composed at Eton down to the schooldays of the Marquis Wellesley.¹ When Pepys visited the College in February 1665, the plague was in London, and the subject of the boys' verses was "*De Peste*". Pepys read "several, and very good they were; better I think than ever I made when I was a

¹ The school customs of Eton and Winchester ran side by side far into the 17th century. This question is dealt with by Mr. J. S. Cotton in his most interesting letter to *The Wykehamist* of August 1899.

boy, and in rolls so long and longer than the whole Hall by much." Pepys found "all mighty fine" at the College; but, strangely enough, he has nothing to say about the Chapel. One Tom Rogers, a yeoman beadle, who had been a "schoolboy at Eton" during the plague, told Hearne, the antiquary, that he had never been so "whipped" in his life, as he was one morning for not smoking.

Portraits of famous Collegers hang in the Hall where as boys they dined and supped. The Collegers thus distinguished are Sir Robert Walpole, Lord Chancellor Camden and the following Judges, Sir Vicary Gibbs, Patteson, Coleridge and Bosanquet; Stratford Canning, Archbishop Sumner, Dr. Hawtrey, Dr. Wilder and the following Bishops, Sumner, Durnford, Lonsdale and Luxmoore.

Pepys would have been delighted with the College Library, which was completed only in 1729. This is not the School Library, and its books are not taken out by either Collegers or Oppidans. It contains many treasures, notably three Caxtons, a Mazarine Bible, a unique volume containing *Ralph Royster Doyster*,¹ and the first three folios of Shakespeare. The most interesting historical documents are perhaps two Bulls of Eugenius IV. In one he gives licence to the Provost of Eton for the time being and to confessors deputed by him to grant indulgences at the Feast of the Assumption. This is dated 1442. In the same year the same Pope gave Henry VI. licence to have all sacraments performed in his oratory and chapels. The library also possesses the miniatures and star of that most enthusiastic of her sons, the Marquis Wellesley. The world has a tendency to magnify the greatness of her great ones, and the custodian who showed me these treasures suggested that the Marquis must have been helped in his career by the Iron Duke. He was surprised when informed that the Marquis Wellesley was Governor-General of India, before his brother had even gathered the laurels of Assaye. We might never have heard of Wellington had not a kind brother lent him money with which he purchased his lieutenant-colonelcy. In 1796 Col. Arthur Wellesley was sent with his

¹ See *Merchant Taylors' School*.

regiment to India. In that country he acquired his minute technical knowledge of the British Soldier. "Dear Sir, I beg to introduce to you Col. Wesley, who is a lieutenant-colonel of my regiment. He is a sensible man and a good officer." So wrote Lord Cornwallis to the Old Harrovian Sir John Shore, Governor-General of India, and the world has ever since been of Cornwallis's opinion!

The Gallery which runs round the first floor of the Cloister Quadrangle (called the Cloister Gallery) is hung with engravings of famous Etonians. You begin with Waynflete—the first Head Master, and end with W. E. Gladstone. No one can deny the variety as well as the quality of the Old Boys portrayed in this gallery. Every kind of man is represented there, except the historical scoundrel, such as Titus Oates and Lord Jeffreys.

The Raikes in this gallery is not Robert, the founder of Sunday Schools, but a forgotten dandy who kept a diary and knew every one about town when George IV. was King. The philanthropist, Robert Raikes, the son of the printer and proprietor of the *Gloucester Journal*, was not at Eton, although my cicerone was under that impression. It is difficult for those who serve our public schools, to believe that there are a few great and good men who do not hail from their especial one.

In the Library there is a portrait of Charles Simeon and a bust of Keate, two very different men, but each an honour to the school that reared them. Simeon took the view of public schools current with Evangelicals at the close of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th. We must not think Eton a wicked place or worse than other public schools because Simeon said he would be tempted to take the life of his son rather than let him see the vice he had seen at Eton. Simeon took Orders and remained in the Church to his death, but another famous Old Etonian, Rowland Hill, though ordained, was refused priest's Orders and left the Church. This Evangelical lived a life of Christian usefulness, and was buried beneath his own pulpit in Surrey Chapel.

CHAPTER V.

ETON—(continued).

You pass through the Cloisters to the Playing Fields, just as Pepys did 200 years ago. Behind you, as you approach the Fields, is Mr. Hexter's house, where Shelley boarded when he first went to Eton, but that is not Mr. Bethell's house (now pulled down) in which he reached the estate of a fifth-former and had fags of his own. Mary Shelley's tale, *The Mourner*, probably reflects the author's impressions rather than her husband's recollections of his old school. The hero of the story is the fag of a hard taskmaster. He suffers from a rule far worse than "the measured despotism of Jamaica" and runs away from Eton. It is curious, however, that when Shelley met Capt. Gronow in 1822, very shortly before his own death, Shelley's talk of Spier's brown bread and butter and of "the beautiful Martha", the Hebe of Spier's, were just the reminiscences you would expect from one who had been "a happy boy at Drury's." Gronow also tells a story of Shelley fighting at Eton, and while stalking round the ring reciting Homer. Professor Dowden quotes the story and apparently believes in its genuineness, but surely there is (to say the least) a grave improbability about it. The same story of spouting Homer while engaged in a "mill" is told of another Etonian, the late Earl of Mexborough, who accompanied Kinglake in his *Eothen* travels and who only died in 1899. Shelley was fag, or rather refused to fag, to Henry Matthews, the brother of Byron's friend, Charles Skinner Matthews. The connection was curious, as Byron always refers to his friend as an "atheist." Henry Matthews drove a tandem right through Eton and Windsor without being stopped. As a matter of fact there was far more in common between

Shelley and this daredevil lad than either imagined. Matthews in 1805 entered College, became a Fellow of King's, and afterwards wrote *The Diary of an Invalid*,—a book which at least has the merit of showing appreciation of Virgil. Shelley's refusal to fag was not, however, an unparalleled act of audacity. Something very like it happened at Harrow, when his contemporary, Robert Peel, the future Conservative leader, strongly objected to fagging. It was Shelley's misfortune to have as his tutor, Mr. Bethell, an incompetent teacher, indeed Mr. Coleridge says that Keate "writhed under his assistant's incompetence."

The Eton and Winchester match is alternately played at Eton and Winchester. The school on whose ground the match is played, not only entertains its rival Eleven, but also 70 of the boys. Such visits draw together host and guest, and keep the historical connection of the two Foundations ever fresh and green. Many an Harrovian must regret that the triangular duel between Eton, Winchester, and Harrow has not been kept up. The last time that Harrow encountered Winchester was in 1854, when in pouring rain a four days' match was played out at Lords. It was in very different kind of weather and mid the perfect surroundings of the Eton Playing Fields that the Eton and Winchester Match of 1899 was played. On the second day, with one wicket to go down and 19 runs to make, no one could have prophesied safely which side would win. The glorious uncertainty of cricket to the looker on is its most attractive feature. The batting side seems always to have the advantage over the fielders at these supreme moments of tension. In 1898 and in 1900, Harrow was in and won at Lords; in 1899 Eton was in and was also victorious. But what a finish that was!

And never I think in the years gone by
Since cricketer first went in,
Did the dying so refuse to die,
Or the winning so hardly win.

If any one doubts this, let him appeal to the Lord Chancellor, who enjoyed the fun in 1899 as much as the

youngest Eton boy. The victory was all the more glorious, as it was won over a splendid team captained by R. S. Darling, a cricketer of whom any school would be proud. It was won in good form—forward driving and hits “along the carpet.”

The late Sir Douglas Galton would have been delighted with the strong hereditary element in Eton Cricket. Heredity is more marked in its athletic than in its intellectual records. No father and son have ever won the Newcastle,¹ but father and son and even grandson have been in the Eton Eleven. Take away the Lubbocks, the Lytteltons, the Mitchells, the Longmans, and the Pilkingtons from Eton cricket, and you would go far to deprive Samson of his strength. The hereditary element is also a feature in Winchester cricket. The following Wykehamist Cricketers, famous in their time, Wm. Ward, C. J. Abbott (1837), G. P. Fuller (1850—52) and C. Awdry (1863—65), each had two sons in the Winchester Eleven; A. H. Bridges, one son who played four years, and F. Lear (1841), two sons, each of whom (strange to say) was twelfth man.²

A feature that differentiates Eton cricket from that of Harrow is the fact that the Harrovian Eleven is like the House of Lords—once in, you are in it so long as you are a member of the school. A peer may be excluded from the House of Lords for misconduct, but there seems to be no power on earth that can deprive an Harrovian of his “flannels”, when they have once been given to him. The Eton Eleven of 1899 did not contain a member of the Eleven of 1898, although he was still in the school. He had fallen off in his play and therefore was not offered a place in the Eleven. Another member of the 1898 Eleven only got into the 1899 Eleven as last choice. The same rule applies to “the cap” at Winchester. You only retain it so long as your cricket deserves it. There can be no doubt that this is a right and proper course. A place in the cricket eleven

¹ The Newcastle Scholarship was founded by the Duke of Newcastle in 1829.

² C. T. and W. Abbott, J. W. F. and H. F. Fuller, E. D. and H. N. Lear, J. H. Bridges, C. S. and R. W. Awdry, H. and W. Ward.

should be retained by a boy only *quamdiu se bene gesserit*—so long as he bowls, bats, or fields well. There is another question which an observer asks at a cricket match. How many of the fine athletes in front of him are also in the football eleven. Among the advantages which we “dry bobs” of other schools claim for cricket over rowing is that cricket can be carried on anywhere and seems to fit you more for other games, notably football, racquets and golf. It may be a mere coincidence, but in the Eton Football Eleven for 1898 there were three “men” in the 1899 Cricket Eleven (Denison, Wormald and Gilliat), but not a single “man” in the Eight of '99, was in the Football Eleven of 1898. At Harrow and Winchester the two games of cricket and football are the complement to each other in physical development, and the majority in the one eleven are pretty sure to be found in the other.

Winchester that has but 400 and odd plays with splendid pluck against Eton with her thousand boys. One must remember that the river is more popular than the playing fields at Eton. It is generally stated at Eton (and I have never heard the statement contradicted) that whereas there are 600 “Wet Bobs”, there are only 400 “Dry Bobs”. If this be so, it will be seen that the two schools are rather more fairly matched than at first appears. There can be no question that rowing and cricket are now absolutely divorced from each other at Eton.

As you look on at the Eton and Winchester match, a question occurs to you, which unfortunately does not concern the school of John Lyon. There are indeed at Harrow a handful of entrance scholars, but what are they beside the one hundred and forty scholars educated by the bounty of William of Wykeham and Henry VI.? That question is—What is the position taken by Collegers in athletics at each school? The answer is that no distinction whatever is now drawn between Oppidan (or Commoner) and Colleger in either school. Even-handed justice is dealt out to both at their work and their play. It so happens that a Colleger more rarely figures in the Eight than in the Eleven. Between 1851 and '78 only two Collegers rowed in the Eight. Any vestige of social disparagement that may once have

attached to the term "Tug" has long since disappeared. A Colleger is an Etonian who wears a black gown in class and a surplice in Chapel. There is nothing else to distinguish him from an Oppidan. Of the 1899 Eleven, two (Cassavetti and A. C. Bernard) were Collegers. As there are 70 Collegers against over 900 Oppidans, two places out of eleven is a fair number to secure. The names of some Collegers who were distinguished athletes at Eton may be given—John H. D. Goldie, afterwards stroke of the Cambridge Eight, John Maude and the late C. J. Ottaway, both in the Oxford Eleven, R. G. Marsden in the Oxford Eight, the late C. H. Marillier, Captain of the School and in the cricket Eleven (1853), and J. G. Witt (now a K.C.).

The more interesting question remains—How far the intellect of the school is represented in its athletics? There have been three boys at Harrow who, during this century, have been Heads of the School and Captains of the Eleven. I have never heard that the Captain of the School at Eton has ever been Captain of the Eleven or Captain of the Boats. Dr. Warre was a Newcastle Scholar, and rowed in the Eton and afterwards in the Oxford Eight. Dr. Welldon was a Newcastle Scholar and played in the England Football Eleven against Scotland. The late Head Master of Harrow (Dr. Montagu Butler) played for Harrow at Lords, and another Head Master of Harrow (Dr. Wordsworth) was Captain of the Winchester Eleven. There are waves in these matters, and some years you find an athletic sixth form and some years you do not. In one summer you do not find a Monitor in the Harrow Eleven; in another you find two or even three. The same remark applies to Eton where the Sixth Form contains only 20 boys. In 1899 four in the Eight at Eton were in the First Division. In 1898 no sixth-former was either in the Eton Cricket Eleven or Eight, and only one Colleger was in the Twenty-two. In 1899 we again find no sixth-former in the Eleven, but two sixth-formers, St. Aubyn and Lord Grimston, in the Eight. In 1898 four of the Harrow Eleven [Dowson (Captain), Rattigan, Wyld and Drew] were Monitors. In 1899 three of the Harrow Eleven [Dowson (Capt.), Mann and Rattigan] were Monitors. The Winchester Eleven of 1899 contains no

less than eight sixth-formers, six in the Upper and two in the Lower Division. In fact, Sixth Book of Cloister Term 1899 is a unique Sixth Book, and could "lick" at cricket the rest of the school.

Eton, so highly favoured in all ways, is the possessor of two varieties of Football—the field game and the wall game. The wall game is almost exclusively a Colleger game; only about thirty Oppidans take part in it. Where an Etonian is spoken of as in the football eleven, the field game is referred to and not the wall game. Mr. Sterry, who was himself a Captain of the School and therefore a Colleger, tells us that were it not for the great match of Collegers v. Oppidans played on St. Andrew's day, the wall game would die out. A word here must be said about the time-honoured post of Captain of the School. The fact that this post must always at Eton be filled by a Colleger, carries you back to the fifteenth century. The College was built for the Collegers, and naturally their head was the head of the whole body. Now that the tables are changed, and the Oppidans have grown from a handful of boys into over nine hundred in number, the position of Captain of the School is still retained by the College. It is otherwise at the still older foundation of Winchester. There is no absolute rule against a Commoner being Head of the School, though as a general rule a Scholar (*i.e.* Colleger) fills that post. The post of Captain of the School does not exist at Winchester; the nearest approach to it is that of Prefect of Hall. A Scholar is nominated to that post by the Head Master, and the head boy in the School has no prescriptive right to it. The Prefect of Hall (1899), F. D. H. Joy, was 5th in school order. He was the left-hand bowler, captain of Collegers (football) "sixth", and champion fives-player of Winchester.

But to think of fives is to think of Eton. Apparently the game or the origin of the game is as old as the Foundation. The original Eton Fives Courts were the spaces between the buttresses of the Chapel. While soft-ball racquets is preëminently the game of Harrow, fives is the game of Eton. Only one Master's house at Eton has a soft-ball court; all the "big houses" and most of the "small houses" on the Hill possess one. A Harrow boy is rarely seen out

of class without a racquet in his hand, unless he is cricketing, "footer" playing, or swimming. The number of fives courts at Eton is simply legion, and the term from Christmas to Easter is known among the boys as the "Fives half." It is one of the peculiarities of Eton that its scholastic year is divided by the boys into three "halves," just as at Harrow it used to be divided into three "quarters." But the unique peculiarity of Etonian athletics is the keeping by the school of a pack of beagles. No other School possesses such an institution. The appointment of the Master rests with that Eton dictator—the Captain of the Boats.

All the world knows of "Pop", the famous Debating Society of Eton, all the world does not know that its name is derived from *popina*, the Latin word for a confectioner ("sock shop"). Note, reader, that Eton boys never speak of "the Pop," but always of "Pop". The Club (for Pop was never a mere debating society) used to meet at "Mother" Hatton's and was founded in the days of Keate. As athletics is our present subject, some may be surprised at "Pop" being referred to, but "Pop" has been annexed by the athletics of Eton. Athleticism at Eton, like Pharoah's serpent, has swallowed up the other serpents. There never was a more popular President of Pop than the late S. F. Cleasby, Captain of the Eleven (1862), whose short life was so full of school distinctions. I once asked an Etonian friend of mine, distinguished for his intellectual activity, whether he was a member of Pop. His modest reply was that he was not good enough at football to be a member. If you are good at cricket, rowing or racquets, and care to be one of the *Literati* of your school, your election is certain; if you are not, there is always a question. Of course this was not always so. The best-known Etonian of this century was poor at games, but a pillar of Pop. "Sir, in this age of increased and still increasing civilization"—this was the opening sentence of Mr. Gladstone's opening speech in "Pop."¹ "The increasing civilization" of the age has revolutionized Etonian education since the days of Keate and Gladstone.

¹ Doyle's *Reminiscences*, p. 34.

In 1865 the Royal Commission appointed to enquire into the condition of the eight public schools dealt with in this volume (with the addition of Shrewsbury School) issued its report recommending most sweeping changes. In 1868 an Act of Parliament was passed, authorising certain Commissioners to draw up new constitutions for Eton and other public schools. In the same year Dr. Balston,¹ who was opposed to further reforms, resigned the post of Head Master, and Dr. Hornby was elected in his place. Dr. Hornby² was an Oppidan who had been Hostiarius at Winchester, but never an assistant-master at Eton. In 1872 the whole of the statutes drawn up by Henry VI. were repealed, and new statutes took their place. Among a multitude of improvements, too numerous to mention, Dr. Hornby conferred on the boys in the higher forms the option of substituting Latin prose for Latin verse. The most important change was perhaps the apparently trivial one of raising the status of the Mathematical Masters. The teachers of mathematics, of French and of physical science are now on the same footing as the teachers of Latin and Greek, and exercise authority out of school as well as in school. Any one accustomed to deal with boys would know they would not learn much from masters who were not clothed with the same powers as the classical masters. Eton can lay claim to five Senior Wranglers. How Sir John Herschel, Sir John Shaw Lefevre, Rev. Norman Macleod Ferrers, the Master of Caius College, and Lord Rayleigh, F.R.S., managed to secure the proud distinction, when mathematics were ignored at Eton, is a riddle which reflects more credit on them than on their old school. The first four Senior Wranglers of Eton were Oppidans; the fifth, Philip Cowell, was a Colleger. Curiously enough there has never been a Wykehamist Senior Wrangler. Now the outlook for mathematics at both these ancient Foundations is quite different. From being entirely ignored Mathematics are now taught by fifteen masters at Eton.

¹ Dr. Edward Balston, Head Master 1862—68.

² Dr. James John Hornby, Head Master from 1868—84, when he was elected Provost.

The overcrowded forms of Eton are matters of past history. There are now thirty-one Divisions and the average number in each is from thirty to thirty-six. There are thirty-two boys in the first Division, which consists of 20 in the sixth Form and 12 in the Fifth form, who are taken together. Of the 20 sixth-formers, ten are Commoners and ten are Oppidans. "Liberty" is the name given to that portion of the Fifth Form which is taken by the head master with the Sixth Form. The Newcastle Scholarship has been competed for seventy-one times since its foundation, and on 21 occasions the Newcastle Scholar has been an Oppidan. There is no modern side at Eton, but this statement would convey a wrong impression if it was thought that no science was taught there. This is not the case. The name of "Lower School" was abolished in 1870, and the Lower Master (Mr. Austen Leigh) now superintends the Fourth Form and Third Form (marked F in the School List). The subdivisions of the Third Form, known as "Upper Greek", "Lower Greek", "Sense" and "Nonsense", have disappeared with the Second and First Forms. No science is taught in the Fourth and Third Forms. In all the Forms above the Fourth Form two hours a week at the least are devoted to some kind of science. In the Remove, the four Divisions of which (all marked E in the School List) come between the Fourth and Fifth Forms, elementary astronomy and physiography, and in the five Divisions of the Fifth Form (all marked D) heat and mechanics are taught. In the Divisions above Remove a boy can learn German in place of Greek, and in the First Hundred (marked A 1) a boy can devote a good deal of his time to science, if he has a bent for it. There are four Army Classes and one Navy Class (the latter with two boys), the lowest Army Class and the Navy Class being sandwiched between the Middle Division and the Lower Division of the Fifth Form, while the highest Army Class is sandwiched between the Upper Division of the Fifth Form and the First Hundred. In 1898 there were four prizes given for Natural Science. They were given for chemistry, for physics, for biology, and for geology and physical geography, and all were won by Oppidans.

Under Dr. Foster, Head Master of Eton (1765—73), there were at Eton ten assistant masters, three writing masters and two masters who taught French, of course out of school hours.¹ Under Dr. Warre, in addition to the 15 mathematical masters, there are 29 classical masters (including the Lower Master), four science masters, seven masters for French, German and Italian (not including some masters who also teach mathematics), one history master, two drawing masters and two musical instructors. There are therefore a total of sixty-one assistant masters against the fifteen who were thought sufficient for an Eton of half the size one hundred years ago.

Even a reformed Eton would not satisfy a John Stuart Mill. He would still press for more subjects and better teaching, but Eton was not made for the John Stuart Mills. You might have a school theoretically better, but practically worse, with a wider curriculum and less satisfactory results. You might have a school teaching all the 'ologies, yet training useless men. You might have a collection of bookworms, and yet weed out all the boys destined to reflect credit on their old school.

"The conduct at Eton is perfectly scandalous; our two boys never cost less than £200 a year while they were there."² Lord Brougham, who wrote thus, was the son of an Etonian, but not at Eton himself, or he might have added self-control to the list of his extraordinary attainments. In this interesting letter the ex-Lord Chancellor connects the imperfections of Eton education with its expensiveness. Its abuses would, he assures us, have all been set right in 1818 by his Act, "but for Eldon". Brougham is dead, Eton College has been reformed, yet Eton education remains as expensive as ever. The fact is that the abuses of Eton and its extravagance sprang from different causes—the former have been in the main reformed away, the latter will probably always remain. Complaints of extravagance are as rife now as in the pre-reform days. Parents have the remedy in their own hands, if they choose to apply it.

¹ Maxwell Lyte's *Eton College*, p. 304; the author quoting from a manuscript drawn up by a boy in 1765 or 1766.

² H. Reeve's *Memoirs*, Vol. ii., p. 66.

Some parents give their sons extravagant allowances and even encourage them to keep banking accounts and to squander their money. Unfortunately the sons of more sensible parents are occasionally influenced by their example, but it is quite possible for a boy to live as simply at Eton as at any other public school. The masters in no sense countenance extravagance of living—quite the contrary. Still it is a question for each parent to decide for himself whether Eton (apart from College) is the best school for a boy who has his own way to make in the world. Had Horace been an Etonian (which in my dreams I discover was the case) he could not have summed up the position more neatly than where he referred to Corinthian luxury:

“Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum.”

CHAPTER VI.

ETON—(*continued*).

THE Collegers of Eton, like the Scholars on the Foundations of Westminster and Winchester, were for more than two hundred years taught with the Oppidans in one room. This room stands on the north side of the School Quadrangle. It is now divided into three rooms by modern partitions, but is otherwise probably unaltered since the time of Sir Henry Wotton.¹ The name of "Sir H. Wotton" cut on the shutter of one of the windows is still quite legible. As Wotton was a Wykehamist, it is a curious instance of the name of the Provost being cut up as if he had been a boy. Pepys visited this room and recorded in his Diary the custom of "boys cutting their names in the shuts of the windows, when they go to Cambridge, by which many a one hath lived to see himself a Provost and Fellow that hath his name in the window standing." Pepys probably thought Wotton had been on the foundation of Eton. The earliest name cut is that of Batte, cut in 1578, and on these shutters no names were cut after 1645, when the carving of names was transferred to the pillars said to have been erected by Sir Henry Wotton. The block on which the Lower Master had and has the privilege of birching boys of Lower School is still there.

Above this room was the famous Long Chamber, in which the Scholars slept. At the time of the Foundation the boys rose at five, and while making their beds used to say the matins of the Blessed Virgin. The prayers remained the same for more than 200 years with certain Protestant omissions. Long Chamber has come down to posterity with

¹ Provost from 1624—39.

anything but a creditable reputation. "My recollections of Long Chamber date from 1809," said the late Provost of King's College, Cambridge. "My master was a beast and a bully, and the reign of terrorism upon certain occasions was a horror I shall never forget."¹ And yet so ingrained is the conservatism of schoolboys, that the suggestion that Long Chamber was going to be pulled down roused quite a storm of opposition among the "Tugs" who slept there. What if basins in College were scarce, was there not a college pump and could you not wash overnight? John Lonsdale, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield, writing to Hodgson (afterwards Provost) in 1812, says, "Eton looks all lovely, always excepting Carter's Chamber (another "Tug" dormitory), which is more beastly than ever." In 1842 the King of Prussia was refused admission to the dormitories of the Collegers. Long Chamber was worse than purgatory to those who entered it after tasting the sweets of Oppidan life at Eton. Mr. Coleridge tells us of such a boy who was on the point of writing to his mother begging her to remove him—a step which would have shipwrecked his career, had not Mr. Coleridge dissuaded him. This Colleger lived to become a Bishop, and thanked Mr. Coleridge for the advice he had given him. Indeed there is an unanimous consensus of opinion as to the condition of the sleeping rooms of the Collegers, but the most convincing proof of this is that the full number of Scholars at Winchester and at Westminster was always maintained, while the number of Collegers at Eton was often reduced to less than two-thirds of the sacred seventy. Mr. Coleridge remembers them less than forty all told only 50 years ago. Happily Long Chamber and Carter's Chamber with all their dirt and horrors live now only in the pages of Old Collegers Reminiscences. Cubicles have replaced the dormitories of our ancestors. Bullying, I am informed and believe, is absolutely extinct at Eton. The present Head Master has a very short way of dealing with a bully.

Upper School forms the western wing of School Yard and links together Chapel and Lower School. It was

¹ Mr. A. D. Coleridge, *Eton in the Forties*, p. 2.

erected by Provost Allestree at his own expense, between 1665 and 1672. Before his time the Quadrangle had been closed in by a brick wall. You can approach Upper School from the north through a room where the Head Master takes his Division and where the flogging block and birch are kept. The birch is very much on the down grade at Eton. It is rarely used except for the offence of smoking. Every year there seems to be less need for it or less use of it. In one respect this is an undoubted improvement. A boy is no longer flogged as he was in Keate's time, a crowd of school-fellows looking on. When a flogging takes place at Eton to-day, there are present the two "Head præpostors," *i.e.*, one Oppidan and one Colleger chosen in rotation from sixth form, and two "holders down," who are two small boys fagged by the præpostors for that purpose. The "holders down" are usually two small Collegers. Flogging and "milling" will both soon be reckoned among the lost arts. In a few years a modern Etonian will not be able to locate "Sixpenny Corner", the spot in the Playing Fields where affairs of honour were settled, where Asheton Smith fought his great fight with Musters, and he who "never lost a British gun" fought with "Bobus" Smith. It is sometimes thought that love of fighting is a sign of brutality. This is not always so. A century ago it was a stage of development in a manly boy. Cowden Clarke tells us that his schoolfellow Keats, the famous poet, was a favourite of all at school and regarded as "a pet prizefighter for his terrier courage." He assures us that during his first 3 or 4 years at school Keats's "bent was all towards fighting." If Gronow's story of Shelley's fighting be true, then Shelley and Keats had more in common than their love of the beautiful. The present generation does not seem to produce boys who are at once scholars and sportsmen, like Sir Francis Doyle, George Borrow, or George Lawrence, the author of *Guy Livingstone*. When Francis Ashley (Lord Shaftesbury's younger brother) lost his life at the end of a protracted fight in the playing fields, Sir Francis Doyle tells us in his *Reminiscences* (p. 50) that Keate was deeply moved. "It is not," said that pedagogue who possessed "the pluck of ten battalions," "that I object to fighting in

itself; on the contrary, I like to see a boy who receives a blow return it at once, but that you, the heads of the school, should allow a contest to go on for two hours and a half has shocked and grieved me." We all, remarks Sir Francis, trooped out of the Upper School "with a thorough belief and confidence in Keate that Arnold himself might have envied."

There is no gymnasium at Eton, but some of us regret that the noble art of self-defence is not made a compulsory part of the athletic curriculum in every school. If a boy only learn it, he never knows when it may stand him in good stead as a man.

There are four ways in which a boy's name can be cut or written up at Eton. It is cut up at the school's expense, if the boy wins the Newcastle Scholarship. It can be cut up at his own expense by the carpenter. It can be written in ink by the boy himself on a desk in the "Library",¹ if he is Captain of the School. It can of course be cut by the boy himself, if he finds a vacant space outside the Upper School, where no names can be added except by the permission of the authorities. The name of J. E. C. Welldon, the present Bishop of Calcutta, figures in manners one and three, as he was a Newcastle Scholar as well as Captain of the School. The Upper School is interesting both for its busts and its name-cut panelling. W. E. Gladstone's name and "R. G. Cecil 45" (the present Prime Minister) and "Dalmeny" (the late Prime Minister) are all there. In fact it is almost more easy to say whose name is not on these panels. The late C. J. Monk, M.P. for Gloucester, the son of the Carthusian Bishop of Gloucester, and his fag, Michael Hicks Beach, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, are there. There is "Pitt," said to be the Great Commoner, which might have been cut by the boy himself; "C. J. Fox", which is the handiwork of that Prince of Debate, and "Shelley", which is not very well cut, but undoubtedly the carved signature of the poet. Besides these there are the names of Admiral Tryon, who went down with the *Victoria*,

¹ This "Library" is a room without books where the Head Master takes the Sixth Form.

of Lord Roberts of Kandahar, and of poor R. S. Grenfell, whom we lost only the other day at Omdurman. Perhaps the most curious juxtaposition was the following:—"Deerhurst and J. C. Willoughby" followed by "J. E. P. Rawlinson." Lord Deerhurst and Sir John Willoughby were two of the Raiders, while J. E. P. Rawlinson (now a Q. C.) was sent out to South Africa by Mr. Chamberlain to collect the evidence about the Raiders.

The panels only reflect the infinite variety of Eton. Since the days of Henry St. John the Prime Ministers of Great Britain have in the main been Old Etonians. Westminster in the last century and Harrow in the present have made a few gaps in their seried ranks, yet it is still true that Eton has reared more Prime Ministers than all other Public Schools put together. The Leader of the House, as well as the Leader of the Opposition, in most Parliaments since Queen Anne's reign, hails from Henry VI.'s Foundation. St. John and Walpole, Chatham and Henry Fox, Rockingham and Richard Grenville, George Grenville and Bute, North and Charles James Fox, Windham and Whitbread, William Lord Grenville and Wellington, George Canning and Earl Grey, Melbourne and Derby, Stafford Northcote and Randolph Churchill, Gladstone and Salisbury, Rosebery and Arthur Balfour were all Etonians. No school in the world can produce such a galaxy of names. The rivalry of such minds as these has supplied the motive power of the British Empire.

"Foreigners often ask by what means an uninterrupted succession of men, qualified more or less eminently for the performance of parliamentary and official duties, is secured. First, I answer (with the prejudices perhaps of Eton and Oxford), that we owe it to our system of public schools and universities. From these institutions is derived (in the language of the prayer of our collegiate churches) a due supply of men fitted to serve their country in Church and State"—thus spoke George Canning at an Eton dinner. In 1824 he, as Prime Minister, declared that "whatever might be the success in after-life, no one is ever so great a man as when he was a sixth-form boy at Eton." One letter written by George Canning when he was in the

sixth form has been happily preserved. It bears date 27th September, 1786. "I am now at the top of Eton School," he writes. "I am the first of the Oppidants—I was to have been put on the Foundation—but I did so much dislike the idea and so evidently saw the difference of behaviour and respect paid to the one situation in preference to the other that I prevailed on my uncle (being aided by the advice of Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan) to give up the idea." ¹

The busts in Upper School have a special interest. They at least show who, in the opinion of the school authorities, are the greatest men of Eton. At the head of the room are the busts of Her Majesty and the late Prince Consort, of George III. and William IV.; below them are the busts of Chatham and Sir Robert Walpole. On either side of the room are ranged the following:—

Camden (Lord Chancellor).	Howe (Sailor).
Shelley (Poet).	Gray (Poet).
Pearson (Theologian).	Hammond (Theologian).
George Grenville (Prime Minister).	George Canning
Duke of Wellington.	[(Prime Minister).
	Wellesley (Governor-General).
North (Prime Minister).	
	Charles James Fox (Statesman).
Right Hon. Sir John Bayley.	
	Richard Porson (Scholar).

At the bottom of the room the busts of Fielding, Henry Hallam, W. E. Gladstone, Earl Grey, and Denman face you. Fortunate in all things, Gladstone has been fortunate in the position of his bust. It fills the place of honour in his old school. It was subscribed for by Etonian Members of Parliament, the subscription being limited to one guinea, but not to one side in politics. It is, however, a curious fact that the most formidable indictments ever drawn against Mr. Gladstone were the work of two Old Etonians—Francis Doyle and George Anthony Denison, friends of forty years' standing.

The bust of Mr. Gladstone in the Walhalla of Eton

¹ *The Anglo-Saxon Review*, Dec. 1899, by Canon Raven. Canning's paternal uncle was a London banker, who paid for his education.

reminds you, not only of the many-sidedness of Eton, but also of the many-sidedness of her famous son. Nothing was more striking about this extraordinary man than his intensely sympathetic nature. To put the matter from a different point of view—no one was ever more a creature of his environment than W. E. Gladstone. At Eton, as a boy, he was a Tory of Tories, at Oxford to the last he was a High Churchman and a Denominationalist in education. Oxford, and in a lesser degree Eton, never lost her hold on her illustrious son. Even after his Home Rule Bill of 1886, a week at his Alma Mater had a magical effect on him. The burden of his Radicalism seemed to drop off his shoulders like Christian's load. I refer especially to his stay at All Souls, of which he was an honorary Fellow during the last decade of his life. Had any Boswell accompanied Mr. Gladstone and given to the world his table talk as a Fellow of this College, the Liberal Newspapers would have denounced a literal report as a gross libel and misrepresentation of what Mr. Gladstone had said; yet Mr. Gladstone was as sincere in his Radicalism away from Oxford, as he was in his High Church views when a visitor there. The High Churchman, the denominationalist in education, the Benthamite, the lover of old paths, the remover of ancient land-marks all lived side by side in the heart and brain of this marvellous Etonian. He was in deed and truth

“Not one, but all mankind's epitome.”

There was much opposition to Shelley's bust being placed in Upper School. Its opponents seem to have thought that Etonian morality would be in danger if it appeared there. Happily the Noes did not have it. If there is any one who with reflection and without malice condemns Shelley, and there is much in his treatment of his first wife that it is impossible to defend, let him remember that he was only 30 years of age when (as De Quincey expresses it) “the righteous sea swallowed him up.” The sea might well complain of being apostrophized in such a fashion. De Quincey's reader is tempted to add the word “self” to the epithet “righteous”. Of Shelley the poet his own words have proved true.

He has outsoared the shadow of our night,
 Envy and calumny, and hate and pain,
 And that unrest, which men miscall delight,
 Can touch him not, nor torture him again.

Shelley the man may well be commended to our charity. As the royal Founder of Eton College reminds us—"Forbear to judge, for we are sinners all."

Many years let us hope will pass before the bust of another Etonian poet, Charles Algernon Swinburne, will take its rightful place by the side of that of Shelley. Swinburne, like the majority of bards of Eton, was an Oppidan. The author of *Atalanta in Calydon* and of *Strike, England, and strike home* has enriched our literature with verse as Greek in its beauty of form as was Keats's *Ode to a Nightingale*, and with sonnets as patriotic as were Milton's.

It is significant that the only bust to which there was any opposition was that of the greatest poetic genius that Eton has produced. The genius of Gray is more exclusively Etonian, but the general consensus of his countrymen, backed by foreign and American opinion, has enshrined the memory of Shelley (with that of his friend Byron) among the greatest poets of the world—a place which can scarcely be claimed for the author of the *Elegy*, exquisite and perfect though that poem be. It has been remarked of Gray that he "never spoke out"; Shelley did. A German poet, Bonstetten, [to whom Gray was kind, showing him *ursus major* (Dr. Johnson) and other wonders of the day], has given a happy description of the Etonian poet:—"I never met anyone who gave me as much as Gray did the idea of an accomplished gentleman."¹ Just so, but the words also suggest a limitation to Gray's powers from which Shelley was free. To use a musical comparison, Gray was to Shelley what Mendelssohn was to Beethoven. It was Wagner who described Beethoven as a "man of brawn and muscle."

There are some busts that you expect to find and do not. The omissions among statesmen are Bolingbroke and

¹ Sainte-Beuve's *Causeries de Lundi*, Vol. xiv., p. 429.

Cornwallis—a striking contrast, for Cornwallis was one of the most straightforward, St. John one of the most crooked, of men. “Cornwallis,” said the first Emperor Napoleon at St. Helena, “was a man of probity, a generous and sincere character; *un très brave homme*. He was the man who first gave me a good opinion of the English.” Most assuredly Cornwallis deserved a place of honour in his old school. Among martyrs you miss Frith and Patteson; among scholars, Horne Tooke and Charles Badham; among wits, Augustus Selwyn and Hanbury Williams; among authors, Horace Walpole and Kinglake. Some of the exclusions recommend themselves to you even more than the inclusions. You cannot regret the absence of Lord Bute, the Prime Minister, or of Richard Earl Temple, the evil genius of Chatham, or of Henry Fox, the first Lord Holland. You may, however, naturally ask what some of those whose busts stand in Upper School have done to deserve it. “Every man deserves what he can get” was an aphorism of Lord Palmerston, the Grand Old Man of Harrow, as Gladstone was of Eton. There is some truth in the cynical remark. Eusden and Pye were laurelled bards officially quite as much as Dryden and Tennyson. The name of Pearson is connected with our Creed, and that of Henry Hammond, Vicar of Peshurst, may be found in any Eton book of reference. Robert Hammond (Cromwell’s “dear Robin”), the nephew of the Royalist Divine, was the Puritan gaoler of Charles I. in the Isle of Wight. The name that fairly puzzled me was that of the Right Hon. Sir John Bayley. If he is the Sir John Bayley for many years Clerk of Assize on the Northern Circuit, and owner of *Emilius*, winner of the Derby, no Etonian will grudge him the place, for that Sir John was the father of Emilius Bayley who made 152 for Eton against Harrow in 1841. In the same year that Sir John was hoping for a son and heir, he ran two horses for the Derby, Lollipop and Emilius. The boy was to be called after the winner. Luckily Emilius won, and thus the only Etonian who ever beat the Harrow Eleven off his own bat, was not Lollipop, but Emilius Bayley. ¹

¹ Coleridge’s *Eton in the Forties*.

It is a singular fact that this wealthy and highly favoured Foundation is without a Library or a Speech Room, such as most of its rivals possess. Harrow has its Speech Room and Vaughan Library, Winchester its "School" and Moberly Library, but Eton is still without them. There is a scheme on foot for the erection of a new Speech Room and Library, but at present nothing definite has been settled. It was thought by some that a Library and Speech Room might be erected as a Gladstone Memorial, but the majority of Old Etonians might object to this as of too political a complexion. Probably Gladstone would himself give the preference for a monument in his old school chapel.

If there be one building in Eton of more exquisite beauty than its fellows, it is the Chapel, and of all the school buildings it is the most difficult to say anything both new and true. Had there been no Wars of the Roses, and had Henry VI.'s plans been carried out in their entirety, Eton Chapel would not only have outshone the chapels of all other public schools as it does, but also many cathedrals. What has come down to us as the Chapel was intended by the Founder to be only the Choir of a Church, which would have stretched right across what is now the Slough Road. The walls of this Choir were raised to their present height before the death of Henry VI.; after his death Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, found it impossible to carry out the Founder's designs for a nave and aisles, and contented himself with building the ante-chapel. It was a graceful act of the Etonians of Sussex to commemorate the 450th anniversary of the foundation of the College by setting up a statue to this great prelate and Provost of Eton against the west wall of the ante-chapel. It is significant that the last person buried within these consecrated walls was the last person who enjoyed the full and undiminished powers of Provost, which Henry VI. had conferred on Sever, the first Provost. This was Provost Hawtreay. A worthier or more faithful servant of this Foundation was never laid to rest in Eton Chapel. The Founder intended to give the Choir a stone roof such as you find in the small chantry on the north side of the Chapel, known as Lupton's chapel and erected by Provost

Lupton about 1515, but Henry VI. did not live to roof in his chapel. The stone screen on which the organ stands was designed by Mr. Street, and erected in 1882 as a memorial to the Etonians who fell in the Zulu, Afghan and Boer wars of 1879, 1880 and 1881. Their coats of arms cover the screen and have a decorative effect. The Chapel of Eton is full of reminders of England's debt to Etonians who have maintained the honour of their country and their school in every clime. The northern window of the central window on the west wall of the ante-chapel is a memorial to a school hero, Trevor Graham Farquhar, who died of a wound he received at the battle of Aliwal in 1846, aged nineteen. The two windows on the north and south were erected to the memory of 47 Etonians who fell during the Crimean war. Their names and arms are painted on the walls beneath the windows.

You are thus reminded by glass and stone of how Etonians have discharged their duty even unto death. You can not fail to be struck with the care and generosity with which the Chapel, where they worshipped as boys, has been restored and beautified. Mr. Henry Elford Luxmore, one of the Assistant Masters, has presented a beautiful piece of tapestry, designed by Burne Jones and executed by William Morris. But the most beautiful work of art that the Chapel possesses, apart from its architectural beauties, is Mr. G. F. Watts's picture of Sir Galahad. This was the gift of the painter himself. "I feel," wrote the great artist, "that art should be able to throw a sidelight and stimulate reflection upon subjects where more direct enforcements might be, especially in youth, met with impatience and even resentment. I should like my picture to be illustrated by Chaucer's description of the young squire. In generous and perhaps unthinking youth seeds of good and evil may be sowed by every unexpected and apparently small means."¹ Happy school, happy boys to possess a Chapel in which you may for a few moments put away earthly anxieties and feel, and think, and pray with soul uplifted. If I who am but an "alien" am so overcome by the associations of Eton

¹ Quoted by Mr. Sterry in his *Annals*.

Chapel, what must be the feelings of the Old Etonian? what must be the feelings of the Eton boy who worships there for the last time? No wonder that dignitaries of the School selected this beautiful spot for their last resting-place, more especially as they (being Catholics) cherished the hope that by burial in a frequented church and in a conspicuous part of it, they secured the prayers of the living.

CHAPTER VII.

ETON—(continued).

THE founding of Eton College was the erection of a landmark in the history of this country, and yet the historians of that period are silent on the subject. J. R. Green, who is eloquent on Dean Colet and St. Paul's School, pays no tribute of respect to the founder of Eton, and in fact never refers to Eton in his *History*. The Liberal Green is no worse than the Tory Hume. Sharon Turner in his *History of England during the Middle Ages* devotes a great part of his First Book to the reign of Henry VI., but only in a footnote refers to Eton, and that incidentally in a quotation.¹ The passage quoted by him from Blakman, the Carthusian monk, is too good to be omitted. "When the scholars from his college at Eton came to Windsor Castle, on a visit to some of his servants, he (Henry VI.) was fond of going to them and giving them moral exhortations to be steadily virtuous. He usually added a present of money, with this short address: 'Be good, lads, meek and docile, and attend to your religion'. But he did not like to see them at Court, from his dread of their being contaminated by the dissolute example of his courtiers". The silence of his country's historians, though an injustice, does not seriously diminish the glory of "pious Henry". He is part and parcel of the greatest school in the world—the greatest both in the number of its scholars, and in the number of its distinguished *alumni*. It is one of the ironies of history that a King, who was despised during his lifetime and whose reign is not unfairly described by Mr. James Gairdner as "imbecile and unhappy," should after his death have become

¹ Sharon Turner, Vol. iii., p. 190.

the patron saint of a considerable proportion of England's boyhood. The brutal barons, who did their worst to tear their country to pieces, are forgotten, but the patient saint, who during his lifetime was a monarch *pour rire*, will be remembered as long as Eton boys, gathered round his statue, answer to their names in School Yard. If ever there were a man who tried to order his life according to the Sermon on the Mount, that man was Henry VI., and it is gratifying to find that his work survives all that was ever done by those who, whether they wore the Red Rose or the White, seem to have agreed in despising the Christian on the throne. The reign of Henry VI. is memorable for two events pregnant for the future of the United Kingdom. On 30th of May, 1431, Joan of Arc was burnt at Rouen; on 11th day of October, 1440, the royal Charter founding Eton was dated. We may still hang our heads at the one and glory in the other. The shameful martyrdom of the Maid of Orleans closed for ever the chapter, stained with bloodshed, of English rule in France; the Charter made Eton the fruitful mother of men who were to go out to the four corners of the world and aid in founding the British Empire.

The earliest of these heroes of Eton was Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the planter of the first English Colony in North America and stepbrother of Sir Walter Raleigh. He uttered that glorious phrase:—"We are as near to heaven by sea as by land." Were nothing else recorded of him, he would for that alone deserve to be had in everlasting remembrance. Another coiner of famous phrases was Edward Fox, who was elected from Eton to King's in 1512. "The surest way to peace is a constant preparedness for war," and "Time and I will challenge any two in the world," have come down to our own day. He introduced Cranmer to Henry VIII., favoured the Divorce, and thus indirectly furthered the Reformation. Nicholas West and Nicholas Hawkins, who were both in succession Bishops of Ely, (1515 and 1535,) were at Eton. West appeared with Bishop Fisher as advocate for Queen Catherine, while Hawkins was one of Henry VIII.'s ambassadors, working for the Divorce. Thus early do we find His Majesty's Government and His Majesty's Opposition drawing on Eton for their leading men. But

Hawkins was no mere courtier; during the famine in the Isle of Ely he sold his plate and distributed the proceeds to the poor. Some years later Richard Coxe, head master of Eton (1528—34), was made Bishop of Ely by Queen Elizabeth. He was a zealous Protestant and a great favourite of Edward VI.

The sixteenth century opened with Richard Croke at Eton, it was drawing to a close with Wm. Oughtred. Croke was the earliest Greek scholar of Eton and enjoyed an European reputation. He is perhaps the only Etonian that has ever filled a Professor's Chair at a foreign university. He was Professor of Greek in the University of Leipsic. John Price, the Old Westminster (elected to Oxford, 1617), was Greek Professor at Pisa, but he, like several Wykehamists attached to the teaching staff of foreign universities, adhered to the old faith. Oughtred was called by Fuller "the prince of mathematicians." He, too, was invited to go abroad, and was offered £500 a year, but declined it on account of his Protestantism. The Puritans sequestered the living of this sturdy co-religionist—*O tempora! a mores!* Oughtred's father was a scrivener and also a writing-master at Eton. Thomas Wilson, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, was a Colleger at Eton, and like Thomas Sutton, he was a Lincolnshire lad, a proof that even at the opening of the 16th century a gratuitous education at Eton was appreciated by parents who lived far removed from the Thames valley. As a statesman, Wilson was overshadowed by Sir Francis Walsingham, his colleague in the office of Secretary of State, but as a scholar, thanks to his Eton education, he far excelled him. Thomas Preston, a pioneer of the English drama and master of Trinity Hall under Queen Elizabeth, and John Pace, the "bitter fool" of the great Queen, were both Etonians.

The earliest poet of Eton is Thomas Tusser. His *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry* is still read by every folklorist, and no Dictionary of Quotations is complete without extracts from it. His allusion to the "fifty-three stripes" he received from Nicholas Udall¹ was made at the time when that famous flogger was Head Master of

¹ Udall succeeded Richard Coxe and was Head Master from 1534 to 1543.

Westminster. Giles Fletcher, afterwards English ambassador to Russia, was under Udall. His two sons Phineas and Giles Fletcher were poets of Eton. An age, like our own, that neglects the *Faery Queen*, is not likely to trouble itself with *The Purple Island*. Sir John Harington, the translator of *Orlando Furioso*, was also on this royal Foundation, as was fitting for a godson of Queen Elizabeth.

Besides the seventy poor Scholars, who were boarded and educated gratis in College, there were other boys, "Commensales" (commoners), who paid for their board and lodging in the College, but were instructed gratis. These Commensales were the ancestors of modern Oppidans. So early as 1479 William Paston boarded with one of the Fellows, but the boarding-out system dates at Eton from the opening of the 17th century. In 1603 the Provost, Sir Henry Savile, built a gabled house on the west side of Weston's Yard, for the reception of his private printing-press and of Commensales or Oppidans. Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, the Parliamentary General, was at Eton for a few months in 1610, but it was not till the 18th century that the Oppidans of Eton first began to direct the councils of Great Britain, to lead her armies and to adorn her literature.

Sometimes the constant change of public school shown in family history is a reflection and a result of the increasing prosperity of the family. The Wren family is an instance in point. Christopher Wren was the son of a mercer and received a free education at Merchant Taylors' School (1601—9). He became Dean of Windsor and sent his son, the famous architect, to Westminster (1641). The great Sir Christopher was a "town boy" and did not receive a gratuitous education as a King's Scholar. About forty years later, while his own old head master, Dr. Busby, still ruled at Westminster, Sir Christopher sent his eldest son Christopher to Eton, then coming into prominence under Dr. Roderick. It was while the third Christopher Wren was at Eton, apparently as an Oppidan, that James II. touched for scrofula six of Roderick's pupils. Their names have been preserved, but what Sir Christopher Wren, at once one of the most reverent and most scientific spirits of the age, thought of this cure for the "King's evil" has unfortunately not been

recorded. Eton being a Royal Foundation is the only public school at which a sovereign has touched, but there is no record of the Office of Healing (as it was called in the Prayer Book) taking place at Eton before the reign of James II. Carte, the Old Rugbeian, inserted a note in his history (published in 1747) to the effect that Prince Charles Edward exercised this prerogative of royalty.

The seventeenth century was still, like the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a Colleger's century. The two most distinguished Etonians of the 17th century are Edmund Waller and Robert Boyle. The latter never took Holy Orders, and on this conscientious ground declined the office of Provost when offered to him by Charles II. He is also probably the only subject who was offered a peerage by three sovereigns in succession, and refused it. Robert Boyle and his contemporary, Jeremiah Horrocks, form the most striking contrast to be found in scientific biography. Boyle, the son of a peer, was educated with great care, and developed all his talents to the utmost. Horrocks, the son of poor parents, went to some obscure school, took Orders and died prematurely. Yet the Lancashire curate, dying at the age of twenty-three, was called by an illustrious Etonian, Sir William Herschel, "the pride and boast of British astronomy." The difference between Horrocks and Boyle is the difference between genius and talent. Horrocks was his own instructor, while Boyle owed much to his training.

Edmund Waller twice applied for the post of Provost. Charles II. was willing to confer it on him, but Lord Clarendon, the Chancellor, on the first occasion and the Privy Council on the second, objected. Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte makes some severe remarks about Waller, but after the lapse of more than two centuries it is pleasanter to dwell on Waller's charming qualities which were peculiar to himself, rather than on defects which he had in common with most of the public men of the Restoration period. He was a remarkable man, and had he gone to any other school, he would have taken front rank among her sons. He was in a sense the Disraeli of the seventeenth century. Like him, he led a double life of politics and literature, like

him, he was a wit and "the delight of the House"; like him he began his career on one side of politics and ended it on the other, and like him he was a friend of his sovereign. Clarendon's eulogy of Waller might have been applied by a Whig historian to Disraeli without the change of a word. "He had been nursed in parliaments, having a graceful way of speaking which yet was rather of delight than weight. There needs no more to be said to extol the excellence and power of his wit and pleasantness of his conversation, than it was of magnitude enough to cover a world of very great faults." Mr. R. S. Gardiner remarks that for those who wish to penetrate to the springs of human action, it is difficult to find a more instructive personage in the whole course of the seventeenth century than Edmund Waller. The same remark may be applied with equal truth to Benjamin Disraeli. Both Waller and Disraeli possessed kind hearts as well as sharp tongues. Waller paid a debt of £100 that George Morley owed, and thus saved the future Bishop of Winchester from a debtor's prison. Waller and Disraeli both sleep in the churchyard of Beaconsfield. The poet's son Stephen was a Colleger at Winchester, and was one of the draftsmen of the Act of Union between England and Scotland.¹ When Dr. Johnson visited Aberdeen in 1773, he was surprised to find Waller's great-grandson studying there. Dr. Johnson did not make use of the expression "public school," but "great school", and considered the question of public or private education as "whether the one or the other is better for my son."² Dr. Johnson and Boswell met only one Etonian—Sir Alexander Macdonald—on their tour, and took a dislike to this "English-bred Chieftain."

The statesman of the Augustan Age whom Eton can claim is the one with the most dubious reputation—Henry St. John Lord Bolingbroke. Bolingbroke does not allude by name to Eton in any of his writings, but in his Third Letter *On the Study of History*, written in 1735, he may be dealing in reminiscences when he refers to "the little care

¹ Coote's *English Civilians*, p. 102.

² Boswell's *Journal of a Tour in the Hebrides*.

that is taken, and surely it is impossible to take less, in the training up of our youth." St. John was an Oppidan.

It is now almost forgotten that Sir Robert Walpole received a gratuitous education. He was a Colleger at Eton, and is the only Prime Minister of Great Britain who was educated on the Foundation of either Winchester or Eton. The Eton College Register erroneously records his age as twelve on 4th September, 1690, the day of his admission. On 5th August, 1695, the Register records his election to King's College, Cambridge, at the age of seventeen. Thus these two entries falsely assign 1678 as the year of his birth. "The falsification was deliberate." Walpole was really close upon nineteen years of age at the beginning of August 1695. According to the statutes of Eton and of King's College, he would be superannuated and lose his chance of a King's Scholarship unless a vacancy occurred before his twentieth year. The false entries gave him a margin of two years within which he could avail himself of a vacancy at King's.¹ The page in the Register at Houghton which, it is thought, contained the entry of Robert Walpole's baptism in 1676 is missing, and has apparently been cut out. Robert Walpole's father was one of the wealthiest squires in England. Comment is impossible.

That Robert Walpole was a bright boy at Eton is shown by Dr. Newborough's remark. When told that several of his former pupils, and particularly St. John, had distinguished themselves for their eloquence in the House of Commons, Dr. Newborough said, "But I am impatient to hear Robert Walpole has spoken, for I am convinced he will be a good orator." Alone of English Prime Ministers, Walpole has a place in the Comtist Calendar; an honour which would have amused no one more than our bluff Norfolk squire. In his love of sport, (did he not open his gamekeeper's letters before his sovereign's?) in his partiality for Horace, in his ignorance of English history (when compared to Empson and Dudley, did he not ask who they

¹ See Mr. I. S. Leadam's interesting life of Sir Robert Walpole in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

were?) and in his magnanimity to political opponents, he represented the best traditions of his alma-mater.

When Walpole in the House of Commons applied to himself the well-known line in the Epistles of Horace,

Nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa,

he incorrectly made use of the word *nulli*. The faulty grammar caught the ear of the Old Westminster, William Pulteney, who led the Opposition. He told the Prime Minister in his reply that his Latin was as bad as his logic. Walpole at once offered to lay Pulteney a bet of a guinea that the word was *nulli*. The offer was accepted, and the matter was referred to the chief clerk of the House of Commons, Nicholas Hardinge, who happened to be an Old Etonian, and who of course found in favour of the Old Westminster. Richard Bentley had a very poor opinion of King's men of his day. They were all puppies, said the great Master of Trinity, except Hardinge. The grandsons of the scholar were Henry Viscount Hardinge, Governor-General of India and Field-Marshal, and George Nicholas Hardinge, R.N., who fell in action. The soldier was not an Etonian, the sailor was. Parliament voted a public monument in St. Paul's to George Nicholas Hardinge.

Sir Robert Walpole was a loyal Etonian. In the eyes of some Non-Etonians he was too loyal, as he liked to exercise his patronage in favour of men from Henry's two Foundations. William Pitt, the elder, was a great Etonian as well as a great Commoner, but his old school was not reckoned among his enthusiasms. He told Lord Shelburne that "he scarce observed a boy who was not cowed for life at Eton. A public school might suit a boy of a turbulent, forward disposition, but would not do where there was any gentleness." Sir Robert sent his son Horace to Eton; Lord Chatham did not send his favourite second son there or to any public school. One of Wm. Pitt's friends at Eton was Charles Pratt, who afterwards became Earl Camden and Pitt's Lord Chancellor. It is a curious fact that Eton with all its royal favour has only produced four Lord Chancellors in its more than 400 years of life. They were

Archbishop Rotherham,¹ Chancellor to Edward IV., Charles Talbot, Charles Pratt and Earl Bathurst. Charles Pratt lived as Earl Camden to be the rival of that grand Old Westminster, Lord Mansfield. He is remembered for his opinion, which Fox's Libel Act subsequently made law, that in libel actions the jury were entitled to give a general verdict on the whole matter put in issue. "I know not, and I must own I have not taken pains to ascertain, at what school Henry Bathurst was educated," writes Lord Campbell.² Henry Bathurst was at Eton.

Horace Walpole was *par excellence* the Etonian of the 18th century. At Eton he formed his "quadruple alliance" with Gray, Ashton and West. Thomas Gray was, like Milton, the son of a well-to-do scrivener, and was, like Horace Walpole, an Oppidan, but his going to Eton was probably due to the accident of his mother's brother being an assistant master there. West was the son of a Lord Chancellor of Ireland, while Ashton was said to be the son of an usher in Lancaster. Horace Walpole was not only a member of the "Quadruple Alliance" at Eton, but also of another band of friends—"The Triumvirate"—consisting of the two Montagus and himself.³ Such a capacity for friendships makes his right to be considered a cynic questionable.

In the List of Eton College for 1732 the name of George Selwyn stands the last but two in the Fifth Form. In the same Form occur the names of Lord Sandwich (Gay's "Jemmy Twitcher"), Jacob Bryant (the mythologist), Horace Walpole, Gray, West, Cole (the antiquarian and friend of Horace Walpole), and Henry Conway. Selwyn was remarkable as a wit who never wrote a line. His Attic salt was restricted to conversation. Warner wrote of him—

Social wit which never kindling strife
Blazed in the small sweet courtesies of life.

Wm. Pitt and Charles Pratt were at Eton under Dr. Bland; Horace Walpole and his contemporaries were under Dr.

¹ Doubts have been expressed as to whether Rotherham was at Eton.

² Campbell, *Lives of the Lord Chancellors*, Vol. v., p. 441.

³ Walpole's *Letters*, Vol. i., p. 5.

George. Horace Walpole has been charged with opening a letter addressed to Gray and then sealing it up again, but the Rev. D. C. Tovey (himself an ex-master of Eton) in his *Gray and His Friends* entirely exculpates Walpole from this monstrous charge. Gray sent his *Ode on Spring* to West, but his friend died before its arrival. Unlike Gray, who adored his mother, poor West thought his mother had poisoned his father. No wonder this Hamlet of real life died young. Walpole printed Gray's *Bard* and *Progress of Poesy* at his own printing-press of Strawberry Hill. Walpole preferred the acquaintance of an Old Etonian, Anstey of *The Bath Guide*, to "bombastic" Johnson and "silly" Goldsmith. Such a preference and such epithets were ludicrous, but his partiality for his old schoolfellows did him honour. He wrote the epitaph for Sir Charles Hanbury Williams when the proposal (afterwards abandoned) was made to bury that Etonian wit in the Abbey. He offered to share his fortune with his cousin Henry Conway. Field-Marshal Conway (like many an Etonian before and since) used to "walk up to the mouth of a cannon with as much coolness as if he were going to dance a minuet".¹ Another splendid soldier whom Eton can claim is the Marquis of Granby. He rose to be Commander-in-Chief (1766), and in his time enjoyed a popularity as unbounded as that of Lord Roberts now. The first letter of Junius in the *Public Advertiser* contained the following sentence:—

"They (posterity) will not believe it possible that their ancestors could have survived or recovered from so desperate a condition while a Duke of Grafton was Prime Minister, a Lord North, Chancellor of the Exchequer, a Granby, Commander-in-Chief, and a Mansfield, Chief Criminal Judge of the kingdom." Mr. Abraham Hayward was of the opinion that this letter might have passed unnoticed, had not Sir Wm. Draper, then a well-known public man and an Etonian, rushed into print in defence of his old school-fellow, Lord Granby. The Letters of Junius were the result of his intervention.

Some doubt has been expressed whether Richard, the

¹ Walpole's *Memoirs of the Reign of George III.*, p. 55, note.

famous Earl Howe of the 1st June (1794) fame, was ever at Eton, but this is Provost Goodall's evidence on the point. "In my boyhood," he told Howe's biographer, "I understood that he left Eton in the Second or Third Form."¹ It was finely said of Howe by an Old Etonian that he was "undaunted as a rock and as silent." His younger brother, Willam Howe, afterwards Viscount Howe, K.B., was at Eton, though he left very young to fight at Culloden. It was this Old Etonian who, before dawn on 13th September, 1759, led the detachment which first planted the British colours on the Heights of Abraham, and thus put an end to French rule in North America. It was another Old Etonian, John Hely-Hutchinson, who in 1801 drove the last French soldier out of Egypt.

During the first decade of George III.'s reign five Etonians were Prime Ministers, though one of them, Lord Chatham, was not Prime Minister in name, and one of them, Lord Rockingham, was also at Westminster. They were Lords Bute, Chatham, Rockingham, North and George Grenville. Boys are no respecters of persons, and their Eton school-fellows nicknamed North "Blubbery North" and Richard Grenville (afterwards Earl Temple) "Gawky". His brother George seems to have escaped a nickname until he was christened in diversion "Gentle Shepherd" by his Eton brother-in-law, Wm. Pitt. It may be mentioned here that in the Bill of Eton College and School in 1745 the total number of boys is only 170. The Collegers come first, and then the noblemen in the Upper School at the head of their respective Divisions. In the lowest Division, called the Bible-seat, boys were taught to read.² Twenty-five years before, when Dr. Snape was promoted to the post of Provost of King's, the numbers amounted to 353.

Dr. George was followed by Wm. Cooke and John Sumner as head masters, and to these succeeded Dr. Thos. Bernard.³ We have a glimpse of Dr. Dampier the Lower Master under Dr. Bernard in the *Reminiscences* of Henry Angelo, who entered

¹ Barrow's *Life of Earl Howe*, p. 4.

² Thackeray's *Memoir of Hawtrey*.

³ Head Master of Eton, 1754—1765.

the school when he was "approaching his seventh year". This was an exceptionally early age even 150 years ago. One of his schoolfellows was Westly (since known to fame as Marquis Wellesley). Angelo is wrong in thinking it was "Mr. Westly" who made the first English Speech to George III. on his first visit to Eton College in 1762; this speech was delivered by Foote, Captain of the Oppidans. Westly was then only two years old. Angelo tells a story of a smart youth, "fonder of cricket than construing",¹ who, when bantered with the certainty of not getting his remove, replied, (within the hearing of the Lower Master,) "O! never mind, Dampier loves a good glass of wine; I'll write to my father to send him a hamper of claret, and mark if I do not soon swim into the upper school". Dr. Dampier, so far from being offended, only retired convulsed with laughter.

In poetry Eton suffered a decline under Dr. Bernard. Gray was the poet of Dr. George's headmastership, Hayley of Dr. Barnard's. "Everything about that man (Hayley) is good except his poetry," wrote Southey. Hayley was the friend of Romney, Cowper, and Southey, the acquaintance of Gibbon, Admiral Keppel, Howard the philanthropist, Wm. Pitt and half the interesting men of his time, but unfortunately the patron, not the friend, of Blake the poet. Hayley, like Gray, declined the poet-laureateship. Another once well-known writer who went to Eton, was Wm. Combe, the author of *Dr. Syntax*. He was a most prolific author. No fewer than 86 of his works are enumerated in the Dictionary of National Biography, and all appeared anonymously. Poor fellow, like another famous Etonian Tusser, he died in a Debtors' Prison. Drink was not the cause of his troubles. Like those two famous Westminsters, Warren Hastings and Impey, Combe was a water-drinker. Another eccentric literary man, who was at Eton last century, was C. C. Colton, the author of *Lacon*. He was in turns a Fellow of King's, a beneficed clergyman, a wine merchant, a gambler, and ended his life by his own hand—in defiance of one of his own aphorisms. The lives

¹ Vol. i., p. 111. This is interesting as a proof that Cricket had its devotees at Eton in the sixties of the 18th century.

of these three Old Etonians, Tusser, Combe, and Colton, remind us of Mr. Jowett's solemn warning against eccentricity. Another literary Etonian of last century was George Steevens, the Shakespeare commentator. Perhaps that other Etonian, "the Homer of Fiction", had him in mind when in one of his introductory chapters in *Tom Jones* he remarks—"Reader, I know not who you are. You may be as learned in human nature as was Shakespeare himself, or you may be as ignorant as some of his commentators." Steevens was an underhand, cross-grained fellow, and no credit to his school. It is sufficient to quote Lord Mansfield's remark, that you could only believe one half of what Steevens said, to which Dr. Johnson added the rider that no one could tell which half deserved credence.

No Public School can boast of more families that from one generation to another have sent their sons to the same school than Eton. One of her hereditary families is that of Fox. Sir Stephen Fox, the founder of the family, like most other founders of families, had himself very little education. Like the first Lord Tenterden, he is said to have sung in a Cathedral Choir, that of Salisbury, and seems to have been taught little, except the useful art of book-keeping. His younger son Henry, the first Lord Holland, was at Eton with Pitt, Fielding and Hanbury Williams, and in his turn sent his own sons to his old school. The third Lord Holland (the husband of the better known Lady Holland) was also at Eton. Lord Chatham called the first Lord Holland "the blackest man that ever lived. He educated his children without the least regard to morality and with such extravagant vulgar indulgence that the great change which has taken place among our youth has been dated from the time of his son's going to Eton."¹ The passage is interesting, because it shows how rooted were the objections of this Grand Old Etonian to Eton. His remark about the first Lord Holland was perfectly just, not so, let us hope, his remark about the change for the worse in our public schools. Charles James Fox was taken away from Eton by his

¹ Lord E. Fitzmaurice's *Life of Lord Shelburne*, Vol. i., p. 78.

father for four months' dissipation at Paris and Spa. Lord John Russell ¹ tells us that on his return he was flogged by the Head Master and ridiculed by his companions. He does not seem to have played the part of a Delilah to his schoolfellows, as one would infer from Chatham's remark about "the great change." Fox was a great-great-grandson of Charles II., and through him could claim Henry V. of France as an ancestor. He resembled his royal progenitors in their love of pleasure, but excelled them in his love of study. It must, however, be admitted that his great rival, Wm. Pitt, who had been at no public school, vied with him in his knowledge of Greek and Latin, and far surpassed him in that of finance and political economy.

A book, now rarely read or referred to, Gilbert Wakefield's *Memoirs* (Vol. i., p. 153), contains an interesting and independent tribute to Eton scholarship during the early part of George III.'s reign. "The gentlemen of this society (King's College) from the advantages of their education at Eton come by far better prepared to cultivate letters than the members of any other foundation whatever in either University." "In general," adds Gilbert Wakefield, "the produce of all our other great schools in the South were almost to a man inferior to the common race of Etonians." Dr. Parr traced the errors and imperfections of Gilbert Wakefield's own Latin style to his not having received his education in one of our great public schools. Our Old Harrovian does not refer to Dr. Drury of Harrow, but to Dr. Warton and Dr. John Foster, the Head Masters of Winchester and Eton. And yet both the scholars referred to by Dr. Parr were signal failures as head masters, while Dr. Drury (whom he ignores) was a signal success. In eight years Dr. Foster reduced the numbers at Eton from 552 to 230.

In 1786 George Canning, in concert with "Bobus" Smith, and John Hookham Frere, brought out the *Microcosm*, the first of the different magazines, which have from time to time been conducted by Eton boys. This famous publication ran less than a year. When at Eton John Hookham

¹ *Memorials of C. J. Fox*. Vol. i., p. 11.

Frere wrote his *Ode on Ethelstan's Victory*. Of this poem by an Eton boy Sir Walter Scott said it was the only poem he had met with "which if it had been produced as ancient could not have been detected on internal evidence." He was the life-long friend of George Canning. Stratford Canning was a Colleger and became Captain of the School (1805). George III. once asked him in what form he was, and on being told the Sixth, replied—"A much greater man than I can ever make you!" It is recorded of "the great Elchi" (to use the term by which another famous Etonian has immortalized him) that he devoted his time more to games than to work, until his tutor, John Bird Sumner, gave him a new interest in his studies. When in 1852 Lord Derby formed his first administration, he wished to appoint Stratford Canning to the post of Foreign Secretary. Our ambassador at Constantinople felt that his appointment would be regarded as an insult by the Emperor Nicholas, and he therefore declined it. Another Etonian, Lord Malmesbury, was then appointed. He tells us that "the most bitter and disparaging articles" on himself were written by Sidney Herbert and Lord Lincoln, for years his most intimate and "familiar friends." Lord Lincoln was an Etonian, Sidney Herbert an Harrovian. French was the first language Lord Malmesbury was taught as a child. This was fortunate for the future Foreign Secretary, as in his school days (1821—23) French was held of no account at Eton. Charles John Canning, subsequently Earl Canning and Governor-General of India, was an Etonian. His father, George Canning, had also accepted the post of Governor-General, and was about to leave for India, when the death of Lord Castlereagh detained him at home. In personal appearance, especially in the marked neatness of his dress, George Canning was a striking contrast to Charles James Fox, and in his easy and unconstrained movements, when speaking, more resembled his Harrovian admirer, Sir Robert Peel, than his leader, William Pitt. Since the death of Lord Castlereagh the post of Secretary for Foreign Affairs—admittedly second only in importance to that of Prime Minister—has almost become an appanage of Eton. From the accession of George Canning to that office all our Secretaries

for Foreign Affairs (with the exception of Lord Clarendon) have been public-school men, and (with the exception of Lords Palmerston, Russell, and Aberdeen) all Etonians.

Another famous Eton family was that of Sumner. John Sumner (Head Master from 1745 to '54 and then Provost of Eton) was himself an Etonian. His nephew, Robert Carey Sumner, was a Colleger, then an assistant master at Eton, and died Head Master of Harrow.

John Sumner's two grandsons became Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Winchester. Charles Richard Sumner (subsequently Bishop of Winchester) was seven years at Eton and so was his elder brother, John Bird Sumner. While at Eton the future Prelate of Winchester wrote a sensational novel, which he sold to the local bookseller for £5. Sumner is the only Eton Archbishop of the 19th century: Frederick Cornwallis is the Etonian Archbishop of Canterbury of the 18th century. The latter abolished the invidious distinction at Lambeth Palace of chaplains having a separate table, and he placed them at his own.

The Stanley family may fairly be included among Eton families. Edward Smith, 13th Earl of Derby, was an Etonian. He was famous for his Whig principles and zoological collections. His private managerie at Knowsley cost him from £10,000 to £15,000 per annum to maintain. He had tastes similar to that well-known ornithologist, the late Lord Lilford (4th Baron), who was at Harrow under Dr. Vaughan. His son, thrice Prime Minister of England, left Eton in the Upper Division of the Fifth Form in 1814. As sportsman, scholar, philanthropist and orator "the Rupert of Debate" was a "great and complete man" the embodiment of all that is best in our public-school training. The eldest son of the translator of Homer had a strain in his blood that took him back to his grandfather, the zoologist. He could have served as joint Secretary of State with John Bright all his life. He succeeded Lord George Bentinck in 1848 as member for King's Lynn. Nominally the two men belonged to the same party, but in reality they were poles asunder. Disraeli, in his *Life of Lord George Bentinck*, that most delightful but least biographical

of English biographies, does not tell you where his hero was educated. The popular tradition (and the writers of the *Sporting Life of Lord George Bentinck* have fallen into the trap) is that Lord George was at Eton. He was not at any public school. As he played every game well and every game fairly, it may have been natural to think so. The Lord Derby, who served successively under Disraeli and under Gladstone, was for a short time at Eton. He and Matthew Arnold are always referred to as Old Rugbeians, as indeed they were, but the one was first at Eton and the other at Winchester before going to Rugby. The 15th Earl of Derby was succeeded in his title by his brother, who was at Eton. His tutor, the late Rev. F. Birch, used to remark with legitimate pride that, at one and the same time, three old pupils of his were respectively Viceroy of India (Lord Lansdowne), Governor-General Canada (Lord Derby), and Leader of the House of Commons (Mr. Arthur Balfour).

Another distinguished Etonian family is that of Lyttelton. The first Lord Lyttelton, known as "the good Lord Lyttelton", was at Eton, and so was the second Lord, known as "the wicked Lord Lyttelton": let us hope that the gulf between them was not so wide as their contemporaries thought. Then there was Dr. Charles Lyttelton, Bishop of Carlyle. The first Lord Lyttelton of the new creation was at Eton. He was the friend of Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Thrale. The fourth Lord Lyttelton, also an Etonian, was bracketed Senior Classic with Dr. Vaughan and subsequently became brother-in-law to Mr. Gladstone. He sent his eight sons to Eton. To him might fairly be applied what Erasmus said of Lord Mountjoy—"Inter doctos nobilissimus, inter nobiles doctissimus, inter utrosque optimus." He sent eight sons to Eton of whom six were in the Eton Eleven, one (Edward) was Captain of the Eton and Cambridge Elevens, and two (Neville and Alfred) Presidents of Pop. In 1867 an eleven of Lytteltons, captained by the late Lord Lyttelton, defeated Bromsgrove Grammar School by ten wickets. Of these eight sons, Neville Gerald is the well-known General now serving in South Africa, Robert Henry is the writer on cricket, Alfred,

the famous wicket-keeper, is now a Bencher and M.P. Arthur Temple is the Suffragan Bishop of Southampton, and Edward is Head Master of Haileybury.

At the close of the eighteenth century there were four boys at Eton, who had the honour of being counted among Byron's most intimate friends. They were Francis Hodgson, Charles Skinner Matthews, Scrope B. Davies and Henry Drury—an interesting quartette. They were all Collegers, except Matthews. Hodgson became in later life Provost, but his most lasting claim to fame rests on his friendship with the poet of the Hill. "My dearest friend and brother, Byron"—so wrote Hodgson.¹ Charles Skinner Matthews died young. Byron refers to him as the ablest man in their Cambridge set and felt his death much. Scrope B. Davies was a gambler, a wit, and a man of the world, but not a worldly man, for his heart was kind. As a boy Byron quarrelled with Henry Drury,² but as a man he learnt to love "Poor Hal of Harrow." It was with Drury that Byron had a swimming match across the Thames at Datchet on a Montem Day. The Harrovian won.

This brief notice of famous Etonians of the eighteenth century may fitly close with the names of Thomas Denman, John Horne Tooke and Richard Porson.

Thomas Denman (afterwards Lord Chief Justice of England) was at Eton from 1788 to '95. His biographer informs us that his "ultra Liberal" cast of mind got him into many scrapes at Eton. He was a manly boy and held his own against the anti-Jacobins around him. Like many a juvenile Radical he was a good speaker, and on one occasion he was roused from sleep and ordered instantly to make a speech. He refused and was branded on the leg with a red-hot poker.³ In spite of this incident Denman always regarded Eton with affection. By a curious blunder the 400th anniversary of the foundation of the College was celebrated in 1841 instead of 1840, and Lord Denman presided at the Old Etonian dinner in London, which in

¹ *Memoir of Rev. F. Hodgson*, Vol. i., pp. 268—9.

² See his letter to his mother of May 1st, 1803.

³ *Memoir of Lord Denman*, by Sir Joseph Arnold. Vol. i., p. 14.

those days was held annually. The Marquis Wellesley was invited to take the chair, but excused himself on the score of his great age. When six years later Montem was abolished by Provost Hodgson, no one supported him more strenuously than his father-in-law, Lord Denman. After referring to the "young noblemen and gentlemen" going about the country as "sturdy beggars"—"I have been in fear," writes the Lord Chief Justice, "ever since I sat on the Bench that some sturdier yeoman might resist the extortion, and that the whole affair would be shown up, to the shame of all Etonians, in a public Court of Justice." Charles Sumner, a Tory, wrote of this Whig Chief Justice—"To have seen him on the Bench in the administration of justice was to have a new idea of the elevation of the judicial character." His son, the late Mr. Justice Denman, was not one of the Senior Classics hailing from Eton, but from Repton. Comments are sometimes made when fathers do not send their sons to the paternal school, but, as the proverb has it, circumstances alter cases. Either the father may be less wealthy than the grandfather, or the ancestral school may be suffering from a temporary eclipse. Sir H. Maxwell-Lyte, Mr. Sterry and Mr. Benson make no mention of Tooke's name in their works; yet the author of the *Diversions of Purley* (a title which some of us have found misleading) deserves a place in any gallery of his school's celebrities. John Horne—he added the name of Tooke long afterwards for some property—was the son of a poulterer in Newport Market. He used to refer to his father as a *Turkey* merchant. If this Wilkite clergyman did not owe his philological learning to Eton, he may have had to thank his alma-mater for the charm of his manner.

Most assuredly the worthy poulterer made no mistake in sending his son of promise to Eton, but he did commit a cruel blunder in sending him into the Church, a profession for which his son was as unsuited as he was well suited for the law. He was sent to Westminster in 1744 and to Eton two years later. Tooke possessed a faculty which was then regarded as preëminently gentlemanly. He was a hard drinker, but never appeared to be the worse for it.

With brandy, Dr. Johnson's drink for heroes, Tooke used to challenge Porson and drink him under the table.

Richard Porson was the son of a parish clerk. He entered Eton College in 1774, when in his 15th year. His kind friend Mr. Norris first thought of sending him to Charterhouse, but being unable to secure a nomination he sent him to Eton. He led a "jolly" life in College. He took part in the rat-hunts in Long Chamber and wrote some satirical lines on Charles Simeon, a coxcomb in dress before his "conversion." He seems to have owed his European eminence more to his own wit and memory than to his training at Eton or elsewhere. At what period of his life he first began to pay his too ardent devotions to Bacchus is a moot point. He probably had recourse to "the second bottle," like Addison, to remove his shyness, and to relieve his asthma. Even so accomplished a scholar and gentleman (a prime minister to boot) as Cartaret, Lord Granville, was not addicted to sobriety. "Drunken" was the epithet applied to his administration by the populace. The legends (if legends they were) about Porson's contemporary, Wm. Pitt the younger, and Lord Eldon's capacity to drink any *given* quantity of port are well known. But a world that was slowly growing sober has dealt more harshly with Porson than with Addison or Cartaret, Pitt or Eldon. Porson's drunkenness is remembered by posterity, but his noble adherence to principle and hatred of cant are not so frequently referred to. Those who placed his bust in Upper School among the representative men of Eton did well.

There was one fashion at Eton which never attracted Porson. He despised modern Latin verse and regarded the *Musæ Etonenses* as fit only to light fires with. This opinion is in striking contrast to that expressed by Charles James Fox. "If I had a boy," he said to Rogers, "I would make him write verses. It is the only way to know the meaning of words." When in his last illness his nephew, Lord Holland, quoted from Virgil "dabit deus his quoque finem", the dying Etonian replied—"Aye, but *finem*, young one, may have two senses." He meant that *finem vitæ* might be very different from *finem laborum*—the latter was a goal, the former might, he thought, be the end of all things.

CHAPTER VIII.

ETON—(continued).

IT is the peculiar good fortune of Schools that possess a College for the gratuitous education of Scholars, to furnish their Heads from their own ranks. Thus Charterhouse, Eton, Westminster and Winchester (with some notable exceptions) have been presided over by their own Old Boys, though the present and late Head Masters of Eton are both Oppidans.

Harrow and Rugby have (also with some notable exceptions) been ruled by a succession of brilliant "aliens".

Only one of Harrow's Head Masters was an Old Harrovian, and in this century only one of Rugby's Head Masters (Dr. Jex Blake) was an Old Rugbeian. Advantages accrue from both principles of selection, but perhaps the principle of seeking her pilot from among her own sons best suits the traditions of Eton and Winchester. All Etonians will at least agree that no men could possibly have done more for Eton than those old Etonians, Keate and Hawtrey, Hodgson and Goodford, Balston, Hornby and Warre.

Keate fills a similar position in Etonian to that of Busby in Westminster history.¹ I do not refer here to the birching proclivities of both. In that they held the view accepted by the best pedagogues of their time. I refer to their strenuous natures, their courage, their vigour, their single-minded devotion to the School over which each presided. Busby died in harness; Keate did not, but he cared less

¹ At the time I wrote this Chapter, I had not read the sentence of Gladstone recorded by Mr. Benson in his *Fasti Etonenses* (p. 499)—"Dr. Busby was the first of the race of schoolmasters of which Keate was the last."

for promotion or honours (away from Eton) even than Busby. There was one unique distinction which befell Dr. Keate. Blücher saluted Mrs. Keate with a kiss amid the rapturous applause of Eton boys. Keate's was a thoroughly straightforward, simple and sincere nature. He found the School undermanned, with masters and the boys on the verge of mutiny, and he grasped the nettle in his own fearless fashion. "Blessed are the pure in heart," said Dr. Keate, "mind that. It's your duty to be pure in heart. If you are not pure in heart, I'll flog you." When he resigned the headmastership and took a living in the country, a former Captain of the School (Mr. Alex. Wilkinson) tells us that he knew Keate to threaten flogging to a parishioner's son. I have been told that the ex-Master not only threatened, but did (at least on one occasion) perpetrate a flogging on a labourer's son. If this be true, we may be sure the flogging was deserved. No one knew better than Keate when to flog and when not to flog. When Moultrie and Wm. Sidney Walker were late from Absence, they explained to the Headmaster that they had been to Stoke Pogis to see the grave of Gray. Dr. Keate not only did not flog them, but dismissed them with the remark that he hoped they would grow up to write as good poetry as Gray. Keate was a man of whom not one mean or shabby act is recorded. And yet so soon are we all forgotten, that our leading newspaper recorded Keate's death as that of "Mr. Keats". Dr. Keate's assistant, John Bird Sumner, died Archbishop of Canterbury, but Keate obtained no better preferment than a Canonry of Windsor.

Keate was succeeded by Hawtrey.¹ Two men more different have rarely followed each other as Head Masters. Wisdom is justified of all her children. Mr. Wilkinson has plainly charged Hawtrey with toadyism and gives an anecdote in support of that view,² but surely Hawtrey did not show any undue deference to noble names when he abolished Montem in defiance of Old Etonians—men of

¹ Dr. Edward Craven Hawtrey, Assistant Master in 1814, Head Master 1834, Provost 1853—1862.

² Wilkinson's *Reminiscences*, pp. 29—31.

rank and fashion, such as the Duke of Rutland—who were expected to manifest active opposition on its final abolition (June 6th, 1847).¹ Having shown determination *vis-à-vis* to his opponents, he paid £300 out of his own purse to the boy who would have been Captain at that year's Montem. There is a tradition that Hawtrey wished Charles Kingsley to go to Eton. This also was not the act of a tuft-hunter.

In Mr. Hawtrey's second year (1836) the numbers on the School list stood at 444. In 1846 they touched 777. Hawtrey, writes Gladstone, "almost danced for joy." The greatest compliment ever paid to Hawtrey was paid by Gladstone. W. E. Gladstone went to Eton in September 1821. He was only under Hawtrey for one half of the year 1822, but during that period he was "sent up for good" by Hawtrey. Before the founding of the Newcastle Scholarship in 1829, to be "sent up for good" was the only intellectual distinction to be gained at Eton. "It was an event in my life, and he and it together for the first time inspired me with a desire to learn and to do which was never wholly lost, though there was much fluctuation, before it hardened into principle and rule at a later period of my life."² No account of Eton, however brief, could omit this quotation.

Such was the view of Gladstone as to his personal obligations to Hawtrey; he also thought his old school owed a heavy debt to him.

Hawtrey was known in London as "the English Mezzofanti," but it was not so much by what he knew himself as by what he encouraged others to learn, that he has laid his old school under such obligations to him.

He encouraged Praed to start the *Apis Matina*, which was an Oppidan and manuscript magazine, and afterwards *The Etonian*, in which Collegers and Oppidans joined forces with marked success. It was in its columns that Moultrie's "*My Mother's Grave*" and "*The Hall of my Fathers*" appeared. Giffard of the *Quarterly* praised highly *Godiva*, written by Moultrie as a Colleger. John Moultrie

¹ Thackeray's *Memoir of Dr. Hawtrey*, p. 112.

² Thackeray's *Memoirs*, p. 49.

was seven years younger than Shelley. Moultrie was a Colleger, Shelley an Oppidan. Moultrie was a "dry bob" and a good bowler, Shelley was a "wet bob", though the phrase was not coined in Keate's time. Shelley makes only one direct allusion to Eton in his verses,¹ Moultrie describes it in his *Dream of Life*. "I have often seen him (Moultrie)," writes Mr. Cookesley to Derwent Coleridge, "walking up and down Long Chamber, hatching in his brain either a school exercise or some English poetry."²

Moultrie's stanzas, giving a picture of Shelley at Eton, are too long to quote. Moultrie's two friends at Eton were Praed and Walker. Praed and Walker both had genius and both died young, but beyond this they had nothing in common. Winthrop Mackword Praed was *par excellence* the boyish poet of Eton. He has described the procession of boats to Surly Hall, as it has never been described before or since. He was an Oppidan with nothing sad about his life except its brevity. He was a member of "Pop," acted in private theatricals, and was the best fives-player and chess-player in the school. Whyte-Melville was another poet of Eton, and so was Ichabod Charles Wright, the translator of Dante.

Wm. Sidney Walker's life was a wreck. It is difficult to say whether he was more unhappy before or after leaving Eton. In College he was persecuted and in later life suffered from hallucinations. When at Eton he learnt the whole of Homer's two poems by heart. This rivals Porson's ability to repeat the whole of *Roderick Random*. His old schoolfellow, Moultrie, edited his *Poetical Remains*.

Marvellous as were the feats of memory of those two Etonians, Porson and Walker, it is doubtful whether they were not surpassed by a pupil of Keate's, Charles Badham. It is recorded of Badham that he constantly taught his pupils with no book before him, and if they misread a single word, he would correct them. Cardinal Newman called him "the first Greek scholar of the day", and Hawtrey had

¹ *Poetical Works of Shelley*, Vol. vi., p. 155 (ed. Forman), "Hard eggs and radishes and rolls at Eton."

² Derwent Coleridge's *Memoir of Moultrie*, Vol. i., xv.

an equally high opinion of his scholarship. In the year of the great Exhibition the Bishop of London wished sermons preached in French, German, Italian and English. Dr. Badham could preach equally well in any of these four languages. That such a scholar should have reached no higher position than that of Head Master of the proprietary school at Edgebaston is not creditable to English education, though it proved profitable to the cause of Colonial education. Charles Badham was an educational pioneer in Sydney. Another Etonian who ran a distinguished career as a schoolmaster at home, was Edward Thring. The future Head Master of Uppingham was Captain of the School at the Montem of 1841. To the last he preached the doctrine that the most elementary teaching required the highest teaching skill and power. Thring was a man of iron will. His biographer tells us that when he read in the papers that he might be the next Head Master of his old school, he wrote in his Diary:—"Were such an offer possible I could not accept it. I could not cure what I believe to be the evils of the Eton system, and I could not work on what I believe to be false lines."

Kinglake was a pupil of Dr. Keate, and in "Eothen" he sketched his former chief. The sketch, as one might expect from an epigrammatist, hardly does justice to the Head Master. Kinglake's style is one of the most nervous in our literature; it is impossible to improve on it. The warmest eulogy on Kinglake probably ever delivered came from an Old Rugbeian, himself the writer of a vigorous style.

After attempting to join the Southern Armies by land, George Lawrence was imprisoned in New York. The author of *Guy Livingstone* tells us in his *Border and Bastille* (p. 181), that after loitering through American newspapers, it was inexpressibly refreshing to turn to the pages of the *History of the Crimean War*. "Few of his many readers owe so practical a debt to Mr. Kinglake as the writer of these words."

Another pupil of Keate was Sir George Cornwall Lewis, a philosophic Radical. Sir Francis Doyle was his fag at Mrs. Holt's. It is remarkable that the coiner of the phrase—"Life would be tolerable were it not for its pleasures,

should have been at Eton, a place commonly associated with amusement." The nation lost Lewis prematurely. He was sceptical about doctors, and did not call one in until too late.

Frederick Tennyson, the elder brother of Alfred, was Captain of the School in 1827. Like his brother he went to Trinity College, Cambridge; he gained more University distinctions than the Laureate, though in poetry and fame he has been completely overshadowed by him.

When they perish, the whole world around will perish too.

This fine idea occurs in Frederick Tennyson's Greek Ode on the Pyramids, with which he won the Brown Medal.

Another distinguished scholar, whom Keate trained, was William Selwyn, Q.C., cousin of George Augustus Selwyn, the wit. He in his turn sent four sons to Eton. Of these, George Augustus became Primate of New Zealand, and afterwards Bishop of Lichfield; Charles Jasper became Solicitor General, and afterwards a Lord Justice, while William was the most brilliant scholar of the three. When William Selwyn was a candidate for the Lady Margaret Professorship at Cambridge, his competitor was Harold Browne, subsequently Bishop of Winchester. "It is Harold the Conqueror this time, not William," said William Selwyn, uttering a witticism worthy of George Augustus. He was Senior Classic, sixth Wrangler and Chancellor Medallist. Selwyn College, Cambridge, was erected by public subscription in memory of Bishop Selwyn. It was this Bishop Selwyn who influenced John Coleridge Patteson to enter on the career of a missionary.

Patteson's father, John Patteson (afterwards a Judge), went to Eton in 1802 and was elected a Colleger in 1808. He was the best swimmer, and one of the best oarsmen and cricketers of his time. His son inherited the paternal energy. He was at Eton from 1838 until 1845. He was Captain of the cricket eleven, a good speaker in "Pop", and a facile writer of Latin verse. He became the first Bishop of Melanesia, and was murdered by the natives in 1871. His successor was (as it should be) also an Old

Etonian, John Richardson Selwyn, the son of the former Prelate of New Zealand. The martyr Bishop, when a boy at Eton, came under the influence of his uncle, the Rev. Edward Coleridge, an Eton Master. There have been nineteen Coleridges at Eton between 1791 and 1877.¹ Henry Nelson Coleridge, the husband of his cousin Sara and the Editor of Coleridge's *Table Talk*, was at Eton. His son Herbert was Newcastle Scholar in 1848. His elder brother, Sir John Taylor Coleridge, an intimate friend of Keble, was in College. The eldest son of Sir John Coleridge, afterwards Lord Coleridge and Chief Justice of England, was an Etonian. Mr. Arthur Duke Coleridge, the author of *Eton in the Forties*, was eight years at Eton. George Mellish, subsequently Lord Justice, was a godson of George Canning and naturally gravitated to Eton. At Eton he was a "wet bob", but did not exert himself in work or play. It was otherwise with another Etonian Lord Justice, John Wickens. Mr. Wilkinson tells us that Wickens triumphed over nature. He had a strong lisp, but by diligent care he conquered the defect. When Mellish died, another Etonian, the late Sir Henry Cotton, succeeded him as Lord Justice. Cotton was Newcastle Scholar in 1838, Wickens in 1833. No one could leave the Court presided over by the late Lords Justices James and Mellish without feeling admiration for the Judges who sat there. Their judgments were well nigh perfect both in form and matter.

While recording Etonians who have succeeded in their professional careers, those who have excelled in the arts must not be forgotten. It is only fitting that the composer of the music to *Rule Britannia* should have been at a public school. Thomas Arne was an Etonian. Wagner once said that the whole character of the English nation is contained in the first eight notes of *Rule Britannia*. Thomas Parry, the inventor of the "spirit fresco" process, was an Etonian. By this process he insured the perma-

¹ This is the period (1791 to 1877) at present covered by Mr. H. E. C. Stapylton's admirable *Eton School Lists*. Could we induce Mr. Stapylton to devote his energies to the eighteenth century, after completing the nineteenth?

nence of certain frescoes which he painted himself in Higham Church. He also painted the frescoes in Ely Cathedral. His son, Sir Charles Hubert Hastings Parry, also an Etonian, is a recognised genius in music. In his *History of Music* he has made one characteristic omission—all reference to his own works.

There have been only three members of the Stephen family at Eton, but each has added to the fame of his old school. Sir James Stephen, K.C.B., the essayist, was not at any public school, but his two sons, James and Leslie, went to Eton. James Fitzjames, afterwards the Judge, was a home-boarder and seems to have been much bullied. He did not remember Eton with any affection, but his second son, James Kenneth Stephen, was an enthusiastic Etonian. He was a Colleger, edited the *Etonian*, and was a keen football player "at the wall." A brass has been put up to his memory in the ante-Chapel. "Jim" Stephen, as he was generally called, was a brilliant wit, and tutor to the Prince of Wales's children. His witty *Lapsus Calami* places him high among the bards of Eton. His uncle, Mr. Leslie Stephen, as the original Editor of the Dictionary of National Biography, may be said to have held the keys of English fame. He is too noted for his appreciation of independent criticism and of wit to object to the following *jeu d'esprit*. The late Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, K.C.S.I., was a member of the Council of the Governor-General of India from 1869 to 1872. The late Mr. Justice Holloway of the High Court of Madras is recognised by competent authorities as the most learned Judge that ever sat in an Indian Court of Justice. Strange to say, he was never called to the Bar, but obtained his seat on the Bench as a Member of the Indian Civil Service. Mr. Holloway used to joke about Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, and, half in fun, half in earnest, one day asked the question—"Is he St. James the Apostle or Fitzjames the Impostor?"

By a natural process, the mention of Sir James Fitzjames Stephen's name leads our thoughts to India. Etonians have played a leading part there as well as at home. One hundred years divide the Marquis Wellesley as Governor-General from Lord Curzon as Viceroy 1798—1898. Omit-

ting the "officiating" Governors, there have been in that period of time twenty-two Governors-General and Viceroys. Of these, nine have been Etonians—Lords Wellesley, Cornwallis, Ellenborough, Canning, Elgin (father and son), Dufferin, Lansdowne and Curzon. Of these, Cornwallis alone filled the posts of Viceroy of Ireland and Governor-General, while Lords Dufferin and Lansdowne have filled those of Viceroy of India and Governor-General of Canada. Another Old Etonian, Sir Charles Metcalfe, acted as "officiating" Governor-General of India and was subsequently appointed Governor-General of Canada. It was a particularly anxious time in the history of the Dominion, and Lord Metcalfe (as he had then become) struggled bravely to discharge his duty, although attacked by a mortal disease, Metcalfe, when at Eton (1796—1800), showed (like the second Lord Lytton) a marked distaste for all athletic sports. Of the remaining thirteen satraps of India, three were Old Harrovians, two (Lord Amherst and Lord William Bentinck) were Old Westminsters, one (Lawrence) came from the East India College of Haileybury and eight from private schools or tutors. Lord William Bentinck was Steward at a Westminster Dinner held at the Thatched House in 1798, which is proof positive that he was an Old Westminster. It will thus be seen that of the public schools, Eton, Harrow and Westminster alone can lay claim to any Governors-General or Viceroys of India.

One of the most able and brilliant members of the Indian Civil Service was the late Sir John Peter Grant, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., an Etonian (1820). He was the son of Sir John Peter Grant, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in Calcutta. In the earlier period of his service Sir Peter Grant was attached to the Indian Law Commission, of which Macaulay was the President. In a letter to his sisters at home Macaulay wrote from Calcutta: "There is a little circle of people whose friendship I value, and in whose conversation I take pleasure." He proceeded to give the names of nine of them; amongst them is that of John Peter Grant, who eventually rose to be Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and after he had retired from the service in India became in 1866 Governor of Jamaica, in succession to Governor

Eyre.¹ The rebellion of the negro population had led to the abolition of the constitution which had existed for two hundred years, and Grant was armed with very full powers, by the vigorous exercise of which he effected many excellent reforms. It was a common remark that Sir J. P. Grant had always shown himself capable of carrying out successfully any duty entrusted to him.

Two of the members of the present (1900) Council of India (in England) are Old Etonians. These are Sir Steuart Bayley, K.C.S.I., and Sir Alfred Lyall, K.C.B. The former was Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, the latter of the North West Provinces. Sir Alfred Lyall, well known for his historical and philosophical tastes, is the author of *The Rise of the British Dominion in India* and *Asiatic Studies, Religious and Social*. He is also a poet. The late Sir Archibald Rivers Thompson, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and Member of the Governor-General's Council, was an Etonian; so also were Sir James Broadwood Lyall, K.C.B., Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab; Sir William Mackworth Young, the present Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and nephew of Eton's poet, Praed; Lord Harris, late Governor of Bombay, the famous cricketer; Sir Stafford Northcote, Governor of Bombay; Lord William Beresford, V.C., (who was Military Secretary to four successive Viceroy's) and the Earl of Hopetown, first Governor of United Australasia.

Of the great struggle between the forces of civilization and anarchy that fought out their memorable duel of the Mutiny, my note must be necessarily brief. No Englishman is likely to forget the debt he owes to Lord Canning, the Governor-General, who, under divine Providence, was the instrument for restoring order in India. He was sneered at by some and dubbed "Clemency Canning". The noble Canning converted a term that was intended for one of reproach into one of honour. From the Governor-General down the youngest recruit, the English in India (with a few exceptions so rare as to emphasize the general

¹ Edward John Eyre was educated at Sedbergh School, founded by Lupton, a Provost of Eton, and sometimes called "the Eton of the North".

rule) came out of that terrible struggle with unblemished honour.

The names of three Etonians who took their part in the memorable defence of Lucknow occur to me.

Sir Mountstuart Jackson was a member of the Bengal Civil Service. He was murdered at Lucknow (1857) the day the Commander-in-Chief entered the city.

William Copeland Capper was the only Civil Officer at Malaoon, Oudh, on the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857. He mounted his horse and rode into Lucknow, and was there throughout the siege. He proved himself a valuable servant to the Company. Henry Polehampton was specially mentioned by Havelock and by Sir William Inglis in their despatches, and by his old schoolfellow, Mr. Coleridge, in his *Eton in the Forties*. His epitaph in a peaceful churchyard in the old country, written by "the most brilliant of his contemporaries in Long Chamber," records how he was buried in the Residency of Lucknow (July 20th, 1859) "by those to whom in a strange and fiery trial he had fearlessly ministered as a good soldier and servant of Christ." The historian of the Indian Mutiny, Sir John Kaye, was also an Etonian.

The late Sir James Colvile, Chief Justice at Calcutta and afterwards on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and Sir Auckland Colvin were at Eton. Sir Auckland and his father before him filled the post of Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Provinces, but it is to his Egyptian rather than his Indian career that brief reference is made here. In 1880 Sir Auckland was appointed Controller-General in Egypt. On the occasion of Ahmed Arabi and his rebellious officers visiting the Palace in September 1881, Mr. Colvin (who was standing behind the Khedive) whispered to the Khedive, "Order them to give up their swords to you." "They will kill me if I do," replied Tewfick. "I run the same risk," replied the Englishman, but Tewfick was too timid to take this firm stand. Had the Khedive been inspired with the spirit of his adviser, all that followed might never have happened. Arabi and his followers, masquerading under the title of Nationalists, were rapidly supplanting the Khedive by the Sultan, when

the English Government were compelled to intervene. It so happened that Sir Edward Malet (also an Old Etonian) who represented Great Britain in the Dual Control, was away in June 1882, and thus Sir Auckland Colvin bore the responsibility of the events that followed. "Are not you in a funk about your lives?" wrote an anxious correspondent in India. "We all stand ready," replied the Etonian, "with our—salaries drawn." On the 10th July, 1882, Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour (also an Old Etonian) demanded the temporary surrender of the forts at Alexandria for the purpose of disarmament, and enforced the demand with a statement that, unless the demand was complied with, he would open fire within 24 hours. It is well known that the demand was not complied with and that the bombardment took place, but it is not so well known that on the 10th July Sir Auckland Colvin, as representative of the British Government, went on board the *Invincible*, the Admiral's flagship, and on the 11th July authorised the commencement of the bombardment. Although the fact is not mentioned in the elaborate reports in the *Times*, I have been told that the signal, "Attack the enemy's batteries", was not hoisted until a puff of smoke appeared from the forts. Thus was brought about the famous bombardment of Alexandria, which was destined to change the face of the East. The principal actors at this turning-point in Egyptian and English history were Old Etonians.

The services of Lord Roberts of Kandahar are too well known to be referred to here. This fine soldier has indeed been loaded with honours, but let us hope that more will follow.

The above words were written before any war in South Africa was thought of, or before anyone suspected that Lord Roberts would falsify his own epigram that South Africa was the grave of great reputations. The time would fail me to record one-tenth of the good work that has been done for the Empire during the present war by Old Etonians. From the illustrious Commander-in-Chief down to the youngest subaltern, in all one thousand one hundred and eleven men, there is not one man who has not merited the thanks of Queen and Country. Between October 1899

and August 1900 there have been serving under Lord Roberts sixteen Etonian Generals—Redvers Buller, V.C., Lord Methuen, G. Barton, H. E. Colville, B. D. Campbell, N. G. Lyttelton, H. C. Chermiside, R. Pole-Carew, Dundonald, E. T. H. Hutton, R. E. Knox, R. E. Allen, Inigo R. Jones, J. F. Burn Murdoch, H. C. O. Plumer and Lord Chesham, I.Y., and 1110 Officers and “Rankers.” To the close of November 1900 seventy-eight Etonians had laid down their lives in the field or in the hospital. What recognition can be adequate for such services as have been rendered to the cause of the Empire by our dead, but never to be forgotten, heroes? Their names only can be referred to in this book. ¹

Special mention must be made of one young Etonian both on account of the devotion all Englishmen feel for his father, and also on account of his own heroism. On 14th December, 1899, General Buller advanced from Chieveley against the Boer position near Colenso. On the banks of the Tugela he called for volunteers to save the guns of the 14th and 66th Batteries. Corporal Nurse and six drivers with Capt. Scarsfield and Lieut. the Hon. Frederick Roberts made a dash and brought back two guns. Frederick Roberts was mortally wounded. If aught can console the inconsolable, the unique distinction conferred on their son by their Sovereign may console his parents. Frederick Roberts has now joined Teignmouth Melvill and Capt. Coghill, the heroes of Isandlwana, and like them has received the Victoria Cross after his death.

Dr. Warre has done well in calling our attention to the necessity for compulsory service at least in our school volunteer corps. Technical military training cannot be begun too early, and it is well within the scope of a school's functions. It is high time that the prejudice against rifle shooting, rampant in our public schools and even in our universities, should be exploded. It is to the detriment of national safety that our school rifle corps should be any longer regarded as havens of refuge for the failures both in work and in play. Some persons seem to think that at

¹ See Appendix.

our public schools a purely literary training is given, and that the results are deplorable. This is not so. The majority of Englishmen consider that more harm than good would be done by a wholesale and radical revolution of our public-school curriculum. We have the authority of the Duke of Wellington for saying that "the best education for the military and all other professions is the common education of the country." We wish to see our sons walking in the old paths, with a few stumbling-blocks removed. To the philosopher of any nation (not excluding our own) the spectacle of the Englishman going through the world with rifle in one hand and Bible in the other is laughable; but to Englishmen, who are neither logicians nor idealists, it is not. We wish to see his skill with the one and his faith in the other strengthened and increased. If asked what our muscular Christianity has done, we point to the British Empire. Our Empire would never have been built up by a nation of idealists and logicians.

Physical vigour is as necessary for the maintenance of our Empire as mental vigour. We are girt round with rivals, each armed to the teeth. A struggle with any one of these would tax our resources to the utmost. Unlike each of the first four Universal Monarchies, the Monarchy of the British Empire depends on its own strength, and not on the weakness of its neighbours. Our Empire owes her world's dominion to the pens, swords and purses of her sons, not to the lack of spirit in her rivals. It is only fitting that our own Fifth Monarchists should be reared for rule from their cradle, and that Eton should send out generation after generation of boys who, like Wellington and Roberts, have been trained to uphold "the canopy of empire."

If before the necessary reforms were carried out, Eton was not what can be technically called a good school, she has always been a school to inspire the majority of her boys with some kind of honourable ambition. All honour then to her and to those who go forth from her gates to do their duty to their Queen and Country. Whether Etonians or not, we can all join in what has become the famous war-cry of her sons—*Floreat Etona!*

CHAPTER IX.

HARROW.

Long long life to the bell and to its ringing!
Hark how the bell is ringing, ding-a-ding, ding:
Three hundred years with an ever fresh beginning!
Hark how the bell is ringing, ding-a-ding, ding.
Long while it chimes to a newer life and sweeter,
Work's true sons shall welcome her and greet her,
Stronger than we, and better, and completer.

E. BOWEN.

IN 1571 Queen Elizabeth's "beloved subject, John Lyon, of Preston, Yeoman, by instinct of charity (the Divine Providence foregoing), founded a certain Grammar Schoole, with one Schoolmaster and Usher within the village of Harrow-on-the-Hill." So runs the Charter granted by good Queen Bess in the 14th year of her reign. Nineteen years later (1590) John Lyon promulgated in his will the Statutes for the future government of his school. He also drew up "Observations for the Ordering of the School." One cannot fail to be struck with the precision with which the Founder has notified his wishes. He mentions the books that are to be read; Greek was only to be read in the fifth or top form. No Greek poet is mentioned, except Hesiod, and no English author. The two classical authors who are now the most read (Homer and Horace) are omitted from the course. Hesiod was still read by Harrow boys when Samuel Parr was in the School. Neither the Church of England, nor the Protestant, nor the Reformed Faith are alluded to, but "the Christian religion" is to be taught, and a lecture "out of Calvin's or Nowell's Catechism" to be read to the scholars. The Master is exhorted to make a moderate use

of the rod, and "after one year's painstaking" to send away any boy who makes no progress with his work. In both these provisions, and in providing for physical exercise, John Lyon showed himself in advance of his day. The play of the scholars is "to drive a top, to run, to shoot, and no other." Every boy is ordered to possess "bow shafts, bow strings and a bracer to exercise shooting." The Statutes of other Public Schools do not contain so wise a provision. Our yeoman Founder may have pondered on the words of the great educationalist of his day, Roger Ascham, "that the schol-house should be in deede as it is called by name, the house of play and pleasure, and not of fear and bondage."¹ The practice of archery was coeval with the foundation of the school, and was probably due to the influence of Ascham, whose treatise on Archery was then regarded as a classic. The author had dedicated it to Henry VIII. and had received a pension for writing it. Both Ascham and Lyon would have appreciated David Stow's pregnant phrase—"the playground or uncovered school-room." It is clear that some famous teachers, even in the 16th century, had a weakness for athletics.

John Lyon intended his school to be a Free School for the parishioners of Harrow, but he also showed that it was not his intention to erect a merely parochial one. He declared that the Master might receive over and above the inhabitants of the parish "so many Foreigners as the whole may be well taught and the school can conveniently contain." In 1810 the Parishioners appealed to the Court of Chancery, complaining that they were deterred from sending their children to the school where they were entitled to a gratuitous education, "partly from the ill-treatment they receive from such Foreigners and partly from the apprehension of their acquiring expensive habits by an association with persons of rank and fortune superior to their own."² Fortunately for the fame of Lyon's School—may we not say for the good of the whole community—the matter

¹ Quoted by Gilbert Wakefield in his *Memoirs*.

² Vesey's *Chancery Reports*, Vol. xvii., pp. 498—507.

came before Sir William Grant, Master of the Rolls, one of the greatest judges that ever presided over an English Court of Justice. He considered the case of Harrow identical with that of Rugby. Each had been founded in Queen Elizabeth's reign as a Free Grammar School for the inhabitants of the locality, and each in process of time had grown into a great Public School. This is, I believe, the first instance in which the phrase "public school" is to be found in any reported judgment. He did not consider the alleged conspiracy against parish boys satisfactorily made out. The evidence was no doubt legally defective on this point of domestic polity. Yet even at this distance of time there are still rumours of what the parish boys suffered at the hands of "foreigners." Under Dr. Sumner the son of the local chemist rose to be head of the school, but in spite of reaching that august position he was much teased about the paternal shop. The father had beggared himself by supporting the Jacobite cause; the son grew into the famous Whig, Dr. Samuel Parr. Sir William Grant was an unconscious evolutionist and declined to restrict John Lyon's school within parochial limits. As the Governors entered into full possession of the Founder's endowment on 27th August, 1608, the reader may wonder why the important questions which Sir William Grant had to decide had not been asked before. The fact is that, though Harrovians celebrated the Tercentenary of their School in 1871, they were actually celebrating the bicentenary of her existence as a Public School. During the first century, Harrow was a parochial Grammar School. The majority of the boys were the sons of parishioners, and gratuitously educated. The normal number of these free scholars was forty.

In 1671 some assistance was given by the Governors towards fitting up the Master's house for the better accommodation of his Boarders, but some fifty years had to pass before a "foreigner" conferred distinction on his old school. This "foreigner" was George Bridges Rodney, the school-fellow of Bruce, the traveller. The conqueror of de Grasse left Harrow at the age of twelve in 1730. Rodney's Head Master was Thomas Bryan, an Old Etonian, under whom the school had its earliest season of prosperity, the numbers

mounting up in 1721 to 144. Bryan died in 1730 and the numbers dwindled until another Old Etonian, Thomas Thackeray, became Head Master.

Samuel Hood (afterwards first Lord Hood), who succeeded Rodney in the chief command in the East Indies, was also an Old Harrovian. He went to the Hill soon after Rodney had left it, and did not enter the Navy until he was 16 years of age. No school in England has produced a finer brace of sailors. Another brave sailor, Lord Charles Beresford, delivered two or three years ago a lecture on the Navy to Harrow boys in their Speech Room. An Old Harrovian calls my attention to the fact that he did not on that occasion refer to Rodney and Hood. Had he done so, he would (in the slang phrase) have "brought the house down."

Lord Loughborough, the Lord Chancellor, told a story of one old schoolfellow murdering another, who (many years before) had "peached" on him at school and got him expelled. This story is improbable; let us hope it is not true. On the other hand, there are many well-authenticated instances of schoolfellows assisting each other either by refusing any remuneration for their professional services, or by declining to hold a brief against them. An even more gracious duty fell to the lot of Sir Francis Basset, an Old Harrovian. He moved an address on 27th June, 1782, that a lasting provision be made for Admiral Rodney. For this service the Admiral wrote him that he felt himself "honoured by the real friendship he had manifested towards him and his family"¹ A tall granite obelisk on the summit of Carn Brea Hill records the memory of Basset as "a munificent contributor to charitable institutions throughout the Empire." This is an early instance of the use of the word "Empire" in a public monument. By the close of the 18th century "Empire" had not become the household word in Englishmen's mouths that it is at the close of the 19th century.

Born in the same year (1757) as his schoolfellow

¹ Munday's *Life and Correspondence of Admiral Lord Rodney*, Vol. ii., p. 335.

Basset, William Sotheby was as liberal to literary men as Beaumont (poor Haydon's friend) was to artists. When Mrs. Siddons was acting in one of Sotheby's plays, "Julian and Agnes," she had an unfortunate accident with a dummy infant she was carrying. After this mishap no literary merit could save the piece. Byron considered Sotheby a bore, who rhymed well, if not wisely. That Basset and Sotheby should have been sent to the Hill is some proof that under Dr. Sumner (1760—1771) Harrow was no longer an obscure school. The earliest notice I can find of a "Harrow School Annual Meeting" is for Feb. 1763 in the *St. James's Chronicle*.¹

John Stewart, known to readers of De Quincey as "Walking Stewart,"² must have been at Harrow under Dr. Thackeray. Just as Basset was at Harrow and Eton, so Stewart was at Harrow and Charterhouse. To send a boy to two public schools was a frequent practice during the last century. Sir Thomas Bernard, one of Byron's fags, was at Westminster, Harrow and Eton. John Mytton, the sportsman, was expelled from Westminster and Harrow in succession. Wordsworth and De Quincey, themselves most eloquent in conversation, were equally struck with the eloquence of Stewart. He went out to Madras in the East India Company's service in 1763, left it to enter that of the Nawab of Arcot, fell into the clutches of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sahib, and had walked all over Hindostan, Europe and North America. He was no reader of books, but had mastered Latin at school and believed that it was destined to survive all other languages. He was an avowed atheist—a rare product at our public schools. Stewart in his life of pedestrianism had picked up a good many languages, and was one of the many good linguists brought up at the Hill. In this connection William Baxter, Dr. Parr, Sir William Jones, and Thomas Maurice may be referred to here as the four earliest philologists of Harrow. Of these four, three, Baxter, Jones, and Maurice, were Welshmen.

Baxter's Head Master was William Horne. He is described

¹ The stewards are "John Rushout, Esq., Capt. Broughton, Rev. Mr. Brudenell, Rev. Mr. Mat. Kearick."

² De Quincey, Vol. iii. (Masson's Edition.) Editorial note.

in his epitaph in the chancel of Harrow Church as "preceptor strenuus." His father was Head Master of Eton—a unique instance of father and son being Head Masters of the rival schools. John Dennis, the once famous critic, was also a pupil of William Horne. He only lives now in the malignant verse of Pope—a species of immortality on the rack. These early Harrovians seem to have belonged to one school of thought. Dennis, Stewart, Parr, Jones and Sheridan were all Whigs.

The letter (March 17th, 1783) which his "dear friend" Benjamin Franklin wrote to Sir William Jones, congratulating him on the double event of his appointment to the Indian Bench and marriage with Miss Shipley, the Bishop of St. Asaph's daughter, is of interest to Anglo-Indians. "With the good Bishop's permission I will join my blessing with his; adding my wishes that you may return from that corrupting country with a great deal of money honestly acquired, and with full as much virtue as you carry out with you." There was a very close resemblance between the characters of our Old Harrovian, William Jones, and Benjamin Franklin—a tempting theme, which cannot be pursued further here. Poor Jones lies buried in the Cathedral of Calcutta, while his monument stands in St. Paul's. His wife returned to this country and was buried at Hurstmonceaux, the home of the Hares, one of whom, a great nephew of Sir William Jones and himself the writer of charming books (Augustus J. C. Hare), the Hill can claim. Amongst other services to oriental philology Sir William Jones invented the scientific system of transliteration into Roman characters, which forms the foundation of that adopted by the Government of India at the suggestion of the late Sir William Hunter, and which has taken the place of the former barbarous and incongruous spelling.

In 1752 two boys, who grew up into remarkable men—Tate Wilkinson and Samuel Parr—came to Harrow. "O woeful day! to Harrow school I was conveyed by my mother," writes Tate Wilkinson in his now unread *Memoirs*.¹ He mentions the Duke of Gordon, his brother Lord Adam

¹ Tate Wilkinson's *Memoirs* of his own Life, Vol. i., p. 39.

Gordon, and Lord Downe among his schoolfellows, and tells us that Harrow was "then (1752) second only to Eaton in this Kingdom." The future acting manager and mimic seems to have spent a happy boyhood on the Hill in spite of his rhetorical references to "slavery" there.

Samuel Parr was a free scholar; Tate Wilkinson was a boarder. Parr once told a friend that as a boy he used to rise at five o'clock and go into the garden with a Greek Grammar for his companion. Keeping these hours and this kind of company, it is not to be wondered at that before he had completed his fourteenth year he was head of the school, and that to the last hour of his life he could talk in Greek. When he first went to Hatton Vicarage, Daniel Gaches, a scholar of Eton, had a neighbouring living. The Etonian Tory and the Harrovian Whig met and conversed in Greek.

Gaches explained that he had lived in a retired village so long as to have become *βάρβαρος μετὰ βαρβάρους*. Without a moment's hesitation Dr. Parr replied with a quotation from Menander, to the effect that if his friend were a barbarian, he too would wish to be one. To remove such a scholar from the Sixth-Form Room to the paternal shop was nothing short of inhumanity. From his youth up Parr was only happy in an atmosphere of Greek and Latin.

In 1767 Dr. Sumner offered him the post of "head assistant", and his offer was accepted. Parr seems to have been a success as a master, and was evidently much liked by the boys. One *jeu d'esprit* of Parr's pupils has come down to us. He was supposed to have caught the fancy of a well-to-do widow. One day the following lines were found lying on his desk:—

When Madam Eyre prefers her prayer,
Safe from the eyes of men,
'Tis this alone her lips make known,
"Parr—donnez moi! Amen." ¹

There was then at the school a boy whom his tutor, Mr. Roderick, described as "shrewd, artful, supercilious," but who was afterwards known to fame as Richard Brinsley

¹ *Blackwood's Magazine*, October 1863.

Sheridan. Is it possible that this clever quatrain was the first fruit of Sheridan's genius? Dr. Parr has been credited by some with being the discoverer of Sheridan, but he did not himself lay claim to such discernment. "We both (Dr. Sumner and his head assistant) of us discovered talents which neither of us could bring into action, while Sheridan was a school-boy." Unfortunately Dr. Sumner died before the appearance of *The School for Scandal*. No one would have enjoyed his pupil's masterpiece more than his genial Head Master. One intellectual treat at least Dr. Sumner did live to enjoy—the perusal of *Tom Jones*, the immortal work of his fellow-Etonian. Dr. Sumner used to declare that he would at any time give ten guineas wholly to forget that fascinating novel for the pleasure of coming anew to the literary banquet.¹ But this is anticipating: a word must be said about his predecessor, Dr. Thackeray.

With good reason did Dr. Butler call Dr. Thomas Thackeray "our second Founder", for it was he who laid the foundations of Harrow as a Public School. Thackeray's reign began in 1746, and on his decease in 1760 our school had taken front rank with Eton and Westminster. Dr. Thackeray may be said to have taken up his abode on the Hill when public education in England, both at School and University, was at its nadir. Lord Chesterfield had a poor opinion of Westminster, but his opinion of Cambridge and Oxford was even worse. "The one," he writes to Dr. Madden in 1749, "is sunk into the lowest obscurity; and the existence of Oxford would not be known, if it were not for the treasonable spirit publicly avowed and often exerted there." Dr. Thackeray had no sympathy for Jacobites or idle boys, and under him the Hill began to be famous for its school as well as for its church.

Shortly after the arrival of Dr. Vaughan, D. F. Carmichael (who afterwards became a Member of the Council of Madras) tells me he was strolling down the Hill when he encountered some half-dozen gentlemen. They were not ordinary-looking men, and Carmichael was struck by some of their faces. Suddenly one of them came forward and addressed him by his

¹ Maurice's *Memoirs*, quoted by Field in his *Life of Dr. Parr*.

Christian name. His friends, he told him, were "Punchites" on their weekly outing, and he invited the young Harrovian to show them over the school. He who thus accosted him was Wm. Makepeace Thackeray, not yet known to fame. The Harrow boy, nothing loth, led Thackeray, Douglas Jerrold and their friends to the churchyard, where the novelist's great-grandfather lies buried. Here the sexton "took up the wondrous tale", and told them how some gentleman in London had gone to the expense of restoring Dr. Thackeray's tomb. The sexton did not know the gentleman's name, but my friend had his suspicions, and keeping his eye on Thackeray, noticed that while the sexton was running on about the unknown London gentleman, the schoolmaster's great-grandson avoided his eye and kept behind his friends. At this time Thackeray was himself far from rich, but no man ever put a wider interpretation upon his duty than the author of *Vanity Fair*. Thackeray and his *Punch* colleagues read the epitaphs composed by Parr in sonorous Latin on John Lyon and Dr. Sumner, but nothing they read in that churchyard was comparable either for wit or feeling to Douglas Jerrold's own epitaph on Charles Knight—"Good Night". Talking of *Punch* and its famous contributor, Mr. Carmichael told me an anecdote which illustrates what was thought of this paper fifty years ago. When Thackeray delivered lectures at Oxford, he was asked by the Vice-Chancellor for what paper he wrote. "*Punch*", replied the lecturer. "I have heard of that," replied the Vice-Chancellor, "a ribald paper."

Eton College was founded on the model of Winchester College, and stands towards the latter in the relation of a daughter to a parent. No Etonian would claim that a similar relation existed between the School on the Thames and the School on the Hill, but no Harrovian would deny the indebtedness of his school to her great rival. Just as William Waynflete resigned his post of Head Master of Winchester to become first Head Master and then Provost of Eton, so Dr. Thackeray resigned his post as assistant master of Eton and subsequently became Head Master of Harrow. From 1669 to 1785 (with the brief interregna of Bolton and Coxe) the school was in the firm

hands of five Etonians—Horne, Bryan, Thackeray, Sumner and Heath, and throve under them. That Harrow boys were aware of this “and were not altogether pleased” we learn from their protest to the Governors on the death of Dr. Sumner, that “a school of such reputation ought not to be considered an appendix to Eton.”

Dr. Robert Sumner, the grandfather of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of the Bishop of Winchester, was a brilliant and delightful man. That he was also a wise ruler is shown by the following incident.

A certain Dr. Glasse, who was not a master, kept a boarding-house, and his boarders were excused attending “Bills”.¹ Dr. Sumner decided on depriving Dr. Glasse’s boarders of this privilege. The head of a well-known Harrow family threatened to “ruin the school” if Sumner refused to give way. It was Dr. Glasse, who closed his house, and not Dr. Sumner the school. To meet the want thus created, Dr. Sumner allowed six dames to open boarding-houses. This was a direct importation from Eton and not a very happy one, although some of the best-known Harrovians—Charles Perry (Senior Wrangler and Bishop of Melbourne), R. C. Trench (Archbishop of Dublin), and the late Mr. Beresford Hope were boarders at Mrs. Leiths’. At the time (1770) Dr. Sumner imported the system into Harrow, there were at Eton thirteen boarding-houses, of which three only were kept by men styled “Dominies” and ten by Dames. The Duke of Wellington was in a Dame’s house (Mrs. Raguenuau) and sent his two sons there. The Dame system survived at Harrow till the early forties, but even we who came in the sixties regarded it as something that had existed before the Flood. In 1864 there were at Eton nine houses still called Dames’ houses, five kept by gentlemen otherwise unconnected with the school, and four by ladies. There is now only one Dame’s house at Eton, Mrs. Evans’s, a very good one, though oppidans may, with the special permission of the Governing Body, lodge with other persons. The same permission can be obtained at Harrow, and in this manner the sons of Roman Catholics (like the sons of the

¹ The *Absence* of Eton, or the call over of names on half holidays.

late Marquis of Bute) may live with a private tutor. Whether this is an arrangement fair to the boys themselves is another matter. The chief advantage to be derived from going to a Public School is lost, unless you live with the boys. If you live apart with a private tutor, you might almost as well remain at home. There have been and are Roman Catholics at Harrow, but they, like many of the Jews, board in the different masters' houses. They do not go to the school chapel, but there is no other difference in their treatment from that of other boys. Dr. Butler of Shrewsbury used to allow the sons of Unitarians to attend a Unitarian chapel, but I have never heard of this being permitted at any other public school. I have known the sons of Unitarians at Harrow, but they attended the school chapel and as a rule developed into Churchmen. Dr. Butler started a house for Jews, which was kept by a Rabbi and subsequently by one of the masters. A house restricted to Jews is quite a unique experience in Public School life. The example has not been followed elsewhere.

The number of the boys in the School from the time of Mr. Coxe, the predecessor of Dr. Thackeray, to the time of Dr. Wood has varied greatly. Mr. Coxe and Dr. Wood have one thing only in common. They were both Oxford men, and are (with Dr. Longley) the only head masters that came to us from Oxford in the interval between 1730 and 1899. Under Coxe the free scholars fell to 14 and the "foreigners" dwindled terribly. The revival began under his successor and continued steadily until under Dr. Drury the number mounted up to close upon four hundred. From 1806 to 1818 the number fluctuated between 350 and 250. In 1842 the boys numbered 114, in 1844 the number had fallen to 79, and after three years of Dr. Vaughan it had risen to 314. After three years of Dr. Butler the number stood in 1862 at 481; under Dr. Welldon it touched 600, and of these about 120 are on the modern side. The Public School Commissioners recommended that the number should not exceed 500. The following table shows that the growth in the teaching staff has more than kept pace with the growth in number of the boys.

	1818	1864	1898
	(Dr.G.Butler)	(Dr.H M.Butler)	(Dr.Welldon).
Assistant Classical Masters.	5	15	20
Mathematical Masters.	1	4	8
Natural Science Masters. Mr. Walker, the lecturer in natural and experimental philosophy, attends once in two or three years. ¹	0	0	4

How 350 boys found breathing room in the West Wing of the old School building is a mystery, and yet this was all the teaching accommodation the School possessed until 1820. On the 3rd June, 1819, (being the second Speech Day) the first stone of the New School Building or East Wing was laid by the Earl of Clarendon. The late Rev. F. Chevenix Trench (the brother of the Archbishop of Dublin) tells us that when he was at Harrow (1818—24), out of the 250 boys no less than ninety were Henry Drury's pupils, and "his small, rough, low, hot pupil-room was crowded to excess."

Mr. Adams finds himself in the same difficulty about Winchester. "Seventh Chamber" would not afford sufficient space according to modern requirements even for the seventy Collegers, and yet apparently 120 boys (fifty Commoners being added to the 70 Collegers) were taught there in 1678. Ten years later the great school had been opened at Winchester, but Old Harrovians, who have only recently died, could remember our school buildings consisting of one wing only. School Inspectors would not at the present day have allowed a village school to be held in the "cock lofts", which were considered good enough for our grandfathers on the Hill. But what splendid men were educated in these mean, badly ventilated schoolrooms! Among poets, Byron; among historians Orme and Merivale; among lawyers, Lord Cottenham and Richardson and Holroyd (Judges); among scholars, Jones and Parr; among wits, R. B. Sheridan and Theodore Hook; among soldiers, Sir Hussey Vivian and Sir John Woodford; among sailors Rodney and Hood; among statesman, Spencer Percival, Lord Palmerston, the two Lord Spencers (second and third),

¹ N. Carlisle's *Grammar Schools*, Vol. ii., p. 15.

Lord Aberdeen and Sir Robert Peel. The name of James Morier, the author of that masterpiece, *The Adventures of Hadji Baba*, might be included in this list. Though it is not to be found in the Register kept by Dr. Drury, family tradition avers that James was at Harrow, as his brothers David and William undoubtedly were.¹ James Morier sent his son to Harrow. David was the friend of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and drafted the famous treaties of 1815. He wrote his one novel at the age of 73, and when he died at the age of 93 he was the last surviving Harrovian of his generation. His only son, Sir Robert Morier, late Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg, was privately educated.

"Harrow," said Lord Byron to Capt. Medwin, "has been the nursery of almost all the politicians of the day."² No family has been more political or more Harrovian than that of Spencer. The present head of the family is Chairman of the School Governors. The love of some for their old school has waxed and waned, but that of the Spencers has never changed. They were the first famous Whig family to send their sons to Harrow, and each succeeding generation has its representatives on the Hill. Had the second Lord Spencer been a Frenchman, his name would have been handed down in history as the organizer of victory by sea, as Carnot was of victory by land; but the English have no genius for adulation. Yet the second Earl Spencer deserves to stand preëminent among Old Harrovians, and even among English statesmen, for singling out Nelson for independent command. During his six years at the Admiralty, the victories of St. Vincent and Camperdown were won, and the mutinies at Spithead and the Nore suppressed. His son John Charles, the third Earl, but better known as Lord Althorp, was at Harrow with "prosperity" Robinson (afterwards Lord Goderich, Prime Minister) and Charles Pepys, afterwards Lord Chancellor Cottenham. Althorp "messed"

¹ Introduction by Sir Frederick Goldsmid to Dr. Will's Edition of *Hadji Baba* (1897); see also Mr. Stanley Lane Poole's *Life of James Morier* in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

² Medwin's *Conversations of Lord Byron*, p. 280.

with Temple (afterwards Lord Palmerston). Considering the kindness of Lord Althorp's nature, it is curious that Sir Augustus Clifford, who was fag to both, should have written to Lord Dalling, that of his two boy-masters, Palmerston was "by far the most merciful and indulgent." Lord Spencer is a lineal descendant of Waller's "Sacharissa." Waller immortalized Dorothy, wife of the first Earl of Sunderland and sister of Algernon Sidney, in "Go lovely Rose." Mr. Healy has not yet carried his enthusiasm for our present Chairman into verse.

The names of Lord Chancellor Cottenham, John Shore, Governor-General of India, Lord Elgin, of the Elgin Marbles, worthily close the list of Harrovians of the 18th century. With the retirement of Dr. Drury (1805) Harrow loses its exclusively Whig character. Two facts hitherto unrecorded about Charles Pepys may be mentioned here. When he left College, Dr. Drury offered him a mastership. Pepys hesitated, but at last said, "I think I will try the law." Dr. Vaughan told this, writes D. F. Carmichael to me, at a sixth-form dinner. Pepys did "try the law" and left his mark on it, but before he reached the pinnacle of the profession he was appointed to the Rolls. It so happened that the father of D. F. Carmichael, himself an Old Harrovian, was staying in a Yorkshire country house with the then Lord Chancellor (Lord Brougham) when Sir John Leach died in 1834. On hearing the news, Lord Brougham remarked that he would give the lawyers such a Judge as they had not had "since the Book of Judges." He referred to the "beetle-browed" Pepys, who had taken his fancy just as he had Dr. Drury's thirty years before. This *bon mot* of Lord Brougham's is in agreement with his own declared opinion that his appointment of Pepys to the Rolls was his "own best title to the gratitude of the profession." Lord Campbell wrote that Lord Cottenham was phlegmatic in everything else, but that in law he was an enthusiast. Our Old Harrovian was twice Lord Chancellor of England, and perhaps not unnaturally regarded the system over which he presided as well nigh perfect.

If Pepys was the first Harrovian lawyer of distinction, John Woodford was our earliest soldier of distinction.

Both were under Dr. Drury and both were Whigs. Woodford was aide-de-camp to Sir John Moore during his retreat to Corunna, and ended his long and honourable career in command of the Foot Guards. He was one of the earliest advocates for the abolition of Purchase, and to carry his principles into practice sold his own commission to the Government for half its market value. He would not allow flogging in the battalion under his command, and devoted his useful life to improving the lot of the private soldier. Sir John Woodford was a son of the Hill we may all be proud of. His elder brother Alexander, who led the second battalion of the Coldstream Guards at Quatre Bras and Waterloo, was at Winchester.

The first holiday task set by Dr. Wood to the Sixth Form was Boswell's *Life of Dr. Johnson*. Strange to say, the sage did not himself approve of holiday tasks. His own childhood had not been bright, and therefore he was the more anxious to brighten the lives of others. He tells us he never ceased representing to all the eminent schoolmasters in England "the absurd tyranny of poisoning the hour of permitted pleasure." "Bob Sumner I have at length prevailed upon: I know not indeed whether his tenderness was persuaded, or his reason convinced, but the effect will always be the same." Poor Dr. Sumner died, however, before the next vacation.¹

The untimely death of Dr. Sumner (1771) was followed by a School Rebellion. The boys supported the election of Dr. Parr as Sumner's successor; the Governors elected Dr. Heath. Like all school mutinies, it was a game from which both sides—masters and boys—rose losers. The masters lost the two senior assistants, Parr and Roderick, while the boys lost forty scholars, "the flower of the school,"² who followed Dr. Parr to Stanmore. One may admire the boys who thus showed their detestation for what they regarded as "an act of glaring injustice", but one cannot

¹ *Johnsonian Miscellanies* (Birbeck Hill Edition), Vol i., p. 161.

² These words are quoted by Mr. Field in his *Life of Dr. Parr*, from the *Memoirs of T. Maurice*, the Oriental scholar and one of the Forty.

so easily forgive Dr. Parr for attempting to ruin John Lyon's Foundation of which he had been both a free scholar and a teacher. However, it was Parr's school at Stanmore, and not Harrow school, that died.

It is something more than a coincidence that within three years there should have been two serious rebellions at Eton and Harrow. In 1768 the whole body of the Sixth Form, supported by many of the Fifth and some of the Fourth, marched out of Eton to Maidenhead. They were 160 in all, and their day's outing cost them £55 18s 3d, not to mention the floggings. The next day they returned to school, and a *sauve qui peut* became the order of the day. On this occasion the Etonians do not seem to have supported their cause with the manliness and the determination shown by the Wykehamists in 1793. One of the boys who took part in the rising was William Grenville, afterwards Prime Minister. ¹

The concurrence of such *émeutes* clearly points to a lax state of discipline at both schools. It is also significant that T. Maurice speaks of the democratic spirit prevailing at Harrow under Dr. Sumner, though he adds "to no culpable extent." To us our rebellion was all loss, to Eton it proved a gain, for the Marquis Wellesley was taken away from Harrow and sent to Eton.

The love of the Marquis Wellesley for his second alma-mater proved the passion of his life. In his 79th year he writes: "To Eton I owe and ascribe every gift of honour and happiness." This Old Harrovian was buried in the College Chapel of Eton in 1842, and the following lines formed a part of the epitaph written by himself and are inscribed on his grave:

Si qua meum vitæ decursu gloria nomen,
Auxerit, aut siquis nobilitavit honos
Muneris, Alma, tui est.

The Marquis Wellesley was an ideal public-school boy, and had it not been for our foolish rebellion he would have remained on the Hill.

¹ Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte's *Eton College*, pp. 346—349.

There is something resembling the Marquis Wellesley's passion for his second school, Eton, in the affection which the late Lord Selborne, the Lord Chancellor, always felt for his second alma-mater, Winchester. His first public school, Rugby, he rarely, if ever, referred to.

The last Silver Arrow was contested for in July 1771. Dr. Benjamin Heath abolished an ancient institution which had grown into a nuisance and established Speech Days in its place. Originally there were three Speech Days, which were held on the first Thursday in May, June, and July. Dr. Longley reduced them to two, and Dr. Wordsworth to one. The Single Speech Day dates from 1844.

The Company that the shooting drew from London was not select, and the competitors claimed frequent exemption from school attendance. Dr. Heath reminded the athletes of his day that athleticism was made for the School, and not the School for athleticism. The Silver Arrow had already become to Harrow what Montem became to Eton after the construction of the railway. Reformer's blood must have run in the Heath family, as Dr. George Heath, the Head Master of Eton, offered a mastership there to a former Oppidan, but the Provost and Fellows refused their sanction. For half a century later the assistant (classical) masters of Eton were appointed exclusively from the ranks of the Fellows of King's—a limitation with serious results to Eton scholarship. Spencer Percival, an old Harrovian, wished to appoint Dr. Benjamin Heath Provost of Eton, but George III. would not hear of it. "No, he will never do," said the King, "for he ran away from Eton." "Farmer George" was more Etonian than any Old Etonian.

Dr. Benjamin Heath was a reformer, but he was also a pluralist, and on the income derived from two rich livings he was able to indulge his bibliophile tastes to the full. After his death his library sold in London for £9,000. "Never," says Dibdin, "did the bibliomaniac's eye alight upon sweeter copies; and never did the bibliographical barometer rise higher than at this sale."¹ Boswellians will remember that Dr. Johnson's Library fetched only £247 9s!

¹ *Bibliomania*, by Thomas Frogual Dibdin (1842), p. 460.

Dr. Heath was not the only lover of books among the residents of Harrow. The Rev. Henry Drury and Mr. James Edwards, who lived in the old manor-house, had both fine libraries. It was Mr. Edwards who, by his particular desire, was buried in a coffin made out of some of his library shelves. In striking contrast to the fine libraries of some of the masters was the "Monitor's Library," which was all that the school possessed until 1862, when Lord Palmerston laid the foundation-stone of the Vaughan Library. ¹

When in 1785 Dr. Heath retired to his books at Walkerne, his mantle fell on his brother-in-law, Dr. Joseph Drury. Mr. Nicholas Carlisle states that on the elections of Dr. Heath, Dr. Drury, and Dr. George Butler, the votes of the Governors were evenly divided between the candidates, and that the casting vote was in each case given by the Archbishop of Canterbury. I was not aware that the Archbishop ever nominated any Head Master except Dr. George Butler. The family of Drury belong to Eton and Harrow, but the Hill can claim to have had as many Drurys as its rival. Dr. Sumner was famous among Harrow Head Masters for his brilliancy; Dr. Joseph Drury for his calm wisdom. He served the school for thirty-six years. He came as an Assistant Master in 1769, just in time for the rebellion, and just in time to decline Dr. Parr's offer of a mastership at Stanmore. He lived to recommend Edmund Kean, then an obscure provincial actor, to one of the trustees of Drury Lane theatre, and to be hailed as "Probus" by Harrow's poet. ²

¹ The School Library of Winchester was founded in 1834.

² Byron *On a change of masters at a great Public School.*

CHAPTER X.

HARROW—(continued).

IT is the hope of every loyal Harrovian that the twentieth century, now dawning on the Hill, may bring to John Lyon's Foundation all manner of good. That a school which has been preserved and grown in so wonderful a manner has a great future, none of us doubt. In one particular, however, the glories of Harrow lie in the past. We are not likely to see a Byron again upon the Hill, not because the fruit of our old tree is growing crabbed and sour, but because no Public School (with the possible exception of Eton) has yet produced more than one genius of the first order in poetry. Harrow claims her Byron, Merchant Taylors' her Spencer, St. Paul's her Milton, Westminster her Dryden, Winchester her Collins, and Eton her Shelley. How far each school is entitled to use the possessive epithet as applied to her poet is another matter. Shelley, for instance, was not the pariah at Eton that it has been the fashion with some to describe him. The fact that he was a "wet bob" and took an active part in the 4th of June of 1809—that he walked as a full corporal in the Montem of 1808—that his parting breakfast cost him £50—that he received so many books on leaving, all militate against this view. But Capt. Medwin, who was his cousin, his schoolfellow (at a private school), and his biographer, tells us that he never heard Shelley in his life mention one of his class-fellows, while Byron never forgot those in his own form or even the order in which the boys in a lower form stood. One day Capt. Medwin told Byron that Procter ("Barry Cornwall") had written him that he had been at Harrow with the author of *The Giaour*. "Ay," said Byron, "I remember the name; he was in the Lower School, in such a class. They stood Farrer, Procter,

Jocelyn." ¹ Byron's memory was perfectly correct. There were with Byron two Farrers, who afterwards became eminent solicitors, and one of them, Thomas Farrer, played in Byron's eleven. Byron writing to Henry Drury, five years after leaving Harrow, asks to be remembered to Claridge, a boy who was with him during his last quarter.

But while Shelley's detestation of Eton has been greatly exaggerated, there can be no doubt that he did not love Eton, as Byron loved Harrow. Byron wrote to his old schoolfellow, Wm. Harness (Dec. 6th, 1811)—"I have not changed in all my ramblings—Harrow, and of course yourself, never left me." It was a happy slip of the tongue of John Murray's shopman to call Byron's work *Child of Harrow's Pilgrimage*. It is a proof that Harrow was for ever on the lips of *Childe Harold's* author.

Shelley, so Lady Shelley told Capt. Medwin, refused to fag at Eton, and "was treated with revolting cruelty by masters and boys." Shelley rejected the duty of obedience, the greatest of virtues in the eyes of the average master and sixth-former. Byron was a far more orthodox school-boy. He was a monitor; Shelley never got into the Sixth form. Probably Shelley, though in a lower form, learnt more Greek and Latin at Eton than Byron did at Harrow, but, like Landor, he was utterly deficient in emulation or ambition to shine above his fellows, though the arrogance expressed in Landor's line—

"I strove with none, for none was worth my strife,"

was foreign to Shelley's nature. Dr. Keate applied to his Latin prose the line of Horace—

"Et quid tentabam dicere, versus erat."

With Horace, Byron had far more sympathy than Shelley ever enjoyed. He shows this, not in his laboured *Hints from Horace* (for which he evinced the same unmerited preference that Milton did for *Samson Agonistes*), but in his letters. In a letter to Wm. Gifford he applies

¹ Medwin's *Conversations*, p. 148.

to himself the words "Stans pede in uno" ¹ ("By the by, the only foot I have to stand on"). Shelley's favourite Roman Poet was Lucretius. From Pliny's Natural History he is said to have imbibed his pantheism.

Shelley, as a boy, had a hankering after science; Byron had none. Shelley wrote his father—"I have returned the book on chemistry, as it is a forbidden thing at Eton." Shelley had no friend among the Eton Masters, not even genial Ben Drury.

Byron loved several of his Masters—notably the three Drurys—Joseph, Mark and Henry.

One of the few authors praised in *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* is an Old Harrovian, Robert Bland, who was also a master at Harrow when Byron was there. Byron was the leader in the Harrow rebellion of 1805, a part which Shelley with all his dislike of authority could not possibly have taken. Byron was a boy to the last day of his life; Shelley never was. Byron had animal spirits and was therefore a born leader of boys; Shelley had none. "The child is father to the man." Byron, even as a Harrow boy, was a man of the world; Shelley, as an Eton boy, a visionary. Byron and Shelley, above all other English poets, are the exponents of the modern spirit—in fact the verse of these two public-school men has acted as a revolutionary force throughout the world. Shelley, had he been the heir-apparent to a throne, would have written as he did, but no one intimate with Byronic character can fail to trace the influence on it of outward circumstances. Had Byron been born to affluence and lived in affluence, he would not have been a Liberal. Had it not been for *res angustæ domi*, Byron would have written as Lovelace or as Præd.

I have mentioned elsewhere how the late Sir Thomas Bernard spoke of "Biron" as "a terrible bully". My friend, Captain W. D. Malton, tells me that his father, the late William Malton, was at Harrow in 1805, and was Byron's fag. He always said that Byron was most kind to him. Among other things Byron used to take him out on his back and teach him swimming in what was then called

¹ Horace Sat. i. iv. 10.

"Duck Puddle". Malton remembered that when Byron swam as a boy at Harrow, he always wore gloves. To cricket I can find only one allusion in any letter written by Byron after 1805 (the year he left the Hill), but to his swimming there are repeated references. That one cricket-allusion occurs in the letter to an Eton boy, Master John Cowell, and refers to the Eton and Harrow match in Dorset Square in 1805. It was a necessity for Byron's nature always to be in the front rank, whether his performance was poor as a cricketer, or admirable as a poet or swimmer. It is rather singular that writing to Henry Drury, (July 17th, 1811,) he uses the expression "since I left Duck Puddle" for "since leaving the school." How the swimmer from Sestos to Abydos would have revelled in our present "Ducker"!

William Malton gave his son an account of the rebellion in 1805. The first intimation of the coming struggle were the words chalked up in the Fourth Form Room—"Every man to his tents, O Israel." Then the boys stopped the mail-bags and confiscated the letters. They also took one of the Governors out of his carriage on his arrival at Harrow, and, setting fire to it, rolled it down the hill.

There was a second rebellion on the Hill in 1808, to which Byron alludes in his letter to Hodgson (subsequently Provost of Eton) of 18th November, 1808.—"I sent some game to Drury lately, which I hope escaped the scrutiny of the mutineers": "My Rhymes on the Bards are forthcoming; tell Drury he must purchase a copy. I can't afford to give away."

A wide gulf separates the close of the nineteenth century from its opening. The roughest football now played at school could not compare in danger with the pastimes of our ancestors. For instance, one of the favourite amusements of the Byronic schoolboy was to get into the church, ring the bells without putting his feet into the ground-straps, and be carried up by the ropes till there was just time to turn head downwards and let the soles of the feet meet the roof! Another game was called "shying". A small boy would be sent on some fifty or sixty yards with a key in his hand which he held by his side. The game was to hit the key with a stone regardless of its flesh and

blood supporter. Another pastime unquestionably was drinking.

Charles II. used to say of his brother-in-law Prince George of Denmark, that he had tried him drunk and sober, and found him dull on all occasions. The following anecdote, told by Captain Rooke to an old friend of mine who was at Rugby under Dr. Arnold, illustrates our poet's strength and weakness. Lord Byron was on Captain Rooke's man-of-war, *Hector*, and got very drunk. The last words heard by Captain Rooke from the author of *Don Juan* were—

O Hector, son of Priam,
Are you as drunk as I am?

There can be no doubt that during the eighteenth century, the *ars bibendi* was one of the arts learnt by boys at our Public Schools. Maurice, one of Parr's runaways from Harrow, pleads guilty in the *Memoirs* to his frequent visits to a tavern, though as a scholastic pedant he refers to it as a certain *taberna*. Learned and unlearned seem to have been tarred with the same brush. The Evangelical Movement scarcely touched the Public Schools, which lay in a sort of moral back-water that the stream of theological thought did not reach. Most of the Public School masters—notably our Sumner, Parr, Heath and Drury—were pronounced anti-Methodists. It was otherwise with the Oxford Movement. That happened also to coincide and co-operate with the more liberal movement in theology which looked up to Arnold as its apostle and director, and the union of the two had a most beneficent effect on public-school life. Thus it has come to pass that hard drinking so far from being looked up to by our sons as the fashion, is considered "bad form."

And yet by far the greatest man that the Evangelicals can claim in the present century was an Old Harrovian. An apparently chance, but really heaven-directed incident often sows the seed of philanthropy in a fruitful soil. General Oglethorpe and Lord Shaftesbury are both instances of this. General Oglethorpe, a lover of his kind, whom no Public School can claim, had his attention first

called to the horrors of debtors' prisons by the shocking death of a friend, who was unable to pay the Warder's fee and was consequently confined in a house where small-pox was raging. A mural tablet, erected near our school-gates, tells the passer-by how, "near this spot, Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards 7th Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G., while yet a boy in Harrow School, saw with shame and indignation, the 'Pauper's Funeral', which helped to awaken his lifelong devotion to the service of the poor and the oppressed." The words "Love" and "Serve" are inscribed at the corners of the tablet. In an admirable speech at a Harrow Dinner our venerable Harrovian¹ told his hearers a curious incident in school-life. He said that when he was at Harrow, one of the masters held his form at five in the morning! The statement was difficult to credit, but coming from such a man his hearers believed it.

Poulshot told Henry Manning that Lord Ashley came to him from Harrow "hardly able to construe the Anabasis." Poulshot, continues the Cardinal, showed me "how to read and what books to use, and how to make up for the inaccurate studies of Harrow."² Both Ashley and Manning went to Oxford and took a First Class in classics.

As the Cardinal's statement reflects on Harrow Scholarship, it is only fair to mention that the first man to obtain a First Class both in the Classical and the Mathematical Schools (after the division of the examination into two schools at Oxford) was a pupil of Dr. George Butler. This was no less a person than Sir Robert Peel, the future Prime Minister. We cannot wonder at this, when we are told that at Oxford he read eighteen hours a day. In honour of this Old Harrovian more statues have, I believe, been erected in England than to any other Englishman, with the possible exception of William Shakespeare. Byron tersely summed up the difference between him and his school friend Peel: "As a school-boy out of school I was always in scrapes, and he never; in school he always knew his

¹ Lord Shaftesbury entered Dr. George Butler's House in 1813, he died in 1885.

² Purcell's *Life of Manning*, Vol. i., p. 23.

lessons, and I rarely." Peel, however, had his Achilles heel. He had not learnt to converse in French on the Hill. This was one of the main reasons for Sir Robert not succeeding Lord Castlereagh at the Foreign Office in 1822. The post went to George Canning, who certainly had not to thank Eton for his knowledge of French.

Why Byron liked Peel, and disliked Palmerston, is a riddle that is not now likely to be solved. Had he known Palmerston, Byron would have been drawn to him just as he was drawn to Sir Walter Scott.

When Pitt died (1806), three Public School men, Palmerston, Althorp (Harrovians) and Henry Petty (Westminster) stood for the vacancy thus created in the representation of Cambridge University.

Byron, who was then a rollicking undergraduate of Trinity, in the following lines refers to Petty (who was Chancellor of the Exchequer) as "one", and to Palmerston as "the other".

One on his power and place depends,
The other on the Lord knows what,
Each to some eloquence pretends,
Though neither will convince by that.

Before Palmerston was twenty-five, he had twice stood for Cambridge University and had been twice rejected. Byron did not live to learn what a noble conception Palmerston had of the strength and the duties of England.

Harrow can lay claim to three Senior Wranglers—the very Rev. Alexander Ellice, sometime Archdeacon of Calcutta, Charles Perry, sometime Bishop of Melbourne, and the Hon. J. W. Strutt (Lord Rayleigh). The now famous discoverer of argon had a very dangerous competitor in the well-known Political Economist, Mr. A. Marshall, who was Second Wrangler. The late Mr. Todhunter was not given to paying compliments, but after reading Mr. Strutt's papers he remarked—"They say a man writes like a book. I only wish I could find a book written like Strutt's papers."

One of Lord Shaftesbury's most active supporters in good works was Byron's former fag, William Malton. On leaving Harrow the late Mr. Malton became a London solicitor and

founded, with the coöperation of Bishop Blomfield and others, "The Church of England Scripture Readers' Association," "The Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association" and "The Christian Union Almshouses" of which the late Lord Herschell was Chairman. In fact he served on the Committees of most of the benevolent Societies of London of his day, and died "valde deflendus." Such was his personal devotion to Byron that his guardians stopped his going to Trinity, Cambridge, for fear of his falling too completely under the poet's magnetic influence. Byron was at the height of his skylarking when he left Harrow. For instance, in his rooms at Trinity he kept a live bear, adorned in cap and gown! He mentions the bear in his letter to Miss Picot of 26th October, 1807, but not the cap and gown—that extra comes to me from my friend, Capt. Thomas Malton. Many lovers of Byron share his own opinion that had he married Mary Chaworth, "the whole tenor of his life would have been different." The heiress of Annesley preferred the Old Etonian, Jack Musters, a splendid specimen of the race, to "a fat bashful boy." This description of the Harrovian Byron was not hers, but Miss Picot's. There must, however, have been a heartless fibre in Mary Chaworth, for her to have said to her maid, "Do you think I could ever care anything for that lame boy?" even though she did not know that her lover would overhear the remark. It will scarcely be credited, but Byron missed one entire quarter at Harrow (the Christmas quarter of 1803) simply and solely because he refused to leave Mary Chaworth. At the present time no boy who stayed away a whole term to please his own whims, would be allowed to come back. I have to thank a near relative, familiar with Byron's country, for the following information about the poet's first love, which will, I believe, be new to students of his works both in England and America. The mother of Mary Chaworth was a Miss Bainbridge, the daughter of the village wheel-wright, near Thurgarton, a small village about eleven miles from Newstead. The Bainbridges in former days had been a rich and influential family, but by the close of the 18th century had come down in the world. Mary's mother was housekeeper to John Chaworth,

the Squire of Colwick, who married her. Colwick is about 13 or 14 miles from Newstead, on the south side of the Trent. The only child of this marriage was Mary, and on her father's death she inherited all his property. Her mother married as her second husband the Rector of Thurgarton, Mr. Clark, and Mary went to live at the Rectory, an unpretentious old brick house covered with ivy. Mr. Clark had a particular dislike to "Jack" Musters, on account of his varied attentions to the fair sex. He forbade Musters the Rectory, but love laughs at rectors as well as locksmiths. In spite of all opposition this "king of the hunting field" and Mary were married in 1805. Byron told Capt. Medwin in 1822, that Mary Chaworth granted him interviews in Mr. Chaworth's grounds, but he had the manliness to admit that Mary only liked him as "a younger brother". Mr. Martin, a landowner of Colston Bassett, who died a few years ago at an advanced age, knew Mary Chaworth well and used often to speak of her to my friend. She had light hair and blue eyes. There are still Bainbridges about the county, and most of them possess the same characteristics.

Mr. Leslie Stephen in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and the anonymous author of that excellent book, *Kings of the Hunting Field*,¹ are, so my friend tells me, in error in stating that Mary Chaworth's marriage proved unhappy. With all his faults Jack Musters was a gentleman and treated his wife with respect and affection. With Byron the wish was the unconscious father of the thought, and in *The Dream* he thus refers (1816) to Mary and himself—"It was a strange order, that the doom of these two creatures should be thus traced out, almost like a reality—the one to end in madness—both in misery." Sixteen years after this poem Mary Chaworth died, not of a broken heart, nor in a madhouse, but from the effects of exposure. The Nottingham rioters, on the rejection of the Reform Bill

¹ Mr. Rowland E. Prothero, the Editor of the most sumptuous edition of Byron's Works (John Murray), and to whose labours all lovers of Byron are indebted, also speaks of Mrs. Musters' "unhappy married life." (Vol. i., Letters and Journals, p. 17 note.)

in 1831, burnt down Colwick Hall where she was residing with her daughter, at sight of whom Byron had been so much affected.

Byron died at Missolonghi on 19th April, 1824. Henry Manning, who lived to become the best known of English Cardinals since the days of Cardinal Wolsey, was then in the school and in the cricket eleven. He tells us that as soon as the news reached the Hill, Dr. George Butler preached in the parish church on the abuse of natural gifts. This was rather a different spirit from that which made Sir Walter Scott exclaim on hearing of Byron's death—"It is as if the sun had gone out." A packet of letters, written during the years 1824 and '25 by the late Arthur Martineau to his schoolfellow G. M. Batten, have been kindly placed at my disposal by the latter's son. Arthur Martineau was head of the school in 1824 and '25, and subsequently became a Prebendary of St. Paul's. He tells his friend that a portrait of Byron adorns his mantel-piece. "I have been recommended," he writes on 25th February, 1825, "to read the *Excursion* by William Wordsworth, but I doubt. Talking of Lakists, have you read Master Bob Southey's infamous letter in abuse of Lord Byron? It disgraces him as a man, an author, and a Christian." Bravo Martineau! Writing on 2nd November, 1824, Martineau gives us the following frank picture of school-life—"With respect to the business of the Head of the School, it is far less than I imagined, and Butler and Harry (*i.e.* Drury) are both uncommonly civil to me. I cannot say much in favour of —'s house, after a state of anarchy, during which — was licked twice by Toogood, — has been turned down, together with Lord —, for going out shooting." J. J. Toogood rowed No. 5 in the Oxford Boat (1829) and subsequently became a Rural Dean.

In these letters Martineau makes no allusion to his contemporary Manning, but Manning himself tells us that he had "no daily companion and few friends." Manning when a Cardinal, wrote that he and his schoolfellow Charles Wordsworth had stripped his father's glasshouse of its grapes on a day on which (unknown to them) he

was giving a dinner-party, and yet, added the Cardinal, both the culprits are now Prelates!

Ashden Oxenden, who afterwards became Metropolitan of Canada, was another contemporary of Manning's. In his *History of my life* Oxenden speaks of the "little self-assertion in Manning's character." The late Dean of Ely used to tell a story to illustrate the truth that from philosophy to platitude there is but one step. Manning hit a ball at cricket, and as it curved gracefully away exclaimed—"What a mysterious thing a cricket-ball is!"

The influence of Byron for good is not dead at Harrow. Clement Harris, the generous lad who lost his life fighting for Greece in the last Turko-Greek campaign, is a proof of this. When he was at Harrow he used to spend hours by Peachey's stone, where "Byron lay, lazily lay." We may be sure that two boys who were at Harrow some thirty years after Byron had left the Hill felt his influence to the full. These boys were Julian Fane and Lord Lytton, his friend and biographer; the one was in Mr. Oxenham's house, the other in Mr. Harris's. The future Viceroy of India has been described to me by one of his contemporaries at Harrow as "a wild-looking boy with large eyes." He disliked athletics and seemed unable to do anything with his hands. Both Fane and Lytton were artists—the one in music and the other in verse. Lytton has himself drawn the distinction between filigree work and massive work in poetry. Byron was a massive worker, and *Childe Harold* was written for all time; but Lytton's filigree work was surely of the most exquisite design. Neither Fane nor Lytton (as young men) much relished diplomacy. Writing of his friend our future ambassador at Paris refers to those "subservient ingenuities whereby a diplomatist must endeavour to give practical effect to instructions which at the best scarcely inspire him with any moral or intellectual enthusiasm."¹ This is scarcely a fair view of diplomacy, which teaches patience and reticence, as few other callings do.

Fane's grandfather (a Carthusian) made the famous

¹ Lytton's *Julian Fane*, p. 260.

runaway match with Sarah, the daughter and heiress of Robert Child, the banker. By a curious coincidence the eldest daughter of this Earl and Lady Westmoreland was also married at Gretna Green. Her husband George (fifth Earl of Jersey) was an Old Harrovian and owner of three Derby winners. Lady Jersey proved herself a staunch friend of Byron. Fane's father (the 11th Earl of Westmoreland) was at Harrow under Dr. Drury. Lord Burghersh (to give him the title by which he was best known) was successively a soldier, a diplomatist, and a musician, and brilliant in each stage of development. He founded the Royal College of Music, and at his funeral the massed military bands of Berlin played Beethoven's Funeral March. He was as popular an Ambassador in Berlin, as his son's friend, Lytton, afterwards proved at Paris.

All the world knows that the late Lord Lytton loved Disraeli. Lord Beaconsfield never tasted popularity in his life-time, but his name and memory have for 19 years enjoyed a popular appreciation far surpassing that enjoyed by his rival Mr. Gladstone. I am not sure that he ever visited the school on the Hill; I believe not. His novels contain allusions to Eton, but none to Harrow or Winchester, yet three of his most devoted friends, Lords Lytton, Rowton, and Strangford, were Harrovians, and his two brothers were Wykehamists. Of Lord Rowton I will only say that of all living men he is best qualified to write Beaconsfield's life; of Percy Smythe (Lord Strangford) that he was as witty as Benjamin, and as learned as Isaac Disraeli. On one occasion in the early fifties Lockhart (Scott's son-in-law), Abraham Hayward (the Essayist), and Smythe were discussing Disraeli. The two first thought his career at an end, but Smythe predicted that he would live to be Premier, and a very great one too. His hearers "laughed him to scorn." ¹

Lord Lytton was the son of his father in more senses than one. He was quite his equal in originality, though not his equal in powers of concentration, that mother of hard work and many books. In moral qualities he was

¹ Dean Boyle's *Recollections*, p. 166.

assuredly his superior. A more sincere, more generous, or more warm-hearted man it is impossible to imagine. As Viceroy of India he never favoured a "Forward" policy in the sense of an aggressive one. It has been often said that he had instructions from Lord Salisbury to pick a quarrel with the Ameer. Nothing could be further from the truth. When Shere Ali's letter setting forth his complaints reached the Indian Government, Lord Lytton observed that all the Ameer's complaints were directed against his predecessor (Lord Northbrook) and not against himself. How generous he was to his critics and opponents is known to his intimates at Calcutta, but not perhaps to the general public. On the death of Lord Lawrence, Lord Lytton personally wrote the Notification which appeared in the Government Gazette, in which in noble language he paid a high tribute to the character and merits of his great predecessor and critic. For this he received a letter of thanks from Lady Lawrence. Lord Lytton died, as every man wishes to die, in harness—in his study-chair, writing. By his bedside was found an unfinished poem with the ink hardly dry.¹ His name rounds off most worthily the list of five Harrovian Governors-General and Viceroys.

A special reference should be made to Capt. Wm. Peel, R.N., a son of the Prime Minister and himself an Old Harrovian. Col. Malleon in his *History of the Indian Mutiny* refers to him as a man who would have made his mark in any age and under any circumstances. To an energy that nothing could daunt, a power that seemed never to tire, he added a freshness of intellect, a fund of resource, which made him in the expressive language of one of his officers "the mainspring that worked the machinery."² Wm. Peel started from Calcutta on an unprecedented expedition to Allahabad, arrived there, conquered every obstacle, escaped every danger of the field, and then succumbed to small-pox. Lieutenant Verney (himself, I believe, an Old Harrovian) wrote of Wm. Peel—"We never felt ourselves to be the *Shannon's* Naval Brigade

¹ See preface to "Marah", by Lady Lytton.

² Col. Malleon's *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. ii., p. 127.

or even the Admiralty's Naval Brigade, but always Peel's Naval Brigade." The first Englishman who fell in the Mutiny was J. C. E. McNabb. He had only just left Harrow and joined his regiment at Meerut.

In January 1880 Lord Lytton appointed Lepel Griffin, an Old Harrovian, to the post of Chief of the Political Staff at Kabul. It was Sir Lepel who wrote the famous letter to Abdur Rahman which is quoted by Lord Roberts in his *Forty-one Years in India*, and who on 22nd July, 1880, explained at the Durbar held at Kabul the motives of the Indian Government in acknowledging Abdur Rahman as Ameer of Afghanistan. Then followed the disaster at Maiwand on the 27th July, which did not facilitate our negotiations. Lord Roberts pays a warm tribute to the "skill and patience" with which Sir Lepel Griffin brought his "difficult negotiations" to a successful issue. It was Sir Lepel who, at Zimma, sixty miles from Kabul, welcomed the wanderer, Abdur Rahman, back as the acknowledged ruler of his country. There were many points of resemblance between the Viceroy and Sir Lepel Griffin. Both possessed the happy knack of turning a phrase, which is inborn and not to be acquired at any school. During this Afghan Campaign, short in point of time, but full of destiny for the future of our Empire, another Old Harrovian distinguished himself. On the 11th December, 1879, Lord Roberts writes thus of my old house-fellow, Lieut. Col. J. A. F. H. Stewart-Mackenzie of Seaforth: "With a faint hope of saving the guns I directed Capt. Stewart-Mackenzie, who had assumed command of the 9th Lancers, to make a second charge, which he executed with the utmost gallantry." Stewart-Mackenzie's horse was shot and fell upon him; he was extricated with the greatest difficulty. "Directly we had got clear of the village the cavalry reformed, and retired slowly by alternate squadrons in a manner which excited my highest admiration, and reflected the greatest credit on the soldierly qualities of Stewart-Mackenzie and Neville."

This charge reminds us of another famous charge—that of the 21st Lancers at Omdurman on the 2nd September, 1898. Old Harrovians read with pride how Lieutenants Tom Connolly and Winston Churchill "turned back and

rescued the non-commissioned officers of their troops." ¹ The reputation Winston Churchill has won as a soldier he has maintained as a correspondent and a speaker. If his life be spared, we shall hear more of this brilliant son of a brilliant father. Many of us, as we left Lords after the first day's play of the Harrow and Eton match (1900), were saddened by the news that Tom Conolly had fallen at Nitral's Nek. Among his old schoolfellows he had not left an enemy behind him.

In a very different field another Old Harrovian greatly distinguished himself. There is a Government Minute (Oct. 3rd, 1868,) that Sir Alexander Grant had "undoubtedly set his mark on the history of education in India." The late Duke of Argyle testified to the "solidity and reality of his administration." On the death of Sir David Brewster (1868) Grant was appointed Principal of Edinburgh University. Grant was in our cricket eleven as well as head of the school (1844).

Of distinguished painters too few come from our public schools for us to omit here the names of Sir Francis Grant, President of the Royal Academy, and Frederick Tayler, President of the Old Water Colour Society. In his *Modern Painters* Ruskin said of Tayler's sketches: "the quantity of effect obtained is enormous in proportion to the apparent Means." Tayler went both to Harrow and Eton. Another President of the Royal Academy, Sir Charles Eastlake was an Old Carthusian, and Sir Edward Poynter, the present President, is an Old Westminster.

The Head Master of Harrow is an autocrat. Dr. Butler reminded the Public School Commissioners of 1864 "that the Head Master at Harrow is completely unshackled by any superior administrative authority." Dr. Vaughan, writes one who was under him, was one of the last persons in the world with whom you would take a liberty. With such a man as Head Master of Harrow, success was a foregone conclusion.

When Dr. Sumner died in 1862, Dr. Longley became Primate of England. Dr. Sumner had been an assistant master at Eton; Dr. Longley Head Master of Harrow. It

¹ *Daily Telegraph*, September 23rd, 1898.

is difficult to reconcile Dr. Longley's success as a Bishop with his failure as a schoolmaster. It must be borne in mind that Dr. Longley was not Bishop of a purely bucolic diocese such as Chichester, but of a diocese which contained the cities of Leeds and Bradford. He was consecrated in 1836 the first Bishop of Ripon, and as such visited Haworth Parsonage, the home of the Brontés. To this happy accident we owe the following charming description of our former Head Master:—

"The Bishop has been and is gone," writes Charlotte Bronté. "He is certainly a most charming Bishop; the most benignant gentleman that ever put on lawn sleeves; yet stately too, and competent to check encroachments."

Dr. Longley's moderate success as Head Master of Harrow is the more to be wondered at, as his whole subsequent career as Bishop of Ripon, Bishop of Durham, Archbishop of York, and Archbishop of Canterbury was eminently practical and successful. The son of a man whose ripe manhood was devoted to attempting to solve the difficulties that face us at every turn in London, for his father was a Metropolitan Police Magistrate, Dr. Longley had little to do with literature and much to do with administrative work.

He unquestionably did his best to qualify himself to discharge the duties of a Head Master. On his appointment he visited Shrewsbury with Harry Drury to hear Dr. Samuel Butler take his own class. This incident, so creditable to all concerned, is referred to in the draft letter of Dr. Butler to the Master and Fellows of St. John's, announcing his intended resignation of his own headmastership. Dr. Butler modestly cancelled the passage from the letter he sent, but the draft was preserved.¹

Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, Dr. Longley's successor at Harrow, had much to do with literature and little to do with administrative work. He was the third son of the Master of Trinity and the nephew of one of the world's greatest poets. He was captain of the first Winchester Cricket Eleven that played at Lords in 1825, and was Senior Classic in 1830. He is a proof that scholarship, plus athle-

¹ *Life of Dr. Samuel Butler*, by Mr. Samuel Butler, Vol. i., p. 3.

ticism, does not necessarily make a successful master. His was a peculiar organisation—cricketer, thinker, theologian, traveller, scholar; but diversified as were his gifts no good fairy had added any practical ability. His Latinity as well as his piety were mediæval rather than modern, though I am told his Latin prose was in its happy phraseology more Ciceronian than Erasmian. It would have been better for our school had he been less literary and more practical. You have only to turn to the catalogue of the Library of the British Museum to see how many were the fields in which he took pastime and delight. The writings of the late Bishop of Lincoln are probably more numerous than all the writings of all our other Head Masters put together.

Cardinal John Henry Newman (just before he joined the Church of Rome) confided to an Old Harrovian, the late Rev. Isaac Williams,¹ that the dinner-table of the Bishop of Gloucester was a great shock to him. He thought a Bishop should be satisfied with "a little water, bread and salt". To do Cardinal Newman justice, he (like our Harrow Cardinal) was a Gallio as to life's pleasures. The Bishop of Gloucester, Monk, (an Old Carthusian) was one of our "Greek Play Bishops", and a good Bishop he was according to his lights, but Dr. Wordsworth was something different from either Monk, or Maltby, or even Blomfield.

Our school for thirty years was presided over by three singularly handsome men—Longley, Wordsworth and Vaughan. Those who never saw Christopher Wordsworth in his life-time, can see his clear-cut sensitive features in marble. Lincoln Cathedral cannot compare with Canterbury, Westminster, or York in the wealth of its historical monuments, but it can compare with them or any other cathedral in wealth of beautiful detail of every other kind. Here, in the grand old Minster dominating the Fen Country—our old chief, after his troubled reign at Harrow, sleeps well.

Charles John Vaughan must have been born under a happy star. Everything to which he put his hand, pros-

¹ When the first stone of the new Speech Room was laid in 1819, the stone contained a "Bill of the School" for the quarter, written out by Isaac Williams, who wrote the best hand in the School.

pered. As Head Master, Rector, Master of the Temple, Dean, he was equally successful. His success we need not wonder at. It was the natural consequence of his exceptional abilities; but the good opinion he enjoyed of all classes of men, whether Churchmen or Dissenters, may well surprise us. What was there in Harrow's former Head Master that took this powerful hold on the public imagination? His services to our school can scarcely be exaggerated, but they were not services by which he would have won the universal esteem of his fellow-countrymen. The secret of his influence lay in his rare gift of self-renunciation. It is a great stake to play, but the man who plays it wins the game. Every suffrage is secured by him who is indifferent to the prizes which others seek. So true is it that the man who is lord of himself, though "having nothing, yet hath all".

It is, however, a fact, little known, that the Bishopric of Rochester was offered to Dr. Vaughan and accepted by him, but a few days after his acceptance of the mitre he wrote to Lord Palmerston asking to be excused, if the matter had not gone too far.

Dean Vaughan's name grew to be a household word throughout England. We may think better of the world, when we remember the enormous influence which the late Dean exercised. And yet even so brave and blameless a man feared to be thought a pluralist. Before accepting the Deanery he consulted a friend whether he should resign the Mastership of the Temple. The joint incomes of the two posts did not exceed about £700 a year. To the credit of "the many-headed beast" no tongue wagged—no one grudged the Dean any post that he cared to fill.

I would couple with Dr. Vaughan the name of Hugh Pearson, an Harrovian that should not be forgotten. Hugh Pearson was a pupil of Dr. Longley. He was Vicar of Sonning and Canon of Windsor. Higher preferment than this he always declined. Like Dr. Vaughan he trod the path that escaped notice (*fallentis semita vite*). He knew the difference between being distinctive and seeking distinction. His influence throughout the Church of England

was more felt than talked about. He was beloved by his old schoolfellows, notably by that fine scholar and head of our school, Sir Wm. Gregory, who was described by a high authority as the only man competent to write that *magnum opus*, "A History of the Turf." ¹ He was the friend of Miss Mitford and Lady Augusta Stanley, of Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, and of Dean Stanley. There is no one, said the late Master of Balliol, "whose judgment and taste I valued more and miss more than Pearson's." ²

Dr. Vaughan came to Harrow in 1845 and left in 1859. He seems to have altered everything for the better, not forgetting the birch which he reduced in bulk, though not in sting. The School not only recovered in numbers under him, but bore a rich crop of boys who grew up into useful men. He attached no importance to public opinion, if he thought it ill-informed. At a time when there was an agitation in the Press about an abuse of monitorial power, he deliberately increased the number of monitors of Harrow from ten to fifteen. ³

Of Dr. George Butler, ⁴ that able and versatile teacher, and of his son Dr. Henry Montagu Butler, ⁵ the present Master of Trinity, I have spoken fully elsewhere.

Dr. Welldon brought the art of preaching to boys well nigh to perfection. One of the pleasantest letters our late Head Master ever received must have been the one Mr. Goschen wrote, congratulating him on a Harrow boy having passed first into the Navy, 500 marks ahead of all his competitors. The late Secretary for the Admiralty has a great wish for public-school boys to enter the Queen's Navy, and this was one of his reasons for raising the age of entrance. Dr. Johnson used to say that if a boy did not come out a scholar from an English school, he was fit for

¹ John Kent and Hon. Francis Lawley's *Sporting Life of Lord George Bentinck*, p. 377.

² For an affectionate tribute to Hugh Pearson see Dean Boyle's *Recollections*, p. 259.

³ *At School and at Sea*. by Martello Tower.

⁴ Head Master of Harrow from 1805 to 1829.

⁵ Head Master of Harrow from 1860 to 1885.

nothing at all, whereas a boy in a Scotch school was always taught something that was useful to him in later life. This may have been true of our public schools of the eighteenth century and far into the nineteenth, but it is not true of our public schools of to-day. A boy may leave Harrow unable to read a page of Cicero, but able to become an electrical engineer or to lay out a garden. Above all, Harrow is a soldier's school. For the Woolwich examinations in 1898 seventy-five per cent of the successful candidates came from public schools (including Grammar Schools so called), and only twenty-five per cent were specially prepared. The proportion of the successful candidates into Sandhurst for 1898, who had been specially prepared was larger—viz. 44 ⁰/₁₀ from "crammers", and 56 ⁰/₁₀ from schools.

Unfortunately, no Harrovians could be present at the dinner which Old Etonians gave to Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Lord Minto, and Dr. Welldon in the autumn of 1898, but report tells us that our then Head Master spoke admirably. My friend, Mr. F. D. Carmichael, has called my attention to the curious coincidence that the first Bishop of Calcutta, Middleton, was the son of the vicar of Kedleston, the village near Derby from which Lord Curzon took his title. This was not referred to at the Eton dinner. Another remarkable coincidence (to which the same friend calls my attention) is that the design of Government House at Calcutta, built by Lord Wellesley in 1804, was taken from Kedleston Hall, the seat of Lord Curzon's father, Lord Scarsdale. Kedleston Hall was designed by Mr. Adam, an architect famous in his day.

We all wish the Bishop of Calcutta well in his high calling and in his effort to weld together still more closely "the British Empire and the Church." I have sometimes thought that Dr. Welldon has unconsciously drawn his inspiration from that Roman literature which he knows so well. The Roman believed that the gods of his city shared in all its fortunes. The forms of religion were intertwined with the fabric of the State. To be an atheist was to disbelieve in *Roma dea*. If a faith which we call pagan, produced such men as Scipio Africanus, as the Gracchi (his grandsons),

and as Julius Cæsar, surely the Bishop is not wrong in thinking that British patriotism purified and sustained by Christianity should produce statesmen greater than "the noblest Roman of them all."

When in 1899 Dr. Welldon left, a crowd of some 200 Etonians and Harrovians (both Old and young), with Lord Roberts of Kandahar, assembled on the platform of Victoria Station. No similar demonstration had been seen for fifty years. In 1849 another Old Etonian, Bishop Selwyn, left our shores among the prayers and blessings of thousands. The Master of Trinity did well to remind us in his sermon at Dr. Welldon's consecration, that as Bishop Selwyn's ship sailed away, Edward Lyttelton, an Old Etonian, who remained to carry on his master's work, called out to his old school-fellow—"God bless you! Floreat Ecclesia! Floreat Etona!" This is the farewell that, without altering a single word, Old Harrovians would give to their former chief.

CHAPTER XI.

HARROW—(continued).

DR. VAUGHAN came too late to retain for the school the services of Benjamin Hall Kennedy, subsequently Head Master of Shrewsbury, and John Wm. Colenso, subsequently Bishop of Natal, but he did introduce into the school some admirable masters. Dr. Westcott, Dr. Bradby, Mr. Arthur Watson, Mr. John Smith, Dr. Farrar, Mr. Masson, Mr. Hutton, Mr. Henry Watson, F.R.S., and Mr. Bowen, the Harrow laureate, all came to the Hill under Dr. Vaughan. It would be an honour to any school to count the present Bishop of Durham among its masters. I fear some of us taxed his patience sadly. Dear old John Smith! He is dead, and his favourite pupil (whose heart is buried on the Mount of Olives) is also at rest. What boy who left the Hill between '54 and '82 ever mentions John Smith without a blessing? He was a Galloway man, just as Carlyle was a Dumfries man. Both were fine specimens of the Lowlander of the peasant stock; only John Smith was a Thomas Carlyle with Christian humility added. It was his practice in class to ask questions on newspaper topics. They were not always very relevant to the subject in hand. One of his pet questions was—"Who is the greatest man in England?" How delighted he used to be, if his question met with the answer—"John Bright". John Smith had this in common with Schopenhauer. The German philosopher advised his son to study the *Times*. The Harrow master would have endorsed that advice.

The wit of the school was the French Master, Mr. Masson. We were forbidden to bring in hot meat from Fuller's to breakfast. One boy had contrived an ingenious receptacle for delicacies in the shape of a draught-board with the words

“French Dictionary” printed outside. One morning as he was walking along with this under his arm, he met Mr. Masson, who observed a little steam coming out. “What is that you have there?” The boy mumbled something about dictionary, “Ah! let me look up one little word,” said the enquiring French Master, and out rolled two sausages and mashed potato.

How much it lies in the power of a boy to brighten by some happy phrase the dreariness which comes over the form that is reading an Ode of Horace for the twentieth time. My readers will remember the stanza which occurs in the third Ode of the first Book—

Nequidquam Deus abscedit
Prudens Oceano dissociabili
Terras.

The present Mr. Justice — of the Irish Bench rendered this “The sea that objects to the Union.” How Dr. Butler did laugh! No wonder the future judge was an immense favourite of his. On another occasion Dr. Butler was taking the Second Sixth in Aristophanes, when M. (who afterwards went into the Guards) translated a line literally—“You can not buy much with two obols” “Quite correct,” remarked Dr. Butler; “but cannot you render it in more idiomatic English?” Thus encouraged, our future guardsman gave the following—“You cannot buy much for the price of half a pint.” Dr. Butler was delighted. At an earlier period the nephew of a poet in his Latin prose rendered “Cæsar led his army etc.” by “plumbavit exercitum.” Dear old “Billy” (Mr. Oxenham) was immensely tickled at Cæsar being reduced to the level of a plumber!

There have been famous quarrels among schoolmasters as among other men. Dr. Samuel Butler of Shrewsbury School and Mr. Jeudwine were not on speaking terms. For seven and thirty years the first and second masters, both estimable men, addressed each other only by letter. This was one of the reasons for the decline in the numbers of the school even under so able a head. Happily they were reconciled, when Mr. Jeudwine lay on his death-

bed.¹ In 1739 there was a dispute between Dr. Burton, the Head Master of Winchester, and the Usher.² This dispute must probably have played a part in the decline in numbers of Winchester Commoners between 1735 and 1751. Indeed in 1751 the number of Commoners declined to eight. During the past 200 years the non-foundationers at none of our public schools have been reduced to the same extent, except perhaps at Harrow under Mr. Coxe.³ The harmony of the masters working under Dr. Vaughan was a main reason for the revival of Harrow's prosperity. The Second Master of Harrow, Mr. Oxenham, admired Dr. Vaughan immensely, and I am told by one who was present, checked some sixth-formers who spoke with disrespect of his Latinity.

Is it true that dust now gathers on *Pickwick* as it did long ago on *Peregrine Pickle*? If so, it is also true that *Pickwick* has become a classic. The modern schoolboy may pronounce its pages dry, but his master gives it as a prize. The trial scene was acted on the Eton Speech Day of 1898. Very different was its repute with schoolmasters fifty years ago. Mr. D. F. Carmichael tells me that he brought some books to his tutor (Mr. Oxenham) to be bound, and the title of Dickens's work caught his eye. "Pickwick!" exclaimed the immortal "Billy", and putting into his voice as much contempt as was possible, he threw the book into the corner, and gave my friend the Fourth Georgic to write out.

What made Mr. Oxenham so beloved? Mr. Oxenham was a master to whom the infliction of punishment seemed a personal pain. An eye-witness tells me that a boy in his house had been expelled and rightly so. The boy was lamenting his fate, prophesying that his expulsion would bar his rise in any profession. A wise mother could not have been more tender to him than his house-master, Mr. Oxenham. He pointed out that though he was justly punished, he was not going to be like Cain with a mark on him all through his life etc., etc. William

¹ *Annals of Shrewsbury School*, p. 295.

² *Annals of Winchester College*, pp. 392—4.

³ *Harrow School: Early Headmasters*, by B. P. Lascelles.

Spottiswoode was sent down from Eton for the serious offence of firing a small cannon on the 5th November! He then went to Harrow, afterwards became President of the Royal Society, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Eton presented to us Wm. Spottiswoode, we returned the compliment by presenting Eton with Lord Rayleigh, F.R.S., who was first at Harrow, then at Eton, and finally Senior Wrangler. Sir Redvers Buller, V.C., also might have been altogether an Harrovian *in se totus teres atque rotundus*. He came to us first, but exchanged the Hill for Eton. The school possesses a fine Gymnasium; the *Harrovian* says, "seldom more than a dozen" struggle for the vacant places in the Eight, while at Rugby the competition is keen. No wonder Rugby was victorious this year. The head of our Eight was Prince Purachatra, a son of H. M. the King of Siam, that loyal friend of Harrow School.

"Billy's" House had the enormous advantage of having the three Walkers—V. E., R. D. and I. D. These three veterans (of whom R. D. Walker alone survives), with the late Lord Bessborough, Robert Grimston,¹ Henry Vernon, A. W. T. Daniel² (who have all joined the majority), C. F. Buller, H. M. Plowden, A. J. Webbe, W. H. Patterson, Archy McLaren, F. S. Jackson, J. H. Stogdon and T. G. O. Cole, are among the best known of Harrow cricketers of the latter half of this century. Harrow has no "wet bobs," yet many "Blues" that rowed for their University came from the Hill. We can, however, only claim one double blue, William Massey, who rowed in the Light Blue Eight and played in the Eleven. Like many another fine athlete he was as modest as he was skilful. We may give him this due now, as he has joined the majority. Cricket fills a position of such importance on the Hill that not to refer to it would be to give an incomplete account of school-life there. I have described elsewhere how the cricket eleven form the aristo-

Lord Bessborough was in our Cricket Eleven and the Cambridge Eleven; "Bob" Grimston was not in our Eleven, but he was in the Oxford Cricket Eleven.

² Captains of Harrow Cricket Eleven in 1849 and 1860, and both in the Cambridge Cricket Eleven.

crazy of the school and have given reminiscences of some of them. The good fellowship that exists among the members of the eleven must be put down to the credit of the game. There was the story of M. and N., captains of the Eleven two years in succession. They were not on speaking terms, but after running up together a fine score at Lords they met on the steps of the pavilion and shook hands in silence. Nothing could have been more English or more satisfactory than this undemonstrative scene.

It is generally supposed that if once you "get your flannels" you have them for your school-life, and such I believe is the case; but the voluntary resignation of his flannels by a member of the Eleven has often been discussed. It was bluntly suggested to A., who retorted by making the "cock" score of his year at Lords. Another cricketer, B., a delightfully modest lad, was quite willing to retire; but the matter dropped, and B. lived to make the winning hit at Lords. Then C. was asked to give up his flannels—"Not I," replied C., "after giving up so much time to cricket I might have devoted to bird-nesting!" No doubt Old Harrovians will be able to give the names of these three good men and true. The reason why cricket, rowing, and football should form an important part of a boy's education is not on account of the skill to which he may attain, but on account of the self-reliance, concentration, promptitude, and resource which athletic excellence confers. In other words, while a boy is taught in the form, he teaches himself in field and on the river. His own supervision of his own games in play-hours breeds no want of discipline in school-hours, but rather the contrary. A good athlete is rarely insubordinate. His leanings are all in the direction of law and order.

The good-fellowship, and even the disappointments of the game, all sow the seeds for achievements in later life. Perhaps the three most interesting Lords' matches ever played were (at least from an Harrovian point of view) those of 1858, 1898 and 1900. In 1858 the Eton and Harrow match was resumed after its discontinuance since 1855, and when Dr. Vaughan entered the grounds, he received a tremendous ovation from what was then considered a vast gather-

ing. In 1898 Harrow won a famous victory, and both sides gave us some first-rate play.

“But the game’s guardian, mute nor heeding more
What suns may gladden and what airs may blow,
Friend, teacher, playmate, helper, counsellor
Lies resting now.”

I. D. Walker, who had coached his old school team, was lying dead in his brother’s house, not two hundred yards away, and the flags at Lords were flying half-mast high. “Thirty-six runs to make and thirty minutes to make them in!” It was preëminently an occasion for the nerve and judgment which on other fields win the Victoria Cross.

In 1900 Harrow went in for her second innings with 125 runs to win, and plenty of time to make them in. The game looked like a certainty for Harrow, but when G. Cookson (our Captain) was out, and when in the next over the Eton bowler, Whately, performed the “hat trick”, the game looked like a certainty for Eton. Then the tide turned again in Harrow’s favour only to ebb once more, when Wilson was run out. Three more wickets fell with the score at 118; Eton cheers waxed in volume and confidence. The fate of Harrow hung on its last two batsmen, R. H. Crake and A. Buxton. Crake was our wicket-keeper, a good school for steadying nerves. His policy was a blocking game with hits to leg. Two out of the seven required to tie were made. Crake faced the bowler, looked round to square leg, saw no field there, had his opportunity, and made his four. He then made another run by a forward drive, and secured a tie. Crake then hit another four to square leg. To breathless stillness succeeded pandemonium garnished with some harmless boxing. Those who observed Crake’s extraordinary sangfroid at Lords will watch his career in the army with interest. He belongs to that limited class—a happy twelfth man. He was our twelfth man in ’99, a school-fellow being preferred for the last place on account of his leaving the school that term. Had Crake got his flannels in ’99, he too would have left, and thus would not have made the winning hit in the never-to-be-forgotten match of 1900.

However little some may regard the rules of the school, all boys respect their own unwritten code. The sacred number at Harrow is three, while every word ends in "er". For instance, the blue flannel coat he wears is called "bluer"; but no boy who has not been three years in the school is allowed to wear it in the House. It is only when you have been three years on the Hill that you begin to thoroughly enjoy yourself. You can then walk in the road and need not keep to the footpath, you can wear a flower in your button-hole, and can even roll up your "brolly" without committing the ineffable crime of "side"! In the sixties we objected to overcoats, disdained "brollies", but had perforce to have our trouser pockets sewn up. The only sumptuary law now in force is the great-coat question. Thanks to influenza a notice is now put up on the school gates, informing the boys when their great coats must be worn. The most interesting notices that appear on those gates for most of us are the announcements of the elevens, which at cricket or "footer" are to fight for their respective Houses in the inter-house matches. Dr. Butler's is, I believe, still the only house that ever produced a sixteen, who at "footer" played and beat a sixteen of the rest of the school. The elevens of other Houses have played and beaten an eleven of the rest of the school, but never a sixteen.

In the sixties no sight could have been more picturesque than that of the boys going down to "footer". The Middlemites wore their dark blue coats and blue stockings, the Tommyites (Steel's now Bowen's) their scarlet coats and red stockings, the "Monkeyites" their carnation striped coats, the Bradbyites their purple striped coats, while we Butlerites were content to play in our pink and white shirt with no coat at all. It was not considered good form in a Butlerite to wear a coat "down to footer", however hard it rained, unless you were in the school "footer" and then you might swathe yourself in magenta.

I will not attempt to describe the gorgeous plumage of the "Billyites", the "Harrisites", and the "Young Vaughanites". An hour and a quarter passes, and the same flanneled dandies walk up the hill bespattered with mud from head to foot.

“Those who have met us at footer,
Have not found us ladylike there.”

Our flannel coats remind me of a singular incident. X. Z., who was Head of his House, was a squatter in New South Wales. His home was besieged and taken by a gang of bushrangers. The police pursued and captured them. One of the men had taken a great fancy to our old schoolfellow's striped footer coat; in fact, he would not part with it and was hanged in it. These coats of many colours have disappeared into the limbo of the past, but many who wore them have since conferred distinction on the Queen's uniform.

“Blood goes by quality as well as quantity; who can tell what future deeds we lost, when we lost Gordon, and Stewart, and Earle, Burnaby who rode to Khiva, and Owen who rode Father O'Flynn? By shot and steel, by sunstroke and pestilence, by sheer wear of work, the Soudan has eaten up our best by hundreds.” Every name mentioned by G. W. Steevens (except that of Gordon) is that of a Public School boy, and they formed the flower of the British Army. Two out of the four (Earle and Burnaby) came from the Hill, Stewart was a Wykehamist, and Owen an Etonian. In a sense it is true that there is nothing now under the sun. In 1758 Lady Howe issued an address to the electors of Nottingham, asking their suffrages on behalf of her son William, who was then fighting for his King and Country in North America. The appeal was not made in vain. William Howe was returned for Nottingham in his absence, and in the place of his brother, who had fallen in action at Ticonderoga. In 1900 several soldiers were elected to Parliament in their absence at the Front, but only one candidate has, I believe, during the last 200 years been, in his absence, twice elected to the House of Commons. That exceptional experience befell an Old Harrovian Capt. J. B. Seely, M.P., now serving with the Hants Carabineers in South Africa. The war in South Africa has sadly increased the number of our school heroes. The names of those who have fallen are given in an Appendix.

What strikes you most sadly in perusing the roll is the extreme youth of our Old Boys; one only of them, C. B.

Childe, played at Lords in the early seventies, the majority left the Hill in the nineties.

And the boy-beauty passed from off the face

.
 And thoughts beyond their thoughts the Spirit lent,
 And manly tears made mist upon their eyes,
 And to them came a great presentiment
 Of high self-sacrifice.

Of those happily still with us, where all have been brave, it is impossible to select, but no Englishman will blame me for mentioning the names of W. N. Congreve, who received the Victoria Cross for his bravery in attempting with that gallant Etonian, F. H. S. Roberts, V.C., to recover the lost guns at Colenso; of Sir John Milbanke, who won the V.C. by taking up a man on his own horse under a most galling fire and bringing him safe into camp, and of W. F. H. S. Kincaid, Eric Wilson and Herbert Musgrave, three of the four officers commanding the Royal Engineers, who (with the 1st Royal Canadians) within 100 yards of the Boer trenches received the messenger with the white flag and tender of Cronje's surrender. Lord Roberts on parade specially commended those Canadians and Engineers. We have stormed many Albueras in Natal, but the dauntless courage displayed by General Cole and the soldiers he led up the Hill of Albuera has been consistently shown by the soldiers of the Queen in the present campaign. Some Napier of the future will again describe how nothing could stop that "astonishing infantry," and will relate with what a strength and majesty the British soldier fought in South Africa. But if our privates know how to fight, our officers know how to lead. They are not distinguished only by their uniforms. They have led "by example, rather than by command."¹ Faithful to their Queen, their Country and their colours, our Old Boys have quitted themselves like men in "our right and great cause." On the Veldt they sleep well.

¹ "Duces exemplo potius quam imperio, si prompti, si conspicui, si ante faciem agant, admiratione presunt." *Tacitus*.

CHAPTER XII.

MERCHANT TAYLORS' SCHOOL.

IN its numbers, its studies and its antiquity Merchant Taylors' is entitled to rank with Public Schools, though in two circumstances—the absence of endowment and of the boarding system—it differs from all others. There is no boarding system recognized by the school, but boarders are received by some of the assistant masters. Merchant Taylors' was one of the nine referred to the Public School Commissioners of 1864 and is included in their Report. The School was founded in 1561 by the Merchant Taylors' Company.¹ Sir Thomas White, the founder of St. John's College, Oxford, was a member of the Court of the Merchant Taylors' Company at the time, and three years after its foundation endowed the School with thirty-seven Life Fellowships in his own College.² Thus St. John's became to Merchant Taylors' what New College was to Winchester, King's College to Eton, and Christchurch to Westminster. Another member of the Court generously contributed towards the founding of the School £500, a sum sufficient in those days to secure the site in the parish of St. Laurence Pountney. These worthy Merchants drew up the Statutes which provided for the teaching of "children of all nations

¹ "The History of Merchant-Taylors' School," by H. W. Wilson, Second Under-Master (1812 Edition). I have adopted the modern spelling of Merchant Taylors' and dropped the hyphen used by Mr. Wilson.

² The fellowships of St. John's have been thrown open to general competition, but the School has twenty-one scholarships at the College of £100 a year, tenable for seven years.

and countries indifferently to the number of 250.”¹ This provision was evidently copied from Dean Colet's Ordinances for St. Paul's School. The founder of Winchester College gave a preference to his own kindred. After them applicants from parishes in which the College property was situate or from the diocese of Winchester, and, failing them, candidates from the eleven counties of Berks, Bucks, Cambridge, Dorset, Essex, Herts, Middlesex, Oxon, Somerset and Wilts were to be preferred. The Statutes of Eton gave a similar preference to any places where the College had property, and to the Counties of Bucks and Cambridge. Both William of Wykeham and Henry VI. stipulated that the scholars of their Foundation should be “pauperes indigentes”, not less than eight nor more than twelve years of age. No boy of servile or illegitimate birth was eligible to be a Colleger of Eton. Most of the Colleges at both Universities were founded for “poor scholars.” One clause in the Statutes of Westminster, which excluded the wealthier classes from the Queen's Scholarships, has, however, been deliberately ignored. The Company of Merchant Taylors followed the example of our earliest Founders in founding a school for the education of “poor men's sonnes.” The Statutes of Winchester and Eton Colleges know nothing of the nomination system. If the electors of Wykeham's Foundation could not agree as to who were the most deserving candidates, the question was to be determined by the vote of the majority. The electors of Eton were only three in number—the Provost, the Vice-Provost and the Head Master, and they appear to have treated the election of scholars into College quite as a family matter. Westminster was the first public school to offer the advantages of its Foundation to competition, but had the directions of its Founder been respected, St. Paul's would have filled this honourable position. It appears that Dean Colet intended

¹ By order of the Court (16th December, 1731,) children of Jews were excepted, an illiberal provision long since abandoned. Their exclusion was the more illogical, as Merchant Taylors' was and is now the only public school in which the Hebrew language is taught. There is now a Montefiore Hebrew Medal.

the entrance examination into his school to be competitive as it was during his lifetime,¹ but the Company introduced the system of nomination on his death. At Merchant Taylors' the practice of nomination crept in probably from its very foundation, each member of the Court nominating in turn.

According to the Statutes, the master was "to take, receive and teach freely one hundred scholars, parcell of the said number of 250 scholars, being poore men's sonnes without anything to be paid by the parents of the said one hundred poore children." Then he was to teach fifty more, whose "poore parents" were to pay to him 2s 6d a quarter, and then one hundred more whose "rich or meane" (*i.e.* middle class) parents were to pay five shillings a quarter. This rate of payment remained unaltered until 1805, when owing to the alteration in the value of money the "quarterage" was raised to five shillings. The school dues of the present day are an entrance fee of £5 5s (£1 of which is paid to the athletic sports of the school) and £12 12s per annum, paid by boys in the Lower School, or fifteen guineas per annum by boys in either Department of the Upper School. This includes every charge for education except books.² As the number of boys in the School is now more than 500 and as all pay the same, it will be seen that unlike Winchester, Eton, St. Paul's, Westminster and Charterhouse, there is at Merchant Taylors' no division into Scholars and Commoners, but that all alike enjoy the benefits of the Foundation.

The Scholars of Winchester and the gown-boys of Charterhouse were to be clothed, boarded, fed, and taught gratuitously. Merchant Taylors' has from its foundation been a day-school, and the statutes provide that there should be "no meate, nor drink, nor bottles, nor breakfasts in the time of learning." William of Wykeham founded a College for seventy scholars, Henry VI. founded Eton College for

¹ Public Schools Report, Vol. i., p. 190.

² I gladly acknowledge my indebtedness to *The Public Schools' Year Book* (Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Limited)—a vademecum for any parent who has not made up his mind as to which Public School to send his son.

twenty-five scholars, Dean Colet founded St. Paul's School for one hundred and fifty-three scholars, and Queen Elizabeth refounded St. Peter's College, Westminster, for forty scholars. By starting a school for two hundred and fifty boys the Merchant Taylors' Company founded the largest Public School that had up to that time been established.

The Reformed Religion was by law established in the land under Queen Elizabeth, and the Merchant Taylors' Company appointed, as their first Head Master, Richard Mulcaster, an Old Etonian and a Protestant. The Statutes provide that the Head Master shall be "learned in good and cleane Latin litrature and also in Greeke, yf such may be gotten" ¹ It was no easy task to catch a Greek scholar in the early part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, although Hallam thought that even before the middle of her reign the rudiments of the Greek language were imparted to Westminster scholars.

The salary assigned to the Head Master by the statutes was not considered adequate even at the time of the Foundation, as the Master of the Company added £10 to it out of his private purse; yet the salary remained stationary for two hundred years. In addition to a house and a small sum from the boys, the successors of Mulcaster only received £10 a year. This was the same salary without any allowance for commons or cloth that the Head Master of Winchester received almost two hundred years before the foundation of Merchant Taylors'. The Head Master of Tonbridge, a smaller school, received about the same time £20 a year, and the High Master of St. Paul's "a mark a weke and a levery gowne of IIII nobles delivered in cloth." In the sixteenth century and earlier, high functionaries of State used to receive clothes as gifts or as part of their salary. William Paston, on his elevation to the Bench of the Common Pleas (1429), received from the King a salary of 110 marks (£73 6s 8d) with two robes more than the ordinary allowance of the judges. ² The Head Master of

¹ I.e. pure and unscholastic Latin. The words are copied from Dean Colet's statutes.

² Mr. James Gairdner's Introduction to *The Paston Letters*. (Vol. i. XXIII.)

Westminster, Grant, the contemporary of Mulcaster, received £20 a year in addition to £1 10s for his gown and £6 1s 8d for "commons", and he had only forty scholars to teach instead of two hundred and fifty. The salaries fixed by John Lyon by his statutes in 1590 were £20 per annum for the Master and £10 for the usher, but Harrow School was merely parochial during the seventeenth century. In 1760 the salary of the Merchant Taylors' Head Master was raised to £100 a year. Mr. Wilson is very loth to bear unfavourable testimony to his own employers, yet, writing of Mr. Criche who died in 1760 at the age of eighty, he remarks that his Head Master "was constrained, even after strength failed, to retain his situation for the sake of a morsel of bread." ¹ The Head Masters had to eke out their pittance of a salary by means of the "quarterage", ² but under Mr. Criche, a man passed three score years and ten, the numbers of the boys declined to 116, so that his entire income cannot have much exceeded £20 a year! Mr. Criche, the Head Master of Clive, is one of the most pathetic figures in the history of English schools. Happily this question of the Head Master's salary has long since become a question of merely archæological interest.

The number of Masters was fixed in the Statutes at four—viz., a High Master, a Chief Usher and two Under Ushers. No change was made until 1828, when mathematics were introduced into the ordinary work of the school, two masters being added for higher mathematics, and two for writing and arithmetic. In 1845 French was introduced as an extra, and in 1846 it was added to the regular work, and two French Masters were appointed. Modern History dates from 1846, and Drawing from 1856. It is strange that a body of men so practical as the Court of the Merchant Taylors should have imported mathematics and French so late into their school curriculum. The record of most other Public Schools is very similar. At Harrow, for instance,

¹ Wilson's History, Vol. i., p. 436, note. The work is dedicated to the Merchant Taylors' Company. Public Schools Commission Report 1864. Vol. i., pp. 214—217 (Harrow).

² This appears to have been a capitation fee.

the study of mathematics was first made compulsory in 1837, and of French in 1851. At Eton the study of mathematics was first made compulsory in 1851, and French was still optional in 1864.¹ The Public School Commissioners of 1864 reported that the amount of mathematics taught at Merchant Taylors' school and the time given to them were "considerably above what they had found in any other school." The neglect of Mathematics at our public schools from their foundation to a period of fifty years ago is one of the most curious chapters in their history. Our school authorities could not have pleaded Kant's objection to mathematics, as a study to which the language of philosophy does not apply. If this neglect had only been shown by Winchester and Eton, it would be more explicable, but it seems to have been general in public schools. The prejudice against mathematics two hundred years ago was deeply grounded in the upper classes. Lord Chancellor Clarendon in sending his youngest son to Dr. Ward, then the Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, expressly asked him not to teach the lad mathematics, as he wished him to be a statesman. It is said of a certain Chancellor of the Exchequer that when he took office, he did not know the meaning of a decimal point. Seeing that mathematics were under a cloud in English schools, it is suggestive that the Mathematical Tripos should have been established nearly eighty years before the classical. The first Mathematical Tripos was held in 1747, the first Classical in 1824. The Chancellor's Medals were not instituted till 1752. Was the institution of the Tripos intended as an encouragement to mathematical learning at our public schools? Or was it thought that a boy had learnt enough Latin and Greek at a public school, and that at the University every inducement should be offered him to explore that unknown land which lay beyond Arithmetic? An Oxonian friend of mine suggests that the man from the plough was formerly a more dominant feature in the government of Cambridge than in that of Oxford, and that the undergraduates of Cambridge, during the 17th and 18th centuries, came from plain homely

¹ Public School Commission Report, Vol. i., p. 81 (Eton).

Grammar Schools where mathematics were taught, rather than from Public Schools where they were neglected. Until the nineteenth century the study of mathematics seems to have been as much neglected in the smaller Grammar Schools as in the larger Public Schools. In founding the Mathematical Tripos the University of Cambridge was forming, not following, public opinion in England.

The Skinners' Company stand in the same relation to Tonbridge School, that the Mercers do to St. Paul's. Both these City Companies enjoy the privilege of governing without having incurred the cost of founding. It is otherwise with the Merchant Taylors' Company and their School. The Merchant Taylors consider their School as their property, and that "no one could challenge their act if they were to abolish it altogether."¹ Although they thus hold themselves free from any legal obligation, no one who has studied the school's history will deny that they have discharged their moral obligations. To give only one instance of their liberality—in 1863 they laid out £20,000 in adjacent buildings to improve the school accommodation. Merchant Taylors' School therefore fills the unique position of being the only public school in England that possesses no property of its own; even the endowments that have been bequeathed to the school have been accepted by the Company. There would be something humourous in this arrangement, had not the Merchant Taylors' Company for more than three centuries met the current expenditure required for educating some 250 "children" "in good manners and literature."² They have in practice proved themselves philanthropists, while repudiating the legal doctrine of trusteeship.

In selecting Richard Mulcaster as their first Head Master, the Court of the Merchant Taylors showed their judgment. No man could have given their school a better start than this Old Etonian. In having Edmund Spenser as one of his first scholars Mulcaster was favoured by fortune in the proverbial manner, in which the brave, who overcome difficulties, are sometimes aided.

¹ Public Schools Commission, Vol. i., p. 206.

² The original Statutes.

At length they all to merry London came—
 To merry London, my most kindly Nurse,
 That to me gave this Life's first native source.¹

It was only natural that one who was born in East Smithfield and who was the son of a "free journeyman" cloth-worker, should have gone as a "poor scholar" to the Merchant Taylors' School in the adjoining parish of St. Lawrence Pountney.² The learned may differ as to who was the father of the poet, but that he went to Merchant Taylors' School is as well ascertained a fact as that Byron went to Harrow. Mr. Charles I. Robinson in his valuable Register of Merchant Taylors' School fixes the date of the poet's entrance as 1562 or 1563. The name of Edmund Spenser appropriately heads the roll of Merchant Taylors' Scholars. Spenser went as a sizar to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge in 1569. He does not appear to have been an idle boy. His master is said to have given special attention to the teaching of English, and to have taught Spenser the Italian language. A certain Dutchman, Jean van der Noodt, employed the young Merchant Taylor to translate some of Petrarch's sonnets. This discovery, which is due to Mr. Grosart's ingenuity, throws light on the wide course of study, which must have been pursued by lads of promise in Queen Elizabeth's reign. Andrewes, Spenser's school-fellow and head of the school, knew fifteen learned and modern tongues. Mulcaster was probably in advance of the other teachers of his day. He taught his boys music and singing, trained them to act in masques and interludes before the great Queen, insisted on the importance of physical training, and asserted the right of girls to receive as good a mental education as boys.

Mulcaster's high opinion of the utility of training boys to declaim and act is more fully dealt with when speaking

¹ Spenser's "Prothalamion."

² I have followed here what I believe to be the best authority on Edmund Spenser—viz., his life by Rev. Alexander B. Grosart, prefixed to his edition (printed for private circulation) of Spenser's Works (1882—1884).

of play-acting at our Public Schools in the next chapter. Fuller tells us that "the prayers of cockering mothers" had the effect of increasing rather than mitigating the severity of Mulcaster, though there is reason to suspect Fuller of unfairness in calling him "plagosus Orbilius". When Fuller goes on to say that he was impartial in his severity, we may safely infer that he was popular with his pupils. Mulcaster himself says in his *Positions*¹ that he would have "done better" had he used with his scholars "more correction and less curtesie." James Whitelocke tells us that Mulcaster's "care was also to increase my skill in musique, in which I was brought up by dayly exercise in it, as in singing and playing upon instruments." This was in addition to Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, in which latter tongue the future Judge was "coached" by one "Hopkinson, who dwelt in Grub Street" and was "expert in all the left hand tongs." This coaching apparently was in addition to the instruction he received at Merchant Taylors'. While Mulcaster was probably the greatest philologist of Queen Elizabeth's reign, he was also one of the first English Scholars following the example of Ascham and Thomas Smith, to write in English. To the learned of his time he put the question, "Why not learning in English?" Had he taught no other scholar than Spenser, he would for that alone have deserved well of posterity. That the author of *The Fairie Queen* should have died of a broken heart makes one doubt whether the days of "good Queen Bess" were quite such a golden dream as we sometimes imagine. Tennyson fared better in the more appreciative days of Queen Victoria. Another famous pupil of Mulcaster's was Lancelot Andrewes, afterwards Bishop of Winchester. Aubrey gives us a picture of the future prelate, as "a great long boy of 18 years old at least, before he went to the University." This was as exceptional in the sixteenth century as for a boy to go to Cambridge in an Eton jacket in the nineteenth century. Andrewes

¹ Dedicated "To the Most vertuous Ladie, His Most Daere and souveraine princesse Elizabeth, Queen of England," etc. Printed "by Ludgate 1581."

took the Fellowship at Pembroke College, Cambridge, which Spenser failed to secure. No shadow rests on Andrewes' beautiful and holy life, and a contemporary (Richard Crashaw), an Old Carthusian, has written of this Merchant Taylor, as of a saint.¹ His *Devotions* were originally composed in Greek. This was the last devotional book in the hands of Archbishop Tait on his death-bed. Andrewes hung up Mulcaster's picture in his study, and left a legacy to his son.

Besides Andrewes, Spenser, and Whitelocke, other distinguished men owed their training to Mulcaster. Thomas Dove, Bishop of Peterborough, Queen Elizabeth's "Dove with silver wings", left the school in 1571. Giles Tomsom (Bishop of Gloucester) as well as Bishop Andrewes were translators of the Bible, a post for which the teaching of Hebrew at Merchant Taylors' fitted them. John Buckeridge (another pupil of Mulcaster's) became Bishop of Rochester, and Rowland Searchfield, Bishop of Bristol. Thomas Heath, astronomer, Thomas Lodge, physician and satirist, Matthew Gwinne, Professor of Music at Oxford, and Edwin Sandys, author of "*Europe Speculum*", were also among his pupils. It is sad to think that such a prince among teachers as Mulcaster should have felt compelled to resign his post after serving the Company for more than 25 years. The Merchant Taylors' Court had the best of the dispute so far as bonds and filthy lucre were concerned, but as to the wit the victory lay with Mulcaster. *Fidelis servus, perpetuus asinus* was his parting message to his employers.

The number of Bishops who began life as "poor scholars" of Merchant Taylors' during the sixteenth and seventeenth century, is surprising. Besides those mentioned above, there were Mews of Winchester, Matthew Wren of Ely, George Wilde of Londonderry, John Hall of Bristol, two Arch-

¹ This reverend shadow cast that setting sun
 Whose glorious course through our horizon run,
 Left the dim face of this dull hemisphere,
 All one great eye, all drown'd in one great teare.
 —*Upon Bishop Andrewes' Picture before his Sermons.*

bishops of York (Dawes and Gilbert), one Primate of Ireland (Boulter), and one Primate of England (Juxon). Peter Mews, like his episcopal brother Dolben (an Old Westminster) fought on the Royal side. Later in life he lent his coach-horses and traces to drag James II.'s guns to the field of Sedgmoor. Bishop Mews is described in a contemporary school speech as "Praeul Wintoniensis, bello insignis, pace insignior".

The majority of Old Merchant Taylors' took the Royalist side in the Civil War, though the elder Edmund Calamy, who declined a bishopric, and Daniel Neale, the historian of Non-conformity, were both at this City school. Bulstrode Whitelocke, like his father before him, was a Merchant Taylor. He received a summons from the Lord Protector to sit in "the other House", but did not act on it. Posterity has been hardly just to Bulstrode Whitelocke. In the opinion of his contemporaries he was the political, legal, and literary rival or antithesis of Lord Chancellor Clarendon. Had Whitelocke been a fanatic for Parliament, as Clarendon was for the King, it would have been well for his fame. Moderate opinions (unjustly enough) too often beget a moderate reputation. It was into Whitelocke's ear that Oliver Cromwell dropped the ever-memorable sentence—"What if a man should take upon him to be King?"

Laud (unlike Juxon) was not a Merchant Taylor, but first as President of St. John's, Oxford, and later as Bishop of London, he was intimately connected with the school. He was its *de facto*, though not its *de jure*, visitor. Laud was a great organizer. His influence, both on Oxford and on Merchant Taylors', was on the whole for good. At Oxford he set up the authority of the College as against outsiders who were members of the University rather than of Colleges: at both Oxford and Merchant Taylors' he worked against the Puritans, who (with all their splendid qualities) were at the commencement of Charles I.'s reign more hostile to surplices than friendly to scholarship. On February 17th, 1643, the House of Commons voted that the Statute of the University of Cambridge, imposing the use of the surplice on all Graduates and Students, should not be pressed "as being against the law and liberty of the subject"; three days after-

wards they passed the same order for the scholars of Westminster, Eton and Winchester.¹ Merchant Taylors' and St. Paul's are not included in this order, because they were day-schools; Charterhouse, because Sutton's Foundation did not fill the same position in the public eye as it did fifty years later.

Both the Oxford and Merchant Taylors' of Laud practically remained unaltered till the reforms of the nineteenth century. Thanks to Laud's energy and that of his successor, William Juxon, Merchant Taylors' flourished, and surpassed in numbers all its rivals. William Juxon succeeded Laud as President of St. John's, as Bishop of London, and (some years after Laud's execution) as Primate of England.

Juxon was the last Englishman to hold the crozier and the white staff, and to fill at the same time the offices of Bishop of London and of Lord High Treasurer. He was a man of so much moderation and humility that even on that pinnacle, this former "poor scholar" roused no animosities. Lucius Falkland used to say that he never knew any one "that a pair of lawn sleeves had not altered from himself, but only Bishop Juxon."² Juxon was no opportunist. He advised the King not to assent to Strafford's Bill of Attainder, unless he were satisfied in his conscience that Strafford was guilty. No one can look at Juxon's portrait at St. John's without feeling that he had all the qualities of a staunch friend. Marvell's lines on "Great Charles's Death", though written by a Puritan, form the noblest tribute ever paid to the "Royal Martyr". Could a French Republican have been capable of writing thus of Louis XVI.? Juxon was the only friend who stood by Charles when he exchanged a temporal for an eternal crown—"a good exchange." It was to the former "poor scholar" of Merchant Taylors' that Charles I. handed his "George" and uttered the one word "Remember".

Juxon retired to his estate in Gloucestershire. Some censure parsons who indulge in hunting, but our ancestors 250

¹ Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*. Part I, p. 24.

² Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, Vol. ii., p. 525.

years ago went to the opposite extreme. Probably the severer view of the present generation is due, not, let us hope, to increased censoriousness, but to the increase of population. One who has the cure of souls, has not now sufficient time to devote even one day in seven to hunting. Juxon seems to have been a keen sportsman, though not so unlucky as Abbot, Primate of England, who in July 1621 shot a gamekeeper by accident. This Bishop of London of the 17th was of the same opinion as Chaucer's Monk in the 14th century:

He yaf nat of that text a pulled hen,
That seith, that hunters been noon holy men.

We learn from the *Memorials* of his schoolfellow Whitelocke, that Juxon kept a pack of hounds and hunted them himself. "He was [a person of great parts and temper and had as much command of himself as of his hounds."

That the influence of Juxon and Matthew Wren sank deep into the minds of the scholars of their old school is shown by the large number of Old Merchant Taylors who were ejected or otherwise suffered on account of their loyalty to the Church of England during the Civil War and after it. Matthew Wren set his old schoolfellows a noble example by his fifteen years' imprisonment in the Tower. The names of about six Merchant Taylors' Scholars are mentioned by Walker in his *Sufferings of the Clergy*, and in addition to these, Mr. Robinson has in his Register given the names of twenty-five more (or 31 in all) who suffered for conscience' sake at the hands of the Puritans. If you remember that London was the stronghold of the Presbyterian cause in England, and that Merchant Taylors' School was in the heart of London, this record is remarkable. It becomes all the more so, when you find in Mr. Robinson's Register that the number of Merchant Taylors' Scholars who were ejected in the reign of Charles II. for their devotion to the cause of Nonconformity was only three. Walker's *Sufferings* is not a book, but a haystack. You may just as well look for a fact in the one, as for a proverbial

needle in the other, and on one subject Walker, so far as my research has gone, rarely breaks silence—viz. the public schools at which his clergymen were educated. Walker's silence is evidence rather of his own indolence as a biographer than of the failure of the public schools to influence public opinion during the first half of the 17th century. As the object of his book was to blow a counterblast to the Nonconformists in general, and to the Old Merchant Taylor, Edmund Calamy, in particular, he naturally devoted his energies to "an account of the numbers and sufferings of the clergy," rather than to writing their biographies in detail.

In the Statutes of the Realm there is a blank from 1640 to 1660. There is no analogous blank in the history of public instruction. The Puritans were no enemies of education. Under the Commonwealth there was no falling off in the scholarship of our public schools. Many proofs of this might be given, but two will suffice. Thomas Hyde, Secretary in Oriental Languages to three sovereigns (Charles II., James II. and William III.), was admitted into the College of Eton in 1652, and the Hebrew and Arabic scholar, Richard Hunt, was admitted about the same time. So long as the head masters of our public schools were not openly defiant, they were undisturbed by the Government. Busby maintained his personal authority at Westminster, while throne and episcopal bench were swept away. If to be an opportunist is to be a statesman, Busby was a statesman. His personal reputation has suffered by his opportunism, his school did not. In 1644 William Staple, the Head Master of Merchant Taylors', was required to take the Covenant and refused. The Parliamentary Committee sequestered his mastership and recommended Nicholas Awgar as his successor. The Company, however, elected William Du Gard. No further interference with the school took place, until William Du Gard printed at his own private printing place Salmasius's *Defencio Regis*. This was a direct attack upon the existing Government which could not be ignored. The Council of State wrote to the Merchant Taylors' Company requiring the removal of Du Gard, as a person unfit to "be entrusted

with the education of so much youth." This letter was signed by John Bradshaw, the President. What would be said in these days, if the Head Master of Eton or Harrow printed at his private printing place a gross attack upon the monarchical form of government in England? Yet Wilson has nothing but sympathy for Du Gard. He describes him as "plundered of his printing materials", and thrown into Newgate. In his distress Du Gard found a friend in an unexpected quarter. John Milton generously interceded for the printer of Salmasius's attack on the Puritans and on himself, and with such success that Du Gard was reinstated in his former place by order of the Council of State. Yet so implacable is Wilson in his enmity to the Roundheads that he speaks of "Milton, in the insolence of his nature, seeking to complete his triumph over the fallen publisher of Salmasius," and so loses sight even of good manners as to "execrate" our immortal poet as a "wretch." ¹ Such bigotry was worthy of Sprat, who erased a portion of the epitaph on John Phillips ² in Westminster Abbey, because it referred to the author of *Paradise Lost* with respect, but Sprat died very early in the 18th century and Wilson wrote in the 19th. The cause of the school historian's bitterness is that Du Gard printed Milton's *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*. Except on the principle that a printer prints both sides of a question, Du Gard's conduct was inconsistent, yet his real fault lay, not in the matter of what he printed, but in his printing at all. The calling of a schoolmaster is itself sufficiently arduous without adding to it the trade of a printer. The school did not, however, decline under him, as one of the complaints for which in 1661 he was again removed by the Company was that the number of boys exceeded the statutory limit of 250. Du Gard's removal was probably due to the Restoration, and to the Company's desire to get rid of a master who had been reinstated (though not originally elected) by the Cromwellian Party.

¹ Wilson's History, Vol. i., 314.

² The Author of *Cyder*, written in blank verse on the model of John Milton's blank verse, and an Old Wykehamist.

Seven years before this, in 1655, the Council of State appointed Whitelocke and others Visitors for the Universities and the schools of Westminster, Winchester, Merchant Taylors' and Eton. These are the only schools mentioned and this is the order in which they are mentioned. The Order is conclusive evidence that within a century of its foundation Merchant Taylors' ranked as one of our four leading public schools.

CHAPTER XIII.

MERCHANT TAYLORS' SCHOOL—(continued).

THE Scholars of Merchant Taylors' welcomed the Restoration of Charles II. as a return to the Golden Age. The effect on them does not, however, seem to have been altogether favourable. Wilson tells us that for some time "mirth and merriment superseded all application to books". At this juncture a Merchant Taylor, John Goad, resigned the headmastership of Tonbridge School and accepted the same post at his old school. John Goad seems to have had many good qualities, but whatever they were, they were all tarnished by his insincerity. While a professing member of the Church of England, he was a secret member of the Church of Rome. In December 1660, at Somerset House, he was reconciled to the Roman Catholic Church by a priest of the Queen Mother, Henrietta Maria, then recently returned from France; it was not till 1686 that he publicly declared himself a Roman Catholic. In the interim for nearly 20 years John Goad, a crypto-Catholic, was instructing the Protestants of Merchant Taylors' in (what was to him) the heretical catechism of the Anglican Church. His comments on the Catechism had not escaped public attention, and on the 4th March, 1681, the Grand Jury of London presented a complaint to the Company. Goad was ordered to appear before the next Court, and his explanations proving unsatisfactory, he was dismissed as "popishly and erroneously affected."¹

At the time of the Restoration it was a tradition that

¹ *Titus Oates and the Merchant Taylors' Company*, by C. M. Clode: a pamphlet courteously lent me by the late Head Master of Merchant Taylors' School.

the stage rogue should bear a dark coloured wig. The merry monarch objected to this, and remarked that the greatest rogue in England wore a light coloured one. His Majesty referred to a Merchant Taylor of the name of Titus Oates. It is curious to note that Wilson, writing so late as the commencement of the nineteenth century, regards Titus Oates as a benefactor of his species. He refers to "the famous conspiracy known in England as the Popish Plot, carried on by the Jesuits, promoted by Pope Innocent XI., against His Majesty's life, the Protestant religion, for a narrative of which we are indebted to Titus Oates, who, after receiving his school education at Merchant Taylors', etc. etc." Oates entered Merchant Taylors' in June 1665, but was expelled in the course of the first year. This seems to have been the customary termination of Oates' course of study at all places of education, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic. The fictitious details of the Popish Plot were fabricated in 1678. In September of that year Oates appeared before the Privy Council and repeated his story. The Council (with one exception) appear to have been as credulous as the Mob. That exception was the King, who naturally was not a believer in the existence of a Popish Plot to kill himself, a concealed Papist. Most unfortunately, in October 1678, a respectable timber merchant and an Old Westminster, Sir Edward Berrie Godfrey, was found dead under suspicious circumstances. Godfrey had sworn Oates to his depositions, and therefore the public jumped at the conclusion that he had been murdered by the Papists. Writing after the lapse of 150 years, when passions had cooled, Wilson still held to this belief. Then followed several judicial murders of innocent men, culminating in that of Lord Stafford, who was beheaded on the 29th December, 1679. Not only did the House of Commons take Oates' evidence and vote their full conviction that there was a Plot, not only did the House of Lords follow suit, but what is even more remarkable, many of his old schoolfellows believed in him. Through the courtesy of Dr. Baker, late Head Master of Merchant Taylors' School, I have myself inspected the School Probation Book. It is a list of the scholars, but gives no details of their subse-

quent careers. It is in fact treated as a volume too sacred for marginal notes. Against the name of Titus Oates only is there a note, and to the following effect—"The Saviour of the Nation, first discoverer of that damnable hellish Popish Plot in 1678." Another and a later hand has added, "Perjured upon record and a scoundrel fellow." This later entry is apparently in the hand-writing of William Du Gard, the former Head Master.

But before the tide turned in 1681 there were a few Protestants who recognised the utter falsity of Oates' charges against the Papists. One of those was an Old Merchant Taylor, Isaac Backhouse, who had been elected to St. John's, Oxford, the year before Oates entered the school. From 1674 to 1680 Backhouse was a master at his old school. In 1681 Oates charged Backhouse with being popishly inclined, and tried to get him removed from the Merchant Taylors' School at Wolverhampton, of which he was Head Master. The same Court of the Merchant Taylors' Company that dismissed John Goad from the post of Head Master in London came to a conclusion with the like discernment, but in favour of their Head Master at Wolverhampton. This was probably Oates' first rebuff and does the Merchant Taylors' Company credit. Oates then brought an action against Backhouse for calling after him in St. James' Park—"There goes Oates, that perjured rogue." The action never came to a hearing, for in the course of this year Oates' evidence began to be appreciated at its proper value. Four years later and within three months of the accession of James II., Oates was tried and convicted of perjury. The sentence was a disgrace to the man who passed it—"bloody Jeffreys"—a servant worthy of his Royal master. Wilson, an Eldonite Tory, faithfully reflects the feeling of the Whigs of Oates' day in declaring that "both in the sentence and the execution revenge had a greater share than justice, and that Oates was made a sacrifice to the manes of the five Jesuits executed in the late reign." The Popish Plot was a fiction, but the cruelty and bigotry it aroused are among the ugliest facts in English History. There is nothing that can be compared to it until you come to France of the present day, and witness a popular

madness as ruinous in its results. That God's Providence brings good out of evil sounds a paradox, yet history proves the paradox true again and again. Had Gordon not died at Khartoum, the Soudan slave-trade would not have been suppressed, at least in our life-time; had not Oates roused the passions of the multitude to fever-heat, there probably would have been no Revolution in 1688. Sir George Sitwell hits the right nail on the head when he calls Titus Oates "the real parent of the Revolution."¹ We who enjoy the Civil and Religious Liberty established by law in the land on the final expulsion of the Stuarts are scarcely conscious of the depths of brutality and bitterness reached by both political parties during the reigns of the two last sovereigns of that line. This was the direct result of Oates's action. But Oates's perjuries were based on a number of strange coincidences. The King was a concealed Catholic. The heir to the throne was a declared Catholic. The Head Master of Oates's old school was a concealed Catholic, while professedly a clergyman of the Church of England. Richard Pearson (an Etonian, brother of the Bishop of Chester, sub-librarian at St. James's Palace, and a favourite with Charles II.) was said to have died a Roman Catholic in 1670.² Another Merchant Taylor, James Shirley, the last of the Elizabethan dramatists, had renounced his Orders in the Church of England and died in the Church of Rome. These facts, which were whispered abroad, formed the dry tinder on which Oates and Tonge boiled their caldron of hate and lies. Wilson remarks on the amazing bitterness of those days, which "set at variance many schoolfellows who had hitherto travelled through life without a quarrel."

The Revolution of 1688, which brought peace and security to the nation, entailed deprivation and loss on a few conscientious clergymen. One of these was Ambrose Bonwicke, the Head Master of Merchant Taylors', who was ejected for not taking the oaths to William and Mary. His successor, Matthew Shortyng, was required to produce a certificate that

¹ *The First Whig*, privately printed, 1894.

² Harwood's *Alumini Etonenses*, p. 243.

he had taken the oaths, and this he did. One of Shortyng's pupils was Samuel Harris, first Professor of Modern History at Cambridge. Another was John Thomas, successively Bishop of Lincoln and Salisbury. He was one of the few bishops of the 18th century whose preferment was due to personal merit, and not to political connections; he certainly is the only English Bishop, who owed his promotion to his knowledge of German. Mr. Nicholas Carlisle¹ has confused him with John Thomas his immediate predecessor in the See of Salisbury. These two episcopal brothers were both called John Thomas, were both King's Chaplains, both preached well, and both squinted. The only way to differentiate between them is that our John Thomas was alleged to be the son of a brewer's drayman, the other of a colonel in the Guards. The first was a Merchant Taylor, the second a Carthusian. Charterhouse was a very select Foundation; Merchant Taylors' was free to all sorts and conditions of men, provided they could obtain a nomination. Most of the Bishops of the last century, who were men of humble birth, had to thank our public schools for their free education. John Hinchliffe was the son of a livery stable-keeper. He was successively a King's Scholar and Head Master of Westminster (1764), Master of Trinity, Cambridge, and Bishop of Peterborough.

Queen Mary and Queen Anne were indebted for their succession to the throne to the care with which Dr. Crowther, a Merchant Taylor, preserved the proofs of the marriage ceremony, which he celebrated late at night and in the greatest secrecy between their parents, the then Duke of York and Anne Hyde. The Duke, they say, would have disowned the marriage, but happily his wife possessed the proofs that established the legitimacy of her children,

John Criche, who for thirty years (1730—1760) was Head Master of Merchant Taylors', belongs to an interesting class—the Jacobite and Nonjuror. Criche was both, as every logical and fearless partisan of the Stuarts in the 18th century was bound to be. Whether Dr. Snape, Head Master of Eton (1713—19), became a Jacobite is very doubtful.

¹ Carlisle's *Grammar Schools*, Vol. ii., p. 68.

He was not a Whig, and emphatically not a Latitudinarian in theology, but he seems to have been more hostile to Hoadley, the Bishop of Bangor, than to the House of Hanover. He was removed from the list of King's chaplains, but was elected Provost of King's, a post which he could not have held, had he been a Nonjuror. The last of the non-juring head masters was the instructor of one of the greatest of Victorian writers. This was Charles Lawson, High Master of Manchester Grammar School, which De Quincey entered in 1800. Lawson, so his famous pupil tells us, had drunk the Pretender's health and had drunk it in the company of Dr. Byrom, the author of the happy impromptu,

God bless the King, of Church and State defender,
 God bless (no harm in blessing) the Pretender!
 But who Pretender is, and who the King—
 God bless us all! that's quite another thing.¹

Dr. Byrom was a Merchant Taylor. He was not only a wit, but the inventor of a system of stenography. He also had the honour of being an intimate friend of that saintly Nonjuror, William Law, whose thoughts he paraphrased in a poem, *On Enthusiasm*.

The greatest of Criche's pupils, the greatest man of action that ever left Merchant Taylors', was Robert Clive. Macaulay does not mention Merchant Taylors' in his Essay on Lord Clive. The essayist had not been at any of our public schools and thought slightly of their influence. Clive was an extraordinary man, but he was not one of those rare spirits that are indifferent to the applause of others. An orator is rarely indifferent to praise, and Chatham described one of Clive's speeches in the House of Commons as the most eloquent he had ever heard. Fearless Clive certainly was, yet we are told that he did not seek danger, unless his doing so produced applause. In a City school without a playground he must have felt "cribbed, cabined and confined." He entered the school in 1737, and left in 1739. Like another famous soldier, Oliver Cromwell, who

¹ De Quincey (Masson's Edition), Vol. iii., p. 252.

mastered Latin sufficiently well to be able to converse in that tongue with the foreign ambassadors, Clive became so good a Latin scholar at Merchant Taylors' as to be able to translate an ode of Horace "into very proper English extempore."

The fact that both our early Satraps—Clive and Warren Hastings—were educated at London schools must have influenced public opinion favourably to the retention and expansion of our Indian Empire. A great Public School—such as Westminster and Merchant Taylors'—distributes impressions to a hundred families. London is still the literary as well as the political capital of the Empire, but the boys of its public schools do not now play so prominent a part as they did some two hundred years ago. This may be partly due to the growth of London. The old *Spectator* is full of references to Westminster scholars, of their sayings, and doings. When the mob of apprentices attacked Westminster Abbey, the King's Scholars took their share in its defence. In the Fire of London the Dean of Westminster (an Old Westminster) ¹ called upon the King's Scholars to form in rank, and marching with them into the City saved from the flames the Church of St. Dunstan's in the East. Seventy-nine years later the Scots marched to Derby, and a Westminster boy, then on his holidays, served as a volunteer against the rebels. This was a novel holiday task. This boy, afterwards Marquis of Rockingham, twice became Prime Minister of England. It was a Westminster lad who declared he could not sleep for thinking of Marlborough's victories. The Warren Hastings Cup presented to their alma-mater by Warren Hastings, Impey and fifteen other Westminsters, is a proof of how very near Westminster lay to Bengal long before the overland route was thought of. Westminster's latest historian tells us that at the close of last century a cadetship or a commission in India was open to any Westminster of promise. ² Warren Hastings appointed William Markham, the son of a Head Master of

¹ Dryden pays a tribute to this Dean (Dolben)—"him of the western dome"—in his "*Absalom and Achitophel*."

² Sargeaunt's *Annals*, p. 201.

Westminster, his Private Secretary. If zeal for Merchant Taylors' did not consume Clive's soul, as zeal for Westminster his great successor's, his renown has proved quite as great a heritage for his old school. Wilson's bulky quartos are stuffed with references to the conqueror of Plassy, while the verse of a Merchant Taylors' monitor reminds us that

Here Clive's young fancy caught ambition's flame,
And mitred Andrewes sigh'd for virtuous fame.

On the death of Criche (1760) James Townley was elected his successor. The mention of Townley's name, himself the writer of one piece that still holds the boards, reminds us of the important part which play-acting once took in the curriculum of our public schools. Richard Mulcaster, the first Head Master of Merchant Taylors' School, had doubtless imbibed his love of acting from his own master, Udall. We are told Mulcaster "yeerly presented some playes to the Court in which his scholars wear only actors and I among them, and by that meanes taught them good behaviour and audacitye," so Sir James Whitelocke, afterwards a Judge of the Court of King's Bench, writes in his *Liber Famelicus*.¹ It is not quite clear whether the Court of the Company or the Court of Queen Elizabeth is referred to in this passage. It is, however, certain that Mulcaster's employers did not appreciate his efforts to teach his boys manners, while the Queen did extend to Mulcaster her approval and remunerated him for his trouble. On the 16th March, 1573, the Court of the Merchant Taylors passed a resolution that no more plays "be suffered to be played in this our Common Hall." "Mulcaster's children" had the honour of performing "Timoclia at the Siege of Thebes" before Her Majesty at Hampton Court on Candlemas night, 1573. On Shrove Tuesday, 1575, this Company of youthful Merchant Taylors acted before Queen Elizabeth, and again on Shrove Tuesday, 1583. Three years later Mulcaster severed his connection with Merchant Taylors'. Shakespeare is referring with

¹ Edited by James Bruce for the Camden Society (1858).

the jealousy of a professional actor to Mulcaster's pupils, when he puts into Rosencrantz's mouth the complaint about the "little eyases, that cry out on the top of the question, and are most tyrannically clapp'd for't: these are now the fashion." ¹

Nearly 200 years were to pass before the scholars of Merchant Taylors' were to act plays again. We know, however, that Mulcaster was not the only schoolmaster in Elizabethan times who encouraged his pupils to act plays. Eton, Westminster, and St. Paul's were all in "the fashion." It is a suggestive fact that the first English comedy, *Ralph Royster Doyster*, was written by an English schoolmaster, Nicholas Udall, head master in succession of Eton (1534—43) and Westminster. *Ralph Royster Doyster* was written for the use of Eton boys, All memory of it was lost until it was presented to the Eton Library in 1818 as a mere literary curiosity, and not as a work of one of their own Head Masters. The name of the author was discovered through a coincidence. ² Ben Jonson introduces the Puritan grumbler into his *Staple of Newes*—"They make all their schollers Play-boyes! Is't not a fine sight to see all our children made Enterluders? Do we pay our money for this? Wee send them to learne their grammer and their Terence, and they learne their play-bookes." ³ The same Old Westminster wrote a fine epitaph on Salathiel Pavy, a boy who had distinguished himself by acting the parts of old men. ⁴

Townley, the author of *High Life below Stairs*, was a friend of Garrick and an educational reformer. He imported the acting of Latin plays, history, geography and map drawing into Merchant Taylors'. In 1762 the *Eunuchus* of Terence, in 1763 the *Troades* of Seneca, were acted by his scholars. David Garrick took great interest in these performances; not so the school Governors, who disapproved of them as "likely to distract the attention of the scholars

¹ *Hamlet*, Act II., Scene 2.

² Lyte's *History of Eton College*, p. 119.

³ Act III., Scene 2. (Censure as Chorus) (Gifford's Edition, Vol. v.)

⁴ Epigram CXX., with an amusing footnote (Gifford's Edition, Vol. viii., p. 229).

from more useful pursuits." ¹ Townley (unlike his predecessor, Mulcaster) had no royal patron, and the school plays were discontinued. It is noteworthy that when Dr. Johnson set up his imaginary College at St. Andrews, at which each member of the Club was to teach, he allotted the art of public speaking, not to Burke, the Member of Parliament, but to Garrick, the actor.

Townley also endeavoured to enlarge the powers of the monitors, but in this he was not successful. According to the Minutes of the Court it seems that the under-masters complained of the monitors "treating them with insolence and contempt". The Public School Commissioners (1864) reported that the monitorial system at Merchant Taylors' consisted merely in this, that a few of the elder boys, for a small fee, assisted in the work of the school. Fagging, they found, did not exist at Merchant Taylors'. After this it is curious to read in the *Autobiography* of Charles Mathews the Younger, that his health broke down under the severity of the fagging system. ²

Charles Mathews the Elder tells us in his delightful Memoirs ³ that he used to walk "four times a day" from his father's shop in the Strand to Merchant Taylors' School in Suffolk Lane in the City. If many of the boys walked as much as this, they could not have had much time or inclination for play. In the evening Mathews was sent to a French school, which he much preferred to Merchant Taylors'. It was there that he met Elliston, the future comedian, who was four years his senior and who first inspired him with his histrionic ambition. Poor Mathews never got a holiday, for in his vacations he had to serve in the paternal bookshop. His equally famous son entered the school in 1814 as a boarder in the house of Dr. Cherry, Head Master of Merchant Taylors' from 1795 to 1819. Both father and son were unhappy at school. The elder tells us in his *Autobiography* that "two more cruel tyrants than Bishop

¹ Wilson, Vol. i., p. 467, note.

² *Life of Charles James Mathews* (chiefly autobiographical), edited by Charles Dickens. Vol. i., p. 20.

³ *Life and Correspondence* (Edmund Yates Edition, 1860).

(head master) and Rose never existed". He once saw a boy strip after a thrashing from Rose, and his back was "actually striped with dark streaks like a zebra". The boy "remembered the blow", and after he had left the school, he horse-whipped Rose before the admiring and approving scholars. This led to the abolition of flogging, for the next time Lord (another master) made the attempt, the two hundred boys rushed from the schoolroom into the lobby, hustled the pedagogue, rescued the victim, and scattered the birch into fragments, each one carrying off a twig in token of victory. The boys returned into school and announced their determination never to submit to flogging again. It is impossible to expel a whole school. The authorities submitted, and the affair was hushed up.

The younger Mathews tells us in his *Autobiography* that he was "too lively" for his Head Master (Dr. Cherry), and that animal spirits were unpardonable in his eyes. "Of course they were; how could they be otherwise? He weighed sixteen stone, and had never heard a joke in his life. Had he ever been a fag? I should say not. Had he ever been a boy? I don't believe even that. But he had flogged thousands and looked upon them generally, and me in particular, as his natural enemies". Mathews Senior wrote a letter to Dr. Cherry in very plain terms, and removed his son to a private school. Just fifty years after this, Dr. Hessey reported to the Public School Commissioners that flogging at Merchant Taylors' (which was inflicted solely by the Head Master) was very rare, "not once in three years". Oh shades of Bishop and of Cherry!

We find that during the past two hundred and fifty years the public-school men among actors of note—with the exception of Macready and the younger Kean—all came from London schools.

J. Hemmings, the co-editor with Henry Condall of the first folio edition of Shakespeare, sent his son to Westminster, but the King's Scholar turned out a writer of plays, and not an actor. In spite of its annual play, Westminster can only lay claim to one famous actor, Barton Booth. The applause Booth won by his performance of Pamphilus in the *Andria* sent him on the stage, and his good fortune

made him the pupil of Betterton. Thomas Sheridan, the father of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, left before election¹ on account of his father's poverty, and took to the stage. Churchill in *The Rosciad* praised Sheridan's acting as highly as Swift praised his father Dr. Thomas Sheridan's ability for teaching.² David Ross was another Westminster actor. Like Barton Booth, he was a town-boy, but unlike him he was not a success. For going on the stage his father cut him off with a shilling, to be paid on the first day of every month of May, that being his son's birthday. Churchill has embalmed this Westminster's reputation in a couplet.

Ross—a misfortune which we often meet—
Was fast asleep at Statira's feet.

This unkind reference to an old schoolfellow was not in keeping with the traditions of Westminster. The burial of Garrick with great pomp in Westminster Abbey raised the status of actors in public estimation. His influence gave a distinct fillip to acting at our schools—at least at those in London. In 1770 and 1773 Charles Manners Sutton, afterwards Primate of England, and his brother Thomas, afterwards Lord Chancellor of Ireland, took the parts of Marsia and Lusina in *Cato*, which was acted appropriately enough at Addison's old school. Thomas Hull (born 1728) was educated at Charterhouse with a view to the Church, just as Charles Mathews the Younger, but, like him, preferred the stage. Hull was the Carthusian Cibber, as he was a writer as well as an actor of plays. It is said that he acted at Covent Garden Theatre for 48 years without a break. In 1791 a farce called *Taste*, was acted by the boys of Charterhouse. The chief part was taken by Henry Siddons, who, in the following

¹ To say of a Westminster boy that "he left before election" is tantamount to saying that he was admitted into St. Peter's College, but left before election to Cambridge or Oxford. Swift, who was a friend of Dr. Thomas Sheridan (the father of Thomas Sheridan, the theatrical manager), writes of his son's education proceeding with every prospect of being "sped off" to one of the Universities.

² Swift described Dr. Thomas Sheridan as "doubtless the best instructor of youth in these kingdoms."

year, was apprenticed to John Philip Kemble, and subsequently married his sister. This lady won immortal fame as Mrs. Siddons. Wm. Parsons, in comedy the worthy rival of Garrick, was a Pauline. He and his contemporary, Thomas Clarke, the Old Westminster, who rose to be Master of the Rolls, were both the sons of carpenters. Each is a proof of the advantages of a public-school education to a working man's son of more than ordinary intelligence. John Fawcett, when eight years old, attracted the attention of Garrick, then about to quit the stage. To prevent his son adopting the calling of an actor his father bound young Fawcett on leaving St. Paul's (1776) as an apprentice to a linen-draper, but the theatre was no more to be balked of her Pauline than she was of her Merchant Taylor.

Mathews says truly enough that a public school is a bad preparation for serving behind a counter, but he might have added no bad preparation for serving behind the foot-lights. There is no reason why the atmosphere of our public schools should disagree with Thespis. Yet considering the debt that public education owes to Edward Alleyn, the actor, and the Founder of Dulwich College, it seems that actors have done more for public schools than the public schools have done for them. Actors who have come from public schools are, as contrasted with our statesmen and bishops, in the same proportion as Falstaff's bread to Falstaff's sack. About 1687 Colley Cibber, the brilliant Duncie of the *Dunciad*, tried to enter Winchester College, but failed, and thus we lose in his *Apology* what would have proved a valuable description of Wykehamist education at the close of the 17th century. Cibber refers to his being of Founder's kin, and imputes his failure to his father relying on his "naked merit and a pompous pedigree." Mr. Joseph Knight has dismissed as a myth the story (probably set on foot by Kean himself) that Kean was sent to Eton College by Dr. Drury of Harrow. The true story of this fine actor's education is told by Charles Young in his Memoirs. When descending one evening the stairs of his father's house, Young saw a slatternly woman seated in the hall, with a boy in fantastic garb, "with the blackest and most penetrating eyes he ever saw in human head."

He thought the pair were strolling gipsies from Bartholomew Fair, seeking medical advice of his father. Great was his surprise when the boy was fetched into the dining-room, and with a sardonic grin and husky voice spouted forth Gloucester's opening soliloquy in *Richard III*. This little beggar-boy was Edmund Kean. Both Colley Cibber and Edmund Kean sent their sons to public schools—Theophilus Cibber to Winchester and Charles Kean to Eton. When Edmund Kean made his great success in Shylock, he ran home and called out to his wife—"Mary, you shall ride in your carriage, and you, Charley, shall be an Eton boy." Charles Young, the tragedian, and one of the most delightful men of his day, was at Eton and Merchant Taylors'. Frederick Henry Yates, the actor, and father of the better known founder of *The World*, was a Carthusian. In Henry Woodward and the two Mathews Merchant Taylors' can claim the leading comedians of their time. Woodward, like Macready, took to the stage owing to his father's failure in business. Wm. Henry Oxberry and J. A. Calthrop ("John Clayton") were Merchant Taylors. To this list of actors that have come from our metropolitan public schools may be added the names of two Blue Coat Boys—Wm. Powell and Wm. Charles James Lewin. Powell's debut as Philaster in Beaumont and Fletcher's play in 1763 was an astonishing success. Lewin, known by his stage name of Wm. Terriss, was Jack of many trades and master of melodramatic acting. His tragic death will be within the recollection of all.

Charles Mathews the Elder was the friend of Coleridge, Lamb, and Sir Walter Scott. "I saw Byron for the last time in 1815," writes Sir Walter, "after I returned from France. He dined or lunched with me at Long's. I never saw him so full of gaiety and good humour, to which the presence of Mr. Mathews, the comedian, added not a little."¹

"I am ready," said the elder Mathews on his death-bed to his wife. These brave words formed a fitting close to an honourable life. No man ever more strenuously endeavoured to discharge his duty than he did, and with

¹ *Byron's Letters and Journals*, (Murray's Ed.) Vol. iv., App. p. 413.

his honoured name we may couple those of his son, of Charles Young, and of Macready. Of such actors as these any Public School has reason to be proud. They were worthy of Shakespeare's high calling.

As regards Greek plays, Bradfield seems the first Public School, not the first school to have acted them. Dr. Sheridan, the grandfather of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, was the first schoolmaster to teach his pupils to act a Greek Play, and Dr. Parr followed this precedent. The boys of his Stanmore school, which was to eclipse Harrow, acted the *Ædipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles, omitting the choruses, which are not omitted at Bradfield. A deputation of Dr. Parr's pupils went to Drury Lane and consulted Garrick, who, though engaged in a rehearsal, received them with much kindness. Garrick in fact supplied the dresses. This was in 1775, and in 1776 another play of Sophocles was acted at Stanmore school.¹ No representation by English schoolboys of a Greek Play in its entirety and with appropriate scenery took place until after the lapse of another century.

As a general rule politics are "caviar" to the public-schoolboy, but any expression of sympathy with the Queen's enemies is always resented.

On the 18th January, 1796, being the birthday of the Queen of George III., a tricolour flag was seen hanging on the ramparts of the Tower of London. The appearance of this "symbol of French madness" in such a place naturally roused indignation, and on a search being instituted the flag was found under the bed of John Grose, the son of the assistant chaplain of the Tower. Grose was a sixth-form boy at Merchant Taylors', who had imbibed his French principles from Richard Hayward, the boy who sat next to him. Their schoolfellows petitioned the Court not to allow these two democrats to remain in the school. "Hayward," runs the petition of Wm. Betton Champneys, "was haranguing those nearest to him in terms that made us shudder. An immediate impulse *quasi divino afflatu* obliged us to avoid him. He continued his infamous insinuations with republican effrontery, and we hooted him out of the school."

¹ Field's *Life of Samuel Parr*, Vol. i., p. 79.

The prayer of the head-monitor was heard, Hayward and Grose were expelled, and the Court ordered that for the future the 18th of January should be kept as a holiday in memory of the loyalty the scholars had shown on that occasion. This is the solitary instance in public-school annals of expulsion following an act of disloyalty to the sovereign, and at the special request of the boys themselves. Yet the spirit of disaffection that had crossed the channel did not stop short of our public schools. In the ever memorable Winchester Rebellion of 1793 the Collegers mounted the red cap of liberty, victualled, and barricaded the College. The Wykehamist authorities did not like to employ the militia, as they feared that the mob, which to the number of two thousand had assembled at the gates, would side with the boys. To such a pass had things been brought by the lax discipline of the then Head Master (Dr. Warton) and the undue severity of Warden Huntingford. In 1805 an emeute took place at Harrow. The rising was engineered by a monitor who was destined to become the chief glory of his school—Byron. George III. highly approved of the manner in which the rising was suppressed by Dr. George Butler. It was undoubtedly a serious affair.

No Public School has made greater progress in every direction during the last thirty years than Merchant Taylors'. In 1867 the Company transplanted their school from Suffolk Lane to the former site of the Charterhouse. They were thus enabled to raise the number of the scholars from 250 to over 500, to build commodious rooms, and to provide a playground for the boys. Before the change Charterhouse had about 150 boys including the gown-boys, Merchant Taylors' 250. Now there are more than 1000 boys in these two ancient seats of learning.

In 1864 there were only six masters for two hundred and sixty Merchant Taylors: to-day there are 25 masters for 519. There is now a Modern Side with an average of about 25 boys in a form. The instruction on the Modern Side includes (advanced) Mathematics, Science, French, German, English Language and Literature, and Drawing; while the Classical Side includes not only Greek, but Hebrew. It may be reserved for Merchant Taylors' to remove what has

hitherto been a blemish in public-school instruction—the inability of public-school boys to read German. There is no reason why a boy should not learn to read *Faust* with the same facility as he reads the *Aeneid*. If a public-school boy reads German, or even French with pleasure, he has (as a rule) acquired his knowledge at home. In German education, the English language takes front rank; in English education, the German language, in comparison with Latin or even Greek, is neglected.

The only advantage which Goldsmith allowed “boarding schools” over “free schools” was that the former are not in towns. He advocates keeping our free schools in the country, and would have waxed enthusiastic over the removal of Charterhouse to Godalming. “It may be thought whimsical,” he writes, “but it is truth; I have found by experience that they who have spent all their lives in cities, contract not only an effeminacy of habit, but even of thinking.”¹ What would have been the reply of Dr. Johnson, that lover of cities, had “Goldy” made such a remark in his presence. Certainly Old Merchant Taylors, who have distinguished themselves during the nineteenth century in every path of human energy, have not shown this “effeminacy.” Among leaders of thought we have H. L. Mansel, Dean of St. Paul’s; among leaders of public opinion, John Walter the second of the *Times* dynasty; among Prelates, Wm. Van Mildert, Bishop of Durham and Founder of its University, J. R. Woodford, and R. J. Carr, Bishops of Ely and Worcester; among eminent Churchmen, Wm. Scott, one of the founders of the *Saturday Review* and Editor of the *Christian Remembrancer*; while the Evangelicals are represented by F. Close, Dean of Carlisle; among writers, A. Marshall, the political economist, and H. D. Traall, whose loss we all regret; among writers of fiction, Max Pemberton; among educationalists, Edward Hawkins, Provost of Oriel, James Wm. Bellamy, James Augustus Hesse and Wm. Baker, three Head Masters of Merchant Taylors’; among explorers, Dixon Denham, the companion of Clapperton in Central Africa; among lawyers, Chief Baron Shepherd, Mr. Justice

¹ *The Bee on Education.*

Buckley and J. L. Adolphus, joint editor of the well-known reports of Adolphus and Ellis; among scholars, Henry Ellis, Samuel Birch, E. A. Bond and T. J. H. Marzials, T. H. Ward of the *Times* (husband of Mrs. Humphrey Ward), and Charles J. Robinson, the editor of Merchant Taylors' School Register; among artists, Samuel Palmer, the religious and poetic landscape painter (whose stay at the school was short), and S. P. Hall; among our Indian Civilians, John Ludlow, publicly thanked for the suppression of Suttee in Jeypore, M. C. Ommanney, killed at Lucknow, C. H. T. Crosthwaite and T. H. Thornton; among soldiers, F. Horn, who commanded the 20th Regiment at Balaclava and Inkermann, G. S. Davies, W. D. Bishop, Assistant Field Engineer at Cawnpore, and many more (too numerous to mention by name) who have served through every campaign in India from the days of Lord Gough to the days of Lord Roberts of Kandahar.

CHAPTER XIV.

RUGBY.

“Let your glasses be full and your voices be strong
“As you join in the chorus of Rugby’s old song,
 “Vive la, vive la, vive la Reine!
 “Vive la, vive la, vive la Reine!
 “Vive la, vive la, vive l’esprit!
 “Vive la Compagnie!”¹

“No tourist ticket to Rugby—we only issue tourist tickets to places of interest,” so spoke the booking-clerk at Euston. It is probable that on your first arrival you may feel as the poet whom Eton College gave to Rugby town has written:

“The place might pass unnoticed—to speak truth
 As insignificant a market town
 As may be seen in England.”²

Once enter the School Quadrangle, and all elements of the commonplace vanish utterly. You are standing among buildings, almost sacred to an Old Rugbeian, and you must be less than an Englishman, if you do not feel the associations of that famous spot. Rugby possesses no school buildings as ancient as those of Winchester, Eton, or even its own Elizabethan contemporary, Harrow. The Fourth Form Room at Harrow, built in 1615 immediately after the decease of

¹ Rugby’s song “Vive la Compagnie”, as sung, with extemporised verses, at the “Old Rugbeian” dinner given by the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Reginald Hanson, Bart., (O.R.), in June 1887, on the occasion of Her Majesty’s Jubilee.

² Moultrie’s *Dream of Life*.

our Founder is still in use, and will, it is hoped, be in use for centuries yet to come.

William of Wykeham's buildings still stand, for the most part little changed since they were completed more than five hundred years ago. Not one stick nor stone of Lawrence Sheriff's ¹ original schoolroom remains. It probably stood on the site on which the Sheriff's almshouses were afterwards built. In 1602 the first Trustees of Rugby School, who succeeded the trustees named in the Founder's will, were appointed. They were twelve gentlemen of Warwickshire, of old family, and prove that even then Rugby was no obscure country school. ² In 1614 Sir Thomas Lucy Knight, the hero of the "deer stealing" incident in Shakespeare's early life, was in the lifetime of the poet appointed a trustee. Shakespeare was three years old when Rugby was founded. The Warwickshire boy might have gone to Rugby, but it must not be forgotten that when Shakespeare went to school (say 1571), the Stratford Grammar School founded in the reign of Edward IV., was the older school of the two. John Shakespeare was then the chief alderman of his native town and naturally sent his son William to the local school, where he received the best education of his time, literally for nothing. In Edmund Spenser Merchant Taylors', more fortunate than Rugby or Harrow, can claim an Elizabethan poet of the first rank. The Founders of Harrow and Rugby were not Royal or princely persons, but private individuals of the middle class. They furnished their schools with endowments sufficient to afford the best education known at that day, to as many day-scholars as country villages were likely to supply. The dissolution of Monasteries had, it must be remembered, thrown into the market lands hitherto locked up in mortmain, and enabled merchants, such as Lawrence Sheriff and John Lyon, to purchase lands to endow their foundations.

¹ Lawrence Sheriff, Grocer, Founder of Rugby School, born at Rugby between, as it is conjectured, the years 1510 and 1520, died in his house in Newgate Street, London, in 1569.

² For names see M. H. Bloxham's *Rugby: The School and Neighbourhood*, p. 32.

In 1755 the increasing revenues from the Founder's Lamb's Conduit Street estate enabled the Governing body to transplant the school buildings to their present site, but those school buildings, like Lawrence Sheriff's original schoolroom, have also vanished. The oldest date of any school building now in existence is 1809; the pump in the old Quadrangle, from which in *Tom Brown's* time the School-House fags had to fetch their water, bears the date "1814." Two sides of this Quadrangle are taken up mainly by the School House; a third side consists of what was the Arnold Library, but which is now the Sixth Form Room, and the fourth side of the Old Big School in which the callings-over are still held.

You enter the School House, and you at once feel that a change has come over the scene since Brown and East fagged there. Were Dr. Arnold to come to life, he would scarcely know his own house. The long dark passages upon which the studies open are there, but the large fires at the ends of them have vanished, for the simple reason that the studies are now warmed with hot-air pipes. No selfish proeposter (or sixth-form boy as they now say) occupying the study at the fire end can now rig up an iron rod and green baize curtain across the passage, and, sitting with his door open, keep all the fire to himself. The pictures in East's study have been described by Rugby's historian—"three or four prints of dogs' heads, Grimaldi winning the Aylesbury steeple-chase, Amy Robsart, the reigning Waverly beauty of the day, and Tom Crib in a posture of defence." You might enter every study of the school without finding a portrait of Tom Crib or any other expert in the "gentle craft." Both the style and the subjects of our boys' pictures have changed for the better in the last sixty years. But there is one small detail which illustrates the roughness of the school in times gone by. The school buildings are now lighted throughout with electricity. When gas came, the gas brackets not in actual use were kept carefully, each in its own little cupboard in the wall, under lock and key for fear of mischievous boys. Even in Dr. Arnold's time, the schools were lighted by sconces, mop-handles with a

tallow-candlestick on the top, which were inserted in holes made in the forms, and often used as lances in a tournament between 3rd and 4th lessons in the dark winter afternoons. The school-house Hall remains the same as when Brown and East thrashed the bully Flashman there. The dormitory system still survives.

The School House possesses a fine library; no master's house in England has a finer, and from this library you pass to the third side of the Quadrangle, where the Sixth Form are taught in two rooms by two masters and under the supervision of the Head Master. All the books that used to fill these rooms, called the Arnold Library, have vanished, just as the books bequeathed to the school by Holyoake vanished before them. This room possesses a gift of Dr. Percival's ¹ which happily cannot follow the example of the books. This is a painted window bearing the names of all the Head Masters from 1600, and the portraits of all from Dr. James ² to Dr. Percival. I believe this window to be quite unique among our Public Schools, and, thanks to this "animated" historical record, no other school can boast of a more beautiful sixth-form room than that of Rugby. As you leave the Old Quadrangle and enter the New Quadrangle you pass the whipping-tower, which Lord Lyttelton dubbed "Much cry and little Wool." ³ Dr. Wooll rivalled Dr. Keate in his ability to wield the rod. Like him he was small of stature, but like him there was in that small body the strength of ten battalions. On one occasion he flogged the entire Lower Fourth Form of 38 boys in fifteen minutes. The form had been guilty of a gross act of insubordination and richly deserved what they got. As one of the culprits wrote, "The Lower Fourth Form boys of that day, when they meet their surviving schoolfellows, always talk of this event as the jolliest fun they ever had when at Rugby." Bravo, Lower Fourth Form Boys! Bravo, Dr. Wooll! one is at a loss to know which to admire

¹ Bishop of Hereford.

² Dr. Thomas James, Head Master from 1778 to 1794.

³ Dr. John Wooll, Head Master from 1807 to 1882. William, third Baron Lyttelton, (O.R.) died 1837.

most—the Head Master who would stand no nonsense, or the boys who took their flogging like men! In the opinion of our ancestors the rod was the great leveller and taught the boys that there was one law for rich and poor alike. Dr. Arnold, writes an old pupil of his to me, “invariably flogged for two things—lying and bird-nesting; cruelty he considered the parent of all vices.” Had Dr. Arnold disapproved of corporal punishment, he would not have hesitated to abolish it at Rugby. He was the last man in the world to continue a custom, merely because his predecessors in office had handed it down to him. But he did not disapprove of flogging, and has left on record his approval of it as an *ultima ratio*.

The question of the best punishment to inflict on boys with a view to their benefiting by it is beset with difficulties. The setting of lines can have no good effect, unless the drudgery of it proves a deterrent. Curiously enough two well-known public men, whose hand-writing was most difficult to decipher, the late Mr. Beresford Hope, M.P., and Dean Stanley, were pattern boys, and could not plead that “puns” had spoilt their hand-writing. The name of a third equally illegible writer, head boy of his own school, and now a well-known man of letters, might be added. “I spent an incalculable time in writing impositions—this last I consider one of the chief faults of Rugby School”—so wrote “Lewis Carroll.” When the Public School Commissioners pointed out to Dr. Temple that writing out Latin or Greek did a boy no good, they received from the Head Master the following reply: “It is not intended to do anything but punish him. If you combine a punishment with something that does him good, you get him to hate that which does good.” The War Office seems to be of the Primate’s opinion. Punishment pack-drill is strictly confined to simple marching; no manœuvres are allowed to be practised.

The report of the Royal Commission to enquire into certain Colleges and Schools fills two folio volumes of closely printed, double-columned pages. In this literary jungle, most of it never more to be read by mortal, you meet with curious facts which may be looked for in vain elsewhere. We learn from the evidence of Dr. Temple and Mr. Hefford

that even Dr. Arnold sometimes made mistakes on this difficult question of punishment. At Rugby it may be premised that the government of the school is vested in 12 Trustees who have full power to appoint and dismiss of their own pleasure the Head Master and all the under masters, and to make from time to time such rules and regulations for the government of the school as they shall think proper. The power of the Head Master at Rugby is, as Dr. Temple admitted, by delegation from the Trustees, and not as a matter of right. Dr. Arnold suggested that a place of solitary confinement should be provided as a punishment, but the Trustees did not approve of it.¹

Dr. Wooll, Dr. Tait, and Dr. Jex Blake² have been the Hadrians of Rugby School. If you ask for their monument, look around at the school buildings. Dr. Wooll completely rebuilt the Old Quadrangle and under him the first School Chapel was built in 1820. I do not envy the feelings of any man who is capable of criticizing his old school chapel. It is the home, and nowhere more so than at Rugby, where the deeds of our school heroes are recorded. It is the spot, and nowhere more so than at Rugby, where an Arnold, or someone like him, told us boys of a brotherhood, wider than that of our own school or home. In Rugby chapel you have the Crimean Window, "the Good Centurion", commemorating twenty-five Rugbeians, and the Indian Window, commemorating the Old Boys, who (like W. S. R. Hodson of Hodson's Horse) fell in that terrible struggle. Hodson cannot be passed by in silence when speaking of Rugby. He had his faults and his enemies, but to his memory may be applied the words of Scott:

When thou shalt find the little hill,
 With thy heart commune and be still,
 If ever in temptation strong
 Thou left'st the right path for the wrong;

¹ Public School Commission, Vol. vi., Part 1, Rugby, p. 245.

² Dr. Archibald Campbell Tait (Archbishop of Canterbury), Head Master from 1842 to 1850. Dr. Jex Blake (now Dean of Wells), Head Master from 1874 to 1887.

If every devious step, thus trod,
Still led thee further from the road:
Dread thou to speak presumptuous doom
On noble Marmion's lowly tomb;
But say "He died a gallant knight,
With sword in hand for England's right."

All that is left of Dr. Arnold's Chapel is the oak panel with his own seat, at the West End of the Chapel, and the lovely East Window which he brought from Holland and for the purchase of which the boys subscribed (vide *Tom Brown*).

When the present Archbishop of Canterbury visited his old school in October 1898, it was with the object of dedicating the new portion of the chapel which had been erected by Old Rugbeians in memory of the late Rev. Philip Bowden-Smith, for forty years a master in the School. How enormous is the debt we owe to such assistant masters as he, and how little the outside public realise this! The Archbishop also unveiled a window erected by his pupils in memory of Dr. Goulburn, a "true and heavenly-minded man", and a fine medallion portrait by Mr. Bruce-Joy of Dr. Benson, "selected for high office, because he was amongst men so worthy of it." Dr. Goulburn was the Archbishop's immediate predecessor in the post of Head Master of Rugby, Dr. Benson his immediate predecessor in the Primacy.

The cross in the pavement which marks the spot where Dr. Arnold, alone of Rugby masters, lies buried in the Chapel, is still there, but it is no longer under the Holy Table as it was in *Tom Brown's* day, as the east window has been moved some way back. Arnold's effigy in stone has been moved higher up the wall, immediately above the marble effigy of his favorite pupil, Arthur Penrhyn Stanley. There are Monuments to Dr. Thomas James and to Dr. Wooll, and memorial tablets to the late Dr. Tait and the late Theodore Walrond, head of the school-house at the time of Dr. Arnold's death.

There is one notable feature in Rugby Chapel. All the memorial tablets on Old Rugbeians, prior to the advent of Dr. Percival, are in Latin. A monument in a school chapel should fulfil a double office. It should affectionately remind

the survivors of their lost companion, while it encourages them to walk in his footsteps. Does a Latin epitaph answer this purpose?

Edmund Burke and Edward Gibbon joined in the Round Robin to Dr. Johnson in which they "ventured to express a wish" that the Epitaph on Oliver Goldsmith should be written in English. They suggested "that the memory of so eminent an English Writer ought to be perpetuated in the language to which his works are likely to be so lasting an ornament." This argument does not apply to the monument of a boy, nor can Latin be called a dead tongue in an English public school. One of the signatories of this Round Robin was Dr. Joseph Warton, the head master of Winchester. The "monarch of literature" (as Boswell dubs the Doctor) noticed the signature of the Wykehamist and remarked to Sir Joshua Reynolds, "I wonder that Jos Warton, a scholar by profession, should be such a fool." Without endorsing Dr. Johnson's *obiter dictum*, there is much to be said for Latin epitaphs in school chapels which cannot be urged for them elsewhere. It is the language with which the older boys who worship there—and those the most impressionable to literary appeals—are as well acquainted as with their own. A friend of mine, who used to sit under Dr. Arnold in this very chapel, writes me on this subject:—"Except in quite the lowest forms the Latin epitaphs were no more difficult to read than so much English, and the Latin is so much easier remembered. I speak of my own case. I used as a small boy to sit opposite to a tablet ending with the quotation—'Vos igitur estote parati; quia qua hora non putatis Filius Hominis venit'—and often now have the words before my eyes." My friend was, however, by no means an average boy, and it is doubtful whether the average boy will take the trouble or be able to translate an epitaph in Latin. For instance, is not the inscription composed by Dr. Arnold on Henry Sparkes Hatch, "Christi militi," who died at Rugby; or that one on plucky little John Walker, who was drowned while endeavouring to save another boy in Church over Brook (1841), beyond the comprehension of the ordinary schoolboy? The same question may be asked as to the famous epitaph by Dr. Thomas James on Spearman Wasey.

Innocens, et perbeatus, more florum, decidi,
 Quid, Viator, fles sepultum? flente sum felicior. ¹

It is, however, worthy of note that Dr. Arnold with his strong common-sense handed down to his successors what appears to some of us a pedantic custom. One of the many wise reforms of Dr. Percival was to banish Latin epitaphs from the walls of Rugby Chapel. The following inscription was set up by Dr. Percival, and seems to be a model of what an old boy's epitaph should be.

"To the honoured memory of Edward Gardiner Alston, sometime an officer in the Coldstream Guards who by his resourceful courage rescued wide tracts of Central Africa from the cruel horrors of the Slave Trade. Brave, bright, clever, pure of life, he won his Sovereign's praise, his comrades' love. His Rugby schoolmates, his brother officers, the men he led to victory, the peoples he died to serve, all mourn in him a hero and a friend. Died at Blantyre, B.C.A., April 14th, 1897, aged 25 years."

Dr. Arnold's epitaph on Capt. George Evelyn proves that no one could compose an epitaph in his mother-tongue better than he, and makes some of us regret that he only wrote Latin epitaphs for Rugby Chapel. Capt. Evelyn entered the 3rd Regt. of Foot Guards and served in the Peninsular War. He was so severely wounded in the Defence of Hougoumont, at the battle of Waterloo, as to be incapacitated thenceforth for active service. Dr. Arnold's inscription to his memory on a tablet in the Evelyn Chapel in Wotton Church is generally considered a masterpiece.

"In memory of George Evelyn, Esq., formerly Lieutenant and Captain in the Third Regiment of Foot Guards. He died February 15th, 1829, in the 38th year of his age.

"His early years gave a beautiful Promise of Vigour of

¹ Like flowers I fell in Life's fresh bloom,
 Thrice happy, pure from earthly spot;
 Stranger, why mourn beside my tomb?
 Weep not; more blest than thine my lot!

Rugby School Register, Vol. i., p. 58.

Understanding, Kindness of Heart, and Christian nobleness of Principle. His Manhood abundantly fulfilled it.

“Living and Dying in the faith of Christ, he has left to his family a humble, but lively hope that as he was respected and beloved by Men he has been forgiven and accepted by God.”

The two surviving sons of this Capt. Evelyn went to Rugby; one is the present owner of Wotton and for many years one of the representatives of Surrey in parliament; the other, the Rev. E. Boscawen Evelyn, left the beautiful family living of Wotton in charge of an uncle in order to go out as Chaplain to the Crimea. No one better earned the Crimean medal.

As you stand and ponder in the Chapel, few things strike you more than the abiding fame of Dr. Arnold. In a recent account of the School written by one of the present masters (Mr. W. H. D. Rouse) he is referred to as “the greatest name in the history of Rugby.” Dr. Hawkins¹ wrote that if Thomas Arnold, then simply a pupil-teacher at Laleham, were elected to the post of Head Master at Rugby, “he would change the face of public education throughout England.” The prophecy has proved wonderfully true, but like all prophecies, it must be accepted with some reservations.

The charge has been brought against Dr. Arnold that he managed Rugby “on the principle of selection, adaptation and careful manipulation.” Like the attacks on the present German Emperor, who, by the way, has much of the Arnold as well as of the Macaulay schoolboy about him, these attacks have mainly been made by outsiders. Save for a criticism made by one of his successors in office, no unfriendly criticism made on Dr. Arnold by any Rugby Master or Old Rugbeian has ever been published. This absence of censure by those who know the school best is worth volumes of eulogy, but on the principle expressed in Burns’ lines—

O wad some pow’r the giftie gie us
To see oursels as ithers see us—

¹ Provost of Oriel, educated at Merchant Taylors’ School.

Mr. T. Mozley's temperate criticism may be referred to. Mr. Mozley was an Old Carthusian and a Fellow of Oriel, Arnold's own college. "Dr. Arnold," he writes, "was sending away every boy not likely to do good to himself or to the school. Contenting himself with a general oversight of the rest he chiefly devoted himself to the twenty boys most qualified to benefit by his instruction." ¹ Before Dr. Arnold's time there was no *via media* between expulsion and removal. Dr. Arnold practically invented it at Rugby, and thus was able to remove every boy whose influence was distinctly pernicious. So far from this being a blemish to his system, it was one of his wisest reforms. "Till a man learns that the first, second, and third duty of a schoolmaster," he said, "is to get rid of unpromising subjects, a great public school will never be what it might be and what it ought to be." ² As to the charge that Dr. Arnold neglected the general body and restricted his attention to boys whose scholarship would reflect credit on Rugby, the charge is refuted by every line that Old Rugbeians have written about their school. He was emphatically not a private tutor, but a public-schoolmaster. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century Dr. Russell at Charterhouse and Dr. Keate at Eton used to teach, or attempt to teach, a class consisting of more than a hundred boys. In limiting his attention to a class consisting of some thirty boys Dr. Arnold instituted a most wise reform. Some complained of him as an innovator in books and studies. The sole matter of regret is that he did not innovate more. One thing is certain, that if any Sixth Former had handed to him a genealogical table illustrating the absurdities of Livy's chronology, as T. Mozley did to Dr. Russell of Charterhouse, Dr. Arnold would not have returned his table to him "with a smile as much as to say it was a matter one need not trouble about."

The essays of Thomas De Quincey glitter with wit, but underneath their brilliancy there is, as a rule, a substratum of truth. The brilliancy and wit were his own, the conviction or prejudice he shared with others. He was no opium-

¹ Mozley's *Reminiscences*, Vol. i., p. 233.

² Stanley's *Life*, Vol. i., p. 102.

eating recluse, but a keen observer and partisan. His opinion of Dr. Arnold must therefore not be regarded as "a paradox to make fools laugh in an alehouse", but as the expression of the opinion held sixty years ago by serious thinkers of the Tory school. The late Dr. Arnold of Rugby, wrote Dr. Quincey, was "tainted to excess with the scrofula of impracticable crotchets." ¹ To the Tory or High Churchman of sixty years ago this would have seemed a common-sense view; to his successor of the present day it would appear as a literary curiosity. When Dr. Goulburn, an Old Etonian, was appointed Head Master, he was avowedly appointed as an opponent of "Arnoldism" and "Liberalism", and yet how very slight, if any, were the changes he introduced.

The secret of Dr. Arnold's success lay, I think, in the fact that he knew human nature, both that of boys and of men. He carried into practice the idea on which Public School education not only at Rugby, but throughout England is now based. That idea may be summarised in the dictum, "Trust to the honour of the boy." While French and German lads are hedged round with masters, even in their hours of recreation, the English lad is in many respects his own master even when in school. Dr. Arnold would as soon have distrusted a master as a boy. He thus reared his boys to become far more useful and self-reliant men than any system of espionage, however cleverly veiled, could have done. Although Horatio Nelson was never at a Public School, yet he was a schoolboy of the best Arnold type. He and his brother were riding to school one day. Finding the snow so deep as to delay them seriously, they turned back, and the elder reported that they could not get on. "If that be so," said their father, and Dr. Arnold could not have acted more judiciously, "I have of course nothing to say; but I wish you to try again, and I leave it to your honour not to turn back, unless necessary." On the second attempt the elder brother was for turning back again, but Horatio insisted on their accomplishing their journey, for as he expressed it, "remember it was left to our honour." ²

¹ *De Quincey's Works* (Masson Edition) Vol. xi., p. 101.

² Mahan's *Life of Nelson*, Vol. i., p. 7.

While Dr. Arnold regarded personal honour as the best check on his boys, he was by no means blind to the importance of having the right men as assistant masters. "What I want," he wrote,¹ "is a man who is a Christian and a gentleman, an active man, and one who has common sense and understands boys.... It is my great object to get here a society of intelligent, gentlemanly, and active men who may permanently keep up the character of the school, and make it 'vile damnum', if I were to break my neck to-morrow." His object was attained. He collected around him a staff of masters who have carried on his system and have made it permanent. Some have regretted the fact of Dr. Arnold's early death. To his own family and friends his death was indeed untimely, but so far as his own fame was concerned, his death is no more to be deplored than that of Nelson in the hour of victory. What could length of days have brought to Thomas Arnold? A bishopric—possibly the Primacy of England. It is, however, by no means certain that he would have been as great a bishop as he was a schoolmaster. Fortunate in many things, Rugby's Head Master was fortunate in the manner of his leave-taking. He died at the zenith of his fame.

As you leave the Chapel, you look up at the West Window which has been placed there in memory of Tom Hughes. No Old Boy ever better merited honour in his School Chapel. *Tom Brown's Schooldays* is the best work of schoolboy fiction; with the rest nowhere. Dr. Arnold's most lasting and most popular monument is neither to be found in Westminster Abbey, nor in the School Chapel, nor in the School Library, nor even in Stanley's *Life*, but in the pages of *Tom Brown*. The thinking man will find his Arnold in Stanley's *Life*, but "the man in the street" turns to his *Tom Brown*. Exaggeration is not and cannot be the divine afflatus, but it is often mistaken for it. Mr. Hughes tells us that "the hardest thing in the world for a Brown to bear" is for anyone to agree with him in everything. Many have said that there is too much preaching in the book. The author in his preface to the

¹ Stanley's *Life* (8th Edition), Vol. i., p. 88.

sixth edition fully admits the charge, and glories in it. Dr. Arnold came to Rugby in 1828 and died in harness in 1842. His rule did not cover a gentle or devotional stage in the development of our public schools. Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Charterhouse, Winchester and Westminster—all tell the same story. That was a rough age in which our school-boys were not attentive to the forms of religion and too often oblivious to its spirit. Therefore those who did strive after higher things, may have talked too much of religion. Moreover, if a public-schoolboy has any grit, he is essentially an extremist. You must not expect moderation from him either in his religious opinions (if he has any), or in his love of cricket or of work. "Thorough" is his watchword. The wise advice of Talleyrand—*Pas trop de zèle*—is foreign in spirit as in language. The same idea is more beautifully expressed by Horace—¹

"Vim temperatum Di quoque provehant
In majus."

(The force that wisdom tempers, Heaven promotes.)

—but this is a truth that the intellect of the average boy fails to grasp. This was even more the case with our fathers and ourselves than with our sons. If illustrations are wanted of the spirit of exaggeration or fanaticism or priggism (call it what you will) rampant among the Rugby boys of Dr. Arnold's time, they will be found in the letters of Clough. Take, for instance, the letter he wrote when head of the School House (1836), to his friend J. N. Simpkinson (afterwards "Simmy", an assistant master at Harrow): "I verily believe my whole being is soaked through with the wishing and hoping and striving to do the school good, or rather to keep it up and hinder it from falling in this, I do think, very critical time, so that all my cares and affections and conversation, thought, words and deeds look to that involuntarily. I am afraid you will be inclined to think this cant."² In a letter to the same friend he

¹ Horace Carm. Lib., iii., Ode 4.

² Clough's *Remains*, Vol. i., p. 68.

speaks of the Old Rugbeians (Stanley etc.) at Oxford as "a little leaven leavening the whole lump." Those who criticize *Tom Brown's* "preachy" tone forget that in the Arnold days a boy to be religious had to be a Daniel. He had either to assert himself, or "to bow his head in the house of Rimmon", a subject which Tom and Arthur, and even the manly East, seem never tired of discussing. It is unfortunate if a boy has to separate himself from his companions, as such separation must tend to develop a prig, but there are times when such a step is unavoidable. Contemporaneously with Dr. Arnold, Dr. Moberly and Charles Wordsworth held sway at Winchester, but though they were High Churchmen, very similar complaints were made of their pupils as of Dr. Arnold's. Winchester, as well as Rugby, was then regarded by outsiders as a school for prigs. The only difference between them was that Dr. Moberly's teaching made premature High Churchmen, while Dr. Arnold's made them liberal Churchmen. From the preface to *Tom Brown* it is clear that Tom Hughes regarded priggism as a necessary stage in a schoolboy's development. It certainly is not a necessary stage in the growth of a Rugby or Winchester boy of the present day. - Whether Old Rugbeians or not, we honour Tom Hughes. As Mr. Goschen happily expressed it—"He is a hero without heroics." He devoted his life to the cause of public schools and proved himself their most successful recruiting sergeant. Thanks to *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, hundreds of parents have sent their boys to public schools, who would not have done so, had that book never been written. On the Rugby Speech Day of 1899 the Archbishop of Canterbury unveiled the statue of Tom Hughes. The statue was the work, and a fine piece of work, of Mr. Thomas Brock, R. A., and stands in front of the Museum, overlooking the close. Out of goodwill to Rugby and to the memory of Tom Hughes, the artist executed it on very generous terms. The hero worship of Tom Hughes for his old chief was referred to by the Primate with marked appreciation, and the occasion was quite as much one for honouring the memory of Tom Hughes's master as of Dr. Arnold's pupil. The speeches sent us all back to our *Tom Brown*. That

book is a manual for hero worship! "What a sight it is," broke in the master,¹ "the Doctor as a ruler! Perhaps ours is the only little corner of the British Empire which is thoroughly, wisely, and strongly ruled just now." Did Carlyle ever read *Tom Brown*? If he did, this sentence should have come up to his standard. Oliver Cromwell could not have aroused more enthusiasm. It is good and pleasant to see loyalty and devotion such as Tom Hughes's to Dr. Arnold, but there is such a task as keeping the balance of our enthusiasms even. Dr. Arnold was the Agamemnon of Rugby, but as Horace has taught us as boys, there were kings before Agamemnon, only they lacked what Dr. Arnold had—their *vates sacer*, their *Tom Brown*.

There were Henry Holyoake, Thomas Crossfield, Thomas James, and John Wooll. Justice to his predecessors is not detraction of Dr. Arnold. Mr. Hughes tells us that Arnold "found School and School-house in a state of monstrous license." In a letter to a friend, written soon after his election, Dr. Arnold speaks of his "generally favourable impression" of the School. "The earliest letters from Rugby," Stanley tells us, "express an unfeigned pleasure in what he found existing." Dr. Butler of Shrewsbury, writing in 1835 to the Rev. B. W. Kennedy, then a master at Harrow, says: "I don't know what you mean by Arnold's reform of Rugby. I know he increased the numbers much; and I hear that they are now considerably on the decline again, but I do not know anything more." Happily, at Rugby there were not only kings before Agamemnon, but there have been kings since Agamemnon. Tait, Temple, Jex Blake, Percival and the present Head, Dr. James, form a galaxy of Head Masters difficult to match and impossible to beat. They have raised the School to a pitch of prosperity, both in numbers and efficiency of instruction, which it had not before attained. For the first time in its history Rugby in 1899 carried off two Balliol Scholarships. Never could an Old Rugbeian look forward with greater confidence to the future of his school than he can now.

¹ This young master was, in the opinion of Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, intended for George Edward Cotton, afterwards Bishop of Calcutta.

CHAPTER XV.

RUGBY—(continued).

IN Dr. Arnold's time when you had seen the Old Quadrangle and the Chapel, you had seen the whole school. The present School buildings have quite outgrown their old limits. In *Tom Brown's* days one side of what is now the New Quadrangle was occupied by shops. These have long since disappeared, and their place has been taken by Chemical Class Rooms. These rooms are now thought too small, and will be replaced by larger ones. Thus the work of improvement is handed down from one generation to another. You cross the road from the School House and enter the Physical Science Rooms. No school in England possesses a better or completer set. Rugby has long enjoyed an honourable preëminence among Public Schools in the matter of its scientific teaching. "Rugby School," said the Schools Commission of 1864 in their General Report, "is the only one among those constituting the present inquiry in which Physical Science is a regular part of the curriculum." They also reported favourably on the teaching of history at Rugby, "and perhaps Harrow."

The late Head Master, Dr. Percival, did all in his power to encourage music in the school. Under him an admirable music room was built, with little rooms leading out of it in which each boy practises his own instrument. The late Dr. Troutbeck, the able translator of all Novello's libretti, is an Old Rugbeian. He was Precentor of Manchester when Sir F. Bridge was Organist there, and then found himself Precentor of Westminster Abbey, with an Old Rugbeian as Dean, who had been a Rugby master of his own time, and Sir F. Bridge as Organist. Sir F. Bridge was not at Rugby, but he sent his son there. Then there

is Sir Herbert Oakeley, Emeritus Professor of Music at Edinburgh, also an Old Rugbeian. He has set to music the beautiful hymn, "*Comes at times a stillness as of even,*" written by another Old Rugbeian, Isaac Gregory Smith, Canon of Worcester. This hymn was sung by Her Majesty's Command at the inauguration of the National Memorial to the late Prince Consort at Edinburgh.

There is a fine gymnasium, but its use is not compulsory. There is a large covered swimming-bath, which cannot of course be compared either to the Thames at Eton or "Ducker" at Harrow, but is far better than anything Rugby possessed before. This was a gift from Dr. Jex Blake, whose name at Rugby is synonymous with generosity.

The School Library is open to all boys, who may not only read there, but take out books at will without requiring the permission of any master. The windows of the Library are each adorned with the coat of arms of a Bishop who had been either an Old Rugbeian or a Rugby Master. Dr. Tait, as the Dean of Ripon tells us, held aloof during his headmastership as far as possible from the current controversies of the Church. Dr. Goulburn,¹ Tait's old pupil at Balliol, succeeded him, while Dr. Temple was Dr. Goulburn's successor. One of Dr. Goulburn's assistant masters was Dr. Benson, afterwards the Primate. No other school in England can claim three masters who subsequently became Archbishops of Canterbury in succession. The following Old Rugbeian Bishops have each a memorial window—Cotton² and Johnson (both Bishops of Calcutta), Gell of Madras, French of Lahore, Sandford of Gibraltar, Butler of Lichfield, and Fraser of Manchester. There is no window to Richard Bagot, Bishop of Oxford (1829—1845) and afterwards of Bath and Wells. He was a good Bishop, though perhaps not the man to have been Bishop of Oxford during the period of the Oxford Movement. The ecclesias-

¹ The late Dean Goulburn (Old Etonian) was Head Master from 1850 to 1857.

² Bishop Cotton was educated at Westminster. He was a Master at Rugby before he became Head Master of Marlborough. The other Bishops named after him were all Old Rugbeians.

tical stir of those times nearly killed him. He was one of the last of our pluralists, and held a Deanery with his Bishopric of Oxford. In the eighteenth century this would hardly have attracted any notice. Both Richard and his elder brother Charles, who succeeded Lord Sydenham as Governor-General of Canada, were descendants on the maternal side from the brother of Lord Bolingbroke, the friend of Pope. No Rugbeian ever better deserved his memorial window in the School Library than Samuel Butler, for no Rugbeian has ever better maintained the credit of Rugby scholarship or gained for his schoolfellows more half-holidays. To mention only one of his achievements—in 1793 he carried off the Craven Scholarship against Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Keate.

There is an anecdote so characteristic of school-life seventy years ago, that no apology is needed for relating it here. A valued friend of mine entered Rugby in 1832, and is therefore now one of the Oldest of Old Rugbeians. My friend earned at Rugby the honourable reputation of fighting the battles of smaller boys. On leaving Rugby he went to a well-known Shropshire private school, of which R. R. W. Lingen (now Lord Lingen) was then head boy. In the discharge of his office of champion of the weak, he discovered (as some of us have done) that the theory of a bully being always a coward is quite a fallacy. The bully gave him two black eyes, while he returned the compliment by breaking his opponent's arm. His master heard of the incident and sent for the Old Rugbeian. He reminded him that both he and his antagonist were going to be confirmed the next day. What would the Bishop say! "Sir," replied his pupil, "you were, I believe, at Shrewsbury School under Dr. Butler. Well, Sir, did not Dr. Butler use to say to the boys 'Go and settle your differences out of school'?" The master chuckled and dismissed the pugilist without a punishment. That evening the Bishop dined with the master and heard the whole story. The next day my Rugby friend was confirmed. He has always thought that the fingers of the Bishop rested lovingly on his head. That Bishop was the Old Rugbeian, Samuel Butler, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. He could not

censure boys who had acted on the episcopal advice and had settled their differences "out of school."

If the Bishops have the windows, a lawyer takes the floor of the house. There is a fine bust of the late Lord Justice Bowen, whose excellence in a scrimmage is still a Rugby tradition. Old Harrovians who have played "footer" with his brother, Edward Bowen, will have no difficulty in believing it. There is a charming portrait of the late Dean Vaughan, as well as of another Old Rugbeian—F. C. Selous, the mighty hunter.

The new big School is also full of interesting portraits. It is here that Speech Day is kept and school concerts are given. On the walls of this fine room hang portraits of Bishop Cotton, Tom Hughes, Dean Stanley, my dear old Harrow Master Dr. Bradby, Dr. Temple and Dr. Percival. There is a portrait of Dr. Arnold's son, Matthew; some day let us hope a portrait of Dr. Arnold's granddaughter, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, will hang beside it. The authoress of *Marcella* is not the only famous novelist with whom Rugby is connected. John Walter Cross, the husband of "George Eliot", was an Old Rugbeian. There is a portrait of Wm. Cotton Oswell, the companion of Livingstone and a man as fearless as he. Tom Hughes describes him as "Osbert, who could throw a cricket-ball from the little side-ground over the rook trees to the Doctor's wall." Once a farmer came to complain to Dr. Arnold of some depredations by the boys. The Doctor made him stand by as the school went out from calling-over. When Oswell passed out without recognition, a sigh of relief went up from the whole school.

There is a portrait of (the 15th) Lord Derby. It is a suggestive fact that two Old Rugbeians were at the same time Ministers for Foreign Affairs in England and France. In 1877 Wm. Henry Waddington¹ was Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Ministry of M. Dufaure, while Lord Derby filled the same post under Mr. Disraeli. They were both contemporaries under Dr. Arnold, and to make the links

¹ Prime Minister under President Grevy (November 1878). He is specially referred to in the Rugby School song composed for Sir Reginald Hanson's Rugby Dinner in 1887.

in the chain more complete, another Old Rugbeian, and a contemporary (F. O. Adams) was about the same time British Chargé d'Affaires in Paris. Lord Derby's character was too critical and too unemotional to be influenced by Dr. Arnold. The late First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Goschen, did not go to Rugby until after Dr. Arnold's death, but Lord Cross was at Rugby under Dr. Arnold.

The total absence of the military and naval, and the partial absence of the literary element from the pictures, both in the new big school and in the library, must strike the visitor. The clerical element dominates both. There is not a portrait of a soldier or a sailor in all the school buildings, and yet Rugby has reason to be proud of her soldiers. First and foremost there is Sir Ralph Abercromby, a hero who fell, like Wolfe, in the hour of victory, ¹ and upon whose escutcheon there is no blot. Just as Wolfe broke the power of the French in Canada, so Abercromby broke their power in Egypt. Out of some hundreds of brave men a few names only can be mentioned here:—Admiral the Earl of Carysfort, the only Old Rugbeian who was present at both the victories of the Nile and of Trafalgar; General Sir Willoughby Cotton, who for forty years took part in almost all the fighting that was going on from Spain to the Punjaub, from Busaco to Chuznee; Sir George Hoste, R. E., and Col. Trevor Wheler, both Waterloo heroes (to mention two only); A. H. Booth, Lieut. in the heroic 73rd, who went down in the *Birkenhead* on the 26th February, 1852; J. P. Basevi, who died on duty in Kashmir at an altitude of 16,000 feet, from the effects of the rarity of the atmosphere and from exposure; Sir Henry Wilmot, V. C.; H. A. Sarel, fourteen times mentioned in the despatches; General H. W. Adams, mortally wounded at Inkerman; ² Thomas Kettlewell of the Balaclava Charge, who served through the Crimea and Mutiny; Edward Tomkinson, J. P. Winter, and S. T. Williams, all Balaclava heroes; Osmond

¹ Killed by a spent bullet at the battle of Alexandria on 21st March, 1801. A monument was erected in St. Paul's to his memory, by Parliament.

² See the stirring poem "*Inkerman*" in *Wagers of Battle*, by Franklin Lushington (O.R.) and Henry Lushington.

Barnes, who served through the Mutiny, and, as the tallest man in India, proclaimed Queen Victoria "Empress of India" at the Grand Durbar in 1876; J. W. J. Dawson, R. A., "the dearly-remembered young boy from whom we had parted but a few months when he fell so bravely, not in destroying men's lives, but in saving them." ¹

Hæc mortalia tangunt.

Arthur Conolly deserves special mention. He entered Rugby in 1820, and in after-years often referred to his sufferings there. It is to be regretted that he did not come to Rugby a few years later, as his was a character that would have developed under the Arnold influence. He was a singularly brave man, and an enthusiast to a visionary degree. In character as well as in the manner of his death he resembled General Gordon. He believed in the ultimate conversion of the warring tribes of Central Asia "to the pure faith of Jesus Christ." His cruel and lingering death (with that of Col. Stoddart) ² in 1842, at the hands of the Emir of Bokhara, is not a subject that an Englishman likes to remember.

In the days before the Mutiny the cadets of the East India Company frequently went to no public school before they went to Haileybury, or Addiscombe. Rugby can claim the honour of educating Hereward Craufurd Wake of the Bengal Civil Service, the Hero of Arrah, who, with a handful of Englishmen and about sixty Sikhs, held Puckah House against thousands of the Rebels. He was a nephew of the then Head Master of Rugby, Dr. Tait, who lived to be proud of him. The besieging force thought that Wake must surrender for want of water—a delusion out of which they were wakened by our Sikhs squirting muddy water over

¹ *The Book of Rugby School*, p. 85. He died in the Crimea of injuries received in removing live shells on the explosion of a French siege-train.

² Col. Charles Stoddart was at Norwich Grammar School, as were also Sir Archibald Wilson of Delhi, George Borrow, Dr. James Martineau, and Sir James Brooke, the Rajah of Sarawak.

them. Neither his pluck nor his humour ever failed Hereward Wake. His exploits in real life may have suggested to Sir George Chesney the plot of his story, *The Dilemma*. Henry Woodrow, a promoter of education in India, was one of the boys who took supper with Dr. Arnold on the evening before his death. The late J. G. Cordery, who was head of the School and captain of the Eleven, was a successful candidate at the first open examination for the Indian Civil Service in 1855. Indian Civilians, even the busiest, enjoy some leisure, and Cordery spent his in translating the *Iliad* into English verse. He served under his old school-fellow, Sir Richard Temple, in Haidarabad and subsequently became Resident in that State. Sir Alexander Arbuthnot is another Rugbeian, who has combined high office in India with cultured tastes. It is, however, to be feared that the public at home know little about those who stand behind the Viceroy. "Well," remarked a cynical member of Council to a retiring Lieutenant-Governor (an Old Rugbeian), "whatever your services may have been, when you return to England they won't know whether you have been a statesman or a chimney-sweep."

One hundred and ninety-four old Rugbeians have been at the Front in South Africa, of whom eleven have fallen, seven have been mentioned in despatches, and one, Lieut. J. Norwood of the 5th Dragoon Guards, received the Victoria Cross. Six Old Rugbeian Generals, with Sir C. S. B. Parsons (commanding Royal Artillery) and Lt.-Col. G. H. Sim (commanding Royal Engineers), have been serving under Lord Roberts.

General Yule (a town-boy under Dr. Temple), who led the retreat from Dundee on the death of the heroic Gen. Symons, heads the list. The other Old Rugbeian Generals are—J. F. Brocklehurst (of the 3rd Cavalry Brigade), A. W. Morris, G. T. Forestier-Walker, R. S. R. Featherstonhaugh and C. P. Ridley.

Dr. Johnson's *Lives of the Poets* contains the lives of many Old Westminsters, of a few Wykehamists and Etonians, but of no Harrovians or Rugbeians. The poetic fame of Harrow begins with Byron; that of Rugby with Landor. There is no monument to Landor at his old school. He was without

question a most troublesome boy, but his *Imaginary Conversations* have placed him in the front rank of the prose writers of his country. Henry Francis Cary (the translator of Dante), W. S. Landor, and Samuel Butler entered Rugby in 1783. "Butler, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield, and myself were the first in Rugby or, I believe, in any other school who attempted a Greek verse," so wrote Landor.¹

Alice in Wonderland is an even more original work than the *Imaginary Conversations*. Indeed in point of originality its author (Charles Lutwidge Dodgson) may rank with Shakespeare and Bunyan. It is a remarkable coincidence that the best book for children as well as the best book for boys should both have been written by Old Rugbeians. It is strange that in their later lives two Old Rugbeians, differing in character and pursuits, Arthur Conolly and Charles L. Dodgson, should both have referred to their sufferings at Rugby. "I cannot say," wrote Lewis Carroll, "that any earthly considerations would induce me to go through my three years again."²

Of Arthur Hugh Clough there is a portrait in the Library. He was only ten years of age when he entered the School in the summer of 1829, while Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, who entered the same year, was three years his senior. Stanley, who (like Tom Hughes) worshipped Dr. Arnold, if the term "worship" can with propriety be applied to a human being, was not in the school-house; Clough was. Both Stanley and Clough were favorites of their chief, but both were cast in different moulds. Stanley, though the original of Arthur in *Tom Brown*, took no interest in athletics; Clough did. Clough's name is handed down as one of the best goal-keepers, swimmers, and runners in the school. In Clough's earliest letter from Rugby he tells his mother that the fifth-form prize had been won by Stanley by his essay "On Sicily and its Revolutions." Clough as a schoolboy wrote poems of some merit; Stanley only late in life wrote hymns. Clough was editor of the *Rugby Magazine*; Stanley had no journalistic instincts. Stanley took a First

¹ Forster's *Life of Landor*, p. 12.

² *Lewis Carroll's Life and Letters*, p. 30.

Class at Oxford, Clough a Second, though both were Scholars of Balliol. Stanley held to Dr. Arnold's theological views to the close of his life; Clough gradually abandoned them. Both Arthurs (Stanley and Clough) have been immortalized, as was fitting, by their schoolfellow, the son of their old chief, Matthew Arnold—in his *Westminster Abbey* and *Thyrsis*.

The Library possesses no portrait of John Conington. The future translator of Virgil was in Mr. Cotton's house, when Dr. Arnold was Head Master. He was therefore under the influence of two of Rugby's ablest masters, with the result that he became one of the finest scholars that any school has ever turned out. Every one has heard of Conington's scholarship, but every one has not heard of what one of his successors in the Oxford Chair of Latin Literature—Mr. Nettleship, once an assistant master at Harrow—called his "invincible goodness."

The three historians whom Rugby has produced are Thomas Carte, (the biographer of James, Duke of Ormonde), Charles H. Pearson, and James Frank Bright. Thomas Carte had at least the courage of his convictions and refused to take the Oaths on the accession of George I. There is no monument to Carte, "the historian of facts," either at Rugby or elsewhere. Nor is there one, I believe, to Charles H. Pearson, the author of *National Life and Character*, a book with a strangely pessimistic forecast, but one that may fairly rank with Buckle's *History of Civilization*. Long may the Master of University (Mr. Bright) need no other monument than his own works.

Journalism is represented by the Rev. Lord S. Godolphin Osborne (the S.G.O. of the *Times*) and by Edward Cave. Lord Godolphin Osborne was the direct descendant of Godolphin the statesman, and a brother-in-law of Charles Kingsley and Anthony Froude. He was Vicar of Stoke Pogis. Cave was the son of a cobbler at Rugby and had the right of admission into the school, which he exercised in 1700 when nine years of age. Henry Holyoake, the head master, unfortunately suspected Cave of robbing a hen-roost and compelled him to leave the school. The boy, whom he expelled, lived to insert a sympathetic notice of his death in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

Edward Cave proved to be one of the boys of whom nothing but evil is prophesied when they leave school, and who in actual life falsify all these prophecies. He deserves to rank with Tom Barnes of the *Times*, who was also a public-school boy (Christ's Hospital). The story of Cave's success is quaintly told on his father's tombstone in Rugby churchyard. "He was made happy in the decline of life by the deserved eminence of his eldest son, Edward Cave, who without interest, fortune or connections, by the native force of his own genius, assisted only by a classical education which he received in the Grammar School in this town, planned, executed, and established a literary work called the *Gentleman's Magazine*, whereby he acquired an ample fortune, the whole of which devolved to his family."

Rugby has produced two of our brightest writers on sport. Charles James Apperley ("Nimrod") was at Rugby under Dr. Thomas James, and Henry Hall Dixon ("The Druid") under Dr. Arnold. "The Druid" was a Liberal, a sportsman, and a literary man after Lord Rosebery's heart. So ignorant, however, is half the world of what the other half are doing, that when asked by another Old Rugbeian what he thought of his contemporary, Dixon, Dean Bradley had to confess that he had never heard of his sporting masterpieces.

In the *Harrow Register* (p. 118),¹ among the entrances in January 1838, are T. B. Colenso, Alexander Grant, H. T. Holland, and G. A. Lawrence. The two first (the Register informs you) became Heads of the school, while in later life Grant became the Principal of Edinburgh University, and Holland the present Lord Knutsford. If we now turn to the *Rugby Register* (p. 228) we find that a George Alfred Lawrence entered the school in Michaelmas Term 1841. The two Lawrences of the Harrow and Rugby Registers are one and the same. Lawrence left Harrow on account of the bullying. He was, it is alleged, suspended out of a window one night or even more. The same species of bullying existed at other public schools during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Rugby was not exactly

¹ A 2nd Ed. is about to be published, edited by Mr. M. G. Daughlish.

a bed of roses at the close of Dr. Arnold's reign, nor was the future author of "*Guy Livingstone*" a namby-pamby boy likely to resent reasonable bullying—if such an expression be intelligible in these gentler days. George Lawrence was one of the most brilliant boys ever educated at Rugby. Unfortunately, at Oxford he fell under the influence of a racing Lord of bad reputation, and the consequences were disastrous, but the fast life he led for a brief season never weakened his intellectual grip, nor his faith in the Christian religion. If any one of my readers be in the fortunate position of not having read *Guy Livingstone*, let him read it at once. He will not put down the book until it is finished. Poor Lawrence! he died of malignant cancer at Edinburgh in 1876. He was a loyal Rugbeian, and in *Sans Merci*¹ has given a description of what was obviously meant to be Rugby and Dr. Arnold,—“was a very famous school; the personal influence and characteristics of the wise, strong-willed man who was then the fountain-head of authority, seemed to filtrate through the whole system with the happiest results. In those days there came forth from the gates under the square grey towers many brilliant scholars, but more sound Christians and right-minded gentlemen.”

The exaggerated tone that sometimes mars the pages of the author of *Guy Livingstone* did not inspire this passage. Quite a galaxy of men, subsequently well known, were in Mr. Bonamy Price's house with George Lawrence in the thirties and forties—Sir Richard Temple, Hodson of Hodson's Horse, Dixon “the Druid”, Marshman Havelock, Mr. Goschen, W.S.C. Seton-Karr, and Dr. Bradley, Dean of Westminster.

A word or two may be said here of some of Dr. Arnold's assistant masters, Prince Lee, Cotton, Highton, Bonamy Price, Penrose, Buckoll and Anstey. They were worthy of their chief. Prince Lee was a Pauline, and in 1848 was appointed the first Bishop of Manchester. It is too little known that the Rev. Henry Highton took part with Wheatstone in the invention of electric telegraphy. Cotton, who as Bishop of Calcutta was drowned in the *Húglí*, was one

¹ Vol. i., p. 102.

of Rugby's ablest and most beloved masters. His gentle sarcasm when master of the Fifth Form was the delight of all, ever to the point and harmless as summer lightning. One example of this may be given. It was his custom to correct Greek verse exercises when travelling in the train. On one occasion he had had some exceptionally bad Greek verses, and after scoring and correcting them he fell asleep. He was wakened up at a station and heard the porters calling out "Harrow." He threw the Greek verses out of the carriage window, exclaiming that he hoped people would think the verses were written by Harrow boys! Rugby owed much to Dr. Cotton. On leaving Marlborough for Calcutta he was allowed by the Governing Body of that School to nominate his successor—a compliment which has probably never before or since been paid to a retiring Head Master.

"Jack" Penrose, another master, was son of Mrs. Markham, authoress of English and French History; he was in fact "Richard, the clear-headed boy" mentioned in the preface to the former work. The Rev. S. J. Buckoll translated from the German, and wrote two hymns in "*Hymns Ancient and Modern*." Bonamy Price, who stood against Tait for the Head Mastership in 1842, was in many ways a remarkable man. He was a brilliant Double First at Oxford, an accomplished essayist, and endowed to the full with the *vivida anima* which goes so far with boys. He was the life and breath of Rugby until his appointment to the Professorship of Political Economy at Oxford.

Different from Price, *longo intervallo*, was the only other house-master then in the Barby Road, C. A. Anstey, master of the Upper Middle Fifth. His weakness for fanciful derivations was a constant delight. One only of these derivations can be given here—*ζω spiro* from *z* and *ω* because it is the first and last thing we do.

Four other assistant masters, who came to Rugby after Dr. Arnold's death, may be mentioned here. Mr. Lingen (now Lord Lingen) came solely as composition Master. He is probably the only instance of an assistant master becoming a "Temporal", though there are of course a few instances of assistant masters becoming "Spiritual" Peers, *e.g.*

Sumner, Benson, Prince Lee etc. Canon Evans took Professor Bonamy Price's house on the latter going to Oxford. The present Dean of Westminster (Dr. Bradley) was also a house-master at Rugby. The late Richard Congreve was at Rugby under Dr. Arnold, and returned to the school as a master. Subsequently he became the head of the Comtist Body in England.

A tablet has been placed in the school Chapel to Thomas Hill Green, late Professor of Moral Philosophy at Oxford, and he deserves to be remembered in his Old School. No memorial caught my eye to Wm. Charles Macready, the greatest actor that any public school has produced. His father thought of removing him from school on account of the bullying, but his mother pointed out that their son did not fare worse than other boys. Macready first appeared on the stage as a Rugby boy of twelve. Dr. Ingles feared his pupil might follow in the footsteps of his father, and asked him whether he was intended for the stage. Macready assured him that his fears were groundless. Had Dr. Ingles lived to see his old pupil in the fulness of his powers, some of his objections to an actor's career might have been removed. The old gentleman who marked the card of the Rugby speeches for 1808 with the words "surprisingly well indeed" against Macready's name, proved himself a true prophet.

CHAPTER XVI.

RUGBY—(*continued*).

A RUGBY boy gets up at a quarter-past six, or it would be more correct to say the first bell rings then, for what schoolboy ever takes half an hour to dress. At 6—45 a.m. he can eat his porridge and drink his hot coffee. At 7 a.m. he goes into Chapel, and at 7—15 a.m. the “first school” begins. No class at Rugby lasts longer than an hour, though it may be that one class may immediately follow another. First School is followed by breakfast. At 1—30 p.m. the boys sit down to their dinners, and at 3—15 p.m. classes begin again and continue till six. The time for “lock up” of course varies with the season of the year. Games stop at “lock up”, but “extras” then begin. At the beginning of a term each boy is asked by his house-master which of the following subjects he will take up as an extra. The subjects are—the choir, the gymnasium, the rifle corps, the photographic class, the natural history society, the workshop, the fire-brigade, the astronomy class, the shorthand class, music lessons, the stringed band. Compare with this the public-school curriculum of forty or even thirty years ago—parsing, criticism, antiquities, composition, history—all Greek and Latin. Boys had no choice whatever. We either had to make Latin verses or pass for incorrigible dunces. Even Dr. Arnold seems to have been converted to a belief in verse composition. Our fortunate sons and grandsons can no longer complain that their education is on the same Procrustean bed of Greek and Latin.

The Public will always connect the name of Rugby with football, the most manly game on earth. You can judge of the size of the football fields, when you are told that twenty games can be played there simultaneously. Eton Collegers,

Wykehamists, Harrovians and Rugbeians have each a football game of their own, and long may they play them. May the day when one monotonous game has superseded the local game be far distant, if it ever come at all. The peculiarity of Rugby football is picking up the ball and running with it. This dates from Dr. Arnold's time (Bloxham's *Rugby*, p. 110). Hacking seems to have been introduced as a sort of check on running with the ball, but was abolished in 1877. Football is a game that has moved socially upwards, while cricket, from an aristocratic, has developed into a national game. Strutt cannot determine at what period it was first played; it may have originated in the wind-ball or *follis* of the Romans.¹ Football was the national game of England long before three-wicket cricket was invented. In 1349 it was, with other games, prohibited by authority as interfering with the practice of archery. It was also the roughest of games, and was not regarded as a gentleman's game, as cricket seems to have been. At Shrewsbury School Dr. Butler, an Old Rugbeian, forbade football as "fit only for butcher-boys". James I. was of the same opinion, when he forbade the heir-apparent to play it. Strange to say, the only Prince of Wales who has been killed by a game, died from internal injuries received, not from a football, but from a cricket-ball. This was Frederick, Prince of Wales, known as "the Sporting Prince", and his death took place in 1751. A century earlier (1650) cricket is supposed to have been played at Winchester and probably was so. "Our Junior," writes Lisle Bowles in his *Life of Bishop Ken*,² "is found for the first time attempting to wield a cricket-bat." The future Bishop may have played with a bat, but not with a wicket. The hole with which cricket began may have been borrowed from golf; after "holing" had been discontinued, first one wicket, then two and finally (1777³) three wickets appeared on the cricket field. Long may they grace the green!

The first allusion to football in English literature occurs

¹ Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, 2nd ed., p. 92.

² Vol. i., p. 17.

³ "Played with three stumps to shorten the game." Waghorn, x.

in the verse of the noblest, and one of the earliest, of our public-school men. Sir Philip Sidney entered Shrewsbury on the same day (October 17th, 1564) as his biographer, Fulke Greville, afterwards Lord Brooke. He died (1586) at the early age of 32, but he lived long enough to secure a unique position in the history of his country. Queen Elizabeth called him "one of the jewels of her crown"; his father described him as "the light of his family"; Fulke Greville styled him "the finest of gentlemen", and every critic from Spenser to Ruskin has extolled him as one of the glories of English poetry.

A time there is for all, my mother often says,
 When she, with skirts tuckt very hy with girles at football playes.
 When thou hast mynd to weepe, seek out some smoky room:
 Now let those lightsome sights we see thy darkness overcome. ¹

It is curious that the earliest allusion to football should refer to it as a girls' game, but its true character is referred to in an Elizabethan play, *A Match at Midnight* (Act III., Scene 2):—"I have such a stripling for thee, he wants one eye and is crooked legged, but that was broke at football." In the 17th century football is described by the Etonian poet of that century—Edmund Waller.

As when a sort of lusty shepherds try
 Their force at football; care of victory
 Makes them salute so rudely breast to breast
 That their encounter seems too rough for jest.
 They play their feet, and still the restless ball
 Tost to and fro, is urged by them all. ²

A century later, another and a greater poet of Eton for the first time in literature, alludes to football as a game played by the boys themselves.

To chase the rolling circle's speed,
 Or urge the flying ball.

¹ *A Dialogue between two shepherds*, uttered in a Pastoral Show at Wilton. Grosart's Ed. Vol. i., p. 208.

² Dr. Johnson's *English Poets*, Vol. xvi., p. 18.

When Horace Walpole sees his first balloon, he is reminded of "an Eton football". Gray's couplet and Walpole's allusion make it clear that as early as 1730 football was played by Eton boys, but we have still to wait another century for the advent in English literature of the enthusiast for football. Tom Hughes wrote in prose as a lover of the game, but the first poem that breathes the spirit of the game was written by the Rev. E. C. Lefroy. Mr. Lefroy was at Blackheath Grammar School, famous for its football players, but he never played himself, and died young a few years ago. Football, as a public-school game, practically dates from the time when it ceased to be played all over the country on Shrove Tuesday—"football day." This was about 1830. Up to that time the existence of curious country-customs, such as that in Northumberland, of young men asking the bridegroom as he came out of the church with his bride, to give money for the purchase of a football, proved the former popularity of the game, but there is no evidence that it was played by all classes of the community before the nineteenth century.

The earliest known allusion to cricket is supposed to be a passage in the *Paston Letters* (1463): "it ever welle do (= done) that men of the (part of the MS. missing) should make ready her (= their) bald batts and her clot shon." Fenn adds note—"Bald batts seem to mean here ball bats or bats to play at ball with." Mr. Swan Sonnenschein has kindly furnished me with what he believes to be the earliest passage in which cricket is mentioned by name. In 1598 "John Denwick saith that hee being a schollar in the Free schoole of Guldeforde, Lee and several of his fellowes did runne and play there at crekett and other plaies." ¹ Cotgrave in his dictionary (1611) *sub. voc.* "Crosse" has "also a cricket-staffe; or the crooked staffe wherewith boys play at cricket—*crosser*, to play at cricket." There are many references to cricket to be found in pamphlets between 1653—76, and in Horace Walpole, Soame Jenyus and other writers of the eighteenth century. With the accession of the House of Hanover the reign of cricket at our public

¹ Guild Merchants' Book (MS. in the Guildford Borough Records).

schools may be said to have begun. In 1735 Lord Middlesex, an Old Westminster, captained the eleven of Kent which played against a Middlesex eleven captained by the Prince of Wales, who, however, did not on that occasion play himself. This match was played three times and on each occasion for £1000 a side. The gambling that went on at cricket-matches in the eighteenth century is officially sanctioned by the laws of the game "as established (1787) at the Star and Garter, Pall Mall, by a Committee of Noblemen and Gentlemen" (Waghorn). "I have often told you," writes Lord Chesterfield to his son, (to whom *The Letters* were addressed), "that I wished you even played at pitch and cricket better than any boy at Westminster."¹ Mr. H. T. Waghorn, in his interesting *Cricket Scores* from 1730—1773, preserves a record of "a great match at cricket"² played on 26th June, 1751, at Newmarket, between "eleven gentlemen of Eton College against any other gentlemen in England." The Eton eleven was captained by the Earl of Sandwich (Old Etonian), and that of All England by the Earl of March (Old Wykehamist). It was said that as much as £20,000 a side was depending on this match. The match was played three times, and ended first in a draw, then in a win for Eton, and the third time in a win for All England. The Etonians (Lords Sandwich and Howe, Duke of Kingston, Col. Townsend, Capt. Draper) seem to have been mainly Old Etonians, but there must have been some Eton boys among them, as according to the advertisement the players "will be dressed in the handsomest manner, in silk jackets etc." This is the first recorded three days' match. Old Etonians and Westminsters, such as the Dukes of Bedford and Kingston, Lords Sandwich and Middlesex, may fairly be called the pioneers of cricket.

In answer to my enquiry whether he could find any reported cricket-matches played by Harrow, Rugby, or Win-

¹ *Letters of the Earl of Chesterfield*, edited by Lord Mahan, Vol. i., p. 32.

² Waghorn, p. 49; see also p. 80 for a curious story about two sons of Dr. Markham, ex-Head Master of Westminster, and the Prince of Wales (1772).

chester in the 18th century, Mr. Waghorn kindly writes to me—"I can only trace three matches, which are as follows: August 15th, 1796, Southampton v. Winchester, won by Southampton; June 20th, 1800, Winchester v. Mitcheldever, won by Mitcheldever, and on July 7th the return match was won by Winchester. That these matches were played by Winchester College is not stated. I have been through from 1700 to 1800, in my researches, so you may rely upon these as facts."

Paul Saumerez, who entered in Dr. Wooll's first term (1807), has the credit of having introduced cricket into Rugby. This was two years after Byron had played for Harrow against Eton.

Rugby has had two years, each of which deserve to be marked an *annus mirabilis* in its annals—at work and at play. In 1857 the school, under Dr. Goulburn, carried off nearly every open university scholarship both at Oxford and Cambridge. In 1861 the Cricket Eleven contained six boys who got their "Blues" at the University, and three who afterwards played for the Gentlemen of England. Rugby has played against Marlborough at cricket since 1855; and, strange to say, the highest individual score (170 runs) was made for Rugby by E. H. F. Bradby in the opening match. Rugby leads by 23 wins to Marlborough's 12. In 1900 Rugby had 190 runs to win and only 2 hours and twenty minutes to make them in. The runs were made, thanks mainly to E. W. Dillon's 110 runs not out. One of the most curious incidents in cricket was the story of an Old Rugbeian, T. W. Willis, training eleven black aboriginal Australians and bringing them over to this country.

The following table will show clearly how physical development has kept pace with mental in Lawrence Sherriff's School. It must be borne in mind that up to 1750 Rugby boys had no better playground than the churchyard of the parish, where they used to play leap-frog and marbles among the tombstones. Those who complain of the present reign of athletics probably never ask themselves the question—What did our ancestors do in their leisure time, before cricket or football were played? That question has a moral as well as an antiquarian interest. It is the opinion

of competent judges that the more athletics flourish at our public schools, the less vice will be found in them.

The following table speaks for itself.

In 1859.	In 1879.	In 1897.
One fives court.	Nine fives courts.	Eleven fives courts.
One small pavilion.	Two pavilions.	Two pavilions.
No racquet court.	One racquet court with a professional.	Two racquet courts with a professional.
No gymnasium.	Gymnasium with one instructor.	Gymnasium with two instructors.
	Two cricket pro- fessionals.	One permanent cricket professional with four or five engag- ed in summer.
No winter cricket shed.	No winter cricket shed.	A winter cricket shed with two pitches in use.
No rifle corps.	Rifle corps.	Rifle corps with an instructor and assistant and two masters as officers.
No fire brigade.	No fire brigade.	Fire brigade.
An old bath.	The new bath.	The new bath with one instructor.
No workshop.	No workshop.	One workshop where every branch of car- pentry is taught by a superintendent.

Numbers are not the only test, but they are a test and a very fair one, as to whether a school is in capable hands. A large school has, in the opinion of no less an authority than Dr. Temple, "very great moral advantages." ¹ Milton's academy was not to be a small school relatively to schools of his day, but was to contain 130 scholars. ² The history of Lawrence Sheriff's school practically begins with Henry Holyoake, who was elected in 1687 and presided over Rugby for 44 years. He was one of the Chaplains of Magdalen College, Oxford, whom James II. expelled. Holyoake was

¹ Public Schools Commission, Vol. iv., p. 266.

² *Tractate of Education.*

not the only Magdalen man who lived at or near Rugby, for Bilton Hall was bought by Joseph Addison in 1712. This happened to be the very year in which the Master of Rugby (Holyoake) resigned the Rectory of Bilton. It is therefore doubtful whether the Squire and Rector of Bilton ever met. Rugby School was in a state of collapse when Holyoake was appointed. During four years (1683—86) only three boys had been admitted. One of the earliest Rugbeians of whom we have any knowledge, the Rev. William Paul, was hanged at Tyburn (1715) in the canonical habit of the Church of England. He had acted as Chaplain to the Jacobite force at Preston. Mr. Bloxham is of opinion that during Mr. Holyoake's term of office the number of boys in the school at any one period did not exceed 25 or 35 on an average. Dr. Thomas James was Head Master for 16 years (1778—1794). In 1777 the important Act providing for a staff, consisting of a head master and assistant masters, for the "Free Grammar School of Lawrence Sheriffe" was passed. Mr. Samuel Butler has studied Dr. James's correspondence with his grandfather, Dr. Butler of Shrewsbury, and is of opinion that "no later Master has done so much for the school. No subsequent Head Master so completely recreated the school." When Dr. Thomas James came, there were only 80 boys in the school; when he left, there were 245.¹ The monitorial system existed in his time at Rugby. He had under him six assistant masters; a century later the present head master, his namesake, but no relation, has under him (including drawing and music masters) forty-two assistant masters. There can be no question but that Dr. Thomas James, the Old Etonian, was the first to make Rugby rank among the leading schools of England. Of him George III., ever jealous of the honour of Eton, is reported to have said—"Good scholar, Dr. James, very good scholar." There are therefore two theories to account for Rugby's greatness—one that traces it to Thomas James and Eton, and the other to Thomas Arnold and Winchester. Its greatness is due both to James and Arnold.

¹ *Rugby: The School and Neighbourhood*, by M. H. Bloxam, p. 56.

To Dr. James succeeded Dr. Ingles, also an Etonian, and Dr. Wooll followed Dr. Ingles.

Dr. Wooll was preferred to Dr. Samuel Butler, the famous Head Master of Shrewsbury. His election may have been due to the rumour that Dr. Butler was a severe flogger. Butler's old schoolfellow, "Nimrod" (Apperley), referred to this in an article written for *Fraser* after Bishop Butler's death. Dr. Wooll raised the school to the highest point in numbers hitherto reached—381; but it fell off in subsequent years. Under Dr. Arnold the school rapidly recovered its numbers, while Dr. Tait raised them to a still higher point. When Dr. Percival came the numbers of the school stood at 380; when he left, they stood at over 500, and at the close of the nineteenth century they stand at 570.

Dr. Jex Blake is himself an Old Rugbeian. He entered Rugby as a pupil of Mr. Cotton in 1844, and was appointed by his old tutor composition master to the Sixth Form at Marlborough. He became an assistant master at Rugby in 1858, Principal of Cheltenham in 1868, and Head Master of Rugby in 1874. Dr. H. A. James, the present Head Master, is by universal consent not one whit behind the best of his predecessors. All acquainted with this famous school will concur in the judgment that the Governors could not have made a wiser choice. He is an Old Marlburian, and, like his predecessor, was previously Principal of Cheltenham. Dr. Percival¹ is a Westmoreland man and a scholar of Appleby Grammar School. He thus comes from the same district as his companion in arms both at Rugby and Clifton, Dr. Wilson. If the measure of manhood be the amount of work done, the late Head Master of Rugby was a man among men. Always working himself, the joke used to be that he would look up the under-masters at Rugby, and if he found that one of them had a half-hour free, it would not be the Head Master's fault if that half-hour were not filled up.

What then has made Rugby the grand school it is? Her Head Masters, ably supported by her Assistant Masters.

¹ Dr. Percival, Head Master from 1881 to 1895, when Dr. H. A. James succeeded him as Head Master of Rugby.

Since the accession of Dr. Thomas James more than a century ago (1778) the Head Masters of the School have not only been able and energetic men, but (as a rule) have been exceptionally well suited to the task before them. Rugby has never in the nineteenth century seen its numbers reduced below one hundred, as they were at two other Public Schools, hardly more than fifty years ago. This is the more remarkable, as, unlike Eton, Westminster and Winchester, Rugby has no college that offers gratuitous education, a bait which naturally influences the public at all times, whatever may be the reputation of the school. The best proof of the long-continued prosperity of Rugby is that each succeeding generation regards its own Head Master's reign as the golden age of the school. Whether he was under Dr. Arnold, Dr. Tait, Dr. Temple, Dr. Jex Blake, Dr. Percival or the present Head Master, an Old Rugbeian has nothing but good to say of the school and of the education there. No Rugby boy leaves Rugby without regret. No thinking Englishman can leave the close without a feeling of happy envy for those who play there. Masters and boys alike seem to live up to their school motto—*Orando Laborando.*

CHAPTER XVII.

ST. PAUL'S.

WE are told by Roman Catholic authors that monasteries existed in Britain almost from the period of her conversion to the Faith. Where you found a monastery in early times, you were sure to find a school, but these schools of primitive Christianity had fallen into decay by the beginning of the fifth century, when new schools began to spring up.¹ And here, on the threshold of our subject, the constant evolution going on in our system of public education from the times of King Alfred to those of Queen Victoria attracts our notice. The past has never been absolutely renounced; its uses and its practices have slowly, perhaps too slowly, been altered and applied to the needs of the present. When you look back through one thousand years, you find English education as well as English public life broadening down "from precedent to precedent." Schools even in barbarous ages do not die out, but are revived. Reformed institutions are grafted upon old foundations. Thus the new wine of instruction is constantly being put into old bottles, and (with reverence it may be added) the bottles are not broken or the wine spilt. The history of Westminster School is an instance in point. However far we go back in English history we find references to the schools of Oxford. They were old at the time of Edward the Confessor, and although Alfred the Great is spoken of as Oxford's founder, he was more probably its restorer. In the eighth century, in the reign of Didan, king of Mercia, the priory was founded which formed the nucleus of the University. Thus the University grew out of Schools, and the Colleges out of the University.

¹ Miss Drane's *Christian Schools and Scholars*, Vol. i., p. 48.

We find our public schools going through a similar process of development. The City of London School, which was founded by Act of Parliament in this century, had a germ or nucleus in the bequest of John Carpenter, Town Clerk of London in the reign of Henry VI. Every cathedral had its school. So far back as the reign of Stephen we read of the Cathedral School of St. Paul's and the Abbey School of St. Peter's, Westminster, which are now merged in Dean Colet's School and Queen Elizabeth's Westminster. There can be no doubt but that the City of London took the lead in the work of national education as in every other good work. Nearly a hundred of the grammar schools scattered over the country owe their foundation to the liberality of her citizens. In addition to these schools there were the Chantry Schools attached to the parish churches, where the boys of the parish were taught by the Chantry priests. There were also in the cities of London, York, Norwich, and Lincoln, prior to the expulsion of the Jews, schools attached to the synagogues, which were open to Christians and Jews alike. Roger Bacon tells us that the schools of England were never in a more flourishing condition than in the 13th century.¹

If the supply of schools of one sort or another was plentiful, it is remarkable that so great an authority as Hallam should say that "for centuries it was rare for a layman of whatever rank to know how to sign his name." If the majority of country gentlemen in the 14th century could write, Chaucer, the poet of that century, would scarcely have described his squire as able to "wel pourtraie and write." Yet the Paston Letters prove that even domestic servants in the 15th century knew how to write, though neither peers nor commoners knew how to spell. Mr. Rice Holmes (an assistant master at St. Paul's) tells us that knowledge of writing, in Greek and in Roman characters, was not confined to the Celtic priests before Cæsar's campaigns.² It is clear that at different periods of the world's history, knowledge of writing has co-existed with ignorance of all wider culture. Hallam

¹ Carlisle's *Grammar Schools*, Vol. i., xxi.

² *Cæsar's Conquest of Gaul*, p. 11.

also remarks that "the cathedral and monastic schools were exclusively designed for religious purposes and afforded no opportunities to the laity."¹ How far this ignorance was due to the taste and manners—or want of manners—of the time rather than to the want of opportunity of acquiring knowledge must always remain a matter of doubt. There can be no question but that shortly before the introduction of printing and the Reformation, the lights of education in England were burning low. In 1447 a petition was presented to Parliament by the London clergy for the establishment of additional schools.² It was then that Henry VI. founded Eton as a training-ground in grammar for scholars before they went to the neighbouring University of Oxford. He did even more than that. St. Anthony's was in the 15th century one of the four great London schools. No relic remains of it at the present day. In 1442 Henry VI. endowed St. Anthony's with certain property for the maintenance of five scholars in the University of Oxford, such scholars to have the benefit before going to Oxford of a previous training in grammar at his newly-formed College of Eton. This is, I believe, a unique instance of the endowment of a "feeder" of a public school. Endowments of schools preparatory to the University are less rare; but endowments of a school preparatory for a larger school are extremely rare.

Dr. Lupton, a recognised authority on educational matters in the 15th and 16th centuries, and whose *Life of Colet* is conspicuous for the absence of all exaggeration, tells us that at the time when Colet founded his St. Paul's, England and even London was ill-provided with schools, and that the education bestowed in them was poor and inadequate. It was to meet a public want that John Colet—*magnum venerabile nomen*—founded St. Paul's School.

It cannot be alleged against Dean Colet, as it can be urged against some school founders, that he applied another's property to his own charities. Colet founded St. Paul's School out of his own patrimony. In the year 1509, having inherited considerable landed estates by the death of his

¹ Hallam's *Middle Ages*, Chapter ix.

² Lupton's *Life of Dean Colet*, p. 19.

father, who had been twice Lord Mayor of London, Colet began the foundation of a school. He was the eldest of a large family, all of whom seem to have died young, except himself. He devised estates in Bucks to the Mercers' Company for the "continuence of a certain school in the Churchyard of the Church of St. Paul's." After this you are somewhat startled to read in the Report of the Public Schools Commission that "the Mercers' Company do not admit themselves trustees, in the legal sense of the term, of the Coletine estates, but they acknowledge that they are bound to maintain the School." There is a curious passage in Thomas Dekker's *The Magnificent entertainment given to King James etc.* which seems to show that the part played by Dean Colet in founding St. Paul's School was already forgotten in 1603. Dekker tells us that "a Latine Oration was viva voce delivered to his Grace, by one of Master Mulcaster's Schollers at the dore of the Freeschole founded by the Mercers." ¹

Why Colet did not throw his energies and his capital into the improvement of the existing school of St. Paul's we do not know; suffice it to say that he preferred not to build upon another's foundation. He founded his school "in the east end of St. Paul's Church, for a hundred and fifty-three to be taught free in the same." Why the number of 153 was fixed upon must, Dr. Lupton tells us, remain a matter of conjecture. Some thirty-five years ago litigation arose about Dean Colet's school, and the matter came before Vice-Chancellor Wood. The learned Judge could suggest no reason for Dean Colet having fixed the number of his scholars at 153. The matter came up again in the Courts, and the late Sir George Jessel was arguing before Vice-Chancellor James. "The Vice-Chancellor," said Mr. Jessel, "has asked why the number of the scholars was fixed at 153. His Honour seems to have forgotten the miracle of the miraculous draught of fishes." The Vice-Chancellor's impassive face showed neither surprise nor amusement at a Jewish Counsel correcting a Christian Judge, and one who was also a Sunday-school teacher.

¹ Mulcaster was High Master of St. Paul's from 1596 to 1608.

It must be borne in mind that at the date of its foundation St. Paul's was the largest school in England. Winchester had but seventy scholars with Fellow Commoners (not exceeding ten in number) and day-boys (whose number is unknown). Eton had seventy scholars and some oppidans, whose numbers are unknown, but may easily be estimated at less than seventy prior to the dissolution of the monasteries, when their numbers considerably increased. St. Paul's was larger by 33 than Westminster as reconstituted by Queen Elizabeth. In all matters Dean Colet takes front rank among founders. His scholars were to be "of all nations and countries indifferently." This was worthy of a friend of Erasmus. But the most memorable and novel feature about his new school was that he entrusted its revenues and management, not "to priests, bishop, chapter, or noblemen, but to some married citizens of established reputation." When asked for a reason, Dean Colet said that "though there was nothing certain in human affairs, he yet found the least corruption in them,"¹ *i.e.* the Mercer's Company. The Dean's father had been a Mercer. In thus selecting a mercantile instead of an ecclesiastical corporation Dean Colet was following a precedent set centuries before. Agnes, the wife of Fitz Theobald de Heli and the sister of Thomas à Becket founded the School of St. Thomas of Acons in memory of her brother, and appointed as its trustees the Fraternity of Mercers.

Dean Colet was a liberal Catholic or (should we say) a Catholic Liberal. Had all Church dignitaries been such as he, theology apart, there would have been little need of a Reformation. He belonged to the extreme Left of the Catholic Church, not in the sense that he had leanings towards Protestantism, but that, like Montalambert, he was a Liberal in politics. It is quite conceivable that Colet, like More, might have laid down his life for papal supremacy. His sermon against war preached before Henry VIII. did honour to the man who delivered it fearlessly, and to the King who listened to it with respect. Colet might have said with Montalambert that he hoped to die "a penitent

¹ Erasmus quoted by Dr. Lupton, p. 167.

Christian, but an impenitent Liberal." His reforming and ascetic views naturally did not tend to make him popular with some Roman Catholic Church dignitaries, such as Fitz James, Bishop of London, but his unpopularity with them is no proof of his not being orthodox. We might have had no St. Paul's School, had not the throne of St. Augustine been occupied by a statesman (Archbishop Warham) who dismissed the charges of heresy brought against the Dean of St. Paul's as "frivolous." Colet preached one sermon so famous that as a pulpit orator he has almost shared the fate of "single-speech Hamilton." This sermon was preached before the members of Convocation in 1552, on the text—"Be ye not conformed to this world." In this sermon he pleaded for internal reform in the Church, much as Latimer might have done. So much obscurity hangs over the Dean's youth that neither his school nor his college at Oxford have been identified. Dr. Lupton (following Mr. Knight, the earliest biographer of Colet) tells us he was at St. Anthony's, while Mr. Nicholas Carlisle includes him among the famous *alumni* of St. Thomas of Acons. It would be curious indeed could it be proved that Colet was at the same school (St. Thomas of Acons) as Sir Thomas More and Latimer. No impassable gulf divides Colet from the preacher of the *Sermon of the Plough*. Colet's famous sermon before Convocation must have been in Latin, but Mr. Seebohm thinks he preached in English at other times.¹ Colet and Latimer both spoke with plainness the truth that was in them, and each served his generation right nobly. Colet was perhaps the wider-minded man of the two. Sir Thomas More, a canonized Saint of the Church of Rome, revered him as his spiritual father, while Erasmus, who in religion was disposed to be sceptical, loved him as a brother. Martyrdom itself could scarcely have added distinction to a man honoured with the friendship of More and Erasmus. Colet was one of those rare spirits who are consumed by the love of God and the love of man. In many respects he, one of the greatest of School Founders, resembled one of the greatest of School Masters. No one

¹ Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers*, p. 225, note.

sympathised more actively with the founding of London University than Dr. Arnold, but when he found that its teaching was to be absolutely divorced from religion, he took no more interest in the institution. In acting thus—sympathising with human learning only so long as it nurtures love and reverence for God and His Scriptures—Dr. Arnold acted exactly as Dean Colet would have done three hundred years before.

We know so little of the course of instruction in English schools in the fifteenth century that it is difficult to say very precisely what were the reforms on the then existing system that were carried out by Dean Colet in founding his own school. His biographer, Dr. Lupton, tells us that "in general the lesson was oral. Boys learnt by hearing what the master said." The Rev. Hastings Rashdall, on the other hand, holds that this view is a "popular prejudice", and appeals to the woodcuts of the early printers which place the book in the hands of the boy and the rod in the hands of the master. Cardinal Beaufort issued his injunction to the Master of Winchester in 1412 not to take in more than 70 scholars and ten *extranei*. This clearly shows that, in the opinion of the successor of William of Wykeham in the See of Winchester, one master could not properly teach more than 80 boys—so that there were some limits to a master's powers of teaching, even if all lessons were oral.

Whatever may have been the mode of instruction given in English Schools prior to the Battle of Bosworth Field, it seems clear that Colet's St. Paul's was the first school in England in which Greek was taught. It was also probably the first school in England in which cock-fighting was expressly forbidden by its Statutes. Sir Thomas More was a man of great humanity to all sentient things (except Lollards), yet we have pretty good inferential evidence that as a boy he threw the "cockstele", a short thick stick, at the head of a live cock buried up to its neck in the earth. Edward Thurlow, a very different man from Thomas More, except that he also became Lord Chancellor, was an adept in cock-throwing, which he celebrated in some Latin elegiacs printed by Lord Campbell.¹ A "squarson" in my own

¹ Campbell's *Chancellors*, Vol. viii., p. 157.

county of Devon as late as the fifties was a noted keeper of mains. Dean Colet was even more in advance of his time in his hatred of cruelty and love of peace than he was in his love of learning. More than half a century after the founding of his school, statutes were granted to Hartlebury School by Queen Elizabeth. The sixth Statute of this school provides that the schoolmaster "shall and may have the profits of all such cock-fights and potations as are commonly used in school,"¹ Another innovation introduced by Dean Colet into education was his provision that the chaplain should instruct the children in the Catechism, and the Articles of the Faith, and the Ten Commandments *in English*.

It has pleased Miss Drane² to apply to Dean Colet an anecdote which Erasmus obviously tells of quite a different man. Dr. Lupton has conclusively shown the difficulties which prevent any one proving that Erasmus referred to his old friend, when ten years after his death he told the tale of "the divine" who loved beating his scholars.³ As the Hon. Mrs. Norton and her friends have experienced, it is more easy to scotch than to kill a lie. Excessive flogging was one of the abuses of schools in the fifteenth century, but the bent of Colet's mind was in all things to mercy and to justice. Severe and simple in his own habits, his wealth he gave to others. His views were summed up in the words graven under the statue of the Holy Child Jesus which stood over his school—"Hear ye Him."

¹ Nicholas Carlisle's *Grammar Schools*, Vol. ii., p. 759.

² *Christian Schools and Scholars*, Vol. ii., p. 406.

³ Lupton's *Colet*, p. 260; see also Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers*, (2nd ed.) pp. 211—212.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ST. PAUL'S—(continued).

ST. PAUL'S School is an ancient school for the sons of gentlemen, but there is nothing in its external surroundings at Hammersmith to remind you of its antiquity. Yet Dean Colet's Foundation is the most ancient of our great public schools with the exception of Winchester and Eton.¹ In the Fourth Form Room of Harrow you will find Byron, R. Peel, H. Manning, and H. Temple (Palmerston) "whose names imprinted on each honoured wall, speak deathless boyhood."² At the famous rebellion of Harrow, it is said that the schoolroom would have been set on fire, had not one of the boys pointed to the names on the walls, and so saved it. The earlier tradition is that this boy was John Richardson, afterwards the Judge; the later tradition, that this boy was Byron. The name of Shelley is still preserved on a panel at Eton; the name of Ken is cut in the Cloisters at Winchester. Nothing like this greets you at St. Paul's—no links with the past—no names carved by Churchill or Pepys, or even by a Pollock or a Wilde, nothing to remind you either of glorious John Milton or of "bloody" Jeffreys. The only ornament of the school which is older and which survived the great Fire of London, is a bust of the Founder that stands in the Governors' Room. The school Library has some interesting possessions in the shape of a rather full collection of first editions of Milton, including the poet Burns's copy of *Paradise Lost*, enriched

¹ The four schools which claim to be of more ancient foundation than Winchester are Warwick School, St. Peter's School (York), St. Albans Grammar School, and Wells Grammar School.

² Sergeant Talford.

with his autograph. But to make amends for the newness of their surroundings and to remind the boys of their honourable ancestry, the ground passage of the school is panelled with stone tablets, on the head of each of which is carved the name of a High Master and underneath the names of his distinguished scholars. If, therefore, you ask what are the fruit of this old tree, you have only to look on these tables of stone. The names of only two Paulines are in letters of gold—John Milton and John Churchill. Westminster has her one “glorious John” in John Dryden, but St. Paul’s has two. Forty years (1623—1663) separate the exit of one and the entrance of the other; such is the gulf of time—the gulf of human nature is far wider. John Milton was only at St. Paul’s about two years, but in two years the author of *Comus* would have covered more ground than an ordinary boy would in ten. Milton and Churchill were men of singular personal beauty and imperturbable courage, but here all resemblance ceases. The poet was greater than the soldier by reason of his intense patriotism. What Burke said of Lord Rockingham may with far more truth be said of the Puritan poet—“A man to be had in remembrance, because he did not live for himself.” Englishmen should never forget the proud words of Milton, so happily quoted by Bishop Welldon—“When God is decreeing to begin some new and great period in His Church, even to the reforming of the Reformation itself, what does He then but reveal Himself to His servants, and as His manner, is, first to His Englishmen.”¹

John Churchill’s stay at St. Paul’s was probably not longer than that of John Milton; it was cut short by two public calamities, the Plague and the Fire. St. Paul’s School was destroyed by the Fire. A Pauline, Thomas Davies, happened to be Lord Mayor of London that year. Dr. Gale, as the High Master of the most ancient City School and enjoying a European reputation for his learning, by the King’s command, composed the inscription to be placed upon the monument. Unfortunately, Dr. Gale, though an active member

¹ Dr. Welldon’s paper on *The Imperial Aspects of Education*, read before the Colonial Institute in June 1895.

of the Royal Society, was not above the prejudices of his day. In his inscription he charged the Roman Catholics with causing the fire. These lines have long since been erased from the stone and live only in the couplet of Pope:

Where London's column, pointing to the skies,
Like a tall bully, lifts its head and lies.

That the High Master only reflected public opinion of his day is shown by the fact that he received a presentation of plate from the City in recognition of his services in composing this very inscription.

To return to the two Johns, whose coats of arms side by side emblazon the window of their School Hall—Hallam, a severe but a most just judge, writes of Marlborough, that "one must rate military services very high indeed to preserve any esteem for his memory."¹ Esteem is not the feeling roused by the perusal of Marlborough's victories, but admiration. They impressed the imagination even of his enemies and won from a generous Frenchman, Voltaire, an ungrudging eulogy. It may safely be said that no public school has produced two Englishmen greater in thought and action than these two Old Paulines. The root of all Milton's greatness was his industry. He used to rise at four in the morning and begin the day by reading the Bible in Hebrew. In the 17th century Hebrew was in the curriculum of all the London public schools, now it forms a part only of Merchant Taylors'. Archbishop Holgate ordained in 1546 that Latin, Greek and Hebrew should be taught free in the three grammar schools he founded. Edmund Halley, one of the two Pauline astronomers, went to Oxford well versed in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Another mathematician, John Wallis, educated at Felsted School (1630), learnt Hebrew there. Hebrew never seems to have formed part of the curriculum of Winchester, Eton, Rugby, or Harrow, though several Wykehamists in the 16th and Etonians in the 17th century were distinguished as Hebrew scholars. Henry Garnet, who entered the College of Winchester in

¹ Hallam's *Constitutional History*, p. 691, note.

1567, subsequently became Professor of Hebrew and Philosophy at the Italian College, Rome, and another Wykehamist, Wm. Thorne, was Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford at the beginning of the seventeenth century. When John Janeway left St. Paul's for Eton College in 1646, we are told he was only 13 years of age, and that he was examined in the Hebrew tongue.¹ By the beginning of the eighteenth century the study of Hebrew seems to have dropped into "the sear and yellow leaf." This view is confirmed by the letter of Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of Worcester, written 10th November, 1710.² Hebrew was, however, taught at St. Paul's up to 1814, and at Westminster until its abolition by Dr. Rutherford, who was appointed in 1883.

Let us now look at some of the other tablets. After such giants as Milton and Marlborough, it may seem a descent to pass on to a distinguished school-master, but no man better serves his generation. Such Head Masters as Camden, Busby, and Arnold moulded the opinion of their day quite as much as their contemporaries Salisbury, Clarendon, and Palmerston. William Camden,³ like a Colossus of Rhodes, belongs partly to St. Paul's where he was taught, and partly to Westminster where he himself taught. John Strype was sent to St. Paul's in 1657, and was therefore a contemporary of Jeffreys. No one can read Strype's *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer* without feeling drawn both to the author and to his hero. The Pauline historian loved the martyr archbishop much, but truth more. Strype, though a staunch Protestant, had the integrity to publish Cranmer's six recantations, which (as Hallam points out) were not fully known before. "Honest old Strype"!

St. Paul's two astronomers were Roger Cotes and Edmund Halley. Roger Cotes edited Newton's *Principia*. He was beloved by the Master of Trinity, "slashing Bentley", and indeed by all who knew him. He died at the early age

¹ *Admission Registers of St. Paul's School*, edited by the Rev. R. B. Gardiner—an admirably edited School Register.

² Letters written by eminent persons, prefixed to the 1813 edition of Aubrey's *Brief Lives*.

³ William Camden was also educated at Christ's Hospital.

of 34. "Had Cotes lived," exclaimed Newton, "we might have known something." After this, all further eulogy seems superfluous. Halley was Captain of the School at the age of fifteen. He was a man of universal knowledge, even more varied than Newton's. He was the schoolfellow and friend of Robert Nelson, the Non-juror and the best known writer on Church questions at the close of the seventeenth century. Non-jurors have fared badly at the hands of both Dr. Johnson and Macaulay. The fact is, they were too religious for the politicians, and too political for the religious. "I never," said the sage, "knew a Non-juror who could reason." The only exception he made was, not Ken, nor Nelson, nor Jeremy Collier, but Charles Leslie. Yet no theological writings during the reigns of William and Mary and Queen Anne enjoyed so wide a popularity as those of Ken and Nelson, both Non-jurors. The popularity enjoyed by Nelson's work rather points to the fact that he could reason better than Dr. Johnson admitted. His life also illustrates the delightful truth that friendship does at least with the charitable survive political, and even religious, differences. Nelson was a Jacobite and a Non-juror; Tillotson was a Whig, and as Archbishop of Canterbury (in Nelson's eyes) a usurper of Sancroft's place. The two men were at one time intimate friends, but their correspondence ceased for some years. When Archbishop Tillotson was dying, he was attended by Nelson during the last two nights of his illness and died in his arms. At the wish of Ken, Nelson rejoined the Church and received the Sacrament from his friend Sharp, Archbishop of York.

Edward North, first Lord North, was the only son of a well-to-do citizen of London, Peter Carew of a Devonshire Knight, Edmund Halley of a wealthy soap-boiler, Robert Nelson of "a considerable Turkey Merchant", John Milton of a well-to-do scrivener, Samuel Pepys of a tailor, John Churchill and George Jeffreys of country gentlemen. They were all Scholars of St. Paul's. The question may therefore be asked whether these were the proper recipients of a free education. One of them, Edward North, entered the school in the Dean's lifetime and under the First High Master. It is quite clear that Dean Colet did not intend to make

indigence a condition of admission into his school. We have direct as well as indirect evidence of this. One "poor scholar" is mentioned, who was to receive the admission fees of the others on condition of certain menial services. Dean Colet, though an ascetic, was a man of refined tastes, and he showed this in his curious direction that no tallow candles were to be used in the school "but all only wax candells at the costs of their friends."¹ Wax candles were quite beyond the reach of the poorer classes in the 16th century, as were the class of books prescribed for the use of the scholars. What the Dean intended to benefit was not solely or even specially the boys who happened to be scholars, but the cause of national education. He was not the founder of a Charity in the ordinary sense, but an educational Reformer. He sought to keep the standard of instruction high, not to favour any particular class. That was the inestimable benefit which he conferred upon posterity by his Foundation.

About 1523 Sir William Carew brought his son Peter from Exeter and placed him under Ritwyse, High Master of St. Paul's. According to the Chronicler, "the boy was "more desirous of liberty than of learning, and do the schoolmaster what he could, he in no wise could frame this young Peter to smell to a book or like of any schooling." This public-school boy of four hundred years ago strangely resembles many an Etonian or Harrovian of to-day. May our contemporaries prosper as he did! Peter Carew attracted the notice of Henry VIII., who admired his proficiency in riding and other exercises, and his command of the French language, which he had learnt abroad after leaving St. Paul's. He who "broke the bonds of Rome" always loved a man. He knighted this athletic Pauline, promoted him to his Privy Council, and employed him in matters of state.²

It was not clear to the Commissioners that the Founder would have approved of the manner in which his Scholars were appointed. The nomination of a Scholar, whatever

¹ Public Schools Commission Report, Vol. i., p. 187.

² Miss Kendall's *Source-Book of English History*, quoted by Dr. Lupton in his interesting letter to *The Pauline* of December 1900.

it may originally have been, had long before 1864 become a matter of simple patronage. The Scholars were nominated by each member of the Court of Assistants of the Mercers' Company in rotation. It was exactly the same process of nomination by rotation as was practised during the same period at Charterhouse, with an important distinction. At Charterhouse the Governors were the Sovereign, his Queen or Consort, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Prime Minister and other personages of the first rank in social and political life; at St. Paul's the Governors were City merchants. The result was that among the Gown Boys at Charterhouse you found a sprinkling of aristocratic names such as Byron, Byng, Fane, and Stopford—which you would not find at St. Paul's. Dean Colet's school was never a school supported by Whig or Tory families of the aristocracy, though it counts a few aristocrats among its Scholars: it has always been a school for gentlemen's sons as well as the sons of City tradesmen. Considering the haphazard manner in which gratuitous education used to be conferred at St. Paul's, the results were eminently satisfactory. Matthew Arnold would have dubbed the Mercers' Company "Philistines", yet in the exercise of their patronage they have increased the intellectual wealth of the country. The Governors of Charterhouse were slower to introduce the principle of unrestricted competition than those of Eton and Winchester, but they were not as backward as those of St. Paul's. Under the scheme of Charity Commissioners dated 4th July, 1879, the Foundation of St. Paul's was thrown open to unrestricted competition.

Of Winchester, Eton, and Charterhouse it may be said that the College is only one branch of its Foundation; it is otherwise with St. Paul's. The 153 Scholars of St. Paul's were intended by the Founder to form the school. The non-foundationers were an excrescence. More than 200 years ago, when Dr. Gale was High Master, the school attracted paying boarders, who were not scholars. In 1748, when Dr. Charles retired from the post of High Master, the number of Scholars had dwindled to 38 boys. In the time of Dr. Kynaston there were generally about fifty boys whose education was not gratuitous. At the close of the nine-

teenth century there were about 440 boys who paid for their education, in addition to the 153 scholars who wear the proud badge of the silver fish. Of these 593 pupils there are about 100 boarders.

Between Wm. Lily and Alexander Gill (1522—1608) seven High Masters succeeded each other, and of these seven, five were Old Etonians. There have been none since. Four Paulines (Alexander Gill, father and son, Timothy Crumpe, and Richard Roberts), two Old Westminsters (Thomas Gale and Herbert Kynaston), one Old Wykehamist (George Thicknesse), and two Old Rugbeians (John Sleath and Mr. Walker) have held the office of High Master. Alexander Gill and his son Alexander in succession filled that chair. The only other instance of a father and son succeeding each other as Head Master of a Public School was the even more remarkable case of three generations of Knoxes at Tonbridge School. Vicessimus Knox, Vicessimus Knox and Thomas Knox, grandfather, father and grandson succeeded each other at Sir Andrew Judde's school and held the reins of office between them for a period of 73 years. Dr. George Butler and the present Master of Trinity are instances of father and son being Head Masters of the same school, but with a considerable interval between their periods of office.

One of the dangers of walking the streets of London in the seventeenth century appears to have been the chance of a flogging. It is recorded of Dr. Gill senior, Milton's Head Master, that a stone having been thrown at the school windows, his boys sallied forth and seized the first man they lighted on. This happened to be an Old Pauline, Col. Duncombe, who afterwards fought at Edgehill, and who incurred great ridicule among the Cavaliers for this mishap.¹

The younger Gill was both master and friend to John Milton. He got into serious trouble with the Star Chamber for drinking the health of Fenton, Buckingham's assassin, and would have been punished by Laud with his customary cruelty had not his father been a friend of the Archbishop's

¹ Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, Vol i., p. 261; see also Gardiner's *Registers*, p. 35. Col. Duncombe's name immediately follows John Milton's.

and intervened on his behalf. Four years after his appointment as his father's successor the Mercers' Company refused to re-elect him on the ground of his excessive severity to a boy. His successor, as High Master, John Langley, was one of the witnesses against Laud at his trial. From this, and from the fact that he was one of the Censors of the Press under the Act of 1643, it is clear that he was on the side of the Parliament in the Civil War. For seventeen critical years (1640—57) his influence as High Master was favourable to the Puritans. Samuel Pepys and George Hooper were two of his pupils. George Hooper went from St. Paul's to Westminster and later received his first preferment from the Old Westminster, George Morley. He was a favourite of Dr. Busby, who said of him—"This boy is the least favoured in feature of any in the school, but he will become more extraordinary than any of them." George Hooper, as a Peer Spiritual, protested against the Union with Scotland and against the condemnation of Dr. Sacheverell, opinions which savoured more of Royalist Westminster than of Puritan St. Paul's.

While several Paulines have sat on the episcopal Bench, not a single High Master after his arduous services for the school has found his way there. St. Paul's owns no ecclesiastical benefice. In this respect it differs from Winchester, Eton, and Charterhouse.

Of the Paulines who have sat on the Episcopal Bench, no one has reflected more credit on it than Richard Cumberland, Bishop of Peterborough. He combined with a powerful intellect a childlike heart. The philosophers among our Bishops—Butler, Berkeley and Cumberland—have ever been distinguished for freedom from all worldly ambition. Cumberland dedicated to his old schoolfellow, Samuel Pepys, his learned work on Jewish weights and measures. A charming description is given of the old Bishop by his great-grandson, Richard Cumberland, in his *Memoirs*.

The Commissioners found that the religious observances required of the Scholars were from the first "neither numerous nor burdensome." Not that Colet was indifferent to religion, nor could he be accused, like his friend Erasmus,

of preferring learning to piety—far from it, for his intent was (as he tells us in his statutes) “by this school specially to increase knowledge, and worshipping of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and good Christian life and manners in the children.” The school building in St. Paul’s Churchyard (as described by Erasmus) consisted, like the “School” of Westminster, of one large room, divided by a curtain into an upper and lower school, with an entrance porch and a little chapel, and dwelling houses for two masters. This building perished in the Fire of London (1666). The new buildings themselves became antiquated and were replaced by a new school in 1823. The removal to Hammersmith took place in 1884.

As for outdoor exercise or physical training, that was not thought of by the Dean. The old school did not possess so much as a fives court, but only a “crypt-like apology for a playground” on the site of the choir of old St. Paul’s. In this utter absence of any provision for outdoor exercise St. Paul’s was very different from its two rivals—Westminster and Charterhouse. Even Merchant Taylors’, though a day-school like St. Paul’s, was not in this century so destitute of means for physical education. The Merchant Taylors’ Company used to pay 20 guineas a year for rent of part of Kennington Oval. This, however, has all been altered for the better. St. Paul’s now possesses a large cricket and football ground as well as a first-rate gymnasium, fives court, and swimming-bath. Seeing that the ground has since been surrounded by buildings, it is to be regretted that a larger play-ground was not secured.

Mr. Waterhouse was the architect of the new school buildings. Their appearance is extremely handsome. In the School Hall, whose wall is adorned with mosaic figures of St. Paul and the saintly Colet,¹ and whose windows are blazoned with the coats of arms of famous Paulines, every

¹ When the mosaics have been completed, the figure of the child, “Christ Jesus, to whom the school was dedicated,” will be placed between and over St. Paul and Dean Colet. Mosaics of Wm. Lily, the grammarian, and of Viscount Campden, a generous benefactor to the school, are to be added.

morning and evening prayers in Latin are read, not by the High Master, who stands immediately behind his pupil, but by the Captain of the School. Two of those prayers were written by Erasmus for the school "and are such as the strictest Protestant might use."¹ There is at present no school chapel, and there has been no chapel since the Fire of London destroyed the original buildings in St. Paul's Churchyard. It must be borne in mind, however, that the boys are not at the school on Sundays, and that for their religious education they must depend on home influence. This is the German, and not the English view of education. The great public schools of England are essentially Anglican. The fact that they are managed in a broad and liberal spirit only increases their influence instead of weakening it. Boys of all denominations are admissible at St. Paul's, provided they can pass the entrance examination, and have only to produce a certificate of birth, not baptism. Boys of all religions—Roman Catholics, Nonconformists, Jews and Mahommedans—are admitted by our public schools, who are as wide in their sympathies as Rudyard Kipling, a poet of our Empire. Yet in an unobtrusive manner our public schools have done more for the maintenance of the Church of England than all our Parliaments put together. Benjamin Calamy, a Pauline, was the Churchman in a dissenting family. He was school-fellow of George Jeffreys (afterwards Lord Chancellor) and dedicated to him his sermon on *A Scrupulous Conscience*, with much praise of Sir George Jeffreys's loyalty and vigour in support of Monarchy.² He is an instance of a man dying of a broken heart. The trial and execution of his parishioner, Henry Cornish, a victim of the infamous "Popish plot", proved his death-blow. He never recovered the shock, and died a month or so after this judicial murder.

The author of *Paradise Lost* was a day-boarder at St. Paul's, where he heard the Latin prayers of Erasmus, but not the Litany of the Church of England. Had he been a gown-boy of the neighbouring school of Charter-

¹ Public Schools Commission, Vol. i., p. 195.

² Gardiner's *Registers*, p. 51.

house instead of being a scholar of St. Paul's, would the history of his life have been changed? At Charterhouse as a gown-boy he would have attended the services of the Church every Sunday and Saint's Day. Would Milton, the Old Carthusian, have written that noble sonnet—

“Cromwell, our chief of men, who through a cloud,
Not of war only, but detractions rude.”

Would the Old Carthusian have been Latin Secretary to the Lord Protector, or written *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*?

Statesmen have rarely been Paulines, for the simple reason that statesmanship is an art or mystery restricted in this country to persons of ample means. “To make laws,” it has been said, “is the single employment of adult labour, which is supposed to require no preparatory labour.” If Dean Colet's school is not rich in politicians, it is rich in patriots and philanthropists, such as Milton, Alured Clark, Wm. Hawes, and Thomas Clarkson. Nor is the school destitute of successful men of the world, such as Edward North (the first Baron North), Sir Peter Carew, and William Paget (the first Baron Paget). Edward North kept his head in more senses than one through the reigns of Henry VIII. and his two successors, and died full of honours in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The same remark may be made of William Paget. Of few families can it be said with as much truth as of the North family, that in spite of their eminence in reigns, such as those of Henry VIII. and Charles II., when political and social morality was at a low ebb, their careers, both public and private, were singularly free from stain. The Norths can hardly be placed among patriots and heroes, but they merit to be placed with those who have deserved well of their country. They at least did not yield to the bad influences of their day. The first Lord North's name is connected with two great London Schools—Charterhouse as well as St. Paul's. He had a mansion in the Charterhouse, where he twice entertained Queen Elizabeth. His descendants did not go to St. Paul's School. His younger son, Thomas North, the translator of Plutarch's Lives, was just the sort of man to have followed

his father's footsteps at the school of the new learning, but no record of his having been there has come down to us.

At St. Paul's the same cleavage between Royalist and Puritan took place as at Westminster and Merchant Taylors'. John Milton's own brother Christopher was fined £200 by Parliament for serving as Commissioner of Sequestrations for the King. Robert Pory (whose name immediately precedes John Milton's in the Register) was driven from his London living during the Civil War. At the Restoration, this Pauline was restored by the King's Mandate "for his particular and eminent sufferings for Ourselves and the Church."¹ No Pauline, with the memorable exception of John Milton, rose to eminence on the Parliamentary side, and St. Paul's School can hardly be said to have taken as leading a position in the 17th century, as Westminster and Merchant Taylors'.

We now come to the name of a Pauline, who for pure and unremitting love of liberty and his fellow-creatures merits to have his name bracketed with that of John Milton. If the successful prosecution of a philanthropic campaign be as worthy of honour as the prosecution of a military campaign, then the name of Thomas Clarkson should be engraven in golden letters in his old school as much as that of John, Duke of Marlborough. It would, however, be idle to say that a philanthropist bulks as large in the popular imagination as a great soldier. Public schools only reflect public opinion in giving the golden letters to the hero in war and withholding them from the hero in peace.

It is sometimes said that the abolition of the Slave Trade was brought about by the Quakers in spite of the opposition of the Established Church. Far be it from me to disparage the debt which that agitation and every other for the benefit of the human race owes to the Society of Friends, but it would be unjust to belittle the services of distinguished members of the Church of England in the same glorious cause. It is true that when the Society for the Abolition of Slavery was founded in 1787 only two of the original members were Churchmen.² The great causes of history

¹ Gardiner's *Registers*, p. 34. Walker's *Sufferings*, Part. II., p. 174.

² Granville Sharp and Philip Sansom.

are not won only by money and numbers, but by brains, character, and courage. The Church of England did not furnish many fighters in the anti-slave trade campaign, but she did supply its leaders. The "father of the movement in England" was an active Churchman—Granville Sharp. Bishop Porteous preached against slavery; Archdeacon Paley protested against it in his *Moral Philosophy*, published only two years after the founding of the Abolitionist Society. Wm. Wilberforce, Zachary Macaulay, Philip Sansom, and, last but not least, Thomas Clarkson were all earnest members of the Church of England. Indeed the leaders in this holy war were Sharp, Clarkson and Wilberforce. Thomas Clarkson inscribed his *History of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade* to nine Cabinet Ministers "to whose wise and virtuous administration belongs the unparalleled and eternal glory of the annihilation (so far as their power extended) of one of the greatest sources of crimes, and sufferings, ever recorded in the annals of mankind." All these statesmen (with the exception of Lord Chancellor Erskine, who was a Scotchman) were Churchmen; all (with the same exception) were public-school men. Nor in this catalogue of abolitionists must we omit the names of two illustrious Churchmen, John Wesley and Dr. Samuel Johnson. The Doctor's "zeal without knowledge", as Boswell with unconscious humour called it, is well known. It was in 1777, twelve years before Wilberforce's first motion in Parliament, that Dr. Johnson scandalized his biographer by his anti-slavery sentiments, so much was he in advance of his age on all matters outside party politics. Sergeant Talford, in his life of Charles Lamb, has described Clarkson as "the true annihilator of the African slave trade", and tells us that Lamb, who "had no taste for oratorical philanthropy, felt the grandeur and simplicity of Clarkson's character." Dr. Wm. Hawes, the principal founder of the Royal Humane Society, was also a Pauline. Alured Clark was at St. Paul's for seven years (1712—19). He was the originator of the Winchester Hospital, the first County Hospital founded outside London. He was also the co-founder of the Devon and Exeter Hospital in Exeter. No wonder he received the honourable title of the "good Samaritan."

CHAPTER XIX.

ST. PAUL'S—(continued).

A PUBLIC school is a garden in which weeds as well as flowers flourish. However careful may be the scholastic gardener, he cannot always distinguish between the weed and the flower, nor is it humanly possible for him to do so. The idle boy may develop into a capable and industrious man, the scholarly boy into a useless nonentity. Nathaniel Halhed, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and John Shore (afterwards "the St. Louis of Governors-General") were at Harrow together. Nearly forty years later Lord Byron, Sir Robert Peel and Sir George Sinclair sat as boys on the same bench. In the first of these triumvirates Halhed, in the second Sinclair, was pointed out by Harrovian divination as the man destined to be a leader of his age. "The spirit of prophecy," exclaims Sir James Stephen in telling the anecdote, "did not rest on the Hill of Harrow!"¹ A boy is an oyster which the master has to open. One of the greatest of scholastic riddles is the ambitious boy. What will he become? A John Milton or a George Jeffreys? Efficiency in Latin and Greek is quite compatible with scoundrelism in later life. "Bloody" Jeffreys stands out in history as an awful example of what a clever ambitious boy may become. He was first at Shrewsbury School, then he went to St. Paul's (about 1659) and in 1661 was admitted at Westminster. Mr. Gardiner tells us that at St. Paul's he applied himself "with considerable diligence to Greek and Latin."² He seems, too, to have

¹ *Ecclesiastical Biography*, p. 563.

² *Admission Registers of St. Paul's School*, p. 51. Mr. Gardiner quotes from Campbell's *Lives of the Lord Chancellors*. In the *Dic. of Nat. Biography* Jeffreys is said to have been born in 1648.

remembered Westminster with special favour, as he not only sent his son there, but referred to Dr. Busby as a grammarian in the trial of Rosewell. There are some men like, Sir Isaac Newton or Granville Sharpe, that are perfect in their goodness; there are others, like Lord Jeffreys, that to human eyes seem perfect in wickedness. But even that character had its redeeming features. He was not hard on witches. Cruelty to these helpless beings is a lasting blemish on the name of his illustrious predecessor, Sir Matthew Hale, but not on Jeffreys. Roger North, who hated Jeffreys, says that when he was "in temper" and the matters before him were "indifferent", he "became his seat of justice better than any other he ever saw in his place." Jeffreys was Lord Chief Justice of England at the age of 35 and Lord Chancellor at the age of 37. No man has ever since his time attained these high offices at so early an age; no man has ever met with so irretrievable a fall. He stands a scarecrow in the field of history. The arms of Lord Chancellor Jeffreys are not "up school" at Westminster;¹ they emblazon a window in the Hall of St. Paul's.

Christopher Milton, like his elder brother John, was a Pauline. His arms are also in his Old School windows. On the accession of James II. he professed himself of the King's religion and was created Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. Happily, his elder brother John was then dead. It must not be forgotten that Milton's own father was born and bred a Roman Catholic, and became a Protestant by conviction. This incident in his family history may have been Christopher's excuse. Professor Masson pictures him "a mild, gentlemanly Roman Catholic judge of no particular ability."²

One "Old Boy" rarely succeeds another in high offices of State, but this happened in 1701 when Sir Edward Northey succeeded Sir Thomas Trevor as Attorney General. Both Trevor and Northey were Paulines. Sir John Trevor rose to be Chief Justice of the Common Pleas and after-

¹ See Westminster School.

² Masson's *Life of Milton*, Vol. vi., p. 762.

wards Master of the Rolls, but he was even less than his predecessor, Sir Christopher Milton, an "Old Boy" that a school could be proud of. He was expelled from the Speaker's Chair on a charge of corruption.¹ Spencer Compton, Speaker of the House of Commons and holder of many other offices of State, is a far more reputable Pauline. Sir Spencer Compton was afterwards created Earl of Wilmington and a Knight of the Garter, but for such immortality as he still enjoys, he has to thank a young Scotchman, who in 1725 landed at Wapping. James Thomson dedicated *Winter* to him in March 1726, and it was not until four months later that he received a tardy acknowledgment of twenty guineas.

If Thomson had looked round for a patron, he might have fixed his choice on Spencer Compton's fellow-scholar of St. Paul's, Charles Boyle, Earl of Orrery. It was the Latin translation of the *Letters of Phalaris* by this young Pauline that gave rise to the heated controversy with Dr. Bently. The astronomical instrument, "the orrery", was called after him.

Lord Jeffreys and Lord Truro are the only Lord Chancellors that St. Paul's can lay claim to, though one of her earliest pupils, Wm. Paget, nearly attained that honour. Had he sat on the woolsack, he would have been the first layman, since Colet's own friend More, to attain that office. William Paget (first Baron Paget) was the son of the serjeant-at-mace of London, and was educated at St. Paul's under Lily. Philip urged Queen Mary to appoint Paget Lord Chancellor in Bishop Gardiner's place, but his wife, more priest-ridden than her Spanish husband, would not appoint a layman to the office. But St. Paul's can boast of better lawyers and better men than Jeffreys, Christopher Milton, Trevor, and Paget. It was the school of Lord

¹ John Beaumont, appointed Master of the Rolls in 1550, was convicted of forging a deed in the course of a trial and of peculating in his office, and was punished accordingly. (*Calendar of Inner Temple Records*, Vol. i., p. 47.) Facts like these show that 300 or 200 years ago the same absolute probity in money matters was not always shown by the highest judicial officers as it is now.

Truro, Lord Hannen, Chief Baron Pollock, and of the Chief Baron's son, "the last of the Barons."

While George Thicknesse was High Master (17th March, 1753), a boy called Philip Francis entered the school. To the credit of Francis it may be recorded that he retained an affectionate recollection of his old chief, and was the joint author with Edmund Burke of an inscription on a bust of George Thicknesse, which was placed in the school by his pupils in 1792. Removals are perilous, and though the bust is safe in the school library, the inscription has vanished.

Another of Thicknesse's pupils was Henry Sampson Woodfall, afterwards publisher of *The Letters of Junius*. It is noteworthy that Mr. Nicholas Carlisle includes neither Jeffreys nor Francis in his list of distinguished Paulines. Mr. Carlisle might fairly have impaled Francis on the horns of a dilemma—either he was not Junius and in no way distinguished, save as a pin-pricker of the illustrious Warren Hastings, or he was Junius and consequently totally unworthy of a place among distinguished Paulines.

The Autobiography and Political Correspondence of the (third) Duke of Grafton have recently been edited by Sir William Anson. The name of Junius is not so much as mentioned by the Prime Minister, whom the *Letters* so cruelly malign. This is a fitting reply to give to an anonymous libeller. In referring to a libel in a newspaper a correspondent of the Duke's, writing under date 31st May, 1768, states that he has "ordered Mr. Francis to secure evidence of the publication in the usual manner." ¹ That Mr. Francis, the Clerk at the War Office, should be ordered to furnish evidence for the prosecution of Junius or some kindred spirit was a novel rendering of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.

The *Letters* are now scarcely more read than the *Eikon Basilike*, that other famous anonymous work of English literature, but while dust gathers on their pages, the controversy as to who wrote them shows little sign of abating. No author ever won more fame by a smaller output of intellectual gold than Junius, yet such gold as there was

¹ *Autobiography* (p. 211), published by John Murray, 1898.

in these *Letters* was just the kind of gold you would expect from the former captain of a public school—a certain Roman eloquence. The fame of Junius was due, not so much to what he wrote or how he wrote, as to the fear on the part of the Government and to the expectation of disclosures on the part of the public. He owed it less to possession of literary power than to the element of personal insecurity which his anonymity created. No man was safe. It was this that produced the *furor* for the *Letters* during their publication, while the discussion as to who was their author has kept their memory green.

Francis was Captain of the School in 1756. His predecessor in that honourable office was one Philip Rosenhagen. Francis and he were class-fellows and friends throughout life. In 1766 he was domestic Chaplain to Lord Chesterfield, who seems to have preferred wit to piety even in his chaplains. Rosenhagen was one of the many Juniuses in the field, but his candidature for that dishonourable post has met with little support.

Dr. Richard Roberts succeeded to Dr. Thicknesse. During his long period of office (1769–1814) the following distinguished men were educated at St. Paul's—Thomas Clarkson, Thomas Wild (Lord Truro), William Linley (the brother-in-law of Richard Brinsley Sheridan and partner with him in the ownership of Drury Lane), Joseph Hallett Batten, Charles Wetherell (twice Attorney General), George Hall (Master of Pembroke College, Oxford), Jonathan Frederick Pollock (Chief Baron of the Exchequer), Robert William Elliston (the actor), Alfred Ollivant (Bishop of Llandaff and first President of the Paulines' Club), and Richard Harris Barham. The author of the *Ingoldsby Legends* was Captain of the School for two years. He formed life-long friendships with the two Pollocks (Frederick and David), Charles Diggle (afterwards Governor of the Military College at Sandhurst) and Richard Bentley. Barham's playful wit spared none, not even his publisher. When *Bentley's Miscellany* was first thought of it was proposed to call it "*The Wits' Miscellany*", and on the title being changed into *Bentley's Miscellany*, his old school friend exclaimed—"That was going from one extreme to the other." Barham entered St. Paul's as a boarder in

Dr. Robert's House, when he was nine years of age. He seems to have spent a happy boyhood there and sent his son to the school.

To Dr. Roberts succeeded Dr. John Sleath, one of the best High Masters St. Paul's ever had. He was educated at Rugby and afterwards became an assistant master there. Walter Savage Landor was one of his pupils and wrote of him as "the elegant and generous Dr. Sleath."¹ Dr. Sleath was High Master from 1814 to 1837. The honours gained by the school at both Universities during his term of office were remarkable. Mr. Jowett² (the late Master of Balliol), Dean Blakesley² and (at one and the same time) nine Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, were among his scholars. He was the younger brother of W. Boulby Sleath, Head Master of Repton from 1800 to 1832. When at Rugby, Boulby Sleath was a good-natured story-teller and used to repeat the *Arabian Nights* to the boys in his bedroom. It is the tradition that as the boys awoke, the voice of Sleath was heard still going on. No one would have appreciated this anecdote more than a Pauline who became a scholar under Dr. Sleath at the age of seven, and afterwards won forensic fame under the style of Serjeant Ballantine.

Serjeant Ballantine's *Reminiscences*³ are the only authority that I am acquainted with for the inner life of the school under Dr. Sleath: unfortunately, the learned Serjeant is a most unfriendly witness. He speaks of his school-days at St. Paul's as "the blackest and most odious period of his existence." He never reached the classes over which Dr. Sleath presided, but of his three assistants he speaks as "cruel, cold-blooded, unsympathetic tyrants." Each of those worthies seems to have "flogged continuously." Their former pupil compares them to the executioners of Louis XI, as described to us in *Quentin Durward*.

One hundred and fifty years ago terrorism seems with too many of the masters, even of our great public schools, to have been the only method of instruction. Another

¹ Landor's Works (ed. 1876), Vol. iv., p. 400.

² Both Jowett and Blakesley were Captains of the School.

³ *Some Experiences of a Barrister's Life*, published in 1882.

lawyer, not very unlike Serjeant Ballantine in character, but one who reached the top of his profession, was sent to a school kept by a disciplinarian. We should now call such a master by a different name. Years after, when Thurlow was rising into eminence, the master who had tyrannized over him sought his acquaintance: "I am not bound," said his former pupil, "to recognise every scoundrel that recognises me." A brutal remark, but such as you would expect of a boy brought up in a brutal school. A poet, we have recently lost, was, as a boy, sent up to be caned. On his arrival at the place of execution he stripped and exposed his attenuated frame. "Consider yourself caned," remarked his master, and put away his cane. One hundred years ago few masters would have been so humane.

Considering that St. Paul's has always been a nest of scholars, it is curious that for the past 250 years it should have given so few Heads to colleges and schools. Thankful Owen, the Independent divine and, during the Commonwealth, President of St. John's College, Oxford, resembles the better known Pauline Don of this century, Benjamin Jowett. Then there are William Camden, Joseph Batten (second Principal of the East India College at Haileybury), and the late Rev. Thomas Steel, one of the most characteristic and most scholarly of Harrovian masters. The names of the late Joseph William Blakesley, Dean of Lincoln (1872—85), and of Aubrey Moore, Fellow of St. John's, Oxford, must not be omitted. Blakesley was Captain of the School, Tennyson's "clear-headed friend" who—

"cuts atwain

The knots that tangle human creeds"

—the "Herefordshire Incumbent" of the *Times*, and Master of the Court of the Mercers' Company. Moore was a leader of the High-Broad Church School and one of the writers in *Lux Mundi*, an accomplished and amiable man.

After Dr. John Sleath's retirement, the fame of St. Paul's suffered an eclipse. The causes for this were, in the opinion of Lord Clarendon's Commission, "not far to seek", but they could not be specifically mentioned in a blue book in the lifetime of the then High Master. The causes were

the growth of London commerce and the incapacity of Dr. Kynaston to teach. How was it possible to teach boys in a house at a corner where the traffic of Ludgate Hill and Cheapside met? The British public are proverbially slow in making up their mind, but the time taken by the Mercers' Company in deciding upon securing a new site for their school was phenomenal. Two hundred years of discussion preceded execution. Under date 16th May, 1667, we find in the most famous of diaries, kept by a Pauline, the following entry.

"This being Holy Thursday when the boys go in procession round the parish, we were to go to the Three Tuns Tavern to dine with the rest of the parish, where all the parish almost was.... Sir R. Ford did talk of Paul's School, which they tell me must be taken away: and then I fear it will be long before another place, such as they say is promised, is found: but they do say that the honour of their Company is concerned in the doing of it, and that it is a thing that they are obliged to do." No one would be more delighted with the present surroundings of St. Paul's School than Pepys, the Old Pauline.

The long interval between Dr. Sleath and Mr. Walker is bridged over by Dr. Kynaston as High Master. It is impossible to look at Kynaston's bust in the school library without feeling his refinement. Even his marble effigy breathes distinction. Dr. Kynaston, who was an Old Westminster, became High Master in 1838, and, like Milton, was a poet, both in Latin and English. His accomplishments were manifold, but among them a mastery over his pupils found no place. As soon as boys discover (and they never fail to make the discovery) that their master is a master only in name, they ignore his existence, or only recognise it for purposes of disobedience. Every school-boy is inclined to rebellion and becomes an outspoken rebel, if his teacher prove but a pretender to the art of teaching. Mr. Walker succeeded Dr. Kynaston. The change must have been almost too much for boys to bear. It was as if a Marlborough succeeded in command to great Chatham's son—the second Lord Chatham. School begins at 9 a.m. Under Dr. Kynaston it mattered little whether a boy was punctual or half-an-hour late. Great was the consternation when with the advent of

Mr. Walker the names of late comers were reported. Under Dr. Kynaston there was no attempt to gain the exhibitions by competition; they invariably went by seniority. To work for an exhibition was regarded as "bad form" and would in fact have drawn down on the culprit the severest reprobation of his schoolfellows.

With the arrival of Mr. Walker a complete transformation took place; but to appreciate what he has done we must go back to old St. Paul's, as the school was carried on during the first three centuries of its existence. Besides the 153 scholars there were always a few non-Foundations, who paid for their schooling, and the total number of boys at St. Paul's was usually about two hundred. In 1814 the admission of non-Foundations ceased by order of the Governors. They were not admitted again, until Mr. Walker became High Master. Most of my readers will consider that in reverting to the good old days and reviving the custom of admitting non-Foundations the Governors and Mr. Walker instituted a wise reform. A public school loses half its benefits by unduly restricting its numbers. To argue that a school like Winchester, that flourishes with four hundred boys, would flourish still more with eight hundred would be what George Eliot has called "turn-spit logic", but a school that only consists of scholars, as St. Paul's under Dr. Kynaston did, lost half the benefits of competition. The fact that at our ancient Foundations so many avenues are now open to talents of every kind enables them to supply the wants of the present day. A public school which restricted its instruction to Greek and Latin, would now be regarded as an anachronism.

At the close of the nineteenth century the boys at St. Paul's number a few short of six hundred. St. Paul's still remains a day-school for the large majority. To keep these day-boys in touch with the school in their play hours compulsory athletics have been created. Once every week all through the year a section of the school has a half-holiday, when every boy must (in summer) play cricket and (in winter) football, or exercise in the gymnasium. If a boy produces a doctor's certificate, he is excused athletics and has extra work instead. Will my readers be surprised to hear that

these doctor's certificates are very rare. All boys above 15 years of age are now required to learn military drill with rifles. The scholars are not looked down on; they bear no derogatory nickname. The competitive examinations for the school scholarships are so severe that, if a boy be elected, he is pretty safe to go to the top of his class and in time to the top of the school. The Captain of the School is sometimes, but not often, a non-foundationer. The present Captain, W. Cardwell, is a non-foundationer, and so was the High Master's son, Mr. R. J. Walker, who was Captain in 1886—87. At St. Paul's no such post similar to that of Captain of the Oppidans exists. There are thirty-three masters; as a rule there are not more than eighteen boys in a form. No boy is admitted into St. Paul's who does not pass a preliminary examination, and that preliminary examination includes Greek for all, whether they intend to enter the Classical Side or not. Mr. Walker has no sympathy with those who hold that the study of the dead languages is sterile and does not fit a man for his work in life. No study is barren, unless it be ill taught and ill learnt. There is a Modern Side at St. Paul's, but so far from Greek and Latin suffering from this legitimate competition, the reputation of this ancient school as a nursery of classical learning never stood higher than it does at present. If you take the honours' list for Oxford and Cambridge for 1897, you find that the Ireland, the Craven, the Hertford, and the Boden scholars were all Paulines. The prizes for Greek Verse, Greek Prose, Latin Essay, and Historical Essay were all carried off by Paulines. When you turn to the sister university, you find the Chancellor's Medal awarded to two Paulines, who ran a dead heat for this blue ribbon of Cambridge Scholarship. In 1898 twenty scholarships at Oxford and nine at Cambridge were taken by Paulines.

Before Mr. Walker took the reins of office there had been no Pauline Scholar of Balliol since Jowett; since he became High Master, the annual stream of Pauline Balliol Scholars, beginning with his own son (R. J. Walker), has steadily flowed on. One of these Scholars of Balliol was William Edmund Maurice (son of Major-General Sir J. F. Maurice, K.C.B.), whose untimely death at the age of

nineteen cut short a life of the brightest promise (Sept. 1st, 1900).

Mr. R. J. Walker won the Hertford, Craven and Ireland Scholarships. Referring to the High Master, a Pauline summed up his school experiences to me in the words, "Mr. Walker is St. Paul's."

Our respect for Mr. Walker's management of St. Paul's is increased by the fact that the progress of the School has been pushed forward in spite of the unsettled condition of its finances. By an "accident" the School was excluded from the schedule of the Public Schools Act, and therefore its property became vested, not in its Governors, but in the Charity Commissioners. On June 16th, 1900, the well nigh interminable controversy between St. Paul's School and the Charity Commissioners was brought to a conclusion.¹

The land left by the Dean for the school was estimated by Stow in 1598 as of the yearly value of £120. Cunningham in his *Handbook of London* estimated this yearly value in 1850 at £5000. In 1894 the income from the endowment reached the sum of £18,000 a year. Of this income the Commissioners offered the School Governors £8000 a year which was declined. The Coletine Estate went on increasing in value, and in 1898 the Commissioners offered the Governors a maximum income of £14,000. This offer was also declined. Ultimately it was agreed that a new scheme should be framed to contain the following provisions. The school is to receive two-thirds of the income of the Coletine Estate, but never less than £14,000 a year, while the residue will be devoted to a St. Paul's Girl School. The governing body will remain as at present constituted, and without representatives of the London County Council. The School-board conscience clause is to be omitted from the new scheme. As regards one-third of the Foundation Scholarships, "special weight shall be attached to subjects proper to the modern department, and Greek shall not be required."

The Governors and Dr. Walker are to be heartily congratulated on so satisfactory a settlement. The government of the school is vested in a body of twenty-two Governors

¹ The *Times*, February 3rd, 1899, and the *Pauline*, July 20th, 1900.

of whom the Mercers appoint thirteen, and the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London the remaining nine.

Mr. Walker is an old Rugbeian; he was a town-boy under Dr. Arnold. The motto of St. Paul's is *Fide et Literis*. Had Dr. Arnold been High Master of St. Paul's, he would have laid more stress on "fide" than on "literis." He cared very little for school honours, and much for school Christianity. He would have regarded the winning of University distinctions as mere intellectual "pot-hunting," unless with their classical learning the boys acquired a definite religious bias. In the words of his habitual prayer he prayed for "the spirit of power, and of love, and of a sound mind." These things were with him far and away more valuable than scholarship, and he valued scholarship only so far as it produced "a sound mind." Another great schoolmaster, Dr. Edward Thring, who also possessed a magnetic personal influence, deprecated the habit of multiplying prizes and scholarships, as he feared they might come to be regarded as motives for work, instead of records of work done.

There have of course been teachers, and some of them very successful teachers, who have strictly limited their stewardship to intellectual training and have not concerned themselves with the moral development of their pupils. Mr. Mozley tells a story of his old schoolfellow William Dobson, who became the first Principal of Cheltenham College, and who, as some say, was the maker, not only of that College, but of the town. He came to Charterhouse a finished scholar from the same private school at Richmond as George Canning. When Dr. Benson was Head Master of Wellington, he was desired by the Governors to make enquiries on certain points at other public schools. He came to Cheltenham, and was anxious to know the spiritual and moral relations of the Principal to the scholars. "That," said Mr. Dobson, "is the great advantage of my position. I've nothing to do with the boys out of school-time. The lessons over, I am a man at large."¹ It was part of Dr. Arnold's life-work to destroy this notion of a schoolmaster's limited responsibility.

¹ T. Mozley's *Reminiscences*, Vol i., p. 173.

It is no disparagement to point out what appears to be the possible risk of a system which the strong individuality of its present High Master has stamped into St. Paul's. Mere classical, mathematical, scientific, or historical teaching will no more give a boy a high ideal than mere athleticism. A system admirably suited to keep the government of the Universities in the hands of the clever Old Boys may not be equally suited to fit the less clever boys for the battle of life. The rose is "the flower of flowers," but we do not arrange our gardens on a plan that gives all the sunshine to the rose and little to the other flowers. There is a natural tendency in some parents and schoolmasters to attend to the clever and neglect the average boy. Every nerve is strained to force on the brilliant, while the dull are forgotten. Yet if Virgil thought the intelligence of bees was due to the divine mind, much more may teachers recognize "*partem divinæ mentis et haustus ætherios*" even in their most backward pupil. But it may be urged that the special coaching of the clever and industrious boy creates an atmosphere of work, and in that atmosphere, not only the clever, but the dull boy beats his own record.

The instruction in drawing given at this ancient Foundation is one of the many proofs of the manner in which the present High Master has adopted its curriculum to modern wants. An artist friend of mine, (who is not a Pauline, and who is not Mr. Robert Harris, the able drawing master at St. Paul's,) tells me that the teaching must be extremely good for the work done to reach the high standard shown. In mechanical drawing, biological, model drawing (for perspective), drawing and modelling from the caste, water-colour painting of still life, and wood-carving, my friend informs me that he has seen work done in the art class at Dean Colet's School, which would be very creditable to a professional student in a School exclusively for art.

The ploughshare in Mr. Walker's virile hand is not driven into an uncultivated or barren field. St. Paul's has as noble a history as any public school in the country. The fact that it has been until quite recently a day-boarder school has saved its Scholars from many snares and pitfalls.

They have not been required to pass like another Shadrack, Mesheck, and Abednego, through the fiery furnace of temptation. They have been able to devote themselves to intellectual work, undistracted either by the joys or the sorrows of that larger and more stormy life which sweeps through other public schools. It was perhaps some thought of this kind that inspired a Pauline, Thomas Hough, when he preached in St. Paul's on St. Paul's day (January 25th, 1728) to the assembled Paulines (Old and young) on the advantages of a liberal education. He proudly refers to his old school as one "which has supplied the Senate with a Speaker (Spencer Compton) and the camp with a general (Marlborough)", and which "has hitherto preserved an unsullied reputation as to virtue and morals; and that those fashionable gaieties (to say no worse of them), those vices and debaucheries which too visibly reign in most places of public education, have never been able to gain any considerable footing in it."¹ The preacher might have referred to the fact that the Duke of Marlborough always received the sacrament before commencing a battle, and that with this commander battle always spelt victory.

The school of Marlborough has produced a soldier, whose name and memory are not likely to die. Without interest and without social connections, John André in nine years from the date of obtaining a commission attained the rank of Major and Adjutant-General of the forces, and became aide-de-camp to Sir Henry Clinton, then commanding the British forces in America. Major André was hanged as a spy on the 2nd October, 1780. His execution has been regarded even by military writers as barely justified by the letter of martial law. I have somewhere read that General Washington, in later life, regretted that he had allowed this brilliant young officer to suffer a felon's death, but to André's pathetic appeal to be allowed the privilege of a soldier's death by the musket, Washington vouchsafed no reply. The real traitor was the American General Arnold. He plotted to betray to the British the fortress of West Point, the key to the American position, and escaped.

¹ Gardiner's *Admission Registers*, p. 450.

André was at St. Paul's under Dr. Thicknesse. In 1821 his remains were buried in Westminster Abbey, where George III. had already erected a monument to the memory of one "who fell a sacrifice to his zeal for his king and country." ¹

Another Pauline hero was Thomas Troubridge, who did his fair share of the fighting at sea between 1773 and 1797. After Jervis's victory off St. Vincent in 1797 Nelson wrote to his father—"We (with Collingwood and Troubridge) are the only three ships who made great exertions on that glorious day." ² This comrade in arms of Nelson died on board a British man-of-war. He was lost at sea, on board his flagship the *Blenheim*, in a tremendous gale on the night of February 1st, 1807. Another pupil of Dr. Thicknesse, Frederick Thesiger, was aide-de-camp to Nelson at Copenhagen. He was an uncle of Frederick Thesiger who also served at Copenhagen as a midshipman, and lived to become Lord Chancellor Chelmsford.

Among Paulines who have worked for the Empire should be mentioned Sir Frederick Halliday, K.C.B., and the late Harry Escombe. Sir Frederick Halliday, K.C.B., enjoys the unique position of being the oldest living Rugbeian and the oldest living Pauline. He went to Rugby at Midsummer 1814, and was admitted into St. Paul's in April 1815. There he remained for seven years, so that he may fairly be claimed as a Scholar of St. Paul's. He was born in 1806, was the first Lieut.-Governor of Bengal (1854—59) during the Mutiny, and received the thanks of Parliament for the energy he had displayed at that critical time. He was a man of exceptional mental and physical power, and an able coadjutor of the Governor-General, Lord Canning. Before 1854 the vast province of Bengal, including Bahar and Orissa, was administered directly by the Governor-General of India. Sir Frederick retired from the Service in 1859, and was appointed in 1870 a Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, which post he resigned

¹ Mahon's *History of England*, Vol. vii., 60—69, and Appendix, *Case of Major André*.

² *Nelson and his Times*, by Lord Marcus Beresford and H. W. Wilson, p. 59.

in 1886. His hobby was music, and he was an excellent performer of the double-base, the largest of stringed instruments played with the bow, and which well matched his Herculean proportions. He is the *doyen* of the Indian Civil Service, but is run close by Mr. Thomas Parry Woodcock, who is about two years his junior. Long may Sir Frederick Halliday fill the post of President of the Old Pauline's Club!¹ Harry Escombe and J. Lyne were admitted together in October 1847. The late Rev. J. Lyne was the well-known Father Ignatius, while Escombe went out to Natal as a merchant, and rose to be a Privy Councillor and Prime Minister of that Colony. The late Right Hon. Harry Escombe was devoted heart and soul to the Empire, and was immensely respected. In May 1900 the present Premier, Lieut.-Col. Himes, moved in the Natal Parliament that a record should be made in the Journal of the House of the great loss sustained by the Colony in Mr. Escombe's death. All the members rose to their feet, and the House adjourned until the next day as a mark of respect for this Old Pauline.

The Army Class at St. Paul's was begun 13 years ago, and has given 231 officers to the Services. One hundred and twenty-nine Paulines are serving in South Africa, and of these five have fallen.² The late Captain Beyts, R.N., was a Pauline. He attained his captaincy at the age of 22, and was serving with Admiral Seymour's force in China. He fell in the attempted advance on Peking. During the past year (1899—1900) Merchant Taylors' Scholars have won sixteen scholarships and exhibitions at Oxford and Cambridge, but as four of these were "close" scholarships, it seems that St. Paul's (whose boys have won thirteen open scholarships and exhibitions during the same period,) is entitled to the headship. It is also noteworthy that while Merchant Taylors' has during the past 15 years occupied

¹ Among the Vice-Presidents of the Club may be noted the following—Sir J. West Ridgway, K.C.B., Sir Clementi Smith G.C.M.G., Sir H. Bodkin Poland, Q.C., Professor E. Ray-Lancaster, F.R.S., and Captain R. C. Nesbitt, V.C.

² *The Pauline*, July 20th and November 1900.

the first place among public schools six times, and the second place six times, St. Paul's has occupied the first place nine times, and the second place five times.¹ Londoners may well be proud of the intellectual pre-eminence of their famous schools. The position of the third London public school—Westminster—is peculiar. She apparently has sufficient "close" scholarships for all her needs, but the honours won by her "close" scholars at the Universities prove that "close" scholarships may in capable hands prove a blessing.

There was an old saying familiar in our mouths forty years ago which coupled Eton with "bucks", Winchester with scholars, and Harrow with gentlemen. To this triplet may be added—the workers of St. Paul's. You cannot visit their palatial building without feeling that it is a hive of industry. When Mr. Walker was High Master of the Manchester Grammar School, on the eve of the holidays he was asked by the Head of the school to set the holiday task for the Sixth Form. "The *Iliad*," replied the High Master. That sixth-former has since reached a position of eminence, and he has told me that the whole *Iliad* was read through by the sixth form during those holidays. This anecdote so characteristic of Mr. Walker may fitly close this brief account of his famous school. That he may long be spared to preside over and direct its fortunes must be the wish of every Pauline.

¹ *The Daily News*, July 24th, 1900—a most interesting public school record.

CHAPTER XX.

WESTMINSTER.

*Reginæ fundata manu Regina Scholarum,
Quam Virgo extruxit, Musaque Virgo colit;
Inconfusa Babel linguis; et mole superba
Celsior, et fama quam fuit illa situ.*

SOUTH.

IF you visit any of our great Public Schools in the country, you cannot fail to be struck with the variety of their buildings and the extent of their playing-fields. Westminster impresses a visitor, but in a different manner. Even an illiterate man must feel that he is treading here on consecrated ground. From all quarters of the globe English-speaking pilgrims come to Westminster Abbey, as to the Mecca of their race and tongue. This ancient Foundation is part and parcel of the most famous spot of land in the British Empire. Contrasted with the surroundings of Westminster, those even of Eton and Winchester are modern. Stand where you will in the school yard, or even at the back windows of Ashburnham House, you get glimpses of the rose window of the Abbey looking down on the Poets' Corner, or of the Crown Tower rising in the majesty of its proportions. Excluding the dingy-looking boarding-houses, the school buildings are quite worthy of the Abbey to which they belong. First and foremost is the "School." There is no nobler Hall in England, save its neighbour, Westminster Hall. For nearly three hundred years (1591—1883) all classes were held there. It is nearly one hundred feet in length, and was found large enough for the teaching of 400 boys. It was divided into the Upper and the Under School by a curtain just as the Fourth Form Room at

Harrow used to be, but it must not be supposed that in any other respect the most ancient building on the Hill can be compared to the "School" of Westminster. The massive arches on which the "School" rests date from the time of Edward the Confessor, while its own walls are of the thirteenth century. The chestnut roof, like that of Westminster Hall, is of a more recent date. This Hall formed the ancient dormitory built by the Confessor for the Benedictines. Within the last thirty years "School" has been lined with oak panels, but these only cover about eight feet of the walls and above the panels are painted the names of Old Westminsters. Proud is the Westminster who has his name painted on the walls, and still prouder he whose coat of arms is emblazoned on its panels. The name painting in this Hall is not a mere matter of whim in the boy or of payment to the school painter; it is intended as an appreciation of a boy, who has been a credit to his old school. An English lad often goes to a particular school, not because it is best fitted to prepare him for the Army or the Bar, not because its bills are adapted to the family purse, not because of its propinquity to home, but because his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather went there before him. This is not a tradition of yesterday, but dates from the 17th century.

"Dr. Busby! a great man! he whipp'd my grandfather; a very great man! I should have gone to him myself, if I had not been a blockhead; a very great Man!" Such were the words of Sir Roger de Coverley as he stood before the Busby monument in the Abbey.¹ In "School" the names are painted up in families; the Markhams number some 27, the Glyns come in a good second, followed closely by Phillimores, Randolphins, Vernons, Mures, Madans, Slades, Lowthers, Dicks, Conybeares and Southeys. The earliest of the Randolphins was Thomas, the friend and disciple of Ben Jonson; the earliest of the Glyns, the Sergeant who supported the proposal to confer the title of King upon Oliver Cromwell. It is not often that the name of an expelled boy is painted up with honour in his old school,

¹ *Spectator*, March 18th, 1712, No. 329.

but such is the case with Robert Southey. Not only is his name, but his "Arms are up School." This future Poet Laureate wrote a sarcastic attack upon corporal punishment in a school periodical called *The Flagellant*. Dr. Vincent prosecuted the printer for libel; Southey at once confessed himself the author and apologised, but his soft answer did not turn away the Head Master's wrath. It is useless to reason with or even to apologise to a master with no sense of humour. Yet Dr. Vincent¹ was emphatically a good man. His was a unique career among schoolmasters. He went twice through every form of the school, first as boy and then as assistant master. No one better deserved the honours that fell to him. He is the only Head Master of Westminster, who was promoted to the Deanery. He lies buried in the Abbey he loved so long and so well. Sir Francis Burdett is another expelled boy, who has his "Arms up School."

At the head of "School" stands a bust of Busby, the chair in which he sat, and the table in which he kept his rods. If a foreigner were to ask us who was the greatest of our statesmen, he would receive very diverse replies. Each would apply to his favourite the Virgilian lines applied by Mr. Gladstone to Lord Beaconsfield.

"Aspice, ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis
Ingreditur, victorque viros supereminet omnes."

Asked who was the most famous of our schoolmasters, the majority would probably give the same reply—Busby. Whether judged by the length of his reign, by the exceptional difficulties he encountered and overcame, by the fame of his scholars, by the distinction he conferred upon his school, by his abiding influence or his exemplary life, Busby is pre-eminently first. In a Foundation rich in distinguished Head Masters he dwarfs them all, and stands out as the strong man of Westminster. Few Founders have left as lasting an impress on their own Foundation as Busby has on the school over which he presided. Had Westminster

¹ Head Master of Westminster from 1788 to 1802.

been a private instead of a public school, it could not have been more deeply stamped with his image and superscription. Truly he was potter and the school his clay.

Near "School" is a small room with a beautiful ceiling, which was built by Dr. Busby and is now called his library. Here are kept the books which he actually used, and as you scan their title pages, you meditate on the fame and fortune of one who was the bridge between the Canterbury of Laud and the Canterbury of Tillotson. Two hundred years have passed since Busby taught and flogged, yet a world that quickly forgets, has not forgotten him. Ill-natured remarks have been made of him, but not by posterity. Like good wine, his reputation has improved with keeping. Yet there is much in his career—in his uniform success—that is difficult to reconcile with strict principle. How was it that he, a Royalist and a Churchman, retained his post under the Commonwealth? From the death of Laud in 1644, for a period of over 15 years the Book of Common Prayer was closed, and divine service was performed in the Temple Church according to the Presbyterian system. ¹

In 1649 the House of Commons passed a resolution ordering the Fellows, Masters, and Scholars of Eton, Winchester and Westminster to sign the "Engagement" that they would be "true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as it is now established, without a King or House of Lords." Provost Rous of Eton and Warden Harris of Winchester took the Covenant and the Engagement. Until the Engagement was withdrawn by the Protector (January 1654) it was taken by every barrister and bencher before he could open his lips in Court. At the trial of Christopher Love, in May 1651, his Counsel, Matthew Hale, was asked by the President whether he had taken the Engagement, and replied, "My Lord, I have done it." ² Is it probable that the Head Master of Westminster would have been allowed to retain so important a post, while disobeying the orders

¹ *A Calendar of the Inner Temple Records* (edited by Mr. F. A. Inderwick, Q.C.), Vol ii., 105.

² *Calendar of Inner Temple Records*, lxvii. Christopher Love, the Puritan Minister, was executed in 1651. Was he related to Warden Love?

of the Government? So staunch a Busbyite as Mr. C. F. Russell Barker is of opinion that Busby did take both the Covenant and the Engagement. Mr. Sargeaunt thinks that Busby did not take the Engagement. It is to be hoped Mr. Sargeaunt is right, as Busby was a Churchman, and could not have taken the Covenant with sincerity, while Warden Harris and Provost Rous were ardent Presbyterians. Fortunately for the two latter and for their Foundations they died before the Restoration; only the tomb of Provost Rous could be desecrated. So long as Busby satisfied the requirements of the law, the Government of the Lord Protector would not have interfered with his management of Westminster. We may reasonably suppose that Oliver Cromwell and Dr. Busby would have found it easy to respect each other.

A born ruler of men could tolerate a born ruler of boys. The basis of the character of each is the same. Both are essentially Conservative. Cromwell had probably read in Ascham that "the good or ill bringing up of children did as much serve to the good or ill service of God, our Prince, and our whole country as any one thing beside," and may well have been content to have let well alone at this great school. The Lord Protector was not a small-minded man. He did not hold to the view of the Dean of Christchurch, Dr. John Owen, who said it would never be well for the nation until Westminster School was suppressed. Walker, whose famous work was published in 1714, refers to Busby with respect, but merely adds "he can scarce be called a sufferer."¹ Dr. Busby's contemporaries, Walter Pope, F.R.S.² (a pupil of Busby's), and the Jacobite Hearne, openly accuse him of time-serving, but they were incapable of appreciating the greatness of either the head of the State or the head of Westminster. To such critics as these the fact that Dr. Busby attended the funeral of the Lord Protector would be a "damning spot" in his character, whereas it was in reality a tribute of respect paid by one great man to another.

¹ Walker's *Sufferings*, Part II, p. 74.

² Pope's *Life of Seth Ward*, p. 18.

Busby fills the same position in the history of English education that Louis XIV. does in the history of France, and like him he may have reigned too long. Sympathy is not the note of James Vernon's (afterwards Secretary of State) letter announcing Dr. Busby's death to Lord Lexington, who had been his pupil.

"April 9th, 1695.

"Dr. Busby is at last dead. His land is less than £600 per annum, and he had about £3000 in money—he could not forbear being a pedant in his will, imposing exercises to the world's end." ¹

James Vernon's elder brother Francis, the unfortunate traveller who was murdered in Persia, was an old pupil of Dr. Busby's.

Behind Busby's chair the arms of the Head Masters are "up school." The arms of Lambert Osbaldeston are missing. This a matter for regret. Osbaldeston was Dr. Busby's immediate predecessor, and was a seventeenth-century Dr. Arnold. He had too much principle to possess tact, and failed to manage Laud as Busby managed Oliver Cromwell. In justice to both Osbaldeston and Busby, the difference between the two men each had to face must be remembered. Oliver Cromwell was not a cruel man; Laud was. Osbaldeston offended Laud and by Laud's creature, the Star Chamber, he was condemned to lose his spiritualities, to pay two fines of five thousand pounds, one to the Crown and the other to the Archbishop, to have one ear nailed to the pillory in Palace Yard and the other in Dean's Yard in presence of his scholars, and to remain in prison during the King's pleasure. When we find that such a sentence could be passed on the Head Master of a great public school for words written in a private letter, alleged to reflect on Laud, we can appreciate Oliver St. John's sinister remark spoken at the time, that "things must be worse, before they could be better." Happily this infamous sentence could not be carried out, as Osbaldeston fled "beyond

¹ *The Lexington Papers*, p. 74.

Canterbury." "The whirligig of time brings its revenges," and the door case into Dr. Triplett's room, which you can enter from "School", was brought from the Star Chamber. It was a gift from Dean Stanley, an Anglican divine, who was more fortunate in his environment than was Osbaldeston.

Mr. Sergeaunt doubts whether Harry Vane the Younger was at Westminster, yet his most recent biographers, Mr. Airy and Mr. Firth, agree that he was, and there is no improbability in the story. Naturally the son of a Secretary of State would go to the best school of his time, if he went to a school at all, and no one asserts that the younger Vane was educated at home. He was just the kind of character whom Osbaldeston's teaching would have developed. "In my youthful days," he said in his speech on the scaffold, "I was inclined to the vanities of the world, and to that which they call good fellowship, judging it to be the only means of accomplishing a gentleman." If Vane's biographers are right in calling him an Old Westminster, Westminster can claim to be the first public school that produced a great Parliamentarian. Even Hume, who dubs Vane a "distinguished criminal," testifies to the fact that he was "not surpassed by any one, even during that age, so famous for active talents." From the election of the Long Parliament (November 1640) to his own death on the scaffold (1662) Vane was one of the leaders of public opinion. If it was only for his enormous services to our country as an organizer of its Navy he deserves to be had in remembrance, yet his best known memorial is probably Cromwell's pathetic remark—"Sir Harry Vane! Sir Harry Vane! the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane." No wonder Cromwell mourned the fact that Vane preferred the continuance of a Parliament that had become both factious and impotent to the total cessation of Parliamentary government. In spite of Vane's failure to carry out his most cherished ideas, he did not write his name in water. He lives in one of the finest sonnets of our language. It was not Fairfax, nor even Cromwell, whom Milton addressed as "Religion's eldest son." The personal affection of the Pauline poet was reserved for this Old Westminster: Cromwell, too, used to address Vane as "dear brother."

The omission of Vane's coat of arms among the "Arms up School" is to be regretted. The names of the Old Westminster who have their arms painted to the right and left of Busby's chair are as follow:

LEFT.

William Murray
(Earl of Mansfield).
John Dryden.
William Pulteney
(Earl of Bath).
Francis Atterbury.
Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice
(Marquis of Lansdowne).
Sir Christopher Wren.
Heneage Finch
(Earl of Nottingham).
Robert South.
Fitzroy Somerset
(Lord Raglan).
Henry W. Paget
(Marquis of Anglesey).
Edward Gibbon.
Stapleton Cotton
(Viscount Combermere).
Richard Hakluyt.
Wm. Pitt Amherst
(Earl Amherst).

RIGHT.

Charles Montagu
(Earl of Halifax).
Wm. Cowper.
Thomas Pelham
(Duke of Newcastle).
Warren Hastings.
Charles Wentworth
(Marquis of Rockingham).
John Locke.
John Russell
(Earl Russell).
John Carteret
(Earl Granville).
Charles T. Longley
(Primate of England).
Sir James Graham.
Augustus Keppel
(Viscount Keppel).

What a glorious chapter in English history these Lords and Commons of Westminster have filled.

In this hall the ancient custom of tossing the pancake takes place. The boys call it "grease", but the word has no connection with the grease of a pancake. "Grease" in

Westminster slang means a crowd. It is perhaps the only school custom, even at Westminster, that dates back to Elizabethan times. It is a sport in which not only Churchill and Cowper, but Ben Jonson and Cowley shared. In former times the whole school joined. What a hurly-burly it must have been when 300 boys fought for one pancake! Now a boy is told off from each form by his school-fellows, who to cast ridicule on the reform have been known to select (I am informed) their weakest classmate for the post. On Shrove Tuesday the whole school files in. The names of the boys to take part in this curious competition are then called. They step out, while the cook enters with the pancake on a pan. The cook tosses the pancake over the rod from which the curtain that divided Upper from Lower School used formerly to hang, and the scrimmage begins. The successful boy, with rent clothes, but with the pancake more or less entire, leaves "School" amid cheers. It is his privilege to take it to the Dean, who presents him with a guinea. Fortunately for the Dean it is no part of the tradition for him to eat it. As soon as the pancake-winner has left, prayers in Latin are said by the Captain of the School, while the boys join in the chanting. Thus reverently ends this mediæval sport.

There is nothing common or mean in Westminster School. You approach the gymnasium through a vaulted chamber built in the time of Edward the Confessor, while it is flanked by the wall of the Chapel of the Pyx, where Edward I. kept his treasure, and where the Trial of the Pyx now takes place. Returning to Little Dean's Yard, you enter Ashburnham House, built by Inigo Jones. This house, known to Westminsters as "Ashburnham", only became the property of the School in 1882. Few schools possess so exquisite a building. Here in a room specially designed by Inigo Jones is kept the library which commemorates the name of Dr. Charles Brodrick Scott. This Head Master never received any ecclesiastical preferment; perhaps he was too outspoken for it. It was enough for this Old Etonian to do his duty to the School of his adoption.

Dr. Scott was bracketed Senior Classic with Dr. Westcott, the present Bishop of Durham. Dr. Westcott began to

publish early, while Dr. Scott published nothing. Dr. Westcott married young and had children; Dr. Scott married, but died childless. He nursed his wife with most devoted affection, and only a few months after her death died of the same malady. This brilliant scholar left behind him no memorial other than the grateful recollection of his own pupils. One of these tells me two incidents which illustrate his simplicity and wit. In going up school a boy dropped his pen. To the astonishment of everyone the new Head Master stooped and picked it up. They had all been accustomed to their late chief, Henry George Liddell, subsequently Dean of Christchurch. On another occasion, in taking the Sixth in Dr. Busby's Library, a boy translated a Greek word by "vengeance." "Oh no, oh no!" said Dr. Scott, passing the word round the form. My friend suggested "enmity" as an equivalent. "Bad, very bad," said Dr. Scott in his small thin voice; "enmity is no more vengeance than one's appetite is one's breakfast." Dean Liddell and his successor, Dr. Scott, are not the Liddell and Scott of lexicographical fame—Liddell was the Liddell, but Scott of the Greek Lexicon was Robert Scott, an Old Salopian and Master of Balliol. Dean Liddell was the most dignified man you could well set eyes upon. A former pupil of his tells me that his mere look petrified you.

No wonder my friend felt thus seeing that Mr. Ruskin wrote in his *Præterita* of Dean Liddell, that he "was and is one of the rarest types of nobly-presented Englishmen, but I fancy it was his adverse star that made him an Englishman at all—the prosaic and practical element in him having prevailed over the sensitive one." It is to such men as the late Dean Liddell, minded to do the task before them in the most thorough manner possible, and not minded to seek more ambitious work, that not only our public schools, but our country, owe so heavy a debt.

The school is rich in gateways, and the one by which you enter the Dormitory was designed by that famous Old Westminster, Sir Christopher Wren. It would take too long to tell in great detail the tale of the building of the New Dormitory, but the story is too closely connected (as every other event in the history of this famous school) with our

national history to dismiss it in a sentence. By the close of the seventeenth century the Old Dormitory was unfit for occupation by the King's Scholars, but the Head Master, Dr. Knipe, had reached three-score years and ten, and could scarcely be expected to leave Westminster better than he found it. An Old King's scholar, Sir Edward Hannes, died in 1710, and bequeathed £1000 to rebuild the Dormitory. Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, used to thank God that he was a Bishop in spite of his *not* being a Westminster. When Sprat died (May 20th, 1713), he was succeeded both in the Deanery of Westminster and in his Bishopric by a former Captain of the School, Francis Atterbury. The new Dean determined that a Dormitory must be built, and on a new site. It is curious how much passion a little brick and mortar may arouse, but as every building in this school is consecrated by countless memories, an historic ruin may be preferred by some to a new and sanitary building. Our ancestors were not archæologists, but sentimentalists they were to the full. Atterbury, however, carried the day. On the 25th April, 1722, the foundation-stone of the new Dormitory, being an upper room over an open piazza facing the garden, was laid. On the 22nd August, 1722, its real founder was committed to the Tower. His imprisonment was followed by his trial, deprivation, and banishment. All his brother Bishops voted in the majority condemning him, with the exception of Gastrell, Bishop of Chester, an Old Westminster. Blood is thicker than water. Bishop Sprat defaced an epitaph in the Abbey, because it was appreciative of Milton; his successor, Atterbury, to his honour, loved the poet of Puritanism, and as a banished man, quoted to his friends from his favourite poem—

Some natural tears he dropped, but wiped them soon:
The world was all before him, where to choose
His place of rest, and Providence his guide.

Of all the sixty Bishops and more that Westminster has reared, none have excelled in sheer ability Francis Atterbury. He was the last Bishop of the Church of England who was sent to the Tower, and the only Bishop whose

biography was written by Macaulay. In his portrait of our famous Westminster Macaulay has not omitted the warts, but he is fair to one whose talents were as brilliant as his own. Atterbury kept all his emotionalism for politics, and distrusted it in religion. He had the mind of a party politician and should have sat in the Commons as leader of the Jacobites, yet Addison, the Whig Statesman, (whose funeral service Atterbury read,) speaks of him as "one of the greatest geniuses of the age"! No doubt his blend of politics with religion would not be to the taste of the present day, but then he was admitted into St. Peter's College under Dr. Busby, and not under Dr. Rutherford. The same charge of introducing politics into the pulpit has been brought against some of our best preachers, and not only against those of the Sacheverel type. Dr. Arnold was blamed by some for being too much of a politician, but he would have answered that so long as there were wrongs to redress, earnest men, whatever their calling, should not keep silence. Bishop Atterbury thought the Pretender had his wrongs, and sought to redress them, with the result that the Stuarts were not restored, but the most eloquent of Old Westminsters was banished.

The open Piazza under the dormitory, where the prebends used to play at bowls, has now been converted into studies with hot-air pipes for the scholars. The same spirit of modern improvement and refinement is visible in the Dormitory. Rat-hunts no longer enliven Westminster nights. What would the King's Scholars of one hundred years ago say, if they could revisit the haunts of their youth. If any of his curates complained of the rough life in South Australia, the Bishop of Adelaide, Augustus Short, used to reply—"You ought to have been a fag at Westminster." And yet Short had been fag to a kind master, Charles Longley, afterwards Primate of England! ¹

The Westminster Play is played three times towards the close of every December, by the Queen's Scholars, in the College Dormitory. The subject is a dangerous one, because it is so tempting. Few things testify more to the influence

¹ Sargeant's *Annals*, p. 215.

of Queen Elizabeth and of Dr. Busby than the permanence of the Westminster Play. The Queen seems to have been present at Christmas 1563 and subscribed the sum of £8 6s 8d towards the expenses of the play both at Westminster and St. Paul's. She expressed her desire that the Play might be maintained "for the better accustoming of the boys to correct action and elocution." Dr. Joseph Warton regarded Dr. Busby's passion for the stage as an illustration of the truth of Pope's line—

"Unthought of frailties cheat us in the wise."

So great was the applause that Busby won in acting the *Royal Slave* before Charles I. at Christ Church, that he used to say that if the civil war had not broken out, he would himself have taken to the stage.

The Eton Montem, the Harrow Shooting Butts, the old Shrewsbury Play, the St. Paul's Play, and the Latin Plays at our two Universities are things of the past, but the legitimate drama of Terence and Plautus still flourishes at Westminster. In 1846 there was some talk of discontinuing the Play. A memorial was addressed to the Dean and Chapter, signed by Longley, then Archbishop of York, and nearly six hundred Old Westminsters, who recorded "their firm and deliberate belief, founded on experience and reflection, that the abolition of the Westminster Play cannot fail to prove prejudicial to the interests and prosperity of the School." It is to be hoped that this memorial has settled the question for ever. The prologue is spoken by the captain of the school; it is a dignified record in Latin elegiacs, of the events of the year, especially as they affect Westminster. The epilogue is a roaring farce in dog Latin, dealing with ephemeral personages of the day, like Major Marchand. In 1847 the Captain was able to refer to the striking fact that the Prime Minister, the President of the Council, the President of the India Board, the Master General of the Ordnance, the Attorney General and the Solicitor General were all Old Westminsters and that too at a time when the school barely numbered 150. ¹ As West-

¹ *The Elizabethan*, March 1895.

minster is a Royal Foundation, the play is stopped when a death has recently occurred in the Royal Family, and the epilogue is replaced by a serious poem (of course in Latin) in times of national anxiety like the Crimean War. It will be easily understood that no part of the Westminster curriculum is so entirely under the rod of tradition as the Play. The first night the Play is regarded as a dress rehearsal without prologue or epilogue. The second night is called "the Dean's night" and the third "the Head Master's night." On the Dean's night the seats in front of the stage are occupied by the Dean and his friends. Young Old Westminsters sit in what may be called the Westminster Pit, immediately to the right of the Dean's seats, by the side of the stage, while the ladies sit parallel with them. One is tempted to think that the performance is exactly as it was when Busby was Head Master and Francis Atterbury Captain of the School, but this is not the case. Originally the Play was only acted before men. Ladies were permitted to coach the actors, but not to witness the results of their labours. This ungracious exclusion has long since ceased. It was not until Dr. Freind's time that the public began to take an interest in the Play.

To the left of the Dean sit masters and guests, while behind rises an eminence whose lower slopes accommodate the guests, and whose heights are crowned with Westminster boys. Unlike the Bradfield Greek Play in which the Head Master's wife and one of the Masters sometimes act, every character in the Play is taken by a boy. Yet the idea of school discipline is maintained by an actor coming forward and asking permission of the master before the curtain rises. As the Play proceeds, the boys gain confidence, and each act is better than the last. It is a healthy tradition that recognizes no such thing as prescriptive right to take part in the Play. Merit alone wins for a Queen's Scholar this proud distinction, not his position in the school. With the final fall of the curtain comes the "cap" to provide the cost of putting the Play on the stage. This also is a tradition, and one that all, whether Westminsters or not, respect.

The Westminster Stage, as is the case with all state-sup-

ported theatres, is probably more inclined to respect tradition than originality. Even the players of the Théâtre Français have not escaped the charge of transmitting the conventionalisms of the stage. No doubt there is a tradition at Westminster—say, for instance, about the part of Davus in the *Andria*,—but it would be unreasonable to take exception to this. It is for our Bettertons and Garricks to create the traditions, while it is for our Queen's Scholars to conserve them. Even Dryden and Browning began their careers as imitators, though they closed them as poets. A debt of gratitude is due to the Dean and Chapter for the support they have invariably given to the Play. A prudish or philistine spirit would have banished stage-plays from a public school, but there has never been a trace of such illiberality in the management of this great school. A theatre that is wisely maintained and controlled by the State is a great school for the education of the æsthetic sentiment in all classes of society. A play acted as the Westminster Play is acted, is a school within a school. It teaches those who take part in it lessons even more important than fluency and readiness. Dr. Hawtrey, Provost of Eton, used often to say "I wish I could get Eton boys to speak as well as the Westminster boys do." There is another spur to eloquence which fortunate Westminsters enjoy. They are free of the gallery of the House of Commons. Sir James Graham (Peel's Home Secretary), speaking in the House, declared that his ambition to become an orator, originated from listening, as a Westminster boy, to the speeches of Pitt and Fox. When we remember the distinctions that are to be won in this country by a happy gift of speech, we see how important a part both the Play and the gallery of the House of Commons fill in Westminster education. The late Mr. John Bright once told the writer that when he first entered the House of Commons, Sir James Graham's letter-opening peccadillo was before the public. "Poor Sir James," said Mr. Bright, "used to remark to me, I shall only be remembered for opening letters." Clarendon records of Lord Falkland that he was a man so scrupulous that when letters to Parliamentarians fell into his hands, he forwarded them unopened.

One honourable feature in Westminster history is that theirs was the first school to adopt competition for election into college. Gabriel Goodman was appointed to the Deanery of Westminster the year after the school's refoundation and remained Dean for nearly forty years. "Goodman was his name," says punning Fuller, "and goodness was his nature." He was the reputed introducer of competition, then a novel principle, into school-life. He did at Westminster in Queen Elizabeth's reign what the reformers of Eton, Winchester, Charterhouse and St. Paul's only did in Queen Victoria's. St. Peter's College was by no means restricted to the sons of poor men, and no doubt the stern principle of competition was greatly toned down by favour, yet with every deduction for Court and Chapter influence, it is true that hundreds of poor lads have received an excellent education, first at Westminster and afterwards at Oxford or Cambridge, at a very slight cost to their parents. Thomas Clarke (admitted into College in 1717) was the son of a carpenter; thanks to the education of the old school and the assistance of an Old Westminster¹ he rose to be Master of the Rolls. At one and the same time the offices of Lord Chancellor, Lord Chief Justice, and Master of the Rolls were all filled by Old Westminsters. Francis Lynn was captain of the school under Dr. Busby and kept a very matter-of-fact diary. He was a town-boy from 1681 to 1689 and a King's Scholar from 1689 to 1691, when he was elected to Trinity Cambridge. The whole cost of his education for fourteen years, until he took his Bachelor's degree, was £213 5s. Of this the cost of his 8 years' education as a town-boy was only £30 18s., and of his two years on the Foundation £39 7s.

The most casual observer must notice that every good thing at Westminster—outside its athletics—is monopolized by the Queen's Scholars. As this is a tradition of the Foundation, a town-boy cannot fairly complain, more especially as all Scholarships have now been thrown open to competition. "The sewer and steamboat," says *Blackwood's Magazine*, "have strangled one of our nurseries of

¹ The Earl of Macclesfield, Lord Chancellor.

oarsmen." In 1884 the alteration of hours introduced by Dr. Rutherford caused the total discontinuance of boating. Both Queen's Scholars and Town-boys rowed in the race with Eton. The most famous match between the two schools took place on May 4th, 1837, when Eton was for the first time beaten. "Hang theology" Rogers, late Rector of Bishopsgate, rowed No. 5 in the Eton boat, and tells us in his *Reminiscences* that William IV. declared the Eton crew lost, because Dr. Hawtrey was looking on. The Eton legend was that the King was so distressed at their defeat that he took to his bed and died. He did die on the 20th June, 1837. The late Lord Esher (Master of the Rolls) was well known to be a good oar at Westminster, but he was a town-boy, and his name does not occur in the College Water Ledger. He rowed several years in the Cambridge Eight. Westminster won victories over Eton in 1842, '45 and '46. If you remember the numerical difference between the two schools, you cannot fail to be struck with the pluck of the smaller school. *Rowing at Westminster* is a little book with sketches by H. M. Marshall, one of the finest athletes that ever left Westminster. He played for the Cambridge Eleven for four years (1861-4).

Westminster owes so much to "Great Eliza's glorious reign" that you are not surprised to hear that two massive tables in the College Hall were made out of the wood of the ships of the Invincible Armada. Dean Stanley did not believe in this tradition. Yet, strange to say, the most brilliant of English historians of the Armada period, as a King's Scholar, ate his meals at these tables. There can be little doubt but that the historical associations of Westminster must have influenced James Anthony Froude. At a few yards' distance from the College Hall he would have entered the Chapter House, where for three hundred years sat the Parliament of England. Froude was not the man on whom such associations would have made no impression, yet it is a singular fact that though he wrote the history of England from the fall of Wolsey to the defeat of the Invincible Armada—the very period in which his old school was refounded—he makes no allusion to this

Elizabethan Foundation. No one who ever met the historian in his later years could fail to be struck with his entire lack of enthusiasm. The monotony of life seemed to have sunk into his very soul. Vanity of vanities, all is vanity! that seemed to sum up his philosophy. Compared to Froude, John Stuart Mill was a wild enthusiast. Yet this Old Westminster could on rare occasions relax. On his visit to Australia, the mayor of Bendigo gave a lunch in his honour, and after eulogizing his distinguished guest to the skies, concluded by proposing the health of "Mr. Fraud." The subject of the toast joined in the general merriment.

The English are a sentimental people. It is not only school-boys who detest the master they suspect of being a cold-hearted cynic, the English reading public demand of their favourite authors that they too should be free from all taint of cynicism. The author of *Waverley* deserves to be read by our remote posterity, yet the fame of his blameless life will rival that of his novels. The great historian of Westminster is Edward Gibbon, but if you wish to hear his work properly appreciated, you must turn, not to English, but to German and French critics. They appreciate *the Decline and Fall* at its proper value. His countrymen seem never to forget that unfortunate epigram—"I sighed as a lover, I obeyed as a son." Though Gibbon was a miracle of knowledge, and though he never wrote a sentence that was either slovenly or dull, his master-piece is, I fear, more praised than read by the English public. It must be admitted that the historian of the Roman Empire left both Westminster and Oxford a self-taught man. He is a proof that a man may be an omnivorous reader, and yet no smatterer, that he may cover an immense extent of ground, and yet dive into the heart of the matter. He was a great stylist and (in foreign opinion) the first of our historians, as Shakespeare is of our poets.

We now approach one of the most ancient and honoured institutions of Westminster, but one in which it is safe to say that neither of her historians had any part or lot. The "milling" ground, like everything else of good report in this famous school, is closely linked with the Abbey. It

was a square plot of grass bounded on all sides by the cloisters. No place more peaceful and few more beautiful can be conceived. O happy school, where even the fighting green is associated with all that is best in English history! The Poets' Corner where Ben Jonson, Cowley and Dryden sleep, is only a few yards removed from the spot where they may have fought as boys. A "mill in the green" is now no more the fashion with boys than duelling with their elders, though whether the discontinuance of "milling" is as much a reform of school-life as the abolition of duelling was of social life is a matter of doubt. Duelling begat bullying and cut short many a life of promise; school-boy "milling" checked bullying and sowed the seed of many a lifelong friendship. It has, however, gone for ever, and could no more be revived than stage-coaching. We live in an age of steam and soft speech. One at least of His Majesty's Judges would not now be on the Bench, had he not fought on that quiet green. He was so knocked about by his opponent that the army, the profession for which so brave a fighter seemed destined, was closed to him. However, the army is not the only career where pluck and determination carve a road to success, and our Old Westminster would have risen to the top of any tree he chose to climb.

During the installation of Dean Turton there was a "mill" in the Green, and the shouts of the boys could be heard above the swell of the organ. On another occasion Dr. Wordsworth¹ in full canonicals, as Archdeacon of Westminster, interrupted a fight. Dr. Wordsworth was no milksop, but he did not understand boys. The Archdeacon was listened to with respect, but as soon as he had retired, the fight was continued.

A milling-ground nestling under the walls of a cathedral is unique, but it is not more unique than all that goes to make up the life and fame of this great Foundation.

¹ Bishop of Lincoln, 1869—1885 (resigned).

CHAPTER XXI.

WESTMINSTER—(*continued*).

WESTMINSTER School is a Grammar School, formerly attached, as is the case in many Cathedral Establishments, to the Collegiate of St. Peter's Westminster. There may have been and probably was a school on the Isle of Thorns or Thorn Ey from the time of Edward the Confessor, but so far as authentic records go, the history of the school cannot be carried back beyond the dissolution of the monastery. Westminster School, unlike Winchester, Eton, and St. Paul's, is a creation of the Reformation, and unlike them, for more than 300 years it possessed neither revenues nor local habitation. In 1540 the monastic house was dissolved, while a bishopric was founded out of its confiscated revenues, and a school for forty scholars, with an upper and under master, established by Charter of Henry VIII. Of the first Head Master, John Adams, nothing is recorded, but the second Head Master, Alexander Nowell, was the author of the Catechism. Just as Osbaldeston fled before the wrath of Laud, so Nowell fled before the wrath of Bonner. Happily, they alone of English Head Masters have been threatened with stake or pillory.

Dean Nowell rendered services to the cause of education almost as great as those of Dean Colet. He introduced the reading of Terence at Westminster, and on one day of every week read St. Luke's Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles in Greek with the elder scholars. The successor to Nowell at the School, under Queen Mary, was the dramatist, Nicholas Udall, schoolmaster to the household of the Lord Chancellor, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Westminster. This notorious flogger had been dismissed some years before from the post of Head Master of Eton on a very

serious charge, and it seems incredible that he could have been appointed to Westminster, but the fact is well attested.¹ He held the post until the school was absorbed in the monastery of Westminster, which Queen Mary refounded in November 1556. Udall died in the month following.

The excessive flogging, which had become a Westminster tradition before Busby's time, may have been due to this dubious character.

In 1560 the College of St. Peter's was refounded by letters patent. Queen Elizabeth not only provided for the free education of 40 Scholars in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, which was her father's intention, but she enjoined that the Queen's Scholars should be chosen from boys, who had already been at least a year in the school. The Masters were allowed to educate other boys besides the Scholars, provided the total number of the School did not exceed 120. This meant a school for boarders—a worthy rival of Winchester and Eton. Unfortunately, the Queen omitted to follow the precedent set by her predecessor, Henry VI, and did not endow the school with separate estates. On the contrary, she left the school entirely dependent on the Dean and Chapter, and on the sums paid by the parents of the boys. There can be no doubt but that the Queen intended the revenues of the College to be fairly proportioned between the Dean and Chapter on the one hand, and the School on the other. The original division was something like one-fourth to the school, and three-fourths to the Chapter; but as the revenues increased and the value of money fell, the payments to the masters remained stationary, while the surplus went to the Dean and Chapter. It thus came to pass that the School received barely a fortieth part of the capitular income. For three centuries the Head Master's salary stood at £20 per annum, while each Prebendary was receiving sixty times his statutory salary.²

¹ Even Mr. Sargeant is uncertain whether Passey was Head Master before or after Udall (*Annals*, p. 268); but see Mr. Sidney Lee's article on Nicholas Udall in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. lviii., pp. 6—9.

² Sargeant's *Annals*, p. 12.

The "free" education of a Queen's Scholar cost his parents nearly £100 a year in fees, and what the condition of the school was in 1845 we learn from the following letter. "The school is in a dreadful state, and very much, I feel sure, from the need of greater comfort, cleanliness and attendance, which we ought to supply. If you treat boys as savages, they will be savages." The writer of this was no Radical carper at ecclesiastical establishments, but the Dean of Westminster of that day—Samuel Wilberforce, subsequently Bishop of Oxford, and Winchester. The Public Schools Act of 1868 assigned to the school out of the Chapter estates an annual income of £3500 and a capital sum of £15,000, and severed its connection with the Chapter. The Abbey still serves as the Chapel of the school.

The question of the removal of the school into the country has been often mooted. Sentiment in the case of such a school as Westminster has enormous weight, but the main objection to removal seems to be one of finance. When the Governors of Charterhouse decided upon removing their school, they had only to sell their existing site to acquire ample means for purchasing a new one. Westminster School has no site that it can sell. By the Act of 1868 it is provided that "in the event of Westminster School being removed beyond the City of Westminster, all the property and income derived by the school from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, or the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, or their estates, shall revert too and become vested in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners." The school still retains its double character as both a boarding and a day-boy school. It has even been suggested that the College should be abolished and that the Queen's Scholars should be either day-boys or boarders. This was part of the movement to discourage the boarder element and to convert Westminster into a day-boy school. Dr. Rutherford considers a boarding school in London "a complete anachronism."¹ Brought up at a Scotch school the late Head Master probably did

¹ *The Educational Review* of January 1894 and the reply by Mr. T. Wheeler, Q.C., (an Old Westminster) in *The Educational Review* of April 1894.

not recognise in the resident Queen's Scholars the factor which mainly keeps alive the public-school element at Westminster. Dr. Rutherford came to Westminster from St. Paul's where he had been an assistant master, and where Dr. Walker was doing his utmost to develop the boarder element. Old Westminster sentiment was opposed to the conversion of their old school into a day-boy school.

The Governing Body arrived at a compromise between those who would have increased the number of resident Queen's Scholars and those who would have abolished College altogether. They retained the forty Queen's Scholars in College, and created twenty new Queen's Scholars, who are non-residents. The money for founding these new scholarships has come from the honorable economies in school management of Dr. Rutherford. Hebrew has been dropped by the present Head Master.

With this brief account of the reforms instituted in the reign of Queen Victoria, we may return to the school as it was under Queen Elizabeth. This great Queen had the true ruler's instinct for discovering a man. Whether it was a poet, a statesman, a sailor, a soldier, or a school master, she seldom failed to select the best. For eighteen years Wm. Camden was second master, and in 1593 succeeded Edward Grant as Head Master. It seems certain that the illustrious author of "*Britannia*" would not have gained this well-earned preferment without royal favor, as Camden was not only a layman, but had not taken his Master's degree. The Queen sent a letter to the Dean, ordering that the new Head Master should have his "commons" free. It is worthy of notice, as showing the social position of even a head master in Elizabethan times that the two masters (contemplated by the Statutes) sat at the second table. ¹

One of the earliest Queen's Scholars was Edward Bacon, half-brother of Lord Verulam, and son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, who was at the time Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.

The son of Queen Elizabeth's famous tutor, Roger Ascham, was a Queen's Scholar under Grant. Lord Burghley requested Dean Goodman to place him on the Foundation.

¹ Answers of Rev. C. B. Scott. Public Schools Report, Vol. ii., p. 198.

Under Grant and Camden, Ben Jonson and Richard Corbet, both poor men's sons, were at Westminster. Richard Corbet, the gardener's son, was a Queen's Scholar and subsequently Bishop of Norwich. This jovial prelate was a great friend of "rare Ben Jonson." Ben Jonson was not a Queen's Scholar, but Camden, then second master, is said to have paid for his education. Ben Jonson was not quite as strong a Protestant as his benefactor, as he (like that other famous Westminster, Edward Gibbon) twice changed his religion. He became a Roman Catholic and then was reconverted to Protestantism. Whether Camden paid for Ben Jonson's education or not, the poet never forgot the pains his master took with him. He dedicated *Every man in his humour* to his "most learned honored friend, Master Camden, Clarencieux." In the *King's Entertainment* he describes him as "the glory and light of the kingdom": and in one of his epigrams he thus accosts his old master.

Camden, most reverend Head, to whom I owe
All that I am in arts, all that I know.

Such generous praise contrasts well with the absence of all reference to their Alma Mater in the writings of those two King's Scholars, Locke and Froude. Camden's kind treatment of Ben Jonson, the stepson of a master-bricklayer, is no isolated instance of a head master's generosity, of which, indeed, examples at other schools might be given; but Pierson Lloyd's generosity to an Old Boy is, I believe, absolutely unique in the annals of any school. Pierson Lloyd, second master of Westminster (1748—1771), persuaded the creditors of Churchill to accept five shillings in the £, and himself lent the poet the necessary funds. Churchill referred to this "kind good man" as the one who

"Stretched out his hand, and brought me safe to shore."

Out of the proceeds of *The Rosciad* and *The Apology* Churchill honourably paid off in full the creditors, who had accepted a composition.

Sir Robert Cotton was at Westminster under Camden, and sympathised with his master's antiquarian tastes. Cotton

may be described as the ass of Issachar in English literature. He was too rich to write himself, but he furnished others with the materials for their work. Camden, Raleigh, Usher and Bacon—all acknowledged their indebtedness to this Old Westminster. He was a friend of James I., but an opponent of Charles I. Cotton's colossal learning furnished with precedents the opponents of the Royal Prerogative under the second Stuart. The same Court—the Star Chamber—that sentenced a Head Master of Westminster to the pillory, deprived Cotton of his library. It is difficult in the present reign to believe in the passing of such sentences; yet nothing in public-school records is more remarkable than the devoted loyalty to Church and State of the overwhelming majority of Old Westminsters. Had their devotion shown itself by lip-loyalty only, it would be open to question, but a loyalty attested by loss of worldly goods is beyond criticism. The pages of Welch's *Westmonasteriensis Alumni*¹ contain the names of no fewer than sixty-nine King's Scholars who were ejected either from their Canonries, their livings, their fellowships, or their studentships by the Parliamentary Party. Their names are given in a footnote.² They are worthily headed by W. Osbaldeston and Samuel Fell. Osbaldeston survived Laud only to be ejected by the Puritans. He suffered the fate so often reserved for those who avoid extremes. Samuel

¹ List of the Queen's Scholars of St. Peter's College, Westminster, by Joseph Welch, edited by Charles Bagot Phillimore (1852 Edition). To this Westminster classic may truly be applied the Horatian phrase, *ære perennius*.

² W. Osbaldeston, S. Fell, G. Goodman (Bishop), B. Duppa (Bishop), Edward Boughen, T. Iles, William Beale, D. Stokes, H. King (Bishop), R. Hill, M. Alford, D. Whitford, P. Stanninhough, T. Cole, John Busby, G. Clarke, Nich. Grey, E. Meetkirke, John Hacket (Bishop), R. Meredith, R. Creyghton (Bishop), T. Lockey, R. Throgmorton, G. Griffith (Bishop), G. Egliionby, J. Duport, S. Smith, S. Rutter (Bishop), E. Fulham, T. Terrent, R. Price (Bishop), E. Hyde, W. Stateville, T. Wood (Bishop), R. Boreman, R. Waring, T. Croyden, R. Howe, J. Bouchier, R. Crane, R. Mead, T. Norgate, E. Yates, P. Samwaies, H. Greisley, W. Towers, S. Jackson, M. Llewellyn, T. Yardley, E. Underwood, B. Love, G. Nicholas, R. Brian, S. Speed, B. Caryl, C. Lowther, J. Heath, J. Stacey, T. Ireland, E. Simson,

Fell died of the shock occasioned by the news of the execution of Charles I. With these may be coupled the name of Richard Lane. This Old Westminster was leading Counsel for Strafford, and in his speech for the defence "surpassed all expectation." He was Lord Keeper of the Great Seal for Charles I. after the King's withdrawal from Oxford.

On the other hand, only seven King's Scholars were ejected at the Restoration for their refusal to conform to the Church of England.¹ Another Westminster Nonconformist, Charles Chauncy, became (1646) President of Harvard College, the earliest institution of learning in North America, though the first public school was founded there in 1637. The two great London schools of the 17th century, Westminster and Merchant Taylors', threw the weight of their influence on the side of the King and the Church of England against the Puritans and Parliamentary Party. Of this there can be no reasonable doubt.

On the morning of that ever memorable day—30th January, 1649—there were at Westminster three King's Scholars destined to reflect peculiar distinction on Dr. Busby and their old school—John Dryden, John Locke and Robert South.² Dryden and Locke have left no record of what

T. Aylesbury, D. Stokes, R. Chester, G. Morley (Bishop), P. Leigh, R. West, J. Lowen, D. Brattell, and L. Wright. It must be borne in mind that these are the names of the King's Scholars only. There was no Welch to record the doings of the town-boys in the 17th century.

William Wake (the grandfather of the Archbishop) was a town-boy, and as Rector of Wareham was "in the time of the rebellion eighteen times a prisoner, and twice condemned to be hanged, drawn and quartered" (Walker's *Sufferings*, Pt. ii., p. 394). He is said to have been the hero of Budgell's famous Westminster curtain story in the *Spectator* (No. 313); see an interesting article by Mr. W. A. Peck, *The Elizabethan*, Feb. 1895.

¹ R. Tatnal, T. Cole (Principal of St. Mary's Hall), A. Plumstead, D. Poyntel, T. Senior, T. Vincent, and Philip Henry, whose "attainments in School learning", as he came from Westminster, "were beyond what others generally had that came from other schools."

² John Dryden was elected head to Cambridge, 1650, Robert South head to Oxford, 1651, and John Locke sixth (or bottom boy of the Oxford list) to Oxford, 1652.

their thoughts and their feelings were on that morning, but South has. "A School," he writes, "so untaintedly loyal that I can truly and knowingly aver that in the very worst of times (in which it was my lot to be a member of it) we really were King's Scholars as well as called so. Nay, upon that very day, that black and eternally infamous day of the King's murder, I myself heard, and am now a witness that the King was publicly prayed for in the school, but an hour or two at most before his sacred head was struck off." ¹

Samuel Pepys was a scholar of St. Paul's and on that day observed that, if he preached on the occasion, his text would be "The memory of the wicked shall rot." This was not exactly the observation that should have fallen from the lips of the future "clerk of the king's ships." If the Diarist was a time-server, he was by no means singular in being so. The more you study the period of the Restoration, the more Vicars of Bray you discover. To give but one instance—Busby's pupil, South, was a Presbyterian under Cromwell and a Churchman under Charles II. The only difference between the Westminster and the Pauline is that South was bitter against his former friends, and Pepys was not. Pepys was much relieved on 1st November, 1660, to find that an old schoolfellow, who remembered him as "a great Roundhead", had not heard this particular remark.

Locke's *Thoughts concerning Education* were not written for publication. Still it is strange that he should make no allusion either to his old school, or his old chief. Warton, head-master of Winchester, refers to "that idle book on education which Locke disgraced himself by writing." Without agreeing with all that Locke has written, one may admire his character as almost superhuman in its goodness. It has been well said of him that "he could be choleric without malice, and gay without levity." ²

It is said that John Dryden remembered Dr. Busby's

¹ Quoted by Southey in his *Common-place Book*, 3rd Series, p. 31.

² Wooll's *Life of Dr. Joseph Warton*, p. 49, and Bancroft's *History*, Vol. i., p. 415.

floggings to the day of his death. On one occasion he wrote a strong letter to Dr. Busby, complaining of some alleged unfairness to his son Charles, yet, even when moved to anger, the Poet Laureate did not forget the respect due to a great man. In 1682 Dryden and Nat. Lee wrote together *The Duke of Guise*. This play was a political manifesto by two Old Westminsters against the Exclusion Bill. With the help of Dryden, Lee, and Otway (Wykehamist) the Tories of that day fairly drove the Whigs off the boards.

Westminster can claim in Wm. Camden and Richard Busby, the two Head Masters of the seventeenth century, who may certainly rank with Arnold and Thring of the eighteenth. Camden and Busby were buried in the Abbey, as were four other Head Masters of Westminster.¹ The most striking element in Busby's character was his consummate worldly wisdom, and yet with this was combined religious conviction, the former is proved by his unparalleled success as a schoolmaster, the latter by the deep affection he won from his pupils. We are told he took great pains in preparing them for the Holy Communion. "Child," said Busby to his old pupil, Philip Henry, the Puritan divine, "what made thee a Nonconformist?" "Truly, sir, you made me one, for you taught me those things that hindered me from conforming." I used to imagine that Philip Henry and W. E. Gladstone were the only pupils whom Busby and Keate did not flog, but in this I find myself mistaken. Each received a flogging once. Of South, Busby is reported to have said—"I see great talents in that sulky boy, and I shall endeavour to bring them out"—a work which the Head Master accomplished *more suo*. Henry sits with his master in the well-known portrait in the Hall of Christ Church; South sleeps near his master in the Abbey.

The Finch and the Sackville families sent their sons regularly to Westminster during the 17th and 18th centuries. Heneage Finch, the Lord Chancellor, created Earl of Nottingham, was the son of a Speaker of the House of Commons and a town-boy under Dr. Osbaldeston. From

¹ Knipe, Markham, Vincent, and Osbaldeston (the last without any monument).

the time that he drew up the letter of congratulation to Charles II. on his arrival in England, to his own death in December 1682, his biography is the history of his country. Yet in literature the first Earl of Nottingham has scarcely received his deserts. Nahum Tate praises him in some heavy couplets in *Absalom and Archithophel* (Second Part), while Roger North censures him with unwonted wit and malice. Business, says the brother of Lord Keeper Guildford, rather than justice flourished exceedingly under Finch. That this was a prejudiced opinion is proved by Lord Chancellor Nottingham's popularity. Alone of the King's advisers, he was never attacked by Parliament and never lost his master's confidence. Two years after his father's decease the second Earl of Nottingham (a pupil of Busby) became First Lord of the Admiralty, and for the next ten stormy years his private career was as prominent and as blameless as that of his father. He was perhaps the first of the class of statesman, whom our public schools were to give to the country and whose politics were entirely subordinate to their devotion to the Church of England. If we keep that in view, Nottingham's whole public career becomes clear and consistent. His exclusion from office during the greater part of Queen Anne's reign was not an accident, but directly due to his preference of the Hanoverian family, who were Protestants, to the Stuarts, who were Roman Catholics. Bolingbroke nicknamed the Hanover Tories, (such as the Old Westminsters, Nottingham and Hammer,) "the Whimsicals", but Nottingham was far more consistent than Bolingbroke. This Tory Churchman closed his public career by becoming President of the Council and a member of George I.'s first Cabinet on the death of Queen Anne. His younger brother, Heneage Finch (also an Old Westminster), was the only son of a Lord Chancellor (with the exception of Charles Yorke) who himself became a Law Officer of the Crown. He was Solicitor General to Charles II., but true to the Church principles of his school and his family, was one of the Counsel for the seven Bishops. His Leader, Sir Robert Sawyer, was not a public-school man.

Charles Sackville, (6th) Earl of Dorset, was a Westminster,

though he was nineteen years of age when he entered the school with his two brothers in 1657. Dorset's indiscretions are forgotten, but his poem, "*To all you ladies now on land*", lives as a classic of the language. The three Sackvilles who succeeded the poet in the title of Dorset (converted into a Dukedom) were all Westminsters, while the fourth Duke was Byron's fag at Harrow. The fifth and last Duke was also a Westminster. The tradition ran that in the Sackville family a son of talent frequently succeeded a father of mediocre ability. The following epigram, whose authorship is unknown, alludes to this alleged circumstance.

Folly and sense in Dorset's race
 Alternately do run;
 As Carey one day told his Grace,
 Praising his eldest son.¹

It was the wit who wrote *To all you ladies*, who is said to have found Matthew Prior reading Horace in his uncle's public house, "The Rummors", and set him to turn a Latin ode into English verse. This translation proved the starting-point in the lad's career. Dorset sent him back to Westminster (or as Welch records it to St. John's College, Cambridge),² and from that time to his death this Old Westminster's life was one long summer day. He made the best of both worlds—of the world of work and of the world of pleasure. In his old age the Whigs deprived him of his public appointments, but Lord Oxford, that friend of Westminsters, made him a liberal allowance. Prior, like his schoolfellow Charles Montagu, Earl of Halifax, was ambidexter; he could write satires and conduct negotiations. Even his poems are not forgotten; Scott quotes from *Alma*, and I have heard the late Mr. John Bright quote from the same poem. Queen Anne doubted whether Prior's birth entitled him to the office of Envoy, but was willing to give

¹ Walpole's *George II.*, Vol. i., p. 509 (Appendix to 1822 Edition). Dr. Carey was Head Master of Westminster from 1803 to 1814.

² Welch's *Alumni*, p. 192. Prior was a King's Scholar under Dr. Busby, but on the death of his father left the school.

him any other situation that Lord Oxford should recommend.¹ Much to his credit Harley stood by his friend, and Queen Anne gave way. Matthew Prior is an instance of what a public-school education can make of a poor lad with small claims to genius, but with plenty of talent.

Just as Matthew Prior took an active part in negotiating the Treaty of Utrecht, so another Old Westminster, Thomas Robinson, (with Lord Sandwich) signed the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle on 18th October, 1748. Robinson's despatches are referred to with more appreciation by Thomas Carlyle, than his speeches in the Commons were by Pitt. "The Duke," (*i.e.* of Devonshire, the then Prime Minister), said the great Commoner, "might as well have sent us his jackboot to lead us." His son (the second Lord Grantham) followed his father at Westminster, and in diplomacy. His grandson, Frederick John Robinson (Old Harrovian), as Lord Goderich, became Prime Minister in August 1827. He resigned in the following January without even waiting to meet Parliament. The fourth Duke of Devonshire (Old Westminster) was, in the same way, a stop-gap Prime Minister, with the object of keeping the elder Pitt out of office. He was First Lord of the Treasury from November 1756 to May 1757. His leader in the Commons, Sir Thomas Robinson, was Lord Goderich's grandfather above referred to. Thus the leader in both Houses of Parliament was in that year (1757) an Old Westminster.

Dr. Busby was succeeded by his assistant master, Thomas Knipe (1695—1711). In 1706 the numbers of the boys (excluding the Queen's Scholars)² were 353. Under Robert Freind as Head Master (1711—1733) the numbers again increased, and in 1729 stood at 439. When Dr. Snape resigned the Head Mastership of Eton in 1719, he left a school of 400 boys, so that under Dr. Freind Westminster School may fairly claim the same leading position that

¹ Lansdowne MSS. quoted by Robert Southey.

² The Foundationers of Westminster are like "Her Majesty's Counsel learned in the Law"—"Queen's Scholars" under a Queen, and "King's Scholars" under a King. The Scholars of Eton College are always King's Scholars.

Eton takes now. At the time of Dr. Carey's accession (1803) there were 260 boys, in 1818 324, but by 1835 the numbers had fallen to 100, and in 1841 there were not 40 town-boys in the school. From that date the numbers have steadily risen, till (1900) at the close of the nineteenth century they stand at 229. This includes fifty-seven Queen's Scholars, of whom forty are resident and seventeen non-resident. Of the 172 town-boys, about forty are boarders in masters' houses. There are about 20 boys in each form.

Robert Freind was a man of social gifts and he made the school the centre of a political and literary coterie. His house was the resort of Swift and Atterbury. He was essentially a modern, and understood the art of advertisement—not self-advertisement, but school-advertisement. He revived the annual dinners on Founder's Day, with Peers and well-known public men as stewards. On these occasions he brought forward young aristocrats to recite the epigrams, although they were in the lower forms. Freind shares with other Old Westminsters, Alsop, Blackmore, Booth, Locke, Murray, Pulteney, Prior, Settle, South, Welstead, and Wren the honour of figuring in a national classic. *The Dunciad* is a Westminster classic. It abounds in allusions to this Royal Foundation and its Old Boys. This reflects no discredit on Westminster, but only proves that it was the leading school of the day, when the poem was written.

CHAPTER XXII.

WESTMINSTER—(*continued*).

IT must not be forgotten that in the seventeenth century public schools were still on their trial. The sons of Peers and the wealthier country gentlemen were nearly all educated by tutors, and either went to the University between the ages of 14 and 16, or travelled on the continent. Christopher Wren was only in his 14th year when he left Westminster for Wadham (1646). The majority of our public men during the last fifty years of that century had not been at any public school. When we remember that no period in our history is so thoroughly characterized by want of principle, this discovery is not without its consolations. To every rule there are exceptions and it would irritate the theorist to find that two of the most unscrupulous of the Restoration politicians, the second Earl of Sunderland and Henry Bennett, Earl of Arlington, were both Old Westminsters. The services rendered by Busby to posterity in making public-school education popular are incalculable. Thanks mainly to him, the notion of the aristocracy being educated apart from the professional and mercantile classes, as they were in France prior to the Revolution, never took root in this country. The services of Wesley, the Apostle of the Charterhouse, in staving off a revolution by his work among the poorer classes have been recognised by Mr. Lecky; but the services of such teachers as Busby and Nicholl in welding together the aristocracy, professional, and mercantile classes into one compact body in defence of rational liberty have not been so generally recognised. It must not be forgotten that during the first half of the eighteenth century Westminster divided with Eton and Winchester the honour of being the

first school in England. Of the preëminence of Westminster, the Letters of Swift and the verse of Pope give abundant proof.

Proceed great days! till learning fly the shore,
Till Birch shall blush with noble blood no more,
Till Thames see Eton's sons for ever play,
Till Westminster's whole year be holiday.¹

Again in the fourth Book of *The Dunciad*—

Eton and Winton shake through all their sons,
All flesh is humbled, Westminster's bold race
Shrink and confess the genius of the place.

The supremacy of public-school men in public life dates from the reign of Queen Anne. Charles Montagu, Earl of Halifax,² and Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough,³ were Westminsters; Addison and Steele, Carthusians; and Bolingbroke and Walpole begin the long line of Etonian Statesmen. Prior to the reign of Queen Anne few Secretaries of State could be claimed by our public schools. Sir Dudley Carleton, Secretary of State to Charles I., was a King's Scholar at Westminster, and Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State to Charles II., was a town-boy under Dr. Busby.

Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, took so warm an interest in the welfare of Westminster School that one is tempted to include him among its *alumni*, but this was not the case. We know that he was at a private school at Shilton, a

¹ Pope's *Dunciad*, Book III.

² Charles Montagu was Chancellor of the Exchequer, First Lord of the Treasury, President of the Royal Society, one of Johnson's poets, and Pope's Bufo. (See note in Elwyn and Courthope's Edition, Vol. iii., p. 259.)

Proud as Apollo on his forked hill,
Sat full-blown Bufo; puffed by every quill.

Pope's *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*.

³ There is positive proof that the Earl of Peterborough was at Westminster, there is a tradition that he was at Eton. He may have been at both.

small school which produced at the same time a Lord High Treasurer, a Lord Chancellor, and a Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. The fact that Dr. Freind may have written the preamble to the patent of his peerage in Latin (translated into English by Swift), and that Harley sent his son to Westminster is no proof that "the Dragon" (as Swift used affectionately to call him) was himself at Westminster. His staunch supporter, Sir Thomas Hanmer, Speaker at the time of Queen Anne's death, was a Westminster. To this Westminster Tory (Hanmer) we owe our first sumptuous edition of Shakespeare; to the Westminster Whig, Nicholas Rowe, we owe the first complete edition of our national poet. Another Westminster Laureate (Southey) has spoken slightly of Rowe as the poorest of the Poet Laureates, Eusden and Pye alone excepted. Rowe's *Fair Penitent* as well as his translation of Pharsalia have, however, been praised by Dr. Johnson, and even by Pope. The good word of the little bard of Twickenham was in those days more hard for a Whig to obtain than burial in Westminster Abbey. Rowe secured both.

Thy reliques, Rowe, to this sad shrine we trust,
And near thy Shakespeare place thy honour'd dust.

No school has had so much to do with the making of the "Poet's Corner" as Westminster. The unconscious founder of the poet's meeting-place was the Father of English Poetry. After an interval of nearly two hundred years Edmund Spenser was laid to rest by his side.¹ Beaumont and Drayton came next, and then four Westminsters, Ben Jonson, Abraham Cowley, John Dryden, and Nicholas Rowe, who thus formed the nucleus, round whose graves the monuments of even greater bards have clustered. "Glorious John's" funeral took place just three hundred years after Chaucer's. The burial of John Dryden, a convert to the Roman Catholic Church, in an Anglican Cathedral was a tribute to his genius, as honourable to the Dean as

¹ Chaucer died October 25th, 1400. Spenser died Jan. 16th, 1599. John Dryden was buried in Westminster Abbey on 13th May, 1700.

to the Poet. When Byron died, a Dean less liberal than Sprat, shut out his lifeless form from the national Abbey.

Lord Campbell thinks from evidence given at his brother's famous trial at Hertford for murder, that both Lord Chancellor Cowper and his brother, Spencer, the Judge, and grandfather of Cowper, the poet, were for some years at Westminster. ¹ If this be so, Westminster can lay claim to five Lord Chancellors—Finch (Earl of Nottingham), Jeffreys, Cowper, Macclesfield, and Robert Henley, Earl of Northington.

Sir Thomas Parker Lord Chief Justice of England, and subsequently Earl of Macclesfield, Lord Chancellor, is a striking figure in the reign of the first George. By reason of his fall he stands apart from all modern Lord Chancellors. As a loyal Westminster he gave Nicholas Rowe his first preferment, but Parker is overshadowed both in the annals of his school and of his country by a young Scotchman, who on a Galloway pony rode the whole way from Scotland to Westminster.

The famous ride of William Murray, afterwards Earl of Mansfield, Lord Chief Justice of England, to fame and fortune began at Perth on 15 March, 1718, and ended at Westminster on 8th May of the same year. Long before railways, an honourable tradition existed north of the Tweed that distance was not to deprive a Scotchman of the best possible schooling. Murray's journey was only singular in that he rode and did not walk, and in that he made the capital of England instead of Scotland his goal. Dr. Johnson extolled as noble the young man in the Island of Col who walked 200 miles and back again every year for the sake of learning. It was one "dark frosty November morning" that Thomas Carlyle, aged thirteen, set off on foot from Ecclefechan for the University at Edinburgh—a distance of nearly 100 miles.

Lord Campbell thinks that Atterbury had a good word for the scion of a noble Jacobite family. This seems not improbable, when we read that Bishop's letter to Trelawny, Bishop of Winchester. "Your Lordship may depend upon it that, in what place soever he (Charles Trelawny) stands, he shall go *first* of the election to Oxford." Bishop

¹ Mr. Gardiner in his *Registers of St. Paul's* (p. 63) claims Spencer Cowper as a Pauline.

Atterbury was as good as his word. Kissing went by favour at St. Peter's College, Westminster. The great Earl of Mansfield had no children, but his title descended to his nephew, a King's Scholar, who was afterwards buried in his uncle's grave in the Abbey. The third Earl was admitted into College, while the fourth Earl (whose mother was a Markham) was a Westminster, but not a King's Scholar. Death has only just (1898) removed one, whose grandfather, William Markham, was admitted into St. Peter's College in 1738.

William Shippen was a Westminster of mark. In a corrupt age he was incorruptible. Although the leader of the Jacobite Party, he was respected even by his opponents as a prodigy of integrity. From his place in Parliament he said of one of the King's Speeches that it was "rather calculated for the Meridian of Germany than for Great Britain," and twitted George I. with being "unacquainted with our language and constitution." Walpole on one occasion sent for "downright Shippen", and pointing to a mass of treasonable correspondence which his opponent had conducted, burnt it before his eyes. Years afterwards (1742), when Mr. Sandys brought forward his Motion for the removal of Sir Robert Walpole, Shippen left the House with 34 of his supporters without voting. Sir John Hinde Cotton was another Jacobite leader educated at Westminster.

Yet were you to judge this Foundation by the number of Whig Prime Ministers, you would share the suspicions of George III. as to its being a Whig nursery, but this famous school belonged to the nation, and not to any Party. Eight Prime Ministers received their education at Westminster. Had Lord Mansfield not been one of the most cautious of mankind, he might have been the ninth, and had William Pulteney succeeded in forming a Ministry, when commissioned by the King to do so, he would have increased the number. Another Old Westminster, who in 1746 thrice declined the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer with the leadership of the House of Commons, was Thomas Winnington. He died unexpectedly, or might have been Prime Minister. The actual Prime Ministers who had the honour of being Old Westminsters, were Charles Montagu (Earl of Halifax), John Carteret (Earl Granville), Henry Pelham,

Pelham's brother the Duke of Newcastle, the Duke of Devonshire, the Marquis of Rockingham, the (third) Duke of Portland, and Earl Russell. From the first Lord Stanhope to Lord Salisbury Eton can lay claim to Sixteen Prime Ministers (including Lord Rockingham who was both at Westminster and Eton); Harrow to five (all in the 19th century); Charterhouse to one (Lord Liverpool), and Winchester to one (Henry Addington). If the Duke of Newcastle, the Prime Minister, made himself ridiculous by his ignorance, his brother Westminster, John Carteret, Earl Granville, was the most perfect gentleman of his time. Chatham declared that he owed all that he was to his friendship and instruction. Only one instance of Carteret's wit can be given here. When he was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Swift (the anonymous author of *Drapier's Letters*) reproached him for issuing a proclamation against Drapier "a poor shop-keeper, whose only crime was an honest attempt to save his country from ruin." Carteret replied to the Dean—*"Res dura et regni novitas me talia cogunt moliri."*

Henry Petty (second Marquis of Lansdowne) was never Prime Minister, but he was Chancellor of the Exchequer at the age of 25—thus being the youngest to fill that office, with the exception of William Pitt, who was only twenty-three. The Pettys, like the Russells, were a Westminster family. The first Marquis of Lansdowne (better known as Lord Shelburne) was Prime Minister. In his life of William Pitt, Macaulay refers to Pitt's friends and opponents—North, Fox, Shelburne, Windham, Grey, Wellesley, Grenville, Sheridan, Canning—having been at "great public schools." With the exception of Sheridan and Shelburne all the statesmen named by Macaulay were Etonians. Shelburne was not at any "great public school," but as he tells us in his autobiography (the MS. of which one would have thought Macaulay would have read), he was sent to an "ordinary public school" in Ireland, and that when he went to Christchurch at the age of 16 he had "everything to learn and everything to unlearn." The Prime Minister's father was at Westminster, and the late Lord Lansdowne (fourth Marquis) was an Old Westminster, but his son, late Secretary for War, was an Etonian.

In his well-known work on Endowed Grammar Schools Mr. Nicholas Carlisle gives a list of the distinguished *alumni* of each school. When he comes to Westminster, he gives up the task in despair. The list would be too long. The School can claim nine Archbishops of Canterbury and York, ending with Longley and Vernon Harcourt. Up to 1877 sixty English Bishops had been educated at Westminster. In addition to those already referred to, the following names of Bishops may be mentioned—King of London, whom James I. styled “the King of Preachers”—Hacket of Lichfield, Duppa and Morley of Winchester, Trelawney (one of the famous seven), Vesey (Archbishop of Tuam), Carey of St. Asaph, (Head Master and benefactor), Randolph of London, Smalridge and Thomas Newton, both of Bristol. Of all the Carolian Bishops, George Morley was not the least saintly, or the least witty. He was one of the many orphans who had conferred distinction on his alma-mater, Westminster. Laud did not like him, but Morley could defend himself. When asked what the Arminians held, Morley replied: “All the best bishoprics and deaneries in England.” Thomas Newton was Captain of the School, and was head of the election to Cambridge the same year (1723) that his friend William Murray was head of the election to Oxford. Like Atterbury, he was an enthusiastic admirer of Milton and of Westminster School. It is probably owing to this and to his own Memoirs rather than to the fact that he founded Hertford College, Oxford, that his name occurs more frequently than that of any other Old Westminster in the pages of Welch’s work. Although the brothers Andrew and George Stone, both Old Westminsters, were never members of any Cabinet, few Prime Ministers have influenced as much as they did the course of public affairs. Andrew was sub-governor to George III. He was a “King’s friend” in the most sinister sense, and his high prerogative views influenced his royal pupil at his most receptive age. Many persons, nominally of greater importance, were in reality his puppets. The detestation the Whigs had for Andrew Stone may be imagined from the charge brought against him in 1751 of drinking the Pretender’s health in company with two Old Westminsters,

Wm. Mansfield (destined in two years to be Chief Justice of England), and James Johnson (a former second master of his old school and afterwards Bishop of Worcester). This absurd charge was not only enquired into by the Cabinet, but debated in the House of Lords. The three Old Westminsterers were defended by another Old Westminster, Dr. Drummond, Bishop of St. Asaph.

George Stone became Primate of Ireland and virtual dictator of that country. A splendidly handsome man, he was nicknamed "the Beauty of Holiness." His enemies accused him of aspiring to play the part of a Wolsey; but, whatever were his faults, it must be remembered to his credit that, in an intolerant age, he was tolerant to Roman Catholics. Both brothers were buried in the Abbey, which contains the dust of more Old Boys from Westminster than from any other public school. William Barnard, a King's Scholar, married George Stone's sister, and became Bishop of Derry. His better-known son was also a Westminster, and, as the Dean of Derry, figures in *Retaliation*, Goldsmith's unfinished master-piece—"Our dean shall be venison, just fresh from the plains."

It was with him that Dr. Johnson had his characteristic altercation as to whether a man was capable of improvement after forty-five. There are reasons for believing that the Dean had the best of the discussion, but happily he and the noble old Doctor became excellent friends. On the death of George Stone, the Primacy of Ireland was offered to Bishop Newton, and on his refusal it was offered to and accepted by his former fag, R. Robinson. Churchill, who did not spare Old Westminsterers, refers to this prelate's weak voice in his *Letter to Hogarth*.

In lawn sleeves whisper to a sleeping crowd
As dull as R— and half as proud.

The only Public School men who have taken an active part on the popular side in Irish politics are Frederick Hervey, Bishop of Derry (1768—1803), and Smith O'Brien. The son of Lord John Hervey was (like his father) an Old Westminster; while Smith O'Brien was an Old Harrovian.

A disparaging view is generally taken of the Bishop as a mere eccentric. The purple robes in which, as a delegate from County Derry, he attended the Convention of Volunteers at Dublin in 1783, rather than his liberal opinions have been remembered by posterity. He was, it is true, endowed with a double portion of his family's eccentricity, but, in spite of grave blemishes in his private character, he took a wise view of public affairs and by his princely generosity made his office beloved. Had all English rulers of Ireland during the 18th century been even as the eccentric Bishop of Derry, there might have been no '98 in Irish history. On his death the Roman Catholic Bishop of Derry and the Presbyterians of his diocese erected an obelisk to his memory. He was no republican, but a man of sense. It would have been well for Smith O'Brien, could the same have been said of him. Hervey voted for the Union between Great Britain and Ireland; O'Brien wasted a life, that might have been useful, in the vain turmoil of "Repeal."

The Herveys are to Westminster what the Stanleys are to Eton. Pope has "damned" Lord John Hervey "to everlasting fame." It is the peculiarity of the author of the *Dunciad*, differentiating him from all other writers, that he only attains to literary perfection when writing at the white heat of hate. Other poets, like Dryden, have been good haters and have wiped off scores in verse, but Pope alone has done all his best work in the torture chamber. John Hervey must have been something more than a "thing of silk." He was a friend of Queen Caroline and of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, the two most remarkable women of their time. Their friendship is Hervey's best answer to Pope's attacks. Had he been a "Sporus", or a "Lord Fanny", the Queen would not have called him "her child, her pupil, and her charge." Lady Mary was not far from the truth, when she divided mankind into men, wits, and Herveys.

John Nicoll succeeded Robert Freind as Head Master in 1733, and held the office for twenty years. From Busby to Williamson (1638 to 1846) all the Head Masters were Old Westminsters. Dr. Nicoll was one of the kindest and ablest teachers of his day: it may be that his mild rule was better

fitted for a Warren Hastings or a Cowper than for a Churchill. Philip Henry has borne testimony to the pains with which Busby prepared the boys for confirmation. William Cowper has borne the same testimony to Dr. Nicoll. To pass from Dr. Freind to his successor is to pass from a clever man of the world to a man not far removed from sainthood; yet it is to Nicoll that Westminster owes the son, whose achievements fill some of the grandest pages in the history of our Empire. In 1747 there were admitted into St. Peter's College two boys, both 14 years of age, one the head of the election and the other fourth. The head boy, in spite of the generous offers of Dr. Nicoll, who did not wish to "lose the best scholar of the year," was removed for want of means and shipped off to India as a "writer." The boy of less intellectual promise, but with more private means proceeded to Cambridge. The two friends, who thus parted in 1750, did not see each other again until 1774, when they met in Calcutta as the first Governor-General of India and the first Chief Justice under Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773. These two King's Scholars are known to fame as Warren Hastings and Elijah Impey. Of the four Councillors appointed under the Act, one was George Monson, who left Westminster the same year that Hastings and Impey were admitted into College. "The rudeness of General Clavering and the petulancy of Francis are more provoking, but it is from Colonel Monson only that I apprehended any effectual injury," wrote Hastings of this Old Westminster. To mention one tithe of what is due to Warren Hastings, as an Empire-builder, would far exceed my limits. Of him Horace's words were true—*Si fractus illabatur orbis, imparidum ferient ruinæ*. He was admired by men so different as George III., Lord Thurlow, Dr. Johnson and William Cowper; by women so gifted as Fanny Burney and Hannah Moore, and by such Governors-General as Lords Teignmouth, Wellesley, and Moira (Hastings). Macaulay has not been fair to Warren Hastings, yet he has not altogether escaped the fascination of his great personality; but of Impey, the essayist has given us his "deliberate opinion" that, "sitting as a judge, he put a man unjustly to death in order to serve a political purpose." This is

strong language and not justified by the facts. The view of the late Sir James Stephen was diametrically opposed to Macaulay's. "No man," wrote this eminent authority, "ever had or could have a fairer trial than Nuncomar, and Impey in particular behaved with absolute fairness, and as much indulgence as was compatible with his duty."

John Cam Hobhouse, writing to Byron, tells him he would not have ventured to put his name to *Cain* in the days of Pope, Churchill, and Johnson. Byron dubbed this "a curious trio", but Hobhouse was an Old Westminster and did not forget that Churchill was one too. When Byron left England in 1816, he was seen off from Dover by Scrope Davies and Hobhouse. Another Westminster friend of Byron was "Monk" Lewis, once well known, now forgotten.

Charles Churchill was a King's Scholar; William Cowper was a town-boy. When only sixteen years of age Churchill contracted a Fleet Marriage, and this proved his ruin. There is not much in his life as we read it now to justify his epitaph—a line from his own poems.

Life to the last enjoyed, here Churchill lies.

Possibly he meant to make a pun on the word "lies." His misfortunes sprang far more from his bad judgment than from a bad heart. Honest himself, he wasted his talents on a dishonest man, and proved in his own person the moral gulf between Wilkes and a Wilkite. Wilkes spoke the truth once at least in his life, when he told George III. that he had never been a Wilkite. Southey has called Churchill "one of the most conspicuous persons in England, and certainly the most popular poet." Even Dr. Johnson, whom he had ridiculed in the *Ghost*, admitted that "a tree that produces a great many crabs is better than a tree which produces only a few." Churchill's satires cannot fairly be called "crabs", and the rapidity with which they were produced is fairly astonishing. His first work was published in 1761 and his last in 1764.

Tirocinium, a Review of Schools, more resembles a satire of Churchill's than any of Cowper's other poems, yet it probably owes its fame to the coincidence that it was

published with *The Task*, the author's masterpiece.¹ It is not so much an attack upon public schools—the expression “public school” not being once used in the poem—as a eulogy of home education. Writing *On Education* in 1759 Goldsmith never refers to public schools, but to “free schools” and “boarding schools”; but Southey makes use of the expression “public school” in *The Doctor*, published in 1834. Cowper dedicated his poem to Unwin, who was himself teaching his two sons at home. No doubt if we were all to lead sheltered lives such as the poet led at Olney, private tuition would suffice, but a haven of rest would not fit us for the storms of life so well as the rougher waters of a public school. Cowper was, however, a loyal Westminster and the most eloquent passage in the poem—

Be it a weakness, it deserves some praise,
We love the play-place of our early days

—eulogises his own school. Cowper was eight years at Westminster. He was not only happy there, but wrote to Southey that he “excelled at cricket and football.” With the exaggeration habitual to some good men, when speaking of their own shortcomings, he tells us that he had become “an adept in the infernal art of lying.” This may possibly allude to the use of cribs. It is quite certain that, under Dr. Nicoll, Cowper learnt to write good Latin verse and acquired the literary tastes which, in his case, fed his genius. In *Tirocinium* the poet's indignation is quite as much directed against the follies and vices of men as of boys, and no one would have regretted more than he to have seen the words “This Building to be let” inscribed on the time-honoured walls of his own Westminster. The graves of both schoolfellows—Churchill and Cowper—were visited in after years by poets greater than themselves.

¹ Dr. Samuel Cooper (father of Sir Astley Cooper) wrote a poem called *The Task* soon after Cowper's *Task*. This coincidence made our Old Harrovian, Dr. Parr, drop into epigram :

To Cowper's *Task* see Cooper's *Task* succeed,
That was a task to write, but this to read.

When Byron was leaving England for the last time, he visited Churchill's resting-place and wrote *Churchill's Grave*. Mrs. Barrett Browning's *Cowper's Grave* is one of the most exquisite poems in the language. No one can say that men, who were mourned as these two Old Westminsters have been, lived "in a vain shadow."

Richard Cumberland, the dramatist and grandson of Bentley, was at Westminster with Cowper and Churchill. Sheridan satirized him as Sir Fretful Plagiary. Goldsmith dubbed him "the Terence of England." He may (as he conjectured) have written more dramas than any other English author, but he certainly wrote one comedy—*The West Indian*—in which Goethe acted a part at Weimar. Westminster can claim four colleagues of Dr. Johnson in the *Literary Club*. They were Thomas Barnard, Coleman the elder, Cumberland and Gibbon.

We'll have Johnson and Burke, all the wits will be there.

If proof were wanted of the fallacy of Cowper's argument in favour of home education, it would be found in the useless life of the brilliant author of *Vathek*. His father, the Lord Mayor, whose statue stands in the Guildhall, was a favourite pupil of Dr. Freind, and a school friend of the first Lord Mansfield. Unfortunately, his son was only nine years of age when, on his father's death, he became the richest man in England and was not sent to rough it at Westminster like his father before him. He was taught music by Mozart, and received the blessing of Voltaire. It is to be regretted that he did not imitate the French philosopher in his love of work. Our bookshelves groan under the volumes of Voltaire, and of Carlyle, the lugubrious Voltaire of a northern clime. It must, however, be admitted that Beckford achieved one brilliant *tour de force*. He wrote *Vathek*, as he told Cyrus Redding, in the French as it now stands at 22 years of age. "It cost me three days and two nights of labour. I never took off my clothes the whole time. It made me ill." It also made him famous. Genius is as manifest in *Vathek* as in *Lothair*.

There are bad as well as good reasons for sending a boy to a public school, and the elder Bentham seems to have

been a tuft-hunter.¹ In these days he would have sent his son to Eton; in George II.'s time such a parent favoured Westminster. "Our great glory was Dr. Markham,"² writes Jeremy Bentham, "he was a tall, portly man, and 'high he held his head.' His business was rather in courting the great than in attending to the school." Under Dr. Markham or his successors, John Hinchcliffe, Samuel Smith and Wm. Vincent, the Dukes of Bedford (5th and 7th Dukes), Portland (3rd and 4th), Beaufort (5th, 6th and 7th), and Sutherland, the first and second Marquises of Westminster, and Lord William Bentinck and Lord Amherst (both afterwards Governors-General of India) were all at Westminster.³ Lady Mary Wortley Montagu placed her eldest son Edward at Westminster. The child was only five years of age and promptly ran away. Charles Abbot, afterwards Speaker and first Lord Colchester, was sent to Westminster before he was six years old. He and Sir Thomas Hanmer are the only Old Westminsters who have filled the Speaker's Chair. During the 18th century mere children were taken in both at Westminster and Charterhouse. There was a form called "*The Petty*", and boys remained in the school for ten or even twelve years. The miser, John Elwes, was at Westminster for an incredibly long period, and became a good classical scholar, though in later life he seems never to have opened a book. Jeremy Bentham, the opposite in all things to Elwes, was seven years old when sent to Westminster, and remained there five years. He acquired there, not only proficiency in making Latin verse, but Tory principles which he only shook off with the dust of his feet at Oxford. Under Dr. Nicoll, there passed through Westminster a boy of whom a high authority wrote⁴ that he was "a man of as acute understanding as Pascal or

¹ See the article on Jeremy Bentham in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, by Mr. John Macdonell, C.B.

² Dr. Markham was Head Master of Westminster from 1753 to 1764. John Hinchcliffe only for a few months in 1764, and Samuel Smith from 1764 to 1788.

³ *Westminster School Register*, by G. F. Russell Barker and A. H. Stenning.

⁴ Lord Chief Justice Campbell.

Newton." Charles Fearn, the author of the *Essay On the Learning of Contingent Remainders*, after tasting the sweets of professional success (and nothing that this world can offer is sweeter, except the happiness of a happy home), neglected his work and died in want.

Under Dr. Page, in 1818, Richard Chichele Plowden was admitted. He was a lineal descendant of the lawyer, Edmund Plowden, who was born in 1518. Queen Elizabeth is said to have written to this famous Catholic, offering him the post of Lord Chancellor upon the condition of his becoming a Protestant. Plowden rejected the Queen's offer. He had one married son, who had two sons, Francis and Edmund, Governor and Captain-General of New Albion, America.¹ The descendants of Francis remain to this day devoted to the ancient faith and to the Pope; the descendants of Edmund became Protestants, and in a very singular fashion. James Plowden (born 1682, died 1730), the great-grandson of Edmund, married Sarah, daughter of Sir John Chicheley, a lineal descendant of William Chichele, younger brother of Henry, Archbishop of Canterbury and Founder of All Souls. When the marriage was contracted, it was agreed that sons should be brought up in their father's religion, daughters in their mother's, but when Mrs. Plowden was about to become a mother, she was "so horrified at the idea of having a son who would be brought up as a Catholic that she ran away from her husband, whom she never rejoined. A son was born to her, and she had him brought up a Protestant. She managed to obtain possession of her husband's estate at Ewhurst (in those days the rights of Catholics were little respected), and when her son James was old enough, she presented him with the Ewhurst living."² He married and his son Richard Chichele went to Westminster. All the

¹ George Bancroft (Vol. i., p. 509): "The favor of Strafford had in June 1634 obtained for Sir Edward Ployden a patent for New Albion." This Edward Ployden is our Edmund Plowden.

² Information kindly furnished me by Mr. G. H. M. Batten, a descendant on his mother's side from James Plowden of Ewhurst.

descendants of the Rev. James Plowden bear the name of Chichele as a Christian name, and thus perpetuate the memory of their Protestant ancestress. The sons and grandsons of Richard Chichele Plowden went to Westminster, also his great-grandson, Mr. Alfred Chichele Plowden, the Police Magistrate.

There is a tradition that Henry Purcell, the greatest of English musicians, went to Westminster School. There is, I fear, no more evidence that Purcell was at Westminster than that Henry VII. was at Eton. Theodore Holland (O.W.) and F. Baring Ranalow (O.W.), the son of the Music Master of Westminster, are, as composers, at the commencement of their careers, but, if their lives be spared, will, I feel sure, increase the fame of their old school.

A fairly complete corpus of English satiric verse might be compiled without admitting a single author, who was not entitled to write O.W. after his name. A fine hymnal might be edited, from which all poets, who were not Old Westminsters might be excluded. The same school that gave us Ben Jonson, Dryden, and Churchill, has also given us George Herbert, Samuel Wesley, Augustus Toplady, and William Cowper. To have educated the author of *The Rock of Ages* would alone confer distinction on any ordinary school. Gladstone translated Toplady's hymn. Monckton Milnes said he would rather have written it than all his own poetry. George Herbert began his career as a courtier, and ended it as a saint. Both he and Charles Wesley were King's Scholars, and noble representatives of opposite, but not opposed, schools of thought. It is impossible to put one before or after the other.

The last of Westminster's Poet Laureates is Robert Southey. The fame of the author of *The Curse of Kehama* has fallen upon evil days. There is a fashion in all poetry but the best. Southey now shares the shade with Thomson and Young. Yet the opinion of those of his contemporaries most competent to judge was distinctly favourable. When Shelley was at Oxford, he knew *Thalaba* almost by heart, and Landor's admiration for the verse of his Tory friend never waned. In a letter to Crabbe

Robinson, Landor referred to Southey, Coleridge and Wordsworth as the three poets of England, but Byron did not share this view :

And that deep-mouthed Bæotian Savage Landor
Has taken for a swan rogue Southey's gander.

If Southey's poems have fallen into unmerited neglect, his *Life of Lord Nelson* has become a classic.

The novelists of Westminster scarcely rank with her poets. "Monk" Lewis, Grenville Murray, the late Sir George Dasent, and Mr. Henty, that writer of delightful stories for boys, can scarcely compare with Ben Jonson, Dryden, and Cowper. Have our public schools been quite as successful in their "output" in fiction as in poetry? That question depends on the answer one gives to the next—Who are the greatest novelists in our language? Defining a novel as a picture of life and manners, and excluding all living novelists, whose careers are not yet closed, and all women who are shut out from public schools, Richardson, Fielding, Scott, Thackeray and Dickens may fairly be selected as our First Class in Fiction. This list may by some be treated as too restricted, by others as too wide. Some would include Defoe and Sterne. *Robinson Crusoe* is as much a work of genius as *Tristram Shandy*, but these masterpieces are not, I submit, in the true sense of the term novels or romances. In this First Class others would include Smollett or Bulwer Lytton—to couple together the most natural writer and the most artificial in our language; and if boisterous amusement or unflagging interest were to be the supreme test of genius, it would be difficult to exclude the author either of *Roderick Random* or of *My Novel*. Contenting ourselves with our more restricted list, the honours between our public and our private schools are not quite divided. Fielding was Etonian to the core, just as Thackeray was Carthusian. There is a tradition that the author of *Clarissa Harlowe* was a Blue Coat Boy, but the son of the "Protestant joiner" (born in Derby in 1689) did not come to London till he was apprenticed, at the age of 17, to a printer. Had Richardson received a classical education, he might have

been less prolix and probably less famous. Of novelists not quite entitled to rank in the front rank, but whose best work has stood the test of time, our public schools have their fair share. Harrow divides Anthony Trollope with Winchester, and George Lawrence with Rugby, though truth compels me to add that both these writers detested the school of John Lyon with all the vigour of their natures. The author of *Lorna Doone* was at Blundell's School, while the author of *The Queen's Mariés* was at Eton. Westminster, Merchant Taylors', and St. Paul's have produced poets of the highest order, but no foremost writer of romance.

Great as the sons of Westminster have proved themselves to be in the arts of peace, they have proved themselves to be equally great in the arts of war. Our earlier sailors, Robert Blake, Arthur Herbert (Lord Torrington), Sir Ralph Delavall, Sir George Rooke, Henry Killigrew, and Sir Cloudisley Shovell were not educated at public schools. Blake went to Oxford, but he was quite the exception. It may be said that they troubled themselves little about Westminster, though some of them were buried in its Abbey. During the 18th century Westminster probably had more sailors than most public schools. Admiral Hotham (created Lord Hotham) was an Old Westminster, as was Sir Home Popham, who was in command of our sea forces when we took Cape Town from the Dutch in 1805. Admiral Hotham succeeded Hood as Admiral of the Fleet, and Nelson remonstrated with him for not pursuing the French fleet in March 1794. Augustus Hervey (afterwards third Earl of Bristol) was a Westminster Admiral. He was better known for his unfortunate marriage with Miss Chudleigh (afterwards Duchess of Kingston) than for any achievement at sea. Admiral Charles Cotton, another Westminster, refused to accept the Convention of Cintra so far as related to a stipulation in favour of the Russian Fleet then lying in the Tagus, by which they were to have the option of remaining or returning to Russia. He insisted on a special convention under which the Russian ships were delivered up to him to be restored after the conclusion of peace. The sailors naturally left Westminster too young to master Latin.

William Gage, an Old Westminster, rose to be a Lord of the Admiralty. At the first Board Meeting of the Admiralty at which Lord Ellenborough presided, Sir William Gage enquired of him whether the *Stromboli* might receive her sailing orders; the Admiral pronounced the second "o" long instead of short. At this false quantity the First Lord threw up his hands and exclaimed—"For God's sake, Sir William, have mercy on my Eton ears!"¹

In his *Memoirs of British Generals during the Peninsular War*, the author (John William Cole of the 21st Fusiliers) does not mention the name of any Old Wykehamist, Etonian, Harrovian, Carthusian, or Rugbeian. There were Peninsular and Waterloo Generals who had come from other public schools, but the majority came from the same school—Westminster. The Marquis of Anglesey, Fitzroy Somerset (Lord Raglan),² Stapleton Cotton (Lord Combermere), Field-Marshal Thomas Grosvenor, and John Byng (Earl of Strafford) were all Old Westminsters. It may truly be said of them that they made the name of their school respected wherever the roll of the British drum reverberated. Westminster was the soldiers' school of the 18th century and enjoyed an enormous prestige with the Army. Before the Crimean War there were eight Field-Marshal; two of them were Princes of the Blood, but of the remaining six, five were Old Westminsters. Westminster shares with Winchester the honour of producing that brilliant soldier and brave man, Sir Robert Wilson. Like Lord Cochrane, Wilson was deprived of his rank and honours, but like Cochrane he regained them later. The last of the Westminster Field-Marshal of the nineteenth century was Lord Lucan, who commanded the Cavalry Division in the Crimea, and was wounded at Balaclava. Lord Cardigan, who led the Balaclava charge, was not, but the present Lord Cardigan, now serving in South Africa

¹ Sir John Briggs's *Naval Administrations*, p. 78.

² Lord Fitzroy Somerset, created Lord Raglan, was the sixth son of the fifth Duke of Beaufort. His five elder brothers, as well as the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh Dukes of Beaufort were all Old Westminsters.

with forty-five of his schoolfellows, is an Old Westminster.

George Harris, first Lord Harris, of Seringapatam and Mysore, was sent to Westminster. He owed his cadetship to an old school friendship. His father and Lord George Sackville were at a private school at Cambridge together, and Harris senior is said to have earned Lord George's lasting gratitude by protecting him against a notorious pugilistic miller.

This Royal Foundation has in three of her sons, three links with the most disastrous of our wars. Lord George Sackville, John Burgoyne, and Charles Cottesworth Pinckney, like Old Westminsters of the previous century, took different sides in our Civil War with our Colonies. Lord George Sackville is one of the instances in history of everything coming to the man who waits. For his negligence in not pursuing the French after the victory of Minden (1758) he was court-martialled, dismissed from the Service and from the Privy Council. George III. reversed all that his grandfather had done. He restored Lord George's name to the Privy Council, reinstated him in public life, and raised him to the peerage, in spite of the Whig protests that a court-martialled man was an unfit person for the House of Lords. Lord George lives in English History, but not as a name of good omen. He was Lord North's incompetent War Minister during the American War of Independence. John Burgoyne was at Westminster with Lord Strange (eldest son of the eleventh Earl of Derby), whose sister he married and on whose friendship he could rely throughout his life. This brave and witty Old Westminster was born in the year 1722¹ and was therefore in his fifty-fifth year when he surrendered at Saratoga. Without wishing to exculpate him from all blame for this irretrievable disaster, it is only fair to say that he was probably made the whipping-boy for

¹ *Political and Military Episodes of the Right Hon. John Burgoyne*, by E. B. De Fonblanque. The John Burgoyne mentioned in the *Rugby School Register*, p. 11, may have been Sir John's father.

the sins of others as well as for his own. Burgoyne proved his ability for leadership by his capture of Ticonderoga: he did not prove his incapacity by the surrender at Saratoga. His forces at Saratoga did not exceed 3500 (of whom 1600 were Germans), while the Americans numbered 17,000.¹

This fratricidal strife checked the flow that was just commencing, of American boys to the public schools of the mother country. In 1752 the Chief Justice of Carolina sent his two sons to Westminster. The elder of these boys—Charles Cottesworth Pinckney—returned to America, became Washington's aide-de-camp, and was a member of the body that drew up the Constitution of the United States. The clause in that Constitution—"That no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the authority of the United States"—was due to this Old Westminster. The clause might have been inspired by Pinckney's old schoolfellow, Jeremy Bentham. It must not be forgotten that another Old Westminster, John Locke, had assisted in drawing up the Constitution of Carolina, and had provided for toleration to "men of any religion." This pupil of Dr. Markham stood for nomination for president in 1802 and 1808, but was beaten by Jefferson and Maddison.² This is the only instance of a public-school boy becoming a candidate for the Presidency.

In the honourable work of drawing the Empire together, not with steel chains, but with the silken cords of loyalty and mutual goodwill, no one has worked with more success than Edward Gibbon Wakefield. It is true that Wake-

¹ De Fonblanque, p. 310; see Burgoyne's letters to Col. Philipson and his nieces, pp. 313—317. John Burgoyne's son, Sir John Fox Burgoyne, went to Eton and died a Field-Marshal in extreme old age. John Burgoyne's grandson, Hugh Burgoyne, R.N., was one of the earliest V.C.'s. His name, like his grandfather's, is connected with a national disaster. He was in command of the *Captain*, which foundered off Cape Finisterre on the night of September 7th, 1870.

² *The Elizabethan*, November 1896.

field, like Lord John Russell, found Westminster "a rough place" and refused to return to it.

Possibly this may account for the absence of his name from Mr. Sargeaunt's *Annals*, yet if a man's fame is to depend on the lasting results of his labours, the reputations of few Old Boys, even of such a school as Westminster, should stand so high as that of Edward Gibbon Wakefield. In 1838, on the appointment of Lord Durham as Governor-General of the British Colonies in North America, after the suspension of the Canadian Constitution, he and Charles Buller accompanied Lord Durham, the one as unofficial adviser and the other as Private Secretary. It is no exaggeration to say that this mission to Canada proved the turning-point in our colonial story. The report, which bears the name of Durham, but which was conceived and in the main drawn up by Charles Buller and Gibbon Wakefield,¹ put a new heart and a new spirit into the Canadians. The other Colonists followed suit, and Great Britain was for the first time recognised as a Mother by all her children. Thus she became *prima inter pares*. The principle was laid down for all time that the tie which was to knit the Empire together was to be one, not of tribute, but affection. This was indeed a new commandment. Every year adds to the number of those who are devoted, heart and soul, to our Empire. The Old Harrovian, Charles Buller, and the Old Westminster, Gibbon Wakefield, were two of the first to sow the good seed, which flowered at our Queen's Jubilee (1897), and will, we pray, bear fruit for generations yet to come.

The distinctions that Old Westminsters have gained in every department of human energy testify to the enormous influence for good which this ancient Foundation has exercised for more than 300 years. It brings home the conviction that, quite apart from financial grounds, it would be little short of a public scandal to transplant Westminster from its historic position by the side of the Abbey. Whether you take the period of Busby and Knipe, of Freind, of

¹ "Wakefield thought it; Buller wrote it; Durham signed it" was a sentence current at the time of the "Report."

Nicoll, or that of Markham and Smith, or later Head Masters, you find the picked men of England among her sons. If truth compels us to admit that there was a decline in this truly royal school, it was only temporary and has been followed by a steady recovery. Even in Her Majesty's reign, when public schools have been multiplied and rivals have pushed their way to the front, Westminster holds her own. Of the nine fathers of the House of Commons in the Victorian Era, only three were not educated at Westminster. The late Earl of Mansfield, the Father of the House of Lords, and Sir John Mowbray, Father of the House of Commons, were both Old Westminsters. The same energy and rectitude is shown in sport as well as at work. What school can produce finer sportsmen than the late Admiral Rous, ¹ a very Rhadamanthus of justice; or the Right Hon. James Lowther, M.P. It is the element of heredity that differentiates a public from a private school, an English from a foreign school. Lord Justice Vaughan Williams and Sir Walter Phillimore are both Judges, both Old Westminsters, both the sons of Judges, both the sons of Old Westminsters. The lines of an Old Westminster on Lord Chancellor Bacon may be applied to each of them—

the destined heir
In his soft cradle of his father's chair.

The quiet of the Cloisters is no longer broken by fights, nor by the football play which disturbed the meditations of Addison, but the spirit and manliness, which have made this school the nursery of heroes, remains the same. As you leave Dean's Yard, you gaze up at the Column designed by Landseer and reared in memory of Old Westminsters who fell in the Crimea and the Mutiny. You are reminded of glory hereditary in a Westminster family. Lord Uxbridge led a cavalry charge

¹ Hon. Henry John Rous, M.P. for Westminster, Lord of the Admiralty (1846), and Steward of the Jockey Club from 1838 to his death in 1877.

at Waterloo; his son took part in the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava. They were both Old Westminsters.

Oh! would he had lived to have read and have noted
As that red tide of slaughter foamed over the plain,
'Twas the plume of a Paget above it that floated,
'Twas Anglesey charged in his offspring again! ¹

¹ By "he" Lord Ellesmere in these spirited lines referred to Lord Cardigan,

"Whenever the sad word 'Balaclava' is spoken,
Shall join its sad glories to Cardigan's name."

CHAPTER XXIII.

WINCHESTER.

“Manners makyth Man.”

THE Charter of William of Wykeham incorporating the College by the name of “Sainte Marie College of Wynchestre” is dated at Southwark 20th October, 1382. (6 Ric. II.) Previously to this, in September 1379, the Royal License and Papal Bull authorising the establishment of the College were obtained. There were at the time two Popes one at Rome and one at Avignon. The French Religious houses generally sided with the Pope of Avignon; naturally those of England sympathised with the Pope of Rome. Fortunately for France it was the French Pope that was beaten, and unfortunately for the future peace of Italy the Papacy was firmly established at Rome. William of Wykeham as an Englishman, sided with the victorious party and took his Bull from Boniface IX.

The first stone of Winchester College was laid by William of Wykeham himself, on the 26th March, 1387. The whole College occupied six years in building. Wykehamists loyal to the memory of their Founder do not lay much stress on the fact that there had been a grammar school at Winchester under the charge of St. Swithin's Priory from Saxon times. Alfred the Great is said to have been educated at this school, and William of Wykeham was himself educated there. Bishop Lowth says that this school stood on the very spot where William of Wykeham afterwards built his college, but the evidence as to this appears insufficient. Whether there was any continuity in the site or not, there can be little doubt that, if the famous Bishop re-established

a school even then ancient, he certainly re-established it on lines absolutely original.

William of Wykeham was one of the greatest—perhaps the greatest—educational reformer that ever lived in this country. Although himself an ecclesiastic he saw that the education of boys could no longer be left in the hands of the monks of the local monasteries. In founding his College of Winchester he devoted ecclesiastical revenues, derived by him from the many ecclesiastical posts which he filled, towards the establishment of a school where the secular or non-monastic clergy were to teach. This was a great innovation. He conceived the idea of a chain connecting the first elements of letters with the most advanced science of his time. Walter de Merton had in the previous century founded the collegiate system at the University of Oxford. William of Wykeham became the founder of the Public School system. He not only initiated a new system, but completed and rounded off the older one. The founding of New College and Winchester College were parts of one comprehensive design.

One of the great defects of mediæval education was the early age at which boys went to the universities. They may be said to have dropped their study of the classic authors of antiquity at the age of fourteen or even twelve. Oxford was given up to Aristotle in Latin and syllogistic disputations. Chaucer's clerk of Oxenford preferred to

have at his beddes heed
Twenty bookes, clothed in black and reed,
Of Aristotle and his philosophy
Than robes rich or fithul or sawtrie.

William of Wykeham provided for his scholars remaining on his Foundation till the completion of their eighteenth, and in some cases nineteenth, year. This was a great step in advance. He established the rule which has since been followed by our great public schools—viz., that to reap all the advantages a public school can offer, a boy should remain at one for five or at least four years. This great Prelate made the University and Public School a prop and

a stay to each other. The Grammar School at Winchester was to educate for his College at Oxford, while his College at Oxford was to perfect the training of the Scholars of his Grammar School. Writing of Dr. Williams who had been in succession Scholar of Winchester, Fellow of New College, Tutor, Undermaster, Head Master of Winchester and for twenty years Warden of New College, the late Lord Selborne said that "within the circle of a single great public institution (for Wykeham's two colleges are one) this good man went with success through every successive stage of duty." He who conceives a grand idea rarely has the means to carry it into execution. Happily for Winchester, this was not so with William of Wykeham. That princely prelate possessed the purse as well as the brains, and thus became a builder for all time.

In one important particular Wykeham was happy in his season. The foundation of Winchester College almost exactly synchronizes with the earliest use of the English tongue in English schools. Down to the close of the reign of Edward III. the children in grammar schools were not taught English at all. Mr. Turner in his *History of England* fixes on the year 1385 as the year in which English was substituted for French in all the grammar schools of England. This was just eight years before the opening of Winchester College. It is pleasant to think that while the statutes of the realm, the decisions of the judges, and the commentaries on the law were for some 300 years after the Conquest written in French, the language of our public-school boys has always been English.

William of Wykeham was a statesman, but of the Middle Ages. He was neither a scholar nor a liberal Catholic, like Dean Colet. The founder of St. Paul's School was the son of a wealthy Lord Mayor; the founder of Winchester of a poor man of free condition. Colet inherited the wealth of which he made so noble a use; Wykeham acquired his wealth in his upward career, in which he was twice Chancellor of England. In the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. the position of Chancellor was tantamount to that of Prime Minister at the present day. The sneering reference supposed to have been made to him by Wycliffe

—"Lords will not present a clerk able and cunning of God's law, but a kitchen clerk, or a penny clerk, *or one wise in building castles* or worldly doing, though he cannot well read his Psalter" ¹—may be accepted as evidence that Wykeham was no Wycliffite, but not that he was ignorant. No fair judge refers for a man's character to his opponents.

It says much for William of Wykeham that with the exception of this one *obiter dictum*, English literature contains few references to him which are not appreciative. John London, a Wykehamist and Warden of New College, had the incredible bad taste to slander his birth, but he came to a bad end. He was put in the pillory for perjury, and died in the Fleet Prison (1543). ²

It would ill become posterity that has reaped the harvest of Wykeham's benefices to stigmatize him as a pluralist. In the great churchmen of the Middle Ages the worldly seems to have been combined with the devotional spirit. They had as keen a sense of the value of money as we have, while the appalling ravages of the Black Death impressed them with the transitory nature of this life. The Black Death caused Wykeham to take Orders and thus led to the founding of Winchester College. In founding his College William of Wykeham had two objects. In the first place he desired the maintenance of Masses in the College Chapel.

The various services in the College Chapel required of the Fellows and the Masses for certain individuals, whose names are specified in the statutes, were almost sufficient of themselves to employ the entire day. It is also noteworthy that when the Founder began to build the College of Winchester, he commenced with the chapel and finished with the strictly educational buildings. This forms a striking contrast to the practice of the Founders of the Elizabethan period, notably Andrew Judde, Lawrence Sheriffe, and John Lyon. In the second place William of Wykeham wished

¹ Quoted by H. Moberly in his *Life of William of Wykeham*, p. 168.

² Letters by eminent persons affixed to Aubrey's *Lives*, (1813 Ed.) Vol. i., p. 224.

to give a liberal education, free of cost, to those unable to pay for it. This great Prelate had probably not read a line of Plato, yet he carried into practice Plato's idea that children should be educated, not according to the situation of their parents, but according to their degree of understanding.

Mr. Kirby does not think the school attendance at Cathedral service began before the Reformation, but that it probably commenced as a consequence of the Injunction of Edward VI. touching the hearing of sermons. There is nothing in the Statutes requiring the Fellows to preach, and lazy Fellows may well have preferred the boys attending the Cathedral services. As time passed by the official sermons of the Chaplains do not seem to have improved in quality. Adolphus Trollope and Mr. Adams, whose joint school-days cover a period of about eighteen years before the Queen's accession, are at one as to the character of the religious services. "High and Dry", that convenient phrase often so unjustly applied to witty Churchmen, might with fairness be applied to the Cathedral and the Chapel services. Religious feeling seems chiefly to have been shown in very strong disapproval of anything savouring of the Evangelical or Dissenting sentiment. "Let me urge you," said Bishop Pelham of Lincoln, "to maintain the practice of piety without lukewarmness and above all without enthusiasm."

The boys used to attend chapel twice every day, and on Fridays and Sundays thrice. Trollope gives a racy account of the College Chaplains, of whom there were three. The accuracy of his account is practically vouched for by Mr. Adams, who himself became a clergyman and was "high" but not "dry." Mr. Adam's Chaplain had his two kinds of good—"good and good for nothing", while Adolphus Trollope's Chaplain describes his sporting experiences in chapel. We may imagine the scene. The Chaplain in a stage whisper overheard by the boys, "On Hursley Down yesterday I was out with Jack Woodburn" (another minor canon).

Choristers. "Sehon, King of the Amorites: for his mercy endureth for ever."

Chaplain. "My black bitch Juno put up a covey almost at our feet,"¹ and the dialogue between the two Chaplains continued.

The behaviour of the boys was on a par with that of their Chaplains. Much reading went on in chapel, but the books read were not prayer books. There can be no doubt that before the time of Warden Barter and Dr. Arnold, a schoolmaster did not regard himself as a spiritual director of the boys. This did not arise from indifference. One cannot imagine a nobler Christian gentleman than Dr. Williams. Wykehamists revered him as a father. It arose from the ultra Protestantism of the times, from the honorable fear of drilling or dragooning the consciences of the boys. Whatever fault the schoolmasters of the eighteenth century may have committed, and it is easy enough for us to criticize, they at least did not mistake the means for the end, or outward profession for inward belief. They did not regard mere drill as Christian warfare. There is the natural spiritual growth as well as the natural physical growth. Men like Dr. Williams valued—if it be possible—spontaneity in religion almost too highly. They desired the convictions of the boys to be their own and not their masters. Dr. William Stanley Goddard, who in 1784 was appointed Hostiarius, succeeded Dr. Warton as Head Master in 1793. He was pre-eminent among his contemporaries for his sense of justice and his generosity. Yet one of his old pupils told Mr. Adams that in his time there was "no religious teaching at all." Dr. Gabell succeeded Dr. Goddard in 1809 and resigned in 1823; his teaching may be judged by the following anecdote. In Holy Week Grotius' *De Veritate* was the text-book. When his class came to a quotation from Ovid, Dr. Gabell sighed and said: "Ah! this is like some fresh oasis in a great desert; let us rest in it, and not get again into that barbarous stuff."²

Bishop Huntingford, for 43 years Barter's immediate predecessor in the post of Warden, gave no confirmation

¹ *What I remember*, Vol. i., p. 138.

² *Wykehamica*, p. 206, note.

charge at all. One of the first steps Warden Barter took was to abolish the attendance at Cathedral and introduce in its place a sermon which he or his substitute used to preach in chapel. The effect of Barter's first sermon can best be described by referring the reader to Jean Ingelow's beautiful poem, *A Sermon*. The Warden and the poet both took the same text—"Behold I stand at the door and knock!" This was in 1832. Dr. Arnold began to preach in Rugby Chapel in 1831; and in 1833 the *Tracts for the Times* began. In 1835 Keble settled at Hursley, and at the beginning of 1836 Dr. Moberly and Charles Wordsworth came, as Masters, to Winchester. Mr. Adams, however, doubts whether Warden Barter's views were influenced by these associations. Warden Barter was one of those fine natures that combine strength with sympathy. He felt and assimilated the good in his friends without giving up one iota of his own originality. Three months after his death in February 1861 a Royal Commission was appointed to enquire into the endowment, administration, and efficiency of Winchester and eight other Public Schools.

In one of the wings of the Quingentenary Museum at Winchester a collection of portraits of Wykehamist worthies has been begun. The portrait of Thomas Arnold (the only oil painting, the rest being engravings) fills a prominent place. Another Wykehamist,¹ who himself joined the communion of another church, has called Arnold "the one great and sole originator of the new life now breathed into public schools." The drawback to generous praise is that it often leads to scanty appreciation of others. Dr. Arnold of Rugby took a leading part in a movement that was destined to revolutionize English education, but he was not "the one great and sole originator" of the movement. Robert Specott Barter, Warden of Winchester, was one of the most lovable men that ever walked this earth. "If," said Keble, "ours was an elective monarchy, Warden Barter would be chosen King!" One cannot help asking the question why Warden Barter's figure was not placed by the side of Keble on the reredos of the Cathedral

¹ Ward's *Ideal of a Christian Church*.

he loved so well. Warden Barter seems to have been that best and rarest kind of reformer, an unconscious reformer. What John Smith was to Harrovians, that Warden Barter was to Wykehamists, with this difference, that, while John Smith was an assistant master, Warden Barter was the head of the Wykehamist system.

Warden Barter combined the opposite qualities of Martha and Mary. While he gave his first attention to "the one thing needful", he was also "careful about many things." He replaced beever beer by afternoon tea. Cobbett was only just dead, and his absurd prejudice against tea seems to have influenced Winchester masters, for "they disdained to impose on the servants the duty of making it." ¹ You have only to visit the noble crypt under College Hall in which the beer barrels are still kept to be impressed by the importance of beer in the eyes of our ancestors. The Official recognition of tea at Winchester dates from 1839. Before this, while bread, butter, cheese and meat were carefully measured, beer was given to Scholars absolutely *ad libitum*. On the other hand, tea and coffee were not only not supplied, but not permitted. Only about a century before this (1742) Duncan Forbes of Culloden, the leading Whig of Scotland, and Lord President of the Court of Session, traced the financial difficulties of Scotland to the growing custom of drinking tea instead of beer, and advocated the prohibition of tea to all but those who compounded by a heavy poll-tax for permission to drink that "abominable drug." He had, however, sense enough to see that his suggestion might appear to many "uncouth." ² Adolphus Trollope, who was a Scholar from 1820 to 1828, tells us that some of the prefects (the eighteen first boys in College) had "tea-messes", but if a master appeared on the scene before the tea-things had been cleared away by the fags, he used to smash them with his large pass-key, exclaiming: "What are all these things, Sir? William of Wykeham knew nothing, I think, of tea!" No wonder there was no change at Winchester for over 400

¹ *Annals of Winchester College*, by T. F. Kirby, p. 427.

² *A Century of Scottish History*, by Sir Henry Craik, Vol. i., p. 148.

years. Warden Huntingford was the mouthpiece of the whole Wykehamist Society, when he exclaimed—"No innovation."

The Public Schools Act of 1868 established the present Governing Body, but a word or two may be said of the government of the College under the Statutes of the Founder.

The Society, as William of Wykeham formed it, consisted of a Warden, ten secular priests as Fellows, three Chaplains, three Clerks, sixteen Choristers and seventy Scholars, as well as a master and an usher for the instruction of the scholars. The Warden and Fellows were to be freeholders (*perpetui*), but the chaplains, schoolmaster (*informator*) and usher (*hostiarius*) were to be liable to removal. No change was made in the Governing Body of the College for a period of over 450 years.

Until recently it was the practice on one day of the year to muster the scholars, who had passed their 15th year and had not previously gone through the ceremony in the Chapel, and require of them to take an oath that they would never divulge anything that had passed within the College walls. Mr. Adams, at once a loyal Wykehamist and a fearless critic (a strong Tory to boot) points out how this oath, like many another good custom, long survived its usefulness. It was one of the things, he says, which ought to have been abolished years before. It enabled the authorities to baffle the interrogatories of Brougham's Education Committee in 1818.

William of Wykeham, himself a poor freeman's son, intended poverty as the main qualification of his scholars. No boy who has an income exceeding five marks (about £66 of our money) is to be elected. "If they became possessed subsequently to their election," runs the 24th Rubric, "of property of the value of 'viginti libras' they are to be removed." Even Founder's Kin, who were to be admitted at any age and were not compelled to leave till they were twenty-five years of age, were disqualified by the possession of property exceeding twenty marks in yearly value. Soon after Wykeham's death the system of nomination was introduced and lasted until the introduction

of open competition in 1857. So far as we can find out and judging by results the system of nominations worked well. There were of course abuses—a fungus growth must ever spring up round the stem of any ancient tree, but they were not serious. For instance from the time of Henry IV. to that of George I. the Crown claimed the right to nominate a scholar occasionally. This system of King's Letters continued in force until 1726, when Secretary Holles, afterwards Duke of Newcastle and Prime Minister, was induced to recall a King's Letter upon the Electors informing him that their oath obliged them to elect the most worthy candidate. The Bishop of Winchester withdrew his pretensions five years later (1731) and from that time forward until 1857 the Electors filled up all the vacancies. These fortunate Electors were the Warden of New College, the Warden of Winchester College, the senior Poser, the junior Poser, the sub-warden of Winchester College and the Head Master.

The first of the Public Schools to offer the benefits of its foundation to competition was Westminster, and after an interval of 300 years Eton followed the example of the Elizabethan school. At the time of this great change in the constitution of Eton, carried through by Provost Hodgson and Dr. Hawtrey, Dr. Sumner, an Etonian, happened to be Bishop of Winchester. He was on intimate terms with Dr. Hawtrey, the Provost of Eton, and had heard how well the system of open competition was working there. He accordingly proposed its introduction at Winchester College and carried it into operation against the expressed opinion of the Head Master, Dr. Moberly. This was in June 1857, though the first open competition was, I believe, in 1858. Ten years passed, and we find Dr. Moberly no longer doubting, but blessing the new system. "Of old we had a small connection and a considerable narrowness in the system altogether. We were comparatively poor in boys. This open competition brings boys of all abilities, of all families, from all parts of the country, and so spreads our connection very widely." Not only the Colleges of Eton and Winchester, but each school, as a corporate whole, reaped the benefit of this reform.

It is of course too early to contrast the results of the nomination and competition systems at Winchester College. That must be done by some one writing at the close instead of the commencement of the twentieth century. Judging by the analogy of the Indian Civil Service, where the Competition Wallahs have kept up the traditions of the noblest service on earth, and I write as the son of a Haileybury (*i.e.* nominated) Indian Civilian, the competition Scholars of Winchester will not lag behind their Wykehamist ancestry in energy and devotion to the public welfare. No one, who knows Winchester, for a moment imagines that the College has ever been an Augean stable. The nomination system was—considering human frailty—conducted with marvellous fairness, and the intention of the Founder that his “children” should be the sons of “pauperes et indigentes” was not lost sight of. Dr. Goddard began his useful and brilliant career as a chorister. Mr. Locke, the present excellent “porter” of the College, reminds the choristers of the present day that the Head Master, whose portrait fills a place of honour in the Hall, was once a chorister like themselves. It may be said that it would be almost impossible for a chorister to pass the competitive examination of the present day, though a very good school has been erected for them.

Dr. Fearon, the present Head Master of Winchester, was a nomination Scholar. Great was the delight among all Wykehamists when the first open Fellowship of New College was taken by Wm. Andrewes Fearon. This was accepted as a proof that the old system still produced the best men and could hold its own against all comers. The nomination system was abolished, but not because it cumbered the ground.

There is another aspect of the question that may be briefly touched on. The Reformers, who introduced competitive examinations, had not the same respect for poverty as the Founder. William of Wykeham felt that the two things on this earth, whose claims are absolutely imperative on all good men, are poverty and ignorance. He sought to alleviate the one and to banish the other. Have the founders of competitive examinations done likewise? There

can be no reasonable doubt but that they have raised an almost insuperable barrier to low-born merit. The mediæval Bishop had in many things a clearer conception of what is due to the less fortunate than the modern Reformer. Careful training can alone fit a boy to pass into the Colleges of Winchester or Eton, and this training can only be secured by liberal payment. The Colleges, which were intended for the free education of poor men's sons, are now filled with the sons of M.P.'s, wealthy shipowners, merchants, and successful professional men. There is only one way open to remedy what is little short of an injustice. *Noblesse oblige*—the fathers who could well afford to pay for their sons' education may expend the money thus saved in founding exhibitions and on other purposes connected with this and other educational Foundations. Some of the well-to-do parents of Scholars, at least at Winchester, take this generous view of their moral responsibilities. They return with the one hand what the other has received from the bounty of the Founder. They either found an exhibition at Winchester or elsewhere, or they subscribe the money saved on the education of their son, as a freewill offering at the shrine of William of Wykeham. All honour to such parents as these. They deserve to be fathers of Wykeham's "children."

If the Masters' houses are an immense advance on Old Commoners, it is equally true that the present College is an immense advance on the College to which Wm. Stanley Goddard was "admitted." There is not a cleaner, a more healthy, or a more comfortable spot in the King's dominions than the present College of Winchester. You have only to look at the books of a Wykehamist, even a "Junior", at their selection, their number, and their admirable condition, to see that the spirit of work rests upon the College and inspires its inmates. When you read in the Memoirs of Scholars of a past generation of the brutalities that then disgraced the College, and contrast it with the order that now reigns within those ancient walls, you can hardly believe that it is one and the same school. Who have been the human instruments of this transformation scene? Every one connected with Winchester knows that the

blessed change is due in a very large degree to the unceasing care and energy of the late *hostiarius*, the Rev. George Richardson. Every Wykehamist will endorse this tribute of gratitude and respect to a *hostiarius* (second master) who for more than a quarter of a century has worked with a single eye to advancing the interests of Wykeham's Foundation.

CHAPTER XXIV.

WINCHESTER—(*continued*).

THE opening ceremony took place on Saturday, March 28th, 1393. The Society consisted on the opening day of a Warden (Morys) a master (Milton), usher (Huet) and 70 scholars. This little company received the blessing of the Founder in his presence-chamber at Wolvesey, and then two and two entered at 9 a.m. the future home of the Society. The Quingentenary or 500th anniversary of the opening (1393—1893) was kept on July 25th, 1893. All the boys went to Cathedral, and between 300 and 400 Old Wykehamists received Communion in Chapel together. The Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Benson) preached in the Cathedral; the Prince of Wales was received "ad Portas." The Head Master of Eton brought a special address of greeting in Latin from Henry VI.'s Foundation to that of William of Wykeham. The close connection of the Colleges of Winchester and Eton is a tie both of history and sentiment. The Prayer Book is ordered to be read in the Universities, and in "our schools" of Winchester and Eton. The Sovereign is regarded as the *de jure* and *de facto* patron and protector of Eton; the Consort or the Queen Consort is the patron of Winchester. These two ancient Foundations are entitled to rank with the Universities, and it was only on the suggestion of their own authorities that they were brought within the scope of the Public Schools Commission in 1864.

In addition to the Head Master of Eton, the Head Masters of the following Schools took part in the Quingentenary Celebration:—Charterhouse, Harrow, Marlborough, Merchant Taylors', Shrewsbury and Westminster.

There was great difficulty in coming to a conclusion as to how best to endow the School with a fitting memorial of the occasion. There can be no doubt that most would have preferred either the restoration and reseating, or the enlargement of the existing Chapel, or the erection of a new one, but it was found impossible to reconcile their divergent views. A museum was therefore selected. This modern building overlooks Meads and the picturesque sanatorium, which was erected more than 200 years ago by Warden Harris. The Founder's Chantry in the Cathedral was decorated and some statues added to it.

Just before its Quingentenary the Wykehamist Society lost its last surviving Fellow elected under the Wykeham statutes. The Rev. Gilbert Wall Heathcote had been Vicar of Hursley and had resigned the living owing to weak health in 1836, when Keble succeeded him. As he died in 1893, he survived his successor Keble by many years. He was born in 1806 and entered the College as Founder's kin in 1819.

The buildings, which the first Scholars entered, were not as magnificent as those of the Founder's College at Oxford, but, as befitted the first of our Public Schools, they were, we may be sure, far in advance of any school of their time. The Scholars passed through the outer gate under the statue of the Virgin and Child, (which still stands there in perfect preservation) and entered the Outer Court. From this Court the Scholars entered "Chamber Court."

The limes inside the Gate (Porter's Lodge) are called "Paradise Regained." Archbishop Benson thought the term "Paradise" was used from this Court being the place where the boys awaited their election into Winchester. The clump of limes beyond the precincts of the College, outside the Porter's Lodge, are known as "Paradise Lost." But as we follow the first Scholars, we pass under the archway of Middle Gate Tower into Chamber Court. On either side of the archway facing Outer Court and Chamber Court are the statues of the Virgin, of the Founder kneeling, and of the Angel Gabriel. These statues are not in as good preservation as those on the Outer Gate. When you have reached Chamber Court, you are in the heart of the

Wykehamist Foundation. You see around you the Chapel, the Hall, the Kitchen, the original school and bedrooms of the Scholars, butteries, sacristy, muniment room, and house of the Hostiarius.

College Juniors do not wear hats inside Outer Gate, *i.e.* between Porter's Lodge and Seventh Chamber. They pass bareheaded across Chamber Court. It is understood that this custom was in its origin a sign of respect to the Virgin, the Patroness of the College. The mediæval habit of schoolboys wearing no caps Christ's Hospital boys make familiar to us. The Angelus, which is still rung in Winchester College, is another survival of the past. From the Corner of Chamber Court to enter the Kitchen you pass by the open conduit where, under a penthouse, now removed, the Scholars used to wash until some sixty years ago. The Hall, where the Scholars have had their meals for more than 500 years, is sixty-three feet long by thirty wide, and lofty. The oak tables are probably as old as the Foundation. The wooden platters are still used, but only for breakfast and tea. In old days when a Scholar had eaten his meat off one side of his platter, he would turn it round and eat his pudding off the other. The tradition was that the claims of Founders' kin were tested by seeing whether the College ware would break on the claimant's head!

William of Wykeham was aware that a great school, like an army, is dependent on its commissariat, but having provided a fine kitchen and a noble hall he also built a school-room. The earliest school-room of Eton is used for teaching to this day, and so is the original class-room at Harrow. Lower School at Eton, however, only dates from the first decade of the sixteenth century, or possibly (and the authorities are not agreed as to this) from about the year 1470. Wykeham's original school-room is no longer used as a class-room, but this is a mere detail. Mr. Leach speaks of it as by "far the most interesting building" at Winchester.¹ Its present dimensions give no idea of the

¹ Leach's *History of Winchester College* (1899). If an "alien" may be permitted to differ from a Wykehamist in some of his historical

room as originally built. A large slice was cut out of it to form "Seventh Chamber Passage," the way out to School in 1687. It is now called "Seventh Chamber." From 1701 to 1875 it was a sleeping-chamber. Since then it has been converted into a day-study for some of the Scholars, who sleep in three upper chambers.

If you are not a Wykehamist and are asked to state what you know about Winchester, you would probably refer to the painting of the Trusty Servant, *Dulce Domum*, and Ken's Morning and Evening Hymn. In the lobby on the way to the Hall you come across the painting of the Trusty Servant. He is too well known through reproduction on countless pieces of china to need description. The Windsor uniform, in which he is now dressed, was only put on in honour of George III.'s visit to the College. He is a gentleman of far greater antiquity than his present costume would indicate, but how or when the painting came upon the wall is lost in the mists of tradition. The authorship of the familiar lines inscribed beneath the figure have been claimed by the Rev. J. E. Jackson for John Hoskyns, who was imprisoned for a year in the Tower by James I. for words spoken by him in the House of Commons reflecting on Scotch favourites. The same obscurity shrouds the genesis of *Dulce Domum*. There seems a consensus of opinion that the verses are not older than the last quarter of the 17th century, and that the tune was composed by John Reading probably in the reign of William III. Reading was not a Wykehamist, though he succeeded Geffrys as school organist with a salary of £50 a year in 1681. It is supposed that Reading's air was adapted by the poet to his words, and thus became immortal. Who then was the poet? Only two hundred years separate us from him, and yet his life has become as much a myth as Homer himself. Mr. Adams tells us that the earliest printed notice he could find is in an anonymous "*History and Antiquities of Winchester*" published in 1773. He quotes from this the

conclusions, he may also share with Wykehamists the pleasure to be derived from the perusal of Mr. Leach's bright, interesting, and scholarly work.

following paragraph—"According to an old tradition a child (*i.e.* Colleger) belonging to the school, for committing some uncommon and atrocious offence, was confined to the college during the holidays and denied the enjoyment of relief from study, with the rest of the young gentlemen; which lay so heavy on his mind, that after composing the following verses he is said to have pined and died. How true this may be, we do not pretend to say." Such is the mournful tradition concerning the author of one of the most jubilant of schoolboy songs. The contrast between the story and the spirit of the song is certainly a striking one!

I do not know whether Ruskin ever visited Winchester. If he did, I venture to say it is not the Chapel built by the Founder, it is not the quadrangles of Wykeham's College with their indescribable charm, it is not even the noble Cathedral that would most have excited his admiration; it would have been the Cloisters, and above all, the Chantry. The Cloisters enclose the burial-ground. If there be a spot on earth which merits our old Teuton term of "God's Acre," it is this Wykehamist graveyard. The spirit of peace so manifestly broods over it. The effect of the Cloisters is not lessened, but heightened by the Chantry. It is no exaggeration, but the simple truth that Fromond's Chantry is absolutely unrivalled. If you ransack Europe, you will not come upon its equal. John Fromond, the steward of the College (of whom Wykeham speaks as "*nostre chere et bien amé,*") left a sum of money for the purpose of building a chantry over the graves of himself and his wife. Fromond's chantry is a building thirty-six feet long by eighteen wide. In the reign of Henry VIII. it was suppressed with all other chantries, and in 1629 converted by Robert Pinke, Warden of New College, into a library. In 1875 the chantry became a chapel again and is used by about 100 juniors. The practical advantage of this step was great. It must be borne in mind that Wykeham built his Chapel for 105 persons. When three times that number and more were crowded within its walls as was the case between 1869—74, the close confinement did not tend to produce attention and reverence.

School used to be held during the summer months at the stone seats under the windows of the cloisters. For this reason the summer term is still called "cloister time."

In the Ambulatory leading to the Chapel stood the wooden bench where the boys about five in the afternoon used to say their private prayers. This custom was called "going circum", and is said to have prevailed to the end of the eighteenth century. If this be true, that century was not so destitute of the devotional spirit, at least at Winchester, as is generally supposed.

The west wall of the ambulatory is now occupied by the Crimean Memorial. It was designed by Mr. Butterfield, and, to be frank, is disappointing. It was raised to the memory of thirteen Wykehamists, four of whom were 21 years of age or under. The inscription composed by Warden Barter, contains the following stirring sentences.

"Think upon them thou who art passing by to-day;
 Child of the same family, bought by the same Lord;
 Keep thy foot when thou goest into this House of God;
 There watch thine armour, and make thyself ready by prayer
 To fight and to die,
 The faithful Soldier and Servant of Christ and of thy country."

Many who daily passed that monument during their schooldays have since laid down their lives for their Queen and country. One of them, Herbert Stewart, entered College in 1854 and went into "commoners" as a prefect in 1861. He had reached the age limit for a Scholar, but the school not being overcrowded at the time he was allowed to remain as a Commoner. He was Captain of "Lords"—*i.e.* of the cricket eleven in 1862. Winchester played a splendid uphill game against Eton, being only beaten by one wicket after following their innings against 117 runs. S. F. Cleasby, who entered the army and died three years later in India, made the "cock score" (89) for Eton. Like Havelock, Sir Herbert Stewart was intended for the Bar and ate his dinners; like Havelock, he possessed a very remarkable knowledge of military history, and could describe the main events of almost any battle of importance.

Of Herbert Stewart, Bulwer Lytton's words are true—"Life has no path so short as to renown." Lord Wolseley described the man in a few brief sentences. In 1884, when someone expressed a doubt as to whether Stewart would arrive in time at Suakin, "Time," said Lord Wolseley; "Stewart will be in time, if he has to put to sea in nothing better than a cockle boat." He received his death wound at the Battle of Metammeh, in the Soudan, in 1885. He lingered for some weeks, and shortly before his death received a cablegram of congratulation from the masters and boys of Winchester. In his telegram announcing his untimely death Lord Wolseley wrote—"No braver soldier or more brilliant leader of men ever wore the Queen's uniform. England can ill afford the loss of this young general, while his death robs me of the services of a dear friend and a dear comrade."¹ The Stewart Memorial has taken the form of a gateway.

Without instituting comparisons it may safely be said that the Chapel of Winchester excels the chapels of all other public schools in antiquity, and all (but that of Eton) in beauty of design. The two features that impress you most are the perfection of its symmetry and the fan-tracery of its roof. One small survival from the past would be noticed by an antiquarian—the rods are still there on which the sanctuary lamps used to hang in Wykeham's time. A gross blunder was committed when, some 200 years ago, the original stalls were removed and replaced by seventeenth century panelling, but surely that original mistake did not justify the removal in 1874 of all the carved work and woodwork from the chapel, more especially as the 17th century work was reputed to be carved by Grinling Gibbons. About the same time (1874) most of the ancient brasses disappeared. By a fortunate chance some twenty-five years before their disappearance a boy happened to be in the school, who loved art for art's sake. He took "rubbings" of these brasses. The consequence was that when the chapel was restored under the direction of Mr. Butterfield, fresh brasses were made from these

¹ *The Times*, Feb. 21st, 1885.

“rubbings”, on the exact model of the old, and placed on the slabs before the Holy Table. By a curious coincidence the boy who made the rubbings, and the Old Wykehamist who gave the new brasses, were one and the same person—Dr. Edwin Freshfield, F.S.A., the well-known solicitor, and antiquary, a generous and discerning benefactor of his old school and at one time a member of its Governing Body. It was he who placed the beautiful triptich in the Chantry. At Winchester every boy, whether he be a Scholar or a Commoner, attends the Chapel, but should any boy object on religious grounds to attending a Church of England Service, there would be no difficulty about his non-attendance, though I was informed in 1899 that no boy had ever raised this objection. One of the questions to a candidate for Winchester College is: Where and when were you baptized? Where this question is left unanswered, the authorities know that the candidate is a Non-conformist, but no kind of objection is raised to him on that account.

Beyond the chapel there was nothing southward but gardens and pastures at the time of the Foundation. In 1683 the first stone of “School” was laid; in 1687 it was completed. The subscriptions ran short and the deficiency (about $\frac{2}{3}$ ths of the whole cost) was made good by John Nicholas, one of the most munificent of Wardens. I have been told that “School” was designed by Wren, but, though there is no improbability in the statement, there is no satisfactory evidence that Wren was the architect. “School” is a fine specimen of what is known as the debased Italian school; its interior is well proportioned and imposing, its ceiling with its fine armorial bearings is much admired. It cannot, it is true, be fairly compared to the “School” of Westminster, but Westminster “School” was built by Abbot Litlington in the latter half of the fourteenth century. To compare these two “Schools” would be like comparing a dramatist of the Restoration to Chaucer. Litlington and Chaucer belonged to an age which reared noble cathedrals and wrote immortal poems. With the notable exception of St. Paul’s Cathedral and Dryden’s *Absalom and Achitophel* we do not go to the close of the seventeenth century for either. Four hundred boys used

to be taught at the same time in Westminster "School." Winchester "School" is a much smaller hall, being 90 feet long, 36 broad and about 30 feet high. All the Scholars and Commoners used to be taught there at the same time within living memory. The growth in numbers both at Winchester and Westminster has rendered this arrangement undesirable, and the "School" of both is now only used on state occasions. Over the door of "School" stands the statue of the Founder which Colley Cibber's father presented to the College, when his younger son was admitted as Founder's kin. Inside "School" is preserved the famous Wykehamist device. It consists of three rows of emblems, each with its motto, the mitre, and pastoral staff with the words "*aut disce*" at the top, then a sword, an ink-horn and compass with the words "*aut discede*", and at the bottom the rod with four twigs (*vimen quadrifidum*) with its subscription "*Manet sors tertia caedi.*" The meaning is obvious enough. A Wykehamist must either develop into a Bishop, a Field-Marshal, a Lord Chancellor or an Admiral, or the rod is in store for him. The porter shows visitors the now obsolete rod of our ancestors—a harmless instrument; but the "ground ash" can be scarcely so described. This is still the wand of office of the prefects with which they "tund" (beat) the backs of erring juniors, but the days of brutal "tunding" are gone for ever.

Beyond "School" lie the Meads, beyond the Meads "New Field", and beyond "New Field" "Hills." Were the Founder to come to life again, nothing would surprise him more than the Cricket Fields ("New Field"). But keeping pace with the development of the physical exercise he would find an even greater growth of mental development.

The prelate, who knelt in prayer by the bedside of the dying Black Prince, and who was one of his executors, was no enemy to knightly exercises, but his "children" were intended for the priestly office.

The porter's lodge was then called "barbaria"—the house of the barber. Every Scholar had to receive the first tonsure by the end of the first year under pain of expulsion. A Scholar was not, however, required to enter the priesthood when he left College.

This explains the difference between Wykeham's Statutes and those of John Lyon. The yeoman of Queen Elizabeth's reign laid special stress on archery; the Bishop of Richard II. forbade field sports. No one, master or boy, was to keep hounds or nets for hunting, or ferrets, or hawks, or to shoot with a bow and arrow either inside or outside the College. John Lyon's Statutes enumerate the amusements of the boys; Wykeham's are entirely silent on the subject. It is, however, noteworthy that the compulsory walks of the Scholars to "Hills" is the first trace we can find of compulsory exercise in any Public School. The exact date when "Hills" (*i.e.* St. Catherine's Hill) became the playground of Wykeham's Foundation is unknown. In 1799 Warden Huntingford wrote to the Duke of York, the Commander-in-Chief, for an order to the soldiers quartered at Winchester to avoid "Hills", the river, and the adjacent fields, which "from time immemorial have been appropriated to the young men educating at this College for the purposes of exercise, bathing, and recreation." The Commander-in-Chief instantly issued the order. There is a trench around the crest of the hill beyond which the "inferiors" were not allowed to pass. This encampment was traditionally made by Danes.

"The black-gowned troop of brothers went winding up the hill,
There in the hollow trench, which the Danish Pirate made,
And through the broad encampment, the peaceful scholars played." ¹

Another poet of Winchester, Mr. Frederick Morshead, has written a fine poem, "*On Hills*." In it he has sung of two very different men, the poet Keats, and that brave soldier, Lord Seaton. John Colborne (afterwards Lord Seaton) was a Colleger and took part in the Rebellion of '94. He became an ensign in the 20th Regiment the same year, being then 16 years of age, and won every step of promotion up to Field-Marshal without purchase.

Keats is said to have written his Ode to *Autumn* on St. Catherine's Hill and to have valued the air of "Hills" at six

¹ Lord Selborne.

pence a quart. The names of two other famous writers are associated with Winchester: Izaak Walton and Miss Jane Austen both died there. The mild realist of fiction, the forerunner of Balzac, is as dear to the reader of English literature, as Walton, the gentle idealist and the forerunner of Richard Jefferies. Jane Austen lies buried in Winchester Cathedral. The angler was drawn to Winchester both by his friendship with Morley, its Bishop, and by his second wife, the pastoral "Kenna" of *The Angler's Wish*, the half-sister of Ken. The songs in Walton's *Angler* were written by a Wykehamist, John Chalkhill, while the description of Spring beginning—

"And now all Nature seem'd in love,"

was written by a more famous Wykehamist, Sir Henry Wotton.

CHAPTER XXV.

WINCHESTER—(*continued*).

ONE often wonders why our Founders of Schools were so enamoured of the notion of dual control. Until some thirty years ago Winchester, Eton, and Charterhouse, were all under the government of two heads. The explanation of this is that Henry VI. copied from William of Wykeham, while Thomas Sutton, being an old Etonian, in founding Charterhouse copied Eton. The relations of Warden and Head Master, or Master and Head Master at some of these Schools—notably at Charterhouse—and at some periods of their development resembled the planetary system at the time of the walk of the Walrus and the Carpenter.

The moon was shining sulkily
Because she thought the sun
Had got no business to be there
After the day was done—
“It’s very rude of him,” she said,
“To come and spoil the fun.”

When William of Wykeham founded his College, he never intended to set up any kind of dual control. The master of his day was a mere teacher of Grammar; Wykeham never meant him to be a ruler. The Head Master of a great public school is the only kind of autocrat that English public opinion of to-day recognises, but like every other part of our public-school system, he is an institution that has grown rather than been created. He has not sprung, like another Minerva, fully armed from the brow of the Founder. He is the modern product of an ancient stock.

William of Wykeham intended his Warden to be the sun of his planetary system. The Head Master was to be simply his deputy. If the Warden were ever to be in a difficulty, he was to consult his Fellows. The Reformation proved the first eclipse to the powers of the Warden. Chantry Masses were then discontinued, and "Othello's occupation" was in the main gone. The ecclesiastical foundation of Winchester is a very independent one. If the Warden had desired to continue the Chantry Masses, no power could have prevented him, though he might have been punished under the Statutes against "recusants." Winchester was not a new foundation built upon money filched from Monasteries and Chantries. "The Warden's position," writes an Old Wykehamist (Commoner after 1871) to me, "is quite real: the Warden and Fellows do 'govern' the College. They appoint to the College livings. The Warden signified his position by usually celebrating at the (then rather rare) celebrations of the Holy Communion. He also gave away the 'Books' or prizes at the end of the half, personally. I don't think Commoners had any other dealings with him, and I cannot recollect the sub-warden ever doing anything particular except reading a Sermon in Chapel!"

Two hundred years after the Reformation the growth of the non-foundation element in the school reached proportions never contemplated by the Founder. This tended still further to render the Warden's supremacy titular. The legal position of the Head Master of Winchester (prior to 1871) was the same as that of the Head Master of Eton, but the control of the Warden and Fellows was in practice "less strict and minute."¹ The Warden and Fellows could expel a Scholar, but over the Commoners they had no statutory power whatever. The Commoners "are my own boys." This at least was the Head Master's view in 1863, and the Commissioners agreed with him. The Commoners are probably the successors of the *fili nobilem*, but with a difference. The *fili nobilem* at Winchester lodged within the College walls, and paid for their board. The portraits

¹ Public Schools Commission, Vol. i., p. 140.

of some of them (circa 1730—40) which the young aristocrats gave to the headmaster, Dr. Burton, on leaving, hang in what is now the dining-room of the Hostiarius. The Commoners lived outside the College and paid nothing to its maintenance. Thus it came to pass that though the Warden and Fellows appointed the Head Master and could remove him, the Head Master became the active partner in a firm, of which the Warden and Fellows were only the nominal heads.

The Governing Body of Winchester School, as appointed in April 1871, consists of eleven members. The Wardens of the two St. Mary Winton Colleges (New College and Winchester College) are members *ex-officio*. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the Royal Society, the Lord Chief Justice, the Fellows of New College, and the Masters of Winchester School each nominate one. These eight are at liberty to co-opt three others. All the powers formerly possessed by the Warden and Fellows are exercised by this body, though the estates are still legally vested in the Warden and Fellows. The Governing Body manage the estates, receive and spend the income, appoint the Head Master, and reign supreme.

The education of a Commoner now costs his parents £116 15 a year, plus an entrance fee of £12. The education of a Scholar costs the annual sum of £21. There are, however, exhibitions of the annual value of £21, and any Scholar, who wins an exhibition, enjoys the free education which Wykeham intended and Dr. Goddard endeavoured to restore.¹

From the opening day in 1393, this fortunate Foundation possesses a nearly unbroken series of *computus* Rolls which contain information about the domestic concerns of the College. A diligent study of the Rolls and of the accounts, which began to be kept in 1560, without recourse to any other authorities would enable a student to write a fair history of prices during four centuries. From these records we learn how until 1520 the kitchen had no chimney—how in 1415 Henry V. was at Winchester on his

¹ Kirby's *Annals*, p. 432.

way to France, and how Cardinal Beaufort was entertained with a refection of trout, cherries, and wine—how the Society paid their quota towards the tenth granted by the clergy for prosecuting the war with France instead of claiming exemption under their Charter of Privileges—and how a French prisoner of Agincourt was bought of his captors by the College and became the College cook.

No Bishop of Winchester, since William of Wykeham, was more intimately connected with Winchester College than his successor Henry Beaufort. Cardinal Beaufort was half-brother of Henry IV., uncle of Henry V., great-uncle of Henry VI., and nephew of Geoffrey Chaucer. There is no Court of Appeal from Shakespeare. Whom he has condemned, no human being can rehabilitate in public estimation. Yet in the interests of fair play and of Winchester, of whom the great Cardinal was so generous a benefactor, it may be questioned whether the famous scene describing Cardinal Beaufort's death is a fair comment on his life.¹ We must not forget that Shakespeare was above all a dramatist. His business was not to sift evidence, but to write good acting plays. He was also a man of marvellous humility, and does not seem to have suspected that what he wrote would survive the magnificent Chantry in Winchester Cathedral, in which Beaufort sleeps, and would prove a Nessus shirt for the Cardinal's reputation.

Everything Beaufort did was on a princely scale. If he lent, his loans were to the king and on the security of the Crown Jewels; if he gave, it was on the same scale. One instance of his liberality must suffice. On the 14th January, 1437, two arches of London Bridge fell into the Thames. It was a terrible catastrophe. The Bishop of Winchester placed what was then the very large sum of £1000 in the hands of John Carpenter, ex-Town Clerk of London towards its repair.² Of Wykeham's Foundation he was not only a generous, but a thoughtful guardian. Sir Joshua Reynolds in his famous picture has followed in Shakespeare's footsteps, but we shall be nearer the truth if we regard Car-

¹ Second Part of *Henry VI.*, Act III., Scene 3.

² Brewer's *Memoir of John Carpenter*, p. 103.

dinal Beaufort as a strong-willed Englishman who served his generation. For the England of the fifteenth century, ecclesiastical statesmen, such as Wykeham and Beaufort, were absolutely indispensable.

The Cardinal resembled his half-brother Henry IV., that able though unscrupulous sovereign, rather than his grand-nephew "pious Henry." Henry VI. probably studied the statutes of William of Wykeham more closely than any other English sovereign has done. He thrice visited Winchester between 1440 and 1445, and the result was the founding of his two royal Colleges on the Cam and on the Thames. Henry VI. not only transcribed Wykeham's Statutes for his new foundation at Eton, but he also carried off the Head Master, the famous William Waynflete, successively Head Master and Provost of Eton. The unbroken and undoubted tradition of Wykehamists is that he was a Wykehamist, but whether a Scholar or Commoner there are no records to show, unless he is to be identified with William Pattney, the Scholar of 1403 (see Mr. Leach's suggestion, p. 204). Waynflete was the first Head Master of Winchester, whose tenure of office exceeded the ten years' limit. To inaugurate Henry VI.'s new foundation on the banks of the Thames Waynflete carried off to Eton five Fellows and six Scholars. Subsequently, on the decease of Cardinal Beaufort, Waynflete became Bishop of Winchester and filled the See for nearly forty years. His great work was the founding of Magdalen College, Oxford, which the late Mr. Adams (a Fellow of Magdalen) has piously called "the most splendid institution in Europe."

According to Dean Hook, Chicheley, the peasant's son who rose to be Primate of England, was also an early Scholar of Winchester. It is a suggestive idea (if true) that the Founders of Magdalen and All Souls should have owed their own education to Wykeham's bounty.

The first Warden, John Morys, died in 1413. The Society naturally leaned to the Lancastrian side in the Wars of the Roses, as both Henry VI. and his uncle Cardinal Beaufort had befriended them. In 1464 the famous deed of *Amicabilis Concordia*, being a contract of alliance between the College of Winchester and that of Eton, the

creation of a Lancastrian king, was drawn up. The contracting parties were the Wardens of New and Winchester Colleges and the Provost of King's College and Wm. Waynflete, Provost of Eton. Edward IV. did not, however, visit Winchester with signs of his displeasure as he did Eton: on the contrary, he sent a lion to the College to amuse the Scholars. The fighting statesmen of the stamp of Warwick the King-maker were not found among Wykeham's children.

Archbishop Warham was admitted into College in 1469. His long connection with our oldest public school and with New College (of which he was a Fellow for fifteen years) may have predisposed him to protect another famous Founder, Dean Colet, from the attacks of his enemies led by Fitz James, Bishop of London.

The first Englishman to earn the title of a Greek scholar was William Grocyn. He was a Scholar of Winchester, where he remained till his twenty-second year (about 1464). He seems to have learnt Greek later, in his travels in Italy, and on his return to Oxford taught Greek, not only to Sir Thomas More, but to Erasmus himself. It was he who introduced Erasmus to Archbishop Warham. On his removal to London he was chosen by Dean Colet to deliver lectures in St. Paul's. Greek was probably taught at Winchester before it was taught at any other school. This would have been owing to Winchester's close connection with Oxford, and to Oxford's connection with Grocyn, and to Grocyn's connection both with Winchester and Oxford. Greek does not appear to have been taught at Eton before the commencement of the sixteenth century. Even at Winchester the study of Greek seems to have made but slow progress. When Edward VI. visited Winchester in 1552, he was presented with no less than 42 copies of Latin, and one copy of Greek verse. When Queen Elizabeth visited Winchester 18 years later, she was greeted by forty loyal effusions, of which four or five were in Greek.

Henry VII. visited the College in state; his entertainment cost 18 shillings and 8 pence! Of Henry VIII., from a Wykehamist as well as from an Etonian point of view, it is perhaps a case of the less said the better. In 1522 he

brought the Emperor Charles V. to Winchester and stayed a week. The two sovereigns inspected the College. This was the first occasion on which a foreign potentate visited an English public school. When Charles V. visited the City of London, he was welcomed by the Scholars of St. Paul's with a Latin oration.

No more inhuman Act was ever passed than that which enacted that those who differed in their religious opinions (*i.e.* heretics) from the governing body should be put to death by burning. This was the Statute 2 Henry IV. c 15 passed in 1401. Sir John Oldcastle (Lord Cobham) was a man noble in every sense of the term, but one whom no public school can claim. Of the earlier life of Sir John Oldcastle little is known, but he appears to have been a soldier, who fought his way to the front rank. In 1409 he married, as her third husband, the grand-daughter and heiress of Lord Cobham. In that year Sir John was summoned to Parliament in his own name, but later he was thrice summoned as Lord Cobham. As there is no evidence that William Thorpe (who was examined for heresy in 1407) was burnt,¹ the honour of being the proto-martyr of Protestantism in England probably belongs to Lord Cobham. Early in 1418 he was "drawn from the Tower of London unto the new gallows in St. Giles without Temple Barre, and there hanged, and burned hanging." The Parliament and Clergy of the fifteenth century, having invented this instrument of legalized cruelty, bequeathed it to their posterity of the sixteenth. With the close of the Wars of the Roses and the spread of the Reformation the practice of burning opponents again came into vogue.

The Reformation is not a bright page in the educational history of our country. Its only brightness is a reflection from the flames that consumed the martyrs. Winchester and Eton alone of our public schools can lay claim to any Protestant martyrs. Mr. Sterry in his *Annals* mentions three Etonians who suffered at the stake for their faith—Robert Glover and Lawrence Saunders at Coventry and

¹ *Ecclesiastical Biography* by Christopher Wordsworth, Master of Trinity, Cambridge, (brother of the Poet,) Vol. i., p. 350.

John Hullier at Cambridge. Mr. Cust in his *Eton College* (p. 89) mentions the name of a fourth—John Fuller. To these four brave men may be added the name of a fifth and earlier martyr, John Frith, the friend of Tyndal. Like Whitefield, Frith was the son of a publican, but unlike him he was a Colleger at Eton. In 1533 he was arrested by order of the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas More, and burnt. John Philpot is the Wykehamist martyr. He and John Harpsfield had been friends in College as boys. Philpot offered to wager that in one night he would compose 200 Latin verses containing not more than three faults, and won his wager. Bishop Bonner made Harpsfield his Chaplain, but Philpot he burnt. "Of all the Marian martyrs," says Fuller, "Philpot was the best born gentleman." Fox calls him "distinguished" and devotes pages to an account of his interview with Bonner.

When Sir Thomas Smith, a zealous Reformer, discreetly resigned the post of Provost of Eton about a twelvemonth after the death of Edward VI., Queen Mary appointed a Wykehamist, Henry Cole, Provost in his room. An amusing story is told of this zealous Roman Catholic.¹ He was sent to Ireland with ample power for the suppression of heresy. On his way thither the wife of the Chester Mayor opened the box containing his commission; this she abstracted and put in its place a pack of cards with the knave of clubs uppermost. When Cole landed at Dublin on Oct. 7th, 1558, the box was opened and the contents discovered. The Lord Deputy Fitz Walter remarked—"Let us have another commission, and we will meanwhile shuffle the cards." Cole would have returned to England for another commission, but while he was waiting for a favourable wind, Queen Mary died and the political cards were shuffled. Thus, thanks to the Mayor of Chester's wife, no Irish Protestants are found among the Marian martyrs. Yet Cole was an honest man and was committed by Lord Keeper Bacon first to the Tower and then to the Fleet.

¹ The Christian martyrology being a summary of the "Acts and Monuments" of Master John Fox (Rev. John Milner's Edition), 1839, p. 967.

He seems to have remained a prisoner there for 20 years. We should pity this Wykehamist more, if he had not preached at Oxford before Cranmer's execution and endeavoured to justify putting a man to death for heresy after his recantation—a proceeding regarded even in those days of bloodshed, as violent and unusual. "Because the morning (21st March, 1556) was much rainy, the sermon appointed by Mr. Dr. Cole to be made at the stake, was made in St. Mary's Church; whither Dr. Cranmer was brought by the Mayor and Aldermen." ¹

In 1554 Philip and Mary were married in Winchester Cathedral on the festival of St. James, the patron saint of Spain. Southampton was selected for Philip's landing, as Hampshire folk were supposed to be friendly to the unreformed faith. The chair in which Queen Mary sat is still preserved in the Cathedral. Happily of that union there was no issue. Had a son of Spanish Philip been born heir to the throne of England, his birth would probably have been followed by a Revolution, just as some hundred and thirty years later followed the birth of a son to our last Romanist sovereign. There was at least in Winchester College one hearty well-wisher to the Spanish alliance, and that was John White, the Warden. ² It may have been a mere coincidence, but while 43 Winchester boys (five of whom were Commoners) wrote verses in honour of Edward VI.'s visit in 1552, only 25 Scholars wrote verses in honour of the marriage of Philip and Mary in 1554.

A few words must be given to Warden White, in some sense the most remarkable man that has ever filled that historic post. He was successively Scholar, Head Master, Warden and Bishop of Winchester. He and Bilson alone of Wardens have filled these three offices; Waynflete was Head Master and Bishop, but never Warden. I have read somewhere that White was threatened with deposition from the post of Head Master by Protector Somerset, but as none

¹ Strype's *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer*, Vol. i., p. 552.

² White was Bishop of Lincoln at the time of the wedding (July 25), but his successor Boxall was not elected Warden until Oct. 29, so Mr. Kirby thinks White was still Warden at the time.

of the three historians of Winchester (Adams, Kirby and Leach) refer to the incident, their silence makes me sceptical. There can, however, be no doubt that White was in sympathy with the whole Wykehamist body (with the exception of his hostiarius, Wm. Ford) in their opposition to the reforming tenets of Edward VI. He was Head Master and Warden for the term of 17 years. He seems to have been absolutely without pity, so convinced was he that heresy ought to be burnt out of men. He must, however, be placed in a category quite different from Salcot, the last Abbot of Hyde. To omit all reference to Salcot would be to give an incomplete picture of the Marian times. Salcot favored Henry VIII.'s divorce and was consequently advanced first to the Bishopric of Bangor and then to that of Salisbury. When Edward VI. mounted the throne, Salcot became a zealous Protestant: when Mary became Queen, this Bishop of Bray became again a Romanist. It was Salcot who sentenced Bishop Hooper and John Rogers to the stake.¹ White was a persecutor, but no time-server. Queen Mary knew what stuff he was made of and in the year of her marriage promoted him to the Bishopric of Lincoln. Whatever may have been the Queen's feelings to Cranmer, who had declared her a bastard, the Bishop of Lincoln had no personal grudge against the Archbishop of Canterbury. Oxford was within the diocese of Lincoln. At Oxford, in the spring of 1554, the deputies of the two Universities had pronounced Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley obstinate heretics, The Commission appointed by Cardinal Pole in September 1555, consisted of Brookes, Bishop of Gloucester; Holyman, Bishop of Bristol; and White, Bishop of Lincoln. Holyman, like White, was an Old Wykehamist. Brookes was a Hampshire man, but not a Wykehamist. Thus it fell to the lot of two Scholars of Winchester, the

¹ The restored Smithfield Martyrs' Memorial bears the following inscription—"Within a few feet of this spot lie John Rogers, John Bradford, and John Philpot, and other servants of God who suffered death by fire for the faith of Christ in the years 1555—56—57." It was unveiled on 2nd October, 1899, when Mme. Antoinette Sterling, a descendant of John Bradford, sang "The Lord is my Shepherd."

school most firmly rooted in the old faith, to "give the death-blow to Catholicism in England." ¹ There was one incident in that trial which made a great impression on one of the most spiritual-minded of Cranmer's successors—the late Archbishop Benson, and that was the refusal of the Archbishop to uncover before the representatives of the Pope or to recognise in any way the authority of the Bishop of Rome in England. In acting thus Cranmer was only following the example set by an Old Wykehamist, his predecessor, Archbishop Warham. It was Warham who, in 1530, passed through Convocation a Petition addressed to the King as "Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England." Some of the Clergy did not like it, but were afraid of giving expression to their dissent. Warham adroitly acted as if their silence were consent. The Commissioners treated Cranmer with respect, but when Ridley also refused to uncover to the Pope's representatives, a beadle removed his cap.

James Turberville was another Marian Bishop (Exeter 1555—59) educated at Winchester. It is not quite certain whether any heretics were burnt in his diocese. Nicholas Harpsfield, the brother of John, is spoken of by Mr. Adams as "eminent." This Wykehamist did attain an evil eminence as a persecutor. As Archdeacon of Canterbury he was the willing instrument of Cardinal Pole. In those three years of evil memory (1555—58) forty-one Kentish martyrs of both sexes were burnt at Canterbury. The Archdeacon fled to Douai on Queen Elizabeth's accession.

On 13th November, 1555, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, a *specialis amicus* of the Wykehamist Society, died four months before Cranmer's martyrdom. Another Wykehamist persecutor of the Protestants was Thomas Martyn, Chancellor to Bishop Gardiner. He took a conspicuous part in the proceedings against Cranmer and in the earlier proceedings against Hooper. Martyn was a learned civilian, and was employed in important State affairs; in fact it was at one time intended to appoint this whilom Lord of Misrule ² Ambassador to the French Court, so true is it that in

¹ Green's *Short History of the English People*, p. 360.

² Martyn is said to have acted as Lord of Misrule at some Christmas festivities at New College; see *Dictionary of National Biography*.

England careers have always been open to talent, at least to public-school talent.

White had to wait until July 1556 for his translation to Winchester and then only on the condition (so it is alleged) of paying Cardinal Pole £1000 a year. On Queen Mary's death White preached in Westminster Abbey the "Black Sermon" on the text (Eccles. iv. 2)—"I have praised the dead which are already dead more than the living which are yet alive." Bishop White met with more mercy from the Reformers than he had ever shown to them. He was deposed from his Bishopric, and died in retirement.

White, while Warden, wrote his own epitaph and inscribed it on a brass in the College Chapel. This has proved to be the sole monument to the memory of one who filled two of the leading Bishoprics of England and played a prominent part in our history. There is no monument to him in his own Cathedral of Winchester. It would not indeed have been fitting to erect in an Anglican Cathedral a monument to one who passed sentence on Cranmer, for it is Cranmer's voice that is still heard "in the accents of the English liturgy."

It is known that Bishop White was buried in Winchester Cathedral, and, owing to his unpopularity, at night. Some years ago an unknown grave was opened in the Cathedral. A coffin was found wrapt round with wisps of hay. In all probability this was ex-Warden White's coffin, left in the dead of night, and with such haste that the bearers did not even remove the bands of hay with which they had carried it.

John Boxall succeeded John White as Warden. He too was a Roman Catholic and a favourite of Queen Mary's; in fact, on his resigning the office of Warden, she made him one of her Secretaries of State. He held this post with no fewer than four Deaneries. Queen Elizabeth took away from him the Secretaryship and gave it to Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley. Boxall died in the Tower in 1571.

The names of two other Wykehamist champions of the Roman Catholic cause, Thomas Nelle and Thomas Harding, may be mentioned. Thomas Nelle, a Chaplain to Bishop Bonner, is now only remembered as the originator

of the once famous fiction, that the first Protestant Bishops of Queen Elizabeth's reign were consecrated at the Nag's Head tavern.¹ Thomas Harding was said to have been the first English Priest re-ordained in the Roman Church. Both these Wykehamists filled the Chair of Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford.

It must be borne in mind that nearly all the writers for the Roman Catholic cause, at least in England, had received a monastical or academical education. The people were on the side of the Reformation. One of the rare exceptions was Miles Huggarde, a London Shoemaker and pamphlet writer on the Romanist side. This state of things naturally resulted from the monopoly of knowledge enjoyed by the papal clergy and from the desire of the laity to wrest that weapon from their hands. Winchester as founded by Wykeham was a school for clerics, and under Queen Mary became a training-ground for those who drew their pens on the side of the Pope.

It would have been well, had all religious persecution ceased with the accession of Queen Elizabeth, but that would have been expecting too much of human nature in the 16th century. Knox asserted most explicitly the duty of putting idolaters (*i.e.* those who believed in the Mass) to death. Even Parker, who was Archbishop of Canterbury and no Puritan, complained of the Queen not absolutely rooting out the Roman Catholics. When one considers the temper of the times and the fact that her own throne was threatened by the partisans of Mary Queen of Scots as well as by Philip of Spain, one is struck by the moderation rather than the severity of Queen Elizabeth's government. Hallam has pointed out that no woman was put to death under her penal code, and women adhered longer to the old faith than the other sex. This of itself distinguished the Elizabethan from the Marian persecution. The most distinguished public-school man who suffered under Queen Mary was Archdeacon Philpot, the Wykehamist; the most distinguished that suffered under Queen Elizabeth was Edmund Campion, the Old Blue Coat Boy. No Protestant

¹ Hallam's *Constitutional History*, p. 95, note.

with a grain of fairness can withhold a tribute of respect to Campion's memory. Although a Jesuit he appears to have been only in theory a traitor to the Queen. The writings of Sanders, the Wykehamist Jesuit, were directed against what he considered Elizabeth's unlawful usurpation of the throne, and a Jesuit could not deny either the Pope's supremacy in the Church, or his right to deprive kings of their crowns. Nicholas Sanders (spelled Sawnder in the Register) was admitted into College in 1540. He was Latin Secretary to Queen Mary. On her death he retired to Louvain, took priest's Orders, and became a Jesuit. He accepted a mission to Ireland and died there more miserably than Campion did on the scaffold. Readers of *Westward Ho!* will remember how Sir Walter Raleigh, Amyas Lee, and Yeo, picking their way through Irish bogs under a grey March sky, came across the corpse of this "misguided, rash, intruding fool." Though Kingsley draws on his fancy for the circumstances of his death, he is merely quoting from Jesuit writings in making Raleigh say—"What is this in his hand, Amyas? A pastoral epistle to the Earl of Ormond; 'To all who groan beneath the loathsome tyranny of an illegitimate adulteress etc. Nicholas Saunders by the grace of God Legate etc.'" Poisonous rubbish of this character is only quoted for the purpose of showing that the great Queen was no persecutor of lambs.

As far as my researches have gone, Winchester was far and away the most Roman Catholic of all our public schools under Queen Mary. On the accession of her sister two ex-Wardens, Bishop White and Dean Boxall, were disgraced; Hyde, the Head Master of Winchester and a Prebendary of the Cathedral retired to Douai, and John Marshall (Hyde's usher) followed his master and became a Canon of Lisle. Some half-dozen Old Wykehamists, including Thomas Stapleton, the translator, resigned their offices and quitted England about the same time and for the same reason. Between the years 1560 and 1570 some dozen Old Wykehamists were removed from their Fellowships on the ground of "recusancy."

In 1584 the duel between Philip and Elizabeth, between the Romanist and Reformed Faiths reached an acute stage.

On the 10th July, 1584, William the Silent was assassinated by Gerard Balthazar. The reward promised by Philip to the man who should murder Orange was paid to the heirs of Gerard. Is it to be wondered at that the attempts to stamp out "recusancy" in England continued with great severity? In 1582 John Munden, a Wykehamist and a Jesuit, was hanged at Tyburn; in 1584 another Wykehamist, John Brodie, met the same fate at London. Both suffered for "recusancy." They denied the Queen's supremacy, and thus sided with the Queen's enemies.

The most distinguished of the Jesuits educated on Wykeham's Foundation was Henry Garnet. A note in the Register tells us that he left College in disgrace,¹ but as no particulars are given and as the Register was in the keeping of his opponents, we may well be sceptical as to his school-boy guilt. It would be well if we had as good grounds to acquit him of participation in the Gunpowder Plot. For complicity in this he was hanged at Tyburn in 1606. Roman Catholic writers maintain that Garnet had no knowledge of the conspiracy except by having heard it in confession. This rests altogether on Garnet's own word, and his innocence is not accepted by Hallam.² All reference to the leading part played by Wykehamists in the attempt to bring about a Roman Catholic restoration in England could not be omitted, but as their designs were in their essence anti-English and were regarded with disfavour by the general body of English Roman Catholics, who stood loyally by Queen and country at the crisis of the Armada, we can close this chapter of Wykehamist history with feelings of relief.

Considering the State reasons against holding any service that might remind the people of the Mass, it is rather remarkable that Queen Elizabeth permitted the services in Winchester Chapel to be continued in Latin for the sake of making the Scholars better acquainted with that tongue. She also approved of Archbishop Parker granting a dispensation to the Scholars to eat flesh on Wednesdays, Parliament having enacted that loyal subjects were to eat fish,

¹ Kirby's *Annals*, p. 288.

² See an impartial note in his *Constitutional History*, Chapter vii.

and not flesh, on Wednesdays and Saturdays. "Good Queen Bess" does not, however, figure as a good fairy in Wykehamist history. She had the habit of asking for favours—*e.g.*, leases, and getting them on her own terms.

It is pleasant to connect ourselves, however remotely, with the great and brave of a past generation.

"When Raleigh rose to fight the foes,
We sprang to work and will,
When Glory gave to Drake the wave,
She gave to us the Hill."

So sings the bard of Harrow, but the connection of Winchester with both these heroes is historical. When in 1580 Francis Drake came home with his eighty men and his one ship, the *Pelican*, loaded with Spanish gold, he was received by the Queen in person at Deptford, and a copy of the verses made by the Scholars of Winchester was affixed to his mast.

The connection of the College with Sir Walter Raleigh is a sad one. This brave "soldier and mariner" was tried at Winchester in the first year of James I.'s reign. The Scholars at the peremptory request of the King were turned out of College to make room for the judges. The Scholars of the Lycée at Rennes received similar treatment during the trial of Alfred Dreyfus.

It would increase the fame of this ancient Foundation, could William and Phillip, the two sons of the second Earl of Pembroke, be included among Wykeham's "Children." William, third Earl of Pembroke, has been described by the Wykehamist historian (S. R. Gardiner) as the Hamlet of Charles I.'s Court. He was, says Aubrey, "the greatest Mœcenas to learned men of any peer of his time or since." His brother and successor, Phillip, was a man of coarser fibre, but, like William, he was Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and took a leading part in State affairs. The first folio of Shakespeare was dedicated to these two brothers. It has also been suggested that the Publisher's dedication of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* "to the onlie begotter Mr. W. H." is addressed to William Herbert, Earl of Pem-

broke. Both the third and fourth Earls of Pembroke were Gentlemen Commoners of Wykeham's College at Oxford, but there is no evidence to show that they were Commoners at Wykeham's College at Winton. Mr. Mackenzie Walcott in his *William of Wykeham and his Colleges* (p. 408) does call them Wykehamists, and nearly all the Gentlemen Commoners of New College came from Winchester, but a certain number of them did not. Apart from family letters, statements in early biographies, monuments, and oral tradition there are, it must be remembered, no means of ascertaining with legal accuracy who were Commoners at Winchester prior to 1653, the date of the earliest Long Roll known to exist, unless their names are preserved in the Bursar's or Steward's Books. (See Holgate's *Winchester Long Rolls*, p. 116). Of Winchester Scholars there does exist an Official list from the date of the Foundation. The Long Roll has, it is believed, always been prepared by the Prefect of Hall. The uncle of the two Pembrokes, Sir Henry Sidney, was a Wykehamist. As President of the Marches of Wales, he resided at too great a distance to send his famous son Phillip to Wykeham's Foundation, so he sent him to the neighbouring school of Shrewsbury. Edward VI. died in Sir Henry's arms; under Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth Sir Henry filled the highest offices of state.

Among ecclesiastics, Warham, Waynflete, and Bilson (the two latter being Bishops of Winchester) are the most famous of Wykeham's early "children." Among laymen, Sir Henry Wotton and Sir Thomas Browne. Sir Henry Wotton became Warden of Eton. It is therefore an article of faith with the Old Boys of the most powerful school in the world to speak well of him. Sir Thomas Browne is not so fortunately placed. Happily, however, a writer's final place in literature depends, not on the praises of others, but on his own writings. Admitting that this Wykehamist's works are "caviar to the general", yet the author of *Religio Medici* is one of the glories of English literature and the chief glory of Winchester. That he was at Winchester is one of the few facts recorded in his monument in the Church of St. Peter, Norwich. In an eloquent passage De Quincey undertakes to build up an entire body of phi-

losophy from seven writers—Donne, Chillingworth, Sir Thomas Browne, Jeremy Taylor, Milton, South, and Barrow—who “form a pleiad, a constellation of seven golden stars such as no literature can match.”¹ Of these seven, four (Browne, Milton, South, and Barrow) were public-school men; of the remaining three, Donne was born a Roman Catholic, while Chillingworth and Taylor were born the one at Oxford and the other at Cambridge, and consequently each entered the University early. But not one of the illustrious seven was less of a public man than our Wykehamist. He lived at a most stirring period (1605—1682) and yet he took little more interest in the affairs of the nation than White of Selborne. The Hampshire clergyman wrote his *Natural History* during the American War, and seemed to limit his interest to the animal creation. The Norwich philosopher was the contemporary of Cromwell and of Milton, but he lived in a world of his own, where “Lazarus may sit above Cæsar, and the just obscure on earth shall shine like the Sun in Heaven.”²

It is dangerous to begin quoting from Browne, or without intending it you will compose a Dictionary of Quotations. His genius, like that of Jean Paul Richter, appeals to those who feel when they open one of his books that they enter a dreamland and are content to remain there. To turn from the knight of Norwich to the knight of Eton is to turn from the shade of the cloisters to the full glare of the sun, yet Sir Henry Wotton was not only a man of action, he was also a man of contemplation. Under his portrait at Eton is written—“*Philosophemur*”, a pregnant word characteristic of the man. On his tombstone was engraved, as directed by his will, his famous apothegm, as true now as when it was written.

“Hic jacet hujus ecclesiæ primus auctor
Disputandi pruritus, ecclesiarum scabies.”

The Warden of Eton was as pithy as the Norwich physician was discursive. Sir Thomas Browne bequeathed to

¹ De Quincey (Masson Edition), Vol. iii., p. 266.

² Browne's *Christian Morals*.

posterity many volumes of glorious rhetoric; Sir Henry Wotton two exquisite lyrics. Wykehamists have cause to be proud of both.

It is a significant proof of the leading position that Eton College had already taken in English public life, that on the death of Provost Murray in 1623, some eight or nine well-known public men became candidates for the vacant post.¹ Of these candidates one (Francis Bacon) was an ex-Lord Chancellor, another (Sir Robert Naunton) an ex-Secretary of State, another (Sir Robert Ayton) the late Queen Anne's Secretary, another (Sir Dudley Carleton) Ambassador under James I. and a Secretary of State under Charles I., and another (Sir Henry Wotton) an Ambassador. While admitting that the selection was practically in the hands of the King's favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, it is still no small distinction for our Wykehamist Wotton to have gained the post against such competitors. It must also be remembered that Wotton was always an "undervaluer of money," as his friend Walton calls him, and that he had not the means to bribe Buckingham, had he had the will. It is a sad reflection that public servants, so eminent as Bacon and Wotton, should all their lives have been harassed by want of means, yet such was the case. Bacon would have proved a well-nigh perfect Warden or Provost of Winchester or Eton. Nothing was wanting to his intellectual glory; he was wanting to theirs. With the close of James I.'s reign troublous times began for most of our public schools. The chief credit for the fact that neither the Civil War nor the upheaval of the constitution in any way injured Winchester College is due to Warden Harris (adm. 1579). So severe a recorder of Presbyterian intolerance as John Walker incidentally remarks—"I have been informed that none of the Fellows there (*i.e.* at Winchester College) were turned out."²

Yet, if the life at Wykeham's Foundation, during the Civil War, lay like a silent lake undisturbed by the whirlpools of public discord, as Mr. Inderwick says of the Inner and

¹ Lyte's *Eton College* (third ed.), p. 217.

² *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part. ii., p. 129.

Middle Temple, there were many Wykehamists, as there were many members of the Bar, who shared in the strife and suffered for conscience' sake. To write on Winchester and not to refer to Lydiat would almost amount to bad manners to Dr. Johnson.

If dreams yet flatter, once again attend,
Hear Lydiat's life and Galileo's end.¹

Even before Dr. Johnson immortalized this "child" of Wykeham, there can be no doubt that he enjoyed a great reputation. Walker in his standard work² refers to him as "this great and most learned man." He also refers at length to the sufferings of another ejected Scholar of Winchester, Walter Raleigh, D.D. This Raleigh was a nephew of Sir Walter, being the second son of Sir Carew Raleigh, elder brother of the famous admiral. Raleigh was Chaplain to William, third Earl of Pembroke, but as Dean of Wells he was "sequestered, and hurried from one prison to another, and after he had escaped the pestilence, was villainously murdered by his keeper"³ Raleigh was the friend of Lord Falkland and of Wm. Chillingworth. That famous theologian referred to Dr. Raleigh as "the best disputant that ever he met withal." Another ejected Wykehamist clergyman was Thomas Gawen,⁴ only remembered now for having met John Milton in Rome and for having later become a Roman Catholic. Another Wykehamist, William Bevis, after being ejected from his Fellowship at New College, served as a Major in the Royal Army and subsequently entered the Army of Charles X. of Sweden. After the Restoration this soldier took Orders and in 1679 he became Bishop of Llandaff. On the Puritan side we find Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, the diarist; John Hoskyns, who is reported to have corrected Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World* for the press, and William Twisse, Prolocutor of the Assembly of Divines. In the

¹ *The Vanity of Human Wishes.*

² *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part ii., p. 297.

³ Walker's *Sufferings*, part ii., p. 71.

⁴ *Sufferings*, part ii., p. 77.

actual fighting many Wykehamists must have fallen. Sir Edmund Verney, killed after the taking of Drogheda in 1649, was a Commoner in 1633; and another Commoner, Francis Windebank, who surrendered Blechington House to Cromwell, was shot by order of Charles I. in the Castle Garden of Oxford; Nathaniel Fiennes, for surrendering Bristol to Prince Rupert, was sentenced to death by Court Martial, but reprieved; while his brother John (also a Wykehamist) fought at Naseby under the immediate command of Oliver Cromwell and had charge of the Royalist prisoners after the battle. Their father, first Viscount Saye and Sele, was perhaps the most remarkable Wykehamist of his time. He filled an unique position in Parliament at the time of Strafford's trial and until the execution of Charles I. when he withdrew from public life. At one time he was regarded as the only Peer who supported the Independents. "He was," says Clarendon (*Rebellion*, Vol. III. 26), "the oracle of those who were called Puritans in the worst sense, and steered all their counsels and designs." He always took an interest in colonization, and in the year (1661) before his death wrote to the Governor of Massachusetts—"I was loth to omit writing because it may be my last, my glass being almost run out and I returning home."

No public school can claim the honour of educating the first Earl of Clarendon, in many ways the most historic figure that has sat on the Woolsack. Owing to the Civil War and the establishment of the Commonwealth, his two sons, the second Lord Clarendon and Lord Rochester, were educated abroad. It would have been well for the two uncles of Queen Mary and Queen Anne had they as boys been brought into touch with public opinion so freely expressed at a public school. They would have gained an increased influence over others, while they would have been none the less good Churchmen.

Three only of the Regicides appear to have been educated at any of the public schools dealt with in this volume. Nicholas Love was the son of Nicholas Love, Warden of Winchester, and is supposed to have been a Commoner of Winchester. Thomas Scott was an Old Westminster. Cornelius Scott, one of the King's judges who did not sign

the Warrant, is said to have been a Merchant Taylors' Scholar. Marten, the well-known Regicide, was not at Winchester, though his father, Henry Marten, was a Scholar there. Wykeham's Foundation has produced a rich crop of Civilians, from Marten and Zouche, who were Judges of the High Court of Admiralty in the reign of Charles I., down to Lord Penzance, whom we have only recently lost. The Restoration did not witness at Winchester any of the acts of violence which took place at Eton. No fellows were expelled, no Warden resigned, no Head Master was dismissed, no banners in the chapel were torn down, no epitaphs were effaced. ¹

Thomas Ken, a Scholar under the Puritan Warden Harris, probably still remains the best known of Wykehamists, not only as a hymn writer, but as one of the Seven Bishops. Winchester College bulks largely in this famous trial. Three of the seven—Ken, Lloyd and Turner—and two of the four Judges—Holloway and Powell—were Wykehamists. No other great Public School was represented except by the Counsel employed. The Attorney- and Solicitor-General, Sir Thomas Powys and Sir Wm. Williams, were both Old Salopians, while Sir Heneage Finch (ex-Solicitor-General) of Counsel for the Bishops was an Old Westminster. As James II. most truly said, the prelates raised a "standard of rebellion," and raised it with success in a just cause. Of the four judges who presided over a trial that proved a turning-point in English History, the two (especially Powell) who took a bold course and avowed that the dispensing power, as lately exercised, was utterly inconsistent with the law, were the two Wykehamists. It is extremely doubtful whether, if two of the Judges had not summed up in favour of the Bishops, the Jury would have returned a verdict of acquittal. As it was, the Jury made an all-night sitting of it, and Arnold, the King's brewer, only fell into line with the majority at six in the morning.

¹ Even a woman's monument did not escape. An inscription in Eton Chapel to the memory of Mrs. Oxenbridge, the wife of a Puritan Fellow, put up by Andrew Marvell, was defaced at the Restoration. (L. Cust's *Eton College*, p. 89.)

Powell and Holloway were at once degraded by James II., but after the Revolution Powell alone was restored to the Bench.

Edward Herbert, Lord Chief Justice of England and (titular) Lord Chancellor to James II. at St. Germain's, was a Wykehamist. He won the favour of James II. by holding as Chief Justice that the King had the power to dispense with a statute; he lost it by denying that the King had the power to enforce martial law in time of peace.

After the battle of the Boyne Sir Edward Herbert was made Lord Chancellor of England by James II.; curiously enough the same titular office was filled by his father under Charles II. When it was proposed to except Herbert from the Act of Indemnity, Mr. Holt (not the Lord Chief Justice) speaking from his place in the House of Commons, said—"I had my education in Winchester College with Lord Chief Justice Herbert," but Holt pleaded in vain for his old school-fellow. This must have been the Henry Holt admitted into College in 1660, while Edward Herbert was admitted in 1661.

Sussex has given to England three great poets—Otway, Collins, and Shelley. The first was the son of a clergyman, the second of a hatter, and the third of a Baronet. The first was a Winchester Commoner, the second a Winchester Scholar, and the third an Eton oppidan. Poor Otway, "the hope, the sorrow of our age," has left a name synonymous for genius and misfortune. He seems to have been a seventeenth century Poe. Yet he owes his immortality more to his misfortunes than his plays. *Venice Preserved* is a poor acting play at best. It was the product of a hollow age that took little pains to execute any work thoroughly. You miss the genuine ring of the Elizabethan drama. Apart from the indecency, of which Lord Campbell complains, Otway made a most outrageous attack on the private character of Lord Chancellor Shaftesbury, who was about to be tried for his life. Otway was inspired by the detestable spirit which Titus Oates breathed into English public life, begotten it must be admitted by the selfishness and venality of the King and his courtiers. The lies of the Merchant Taylor pro-

duced a counterblast from the Wykehamist and the Old Westminster. *Absalom and Achitophel* was published one week before the Bill of Indictment was preferred (November 1681) against the Earl of Shaftesbury at the Old Bailey. The unfairness of Dryden's attack was as patent as its genius. As Shaftesbury no longer stands at man's Bar, posterity can enjoy the satire, but should not read it as history.

There is a tradition that the first Earl of Shaftesbury was a Wykehamist. As he was the son of Sir John Cooper, a Hampshire country gentleman, it is quite probable that he was sent as a Commoner to the Hampshire county-school. The age of 16 at which he entered as a gentleman commoner at Exeter College, Oxford, was not too early for him to have been at Winchester in the 17th century, but in the absence of records there is no proof of his having been a Wykehamist. In spite of the exertions of Otway, Dryden, and Macaulay to blacken his memory, it may safely be said that the first Earl of Shaftesbury would have been no discredit to Wykeham's Foundation. In an age of corruption (the Restoration) he was incorruptible even on the admission of Dryden; in an age of absolute government, both under Cromwell and Charles II., he upheld the supremacy of Parliament.

The third Earl, the grandson and protégé of the Lord Chancellor, entered Winchester as a Commoner in the Warden's house in November 1683, and remained there till 1686. He was brought into the world by John Locke, at that time the medical attendant to the Ashley family, and the third Earl far more closely resembled the philosopher in character than he did his own father. A public school of 200 years ago was not the place for a boy with a philosophic turn of mind. We are told that he was constantly taunted with the opinions and fate of his grandfather. He appears to have been made miserable by the rough life of Winchester, and has criticised the excessive study of Greek and Latin there. His son claims for him, that in addressing the House of Commons in support of a Bill allowing Counsel to persons indicted for treason, he made this striking close to his speech: "If I, sir, who rise only to speak my opinion on the Bill now depending, am so con-

founded that I am unable to express the least of what I proposed to say, what must the condition of that man be, who is pleading for his life without any assistance and under apprehensions of being deprived of it?" His grandfather, the founder of modern parliamentary oratory, could not have expressed his argument more happily.

Smollett¹ refers to Shaftesbury's *Characteristics* as "that frothy writer's rhapsody," but on a philosophical subject the author of *Peregrine Pickle* was not an authority. The first Lord Shaftesbury said of himself at Oxford, that "he learnt the world faster than his book"; of the third Lord Shaftesbury the exact opposite might be said! The greatest compliment ever paid to our Wykehamist Shaftesbury was paid by a Frenchman. Montesquieu exclaimed: "The four great poets—Plato, Malebranche, Shaftesbury, and Montaigne!"

The fifth and sixth Earls of Shaftesbury went to Winchester, the seventh (the philanthropist) to Harrow. The subject of Winchester Commoners must now be approached, but they require a chapter to themselves.

¹ *Peregrine Pickle*, Ch. xxiii.

CHAPTER XXVI.

WINCHESTER—(continued).

MR. KIRBY considers that there were no Commoners in Wykeham's original scheme of foundation. The Founder did, however, provide that a few sons of gentlemen of influence (*nobiles et valentes personæ*) should be educated with the free Scholars. Their number was not to exceed ten, and they were to be boarded as well as taught in College, but at their own cost. Besides these (*commensales*) there were the Commoners who boarded and lodged outside the College walls, and the "Street Commoners" who were home-boarders. The number of these Commoners only eight years after Wykeham's death (1412) seems to have reached 80 or 100. Cardinal Beaufort thought this number in addition to the 70 Scholars and ten commensales too many for one master to teach, and he issued an injunction against the teaching of more Commoners than the privileged ten. Commoners survived the Cardinal unto this day; "Street-Commoners" survived until the middle of the 18th century.

But before referring to Dr. Burton, the Founder of "Commoners", a few words should be devoted to the earlier Head Masters. Of these, the most famous, William Waynflete and John White, have already been referred to. Three other Head Masters (Clement Smyth, Wm. Horman, and Thomas Erlysmán) became Head Masters of Eton. Thomas Bilson was the last Head Master of Winchester to become its Bishop, and the only Head Master of Winchester buried in Westminster Abbey. Wykehamists had to wait more than two centuries and a half before they saw another Head Master promoted to a Bishopric. The late George Moberly and Dr. George Ridding, Head Masters in succession, became respectively Bishops of Salisbury and Southwell.

Winchester is, at the present time, represented by the Bishops of Southwell, Salisbury (John Wordsworth), Truro (John Gott) and Newcastle (Edgar Jacob). The representation of Wykeham's Foundation on the Press of to-day is even stronger than on the Episcopal Bench. The following Newspaper Proprietors and Editors are Wykehamists—C. E. Buckle (Editor of *The Times*), E. T. Cook (ex-Editor of the *Daily News*), J. S. Cotton (ex-Editor of *The Academy*), Sir William Ingram of the *Illustrated London News*, Arthur Pearson of *Pearson's Weekly*, and J. E. Vincent of *The Times*.

In the 16th century neither the position of a Head Master of a great public school nor that of a physician was what they are now. Two of the Head Masters of Eton, Reuben Sherwood (elected about 1571) and John Hammond (elected in 1583), and one Head Master of Winchester, Christopher Jonson (1560—71), all practised as physicians after their retirement.

The first Protestant Bishop of Winchester under Queen Elizabeth was Robert Horne. He was succeeded by John Watson, the Dean, who had been a physician with a considerable practice. After a two years' episcopate he died, and another physician, Dr. Cooper, D.D., became Bishop in his stead. In this there is something more than a coincidence. Medicine had not in Queen Elizabeth's time become the clearly marked profession it afterwards became. Founder's kin were not limited by the Statutes of William of Wykeham, but were limited to the number of eighteen by order of Bishop Cooper in 1580. Wm. Wickham and Wm. Day were Bishops of Winchester, each for a few months, in 1594, and to them succeeded Thomas Bilson. Wm. Wickham was an Etonian, his brother-in-law, Wm. Day, was Provost of Eton for 34 years. Bilson seems to have been a worker. When Warden he devoted two years and a half of research to unearthing a forgery, which threatened to swallow up some of the College lands.

Under the Commonwealth (1653) twenty-six Commoners were being educated in College. After the rebellion of 1715 the Grand Jury presented the College for disaffection. In 1717 there were only twenty Commoners. It is probable that both in 1717 as in 1761 Wykeham's Foundation suffered

in public estimation for its supposed Jacobite tendencies.¹ Had either the Warden or the Head Master been a Non-juror, he would without question have been removed by the Government.

John Burton, Head Master from 1724 to 1766, was a man of large ideas and large means, and ranks in Wykehamist history as the Founder of "Old Commoners", but which Burton's contemporaries called "Commoners' College." Mr. Adams gives a full description of the house as it stood in 1838. To board all Commoners under one roof was an immense step in advance. It put a stop once and for ever to the system of boarding out as described in *Peregrine Pickle*.² That system was nothing more nor less than an open door to the early practice of vice. It is not a pretty picture of public-school life that Smollett gives, yet its substantial accuracy has never been questioned. *Peregrine Pickle* went to Winchester with his tutor and servant about the middle of the eighteenth century. According to the euphemism used by Lord Elcho, the boys were "taught to live as men of the world." Lord Elcho left Winchester and joined the Jacobite Army in '45. He was probably no worse than other "fast" boys of his day, such as Byron's own father, "mad Jack", who was at Westminster. Wykehamist discipline during the first half of the 18th century was not less lax than that of other public schools. Parson Adams's account of Eton cannot be dismissed as a fiction.³ That Dr. Burton's reforms set only a check, but not a full stop, to the shocking immorality of our public schools 150 years ago there is unfortunately abundant evidence. A profligate age produces a profligate school. The Knights of St. Francis, whose orgies at Medmenham Abbey have become a by-word with posterity, were not adventurers like Wilkes, but men of rank and fashion. Wilkes is generally credited with having been a member of their society, but I am informed he was not. His wit and profanity qualified him to be a Franciscan, but his birth did not. The Society was

¹ Holgate's *Winchester Long Rolls*, lxxv.

² Chapters xvi. to xx.

³ Fielding's *Joseph Andrews*, Book III., Ch. v.

founded in 1747 and terminated its career in 1762. A list of members has been courteously shown me by a gentleman who is writing on the subject, but it would serve no useful purpose to publish them here. It is, however, common knowledge that Sir Francis Dashwood, Lord Sandwich, the Earl of March, and Thomas Potter, M.P., the son of the Archbishop of Canterbury, were among the revellers of Medmenham Abbey. Judgment has been passed on them all by history, but on Sir Francis Dashwood the sentence has been almost too severe. His name is not to be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The omission of one who filled the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer is probably accidental.¹ No biography has been written of him. My own belief is that, like his father and his cousin, Sir James Dashwood, he was a Commoner at Winchester. Dashwood and Sandwich were bad men, but Dashwood at least was not without redeeming qualities. Both belonged to the now extinct Buckingham type of statesman. Versatility, brilliancy, and lack of principle distinguished them all. The Dilettanti Society have two remarkable portraits, one of Dashwood in the garb of a Franciscan, worshipping a statue of Venus, and another of Sandwich in the robes of a Cardinal. What would the press say, and rightly say, if similar portraits were painted of the Old Wykehamist and Old Etonian, Lord Selborne and Sir Michael Hicks Beach, who fill to-day the same offices as Sandwich and Dashwood then filled. Yet Dashwood was no coward. In the affair of Admiral Byng he showed kindness of feeling, not less than tact and decision.² Sandwich had brains, or he would not have filled the office of First Lord of the Admiralty for about 16 years; but as to his morals, I fear, Churchill's lines are not far from the truth:

Too infamous to have a friend
Too bad for bad men to commend.

¹ Since the above was written, a friend tells me that Sir Francis Dashwood will be included in the supplementary volume of the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

² Walpole's *Memoirs of George III.*, Vol i., p. 172.

The Earl of March, afterwards the well-known Duke of Queensbury, was a Wykehamist. The Knights of St. Francis consisted of a Father Superior, twelve Superiors and twelve Inferiors. A Wykehamist (whose family then lived at Shottesbrook, about six miles from the Abbey) filled the very undesirable position of Acolyte in the Brotherhood. This was Henry Vansittart.¹ His father wisely cut short his education at home by sending him out to Madras as a clerk of the East India Company at the age of 13! His Indian career is referred to in a later chapter. Henry Vansittart married Amelia, the younger daughter of Nicholas Morse, Governor of Madras (1744—46), a great-grandson of Bridget, eldest daughter of Oliver Cromwell and wife of General Ireton. As the descendants of Oliver Cromwell's sons have died out, the Protector is now represented by the descendants of our Wykehamist, Henry Vansittart. The child of this marriage was Nicholas Vansittart. For nearly ten years he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was created Lord Bexley. Thus the son of the Medmenham Acolyte and the descendant of the Lord Protector became coupled in the public mind with Henry Addington, the Wykehamist, and like him was regarded as a typical Tory Statesman and Churchman of his day. The Whig, Tom Moore, bracketed "the Doctor" and "Nick" together.

¹ The *Dictionary of National Biography* states that Henry and Robert Vansittart were at Winchester. Mr. C. W. Holgate, who is in possession of a complete set of the Long Rolls from 1723 to the end of the century (1900), kindly informs me that neither the name of Henry nor Robert Vansittart appear on the annual school list or "Long Rolls" which in the absence of the Head Master's register of admissions is the only *official* School record of a boy having been a Commoner. He is therefore of opinion that neither boy can have been in the School for more than one whole half-year and portion of another at the longest, and he has no proof of their having been at Winchester. A member of the Vansittart family tells me that it is a tradition in his family that the four brothers, George, Arthur, Henry and Robert, and four sons of George, went to Winchester. The mother of Henry and his brothers was the daughter of an Old Wykehamist, Sir John Stonhouse, Comptroller of the Household of Queen Anne.

Robert, the brother of Henry Vansittart, also a Wykehamist, was a Knight of St. Francis. He became Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford and a favourite of Dr. Johnson. The sage, when he was 50 years of age, paid a visit to Oxford, and seems to have thoroughly enjoyed himself. "I have swum thrice, which I had disused for many years. I have proposed to Vansittart (*i.e.* Robert) climbing over the wall, but he has refused me, and I have clapped my hands till they were sore at Dr. King's speech." ¹ So writes the Doctor, who, like most good and sensible men, retained much of his boyish love of frolic till old age.

Dr. Burton's rule was vigorous, yet in 1751 there were only eight Commoners in the School. Mr. Holgate records. ² but cannot account for the drop. So completely had Eton recovered from any effects of '45 that in 1756 their number reached 522. In spite of the shrinkage in numbers between 1735 and 1751 Winchester then divided the honours with Eton and Westminster of being a school for the aristocracy.

William, the first Earl of Radnor; the first, second and third Earls of Warwick (Brooke), the fifth and sixth Dukes of Hamilton, the second Duke of Bolton, and the ninth Duke of Somerset were Wykehamists of the eighteenth century.

The institution of Old Commoners led to day-boys ceasing to be received. Winchester is remarkable as the only public school where for more than a century there have been no day-boys. ³ Most observers will agree that in schools which (unlike St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors') are not day-schools, day-boys do not see the sunny, or even morally the best side of public-school life. Friendship cannot exist except as between equals, and absurd as the statement may appear to one who has not been a public-school boy, a boarder in the school does not regard a home-boarder as his equal. It is not just to the boy himself to send him to a school where he will be looked down upon as an inferior. When the present Bishop of Hereford was Head Master of Rugby, he was a great cham-

¹ Boswell's Johnson (Croker Ed. 1839), Vol. ii., p. 111.

² *Winchester Long Rolls*, lxxiv.

³ In 1899 there were no home-boarders at Eton.

pion of the home-boarding system. He believed that a town-boy received the best kind of education, as it combined home influence with public-school instruction. Most Old Boys will not agree with this high authority in this view. In our opinion a Home Boarder misses half the good of a public-school education. He may enjoy all the advantages of instruction that the school offers, but instruction is only half the education that can be got there. He loses the lessons in self-reliance and self-help that are hourly and daily given to the boys in the masters' house. He misses the fagging which is not now of an objectionable character at any of our public schools. In short a home-boarder's education is at best but a hot-house education with the east wind left out of it.

Having established "Old Commoners" as the Head Master's boarding-house, Dr. Burton gave it by his will to the College, Dr. Moberly pulled down "Old Commoners," and, between 1839 and '43, built "New Commoners" and the present Head Master's house. The first Tutor's boarding-house was opened in 1859, and in 1868—69 Dr. Ridding removed the boys from New Commoners to various new boarding-houses. The building of New Commoners, entirely remodelled and enlarged, is now utilised for the school library known as a memorial of the Head Master, "Moberly Library," and the School class-rooms. Nine of the assistant masters now keep boarding-houses. The memory of "Old Commoners" is preserved by four of these being still called "Commoners", the other five houses being called (Tutors') "Houses." The three divisions (College, Commoners, and Houses) play each other at Football, in "Fifteens," and "Sixes." The division between the "Commoners" and "Houses" is made purely for the sake of this school game.

If a school is to stand or fall by the poets she has nursed, Wykeham's Foundation would fare badly. Winchester is rich in poets of the third and fourth class. This is singular because if there be any force in the theory of environment, Winchester of all public schools seems an ideal spot for the development of the poetic faculty. The cloisters should have given English literature many *Penserosos*. Yet of all Wykehamists Collins alone is recognised as one of

England's greatest poets. The author of the "*Ode to the Passions*" was a boy in the school when Pope visited the College. He and the future Head Master Warton published verses in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which were praised by Dr. Johnson.¹ Warton reported of Collins that his "English verse was better than his Latin." Dr. Johnson liked the man, but not the poet. Collins's inability to write good Latin verse is some proof that talent and not genius is required for writing good Latin verse. A clever boy with a knack for rhyming can make English and Latin verse with equal facility. The poets of Eton have nearly all been Oppidans; the poets of Winchester have nearly all been Collegers. John Owen, Joseph Warton, William Whitehead, Somerville of *The Chase*, John Philips of *Cider*, Lisle Bowles, and George Huddesford were all distinguished Wykehamists, but as poets are now unread. Orthodoxy would exclaim against the inclusion of Edward Young in this category; yet who now reads "*Night Thoughts*"? A better fate has befallen Thomas Ken, and Thomas Russell. Russell is a poet's poet. His work, like Milton's "rathe primrose, neglected lies." In his first year at Winchester he was already in sixth book and 15th boy in the school. Although he died at the age of twenty-six, he secured for himself a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and left sonnets, which, as Landor expressed it, authorised him to "join the shades of Sophocles and Euripides." Mr. Seccombe has told us the interesting fact that Wordsworth in his sonnet *Iona* has adopted the very words of our Wykehamist—

"Hopes perhaps more heavenly bright than thine
A grace by thee unsought and unpossessed,
A faith more fixed, a rapture more divine,
Shall gild their passage to eternal rest."

Charles Dibdin, the author of *Tom Bowling*, the best known ballad in our language, was a Chorister at Winchester Cathedral. Even had he been in the Choristers School attached to the College, I am informed that it is not

¹ Wooll's *Life of Joseph Warton*.

the custom to confer on the ex-pupils from the Choristers School, the title of Old Wykehamists.

Among the Scholars of Dr. Burton's time was Robert Lowth, subsequently Bishop of London. Lowth should be remembered for two memorable refusals. He refused the Archbishopric of Canterbury when offered to him, and he refused to sit at table above John Wesley. Another Wykehamist, George Lavington, Bishop of Exeter, was one of Wesley's most bitter opponents.

Lord Bute, the Prime Minister, sent four of his sons to Winchester instead of to Eton. They entered under Dr. Burton between 1760—64, and the youngest of the four, William, afterwards became Archbishop of Armagh.

Another pupil of Dr. Burton's was Wm. Gerard Hamilton. He is better known as "single-speech Hamilton." He flattered Dr. Johnson and won his good opinion, but Madame d'Arblay, on this occasion shrewder than the sage, described him as "infinitely artful, double, and crafty." He enjoyed with contemporaries the discredit of being Junius, and with posterity the more deserved discredit of having treated Burke shabbily. So far from having spoken only once, he was a frequent speaker both in the Parliaments of London and Dublin.

Dr. Joseph Warton succeeded Dr. Burton. His father was also a schoolmaster, and one of the paternal pupils was Gilbert White of Selborne. White, like Wither the poet, was one of the few famous Hampshire men that Winchester cannot claim. Joseph Warton's life has been written by his old pupil Dr. Wooll, Head Master of Rugby. Dr. Wooll entirely ignores the Rebellion of 1793, and represents Dr. Warton's retirement as wholly voluntary! Joseph Warton was the friend of Collins, Johnson, and Reynolds, and a member of the Literary Club. He was essentially a man of letters and a delightful conversationist, but apparently neither a sound scholar nor a disciplinarian. Bishop Burgess, who left in 1775, relates that once during a disturbance in school he saw a Latin dictionary thrown at Dr. Warton's head. Thomas Warton, the author of that monumental work, *The History of English Poetry*, was neither a Wykehamist nor a Winchester Master, but on his

visits to his brother, the Head Master, he used to help the boys in their exercises and to be a ringleader in their skylarking.

Harris, the author of that once famous book "*Hermes*", was dubbed by Dr. Johnson "a prig and a bad prig." He could scarcely have been so bad as the Doctor thought, or he would not have selected a good but a hard school for his only son James, subsequently first Earl of Malmesbury. "I left Winchester," writes this unimpeachable witness, "in September 1762. I have been indulged there too much. Dr. Warton erred in the contrary extreme from Mr. Hale (Harris's private schoolmaster). I did merely what I liked, and as boys always wish to be men, I thought myself a man too soon."

As James Harris was only 16 when he left, it is clear that one of the great objects of education—viz., *gradually* to become your own master, was lost sight of. The parent who shrinks from exposing his son to the risks of a great public school, forgets that he must be exposed in later life to far greater dangers. The hardening process is surely a healthy one. A boy begins as a fag, then looks on from a coign of vantage as a "man in Vth Book," and finally develops into a "man in VIth Book" with fags of his own. This gradual development prevents the boy becoming a man too soon. But a century and a half ago Winchester was a rough apprenticeship for a world that was also rougher than English society of the present day. Sydney Smith (so his daughter tells us) "used to shudder at the recollection of Winchester, and I have heard him speak with horror of the wretchedness of the years he spent there; the whole system was then, my father used to say, one of abuse, neglect and vice."¹ Sydney Smith was in College and rose to be head of the school. Such was the intellectual prowess of Sydney and his brother Courtenay that the prefects signed a round robin to Dr. Warton refusing to compete for the College prizes if the Smiths were allowed to contend for them. Winchester may well be proud of Sydney Smith. If the author of *Religio Medici*

¹ *Memoir of Sydney Smith*, by Lady Holland, Vol. i., p. 6.

be the Wykehamist genius of eloquence, the author of the *Letters to Peter Plimley* was the Wykehamist genius of common sense. Every reform he advocated has since been passed with the exception of payment of the Roman Catholic clergy—an omission which many Conservatives regret. Unfortunately for his own professional advancement his mind was essentially non-ecclesiastical, and he was too honest to attempt any concealment. The noble sermon he preached in St. Paul's on our Queen's accession must not be forgotten. That sermon, as Mr. Sedley Taylor has pointed out, has proved a prophecy. And then his delightful humour! No man ever had more, or ever turned it to better uses. Some one in contrasting Macaulay as a conversationist with Sydney Smith has said that the difference between them was the difference between the hour and the minute hand—one goes ten times as fast, and the other signifies ten times as much. This is depreciatory of Macaulay, but not adulatory of our Wykehamist humourist. M. Chevrillon, in his appreciative work on Sydney Smith,¹ has not unnaturally regarded barbarity as the corner-stone of public-school life, but when he describes Sydney Smith as "wandering through the neighbouring country, chasing mice and birds, lighting his fire and cooking his game," one is at a loss to understand the author's meaning. A footnote gives us his authorities—*Tom Brown's School Days* and *The Life of the Naturalist Buckland*. Frank Buckland was in College under Dr. Moberly from 1839 to 1844. He has given us a most racy account of his school life,² but except the fact that both he and Sydney Smith were humourists and both possessed catapults, there was little in common between them. Our French biographer seems to think that all English schoolboys are naturalists, and little suspects that the Bucklands and the Balfours³ are

¹ *Sydney Smith et la Renaissance des Idées liberales en Angleterre au XIX siècle*, par A Chevrillon (Hachette 1894).

² *Frank Buckland's Life*, by his brother-in-law Mr. George Bompas.

³ The late Francis Maitland Balfour was at Harrow 1865—70, subsequently F.R.S. and first Professor of Animal Morphology at the University of Cambridge.

regarded by their schoolfellows as harmless, but decided eccentrics. An old gentleman who found Sydney Smith reading Virgil, told him that that was the way to conquer the world, and presented him with a shilling. The incident is common-place enough and would call for no comment from a schoolboy except on the smallness of the tip. M. Chevrillon, however, moralises on the incident and remarks that Sydney Smith throughout life looked forward to two prizes—"le sentiment du devoir accompli et la possession d'un grand nombre de pièces blanches." Would that he had enjoyed more of the latter!

Another pupil of Dr. Warton's was Henry Addington, afterwards Lord Sidmouth and Prime Minister. He was a Commoner. There is nothing to record of his school life except his friendship for George Isaac Huntingford, then an assistant master, and afterwards Warden of Winchester. The correspondence of master and "Old Boy" covers a period of 64 years and breathes, we are told, a spirit of devoted attachment on both sides. Dante put his old tutor in Hell: Lord Sidmouth put his on the Bench of Bishops.

Winchester under Dr. Warton must have had some reputation for scholarship, or Dr. Parr would not have recommended the school to the father of his promising pupil, Edward Maltby, who came as a Commoner. Maltby was the son of a Deacon of a Presbyterian church, but, thanks to Dr. Parr and Winchester, he rose to be Bishop of Durham and a generous benefactor to his old school.

Although Dr. Warton could not hold his own with boys, he could and did hold his own with Dr. Johnson. "I am not accustomed," exclaimed Dr. Johnson, "to be contradicted." "Better for yourself and friends, Sir," replied Dr. Warton, "if you were; our admiration for you could not be increased, but our love might."

When old Lord Auchinleck was speaking to a friend about his son, James Boswell, being first pinned on to the tail of Paoli and then of Dr. Johnson, he summed up his contempt in this wise—"A dominie, mon—an auld dominie, he kepted a schule and call'd it an academy." When public opinion was set in this direction, and Lord Auchinleck was a scholar, a Whig, and a gentleman, the only wonder

is that our schools of the eighteenth century were not worse than they were. Dr. Johnson himself shared the prejudice against schoolmasters and never liked to refer to that period of his life. "In some part of Blackmore's life," he writes, "his diligence compelled him to teach a school," but "let it be remembered for his honour, that to have been once a school-master is the only reproach which all the perspicacity of malice, animated by wit, has ever fixed upon his private life." These pathetic words, delivered as they were by an ex-schoolmaster, scarcely amount to an eulogy on the English schoolboy. The Doctor does not seem to have been treated by his pupils with the profound reverence which he afterwards received from James Boswell. Boys are not given that way; their faults do not lean to sycophancy, and we are not surprised to learn from Garrick that the oddities and uncouth gesticulations of their master were a subject of merriment to them. Had Dr. Johnson been Head Master of Winchester, he would have been no more unfitted for the post than his friend Dr. Warton. English literature would have been the poorer without its Boswell's Johnson, while the fame of Wykeham's Foundation would not have been increased.

Dr. Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln, himself a Wykehamist, has said that Winchester relies less than other schools on the personal influence of its Head Master, and more on its own principles. There is no question that Winchester is in many points a school apart, and that the loyalty of her sons is one of her traditions. Yet it is a singular fact that in spite of the traditional loyalty of her sons, Wykehamist history is more rich in rebellions than that of any other public school. The latest rebellion was that of the Commoners in 1848; the most famous that of the Collegers in 1793. The former proved a complete fiasco, thanks to the tact of Dr. Moberly. Of the rising of '93 the boys' account has been given by Mr. Collins,—the official, by Mr. Adams. After reading both it is impossible to deny the incompetence of Dr. Warton and the breach of faith on the part of Warden Huntingford. Serious injury was done to the school. When Dr. Warton resigned, the total number of the school (including the Scholars) was not more than sixty.

There was no election to New College in 1794, and for a long time vacancies there could not be filled up. Dr. Goddard, who succeeded Dr. Warton, brought back efficient discipline, and the numbers rose gradually till, in 1806, they reached 133.

The following are the best known English instances of hereditary genius during the past 200 years. In public life, Sir Robert Walpole and his son Horace; the first Earl of Chatham, and his son William Pitt; Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke, and his unfortunate son Charles Yorke; John Pratt, Chief Justice of England, and his son Charles, afterwards Lord Chancellor Camden: in literature, Thomas Arnold, and his son Matthew; Isaac Disraeli, and his son Benjamin, the Prime Minister and novelist; Henry Hallam, and his son Arthur, the subject of *In Memoriam*; Edward Bulwer Lytton, and his son the Viceroy and Poet; James Mill, and his son John Stuart: and in science, William Buckland, and his son Frank, and William Herschell, and his son John. Of these sons, Horace Walpole, Charles Pratt, Edward Bulwer Lytton, Arthur Hallam, Frank Buckland, John Herschell, and Matthew Arnold were public-school men, but of these seven, four only went to the same public school as their fathers. On both the Walpoles, Eton made a lasting impression, and the same may be said of Hallam, the historian, and his two sons, Arthur and Henry (the latter a Newcastle Medallist), both of whom he had the misfortune to survive. Matthew Arnold resembled his father as little as Horace Walpole did Sir Robert, but he at least became a good classical scholar at the paternal school of Winchester. Dean Buckland and his son Frank remembered Wykeham's Foundation with affection, but owed their eminence in science to their own strong wills.

The mental inheritance of gifted sons is almost as secure as the enjoyment of an hereditary estate. But how about the boy intellectually less richly endowed? The best means of awaking the ambition of such a lad is to send him to a public school. The very antiquity and conservatism of our ancient Foundations appeals to the mentally and morally backward in a manner that a more purely intellectual system of education fails to do.

CHAPTER XXVII.

WINCHESTER—(*continued*).

IN after-life Dr. Arnold cherished a warm attachment for his old School and often referred "to his recollections of the tact in managing boys shown by Dr. Goddard." If Dean Stanley be accurate in his recollection of the word "tact", the tribute paid by Arnold to his old chief did not err on the side of generosity. All contemporary evidence points to the fact that Dr. Goddard was an able ruler. He restored the Wykehamist system to order from the chaos to which Dr. Warton had reduced it. He also governed on the assumption that his boys were truthful and honourable. In fact he recognised the principle of trusting to a boy's honour which his more famous pupil popularized. You search in vain for any hint of Dr. Arnold's obligations to his teacher in Stanley's *Life*. Dr. Goddard, however, appreciated his pupil, Arnold, and when the boys called him "poet Arnold", Dr. Goddard had the discrimination to see that poetry was not his pupil's true bent. Dr. Goddard would, with characteristic modesty, say that the prosperity of his School was due to the influence of boys of high character, and on one occasion he instanced three of them—Rolfe, Inglis and Lefevre. Rolfe became Lord Chancellor Cranworth, Inglis, Sir Robert Harry Inglis, the well-known M.P. for Oxford University, and Lefevre (Lord Eversley) Speaker of the House of Commons. In addition to Lord Eversley, Winchester can claim Arthur Onslow, Speaker for 33 years in five successive Parliaments, and Charles Wolfran Cornwall, whose monument stands in the noble church of St. Cross, near his old School. As Cornwall died Speaker in 1789, the mace, the distinctive mark of a Speaker dying while in office, appears on his monument.

Dr. Gabell succeeded Dr. Goddard, and shares with him

the honour of training Dr. Arnold. The only allusion made to him by Dean Stanley was to his "skill in imparting scholarship." Dr. Gabell belonged to quite a different school of thought to Goddard and Williams. While he seems to have limited his energies to instruction, his predecessor and successor sought to awaken thought and stimulate industry. He seems, however, to have been genial with his friends, and the "solid day" he spent with Dr. Parr and Dr. Butler of Shrewsbury was, let us hope, a pleasant one. "Let us meet together," writes Dr. Gabell to Dr. Parr, "and chat like men of sense, about books; laugh at the pomp and pedantry of verbal critics; mourn over the irksome toil and scanty profits of schoolmasters; quaff a bumper to the good cause of flogging, another to the Duke of Wellington." The "good cause of flogging" did not suffer at his hands.

With the accession of Dr. Williams in 1823 to the post of Head Master, the modern history of Winchester begins. Most middle-aged men have known intimately pupils of Dr. Goddard's, and my grandfather has spoken to me of those days, but none of his pupils now survive. Of the pupils of Dr. Gabell, there can be but few survivors. The veteran Warden of New College, Oxford, James Edwards Sewell, is one, and a Wykehamist correspondent of mine tells me (1901) that he could name two country clergymen who were pupils of Dr. Gabell. Dr. Hook, Dean of Chichester, a pupil of Dr. Gabell, and the following pupils of Dr. Williams: the Bishops of Salisbury (Moberly) and Lincoln (Wordsworth), Anthony and Adolphus Trollope; the three Lord Chancellors, Cranworth, Hatherley and Selborne; Lords Sherbrooke, Monsell and Cardwell, and Wm. George Ward, Tennyson's "most generous of all Ultramontanes", have joined the majority. Robert Lowe (Lord Sherbrooke) left Winchester in 1829, and Roundell Palmer (Lord Selborne) in 1830. Both were Commoners, but each had a very different recollection of Winchester. Lowe and Cardwell spoke of Winchester as "a coarse, brutal, cruel School."¹ Roundell Palmer always referred

¹ A. Patchett Martin's *Life of Viscount Sherbrooke*, Vol. i., p. 71.

to it with enthusiasm. It is the familiar story of the two sides of the shield. If you wish to see what our public schools were like, when our criminal code was still unreformed and when the most brutal sports were as popular as cricket and golf now are, turn to the pages of *Peter Priggins*.¹ The second volume of this curious book, under the guise of fiction, photographs the life of a Carthusian gown-boy at the commencement of the nineteenth century. It is difficult to believe that English boys could have been so fiendishly cruel, yet the evidence of many trustworthy witnesses proves that the bullying at public schools during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and later, was truly diabolical.

Lowe, so Lord Selborne tells us, was one of those who profited most by the limited range of teaching then in force at Winchester, but he derived there something more valuable than capacity for verse-making. "Winchester," said Lord Sherbrooke, "solved the problem as to whether I was able to hold my own in life, and proved by a most crucial experiment that I was not too sensitive nor too soft for the business." John Locke was no friend to public schools, yet his own experience of Westminster led him to value its enforced hardships. In coming to a similar conclusion Lowe conceded all that the majority of our forefathers expected of a public school.

Instruction they could obtain elsewhere, but the best preparation for the hardships and disappointments of life was the life at a great public school. It was a matter of common observation in the Crimean campaign that none stood the deprivations there with more cheerfulness than the officers, nurtured in comfortable homes, who had also gone through the fagging and bullying of public schools. After a Spartan school even the Crimea was a Capua.

¹ The anonymous author of *Peter Priggins, the College Scout* was the Rev. Joseph Thomas James Hewlett, a Carthusian gown-boy. The book was edited by Theodore Hook, illustrated by "Phiz" and published by Henry Colburn in 1841. Dr. Raine is referred to as Dr. Worthy, Dr. Russell as Mr. Innovate, Dr. Bell as Dr. Tintinabulum and Mr. Joseph Lancaster, his rival, as Mr. Lackteacher.

Those of us who have stood beside their graves on that distant shore are not likely to forget their sufferings and deaths. It is therefore to be hoped that 'mid all the reforms and improvements of modern education, the hardening process, to which our ancestors in great measure owed their grit, will not be lost sight of. Winchester may have been, and, on the evidence of her own scholars, was a *dura nutrix*, but she was the severe nurse of men.

It is a fact that Roundell Palmer, Lowe, and Cardwell visited Winchester in the early seventies. They thought that they were *incog.*, but the porter had blabbed. The boys cheered them to the echo, while their spokesman thus addressed them—"Look here—We know you are three beastly Rads, but we are proud of you. Go and get us a half-holiday!" It is also a tradition that at a Wykehamist dinner the Chairman, the then Lord Chancellor (Lord Hatherley), modestly referred to himself as a warming-pan for his more distinguished schoolfellow, Roundell Palmer, who was sitting next to him.

The Winchester of Dr. Warton is as much a thing of the past as the Westminster of Dr. Busby. The good as well as the evil of that hard school has passed away for ever. Lowe and Cardwell would not speak of the Winchester of to-day as a "coarse, brutal, cruel School." If the boy has changed and softened, so has the master. There are masters now at Winchester and at other public schools, qualified to distinguish themselves in any profession, who devote their time both in class-rooms and playing-fields to developing the character as well as the brains of their pupils. Such singleness of purpose cannot and does not go without its reward. Such masters are beloved by the boys. It is a great mistake to suppose that boys are either bad judges of character or indifferent to goodness. It would be nearer the truth to say that they rarely, if ever, make a mistake. If a master be cruel or selfish, a public-school boy will find him out. Such a master may and often does impose on some of his fellow-masters, but he never does impose on the boys of his class or his house.

It is now (1900) seventeen years since Dr. Ridding left Winchester, and transferred his energies to the Diocese of

Southwell. When he was elected to the post of Head Master, his old school had just been started on the new path by the Public Schools Act of 1868. The old Governing Body had ceased to direct the Wykehamical Society; the new governing body had not yet taken up the reins. It was a most critical time for this ancient school. It was a crisis that required of the Head Master, not only judgment, courage, and tact, but also intimate knowledge of all the points in the time-honoured system, which required reform or modification. A Head Master, who had been bred at Eton or Harrow, could not have possessed the necessary knowledge. Happily Dr. Ridding possessed every possible qualification for the post. He was the son of a former Hostiarius, born as well as bred in College, and at the time of his election he was himself Hostiarius. He was the son-in-law of his predecessor, Dr. Moberly, the cousin of the Rev. Gilbert Wall Heathcote (one of the oldest of the Fellows), and well known to every elector of the Wykehamist Body. Let no cynic smile—the Electors could not possibly have been guided to a wiser selection. It was a momentous occasion. Dr. Ridding was absolute dictator, holding everything in his hands, except the purse-strings, which were held by the new and (to a certain extent) by the old Governing Body. But though the exchequer is usually a matter of great importance, financial difficulties are not unsurmountable by those finer natures who are prepared to spend and to be spent for public ends. Such a man was Dr. Ridding. He saw that the time had arrived for closing “New Commoners” for ever. The collection of 150 boys together under one roof was an arrangement that had served its own time, but had ceased to be beneficial. Having got some first-rate masters to undertake the building of boarding-houses to receive the Head Master’s boarders, Dr. Ridding applied the greater portion of “New Commoners” to class-rooms for teaching purposes. In other words, on his own motion he passed a self-denying ordinance, by which he deprived himself of an income of about £3000 a year. He had thought out the subject, and had come to the conclusion that for Winchester it was better that the Head Master should cease to take

boarders into his house. But it can be well imagined that his disinterested and generous conduct did not disarm criticism. The reformer was in their midst, and the Wykehamist Society were up in arms. In about three years' time Dr. Ridding's reforms were all assured successes. Wykeham's Foundation, which had been on the down grade, recovered its ancient reputation for scholarship, and the school entered on a fresh lease of life and usefulness.

But the halcyon days, which began for Winchester under Dr. Ridding, were due not only to the destruction of New Commoners and to the care with which he widened and perfected the educational curriculum of the school, but also to the improvements in athletics which his energy and liberality brought about. The same year (1868) in which Commoners were removed from "New Commoners" to "Commoner Houses" saw Wykehamists put into possession of one of the finest cricket-fields in the world. These noble playing-fields lie on the banks of the Itchin with the tower of St. Cross terminating the view at one end, and the cathedral at the other. No more welcome gift could have been made to Winchester. Up to that time the four acres of "Meads" were the playing-fields of Wykehamists. In the 18th century cricket and football were not regarded as important as they now are, and four acres were considered an ample provision for the playing-fields of seventy scholars. All acquainted with public-school history will agree that liberality in money matters is a marked feature in our public-school masters. Old boys of each school will remember instances of the generosity of their own masters.

At the Quingentenary Celebration of 1893, it was Dr. Ridding who gave the toast of the evening—*Stet Fortuna Domus*, and on the death of the late Lord Selborne, he was elected Chairman of the Governing Body. Dr. Ridding was ably seconded in carrying out his reforms by all of his assistant masters. His successor, Dr. Fearon, to the regret of every living Wykehamist, retired from the post of Head Master, at Easter 1901.

The new Head Master of Winchester, the Rev. H. M. Burge, was educated at Marlborough, and then at Bedford Grammar School. He is the first non-Wykehamist Head

Master since 1454, when John Barnard (admitted into College in 1435) was elected to the Chair of Waynflete. If Waynflete was also educated at Winchester College, as tradition avers, then even before 1454 there were Wykehamist Head Masters of Winchester.

Winchester owes her Shakespeare Society not to a Classical, but to a Mathematical Master. The first Shakespeare Society at any Public School was started by Bishop Cotton at Marlborough. In the winter of 1862 the Rev. C. H. Hawkins founded the Winchester Shakespeare Society on the model of Bishop Cotton's. Its constitution was simple; its rules were, as they still are, limited to two. The first twelve Seniors in the order of the Roll were ex-officio members, and the meetings were held every Saturday evening from October to Easter. The number of members is no longer limited to twelve, and members are selected from the range of Prefects and Sixth Book.

Mr. Hawkins found a co-operator in the late John Desborough Walford, also a mathematical master. Mr. Walford was one of the best Assistant Masters that ever served a public school. His portrait will confirm what you hear from all his contemporaries. For her two Shakespeare pioneers, C. H. Hawkins and J. D. Walford, Winchester has to thank Harrow and Charterhouse. From this Shakespeare Society issued most of the leading actors in the series of "Winchester Plays", which were given during the autumns of the years 1865 to 1868 in Commoner "Mugging Hall" and terminated with *King Lear*. No other school has ever attempted to put on the stage a similar series of plays with the same elaboration and care. To act a declamatory piece such as Addison's *Cato*, or a conventional comedy like Terence's *Andria*, is a very different matter to acting *Macbeth* or *King Lear*. Mr. Hawkins told me that in 1868 he acted the part of King Lear. One of the spectators happened to be the late Miss Martineau, the well-known authoress. She told him afterwards that she had seen Kean, Kemble, and Macready in that part, but she had never seen so perfect a representation as his. There is a melancholy interest attached to this anecdote, as Mr. Hawkins has so lately passed away. The reader may ask

why the acting of Shakespeare was discontinued at Winchester, when the performances were so successful. The reason was that to act Shakespeare properly is a life's labour, and the preparation of one of his great tragedies requires say—nine months out of the twelve. The Society, however, flourishes exceedingly, and if any of my readers care to study papers with the impress of thorough knowledge, they cannot do better than read *Noctes Shaksperianæ*, being a series of papers read by late and present members of the Society. ¹

Among other features of modern life at Winchester may be mentioned the Natural History Society, promoted by the Rev. Charles Griffith, a classical master; the Glee Club, for many years managed by the late Mr. A. J. Toye; the Debating Society, the Moberly Library, the Rifle Corps, and the Boat Club. Concerts used to be given in Hall, the whole school standing on the tables to sing *Domum* at their close; now concerts are held in "School." Music is now very differently regarded from what it was, when poor Dr. Hullah was hissed in class by Winchester boys. Neither the rifle-range nor the river seem to be very well adapted to produce excellence in shooting or rowing. The Winchester Eight have competed at Wimbledon and Bisley, and won the Ashburton Shield four times, but it is now, however, twenty-three years since that Shield has adorned the Moberly Library. The Boat Club was opened in 1867, and boasts a Four, which competes against New College. The winner of the Diamond Sculls at Henley in 1900 was Edward G. Hemmerde, a Wykehamist. A few sentences must suffice for Winchester Cricket. In 1868 New Field was opened. The name of six famous Winchester cricketers must be mentioned—that veteran, F. Gale; the late W. R. Webbe; John Shuter, many years Captain of Surrey; H. D. G. Leveson Gower, the Oxford Captain; J. R. Mason, the Kent captain; and Clive Wigram, now A.D.C. to the Viceroy of India.

Of the Winchester and Eton matches one only can be

¹ Published during the 25th Season of the Society and edited by the late Rev. C. H. Hawkins. (Winchester 1887.)

referred to here, and that a Wykehamist victory. There never was a closer match than that fought out at Winchester on the 19th July, 1858. After the delivery of seven maiden overs Winchester won by one wicket. J. W. Haygarth "finished off the match with the sweetest thing in Barthers."¹ No one felt the enthusiasm more than E. C. Wickham, the present Dean of Lincoln, an Old Wykehamist, and then a tutor in the school. A poem of some 70 lines composed by him to the "glorious memory" of that day now lies before me. I believe it was never printed, though if loyalty and "go" deserve the immortality conferred by type, the Dean's poem deserved it.

There can be no question but that Winchester enjoys a high position among public schools on account of the accuracy and thoroughness of its teaching. It is a small but significant fact that, while at Eton and Harrow there are three half-holidays each week, at Winchester and Westminster there are only two. Thirty or forty years ago boys who could read Horace and Homer at sight often despised science as smattering. In an ignorant fashion they were right. Science, as then taught in our public schools, was smattering. But it is different now—at least at Winchester. It is the element of accuracy and thoroughness that gives to teaching its moral backbone and develops the intelligence, and not only the memory. Surprise has sometimes been expressed that boys brought up on an exclusively classical education have proved themselves in later life such masters in the world of action. Oliver Cromwell, Robert Walpole, Clive, Warren Hastings and Havelock, were all brought up in such a school. The secret of their success as men was that as boys they were not taught any subject merely as something to get them marks. If they did not all learn Greek, they learnt Latin and could read it with pleasure, and Cromwell and Walpole could converse in that language. In the seventeenth century Latin was the language of diplomacy as well as of erudition. In the autumn of 1639 eighteen Scholars of

¹ "Barter" is the Winchester term for a half-volley—so called after Warden Barter, who was a great hitter in the days of his youth and glory, as a Wykehamist cricketer.

Winchester bound themselves to talk Latin till the ensuing Pentecost.

Our Public Schools, with the exception of Winchester, Eton, and St. Paul's, mainly date from Queen Elizabeth's reign. The key-note of Elizabethan education was its thoroughness. A boy at an Elizabethan grammar school learnt Latin thoroughly before he began Greek, and when he learnt Greek, he learnt it through Latin. Such, it is believed, was the education Wm. Shakespeare received at the Grammar School of Stratford-upon-Avon.

It is sometimes thought the German Professor disparages the classical education, which for 500 years was the only education given at Winchester. This is not the case. Provided the teaching be not superficial and develops the power of reasoning, only dormant even in the dull, the Germans despise no branch of instruction, least of all in Greek and Latin. Richard Mulcaster, Head Master first of Merchant Taylors' School and subsequently of St. Paul's, was the greatest of the Elizabethan schoolmasters. His life has been written by Dr. Theodor Klähr.¹ In a painfully involved but delightfully conscientious introduction Dr. Klähr points out that it was in English soil that the study of Greek and Latin took the deepest and strongest root. The reader, like a *rusticus expectans*, awaits the verb, while a flood of provisos and reservations fills the page, but he is rewarded for waiting. Our literature attained its zenith under Queen Elizabeth. It is no mere coincidence that the same period has been styled by Dr. Klähr the most splendid era (*Glanzperiode*) in the history of English education. The schooling and the literature are but cause and effect. A thorough system of instruction, whether in philology or science, of necessity produces the most original thinkers and writers. In the case of the average boy, it fits him for success in all callings, whether as a clergyman, a lawyer, a physician, or a merchant. A boy who has learnt one science or one language thoroughly, can turn his hand to anything.

¹ *Leben und Werke, Richard Mulcaster's*, published at Dresden (1893).

We are now at the crossing of the ways. We, as a nation, are beset with a crowd of rivals. Unless we can show our adaptability, and apply ourselves to mathematics, chemistry, and the sciences with the same goodwill and thoroughness that our ancestors did to the study of Greek and Latin, we must be prepared to see British commerce "decay like Venetian palaces and fade like Tyrian dye." Our Universities are aware of the danger, and are bestirring themselves. Since the foundation of the Mathematical Tripos, Cambridge has placed her teaching on an accurate and scientific basis. Her engineering school-rooms are among the best in the world. The Public Schools must, and are, following suit. Each year the instruction given by them is becoming less ornamental and more Baconian. All knowledge must be their province, as it was Bacon's, and their teaching must be thorough as well as varied and practical. The very existence of our country, as a leader in the world's commerce, is at stake. We hear of contracts being snapped up by foreigners, and forget that the remedy is in our own hands. Make our teaching thorough, accurate, and scientific, and our commercial supremacy will be maintained. Æsop's fable of "*The Belly and the Members*" is as true to-day as when it was written. Our artisans are almost as much dependent on the education given to their employers in the Public Schools, as on the education given to their own children in the Board Schools. The sound condition of our Public Schools is therefore a national, and not a class, question. We are all children of one family, subjects of the same King. If it is well with the employed, it is well with the employer, and vice versa. It is indeed a good omen to find our most ancient Public School in the front rank for her thorough teaching, not only of the Classics, but also of mathematics and Natural Science.

Nowhere in the world, and at no time in the world's history, has there been such a field for energy, judgment, and unselfishness for public servants, as in our Indian Empire. Wykehamists have borne their full share of the burden of that Public Trust. The connection of Wykeham's Foundation with India dates from Jacobian times. Tom

Coryat, the author of *Crudities* and the earliest "globe trotter," was a Scholar of Winchester. He was the first unofficial Englishman to visit the Court of the Great Mogul, and as a fearless traveller and wit deserved better treatment than he received from his contemporaries. The remarkable feature in this Old Wykehamist's character was his devotion to the Christian, and his contempt for all other, religions. It was only the noble tolerance of Akbar that saved him from paying the forfeit of his life for his attack on the Mahommedan faith in a Mahommedan country. No Governor-General or Viceroy of India has been educated at Winchester, but Henry Vansittart, a Governor of Bengal (1759—64), is said to have been there for a short time. He is now chiefly remembered by the severe remarks of Lord Macaulay on his inefficiency as a ruler. These animadversions on Vansittart as "a feeble and inefficient ruler" and on English rule exhibiting in his time "the most frightful of all spectacles, the strength of civilization without its mercy,"¹ are, to say the least, somewhat exaggerated. Vansittart deposed Meer Jaffier and received £60,000 for his services. In 1769 he was returning to India as a commissioner on the Company's financial affairs, when his vessel, the *Aurora*, foundered in the Mozambique Channel. The purser on the frigate was a Scotchman of humble birth, whose one poem had been so great a success that the first John Murray had offered to take him into partnership. Unfortunately the brave sailor refused this good offer, and accepted the post of purser instead. Thus perished at sea, in his 37th year, William Falconer, the author of *The Shipwreck*.²

Dr. Warton's Scholars would have heard of "the pagoda tree." It is doubtful whether one of Dr. Fearon's has even heard of the expression. It is now quite one hundred years since large fortunes have been amassed by members of the Indian Civil Service, and the "Pagoda Tree" has vanished with the rapidly made fortunes, of which it was the type. The pagoda was a coin long current in Southern

¹ Essay on Warren Hastings.

² Life of Wm. Falconer in the Aldine Edition of the *British Poets*.

India, both silver and gold, but chiefly gold. Accounts were kept in pagodas in Madras down to the year 1818. The phrase was current in England rather than in India.

Vansittart was not the only Wykehamist distinguished for idleness at Winchester, who distinguished himself for better things in India. The late Hon. Sir Ashley Eden, K.C.S.I., was credited with doing nothing both at Winchester and Haileybury College, but owing to his own energy, mother wit, and common sense, he rose to be Lieut.-Governor of Bengal and a member of the Indian Council in England.

If you seek for his exact opposite, you find it in another Wykehamist, Sir Henry Miers Elliot, K.C.B., Foreign Secretary to the Government of India under Viscount Hardinge and Marquis of Dalhousie. Eden was all energy; Elliot was energy with study superadded. A monument has been erected to Elliot's memory in Winchester Cathedral. The epitaph inscribed on it hardly does justice to his scholarly attainments, though the amiability of his character is dwelt upon. In the words of Mr. Horace Hayman Wilson, late Librarian to the East India Company and Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford, Sir Henry Elliot was "a most zealous and accomplished Oriental Scholar, and an enlightened and efficient public officer." His contributions to Mr. Wilson's Glossary of Indian Judicial and Revenue Terms were most valuable, and he left at his death materials for the History of India as told by its early native historians, which were afterwards published in eight volumes. Another Wykehamist historian of India was the late Col. G. B. Malleson, who wrote the history of the Indian Mutiny. The late Sir John Awdry and Sir Henry Davison, Chief Justices of Bombay and Madras, were Old Wykehamists.

Sir Trevor Chichele Plowden, K.C.S.I., late British Resident at the Court of Hyderabad, is a Wykehamist. As Hyderabad is the largest native State of India, to be Resident there is to hold the blue ribbon of the Indian Foreign Office under the Viceroy and the Foreign Secretary. It would be impossible to give even the names only of all the Wykehamists that have served in the Indian Civil Service, but two must be mentioned. The late Sir Henry

Ricketts, K.C.S.I., was a model of what an Indian Civilian should be. He resigned his seat on the Council of the Governor-General in order that Sir James Outram might be appointed in his place. This unselfish act was worthy of Henry Lawrence, that knight *sans peur et sans reproche*! Sir Henry Ricketts was one of those rare spirits gifted with the divine gift of self-renunciation. When he saw a man whom he recognised as his superior, or as he modestly thought better fitted for the post than himself, he would at once recommend him. He might have been Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Provinces, but he supported the nomination of another. His son, Mr. George Ricketts, C.B., is also a Wykehamist, and was an Indian Civilian. He too distinguished himself in the Mutiny, and in a fight with sepoys on the Sutlej himself served a gun, until his ammunition was exhausted. Another Wykehamist, Henry Brabazon Urmston, met his death in the act of trying to save a wounded comrade near the Hazarah Frontier, Punjab, on the 18th June, 1888.

As you pace the quiet cloisters you come on an unassuming monument. A marble slab informs the passer-by that an Old Wykehamist, Frank St. Clair Grimwood, was killed at Manipur. This brave Indian Civilian, who died in the discharge of his duty, needs no better monument. He has passed beyond the reach of human praise. He has joined Neill and Nicholson, and such as they—

“Firm as the oak and trenchant as true steel”¹

by whom our Indian Empire was preserved.

No one can visit Winchester, read her history, or have a son in the school without catching the infection of its enthusiasm. When you gaze on the tomb of William of Wykeham you cannot but be struck with the singular good fortune that has blessed him and his Foundations throughout our history. The tombs of mighty kings and prelates, famous legislators, and deathless poets have been destroyed. The tomb of the Founder of Winchester College remains

¹ “*Ex Oriente* Sonnets on the Indian Rebellion,” by J. Innes Minchin.

as it was, when it first received his lifeless form nearly five hundred years ago. Change and decay, popular passion and fanaticism, have laid no finger on his resting-place, while the permanence of Winchester College is one of the wonders of the world. By reason of its foundation in the fourteenth century, Winchester is our most ancient public school; by reason of its adaptability to the needs of the twentieth century, Winchester is one of our youngest. The tree that William of Wykeham planted has grown with the British Empire, and is now known by its fruit in the four quarters of the globe. It would be a sad day for England were the axe ever laid to its root.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CONCLUSION.

THE FOUNDERS of our great public schools thought of good morals, no less than of Latin and Greek; still they had little notion that they were establishing institutions which would influence the public opinion and history of their country only to a lesser degree than the Crown and the Legislature. To the Crown indeed some of the schools owe their origin. The sovereigns of the House of Tudor were (with the exception of Queen Mary) the most advanced Liberals of their day. Under them public schools began to increase and multiply. St. Paul's was the outcome of the thought and the generosity of a liberal Catholic. If under Queen Mary the Roman reaction found its most willing instruments among the scholars of Winchester, under her successor the Protestant wave of thought was represented by the founding of Westminster, Rugby, Harrow, and Merchant Taylors'. Bill and Goodman, who drew up the statutes of Westminster, were friends both to the Reformation and the new learning. Wm. Bill, a "self-made-man", was at one and the same time, Dean of Westminster, Master of Trinity, Cambridge, and Provost of Eton. He was thus directing the education of two (Eton and Westminster) of the leading public schools of his day. The Puritans, indeed, disgusted at the immorality of the Court of James I. and at what they condemned as Laud's lapse into Romanism, regarded the Church of England as more courtly than Christian, and naturally viewed with disfavour schools which belonged to her communion. Yet Milton, the head and flower of Puritan thought in England, was a Pauline, and the *Tractate of Education* might have been written by a favourite pupil of Dr. Arnold. On the fall of the Monarchy

the four great public schools of the 17th century, Winchester, Eton, Westminster and Merchant Taylors', had outwardly at least to submit to the authority of Parliament. Strange to say, the public school that most completely sympathised with the Puritan spirit was the old Catholic College of Winchester, its Warden, as it happened, being by conviction a Presbyterian. With the Restoration the schools of the Church breathed more freely, and from that time forward began to send out men to serve the Sovereign as Statesmen as well as ecclesiastics. Winchester still maintained her lead, as is evidenced by the part Wykehamists played in the trial of the seven Bishops, the first warning note to the restored Stuarts that the sands in their hour-glass were again running low.

But it is with the accession of the House of Hanover that the reign of public-school men in office begins. Since 1714, with a few exceptions, every statesman who has left his mark on his country's history, has been educated at one of the schools treated in this work. The three most notable exceptions were William Pitt, too delicate to go to Eton, Edmund Burke an Irishman, and Benjamin Disraeli, the son of an English Jew. The management of our foreign affairs and finances has for the last century been mainly in the hands of public-school men. If the office of Lord Chancellor has not so constantly been held by them, the roll of our famous judges is associated with Charterhouse by the names of Ellenborough and Alverstone, with Harrow by that of Cottenham, with Eton by those of Camden and Denman, with St. Paul's by those of Truro and Pollock, with Westminster by those of Finch and Mansfield, and with Winchester by those of Cranworth, Hatherley, and Selborne.

The two founders of our Indian Empire were a Merchant Taylors' Scholar and a King's Scholar of Westminster. The tree they planted has since been tended by hundreds of public-school men.

The Army, the Bar, the Civil and Colonial Services are well supplied from our public schools, and nearly every leading place in their ranks is filled by Old Boys. Many leaders of thought in this country, from the times of Sir

Philip Sidney and Sir Henry Wotton, have been trained at our ancient foundations. Four of our earliest philosophers, John Locke, Shaftesbury, Anthony Collins, and Richard Cumberland, can be claimed by Westminster, Winchester, Eton, and St. Paul's. The greatest religious reformer since the death of Cranmer was a Carthusian; the greatest Evangelical hymn writers—Samuel Wesley, Toplady and Cowper—were three Old Westminsters. The cause of Nonconformity has been pleaded and maintained by public-school men, such as Milton, "heavenly Henry," Calamy, and Rowland Hill. Even the Church of Rome owes some of her most devoted sons—Manning, Faber, and Bute—to the school on the Hill. St. Paul's gave us three of our noblest philanthropists, Alured Clark, Clarkson, and Hawes; Eton gave us Wm. and Thomas Gouge (father and son); and Harrow gave us Shaftesbury.

The faults of our public schools, which are obvious enough, have been the prevailing faults of the people and of the period. If coarseness was rampant at Eton, Westminster and Winchester in the first half of the 18th century, this but represented the manners which prevailed through the country and (before the accession of George III.) at the Court, and which made the Wykehamist poet, Young, weep in the pulpit when he preached before George I. No institutions have, I venture to assert, so thoroughly and with so little pressure "purged themselves from the leaven of dead works", as these ancient Foundations. It was at the worst period, both for society and consequently for our schools, that Harrow roused itself from the prevailing lethargy and began to be a power for good in the State. In 1746, the year after the extinction of Jacobite hopes, Dr. Thackeray was appointed Head Master of what was then the parish school on the Hill, and for the next seventy years, under four most able chiefs, Harrow became the nursery of Whig statesmen and scholars. About the same time Charterhouse came to the front and gave the nation Havelock, the first great Puritan soldier since the days of Cromwell. About sixty years after the death of Dr. Thackeray it was not the pressure of public opinion, not the appointment of a school commission, but the

magnetic influence of one Head Master, Dr. Arnold, that roused the consciences of British boys who, as men, were destined to give a new tone to the University, the Church, the Law, and Society. This revival was not in any sense restricted to Rugby, but spread through all.

It must not be forgotten that our public schools are absolutely free from State control. Long may it be before they become subject to a Board of Education and lose their individuality. In an age when all sorts and conditions of men and institutions are seeking "doles" and recognition from the State, they jealously guard their independence. They are, as much as the English Constitution, the spontaneous produce of English thought. They may not suit all kinds of boys, but the good far outweighs the evil. This was proved in a very remarkable way by an experiment tried at one of our Universities not very long ago. The head of a certain College discouraged the admission of public-school men. The results to the College itself were not such as to make it likely that the experiment would be tried again.

The two most familiar and general charges against our public schools seem pretty effectually to dispose of each other. Some say they run all characters into one mould; others complain that they give boys no training at all. It is not true that boys receive no training; it is certainly not true that they are all run into one mould. There is indeed a certain prevailing type easily recognised. Every observant tutor at our Universities can tell almost at once whether his pupil has been to a public school or not—nay, more, when he knows him better, he can name the public school from which he comes. There is something indefinable that tells you whether the lad, with whom you are conversing, is a Carthusian, an Etonian, a Wykehamist or a Pauline. As we grow older the hall-mark grows dim, but it is never altogether effaced. But this type is no forced product of discipline. It is the expression of that public opinion formed by the mutual influence of masters and boys, and of boys upon each other, and in its very faultiness bears witness to that training by alternate self-assertion and reasonable concession, which is the method

of the larger world. These boys, with all their deficiencies, have grasped the principles by which, as men, they must fight the battle of life. Can the same be said of the methods of public denominational or unsectarian, or of private venture schools, or of model schools in any other country? I think not.

Again from another quarter we hear that the public schools do not foster the love of learning and that, apart from the pursuit of University distinctions, there is at our ancient foundations little devotion to knowledge for its own sake. We are referred to the grammarians, philologists and metaphysicians of "the Fatherland." Let Germany boast of her scholars, as she has a right to do. They shall receive from us, as they have ever received, hearty appreciation, and now and again no unworthy rivalry. English scholarship can yet hold its own. But, after all, the tree of knowledge is not the tree of life. There is something in the Englishman and notably in the ex-public-school boy which marks him, even in the eyes of our rivals, as no inferior creature.

A more practical answer is given to those who would have a Germanized education for English boys by the German parent who settles in England and who sends his boy to Eton or some other public school. If a theoretical argument be desired I should be more than satisfied with what our generous friend, M. Ed. Demolins, says of the "the superiority of the Anglo-Saxons." ¹ For his book from beginning to end is an exposition of principles of education, which for him and for the world find their best illustration in the training of an English boy at an English public school.

The wonder is that a system which does not stunt the boy of genius should also develop the average boy to his full stature. This is probably due to the unique machinery by which body, mind, and conscience are trained by separate agencies working harmoniously together under one head. I am not aware that any other educational system possesses this machinery, or attempts to develop synchronously the

¹ "A qui tient la supériorité des Anglo Saxons", by Ed. Demolins.

three forces of our nature with anything approaching the success of an English public school. It may be urged that at our ancient Foundations more attention is paid to the moral and physical than to the mental development. If this be true, all honour to those who have thus weighted the balance against mere intellect. Marks at an examination, and what marks represent, form but a small fraction in the sum of human life.

Public schools have taken deep root in English life. They have developed self-reliance in the average boy as no other system of education has done. This is mainly due to the fact that the boy boards at school, and not at home. The boarding element is the key-stone of the public-school arch. Take away the boarding feature from our school system, and you reduce its education to mere book instruction. Shelter a boy from the east wind, and he will grow into a puny and sickly man. The thousands annually paid by John Bull to our great boarding-schools testifies to his appreciation. Our public schools appeal to the genius of the English people, and will be regarded as heirlooms of inestimable value by generations yet to come.



APPENDIX.

The List of the Old Boys who have fallen for us in South Africa during 1899 and 1900.

“THREE years ago, when England’s sons from over the seas were gathered together in London to rejoice with those at home over our beloved Queen’s Jubilee, and we were all glorying in the manifestation of our world-wide dominion, that Imperial-minded poet, Rudyard Kipling, called upon us to remember that there were other duties besides that of national glorification; and, in words breathing forth all that is best in patriotism and Imperialism, he sounded a solemn note of warning which I cannot, I think, do better than recall to your memory, and thus conclude what I am afraid you will consider an all too lengthy speech:—

“God of our Fathers, known of old!
Lord of our far-flung battle line!
Beneath whose awful hand we hold
Dominion over palm and pine.
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—Lest we forget.’”

Field-Marshal LORD ROBERTS at Cape Town,
Dec. 10, 1900.

“Hush! for some tenderer, truer voices fall
O’er the dim land and grey sea borne
For those who die on field or hospital.
‘Our Father! not forlorn,
‘We trust them with Thee in the dark to give us in the morn.’”

WILLIAM ARMAGH, December 1900.

“Britain conquers less for herself than for humanity.”
J. A. Cramb’s *Reflections on the Origins and
Destiny of Imperial Britain.*

CHARTERHOUSE.

Floreat æternum Carthusiana Domus.

- R. S. Farran, Imperial Yeomanry.
 F. L. Fryer, (adjutant) 3rd Grenadier Guards.
 F. W. Galpin, Imperial Yeomanry.
 L. H. Gibson, 1st Highland L.I.
 Capt. A. H. Goldie, 14th Battery R.F.A.
 W. H. I. Hill, 5th Lancers.
 Bt. Lt.-Col. C. E. Keith-Falconer, 1st Northumberland Fusiliers.
 Capt. V. F. A. Keith-Falconer, 2nd Somerset L.I.
 A. M. Knowles, Imperial Yeomanry.
 Capt. Hon. D. H. Marsham, Imperial Light Horse.
 D. J. Murch, O. Battery, R.H.A.
 A. C. Nixon, 5th Lancers.
 Capt. L. A. E. Ollivant, Royal Fusiliers, attached to the 1st Chinese Regiment. Killed at Tientsin, 13th Aug. 1900.
 R. G. Partridge, Imperial Yeomanry.
 I. F. Pollock, 9th Lancers.
 J. M. Porter, Royal Scots Greys, gazetted to 2nd Dragoon Guards.
 Capt. C. W. Robertson, R.M.L.I., Adjutant of the New South Wales Bushman Corps.
 F. C. Rogers, Imperial Light Horse.
 G. E. S. Salt, 2nd Royal Welsh Fusiliers.
 R. M. Vyvyan, Border Mounted Rifles.
 Major N. C. Welch, 2nd Hampshire Regiment.¹

ETON.

Floreat Etona.

Seven Lt.-Colonels:—

- The Earl of Airlie, 12th Lancers.
 R. G. Buchanan Riddell, K.R.R.C.
 G. Goff, the distinguished etcher, A. & S. Highlanders.
 R. H. Gunning, K.R.R.C.

¹ This list of Old Carthusians is taken from a list compiled by the School Authorities, dated Founder's Day, 1900. It includes the name of one who fell in China.

H. R. Stopford, Coldstream Guards.
 F. H. Hoskier, Middlesex Volunteer Artillery.
 C. C. H. Thorold, Royal Welsh Fusiliers.

On the Staff:—

The Earl of Ava.
 Hon. G. H. Gough, Col., Assistant Adjutant-General, Staff.
 F. E. Cooper, Major, R.F.A.

Seven Majors:—

C. R. Day, Oxford Light Infantry.
 C. B. Harvey, 10th Hussars.
 F. H. T. Hawley, Royal Scots Greys.
 W. J. Myers, K.R.R.C., a benefactor of Eton.
 A. S. Ralli, 12th Lancers.
 E. R. Willshire, Major, Black Watch.

The Marquis of Winchester, Coldstream Guards.

The following Captains and 2nd Lieutenants, all young men, most of them having left Eton in the nineties:—

R. A. S. Benson, Captain Coldstream Guards.
 W. A. Blundell-Hollinshead-Blundell, Lieut., Gren. Guards.
 P. F. Brassey, 2nd Lieut., 9th Lancers.
 G. C. Fordyce Buchan, Capt., R.F.A.
 E. G. Campbell, Capt., Rifle Brigade.
 J. R. McOran Campbell, 2nd Lieut., Gordon Highlanders.
 Hon. R. Cathcart, Lieut., K.R.R.C.
 Hon. C. W. H. Cavendish, 2nd Lieut., 17th Lancers.
 B. E. Church, Capt., 7th Dragoon Guards.
 Hon. J. F. I. Cumming-Bruce, Capt., Black Watch.
 E. J. Dewar, Capt., K.R.R.C.
 W. P. Dimsdale, Capt., Royal Irish R.
 A. R. Eustace, Capt., 3rd Buffs.
 Hon. C. M. Evans-Freke, Lieut., 16th Lancers.
 J. L. Forster, Lieut., K.R.R.C.
 E. Fraser, Lieut., Lanc. Fusiliers.
 H. G. French-Brewster, 2nd Lieut., K.R.R.C.
 L. D. Hall, Lieut., Rifle Brigade.
 N. J. Hambro, 2nd Lieut., K.R.R.C.
 L. H. Gilliat, Lieut., 16th Lancers.
 E. M. Hanbury, 2nd Lieut., E. Yorks Regiment.
 Hon. J. D. Hamilton, Lieut., 12th Lancers.
 J. C. Harrison, Lieut., Royal Scots Greys.

- Hon. N. W. Hill Trevor, T.M.I.
 R. J. Jelf, Lieut., R.E.
 Lord Kensington, Capt., 2nd Life Guards.
 D. J. Keswick, Lieut., 12th Lancers.
 T. B. N. Leslie, Lieut., Grenadier Guards.
 B. E. Lethbridge, 2nd Lieut., Rifle Brigade.
 Lennox C. Livingstone-Learmonth, Lieut., R.H.A.
 Hon. E. H. Lygon, Lieut., Grenadier Guards.
 G. L. Lysley, Capt., Rifle Brigade.
 S. C. Maitland, Capt., Gordon Highlanders.
 G. H. Matthews, Lieut., Gloc. Regiment.
 Hon. W. McClintock-Bunbury, 2nd Lieut., Royal Scots
 Greys.
 B. C. C. S. Meeking, Capt., 10th Hussars.
 St. J. M. Meyrick, Capt., Gordon Highlanders.
 A. H. Murray, 2nd Lieut., Grenadier Guards.
 W. D. O'Brien, Capt., Cameronians.
 C. A. R. Pechell, Capt., K.R.R.C.
 M. H. K. Pechell, Capt., K.R.R.C.
 T. D. Pilkington, 2nd Lieut., Royal Dragoons.
 C. S. Platt, 2nd Lieut., 5th Dragoon Guards.
 T. H. Raikes, 2nd Lieut., K.R.R.C.
 Hon. F. H. S. Roberts, V.C., Lieut., K.R.R.C.
 B. T. Rose, Lieut., T.M.I.
 C. E. Rose, Capt., R.H.G.
 A. M. Southey, Lieut., Scots Guards.
 H. F. W. Stanley, Capt., 9th Lancers.
 C. A. White, Lieut., Suffolk Regiment.
 G. C. de C. Wright, Lieut., 12th Lancers.
 The following Volunteers:—
 H. S. Dalbiac, Capt., I. Y., Middlesex, late R.A.
 M. E. C. Backhouse, Lieut., I. Y., Northumberland.
 A. C. Campbell, 1st I. Y., Middlesex.
 E. Christian, Rimington's Guides.
 Sir W. G. Barttelot, Hon. Maj., Sussex Reg. Vol. Batt., late
 Capt. D.G.
 R. Fordham Flower, Lieut., I. Y., Warwick.
 E. J. Gibbons, C.I.V., who died en route to South
 Africa.
 J. C. Jolliffe, Imperial Yeomanry, Norfolk.

Captain C. S. Keith, T. B. Miller and H. Faunce de Laune,
 all three of Duke of Clarence's Own.
 F. W. Milligan, Rhodesian Field Force.
 G. Pritchard-Rayner, Imperial Yeomanry, Montgomery.
 H. T. Stanley, Imperial Yeomanry, Somerset.
 R. Basset Wilson, Imperial Yeomanry, Yorks.
 Douglas H. McLean, North Somerset Yeo., who rowed five
 times for Oxford.¹

HARROW.

Stet Fortuna Domus.

At Glencoe we lost A. H. M. Hill and W. M. T. Hannah. Lieut. Hill of the Irish Fusiliers was the only son of his parents and joined his regiment in May 1899. Lieut. Hannah of the Leicestershire Regiment, the son of the Vicar of Brighton, was on leave till November 1899, but at once left to join his regiment when war was anticipated. At Elandslaagte we lost H. W. D. Denne and C. G. Monro, both in the Gordon Highlanders. Major Denne had taken part in the Battle of Tel-el-Kebir and in the Soudan Expedition of 1894; Lieut. Monro, the son of an old Harrovian, had joined his regiment in 1892. At Magersfontein we lost Ernest Cox of the Seaforth Highlanders. At Spion Kop we lost R. J. Grant, C. G. Grenfell, and H. S. McCorquodale. Robin Grant (one of Dr. Welldon's "great twin brethen") was gazetted in the 3rd King's Royal Rifle Corps in 1899, and ended his short life like a soldier's son. "Deeply as I regret the death of a personal friend," (Robin Grant) wrote Sir Redvers Buller, "and the son of one of my oldest friends in the world, had I a son, and had Almighty God been pleased to take him in such a cause, I should have been proud and content to lose him." C. G. Grenfell volunteered from Rhodesia. He was a Balliol man, served through both the Matabele campaigns,

¹ *Eton College Chronicle*, November 30th, 1900. Fifth Edition revised January 1st, 1901.

and enlisted in Thorneycroft's Mounted Infantry. H. S. McCorquodale, one of a Harrow brotherhood, went out as war correspondent of the *Liverpool Daily Post*. He pushed his way to the front. Having been in the school football eleven he possessed thews and sinews, and when he volunteered for Thorneycroft's Mounted Infantry he was given a commission. His period of service as a volunteer was brief, but glorious. He fell in action (January 23, 1900) the day after he had joined. A few days earlier another volunteer, Major C. B. Childe, fell at Potgieter's Drift. When we were schoolfellows together in Mr. Bosworth Smith's pupil room, he was Childe-Pemberton, but Pemberton was subsequently dropped, and he was known in his regiment (the Blues) as "The Child." He had retired some 14 years from the Army when the war broke out, but with Childe it was a case of once a soldier, always a soldier. He went out to the Cape and got a commission in the South African Light Horse. Mr. Winston Churchill told the readers of the *Morning Post* that Childe had a presentiment of his impending death, and that he chose his own epitaph. On the little wooden cross which stands at the foot of Bastion Hill—the hill he himself took and held—there is written—"Is it well with the child? It is well." G. B. Bartley-Dennis, R.E., fell at Cæsar's Camp on January 6th, 1900, when the Boers made their final attempt to take Ladysmith. He entered Woolwich, sixth on the list, in December 1895. At Koodoosberg we lost Capt. C. Eykyn, Black Watch; at Pieter's Hill, H. S. Sykes of the Scotch Fusiliers; at Machadodorp, F. H. Wylam, 8th Hussars; at Brandfort, A. H. Thomas; and at different times, of wounds or fever, C. Arkwright, 5th Lancers,—W. G. Belcher, R.A.,—Tom Conolly, Royal Scots Greys,—Ralph Forester, 2nd Lieut., 1st East Lanc. Reg.,—Alister Grant, of Roberts's Horse,—R. H. Kinnear, of the 5th Dragoons, Capt. W. A. Hebden, 1st Essex Reg.,—T. G. Meeking, 2nd Lieut., 6th Dragoons,—W. A. Orlebar, 19th Hussars,—Capt. G. L. Paget, of the Rifle Brigade,—A. M. Porter, Private of the Irish Hunt Contingent, (a young man of brilliant promise), F. A. Stebbing, Welsh Fusiliers, and C. R. A. Toller. R. J. Gibson-Craig left the Hill in the Christmas Term of 1899

to join his militia regiment. He died of dysentery at Naauwport, within one month of his landing, aged seventeen years and ten months.¹

MERCHANT TAYLORS' SCHOOL.

Homo plantat, homo irrigat, sed Deus dat inclementum.

"Our list of those who have fallen in South Africa is a very small one, limited, as far as I know, to three.

H. Corrie Jackson, Scholar of St. John's, Oxford, of the Oxfordshire Imperial Yeomanry, who died of enteric at Springfontein, about May 1900.

Herbert Lindsey Billing, of Bethune's Mounted Infantry, second son of the late Bishop of Bedford, killed in action near Vryheid, May 20th, 1900, and

W. C. Hopkirk, of the B. S. A. Police, of enteric, Dec. 1899.

We were represented by about 60 Volunteers and Medicals."

(Extract from letter of the late Head Master of Merchant Taylors' School to author, of December 28th, 1900).

RUGBY.

Orando laborando.

2nd Lieut. V. A. Ball-Acton, 1st Oxford Light Infantry.

Capt. C. G. F. G. Birch, 1st South Lancashire.

Lieut. P. C. Grover, 2nd Shropshire Light Infantry.

Lieut. J. B. Grylls, 66 Battery R.A.

Lieut. H. M. A. Hankey, 2nd Royal Warwickshire.

P. A. T. Jones, 18th Hussars.

Capt. C. E. Litkie, Thorneycroft's Mounted Infantry.

Lieut. H. F. Pipe-Wolferstan, 1st King's Own Scottish Borderers,

2nd Lieut. W. G. Rait, 1st King's Own Scottish Borderers.

2nd Lieut. J. W. C. Wadling, 2nd Royal Berkshire.

Capt. M. S. Wellby, 18th Hussars.²

¹ The supplements of *The Harrovian* compiled by Mr. L. M. Hewlett, O. H., and *The Harrovian* for 1900 *passim*.

² *The Meteor* for 1900 *passim*.

ST. PAUL'S.

Fide et literis.

- Capt. H. W. H. Beyts, R.M.A., who fell in the attempted advance on Peking.
- Lieut. S. J. Carey, Suffolk Regiment, killed at Rensburg, January 6th, 1900.
- Trooper W. Denham, Paget's Horse, died of peritonitis on the voyage out.
- Lieut. G. E. Ellissen, R.A., died of typhoid fever at Southampton, before leaving England.
- 2nd Lieut. E. O. N. O. Leggatt, 2nd Royal Scots Fusiliers, died at Base Hospital, Maritzburg, of enteric.
- Lieut. L. O. F. Mellish, 2nd Wiltshire Regiment, died at Bloemfontein, of enteric.
- Lieut. A. J. C. Murdoch, Cameron Highlanders, killed at Nooitgedacht, Dec. 13th, 1900.¹

WESTMINSTER.

Dat Deus Incrementum.

- Lieut. F. C. D. Davidson, King's Own Lancaster Reg.
- Capt. F. L. Prothero, Welsh Reg.
- Lieut. & Adj. F. A. P. Wilkins, Suffolk Reg., killed at Rensburg.²

WINCHESTER.

Manners makyth Man.

- Lieut. R. C. Barnett, 1st Batt. K.R.R., killed at Talana Hill.
- Lieut. A. R. Bright, 1st Batt. Oxfordshire Light Infantry, killed at Paardeberg.
- Capt. A. W. M. Brodie, 2nd Batt. Seaforth Highlanders, killed at Magersfontein.
- 2nd Lieut. A. C. Burton, 1st Batt. Coldstream Guards, killed at Belmont.

¹ *The Pauline* for November 1900 and Feb. 1901, and the Bursar's list of Paulines serving with the South African Field Force.

² *The Elizabethan* for November 1900.

- Capt. P. R. Denny, 1st Dragoon Guards, killed at Dewetsdorp.
Capt. S. G. French, Royal Irish Regt., killed at Gaberones.
Capt. T. S. Hichens, Royal Artillery, died of enteric at Bloemfontein.
Capt. H. G. Majendie, Rifle Brigade, killed at Dekiel's Drift.
Major K. R. Mackenzie, 2nd Batt. Seaforth Highlanders, killed at Magersfontein.
Lieut. J. C. Parr, 1st Batt. Somerset Regt., killed at Colenso.
2nd Lieut. E. Perceval, 4th Batt. K.R.R., killed at Paardeberg.
Major H. de T. Phillips, Royal Artillery, killed at Geluk.
Capt. H. S. Prickard, 2nd Batt. North Staffordshire Regt., died of enteric at Bloemfontein.
Lieut. N. N. Ramsay, Black Watch, killed at Magersfontein.
Lieut. H. W. Ritchie, 2nd Batt. North Staffordshire Regt., killed at Portyre, near Jacobsdal.
Lieut. C. D. Schafto, 1st Batt. Durham Light Infantry, killed at Krantz Kloof.
Capt. A. Savory, 19th Hussars.
Capt. W. H. W. Steward, Rifle Brigade, killed at Dalmanutha.
Major S. P. Strong, 2nd Batt. Cameronians, died of wounds after Spion Kop.
Lieut. Taylor, 2nd Batt. K.R.R., killed at Talana Hill.
Lieut. A. P. C. H. Wade, 2nd Batt. Royal Lancaster Regt., killed at Spion Kop.¹

¹ The roll of twenty-one Old Wykehamists read out by the Earl of Selborne at the meeting of Old Wykehamists held on December 6th, 1900, to consider the question of erecting a memorial to these members of the School, who had fallen in South Africa.—*The Wykehamist*, Dec. 20th, 1900.

CORRIGENDA.

Page

- 2 and 3. "Earl of Surrey" for "Earl of Suffolk".
- 28 "Haydon" for "Hayden".
- 40 "Sir George Paget, President of the Medical Council,"
for "Sir James Paget, the eminent Surgeon".
- 70 "Assheton" for "Asheton".
- 108 "Twenty-three" for "twenty-two" and "ten" for
"nine", and add Lord Auckland to the Etonian
Governors-General of India.
- 109 "Hopetoun" for "Hopetown", and "Australia" for
"Australasia".
- 194 "Trail" for "Traall".
- 213 At end of footnote 2—"except Fraser".
- 243 "Sergeant Talfourd" for "Sergeant Talford".
- 272 "Lankester" for "Lancaster".
- 272 "Capt. Beyts, R. M. A." for "Capt. Beyts, R. N."

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"	"	H.	"	"	Harrowians.
"	"	M. T.	"	"	Merchant Taylors' Scholars.
"	"	R.	"	"	Rugbeians.
"	"	P.	"	"	Paulines.
"	"	S.	"	"	Salopians.
"	"	O. W.	"	"	Old Westminsters.
"	"	W.	"	"	Wykehamists.
"	"	†	"	"	Sailors, Soldiers, and Civilians, who have fallen while on active service.

"G. S." following the name of a town indicates Grammar School
—e.g. "Reading G. S." "Reading Grammar School."

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