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WHERSTEAD

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WHERSTEAD

SOME MATERIALS FOR ITS HISTORY

TERRITORIAL, MANORIAL AND DURING THE EVENTS BETWEEN

1

BY

F. BARHAM ZINCKE 1817-1893

VICAR OF WHERSTEAD AND CHAPLAIN TO THE QUEEN
AUTHOR OF 'EGYPT OF THE PHARAOHS AND OF THE KEDIVE'
'A WINTER IN THE UNITED STATES' 'SWISS ALMENDS'
'A WALK IN THE GRISONS' ETC.

Inutilis olim
Re videar vixisse (*quoted by J. Evelyn in a letter to S. Pepys*, 1700

These pages, when my voice is hushed, may plead
I did not idle out an aimless life

SECOND EDITION, GREATLY ENLARGED

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1893

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PREFACE

TO

THE FIRST EDITION

THIS little book is a reprint. The original appeared in the columns of the *Suffolk Chronicle* in weekly communications, as the successive chapters were written in 1884. At that time I had no thought of republication in any form. My only wish then was to see how much I had to say, and could find to say, that I might suppose would be useful or interesting to some when I should be gone; and to give to it such permanence and diffusion as might be obtained from its appearance in a popular and well-established newspaper. After three years, however, I have been persuaded, perhaps too easily—such cases are not uncommon—to collect the scattered chapters into a single volume. The scantling of this I have so restricted as to enable me to send it by parcel post, at less than the weight of 1 lb., to my friends and neighbours, for whom it is intended. For I am not at all under any illusion that 'the general reader' will be eager to look at what

I may have said about our 2,264 acres and their 628 inhabitants.

From my notes, as they were at first submitted to my good neighbours three years ago, I have in this reprint omitted nothing. The number of chapters is the same, with the same heading of contents for each. As, however, collections of this kind have a tendency to continue growing, I have intercalated several paragraphs here and there containing additional facts. Of course some of the dates of the original communications had to be so advanced as to be brought into accord with the date of the reprint.

In the accompanying map I have indicated the localities of the events and matters of interest mentioned in the text of the volume.

F. BARHAM ZINCKE.

WHERSTEAD: 1887.

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PREFACE

TO

THE SECOND EDITION

IN Part I. of this volume 'The Materials for the History of Wherstead' that appeared in book-form in 1887 are reprinted without any omissions, but with some additions that had subsequently occurred to me.

Part II., the whole of which now appears in book-form for the first time, consists of some short comments on the Domesday entries of the Manors comprised in what became the Parish of Wherstead. These, as had been done with the preceding part of the volume, were first submitted to my neighbours in the columns of the *Suffolk Chronicle.*

We may suppose that there will arise amongst the English, now occupying in the five Continents of our globe very commanding, indeed in some already pre-eminent positions, a wish to know how they came to be what they will find themselves. And no inconsider-

able part of the answer will be contained in the all-embracing records, supplied by the great Survey, of what were the political, economic, and social conditions of England 800 years ago.

I would fain hope that the time must come when these uniquely precious details of our national origins will be more intelligently estimated, and regarded with more interest amongst us, than they appear to be at present.

The differences in the new world between the descendants of the English settlers and the descendants of the settlers from France, Spain, and Portugal are mainly the results of the differences in their previous European history.

It will be seen that all the illustrations contained in the first edition have been re-drawn or re-copied for this volume; and that to these some additions have been made. All the portraits were reproduced by the Autotype Company.

WHERSTEAD: 1893.

CONTENTS

PART I.

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	PARISH HISTORY—OUR CHURCH	1
II.	OUR VICARAGES	14
III.	THE BENEFICE	22
IV.	OUR VICARS	29
V.	THE VICARS' SURNAMES	33
VI.	THE VICARS' BAPTISMAL NAMES	40
VII.	THE VICARS THEMSELVES	44
VIII.	THE VICARS THEMSELVES—GEORGE CAPPER	64
IX.	EVENTS THAT TOUCHED OUR VICARS	76
X.	THE PRESENTERS	92
XI.	GLEANINGS FROM THE REGISTERS	98
XII.	COLLECTIONS TWO CENTURIES AGO	103
XIII.	THE MANSION AT WHERSTEAD PARK	113
XIV.	WHERSTEAD TOWN HOUSE	120
XV.	LANDOWNING IN WHERSTEAD	125
XVI.	POACHING IN WHERSTEAD EIGHTY YEARS SINCE	132
XVII.	MISCELLANEOUS NOTES AND VILLAGE WORTHIES	146
XVIII.	ASSISTED EMIGRATION FROM WHERSTEAD SIXTY YEARS SINCE	165
XIX.	CELTS, AND ROMANO-BRITISH POTTERY	172
XX.	NOTES ON THE GEOLOGY OF WHERSTEAD	183
XXI.	NOTES ON THE FLORA OF WHERSTEAD	193
XXII.	NOTES ON THE FAUNA OF WHERSTEAD	205
XXIII.	LOCAL SUPERSTITIONS AND MISBELIEFS	223
XXIV.	LOCAL SUPERSTITIONS AND MISBELIEFS—*cont.*	231
XXV.	OUR EAST ANGLIAN DIALECT	241

CHAPTER PAGE

XXVI. SOME PECULIARITIES OF OUR EAST ANGLIAN DIALECT 250

XXVII. EAST ANGLIAN IN THE UNITED STATES. DISTINCTNESS IN VOWEL SOUNDS. REDUPLICATED AND RHYMING WORDS 260

XXVIII. DISSYLLABIC FREQUENTATIVE AND INTENSIVE VERBS IN 'OCK.' HAS EAST ANGLIAN ANYTHING TO GIVE? THE FUTURE OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE 271

XXIX. AN ANTICIPATION 282

PART II.

WHERSTEAD IN DOMESDAY.

I. DOMESDAY, AND ITS SURVEY OF WHERSTEAD . . 285

II. TENANTS AND VILLANS. 295

III. OTHER SOCIAL GRADES 305

IV. THE PLACE OF THE OX IN DOMESDAY ECONOMY . 315

V. THE OX'S FOUR-FOOTED FELLOW SUFFERERS. SALT WORKS IN WHERSTEAD 324

VI. JURISDICTION. CHURCH MATTERS. LAND MEASURING 334

VII. MONEY, THEN AND NOW 344

VIII THE OLD MISCHIEF IN MODERN GUISE . . . 356

IX. THE MANORIAL SYSTEM WORTHLESS FOR WAR. PRODUCED A SURPLUS POPULATION FOR WHICH IT COULD NOT PROVIDE 368

X. THE MANOR OUTWARDLY AND INWARDLY . 378

APPENDIX A. NOTE ON THE HARLANDS AND VERNONS . 393

" B. PRICES OF SUFFOLK PUNCHES AT SIR R. HARLAND'S WHERSTEAD SALE IN 1812 . 395

" C. CAPTAIN RICHARD GOODING OF WHERSTEAD 396

" D. LIST OF THE FLOWERING PLANTS, EXCEPT TREES, GRASSES, RUSHES, AND SEDGES, COLLECTED IN WHERSTEAD BY MR. H. HAWARD, AND SUPPLIED BY HIM . . 397

INDEX 408

ILLUSTRATIONS

MAP OF WHERSTEAD . . *At the beginning of the volume*

I. NORMAN DOORWAY OF THE CHURCH PORCH *For frontispiece*

II. THE CHURCH . . . . . *To face p.* 8

III. UP THE ORWELL . . . } *To face each other between pp.* 12 *and* 13

IV. DOWN THE ORWELL . . }

V. THE VICARAGE . . . . . *To face p.* 20

VI. THE REV. G. CAPPER, AGED 47 . } *To face each other between pp.* 64 *and* 65

VII. THE REV. G. CAPPER, AGED 74 . }

VIII. THE PRESENT VICAR PASSING THROUGH 34 YEARS . . . . . *To face p.* 75

IX. DAVID DOUBLE, AGED 72 . . . . „ 121

X. SIR ROBERT HARLAND, AGED 28 } *To face each other between pp.* 150 *and* 151

XI. SIR ROBERT HARLAND, AGED 78 }

PART I

CHAPTER I.

THE PARISH CHURCH.

Stand and unfold thyself.—*Shakespeare.*

IN a very large majority of our rural parishes the only historical monument now remaining is the parish church. The formation of territorial estates, on which ensued the arrangement of the land in large farms, has brought about the destruction of the old manor houses, and of the houses of the yeomen and of the small freeholders, which were no longer required. The classes indeed that had built and dwelt in them had already well-nigh disappeared, having, by the pressure of the incidents and conditions of the new system of agglomeration, been forced to go into trade or to emigrate to America. Even the hedgerows, which in many cases were older than the houses, are now gone. Thus the land has for the most part become as bare of everything of historical interest as so much newly enclosed prairie in Minnesota or Manitoba. The modern farmhouse, built by the landowner for the accommodation of a tenant, and therefore without a suggestion of the pride of ownership, of individual taste, or of a desire to be remembered by one's descendants, or of any natural or pleasing feeling of any kind, and the labourers' cottages, generally suggestive of anything rather than pleasing thoughts, and the

modern mansion, frequently unoccupied or let to strangers, all belong to an artificial system, that now appears, in its turn, to have run its allotted course, and to have become incompatible with the requirements, conditions, and sentiments of the times. But the parish church still stands where, and much as, it stood eight or nine, or even ten, centuries ago. It alone saw the growth and the making of England. The Norman Invasion, the Crusades, the Feudal Castle, Cressy and Agincourt, the Wars of the Roses, the Reformation, the Great Rebellion, America and India, Marlborough and Wellington successively in the process of the ages touched the thoughts, the feelings, and the lives of those who assembled within its walls, and prompted their thanksgivings or wrought them sorrow.

It is, too, a priceless monument of the piety, the open-handedness, the artistic sentiment, the social arrangements of old times, when, notwithstanding much rudeness, hardness, and wide inequalities, men were regarded as living souls; and when there was a sufficient number of permanent resident proprietors in every parish to erect structures, in which those who built them were justified in feeling satisfaction and pride. Nor is it less a monument of the neglect, of the ignorance, of the deadness, which we are now prompted, happily with some sense of shame, to call the Philistinism, of the following commercial period, in which man was regarded as a sentient organism, existing only for self-indulgence, and for money-getting, or to toil for others.

Frequently, too, it witnesses to what were the passing historical events of a period, through its records in stone of the emergence from among the inhabitants of the village of some great soldier or sailor; some known statesman, or lawyer, or divine, or man of letters; some nabob or banker; some one who was successful in commerce or trade.

Those, however, who emerge to prominence in the world can only be few; but the parish church speaks to the thought and feeling of all. It discourses to all on the matters that most concern our common humanity. It proclaims man's belief in the reality and supremacy of the moral sense; for what else could have maintained it throughout so many generations? It is evidence of the need that all have felt for light, and of the general desire to make what light they had, or what they took for light, the guide of life. And how are we touched here by the memorials of human affection, and of the disappointments and failures of human hopes! How many wounded hearts have sought for healing here! The remainder of the parish, all except this house of God, and God's acre around it, is for labour, for money-getting, for luxury. This is the one sacred spot where the humblest have found some inspiration. Here was evoked and fed the moral, and the spiritual life. Here were enlarged the parishioners' narrow work-day horizons. Nowhere else were awakened such emotions, such tenderness, such regrets, such hopes, such aspirations.

We may notice one more claim the parish church has on our favourable regard. It is the only piece of common property in the parish, held and used in common by all the parishioners. And its use has this excellent quality, that it periodically brings them all together, and makes them, at moments when their hearts are open to the highest and best influences, all acquainted with each other.

Here, then, are reasons enough for our endeavouring to propagate the hope—and such hopes have a tendency to realise themselves—that, whatever changes may be in store for the National Church, men may not in the heat of the conflict lose sight of the fact that these material fabrics are unique and priceless monuments for local, and through local for general, history. It will be necessary also to keep

distinctly in view that the common rights in them of all the parishioners that have always existed ought in the future, under all circumstances, to be maintained.

Of these parish churches, then, we are trustees and guardians, not only on behalf of our children, who in successive generations will take the places we now occupy here in our little sea-girt home, but also on behalf of that portion of the English race dispersed over two continents beyond the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans, whose numbers, already far beyond our own, are increasing with a rapidity the world has never before witnessed. What they are to-day, and will be in the future, can only be the outgrowth, under new skies and on broader areas, of offsets from the stock which the events and modifying conditions of centuries had created here. A few steps back from the present bring us to a past that is as thoroughly theirs as it is ours. Some years ago an American happened to be paying me a visit. He might have been taken for a shrewd money-making man, possessed, however, of some little literary culture. At his request I took him to see the parish church. I stood somewhat in advance of him while pointing out to him the ornamentation of the round arch of the porch, and telling him that as it was Norman it must be seven or eight hundred years old. Noticing that he made no reply, I turned round to see if he were listening, or whether he had moved away to look at something else, perhaps the old lichen-stained tower or the view of the Orwell. He was, however, I found, close to me, listening to what I was saying, and with tears in his eyes. 'Excuse,' he said, 'a weakness I never felt before, and should not have supposed myself capable of. But a sudden emotion has overcome me. I, brought up in a country without any antiquities, am overpowered at the thought of how many generations of men, how many even

before my own country was known to the world, have entered in and gone out by this venerable porch, and among them probably ancestors of some of the first settlers of our New England States. The memorials of our past are here in England, and the chief of them are your priceless parish churches.'

The thought had long been in my mind that it is almost a duty of his position in the incumbent of a benefice to collect what materials might be within his reach for a history of his parish. Such materials, archæological, historical, and connected with the working of contemporary society in the parish, and with the natural history of the locality, everywhere abound. The rural clergy generally have abundant leisure for work of this kind, though, perhaps, notwithstanding that printing is now cheap, it might not be desirable to send to the press at once a large proportion of such collections. Still, however imperfect and fragmentary, they might be deposited in MS. in the parsonage and in the parish chest, to await the coming of an incumbent possessed of sufficient historical or scientific knowledge, and at the same time of sufficient literary skill, to put them into fit form for publication.

In these days science, which is only accurate, comprehensive, and systematic knowledge, is in the air, and the general thought is beginning unconsciously to be coloured with some little tinge of science. People wish to be told something about the world around them, animate and inanimate, even in a parochial history. We have now had for a century an example of what may be effected in this direction in Gilbert White's 'Natural History of Selborne' —perhaps the most generally attractive book on natural history ever written. Its attractiveness is in some measure a result of the limitation of the area of White's investigations; for it is strictly a parochial monograph, the record

of his observations made from time to time, the journal of his notes, on the natural history of the parish of Selborne. In these days works of this character would be received with interest and favourable appreciation by a far larger circle of readers than could have been found for White's charming pages. In fact, a great many people, and their number is increasing, would now be dissatisfied with anything professing to be a parochial history which did not give some information about the ornithology, the entomology, the botany, and the geology of the locality.

As to the other department of our subject, that which embraces matters of human concern, Sir John Cullum, to take an instance from our own county, has, in his 'History and Antiquities of Hawsted and Hardwick,' given us what may be described as parochial archæology. But here also the spirit and point of view of the age have very much altered people's ideas about what is required, and what they wish to have. Now that they have got accustomed to looking beyond their own neighbourhood, and knowledge is pretty generally understood to include an acquaintance with the causes of things, the detached and isolated archæology of a detached and isolated locality is felt to be insufficient. The modern reader wishes to be enabled to understand how the little events of and the situation of things in the little village world were connected with the great events of and the situation of things in the general outside world, and how they reciprocally bear upon and illustrate and interpret each other. The light each can supply must be thrown upon the other. With most men the history of their own country is more interesting than what may be called universal history. So would it be as respects local history with all of us who have not the knowledge and the sympathies required for the wider history of the country. But then it must be presented to

us not as something complete in itself, which it is not, but as, which is what it is, a part of the great whole.

If a beginning be once made by an incumbent in any part of the field in which he may be capable of doing some work, in most places a neighbour will be found capable of assisting him in some way or other in some other department. At all events, those who will follow him will sooner or later continue what he commenced; and so eventually all that it is possible to know about a parish may be collected. But in this matter, as in most other undertakings, the chief difficulty is the first step. When the work has been entered on, then we may expect that it will be carried on. What is here submitted to the reader is meant for a beginning of this kind.

It was in the year 1880 that the thoughts about a parochial history that had long been floating in my mind took form. I was then engaged in rebuilding the vicarage, and it occurred to me, in consequence, I suppose, of my having seen the invaluable lists of the Pharaohs who had preceded him which Rameses the Great set up in the great temple at Thebes and in his palace at Abydos, that it would be a very useful and interesting embellishment to the hall of the new vicarage if I could place on its walls a panel inscribed with the names and dates of as many of the vicars who had preceded me as could now be recovered. For the small field of parochial history this would have the same kind of interest which the lists of the Pharaohs have for the great field of Egyptian history. Fortunately, I was able to do this through the entries in the diocesan registers of the institutions to the benefice, and without a single break for the last 592 years—that is, from 1300 A.D. to the date of this volume. Encouraged by this success, I proceeded to put upon paper all that I could recollect,

and that as I went along I could collect; about the parish. Week by week I published in the *Suffolk Chronicle* the results of my recollections and collections That is the genesis of the present volume. Before, however, we come to the vicars, something should be said about the church in which they officiated, and the successive parsonages in which most of the vicars of at least the last 250 years resided.

To begin, then, with the church. All that is recoverable of its history is what is written on its walls and windows. We have already found that the porch is Norman. So, on the opposite or north side, is the arch for a disused door, the passage through which has been filled in with stone masonry. When this was done is not known. In 1862, on stripping the walls to re-face them, round window arches were found embedded in the walls at the north-west and south-west angles of the nave, where it joins the tower. The thickness of the walls—four feet—is also a Norman feature. We may, therefore, pretty safely conclude that somewhere about the year 1100 a Norman structure, of which the main substance still remains, took the place of the church that had preceded it. In the chancel are two small lancet windows. These, we may guess, are work of about the year 1200. The tracery of the east window, of the window on the north side to the west of the pulpit, and of four of the windows on the south side, is, in some degree, Decorated. To these, therefore, we may assign a date somewhere about 1300. The west window is in the Perpendicular style, and so may belong to some date not far from 1400. The rood-loft staircase, the piscina, and the recess in the porch for the stoup still remain.

No record is likely to be forthcoming that could throw

[illegible] the parish [illegible] the [illegible] collections and collectors. That is the [illegible] present volume. Before, however, we come [illegible] should be said about the church they officiated, and the successive parsons [illegible] of the vicar of at least the last 250 years [illegible]

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any light on the erection of the Norman church, of which the existing structure is hardly more than an adaptation. We know, however, that in the year 1207 Gerard of Wachesham (the present Wattisham, near Bildeston) gave the benefice to the Augustinian Priory of Black Canons of St. Peter's, Ipswich, and that it was held by them till the year 1527, when they were suppressed in order that what they drew from the benefice, together with the rest of their income, might be appropriated to the support of Wolsey's College at Ipswich. Whatever alterations, therefore, in the structure were made in the intervening 320 years must have been made by the prior and canons of St. Peter's, Ipswich. The conversion, then, of the church from a Norman to a Gothic edifice must have been their work; and so we are indebted to them for all our windows, for the tower, and probably for the oak roof of the chancel.

By them also our tenor bell was placed in our belfry. It was of their thought, and at their cost, that it has been made to offer continuously as for themselves so for us, and for so many intervening generations of worshippers, the prayer 'that we may attain through the merits of Thomas (à Beckett) to the blissful realms of light'—*Nos Thome meritis mereamur gaudia lucis.* The same hexameter occurs on a bell in the tower of the church of South Elmham St. Cross, in this county, and elsewhere, and indicates the work of a Norwich foundry of the 15th century. We may imagine, then, that this bell was placed in our church tower at the date of its construction. This we have just supposed, judging from the tracery of the west window, may have been about the year 1400.

To the thought of the historically-minded it is pleasant to listen to a bell that one's predecessors on the same spot had listened to for five centuries, beginning in the ages of faith without knowledge, and passing through the turmoil

of the Reformation and the overthrows of the Great Rebellion, through the days of the Tudors, of the Stuarts, and of the Georges, down to the Jubilee of Queen Victoria. And this is a pleasure that cannot be had everywhere. For in the days of Pitt clubs and patriotism, and of devotion to the throne and to the altar, the parsons and churchwardens of some of the contiguous parishes had their bells melted down into halfpence to pay for whitewashing their churches, and for port wine to toast Church and State.

The legend on our second largest bell informs us that it was made by Miles Graye. He was a Colchester founder. Its date is 1622. Sam. Samwaies was then vicar, about whom we shall presently have something to say.

The legend on our smallest bell informs us that it was made by John Darbie in 1675; Richard Gooding, C.W. John Darbie was an Ipswich founder. His work does not appear after 1680. Richard Gooding, as will be seen in a subsequent chapter, attested in the previous year, 1674, as churchwarden, the entry in our registers of a collection. The following is the entry of his burial: 'Richard Gooding, Gent: of this Parish, was buried on ye 27 of Novemb: 82.' In 1676, another Gooding, whose christian name was John, attests, as churchwarden, the entry of another collection. Later on we shall have to notice a fact of some little historical interest, which is recorded on the tombstone of a third Gooding, who was buried in 1618.

From the days of the prior and canons of St. Peter's, Ipswich, to our own day nothing appears to have been added to or altered in the church. It had been so well and solidly built that it was able to sustain the neglect of the ensuing 350 years. In 1863 a third restoration was effected, but this time without any alterations. The Hon. Mrs. Dashwood, widow of Captain Ch. Ant. Dashwood,

whose son had then inherited the Wherstead estate, repaired the old historic building at a cost of nearly 2,000*l.* The walls were re-faced externally—with the exception of the tower—and internally; the tracery of the windows was repaired, and stained substituted for plain glass; an oak roof, in keeping with the old roof of the chancel, that was retained, was placed over the nave, and the nave was furnished with open oak seats, the poppy-heads of which were copied from some old worm-eaten examples that still remained in the church when its restoration was taken in hand. A vestry also was added to the building. A stone pulpit was given by the Hon. Miss Rushout. It cost nearly 400*l.* The carving was done by a sculptor of Louvain. The font was the gift of the vicar. This is recorded in an inscription, which unless looked for is out of sight, at the bottom of the base. The designs for the subjects on the eight sides of the basin were supplied by the vicar. It was the fault of the sculptor that Michael trampling on the dragon was cut on a smaller scale than the figures on the other panels.

A reader who may have no acquaintance with Wherstead Church will wish to know the meaning of the large black ball that appears in our sketch beneath the weather-cock on the tower. The same wish arose in the mind of a church dignitary who some years ago happened to be staying with me. I explained to him that it was a sailing mark that was used by the vessels navigating the Orwell. In this he appeared to detect a grain of comfort, for he replied that 'he was glad to find that any use could be made of a church.'

There appears always to have been more or less in one way or another some connection between the town of Ipswich and Wherstead Church. When our list of vicars commences, and for some time after its commencement,

the entries in the diocesan register of institutions seem to intimate that it was regarded as within the boundaries of Ipswich. This might have been so arranged because the prior and canons of the almost conterminous Ipswich Priory were impropriators and patrons of the benefice. During this period the vicars, as some are styled friars and some canons, appear to have been selected from among the canons of the priory. In subsequent times, as may be inferred from the frequent entries in the parish registers of the marriages and burials of Ipswich people, between the inhabitants of the town and Wherstead Church there must have been a connection of sentiment or fashion.

At the present day the attraction it has for the people of Ipswich is of another kind. They now walk or drive out to the church to see the view from the east end of the churchyard. It is no inconsiderable gain for the inhabitants of so large and busy a town to have within an easy and pleasant walk the most charming view in the Eastern Counties. It commands almost the whole of the Orwell and of its banks. On the left it looks up to and upon Ipswich, and on the right down to Levington, at the head of the last reach towards Harwich. All the five parks on its banks are before you—Stoke, Wherstead, Woolverstone, Orwell, and Nacton or Broke Hall. At high water the river has more the appearance of a long lake with well-wooded shores than of a river. As you look down upon it from a height of some hundred and fifty feet on a bright day, its sheeny surface faithfully reflects the blue of the sky, and in the further distance the golden light. In the days, now fifty years ago, before railways had completely superseded the four-horse coach, I happened to be passing the Carter Fell, on the Scotch border between Jedburgh and Newcastle. A gentleman by whose side I was seated, and who I found, though then a Newcastle banker,

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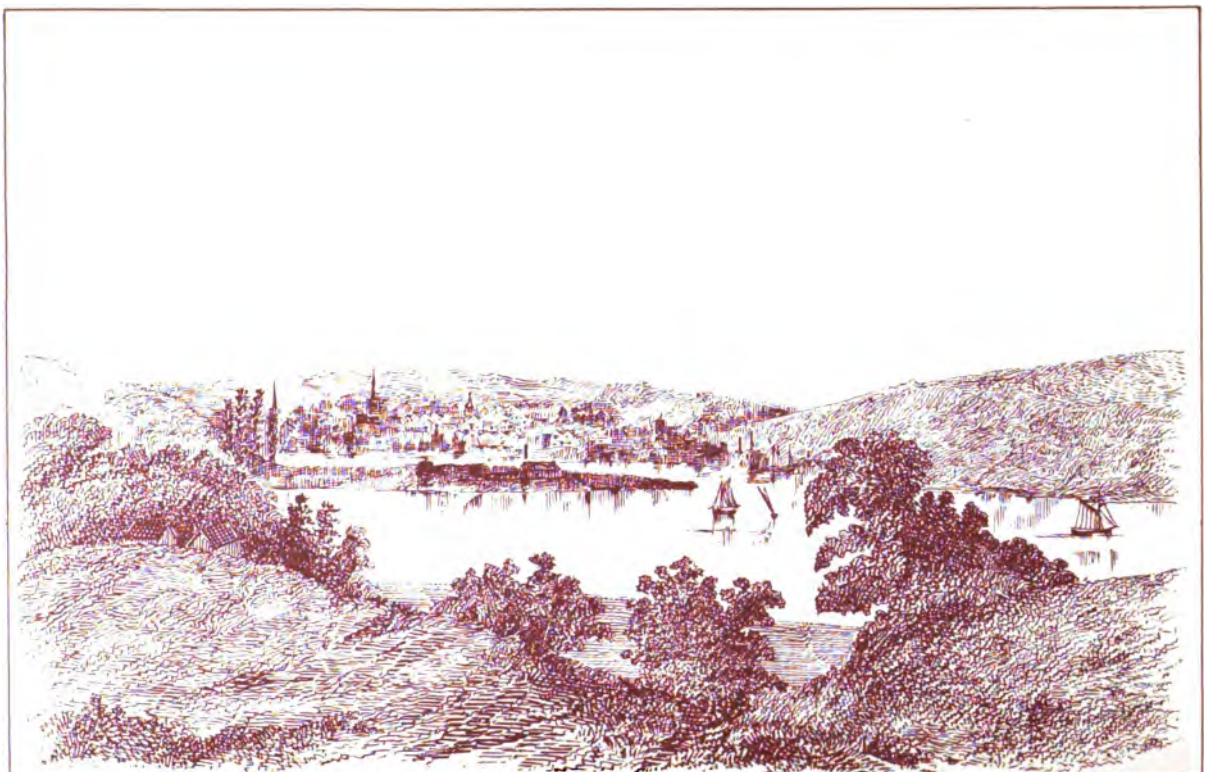
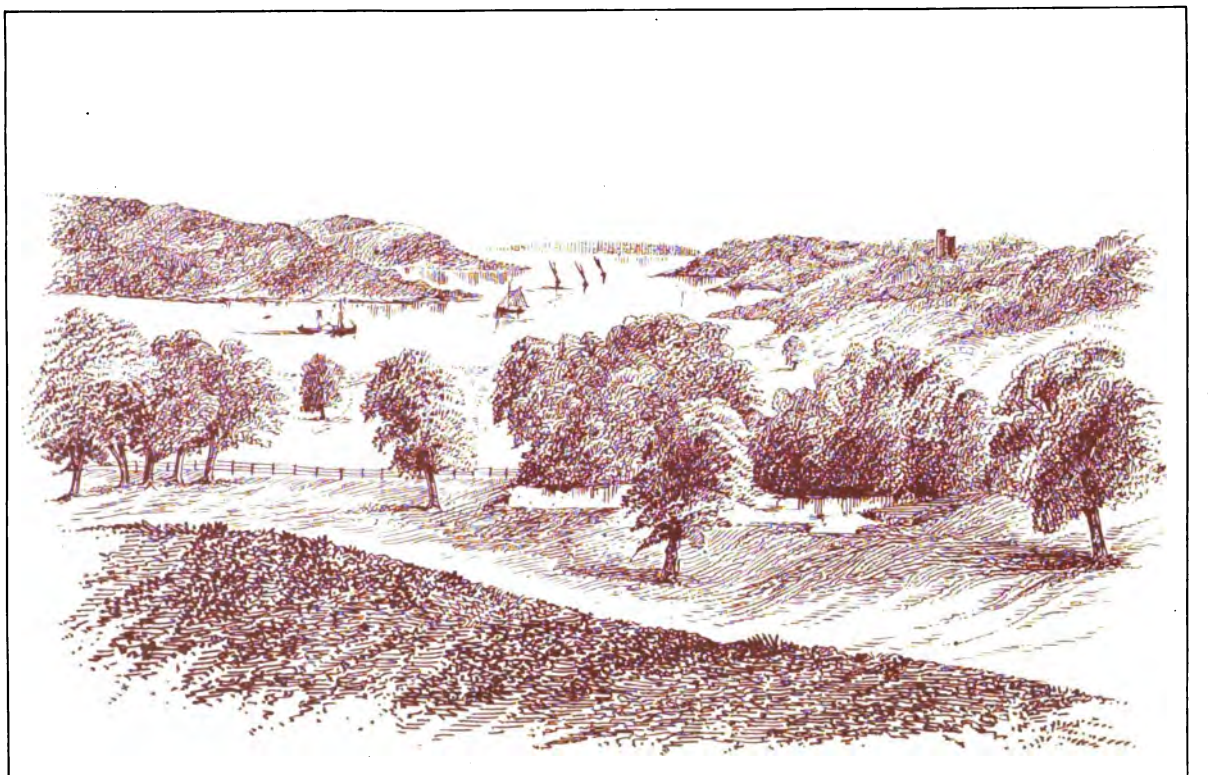


·UP·THE·ORWELL·



DOWN · THE · ORWELL.

[illegible]

had once been in business in Ipswich, remarked to me 'that we had both been to Scotland in quest of scenery, but that there was a scene in the much-decried Eastern Counties which, in his opinion, was superior to anything he had seen in Scotland.' 'It is the view,' he continued, 'from a quiet unknown country churchyard.' 'Where?' I asked. 'Oh,' he replied, 'it is a place no one has ever heard of. It is near Ipswich, on the banks of the Orwell. The place is called Wherstead.' To me, at all events, it was not so unknown as he had supposed, for I was at that time curate of Wherstead.

CHAPTER II.

OUR VICARAGES.

Nihil sanctius, nihil omni religione munitius quam domus uniuscujusque.
Cicero.

A WORD now about the vicarages, for we have had three within the last century. The oldest of which anything is known, and which was occupied by a long succession of vicars, stood on the south side of the church, and a little below it. A recess was excavated for it on the descent between the church and the bottom of the valley. This recess is still visible, although a great deal of the soil removed in sinking the road from the village to the church forty-four years ago was thrown into it. The view from this house commanded all the best part of the Orwell. It was a rambling, irregular structure, and, for a parsonage, covered a good deal of ground. Its last occupants were two brothers, a General and an Admiral Cornwallis. Forty years ago one who had known it well described it to me as a *crincum-crancum* kind of house, full of ins and outs. Its old bowling green, a little beyond the east end of the churchyard, still remains, surrounded with dilapidated elms. Below the site of the old house are now standing—they once stood within its grounds—some ancient thorns, an ilex, and a circular clump of elms and oaks, now sadly wrecked by the unusually violent storms of now nine and ten years ago. This clump stood at the south-west corner of the garden, and sheltered a summer-

house in which the penultimate vicar, as the tradition of the parish ran, used to smoke the pipe, we will suppose, of reflection and contentment. Between this clump of trees and the site of the old house several tufts of daffodils still break into flower every year, but now through the turf of the park. They mark the spot where a century ago the vicar's garden smiled. In the early spring now for more than half a century I have noticed them bursting into bloom, and always with increasing interest, as I recalled their history, and welcomed them as faithful witnesses of the past.

In 1880, when I was building the third vicarage, the only known fragment of the first was a block of conglomerate, which many years ago I had brought away from the old site, and which I have placed in an honourable and conspicuous position in the north wall of the new vicarage, with a suitable inscription around it.

When I first came into the parish I had noticed that a slab of similar conglomerate was laid down before the doorsill of an old man of the name of Jerry Double. I asked him how it came there. He told me that he had been present at the demolition of the old vicarage alongside the church, and that he had brought that stone away as a memorial of it. Some years after his death, which occurred forty-one years ago, I endeavoured, but unavailingly, to discover what had become of this stone. Among others I had questioned about it his daughter, who had resided with him. She was not, however, disposed to give me any information on the subject. After a time I asked David Double, old Jerry Double's nephew, to make what inquiries about it and what search for it he could. This he did, and in 1884 he succeeded in finding it. He had extracted from his cousin, who had been so reticent towards me, that on the death of her father she had allowed the

landlord of the 'Ostrich,' the village inn, to remove it. He then went to the 'Ostrich,' and obtained permission from the successor of the late landlord to search the premises for it. When the hope of finding it was almost entirely abandoned, he spied a corner of it projecting from a mound of rockwork. It is a roughly dressed slab of conglomerate, three feet long, two feet wide, and half a foot thick. It formed part of the pavement of a yard at the old vicarage. In 1887 I got possession of it; and it will henceforth, as long as my successors may be so minded, remain at the vicarage.

This David Double, whom I shall have occasion to mention again, is the only man in the parish who lives in a house and cultivates a bit of land—a garden of half an acre—of his own. All the rest of the parish, with the exception of the glebe, belongs to the Wherstead estate. He is a retired gardener, now (in 1892) in his eighty-second year, and many years ago was, by a happy accident, able to buy with his savings this half-acre and to build his house upon it. The fact that he is thus rooted in the soil—this is the case with no one else amongst us—has engendered within him so intense an interest in everything connected with the history of the parish that the feeling could not be stronger if, instead of being the son of an agricultural labourer, he had been descended from a long line of distinguished members of the Society of Antiquaries. If he were liable to be ejected from the parish, with a week's notice, at the will, in accordance with the interests, often at the mere caprice, of another man, is it conceivable that for him under such conditions the history of the parish would have any charm or attraction?

But to go back for a moment to his uncle, the Jerry Double who preserved a memorial of the old vicarage. In the year 1847 the late Sir Robert Harland told me an

anecdote about him, which in its antecedents and accessories has some little historical interest. Sir Robert Harland, before the breaking out of the French Revolution, had been a kind of page in the establishment of Count Dillon, who had married one of Sir Robert's sisters, and was a member of the French Administration. In his capacity, as in some sort an attendant on the Count, he was present at the council held by the Administration on the receipt of the intelligence of Rodney's great victory over Count de Grasse in the West Indies. He well remembered, he said, that the conclusion arrived at was that instructions should immediately be sent to all their naval officers anywhere in command of ships or fleets never to commit themselves so far as that they must fight the English, for experience taught that on the water they were invincible, but to worry and annoy them as much as they could. And these appear to have been the tactics of the French navy down to the day of Trafalgar.

In the year, then, 1847 I was in conversation with Sir Robert Harland on the road not far from my house, and Jerry Double passed by; upon which Sir Robert said, 'I am always glad to see that old man, because fifty years ago, when I had just returned from France, a young man, full of the ideas about liberty and reason which had brought about the Revolution, I treated him foolishly and harshly, which I am now endeavouring to atone for. I had ordered my men to go on with the harvest work on Sunday, telling them that there was neither piety nor reason in risking the loss of what was given us for our support, because of some antiquated ideas about sitting idle for one day in the week. They all obeyed except Jerry Double. For this I discharged him. But now I think that he was right and that I was wrong, and so I allow him for the remainder of his life ten shillings a week.'

This Sir Robert Harland was the only son of Admiral Harland, who had resided in the neighbouring parish of Sproughton, and whose house Sir Robert pulled down when he built the mansion in Wherstead Park. Admiral Harland had been Minister Plenipotentiary to the Nabob of Arcot. When Sir Robert had built his new house at Wherstead, it was found that the vicar's glebe was in the middle of the area he contemplated forming into a park, and that the vicarage intercepted his view of the Orwell. It therefore became necessary, in his way of looking at the matter, that the glebe should be absorbed into the estate, and that the old vicarage should be demolished. This was effected in 1802 by an exchange. What was given for the charming site, and for the old house in which a long succession of vicars had dwelt, was the house and land of a small freeholder of the name of Frost who had been bought out in the formation of the Wherstead estate.

The history of the Frost family, as far as births, deaths, and marriages go, is given in the parish register. The last of the family, who was in business in London, used occasionally to visit Wherstead for the purpose of walking by and looking once more at the place where his forefathers had lived, but which was then the vicarage. The following entry from the parochial register shows that some time after they had left the place the mortal remains of a daughter of the uprooted family were brought here from Wiltshire in order that she might be buried within sight of the old home and among her kindred.

Sarah, wife of Thomas Barry, Esq., of Bulidge House, Wiltshire, daughter of Charles and Elizabeth Frost, late of this parish, 1820, aged 49.

This second, or Frost vicarage, as it was inconvenient in its arrangements and much out of repair—it was 260 years old when I took it down—my immediate predecessor

would have removed and rebuilt had it not been for the moulded ceiling of the sitting-room, which he had not the heart to destroy. He therefore contented himself with spending 600*l.* in enlargements and ineffectual repairs, which, like most contract work, were themselves in never-ending need of repairs. At last, in 1880, which, however, was five-and-twenty years after I had quite made up my mind that I must do it, I replaced it with the now existing, which is our third, vicarage.

It would have been unfeeling and barbarous to demolish an old house that had something to say about the local past, and which had some interesting features in itself, without leaving a memorial of what it had been. This memorial I have provided in an inscription on a brass plate, which I have placed as a panel in the hall of the new vicarage. Those, now, who, after me, will occupy this house, will know something of the house which preceded it on the same site, and was for seventy-eight years our second vicarage. I here give the inscription:—

The frame of this panel was cut from a beam of the old house that was built on this site about 1620, and taken down in 1880. Its woodwork was of oak and sweet chesnut, and, as it was for the most part quite sound, was re-used for the ceiling of the study, for lintels, joists, and otherwise in this house. The bricks of the old house were of varying thicknesses from 1½ to 2¼ inches. Many of them had been taken from some previous structure. All of them were re-used in the walls of this house. The partition walls were of clay and chopped straw. The ceiling of the sitting-room was divided into four compartments moulded in plaster. Each had a border of vine leaves. In the centre of each was a large acorn in its cup, projecting 2½ inches, surrounded with oak leaves. In each corner of each compartment was a *fleur de lis.*

I will here add the inscription—it is on the north side of the new vicarage—that surrounds the block of conglomerate that is our memento of our first known vicarage.

This fragment is all that remains of the old vicarage that stood on the south side of the church, and was exchanged in 1802 for the house

of a small freeholder on this site, built about 1620 and taken down in 1880. From it came the bricks that surround this inscription.

These specimens of the bricks of the second vicarage were placed in a conspicuous position, and attention is directed to them in the inscription, because some inference as to their age may be drawn from the fact that they are not more than two inches in thickness. From the marks upon them it was evident that they had been previously used in some older building. Many of the bricks in the soffit of the staircase in our church tower are of the same scantling, and so probably of the same age.

Of the third vicarage little need be said. It will, I hope, long be able to speak for itself. I am responsible for its design and details, and for the fashion in which it was built. The foundations are 3 feet deep and 3 feet wide, and rest on solid indurated gravel. The outer skin of the walls is built of moulded concrete blocks made of the best London cement, faced with sifted shingle from Landguard Fort beach, and backed with broken brick and the larger pieces of shingle. The inner skin is brickwork. The space between the two skins on the north and east sides was filled in with grout made with cement. On the south and west sides the two skins were clamped together and the interspace left empty. The mullions of the windows were made by Doulton, of Lambeth.

The aim of the interior hall, with a detached stove and an uncovered iron flue rising vertically from the stove through the two upper storeys, was to give complete command over the climate of the whole interior of the house, so that the staircase and landings might be free from damp, and that the air that is supplied to all the rooms might be warm and dry.

The inscription over the outer door of the house, 'Liber Exi Redi Liber,' is addressed only to the master of

OUR TOWER.

[illegible]

[illegible] specimens of the bricks of the second tower were placed in a conspicuous position, and [illegible] direct [illegible] in the inscription, because [illegible] may be drawn from the fact that [illegible] two inches in thickness. From the [illegible] was evident that they had been provided [illegible] building. Many of the bricks in [illegible] our church tower are of the same [illegible] by of the same age.

[illegible] age [illegible] need be said. It will [illegible] speak for itself. [illegible] tells, and for the fashion in which [illegible] The [illegible] are 3 feet deep and 3 feet [illegible] on solid indurated gravel. The outer skin of [illegible] is built of moulded concrete blocks made of the [illegible] London cement, faced with silt dressing from Lambeth [illegible] beach, [illegible] backed with broken brick and the [illegible] The inner skin is brickwork. The [illegible] the north and east sides [illegible] with cement. On the south [illegible] were clamped together and [illegible] The mullions of the windows [illegible] of Lambeth.

The [illegible] hall, with a detached stone [illegible] from the rising vertically from the [illegible] stones, was to give complete [illegible] the whole interior of the [illegible] and lodgings might be free from [illegible] that is supplied to all the rooms [illegible]

[illegible] the outer door of the house, [illegible] only to the master of

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the house, the vicar for the time being, and bids him go forth for what he has to do outside his door free, as far as in him lies, from fear, hatred, care, prejudice, debt, superstition, ignorance, and from whatever may enslave his mind, and to return to his work at home in the same state of freedom.

The idea of the ceiling of the library, five-rayed gilt stars sown on an ultramarine expanse, I borrowed from the ceiling of the palace of Rameses the Great at Abydos. On the wall of this room I have a side face of Rameses I obtained at Thebes.

CHAPTER III.

THE BENEFICE.

That the grass does not grow on stones is not the fault of the rain.
Oriental Proverb.

So much for the vicarage in the sense of a dwelling. Now a few words on the vicarage in the sense of a benefice, or, as we call it, a living. Since the rectorial tithe was alienated and appropriated to the monastery of St. Peter's at Ipswich, and subsequently came unto the hands of the Prior and Convent of Ely, it has never been much of a living. It has rather 'had everything advantageous for life except the means to live.' There is in the Bishop's Registry at Norwich a very old valuation of the benefices of the diocese. The year inscribed on it is 1300, but the general opinion is that the date of its compilation must be set somewhat later. It is called the Diocesan Domesday of Norwich. In this volume Wherstead has the following entry:—

Quested, als Wherested, Sæ Mariæ. Prior eccliæ S. Petri de Gypvico habet eccliam in proprios usus. Estimatio illius xv. marc. Estimatio Vicariæ ejusdem vi. marc. Procuratio vii.s. vi.d. Vicarius solvit synodalia per annum ii.s. iv.d. Denarii S. Petri xiiii.d.

Which may be translated: St. Mary's, of Quested, or Wherested (now Wherstead). The Prior of the Church of St. Peter's, Ipswich, is impropriator of the benefice. Its estimated value (to him) is fifteen marcs. The estimated value of the vicarage of the same is six marcs. Procurations are seven shillings and sixpence. The vicar pays

yearly for synodals two shillings and fourpence. Fourteen pence are due for St. Peter's pence.

A great deal of history is embedded in the particulars of this dry businesslike entry.

At the date of the entry the benefice had become a vicarage. This diversion of the great tithe from the incumbent to the Prior of St. Peter's no doubt took place in 1207, the date of Gerard of Wachesham's gift of the advowson to the prior. From that time—that is, for 680 years—if we suppose that as many vicars were instituted in the century that preceded the year 1300 as in the century that followed that date, Gerard's act lowered the temporal position of thirty-four vicars by reducing their income to less than one-third of what it otherwise would have been. The motive of this gift was probably to secure on behalf of his soul the prayers of the monks of St. Peter's. In effect, however, it was a quasi-robbery of all future incumbents. It was buying what he regarded as an improved chance of salvation with other people's money.

At some pre-Reformation date—I have not been able to ascertain precisely when—the rectorial tithe passed into the possession of the Prior and Convent of Ely, who were also patrons of the conterminous parish of Stoke, Ipswich. Nathaniel Acton, of Bramford Hall, who died in the year 1837, was lessee of the great tithes of Wherstead from the Dean and Chapter of Ely, the existing representatives of the Prior and Convent of Ely. These tithes now belong to the owner of the Wherstead estate. My friend, the Dean of Ely, tells me that they did not form part of the property his chapter had to make over to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and that now there is no trace among their documents of their alienation, or indeed of the Dean and Chapter of Ely ever having possessed them.

What, however, we are now immediately concerned in

is the value of the great and of the vicarial tithe at the time when, A.D. 1300, we first find them separated and in different hands. At that date we now know that they were estimated respectively at fifteen and at six marks. A mark was not then in England, as it is now in Germany, a coin, but a term or sum of account. It meant as much silver as was contained in 16*s.* 4*d.* of those times. In those times, however, there was threefold as much silver in a shilling as there is now. A silver penny of those days was equal in weight to one of our threepennies; a groat, or 4*d.*, to one of our shillings; and a pound meant and was a pound, that is, twelve ounces, troy weight, of silver, whereas in these days a pound means only a third of that weight, or four ounces of silver. To translate, therefore, these mediæval marks into the coin of the present day, we must multiply 16*s.* 4*d.* by three. Each mark, therefore, contained 49*s.* of our money.

The next point to be ascertained is how much of the necessaries of life would that sum of 49*s.* have purchased in those times? What was its purchasing power as respects commodities? Ten shillings of our money would generally in those times have purchased a quarter of wheat—that is to say, wheat then averaged about 1*s.* 3*d.* a bushel. Sometimes it went down to 6*s.* 8*d.* a quarter, or 10*d.* a bushel of our money. The general purchasing power, therefore, of these 49*s.* was then six times as great as it is now. We will take this 49*s.* at 50*s.* and multiply it by six, which will give 300*s.*, or 15*l.* A mark, then, in those days, from these two causes, first that there was three times as much silver in corresponding denominations as there is now, and then that silver had, weight for weight, at least six times the purchasing power that it has now, would go as far in housekeeping and providing necessaries as 15*l.* now. In those times, therefore, St. Peter's Priory

at Ipswich drew from Wherstead, expressed in terms of the present day, 225*l.* That is the modern value of their fifteen marks. By calculating in the same way we find that the vicar's income from the parish, estimated at six marks, would now be worth 90*l.* a year.

By applying the same process to the other regular payments yearly due from the benefice, we find that the procurations, or the composition paid in money for the charge of entertaining the bishop or the ordinary, whenever he might visit the parish, and which are set down at 7*s.* 6*d.*, were equal to 6*l.* 15*s.* of our money; and that the synodals or fees paid at certain ecclesiastical meetings, and which are set down at 2*s.* 4*d.*, amounted to 2*l.* 2*s.* of our money. The synodals, it is stated, were to be paid by the vicar. The procurations appear to have been paid by the holder of the great tithe, or possibly they were in some way or other imposed on the parish.

There remains one other ecclesiastical charge on the parish—that of Peter's pence, or Romescot. This was the Pope's due. It amounted to 14*d.* of the money of that time. This is equivalent to one guinea of our money.

The foregoing investigation suggests some questions. How did it come about that what is still called a pound—that is, a pound of silver—and which at the beginning of our period did actually weigh a true pound, does now only weigh the third part of a pound troy, or the fourth part of a pound avoirdupois? The explanation is that when the mintage of money is absolutely in the hands of an individual, be he emperor or king—and our appellation of the *royal* mint reminds us that this was once the case here in England—there will be pressing occasions when his necessities will be too strong for his honesty, and he will either debase the standard or diminish the weight of the denomination. If, for instance, he should coin a pound of

silver into forty instead of into twenty shillings, and force his creditors to take the new as equivalent to the old shilling, he would at one stroke wipe out half his debts. But governments in which the influence and interests of the people count for something do not act in this way, because it would injure not only every one who is a creditor, but also would disorganise trade, and until the market had adjusted itself to the new conditions would injure every one who had anything to sell. And this is the reason why from the time of Elizabeth, when the interests of the people began to be effectually represented in Parliament, there has been no tampering with the money of the realm.

Another of these questions is, how did it happen that at that time a pound of silver had so much more purchasing power than it has at this day? The answer is that the New World, with its productive silver mines, had not yet been discovered, and that the silver mines of the Old World were becoming exhausted. This process of exhaustion had been going on from the time of the Roman Empire. The supply, therefore, of silver having become deficient, its value had been constantly rising. The consequence of this was that its exchangeable value against food, clothing, and all kinds of commodities was many times as great as it is now. The apparently low prices of the beginning of our period and the comparatively high prices of the latter part of it equally represent the value of labour and of its products, when measured by the amount of coin in use at the two periods. A day's wages bore the same ratio to the whole amount of the currency then that a day's wages bears to the whole amount of the currency now; the difference is in the currency, which was then very straitened in its limits, but is now vastly expanded. The intrinsic value of silver in the two periods

varied, but in each period it went at its intrinsic value. This was not at all the case with the paper currency during our long suspension of cash payments from 1797 to 1821. The paper pound then only represented the degree of probability there was that the government would be able eventually to redeem its obligations. Under this system, in 1812, a quarter of wheat on the average of all our markets for the whole year sold for 6*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.*, and a quarter of barley for 3*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* But this was not a currency of the precious metals, but of probability, the probability that the government would eventually be able to redeem its obligations. We have an instance of this in the difference between the original contract for the building of the mansion in Wherstead Park, and the figures of the sum by which the contract was paid. The contract was made before the suspension of cash payments, and was for 26,000*l.*, of course to be paid in the precious metals. It had, however, to be paid during the time of the suspension of cash payments, that is, in paper pounds, representing only a certain amount of probability, and it took 50,000 of these probability pounds to discharge the original 26,000*l.*, with perhaps some afterthoughts.

A third question that is suggested by our inquiry into the value of the living in the early part of our period is, How has it come about that whereas six centuries ago the vicarial tithe of Wherstead was only 90*l.* of our present money, at the time of the Tithe Commutation Act it had come to be worth about 158*l.*? This is an addition of 68*l.*; and though it still leaves the living a very poor one, is, notwithstanding, a noticeable increase. The rectorial tithe, impropriated now by the Wherstead estate, has increased in the same proportion. What has been the cause of this increase? I believe it is to be attributed to the extension and improvement of agriculture in the intervening cen-

turies. All the land was gradually taken into cultivation, and fallows were also abandoned. And as the tithe might have been taken in kind, or was, at all events, estimated from the produce, this will fully account for the increase. This implies that in the period between Edward III. and the Tithe Commutation Act the produce had nearly doubled. Henceforth, of course, no amount of increase in the produce will affect the tithe, which has become merely a reserved rent permanently fixed within certain variable limits; the ground of the variation being, not the number of bushels that have been produced, but the price at which a bushel was sold.

CHAPTER IV.

OUR VICARS.

Series longissima rerum
Per tot ducta viros.—*Virgil.*

WE have now come to the vicars who ministered in the church which, as we have seen, has some features and some history worthy of record; and who received for their services in the fourteenth century six marks, and in recent times 158*l.* a year, now in 1892, through the fall in the price of corn, reduced to but little more than 100*l.* a year; and who lived in the vicarage houses, of which also we had something to say. The following list of them is extracted from the thirty-one folio volumes of Institutions in the Diocesan Registry at Norwich. It begins A.D. 1300, and is throughout unmarred by a single break. I shall give in the case of each the date of his institution, and the statement of the patrons who presented :—

1300, 5 Kal. Mart.—THO. de CRUCE. ad præs. Pr. et conv. S. Petri de Gypvico.

1302, 7 Id. Maii. WILL. de RYNGESTED. ad præs. eorundem.

1303, 5 Id. Nov. WILL. de CULFO. ad præs. Pr. et conv. S. Petri de Gypvico.

1324, Id. Oct. THO. de HASKETON. ad præs. Pr. et conv. S. Petri Gippewic.

1349, 8 Jun. JOES de BERDEFELD de CHATESHAM. ad præs. eorundem.

1395, 25 Feb. JOES BELCHAM. ad præs. eorundem.

1432, 6 Aug. Fr. WILL. WODEBREGGE. ad præs. eorundem.

1434, 5 Jul. Fr. WILL. NORWICH. Can. S. Petri Gypw. ad præs. eorundem.

1458, 25 Jul. Fr. JOES BRANFORD. Canon. ad coll. dni. Epi. p. laps.
1478, 9 Dec. Fr. WILL. SMITH. Can. ad præs. Pr. et conv. S. Petri Gyppewic.
1489, 13 Oct. Fr. ROBERTUS. Canonicus. ad coll. dni Epi. per laps.
1492, 16 Oct. ROGER UMFREY. ad coll. dni Epi.
1495, 9 Jul. ROGER BENETT. ad coll. dni Epi.
1530, 5 April. JOES FULDEHAM } Mr. JOES WARNER } p. mut. cum Vic. de Cretyngham ad præs. Decani et Cap. Cardinalis Coll. Gypwici dæ. vicæ pronorum.
1546, 25 Maii. WILL. STYLE. ad præs. dni R. Henrici VIII.
1522, 10 Jan. JOES CAMPELL. ad præs. dni R. Edward VI.
1555, 26 Jun. THO. AWDUS. ad coll. dni Epi. p. laps.
1576, 21 Aug. RIC. GOUGE. ad præs. dnæ R. Elizæ.
1582, 20 Dec. TIM. FITZALLEN. ad præs. dnæ R. Elizæ.
1585, 25 Nov. WILL. SMITH. ad præs. dnæ R. Elizæ.
1611, 29 Mart. SAM SAMWAIES, M.A. ad præs. dni. R. Jacobi.
1662, 22 Nov. JOES BURGESS. ad præs. dni. R. Caroli II. Vic. vacant. p. mortem ult. Inc. aut alio quocunq. modo.
1664, 25 Julii. WILL. THORNE, M.A. ad præs. dni. R. Caroli II.
1718, 28 Julii. EDW. LEEDS. ad præs. dni R. Georgii.
1744, 17 July. GEORGE DRURY, B.A., on the presntn. of H.M. K. George II.
1761, 29 Jan. WILL. GEE, B.A., on the presntn. of H.M.K. George III.
1815, 12 May. GEORGE CAPPER, on the presntn. of H.M. K. George III.
1847, 28 July. FOSTER BARHAM ZINCKE, on the presntn. of H.M. Q. Victoria.

This list from its first date, that of 1300, down to this present year 1892 covers a long span—592 years. It takes us back to a very different world from that in which we are now living. The Crusades had only just ended. The English Parliament was still in its cradle. Wales had only just been united to the English Crown. The pleadings of our law courts were still in French. The commerce of the world was in the hands of the cities of Italy, and will be so in the main for two centuries longer till the routes by sea to the East and the New World have been discovered. The dissatisfaction of Wickliffe with the religious doctrines and practice of his day, which was the

precursor of the Reformation, still more than two centuries distant, will not yet for some time be proclaimed in his preaching and writings.

Through all the changes of these 592 years the vicars of Wherstead have held on. There has been no break in their continuity. And their line reaches still further back, for it began a century earlier at the date of Gerard of Wachesham's gift of the benefice to the Prior and Black Canons of St. Peter's, Ipswich. The vicars, then, have succeeded one another for all but 700 years. But even this was not their beginning, but only a change of title corresponding to a diminution of income, for they had been preceded by a line of rectors whose beginning we must throw back for three or four hundred years more. There has then been on this spot a succession of ministers of the Word for more than a thousand years, that is for more than half the time that has elapsed since the Christian message was first heard in the villages of Galilee and on the shores of Gennesareth.

But even the 592 years of our list is a long span in human history, and the unbroken continuity of the list through all those years is a striking indication of the stability which has characterised English progress. The beginning and the growth to maturity of the art, the literature, the philosophy of the Greeks, the most wonderful blossoming, and fruit-bearing too, of mind the ages have witnessed, required no greater span of time than this. It needed but half this lapse of years for the conquest of the world beyond the Alps and the sea by Rome, or again for the conquest of Rome by Christianity. In a third of this time the United States of America have sprung up from the feeble beginnings of a few scattered English colonists to a republic of 60,000,000 souls, already an empire second to none other in the world in wealth, intelligence, enter-

prise, and power; and in a fourth of this time the foundations were laid, and the whole structure consolidated, of our vast Indian Empire.

During these centuries we may suppose that our four manors and our several small freeholds contributed to the service of the State, and to the general business and work of the country, as many good and true men as an equal number of manors and of freeholds anywhere else. But now that they have all been merged in a single estate we have become nothing more than a factory for corn and meat, plus an occasional emigrant to the towns or to the colonies, with now and then a recruit for the army.

Of the twenty-eight names our list of vicars contains, precisely one-half belong to the papal and the other to the reformed period. The fourteen Catholics cover a span of 246 years; and the fourteen Protestants have now covered a span of 346 years; just one hundred years more than their fourteen predecessors. The Catholic vicars held the benefice, on an average of the whole fourteen, each for slightly more than seventeen and a half years; the fourteen reformed vicars for nearly twenty-five years each. This does not show that in these days such preferment as a benefice is bestowed generally at an earlier age than was customary under the old system, because the probability in the case of Wherstead is that in the Catholic times on the occurrence of a vacancy the preferment was offered to the senior canon in the priory, and so on downward till some one accepted it. On this plan the incumbent, when the patronage was in the hands of a Religious House, could seldom have been a young man.

CHAPTER V.

THE VICARS' SURNAMES.

Ede tuum nomen, nomenque parentum.—*Ovid.*

OUR list is instructive on the subject of surnames. The meaning of the word surname is that it is an additional, a super-added name. So in fact it was. Our forefathers originally had no family names. Each individual had but one name; that given him at baptism, the name that was his own. But this limitation had the inconvenience that, as many received the same name, and necessarily so, for the list of baptismal names was too short to admit of much variety, the mere baptismal name did not sufficiently distinguish the individual. The most obvious way of meeting this difficulty was to append to the baptismal name some characteristically descriptive appellation, as Edward the Confessor, William the Conqueror, Henry the Scholar (Beauclerc), Richard the Lion-hearted (Cœur de Lion); or among the common multitude such peculiarities of the outward man as that he was short, long, white, brown, black, had crooked shanks, or was strong in the arm, &c. A second resource was found in the trade a man practised, as that he was a baker, butcher, weaver, or fisher, &c. These two methods, however, were insufficient, because the list of personal peculiarities is soon exhausted, and because everywhere, more particularly in towns, a great many must be of the same trade. Another resource was to append to

one's baptismal name that of the place of his nativity. This method also had a serious objection, for it is obvious that it could only be used when a man left his native parish or town, otherwise every one in the parish or town might have had the same surname. A fourth device was either to prefix the Norman Fitz, or to postfix the English son, to the father's baptismal name, as for example Fitz John and Dickson. These are the four main sources from which our family nomenclature was derived. Every one of them is open to the same unanswerable objection that in the next generation it would state what was not true, and what the obvious fact might directly contradict. Cruikshank's son might have straight shanks, Culfo's son might be born in Ringstead, Baker's son might be a tailor, Dickson, who took his name from his father Dick, might have been christened Thomas, and so his son properly should be Thomson. People were a long time in getting over this difficulty. It was, however, eventually got over by every one recognising the great utility of surnames, and so they shut their eyes to the contradictions to fact involved in them; and all the names got gradually emptied altogether of their original significance, and came eventually to mean only the one thing needed, that such or such an individual belonged to such or such a family.

Now the origin and gradual adoption of our surnames are very distinctly illustrated by our list of vicars. The first nine, who covered a period of 158 years from A.D. 1300 to A.D. 1458, all bear in addition to the baptismal name the name of the place, parish, or town in which they were born: Thomas de Cruce, William de Ryngested (Ringstead in Norfolk), William de Culfo (in Suffolk), Thomas de Hasketon (in Suffolk), John de Chatesham (Chattisham in Suffolk), John Belcham (Belchamp in

Essex), William Wodebregge (Woodbridge in Suffolk), William Norwich, John Branford (Bramford in Suffolk). The first, Thomas de Cruce, probably got his designation of de Cruce from having been born near a roadside crucifix, or a market cross, or even a cross way, or from a place that then had the name of Cross. It is worth noticing that they all come from Suffolk, Essex, or Norfolk. The first five have the Norman *de* before the name of the place of their nativity. This means of course that they themselves came from those places. The four last have the *de* omitted. This may either mean that the use of Norman French in such matters was dying out, or that the names of the places they bear after their baptismal names were not the names of the places where they were born, but in each case where the father or grandfather had been born. If the latter could be shown to be the case, then they would be instances of the names of places having really and permanently become family names. The fifth name on the list is given as John of Berdefield of Chatesham. Here probably we have an attempt to particularise a man by giving the place both of his father's and of his own birth. If so, we may suppose that his native place was Chatesham. He was John of Chatisham, the son of William, or Thomas, or whatever it might have been, of Bardfield, as the names are now pronounced and spelt; that is to say, he was of the Bardfields of Chatisham. These names of the place of nativity, which of course were meant to tell where a man was born, must at first, and for a long time, have been dropped at the death of those who bore them. When they at last stuck to his children and grandchildren, which there must have been great difficulty in getting them to do, then they became truly family names.

It is a somewhat curious coincidence that in the list of

Rectors of Hawsted, given in Sir John Cullum's *History of Hawsted*, we find in 1330, nineteen years before the presentation to Wherstead of our John de Berdefield de Chatesham, our only double-surnamed Vicar (our present Vicar alone has two baptismal names), that another John, son of William de Bradfield de Radswell, the only double-surnamed Rector of Hawsted, was presented to that Church. Notwithstanding that in such matters conjectures are but vain things, one is almost tempted to the inference that the same place is meant by Berdefield and Bradfield; and that these two contemporary Johns belonged to different branches of the same family.

The first undoubted family surname in our list is not new to us—it is that of our old familiar friend Smith. As he was a priest, he could not himself have been by trade a smith. The name, therefore, must first have been given to his father or grandfather, and as it had stuck to their descendants, as is proved by this William bearing it, it had become a true surname or family name. This was, as he was instituted in 1478, about 450 years ago. But in this matter things were still in an unsettled state, for the next vicar is merely called Robert. After Robert, however, surnames carry the day, for every succeeding vicar has both a baptismal name and a surname.

Doubtless at an earlier date than the beginning of our list, in many cases among the upper class, family names had been established. But it is also true that in the other direction, as late as the date of the Reformation, they had not become universal and permanent among the lower strata of the community. The use I am making of our list is to find what light it throws in this matter on the practice of a particular class at a definite time, that of the vicars of Wherstead in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—though of course in this matter their practice is not

quite a fair sample of the general practice, for there was for some time a disposition amongst the clergy to describe themselves by their baptismal names only.

The vicar who was instituted A.D. 1555 has what appears the strange name of Awdus. We can trace, however, from what this name had grown into this form. The *w* no doubt was a substitution for *l*. This was a change frequent in those times. Lawford, in which Manningtree Station is situated, supplies a near instance, for the name of the place was originally Lalford; in the same way Halsteda of Domesday became Hawsted, and even 'altar' assumed the written form of 'awter': of course in all such cases a change in the uttered sound preceded the written alteration. Awdus, therefore, had previously been Aldus, and Aldus had once been Aldous, a name which still remains amongst us; and Aldous had in the first instance been Ald or Old House. By just the same process the name of Bacchus, which we sometimes meet with over shops in London and elsewhere, is not derived in any way from the Roman god of wine and jollity, but was formed sometimes from Bake House, and sometimes from Back House. In the same way the family names of Venus and of Duffus are only Fen House and Dove House. But our name of Awdus has gone through one more metamorphose. Not long ago I received a circular from a firm at Hull, the senior partner of which subscribed himself Audas. This is a very debased, though quite lineal, descendant of Old House.

There is only one other surname in our list that requires notice, that of Samwaies. In the Register of Institutions at Norwich, and in his own entries in the parish registers, the name is spelt as I have just written it. On his gravestone, however, in the church it is inscribed in the form of Sames, which was probably intended to represent

a monosyllabic sound, whereas Samwaies must have been a dissyllable. At this variation in orthography we need not feel any surprise when we remember that his contemporary, Shakespeare, spelt his own name in more ways than one. At that time spelling did not attempt to stereotype itself as it does now, but aimed at representing, which of course ought always to be its aim, the current customary sound of words. The shortening of Christian names is an outcome of familiarity and of friendly feeling. This good man had lived among his flock for more than half a century; and if he won their affection, this abbreviation of his surname may have been almost unconsciously adopted as a way of expressing their kindliness towards him.

New England was settled in Sames's time. A large proportion of the leading emigrants to Massachusetts, as the Wingfields, Shermans, Winthrops, Appletons, &c., were from Suffolk; and among them was the son of the Rector of an all but adjoining parish. In the neighbourhood of Boston is the town of Ipswich. It is not then an unlikely thing that one of Sames's kin joined in this heroic act, as it was then deemed, of planting a new England beyond the Atlantic. It was a subject that interested many, and which must have been in everybody's thoughts in this part of Suffolk. The dissatisfaction of our Wherstead 'Minister of God's Word' with the Church government of his day was most likely inherited by his children; and this would make it probable that one of them would not be indisposed to join the pilgrims, who at that time were seeking to establish in the new world not religious liberty, but a Church in which there would be no liberty, except for their own narrow and rigidly defined ideas. If a Suffolk Sames joined in this work, the name he took with him may in his new home have undergone another

slight change, which would account for the Semmes family in the United States, one of whom in the great American civil war, as the dauntless captain of the ubiquitous *Alabama*, made 'Semmes' a name of pride to the South and of terror to the North, and one which, through the heavy compensation we had to pay, will not soon be forgotten in this country.

CHAPTER VI.

THE VICARS' BAPTISMAL NAMES.

How many are there who might have done well in the world had not their character and spirit been depressed and Nicodemused into nothing.—*Sterne.*

WE now come to the Christian names of our list; and in them, too, we find embedded some not uninteresting history. What first strikes the eye with respect to them is that, of all the twenty-eight on the roll, the last is the only one who had received more than one baptismal name. On my pointing out this to the late Dean of Westminster, Arthur Penryn Stanley, he replied that he had noted the same fact with respect to the far longer list of the Deans of Westminster who had preceded him: that only one beside himself had two Christian names. There are many instances of these binomial appellations of an earlier date, but the practice of giving them did not become general till about a century ago. They only begin to appear in the Wherstead baptismal register at about that time. We may suppose that the practice originated in a real want. The usual baptismal names were not more than fifty-two, and many families, too, had the same surname. Hence would arise some confusion, for many individuals must have thus come to have the same names. If, however, two baptismal names were given, this confusion would be avoided. The innovation was also recommended by the desire felt by the parents to give their infant the names of

more than one of their relatives or friends. But in this, as is the case with everything, it was possible to raise objections on the other side. And here the opposition came from the lawyers, who for a long time, but in the end unavailingly, fought against the two names, taking what appeared to be the unanswerable ground that a man might be either Dick or Tom, but that it was not possible that he could be both.

Of my twenty-seven one-name predecessors twelve bear Biblical and sixteen Saxon or Norman names. Among the Biblical names, which were a Norman introduction, there are seven Johns, three Thomases, one Timothy, and one Samuel. In all Christian countries the name of the beloved disciple was in high favour. In every language it became thoroughly naturalised, assuming in each a form in harmony with the capacities and characteristics of the language, as John, Jean, Giovanni, Joan, Evan, Juan, Hans, Ivan, &c. Next in popularity to the beloved came the doubting Apostle, but at a long interval behind him. Perhaps Timothy was more used than Paul, out of reverence for the great Apostle. For the same reason Samuel may have become a common name, while Isaiah was almost unused.

Of the sixteen Saxon and Norman names in our list William occurs nine times, more than half of the whole sixteen. This is a demonstration that the name of the Conqueror was not unpopular. The whole of the nation, whether of Norman or of Saxon descent, had become proud of him. Of our fifty-two Christian names this was evidently for many centuries the one most in favour. Not only does our list prove this, but also the fact that more family names were formed from it than from any other name, as Williams, Williamson, Fitz-William, Wills, Wilson, Wilks, Wilkins, Wilkinson, Wilcocks, Wilmot, Bilson, Tilly,

Tillotson, &c. Of late, however, it seems to have lost much of its popularity.

The other names of this class are two Rogers, two Georges, one Richard, and one Edward. The entire absence of Henry, and that there is only one Edward, may show that the body of the people of this country had no liking for the memory of the Henries and the Edwards who had involved them in the long and costly wars with France, and again in the long and exhausting Wars of the Roses.

We have already noticed that the present vicar is the first who appears with two baptismal names. His two names also are such as to indicate another change in personal nomenclature. Neither of them is either a Biblical or old Norman or Saxon baptismal name. They are both of them, Foster and Barham, true surnames, and were in fact the surnames of two friends of his father. This use of surnames as Christian names is now quite common. People appear to have become tired, indeed almost ashamed, of the old Johns and Thomases, the old Williams and Edwards.

Perhaps one may here be allowed to remark that our personal nomenclature is in a most anarchical condition. It rests on no intelligible principle, nor indeed on any principle whatever. What is required is that it should distinguish the individual from all others; that it should give as much information as possible, that is to say, that the names should be significant of facts; that it should be simple; and that it should be uniform. Now all these objects might, as I have long thought, be secured by the observance of a very easy rule--that of every one having three names; the first his own or baptismal name, the second that of his mother, the third that of his father. Suppose, for instance, three brothers of the name of

Howard married, the first a Brook, the second a Lawrence, the third a Scott, the children of the first would be called John and Mary Brook Howard, and the family would be called the Brook Howards; the children of the second would be called Lucy and Thomas Lawrence Howard, and the family the Lawrence Howards; and so with the Scott Howards. It certainly seems fair, and it would be useful, too, that the name of the mother should be present in the names of the children. This plan would enable us to get rid of much that in our modern practice is unmeaning, and would secure something that is desirable.

CHAPTER VII.

THE VICARS THEMSELVES.

Humani nihil alienum.—*Terence.*

THE series of our vicars is the thread of an important chapter in our parochial history. Their incumbencies are the natural divisions of our parochial annals. They are our parochial kings, our reverend consuls; and so we wish to know something about the character and actions of each of them. For the three first centuries, however, everything that could have distinguished the individual, and aided in the reconstruction of his personality, has, for want of record, passed into the obscure inane, where all things are forgotten. Of our pre-Reformation vicars we have nothing to tell us what manner of man any one of them was. Nor do we know anything that any one of them did, with, however, the important exception that among them they made the church what it has continued to be down to our times. As, too, they placed in our belfry one of the bells still there, we know that the bell which is summoning us to divine service summoned them; and that just as we hear it chiming at weddings and tolling at funerals, so did they. But these are general matters which do not belong more to any one name in particular than to any other. This same lack of means for doing anything towards resuscitating and recalling to individual life the names of our vicars who preceded the Reformation accompanies us for

the half-century also that followed the Reformation. We have recovered their names, but not anything that enables us to invest their names with individual life.

SAMUEL SAMWAIES.

The first of our vicars who is to us something more than a name, whose name we can vivify with some of the acts of the man and of the incidents of his office, as it had to be administered in his day, is one whose acquaintance we have already made, Samuel Samwaies, or Sames, who was instituted in the year 1611. It is to us an interesting fact that Samuel Samwaies placed his name among the signatories of the petition presented on Friday, May 29, 1646, to the House of Peers, praying that Episcopacy might be abolished and Presbytery set up in its stead. In this signature we have conclusive evidence of our vicar's attitude towards the great ecclesiastical controversies and the events of his time. We know which side he took; and that his sympathies were with those who held that it was wise and proper to entrust to its members the government of the National Church. That his opinions on these matters were generally known may also be inferred from the fact that there is no entry in Will Dowsing's Journal of a visit to Wherstead Church. Samwaies's presence here made any such visit unnecessary. We may suppose on probable grounds that most of his predecessors resided here, but he is the first about whom we have on this point direct and unquestionable proof. Here his children were born and baptised, and the two daughters and the son who predeceased him were buried. Except in his last years the entries in the registers appear to have been made, including those to the number of eight connected with his own family, by Samwaies himself. It is strange—but of course the omission must be explained by the disorders of

the times, particularly in ecclesiastical matters—that no entry was made of Samwaies's burial by his successor.

His wife, Mary Goodinge, came from the neighbouring parish of Freston. The churches of the two parishes are only a mile apart. In the Visitation of Suffolk held in 1612 by John Raven, Richmond Herald, is the following entry: 'Robert Goodinge of Freston had seven children. His sixth child, Mary, married Samuel Samwaies of Wherstead.' The date of the marriage is not given. [*Visitations of Suffolk*, edited by W. C. Metcalfe, and printed privately at Exeter, 1882.] The leading family in Wherstead were at that time Goodings, and were probably related to this Freston Goodinge.

He was buried in the church, and the inscription on his gravestone, after the wear and tear of two centuries and a quarter, is still legible: but as it is trampled on every Sunday by many feet, the day must come when it will be worn away. For this reason, and on account of its intrinsic interest, I will now repeat it:—

Here resteth the body of Mr. Samuel Sames, who was minister of God's Word in this parish fifty and four years. He departed this life the 30 day of September, 1657.

As he was instituted in 1611 and died forty-six years afterwards, in 1657, he must have been curate for the eight years that preceded his institution.

We can imagine the old man, for he must have lived to beyond eighty, sunning himself in the warm vicarage grounds, midway on the southern slope of the Church Hill, and ruminating the while on the political and ecclesiastical troubles of the times, for he lived to within a year of Cromwell's death. In earlier and quieter times he had seen his children gathering cowslips—they still abound in the locality—from the Long Meadow, the Great Meadow, and the Lambs' Pightle of the glebe, all now absorbed in

Wherstead Park; and searching for watercresses in the brook, which then bounded the glebe, but is now the sewer of the mansion in Wherstead Park. In whatever direction, north, south, east, or west, he had looked in those days, he would have seen the houses of substantial landowning neighbours, for they were around him on every side. But now there is no representative among us of any one of them. Their descendants, one after another, were bought out; and where may be the descendants of those who sold the inheritance of their fathers, or whether indeed they have any descendants at all, no man knows. Old Samwaies saw many changes, the causes of which were anterior changes: though perhaps this was beyond his ken. The changes of his day have been followed by a long series of others, change begetting change after its kind. In this ceaseless change all has not been good, still less has all been evil. Sooner or later the evil dies. The good has more vitality.

JOHN BURGESS.

Samuel Samwaies was succeeded by John Burgess. Among the records of the Corporation of Ipswich is the following entry:—

> 22 January, 44 Elizabeth. Order for the appointment of Mr. John Burgess, Professor and Preacher of the Holy Word of God, to the Office of Public Preacher of the towne, with a salary of one hundred marks per annum, for life: the Same Office having been already filled during pleasure by the said Mr. Burgess for ten years.

Our John Burgess then might have been, and in all probability was, the son of this synonymous and synchronous Professor and Preacher of the Holy Word, whom the puritanically inclined town of Ipswich had appointed as their Public Preacher in the latter years of the sixteenth century, and whose appointment they renewed and made permanent in the forty-fourth of Elizabeth.

For some few years before old Samwaies's death Burgess appears to have had the keeping of the parochial registers. From the manner in which he kept them, as well as from the fact that he was Samwaies's curate, we may infer that he was of puritanical proclivities. The omissions are evidently very numerous, and in such entries as are made he appears to have had scruples about the use of the words 'baptised' and 'buried,' probably as implying the use of popish ceremonies: though, indeed, the Directory, which Parliament had issued to supersede the Book of Common Prayer, orders that interments should not be accompanied by any kind or form of ceremony. For baptisms and burials he substitutes births and deaths. With respect to marriages also, which Parliament had declared to be merely civil contracts, he makes the following entry:—'From this time,' what time is not specified, 'no marriages, only several contracts, are published.'

In 1657, the year of Samwaies's death, he inserts a line for the purpose of declaring that he has become vicar. Doubtless he was at that time acting as vicar, but he was not presented and instituted—which, of course, could not have been done in the time of the Commonwealth—till the year 1662. Something will have to be said about his institution when we come to the entries of presentations, which we have taken from the diocesan registers, and appended to the institution of each of the vicars on our list.

In a memorandum of his death inserted in the parochial register he is styled, as had been Samwaies on his gravestone, 'Minister of God's Word.' This description of the sacred office had at that time a technical significance, and indicated one who was, or had been, puritanically inclined.

Doubtless Burgess was more or less imbued with some

form or other of the narrowness and fanaticism of the dominant party. It must have been so with all those who at that time, as the phrase was, intruded themselves into parishes. We have nothing, however, to show in proof of his having been for those times particularly unreasonable or violent. His styling himself vicar, and his subsequently applying to the Crown for nomination, and to the Bishop for institution, would rather suggest the contrary.

The interest, however, that attaches to his ministry does not result from the little that we know of his character or of his actions—on these subjects, indeed, we are very much left to conjecture—but from the facts that his presence and position here, and the manner in which he kept the parochial registers, remind us of the political and spiritual ferment then existing in the parish, and of the connection of this state of things here with the great contemporary events in the outside world of the country at large. They bring into our minds thoughts about the great civil convulsion of the times, when the Parliament was arrayed against the Crown, and the army against the Parliament, till at last order and peace were re-established by the supremacy of the man who had the pre-eminence in capacity and firmness.

WILLIAM THORNE.

William Thorne succeeded to John Burgess. He held the benefice for fifty-four years from 1664 to 1718. As he had eight children baptised here, and in the earlier period of his incumbency frequently signs the register, we may take it for granted that he was then residing in the old vicarage. In 1688 he became Rector of Hemingston and of Akenham, but did not, till several years afterwards, remove his family to Hemingston, in the register of which he makes an entry that his seven eldest children were

baptised at Wherstead. His three immediate ancestors had each in turn been Rectors of Hemingston and of Akenham. The family of Thorne (I take these statements from a pamphlet I am about to make some mention of) had originally been seated in Berkshire, but in consequence of some troubles arising out of the religious difficulties of the reign of Mary, had migrated into Suffolk, where they became possessed of a property at Hemingston, worth 500*l.* a year, and of the advowsons of Hemingston and of Akenham.

Oliver Thorne, the son of our Vicar William, on his father's removal to Hemingston, became resident Curate of Wherstead. He resided at Wherstead Hall, which he hired from Admiral Brand, who at that time owned and lived in the house to the west of the church, which the late Sir Robert Harland at the end of the last century incorporated into what is now the mansion of Wherstead Park. Among the entries in our register for 1707 nine lines have been erased. Their erasure is explained by the following note:—

> What I have taken the liberty to blot out in this and the foregoing page was the interpolation of a couple of Fanaticks, who, notwithstanding they would not suffer their children to be baptised, yet (according to the practice of such a sort of persons) did insert their names here as baptised. Oliver Thorne, curate.

Here, then, in the curate of Wherstead is the reaction against the ideas and sentiments of the middle of the foregoing century. Then 'fanaticism' had carried all before it. Now the pendulum of public opinion and feeling had swung as far in the opposite direction, and 'fanaticism' is fiercely denounced by the son and curate of Burgess's successor.

At Wherstead Hall was born to Oliver Thorne, the curate, a son, who was baptised under his father's name,

on the 27th of January, 1708, the father attesting the entry of the baptism in the register. Much trouble was before this infant, and of a kind which made him very widely known 130 years ago in the counties of Cambridgeshire, Berkshire, and Suffolk, though now his very name is utterly forgotten in this neighbourhood, and even in this his native parish.

Few can have received more villainous and cruel treatment than this Oliver Thorne tells us befell himself. In 1753 he published what he called 'his case'; that is, a statement of the wrongs that had been done him and of his sufferings. That in those days when the public, and especially the reading public, was not extensive, there were two reprints of the original issue shows that 'the case' produced a great sensation. The three issues of 1753 and '54 are each represented in the British Museum. He published by subscription, at 2*s.* 6*d.* a copy, the folio edition having only 16 pages. His list of subscribers contains the names of 74 persons of title, of whom 15 are dukes and duchesses. This helps us to understand his statement, which sounds somewhat strangely to us, that 'he has nothing to subsist on but the favour of the nobility.' The importance of the nobility, though their numbers are in these days so much greater than they were at that time, is now in a matter of this kind almost insignificant in comparison with what it was at that time. The appeal would now be to the general public, indeed mainly to the middle classes.

He divides his subscribers into those residing in London, those in Berkshire, whence his family had migrated into Suffolk, those in Cambridgeshire, whence his wife came, and those in Suffolk, his native county. This demonstrates how difficult it was in the days that preceded railways and cheap newspapers to get a knowledge

of even the most sensational occurrences spread beyond their own immediate neighbourhood: and Oliver Thorne's 'case' belongs to the days before mail coaches.

It may, too, be noted that the moral condition of the world, as it now is, would not admit of such a case as that of Oliver Thorne. The difference between now and then is of course the result of improved public opinion, which again is mainly the result of our improved facilities for collecting and for disseminating intelligence.

But to come to Oliver Thorne's 'case.' He tells us that he had been destined for the family benefices, but that, as he very much preferred the army to the Church, he declined to take Holy Orders. He did not, however, enter the army. As he gives no dates—that of his birth we take from our Wherstead baptismal register—we can only guess that it must have been somewhere about the year 1735, being then 27 years of age, that he married the widow of William Pooley, Esq., of Great Thurlow Hall. She was still very young, and had been a wife only for about 18 months. Her husband had been very much her senior, and had ruined his constitution by excesses.

According to 'the case,' Oliver Thorne's troubles now commenced. His wife was one of a family of three, herself and two brothers. Their name was Thompson. Their father had died while they were children, and had left them to the guardianship of his mother and of a Dr. Anstey, a relative. His eldest son was to inherit his estate at Trumpington, near Cambridge, of 1500*l.* a year, and his personalty, standing at interest of six per cent., was to be divided among his younger children. Should the children all die without issue, both the real and personal estates would pass to the Ansteys. 'The case' charges Dr. Anstey with having schemed most resolutely and wickedly from the first to bring this about.

We are only concerned with Oliver Thorne's wife. The Doctor by foully lying about Thorne's position and character, lies which in these days would have been easily and speedily exposed, managed to set the brothers against the sister and her husband. He also kept from her the greater part of her fortune, and the legacy her grandmother had left her. He furthermore contrived on two or three occasions to get Thorne imprisoned; and the Ansteys are charged with having during one of his imprisonments, by some unexplained devilry, compassed the destruction of his wife and only surviving child. These are the main facts, which, however, are buttressed and garnished with many minor acts of almost incredible baseness and villainy.

Through the success of these machinations, both the brothers, and his wife, and her last surviving child too, being dead, Thorne lost the Trumpington estate of 1500*l.* a year, together with 10,000*l.*, and was reduced to such abject destitution that for some time he received from the Ansteys, who had got possession of the Thompson property, an allowance of one shilling a day. That he was a man of some thought, even in matters in which he had no personal concern, may be inferred from his having invented a system of, as it is described in the specimen to be seen in the British Museum, 'an impenetrably secret cypher'—though, of course, if his system had any conspicuous merit it would be generally practised and known.

After the utter and irretrievable wreck of his worldly fortunes, like Colonel Newcome, he found an asylum at the Charterhouse, in becoming one of the pensioners of that institution for hopelessly decayed gentlemen.

In these days of sensational novels his 'case' might supply materials for a thrilling story, were it not that throughout there is only wickedness and suffering, unre-

deemed by a gleam of virtue or of happiness. All is shade, and of the blackest kind. At the close of his narrative he directs attention to the fact that all who had injured him, and, too, all who had aided and abetted in the matter, had come to grief. His words are worth quoting. 'Dr. Anstey died soon after he got possession of the estate he had been so anxiously wicked after. Mrs. Anstey expired in the utmost agony and despair, with a cancer in her breast. Her daughter, who was so pleased at the death of Mrs. Thorne and her child, survived but a short time. Their only son and darling heir, who is now in possession of Trumpington, is fallen into that unhappy state they took so much pains to drive Mr. Thorne into. Herring's son in a frenzy mutilated himself. Dr. Herring, late Archbishop of Canterbury, Mr. Herring's cousin and advocate, died about the same time. Mr. Herring, who had been so assiduous to ruin and destroy Mr. Thorne, was taken off in the midst of his iniquities. And Mr. Thorne only survives to tell this unhappy story, whose protection and miraculous deliverance, through so many hardships and from the cruel designs of such implacable enemies, is sufficient to convince the world of the veracity of his case, if there were no other testimony to be had.' The force, however, of this argument is somewhat weakened by the fact that every one, who was on what may be regarded as the other, and which is presented to us as the virtuous, side had equally met with an early death: Mrs. Thorne and her eight children, her two brothers, her first lover, and her first husband.

The following is the title of the first edition of 'the case': 'A true and impartial narrative of the sufferings of Mr. Oliver Thorne, of Wherstead Hall, near Ipswich, who married the daughter of James Thompson, Esq., of Trompington in Cambridgeshire, showing how he was arrested

by a base contrivance at Windsor, and carried to Reading gaol. During his confinement there his wife and only surviving child, who at the time of his arrest enjoyed perfect health, were both destroyed in London, by whose destruction Mr. Thorne lost an estate of 1,500*l.* a year, and 10,000*l.* in cash.' In the folio edition this title is somewhat abbreviated.

EDWARD LEEDES.

Edward Leedes, who followed William Thorne, held the vicarage for twenty-six years, from 1718 to 1744. He was also incumbent of St. Matthew's, Ipswich, and Master of the Ipswich Grammar School. As he kept the parochial registers, we may infer that he served the church.

He appears to have been a man of some mental activity, and to have been well thought of for his classical attainments. He could not, however, have been the author of 'Selections from Lucian's Dialogues, with a Latin translation,' which bears the name of Edward Leedes, if Lowndes is right in giving, as the date of the first edition of that work, the year 1678. This volume is a small duodecimo, and must have been used as a schoolbook, for in the 'Bibliographer's Manual' we are told that it went through several reprints. Our Edward Leedes then could have done no more than edit some of the later reprints of his namesake's work. Its author was probably his father, another Edward Leedes who was Master of the Grammar School of Bury St. Edmunds from 1663 to 1707; and who in 1676 published *A Latin Exercise Book* and in 1690 *Methodus Græcam Linguam docendi.*

On the death of our Wherstead Vicar the following memorial lines appeared in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for June, 1744, vol. xiv. p. 331 :—

If real merit claims the Muse's care,
Or bids to fall the tributary tear,
To thee, blest shade, a plaintive song we owe;
Thy name shall teach the weeping verse to flow,
And pay in pious sadness what is due
To Father, Friend, to Virtue, and to you.

These lines are a fair specimen of what in the middle of the last century passed, both in respect of ideas and of diction, for poetry. But what most concerns us here is that they are evidence that our vicar had some reputaton in his day, and some capacity for making attached friends.

Edward Leedes buried his wife in Wherstead Church. The inscription was on a soft sandstone, and is now almost entirely obliterated. I am, however, able to reproduce it from Davy's 'Suffolk Collections MS.'

Annæ Leedes | Feminæ raræ pietatis | Mente humili et sincerâ | Animi assiduâ affectione | Deum coluit | De suis, de pauperibus | Bene meruit | De conjuge optime.

Obiit Dec. 5 an. { Ætatis 54 / Dom. 1739.

This is a very poor epitaph. Epitaphs should be like gems, small objects, precious not so much for their material as for the minute carefulness of their workmanship, every detail being skilfully cut and faultlessly polished. But here we have no carefulness, no skill, no polish. It is bad to begin with having to supply something; the change of construction to the ablative is displeasing; the use of *animi, mente* having been used in the preceding line, is tautological; *Deum coluit* has no subject; it is besides a repetition only in other words of the thought already expressed in the words *raræ pietatis*; moreover, a mind sensitive to shades of difference in congeneric things would have felt that to cultivate God, of course with offerings, was the heathen conception; the Christian conception being to serve God with good works; and it would have

been better to have held back *meruit* for the last word, in order that the meaning of the sentence might be in suspense till the last word had been uttered. This epitaph, then, shows that Leedes could not have been what we understand by the words a finished and elegant scholar.

Buffon affirms that 'the style is the man himself.' If we accept this dictum as substantially true, we may infer that Leedes, though, as we have seen, of a genial disposition, and what is understood by a good fellow—that is, one whom his friends are glad to see, and who is glad to see them—was withal somewhat undiscriminating, and wanting in mental refinement and in that exactness and nicety of thought which reproduce themselves in the words by which they are expressed.

I will now give the epitaph on Leedes himself, as copied in 1823 from the same stone by Davy. It will be seen that even then some words had been utterly obliterated :—

Memoriæ etiam sacræ | Edwardi Leedes | Hujusce ecclesiæ Vicarii | Necnon | Scholæ Publicæ Gyppovicensis | Magistri olim eruditi | Viri omni virtute beati | Integri vitæ int . . . amicitiæ | Largâque manu . . . beneficii | Quem | Vivum piâ reverentiâ dileximus | Mortuum pio fletu ploramus |

Obiit Maii 18° Anno { Dom. 1744. / Ætat. 60.

In this epitaph, too, there are flaws of the same kind as those that we have just found in its companion. Surely it would have been better to have written them, like that on the grave of Samwaies, in a tongue that all could have understood. The only justification for the use of Latin, that it is good of its kind, is conspicuously wanting.

Edward Leedes, together with Rivers, who was at that time a leading man in the parish and churchwarden, presented to the church our smaller patin.

GEORGE DRURY.

George Drury, Leedes's successor, was vicar for the seventeen years between 1744 and 1761. He was the great-grandfather of the present incumbent of Claydon in this neighbourhood. Either he or his curate, who was also a George Drury, and therefore, probably his son, resided in the old vicarage. We may infer this from the following entry among the burials for the year 1755: 'Amy, the wife of the Rev. Mr. George Drury, departed this life January the 19th, and was buried at Claydon, January the 22nd, 1755.' Had she not been residing at Wherstead at the time of her death, there would have been no occasion for this entry.

On the flyleaf of the register book is the following note:—

> Memorandum: The willows were planted in the meadows belonging to Wherstead vicarage in the year of our Lord 1754, by me, Geo. Drury, and the poplars in the year following.

These willows and poplars, which would now have been 138 years old, were unfortunately cut down when the old glebe was incorporated in the new park. George Drury did well to leave a note of the year when his trees were planted. It adds very much to the interest with which we look on the giant larches at Dunkeld, or the magnificent avenue of planes at Figeac, in the Department of Lot, that we see affixed to the trees the dates at which they were respectively planted. Most owners of country houses would, I suppose, be glad to have information of this kind with respect to trees which are now, and were always intended to be, conspicuous ornaments of their grounds.

Following, then, the good example of George Drury in this matter, I will here record that the two fastigiate poplars on the north side of the orchard of the vicarage

were planted by me in May, 1851, as a memorial of the opening of the first and great Exhibition, which took place in that month and year. I brought the plants down from London in a fish-basket, they being then not so thick as my thumb. Although they are planted in a soil that is only sand and gravel, the tallest must now be about 60 feet in height, and is 6 feet 6 inches in circumference at two feet from the ground. The easternmost of the two, when it was fifteen years old, was blown down in a gale; it was set up again and has stood many a gale since. This accident, however, very much checked its growth. The Pinsapo and Cupressus Lawsoniana in front of the house I planted in the year 1864; both of these now in 1892 appear to be in bad health. Two years previously I planted the row of golden hollies at the east end of the house. Some of these hollies are now dead. They were killed by a fungoid growth, contracted, I believe, from the decaying roots of a spruce fir that had died the previous year.

This George Drury presented to the church our smaller chalice.

WILLIAM GEE.

William Gee's years in Wherstead equalled the fifty-four of Samwaies and of Thorne, his incumbency having begun in 1761 and terminated in 1815. He was also vicar of Bentley, and rector of St. Stephen's, Ipswich. Forty-five years ago I knew many persons who had been more or less intimately acquainted with him, but here in Wherstead he left no memories of any kind behind him, except that it was he who exchanged the charmingly situated and sunny old glebe and vicarage for the present glebe, and the vicarage I rebuilt. His successors will not regard this act of his as entitling him to their grateful recollection. But it was a matter in which he could hardly have

helped himself. Sooner or later, in one way or another, the vicar would have had to remove from the centre of the park.

Gee made an entry in the parochial register of the particulars of the census for Wherstead in the year 1811. After seventy-three years have passed this entry has acquired some interest; I will therefore repeat it here.

Inhabited houses, 32. Inhabited by 46 families. Uninhabited house, 1. Families employed in agriculture, 37; in trade and handicraft, 6; not comprised in either of the above, 3. Males, 119. Females, 104. Total, 223.

Our present population shows an increase of about eighty souls; but this does not enable us to overtake our deficiency of agricultural labour, more hands being now employed than formerly as gamekeepers, gardeners, grooms, &c. It is difficult to understand what can be meant in this entry by the statement it contains that the number of houses in the parish was less by fourteen than the number of families. If this is to be taken in the ordinary acceptation of the words, it can only mean that in fourteen instances two families lived in one cottage. It is, however, impossible to take the words in that sense. The only explanation I can suggest is that the entry speaks of two semi-detached cottages as a single house. There are about fourteen such semi-detached pairs of cottages in the parish.

All the cottages that were in existence at the time this census was taken are still inhabited. All that have since that time been built are of better materials, and more commodious than those of earlier dates. Never, I trust, shall we see again the erection of such cottages, with a single bedroom, and that on the ground floor, as the conscience, which was no conscience, of the eighteenth century permitted.

It is certainly a noteworthy fact that 213 years, considerably more than a third of our period of 592 years, were filled by the united ministries of four vicars, the present incumbent and three of his predecessors. This naturally suggests the thought that where a parish, again and again, is given over in this manner for more than half a century, nearly two complete generations of men, to a single teacher, whose office it is to teach morality and religion, to be a spiritual guide, a prophet, it seems imperative that something effectual should be done to secure the teacher's having the knowledge requisite for the high and difficult work he has undertaken; that he should have some power of awakening and interesting thought; and that there should be reasonable probability that his life will be to some degree a sermon: so that while, during the long period he may be among them, the people will be asking for bread, he will be capable of offering them something better than a stone. With this thought in our minds let us recall how the good people of Wherstead may have fared in their long connection with their three ministers, each of whom could have celebrated the jubilee of his ministry with four years to spare.

Samwaies lived in stirring times and may have been somewhat stirred himself, for his preference of Presbytery to Episcopacy may have been the result of thought and earnestness. Thorne belonged to the time of the subsequent reaction, and left unerased in the parochial register an entry made by his son, who was acting as curate, that his Baptist parishioners were fanatics. All that was known of Gee, thirty years after the close of his ministry of fifty-four years, was that he used to smoke his pipe in his summer-house, in the lower part of his garden near the brook. Probably he was no worse than his own times. But what he had undertaken was to be better, and if he

was not he was of no use, and was doing what in him lay not to raise, but to drag down his times.

This is what now, more or less, the general public, and especially the public in each parish, does think; while what the minister ought to think is, Who is sufficient for these things? For what is required of him will always be beyond his capacity under any circumstances, and notwithstanding any efforts. But what is within his power is to make lifelong progress in intellectual attainment, and in moral excellence: for him intellectual attainment will include the power of setting forth knowledge as well as the acquisition of it, and moral excellence will imply fearlessness as well as kindliness. These are the means by which he is called to serve God and man. To resort to any other means, or to present anything else in their stead, in him is default and fraud. In this latter part of the nineteenth century these are obvious ideas; but if during the 108 years of Thorne's and Gee's ministry they never could so much as have occurred to them, we have therein a measure of the progress society has made since their time.

As to effective teaching it is visionary to suppose, and mischievous to act on the supposition, that any considerable proportion of the twenty thousand ministers of the Established Church can ever be up to the mark in this all but all-important department of their duty. The very fact that a man is a minister of an Established Church makes the task more difficult for him than it would otherwise have been. There is, however, a natural resource ever at hand, and that would be largely remedial, that of allowing every member of the community, who is of reputable life and of competent knowledge, to avail himself of the opportunities and vantage ground of the pulpit for teaching, should he find in himself a call to teach. The regular minister would of course always conduct the service, and preach

when no one else, properly qualified, and whom the congregation would be glad to hear, offered himself. It is certain that nothing can be gained by refusing to hear those best able to teach. The prophets were the salt and the life of the Jewish Church, and so should they be of the Christian. But by pretending to make every ordained minister a prophet prophesying is made ridiculous, and has become a wearisome infliction instead of being an awakening spur and a potent aid.

Remarkable, however, as is the fact we have been commenting on of an incumbency of fifty-four years thrice repeated in our list of vicars, our late clerk, Daniel Addison, got beyond them all; for he regularly discharged the duties of his office for sixty-five years.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE VICARS THEMSELVES.

GEORGE CAPPER.

He was a man, take him for all in all,
I shall not look upon his like again.
Shakespeare.

WILLIAM GEE was succeeded by my immediate predecessor, George Capper. He had been a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Like Gee, he was a pluralist, having held the rectory of Gosbeck and the vicarage of Little Blakenham as well as the vicarage of Wherstead. He was instituted to Gosbeck in the year 1795, and held it for fifty-two years, but never resided there. Forty years ago it was a tradition in Wherstead—but I never heard him mention the subject himself—that he used, twenty years previously, to supply himself the services of his three churches. People used to tell me that they could recollect seeing him starting in the morning on horseback for this purpose, and returning in the evening. As at that time no church, with very rare exceptions, had more than one service, and as he had established a great reputation in the hunting field for hard riding, there would have been no difficulty in this undertaking. The ground to be covered would not have been more than twenty-five miles. When I knew him, and for many years before that time, he had a curate in each of his outlying parishes. Though in 1884, the year in which I published these notes in the

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THE REVD. GEORGE CAPPER

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Suffolk Chronicle, he had been dead thirty-seven years, both of these curates, as well as his Wherstead curate, were still alive.

In those days, the first quarter of the present century, there were but few resident clergy in the rural districts of this part of the country. R. Newton Shawe, of Kesgrave Hall, who was member for East Suffolk from 1832 to 1835, told me that when he first came to Kesgrave he made a memorandum that there were twenty-six parishes in his immediate neighbourhood in no one of which a clergyman resided. But he added that at that time—the time when he mentioned this to me, the year 1844—most of these gaps had been filled up. When I first came into this neighbourhood (1841) a tradition was still current of a resident curate of the conterminous parish of Holbrook having served five churches every Sunday. His name was Routh. He was a brother of the centenarian head of Magdalen College, Oxford, whom I can well recollect in his full-bottomed wig, so capacious that when on public occasions he wore it he was obliged to carry his college cap in his hand. This curate of Holbrook, having given there an early service, would mount his horse and ride two miles to Harkstead for a service there, and then two more miles for a third service at Erwarton; that concluded, he would a third time mount his horse and ride nine miles into Ipswich, where in the afternoon and evening he would serve two more churches. Facts of this kind are worth preserving, because they show how great was the laxity of public opinion in the early part of this century, and how serious were the consequences of that laxity.

I have had occasion to mention George Capper's reputation in the hunting field. He used to say that in his bachelor days, at the end of the last century, he had a housekeeper who not only cooked his dinner and brewed

his beer, but who would also at times groom and saddle for him his hunter. He was equally conspicuous in the stubbles and coverts. For some time he preserved the whole of the Wherstead estate for his friend, John Vernon. I have seen in the local papers of about 1820 his name occupying a place in the lists of the great shooting parties of the late Lord Granville, who then rented Wherstead. But what interested him most, because most in accordance with his natural taste, was yachting. He had built for himself, under his own eye and directions, at the old shipyard beyond Bourne Bridge, three yachts. For many years he spent his summer afloat. In his youth he had much wished to be a sailor, feeling that the navy would open a more congenial career to one of his endurance and daring than any other profession. His father, however, vetoed his entry on that field. He has said to me, 'Had my ambition been allowed to take that course, I should either have given my life to my country or be at this time a not undistinguished admiral.'

I have the medallion of Pitt he wore as a member of the local Pitt Club. It is of silver, and is of the size and weight of a crown piece. On the obverse is a good likeness of the great minister, in very high relief, with the legend *Non sibi, sed patriæ.* On the reverse is the legend, 'Suffolk Pitt Club.' The club used to assemble every full moon, and at every meeting every member present was expected to empty a bottle of port wine. He also showed me the sabre he used to wear as a trooper in the Volunteer Yeomanry Cavalry.

I have heard him tell the following anecdote of his parishioners. In Wherstead Park, on the site of the original vicarage, about eighty yards below the church, a vixen had her earth and was bringing up her cubs. It happened one fine Sunday afternoon that one of the con-

gregation had preferred remaining in the porch to entering the church. While seated there and looking on the fair view, he saw madam stealing off on a forage. Being unable to suppress, or, perhaps, without a thought of suppressing, the impulse to give the usual cry, he shouted, 'Talliho! talliho! There she goes!' There was a similar inability in the congregation to suppress the desire they felt to see what they were summoned to look at, and so the greater part of them rose from their knees and hastened out of the church.

As a pendant to this he used to tell how one Saturday evening the keeper of a neighbouring squire, a friend of his, came up to the Hall to see the squire on, as he sent in to say, a matter of importance. The squire came to hear what the matter of importance might be. In the words of the keeper it was this: 'Yer muss stop the parson from the chuch to-morrow. A pattridge is sitting hard on twelve eggs close by the chuch potch. The folk coming and going will that skear the bird that the eggs will likeliest be spoilt. The pattridge must be kep' quiet, and yer muss order that the chuch be shut up to-morrow.'

George Capper was born in 1766 and lived eighty years. In this long period he saw many changes and advances. His father, who was the incumbent of the two Sohams, made the first stone road in the county. He used to say that his father, on his marriage to a lady who had been brought up in London, had some difficulty in bringing her to her new home in Suffolk. At a distance of about a dozen miles from his house all carriageable road ceased. At that point, therefore, the carriage had to be left, and a horse furnished with a pillion was provided for the completion of the journey. The bride, however, not being accustomed to this kind of locomotion, regarded it as both a danger and an indignity, and so for some

time refused to place herself in the pillion, and instead sat down on the bank by the roadside, and bemoaned with sobs and tears the uncouth life she now saw before her.

When I first came to Wherstead, and for many years afterwards, the mounting stage for the farmers' wives, who came to church and returned home on pillions, was still in existence, though then unused. It was a platform ascended by four steps, so that anyone standing on the platform had only to sit down on the pillion. It was at the north-west corner of the churchyard.

When I first knew Wherstead, in 1841, an old man, then eighty-four years of age, of the name of Orris, was employed by the parish to scrape the roads. He told me that when he was a young man he had been employed by the parish to plough in the ruts on the Ipswich and Manningtree road, for at that time of day there were no stone roads. A very strong and heavy kind of plough was needed for this work. It was provided by the parish, and, I suppose, because it was parish property was kept in the church. At all events the congregation was not in those days straitened for room.

This Orris had also, when a young man, carried off in a post-chaise by the road he kept in order the daughter of the farmer who then occupied Pannington Hall, one of our four manors, and for whom he worked. When afterwards assailed by the father for having run off with his daughter, his defence was that 'he did not deny that he had run off with her, but that it was equally true that she had run off with him.'

Down to my time a few of the quarter carts of those premacadamic times were still to be seen in Wherstead. They obtained their name from the fact that the shafts were so placed, not equidistant from the centre but at one

side of the front, that the horse and cart quartered the road—that is to say, the horse walked on the rib of soil between the rut and the central track made by the feet of most of the horses that used the road, and the wheels went outside one rut and inside the other. The loads of broom purchased by the parish for mending the road, and entered in the old overseers' book for the first half of the last century, but which book is now lost, belong to this stage of road-making, when no stone was used, and unusually deep ruts and soft places were mended with faggots.

Of course it was necessary that roads which were hardly more than tracks across the country should be very much wider than is requisite for stone roads to be, in order that vehicles might have space everywhere to leave the central ruts and slush whenever they became impracticable. This width of the old roads, three or four times as great as that of our present roads, was, forty or fifty years ago, in most places still retained. I can recollect the broad grass balks of the old system on both sides of our Ipswich and Manningtree road. Pretty nearly, however, all these margins have now, in this parish as well as elsewhere, been enclosed by the contiguous landowners. In some places enterprising labourers squatted upon them, and by prescription, or otherwise, obtained possession.

When travelling in 1868 in the United States I found that the practice of mending mud holes in roads with faggots, even in the main thoroughfares of great cities, had not been altogether abandoned by our Transatlantic descendants. I drove over a road so mended in the main street of Atalanta, one of the most important towns in the State of Georgia, and again was floated over some enormous mud holes by the same contrivance in going to the railway station at New Orleans.

It may be observed in this neighbourhood, and gener-

ally throughout the country, that wherever a road descends a hill it is found to be in a cutting with almost perpendicular sides. I have heard people say that they have never been able to find in old parish books any indication of these cuttings having been made at the expense of their respective parishes. It would be strange if indications of the kind could be found, for, as the perpendicular sides demonstrate, they were all engineered by nature. The traffic and the road plough loosened the surface, and this loosened surface the storm water of heavy rains was always transporting to lower levels. This operation having been continued through many centuries made these cuttings what they were at the beginning of the stone road period, and have continued since.

George Capper used to tell me that he rode to Stratford to see the first of Palmer's mail coaches enter the county. Here was one of the beneficent results of stone roads. This must have been somewhere about 1785. Since those days progress has been rapid, for George Capper lived to see the uniform postage rate of a penny; and, his father having made the first piece of stone road in the county, he lived to travel from Ipswich to London by railway. The completed through line was opened on a Monday in July 1847. On that Monday he went by it to London. During the week an internal lesion, from which he had long suffered, assumed an aggravated form, of which he died in the following week.

Even people who are no longer young find it difficult to recall how recent and how complete was the remodelling and revolutionising of our manufacturing system, and the transferring of industries from one locality to another, consequent on the introduction of steam power. When I first knew Wherstead there were still to be seen in some of the cottages the spinning wheels that had been in use when

Suffolk was one of the chief clothing districts in the country. Forty years ago all evidence had not been lost of the way in which the women in Wherstead had been employed before the steam jenny superseded the hand-wheel and spindle. In our marriage register is the following entry: 'Edward Ven, Physician, and Mary Beaumont, both of Ipswich, married 13th March, 1749.' Two months later her sister Elizabeth married Philip Broke, Esq., of Nacton, and became the mother of the Sir Philip Broke who, while in command of the *Shannon*, fought and took the *Chesapeake*. These two Miss Beaumonts were heiresses. From the window of the room in which I am now writing I may look on two farms in Freston which these two ladies brought to their respective husbands, Ed. Ven and Phil. Broke, and which still remain in the hands of their descendants. The wealth of the Beaumonts had been amassed in the Suffolk clothing business.

The course of our narrative is not marked out for us by the rules of severe art. We are under no compulsion to prefer the straight lines and short cuts of the dull and economical canal to the natural and pleasant windings of the ever-varying and self-willed stream. As then we have been brought to speak of the recentness of changes and practices that to the existing generation appear to date from remote times, we may here add what Wherstead has to say upon this point about potatoes and tea.

The David Double whose acquaintance we have already made has told me that his grandfather used to tell him that when he was a boy of about ten years of age—this must have been about the year 1760—his father let his garden to an Ipswich man, who wanted it to grow potatoes in. This patch of potatoes in his father's garden was, he said, the first instance of their being grown in the villages in this neighbourhood; and the poor people soon became

so desirous of cultivating them from their manifest utility and from the high prices they fetched, that they used to ask permission to search over and re-dig ground in which they had been grown, in the hope of finding a few to set for seed in their own gardens. The potato at that time had been known in this country for more than a century and a half, but this family tradition shows that the culture did not become general hereabouts till a century and a quarter ago.

The late Lady Harland, who died in 1860 at the age of eighty, used to tell me that early in the century—it must have been about the end of the first decade—she gave half a pound of tea to Miss Lee, the sister and housekeeper of Joseph Lee, the tenant of Smith's Farm. I knew both brother and sister well, and was executor to the latter. The farm they occupied is situated to the east of the glebe. Miss Lee had never seen tea made, and had, as afterwards appeared, only indistinct and in part erroneous ideas about the process, for she put the whole of the half-pound into a saucepan, and cooked it as if she was making a vegetable soup; and so she served it up. She, however, and her brother found that they were unable to put themselves outside either the leaves or the extract from the half-pound. On Lady Harland some time after asking her how they had liked the tea, she replied that they had not much fancied either the broth or the kale.

George Capper used to mention several minor changes, all in the direction of comfort and common sense, that he had witnessed, such as the abandonment of hair powder, knee breeches, and shoe buckles, and the adoption of umbrellas. For a long time there was a violent prejudice against the use of umbrellas. The ground taken was that it was a French and thoroughly un-English practice.

Two small incidents occurred to him of the class which

shows that, as the phrase goes, truth is often stranger than fiction. Once at the end of a day's hunting his gold watch was missing. He had the ground he had ridden over and every place he had been at during the previous part of the day searched, but to no purpose. The following year, in hunting over the same country, and taking a hedge he had taken the foregoing year, and at the same point, he saw his watch hanging on the branch of white thorn that had twelve months before torn it from his pocket.

Every year in the latter part of his life he visited Harrogate for six weeks. He used to drive himself in his mail phaeton, taking London and Oxford on the way. On one of these journeys, when about to leave the 'Angel' at Oxford—it has now ceased to exist—he became aware that he had lost his gold-mounted spectacles. A search was made in all the rooms he had used, but unavailingly. He left an offer of a sovereign for the finder, and went on to Harrogate. On his return, after an absence of six weeks, he again occupied the same rooms at the 'Angel.' Nothing had been heard of his spectacles. After breakfast he took his place in the arm-chair by the fire, and to warm his chilly fingers, for he was of a gouty habit, he thrust his hands down between the sides and cushion of the chair. He must have done precisely the same action six weeks previously, for the fingers of his right hand came in contact with his spectacles, which had in this way been deposited there by himself at his previous visit.

As he was a very active-minded man, he naturally took to farming, the general occupation of those who live in the country. At Martlesham, about nine miles from this place, he held in his own hands a large farm that belonged to him. And here at Wherstead he farmed about fifty acres. What on this occupation was not glebe he rented from the Wherstead estate. At that time, when labour was cheap

and corn was dear, it was not difficult, even for gentlemen farmers, so to manage their business as that there should be a satisfactory balance on the right side at the end of the agricultural year.

In these days such occupations and accomplishments as those of George Capper would be more or less demoralising in a clergyman, because they would be condemned by public opinion, and consequently by his own conscience. In his day, however, they had no such effects. In all the country round there was no man so looked up to, so respected, and so beloved. In his latter days his neighbours installed him in the position of the general friend and arbitrator, and his brother magistrates placed him at their head as chairman of quarter sessions for the eastern division of the county. He was the only man I have been personally acquainted with, and this is the more remarkable in one who came to fill the foremost position in his neighbourhood, of whom I never heard anyone of any class utter a disparaging word. Of him all agreed to say, as it were with one mouth, all manner of good.

I have his portrait by W. Simson, who was a frequent visitor at Wherstead Park when William Scroope resided there. It is well painted and an admirable likeness. It will be observed that for this portrait he must have sat in trousers of French grey. Forty or fifty years ago the clergy generally only wore black and white on Sundays and when in evening dress. I can recollect George Capper down to his last days driving his phaeton into Ipswich with an overcoat of the colour of a dark wallflower. This portrait I have annexed as an heirloom to the vicarage, together with the three panels in the hall, the first containing the list of my predecessors from the year 1300, with what particulars about them could be recovered; the second containing a brass plate, on which is inscribed the description

PARIS 1859.

WASHINGTON 1867.

ROME 1869.

CAIRO 1871.

WHERSTEAD 1893.

THE PRESENT VICAR PASSING THROUGH 34 YEARS.

[illegible]

[illegible] Hitherto [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

THE PRESENT VICAR PASSING THROUGH 84 YEARS

of the preceding vicarage; and the third in slate containing six Roman coins from a large find at the back of the house, and giving the particulars of the find. These three panels are all framed in old oak and chestnut from the preceding vicarage. I know that the chances can hardly be held to be in favour of such memorials being regarded with interest by my successor. We are most of us very much what public opinion makes us, and at present, in consequence of our artificial grammatical education, and from the aims, feelings, and estimates of things our social system suggests to us, the general public opinion gives but scant encouragement to the archæological and historical sentiment. I trust, however, that my successor, should he be so unfortunate as to be one of those who care for none of these things, will still give this portrait and these panels a place on his walls, for the sake of the man to whom he will be indebted for his house, and for the sake of those who will be his successors in that house.

FOSTER BARHAM ZINCKE.

A separate volume, under the title of *The Days of my Years*, has been devoted to the life of the present Vicar. It was printed for private circulation only. As might almost have been expected, it grew to greater dimensions than those of the work to which it was designed to be an appendage. The chamber that was added, to carry out the completion of the idea of the edifice, proved larger than the whole edifice as it stood previously.

CHAPTER IX.

EVENTS THAT TOUCHED OUR VICARS.

Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis.

IN the two last chapters we have been endeavouring to resuscitate, as far as we could, our vicars of the three last centuries. Every one of their predecessors during the three foregoing centuries passed away without leaving any trace of his existence beyond that of an empty name in the register of institutions at Norwich.

But there is another way, besides that of collecting the traits of character and the actions of the individual, even had they been recoverable, by which we may learn something about our early vicars. We can summon before us the events that bore upon their office and position, and upon what were from time to time the thoughts and feelings of their order. And having seen what was the character and nature of each event in the series, and what effect it had on the clergy of the time, we shall then be able to understand what our vicars had to pass through, and how it affected them. We shall understand their difficulties, what were the forces arrayed against them, and what resources they had in themselves, and in what respects they were wanting in resources, to resist the forces that assailed them. One cannot look upon a combat without learning a good deal about the combatants.

1300—1400 A.D.

Down to the commencement of our period nothing effectual had been done to disperse, or so much as to rend here and there, the dense cloud of ignorance which had settled down on men's minds after the overthrow of the old civilisation. Even what truth and knowledge are in themselves, and what are the grounds on which they rest, were not yet understood. Just as in the mind of the Hindoo devotee authority and tradition are everything, so was it with the Christian world in this country at that time. There was no question about doctrines. They rested on foundations that no one could or was disposed to question. The forms, too, and ceremonies that had grown out of the received doctrines expressed adequately the religious sentiments, and met adequately the religious wants of the times.

So with respect to the doctrines. With respect, however, to the practice and whole manner of life of the clergy, from the Vicar of Christ down to the humblest parochial vicar, there was a world-wide difference. Their conduct had exhausted the toleration and patience, by the constant offence it gave to the moral sense of the laity. For ignorance, though it always more or less misleads, cannot extinguish the conscience, or induce it to accept vice as of equal desert with virtue. Mankind, therefore, having to suffer from, as well as to witness, could not but feel indignation at and denounce the greed, the extortion, the worldliness, the dereliction of duty, and the general profligacy of many in all orders of the clergy.

So stood matters at the beginning of our period. But the clergy, however justly assailed, were still able to reply: 'At all events we are the accredited ambassadors of God. The message we deliver is the Word of God.

The Sacrifice we offer is that of the Body of the Son of God. Our persons and our property are sacred. For the laity to touch either would be sacrilege.'

Such was the position of the vicars whose names stand first on our list, and such was the attitude of the laity towards them.

Wickliffe, however, before the century had closed, single-handed, and with but slight aid from antecedent or contemporary thinkers, had in the forum of logic and argument levelled to the ground this apparently impregnable position. No other man has ever exhibited a higher combination of intellectual, of moral, and of physical courage and energy. He stood up in the face of the Church that was ubiquitous, that in all cases of doctrinal innovation or of ecclesiastical concern was both accuser and judge, that had recently shown abundantly that it had no conscience and no ruth, to proclaim to the world that the office on which was built the superstructure of the Church's wealth and power was but a human figment, and that all the temporal wealth of the Church stood on just the same footing as the wealth of the laity, and that it might even be rightfully taken from the ministers of religion it was corrupting for the uses of the State.

To show on what he rested these conclusions he translated the Bible into English. Everybody might now compare with the teaching of the Bible the doctrines, the lives, and the position of the clergy. And, furthermore, he trained and dispersed over the country a company of poor preachers. The converts they made were the Lollards of those days, whose descendants never died out, but remained as obscure malcontents scattered over the country, and did much to prepare the minds of the lower classes of the people for the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

Henceforth the attitude of the laity towards the clergy was greatly modified. It could no longer be that of unqualified intellectual submission, and of unquestioning acceptance of the position of the clergy as of divine appointment. Now there were some who did not submit their intellects to the Church, and who were able to give reasons for their refusing to exhibit this kind of submission, and who would not acknowledge the right of the clergy to the position they claimed, and could give reasons for their refusing to acknowledge it. Doubtless there were some such in Ipswich; and their presence must have modified the mental attitude of the vicars of Wherstead towards their lay neighbours, as was the case with the rest of the clergy elsewhere. And of the priesthood of that day those least likely to sympathise with the new ideas were those who, like the vicars of Wherstead, had had the training of the cloister. What would have been far more congenial to their minds would have been the unsparing use of the force ecclesiastical authority has ever been ready to resort to, which is not the force of argument.

So ended the fourteenth century.

1400—1500 A.D.

This century is marked by two events, the invention of printing and the revival of classical learning, which contributed very much to promote the work Wickliffe had commenced. His teaching, because it was addressed to the common understanding and the common conscience of ordinary humanity, and had largely used the instrumentality of popular preaching, had come to commend itself, as had Christianity itself for the same reasons in its early days, chiefly to the humbler classes of society. Printing, however, and the revival of classical learning acted mainly on the upper strata of society, for they

alone had both the money to buy books and the leisure to read them, and it was only among them that people could be found who were able to devote their lives more or less to study.

These events very much aggravated the effects of the blows Wickliffe had dealt at the influence and power of the clergy. Formerly they alone had possessed the advantages of such education as the times admitted of. They had in consequence been employed in many of the highest offices of the State, and even as ambassadors. But now an education more deserving the name than what the clergy had received was opened to all who were able to avail themselves of it. Whatever advantages superior knowledge and acquirements confer the clergy had engrossed almost without a rival. Now they had at most points to relinquish this high and profitable and influential position to the laity. Those who used to receive with respectful submission were now qualified to criticise the utterances of the clergy, and, what was still more galling, would form their own opinions on controverted matters.

The opinions, too, of the clergy themselves were at the same time undergoing much modification through the same causes. They also were being abundantly supplied, by the multiplication of books and by the recovery of the literature of the old civilisation, with materials for thought. The effects which were being produced among other people were becoming visible in their own ranks. Some of the most learned and thoughtful among them came to see that much of the received system was mere excrescence, an outgrowth of developments that had, in the course of centuries of ignorance, been gradually brought about for the aggrandisement in one way or another of their own order.

Towards the close of this century the discovery of the

passage to India by the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, and of the New World beyond the Atlantic, supervening on the multiplication of books and the recovery of the literature of the old civilisation, stimulated, in a manner and to a degree we can now hardly imagine, activity and independence of thought. Every mind was stirred at the novelty and the vastness of the vistas suddenly revealed to its contemplation. Men saw new and boundless fields opened before them for thought and enterprise, and so became impatient of everything that would trammel freedom.

So ended the fifteenth century. Thought among all classes, even among the clergy to a considerable degree, was ripening for some great change. Were our vicars of those days in harmony with the spirit of the times? Had they still been taken from the convent of St. Peter's, Ipswich, the probability is that the spirit of the times would have been hateful to them. But the bishop had now got the nomination to the benefice into his own hands, and our vicars towards the end of the century were appointed by him. Probably, therefore, as was the case elsewhere, some of them foresaw, and without disapproval, that change was in the air.

1500—1600 A.D.

The Reformation did not burst on our vicars as lightning out of a clear sky. The events of the preceding century had, as we have seen, prepared the way for this great revolution.

Having now in our review passed through 230 years, we find ourselves in a strangely different world from that at which we looked at the opening of our period. Then in matters of belief the laity were of no account. They knew nothing and thought nothing on the subject. But now—

such has been the power of the course of events—they, and not the clergy, are masters of the situation.

It was, however, the misfortune of our English Reformation that neither the laity nor the clergy were sufficiently taken counsel of in the new settlement that was being effected. That settlement was too much the work of an authority that was outside and above the people. Instead, therefore, of the Reformed Church being an organisation of the people for the purposes of religion, there was imposed on it too much of the aspect and position of a State department. In nothing is this seen more distinctly than in the independent and uncontrolled relation of the parochial clergy towards their parishioners.

The cause of this was the almost autocratic character of the monarchy at that time; which was also the cause of the violent alternations between the new and the old system, and of the persecutions that attended them. When an autocrat, be he king or squire, undertakes the task of forcing a recusant people to do his will, violence—that is, persecution—is the only course open to him. The one will imprison and burn the recusants; the other, acting under precisely the same impulses, excepting sometimes the misconception that the Almighty and society have imposed upon him the duty of devising for other people their beliefs and opinions, will deprive the recusants of employment, that is, will deprive them and their families of their daily bread, and will eject them from their homes into the road.

During the transformations and troubles of this period our vicars appear to have taken the times as they came. From the dates of institutions we can hardly suppose that there were any expulsions or resignations. Roger Bennett, who was appointed by the bishop in 1495, did not create a vacancy till thirty-five years afterwards, in the year 1530. Joseph Fuldeham, who was presented by the

Dean and Chapter of Cardinal's College, Ipswich, held on for sixteen years, till 1546. And Thomas Awdus, who in Mary's reign was collated by the bishop in 1555, and was regarded, we may therefore suppose, as a good Catholic, conformed to the order of things established by Elizabeth, and remained vicar till 1576.

It is worth mentioning here that the only incident in the whole range of English history I have ever heard people of the labouring-class in this part of the country refer to, and I quite believe it is the only incident tradition has preserved at all widely among them, is that of the burning of Dr. Taylor at Hadleigh in the reign of Mary. The fact that after 330 years his martyrdom is still remembered in Wherstead, nine miles from Hadleigh, is some measure of the impression it made at the time. The names of Marlborough and of Wellington may be forgotten; the name of Queen Victoria may not be known; but after eleven generations the name of Taylor is mentioned with honour, and with expressions of horror at the ruthlessness of those who put to so cruel a death so good a man.

I will here append, as an instance of the formation of the *quasi*-historic tradition—that, I mean, which takes a fact or name, and overlays it with inventions suggested by prepossessions or prejudices or a supposed fitness of things—that I have sometimes heard the labourer who had just occasionally spoke to me of Dr. Taylor's martyrdom add, 'And at Framlingham Castle' (Framlingham Castle is nineteen miles north by east of Ipswich) 'bloody Mary, who ordered Dr. Taylor's burning, was brought to bed of a viper.' This is told with bated breath, and with an air and tone of mystery, to imply that the author of evil, the old Serpent, to whom the wicked queen had sold herself, was the author of the viper.

1600—1700 A.D.

We are now in the middle of the seventeenth century, and the narrowness and insufficiency of the Elizabethan settlement has been made apparent. That settlement had taken but small account of the enthusiasm of the common people, except as a matter which admitted, which it did not, of State regulation. It had supposed that religious enthusiasm might be compressed and suppressed by stereotyped forms and Thirty-nine Articles; and that it might be moulded at will by outside authority. It is easy to be wise after the event, but the history of the Lollards from the days of Wickliffe, and the intrepid deaths of the three hundred martyrs of the Marian persecution, might have, and ought to have, taught Elizabeth and her advisers that the religious sentiment was irrepressible, and where to look for its most vigorous manifestations, and how to take a truer measure than they did of its force. It has now been seen for many centuries as a distinguishing characteristic of our self-willed and enthusiastic English race—our history demonstrates that it has been so in the past, and the existence amongst us of so many self-originated and self-supporting religious organisations demonstrates that it is so still—that it is not so much amongst the cultured as the uncultured and the partially cultured classes that the fire of religion burns at a white heat. So is it with Englishmen everywhere, at home or abroad, in the New World, or in the settlements of the still newer world of the Southern Ocean. And so it is with them alone of all Christian peoples.

Books had now got into everyone's hands; at all events, the one Book on which the whole controversy turned. And the less cultured and the more narrow-minded, because in them there is less to confine and damp

the fire, will be more absorbed in the controversy than those whose culture is deeper and whose horizons are broader. This goes some way towards explaining the intensity of the Puritans, and the variety and overbearing violence of the sects. Those who had manipulated the religious revolution of the preceding century had said to it, 'So far shalt thou go, and no further.' But in this as in some other movements the revolutionary conditions at last descended to the mass of the people. A century was required for this, and then the constructive work of the first stage of the revolution, and the barriers that had been erected to stop its further progress, were swept away.

'Mr. Samuel Sames, who was minister of God's Word in this parish for fifty and four years,' had to steer as well as he could through the troubled waters of those times. Doubtless he escaped most of his difficulties by, as we have seen, being able to go with the stream. Many, however, of his neighbours in the ministry of the Word were not able to do this; and we cannot read on his gravestone the date of 1657 without thinking of the slights, the rebuffs, the reproaches, they must have met with at the hands of the not always wise or always gentle zealots around them. Samwaies's coadjutor and successor, Burgess, was, more or less, one of those zealots; but not necessarily, therefore, a better man, with a better heart, and of better motives and of a better life, or even with a better head, than many of those who differed from him in opinion and sentiment. Had he but lived fifty years earlier or fifty years later, he would not have been a zealot. Zeal of this kind can be only a passing phase of humanity. The work of the world could not be done by a world of zealots; at all events, one would not choose such a world to live in.

1700—1800 A.D.

We pass on to the middle of the next century, and what we find has now become the state of religious feeling reminds us of the mechanical law that reaction equals action. In the middle of the seventeenth century religious enthusiasm had upheaved society and overturned both Church and State. In the middle of the eighteenth century religion was hardly visible in the working of society. The late Mr. Green, whose sympathies were all with the Puritans and with liberty, in his 'History of the English People,' tells us that at this time 'the decay of the great dissenting bodies went hand in hand with that of the Church, and during the early part of the century the Nonconformists declined in numbers as in energy.' Indeed, it would have been a contradiction to the teaching of history and of experience if the absorption and intensity of the seventeenth century had not in their case, as well as in the case of others, issued in a period of comparative indifference.

The torpidity within the Church was only more conspicuous on account of the more prominent position it occupied in the national and social organisation. Parson Trulliber was now the representative of a considerable proportion of his order. The clergy abounded in the hunting field. They drank hard. They were pluralists. They were non-resident. Their amusements were those of the laity. In dress they were hardly distinguishable from the laity.

The clergy of the middle ages, with whom our review commenced, were in no inconsiderable proportion evil-livers. Those of the last century, certainly, were very far from what they should have been. Still they were not so morally reprehensible as their mediæval brethren, who were

contemned and denounced by their contemporaries. The public opinion of the last century, its leniency of course being in some measure attributable to its laxity, was not outraged; and the clergy themselves were better educated, and had therefore more self-respect. None can be equitably judged without some reference to the character of the times in which they lived.

Such was the world to which Wesley addressed himself. What he undertook may be compared to the effort to restore the functions of life to one who had been some time under water and is apparently drowned. There was nothing particularly new or profound in his ideas. In this there was a wide difference between him and Wickliffe, as there was also in the courage requisite for enabling each of them to carry out the work he had undertaken. What animated Wesley was faith in his ideas and in himself. This was his support while he devoted his long life, almost coincident with the century, to the single aim of planting those ideas in the minds of others, and of training and organising those who were to extend and continue his work.

His success is to be measured not merely by the number of millions of those among the English-speaking peoples who at this day belong to the society he founded. His influence soon became apparent among the congregations and ministers of the Church from which he never seceded, and of which he regarded himself as a member. The party in the Established Church which became known under the name of the Evangelical, and was for a long time its most active and influential section, was, though indirectly, yet as truly, a product of Wesley's efforts as Methodism itself. The religious revival that now ensued in the Church and among all the denominations was primarily his work. Sooner or later, doubtless, it would in some way or other

have been brought about, but that it came at that particular time and in that particular form was due to him.

For lack of definite evidence we are not able to point to any palpable effects which this revival had on the character and actions of our contemporary vicars. We know, however, that it greatly modified the sentiments of the society that surrounded them. It was a consequence of this that public opinion became more exacting, and that much that had hitherto been tolerated in the clergy was now reprobated, and so repressed. Evangelicalism to no inconsiderable degree leavened the whole English world.

1800—1892 A.D.

In our review of our period we have at last reached our own times. We are now in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The Evangelical revival no longer survives in its original form. But, as is the case with the food supplied to our bodies, what was life-supporting in it has been assimilated and absorbed into the substance of the religious organism of the nation; for religion is an organism of the thought, the knowledge, the hopes, and the conscience of the age. What in this revival belonged to the essence of religion survives, what was of the accidents of the time and of the idiosyncrasy of the man is disappearing.

The second quarter of our current century witnessed another religious movement or revival of a very different character from that of Wesley. Its object was not so much the substance of religion itself as matters connected with religion, what are called Church principles. A revival of this kind is a far easier matter than the other. It could not possibly have preceded it, being its complement. It is addressed to a socially higher and more leisured class

and so can use the press, instead of the preacher, as the instrument for its dissemination. And now in the last quarter of the century not far from all the clergy have accepted it. A consequence of this is that there never was a time in the six hundred years of our period, perhaps never since there was an organised body of clergy, when they wore so uniformly a professional aspect, were so much of one type, and gave so little ground for adverse remark.

This, however, is far from all that may be said. These two revivals, one bearing directly on the essence of religion, though with some mistakes that had to be abandoned, and the other on things connected with religion, aided much, perhaps indeed chiefly, by the growing demands and more exacting vigilance of public opinion, have brought about among the clergy almost universally so careful and intelligent a discharge of duty that there is no record of anything like it, or approaching to it, ever having been exhibited before amongst us. The suddenness and completeness of this change, and its contrast with what preceded it, remind one of the saying that the darkest hour of the night is that which precedes the break of day.

An old Nonconformist preacher of this neighbourhood, with whom I frequently had some talk about his recollections of the past, used to tell me that of all the advances and changes he had noted in his time, a time pre-eminently full of great advances and signal changes, not one had been so complete and so conspicuous as that which had been effected in the lives and character of the clergy of the Established Church. He could recollect, he would say, that at the beginning of the century, with the exception of the Evangelical few, they were careless about their duty, and incapable of exercising to any useful purpose any influence over their neighbours, but at the time in which we

then were he knew of scarcely any who neglected their duty, and he saw many who were remarkable for their power of influencing other minds.

The difficulties, then, which the clergy have now to contend with do not arise from the misconduct of members of their own order; never was there less of that. Nor do they arise from the disorder, the violence, or the viciousness of society; never was society less disorderly, less violent, and less vicious. It is in the intellectual order that their difficulties now lie. Of them, however, this is not the place to speak.

We will, therefore, conclude this chapter by pointing out the facts and lessons the foregoing review of the last six centuries has placed in relief.

In the first place it has shown that in our English race there exists a capacity, which does not appear to exist now in any other people, for producing Lollards—that is, religious enthusiasts; generally from the uncultured and not highly cultured classes, who are ready to spend and be spent for conscience' sake. This is both a natural result of, and a contributory cause to, the strength of our national character.

In the second place it has shown that the Church of England did not understand, and so did not make any provision for including and utilising and dealing with, such enthusiasts; and that this has been to it a cause of weakness, which has once already issued, and may again issue, in its overthrow.

Thirdly, the events that have been in review have demonstrated that the stream of tendency has all along been in the direction of liberty in religious opinion, rightfully based on increasing knowledge—that is, on an increase in the materials for forming opinions.

Lastly, the history has reminded us of the saying, that it is not wise to put new wine into old bottles.

It gives much additional substance to the interest we take in our vicars to see them passing through the great intellectual and religious events of so many centuries, while the events themselves were well worth reverting to for their own sakes.

CHAPTER X.

THE PRESENTERS.

Qui facit per alium facit per se.

WE now come to the statement, which in our list of vicars follows the name of the presentee, of who it was that in the case of each presented. The first eight were presented by the prior and convent of St. Peter's, Ipswich. We may infer from the practice of all corporate bodies that they found in every instance that there was no one on earth so well qualified in every respect for the good things they had to give away as some member—all being quite inconspicuous—of their own small brotherhood. We may rest this supposition not only on the universal practice of corporate bodies, especially in times when public opinion, almost a modern result of the publicity of the press, had no existence, but also on the names of the vicars, which inform us that almost all of them were natives of neighbouring villages, as Culfo, Hasketon, Chatisham, Woodbridge, &c. The first six are not described as friars, as are the six that follow them. But doubtless they were all friars—that is, members of the Augustinian monastery of St. Peter's, Ipswich. In the earlier period probably they did not look upon the appellation of 'friar' as a particularly honourable distinction. When, however, there had come to be a struggle between the secular and the regular clergy for position and dignity, they may have become somewhat proud of their being regulars, and so recorded this fact in the entries of the

institutions of their vicars. Or it may have been that the estimation in which the public held the preaching friars—the Franciscans and the Dominicans—may have brought them to think that it was as well to append this title to the names of their nominees. The eighth and three following vicars have the additional title of canon appended to their names. This was the technical description of the Black Augustinian monks, to which order belonged the monastery of St. Peter's, Ipswich: they were the Black Canons of St. Augustine.

The ninth vicar is not presented, as had been all his predecessors, by the regular patrons, the prior and convent of St. Peter's, but collated by the bishop. This means that the prior and convent failed to fill up the vacancy from some reason or other. The reasons that most readily present themselves to us are either that they could not agree among themselves, or that the bishop would not accept their nominee. The monks were beginning to be found out.

The next vacancy, that created by the death of the bishop's nominee, is now filled up by the regular patrons. This time they are able to agree, and their nominee is acceptable to the bishop. He was the William Smith who, as we have already had occasion to notice, is the first vicar on our list possessed of an indubitable surname. He was presented in the year 1478. On his decease, however, we find that the appointment a second time falls to the bishop, and that never again does St. Peter's Convent present to our benefice. On this, the second occasion of the bishop's collating, it is stated in the entry of the institution, as it had been in the first case, that the right of appointment came to him *per lapsum.* On also the two next ensuing vacancies he collates, without, however, anything being said of the right having lapsed to him. This seems as if the bishop had assumed

the nomination, and that his assumption had been acquiesced in. The monasteries had now fallen into well-deserved disrepute. Even as far back as the time of Henry IV. the Commons had petitioned that all their property should be confiscated ; and the seed Wickliffe had sown, in ground well prepared to receive it, was now bearing abundant fruit. Such public opinion, therefore, as there was doubtless supported the bishop in what might be held, when regarded from a strictly legal point of view, as a high-handed usurpation, but which was a wise and highly becoming act in view of the higher law, that institutions that exist for the one purpose of promoting ought not to be allowed to discredit and damage religion and morality. The public knew that the bishop's nominees would be better parish priests than, to keep well within their repute, the lazy and luxurious friars.

We now come to the fourteenth vicar and to a new patron. And this connects for a brief space with our benefice of Wherstead the name of one who was not only the most eminent man Ipswich ever produced, but who was the foremost Englishman of his day ; and of all who at that time had been the architects of their own fortunes, the one who was the most widely known throughout Christendom—Wolsey the Magnificent. The fourteenth vicar is presented by 'the dean and chapter of Cardinal's College, Ipswich, the patrons,' as the entry states, 'of the aforesaid vicarage of Wherstead.' This was the college Shakespeare immortalises :—

> He was most princely. Ever witness for him
> Those twins of learning that he raised in you,
> Ipswich and Oxford ! One of which fell with him,
> Unwilling to outlive the good that did it :
> The other, though unfinished, yet so famous,
> So excellent in art, and still so rising,
> That Christendom shall ever speak his virtue.

It was, indeed, a princely foundation. It consisted of a dean, and twelve secular canons, eight clerks, and eight choristers, and a grammar school, and was endowed with the revenues of thirteen suppressed monasteries, among which was that of St. Peter's, Ipswich. It succeeded to the church patronage of these thirteen monasteries, and so became the patron of Wherstead, and thus it came about that one of my predecessors was presented to the benefice of Wherstead by the dean (his name was William Capon) and the chapter of Cardinal's College, Ipswich. This great college, then, was not merely an inchoate idea, an unsubstantial vision floating in the mind of a magnificent dreamer, but an institution actually established and commencing its work, for in the year 1530 it is entered in the diocesan register of institutions at Norwich that its dean and chapter presented John Warner to the benefice of Wherstead, and John Fuldeham to that of Cretyngham, of which also it had become patron, and then allowed the two vicars to exchange benefices, so that John Fuldeham, after his resignation of Cretyngham, on their presentation became vicar of Wherstead, which preferment he held for sixteen years. Had not Henry VIII. suppressed this noble foundation, it would at this day have been in existence, and might, and probably would, have occupied a high place amongst the foremost schools of the country.

On the fall of the Great Cardinal, Henry VIII. seized all his preferments, and amongst the rest the endowments of his college at Ipswich. In the roll of these were the manors of Pannington Hall and of Bourn Hall, in Wherstead. Henceforth the Crown became the patron of the benefice of Wherstead. On the next vacancy the king presents. In Mary's reign the bishop, as might have been expected, collates. In the long reign of Elizabeth the Crown presents thrice, and so on without interruption down to our

own time. The present vicar received in 1847 his appointment from Her Majesty Queen Victoria. He, however, will be the last nominee of the Crown, for under Lord Westbury's Act the advowson was in 1864 sold to a private patron. Henceforth an indispensable condition of presentation will be relationship to or the friendship of the patron, or money paid for the presentation, in which case the incumbent will practically have presented himself.

In the time of the Commonwealth there was necessarily for a few years an interruption to what from the time of Henry VIII. to that of Victoria was the regular order of things. In 1657 old Samwaies died. This was the year that preceded the Protector's death. By some means or other, we know not what, John Burgess had become already established in the parish. He first appears on the scene in the latter years of the octogenarian Samwaies, but whether with his approval or whether intruded upon him there is nothing to show. We have inferred from the way in which he kept the parochial registers that his tendencies were puritanical. But this may not have been altogether displeasing to Samwaies, who had himself, as we have already seen, signed a petition for the abolition of episcopacy. In 1662, however—that is, five years after Samwaies's death—he obtains from Charles II. a regular nomination, and is instituted regularly. It is stated in the entry of his institution in the diocesan register that it is valid in whatever way the vacancy had been created—'*vicariâ vacante per mortem ultimi incumbentis, aut alio quocunque modo*;' that is to say, whether the vacancy had been created by a resignation of Samwaies in his favour, or by the death of Samwaies, or by his own withdrawal from his informal and intrusive ministry, or whatever might be the way in which anyone might suppose or allege that the vacancy had arisen. He was a cautious man, and took care that his

title should not be invalidated by the informalities of the late disorderly times.

The entry of Burgess's institution is found, not in the regular official volume of institutions for this period, but in Bishop Reynolds's register, a concurrent and *quasi*-private volume, which, however, contains several entries, among them being that of Burgess, that for some unknown reason did not find their way into the regular official volume.

CHAPTER XI.

GLEANINGS FROM THE REGISTERS.

Rerum natura tota nusquam est magis quam in minimis.—*Pliny.*

OUR parish registers commence in the year 1590. In looking over them for particulars of interest connected with the history of the parish and of my predecessors I met with some small matters that are worthy of notice. The only indication we have of the Great Plague of 1665 is that for the two following years we find entries in which it is stated that those buried had died on the previous day. These rapid interments must have been caused by apprehensions of infection; and the entry is made to show that what was possible had been done to guard against it.

Everyone knows what grotesque names, intended to express some religious sentiment or hope, were imposed on their children by the reformers of the period of the Great Rebellion, who could think only in Biblical language, such as Faintnot, Fearnot, Accepted, Redeemed, Makepeace, Peaceofgod, Flydebate, Weepnot, Bethankful, Killsin, Morefruit. An entry in our baptismal register for the year 1673 contains one of these names. A baptised infant is entered as the daughter of John Ellis and Estofidelis, his wife. As Estofidelis's parents had not been content with the English Bethoufaithful, and understood Latin, they must have been people of some education and position.

In 1678 I first come on the title of 'Esquire' appended to a name; it is in the case of a justice of the peace.

As early, however, as 1591, 'Gent.' is found appended in the same way to the name of one Thomas Hall, in the entry of his son's baptism. He was owner of Bourn Hall.

The use of the word 'town' instead of village or parish was general, as appears from the registers, down to a very recent period. It is of late years only that I have ceased to hear our parochial or vestry meetings called town meetings.

The variations I have fallen in with in the spelling of the name of our parish have been many, as, for instance, Querstede, Wervestede, Vervestede, Wherested, Wherstield, Whearstead, Whersteed, Wheatstead, Wheatstrade, Quested, Wetstead, and Wherstead. I might perhaps be able to add to this number of variations by a search in the thirty folios of institutions in the diocesan registry at Norwich. I can remember that forty years ago it was called by all classes Wetstead. But at that time I can also recollect that there was scarcely a single parish in this neighbourhood the name of which was pronounced as it was written, and as it is now pronounced. Freston was Fresson, Wolverstone Wolverson, Chelmondiston Chimpton, Harkstead Hastead, Erwarton Arnton, Tattingstone Tattinson, East Bergholt Barfield, &c. But Lord Brougham never called the capital of the Midlands otherwise than Brummagem, being in his old age too conservative to drop the practice of his youth. And I can recall another noble lord, a contemporary of Lord Brougham, who always spoke of the million-peopled city under the name of 'Lunon.' Those were, too, the days of 'covechousness,' 'mussy,' and 'eddication.' Of course it is the ability to read that has brought people to pronounce the names of places in these days as they find them spelt in print. This change in practice proves that among the masses the readers have

156585

now become sufficiently numerous to reverse a custom which had the merit of saving breath, and was till recently universal.

Education has also had the effect of extinguishing among the agricultural class in the parish the use of words which they do not find in print. Down to thirty years ago in this neighbourhood a young woman was always spoken of as a 'mawther,' or 'morther,' and hedging gloves were called 'dornocks.' Both those words are supposed to have a Scandinavian origin. They are now absolutely unused, even by the old people who remember them. 'Chats' for scraps, as the bullocks' chats, the scraps of beet or turnips they left and which went to the pigs, 'shruff' for dry wood in the hedges, 'mash' for marsh, 'yard' for garden, and 'sauce' for vegetables, have all passed into the limbo of oblivion. So has the use of 'Madam' and of 'Lady' prefixed to the surname to distinguish a married woman of the upper class from one of the working class, who would be styled 'Mrs.' We shall before long have occasion to notice an entry from an overseers' book of the middle of the last century of a payment made by 'Madam Brand,' the wife of Captain Brand. If the person spoken of used a covered carriage 'Lady' was prefixed to the name, as 'Lady Capper,' though she was only the parson's wife; and the class, then a very small one, was called 'carriage ladies.' This reminds one of Pitt's dictum, that it was in accordance with the spirit of our constitution that everyone who had an income of 10,000*l.* a year should be allowed to claim admission to the peerage. In the villages the title of 'Lady' was conferred on all who exhibited the outward signs of wealth. In these democratic days, however, no repugnance is felt at giving the same appellation, that of 'Mrs.,' to women of all classes. In my memory the ordinary wish at parting

was, 'The seal of the day to you.' This is now never heard. Instead of it we have 'good morning,' 'good day,' 'good evening,' 'good night.' This 'seal' meant the season or time of the day. It seems to be identical with the latter part of the word 'haysel,' which is still in common use for the hay season. I have, too, occasionally heard the word 'barkseal' for the time of year when the bark is stripped from the oak for tanning. 'Eleet,' for a place where roads meet, has also of late become obsolete. 'Three eleet' meant a place where three roads meet (Trivium); 'four eleet,' a place were four roads meet (Quadrivium). To these instances of the recent disuse of once familiar words may be added the abandonment of the practice, once universal, but now only met with occasionally among the old, of addressing a superior in the third person, as, for instance, 'I have come to ask a favour of Mr. Wright,' or 'of Mrs. Wright,' as the case might be. 'I am glad to see Mr. (or Mrs.) Wright well.' Happily this desire to imply a sense of social inferiority is dying away. But there was something antique and picturesque in hearing yourself addressed in the third person.

In 1678 occurs the first entry, together with the entry of the burial, of the certificate that the corpse had been buried in woollen, 'according,' in the words of the entry, 'to the late Act.' These certificates and affidavits continue for 133 years, down to 1811. This enforcement by statute of burial in woollen appears to have been the elder sister of its successor, the Corn Laws. There is a strong family resemblance between them. Equally in both one can see no object but that of increasing rent. If this was its motive, there was no lack of ingenuity or of originality in the idea of utilising our dead friends for the purpose of making dearer the clothing of the living. It would not have been possible to compel the living to wear woollen

clothes, but this compulsion—and the advantage would be just as great in the eyes of the wool growers—might be applied to the dead, who could not help themselves. It would have been an analogous proceeding if the Corn Laws had enacted that in every grave there should be deposited upon the coffin a sack of wheat flour. Possibly during the last and the earlier part of the present century the now obsolete smock-frock of the farmer and of his men, and the fustian jacket and corduroys of the artisan in the towns, may have been one of the results of this artificial enhancement of the price of woollen clothing. At all events, these classes did not formerly wear woollen clothes as they do now, the present comparative cheapness of woollens being undoubtedly the cause of the large disuse of cotton fabrics for their outer garments now customary among them.

In the year 1783 I find the following entry:—

Memorandum. A duty of threepence was laid upon registering every marriage, baptism, birth, or burial, from the first day of October, 1783.

It seems, on the face of this statement, that it would have been possible to escape this tax by requesting that the entry should not be made in the register. It was in fact a poll-tax, assessed on the poor at the same rate as on the rich. In many cases it must have been paid by the incumbent. Badness, in some degree, is an inseparable quality of all taxes, but that so bad a tax as this should have been imposed shows that the Government had almost come to its wits' end in contriving how to raise the necessary revenue. In these matters certainly 'we are very much better than our fathers,' as too we are very much better off.

CHAPTER XII.

COLLECTIONS TWO CENTURIES AGO.

Dandi amor dando crescit.

FROM the year 1659 to the year 1679 there occur in our register several entries of collections made in the church, or parish, for various objects. They are worth preserving, as helping us to understand how such matters were managed over two hundred years ago. I here give them *verbatim* :—

July the tenth 1659.

Collected in our Towne of Wherstead the day and yeare above written towards the releefe of the distressed people inhabitants of Southwold *alias* Southbay the sum of five pounds one shilling and threepence halfepenny

by us JOHN BURGES Minister
the mark of
ROBERT X CULFE Churchwarding.

1660.

Collected for Heydon in the East Riding of the County of Yorke the sum of seven shillings and one penny.

1661.

Fire—Collected to a breefe for Chertsey in the county of Surrey 2s. 10d. 0.

Fire—Collected to a breefe for the inhabitants of St. Bartholomew Exchange, London, the sum of one shilling and sixpence.

War—Collected for the re-building of the pish (parish) church of Pontefract in Yorkshire the sum of one pound two shillings and eightpence.

Fire—Collected for Richard Woosley and others of Wapping in the pish of White Chappell London the sum of six shillings and sixpence.

Fire—Collected for the inhabitants of Milton Abbas in the county of Dorset the sum of one shilling and twopence.

Fire—Collected for Christopher Spire and John Simons of Wateringbury in the county of Kent two shillings and sixpence.

Fire—Collected for Oxford the sum of one shilling and eightpence.

Fire—Collected for the inhabitants of ffakenham in the county of Norfolk the sum of three shillings.

Fire—Collected for the inhabitants of Scarborough in the county of York the sum of two shillings and threepence.

Collected towards the re-building of Rippon church and steeple in the county of York the sum of four shillings and one halfpenny.

Collected for the inhabitants of Elmeley Castle in the county of Worcester the sum of one shilling and fowerpence.

Collected for Prisilla ffeilder Widd and Thomas ffeilder her son of Dartford in the county of Kent the sum of one shilling and eightpence.

Fire—Collected towards the releef of the inhabitants of St. Bartholomew Exchange London the sum of one shilling and sixpence.

Collected for Henry Harrison mariner the sum of two shillings and one penny.

Collected for Richard Dutton of the city of Chester the sum of one shilling and sevenpence half penny.

Collected for the releef of the inhabitants of East Hagborne in the county of Berks the sum of one shilling and twopence.

Collected for Tho. Thorneham pr: of Soorbey (Sowerby) in the county of York the sum of 1s. 3d.

Collected for Condover in the county of Salop the sum of one shilling and eightpence received by me JOHN MADELEY.

Collected for Henry Harrisson mariner for losse by shipwracke the sum of two shillings and one penny received by me

JOHN SAUNDERS.

Collected in the towne of Whersteed for St. Maries ine the Fields London 01s. 9d.

Collected in the towne of Whersteed for the towne of Fordingham the sum of twelvpence.

Collected in the towne of Whersteed for the towne of Tiverton one shilling and sixpence.

Collected in the towne of Whersteed for the Church of Harwich one shilling ninepence.

Collected in the towne of Whersteed for the towne of Hexam two shillings.

Collected in the towne of Wherstead for the inhabitants of the city of London six and forty shillings and twopence. £02 06s. 2d.

Collected in the towne of Wherstead for the inhabitants of the towne of Thetford two shillings and fourpence. £00 2s. 4d.

Fire—Collected in the towne of Wherstead towards the releife of the distressed people inhabitants of the towne of Brekles the just sum of one and twenty shillings tenpence halfpenny— £01 01s. 10 0½

Collected June the 5th for the Cotton end breife the just sum of two shillings—06d. (Cotton End is a hamlet in the parish of Cardington, near Bedford.)

June the 12th, 1670.

Collected then in the towne of Wherstead for the poor inhabitants of the towne of Ifleham in the county of Cambridge two shillings two pence.

Collected in the towne of Wherstead the 24 of July 1670 the just sum of one and twenty pence for the towne of Sommersham in the county of Huntington.

Collected November the 29th 1670 the just sum of forty shillings and twopence of the inhabitants of Wherstead towards the redemption of the poore distressed captives in Turkey.

WILLIAM WHITEHEAD
Churchwarden X his mark
WILLIAM THORNE (Vicar)
JOHN CLARKE
THOMAS SORRELL.

Collected in the towne of Wherstead for the towne of ffordingbridge the just sum of two shillings and tenpence, Aug. 30th, 1673.

Collected March the 15th 1673 of the inhabitants of Wherstead the sum of three shillings halfpenny towards the rebuilding of the Church of Benenden in the county of Kent. £03s. 00d. ob.

Collected January 17th 1674 in the towne of Wherstead for Thomas Gibbon of the parish of St. Margaret's at Cliffe in the county of Kent the sum of eighteen pence.

Collected January 24th 1674 in the towne of Wherstead for the refe of certain sufferers in the town of Walton in the county of Norfolk the sum of two shillings and ninepence. } WILL. THORNE, RICH: GOODINGE churchwarden.

Collected in our towne of Wherstead for the towne of Northampton in the county of Northampton the just sum of one and forty shillings and fourpence in the year 1676.

By us { THOMAS SORRELL, WILL: THORNE vicar ibid.

Collected Oct. 1st 1676 for the poor sufferers of Eaton in the county of Bucks the sum of sixteen pence— W. THORNE, JOHN GOODING.

Collected the 29 October 1676 the sum of three shillings twopence farthing towards the releife of the sufferers of Topsham in the county of Devon. W. THORNE
JOHN GOODING.

Collected in the towne of Wherstead Sep. 23 1677 by Mr. John Gooding churchwarden for the releife of the poor sufferers of Blithburgh in the county of Suff: the sum of two shillings.

Collected of the inhabitants of the towne of Wherstead in the county of Suff: the sum of nine shillings and sevenpence towards the re-building of St. Paul's Church in London—
WILL. THORNE vicar ibid.
EDWARD HOLLIN churchwarden.

Collected for the sufferers of Uffington in the county of Lincoln the sum of one shilling elevenpence the three and twentieth day of ffebruary 1678-9— WM. THORNE.

Sep. 28 1679.

Collected then of the inhabitants of Wherstead towards the releife of the sufferers of Dover in the county of Kent the sum of sixpence.

August the 10th 1679 collected then one and twenty pence towards the re-building of Windlesham Steeple in the county of Surrey.

With the addition of a collection on behalf of Newmarket in 1684, and another on behalf of Tunbridge Wells in 1692, these are the only entries of the kind in our registers from their commencement in 1590.

As some of the years embraced in the twenty-one years the above entries cover have several entries and some have none, we can hardly suppose that all the collections made during the period were recorded. No reason is given for the commencement of the practice of making the entries, or for its discontinuance. We may, however, suppose that it had its origin in Puritan scrupulousness, for John Burgess commenced it; and that its discontinuance was due to Cavalier carelessness, for it was fanatic-hating Oliver Thorne who dropped it. The majority of the entries have no dates, but they are all comprised between the years 1659 and 1679 inclusive.

What first strikes us on glancing over this list of col-

lections is their frequency, in comparison with the practice, as respects this matter, at the present day in our small rural parishes. The population of Wherstead has during the century increased from about 200 to about 300 souls, and we can hardly suppose that two centuries ago it exceeded 300. But what is of real interest in it is the variety of objects for which the collections were made, and the remoteness of the places to which assistance was sent. It is almost laughable to see the little mouse of Wherstead going to the rescue of the great lion of the City of London. Perhaps this was after the great fire of London; for, though no date for the collection is given, yet its amount 02*l.* 06*s.* 2*d.* is so considerable as to indicate that the need was pressing, and impelled people to contribute freely. Again we find '9*s.* 7*d.* collected towards the re-building of St. Paul's Church in London.' This did not touch the feelings of the inhabitants of Wherstead so deeply. The instant necessities of thousands of houseless and starving people appealed irresistibly to their pity and to common humanity, while the Londoners might be allowed, but with some little extraneous encouragement, to re-build at leisure their own cathedral. There are entered two collections for St. Bartholomew Exchange, London. The cause for both is stated to have been fire. Each amounts to 1*s.* 6*d.* In both cases it is stated that the eighteen-pence was for 'the inhabitants.' Other collections for the behoof of London and Londoners are one for 'Richard Woosley and others of Wapping, in the parish of White Chappell, London, six shillings and sixpence,' and 'for St. Maries ine the Fields, London, 0*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.*'

The collections for individuals do not at all accord with existing ideas and practices. 'For Richard Dutton of the city of Chester'—it was a far cry to the city of Chester when Wherstead people were in search of some poor fellow

in distress—was collected 1*s.* 7½*d.* Henry Harrison, mariner, was highly favoured, for we find that for him two collections were made, both amounting to 2*s.* 1*d.*; though possibly this, as in the case of the two identical collections for St. Bartholomew Exchange, London, may have been a double entry through inadvertency. What had brought him into trouble was 'losse by shipwracke.' 'Thomas Gibbon of the parish of St. Margarets at Cliffe in the county of Kent,' has collected for him the sum of eighteenpence. 'For Christopher Spire and John Simons of Wateringbury, in the county of Kent,' was collected 2s. 6*d.* 'For Prisilla ffeilder Widd and Thomas ffeilder her son of Dartford in the county of Kent,' was collected 1*s.* 8*d.* 'For Tho. Thorneham pr:' (perhaps parish) 'of Soorbey (Sowerby) in the county of York,' was collected 1*s.* 3*d.*

There are collections made for the rebuilding of churches and of steeples. Among these is an entry of one pound two shillings and eightpence 'for the re-building of Pontefract Church, Yorkshire.' On the margin is written the word 'war;' to indicate that this church had been injured in the great civil war. The Vicar of Pontefract, in reply to inquiries I had addressed to him, tells me that the collection made in 1661 for rebuilding Pontefract Church amounted in all to 1,500*l.* In this total, however, something was included that had been obtained from the sale of materials from the dilapidated Castle of Pontefract. The brief had been issued on behalf of All Saints' Church, which was the Parish Church. Of the sum collected, some portion was intercepted by one in whose hands it had been deposited. The remainder went for the re-building of the Chapel of St. Giles's, which afterwards became the Parish Church. The transcept, however, of All Saints', the Church that ought to have been re-built, still remains, and is used for divine service. All Saints' was close to the Castle,

which was besieged three times between 1643–7. The tower of the Church was occupied by the Parliamentarians, and so was both used as a battery and became an object of attack.

'Towards the re-building of Rippon church and steeple in the county of York,' were contributed 4*s.* 0½*d.* 'For the Church of Harwich,' 1*s.* 9*d.* 'Towards the re-building of the Church of Benenden in the county of Kent,' Wherstead sent 03*s.* 00*d.* ob. As 'ob' stands for one halfpenny, it may be an abbreviation of obolus, though in fact the sterling value of an obolus was about three halfpence. 'Towards the re-building of Windlesham steeple in the county of Kent' was collected the sum of 21*d.*

The most numerous entries are those of collections for 'the distressed people,' 'the inhabitants,' 'the poor inhabitants,' 'certain sufferers,' 'poor sufferers,' in certain 'townes;' sometimes simply for 'the towne.' The names of the towns occurring in this connection are Southwold *alias* Southbay, Heydon, Chertsey, Milton Abbas, Oxford, Fakenham, Scarborough, Elmeley Castle, East Hagborne, Condover, Fordingham, Tiverton, Hexham, Thetford, Brekles, Ifleham, Sommersham, Fordingbridge, Walton in Norfolk, Northampton, Eton, Topsham, Blythburgh, Uffington, Dover. Of several of these places we may very well suppose that 'the towne of Wherstead' was quite unaware of the existence before it was called upon to relieve their sufferings and distresses. From these entries, and from the list generally, we may draw the comfortable inference that the country is throughout in towns and rural districts much wealthier and much better off in every respect now than it was at the date of these Wherstead collections; for every town and rural district is in these days quite able and willing to take care of its poor sufferers and distressed inhabitants. The hat is not now sent round by Oxford,

Scarborough, Hexham, Northampton, Eton, Dover, and the city of London: that it was once necessary to send it round shows what a different world it was then from what it is now.

Another change in the times which our list of collections suggests is that the Church is in these days very far from being the general almoner to the degree in which she was two centuries ago. As was just observed, people are better off now. Wages, too, are higher and more regular; the people have to some extent learnt to insure themselves against the calamities of life by saving; the Poor Law everywhere provides with unfailing regularity for hopeless cases; and our well-to-do classes have the means and are charitably disposed to aid in exceptional cases. And besides all this the Church itself can no longer, now that the Nonconformist bodies have grown so much in numbers, consolidation, and wealth, be regarded, either in practice or in theory, as the only recognised religious organisation of the nation.

It is always useful to know when it was that old customs, even though of no great importance in themselves, came to die out; for this never happens except as the result of other changes, which are the reason of their decay. It will have been observed that in several of our entries 'a brief' is cited as the authority for the collection therein recorded; and doubtless it was so with more than those particular entries in which there is mention of the brief. The existing generation of church goers has no knowledge of these briefs, but forty years ago they were still read in Wherstead church. They were royal letters authorising collections. These were the briefs referred to in the rubric following the Nicene Creed, at which point in the service the minister is directed to read them. For reasons approved of by the authorities in Church and State, and I suppose by the

clergy and congregations generally—few things can secure universal approval—it was deemed advisable to discontinue the practice of issuing them.

The liberality of some of the collections on our list is remarkable, but still more so is the exiguity of many of them. That for the sufferers at Dover could not have gone very far in the mitigation of their sufferings, for it only reached the sum of sixpence. One is almost curious to know how in the days preceding postage-stamps this sixpence was remitted from Wherstead to Dover.

One of our collections does not fall under any of the heads we have been using for the classification of the rest. It stands apart by itself. In 1670 there was gathered in Wherstead 'the just sum of forty shillings and twopence towards the redemption of the poore captives in Turkey.' By Turkey is probably here meant Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis, so designated as being parts of the great Mahomedan Empire of Turkey. Reversely the word Turks is used in the combination of 'Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics,' which occurs in one of the collects for Good Friday; here the name of a part is given to the whole of the Mahomedan world. Fifteen years before this collection was made, Blake had taught the Algerines to respect the English flag, but without putting an end to their piracies in the Mediterranean, or to their plundering and slave-hunting expeditions along the southern coasts of Europe. And here it will not be out of place to mention that about the date of our collection Mr. Francis Vernon, the elder brother of Mr. Secretary Vernon, while travelling in the East, was captured and made a slave by the Algerines. On being ransomed he returned home through Venice, and while there had his portrait painted. In this portrait he wears the coarse, scanty, black dress he had worn while a slave: it is merely a black shirt of goats' or camels' hair. After a

time the irrepressible love of travel and adventure again carried him to the East. His second expedition, however, was still more unfortunate than his first, for it terminated with his murder in Egypt. The portrait of him just mentioned was brought by the late Lady Harland (*née* Arethusa Vernon, and who had inherited the Vernon estates) from Thurlow Hall, the original seat of the Vernons, to the mansion in Wherstead Park, to which it is annexed as an heirloom.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE MANSION AT WHERSTEAD PARK

Non domo dominus, sed domino domus honestanda est.—*Cicero.*

I HAVE already had occasion to mention the house Sir Robert Harland built in Wherstead Park. Its date, 1792, is cut upon the exterior sill of one of the windows of the drawing-room. I take this to have been the year when the building was commenced. Sir Jeffery Wyatville was the architect. Externally it has no architectural features of any kind. Internally its chief feature is the hall and staircase, and the gallery round the hall and staircase for the second storey. On the south side it may be observed that the white brick of the ground floor and of the floor above is of a different tint from that of the rest of the house. This marks the extent of the old house in which the Brands had lived, and which was incorporated in the new mansion. This part contains the present library and billiard room, and the first floor of bedrooms above.

The house is best known for the large number of portraits, together with some other pictures, which adorn its walls. Of these the most valuable is a large canvas by Canaletto, nine feet in length by seven and a half in height, which Sir Robert Harland bought from the Duke of Newcastle when he was in pecuniary difficulties. If the sum, tradition informs us was given for this picture, had instead been put out to grow by compound interest at 5

per cent., it would to-day have reached far beyond the value of the whole Wherstead estate. But what is of most interest in the collection is the large number of portraits it includes. Among these are portraits of James II., of the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth, of Queen Anne, of her son, the Duke of Gloucester, who died at the age of thirteen, of Mr. Secretary Vernon, and his wife, all by Sir G. Kneller. There are also portraits of several members of the Vernon family, in subsequent generations, and of several members of the Harland family.

There is a portrait of Mr. Francis Vernon, which we have already had occasion to mention. This was painted at Venice. He is in the dress he wore as a slave after his capture by the Algerines. Of this portrait there is also a copy.

Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Leicester, supposed to be by Zucchero.

Nell Gwynne, Lady Castlemaine, and the Duchess of Portsmouth, supposed to be by Sir Peter Lely.

The family of Admiral Vernon, and the same repeated with his black manservant, supposed to be by Hogarth.

Admiral Sir Robert Harland by Dance. This has been engraved.

The late Sir Robert Harland, then a young man, on his return from France on the breaking out of the Revolution, by Romney—full length. This supplies one of our illustrations. His three sisters, the Countess Dillon, Mrs. Dalrymple, and Lady Rowley—separate portraits—by Cosway.

Admiral Cavendish and Admiral Sir George Rooke, by Vander Helst.

The Earl of Shipbrooke, nephew of Admiral Vernon; and the Countess of Shipbrooke and General Vernon, by Sir Joshua Reynolds. There appears to be no reason to

doubt the genuineness of these portraits, though, I believe, they do not appear in any list of Sir Joshua's works.

The above are the most noteworthy in this very far from inconsiderable collection, both in respect of numbers and of interest.

In the hall is the remaining one of the six very elaborately adorned chairs, of ebony, profusely inlaid with ivory, which the Nabob of Arcot gave in 1772 to Lady Harland, through Admiral Sir Robert Harland, who was at that time Minister Plenipotentiary at his court and commander-in-chief of the fleet in the Indian seas. Five of these chairs were sold to George IV. for his Pavilion at Brighton. He gave for them 50*l.* apiece. There is an inscription on the one at Wherstead which gives its history.

In the drawing-room is a carved and gilt altar, and over it a very pleasing carved and painted figure of the Virgin, 'taken by Admiral Vernon from the chapel of the Spanish three-decker *Santissima Trinidada*,' which was one of his captures. This is recorded in an inscription on a brass plate appended to the altar.

This Admiral Vernon is best known for his achievements against the Spaniards in taking Chagres and Porto Bello. His last command was in the Channel. He was dismissed from the service on the alleged ground that in some pamphlets he had written he had published letters of a Secretary of State. He was known in the navy by the nickname of 'Old Grog;' and having introduced on board the ships he commanded rum-and-water as a drink for the sailors, it was called after him 'grog.' He was Member of Parliament for Ipswich, and somewhat violent as a politician.

I have a medal that was struck to commemorate his achievements at Chagres and at Porto Bello. On the obverse is a three-quarter length figure of the admiral. On

the right side is a ship in front of a fort, over which are the words, 'A view of Fort Chagre.' The legend on the circumference is, 'The Hon. Edward Vernon, Esq., Vice-Admiral of the Blew, and Comer.-in-Chief of all his Maj. ships in the West Indies.' On the reverse is a harbour in the form of a horse-shoe. At the toe of the shoe is a town. In the centre of the harbour is a fort There are also forts at each extremity of the heel of the shoe. In front of these forts are six ships. The legend on this side is, 'Porto Bello, taken by Admiral Vernon with six ships of war only. Nov. 22. Anno Dom: 1739.' This medal is of copper, with the thinnest possible film of silver.

In 1819 Sir Robert Harland let this house to the Lord Granville of that day for 1,000*l.* a year, the shooting being included, and the landlord paying rates and taxes. This Lord Granville was the father of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Mr. Gladstone's late Ministry. During his residence here Wherstead was visited by many of those who at that time filled conspicuous places in society and in public life. Among these were Huskisson, Canning; Counts Lieven, Niemen, and Pahlin; Lords Morpeth and Jersey; Charles Greville, Luttrell, the Duke of Wellington, the Duke of York, and many others whose names are not yet forgotten.

My predecessor used to tell me that he saw one evening at Wherstead Park Canning and the Duke of Wellington taking parts in acting a charade. The Duke appeared as a nurse, wearing a white cap, and holding in his arms a pillow dressed up as a baby.

In 1823, in shooting the Hill Covert, a discharge from the Duke's gun peppered Lord Granville severely in the face. The spot at which this mishap took place was a few paces south of the north-west angle of the Covert, where it is nearest to the railway. The Duke was in the meadow;

Lord Granville was in the wood. The wood rises rather sharply from the meadow. The Duke fired at a pheasant as it rose above the underwood. The elevation, however, was not sufficient to carry the charge above Lord Granville, who was on much higher ground than the Duke. Fortunately he was struck on the side of the head, one shot even passing through his nose. Had he been struck in the full face, his sight might have been totally destroyed. Eleven shots were extracted. It is evident that Lord Granville was where he ought not to have been. The tradition is that this was the only point in the mishap which the iron disciplinarian regarded as material, under the circumstances, and so he could not refrain from saying to his bleeding host: 'If you had not been where you had no business to have been, it could not have happened.' I have seen a contemporary caricature in which the occurrence is regarded only from this point of view. Mr. Charles Dashwood, the present proprietor of Wherstead, has another contemporary caricature of the occurrence, in which Lord Granville exclaims: 'Holloa! What the Devil are you after! Is this the way you manage the Ordnance? and the Duke exclaims: 'Curse it! I have shot my friend, and not my enemy!' From the Duke's pocket is protruding a packet of papers on which are the words 'Master of the Ordnance.' A keeper remarks: 'I suppose he calls this putting his seal to the appointment.' The engraving is coloured; beneath it is the legend: 'The Worsted Sportsmen, or A good General, but a d—— bad Marksman.' Pub. Feb. 5th, 1823, by $\frac{\text{S. W. Fo}}{\text{41 Pica}}$, the remaining letters of the name and of the street having, in mounting the cut, been clipped off.

It is a fact that could not have been expected that after the lapse of sixty-nine years one who was present at

the accident, as a beater, was still in 1892 living in the parish, and so distinctly recollected the event that he described to me how people who were present were dressed, and what they said on the occasion; and that the surgeon who extracted the shots, Dr. A. H. Bartlett of Ipswich, was also still alive in 1887, the date of the first edition of this volume.

Lady Georgina Fullerton, in her autobiography, in giving her reminiscences of Wherstead, says that 'in 1822 or 1823 the Duke of Wellington was staying at Wherstead Lodge. Two incidents of his visit I remember, though I did not witness them. One was his accidentally shooting my father in the face, and the feeling he showed on the occasion, tears streaming down his face. Two or three shots were never extracted. The other incident was his acting a charade with the Russian Ambassadress, Princess Lieven, as the baby.' My predecessor, who was present at the acting of the charade, used to tell me that the baby as just mentioned above was a pillow, dressed up as a baby by Lady Jersey, and was carried in his arms by the Duke: though possibly Lady Georgina's words may bear this meaning. It was from my predecessor that I also received the account I have given of the Duke's bearing at the time of the mishap. As Lady Georgina was at the date of these occurrences only eight years of age, and did not witness them, we may regard her discrepancies as instances of the fallibility of hearsay evidence, and that too recalled after some considerable lapse of time.

During a visit to Wherstead in January, 1821, the great Duke was admitted to be a freeman of Ipswich. It was on a Sunday—to suit the Duke's engagements—that this reciprocal honour was conferred and received. At 10.45 A.M. the Duke, accompanied by Lord Granville, in a carriage drawn by four greys, arrived at the Town Hall.

Here he took the oaths and was admitted to the roll of freemen. A procession was then formed of the bailiffs, the portmen, and the unofficial notabilities of the town, and the new freeman was conducted to the Church of St. Mary Tower. A great crowd had assembled for the occasion, and some disapproving cries were heard to remind the great Captain that in Queen Caroline's business he had not taken the popular side.

In the following September the Tories of Ipswich ran their new freeman for the High Stewardship of the Borough. They supposed that the other side would not venture to put up anyone to contest this honour against the foremost man of the age; or that, if they did, he who had never lost a battle would not now lose one for the first time. In both these suppositions they were mistaken. The Liberals found a champion in the owner of Wherstead, Sir Robert Harland, who, with a majority of 76, vanquished the great Captain, and became High Steward of Ipswich. Marlborough in 1709 had been made a freeman of Ipswich, and entertained by the Corporation.

When I first became acquainted with the place, William Scroope, the author of 'Deer Stalking' and of 'Salmon Fishing,' had hired and was residing at Wherstead Park. Here his book on 'Salmon Fishing' was written. I saw it in MS. before it was sent to Murray for publication. Lady Beaconsfield was a niece of this William Scroope, and just at the time when in 1846 his horror of railways drove him away from Wherstead Disraeli was on the point of fulfilling an engagement to visit him here. At page 416 of Scroope's 'Deer Stalking' is a poetical translation from the Gaelic 'by the celebrated pen of Mr. D'Israeli, jun.'

CHAPTER XIV.

WHERSTEAD TOWN HOUSE.

Nomina si pereunt, perit et cognitio rerum.

IN the year 1823 my old friend—with whom, however, I was not acquainted till nearly twenty years later—D. E. Davy, the Suffolk antiquary, whose collections are now in the British Museum, while staying with my predecessor at Wherstead Vicarage, found in the church chest an old overseers' book, the entries in which began from the year 1708. From this he fortunately made some extracts, from which I take the following:—'1713, for half a load of broom for mending the roads, 2*s.*' The road then between Ipswich and Manningtree was in those days not repaired with stone, but with fagots. '1715, this is the last entry of Sir Edw. Coke being rated in Wherstead.' But Davy's extracts mainly refer to matters connected with the 'towne house' and 'towne lands.' '1729, Petty rents for the towne house 6*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*' 'For water for the towne house 4*s.*' '1735, received from Madam Brand for the towne house orchard 1*l.* 5*s.*' '1736 Received from Captain Brand for rent for the town yard 1*l.* 5*s.*' 1744, 'received for the town land 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*' Davy appends to these extracts the remark that in 1823, that is seventy-nine years after his last extract on the subject, nothing was known in the parish about this 'towne house.' No one knew that such a building had ever existed in the place.

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DAVID DOUBLE—AGED 72.

[illegible]

[illegible] name are [illegible]
been clean [illegible]
[illegible] now, at the [illegible]
[illegible] Fourth, all with [illegible]
[illegible] this subject as the [illegible]

[illegible] had been prescribed by [illegible]
[illegible] what might be [illegible]
[illegible] anything. But, [illegible]
[illegible] contained, I [illegible]
[illegible] I have already [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] who [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] is [illegible]
[illegible] He, I knew [illegible]
[illegible] could have any [illegible]
[illegible] up in [illegible]
[illegible] rise, and [illegible]
[illegible] all about the [illegible]
[illegible] he was seventy-[illegible]
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[illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible]
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[illegible] [illegible] Trading [illegible]

D.A

This is an instance of the worthlessness of tradition for maintaining the recollection of the past. In the next generation the name and memory of what had been public property had been clean put out. This old overseers' book I myself never saw; if, therefore, Davy had not made some extracts from it, all written records would have been as blank on this subject as the memories of the inhabitants.

Where one had been preceded by so careful an investigator as Davy, it might be thought impossible after sixty years to glean anything. But, however, that I might not leave a stone unturned, I mentioned the matter to the David Double I have already introduced to my readers, as the only householder amongst us who does not ride with a slip on his anchor, but is securely moored to half an acre of his own. He, I knew, was the only inhabitant of the parish who could have any reasonable or natural motive for storing up in his memory the traditions of the place. To my surprise, and no less to my satisfaction, I found that he knew all about the matter. He could well recollect —for though he was seventy-six years old, his memory was still wax to receive and marble to retain impressions—that his grandfather had told him that the town house was where the keeper's cottage now stands, at the east end of the village street; that it consisted of three tenements—there is now only one remaining, the keeper's cottage—that it had a considerable orchard; and that about 130 years ago, when the Gilbert Union was built at Tattingstone, the town land and house were absorbed into the Wherstead estate. The price of them probably went in part payment of the quota of the parish towards the building of the new Gilbert Union-house.

He also recollected his grandfather telling him that the Gilbert Union at Tattingstone was in building at the same

time as the one on the other side of the Orwell at Nacton; and that the popular feeling against them was so strong that the Ipswich mob determined to pull them both down. Their plan was to visit Nacton first for this purpose. This they did, and, aided by a band of labourers from the neighbourhood, at once commenced the work of demolition. Before, however, they had done much mischief, the military, who had been brought from Ipswich, to be ready in case their services might be needed, dispersed the rioters.

It was a right instinct that would have prohibited the erection of the Tattingstone Union House. At that time, and during the period that has since elapsed, the dominant force in legislation and in society was the interest of the landlords. The interests of those, whose labour gave its whole value to the land, were ignored. But at last the progress of events has conferred the franchise on the labourer, and so given him a voice, indeed the deciding voice, in the question of how the aged and infirm labourers are to be treated. We may, therefore, be pretty sure tha the days of the methods, which have been using for their purposes the Tattingstone and other similar Bastiles throughout the land, are now drawing to a close; and that the descendants, though indeed not till the fifth generation, of the men who would have pulled down the Tattingstone and Nacton Union Houses, will now see their demolition. It would be better that they should not be allowed to remain, and so continue to act as reminders of a cruel past.

The question was between, on the one side, the maintenance of the status of great proprietors by a system which, for the sake of a handful of great proprietors, reduced the whole body of the cultivators of the soil of England to perpetual pauperism, and, on the other side,

the giving of every fair facility to the cultivators and to the whole people of England to acquire property in the soil, and homes of their own in their own country. Here are two distinct aims, with the provisions necessary for respectively carrying out each, that are substantially incompatible, the one being to a great extent contradictory, and the opposite, to the other. Great settled estates mean no property in the soil, and no homes of their own, for those who do the work of cultivating them; that is to say, they are a contrivance for giving everything to the few who are to do nothing, and nothing to the many who are to do everything. This necessitates the Poor Law and the Union House. Those were the only arrangements by which the English territorial system could have been maintained. Thus has our hereditary pauperism been all along the foundation of our hereditary peerage. To have permitted the workers to acquire property in the soil and homes of their own would have been for them the gradual but certain abolition of the Poor House together with the abolition of the tying up and settling of great territories, which would to the required degree have come into the hands of those whom the old and still existing system had pauperised. The old inventors of the Poor Law rejected the establishment of a land-owning and land-acquiring peasantry, and gave over the whole country to the system of large estates cultivated by a pauperised peasantry. The modern perfecters of the Poor Law added the Union Bastiles. The workers, thus excluded from property in land and from homes of their own, who four or five generations back would have pulled down the Nacton and Tattingstone Gilbert Poor Houses, saw and felt the iniquity that was then advancing towards its culminating point, but were powerless to prevent its culmination. The workers of to-day, who are still excluded from

property in the land and homes of their own, have now the power to abolish this old iniquity; and they will abolish it. This they will do by making the land accessible as property and for homes of their own to those by whose toil it is cultivated.

CHAPTER XV.

LANDOWNING IN WHERSTEAD.

Latifundia perdidere Italiam.—*Pliny.*

THE Great Survey of 1086 presents to us a fully detailed picture of landowning and of agriculture in Wherstead at that remote date, and of the form of society they were designed to maintain. It is a curious and instructive fact that 800 years afterwards our existing land system is only a modification of what was at that day the established order; the modifying element having been the introduction of accumulated capital, the product of manufactures, trade, and commerce. It was of course the continuity of a territorial legislature that guarded and preserved the main features of the old system, everything being retained or devised that it was supposed would contribute to the aggrandisement of the legislator. Later on in this volume I shall put together the constituents of the Domesday picture, explain the working of the arrangements it describes, and show its significance for us.

Domesday preceded by more than two centuries the date at which our list of vicars commences. If from that date it were possible for us at certain intervals, say of a century, to recover no more than the number of landowners in the parish and the extent of each property, much light would thereby be thrown on the successive modifications of the economic and social condition of our

past. For, however, the earlier centuries of this period we have upon this point no specific evidence; but for the middle of the last century what we want can be recovered with some degree of completeness and of certainty.

We have already seen that our 2,264 acres, with the exception of the glebe and of David Double's half-acre, form part of a single estate. The formation, however, of this estate was not effected at so remote a date that the recollection of the state of things that immediately preceded it has had time entirely to die away. The form, indeed, of the old organism has not yet been altogether obliterated, though the variety and independence it fostered have now been extinguished. We still know the names and pretty well the boundaries of all the more considerable properties that were within the parish in the middle of the last century. There were our seven manors of Pannington, Thorington, Wherstead, Bourn Hall, Blue Gates, Red Gates, and Smith's, and our subsequently formed farms of Frost's, Stalls Valley, and what is now called the Home Farm. Here, then, were ten distinct properties. And the probability is that at that time there were, in addition to these, several small holdings which were absorbed without leaving a name or other tradition of their existence.

Judging from the registers, the chief resident landowners at that time were the Hunts, the Brands, and the Sparrows. We may infer that they were all landowners, because they are all styled gentlemen. Tradition is dumb as to where in the parish they respectively lived. One might have supposed that this would have been impossible; but this strange oblivion of the recent past had supervened in less than a century. There is in the church a gravestone to one of the Hunts, and before the repair of the church in 1863, when it was repaved with encaustic tiles

there were some other gravestones to this family. There are twelve entries in the registers referring to them.

Of the Brand family also there are twelve entries. They lived in the house which was incorporated in the mansion built in Wherstead Park at the end of the last century. They hired the orchard of the Town House, which was alongside the garden of that house. The tomb of Admiral Brand—he died in 1747—is to the east of the church.

The Sparrows were buried in two vaults beneath two altar tombs to the north-west of the church. One of these is of such fine terra-cotta, so carefully moulded and so accurately put together, that it may almost be spoken of as a work of art. The first whose mortal remains were placed in this tomb was 'Elizabeth, daughter of William and Elizabeth Sparrow, of this parish, late wife of George Death, of Ipswich, merchaunt.' The Sparrows, I believe, lived at Thorington Hall.

In the seventeenth century the chief landowners appear to have been the Goodings and the Cookes. Of the Goodings there are in the registers twenty-one entries, all contained in this century. This family lived at, and there are reasons for supposing that they owned, Wherstead Hall. Of the Cookes, who are styled gentlemen, there are nine entries. Sir Edward Coke, Chief Justice of James I., of whom Lord Leicester of Holkham is through a female ancestor the existing representative, at the beginning of this century had acquired property in Wherstead, which his descendants held down to 1715. For we may take it for granted that these Cookes of the registers and churchwardens' books were of his family. The Chief Justice's property here was that of Bourn Hall, to which were added the marshes up the Bourn brook, which were made over to him by the corporation of Ipswich in payment for his having acted for them in some cause of theirs.

In the records of the Corporation of Ipswich is the following entry, '24 January, 7 James I. Order "that there shall be graunted to Sir Edw. Cooke, Knt., Lord Chief Justice of his Majesties Pleas at Westminster, and to Stephan Allen gentleman, and the heirs and assigns of the said Edw. Cooke, all those milles newlie builded in the rever channell or crecke, in the West part of Borne Bridge."'

The Ostrich Inn is on what was his property of Bourn Hall. I have heard people assert that this sign was once 'Oyster Ridge' (afterwards corrupted into 'Ostrich'), and that this proves that there were once oyster beds up the Orwell as far as this point. The sign, however, was borrowed from the crest of the great lawyer on whose property the inn stood. His crest was an ostrich holding in its mouth a horseshoe. This is still the crest of the Earls of Leicester. We may imagine that the supposed capacity of the ostrich to digest iron was intended to symbolise the capacity of the Chief Justice professionally to digest the requirements of any case, however tough and unpalatable. The ostrich on the signboard of this inn has no horseshoe in its mouth now. I, however, can recollect that on the signboard which preceded it the horseshoe had not been omitted.

At no time till of late years is there any indication in any records I have seen of our manors having been held in plurality by laymen. But this cannot be said of ecclesiastics, for the prior and convent of St. Peter's, Ipswich, held both Bourn Hall and Pannington Hall, as did for a short time their successors, the dean and chapter of Cardinal's College, Ipswich. On the farm of Thorington Hall there is still a church field, and on Pannington Hall a church meadow. These we may suppose are surviving traces of these pieces of land having once belonged to two

churches which at the time of the Domesday Survey may have been standing on these manors. These fields could have had no connection with the parish church. They were not parts of the Manor to which Wherstead Church belonged, and are more than half a mile distant from the old glebe, the exact locality and extent of which, together with the names of each of its five fields, are known; they were Fore Field, Back Field, Great Meadow, Long Meadow, and Lambs' Pightle, and were contiguous to the church.

Henry VIII., on the dissolution of the Cardinal's College and the confiscation of its endowments, granted Pannington Hall to his physician, Sir William Butts. In the Barber Surgeons' Hall is a portrait of this Dr. Butts by Holbein, a copy of which is in Harding's *Shakspeare Illustrated*, 1793. Butts also occupies the middle place of the three figures on the King's left hand in Holbein's great picture of Henry VIII. granting their charter to the Barber Surgeons. Bourn Hall went to another grantee of the name of Hall, the quality of whose son, on the baptism of the grandson, is described in our register for the year 1591 by the word 'Gent.'

We find in the records of the corporation of Ipswich that in the 5th of John (1240) Gilbert de Reymes, who owned the manor of Wherstead Hall, and again that one of his successors, Hugh de Reymes, in the 5th of Edward I. (1272), became free extrinsic burgesses of Ipswich, and compounded for exemption from tolls and custom in Ipswich of their villans in Wherstead. A man who then owned three or four hundred acres was in a very good position, whereas at present, from the accumulation of large estates and from the growth of trade, he is nowhere and nobody. This family, however, of de Reymes held land in the contiguous parishes of Sproughton and Bramford.

The further back, indeed, that we go, the wider becomes

the contrast between the territorial properties of to-day and the manors, farms, and holdings of the earlier part of our period. Then life could not be maintained without land. For the bulk of the nation there was no other means of living. Wages at that time had not become sufficiently regular and sufficient in amount to support families throughout the year. The demand for labour was not continuous. In this matter of landowning the turning-point, the fact that ever after governed the course things took, was the poor-law of the 43rd of Elizabeth. Labour was thenceforth endowed with a first and indefeasible claim on the produce of the land. From that day the possession of land ceased to be the one condition necessary for the maintenance of life. The bulk of the people no longer troubled themselves about retaining or acquiring land. They had a government guarantee for their support under all contingencies. Had it not been for this, the system which everywhere else obtains of making the land as accessible as possible to all must have been maintained here. Under that condition our territorial estates would have been impossible.

If things had taken here the natural turn they took everywhere else, instead of at this day having only one proprietor in Wherstead we should have more than there were in any preceding century. We should have farms of all sizes and for all kinds of purposes, and suitable to the means and aims of all kinds of people. We should have big people growing corn and meat, and little people beginning with gardens of a quarter of an acre, and rising up to enough for the keep of two or three cows. We should then produce at home poultry, and eggs, and fruit, and vegetables, which, in the face of the competition of the owning cultivators of the Continent, cannot be produced here on hired land with hired labour. The land

would become the savings bank for the agricultural classes, and, what is more than all, would produce and maintain a great many more true and contented and vigorous men than it does now. What is wanted for this is that conveyance should be cheapened and facilitated, and that every acre in the country should everywhere and at all times be saleable at the will of an absolute owner. This involves the prohibition of charging and settling land.

It is a significant illustration of the action of our land system that at this day there is not one householder of any class in this parish who is residing in the house in which he was born, and that of all our resident householders only two are natives of the place. Indeed, in my time almost every house has changed its tenants again and again. And so it is more or less all over the country. This is a necessary evil consequence of our land laws. The population of this country have no homes; they are only encamped in the country.

CHAPTER XVI.

POACHING IN WHERSTEAD EIGHTY YEARS SINCE.

Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret.—*Horace.*

THE history of most East Anglian rural parishes would be incomplete if nothing were said about game-preserving and its inevitable consequence, the troubles connected with poaching.

Wherstead, with its ten woods, its light dry soil, and a perennial stream in every valley, is pre-eminently suited for game, which, therefore, has here, as far back as our traditions go, been more or less rigidly preserved. During the two periods Sir Robert Harland resided in the parish and in Lord Granville's time, its preservation was carried, if farming and farmers can at all be weighed in the balance against game, to what will be regarded by some as an unwise degree. I have seen in a newspaper of that time—the year 1820—that on one day Lord Granville killed over 1,200 head; and one who was employed by him as a beater sixty-nine years ago has told me that he has a distinct recollection of a day when the bag numbered 800. Lord Granville, who did things in the grand style, would, when his house was full of guests, send out on the same day more than one shooting party. His friends were allowed to choose whether they would go out after the pheasants, the partridges, or the hares. It is a tradition of the parish that in his time partridges were so abundant

that a party of guns would remain in one field of turnips of twenty-five or thirty acres the whole day. In 1848 I remember a party of three guns kicking up in the Park 300 hares between eleven a.m. and four p.m., including luncheon, and killing ninety-six. In those days I could any day in the year have shot a hare from my doorstep or without going out of my garden on any one of the sides of my house.

This ubiquitous superabundance of game was an irresistible provocation to poaching. If a man were to sow his fields and woods with half-crowns, many, all laws of trespass notwithstanding, would come to pick up the half-crowns, more especially if to pick up half-crowns were one of the most irrepressible instincts and one of the most exciting and delightful occupations of ordinary humanity.

Two of our Wherstead cases, the details of which I have been able to recover, will throw some light on the game-preserving and the poaching of eighty years since. I will give them in the order of time.

The Crown v. *Gladding—Felony. Lent Assizes*, 1804.

The sky was clear and the moon about the full on the night of November 9, 1803, when, between six and seven o'clock in the evening, Scott, Sir Robert Harland's head keeper, rode down to the 'Ostrich'—for in those days of high preserving a mount was provided—and asked for a glass of hollands. His object was to find if anything was going on that bore on his department. In the house he found two men whom he knew to be poachers. Their names were Gladding and Tricker. On two occasions when he went outside of the house Gladding followed him. This confirmed his suspicion that something was on foot. He therefore mounted his 'hobby' and rode along the Strand, which is the highway through Wher-

stead on the south bank of the Orwell. When he reached the second field from the 'Ostrich,' he fell in with a party of about a dozen or more men. Some of them were armed with guns and some with bludgeons, and with them he saw two dogs. When he got to the third field he saw a man alone, who appeared to be scouting, and who left the road and got through the hedge into the field.

Scott could do nothing against so many. He therefore, as quickly as he could, rode up the Church lane, which bounds the south side of the third field, to Wherstead Lodge, as it was then called, and informed Sir Robert Harland of what he had just seen. Sir Robert, thinking that the objective point of the gang was possibly not the Wherstead but the Woolverstone preserves, immediately despatched a mounted messenger to Mr. Berners to put him and his keepers on the alert. He had this thought because the man whom Scott had recognised had been prosecuted at the last assizes by Mr. Berners, and had then threatened that he would have his revenge at an early date.

On this evening General Lord Paget happened to be the guest of Sir Robert Harland at Wherstead Lodge; and, at Sir Robert's request, he despatched his coachman to the barracks at Ipswich with an order for a detachment of a corporal and six dragoons to be sent up to Wherstead Lodge as speedily as possible. In somewhat over an hour this military reinforcement arrived.

There are only three outlets from the Wherstead Strand. All take a westerly direction and are parallel to each other. First comes the Manningtree road, which is a continuation of the road over Bourne bridge. About half a mile further on is the Church lane, and not quite half a mile beyond this is the Vicarage lane. This de-

cided the disposition of the available forces. Two dragoons were posted on the bridge, and as this was the most important point in the contemplated operations—because, this being the only approach to Ipswich, it was hoped that the capture would be effected here—the corporal was kept in reserve at the 'Ostrich' on the entrance to the Manningtree road, and only a few yards from the bridge, either, as the occasion might require, to bar the Manningtree road, or to act as a support to the two men on the bridge. Two more dragoons were detailed to bar the Church lane at its junction with the Strand. The remaining two were sent together with Scott on his 'hobby' down the Vicarage lane. As soon as they got to its junction with the Strand they were to face in the direction of the 'Ostrich,' and drive all suspicious persons they found on the Strand towards the 'Ostrich.'

As they debouched on the Strand one of Mr. Berners's keepers, mounted, joined them. Nothing transpired on their way to the junction of the Church lane. Here they picked up the two dragoons that had been stationed there They were now a party of six mounted men. Just beyond the Church lane they came up with the enemy, a dozen or more strong.

It did not appear why this large gang of poachers had remained so long at that spot. It might have been because this was their *rendezvous*, and they were expecting a reinforcement from Ipswich. Or it might have been that they had some arrangement for boats to meet them here, to take them back to Ipswich by the river; a plan often adopted by depredators in this and the neighbouring riverside parishes. Doubtless they had not broken into separate parties or allowed straggling because, if they kept together, their numbers would give them a decided superiority to the keepers, who were the only opponents

they could have supposed it possible that they would have to deal with.

But now, finding six horsemen behind them, retreat towards Freston was impossible. And they were of themselves, without any compulsion, ready enough to make for the bridge, because that would take them into Ipswich, and was, as they now thought, their only road for escape. On arriving, however, at the bridge, they found it barred. Upon it were the two troopers; and a few yards off was the corporal barring the Manningtree road; and at the 'Ostrich' were Sir Robert Harland and Lord Paget with a posse of servants and under-keepers; and behind them were six more mounted men. They were thus securely trapped. The tactics of their game-preserving foes had been crowned at every point with complete success.

There being now no way open to them for escape by the bridge, by the Manningtree road, or by the Strand, Gladding, the leader of the gang, and two of his associates took to the water alongside the bridge. One of the two, on finding the water colder or deeper than he had expected, turned back again. The other two, on coming up out of the water on the other side, were captured by a dragoon and taken to the 'Ostrich.'

Gladding, just before he entered the water, had been seen to drop a bag, which was found to contain some nets and two pheasants. He was disguised. He wore a white frock and had on his head a soldier's helmet, and his face was blackened. Sir Robert Harland with his own hand searched him, and took from his pockets a loaded gun in two pieces. Being provoked by the insolence of Gladding's language, he struck him in the face twice. The defence asserted that these blows were delivered with the clenched fist, but Sir Robert affirmed that the open hand only was used.

Gladding was indicted, not for poaching, but for the felony of being in disguise, with arms, and in company with several others, for some unlawful and violent purpose. He was, however, acquitted, because it was manifest that it was a case of simple poaching trespass, and of nothing more. There was nothing wanting or weak in the evidence, only the jury would not convict him of the offence as it was described in the indictment.

This case seems to suggest the inference that eighty years since poaching was stronger numerically and more highly organised than it is now, and showed a bolder front than it does now. In these days, too, we should be surprised to find the military taking the part that in this case was played by Lord Paget and his dragoons.

Sir Robert Harland v. *Daniel Lee.*

In the year 1807 William Rewse was tenant of Wherstead Hall, and Joseph Lee of Smith's farm. The two farms were separated by the Vicarage lane. The house of Wherstead Hall lies on the low ground to the north of the lane, about a furlong and a half from it. The house of Smith's farm is on the high ground to the south and alongside of the lane. They are on opposite sides of the lane, but not opposite to each other, for the house of Smith's farm is a furlong or so more to the west—that is, further from the river than the house of Wherstead Hall. The space between is traversed by a diagonal path about half a mile in length.

Joseph Lee had a younger brother, Daniel Lee, who, as the family were not able to supply him with the capital needed for taking a farm, had engaged himself to work for William Rewse, boarding and lodging with him, as was the custom of those days. Another man, of the name of Clark, was in the same position at Rewse's. The Lees were

not able to start the younger brother, Daniel, in farming on his own account because Smith's farm, which they had occupied for some generations, was but a small holding of forty acres, and happened to be unusually highly rented. On the map it is called Lee's farm.

We have seen that the footpath across the fields from Wherstead Hall to Smith's farm took a south-west direction, but to one going directly south from Wherstead Hall the first field was a meadow; then came the fishpond and the brook that carried off its overflow; on the other side of the fishpond and brook was the fishpond meadow; and above that on the rising ground the Wheat Croft field, that reached up to the lane. In 1850 these meadows and the Wheat Croft field were added to Wherstead Park, but the lines of their hedgerows are still visible.

One evening late in autumn, for the sheep were on turnips in the Wheat Croft field, Rewse asked Daniel Lee to give the sheep a look before night. When it was getting late in the afternoon he set off for this purpose, but did not go directly to the sheep, but went first to his brother's house, as he wished to see him. If he had been going direct to the sheep, he would have set his face due south from Wherstead Hall, and in so doing would have gone over the grass and the fishpond meadow to the Wheat Croft field. But as he was going first to his brother's, he took the footpath which follows a south-west direction from Wherstead Hall to Smith's farm.

It happened that two days previously Sir Robert Harland's head keeper, Scott, and two under-keepers, Hawes and Sibbons, had found a hare in a snare in the hedge of the Wheat Croft field, and from that time had been hid up in the neighbourhood watching to see who would come to look after the snare and carry off the hare. They noted Daniel Lee as he passed on his way from Wherstead Hall

to Smith's farm. But there was no indication that he took any interest in anything in the hedge of the Wheat Croft field, which was more than 100 yards distant at its nearest point from his path. He was the only man they saw stirring that afternoon in that neighbourhood.

Some time after sunset, and when objects could not be distinctly seen at a distance of thirty or even twenty yards, the man they had now been two days and nights watching for came, under cover of the darkness, to look after his snare and see what success he had had. When he had disengaged the hare, and was standing erect with it in his hands, the keepers rose from their lurking-place to apprehend him. But as they all rose on the same side, the east, and as he knew his own powers and those of his would-be captors, he determined to take the hare, and to try whether he could not outrun them, knowing that, if he could gain a little on them at first, the darkness would then befriend him. He had not overestimated his own agility, for he soon left his pursuers behind. He then hid away the hare, and continued running in the westerly direction he had taken from the first. Having passed the village, which was on his left hand, he reached the Ipswich road. He then turned towards Ipswich, and in two hundred yards came to the head of the village street. Here he left the main road, and passed through the village, his face being now set towards the east, and went straight on in the direction of Wherstead Strand.

While passing the church he met the three baffled keepers, who were returning to the village from the scene of their failure. They stopped him, and asked where he had come from. He said from his father's at Belstead. They then inquired whether he had seen a man running. He had not. He then, in turn, asked them why they wished to know, and if 'anything was up.' They told him

what had just happened: upon which he jeered them at their not being able, three of them, to catch one man who was carrying a hare, and recommended them, as such a failure was not to their credit, to say nothing about it.

This was precisely what Scott, the head keeper, thought. And he was more disposed to think in this way because he had not recognised the man who had escaped from them. The two under-keepers, however, had jumped to the conclusion that Daniel Lee, whom they had seen an hour before the hare was taken passing along the footpath, was the man; and they gave this as the reason why they had not exerted themselves more in the pursuit. They were, too, anxious to stand well with their employer with a view to future promotion. They therefore urged that Scott should at once go to Sir Robert Harland, and lay before him the case with the unhesitating assertion that Lee was the man, and that they had not thought it worth while to pursue him because they knew him without any possibility of mistake. For a time Scott held out against them. But at last he gave way under the threat that, if he would not tell their tale to Sir Robert, they would tell it themselves.

At first Sir Robert was not persuaded. He could not believe that a Lee—the family having always been without reproach—would be guilty of such an act. It was difficult, too, to believe that a member of a family in so good a position would run a risk that would be so entirely profitless, for neither the brother, who was tenant of Smith's farm, nor Rewse, the tenant of Wherstead Hall, with whom Daniel Lee boarded and lodged, would have allowed to be cooked in his house a hare that had been poached. Besides, there was no satisfactory evidence that Lee was the man, for, though seen not far from the spot, he was only where he had been sent by his employer, and

he had not been seen off the path between his employer's and his brother's. The keepers, having lost their man, might be supposed to have a motive for trying to fix the offence upon some one, and there seemed to be no one but Lee to fix it on. Furthermore, in the darkness, which was almost that of night, height was the only particular by which a man could be recognised at the distance of a few yards, and this was far from sufficient for establishing identity.

So matters stood for some days. Sir Robert Harland was not persuaded. At last the two under-keepers hit on the following device to excite his anger, and so to overpower his judgment. In the hedge of the Wheat Croft field, where the hare had been snared, they set sixteen snares, and then told Scott that they had found these snares, and took him to see them. This conspiracy of the under-keepers came to light, when, after a time, having fallen out, each incriminated the other as having been the originator of the scheme. Scott again was for passing the matter over, either because he thought it better to wait and see what would come of this new development, or because he had some misgivings. They, however, were urgent that the discovery should without delay be communicated to Sir Robert; for the effect they hoped it would produce on his then undecided state of mind was the very object they had in view in their plot.

Scott again gave way. The communication worked upon Sir Robert's mind precisely as they had desired. His indignation at so outrageous an act of invasion, rebellion, treason, knew no bounds. Such boiling indignation could not be pent up. Some object to vent it on must be found. Lee, on the oath of the keepers, had been identified as the man who on the same spot had already set a snare, and had defiantly in the face of the keepers carried off the hare caught in it. No one had such ready access to the place

at all hours of the day and of the night as Lee. Lee, therefore, must be the man. It was now seen that the keepers had not been mistaken. Doubts and hesitation and forbearance had only stimulated the man to insolent defiance. Plainly mercy would be misplaced. The law he had set at naught must now deal with him.

A looker-on would probably have thought that, under the circumstances, Lee, who was maintaining his innocence with all the earnestness a man can feel and exhibit, and on whose conduct not only his own career in life, but the position also of his brother and two sisters, depended, would be the last man to think of setting these sixteen snares out of mere bravado while the keeper's eyes were upon him. But anger blinds the judgment, and Sir Robert fell helplessly into the coarse and inartistic trap these unscrupulous scoundrels had set for him.

It is a painful necessity even now when a landlord has to fall out with a tenant. At that time of day, however, their relation to each other was not, as it is now, what competition has made it, little more than a commercial contract. There was then still remaining something of the old feudal feeling of fealty on one side and of protection on the other. But here was a case that snapped the bond. At least so thought the indignant and angry superior. He therefore called on the brother, Joseph Lee, and, after a few preliminary observations, entered on the subject he had come about. 'You know,' he said, 'that your brother Daniel has been caught in the act of poaching.' To this Joseph Lee replied, 'Sir Robert, what I know is that nobody was caught; and that, if the man had been caught, he would not have been my brother. No Lee has ever done what he need be ashamed of. My brother was here, in this house, at the time the man ran away with the hare. After that he went to look at Mr. Rewse's sheep to see

whether any had broken bounds.' But this had no effect, for Sir Robert could only see the case, and everything connected with it, through the distorting medium of his wrath, and so he replied that the law must now take its course.

Some days afterwards he went to Rewse's, and, having summoned Daniel Lee before him, announced to him that he had now made up his mind, and that his ultimatum was that he gave him the choice of three alternatives. Either he must leave the country, or enlist for a soldier, or go to Bury Assizes and take his trial, and doubtless be condemned as a poacher. His reply was that he would not leave the country, and that he would not enlist for a soldier. As to going to Bury Assizes, that rested with Sir Robert, who might send him there if he pleased. And that, if he must go, he could only hope that going there might be the means of establishing his innocence.

So matters remained. Nothing transpired to invalidate the assertions of the keepers, and Sir Robert was inflexible. The Lees had employed a lawyer of the name of Prettyman. As time went on they became afraid that their case would break down for want of funds, and they called on the lawyer to communicate their apprehensions. They had barely enough to carry on their little farm with in the fashion of those days, which did not require much capital, especially in the case of small occupations, on which the tenant did the chief of the work himself. Whichever way the case went, they only saw ruin before them. They would express their anxiety by saying that their very beds would soon be taken from under them.

The lawyer, however, who was thoroughly persuaded of Daniel's innocence, strongly urged them not to abandon hope and effort. He could not believe that a jury could be found who would convict such a man on the keepers' evidence.

While things were in this state the Charles Frost who sold to the Wherstead estate the house and little property around it which became our second vicarage and the present glebe, and whose family had intermarried with the Lee family, called on the Lees and said, 'I know how anxious you are and how pressed you must be for money to prove Daniel's innocence. Now I have here with me 100*l.* in my pocket. I have no immediate use for the money, otherwise I could not have it in hand. I can do very well without it. In no way can I do so much good with it as to let you have it. Here it is. Take it. I ask no interest nor a word of writing for it. You can repay it just when it suits you, and need not trouble yourselves at all about it should you be unable to repay it.' The Lees, however, would not accept it. 'If the family was to be ruined, that,' they said, 'would be enough.' They had been brought up to work. The brothers could work for others as they had worked for themselves, and as Daniel was then doing; and the sisters could go out to service. That they should be a loss to kind friends would only be an aggravation of their troubles.

Month succeeded month, and no change took place in the situation. The keepers were staunch to their original assertions, and Sir Robert believed them and was unmoved. The Lees were much worn with anxiety and distress. At last the trial came, and then it was that the sun burst through the dark clouds and the gloom was dispersed. A man appeared in the witness-box at Bury Assizes, wearing a 'slop' stained with blood. 'I,' he said, 'am the man who set the snare in the hedge of the Wheat Croft field, who took the hare out of the snare; and these marks of blood on this "slop" were made by that hare. And'—here he put his hat under his right arm and pressed the arm close to his side—'this is how I carried the hare. I am

the man the keepers pursued and could not catch, and who afterwards met them by the church and jeered them for not catching a man who was carrying a hare. My name is Clark. I and Daniel Lee live and work together at Rewse's. I never thought this business would come to a trial. And I have come here to-day because I will not see my mate condemned for what I did. I am no poacher. I saw the snare in the thatch of my father's cottage, and I thought it better to take it away. And, having it, after a time I thought I would set it to see what would come of it. All that I have said is true, and it is the whole of the truth.'

The lawyer's anticipations were realised, though not in the way he had anticipated. The fair fame of the Lees was now re-established. The scars, however, of the wounds the iron had made when it entered into their souls were never quite obliterated; for, more than forty years afterwards, when Sir Robert Harland came to reside a second time at Wherstead, Miss Lee said to me, 'Sir Robert is coming here again. If you ever see him coming your way, go into your house and bide till he is by. He is a wonder.'

Though Daniel Lee was acquitted, his expenses amounted to 100*l.* To meeting this each of the two brothers and of the two sisters contributed 25*l.*

Sir Robert did what he could to atone for his having believed his keepers to the prejudice of one and to the distress of all the members of the Lee family, for some time afterwards he put Daniel Lee into a good farm at Felixstowe.

As to the two under-keepers, Sibbons disappeared from the neighbourhood, and no one knew what became of him; Hawes died in the Tattingstone Union House, unpitied by those who had known him, who used to tell him that no one had ever better deserved the grey dress.

CHAPTER XVII.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES AND VILLAGE WORTHIES.

Oh this life
Is nobler than attending for a check,
Richer than doing nothing for a bauble,
Prouder than rustling in unpaid-for silks.

Shakespeare.

I WILL gather into this chapter some miscellaneous reminiscences, which may contribute towards illustrating the changes time has worked amongst us in manners and in men.

DRINKING HABITS.

Fifty years ago the old people used to tell me that in their younger days it was the custom for a large proportion of the men in the parish to go down to Ipswich every Saturday night to drink in the public-houses. This must have been at the end of the last century. Some would come back during the night. These were the careful and moderate ones, those who set a good example. Others would reappear during the Sunday, at different times from the morning to the evening. Against them, too, not much could be said, for they would go to work on Monday morning: work being what they had been sent into the world for. Those, however, who set drinking above everything else would not return till Monday morning. At the time this picture of the past was recalled hardly an instance of the continuance of the old practice could be found. Now even the recollection of it has passed away as com-

pletely as the recollection of the manners and customs of the ancient Britons.

It is a common remark on this subject that the upper classes at that time set the example of drinking immoderately. Doubtless they did. An old friend of mine in this neighbourhood, who died lately some way beyond fourscore, told me that his father, who was a one-bottle man, except when he took two, must, in the sixty years of his adult life, have drunk between three and four thousand pounds' worth of port wine. War prices and the prices of the period when cash payment was suspended must be taken into account.

When I first knew this neighbourhood the memory of a small squire, in connection with this point of bygone manners, had not died away. He, as his friends used to tell, had an understanding with his coachman that, when he dined out, they were not both of them to get incapable on the same occasion. I remember, too, hearing one of his sayings quoted. It was that 'conversation spoilt society'—that is, that any efforts of the intellect—in his case they could not have been very exhausting—interfered with the legitimate enjoyment of the pudding and the port wine.

Fifty years ago I can recollect that in a small town in Hampshire the tradesmen of the place, after their one o'clock dinner, used to meet at a tavern to drink for an hour or two, and probably some of them were sometimes not content with the hour or two.

The temperance agitation of late years has doubtless aided the change which since those days the course of events has been bringing about. But it was not the agitation that gave the first impulse, but rather a change in the circumstances of the times which originated and suggested the agitation. Among the upper classes the shock to the old practices came first, I think, from literature and the

ladies. The increase of books, periodicals, and newspapers gave the men an alternative way of spending their evenings at home; and then the influence of the ladies, which had all along been on the other side, began to be effective. As time went on the change which had been established among the upper classes began to spread downwards. This process has lately been very much advanced by the crusade against intoxicants, which has forced the subject on everyone's attention. Among the working classes in the rural districts the improvement in the women, to be attributed to schools and in some degree to domestic service, now much more widely educative than formerly, has contributed much to an improvement among the men.

Increase of Carriages.

An old man, who forty years ago was living in a cottage alongside Bourn bridge, used to tell me that, when he was young, the only four-wheeled carriage that passed over the bridge was that of the Mrs. Berners of those days from Wolverstone Park, or Lady Berners, as he called her. It was drawn by four Suffolk punches. The Suffolk punch of those days was not so massive an animal as now represents the breed, and was not employed only, as now, in agricultural work.

This recalls what we have had occasion to say of the recentness of the improvement in our roads. Carriages had then to be built very strongly, and as their materials were of much greater scantling than is now requisite, the carriages themselves were much heavier than our modern vehicles. And so the badness of the roads, combined with the heaviness of the carriages, necessitated more horse-power. Many still alive can remember when the gentry of the neighbourhood, Sir Robert Harland, Sir William Middleton, Mr. Shawe of Kesgrave, and Mr. Tolle-

mache used at times to appear in Ipswich with four horses. This was an unneeded survival of a past necessity.

But the number of four-wheeled carriages that now cross Bourn bridge in entering Ipswich may also be regarded as a measure of the increased wealth of the country. Every mansion, with the single exception of Wolverstone, which was rebuilt in 1776, and every parsonage, the occupants of which must use this bridge, has, in the memory of people now living, been either newly built, or rebuilt, or added to; and every one of them is of such a character as to imply the use of a four-wheeled carriage. This indicates an enormous increase of national wealth, which has happily been participated in by all classes; and, as Mr. Giffen assures us, in a greater degree by the humbler than by the upper classes. Undoubtedly there has been a considerable enlargement of the millionaire class, and also of the well-to-do middle class, but Mr. Giffen's investigations are directed chiefly to the ascertainment of the relative position fifty years ago and at the present day of the wages-earning classes; and, as no one is better qualified than he to form an opinion on this subject, let us hope that his conclusions are well founded.

BOURN BRIDGE.

The bridge mentioned in the preceding note was too narrow for vehicles to cross upon it. This was an insignificant inconvenience in the days when the population of Ipswich did not exceed 10,000, and the agricultural and vehicular traffic of the countryside could not have been a fourth of what it is now. In the records and accounts of the Corporation of Ipswich there is nothing to show when this bridge was built. Nor could anything on this point have been known had not the David Double mentioned in these pages, and who died in 1892, at the age of eighty-

one, recollected having heard his father say that he was a boy at the time when it was built; and that he had often gone to see how the work was getting on, and what the workmen engaged on it were doing. David Double's father I buried in Wherstead Churchyard in 1849. He had lived to the age of seventy-four. If, then, we suppose that he was ten years old when he looked on at the building of the bridge, this would give 1775 as the date of its erection.

It was enlarged in 1891. Its enlargement was from the original width of thirteen feet to twenty-seven feet between the parapets. This was done merely by adding fourteen feet to its width along its eastern or Orwell side. The original pebble pavement was found three feet below what had come to be the surface of the roadway, which had to that extent been raised by the successive metallings of 116 years. The estimate for this widening of Bourn Bridge was 1,200*l.*, which was supplied jointly and in equal shares by the County Council, by the Corporation of Ipswich, and by private contributions. On the 30th of October 1891, the opening of the addition to its width was celebrated by a procession over the bridge of members of the County Council, of the Corporation of Ipswich, and of rural notables from the neighbourhood. This was followed by a luncheon at the Ostrich, at which it fell to the author of this volume to propose the health of the County Council.

Sir Robert Harland.

I have had frequent occasion in these notes to mention Sir Robert Harland. The following anecdotes may contribute, together with what has already been said about him, towards enabling the reader to form a conception of what manner of man he was. In the year 1848 I met him accidentally on the day he had received the price of

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SIR ROBERT HARLAND

WHEN HE DISCHARGED JERRY DOUBLE FOR REFUSING TO DO HARVEST WORK ON SUNDAY.

SIR ROBERT HARLAND

WHEN HIS PENSIONER HENRY DOUGLE FOR [illegible]

TO DO HARVEST WORK ON SU[illegible]

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the Orwell estate. After a few words had passed he slapped his pocket and said, 'There, I have in that pocket 111,000*l.* I intend to spend the whole of it. If when I am dead and buried there is half-a-crown over, it will be enough.' As he died within the year, he had not time to carry out his intentions. Those intentions, however, suggest the difference between the way in which the man whose business in life it has been to make money, and the way in which the man whose business in life it has been to spend money, severally look on 100,000*l.*

One of his sayings was that 'it was chequebooks that made people extravagant, because if they were obliged to look at and count the sovereigns they were spending, they would be much more careful of them.'

Another of his sayings was that 'many complained of the ingratitude of the poor. Of course there were such cases, but to his mind they were as nothing compared with the heartlessness of the rich; for that day after day and year after year those he had ruined himself in entertaining and providing with shooting would, when on their way to and from the Houses of Parliament, pass his door in Richmond Terrace, and never give so much as five minutes to enliven the dull hours of an old friend.'

I here give two portraits of Sir Robert Harland. The first is the head of a full-length, life-size portrait by Romney. This presents him to us as he was when a young man lately returned from France, with his hair curled and powdered. Such was his appearance when he discharged Jerry Double for refusing to do harvest work on a Sunday. The second gives what was his appearance when, after fifty years more of the fine linen and sumptuous fare, he pensioned Jerry Double for that act of conscientious contumacy. What is left of his hair is again curled. Between the two portraits there is not much re-

semblance beyond an expression of easy self-will. This, indeed, was a leading feature in his character, for no suspicion had ever crossed his mind but that the world, as he found it, had been made for him, and he for the world, which was a mental attitude more natural in his than in our day. If, however, such thoughts still have a place in some minds, probably the circumstances of these times counsel more reserve in exhibiting them than he cared to feel.

VILLAGE WORTHIES.

Our schoolfellows—though half a century may have passed since we walked, and talked, and played, and stood up in the same class with them—appear to our memory each distinctly endowed with a character and capacities of his own. No two of them all are at all alike in our recollection. It is not so with those we became acquainted with in the world in our after life. Among them, at all events outwardly, there is a far greater general resemblance. They have all had the same manner forced upon them. They have all aimed at the same standards. They have all learned to conceal their deficiencies, and not to obtrude their individualities. In this respect our poorer neighbours much more closely resemble our youthful acquaintances. Like schoolboys they have to some degree their conventional standards, but they are not of the kind which have made them feel that they must, under severe penalties, conceal their true selves. They are under no pressure to be all alike.

Again, most of us have had the advantage of having been brought into contact, more or less close, with good people, whom to have known was in some sort an education. We recall them as models of manliness, of truthfulness, of kindliness. Those who have eyes to see these qualities, when detached from adventitious circumstances,

will sometimes find them among their humbler neighbours. Some such there have been in my time in Wherstead—men and women in whom, though poor and illiterate, the best qualities of humanity were signally conspicuous. The annals of our parish would be very incomplete if all instances of this kind, in these changeful days not their least interesting or least instructive part, were entirely omitted.

THE WILSMORES.

In the year 1846, while Lord Conyngham was tenant of Wherstead Park—he hired the Home Farm as well as the house and shooting—his bailiff was killed by mischance. He was adjusting the bearing rein of one of his horses when the animal, having suddenly taken fright, jerked his head in such a manner as to knock the man down, when a wheel went over him, so crushing him that he died a few hours after. He left a widow, who had been his second wife, and three young children by a former wife. The stepmother had no thought of taking charge of these children; nor, indeed, if she had had the inclination, would it have been in her power to do anything for them. There was, therefore, no prospect for the orphans but the poorhouse.

At this time a man of the name of Wilsmore was the parish blacksmith. He had the reputation of being an honest sturdy fellow, who would do everything in his own way or not at all. But, as he understood his work, at all events as far as practice and the rule of thumb went, no one suffered much from his wilfulness. He was trusted and allowed to do as he thought best, which was the only way in which he would do anything. His wife was a plain-spoken motherly woman, who had no hesitation in saying what she thought about any act of folly or misconduct which occurred in the parish. Her voice was

always sure to be heard on the side of well doing. This, as might be supposed, was displeasing to many, but as she was, notwithstanding, transparently of a kindly disposition, and was always ready to be helpful, her plain speaking came to be regarded as privileged. The couple were now no longer young, and, having no children, had almost entirely supported the wife's octogenarian father, a sturdy nonconformist, who during the great war had served in the militia, and was never tired of recounting the incidents of a march from Ipswich to Derby.

The suddenness of the poor bailiff's death was much talked about in the parish, as was also the destitution in which the children had been left, and the prospect of their speedy removal to and incarceration in the workhouse, where they would have to spend the remainder of their childhood. While, however, we were all talking about the sadness of the case, this good couple came forward and offered to give a home to and bring up the three orphans. The bailiff had been brought here by Lord Conyngham only in the previous year, so that even the claims, whatever in such cases they may amount to, of long acquaintance and near neighbourhood had no existence. Pure pity and kindness of heart alone prompted the offer. The rugged husband and his plain-spoken wife were capable of a self-sacrificing act that was far beyond the thought of all the rest of us.

Time went on, and the three orphans grew up. The girls went into service, and the boy, now become a tall, straight, handsome young man, was ordered to go to Thurlow, another property of Lady Harland's, some thirty miles off, where hands were more needed than in Wherstead. This he rebelled against; and saying that, if he must leave home, he would rather go for a soldier than be sent to work at a place where he knew nobody, he enlisted

in the Coldstream Guards, went out to the Crimea, and bore a not undistinguished part in the hard-fought and glorious day of Inkerman.

The Wilsmores were then getting into years, and people would have said that they ought to be thinking about laying by something for the time when they would no longer be able to work. Now, however, another event occurred in the parish still more distressing than the one, the burden of which we have just seen them taking upon themselves. Mrs. Wilsmore's brother was a stableman at the Park. He had, though now past middle age, been obliged to abandon all hope of ever being anything but a stableman, to be ordered about and treated as a drudge by those above him in the stable. He never would be able to rise out of the subordinate position he had been in from his youth, because, though a man of exemplary conduct, of much intelligence, and thoroughly trustworthy, nature had dealt most unkindly with him in the outer man, for he was short and ill-made, and his features were almost grotesque. He had two small children, having married late in life, and his wife at times was not right in her mind. All these present and prospective grievous troubles proved too much for him. His intelligence and apparently useless conscientiousness made his life a burden to him too heavy to be borne. No gleam of the hope which comes to all came to him ; and so, in the unreason and strength of despair, he made away with himself. The shock was too much for the already unsettled mind of the wife, who became an inmate, and, as was feared from the first, an incurable inmate, of the county asylum.

Here was another call, and one that it was not in them but to answer, on the charitable feelings of the good couple. Their hearts and door were at once opened to the two little fatherless children, who from that day were brought up

by them as if they had been their own. At last the time came when these orphans also, having become able to shift for themselves, went out to service; and then it was that the good woman, having done so much good work in the time allotted to her, was called away to her rest; and we no more saw her cheery smile, which was not merely a ripple on the surface but came from the heart; nor were any more reminded of the narrow way, except through what we could recollect, by hearing her resolute assertions that what was right was what people ought to do.

Her departure was soon followed by the inability of the good man to continue what had been the work of his life; and we never again heard the clear and rapid ring of his anvil from the blows rained on it by the once brawny but now attenuated arm. It was then found that all that had been, and all that might have been, the savings of his life had been diverted to the maintenance of the destitute orphan.

HENRY RANDS.

One of our worthies in my early time was Henry Rands, who for the eight years from 1847 to 1855 was my farming man. He was in figure tall, well knit together, and clean-limbed. He told me that he had spent the winters of the thirty previous years of his life in the barn, and that during that time he had knocked out 4,000 sacks of corn. It would have been better for him if he had not in this way overtasked himself. It was, however, evidence both of his unusual strength and of his exceptional trustworthiness, for a thresher must in those days have felt the temptation to fill his pockets every time he left the barn. He could do well any kind of farming work, took a pride in doing it well, and might be trusted without supervision to do it well.

No man will ever again knock out 4,000 sacks of corn.

It is highly improbable that any man now alive has done it. Yet in 1847, when I was acting as trustee and executor under the will of the George Capper of whom some record has been given in the foregoing pages, the recently executed lease of his Poplar House Farm at Sproughton, a parish that all but touches the boundary of Wherstead, passed through my hands. In this lease I found that the tenant was forbidden, under a penalty of 50*l.* for each infraction of the agreement, to use any, even horse, machinery for threshing. Prohibitions of this kind were introduced in consequence of the fearful epidemic of incendiarism then raging in this part of England, and the cause of which was supposed to be the introduction of agricultural machinery. This, however, was only a conspicuous fact that was seized on and alleged in good faith as the reason of the suffering and discontent, the deeper seated and real reason being the high price of bread and the insufficiency of wages. I believe that in the contiguous parish of Capel every homestead at that time had its incendiary fire. For a long time I used to look out every night to see in what directions the horizon was lighted up. Now that wages are better and food cheap, one cannot imagine how the labourer could be forced back to the barn and the flail.

Henry Rands was an observant and thoughtful man, and, what is not common among agricultural labourers, was far from a bad hand at a joke. Thirty-seven years having now passed since we saw the last of him, I regret that I am unable to recall but few of his remarks and sayings. I had told him that a piece of oats must be fit to cut, because some days previously I had seen that it had turned colour. 'No,' he replied, 'it is not ripe yet. It is like the blackberries, which, as the Irishman might say, are green when they are red.' Of free trade, at the time when everybody was discussing it, he said to me, 'Free trade, to

my mind, means that no man is to be favoured, and that every man is to take care of himself.' When he heard of anyone going wrong in anything, he would, in mitigation of the offence, observe, 'Yes, but we are all of one lot.' When one of his daughters was desirous of being admitted to service in my house, he said to me: 'She is a lively mawther (young woman), and will do well, but you must not be always letting her out. Young women are like pigs, if they are let out much their minds get unsettled.' Accidentally I once overheard the gardener ask him, if he had persuaded me to do something they wished done? 'No,' said Rands, 'not yet. Master is like a young woman; he wants a deal of talking to.' I once happened to observe to him that I had noticed that he had been in conversation with a neighbouring farmer. 'Yes,' he replied; 'he and I, when we were young, used to work together in the same harvest field. When I reminded him of those days, he said, "Yes, but I am a very different man from what I was then." I replied, "I see that you are, but I don't know that you are a better man. You make me of the mind to think that money does not make so good a man as work does."' His use of the word 'unneighbourly,' as, that the ground was unneighbourly dry, or that the morning was unneighbourly cold, implied a recognition of the friendliness and helpfulness that ought to be exhibited to each other by neighbours.

In the year 1855, while winnowing wheat in my barn —the 4,000 sacks of corn he had threshed must have originated in him heart-disease—he dropped down dead without a word or a struggle. His wife was immediately sent for. Thirty-seven years have not enfeebled in my recollection the heartfelt and heartrending tone of her words as she cried, while falling on the corpse of her noble husband, 'Christ, have pity!' She afterwards told me

that for some time he had evidently been attempting to prepare her for what he foresaw was coming, but that she had not understood him in the way he wished. Once, for instance, he had, on coming home in the evening, said to her, 'I have been following my horses all day, but my thoughts have been far above.' And he had more than once said to her, 'We walk forth in the morning, but we cannot tell whether we may not be carried home in the evening.'

JERRY DOUBLE.

I have already told how, when Sir Robert Harland ordered his men to continue harvest operations on Sunday, Jerry Double alone refused to obey this order, and what at the time, and many years after, came of his contumacy. The biographies of this Jerry and of his brother Isaac, if they could now be written, would be well worth reading, but unfortunately the materials for writing them are already irretrievably lost. In their class there is no thought of recording the sayings and doings of those who have left the scene, and the sponge of oblivion rapidly wipes out all memory of them. They were agricultural labourers, and the sons of an agricultural labourer, as had been their fathers before them, as far back as they knew anything about their predecessors.

Jerry had been taught to read, which at that time was in his class an unusual acquirement. The leading incident in his life was his connection with the Baptist community, whose chapel was at Stoke Green, Ipswich. The following is the account he gave of the way in which this was brought about:—Scott, Sir Robert Harland's head keeper, some mention of whom was made in the foregoing chapter, was a man whose character was not held in high estimation in the village. He was notorious, amongst other failings, for a habit of swearing outrageously on all occasions. One

day, as Jerry Double happened to be passing him on the road, he exclaimed to those with him, with his usual expletives of oaths and imprecations, 'There goes that sinner, Jerry Double.' From some reason or other, either because he was shocked at the keeper's profanity, or because there was already within him some predisposition or movement towards a religious life, this description of him effected in Jerry's mind a lodgment from which it could not be displaced. It recurred to his thought again and again, as the invitation of Bow bells did to Whittington. At last he began to say to himself, 'If I am such a sinner that even Scott can notice it, I must be a sinner indeed.' This thought continued working in his mind, till after a time it brought him to the determination of trying whether he could not become less of a sinner than he had been. And so things went on with him; the religious life ever presenting itself to his thought with increasing distinctness as more desirable than the life he had hitherto led, till at last his resolve was taken, and he joined the Baptists at Stoke Green. For the ensuing fifty-four years—he lived to be over eighty—he remained an active and respected member of that community, of which, during the last ten years of his life, he was a deacon and a town missionary. Perhaps the foregoing little history contains the explanation of how it came about that he rebelled against the order of the great man who owned the parish to continue harvest work on Sunday.

Jerry had a distinguished appearance. He was a tall, upright, bony, wiry man, with a firm step and a resolute look. He left upon you the impression that he was strong in mind as well as in body. In conversation he stammered much, but when he took part in prayer meetings at the chapel the impediment in his speech entirely disappeared.

That he was the only person in the parish who, at the time of its demolition, cared to preserve a memento of the old vicarage, showed that in his uncultured mind there were some strong native germs of the historic sentiment. To him the pages of the past had not been unfolded, but of his own instinct be divined that they were full of interest.

ISAAC DOUBLE.

Isaac Double had not, like his brother Jerry, been taught to read in his youth. This disadvantage, however, he overcame in after life by getting his little boy to teach him his letters. His employer had conceived a great regard for Isaac, and among other ways of showing it had sent his child to a day school at Holbrook. He used also to give the father two shillings a week beyond the current rate of wages on account of the great amount of work his unusual strength enabled him to get through. He could without help load a wagon with wheat, each sack weighing 250 pounds, besides being an awkward object to handle, and the swing of his scythe covered nine feet.

Isaac, having learnt from his little boy to read, became on Sundays an itinerant preacher throughout the neighbourhood as far as East Bergholt, Rushmere, and Harwich. At last he was offered a settlement at Chelmondiston, where, after a time, he became the resident minister of the Baptist chapel. This position he held for eighteen years. At first, because the chapel was in debt, he refused to take any remuneration for his services; remaining, as before, a farm labourer, but ceasing from work on Saturdays at one p.m., that he might prepare himself for Sunday. When the debt was cleared off he withdrew altogether from farm work, and, as the regular minister of the chapel, accepted a salary of twelve shillings a week. To

the last he never received more, though he had a wife and second family to maintain.

I remember his going about with a pack of tea, the sale of which, however, could not have added much to his resources. What he felt most in the narrowness of his means was that it prohibited his obtaining the books he needed. It would be difficult for most of us to imagine how he valued his few volumes, and the satisfaction with which he regarded any addition to their number. It was, doubtless, his pecuniary straits which suggested to him one of his sayings, that 'to preach the gospel was the best business but the worst trade.' On Saturday nights he would always sit up till twelve o'clock, preparing for his Sunday duties. This was the ground of the only other saying of his I can now recall, that 'people thought that preachers had an easy life of it; but that he, having had experience both of manual labour and of preaching, could assure them that to follow the plough all day was light work in comparison with preaching.' It is to be regretted that more of his sayings, and of his way of putting things, cannot now be recovered, for they must have been in a very high degree vigorous and original; but in those days I had no thought of preserving sayings and incidents I should now value much. He was so popular a preacher with his poor neighbours that it was difficult to find standing room in his chapel. These two Doubles together with a third brother, who was the father of the David Double frequently mentioned in these pages, were born in a cottage in what is called the Village Street. David's father and Jerry never left the parish; Isaac, as we have seen, did in his latter years.

The men I have just been endeavouring, but after the lapse of so many years and from very scanty materials, to describe must have possessed intelligence and general

powers of mind very superior to those of their fellows; and as it must have been evident to all, without any grounds for suspecting pecuniary or professional motives, that they made everything they did and said a matter of conscience, their influence for good must have been very considerable. Of such are they who are the light and the salt of their class.

These slight memorials—I wish more substance could have been given to them—of those whom it is always pleasant to be reminded of, and whose character the money-making and leisured classes might profitably perpend, suggest the question of why men of equal physical and moral calibre are not now moving amongst us. Education will not produce them, because their qualities depend on something anterior to education. Henry Rands could not read, and Isaac Double only in middle life. It is not that in these days such men are not raised at all—that would imply that the race had degenerated; but that they are not raised now, or if raised not retained, in rural parishes. The remuneration of labour and the prospects of advancement in life have become much greater in the United States, in our colonies, and in our large cities than in farm work, and therefore those amongst us who have exceptional vigour of mind and are more enterprising, which qualities are generally combined with exceptional vigour of body, leave us for these more attractive fields, never to return to us. It is the conditions, not of agriculture, but of British agriculture, which lay us under this disability of being unable to retain them. Formerly we kept everybody—the good as well as the indifferent. There were no outlets for escape. In this matter schools only aggravate the drain by opening the eyes of all to the varied allurements of the great outside world. For the

most part those who might produce Henry Randses and Jerry and Isaac Doubles have already gone; or if in any cases youths of equal promise were now produced amongst us, they would not remain on the land. This is not a necessity of agriculture, but a consequence of the hopelessness of the labourer in our English system of agriculture.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

ASSISTED EMIGRATION FROM WHERSTEAD SIXTY YEARS SINCE.

Super et Garamantas et Indos
Proferet imperium.

Virgil.

THE world has just now got to accommodate itself to some new conditions. To many this is a troublesome process, for it overthrows what are to them old-established and familiar methods, and forces into their place new and unwelcome arrangements, which, however, have to be accepted. These new conditions have been brought about mainly by two factors: first, by emigration, which has created the United States, Canada, and Australia, and is yearly adding rapidly to their already enormous consuming and producing powers; and as the products of these new countries are chiefly agricultural, the effect on the agriculture of Europe has been very disturbing; and secondly, by the steam-engine, which enables one man to do the work scores could not have done formerly, and, by comparatively annihilating the cost of transport, has practically more or less annexed all producing and consuming countries to this island, and has made the whole world one market.

These are the two main factors, the two most efficient causes, of the new conditions, which are so mightily affecting all people, but us who dwell in this United Kingdom

in a greater degree than others. There is between these two factors the relation almost of cause and effect; for it is to steam that emigration in its present volume, which not very far back would have been quite unimaginable, is entirely due: all the existing facilities of emigration, its rapidity, which means its diminished cost in respect of time, the almost complete absence of risks with which it is now conducted, its greatly diminished discomforts, and above all its greatly diminished cost in money, being direct results of the use of the locomotive and of the marine engine. A Government return lately issued shows that in a single month 61,726 emigrants left the United Kingdom. In one week more than 14,000 left the single port of Liverpool. Without steam to take them to their respective ports of shipment, and steam to carry them across the ocean to the new homes they were in search of, we can hardly suppose that their number would have amounted to as many hundreds.

Emigration on this scale has a greater world-transforming power, and is fraught with mightier changes, than was any event in past history. The results of the sword-established Empire of Rome were far less expanded and less profound than are the results of these trans-oceanic emigrations of the English race. We are peopling three continents under such favourable conditions, and with such astonishing issues, as cannot but affect the thoughts and lives of all the peoples of the old Mediterranean and European world. It will, therefore, be interesting and instructive to have set before us some of the difficulties which in the memory of many still living, some of whom contemplate these events with satisfaction and hope, were confronted and overcome by those who aided in building up the now achieved greatness of the United States, or who were among the actual pioneers and founders of the

now well-assured prospective greatness of Canada and of Australia.

What I here propose to do is, by giving the items of the bill for emigrating a Wherstead family to Canada, to show what were some of those difficulties, more particularly that of cost, as recently as sixty years ago.

In the year 1832 the parish of Wherstead, jointly with Samford Hundred, sent out to Canada a Wherstead family of the name of Rich. It must be noticed that the Union undertook the whole of the expenditure incurred in providing the family with clothing, bedding, and conveyance and travelling expenses (I suppose to the port of shipment). What was the amount of these items is not stated. The Union and the parish were each to pay one moiety of the cost of the remaining items. It is to these that the following account refers. I have the original bill sent to the Churchwardens and Overseers of Wherstead for the payment of what was due from the parish. This I will now give *verbatim*. It is strange that this bill should have been preserved; and stranger still that it should have been, as it was, sent to me by a reader of my *Materials for the History of Wherstead*, now living in Norfolk.

To the Churchwardens and Overseers of Wherstead.

Due to the Guardians of the Poor for Sam. Rich, wife, and four children, emigrated to North America; May, 1832.

	£	s.	d.
Allowed to purchase seeds	0	6	0
Tin ware	1	0	7
Sundry maintenance, dock dues, candles, tobacco, &c., up to time of sailing, after arrival in London, at 7*s.* 6*d.* each, counted at 4 persons	1	10	0
Vegetables	0	4	7
Biscuit, flour, and peas for the voyage, and bags	2	4	0
Beef and tubs	2	11	8
Rum for voyage	0	18	11
Grocery	1	16	3

	£	s.	d.
Passage for family including colonial duty	13	0	0
Paid in exchange for berths	0	10	0
Paid passage from Quebec to Yorktown U.C. . . .	4	0	0
Allowed for man and family on their arrival in that country	8	0	0
	36	2	0
Moiety paid by House	18	1	0
Moiety to be paid by Parish	18	1	0
Paid Rich's half-year's rent 1*l.* 10*s.*, and Mr. Ransom's bill for tools for Rich and Son, 2*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.*	4	2	1
	22	3	1

Settled 14th June, 1832.

W. CATCHPOLE.

The particulars of this account show that sixty years back the cost of emigrating a family—it could not have been less than 50*l.*—was far beyond the means of the labouring class. Their reasonable dread, too, of what were then the hardships and risks of the enterprise, and their consequent unwillingness to undertake them, were so great that it was necessary to supply them with many comforts, indeed, almost luxuries, as inducements for overcoming their repugnance to accept even a free passage. This may be seen in some of the items of the account just exhibited, which includes rum, groceries, tobacco, tubs of beef and bags of biscuit, &c. One is astonished that under such difficulties so much should have been done in the first part of this century, and under even the still greater difficulties of the preceding century, towards peopling the new world of the Western hemisphere, and in our own and our fathers' days the still newer world of the Antipodean ocean. The periods, however, of semi-starvation that in the earlier parts of the present century were ever recurring through failure of employment, the inevitable result of the old corn laws, disposed some to consent to expatriation, and induced the ratepayers, in order thereby to escape the burden of

maintaining unemployed families, to aid in sending them out.

But we have now changed all this. The mental and social as well as the material conditions have become highly favourable to emigration, as may be inferred from the fact that in 1883 our British emigrants reached 320,000 souls. This is surprising, but not so surprising as that, notwithstanding these figures, there should still be clamourers for State-aided emigration. These people are incapable of understanding that State-aided emigration would speedily extinguish the many times greater volume of self-supporting emigration; besides that it would soon have to be abandoned on account of the magnitude of the figures to which the cost would rapidly mount up. The burden, and it would be a burden of responsibility as well as of cost, would be insupportable; and the relief for the time it lasted would be insignificant in comparison with what is spontaneously secured by leaving people to do the thing for themselves.

The Americans compute that every emigrant that reaches their shores is worth to them, taking men, women, and children together, about 300*l.*, as a wealth-producing instrument, and as stock for maintaining and increasing the number of their wealth-producers. The 320,000 British emigrants of 1883 were, therefore, worth in their new homes 96,000,000*l.*; and if to this be added the value of their kits, and the money they had in their pockets, the amount would reach 100,000,000*l.* This, then, regarded from the point of view of the benefits conferred on the new countries that receive them, must be far away our most valuable export: and for that part of it which goes to the United States, and in 1883 no great proportion of it went elsewhere, we get very little direct immediate commercial return. Calculating on this basis we find that the old

CHAPTER XIX.

CELTS, AND ROMANO-BRITISH POTTERY.

A sense of our connection with the past vastly enlarges our sympathies, and supplies additional worlds for their exercise.—*Edin. Review.*

IN the year 1803, at a spot about 400 yards south-west from the vicarage, on the brow of the descent above the large now disused crag pit, at the head of the valley behind the vicarage, on the right hand to one looking down to the valley—the exact spot is marked in the Ordnance map—an earthen pot was turned up by the plough, containing 2,000 Roman coins. Sir Robert Harland, as owner of the land, took possession of them. He was at that time living in the house that had become by exchange the second vicarage, and on the site of which the third vicarage now stands. He thought so much of this large find of Roman money on the spot where he was living that for some time he kept conspicuously chalked on the door of his house the words, 'The Roman Bank.' I have not been able to ascertain what became of these coins and of the earthen pot in which they were found. I have, however, heard that they were sold to Mr. Dykes Alexander, who at that time was head of the firm of Alexanders & Company, bankers, Ipswich. The man whose plough turned up the pot gave six of the coins it contained to a fellow-labourer who was at the time ploughing in the same field. The son of that man eight years ago gave these six coins to me. They are one of Anto-

ninus Pius, one of Gallienus, two of Postumus, one of Volusianus, and one of Victorinus.

These coins, from their connection with the spot on which I live, I value beyond gold and precious stones. I have had them let into revolving brass frames, so that the obverse and reverse of each can be seen at will. These I have had fixed on the top of a slate panel, in which is a deeply incised inscription giving the date, the amount, the locality, and the manner of the find. The brass frames containing the coins and the inscription on slate I have had framed in old oak—260 years old—from the old vicarage I took down. This framed panel I have fastened to the wall of the hall of the vicarage I built on the site of 'The Roman Bank,' which for seventy-eight years was the second vicarage.

Since the publication of these 'Materials' in the *Suffolk Chronicle*, one who, before Sir R. Harland parted with the bulk of the find, came into possession of three of the coins, was so good as to send them to me by post: of these one is a Victorinus, another a Tetricus the elder, and the third a Tetricus the younger.

This find, from the great number of coins the pot contained, and from that number amounting precisely to 2,000, might have been a small military remittance, or it might have been a sum a farmer of the taxes was about to forward to the authorities. It might have been buried by a thief, or by one who for some reason was afraid of its being stolen. As it was deposited so near the surface that the plough, that great leveller of superficial inequalities, ever busy in filling hollows at the expense of hummocks, at last restored it to daylight, we may suppose that it had been buried, or rather hid away, in pressing haste.

From the time that I became vicar, whenever I noted anywhere in the neighbourhood of this find that the corn

died away sooner than elsewhere, or that there appeared some subsidence in the ground, I would dig down to the hard pan in hopes of finding the remains of a Roman villa. Sir Robert Harland had told me that in excavating for the foundations of the house in the park some Roman coins had been discovered; and in my time in sinking the road from the village to the church a gold Roman coin had been found, which fell into the hands of Mr. Fitch, the postmaster and antiquary of Ipswich, whose antiquarian notes are now in the Ipswich Museum. Here then was confirmatory evidence that my hope was reasonable.

At last, in 1882, I discovered that the spot on which I had been so long living was the very spot for which I had been so long searching. On the west side of my kitchen garden is a long border, which in summer generally became so dry that whatever had been growing on it came to a standstill. To correct this fault I determined to increase the subterranean sponge by digging the border to the depth of between three and four feet. This thorough breaking up and disintegrating of the soil would not only enable roots to descend more deeply, but would also enable every atom of the disintegrated soil to retain around it a film of water, to be yielded up in the summer when required. In digging this border to this depth I found a great many flint flakes and scrapers, all of which had been used till the cutting edge had been worn off. I also found a flint hammer with its flat face everywhere, but quite evenly, battered and bruised, just the effect that would be produced had it long been used for beating some soft substance—it might have been leather or flax—that would not crack and splinter the flint. I also came upon several patches of solid chalk, which must, I suppose, have been brought from Claydon, some miles away. For what purpose this chalk had been used there was nothing to show.

In the following year, encouraged by the complete horticultural success of deep digging to cure the tendency in the soil to become parched in summer, and by the indications just mentioned that I was on ground that pre-Roman Britons had dwelt on, I determined to dig to the same depth the whole of my orchard. I began at the east end, and at the south-east corner, at the depth of three and a half feet, I found lying side by side two very perfect flint celts, one of grey and the other of black flint. They had first been chipped, and then all the asperities ground off. The longer one had been used with the hand only; the shorter one, too small to be used only by the hand, is starred and bruised on the blunt end, which shows that it was worked by the aid of a wooden mallet. The smaller of the two is covered with spots of manganese. I gave the late Charles Darwin an account of this discovery. He was convinced from all the particulars that these celts had been buried to this depth—they were lying on the hard pan—by the work, continued through so many centuries, of the common earthworm. At pages 146, 147, 148 of the fifth edition of his work on 'Vegetable Mould and Earthworms' he gives the particulars of the finding of these celts, and explains how they may have been buried by worms.

In 1882 I had the remainder of my orchard dug to the same depth, turning over three feet and picking up the hard pan below with a mattock to the depth of nearly another foot. And now it was that I came upon very distinct indications of what I had for so many years been in search. At a depth of about three feet from the surface, and scattered, though not evenly, over the whole area, I found more than 1000 pieces of broken Romano-British pottery. About thirty years previously I had had the whole of this orchard double dug to the ordinary depth of

about twenty inches, when nothing of the kind had been found; they were all below that depth.

These pieces belonged to a great many and to a great variety of vessels; some large, some small; some grey, some reddish, some black. With not many exceptions the fragments had still on the outer side the grime of soot, which showed that they had been used in cooking. In five cases I was able to fit together several of the pieces, in one case as many as nineteen pieces. But these were found close together in what appeared to have been a hole in the ground at the time they were cast away, for the soil around them was not the yellow indurated clay found thereabouts at that depth, but was almost of the same colour and texture as the surface mould. In a large proportion of the pieces the edges are worn, as if they had been long on the surface and much trampled on.

One vessel that I am able partially to restore was evidently a dish, for it is only four inches deep, and the rim is both inclined much outwards and adorned with a zigzag pattern on the inside. The material is very thick, as would be required for a dish so large as to be capable of holding, as this was, a quarter of mutton; but as on the outside of this vessel also there is much sooty grime, it, too, although used as a dish, must, before it was put on the table, have been set on the fire and had its contents cooked in it. From this we may infer that its contents were of the nature of a stew, that there was no carving, that the party sat round it, each taking from it as much as and just what he wished.

There are several fragments of a large vessel, including a handle and the bung-hole, of a pale stone colour. The bung-hole had in the making of the vessel been strengthened by more than doubling the material. This was a necessary precaution, as the bung was not of cork, but of

some kind of wood. These fragments are quite clean, and show no discoloration from fire; the vessel, therefore, to which they belonged was, we may conclude, used for holding wine or some kind of liquid. Among the more than 1000 pieces there was but one fragment of Samian ware; its genuineness, moreover, is not indubitable.

In Roman times, then, hereabouts stood a house. And, as the front must have been on the sunny side, and these fragments would not have been thrown out of the front door, the north side of the house must have been south of where the fragments were found. I therefore infer that just about where my stables now stand in Roman times stood a dwelling, in which the vessels we have been speaking of were used and broken, and the fragments of which are now revealing to us something of their own history, and of the history of the spot in which they have been preserved out of sight for so many centuries.

In the summer of 1887 I buried a horse that had served me well for twenty years: for I had bought him in 1867, just before I went to the United States. He was one of a lot of seventy that had been bought by one Martin, a horse dealer living at Catawade, in the Parish of Brantham, from the Prussian Government, when, after the battles of Sadowa and Königgratz in 1866, they were reducing the number of their cavalry. The site chosen for the grave was at the bottom of the swale, in the centre of the nine acre field called 'Calves' Pasture,' on the south face of the glebe. It was dug to the depth of four feet. At this depth were found several pieces of Romano-British pottery, stained with soot on the outside, and in all respects similar to the pieces found in my orchard. There were with them several pieces of brick, about an inch, and an inch and a half thick: some of which were ribbed on one side; the ribs being the eighth of an inch apart, and the

sixteenth of an inch high. My reason, however, for giving these particulars is that among these potsherds and broken bricks was found a coin of Claudius Gothicus. It was in most excellent preservation, for the waves of the hair and the points of the crown were quite unworn. But unfortunately it was so oxidized as to have become brittle, and the stroke of the pick that descended on it broke off the greater part of the rim, including all the legend except the letters 'claud.'

The authorities in the coin department at the British Museum tell me that upwards of 6000 Roman coins of the same date, and thereabouts, have been found in and around Cromer. The coast of East Anglia appears to have been at that time very fully settled.

As I have thus found evidence of Roman habitation at the bottom of this swale (the pot of Roman money already mentioned in this chapter was turned up only about 200 yards from this spot), and as I also found similar evidence in surprising abundance in my orchard, a little way beyond the head of this swale, I have little doubt but that, if a trench were dug in the line of its axis, à la Schliemann, other indications of Roman settlers having dwelt on this spot would be turned up. Some forty-six years ago I was told by a man who had sunk a drain in the direction of this depression that he came upon two hard-trodden smooth earthen floors, which he thought had had some connection with brickmaking on the spot in old times. Hereabouts, however, there is no brick earth. The investigation of this likely locality I leave to some one of my successors who may take an interest in such matters.

In the winter of 1883–4, while myself digging in the south-west corner of my orchard, I came on the skeleton of some large animal. It was lying at the depth of not quite four feet, on a very compact, almost indurated, im-

pure sand, which here formed the pan, and was, indeed, to some degree imbedded in this stratum. The head, with its teeth still infixed in the jaws, was in its natural position, in advance of the vertebræ, which also were in almost undisturbed order. I at once saw that the bones could not be those of a calf or a colt, from the slenderness of the shanks when compared with the large size of the vertebræ. The ribs were missing. On showing the teeth and bones to Dr. Taylor, the learned Curator of the Ipswich Museum, he at once pronounced them to have belonged to a hind of the red deer. He had lately collected the bones of a large number of this species from the excavations made for the main sewer in the main street of Ipswich, where, judging from their accompaniments, they must have been thrown by the rude dwellers in some village of early times.

The first thoughts that arose in one's mind on the disinterment of this almost complete skeleton were, at what date and by what agency was it buried at this spot? We do not know when the species became extinct in the forests and glades of what is now Wherstead. But from the smallness of the parishes in this neighbourhood, which is pretty much the case throughout the Eastern Counties, its extinction must have been effected at a comparatively early date. In the eight miles from Stoke bridge to Erwarton Church, seven parishes, Wherstead being one of them, are passed through. This shows that at a pre-Domesday period this part of the country was generally enclosed and cultivated. Of the three eastern counties, Essex and Norfolk pay more tithe than the whole of Yorkshire, and Suffolk not far from as much. This throws back the latest possible interment of our red deer many centuries. But what motive could any people, barbarous or semi-civilised, have had for burying the carcase of so large an animal? Was the interment contemporary with the commencement

of the subsidence into the earth of the flint chisels already mentioned in this chapter? Is it to be assigned to Anglo-Saxon, to Roman, to British, or to pre-historic times? It is hard to believe that it was the work of man at any time. Why waste so much good venison? Or, if it was not good, why give themselves so much trouble about then unappreciated sanitary precautions? It is almost as difficult to imagine how it could have been the work of any natural agent. If the carcase had lain for any time on the surface of the ground, it would have been torn piecemeal, and the bones dragged about separately by the crows and the wolves and other carnivorous creatures. Were the ribs carried off in this fashion, or did they decay in the ground? Or can we suppose, giving them one or even two millenniums for the work, that the earthworms (which, as we have seen Charles Darwin concluded, were the agents in the burial, to just the same depth in the south-east corner of this orchard, of our celts) were the inhumers of this skeleton also? It might have been impossible for earthworms to bury such long and curved bones as ribs, which, therefore, may have remained on the surface, and there decayed.

No small proportion of the intellectual pleasure of life consists in association. Association it is that makes the Hill of Zion, the Rock of Athens, and the Forum of Rome dear to the mind. To the man who knows nothing of their history they are no more than any other hill or rock or valley. But history is not limited to events that have influenced the world, and which are blazoned in full in its records. There is a general unparticularized life of the ages as they advanced one after another, and, too, an unwritten history of the undistinguished human lives that took their colour each from its own age as it passed. And a spot that is enriched with a long series of even such un-

recorded associations—though they may all belong to what were only inconspicuous and everyday forms of life—comes to have a human interest, and is dwelt upon with pleasure by the historically disposed and sympathetic imagination.

This pleasure the Vicar of Wherstead can now enjoy at will. As he walks in his garden or orchard, or sits alone in his study, he can picture to himself how, upon that very spot two or three thousand years ago, the rude Briton was busy with his flint chisels in digging out the canoe from which he would soon be fishing in the Orwell; or how, seated by the hearth in his hut on a winter evening, he would knap his flint implements and trim his club, armed with a long thick flint spike. A part of one of these club spikes I lately found close by, as if it had been broken short in dealing a death-blow, perhaps in defence of home. A much larger one was found in 1887 at Pannington Hall, and is now in the Ipswich Museum. And on the 17th of April, 1888, G. Hart, the tenant of Bourn Hall, in this Parish, while throwing down the high perpendicular side of the old clay pit close to the south-west corner of the house, in order to convert the descent into the pit into an incline, found a celt in the pure clay, four feet from the surface. It was a small chisel, knapped on the two sides and underneath, but highly polished on both sides of the cutting point, and also some way along the upper side. It is now in my possession. In the year 1889 I picked up on the surface of the 'Calves' Pasture' field of the glebe two rudely-formed flint celts. Or the vicar with his mind's eye can see the rude Briton's children playing about on a summer day around their father's hut. And then, following down the stream of time, there comes before him the kilted and lordly Roman colonist, occupying the same site, because he found that it was already cleared, was not far from water, and had a pleasant look-out, and cultivating

what is now the parson's glebe and the contiguous land with his motley gang of predial slaves. And in all the following centuries he can imagine it occupied, because the advantages that had at first recommended it to Britons and to Romans would continue to recommend it to those who came after them ; besides that men generally go on building where their predecessors had built ; to do so, at all events, saves thought and trouble.

To live on such a site enables one to feel that he is not altogether like a piece of seaweed, tossed hither and thither, the sport of winds and waves, but that he fills an appointed place in a long human series ; that he is heir to the memories of those who preceded him, and trustee for those who will follow him ; and that he is rooted to a spot which men have found pleasant, and lived on and loved, back to a time beyond the memory of historical record.

CHAPTER XX.

NOTES ON THE GEOLOGY OF WHERSTEAD.

The solid rocks are not primeval, but the daughters of time.—*Linnæus.*

THE superficial deposits of the parish are somewhat diversified. On the north face of Bourn Hill is some extent of good brick clay. Here bricks had been made time out of mind down to 1861, when the late Dr. Jenkin (the year before his death, and at the age of eighty, he assumed the name of Vernon), because he supposed that he did not like, while occasionally passing that way, to smell burning bricks, had the kiln demolished, and ordered the discontinuance of brick-making, which has not since been resumed. Here were made the bricks for the wall that surrounds the four-acre kitchen garden and for the water-tower at Wherstead Park. In the park, to the east of the ice-house plantation, is an old pit of fine yellow sand. The same sand again shows itself on the surface about 300 yards to the east on a spur of the high ground that overlooks the valley to the south-west of what used to be called the Fish Pond, but is now the Dog-kennel Pond. The railway cutting through Spinney and Wherstead Woods is in sand, but of a far coarser quality. In places, both in Pannington and Bourn Hall farms, a coarse stony gravel, mixed with much sand and yellow clay, immediately underlies the thin surface soil.

In dredging the channel of the Orwell off the Wherstead Strand a bed of chalk was encountered. A con-

tinuation of this chalk underlies the surface of the Bourn Hall meadows, for I there saw it exposed in the year 1846, in the trenches that had been dug for the foundations of the accommodation archways in the railway viaduct that crosses these meadows.

Before the dredge reached the stratum of chalk just mentioned in the Orwell off Wherstead Strand it had to remove a bed of peat. In this were found, in excellent preservation, the wood and bark of the birch and of other trees. Hazel nuts abounded in it. Some of them had been nibbled and perforated by the squirrels that had extracted from them their kernels so many ages ago. The groovings in these nutshells made by the squirrels' teeth were still clear and fresh. There were also found in this bed the seeds of the alder and many other peat-preserved vegetable products. Among the animal remains were several teeth of the gigantic mammoth (*Elephas primigenius*). These animal remains, and the remains of the vegetable forms on which they had been supported, tell us that in remote ages a forest extended here, over what is now the bed of the Orwell and the area of what is now the parish of Wherstead, at a time when the fauna of this part of the world was very different from what it had become at the dawn of European history.

Professor Boyd Dawkins, in his 'Early Man in Britain,' says of this mammoth period: 'The primeval hunter, who followed the chase in the lower valley of the Thames, armed with his rude implements of flint, must have found abundance of food, and have had great difficulty in guarding himself against the wild animals. Innumerable horses, large herds of stags, uri, and bison were to be seen in the open country, while the Irish elk and roe were comparatively rare. Three kinds of rhinoceros and two kinds of elephants lived in the forests. The hippopotamus haunted

the banks of the Thames, as well as the beaver, the water rat, and the otter. There were wolves also, and foxes, brown bears and grizzly bears, wild cats, and lions of enormous size. Wild boars lived in the thickets, and as night came on, the hyænas assembled in packs to hunt down the young, the wounded, and the infirm.'

The modern tillers of the soil of Wherstead will find it difficult in imagination to resuscitate and re-people its primeval forest with these now mostly extinct, and many of them enormous, quadrupeds, together with their sparse human assailants, who from generation to generation were waging against them a never-ceasing and not altogether unequal warfare. It is science that has recovered for us this remote, and which is not its least interesting, chapter in the history of our locality.

On our low ground, near the Orwell, have been found many large masses of a dark-coloured intractable kind of sandstone. They are remarkable not only for their toughness and size, for some of them weigh more than half a ton, but also for their mammiform upper surface. Several large slabs of this rock may be seen in the bed of the Gipping at low water under Stoke bridge, and for some little way above it. They are also found abundantly in many of our deeper valleys. In Turret Lane there used to be, and I suppose still are, several of these slabs, or pieces of them, set up against the wall to protect it from passing vehicles. Many similar masses were taken out of the excavations for the docks and for the dock gates. Doubtless in the course of past ages a great many pieces of this rock that had been lying about on the surface were broken up and used in foundations and otherwise. In Wherstead two blocks have from time out of mind been turned to account, one on the Strand, where it was erected as a protection to the roadside bank, and the other on the

raised footpath of the road between Bourn Hall and the Ostrich Inn, where it does duty as a kerbstone. I have two pieces that have been brought up from the valley to my garden, there is a piece at Wherstead Park, and probably there may be others in the parish in use as doorsills, mounting blocks, or otherwise. Some eighty years ago, a long slab was found near the fishpond in the park; and as from its size and length people supposed that it had once formed part of a cross, or had been in some way connected with a tomb, it was brought up to the churchyard and laid on the south side of the church. This was the account old people gave of it when I first knew the place. Twenty years ago one end of it was still visible, but at the time of the restoration of the church the soil that was taken from around the building was spread over this part of the churchyard, and completely buried it. But as in dry summers the grass over it dies away, its position may still be made out.

Sir Charles Lyell told me that the only way in which he could account for these masses of sandstone in our alluvial district was that they had been in their first form a sandy sea beach, that afterwards in some way or other the sand became indurated, and that subsequently it was broken up by the action of ice or water. Necessarily this was only a probable opinion founded on the appearance and texture of the masses, and from a consideration of the localities in which they were found. He thought that the mammiform surface might be accounted for by the action of the wind on a sandy beach, which, having been rapidly covered by some other deposit, had thus been enabled to preserve the swellings and the depressions the wind might have produced. Dr. Taylor, however, having at last discovered these slabs and masses of sandstone *in situ*, undisturbed in the very spot in which they were formed, is able

to give us their true history. In this neighbourhood the chalk beneath our feet is overlaid by a stratum of sand. This stratum of sand abounds with masses of our sandstone. It is evident, then, that they were compacted and cemented by the chemistry of nature out of the materials around them, on the spot where they are found. The streams in our valleys—as, for instance, that in the valley of the Gipping—which eroded the surface to a sufficient depth to get down to and to carry away the loose part of this bed of sand, left naked and detached the slabs and masses of sand-rock that had been formed in it. Those pieces that happened to be in the line of the channel, when the stream had eroded its bed to a sufficient depth, came eventually to lie on the chalk, and even in some cases to descend some little way below what had been the original surface of the chalk, for they had to keep to the bed of the stream. But those that were not in the course of the channel, but on the side of the valley—this was the position of our Wherstead specimens – remained on the side of the valley, only sinking lower and lower as more and more of the surface was washed away. It would seem, however, that the above explanation does not account for the fact that the sides of the blocks of this intractable rock are often so straight and clean as almost to wear the appearance of their having been dressed by man's hand. This prompts the question of, What natural force could have so fractured such tough rock ?

Geologically some of these slabs of sandstone in the Orwell Valley are of great interest, because, as Dr. Taylor has pointed out, the parallel grooves and scratches on them, which could only have been inscribed upon them by a descending glacier, demonstrate that during the Glacial epoch, when glaciers and reindeer existed in the South of France, there was a mighty glacier descending the Orwell,

and passing alongside of what is modern Wherstead. Here, again, it is science that has deciphered the previously unnoticed records of the remote past, and recovered for us, from the grand moving panorama of the ages, another thought-stirring picture of our locality.

It was, indeed, a stirring sight that might then have been beheld from the spot where our church now stands—a glacier slipping by in the valley below, a mile wide, and visible for some miles of its length from Ipswich to Levington. This does not imply, though the climate must have been somewhat severe, that the earth was frozen; probably it was covered to the edge of the glacier with a vigorous growth of trees and grass. This chapter in the natural history of Wherstead must have preceded that of the peat bed in the channel of the Orwell with its mammoths and their contemporaries; for the glacier would have swept away, as it would a few straws, the peat bed with its bones, and leaves, and nuts.

There are in the parish eight crag pits, some of great age and size. When I first knew the place they were all used for the purpose of supplying bottoms to manure heaps. The land was also sometimes dressed with the pure crag for the sake of the lime, in the form of broken shells, which it contains. None is now used for either of these purposes—I suppose because at the present price of labour these practices would not compensate for their cost. In our crag the usual teeth, shells, cetotolites, &c., are found. Many years ago I took out of the crag pit on my glebe a metatarsal bone, which Professor Sir Richard Owen pronounced to belong to an extinct species of deer.

As it will be interesting to neighbouring geologists, I will here insert from his original MS., which he at that time gave me, a short paper by the Darwin of geology, the late Sir Charles Lyell, on the crag pit in my glebe. At

the time he wrote it he was staying with me for the meeting of the British Association then (in the year 1851) being held at Ipswich. It was read before the Geological section.

On the occurrence of a Stratum of Stones covered with Barnacles in the Red Crag at Wherstead, near Ipswich, by Sir Charles Lyell.

It has been observed that in the Red Crag of the neighbourhood of Ipswich, and generally throughout the area occupied by that formation in Norfolk and Suffolk, the marine organic remains are not now in the places where the animal to which they belonged lived and died. They are mixed with pebbles, and often, like them, bear the marks of having been rolled. The valves of the bivalve mollusca are found detached one from the other, and neither they nor the univalve shells are arranged in groups as they lived at the bottom of the sea. They look as if they had formed portions of shifting sandbanks, or as if they had been drifted from some other place to that where they are now met with.

Every exception, therefore, to so general a rule deserves notice, and on that account I shall mention one now to be seen in a crag pit, near Ipswich, about 500 yards south of the vicarage house of Wherstead. My attention was called to the stratum by the Rev. Barham Zincke, of Wherstead. The shelly Red Crag here laid open has a vertical thickness of from ten to twelve feet, and is overlaid by about eight feet of sandy and gravelly beds without fossils. The shelly mass presents the usual characters of this formation, and among others that of having the separate valves of the pectunculus, mactra, cardita, and terebratula with their concave sides turned downwards, almost without an exception. Near the top of the shelly mass, usually within eighteen, or sometimes eight, inches of it, a stratum occurs consisting of unrounded chalk flints, intermixed with some well-rounded flint pebbles. The upper portion of these stones, which are of various sizes, are encrusted with barnacles, from which their lower surfaces are free. The *Balani* consist chiefly of littoral species, *Balanus communis*, and another nearly allied to it. The largest of the stones obtained by Mr. Zincke from this bed, and which he has brought to the meeting, is an unrounded chalk flint, measuring no less than twenty-two inches in length by sixteen in breadth and seven in thickness. It supports on its top and sides about ten groups of barnacles, but none of these are found on the under side of the stone, where it must have rested on the bottom of the sea. The same remark holds good in regard to the other stones and pebbles spread throughout the same stratum. Among these Mr. Zincke and I observed a small

coprolite, or one of the bodies commonly so called, the top of which was covered with barnacles, while all the lower portion was smooth. The pebbly stratum containing these *Balani* is overlaid with shelly crags of somewhat fine materials, of slight thickness, as before stated.

From the above facts it appears that the action of the currents which brought the principal mass of crag to this spot, and which had power to convey to it some stones of no ordinary magnitude, was so completely suspended for a time that even the smallest and lightest pebbles were not moved or overturned. Had any of them been turned over we should have found barnacles on the lower sides of some, or perhaps on both sides. Nor did any current wash away the loose shelly layer that afterwards covered the barnacle bed.

The *Balanus communis* is a littoral species, and Mr. Searles Wood informs me that he has generally met with it in the upper part of the Red Crag. Professor E. Forbes, to whom I have shown the specimens, says that the time required for such a growth of *Balani* may have been three or four months, and that they probably lived in very shallow water, if not between high and low water mark.

The crag pit in which this stratum of pebbles covered with barnacles only on the upper surface occurs, and on which Sir Charles Lyell wrote the above memoir, is in the north side of the valley which lies to the south of my house. In the parallel valley to the north of my house, at the distance from my pit of about half a mile, I found in 1883, in a crag pit then temporarily reopened, a stratum presenting the same facts in every particular.

An interesting fact in the geology of the parish is the evidence the surface soil contains, except in the valleys, of the materials that compose it having been brought hither by ice, either icebergs or floes of shore ice. During the thirty-four years my predecessor resided at the vicarage he had an arrangement with the parish to repair the half-mile of cross-road in front of the vicarage. For this purpose he had, year by year, the stones hand-picked off the glebe. These stones I can recollect, for the latter part of the period, were of the ordinary size of stone picked off cultivated land, not many being larger than one's fist. But

that there were in former times much larger stones lying about is shown by the fact that when I took down our second vicarage, which had been built 260 years ago, I found several boulders of glacier or water-worn quartz and other kind of rock built into its foundations. Of late years I have reverted to my predecessor's practice of having the stones on the glebe hand-picked for the purpose of mending the road near my house. These stones I have been in the habit of breaking myself—I do it before breakfast—for the sake of exercise. In thus passing them all in review I have been astonished at the variety of rock among the pieces—red Scotch sandstone, yellow and white sandstone, basalt, Cumbrian rocks, pieces of Bass rock, quartz, gneiss, granite—almost, indeed, every kind of crystalline and of sedimentary rock known in Scotland and in the North of England. Floating ice seems to be the only means of transport imaginable for bringing hither so many different kinds of rock from such distant localities.

Small boulders, like those used in the foundations of the second vicarage, abounded in the outer facing of the walls of the body of the church and of the tower, in the proportion of perhaps one-third of small boulders to two-thirds of flint. In the refacing of the walls in the restoration of 1863 several additional loads of flint were used, which diminished the proportion of boulders reused. There is the same variety of rock and the same water-worn character in these large pieces in the face of the church walls as in the smaller pieces still found on the glebe. The natural inference, then, is that at the date of the building of the parish church they were collected from the surface of the fields in the parish.

In digging my orchard and part of my garden to the depth of four feet I everywhere found confirmatory evidence of the superficial soil being due to the transport afforded

by ice. Precisely the juxtaposition and intermixture of the very materials we see on glaciers, and which would, therefore, have been on icebergs detached from glaciers, were everywhere visible when we reached the undisturbed soil two, or three, or four feet below the surface; veins of fine and of coarse sand, veins of stiff red clay, veins of incoherent and of indurated gravel, plenty of stones and pebbles, some unworn and some rounded; and all these so confused and intermixed that in a yard or two all might be fallen in with.

Just so is it with every gravel pit that has ever been opened on the higher ground of the parish for road material. In no one have we ever found the clean gravel which running water deposits, but in all the stone is mixed, generally so largely as not to be worth working, with sand and clay; just what we see in moraines, and what would be deposited from icebergs or shore ice.

At the time when these ice-borne deposits were brought hither, what is now the surface of this district must have been submerged by the sea. The date, therefore, of the glacier which descended the Orwell, and scratched and grooved our sandstone slabs, must have been subsequent to the conversion, through a process of elevation, of the bed of this ancient sea into dry land. Here, then, we have two distinct epochs – first, that of the deposition at the bottom of the sea of the iceberg-transported materials that now constitute our soil, and subsequently that of the Orwell glacier, when these deposits had been elevated to such a height that that glacier passed down to the sea alongside of them in what is now Wherstead. Besides these we have in our drift deposits, in our crag, and in our mammoth remains interesting evidence of the great but geologically recent changes in climate and organic life which time has witnessed on our planet.

CHAPTER XXI.

NOTES ON THE FLORA OF WHERSTEAD.

Nature never did betray
The heart that loved her.—*Wordsworth.*

IN the flora of the parish during the last forty years several changes have occurred in the direction of extinction. The pink centaury (*Erythræa Centaurium*) was once abundant in the grass drift from the vicarage farmyard down southward to the brook meadows. Not a plant of it is now to be seen there. This extinction I attribute to the fact that the farmer who, some dozen years ago, hired the meadows, kept his sheep during the spring and summer so frequently in this drift-way that the turf was bitten too close for a plant which must rear its head some three or four inches above the ground to form seed, and so to reproduce itself.

In the meadow to the south of the drift-way just mentioned, about forty years ago, I found in flower the *Neottia spiralis*. Though most years since I have made a more or less careful search for it, I have never again found there another specimen of this orchid.

Just below Redgate's farmhouse, at the point where the brook from the park enters the lane, which it immediately crossed, on the left-hand bank the black henbane (*Hyoscyamus niger*) had established itself. Here I many a time pointed it out to persons who took an interest in our wild plants. Some years ago the brook, which had formerly at

once crossed the road to the opposite side, was made to flow alongside this left-hand bank, just beneath the patch of henbane. This made the bank too moist a station for it, and so all the plants rapidly disappeared. I have never found it growing in any other spot in the parish.

To one with his face towards Ipswich, on the left hand roadside bank, midway between Bourn Hall and the cottages opposite the Ostrich Inn, the borage (*Borago officinalis*), the leaves of which are used in this country for flavouring beer and cider-cup, and the flowers in France for dressing salads, as summer and autumn came round enlivened the spot with its multitudinous stars of clearest blue. The yearly repairing of this bank by the present tenant—probably formerly it was not repaired more frequently than once in half a dozen years—has now extinguished this species here. For eleven years its charming blue has not gladdened the eyes of the passing pedestrian at this spot. The ancestors of the borage I have in my garden I obtained here some thirty years ago.

A Swiss botanist, while staying with me in the year 1870, found in Clubs Heath Wood a plant of the musk mallow (*Malva moschata*). But as the spot where he found it was on the brow of the railway cutting, where there has since been a fire caused by a live coal from a passing locomotive, it may, perhaps, be no longer existent in that precise locality. I am, however, glad to say that, if it be so, still this interesting plant, with its large scented flowers and deeply pinnatifid leaves, is not lost to the parish, for my neighbour, Mr. H. Haward, of Pannington Hall, who has a naturalist's eye for everything within his reach, lately found it on the bank of his church meadow. He also found not far from it the viper's bugloss (*Echium vulgare*).

The red valerian (*Centranthus ruber*) is found on banks and walls in the parish. Its flowers, of a strong clear red

—which are conspicuous, not only from their colour and abundance, but also because from their terminal position they stand well above and quite clear of the foliage—make this a showy and effective plant, and entitle it to a place in mixed borders and the less dressy parts of a garden.

The thrift (*Armeria maritima*) grows abundantly along the waste of the Strand opposite Redgate's Farm, and as far as the foot of Freston Hill, though of late years the area suitable for it has been much reduced by the removal of the soil on which it grew to mend the contiguous riverside banks. This plant, as its station here indicates, and as its name implies, is a seaside or maritime species. I have, however, seen it maintaining itself in the struggle for life on the southern slope of the Alps, some hundreds of miles from the sea and some thousands of feet above the sea level. This shows the capacity it possesses, by the process of the survival of the fittest, for adapting itself to widely altered conditions. Only those survived the constantly increasing elevation and withdrawal from the sea that were capable of supporting these changes of condition. In this way, by gradual variations, always in the same direction, what was originally a maritime has been transmuted into an Alpine plant.

On our Strand the sea lavender also (*Statice Limonium*) may be found.

On a dry sunny gravelly bank near the vicarage we have one of the smaller species of St. John's wort (*Hypericum pulchrum*). In the conterminous parish of Bentley I found many years ago the large-flowered St. John's wort (*H. calycinum*). It caught my eye, as I was driving by, at the angle made by the Manningtree and Bentley roads, at the south side of the Tattingstone Valley, some two hundred yards above Bentley Mill. I have since frequently seen it there in bloom. From this spot, about twenty

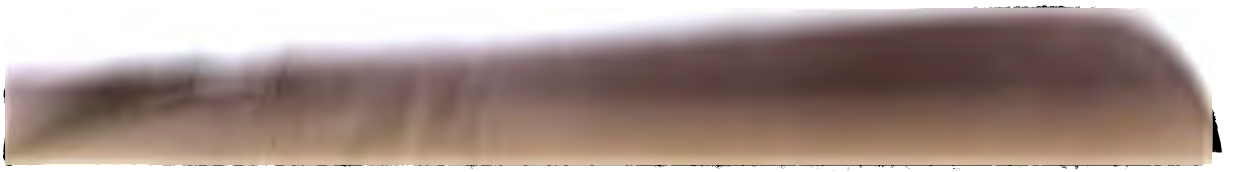
years ago, I brought some plants which I established in Wherstead in a similar station, where they still remain in vigorous growth. There are doubts whether this is a native or a naturalised species.

The handsome white-veined thistle (*Silybum marianum*) once grew on the brow of my crag pit. It is a striking plant. Its large variegated leaves fit it well for a place in garden banks and shrubberies. I am not aware that it is now to be found anywhere in the parish.

Our ferns have suffered sadly from the trade in these plants that has of late years sprung up. There was a time, before it became everybody's duty to admire them, when they exhibited their graceful forms unmolested and safe from speedy and cruel extermination, wherever nature had placed them. The glossy glazed dark green polystichum (*Polystichum aculeatum*) once flourished about a quarter of a mile from the village street on the left bank of the lane from the Manningtree road to Pannington Hall. As this fern never tillers or makes offsets, it is a true bird's-nest form. I can recall the picture of six fine old plants growing in close contiguity to each other on the hedge bank about fifty yards below the small farmhouse at the head of the lane. They were as bright and green at midwinter as at midsummer. I still have in my garden some plants of this noble variety I brought about thirty years ago from that locality. Not one is to be seen there now, or anywhere else in the parish. In that neighbourhood the deep ditches, the banks, and the waste land, of which nearly all has since been enclosed, abounded with specimen plants, such as time and suitable locality only can produce, of the common polystichum, hart's tongue, male fern, and *Adiantum nigrum*. The two former have thereabouts been quite exterminated, and the last of the four it is now difficult to find.

On one bank in the parish the *Asplenium Trichomanes* drags on a feeble existence, the place being ill adapted to its requirements. This fern, which is so conspicuous by its presence on every wall and stony bank in the West of England, measures the difference between our comparatively scanty rainfall and the more than double amount received along the Atlantic coast.

The finest natural fernery I have ever anywhere seen in this country was in the wood at the back of my house. It was on a swampy piece of ground about three acres in extent. A small stream finds its way through it. On the north side of the stream the swamp has been planted with alders. On the south side the swamp was so soft and wet that no attempt had ever been made to turn it to account in any way. This part was closely covered with living stools and dead stumps of tussock grass. Some of these, that must have been the growth of centuries, stood three feet out of the swamp. Upon all the dead and on many of the living stumps of tussock grass were established vigorous plants of lady fern; many, for size, monsters of their kind. Their age, too, probably might have been reckoned by centuries. They were of both the green and the purple stemmed varieties. The latter were somewhat the more erect and taller. Magnificent old plants of these two varieties were closely set along the margin of the stream. An acre of such lady ferns was a glorious sight, which photographs itself on the memory with an unfading impression. On the dry bank to the south of this part of the swamp grew many gigantic male ferns, and scattered among them the largest blechnums I have seen in this part of the country. On the other side of the stream, among the alders, every stump was tufted with the *Lastrea dilatata*, enriched here and there with some specimens of the *Lastrea uliginosa*. On the dry ground to the north of the



from the common form, from which it is in its dis-
shing features a wide departure.

two works that I have on the cultivation of ferns it
of the holly fern (*Polystichum Lonchitis*) that it
survives removal from its native stations. It may,
re, be of some interest to mention that even here in
tead, which differs so much in soil and climate from its
stations, I had till recently six plants of this species,
for fifteen years had not been at all affected by the
in situation and in other conditions that has been im-
pon them. This, however, may be attributed to their
been removed not from a British but from a Swiss
for I brought them from the Alp l'Allée, above Zinal,
t about 7,000 feet above the sea level they abound.
he year 1853 the late Lady Harland had the pond
rstead Park cleaned out. Several hundred loads of
re taken from it. In order that the mud might be
d aerated before it was spread on the grass, it was
into a long ridge. The whole of this in the ensu-
mer was covered with a thick growth of water-
No watercresses had ever been known in this pond,
as indeed far too deep to admit of their growth.
, however, on inquiring of 'the oldest inhabitant,'
little brook that had once been the boundary of
rage meadow of the old glebe, from which brook
d receives its supply of water, had abounded in
sses. I have already mentioned that when the
in the park was built this brook was made to
e sewerage from the house, and was therefore put
ubterranean conduit. This was about the begin-
the century, and so about fifty years before the
which the mud was taken from the pond. The
herefore, that germinated on this mud so freely
ave been carried down to the pond at least fifty

years previously, and had all this time retained their vitality, so as to be ready to germinate as soon as they were brought sufficiently under the action of the light and the air. It is well known that many seeds have this power of resisting decay, if buried deeply in the ground. Lately, on lowering a part of my grass plat, which had been in grass beyond the memory of man, the soil removed from beneath the turf produced an abundance of red poppies. The growth of these watercresses shows that the seeds of an aquatic plant are as long-lived when sunk in deep water.

I will here mention two local instances of the dispersion of plants by natural means. Some years ago on the north bank of Stalls Valley Lane I found a plant of *Sedum giganteum.* I was the only person in the neighbourhood who at that time cultivated this plant, and here it was growing at the distance of a mile from my garden. Probably the seed had been conveyed on a bird's foot. In the year 1861 I brought from Glenthorn, near Lynton, in North Devon, the seat of the late Walter Halliday, a plant of the *Filix mas paleacea.* It has already become not uncommon in the woods of the parish. This, however, might almost have been expected, as the spores of ferns are airborne to great distances.

A giant elm was in 1887 blown down in the Park. On the face of the sawn-off butt I counted 284 rings. So many years back, then, had it commenced its stationary vegetative existence. It had witnessed the joys and sorrows of nine generations of its human fellow parishioners. And not wholly without joys and sorrows of its own, for it had been troubled with cold winds and storms, and droughts, and gladdened with sunshine and showers. It had, too, outlived the ministry of eight vicars, who had all, beginning with old Samuel Samwaies, looked upon it from the church porch and the old vicarage; two of them,

Thorne and Gee, having filled more than a century of its time. If it had possessed some means, beyond their ken, of noting what they were about, let us hope that it deemed them in some way or other worth their salt.

Or to set its span of life side by side with the contemporary events that were occurring in the world beyond the village: when it commenced its career the great Elizabeth was concluding hers. Men who had taken part in the defeat of the terrible Armada were still repeating the wondrous tale to attentive listeners. Shakespeare and Bacon were still alive. Cromwell was a little boy. Milton's voice had not yet been heard. Between its appearance above ground and its return to the level of the ground, in human society what incessant movements! What mighty changes!

But in the 284 synchronous years of our elm how great a contrast! Every summer and winter, every spring and fall, was the exact counterpart of all the rest. Here were no variations in methods or in effects; no modification of aims, or aims that were modifiable; no advances, and no degradations; nothing divergent; nothing new: only homogeneous growth. Every year its leafy glories unfolded themselves in the same fashion, did their appointed work in the same fashion, and in the same fashion fell, decayed, and became food for other plants around it. And then the stout trunk, and all the life its ramified frame above supported, again before Christmas came had resumed their winter sleep, to be again awakened by the recovered energies of the vernal sun.

And as to the neighbouring city, now of 60,000 souls; while our giant was growing through its all but three centuries it had been looking down on the city as it grew from its five or six thousand souls of three centuries back. But the city with its growth to these many tens of thou-

sands was very far from being so multitudinous an aggregation of life as was contained in the wide-spreading tree. In it every branch was a main street full of life, and every twig a side street full of life, for every bud on every one of its thousands of twigs on its hundreds of great branches was an individual living being, potentially separable, though physically and structurally a part of our elm; while reversely the individual beings in the city, though physically disconnected, were economically, socially, and politically bound together in one.

And what marvels were there in the mighty tree for the imagination, working with a little knowledge, to picture to itself! It could see scores of times as many mouths under ground as the human mouths in the neighbouring city, and every one of them busy day and night in selecting the mineral matter the vast complex organism required, and in elaborating the sap, its blood, that was to be impelled through the whole frame, for vivifying and feeding the growth of the vast colony of germs, and enlarging and strengthening the twigs and branches, and the great trunk, the living support of the whole community. In this process what tons of water is the organism ceaselessly pumping up, driving through its whole system, to do everywhere vital work, and that done transpiring it through the millions of unobserved sluice gates of its acres of leaf-surface. What mechanism, what forces, what activity, what processes, some partially known, some doubtless still undreamt of, all working out of sight, under the ground, under the bark, and within the leaves; without stomach, or heart, or lungs, or brain, yet doing for the members of its vegetable commonwealth what these organs were doing for its feeling and thinking neighbours! As for the population of the contiguous city so for the population of our wide-branched tree the first requisite had been their daily bread; which

they both had assimilated in like fashion. They both had had to make, to circulate, and to aerate their blood. Both had had to propagate their kind. Both had had to provide themselves with an outer and an inner skin. Both had had to construct a solid supporting frame. Both had needed alternations of activity and of rest. What then had the two been but differently conditioned applications of the same ideas, in accordance with the requirements of each?

And the wonder and interest are heightened when we recall how many myriads of species there are of these vegetable forms of life in the diverse stations and climes from the Arctic snows to the reeking Equator, from the lichen stain on the rock to the cedar on Lebanon. What diversities of structure from our many-branched elm to the slim column of the tufted palm; and what diversities in the properties and the uses of their flowers, fruits, seeds, roots, timber, sap, and bark! Often as I look on the graceful or sturdy, symmetrical or irregular form of some tree that has arrested my attention, my thoughts pass on to the movements and processes that are ceaselessly and busily, but unseen and silently, at work within it, and which in different plants issue in such an infinite diversity of results. But to go back to our prostrate elm: for 284 years it had been ceaselessly and regularly carrying on these wondrous processes, but at last the day came, when, having presented too broad a front to the storm, in what was the very maturity of its strength and pride, it was levelled to the ground, and now for some years to come will supply its fellow mortals with coffins, in which they and it may return to dust together.

In an appendix will be given a list of the flowering plants found in Wherstead, which, with the exclusion of trees, grasses, rushes, and sedges, reaches the number of 365.

CHAPTER XXII.

NOTES ON THE FAUNA OF WHERSTEAD.

Nobis et cum Deo et cum animalibus est aliqua communitas.

Lactantius.

FEW of us whose good fortune it is to live in the country are aware of the great variety of birds that make their homes and bring up their little families before our eyes and within our hearing, and of the pleasure to be derived from observing their manners and customs—manners and customs that originate in wants analogous to our own acting on a brain of like materials and uses to our own. Some years ago I made a list of the species whose nests I had found on the glebe round the house, at the church, and in the little breadth of Wherstead Park between. I was surprised that the number mounted up to forty-two.

I will here give the list: golden-crested wren, common wren, spotted flycatcher, robin, hedge sparrow, redstart, garden warbler, wagtail, starling, rook, jackdaw, English partridge, French partridge, pheasant, landrail, water hen, blackbird, common thrush, missel thrush, green linnet or grosbeak, bullfinch, common sparrow, brown linnet, chaffinch, goldfinch, green woodpecker, lesser woodpecker, chimney swallow, martin, sand martin, wood pigeon, stock dove, turtle dove, nightingale, lark, yellowhammer, barn owl, cuckoo, kingfisher, common tomtit, puddingpoke tomtit, kestrel.

A pair of golden-crested wrens till within the last fifteen

years used every year to build their nest on a branch of a spruce fir in the east shrubbery of the vicarage. The selected position was one where on the upper side the living leaf-bearing sprays were numerous and compact enough to act as a roof, and the dead depending twigs also were numerous, among which the nest was inserted. On the branches becoming too thinly clothed with twigs to give the desired shelter, they forsook the place. That never more than one pair had a nest here, though till lately there were several spruce firs about the place, shows that wild animals have their own range and beat, upon which they will not allow even their progeny to encroach. I once saw two golden-crested wrens fighting on the grass plat. That there was so great wrath in such little bodies was surprising. I watched them till they had become so exhausted as to allow me to take them both up and bring them into the house. It was about twenty minutes before they had so far recovered as to be able to fly out at the open window. Probably one was endeavouring to repel an invasion of his territory or of his domestic arrangements.

The landrail's nest was found in a small paddock laid down for hay, not more than fifty yards from the house. Every year we used to hear their 'crake' in the corn. But now this species, too, appears to have forsaken the locality.

The bullfinches also, except when they come in early spring as depredators of the fruit buds of the gooseberry bushes and plum trees, have deserted us. They were driven away by the removal of the hedges. This deprived them of the thick bushes which they require for the concealment of their nests.

The goldfinches used every year to breed on the fruit trees in the vicarage garden, and in the cottagers' gardens in the village. In neither locality are they now ever seen.

The cause is the same as with the bullfinches, though it acts in a different way. What the removal of the hedges has deprived them of is the thistle heads, the seeds of which were their autumn and winter store. To them this loss was notice to quit.

The kingfisher's nest was found in the bank of the brook at the back of the vicarage. As this brook has no fish except a few eels, and at its lower end, where it enters the Orwell, a few flounders, the diet of this pair must have been mainly composed of aquatic insects.

The kestrel's nest I found in the ice-house plantation between the vicarage and the church; it was placed about twenty feet above the ground in ivy which thickly surrounded the stem of a tall slim oak, which had been drawn up by its too close neighbours to an unusual height, and was up to the place of the nest quite branchless.

One Sunday morning, now six-and-twenty years ago, our parish clerk, on attempting to ring out the usual summons to Divine service, found that the tenor bell was dumb. Nothing of the kind in the previous forty years of his clerkship had occurred. On ascending to the belfry to ascertain what it was that had gone wrong, he saw that a pair of jackdaws had filled the bell with sticks for their nest. The foundation of their structure they had, with excellent judgment and complete foreknowledge of the requirements of the case, laid on a beam about eight inches below and on one side of the slider. From this beam they had built in a slanting direction to the slider. The slider alone would have been too narrow for the foundation of their intended superstructure. From the bed thus laid conjointly on the beam and slider they built up to the clapper, then round the clapper, apparently completely filling the bell, but still so as to leave a passage up to the top of what had been the concavity of the bell, where they intended that the

eggs should be deposited. The clerk did not measure the sticks, but thinks there must have been a bushel and a half. This, however, is a small allowance for a jackdaw's nest, for he has brought down in other years a bushel skep filled eleven times from the nests of four pairs, the number that usually built in our belfry, which gives nearly three bushels to a nest. For the last seven years these birds have, without any apparent reason, deserted their immemorial haunt in our church tower.

The engineering just described of our Wherstead jackdaws was equalled by that which Jesse records in his 'Country Life' of a pair that had built their nest on the sill of a window that gives light to the spiral staircase in the tower of the chapel of Eton College. When their nest had been completed they came to the conclusion that the sill that supported it was too narrow, that their young ones would overbalance it, and that nest and young ones together would fall down the staircase. There was but one way of obviating this foreseen catastrophe, and that was by placing a prop beneath the nest. And this was what they did. Having ascertained which step of the staircase was exactly beneath the nest—this step was ten feet below it—they began upon it, and built up a pillar of interlaced sticks, ten feet high, upon which, when it was completed, the nest rested. With this support the needed stability was obtained. They had also the sense to construct this pillar much wider at the base than at the top, tapering from bottom to top in the form of an elongated truncated cone. Jesse gives a woodcut of this marvellous instance of the foresight of the jackdaw, and of its capacity for solving what was to it an absolutely new problem. The difference between the Wherstead and the Eton case is this—that in the former the bird architects saw before the nest was begun that it was necessary to contrive a sufficiently broad

and stable foundation for the intended superstructure, while in the latter they perceived this after their nest was built. Each showed a perfect understanding of the difficulty to be met, and of how it was to be met.

For thirty-four years I have had in my garden plants of the Skimmia Japonica. The berries, with which they are every year profusely decorated, are poisonous. Being of a bright scarlet they must attract the attention of fruit-eating birds, which, however, though their conclusions as to the qualities of so recently introduced an exotic must have been rapidly formed, leave them untouched through the winter and following summer, for so long do the berries remain on the bush. But some years ago we had a most unusual continuance of severe frost, accompanied with deep snow on the ground. This deprived the blackbirds and thrushes that frequented the shrubberies round the Vicarage of their usual food. At last, having become unable to bear the pangs of hunger any longer, they took to eating the berries of the Skimmias, and were found lying about dead, some out on the open snow. For some time after the departure of the frost and snow none of these species were seen around the house. That in other years they had abstained from eating the berries allows us to infer that they were acquainted with their noxious qualities. Possibly to a bird's mind it may appear preferable to die of poison than of starvation. It was not knowledge that was at fault.

In the year 1879—that will long be memorable for the amount of its rainfall—the partridges that breed regularly in my paddock had their nest flooded. As the weather still continued wet, they abandoned the thought of making a second nest that year on the ground, and found a place for it on the roof of a cart-shed which stands in the north-east corner of the paddock. The spot they selected was where the thatch was covered with ivy. It was nine feet

above the ground. This is the only instance I have met with of partridges having their nest off the ground, though I am aware that other instances of the kind have been observed. Such reversals of instinct upon sufficient reasons intimate to us that the habits and ways of doing things of any species of the lower animals would rapidly change if a change of circumstances required different habits and different ways of doing things. This implies that they have a distinct perception of the conditions under which they have to act, and that they have the power of thinking out which of their old ways must be given up, and what new ways must be adopted, under their altered circumstances. Instincts, therefore, are not aboriginal endowments, but intelligently formed transmitted habits.

The eleven eggs this nest contained were hatched on the roof of the cart-shed, and all the chicks were in some way or other brought safely to the ground, for we counted them many a time afterwards. I have known a hen who had made her nest on the ridge of my barn, twenty feet from the ground, bring down her brood; and I remember observing how, while a boy in Jamaica, a domestic duck, to escape the snakes that abounded in the neighbourhood, made her nest in the fork of a lofty cotton tree—one of the giants of the West Indian forest—at a height of perhaps thirty feet from the ground, and in some way or other brought down her little ones without a mishap. The passage, however, to the lower world is not always achieved with safety. Here, on April 30, 1884, two newly hatched chicks, that had straggled from the nest on the top of a summer-house before the rest of the brood were able to come off, fell to the ground and were killed.

The stockdoves were driven from the neighbourhood of my house by the destruction, in most cases the work of storms, of the old hollow elms in which they used to place

their nests. They have now taken possession of a disused dovecot in the park.

The red-backed shrike is seen most years in the oaks and elms near the orchard, sometimes accompanied by its little family that it is about to launch on the world to provide for themselves and take their chance. The nest, however, of this bird I have never found, nor that of the nuthatch, which in the autumn levies a large contribution on the filberts in the orchard.

The yellow wagtail I have seen near the house. I have heard that it breeds in the marshes between Lawford and Brantham. On what used to be a bit of waste land covered with whin bushes, but is now enclosed, at the foot of Freston Hill, I used to see frequently the whinchat. The hawfinch, the ring ouzel, and the goatsucker are not uncommon in the parish, though I have never found the two last near the vicarage. The hawfinch is one of the shyest of birds; and, though I have reasons for believing that it breeds in the Home Covert, I never saw it near my house excepting in the year 1887. It then—but only on one occasion, as far as I observed, during the severe weather of the winter,—entered my south verandah, together with the other birds that came for their daily supply of breadcrumbs. It almost looked like a small dumpy parrot. Its wariness and timidity were very apparent. The wild duck has been known to breed by the pond in the park. Sir Robert Harland had a stuffed specimen of the great bustard, and also one of the little bustard. Both of these birds he used to tell me had been shot in his time in the parish, not more, therefore—though possibly less—than ninety years ago.

For three winters I threw out breadcrumbs to a hen blackbird that had lost a leg. In the summer it was never seen about the house. Perhaps at that season of the year,

when food is abundant in the woods, it sought in them security against the risks of cats and guns.

The drawing-room of the old vicarage I pulled down had a through light, the north window being opposite to that on the south side. Once while I was sitting in it a greenfinch pursued by a hawk, thinking there was an open passage through, dashed itself with such force against the glass that its beak was partly driven into its head. Its death, of course, was instantaneous. On another occasion I was standing in my vinery looking at two goldfinches in a cage that was hanging on the outside of the east end of the vinery, when a hawk dashed against the cage, having swooped down at its inmates.

In the winter of 1866–7 I had an engagement to dine and sleep at Lawford Hall. There was unusually deep snow on the ground, and the temperature was intensely cold. I drove a pair of horses that had been clipped the previous day. I reached Lawford early in the afternoon. The distance is about nine miles. My coachman had something to eat at the Hall, and as it was so cold he took rather more beer than he was used to. He left to return home at 4 P.M. In passing through Cattawade he met a horse-dealer of the name of Martin, who resided there, and with whom I was at the time negotiating for the purchase of a horse. Martin gave him a glass of gin. The beer, the gin, and the cold were together too much for him. He had no recollection of anything from the time he left Martin's, though in passing through Brantham, a mile and a half from Cattawade, he offered a lift to Mr. Isaac Rist of Brantham. This was at 5.30 P.M. The offer was declined. The next morning, at about 6 A.M., he awoke, finding himself on the snow, on which he must have been lying for twelve hours, in the lane that leads from the Tattingstone Road to Holbrook, on the north side of

Tattingstone. This was two miles from Brantham Village, and about a furlong from the main road, from which in his unconscious state he had either turned off his horses, or allowed them to turn off. Of his horses and carriage he could see nothing. He went to Rist's farm and to Tattingstone White Horse to make inquiries, but no one could give him any information. He then walked home, arriving at the vicarage at 8.30 A.M. At 9 A.M. a man came from Stutton Hall to say that when the men came to work in the morning they had found the carriage and horses beneath a large Scotch fir, close to the house. The horses then had walked from the spot, at which the coachman had fallen from the box, for a mile, and had then turned in at the gate of Stutton Hall, gone down the avenue, and sought what shelter the fir tree could give. There was not a scratch on the man, the horses, the harness, or the carriage. Nor, though the thermometer had fallen below zero, and there had been a considerable amount of wind, were the horses or the man any the worse for having been out all night. It has often been remarked that men incapable from drink have a kind of immunity from the ordinary consequences of falls and exposure, but one is surprised at finding that the only effect of fourteen hours' exposure on a pair of horses in such severe weather was to keep them quiet, more particularly as one of them was of a lively and unruly disposition.

My predecessor, while I was his curate, put up an iron fence. The height was greater and the wires were finer than common. During the ensuing six months dead partridges were twice picked up alongside of it. They had been killed by flying against it. After that time I heard of no more mishaps of the kind. The survivors appear to have quickly learnt, through the misfortunes of their friends, that the wires were to be avoided.

The herons that may be seen fishing along the mile of ooze that borders Wherstead Strand come from the heronry in Orwell Park. A particle of history attaches to this heronry. In the reign of Elizabeth the burgesses of Ipswich lodged a complaint against its then owner, that his herons destroyed their fish. The queen in council issued an order for the destruction of the heronry. It has, however, survived this order, which certainly no lover of birds, perhaps few lovers of fish, will regret. The heronry at Orwell Park is an interesting sight. Where else, except in a heronry, could we see in this country so many large birds collected together and moving to and fro, while going for or returning with food for their progeny? Here, too, one may note their caution in placing their nests only in trees that, by being situated in a valley, are very much protected from the wind. A gale would be too much for so large a bird on so large a nest in an exposed position. The burgesses of Ipswich in these days would not give themselves any trouble about the fish in the Orwell, which are now hardly more than a few eels, some slips and flounders, and in autumn some small whiting. Better fish is now to be had from distant fishing grounds, and if any damage is now done to the fishing in the Orwell it is done by Ipswich steamboats and Ipswich sewage. But to return to our herons. Some forty years ago one of the late Archdeacon Berners's keepers shot on Woolverstone ooze a heron with a brass plate on its leg, which gave the information that it had come from a certain heronry in Lincolnshire. The brass plate he returned to the gentleman who owned the heronry, who replied that he was not surprised that one of his herons should be shot on the Orwell, for not long previously one had been shot on the Danube, not far from Vienna.

We have just seen that the destruction of the numer-

ous hedges that separated the once small fields—many of them were broad double fences that had been kept up to provide cover for game—has very much modified the bird-life around the vicarage. It has had similar effects on other forms of life. Forty years ago old people in the parish used to tell me that when they were young vipers were common enough in this neighbourhood. They had then become extinct. My informants attributed this to the removal of the old wide hedgerows, often on raised banks, which had deprived these reptiles not only of secure shelter, but also of the mice and frogs, their joint tenants of the hedgerows, on which they had lived. The same cause has swept away almost as completely the common snake, for hereabouts one is rarely seen now, and only in the woods. The slow-worm, too, was once abundant. Every summer I used to see it on the dry sunny banks to the south of the vicarage. Not one has now been seen for some years in its former haunts hereabouts.

The hedgehog down to within the last twenty-five years was frequently trapped in my garden, and was sometimes destructive to the young mangold-wurzel plants when they were about the thickness of a little finger. It has now quite deserted us.

In my predecessor's time, and during the earlier part of my own incumbency, if the door of the dining-room, drawing-room, or study, on the garden side of the house, were on a summer evening left open, it was highly probable that a toad out on a forage would have found its way in. Every evening they were to be seen crawling along the foot of the wall, or out on the grass, and at the season when the young brood is about the size of a large pea the flower garden was alive with them. For several years not a toad has shown itself about the place. I know not of any change about the house that could have inter-

fered with their habits, except it be that I have diminished the extent of the shrubberies, though I can hardly think that in this there is a sufficient cause for their complete disappearance. It is strange that simultaneously frogs have also very much diminished in number, notwithstanding that the pond in which they used to breed is now very much better supplied with water than it was formerly, and is never now dry in consequence of its receiving the overflow of the water that is forced up to the house by a water ram. For several springs not one has been heard or seen in this pond.

We now also miss several insect visitors that were once common. Insects have a great aversion to wind. They are incapable of making their way against or across it, and even when they attempt to fly with it they become the sport of it. As long as there were high and thick hedges, connecting the vicarage with the woods to the south of it, the garden used to be enlivened with, among the more common lepidoptera, the greater and smaller fritillaries, peacock-eyes and admirals, brimstones and clouded yellows, and above all we used to have an occasional visit from a purple emperor; Holbrook Park, about a mile off, being in these parts one of the few localities where it is found in what are for it considerable numbers. A dozen years have now passed since the imperial purple has been displayed here; and as to the rest a year or two may pass without a specimen of some one or other of the kinds mentioned being seen. It was interesting to watch the proboscidian sphinxes darting like so many tropical humming birds from flower to flower to extract their particles of nectar, and poising themselves over the tubes of the verbena; but even they, strong of wing as they are, seem no longer disposed to trust themselves to the shelterless aerial ocean that surrounds us. As respects, then, these

visitors, too, we must now content ourselves with the recollections of the past, for we never expect again to see them disporting themselves before us here.

I once caught on the gate at the bottom of the drift-way alongside the glebe an insect resembling in appearance an ichneumon. It was of a bright russet-black colour. In size it was about equal to the common night-flying orange-coloured ichneumon, only not so stout. It had a long ovipositor, as long as its long abdomen, which was not retracted, but laid longitudinally on the under side of the abdomen, and then in some way or other concealed. I have not found among my entomological acquaintances one who could give me any information about this insect. As it was by its wings that I caught it, while employed, as I supposed, in probing with its ovipositor the rotten wood of the gatepost for a grub of the stag-beetle in which it might deposit its eggs, its detention for a minute or two, while I inspected it, did it no harm. I have a repugnance to reducing to specimens by pinching, or crushing, or impaling creatures who have no wish to be torn in such fashion from the warm precincts of the cheerful day, and who have as much right to their brief day as I to mine. Doubtless these ichneumons are responsible for the arrangement of depositing their eggs in the live bodies of their fellow-insects, but the conditions of their lives do not give rise to any moral requirements.

In autumn, while sitting at an open window reading by a moderator lamp, I once captured in two hours and a half thirty-five specimens of the orange-coloured ichneumon.

Several years ago I had brought to me a specimen of the old English black rat. In comparison with its brown Hanoverian congener, which has now nearly supplanted it, its most obvious differences are in colour and size, for it is

a smaller animal. It is also distinguishable by the greater coarseness of its coat, the largeness of its ears, the greater length of its tail, and the general ugliness of its appearance. It is gradually becoming extinct. At present its chief stronghold is the domain of the Lord Mayor and Corporation of the City of London, where it, probably, may outlast them.

In the year 1860, in the autumn, every morning were to be seen on the grassplot of my garden a dozen or more little excavations. They were all of precisely the same size and form, each being about as big as an eggcup, or a little deeper. The park, to the north of the house, exhibited a great number of similar pits. They were all made with the utmost neatness. This went on for four or five weeks. For some time I was at a loss to imagine who was the excavator, and what was the object of the excavation. At last I observed that at the bottom of each there were traces of a little chamber. From this it was obvious that it was the work of rats in search of the grub of the cockchafer. It is strange that, though these grubs always abound here, this was the only occasion, before or since, when I have known the rats dig for them. The next year they destroyed all my crocus bulbs, about fifty patches, digging for them in precisely the same manner. But again this was a single instance of this kind of depredation, for never since have they meddled with my crocuses. If it was an exceptional scarcity of food that suggested to them on these two occasions methods of foraging, which here were exceptional, why in the year they dug up the crocuses did they not also dig for the cockchafer grubs, and *vice versâ*? Or was it that in these two years there was in the rat community here an exceptionally sagacious member who instructed his brethren in these unusual ways of finding an additional supply of food? But on that

supposition we must conclude that the rest of the community were very dull, and forthwith forgot so ready and serviceable a resource.

I have known a rat carry down safely, and hide away cleverly, the eggs a hen was sitting on under the ridge of the roof of a haystack. I have also known one remove the eggs from under a hen that was sitting in my barn on the top of a heap of straw. When the straw was removed the eggs were found on the floor under what had been the middle of the heap. In this case, therefore, the rat must have burrowed upwards through the heap of straw, and by the way thus made carried off the eggs one at a time, and deposited them on the ground. Nearly a fortnight was occupied in the completion of this operation. As none of the eggs were sucked, the thief must have given himself all this trouble out of 'pure cussedness.'

I once found a rat caught by one of its hind legs in a trap I had set in the furrow of a wheat field an hour or two before. The bone of the leg was broken. As I stood looking at it it bent itself back to its trapped and broken limb, and without any hesitation or flinching began to amputate it, by biting through the ligaments and skin. In a few minutes, which I have ever since much regretted were not allowed it, this courageous fellow-creature would have recovered the liberty it so fully deserved.

I have observed in a brook much frequented by water-rats (*Arvicola amphibius*), and from which watercresses are gathered in summer, that in the spring these plants are so cut down that only short stumps remain, and that these stumps, with the few leaves that are left on them, have a soiled appearance, as if they had been trampled over. This I infer is the work of the water-rats, who, as they are strict vegetarians, may make this plant part of their winter and spring dietary. They may, perhaps, neglect it in

summer and autumn for some other plants they may prefer, and which may have then become available. The water-rat is much more nearly allied to the beaver than to the common rat, and has erroneously been supposed to be carnivorous by those who were misled by its popular misnomer of 'rat.' This slur is not implied in its alias of water-vole.

I remember that, some fifty years ago, when in the spring a stack of wheat belonging to my predecessor was being brought into the barn to be threshed, it was found to contain a large population of mice, a very considerable proportion of which were pied, being brown spotted with white, or white spotted with brown. It was then called to mind that an itinerant Italian organ boy had in the previous autumn been found asleep alongside of this stack, and that he had said that, while he was asleep, the tame white mouse he had just previously been exhibiting to the servants at the back door of the vicarage had escaped, and must have got into the stack.

I once found in a piece of wheat on the glebe the nest of the smallest of all English quadrupeds, the harvest mouse. It was a round ball constructed of blades of grass and of the flag of the wheat. It was not on the ground, but was suspended between several straws of wheat. This little creature is only one-sixth of the size of the domestic mouse; six of them weighing one ounce, which is the weight of one of the domestic species. This tiniest of mammals is, I am told, not uncommon in the parish, being occasionally found associated with the common mouse in wheat stacks.

The water shrew I have often seen on the bank of the dam of my water-ram. At my appearance on the scene it always takes to the water, gliding in noiselessly. It is a somewhat larger animal than the common shrew. Its body is stouter and longer, as is also its tail. Its form has

not the dumpiness of the common shrew, but is well-proportioned.

Some years ago, while using a spade on the south side of my garden, on a bank about three feet higher than the adjoining paddock, I heard close by the piteous cry of a rabbit in distress. On looking over the bank I saw just below me, at the distance of four or five yards, a rabbit tottering along with a weasel on its neck. The spade I had in my hand was rather a heavy one, with an unusually sharp edge. I dashed it instantly at the weasel, thinking that I might dislodge it from the rabbit. It, however, alighted edge foremost on the two animals, and passing through the neck of each, with no discrimination between the wrongdoer and his victim, fixed itself firmly in the ground. They were both neatly and completely guillotined. Their bodies lay on one side of the erect spade, and their heads on the other side. This accidental success could not probably have been repeated out of a hundred or several hundred attempts. I left the group untouched for several hours that others might see how chance sometimes achieves what skill would have despaired of.

In the year 1887 my cook brought me a sixpence and a quartz pebble she had just found in the gizzard of a cockerel that had been taken from my farm yard. The edge of the sixpence all round was worn as if filed, on both sides, the central parts being only scratched, not worn away. The raised rim of the milling was everywhere gone, and with it the legend had been partially obliterated. The date was 1882. The pebble was an inch and a quarter in length, six-tenths of an inch in width, and four-tenths in thickness. Its weight equalled that of two sixpences and a threepenny piece. The fowl had been in perfect health, and as active and lively as fowls usually are. How it came to swallow this sixpence we can only guess. Probably it was

not done deliberately, but in the scramble of feeding with the rest of the poultry-yard. The coin, however, having once entered the gizzard could only be slowly got rid of by attrition. But how was this to be effected? The little pebbles of the size of split peas, or less, that fowls use for the purpose of grinding their corn would have been of no use, for they would have been too small to admit of the process of working the sixpence against them, or them against the sixpence. What was needed was a pebble, longer than the diameter of the sixpence, against which it could be firmly worked. Another requirement was that the pebble should have no protuberances which would prevent the sixpence from being worked backwards and forwards upon it. It was also necessary that it should be of very hard texture. Such a pebble—that is, one having these three properties of sufficient length, sufficient smoothness, and sufficient hardness—this cockerel had selected and swallowed; and it had begun to do the work required of it effectively. This we cannot but think was done intelligently, with a clear perception of what had to be done. Like the jackdaws already mentioned, it was able to understand the particulars of a new problem, and to solve it, not instinctively, because the problem was new and the solution was new, but by a process of reasoning.

William Scroope, when he lived at Wherstead Park, used to say, and I believe he repeats it in his book on 'Salmon Fishing,' that there is something in the water of Suffolk streams which makes it impossible for the trout to exist in them. In the Bourn brook, which separates Wherstead from Stoke, they may now be seen of a fair size and in fair abundance. The progenitors of these Wherstead trout were hatched and placed in this little stream, at its source in Hintlesham, seven miles above Wherstead, several years ago, by the late Colonel Anstru-

ther. One weighing three pounds was four years ago taken out of the Washbrook milldam; in the summer of 1887, in the bend of the brook at Bobit's Hole in this parish, one weighing nearly four pounds was captured and brought to me; and in the previous summer I had one brought to me, weighing somewhat over a pound, that had been netted below the Bourn sluice, where the outflow of the Bourn brook joins the main mid-channel of the Orwell. For the last three or four years many, from one to two pounds in weight, have been taken during the summer in the Orwell. In the lower part of Bourn brook I have of late frequently seen trout at rest, near the bank, and where the water was deep, some of which may have weighed not less than a pound. Here we have a reminder that conjecture, till verified by experiment, is of but little worth. Experiment it is that either establishes or confutes conjecture.

In the summer of 1888 in the Wherstead part of the stream the trout were pretty well cleared off by an otter, which was frequently seen in the early morning by the occupant of one of the cottages at Bobit's Hole.

A sturgeon, on the 15th of June, 1891, in attempting to ascend Bourn brook from the Orwell, got fixed between the right-hand wall of the sluice and the guard piles, some five and twenty yards above Bourn bridge. Its splashing having attracted attention, it was easily captured, and brought to land. It measured 6 feet 5 inches, and weighed 79 lbs. Its well-preserved skin, now through shrinking 4 inches less than its living length, may be seen at the Ostrich Inn, distant only a few paces from the place of its capture. It is eighty years since one of the same species was taken in the Orwell.

In the river, off Wherstead, I have frequently seen porpoises rising and showing their backs.

CHAPTER XXIII.

LOCAL SUPERSTITIONS AND MISBELIEFS.

Ignorance is the curse of God;
Knowledge the wing whereby we fly to heaven.
Shakespeare.

AT this time of day there can be no novelties in local superstitions. The only interest they can now have for us is that men once held and acted on such beliefs. We see in them a bygone stage of the mind and bygone hindrances to right feeling and profitable action. The soil in which such misbeliefs germinated and grew could only have been ignorance, and that not merely of facts, but of the meaning of truth and of the requirements of causation. For long ages they diverted men from searching out the true causes of existing mischiefs and their true remedies; and they could bear no fruit but terror, losses, and cruelties. If we regard them from this point of view, there may be some grains of interest, and even of advantage, in recalling for a few moments some of our old Suffolk misleading misbeliefs.

EXORCISM BY FIRE.

A woman I knew forty-nine years ago had been employed by my predecessor to take care of his poultry. At the time I came to make her acquaintance she was a bedridden toothless crone, with chin and nose all but meeting. She did not discourage in her neighbours the idea that she

knew more than people ought to know, and had more power than others had. Many years before I knew her it happened one spring that the ducks, that were part of her charge, failed to lay eggs. This, of course, was a natural result of the character of the preceding winter, or of the spring then passing, or of their food having been too abundant or in some way or other unwholesome. She, however, was too ignorant to think that anything unusual could have a natural cause, and so she at once took it for granted that the ducks had been bewitched. This misbelief involved very shocking consequences, for it necessitated the idea that so diabolical an act could only be combated by diabolical cruelty. And the most diabolical act of cruelty she could imagine was that of baking alive in a hot oven one of the ducks. And that was what she did. The sequence of thought in her mind was that the spell that had been laid on the ducks was that of preternaturally wicked wilfulness; that this spell could only be broken through intensity of suffering, in this case death by burning; that the intensity of the suffering would break the spell in the one baked to death; and that the spell broken in one would be altogether broken, that is, in all the ducks. The moral of this story is that of the demoralising effect of ignorance. From this we may infer the humanising and the purifying effect of its opposite—that is to say, of knowledge.

Shocking, however, as was this method of exorcising the ducks, there was in it nothing original. It was the traditional and received prescription. Just about a hundred years before everyone in the town and neighbourhood of Ipswich had heard, and many had believed, that a witch had been burnt to death in her own house at Ipswich by the process of burning alive one of the sheep she had bewitched. It was curious, but it was as convincing as

curious, that the hands and feet of this witch were the only parts of her that had not been incinerated. This, however, was satisfactorily explained by the fact that the four feet of the sheep, by which it had been suspended over the fire, had not been destroyed in the flames that had consumed its body. As this method of destroying a sorceress by burning one of her victims had, when the father of our would-be witch was a lad, been employed at Ipswich with such complete success, he had doubtless talked to his children about the occurrence. From this source we may be pretty sure his daughter had derived her knowledge of the way in which the spell that had been laid on the ducks she had charge of was to be counterworked. They must be exorcised by fire. One of them must be burnt alive. This terrible end of the unhappy duck would be simultaneously the end of the witch, whosoever and wheresoever she might be, and of her spells.

About Bees.

As late as my early time here it was still the practice, when a death occurred in a house where bees were kept, for some member of the family to go to the hives and tap them ; and, when the bees came out, to whisper to them the loss the family had sustained. The supposition was that, because the bees showed so much intelligence and were so industrious, they must be regarded as partners with or members of the family, and were entitled to the information that one of those with whom and for whom they had been working was gone. It was believed that if they were not duly apprised of these events they would resent the neglect by making no more honey, or even by leaving the place. I knew a case in this parish where the owner of the hives, not being content with informing the bees of the death that had occurred, was in the habit

furthermore, of putting them into mourning; this she did by placing round each hive a band of crape. These superstitions diverted thought from the consideration, discovery, and provision of natural means for strengthening the hives and increasing the produce of honey, and put in their place practices that appeared to ignorant minds likely and fitting, but were, in fact, absurd and useless.

Another superstition about bees I fell in with while establishing an apiary, now many years ago, was the old and widespread one that they were not to be paid for with money. This originated in the same idea as the practice just noticed. Their intelligence and industry entitled them to be treated as members of the family—at all events, should save them from being bought and sold like cattle.

About the Raven.

The belief that a visit, accompanied with a croak, from a raven bodes the approaching death of one of the family is as general here as elsewhere. Ravens, however, having of late years been extinguished in this neighbourhood, we are no longer forewarned as those of us used to be about whose houses there might have happened to be something to attract these birds. In my early time in Suffolk, while I was living at Freston, there was a pair which bred year after year in the contiguous parish of Woolverstone, in a lofty oak between the Hall and the river. One day my housekeeper, with faltering voice and distressful look, told me of her having that morning been wholly knocked down by hearing and seeing the fateful visitor. As was natural, it did not occur to her that the visit and croak could have had any reference to herself; and so she thought it her duty—which, however, she was very loth to discharge—to inform me of what was in store for myself. This was fifty years ago; the prediction, therefore, was not one of those

that require speedy accomplishment. In the nature of things there must be cases in which the event is in accord with these warnings; and, as Bacon remarks, the misses are forgotten and the hits are remembered. The funereal colour and the gravity of this bird, together with the harshness of its voice, would, if such messages were sent to men, make it an appropriate messenger. Hence it is taken for granted that it really does come with such messages. Here ignorance, while it diverts people's attention from the search for the true causes of sudden or untimely deaths, which search might lead to profitable results, issues only in fruitless terror and distress of mind.

A Wizard's Familiars.

Over forty years ago the occupier of a farm of about 400 acres, and who was also a churchwarden, told me that in his younger days—he was then about sixty-five—on his entering the room of a wizard with whom he was acquainted—the wizard's name was Winter, and he resided at Aldborough; the name of the man and his place of residence were given in the belief that they were all but unanswerable vouchers for the truth of the story—he saw on the table before the wizard some half-dozen imps. They were black, the colour of the white man's devil. In form and size they were something between rats and bats, the most mischievous and the most hideous of English animals. They were twittering to the wizard: they could not be allowed human voice. As soon as my informant entered the room they were ordered to vanish: the mysteries of iniquity must not be exhibited to honest men. They obeyed this order by gliding down to the floor: they could not have the same modes of locomotion as God's creatures. They then vanished through the floor: solid substances,

impermeable to God's creatures, were permeable to them. I take it for granted that the narrator believed he had seen all this. He mistook for knowledge traditions and conjectures born of ignorance, and affrighted imagination working on these materials did the rest. He must also have believed that other people's minds, including the person he was addressing, were in the same state as his own. He had no experience or knowledge for reading or measuring mental differences.

From the foregoing story the following are obvious inferences. The narrator had no conception of what is meant by the laws of nature ; with him the evidence of a law of nature was that it was a traditional belief, or in conformity with traditional belief. He had no conception of the grounds on which truth and knowledge rest. He was incapable of observing accurately and to any good purpose, and of sifting and weighing evidence. We cannot, therefore, be surprised that he believed, as he told me that he did, that his cows and his calves had been bewitched, when they were only suffering from natural ailments, and that he made no efforts to combat their ailments by natural remedies ; but, instead, had recourse to nailing up a horseshoe over his cow-house, and to drawing lines and crosses and circles and triangles in the dust before the door, which figures he was persuaded it was impossible for any witch or wizard to step over ; also, that he believed that one of his ploughmen — the man whom he suspected of having bewitched his cows and calves—had been seen following his plough, not on his feet, but on his head.

I remember also that I found it impossible to persuade this man that the water in his well and the outflow of the numerous springs in the neighbourhood were supplied by the percolation of the rainfall. His theory was that all subterranean water must be due to infiltration from the

sea. That the bottom of his well was far above the sea level was a fact that had no tendency to shake his belief on this point. This was not surprising, because his mind was in that stage in which belief is not dependent on evidence, but on suppositions suggested by ignorance, and by ideas of what appears fitting or likely to an ignorant mind. Evidently his thought was that there was in the sea water enough to supply the wells and brooks, but that there did not appear to be enough in the rainfall. The relation of the sea level to that of the wells and brooks, in his opinion, neither proved nor disproved anything, for to him the world was full of wonders, and the preternatural was as much a part of the regular course of things as the natural.

A Wizard's Curse.

Many years ago a man told me that a row of plum trees that had in his time grown in a garden in this parish—they had been parallel to and not far from the road—had been cursed by a wizard. He had been overheard, while passing them, to mutter his curse. After that they never bore any more fruit, and gradually died out, so that at the time my informant mentioned to me the occurrence there was not one of them remaining. The spot, however, on which they had grown had only a few inches of fertile soil, beneath which all was hard gravel; and as the plum cannot flourish unless its roots are in moderately moist soil, the situation accounted for all the phenomena. Those, of course, who believed that these trees had died because they had been cursed would not look for, and so could not discover, and secure the profit of the discovery of, the true cause. They would go on planting plum trees on similarly unsuitable spots, and losing their labour and the ground, which might have done moderately well, and still better if deepened, for some other plants. I ridiculed to my informant the idea that these

plum trees had been cursed, and that any curse could have any such effect. He earnestly deprecated my ridicule with the remark, 'You do not know, sir, what may come of what you are saying. These people have obtained very great power. Mischief may be laid on you for what you are now saying. One ought to be careful not to anger, it is better not to speak about, these people.'

CHAPTER XXIV.

LOCAL SUPERSTITIONS AND MISBELIEFS—Continued.

Many an amulet and charm,
That would do neither good nor harm.
Hudibras.

ABOUT THE MOON.

THE moon, from the softness and beauty of its light, from its light, unlike that of the sun, being unaccompanied by warmth, and from the incessant variations of its phases, was in all pre-historic times an inexhaustible source of myths, superstitions, and misbeliefs. In these latter days its supposed influences are chiefly felt in small matters of no great significance. In its associations and uses there is now no poetry. It has indeed sunk very low. I still occasionally hear people assert that if a pig is killed while the moon is waning the fat will in cooking shrink. Their rule, therefore, is to kill their pigs while the moon is waxing. Undoubtedly some pork will waste, and some will swell, in the pot. But what has the moon to do with this? We may suppose that the shadow of the ghost of an idea in this belief came from the fact that the luminous part of the moon—that is to say, the part of it visible to us on which the sun is shining—does for a time appear to wax. Those, then, who think it profitable to kill their pigs at this time must be ignorant of the cause and nature of this waxing. They know not that there is no change in the

moon itself, but that only less and less, or more and more, of its illuminated side is continuously becoming visible to us. But supposing an actual increment or decrement in the moon itself, what reason was there for believing in a connection between it and pig's flesh? Only the groundless assumption that all waxings in nature are connected, even down to the waxing of a piece of pork in the pot; and that all are derived from the same cause—that cause being the deceptively apparent waxing of the moon.

The effect of this misbelief is to divert attention altogether from the real cause of the waste or shrinkage in the pot, which probably is that the cells of a coarse-fleshed hog are large enough to allow of the escape in boiling of the fatty matter they contain, whereas in a high-bred and fine-fleshed animal the cells are smaller, and therefore this cause of waste cannot come into play. Here, then, is a point it would be advantageous to know, but which those who hold that swelling and shrinking in the pot are dependent on waxing and waning in the moon are not at all on the road to discover. So long also will they be obliged to kill their pigs sooner or later than might have suited their convenience.

Reversely, it was believed that there were things which ought to be done while the moon was waning; for instance, you should cut your corns at this time. The moon is waning. Growth will then be weak. They will not wax again rapidly. The moon that wanes in heaven before our eyes is the cause of all sublunary waning. Its period of waning is the period of waning in all things. Therefore, take off your lambs and little pigs while the moon is in this phase. The secretion of milk in the ewes and the sows will then be more readily staunched. It is waning time. It is a bad time for putting up poultry to fatten. It would be contrary to nature for them to wax at that time.

All the misbeliefs about what are called changes in the moon producing changes in the weather rested on the same misconceptions. The moon changes no more than the sun or the earth. There is no more difference in nature between the moon on the seventh and the moon on the eighth day of its age, that is, what is called its second quarter, than there is between the moon on the eighth and the moon on the ninth day of its age, on the tenth and eleventh, or any other two days—that is to say, there is really no change at all. But the popular idea was that there are certain definite important steps in the waxing and in the waning, and that in conformity with them good or bad meteorological conditions would at one period be waxing and at the other period be waning. These assumed lunar changes, however, that apparently take place, are only certain points in the evenly progressive process of lunar illumination that is visible to us for half the period in the direction of increase and for the other half in the direction of decrease. Were it not for the inveteracy of this belief, it would not be worth while to insist on the fact that the quarters are only arbitrarily fixed points in a regularly gradual process, which process itself signifies nothing; and that these points came to be fixed where they are merely because the time required for the accomplishment of all these so-called changes is proximately twenty-nine days—that is, something not far from a multiple of four, and, therefore, roughly divisible into four weeks. But these are not natural divisions, or divisions that rest on any natural facts or real differences of any kind, but are merely a convenient convention for enabling us to indicate in words the age of the moon. The popular supposition is that these changes, which are no changes at all in anything except in the amount of moonshine, could not have been designed merely to amuse, but must have important and

far-reaching purposes and effects, and that their first effect must be felt in the region of the air, through which their power is transmitted—that is to say, on the meteorological conditions of our earth—that is to say, on the weather.

About the Spontaneous Genesis of Stones.

I was some years ago assured by an educated farmer who had much intelligence, and who took in a weekly paper, that it was of no manner of use to have stones picked off one's land (I have heard the same opinion expressed by others) because—this was the reason he gave—it is an undoubted fact that the land produces them. He insisted that this assertion of his was not only in accord with the order of nature, because everything, even a stone, must have been produced, but was also a result of his own experience; for he had several times had the stones picked off a certain field, and now there were upon it as many as ever. Of course this proved him completely ignorant of the composition of different kinds of stone, of the processes by which they had been produced, and of how they came to be where he found them. His false premiss, that after having removed a great many stones, there were still as many as before, by a correct logical process had obliged him to abandon the attempt to clear his field of stones. If these stones were hurtful to the fertility of the soil, this ignorance was a pecuniary loss.

About the Spontaneous Genesis of Weeds.

Similar remarks may be made on the somewhat similar misbelief, which also I have heard confidently announced, as if there could be no doubt about it, that weeds are natural to the ground, in the sense that the ground originates them; and that no man ever did, because no man ever could, eradicate them. They spring eternal from the ground

itself, not at all necessarily from the seeds of parent weeds. Those who are the victims of this misbelief have not yet arrived at the knowledge of the elementary truth of *omne vivum e vivo.* But to this ignorance is superadded in the case of the weeds a theological conception, that the ground has been cursed with weeds as a punishment for man's disobedience. It has, therefore, ever borne, and will ever continue to bear, for the punishment of the husbandman (but why should husbandmen only be punished?), thistles and poppies and speargrass. It is then useless, not to say that it is a sign of a rebellious spirit, to attempt to clean one's land thoroughly. It is pious to accept this dispensation up to a certain point.

About the Broom Plant.

Formerly I used to hear the rhymes:—

> Sweep with a broom that is cut in May,
> And you will sweep the head of the house away.

Is it possible that this meant no more than that it was a bad time to cut broom when, from being in flower, the shoots were tender; and also that it was wiser to let the plant flower and shed its seed, so that there might be a good stock for future use; and, too, that the beauty of its profuse golden bloom in the early spring was an appeal to your forbearance which it would be unfeeling and unwise to neglect? If so, the rule would be good; and the punishment denounced against those who violated it would be the superstitious element in the belief. This would be intelligible. The Australian aborigines had a similar superstition with respect to some plants that were useful to them for food. They observed a traditional rule, which had become a superstition, against taking them up for food during the time of fructification, and till they had shed their seed. It had become a superstition, because the

only reason they gave for its observance was that its violation would be visited with preternatural consequences. Plainly, however, the rule must have originated in the observation that its violation would very much lessen their supply of food from this plant.

About the Whitethorn.

One might conjecture that the somewhat similar superstition, that you will die before the year is out if you bring May-flower into your house, originated in the kindred idea that people would do well to co-operate with Providence by allowing every flower of so serviceable a plant as the whitethorn to mature its seed, because its fruit is the winter food of a great many kinds of birds. This explanation would become still more probable if it could be shown that it had been the practice formerly in this country, as it is now on the Continent, to look on blackbirds and thrushes as by no means insignificant viands. The old nursery ditty of the four-and-twenty blackbirds baked in a pie, which was a dainty dish to set before a king, seems to imply that there was a time when they were held here in high estimation.

It is a common misbelief that an abundance of fruit on this plant is an indication that the coming winter will be severe, because we have before us a providential store of food for many of the feathered tribe. This supposition is disproved by the fact that the first spell of severe weather destroys the edible part of this fruit. That the fruit is abundant in any particular year only proves that in that particular year the season had been favourable for setting the fruit. It tells us something about the season that is past, but nothing about that which is coming.

About the Nail that has lamed a Horse.

The belief has still some vitality amongst us that the way to recover a horse from the lameness caused by puncture of the foot from treading on a nail is not merely to keep the nail that inflicted the wound, but also to take care that it has been thoroughly cleaned and is bright, and to see that it is well greased. Some years ago while driving by the old shipyard in Stoke my horse was lamed by this mischance. He had set his foot on a piece of plank from which a nail was protruding. The wound was bad, and the recovery was slow. My coachman, however, had no doubt from the first. He confidently assured me that recovery was certain, for he had at the time brought away the nail, had carefully cleaned and polished it, and was daily greasing it thoroughly. This was in the times that preceded the electric telegraph and the penny newspaper. But as lately as the year 1884 I met with an instance of the survival of this superstition. A man produced from his pocket and showed to me the offending nail, which he believed would, as long as he kept it bright, aid in the recovery of the lameness it had caused. I forgot to ask whether he kept it greased.

Bacon notes the same misbelief respecting the sword, that if the blade, after a wound has been inflicted with it, be kept anointed with some soothing balm, the healing process will be greatly assisted ; but that if, contrariwise, the blade be anointed with some poisonous preparation, the wound will be thereby aggravated.

The origin of this superstition cannot easily be made out. Its vitality, however, proves that in it there is something to commend it to ignorant minds. It is plain that those who believe in it can have no conception of natural

causes, or of the necessity of an alleged cause having some ascertained properties that might reasonably be regarded as adequate to the production of the desired or supposed result. The keeping the nail cleaned and greased is evidently the essential point, for this is the whole of the difference between the condition of the nail when kept and what would be its condition if it were cast away at the time it was taken from the horse's foot. The idea cannot be that if the nail be in safe keeping it can do no more harm, because that might have been more easily secured by throwing it over the hedge or by burying it. And, besides, it is not at all a question of doing no more harm, but of active aid in the recovery of the wound. Is it to be explained by the supposition that there is still lurking in men's minds some conception of the idea which in early times obtained very widely that the brute instrument through which anything was done was not really brute, but was in a sense an intelligent and conscious agent; so that, if the nail be kept bright and greased, those will have become its qualities, its nature; and that it will in some way or other—we should say preternaturally, the believers in the remedy would say naturally—impart the qualities of being clean and oiled to the wound?

This persistent primitive misconception came from generalising on insufficient evidence. Because what we ourselves do is the result of will and intention, it was inferred that everything that is in any way done, even by a stick or a stone, by a sword or a nail, is equally and in the same sense the result of will and intention in what was the instrument of the act. The imagination could not think of anything done by any agent having been done without motive and purpose, without will and intention. From this it followed that the instrument of every act was

conscious and intelligent, and that its consciousness and intelligence—that is, its will and intention—might be influenced.

Again, in this case, as we did in the preceding ones, we must note the loss sustained by accepting traditionally and ignorantly as an efficient cause that which it is impossible could be in any way or sense a cause at all.

My object here has not been to collect as many kinds and instances as I could of Suffolk superstitions—Forby's pages contain a great many more than I have noticed—but to record those I have myself fallen in with, and to endeavour to trace them to their sources, and to show how most of them issued in mischievous and degrading consequences. One may be disposed to think that the superstitious beliefs of populations steeped in ignorance—and this is still the condition of all the world with the exception of a few of the most advanced nations—are a very potent cause of their stagnation. Progress mainly arises from people having ascertained the true causes of things; and this is precisely what they have not done, and are incapable of doing. They acquiesce in their deadening and misleading superstitions, and take it for granted that there is nothing more for them to do. The opposite state of mind, and its far-reaching effects, may be contemplated in the condition of the Americans. Partly from their having been transplanted to a new world, far away from the homes of the old superstitions; partly from their being of a very mixed origin, so that no man sympathised with or countenanced his neighbours' misbeliefs; and partly from the wide diffusion among them of some degree of education, they have become of all people the least superstitious. Their gains from this source intellectually, morally, and economically have been incalculable. The minds of the

million, or rather of the whole people, have been directed to the ascertainment of the true causes of things. That this is their mental attitude is the explanation of the fruitfulness of their practical thought. It accounts for no small part of the difference between 50,000,000 Americans and 50,000,000 Russians.

CHAPTER XXV.

OUR EAST ANGLIAN DIALECT.

So build we up the being that we are.
Thus deeply drinking in the soul of things,
We shall be wise perforce.

Wordsworth.

OF LANGUAGE IN GENERAL.

WORDS, it is obvious, are the means through which the images that are in one mind are reflected from it to other minds. The understanding is a mirror that receives the images of what the senses report. Words are the outwardly reflected details of these images. Through them others see—their understanding receives—the images that are in the mirror of the speaker's understanding. This process has no limits. A man can reflect what is in his mind through spoken words to thousands at the same time, and in written words to millions, and throughout all time to thousands of millions; for words addressed to the eye give to these images, potentially, infinite dispersion and eternity, inasmuch as they have become imperishable and portable. Thus it is that what was in the mind of David and of Homer has been transmitted to all the world. The capacity for so using words is the high and peculiar attribute of 'articulate speaking' man.

Words, however, have an anterior use to that just noticed of enabling a man to impart to other minds what is in his own mind; it is through them, used as the sym-

bols of things in nature and of the images of those things in our minds, that we are enabled to store up in our minds and to compare together one with another the things that have been observed and felt. Furthermore, it is through words that we are enabled at will—that is to say, unaided by suggestions or reminders from without—to think over what has been so stored up.

These uses of words will be better understood by comparing ourselves in these respects with the lower animals. The brute has understanding. The device by which a partridge diverts from its helpless brood the attention of a dog or any dangerous intruder is a demonstration of this. Doubtless the action has become what is called instinctive. The instinct, however, must have been acquired; and the only way in which it could have been acquired must have been through the perception of the utility of the action for the object in view, because it is a manœuvre which exposes the parent bird to great risks. Also the brute has some capacity for transmitting by sound what is in its mind. The several calls and cries of domestic fowls are a familiar instance of this; they are significant, and are understood. Furthermore, the brute is capable of giving utterance to articulate words, for probably there is no word in any language which the imitative powers of the parrot are incapable of reproducing. Some years ago I had one of the green species which mimicked with marvellous precision the sounds of sawing, of scrubbing the floor, and even of pouring out water. This, I suppose, is really going beyond what it is possible for man's vocal apparatus to achieve. The brute, however, cannot store up in its mind, through the medium of purposely, though almost unconsciously, invented words, images of what it has observed and felt. Nor can it, for want of such words, recall at pleasure what images may be in its mind; nor can it, by

reason of the same want, reflect those images into the minds of others of its kind. It appears, indeed, from this deficiency to be incapable of thinking except under the stimulus of what it is at the moment perceiving through the channel of some one of the senses—that is to say, of what it is seeing, or hearing, or smelling, or tasting, or touching, or inwardly feeling.

The savage, however, can think independently of the simultaneous report and stimulation of the senses. This he is enabled to do not merely because the images of the things he has observed are in his mind—that would not be enough, but, furthermore, because he is able to summon before his thoughts at will these images of things; and this he does through the words he has invented to stand for them—that is to say, through the names he has given them. The mind can deal with the quantities of things—of money, for instance—in any way that is required, by adding, or subtracting, or multiplying, through the figures that stand for the money. Just so, with the aid of the names of things—that is, of the words that stand for things, and which are the mental, the vocal, and, if written, the visible signs of things—the mind can summon before itself the images that stand for the things, and deal with them as required. In this process there are three stages—first, the things themselves in nature; then the images of these things in the mind; and, lastly, the words or names which stand equally for the things in nature and for the images of them in the mind. In the faculty of inventing these words or names, and in the faculty of using them in the ways just spoken of, lie 'the promise and the potency' of the intellectual construction, the building up in the human mind in all its details, of the whole cosmos, inclusive of what is in man himself.

As observations are multiplied and corrected and know-

ledge increased, our conceptions, represented by words, invented as the need of them arises, generally out of old materials re-used, are ever gaining in number and distinctness. This has been a slow process. Its origins we cannot recover. But experience tells us that much that was, at any selected point in the process, not in the mirror, and then for a time only hazily present in it, afterwards became clearly defined, and was permanently added, in the form of words, to the sum of the objects, and of their reciprocal relations, that previously had been more or less accurately imaged, and so became available for intellectual construction and capable of being reflected. The ultimate goal is the building up in the mind of the cosmos. Words, being the human symbols of the objects of nature and of their images in the mind, are both the materials of this intellectual edifice and the means by which whatever of it has been constructed is reflected from mind to mind.

At present in the aims and methods of our schools and universities there is no inconsiderable hindrance to the progress we might be making in the mental construction of the cosmos, which is the all-embracing intellectual work that has been set for us to do, and for the achievement of which we have been adequately endowed. Much has been said of late about their neglect of scientific knowledge, and some, but very far from effectual, attempts have been made to apply a remedy; for our highest educational aims still remain practically limited to the effort, a wise and necessary effort three or four centuries ago, to recover an acquaintance with the classics. This, instead of training, aborts the observing faculty. It fixes the eyes and concentrates the thought of the educated part of the community upon a past condition of the mirror. It averts their eyes and thoughts from the cosmos. No training is given that might qualify them for adding to the image-

receiving and image-reflecting regions of the mirror, and, which is the great point, to the store of materials that is being collected for the intellectual construction of the cosmos. It will only be in spite of what they have been taught, and of the bent given to their minds, if they endeavour to attain to the possession of any portion of the materials that have been already amassed for this purpose. To be able to look at and make out—but this a very few only reach—what the mirror reflected two thousand years ago is doubtless interesting, but ought not to be the highest educational aim now. This remark, however, about the antiquated character of our highest educational aims has been made parenthetically to our immediate object, which is to show the relation of words to the building up in the mind of the cosmos, and to the reflection from mind to mind of whatever of the structure has been achieved.

The representative and reproducing power of human speech has no bounds except those of the universe and of all that it contains, so far as they are accessible to our senses. The invented words we now possess are an intellectual re-creation of the cosmos, so far as we have observed and mastered its details and the workings and functions of any part of it. The difference between the language of an Australian savage and that of the president of the Royal Society measures the distance between the points they have respectively reached in this intellectual reconstruction. The completion of the reconstruction is the work that has been set to the human understanding, aided by the faculty of inventing and of using articulate sounds for the permanent retention of all that has been observed or that is in or can enter into the mind, and of transmitting by this vehicle to other minds our own emotions and ideas and facts of all kinds, and their innumerable relations to each other and to ourselves. This

is the road we have to travel and the means we possess for travelling along it; at the end stands the completion of the intellectual reconstruction of the cosmos. This is the prerogative of man; the achievement which sums up all achievements; the ultimate intellectual making of man.

This mental reconstruction of the cosmos places within the human mind that which is the external product and work of the divine mind. It plants in the mind of man completely, and in orderly form, the cosmic manifestation of the mind of God, which is the total of what man is cognisant of and concerned with. This is the final goal and the supreme use of knowledge. This is the consummation and the perfected issue of education, of observation and research, of science and philosophy; it is the *summa philosophia.* This conception—that of building up in the mind the cosmos by the aid of words—alone coordinates and alone gives an intelligible and distinct purpose and a natural and unquestionable place to all attained and attainable knowledge.

And these words that we invent in and for carrying on this work are not invented haphazard, but in strict accordance with certain definite ascertained laws. Within certain limits every word must have been what it came to be. It had its parentage, and will have its issues. It could not have been anything else.

It is this ever-growing and supreme power, value, and purpose of language which gives importance and interest to an inquiry into the history and character of any particular language, and of any dialect of any language. Such inquiries are chapters and subchapters in the history of the formation of this marvellous intellectual reconstruction, which aims at being as all-embracing and as subtle as the cosmos itself, for it is its human correlative, counterpart, and antitype.

It is from this point of view that I propose to look at, or to take a glimpse of, our East Anglian dialect: the relations in which it stands to the history, purpose, and work of language. It can have no other serious or substantial interest.

Of Dialects.

A dialect is the form any language has assumed in some particular isolated district of the region the language covers. It consists of peculiarities of pronunciation and of grammar; of peculiar words; and of words common to it and to the widespread and more highly cultivated language to which it belongs, but used by the dialect in a peculiar sense. If it is regarded disconnectedly and as a separate entity, it teaches little; but if comparatively, it then throws much light on the formation of the language, to which it stands in the relation of an affluent to the main stream, or of an offset from the same stock, and also on the formation of language generally.

I shall speak of our East Anglian dialect as I have heard it now for fifty-two years in Wherstead and the surrounding parishes. Of late I have noticed that it is passing through a process of rapid extinction. I mention this merely as a fact that may be observed, not as a loss to be regretted, for what is abandoned is replaced with something better. The processes of decay, extinction, substitution, absorption, modification, growth, and outgrowth have been going on in the department of speech from its earliest days. Language is an organism of the intellect, and like other organisms cannot continue long in one stay.

The peculiarities of a dialect originate mainly in historical events; but to some extent also in climatic, in social, and in intellectual conditions. These causes gave rise to our East Anglian as well as to our northern and western dialects. And we may go further and say that

causes of this kind, acting in endless combinations on the linguistic faculty and the impulses of man, may perhaps be credited with having brought about all the diversities of language that are, or that ever have been, in the world.

To dwell for a moment on these causes as they have affected ourselves. The retention in this part of the country in a greater or less degree of some fragments of the British or of the Latin element at the time of the Teutonic invasion; differences here in the composition of the invading Teutonic element from what was its composition in other parts of the country; a more or less considerable proportion here of the subsequent Danish invasion; the degree and fashion in which the Norman invasion affected us; the greater or less connection of East Anglia with the administrative centre of the country; and all these conditions acting on the language at the time when it was freely forming itself, are the historical causes that must have contributed towards bringing about what is characteristic in our East Anglian dialect.

Our colder and drier East Anglian climate may, by hardening and bracing up the organs of speech, have given us the force of utterance which enabled us to impart a distinct power to our vowels and a disposition not to flinch from combinations of consonants other people would have rejected.

The fact that from social causes our dialect at an early period ceased to be employed by the upper class and so became the speech only of yeomen and peasants may account for its rusticity. It became rude because its use was confined to the expression of the ideas and wants of the ruder classes of the community. It was entrusted to the keeping of those who were pretty generally excluded from books, from an acquaintance with the past, from

science and art, from the administration of affairs, from political discussion and almost from intellectual occupations of any kind, and who had little to employ their thought upon, and so to enlarge their language, but the simplest and humblest necessities of life. Under such conditions the growth, because the use, of language is much restricted. Its possible wealth and niceties are not developed. It is impoverished, withered, hardened. In Suffolk phrase it becomes skrinchled and scockered.

CHAPTER XXVI.

SOME PECULIARITIES OF OUR EAST ANGLIAN DIALECT.

Verba sunt rerum notæ.—*Cicero.*

WHEN an emigrant from any other part of the country is brought by the chances of life into East Anglia, his attention is soon arrested by the linguistic peculiarities of the uneducated class among his new neighbours. He finds, as is the case with local dialects generally, that the pronunciation is harder than that of the cultivated language; for instance, 'say' has here become 'sahr,' and 'you' 'yeow.' Some words are presented to him in a variant form; for instance, the preterites of 'snow,' 'mow,' 'sow,' and 'owe' have been brought into harmony with the received preterites of 'know,' 'crow,' 'blow,' and 'grow,' and have thus become 'snew,' 'mew,' 'sew,' and 'ewe.' In like manner the preterites of 'beat' and 'heat' have been brought into harmony with the received preterite of 'eat,' which, though written 'ate,' is pronounced 'et,' and have thus become 'bet' and 'het;' and the similarly formed preterites 'kep,' 'slep,' 'swep,' 'crep,' and 'lep' have been provided for 'keep,' 'sleep,' 'sweep,' 'creep,' and 'leap.' Again, the third person singular of the present tense has been made identical with the first person singular and with the three persons of the plural; for instance, the new-comer will hear that 'time fly,' and that 'Hezekiah Winterflood have a misery in his head.' All these are simplifications. So also

is the abolition, in the use of the personal pronouns 'he' and 'she,' of the oblique cases 'him' and 'her;' for instance, 'I heard he,' and 'I saw she.' These peculiarities, though of course they would be in received English grossly incorrect, are not at all incorrect or ungrammatical in East Anglia. Here they are only dialectic simplifications.

He would, too, meet with some words that would probably be quite new to him; such, for instance, as 'dolk' for a depression, generally in the ground; 'stound' for a period of time; 'trunch' for short and thick; 'twitty' for snappish; 'bargood' for yeast; 'jowered' for exhausted; 'dossing' for butting; 'ding,' as a verb, to throw, as a noun, a smart slap, &c.

But it will not be from the upper class that he will hear these variations of and additions to our cultivated English, any more than he would meet with analogous variations and additions among the upper class in Northumberland or Somersetshire; nor will it be from the tradesmen, nor from the capitalist farmers of the present day, nor even from his domestics. It will be from the agricultural labourer only that they will in these days be heard. Doubtless there was a time when all East Angles spoke East Anglian. Tusser wrote his 'Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry' in this dialect. This work was published in 1557, and its author died in 1580. If, then, a date may be fixed for what must from its nature have been a gradual process, we may say that towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth it had become the dialect of the uneducated classes, who have from that day formed a continuously waning proportion of the community; the diminution having, in the earlier part of the period that has since elapsed, been very gradual, and in the latter part of it much more rapid. The strong tang of rusticity that marks the dialect was a necessary consequence of its having come to

be confined to the cottage and to the parlour of the village public-house. And even in these its last retreats the public elementary school is rapidly extinguishing it.

It is an illustration of the risks and unprofitableness of 'prophesying unless you know,' that the present imminence of the very event, the extinction of our East Anglian dialect, which Forby pronounced so impossible as to be almost inconceivable, is precisely what is now adding much to the value of his 'Vocabulary of East Anglia.' This result, however, is being brought about by a cause which no one in his time could have foreseen. That cause originated outside of our borders, for, while Watt was perfecting at Soho the steam-engine, he was contriving, among many other revolutions, the extinguishment of the dialect of East Anglia, because what he was then thinking out led directly to the now familiar, but at that time unimaginable, increase of our manufactures and commerce, to the recent enormous growth of London, to the incredible, as it would have appeared to our fathers, volume of emigration to our colonies, to our vastly increased facilities for locomotion, and to the universal education which these new conditions necessitated. Through the operation of these causes our East Anglian population has been swept into the great currents of the modern world, and is in this way being assimilated to the ideas and practices of the day. This is rapidly effacing our dialectic peculiarities. They cannot hold their ground. The iron horse, the iron workman, and the penny newspaper are not on their side. And the extension of household suffrage to the county constituencies will give the finishing stroke to the process of their extinction.

Already, indeed, Moore's 'Suffolk Words' and Forby's 'Vocabulary of East Anglia' are rapidly becoming the chief sources of our knowledge of East Anglian. Both these works were very useful efforts to collect the materials

necessary for its study. They are, however, overloaded with redundances and irrelevances, disfigured by more or less unhappy conjectures and assumptions, and made wearisome by constant straining at jocosity of a feeble sort. But blemishes of this kind the reader can eliminate for himself, regarding them merely as harmless consequences of the interest these authors took in their subject, at a time when in this country very little was known about the history of language. As to their redundances, they boast of 2,500 words; but a glance over their pages leaves the impression that not so many as the odd five hundred are really entitled to a place in a list of 'Suffolk Words,' or in a 'Vocabulary of East Anglia.' Sir John Cullum's list of words and expressions used in his part of Suffolk only reaches to the number of 110, and of these a large proportion are very far from being of exclusively East Anglian usage. That all these first efforts should err also in the opposite direction, that of incompleteness, was unavoidable.

To show that their useful researches did not exhaust the whole field, I will here give a few words I have myself noted, but which are not to be found in the pages of Moore or of Forby.

Smeaky.—This word I have heard applied to tainted meat. A few moments' thought about its origin may illustrate the formation of new words by showing how the impulse that is in the mind to express a fact, or a feeling, makes use of pre-existing materials for its new coinage. Those whom conjectures satisfy might imagine more than one root for this word. First, they might suppose it may have been 'smear.' On meat, in the process of its becoming tainted, there is thrown out a kind of exudation. There is upon it a wet smear. This, with the adjectival termination of *y*, gives 'smeary.' But how did it come about that *k* was substituted for *r*? Some might be almost

tempted to ask whether this might not have resulted from the word 'sneaky' having been in some way or other suggested to the thought while 'smeaky' was in formation. This would also account for the otherwise inexplicable fact that a contemptuous intonation invariably accompanies the use of this word, which may be an unconscious survival of the feelings appropriate to this part of its origin.

Or a second conjecture might be that the whole word may be no more than 'sneaky' with the variation of a single letter, *m* for *n*, in order to distinguish the new from the old word. The root idea, then, would be that the action on the part of the meat was mean and contemptible, which would be underlaid by the supposition that the meat was a conscious and intelligent agent—a way of regarding natural objects that obtained very widely in early ages and among ignorant people. This origin, then, of the word would be an instance of a common form of animism, or of the conception of inanimate things as animate, which accounts for the worship of trees, stones, swords, &c.

A third conjecture would be that 'smeaky' had been constructed from 'smirch;' first 'smirchy;' then, not 'smirky,' for that was a word already in existence with a different meaning, but 'smeaky.' All this is etymology after the manner of the ancients.

But in fact not one of these three conjectures, however self-evident it might appear to those who had hit upon and propounded it, would be right; for in etymology nothing can be accomplished, and of course nothing can be demonstrated, by conjectures. Certainty can only be attained in this matter by the historical method. Are there, then, any historical facts connected with this rare Suffolk word, which probably not one in a thousand of us ever heard, or, if heard, ever noticed? Is any light thrown on it by history? The word 'smeggy,' with much the same meaning,

occurs in another English dialect. For this the reader is referred to Halliwell-Phillips's 'Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words.' In Icelandic, 'smekker' means having a bad taste. To these must be added what Richardson says of the Teutonic relatives of our English 'smack.' The East Anglian 'smeaky,' then, has no kindred with 'smear' and 'smirch,' but came from a root from which in the Teutonic languages is descended a large family of closely related words.

Blewse.—This is a noun formed from 'blue.' It means a bluish mist, not unusual in summer when the temperature suddenly becomes chilled, the sky remaining cloudless. It is supposed to bring a blight. I give the meaning of the word as it was many years ago explained to me by a Suffolk labourer. I had said to him, giving utterance to the commonly received opinion on the subject, 'This chilly haze will bring blight.' To this he sharply replied, correcting me, 'It is no haze.' 'Well,' I inquired, 'what is it? It is what people call haze or mist.' 'No,' was his rejoinder, 'it is not haze or mist. It is "blewse."' 'And what,' I continued, 'is "blewse"?' 'Why,' he replied, 'everybody knows what "blewse" is. It is the smoke of the burning mountain.' Some talk, then, about volcanoes had some time or other filtered down to unlettered Hodge. And what he had heard about them being borne out by his reminiscence of the text, 'If He do but touch the mountains they shall smoke,' because he saw a resemblance to smoke in this bluish blighting mist, he attributed it to the burning mountain; he could not imagine more than one. And having constructed an idea in his mind, he was obliged to invent a word to represent it; and this he did unconsciously in strict accordance with the rules the mind and the organs of speech act upon in such cases. And as to the phenomena of the thing, its appearance, its deleterious

effects, its wide reach, and even its supposed odour, the burning mountain explained the whole of them. It was, and could be, nothing else, the smoke of the burning mountain. The existence of the word 'blewse,' which, however, he had himself invented, was to his mind a demonstration of the reality of his supposition, for words must represent things.

This word 'blewse' shows how easily and spontaneously new words came into being among our uncultured predecessors, to whom we of this day are as much indebted for our language as we are for our morality or our features. In these days none of us are altogether uncultured, but those amongst us who now stand in the place of the uncultured people of old times—our Suffolk ploughboys, for instance—have a much greater facility for inventing words, and do invent a great many more, than our literary class; their inventions, of course, almost in every case being constructed out of pre-existing materials. The ploughboy is always inventing words. He is always striving to find and adapt articulate sounds for the expression of new ideas and newly observed objects and facts. The literary man has a repugnance to use any word for which he has not authority—that is to say, to use any new word whatever; he is always denouncing and fighting against this kind of invention. But, on the other side, the word-making of the unlettered never slumbers. The literary man forgets that every word he himself uses was once new, that it was the product of an immemorial series of adaptations, readaptations, alterations, imitations, and appropriations, and had been inventively accommodated and reaccommodated, again and again, to what were the ever-varying conditions and wants of the countless ages of the past, and that in this matter what has been is what is and what will continue to be to the end. What he so loudly and persistently

denounces is precisely that which is the principle and the evidence of life, of growth, and of adaptation in language. His unavailing protests do, however, demonstrate one thing, and that is that when a word is wanted there is nothing in the world that can prevent its coming into existence: not all the pedants and all the critics, and all the haters of innovation, and all the sticklers for authority combined. The word is wanted; that sets in motion the machinery Nature has provided for the creation of words, and when the word has been created, generally out of old materials, that it is wanted guarantees its reception and endows it with vitality.

The London Road.—Once on a clear starlight night I said something to a labourer who happened to be with me about the Milky Way. 'We,' he interposed, 'don't call it by that name. We call it the London Road.' I supposed at the moment that this merely meant that from the neighbourhood where we were it was parallel to the direction of the London Road. It was for this reason that Watling Street (the Roman road from London to Wroxeter) and the Milky Way were once interchangeable appellations. On continuing the conversation, however, I found that this was the smallest part of the reason why the luminous celestial belt had received this strange local appellation. The date of our conversation was in the days before railways, when the upper ten thousand posted to and from London, and there was a great deal of traffic by night in carriages and wagons. 'Its name,' he explained, 'is the London Road, because it is the light of the lamps of the carriages and wagons that are travelling to and from London.' The mind asks for the causes of things long before it is capable of judging of the adequacy of the causes it supposes. But it is this demand for causes which in the end issues in the right understanding of

things. Another attempt, I have heard of in Suffolk, to account for the Milky Way is that it is the glare of the great battle of Armageddon. Naturally those whose knowledge is confined to the Bible explain everything by the Bible.

Do.—Of this word we have hereabouts a highly idiomatic use I have nowhere seen noticed. It corrects an answer which the person interrogated feels was too wide. For instance, you ask, 'Has the squire passed this way?' To this the answer might be, 'No. Do: I dint see him.' That is, suppose, or grant, that he did pass, which I allow he might have done, I did not see him. His passing did not come under my observation. Again, to the question, 'Is your daughter going out to service?' the mother might reply, 'No. Do: I should soon want her back again.' Again: 'Mrs. Orris can't get no better. Do: it will surprise me.' 'She say she can draw a pail of water. Do: she is a poor creature.' It is also used negatively in explaining or commenting on an affirmative answer. For instance: 'Has the squire passed this way?' 'Yes. Don't: it wount be like him.' 'Has your daughter gone out to service?' 'Yes. Don't: I shount know how to keep her at home.' The imperative form is taken from the understood 'suppose,' or 'grant,' and all that is in the mind, and that has to be supposed or granted, is packed away in the little word 'do.'

This is an admirable instance of condensation in language. It is, too, particularly interesting, because we see in it distinctly what it was that the mind had to condense, and by how thoroughly legitimate and effective a method it reached its aim. This achievement, moreover, was imagined and devised by unschooled labourers, and would have been beyond the reach of their cultivated betters, whose mental pliability and fertility in word-

making have been pretty well extinguished by a tyrannous enforcement of the doctrine, which is a contradiction of Nature's scheme, that it is incorrect and inelegant, not to say heretical and vulgar, to take a step in such matters beyond the beaten tracks of recognised usage.

This East Anglian use of 'do' resembles, in the word selected for the purpose in view, that of the Latin *fac* for 'suppose' or 'allow.' In the Ciceronian use, however, of *fac* the condensation of our Suffolk peasants was not attained. The Ciceronian phrase would have been, 'Do that the squire had passed,' and 'Do that my daughter had gone into service.' The difference is that with us the 'do' is used absolutely. This requires that the speaker should imply, and that the hearer should understand, a contingent possibility that is not expressed.

CHAPTER XXVII.

EAST ANGLIAN IN THE UNITED STATES. DISTINCTNESS IN VOWEL SOUNDS. REDUPLICATED AND RHYMING WORDS.

> And who in time knows whither we may vent
> The treasures of our tongues? To what strange shores
> This gain of our best glory shall be sent,
> T' enrich unknowing nations with our stores?
> What worlds in th' yet unformed Occident
> May come refined with th' accents that are ours?—*Daniel.*

CHARLES DICKENS I think it was, who somewhere said that he had been shocked at hearing an American lady use the word 'bug' for 'beetle.' She had vouchsafed to him the information that her brooch was made of a 'bug-stone,' that is, as we now call it, a beetle-stone. There was, however, a grain of history in what caused him this shock. 'Bug' is East Anglian for 'beetle,' and the word was taken in that generic sense to New England by its first Puritan settlers, many of whom hailed from Suffolk. But, besides this monosyllable, which the fortune that rules among words has now restricted in its old home to a single, and that an almost unmentionable, species, they took with them the whole of the East Anglian vocabulary. And thus many of our words received there a new lease of life, and are now heard familiarly from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast of the New World.

'Freshes' are with East Angles river floods. With their

descendants on the other side of the Atlantic they have become 'freshets.'

'Hub' is with us the nave of a wheel. It is a Massachusetts 'crack' that Boston is the 'hub' of the world—that on which the world revolves; that which holds it together; its organic centre.

'Kinder big' the States consider themselves; we should not deny that they are 'kind o' big.'

'Kinks' are sometimes found in our cords and skeins of thread. On their side the hair of the nigger 'kinks.'

Here 'nog' is a kind of strong ale. There a glass of sherry or madeira, with the addition of the yolk of an egg and some sugar whipped together, is 'egg-nog.'

In New England, as in East Anglia, an ironing-flat and a kettle of water are not heated, but 'het.'

A small load for a man's back or for a carriage is a 'jag.'

A jolt, or a shake, is a 'jounce.'

To be brisk, in good health and spirits, is to be 'kedge;' for instance, 'How are you to-day?' 'Thank you, pretty kedge.'

A sitting room is a 'keeping room.'

A penthouse is a 'linter' (lean-to).

Sausages are 'links.'

To choke, or suffocate, is to 'quackle;' a word well invented from the gurgling and gasping of suffocation.

A damp chilly day is a 'rafty' day.

For anything to be over-poised, or metaphorically to decline in health, is to 'sag.'

Vegetables are, with us, 'sauce;' but our New England cousins have made a further use of this word, for with them one who grows vegetables for sale is a 'sauce-marketer.' This compound we in East Anglia never reached, having been satisfied with the less distinctive, but generally

adopted, appellation of a 'market-gardener;' we, however, have our summer and our winter 'sauce.'

'Shot,' as with us, is a young hog; but with them it is also used metaphorically for a man.

None probably of the foregoing or of the following East Anglian words are current in Australia. That they have been naturalised in the United States is a fact that has some historical significance.

'Cuteness' is a characteristic of everybody there now. Forby, however, had noted that, ages before this had become one of their national features, 'cute' was a common East Anglian word, derived, as he supposed, from the Anglo-Saxon 'cuth,' skilled or knowing.

Their 'right away' seems to have been suggested by our 'right down' and 'right up.'

Their 'rare,' applied to underdone meat, is our 'rere,' from, as Forby tells us, the Anglo-Saxon 'hrere,' raw.

We are 'riled' and 'peskily riled,' just as they are.

We taught them how by drawing off the *r* 'marshes' might be converted into 'mashes.'

A little time back there was a discussion in the newspapers on the origin of what the disputants called the American word 'cuss.' Some demonstrated that it had no connection with 'curse.' An acquaintance, however, with East Anglian, the source, as we have now seen, of much of the New World English, would have rendered this mistake impossible. The word 'cuss,' formed precisely in the same way from 'curse' as our 'puss' and 'nuss' are from 'purse' and 'nurse,' has all along been in use here. It is our way to drop the interior *r* after *a*, *e*, *o*, and *u* in monosyllables. 'Marsh' has been just noticed, 'Harsh,' 'scarce,' 'bird,' 'first,' 'porch,' 'worse,' 'horse,' 'church,' we pronounce 'hash,' 'scace,' 'bahd,' 'fust,' 'poch,' 'wuss,' 'hoss,' 'chuch.'

Here the farmer used in old times to 'larrup' his idle, disorderly boys; there, during the abolition agitation, a Southern dame was heard to wonder what kind of a world it would be when ladies could no longer 'larrup' their own niggers.

DISTINCTNESS OF THE VOWEL SOUNDS IN EAST ANGLIAN.

The resources of our English tongue for word-making have been enlarged in no inconsiderable degree by the distinctness that has been given to and maintained in the use of our vowel and diphthong sounds. In modern Greek all the vowels appear to have been pretty nearly merged in some way or other into a single sound somewhat resembling our *e*. This must have been brought about by mental feebleness, and is a great deterioration and injury to a language. We, on the contrary, have had sufficient mental and physical energy and decision to impart to each vowel so distinct a value that with us the five vowels, combined successively with the same consonants, often supply us with five distinctive words, as for instance in the five names 'Habert,' 'Hebert,' 'Hibert' (Hibbert), 'Hobart,' and 'Hubert;' or, to take another instance, in the five words, 'bat,' 'bet,' 'bit,' 'bot' (a kind of tick that infests cattle), and 'but.' And here indeed we have done far more than obtain five distinct words, for with these same two consonants, combined with the double vowels, we have more than doubled the list of words we have just seen our two consonants and the five vowels supply us with; for instance, the diphthongs give us in addition 'bait,' 'bawt' (bought), 'beit' (bite), 'beat,' 'beet,' 'Beut' (Bute), 'boat,' 'boot,' 'bout.' Here are eight words more; all the thirteen containing only the same consonants and in the same places. The whole of the differences are in the vowel sounds. And the sound

of each of these thirteen words is so distinct from the sound of all the rest, with the one exception of 'beat' and 'beet,' that no ear could ever have mistaken any one of them for any one of the rest.

Now a marked peculiarity of our East Anglian dialect is the frequency with which it has availed itself of this distinctness of our vowel sounds. This it has done for several purposes: either to retain the old pronunciation of a word; or to give increased weight to the sound of a word; or on the contrary to attenuate its sound; or to distinguish it from some similarly sounded word; or to make it more easy for the vocal apparatus to utter it; or from some reason or other that is not now apparent. These objects we have compassed either by retaining vowels others have exchanged or by exchanging what they have retained. These are quite legitimate methods of constructing or of varying words during that stage in the existence of a language or dialect when it is not yet under the restraint of literary bonds, but is in its natural condition of perpetual flux, change, and formation.

I will subjoin some instances of words in which with us the vowel has come to differ from that found in the same word in literary English. 'Mice,' 'lice,' 'hive,' and 'dive' are in East Anglian 'meece,' 'leece,' 'heeve,' and 'deeve.' This exchange arises from no dislike to the *i*, for we have changed 'men,' 'end,' 'head,' and 'breast' into 'min,' 'ind,' 'hid,' and 'brist.' With us 'have' and 'wax' are 'heve' and 'wex,' both archaic pronunciations retained. In 'sermon' and 'errand' the reverse of this substitution —that is, the putting of *a* in the place of *e*—has been established. In 'sermon' this was done probably from a wish to strengthen the word and make much of it, 'sarmon' being a fuller and more sonorous word than 'sermon.' Sometimes a final *t* is added to words from,

we may suppose, the same motive, for in the formation and use of words breath and effort are never expended without purpose. 'Sermon' has thus been further strengthened into 'sarmont.' It is in this way that we have come to have our 'margent' and 'epitapht,' and our 'gownd' and 'lawnd.' Here is evidence of force and vigour—at all events, of something the very reverse of the French practice of apocopating the terminations. But what we have now before us is the excellent material for word-building and for the modification of words our English has in its vowel sounds. With us the several vowels are living forces, distinct entities. They are so regarded and so employed; and this our East Anglian dialect abundantly illustrates. To continue our instances: the *ove* in 'prove' and 'move' we pronounce just as cultivated English pronounces it in 'love.' The *u* in 'shut' and 'shutter' is sounded by us as *e*; here we retain the archaic pronunciation, being enabled to do it by the distinctness we have imparted to and retained in our vowel sounds. But no more instances are required; enough have been given to show that it is because we have kept our vowel sounds trenchantly distinct, and in a manner significant, that we are able to use them in the fashion and for the purposes just noted. Because we have not melted down our vocal gold, and silver, and copper, and tin, and iron into a confused amalgam, each remains available for any natural and legitimate use we may have occasion to make of it.

Reduplicated and Rhyming Words.

In colloquial English there is a long list of irregularly compounded words, sometimes only irregularly reduplicated with a slight alteration of one of the halves. These words, though they are for the most part beneath the dignity of lexicographers, are yet evidence of a kind of

linguistic inventiveness in our people, which ought not to be passed over unnoticed. The method of their construction is in many cases readily traced, and throws some light on the construction of language itself.

In these double words it is not necessary that each member should be, if taken alone, significant. Each may be, and generally is, but it is sufficient if one is significant, while the other alliterates or rhymes with it. The rhymes are sometimes double and even treble. The alliteration or rhyme pleases the ear, and aids much in fixing the words in the memory. The repetition of what is significant, put in a somewhat different form, gives emphasis and force to the idea that has to be conveyed. 'Pit-pat' and 'wishy-washy' are examples of the alliterative class; 'namby-pamby' and 'miminy-piminy' of the rhyming class. In neither of the first two of these examples would the first half of the word—that is 'pit' or 'wishy'—if by itself have any signification.

Letters may be added or altered for the sake of the jingle. For instance, the two interior *m*'s in 'namby-pamby' appear to have been introduced for the purpose of building up and strengthening the compound; Macaulay, however (*Eainburgh Review*, vol. lxxviii. p. 225), derives this word, but without adducing any proof, from 'Ambrose Phillipps,' the bearer of which names died 1749. In 'miminy-piminy' the two interior *m*'s may be supposed to be substituted for two *n*'s if the roots of the word are 'minikin pins.' The *m*'s make a better word than the *n*'s would, without obscuring the suggestion of the roots.

It has come to be understood that words of this kind are used more or less in an unfavourable sense. This is implied in their undignified jingle. Otherwise there would be no clue to the meaning of such combinations as 'sing-song' and 'see-saw;' for not one of these four syllables

has in itself any of the depreciatory significance possessed by their compounds.

I have collected from the pages of Forby the following list of words of this kind in use in East Anglia. Doubtless it errs in both directions, that of including some that are not exclusively East Anglian, and that of omitting some that, in Suffolk phrase, he had not 'happened on.'

Coxy-roxy.—Fantastically drunk. Both members of this word were, perhaps, originally significant. 'Coxy' may have been intended to suggest the idea of strutting like a cock, crowing and flapping his wings; and 'roxy' that of rolling or rollicking about.

Crawly-mawly.—Weak and ailing. Here, too, both members may be significant. The original idea may have been that of one who is so poorly that he crawls about as if he had been mauled.

Freeli-fraily.—Any kind of trumpery. I suggest no etymology for this word. In meaning it has some kindred with 'fiddle-faddle,' and also with 'fal-lals.'

Hitty-missy.—The etymology is obvious, as is the meaning, that something was done in a random kind of way.

Hoit-a-poit.—This is used of one who assumes importance. Of course it is connected with 'hoity-toity,' an exclamation of astonishment at another's big words or swagger of any kind.

Humps and hollows.—'All humps and hollows' is said of those whose thoughts or work is all in confusion.

Lag-a-rag.—This is an appellation for a lazy fellow, who is neither brisk nor tidy, who lags and is in rags.

Meddle and make.—Here, perhaps, 'mischief' is understood after 'make;' or the suggestion may be that of one who wishes to make things take a particular course which of themselves they would not take, and ought not to have

taken. This word, however, is certainly common beyond the limits of East Anglia.

Mopping and mowing.—Mocking and making mouths. This also is very far from being exclusively East Anglian.

Niffle-naffle.—To trifle. Perhaps the two starting-points of this word were 'trifle' and 'naught.' If so, the tendency to alliteration changed the initial *tr* in 'trifle' into *n*, the initial of 'naught,' and the *ifle* of 'trifle' changed the *aught* of 'naught' into *affle.*

Nildy-wildy.—Whether one would or not. Perhaps this word was originally 'nildhe-wildhe.'

Pax-wax.—The thick tendon overlaying the sirloin. Its colour and consistency may be suggested in 'wax,' but whence 'pax'? That may be an altered form of some word not now recoverable. It is not exclusively East Anglian.

Pee-wee.—This appears to be an attempt to suggest in sound a feeble kind of whimpering or crying. It reminds one of 'peaking' and 'pining.' Its origin may be 'peak' and 'weak' apocopated.

Quavery-mavery.—Undecided. The first part appears to be connected with 'quaver.' For the whole word Forby suggests 'quave-mire'—Old English for 'quagmire.' It is possible, however, that what first suggested 'mavery' was the word 'may'—something that may or may not be decided on—and which was expanded into 'mavery' in order that it might rhyme with 'quavery.'

Rags and jags.—Here 'jags' may be an altered reduplication of 'rags,' for the purpose of emphasising the idea; or it may be the word 'jagg,' a point in a serrated edge.

Rape and Scrape.—To get together all one can, almost by any means. The first member appears merely to be 'scrape' in another form, or it may be 'rasp,' so altered as to rhyme with 'scrape.'

Sad-bad and *sadly-badly.*—'Sad' is introduced for the sake of the rhyme, and to make the meaning of 'bad' more emphatic.

Titty-totty.—Very little. 'Titty' in East Anglian is 'small.' 'Totty' has the same meaning.

Ticking and toying.—'Tick' is a slight touch; metaphorically, a hint. The phrase is used of those who are so enamoured as not to be satisfied with seeing and hearing each other. It is a quiet and refined form of the rude and boisterous 'hauly-pauly' (the hauling and pulling one another about) in the revels of our old fairs.

Whart-whartle.—To cross. The root is 'whart,' Suffolk for 'thwart,' 'across,' as in our word 'overwharting,' for cross-ploughing. 'Thwart' is a cross-bench in a boat. Here 'whart' has been reduplicated, and the verbal termination *-le*, significant of action, added.

Neither whiff nor whaff.—Something, I suppose, so insignificant that it can neither be smelt ('whiffed') nor wafted.

Yapping and yawling.—The first is the yelping of a cur, the latter a harsh squall.

We have several phrases constructed in the fashion of many of the above words, as, for instance, 'betwixt and between;' 'much of a muchness,' meaning much the same; 'rather of the ratherest,' for a very little too much or too little; 'there and there away,' for just about; 'the t'one and the t'other,' where the article is incorporated and repeated for the sake of alliteration.

It can hardly be thought that the adoption of any of these words into colloquial English would be an enrichment of the language. My object in collecting the list was to show what is our position here with respect to this class of words, which, though not confined to, are a marked feature of our tongue. All that I have given are in familiar

use amongst those of us who still speak East Anglian. Of course many other words of this kind that are common elsewhere are also common here. In the invention of those that we claim as our own we show that our linguistic aptitudes are not dissimilar to those of other Englishmen.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

DISSYLLABIC FREQUENTATIVE AND INTENSIVE VERBS IN 'OCK.' HAS EAST ANGLIAN ANYTHING TO GIVE? THE FUTURE OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

Nomina nova novis rebus ponenda sunt.—*Cicero.*

WHILE I was engaged in looking into our East Anglian vocabulary my attention was arrested by several instances of verbs of frequentative and intensive significance, every one of them dissyllabic, and all terminating in *ock.* This *ock* has in every case been strengthened by having prefixed to it the terminal consonant of the monosyllabic root, whatever letter that was, or came to be. The following examples I collected of this interesting and instructive class of verbs, which, so far as I am aware, no one had before commented on.

Rommock.—To romp boisterously, and to be in the habit of doing this. It would not be said of a single act. Here the terminal *p* of the root has been dropped, and the *m* doubled.

Flannock.—To be in the habit of flaunting. Here the *u* and the *t* have been dropped, and the terminal *n* doubled.

Rattock.—To make a great racket. Here 'racket' has been contracted into 'rat,' and the final *t* doubled.

Nonnock.—To do nothing. In Suffolk 'none' is 'nohn,' and 'nothing' is 'northen' or 'nohn.' From this the *h* has been dropped and the final *n* doubled. It is used both of

grown-up persons and of children, and means that they have been idling, and have nothing to show for time that has been spent.

Jammock.—To pommel or crush; from 'jam,' with the final *m* doubled.

Lammock.—To lounge about as if lame. The final *e* has been dropped and the *m* doubled.

Minnock.—To affect delicacy, to have a mincing manner. The final *ce* has been dropped, and the *n* that had been thus made the final letter has been doubled.

Sannock (in this neighbourhood pronounced 'sahnnock'). —To utter a wailing cry. It is not very obvious what was the root of this word. It could not have originated in 'sad,' because that would have formed 'saddock,' and could not have formed anything else. And then the idea of sadness, being inherent in the word, would have recurred to the thought every time the word was used, and would have made a change of the *d*'s into *n*'s impossible. Besides, 'sad' means a state of the feelings manifested by the expression of the features; whereas 'sahnnock' means a state of the feelings manifested vocally in wailing. Here, then, is another reason which makes it altogether impossible that this verb could have taken its start from the word 'sad.' I would, therefore, conjecture that it might have been formed from the interjection of lamentation 'ah.' ('They shall not lament for him, saying, Ah my brother! or, Ah sister! they shall not lament for him, saying, Ah lord! or, Ah his glory!') This would have given 'ahnnock.' The *n* and the duplication of the *n* were necessities. From the instances given it would appear that interior m's or n's are almost indispensable for these verbs. The initial *s* might have been, and probably was, added for the purpose of strengthening the word. Or if the interjection 'ah' had ever been pronounced here with an aspirate as 'hah,' then

the transmutation of the initial *h* into *s*, in the fashion in which the words that in Greek became *helios* and *hals* in Latin became *sol* and *sal*, and which exchange was effected in a multitude of other words, would have been easy and natural. I propound this conjecture, notwithstanding that I am quite aware of the futility of conjectures in etymology. It may be worth while observing that every one of these verbs begins with a consonant.

Whinnock.—To whine or whimper. The final *e* has been dropped from the root 'whine;' and, as in all the other words of this kind, what then became the final consonant has been doubled.

Bossock.—To toss into a confused heap. From 'boss,' a lump.

Bullock.—Either to bully or to bellow vociferously.

Every one of these verbs has a frequentative and intensive signification. That the dialect was capable of forming them is evidence of living vigour and of growth. Those who invented them knew what they wanted, and they had a clear instinctive apprehension of how it was to be attained. They allowed no attrition or decay in the terminal suffix, but strengthened it, because it was emphatically significant.

It must also be noted that they applied this termination in this sense only to monosyllabic roots, or to words that could readily be reduced to a monosyllabic form without their ceasing to suggest their proper meaning. There was then in people's minds a distinct, though, of course, unconscious, wish that the idea contained in the root and the frequentative and intensive force of the suffix might be rapidly and distinctly presented to the thought with equipoised emphasis, so that what was meant by the one could have no tendency to overpower and obscure what was meant by the other. Here, then, we can look upon words

in the very act of their formation. We can make out the process. We can see what were the thought and impulse in the mind, and how they resulted in the sounds—that is, in the words—that were brought into use, and in which they became fixed and transmissible. Some of these words appear to have been of recent formation.

CAN EAST ANGLIAN CONTRIBUTE ANYTHING TO CULTIVATED ENGLISH?

On a broad view of any dialect there must always be asked the question, What has it now to contribute to the vocabulary of the cultivated language of which it is an uncultivated variation? Very far indeed from the whole of its value is to be looked for in the contributions of this kind it may be found capable of making; still they are one very considerable, perhaps the most considerable, element of its value.

We may suppose that at the time when our cultivated and literary English, which was the language of the court, of the learned professions, and of the capital, was in the earlier and more rapid stages of its transition to its present form, it appropriated much in varying degrees from all our contiguous local dialects, and probably from that of East Anglia in a degree second to none, with the exception of that of the Midlands. This was likely, because we were near to the administrative centre of the kingdom, and because in those days our population was exceptionally dense and wealthy, the land in these parts having at that time been pretty generally enclosed and cultivated, as is shown by the smallness of our parishes. There is some little direct proof of this supposition in the large number of East Anglian words and phrases which were still in use as late as the time of Shakespeare, though they have since fallen into desuetude.

The question, however, now before us is, What at this day has our East Anglian dialect to contribute to that wealth of words which is our English tongue? I regret to think it has but little. At an early date—it occurred contemporaneously with the formation of our literary English—it became a dialect of yeomen, of farmers, who in those days were not capitalists and readers, as many of our modern farmers are, and of peasants. This impressed upon it, just as might have been expected, a character of rusticity and of coarseness. Nothing of this kind is found in the Doric of the Scotch Lowlands, just because that was the language, in relation to cultivated English the dialect, of all classes of a whole people. This accounts for its containing words that express the play of the imagination and have something of the tincture of poetry, and words that note subtle distinctions of feeling and close observation of the facts of outward nature. In East Anglia we have no such words. We have, however, a large store of terms that refer to agricultural practice and to the kindred subject of the weather, and to the obvious everyday facts and relations of a rude form of life—words that have about them a strong odour of the yeoman's farmyard and of the parlour of the village public-house. Such words as these would be no enrichment of our copious and cultivated English. Still, to the student of language, our vocabulary is interesting and instructive, as supplying illustrations of the process by which words are created, and of the adequacy of the word-creating faculty for whatever demands may be made on it.

I hardly know a word peculiar to our dialect, or one common to literary English and to our dialect, but used by the dialect in a local sense, which the outside English world would do well to adopt; but the reader will be able to judge of this for himself if I present to him, which I will

now do, to be perpended by himself, some of our best words.

Dunt.—Chronically stupid from some affection or lesion of the brain.

Dazed.—Temporarily stupefied by a blow, an apparition, a fright, or any such passing cause.

Skrinchling.—Primarily, a small ill-formed apple or fruit of any kind; metaphorically, an under-sized wizened specimen of humanity.

Rafty.—Said of weather that is cold and damp.

Leasty.—Said of weather that is dull and wet.

Stingy.—Not that which has a sting, but that which is disposed to give little or nothing; said of the temperature of a day which, from the time of year and from the fact that the sun is shining brightly, one would have expected to find pleasant, but which proves to be chilly. This is frequently the case here with an easterly or north-easterly wind in the early summer.

Canada.—For an allotment of land. As an instance of its use: 'We have no Canada in this parish.' This must have been of quite recent adoption.

Inder (India).—For a vast quantity of anything. As instances of its use: 'He has an inder of money.' 'There was an inder of people.' This cannot be old.

Gatless.—This word is applied generally to young women when they are more impulsive, thoughtless, and flighty than their friends quite approve. Perhaps it was originally 'regardless,' in the same sense as 'heedless.' In this neighbourhood it has become 'gatly.'

Grass-widow.—Both Moore and Forby are wide away from the meaning of this compound word, as I have heard it used. Moore spells it 'grace-widow,' and says that it means one who is a widow without the grace of matrimony —a quite impossible word and meaning. Forby spells it

correctly, but gives the same meaning as Moore; starting, however, from the idea of a grass couch. I have never known the word used in a bad sense. On the contrary, I have heard a husband say to his wife that he was going away from home for a week or two, and must make her a grass-widow; and I have heard a wife describe herself, during her husband's absence, as a grass-widow. It is therefore, beyond controversy that there can be no taint in the word. I suppose there can be no doubt but that it contains an obvious metaphor, racy of the soil that all work on or live by, taken from a horse turned out to grass. Just as the horse turned out to grass has a temporary respite from labour, so the wife, during her husband's absence from home, is relieved from waiting on him. She is turned out to grass—is a grass-widow.

There are two or three more of our compounded words which may deserve to be presented to the reader in this connection, such as 'brain-pan' for the skull; 'clack-box,' like the common 'chatterbox,' said of a great talker with somewhat of disparagement; 'devil's-mint' for an abundance of anything bad; 'ground-rain' for an abundant but gradual rainfall, all of which soaks into the ground on which it falls; a 'lean-to' for a penthouse; the 'may-say' for the right or promise of refusal; 'bone-tired,' 'bone-sore,' 'bone-lazy' for thoroughly, down to the very bone; a 'stry-good' for a wasteful person. 'Stry,' of course, is an apocopated and syncopated form of 'destroy.'

This selection, though made by a friendly hand from the best of our store, will not, I suppose, be thought much of down, as the East Angles put it, in the 'sheers'—that is, the shires, the three East Anglian counties not being so designated.

THE FUTURE OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

Attempts are sometimes met with to depreciate our English tongue, the only one in all the world that has a fair chance of becoming universal. In the language itself, however, there are no grounds for any such attempts, but abundant reasons for the opposite estimate. It is probably —and this is one of the highest merits of a language—the most copious of all languages. A good instance of its copiousness is supplied by that large class of English synonyms, of which one word in each pair is taken from the Teutonic and the other from the Latin element of the language; and though both refer to the same object, yet each in its meaning takes a different view of that object; as, for example, 'hearty' and 'cordial,' 'handy' and 'manual,' 'manly' and 'human,' 'boyish' and 'juvenile,' 'watery' and 'aquatic,' &c., &c. Here we have an almost inexhaustible source of enrichment.

Our tongue also has great facilities, arising out of its composite character, for adopting new words almost from any quarter. This would not be the case were it a pure and unmixed language. But after the coalition of our Anglo-Saxon with Norman-French, when a large proportion of the vocabulary of an alien language was admitted, the door of admission could never in the future be closed against isolated foreigners. This was a necessary requirement in a language that was to attain to the prospect of becoming universal. It must possess facilities for admitting to the rights of citizenship all comers; and that we have these facilities is evidenced by our long list of naturalised words.

We have, too, which is no inconsiderable gain, got rid of the difficulty of genders by making them dependent on

thought—that is, on the nature of the thing spoken of, and not on the termination or, still worse, on the history of the word. The difficulties of French genders are proverbial, as ought also to be the absurdities of German genders, which require that one should speak of butter and of the sun as feminine, of the moon as masculine, and of a horse and of a wife as neuter.

Our grammar also has been so simplified as to give some colour to the charge alleged against our language by some who speak inconsiderately, and by others who speak under the inspiration of envy, that it has no grammar at all. The object and use of grammar is to indicate the relations of words, as the representatives of ideas. So long as this is done distinctly and satisfactorily the whole purpose of grammar is answered; and no one asserts that this is not done sufficiently well in English. Beyond this anything in the way of grammatical forms would be only a burdensome inutility.

Our English linguistic inventiveness will compare favourably with that of any other people. It has never failed or flagged, because it has all along been stimulated by our national and political growth, by our manufacturing and commercial activity, by the variety of our employments, and by our addiction to scientific pursuits. The language has also to some extent been fed by our local dialects, at one of which we have just now been taking a glimpse.

It is a disadvantage to the growth and enrichment of a language that the area it covers should be narrow. Hitherto we have had no reason to complain, even if our attention be confined to the United Kingdom, of our having suffered from this hindrance, though, of course, the wider the area the better for the language. The decay, however, and the now probable proximate extinction of our local

dialects would be a very serious check to the fertility of our tongue. But from both of these causes of stagnation the energy of our race, combined with our good fortune, has signally saved us. The area of our tongue is now becoming worldwide. And the new dialects of our language that must spring up, by a natural necessity, in its hemisphere-separated and totally dissimilar regions will contribute to the enlargement of its vocabulary much more than ever did our Northern, Eastern, Western, and Scotch dialects. What we are gaining is continental dialects—aids which no language in the history of the world has ever possessed. America, and Australia with its islands, each larger than the whole of Europe, will supply us, in the place of our insignificant rustic home dialects, with the English dialect of the New World, and with the English dialect of the continent and islands of the Antipodean Ocean. How rich will they be in new words! Those who will be engaged in forming these new dialects of English will be living in new climates beneath new skies and with governing conditions of life widely differing from our own. We have already begun to import words from America. From Australia we shall obtain another supply by the time her literature has attained sufficient merit to secure our attention. It is now only a century since the first batch of colonists founded Sydney, the capital of New South Wales; and Australia already has an English population of 3,000,000, employed in clearing the ground and laying the foundations of her coming empire of the South. Her people are beginning to think vigorously, and in consequence to speak idiomatically, in accordance with their own wants and conditions. They cannot therefore fail to add largely to the stores of the old mother tongue. The runnels of our home dialects will be dried up. That is

inevitable. Before, however, that process has been completed, the rivers of these new continental dialects will, each in no inconsiderable volume and with a character of its own, be flowing towards us, enriching and fertilising the common tongue of hundreds of millions of English-speaking peoples.

PART II

WHERSTEAD IN DOMESDAY.

CHAPTER I

ANTIQUAM EXQUIRITE MATREM.

DOMESDAY, at the time of its compilation, served three purposes. Excepting the three northern counties, it was (1) a minute description and register of the area and of the stock of every manor in the kingdom—that is, of the manor-divided area of the whole kingdom—together with the social and economic status of every dweller on every manor—that is, of not far from the entire population. It contained also an implied or a direct intimation of the labour dues and other dues of every cultivator in the kingdom. (2) It was, too, the assessment and tax roll, and the rent roll of the whole kingdom: the whole of the rent on the manors retained by the Crown belonging to the Crown, together with the reversionary right to the rent of the rest that had been granted, but far from absolutely, to lay tenants. (3) And it was also the military muster roll of the entire nation.

It received its significant name from the fact that, in the above-mentioned predominating matters which it was intended to settle, its statements were final, and did not admit of re-discussion or appeal.

In order to attain these aims it was necessary to give a precise account of every manor in the country. It would

be misleading to speak of estates or of farms, for in our sense and use of the words there were no estates or farms at all then. The whole land of the country was arranged in manors, organisations which had definite and well-understood political, social, economic, military, ecclesiastical, judiciary, and fiscal objects, as well as those that were properly agricultural. Of these manors, then, the King's Commissioners in every county had to ascertain who at the time was holding each, and who, some twenty years previously, had held it, in the times before the universal confiscation of the land of England carried out by the Conqueror; what were the terms on which it had been and was then held; what rights had been attached to it; what was its extent; who had been and were then cultivating it; how it had been and was then stocked; and what had been, and was then, its yearly value to the tenant-in-chief, and to the Crown. All this, it is obvious, could not have been done without the entries giving, incidentally, detailed and complete pictures (which we are now able to put together from the particulars dispersed throughout the volumes) of the polity, the society, the manners and customs, the ways of thinking and acting, and the public, domestic, and rural economy of the times.

No country ever possessed such a monument of its early history. And its historical value and interest have come at this day to be greater than they ever were before. For there is nothing in which the modern world is so much concerned as in the character and capacities of the English race; and the two events that contributed most to the formation of this race were the Teutonic invasion of Britain 1,400 years ago, which supplied the substantial bulk of the material out of which the race was to be made, and the Norman invasion 800 years ago, which introduced some powerfully modifying elements. The race would have

been very different from what it has become, had it not been for this subsequent modifying infusion. These two ingredients went to the making of the race, which is to-day overspreading the world, and to which appears to be now assigned irrevocably the most prominent place in the arrangements, work, and thought of the future.

Two of the pictures which Domesday presents to the investigator of the history of the English race are precisely those he most wanted, and which would be of most value to him. The first is a full and particular presentment of what the Teutonic invaders of Britain had come to be. They had possessed the land for 600 years; what had they done with it? What had they been able to make of it and of themselves? What were their social arrangements, their polity, their economy? The other is the presentment of the invaders who came to stay. It shows us what kind of people these Normans were; what they did; what were the ideas and influences they brought here; and what were the changes their coming in gave rise to. From later sources we shall learn how the new amalgamated with the old invasion, but Domesday shows us just what the new invaders were, the position they took up in every part of the country, and the relation in which they placed themselves towards the old lords of the soil whom they had dispossessed.

Here was the critical moment, the turning point in the formation of the dominant race of the future. And no remote event of widely-extended and momentous effects was ever so distinctly set forth in contemporary records as the Norman settlement in England is set forth in Domesday, with all its surroundings, and concomitants, and incidents, and immediate consequences. All this is photographed just as it was seen on every manor in England; and, too, without any colouring from nationality, or interests, or

prejudices, or passions of any kind. The entries in a merchant's ledger are not more business-like. Everything is presented to us just as it was at the close of the purely Anglo-Saxon period, and as it was when Normans and Anglo-Saxons had to begin to live together as one people. No touch is wanting to complete the pictures of what the Anglo-Saxons had become, or of what the Normans were and did. And this was done for posterity by hands that were as unconscious of the character and value of the work they were engaged in as are the lenses and camera of the photographer.

As to the confiscation, the Conqueror had really not had much choice. The owners of manors were in those times the only people who had leisure and means for fighting, and all the rest of the population was organized under them. As then, he found this dominant class everywhere, with very rare exceptions, irreconcilable, there was no alternative open to him, standing armies and centralised administration having at that time been impossible, but to dispossess them all, and to put in their places his Norman followers, of whose fidelity to himself and the new order of things there could be no doubts. And this was what he did. Not one Englishman appears to have been left as a tenant-in-chief in the three south-eastern counties: and this was very much the case with all the rest of the country.

But this act of universal spoliation had unavoidably given rise to so much violence, over-claiming, uncertainty, and confusion, that a Commission of Inquiry and of Registration became necessary, if only for the purpose of ascertaining boundaries, and privileges, and payments, and of inspecting titles. Prospectively the last point was easily settled, for the only valid title would be the grant of the Conqueror, attested by his writ and seal. And as to the foregoing points, as the Conqueror, in order to give

a colouring of legality to his proceedings, had never in any case granted anything but what the English owners had previously possessed, the inquiry took the turn of ascertaining what the boundaries, privileges, and payments had been on the day when King Edward had been alive and dead. Decisions upon these and all the other particulars of the inquiry were arrived at by the Commissioners for each county after they had heard the sworn evidence of all who were interested in, and acquainted with, the arrangements of each manor, and of the leading men of the Hundred and of the Shire. In explanation and justification of their entries, it was frequently necessary for them to give a great deal of what they had heard and a great variety of details. All this they did with an invariable industry, fairness, and judgment, which never, at the time or since, were called in question. The English at home and the English dispersed over the world must, one would think, some day come to understand that in this document they possess a unique monument of their history: one which throws a flood of light on how they came to be what they are, and which does this for them in a way that is done for no other people by any records they may possess. The world-occupying race alone, as was fitting that it should, can analyse and contemplate the operation of its own making. Domesday should be taught in every English high school. An Englishman who is unacquainted with Domesday is not a thoroughly educated Englishman.

I will now proceed to show how the parish with which I have been connected for more than fifty years, and in collecting and committing to the press particulars of the history of which I have during the last eight years spent some time, stands in Domesday. I will first extract the entries it contains relating to Wherstead, premising, however, that in none of them are there any of those incidental

touches, intended as justifications and explanations of the Commissioners' decisions, which are frequently met with in its pages, and which much enhance the interest and value of its strictly formal details. Its notices of the manors, which now constitute the parish of Wherstead, are quite of the ordinary kind; and so may be taken as a sample that is fairly illustrative of the general character of its notices of the manors that now constitute the county of Suffolk.

The Suffolk of 1086 contained seventy-four tenants-in-chief, ecclesiastical and lay. Of these every lay tenant was a recent grantee of the Conqueror. Neither the fact, nor even so much as the idea, of absolute ownership had then any existence. The manors, together with everyone upon them, and everything that appertained to them, were the integral molecules of the administrative organisation of the State; the aggregate of those molecules was the State, the Managing Director of which was the wearer of the crown; who had certain large proprietary and reversionary interests in every one of the manors which together constituted the national concern. All land was supposed to belong primarily and ultimately to the Crown; and those who occupied it were grantee tenants of the Crown holding their manors for public purposes, on well understood conditions and limitations. Of those who held in Suffolk very few could have been of English extraction. The three who held in Wherstead were all Normans. They were Earl Alan, Swain of Essex, and Robert, the son of Corbutio.

There are four entries under the name of Earl Alan:—

(1.) *Wervesteda.*—'Edmund, a freeman of Robert, son of Wymarc, held Wherstead as a manor of 1 carucate of arable land in the time of King Edward. Now Furic holds it under the Earl. There have all along been on it 2

villans and 2 bordars. In the time of King Edward there was 1 plough team on the demesne; subsequently there was no part of a team; now there is half a team. All along 1 plough team has been maintained by the homagers. There are 3 acres of meadow for mowing. The annual value is 20 shillings. The soc is in Bergholt.'

(2.) *Painetuna.*—'Tostin held Pannington as a manor of 60 acres in the time of King Edward. All along there have been on it 2 villans and 1 plough team. It has 2 acres of meadow for mowing. Its yearly value is 8 shillings. Edith has the soc. Ealfric, the Presbyter, now holds it of Earl Alan.'

(3.) *Wervesteda.*—'The same Tostin held in Wherstead a manor of 40 acres in the time of King Edward. Then there was 1 plough team, now half a plough team. There was upon it 1 salt pan. It is worth 5 shillings a year. The same Ealfric now holds it.'

(4.) *Beria.*—'Edith held Bourn as a manor of two carucates of arable land, in the time of King Edward. Humphrey now holds it under Earl Alan. On it there is one bordar. In the time of King Edward there were two plough teams on the demesne, now one. There is 1 acre of meadow for mowing. There was then a mill. There were then 2 horses, now only 1. Then 3 cows, now 1. Then 20 swine, now 40. There have all along been 100 sheep and 12 goats. Its yearly value is 40 shillings. Its length is 8 quaranteens, its breadth 6. The geld is 5 pence. There are upon it other tenants. Edith has the soc.'

There are two entries under the name of Swain of Essex.

(5.) *Painetuna.*—'Robert held Pannington as a manor of 2 carucates of arable land in the time of King Edward. At that time there were 3 villans. There have been all along 3 bordars. Then there were 2 plough teams on the

demesne; 1 now. There are 3 plough teams of the homagers now. There are 10 acres of meadow for mowing. The Church has three acres of free land. There is 1 salt-pan. There are 8 cows, 20 swine, 80 sheep, 28 goats. In the time of King Edward its yearly value was 40 shillings; it is now 30 shillings. It is five quaranteens in length, and four in width. Its geld is 4 pence 1 farthing. Robert has the soc. Algar holds it of Swain.'

(6.) *Wervesteda.*—'Toli, a freeman, under commendation to Robert, held Wherstead. The holding comprised 1 carucate of arable land. There was 1 bordar, and 1 plough team, 3 acres of meadow for mowing, 5 swine, 30 sheep, and 14 goats. It was then worth 10 shillings yearly. It is now worth as much. Swain is Lord.'

There is one entry under the name of Robert, the son of Corbutio.

(7.) *Torintuna.*—'Edwin, a freeman of Stigand, held Thorington as a manor of 2 carucates of arable land in the time of King Edward. Then and afterwards there were 6 villans; now there are 4. Then and afterwards 2 bordars, now 5. Then 2 slaves, afterwards and now 1. All along there have been 2 plough teams on the demesne. Then and afterwards there were 3 plough teams of the homagers, now 2. There are 20 acres of meadow for mowing. All along there has been 1 mill. The Church has 50 acres of free land. There is now 1 horse and 6 cows. Then there were 4 swine, now 30. There are 20 sheep and 30 goats. All along it has been worth 50 shillings a year. Elwin had the soc under Stigand. It is 6 quaranteens in length and 4 in breadth. The geld is 5 pence. Gifard now holds it under Robert.'

It is worth noticing, as a striking instance of the immobility in boundaries, which has resulted from our English land system, that the seven manors, the description of which

we have just read as it was given 800 years ago by the Conqueror's Commissioners, are at this day seven farms in this parish. For the most part the names and boundaries are still to-day what they were then. Bourn Hall, Thorington Hall, Pannington Hall, and Wherstead Hall have retained their names. The names of the other three manors, it will be observed, are not given. We have however, three small farms exactly corresponding to the two sub-manors of Wherstead and the one sub-manor of Pannington mentioned in the Survey. The last now consists of ninety acres, and is surrounded on three sides by the modern Pannington Hall Farm, and used to be called Blue Gates Hall, hall implying the memory of a manor. The two first also correspond in size with the two sub-manors of Wherstead, and have every appearance of having been taken out of Wherstead Manor, now Wherstead Hall. The smaller one tallies with its Domesday measurement to an acre, being still forty acres in extent. The larger one has always been called a hall — Redgates Hall. The smaller one has lost its old name and now goes by the name of Lee's Farm, so called from a family that, having occupied it for several generations, became extinct some forty-five years ago. The modern Bourn Hall, however, is much smaller than the acreage of the Bourn Manor described in Domesday; but it is evident that what are now the Park and the Home Farm must have been taken from it, for they could not have been taken from our other manors. As to our only other farm, Stalls Valley, its poor messuage has no indication of antiquity, and its poor land appears to have been quite a recent reclamation from an old waste. In places on its hungry pale-coloured soil may still be seen the black patches left by the kilns of the charcoal burners, which would seem to imply that at no very distant date it was occupied with woods, of which at this

day 150 acres remain. If Humphrey, and Furic, and Ealfric the Priest, and Elwin, and Gifard, and Algar could be permitted to revisit the banks of the Orwell, they would have no difficulty in recognising their old dwelling places. They would find the boundaries, the sites of the homesteads, the lanes, and most of the names too, just as they were in their day.

It may have occurred to some on reading these extracts that, though they all refer to what is now Wherstead, yet that there is no mention of a parish of Wherstead, or anything to imply such a use of the name at that time: and this observation would be in accordance with the fact. Parishes, which are now our units of administration, both ecclesiastical and temporal, had not in those days been organised. The unit then in use for those purposes was what the Anglo-Saxons had called the ham or tun (whence come our words 'home' and 'town'), which in Roman times had in the old empire been called a villa, and after the coming of the Normans a manor: all these terms meaning agricultural arrangements of much the same kind. Each manor had to account separately for its taxation, and was to some extent a judicial unit. In the ideas, too, of those times it was held that each manor should be a distinct ecclesiastical unit. The manor everywhere stood for a separate independent body, supplying its own material and spiritual wants; highly compound in respect of its internal constitution, but one and indivisible in respect of the rest of the world. Its primary purpose was to maintain its lord: the arrangements, however, for effecting this purpose were such as to afford at the same time daily bread and a home, though a very dependent and unimproveable one, to many others. About these manors, and a great variety of matters connected with them, Domesday has a great deal to tell us.

CHAPTER II

TENANTS AND VILLANS.

The Tenants-in-Chief.—The entries quoted in the preceding chapter tells us that in 1086 what now constitutes the parish of Wherstead was held by three tenants-in-chief; Earl Alan, Swain of Essex, and Robert, the son of Corbutio.

Earl Alan, Count of Brittany and Richmond, had married Constance, the Conqueror's daughter, and had commanded the rear of the Norman army at the battle of Hastings. He had received grants of manors in fifteen counties. The list of his manors in Suffolk fills twelve pages of the East Anglian volume of Domesday. In Yorkshire, however, his holdings were far more extensive. In all he held 447 manors. Of the four manors he held in Wherstead two had been taken from a previous holder of the name of Tostin; one from Robert, son of Wimark; and one from Edith, who in the Survey is variously described as 'the rich,' 'the beautiful,' 'the Queen.' She was the daughter of the great Earl Godwin, sister of Harold, and Queen Dowager of the Confessor. The Tostin just mentioned may have been her brother Tostig.

Swain of Essex was son of Robert, son of Wimark. Robert was a Norman who, in the time of Edward, had settled in England, and to whom large estates had been granted. He had built a castle at Rayleigh in Essex,

which must have been one of the first of the hated Norman castles seen in England: both the thing and the word were Norman. The list of his manors in Suffolk fills three and a half pages of Domesday. Of these manors two were in Wherstead. They had belonged to his father, and he had been allowed to retain them. We have just seen that one of his father's Wherstead manors had been confiscated and granted to Earl Alan. As he was of Norman extraction he may possibly not have been obliged to redeem by a pecuniary payment the two in the holding of which he was continued; but still he had had to obtain a re-grant of them by the writ and seal of the Conqueror.

Robert, son of Corbutio, had received from William grants of manors in three counties. In Suffolk he held only seven, and of these one was in Wherstead. It was a good and well-stocked manor, and had been held by Stigand, the deposed Archbishop of Canterbury. This Corbutio, or Corbuzzo, is sometimes styled *Camerarius*, or Chamberlain, of the Conqueror. He was not the hereditary Chamberlain, and may, therefore, have been a kind of deputy or local Chamberlain, whose services were needed whenever William might be residing at his palace near Rouen, in which neighbourhood Corbutio had an estate.

Here, then, we see that in Wherstead, and it was so throughout the rest of the land, no title could have been older than the battle of Hastings. But as we attach some ideas to the word title that had no existence then, it would perhaps be better to say grant or tenancy.

We infer from our entries that in the time of Edward our tenants-in-chief had been the Queen, the Queen's brother, the Archbishop, and a Norman adventurer. This shows how unstable had been under the previous reign, we will not say the property, but the possession of the usufruct, of the land. When, therefore, William confiscated

the whole of it throughout the kingdom the shock differed considerably from what would be the effect to-day of the confiscation at a single stroke of all the landed property in the country. Now the land is held by proprietors, then it was held only by tenants.

The high social position of those who at the close of the Anglo-Saxon period had been the tenants-in-chief in Wherstead precluded their becoming, which was common enough elsewhere, the men, or homagers, of the new Norman tenants-in-chief, doing to them service and fealty for a poor living on the manors they had formerly held. Under the conditions of the times this fallen and subordinate position of the dispossessed English tenants rendered them powerless against the new government and its arrangements. It deprived them of the command both of men and of money.

It was William's sagacious policy, though he heaped manors without stint on his favourites and most trustworthy followers, to take care that his grants of this kind to any single recipient should not all be in one county or district. He scattered them over the country as much as he could, in order to prevent the grantee, or any one of his descendants, having so many men, or homagers, in any one locality that he would be formidable were he to become disaffected.

The Sub-tenants.—Five sub-tenants are named as being on our manors at the time of the Survey—Humphrey, Furic, Ealfric the priest, Algar, and Gifard. We cannot say what precisely was the suit and service due from them to the over-lord at that time, for these matters were incessantly accommodating themselves to the varying conditions and requirements of the times. The general idea was that they stood towards him in the position in which he stood towards the king. They were his men and must

serve and support him, especially when he had to take the field. But, whatever might have been the duties of their position, it was, doubtless, for them a good and profitable position, as times went.

We have been told what was the yearly value of each of our manors, and we know that our three over-lords must have been non-resident. We may, then, suppose that our sub-tenants had to collect what they could in money payments, and to realise, how and if they could, so much of the produce of the demesne as would enable them to remit to the lord the amount that we are told was the yearly value of the manor. Having done this they would retain for themselves the balance of the produce of the demesne, and of the fines, and of the dues of the cultivating tenants, to whom they had not to pay any wages, and who, besides their services on the land, had to make important contributions in kind to the lord, or to his representative. As they were always on the spot they were able to look carefully after these and all other matters that concerned themselves. These sub-tenants and the tenants-in-chief were the only people whom the manorial system—that is, the organised cultivation of the land of the whole country—kept in an easy and dignified position, and supplied with means sufficient to enable them to take the field in the fashion of those days.

Of our sub-tenants Ealfric must have been an Englishman, Humphrey and Gifard must have been Normans. Furic and Algar may have been of Danish extraction.

The Villans.—It will have been observed that, besides the tenants-in-chief and the sub-tenants, our entries include mention of some other classes connected with the land. We find scheduled on our manors eleven villans, twelve bordars, one slave, and three free men under commendation. These appellations describe different grades of cultivators em-

ployed in the agriculture of those days, but who to us are altogether unknown. There is nothing singu'ar in our finding all these classes at work in Wherstead, for, as the rest of the great Survey shows us, they took their respective parts in the cultivation of the whole soil of England. There never was a more thoroughly uniform and all-embracing system than the one that then obtained, and to which they belonged. In those days the manor was as universal as the parish is now. The whole land of the country had been parcelled out into manors, and every manor was cultivated by this combination of villans, bordars, slaves, and, where the class existed, of free men under commendation. To understand the work and position on the manor of the men thus classified, of course not forgetting the over-lord and sub-tenant, will be to understand the social and political arrangements and the economy of the manorial era of our history, out of which grew much that still exists in our day.

Who, then, and what were these villans? Their position and work were the result of historical causes, which explain their presence on the scene, and the form of their lives. Our Teutonic ancestors, when they over-ran Roman Britain, appropriated the land. There was nothing else of any permanent value for them to appropriate. They had, however, no wish to cultivate it themselves. Nor was there any reason why they should. The best part of the cultivated soil of the country had already been divided into villæ by its Roman masters, and the Romanised settlers they brought in, or who had in any way grown up in their time. A villa was a highly technical term, meaning a considerable amount of land, cultivated under certain well-understood definite arrangements by yokes of oxen, provided on fixed terms, and by servile and semi-servile occupiers. It took a great deal of land to work this

system. Of course it degraded all concerned—both the owner of the villa, who did nothing but consume what others produced, and the producers, who throughout their lives were robbed of the fruits of their labour. But the conditions of the times suggested it and made it possible. When the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes came here they found this system at work. All that they had to do was to put to the sword every one who resisted, or might think of resisting, them, and to keep up the old system for their own benefit. This was what the Teutonic invaders did everywhere else. The new appropriators of these villæ, or estates, became the Thanes of the Anglo-Saxon times. Of course there were among the invaders many small people who could only get small pieces of land. They, however, through the pressure of the times, were all eventually absorbed into the villæ or manors. In considering the arrangements and life of those times, we must always keep in view the fact that, as the general rule, people could only be maintained by holding land. Not one-twentieth of the population was urban, and that of the whole kingdom could hardly have equalled the present population of Chicago, or even of Glasgow and its suburbs. This paucity of the population, combined with its thorough, uniform, and rigid organisation everywhere, removed almost all difficulties out of the way of the Conqueror in his task of taking possession of, and resettling the whole country; and of course it was easier to deal in this high handed fashion with all the manors of the kingdom simultaneously than would have been the attempt so to deal with them piecemeal, or with only some particular section of them.

The Thanes became, or constituted, a small military caste. They had nothing to do but to fight, to feast, and to degenerate. Their utter inability to withstand handfuls of Danish marauders, whom again and again they bought off, instead of fighting and exterminating them, which

ended, as might have been expected, by a Dane ascending the English throne, shows how far their degeneration had been carried. And then came the Norman invasion, which placed a new horde of invaders in possession of the land—that is, of all the vills, or manors, into which it had been parcelled out.

The first and most prominent effect of this event was that it renovated, by changing almost completely, the small military caste. The cultivators of the soil, who had to cultivate it to keep themselves alive, and to support the military caste, remained exactly what and as they had been before. Neither in form nor in spirit was anything changed; beginning with the very title of the new possessors, for, just as had been the case with the title of those they dispossessed, it was no better than that of brigands or pirates to their booty.

Amongst the organised cultivators the chief place was that of the villan. He received this name from his doing the chief part of the work required for the cultivation of the vill or manor. The system had been so matured, and was so uniform and invariable, that he was everywhere in England allowed thirty acres of land, which sometimes was somewhat more or less in consequence of variations in the quality of the land. This regulation allowance of land, as might have been expected, came to have its own name, that of a yardland; or, in the romance nomenclature of the villa, a virgate. He was provided also from the manor with a plank house, two plough oxen, a cow, and six sheep. By working three days a week on his thirty acres, a third, or a half, of which must always have been in fallow, he was able to support his family and his pair of oxen. The ploughing of all the villan land was done by combining into teams of sufficient strength the oxen maintained on the villan holdings. The remaining three days of the week, and oftener when required, he had to

work on the demesne, or reserved land of the manor. We often hear of half villans. These were men who were allowed half a yardland, that is fifteen acres, and had to maintain only one plough ox.

On each properly-equipped manor there would be a sufficient number of these villans to cultivate the demesne or reserved land. On large manors, say of ten carucates of demesne, perhaps thirty villans would be required. Ten carucates would mean 1,200 acres; and the land required to maintain these villans would be 900 acres. To this would have to be added about 300 acres for cottars, the priest, and the tradesmen. This means that in order to get 1,200 acres cultivated, and the live working stock required for them properly attended to, the Lord would have to give the use of about the same number of acres. This would cover almost everything that we regard as an outgoing; for there would be no wages of any kind to pay: no manure to buy, or seeds, or stock; and no carpenters', or farriers', or blacksmiths' bills, as these tradesmen would be paid, like the cultivating villans, by being allowed virgates or half virgates of land; to which, however, in their case no agricultural services would be attached.

As respected his Lord the villan was a slave; in respect of the rest of the world he had some of the attributes of a free man. He could not leave his occupation. Had he attempted to escape from it, he would have been dragged back again. And where could he have gone? Other manors had their own people. Hired labour was not wanted. And as to the towns there were very few of them, and those few were very small. Though, indeed, if he could manage to lie hid in a town for over a year he could not be reclaimed. If the land changed hands he went with it, just as his oxen did which he could not sell. He could not even give his daughter in marriage without the Lord's

permission. Besides the three days a week labour on the demesne land, he was bound to several other burdensome services. He had to do haulage, and go on errands for his Lord; and to give so much meat at a stated time, for which he must have killed one of his six sheep; or so much honey, which must have obliged him to keep bees: the number of hives on a manor are frequently mentioned in Domesday. Sometimes he had to give so much ale, which must have obliged him to grow the barley that would be required. When the state of the country had so far improved that there was a sufficient market for produce to enable the reserved land to be let at twopence an acre he was called upon to pay, over and above his services, a penny an acre for his.

In happier times, some centuries later, the rent that had come to be exacted from him proved to be his salvation, for it was then decided, regard being had to his long hereditary occupation (at this time servile occupation) of his few fields, no memory or tradition running to the contrary, that, if he continued to pay his rent, he could not be disturbed; and so originated our copyholds.

At the time of the great Survey these poor semi-servile villans constituted 38 per cent. of the whole population, and held more than half the cultivated land of England. Such a class might now be deemed the backbone of the people, but modern ideas are not applicable to times when the conditions of society were totally dissimilar to those now prevailing; for these men had been kept or put on the land only in order that they might be kept alive to work for others. On no other plan could their labour have been commanded; and without their labour the military caste could not have been maintained in a life of abundance and leisure. Some, however, of them were the descendants of small free holders who, with the view to

securing protection, had annexed themselves to the manor, and had step by step sunk into this condition. It will help us to understand the economy of the times, if we think out the meaning of the fact just noticed, that the villans were so numerous that their proportion in the general population exceeded that of the cottar class, which at the first glance might appear to be the working-class of the society of those times; who, however, we find were only 32 per cent. of the population.

For some reason, not now ascertainable, all the villans on the Wherstead manors are not enumerated. For instance, on Bourn Hall, one of our largest manors, not one is mentioned; and at the end of the entry, in which it is described, this seems to be acknowledged as an omission, for we are there told that there were, as there must have been, other tenants on the manor besides the one bordar mentioned. Nor are any villans mentioned on either of the sub-manors of the manor of Wherstead. On one of them, indeed, no mention is made of tenants of any kind.

It must be remembered that we are using the word 'tenant' in the sense of those days and of the Survey. It was then applied to all holders of land of every degree and description, excepting the King. It was borne equally by the great Earl, who held on condition of certain services and payments to the Crown; and by the labourers of all degrees, who held land on the condition of certain services and payments to the Lord of the manor; and by the small free men, who had been driven to place themselves and their little holdings under the protection of the Lord, and who now paid rent and services for what had formerly been their own. All were called and were tenants. Either that the Lord had absolute property in his manors, or that he could cultivate them by hired wage-receiving labourers, were ideas that as yet had no place in men's minds.

CHAPTER III.

OTHER SOCIAL GRADES.

The Bordars and the Cottars.—These formed the class that in the manorial hierarchy came next below the villans. There must have been some difference between bordars and cottars, because on some manors they are separately enumerated. What constituted the difference is not known. The etymology of the words does not help us, for in Norman romance 'bord' meant much the same as the English 'cote,' which we still have in cottage, sheepcote, and dovecote. They both stood for the humblest kind of human dwelling. Nor is any economic difference discoverable between them, for each had his bord, or cot, and on an average five acres of land, though sometimes his holding was merely a garden, and sometimes, but rarely, it reached to ten acres. Five acres is mentioned as his normal allowance; from the Survey this quantity appears to have been very seldom exceeded.

In the absence of any other suggested explanation of the difficulty just noticed, I would ask whether, as no economic difference between the two is discernible, the difference may not have been of a social kind, such as that cottars had been slaves, or were the descendants of slaves, or of cottars, in which case they would have been native adscripts to the soil, whereas bordars may have been freemen who had sunk into that position. At a time when

land was all but the only means of living, and the whole of it had come into very few hands, such falls must have been constantly occurring everywhere. On the manors that now constitute Wherstead twelve bordars, but no cottars, are noted. If there is anything to the purpose in my suggestion this is what might have been expected in East Anglia, where the slaves were fewest and the small freemen most numerous. Additional probability arises from the fact that the very difference I am supposing might have existed between the bordars and the cottars did actually exist among the villans on the same manor. The services of all came to be undistinguishable; still there was a marked social distinction, and one which ultimately had important consequences, between those villans who were *nativi*, or descended from the old servile or semi-servile cultivators, and those who were descended from free ancestors who had annexed themselves to the manor: the latter formed the class of soccage villans.

The distinguishing feature between the villan and the bordar was that the latter had not to keep an ox for ploughing, or any kind of four-footed stock. His holding was not large enough for that. It was supposed to be enough for his own support and that was all, with the exception that at certain stated dates he was bound to supply stated amounts of poultry and of eggs for the lord's table. The ploughing of his land was done for him by the ploughs of the demesne or of the homagers. In return for his cot and five acres he had, throughout the year, to work on the demesne land, and attend to the stock, whenever required. His life was hard. Like the villan he was annexed to the soil, could not leave it, and went with it. He is mentioned in the Survey, because his presence and work contributed to the taxable value of the manor; he was part of the live stock.

In accordance with the agricultural practice of the times a third or half of his land was always fallow; and as under the system then universal the yield could hardly ever have exceeded fifteen bushels an acre, we may suppose that a bordar's yearly store averaged somewhere about thirty-seven and a half bushels. If his family consisted of himself, wife, four children, and an old or disabled relative, —for there were no manorial poor laws—these thirty-seven and a half bushels would have given bread enough, with a little over for the poultry he was obliged to keep. Considering the fewness of cows kept, a consequence of the difficulty of carrying them through the winter without roots and hay from artificial grasses, there could have been very little cheese for such as he. Nor could he have often seen on his table a piece of bacon, for the value then set on acorns and beech mast shows how difficult it was to keep pigs. Roots, the corn offal of a large population, and the dross corn of large farms raising thirty bushels an acre, are what enable us to keep pigs cheaply. Hence it comes about that we utterly neglect the 'pannage,' as they called it, that was the acorns and beech mast, which was pretty nearly their only means for keeping pigs. The word 'pannage' is also used for the rent paid for the acorns and mast, which is sometimes stated to have been one hog in ten.

Sir H. Ellis gives 82,119 as the number of the *bordarii* enumerated in Domesday; 5,054 as that of the *cotarii*; 1,749 as that of the *cosceti*, who were close kindred of the bordars and cottars; 25,156 as that of the slaves; and 108,407 as that of the villans. Besides these there were enumerated small numbers of several other classes, as beekeepers, honeymen, swineherds, cowherds, cattle men, shepherds, saltpanmen, smiths, carpenters, &c. Above these were the class of *liberi homines* and *sochmanni*. The figures just given almost oblige us to think that the

omissions in this enumeration of the inferior grades of cultivators were very far from inconsiderable.

The Slaves.—We have seen that there had been imposed on the villans and bordars a state of modified slavery. Below them in the social order of the day was the unqualified slavery of the men and women who had no rights in their own souls and bodies, and who had to pass their lives in toil for others without thanks, or wages, or hope. The surplus increase of this unhappy class was largely exported to the Continent, and even to Ireland. We all know the story of the lot whose good looks attracted attention in the slave market at Rome. Together with cattle they were called 'live money,' and together with metallic money were legal tender for the payment of debts. The Lord might give his slave's daughter to his son for a concubine.

In Domesday one only of these by law degraded, and by law rightless, unfortunates is recorded as having been found in Wherstead. On the manor of Thorington there had been 'on the day that King Edward had been alive and dead' two of these living chattels, but at the date of the Survey there was only one. We may hope that he was the last of his race, and that there was never after him another in the parish. Only 909 are enumerated for the whole county of Suffolk. It is noticeable of this side of England, that slaves were then dying out. Indeed, none are enumerated in Lincolnshire or Yorkshire. Not, of course, that it would have been illegal to have held them, but that they were not wanted, and that there had come to be no place for them in the agronomic, which was the foundation of the political and social, system. In Central and Western England they so abounded as to make them a ninth part of the population of the whole kingdom. The reason that was leading to their extinction here must have been of an economic character. They

were thinning out only in the districts the Danes had occupied and settled in. We may, therefore, suppose that the number of small free men who came with and constituted the bulk of the Danish force, had to be provided for on the land, the only means then of providing for them; and that these small free men (whom we find here in considerable numbers, but who in some other counties are entirely wanting), together with those who were retained from among the former villans and cottars, were as much as the land required, and could be maintained by it. Here, then, the service of bordars may have taken the place of the service of slaves. The services, indeed, of the two had all along been hardly distinguishable; the difference being that the bordar had some personal rights, while the slave had none.

War, of course, was mainly answerable for the existence of this miserable class: they were the immediate or the more remote descendants of the sisters, widows, and orphans of the vanquished, when brothers, husbands, and fathers had been put to the sword. Whatever the condition of the father, the offspring followed the condition of the slave mother on the principle that 'mine is the calf of my cow.' Another cause that recruited the numbers of the slave population was that the utterly destitute preferred slavery to starvation. The towns at that time were few and small, and the artisans within them guarded their respective trades with much jealousy; and under the manorial system every place in the cultivation of the soil was already permanently occupied; the increase, therefore, of the rural population was for the most part incapable of finding any means of procuring a living. It is not, then, surprising that many, in order to get bread, voluntarily surrendered themselves to slavery. In those hard times, when the resources of society were very

limited and its organisation rigidly fixed, it was not uncommon in other countries for the unfortunate to be driven into making choice of this dire alternative.

The Free Men under commendation.—This is a technical expression. It describes a position that has no existence, or analogue, now, but which at the period we are considering was inevitable and necessary, and was everywhere occupied by many. It somewhat resembled the relation in which the Roman client stood to his patron. In these days society is so strong that it can everywhere protect everybody. In those days society, as the universal protector, had no existence. Society was then organised locally in the manor, in the hundred, and in the shire. Justice was then administered locally in the manor courts, the hundred courts, and the shire courts. The State, as we understand the word, could do little to protect, in Suffolk or anywhere else, a man who was only a small freeholder. Had he attempted to stand alone he would practically have been almost out-lawed. He would have been liable at any time to be assaulted and robbed, to be trampled on and crushed, with impunity and without redress. It was, therefore, an absolute necessity that he should unite himself to some powerful neighbour, who would be able, and could be induced for sufficient considerations, to see after the maintenance of his rights, personal and proprietary. This, under the circumstances of the times, could be done only by his surrendering himself, his freedom, and his small estate to some great lord, generally the great lord to whose manor his little estate was contiguous; and then receiving back from him his freedom and his estate on the condition of his swearing fealty to, and undertaking certain services for, the lord. Among his new duties rent was not omitted. Bad as this was, it was better than being plundered by everybody and

protected by nobody. The lord had now, in fact, become his master, and exacted from him services that were partly honourable, though from the first partly servile; and he had become one of the lord's men, or homagers. This was the meaning of what was called 'commendation.' In a very modified sense it might be regarded as a voluntary act: that is, so far as was Hobson's choice. The loss was great; but if the man had held out worse would have befallen him. A man who had acted in this way was said to have 'commended' himself to such or such a lord. He was 'under commendation' to him.

Many, possibly, of the Domesday villans had once been Churls or Ceorls—that is, Anglo-Saxon small free men—who, by the growth of the all-devouring manorial system, and the force of the stream of tendency there was no resisting, had been reduced to the servile condition we find them occupying in the Survey. They had been gradually absorbed, digested, and transmuted. The steps of their descent, after commendation, or some equivalent process, had once been entered on, had occurred at the death of any holder, when his holding had been regranted to a successor on what modifications or degradations of tenure he would accept rather than not acquire the holding. How much more the pressure of circumstances than freedom of choice had to do with the general adoption of commendation may be inferred from a law of Athelstan's, which enacted that every small free man was, under the severest penalties, to provide himself with a lord; that if he neglected to do this his relations were to do it for him; and that, if they neglected it, any one might apprehend him for a thief.

So had it been in the times preceding the Conquest. And the same course was now about to be run over again by the small freeholders in the Eastern Counties, and else-

where, who had probably been brought in by the Danes. In the entries relating to what is now Wherstead we find three of this class mentioned by name: Edmund and Toller, free men of Robert, son of Wimark, the father of Swain of Essex; and Elwin, a free man of Stigand, the deposed Archbishop of Canterbury. These all appear to have been before the Conquest in the position, through the favour of their respective lords, of renters or sub-tenants of some of our Wherstead manors. At the time of the Survey a Furic and a Gifard had taken the places of Edmund and of Elwin; but who had taken Toller's holding we are not told. This was in some respects a time of transition. These new small freeholders who during the disturbances of the Danish invasions had grown up in East Anglia, now had, like the Saxon ceorls who had preceded them, to sink by the way of commendation into semi servile dependants. Their land was never again to get out of the clutches of the over-lord to whom they had commended themselves, until some centuries later their descendants will emerge from the decay of the manorial system as copy-holders.

It is a commonplace with us to talk of the highly artificial arrangements of modern society, as if these were a natural and unavoidable result of the progress of civilization. The fact, however, is in the main the very reverse of this supposition; class distinctions were more numerous, more marked, and more rigidly maintained in the earlier stages of society. The iron frame of caste was one form of these primitive conquest-originated distinctions. Another form was distinctly exhibited in the several strictly defined orders of men of our manorial community; the tenants-in-chief, the sub-tenants, the soccage tenants, the villans, the bordars, the cottars, the cosceti, the slaves. Each class

took its place in the social hierarchy as if its members, by an ordinance of nature, differed specifically from the other constituents of the community in their endowments, in their natural rights, and in their modes and habits of life; and as if there were between them insurmountable social barriers. In their case it is easy for us to see what had brought about these distinctions. A glance reveals that they had grown out of invasions, conquests, and subjugations. Nor is there any difficulty in tracing back the modified arrangements of the same kind that still exist amongst ourselves to those old Roman, Anglo-Saxon, and Norman overthrows and resettlements, of which they are modern survivals. Societies founded on arms began in economic, political, and social inequalities. Afterwards, if economic progress was established amongst them, a tendency towards equality was developed.

The absence of the differences just noted in the social and political fabric of the United States is a consequence of its not having been in any degree built on a foundation of conquest and subjugation, with their consequent structures, maintained by arms and laws, of privileges, and of degrees and forms of semi-servile disabilities. The community was not composed of victors and of vanquished, and of armed and of unarmed classes; and its arrangements were not designed with the view of upholding the descendants of the victors, and of holding down the descendants of the vanquished. As to the few dispossessed scattered aborigines, they entirely disappeared. There everything, up to the Presidency, is open to everyone. In every department of human effort no one finds any artificial hindrance to bar his rising to any eminence for which nature may have qualified him. In our manorial system, on the contrary, nothing was open to anybody. Every man's status was personal and hereditary. The

Church first introduced the thin end of the wedge that was to shatter the system. As time went on other professions and trade slowly advanced the process. In our own time the steam engine, the greatest leveller the ages have seen, has mightily aided the process by giving numbers and wealth to the forces that work for equality.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PLACE OF THE OX IN DOMESDAY ECONOMY.

THE PLOUGH TEAMS.—Next after the different classes of men who worked on the manor, the free men under commendation, the villans, the bordars, and the slaves, our attention is claimed by their meagre and dwarfed fellow-workers, the cattle who drew the plough, and who, underfed and overworked, had drawn it, and would continue to draw it through centuries of suffering.

But, first, we must understand why so much prominence is given in Domesday to the plough teams. They are enumerated on every manor. Why was this done? In the clear-seeing mind of the deviser of Domesday one of its three main purposes was that of its being the tax book, or assessment book, of the whole kingdom. But how were the Commissioners to ascertain what would be every man's proper assessment? Land was, speaking broadly, the only property. Did they then attempt to arrive at the desired knowledge by measuring every man's land, or by inquiring for how much it was let, or could be let? They did neither. They did not measure it, because in those times the mere land was of little account. What gave it value, and was the main factor of the value of a manor, was the amount of labour that was actually being applied to it. And under any circumstances much would be waste common pasturage, which, according to the ideas and practice

of the times, was not taxable; nor was that portion of the manor, about half of its area, which was assigned to the different grades of its cultivators for their maintenance, and which represented what are now wages. Besides, there had been so much devastation and overthrow of agricultural arrangements in the East of England by the Danish invasions, and everywhere recently so much dislocation of the highly artificial machinery of cultivation as then practised, through the Conqueror's confiscations and re-grantings, almost always to new tenants-in-chief, of all the land in the kingdom, that the area of a manor would be no proof of its actual taxable capacity. So was it in the time of our great grandfathers with a West India sugar estate: the chief element in its value was not its acreage, but the number of slaves upon it. And as to its lettable value, which is what we immediately think of, that was not ascertainable, for letting land, as we have already seen, was not the custom of those times, and would have to grow out of conditions that were not then in existence.

What the Commissioners did was to note the number of plough teams on a manor. Land could not be cultivated without them. And when it was so difficult to keep stock, these cattle would not be kept without there being work for them to do. And each team would throughout the country consist of the same number of cattle, and would in the year, allowing for the differences in the texture of the soil, cultivate the same number of acres: for at that time there was none of the endless variety of these days of ours, everything being then defined, fixed, and settled as invariably as the way in which birds of the same species build their nests. The plough teams, therefore—that is to say, the number of working cattle– kept on a manor were made the basis of its assessment. They were another expression for the extent of profitable cultivation.

The two terms were convertible. Where there were no plough teams there was nothing to tax; and for every plough team the recognised assessment would be so much.

Still we find set down in our Wherstead entries, as was done elsewhere, the acreage of the manors. The reason was that the Commissioners had not completed this branch of their work when they had ascertained and entered the number of teams on the manor, and what consequently was the amount that might be levied on it at that time. Looking at recent troubles some manors might be over-taxed, and some admitted of so much improvement that before long they would be undertaxed. They, therefore, entered the number of carucates, or hides, or in Kent sullungs (all meaning the familiar area of about 120 acres, the land of one plough and eight draught cattle) which had been in cultivation in the time of King Edward, and the number then in cultivation. This would show whether things had improved, as they already had in many cases, or deteriorated, as they had in many. And this entry of the acreage would to some extent check attempts to make too low a return of the number of teams; as would also the requirement to give schedules of all the free tenants, villans, bordars, and slaves employed on the manor; which we find entered in the Survey. So many teams meant invariably so much ploughed land; and reversely so much ploughable land ought always to mean, and might be expected in quiet and settled times soon to come to mean, so many teams. And so with the villans, bordars, and slaves; for, as in the system everything was fixed and unvarying, so many of these meant so much land in villanage, and so much land in villanage meant, for the most part, so much in demesne. Though in such toy manors as some of our Wherstead ones, the whole might occasionally, in connection with contiguous land of the same tenant-in-

chief, have been in villanage, or the whole in demesne. These, however, were exceptional cases. But we must not forget that these entries of areas and of cultivators were also necessary for the two other quite distinct purposes of the Survey; first to show who in the matter of the geld or taxes was the tenant, responsible to the Crown, of each manor; and secondly, to show, as the military muster roll of the kingdom, who and what kind of men of all sorts and conditions were upon every manor.

We now pass to another point connected with these plough teams. They were composed always and everywhere of oxen, and always and everywhere each of eight oxen. The place of the ox in the economy of those times cannot be understood without some knowledge and thought. Agriculture was the only employment worth noting. It supplied the nation with the whole of its food, of its clothing, of its lodging, and of its fuel. It supported the army and navy, such as they were, the Church, the Crown, the governing class, and the people. What trades and tradesmen there were existed only by and for the nation that was engaged in and lived by agriculture. And everywhere in this industry, which employed and supported the nation, the motive power was the ox. It had ever been so everywhere from the promulgation of the Decalogue, which notes not the horse but the ox, and it had never occurred to anyone to suppose that a time would ever come, or circumstances ever arise, when it would be otherwise. It was the strength of the ox that had ever made the earth yield its increase. This was why in early times values were measured in terms of oxen, as we see in the Homeric poems, and why in Latin *pecunia*, or cattle, came to mean money. In India for the same reason the ox came to be regarded as sacred and inviolable.

When people thought of the arrangements of agriculture,

the ox was always present to the mind as the basis of those arrangements. Land measures, and words expressing them, had grown out of this fact. The Roman *jugerum* was the land that could be ploughed in a day by a *jugum*, or yoke of oxen. The carucate of the Survey was the amount of land a plough (caruca), with its complement of eight oxen, four to each yoke, could year by year keep in cultivation. These carucates were in the taxable demesne land; but the land divided for the purposes of villanage was thought of as fourths, eighths, and twenty-fourths of a carucate. The ordinary holding of a villan was the virgate of thirty acres, or the fourth, and of a bordar five acres, or the twenty-fourth of a carucate. The villan's holding could not be spoken of without its mention suggesting the fact that it had to maintain, besides the villan and his family, two oxen. Some villans, called half-villans, received only half a virgate, or fifteen acres, which had to maintain the villan and one ox, and for this reason the fifteen acre holding was called an oxgang, or a bovate: it maintained one ox. Four of these thirty acre pieces, each maintaining two oxen, or eight of the fifteen acre pieces, each maintaining one ox, together made one carucate of villan land, maintaining a complete team of eight oxen.

The usual method of ploughing with four oxen was to have them abreast, under a yoke that spanned the four. One walked on the land just ploughed, one in the furrow, and the two others on the stubble. When eight oxen were used, a second yoke of four would be placed in front; two men would be engaged in driving and managing the team. I have seen the light, friable, volcanic soil of the Limagne being ploughed, as a preparation for sugar-beet, to a depth of eighteen inches, by six heavy Cantal bullocks. These six were, I doubt not, far heavier than, and twice as strong as, the eight of the diminutive half-starved Domesday

team. It is difficult for us to imagine how stunted were the live-stock of all kinds in those days.

The villans received their ploughs and oxen, as part of their outfit, from the lord. With teams formed from their ones and twos they cultivated co-operatively the land held in villanage, of course including the five-acre holdings of the bordars, and also the Priest's glebe; of which in Thorington there were fifty acres, and in Pannington three. They worked, too, on the lord's land with their compound teams on their three service days in each week. On the death of a villan his oxen and the rest of his outfit reverted to the lord. One cannot help asking what became of his widow and children? Those were hard times, though perhaps not harder than our own times are for our intellectually and morally stunted, half-starved, and one-chamber-occupying *residuum*: our gain is in the enormously increased number of our well-to-do classes, and in the possibility of escape for our *residuum*.

There is no difficulty in seeing why the old as well as the mediæval world, as is still the case with the backward nations of the East, preferred in agriculture the labour of the ox to that of the horse. The preference rested on good reasons. First, the ox was far cheaper to keep. He could find a subsistence on the fallows and coarse herbage of the waste pasturage far more completely than the horse could have done. And a pair of horses, together with the villan's family, could not have been maintained by the holder of a virgate of thirty acres, a third or a half of which was always in fallow. A second reason was that in those days time mattered little. No wages were paid, the labour being servile, or semi-servile, and maintained by allowances of land. Wages really are for time; we, therefore, endeavour to get as much as is possible done in the time paid for. To the Lord of the villan it mattered nothing how

much time was expended on an operation of husbandry, so that it was done. The time was not paid for. It would have been pure loss to have worked more expeditiously with costlier instruments.

In the Ploughman's complaint of the hardness of his lot—the date being about the end of the 14th century—we find that he had to begin at dawn in winter, and to plough a full acre or more daily. He tells us that he was allowed a boy to goad the oxen. With such cattle this was necessary. But from the mention of the boy only we may infer that he was thinking of a team of only four oxen. This was not the usual Domesday team. Perhaps, however, it may have been better on light soils, instead of keeping the eight at work all day, to divide them into two shifts of four each, one for the morning and the other for the afternoon. Generally, however, and particularly in winter, when on most manors the working cattle had no keep but straw, and so must have been in most wretched condition, and with the lumbering ploughs of those times, teams of four would have been impossible.

The Survey gives the amount of ox-power at work in Wherstead 800 years ago, and so enables us, if we suppose that there are no omissions, to form some estimate of what was required of it. But to take the figures as we find them in the entries, there were thirteen plough-teams on our seven manors. They appear to have been divided between the demesne and the villan holdings in the proportion of six of the former to seven of the latter. These thirteen teams represent a force of 104 working oxen. Then, turn-to the entries for the number of acres in cultivation, we find that there were in demesne, taking the carucate at 120 acres, on our seven manors, 1,060 acres of arable. To this we must add the holdings of eleven villans, which, allowing to each the normal virgate of thirty acres, gives 330. In

the same way, allowing to each of the twelve bordars the normal cottar holding of five acres, we find that they must have held 60 acres. These two items give 390 acres. This, however, from our knowledge of the proportion of land elsewhere held in villanage, which was generally equal to or in excess of that held in demesne, shows that there was something exceptional in the state of things here. Taking, however, the figures which the Survey supplies, we find that there were at that time 1,450 acres in arable cultivation in what is now Wherstead. If, then, we divide these 1,450 acres among our 104 working oxen, we shall find that each team of eight had to cultivate 111 acres. If, however, we recall the leaning there was towards understating the number of oxen we shall not be wrong in assigning something under 100 acres to each eight. And as the only method of agriculture then possible was the two or three-shift course, one-half or one-third of each 100 acres would always be in fallow; and from the nature of our soil we may be almost certain that it was the two-course shift that was adopted here, so that one-half of our arable was always in fallow, which would not be touched till after Easter. This amount of work would not have been excessive for sturdy well-fed cattle, though this is a description which would not apply anywhere to the working cattle of those days, and certainly not to those kept in Wherstead, which we may be sure were very lean kine, and as diminutive as lean.

It was supposed that in a well-arranged manor every working ox would require the produce of one acre of meadow for his winter supply of hay and for grazing. The fallows and the waste common pasturage would give what more was needed; and of the latter there must, including woods, have been in what is now Wherstead nearly 800 acres. Of meadow, however, for mowing we find in

our entries only thirty-nine acres. Here is a deficiency of sixty-five acres, or of a great deal more than half of what was requisite, even when we omit all consideration of the wants of the cows and of the young neat stock. But on this light and shallow soil there is very little that is adapted for permanent grass. The needs, too, of those times, as well as their methods of agriculture, leant far more to corn than to grass. And so after their winter's work our 104 straw-fed bullocks must have found it quite enough to drag about even themselves.

The live stock, and most especially the working cattle, went with the manor and with the holdings upon it; as did also at this time, and long after, the villans and bordars, who practically were part of the live stock. There were then no capitalists to hire and bring with them the means of stocking and working farms; and the bare land would have been worthless unless accompanied with the apparatus for cultivating it.

CHAPTER V.

THE OX'S FOUR-FOOTED FELLOW SUFFERERS. SALT WORKS IN WHERSTEAD.

The Other Live Stock.—Having now inspected the working cattle, we will proceed to take a look at the other live stock on our seven manors. The totals on four of them are two horses, seventeen cows, ninety-five swine, two hundred and thirty sheep, and eighty-four goats. It is remarkable that on the three small manors granted to Earl Alan not one animal of any one of these kinds of live stock is returned. Of one of them, his Wherstead manor of one carucate, we are told that there had been on it in the time of King Edward eight working cattle; that afterwards there had not been one, but that at the time of the Survey there were four; and of his second Wherstead manor of forty acres, a miniature affair of the third part of a carucate, we are told that at that time there were four working cattle, though there had formerly been eight. These facts, indicating deterioration, seem to imply that on these manors there had been some very disturbing troubles, which we can imagine were in some way connected with their confiscation and bestowal on the hated intrusive Norman grantees. And something of the same kind may be supposed of his third stockless sub-manor of Pannington, consisting of sixty acres. Taking, however, woods, the average per carucate of live stock of all kinds on our manors that made returns of live stock,

of course excluding the working cattle, these unstocked manors should have had at least 100 head of the non-working kinds. We see, then, that this unexplained omission makes the live stock of the parish present a less satisfactory appearance than we may say it was entitled to. But, taking things as we find them, there are 428 head of non-working stock of all kinds enumerated. All these, it must be remembered, belonged to the demesnes of the manors; and that is the reason for their being returned: they helped to show what the manors were worth for purposes of taxation.

No entry is made of the live stock belonging to the villans. But from other sources, as well as from the nature of the case, we know that every one of them had live stock. For the villan's outfit, when put into his holding, included, besides the two working oxen we have already seen in his possession, one cow and six sheep. They, therefore, as eleven villans are returned, had among them eleven cows and sixty-six sheep. These, then, together with the 104 working oxen, give of the live stock of all kinds in what is now Wherstead a total of 609. And had it not been for the unexplained omissions just noticed the total would have reached, and doubtless in a few years did reach, 100 head more—that is to say 709.

We have seen that the non-working live stock is ranged under five heads, in the order in which we have just set them down. And as this order is carefully adhered to in their enumeration on other manors, we may be sure that it represented the order of their relative value at that time. It implies that a horse was more valuable than a cow, and that a pig was more valuable than a sheep, and a sheep than a goat.

There were only two horses within our present bound-

aries. We hear elsewhere of pack-horses, a consequence of there being no carriageable roads, and it is probable that these two were of that description; but for any purposes connected with agriculture, or with the needs of agriculturists, horses were not used or wanted. Besides, they were too costly in their keep for anyone but the great man, who used them in war, and whose dignity they helped to uphold. This stands in strong contrast with the present universal recognition of their superiority in strength and speed for every kind of draught; the latter point being equivalent to a saving of time. Still the horse would not have so completely displaced the ox were it not that the advances of agriculture and the contributions of commerce have everywhere created an abundance of horse keep. The substitution of modern facilities for ancient difficulties in this matter is a measure of progress.

We have now become able to provide corn for our horses as well as for ourselves, and by the aid of artificial grasses to maintain for them throughout the year an unfailing supply of stored-up provender. Hence it has come about that the number of our agricultural horses, omitting account of all those used for other purposes, is now twice as great as that of the probable Domesday population of the whole kingdom. And if we could exhibit the keep of these horses in terms of bread and meat, we should find that they consume more agricultural produce than did the whole of the human population of those times.

It is a strange result of our English agricultural arrangements that on some of the farms in our modern Wherstead dairying is non-existent; and this in the face of the fact to which the late Minister for Agriculture called the attention of his audience on April 1, 1892, at Leicester, that we are paying the foreigner 20,000,000*l.* a year for dairy produce. On the whole, however, what is now the parish

of Wherstead, thanks to our root crops, artificial grasses, and modern fertilizers, maintains more cows than did our seven manors at the date of the Survey. But as their milk is chiefly sent into the contiguous town—some of it has at times been sent to London—the inhabitants of Wherstead have not to-day so good a supply of this necessary for children as their predecessors had 800 years ago. Our cows, doubtless, are very superior animals to the cows of those times, and much better milkers, and are very much better kept. Instead every year of leaving half our arable land idle, partly that it might grow weeds for the stock, we grow for them on the same area nutritious artificial grasses and roots. These improvements must also be credited with the number of bullocks we are enabled to fatten every year. The word used in the Survey for cows and yearlings is *animalia.* They were above all other stock, *par excellence*, the animals. We may note a somewhat similar use by ourselves of the word 'beasts.' We, however, apply it not so much to the cows, as to bullocks preparing for the butcher.

Swine were placed above sheep, and were valued much more highly than they are in these days. It was so difficult then to carry stock through the winter, that what were intended for the winter supply of beef and mutton were generally killed and salted in the autumn ; and probably most people preferred ham and bacon to salt junk of beef and mutton that must during a part of every year have been nearly twelve months in the tub. For swine there was then the same lack of winter keep as for other stock. The agriculture possible then produced little for them. And hence the great value, as we have already noticed, that was then set on acorns and beech-mast. In places where there were woods the entries in Domesday generally indicate their value, not by the quantity of timber

or of fuel that they might yield, but by the number of pigs they could maintain, or rather fatten in autumn—that is to say, their extent and value are given in terms of pigs. We have ninety-five swine enumerated in our entries, and we may be sure that this was as great a number as could have been kept with the resources then available. Although the relative value of the pig has much diminished, a modern farm of moderate size often keeps a larger number.

Probably no stock of those times was so inferior in weight and quality to ours as the sheep. None could have been so severely tried in winter. The little hay that was made was not for them; and there were no roots. We can hardly understand how they existed on the waste pasturage, fallows, and straw. There were here 296 of them. Our far larger numbers are superior to what they were at every point. The wool, however, that they yielded was in those times a product of great value; it must then have been all spun and woven at home. In after days it was with wool that we chiefly carried on our foreign trade, and the introduction of the arrangements necessary for producing it in large quantities was one of the causes of the breaking up of the manorial organisation we are now contemplating. But at that time the wool that was produced was consumed on the spot. This was a constant employment for the women. They had to clothe the family. It ever had been so. There was no other way of supplying an absolute necessary; and this must to some degree have reconciled them to the drudgery it imposed. That drudgery was indispensable for the family, for civilisation, and for life, because people must have clothes, and they could be procured in no other way. Every young woman was a spinster by employment, and there could have been but few women who were not so all their lives.

The goat was at the bottom of the hierarchy of farm

animals. With most of us the wonder will be to find that it had a place at all in the list. There were eighty-four of them on the demesne lands of our manors. Thorington, our best manor, had more goats than sheep, thirty to twenty. There must have been an enormous number of goats in England at that time. The chief interest of this fact is that it enables us to measure the backwardness of agriculture. Their use must have been to supply kid and milk. But kid was not better than lamb, nor the milk of the goat better than the milk of the cow. The inducement, therefore, must have been that it was so much easier to keep the omnivorous goat than the bulky cow, or the dainty sheep. We have now got so far away from the state of things then existing here that our present Wherstead farmers would regard it as a tax to have to keep among them the eighty-four goats which were profitably kept 800 years ago within our boundaries. A five-acred bordar was in those times more likely to have kept a goat than a pig; and it would have been the only means open to him for getting milk for his children. But bordars' goats would not find their way into the Survey.

The amount of stock we have found on our manors, considering how poorly it was kept, could not have done much in the way of improving, or even of maintaining, the fertility of the soil. Hence the necessity of resting the land every second or third year with a fallow. On some manors, it is not said whether it was so on ours, the lord had the right of folding the tenants' sheep on the demesne land: a cruel instance of the hardnesses of those times. From those who had but little, that little was taken away, and given to those who had abundance, that their abundance might be increased at the cost of the poor and helpless. For manure they were indeed badly off, without artificial grasses and roots, without feeding stuffs,

without the supplies afforded by a large town, which is a manure mine to us, and without any artificial fertilisers. In this matter they would have been worse off had they not had in most places some amount of waste pasturage. Probably there was some here, though now there is not an acre of waste in the parish. There must have been some woods on our manors, though no mention of woods is made in the entries: they were necessary for pigs, as has been already noticed, for fencing, for fuel, and for building.

Mills.—There had been here two mills, one on the manor of Thorington, the other on the manor of Bourn. They must, therefore, both have been on what is now the Bourn brook. One had since the time of King Edward been abandoned. The other was still at work. It is sometimes noted that there was only water enough to work the mill in winter. Carriage was so difficult that it was necessary to have mills everywhere, besides that the lords of manors found it profitable to set up mills at which they could compel their tenants to grind. We are told of some mills that brought in yearly a considerable sum for those times, and of others that only brought in a few pence. Sometimes we hear of part of the rent being paid in corn or flour, and sometimes in a stated weight or number of eels; an indication of how hard it was to come by penny-pieces. These penny-pieces were the only form of currency then in use; for marks, pounds, and even shillings were all sums of account, and were dealt with not by tale, but in the scales. The miller was in the same position as a villan or cottar, being of villan blood. He went with the manor.

Salt works.—There were, in what is now the parish, two salt works, or salt pans (salinæ). That on Wherstead manor must have been situated between the Vicarage lane and the Church lane, on what is now called the Strand

As the other was on Pannington, it must have been on what are now the Bourn meadows, which, as they were not then embanked, were flooded at high tide. We are not told, as we find done in many other places, how many people were employed on these Wherstead salt works, or how many bushels of salt were procured from them yearly; perhaps because they were but small affairs.

On the south side of the church, on the plane of the ground, in the angle between the south wall of the nave and the porch, is a gravestone that was once inside the church. It is to the memory of Robert Gooding, who died August 27, 1618. He is described on this stone as 'salt-finer.' This Robert was probably grandfather of the Richard Gooding, whose name, as churchwarden, is on our smallest bell, which was fixed in our tower in 1675, and who in the entry of his burial is styled 'gent,' this probably meaning that he was a landed proprietor. A process of exhaustion brings us to the conclusion that the land held by the grandson must have been Wherstead Hall; and that, therefore, the salt the grandfather fined was procured from the salt works mentioned in Domesday as existing 670 years previously in the manor of Wherstead. The exact spot must have been either at the little bay on the east side of the embankment, where broken bricks may still be seen, or at the foot of Freston hill, where Freston brook joins the Orwell. The market for this Wherstead salt must have been in the contiguous villages, and in Ipswich. For 700 years then, at least, it paid better to make salt at Wherstead from Orwell water than to bring it, by land or sea, from any other place where it was produced in greater abundance and on easier terms. This illustrates one of the leading facts in commerce, which is, that a product all the world wants is not marketable beyond its own immediate neighbourhood, until means of transport have been

organised for it. The wheat of India is an instance. It was there thousands of years ago, but could not be brought down to the coast and transported to Europe till the era of railways and of large steamers. By the want of transport it was excluded from, by the creation of transport it was enabled to enter, the markets of the world ; and in so doing extinguishes all other wheats that cannot be produced as cheaply as it : of course, the cost of transport being added to the cost of production. Just so was it with our Wherstead salt works ; they, after having been at work profitably for many centuries, were extinguished by the creation of facilities of transport from the brine springs of Cheshire. This particular effect illustrates the general rule that one of the most potent factors of change in our modern economic arrangements is supplied by our vastly improved means of transport. Even our ever increasing volume of over-sea emigration, and of the migration of labour at home, is mainly attributable to this cause.

Primeval man is chained to his narrow beat, and must himself consume the products of his labour. This obliges him to supply with his own hands all his requirements. By little and little his range in space becomes more and more extended, and so a market is opened for the exchange of the products of his labour, and is ever being expanded. At last he can move freely to and fro over all the world, and the produce of his labour becomes exchangeable for the produce of all the world. But this from first to last is brought about by advances in the means of communication and of transport.

The distinguishing features, then, of the agriculture of England 800 years ago in comparison with our own of to-day were (1) that it was carried on without the employment of capital, for even the working cattle were bred on the manor from the cows on the demesne and from those

on the holdings of the villans; (2) that no wages were paid, the labour being bred, like the cattle, on the land, and fed, clothed, and housed from the land; (3) that the manor was a self-contained and self-sufficing organisation except for the crude iron required and a few other matters; the blacksmith, who worked up the iron, was generally supported by a virgate of thirty acres held in villanage; as was also the carpenter. It had little need of, and but slight connections with, the outside world. Our manor of Thorington, when once organised and started, could have been worked almost as well in Juan Fernandez as in Wherstead; (4) that it was self-regarding. It had hardly any consciousness of any economic relations with the world beyond its own borders. What it produced was what it wanted for itself, and was, with insignificant exceptions, consumed on the spot; (5) that the conditions were such that it was more profitable, universally, to work with oxen than with horses, and about as profitable to keep goats as sheep, and more profitable to keep as many goats as sheep than to keep sheep only; (6) that it was not a form of free cultivation, any more as respected the methods than the labour. Its arragements were not in any degree the result of the independent thought of an unshackled owner coming to his own conclusions, on looking at the wants of the outside world, as to which of those wants the qualities of his land, and his own personal powers, and his means would enable him to supply best. It was a form of rigidly-fixed cultivation which could not be departed from one iota, either as to its objects, or its methods, or the labour it employed. It was a system of field-constraint worked by labour under constraint; at every point everywhere the same. Freedom of any kind was incompatible with its existence, and would have rapidly and completely disintegrated it.

CHAPTER VI.

JURISDICTION. CHURCH MATTERS. LAND MEASURING.

Sac and Soc.—In five of our entries the word 'soc' occurs. The soc of Bourn and of the sub-manor of Pannington, we are told, rested with Edith, probably the widow of Harold; that of Pannington with Robert, probably the son of Wimark, and father of Swain, of Essex; and that of Thorington had been held by Elwin, who had under Stigand been under-tenant of that manor. These, of course, were all held by grants from the Crown. The soc, however, of Earl Alan's one carucate manor of Wherstead was at Bergholt, a place some eight miles off. This would seem to indicate that a court was held at Bergholt, probably the Hundred Court, and that there had been no grant of the soc of this Wherstead Manor.

The full and the usual expression was 'sac and soc.' Sac is connected with seek, and still exists in our English of to-day in the form of sake. It meant primarily a suit, an action, a cause. Its secondary sense was the right of hearing and determining such matters. Soc was the area or territory, whether one manor or several, over which the lord's right of sac extended. It had a secondary meaning of a franchise, a liberty, or a jurisdiction. We sometimes meet with the expression 'soca falde,' or 'de falde'—that is, the lord's right, in truth his wrongful right, to fold, on his arable land, his tenants' sheep.

Sac and soc may not have been quite the best words that could have been used for expressing the nature and area of the jurisdiction meant, because the general ear was at that time more pleased by an alliterative jingle than even it is now; and that merit, doubtless, inspired and helped to secure the acceptance of this phrase. Sac and soc, however, were much such a descriptive appellation as would now be that of causes and courts, in which distinctness of meaning would be somewhat sacrificed to sound. In subsequent times it might come to be asked what causes and what courts? But at the time everyone would be supposed to know the meaning daily use was attaching to the words.

In those times it would have been impossible for the State to have enforced throughout the country obedience to the law, and to the observance of the endlessly varying customs, duties, services, &c., of each locality; and no one, indeed, would have supposed that it was the business of the State to see to such matters. The general rule, therefore, appears to have been for the Crown to grant to the lords of manors the jurisdiction in cases arising within their boundaries and among their own people.

That the soc of Bourn and of the sub-manor of Pannington was with Edith, though the usufruct of these manors had passed to Earl Alan, indicates that pecuniary advantages of considerable value, in the form of fees and fines, arose from the possession of the sac and soc. In the Anglo-Saxon times the penalty for every offence, even up to homicide, had been a pecuniary payment; and the chief part of such fines would go to the holder of the sac and soc. That the soc of Earl Alan's manor of Wherstead was at Bergholt indicates that for some reason or other judiciary powers had never been granted to the tenant of this manor; and that, therefore, all the cases arising on it had to be

settled in the Hundred Court held at Bergholt, the chief part of the fines accruing from which would thus fall to the Crown. The fines, indeed, of this kind that had to be collected and accounted for by the Sheriffs formed no insignificant part of the royal revenue.

It is a curious instance of the working of the arrangements of those times that for the purpose of maintaining law and order in what is now the small parish of Wherstead there existed at the time of the Survey certainly four, possibly six, distinct courts. It may also be noted that all to whom the presidency of these courts belonged were necessarily non-resident, with the exception of Elwin, while he had been the sub-tenant of Thorington. In the lord's absence his bailiff would preside.

There were two kinds of manorial courts; the courts leet, which required a jury, and which settled matters that arose among the freemen, or in which they were concerned. In the decision of such cases a certain number of freemen of the manor were obliged to be present, and to take the part law and custom assigned them. They were, therefore, in these eastern counties, for not many of them were found elsewhere, called sochmen. They were within the soc, or jurisdictional area of the manor. They had also commended themselves to the lord, and were under his protection, and were his men, and part of their service was to assist in the administration of justice. In Suffolk they were exceptionally numerous: in the neighbouring manor of Shotley Domesday records that there were at that time 119 sochmen, but that in the time of King Edward there had been 210. This may not have been the Shotley on the south bank of the Orwell, for it is spoken of in the Survey as in some way annexed to Bergholt.

The other manorial court, which was called the court baron, did not require a jury, for the lord had competency

to decide matters of the kind that came before it. Generally it was presided over by the prepositus, or reeve, of the manor. To maintain his dignity, for he was seldom more than a villan, he was on large manors allowed to hold a carucate of land, which was four times as much as the ordinary villan holding. But, doubtless, some of these distinctions between the two manorial courts belonged to a somewhat later period.

That everyday matters in dispute between neighbours could, as the general rule, only be settled in these manorial courts indicates why it was necessary for the small freeholder to commend himself to the lord of the manor: otherwise he would have been almost without the pale of the law. In many matters affecting him there would have been no court to which he could have resorted for the redress of wrongs, and for the maintenance of his rights.

Church matters.—Domesday is incidentally an exposition of the religious feelings and ideas, and of the ecclesiastical arrangements of the time. In the Wherstead entries, however, it happens that there is little information of this kind. At the time of the Survey no great Abbey or Bishop was holding land here; though we are told that in the time of Edward Elwin, a freeman of Stigand, the Primate, but who was now deposed, had held Thorington. Nor was there any land here that had been given as alms, or for masses for the soul of the donor.

On Thorington manor there is mention of fifty acres of free land belonging to the Church. The motive of this entry must be looked for in the word free. This might have meant either that it was held free from services to the manor, except, of course, of a religious kind, as probably it was; or that it was not geldable—that is, taxable; or, still more likely, that it was free in both these respects. It is interesting to find that these fifty acres

retain to this day the name of Church Field. In 1847 it was traversed by the Great Eastern Railway, this Church Field, possibly the gift of the last Anglo-Saxon Primate, and so divided that the chief part of it lay between the old homestead and the railway. The part that was detached, which lies beyond, and to the south-east of the railway, has since been annexed to Pannington Hall. The priest, of course, could not have ploughed and cultivated this land himself; that was done for him by the manorial ploughs, the teams for which were kept partly by the domain and partly by the villans. As Thorington had at that time no connection whatever with the manor of Wherstead, the Church referred to in the entry must have been a Church or Chapel belonging to Thorington: indeed, without a Church no manor was deemed to be properly equipped.

The same remark may be made with respect to the three acres of free land on Pannington manor belonging to the Church. It also at that time appears to have had its Church or Chapel, and its priest.

On Wherstead manor there was no free Church land, and so there was no reason why the Commissioners should mention the Church in their entries connected with that manor. This, however, is no evidence at all that there was not then a Church upon it. There may have been one that was supported entirely by tithes; if so, it would have been unnecessary for them to take any notice of it, when the question was only that of the assessment of the manor. But that on this manor of Wherstead there was at that time a Church is rendered highly probable by the fact that when we came to have a stone church—at the time of the Survey they were hereabouts doubtless of wood—this was the manor selected for its site. If there had been no manorial church here, then probably that at

Thorington, or that at Pannington, would have become the parish church. A consecrated graveyard and edifice would hardly have been abandoned for a site that no one could have cared for at all, and that was not endeared by any memories. At all events, very soon after this time the parish church was where it now stands, as is evident from the fact that it was a Norman structure; the Norman porch of which still remains in perfect preservation. In this matter non-mention is no proof of non-existence, for throughout the whole Survey of Cambridgeshire only one church is mentioned. Our two sub-manors of Wherstead, and one of Pannington, were too small to have admitted of any ecclesiastical arrangements of their own.

Two of these small manors were held, as sub-tenant, by a priest of the name of Ealfric. It would be interesting to know on what terms he held them. As to his priestly duties, it is more likely that he discharged them than that he did not; and if so, it is most likely that he discharged them on the spot where he was residing; and that might have been in a church on Wherstead manor. As priests might still at that time in England be married, we will suppose that it was so with this clerical sub-tenant, who appears not to have been altogether insensible to the requirements of the world that now is.

A priest's tenement, or holding, was generally a virgate, the same as that of a villan; sometimes it was only half a virgate—that is to say, it was either thirty or fifteen acres: we have, however, seen that the priest at Thorington had fifty acres, and that not land in villanage, but free.

As to the payment of tithes, there was considerable diversity of practice. There had been laws on the subject; but all freedom in the matter had not been lost. Sometimes we find them paid to the local minister, sometimes to the Bishop, sometimes to a distant monastery, and

sometimes, we may guess, they were not paid at all. We hear of a lord who had the right of sending his tithe wherever he pleased. We can hardly suppose that the priest got much from tithe where there was, as at Thorington, a considerable endowment of land that would have sufficed for his maintenance. Though probably at the same time on the conterminous manor of Wherstead a priest was being maintained exclusively by tithes.

Quaranteens.—It may have been observed that the dimensions of three of our manors are given not only in acres but also in quaranteens. Bourn was eight quaranteens long by six in breadth; Pannington, five by four; Thorington, six by four. A quaranteen was a measure of length: it was 40 rods of 16½ ft. each—that is to say, it was 660 feet, or 220 yards, which is exactly the eighth part of a mile, or one furlong. A name for 40 rods—that is, this word 'quaranteen'—would not have come into existence had it not been that 40 rods was a length that was in constant use, so that there was need of a word to express it. People have never given themselves the trouble of inventing words gratuitously; in fact, they could not do it: it is the want of the word that prompts its invention. The want here was that in these manors where nothing was free and spontaneous, but where everything was artificially arranged, and immutably fixed, the fields were always set out in 40 rod lengths, and every four rods of breadth was marked off by a grass balk or boundary stone. By this arrangement every acre was separated and quite distinct from every other acre. And as the thirty acres of each villan and the five acres of each bordar were scattered all over the manor, each would know precisely, and everybody else would know, the boundaries of each acre of every holding: they would always be visible. Another advantage would be that there could be no dis-

pute as to how much work every man and every team had done during the day; for the whole manor was set out in acres of unvarying length and breadth: always forty rods long and four rods wide. Hence it came about that every furrow in England, unless something occurred to prevent it, was forty rods long, or 220 yards; and hence the origin of our English word furlong for 220 yards, or the eighth of a mile: it was the length of an English furrow, it was a furrow long; and this was our English word for the romance word quaranteen.

An inference from this is that an English acre was not composed of 160 rods arranged in any form, but that it was a parallelogram of forty square rods four times repeated; or forty square rods in line, and this repeated four times not longitudinally but latitudinally. This is the definition of an acre given by Statute in the 33 of Edward I., a parallelogram of forty rods by four, or of six hundred and sixty feet by sixty-six. The contents, then, of a square quaranteen would be ten acres.

It will be worth seeing what acreage this measurement by quaranteens gives to those of our manors to which the Commissioners applied it. Bourn was eight long by six wide. One quaranteen by one is a square of ten acres—eight, therefore, by six is 480 acres; Pannington was five by four—it, therefore, contained 200 acres; Thorington was six by four—it, therefore, contained 240 acres. But here a difficulty occurs: each of the two last-mentioned of these manors had in the previous part of the entry describing it been stated to contain two carucates in demesne—that is, 240 acres, reckoning by the normal carucate. This exactly tallies for Thorington with the contents of its six quaranteens by four. But Pannington falls short by forty acres: it is said, measuring by carucates, to contain 240 acres, but its five quaranteens by four give only 200

acres. The Commissioners, however, were not precise in their measurements ; and these forty acres in deficiency seem to be allowed for in the less amount of Danegeld exacted from this manor than from the other two. This discrepancy is, also, an illustration of the now recognised fact that the carucate itself was not a measure that was invariable, but was understood to be somewhere about 120 acres, more or less, according to the quality and character of the land, which, of course, was an important factor in the amount of land an ox team could cultivate in a year. In some cases 100 acres would do for a carucate, in others 140 would not be too many.

The measurement, however, of Bourn by quaranteens gives 480 acres. This is exactly double what had been previously stated of its contents, when it was said that it consisted of two carucates—that is, of 240 acres. A similar difficulty has been observed in the measurements given of some other manors ; and by way of solution it has been suggested that there were two carucates—the ordinary one of 120 acres and a great carucate of just double that size. This, however, is no explanation : it is merely an unsupported and almost incredible assumption, for how can we suppose that the Commissioners would have described the dimensions of Thorington in the ordinary land-measuring terms, and the manor next to it in a measure of the same name, but of double the contents ? It would be as reasonable to say that in giving the value of Thorington their shilling contained twelve pence, but that in giving the value of Bourn their shilling contained twenty-four pence ; in the one case the pennies, as in the other the acres, being of precisely the same value. There was evidently something exceptional in the case of Bourn. It seems that there things had gone wrong. It almost looks as if there had been a stampede or a clearance of the cultivators : for

not a single villan is mentioned as being on the manor, and only one bordar. And though, almost in a kind of note, at the end of the entry it is said that there were on the manor other tenants, we are not informed whether they were free tenants or villans. And we are also told that the mill belonging to the manor had been abandoned. It does not appear to be at all an improbable supposition that what was meant was that the manor had twice as much land fit for the plough as was at that time under cultivation. Two carucates were under cultivation, but four might be brought into cultivation, and, which was the great point, might then be assessed. That these two additional carucates were not taxed is evident from the fact that the Danegeld of Bourn is the same as that of Thorington, and only three farthings more than that of Pannington.

CHAPTER VII.

MONEY THEN AND NOW.

Finance.—The key-stone alike of public and of private prosperity is finance. Both States and individuals must be in a condition of decay or difficulty—the key-stone of their prosperity must be crumbling away—if their income be not equal to their necessary expenditure. Indeed, no small part of the meaning of advance is that income is then generally in excess of necessary expenditure. Income is the means of living and of doing much of what ought to be done. The Conqueror was too clear-sighted not to have understood, and too resolute not to have acted up to, this administrative requirement. One of the main purposes he had in view in Domesday was that it should be the assessment book of his kingdom. We might, therefore expect to find in it a great deal of interesting and important financial information, and such as would throw much light on the economy of the times; and the expectation is not disappointed.

The value to the tenant-in-chief of each of our seven manors is given. Earl Alan got from Bourn 40*s.* a year, from his Wherstead sub-manor of one carucate 20*s.*, from his Wherstead sub-manor of forty acres 5*s.*, and from his Pannington sub-manor of sixty acres 8*s.* Swain got from Pannington 30*s.*—it had formerly been worth 40*s.*—and from his Wherstead manor of one carucate 10*s.* Robert got from Thorington 50*s.*; or, if we bring all these items

into one total, the three tenants-in-chief got from 1,099 acres, of which 1,060 were arable and thirty nine in meadow for mowing, 163*s.* a year—that is, a little over 1¾*d.* an acre. If the 10*s.* that had been lost on Pannington had been still obtainable, what we call the rent—though the word is inappropriate and misleading—would still have been under 2*d.* an acre. This was all that could possibly be got out of Wherstead by the Norman grantees, a better sounding word than filibusters, which was what they really were. To the head filibuster, the Conqueror, was paid—nominally as Danegeld—from Bourn and Thorington 5*d.* each, and from Pannington 4¼*d.*; in all 1*s.* 2¼*d.*

It is a somewhat obscure question what the sub-tenants Humphrey, Furic, Ealfric the priest, Algar, and Gifard got from their sub-tenancies. Their position was, doubtless, a highly desirable one; we have not, however, the means of estimating precisely its emoluments. We must suppose that they remitted to their respective over-lords the 2*d.* an acre in cash, and perhaps we may suppose that they retained for themselves all the rest of the produce of the demesne lands, and possibly all the fines and dues from the villans and the free tenants, who had in these forms to make very considerable contributions. And, then, they had no outgoings, for no payments for wages, and it may almost be said for anything else, were made, all labour and services on the demesne being covered by allowances of land. These under-tenants, too, being on the spot, were able to look after whatever concerned themselves with the ever-watchful eye of self-interest. They must also have secured for themselves several minor pickings, such as game, poultry, fish from ponds and the Orwell, honey, joints from the animals killed, and other small matters the aggregate of which would not be inconsiderable.

But whatever these sub-tenants and the tenants-in-chief

got was wrung out of the muscles and lives of the poor villans, bordars, and slaves, who, it must be remembered, numbered 80 per cent. of the population of the whole nation; and whose financial position, for it is to that that our attention is now directed, was a blank. How could it have been otherwise when they owned nothing, for neither their houses nor land, neither their time nor labour, were their own, but were all more or less dependent on the sufferance, the caprices, and the interests of others?

We just now found that 163*s.* a year was what we regard as the rent of the parish, and that 14¼*d.* was all that it paid in the way of taxation. This needs some explanation. A shilling then contained roughly three times as much silver as it does to-day. We must, then, translate their computation into what it really stands for in our way of computing. So dealt with their 163*s.* becomes 489*s*, or 24*l.* 9*s.* of our money. But, furthermore, the self-acting conditions that had long been everywhere enhancing the value of money were so aggravated throughout the Domesday area by the violences and devastations, the social disorganisations, the economic exhaustion, and all but utter suppression of trade and commerce, that had been inflicted upon it, that the purchasing power of the precious metals, weight for weight, was then about fifteen times greater than it is at present; so that this 24*l.* 9*s.* was equivalent for purposes of buying and selling to 366*l.* 15*s.* of our money. They got, therefore, somewhere about 4*s.* an acre for their domain lands; and as one-third, or here probably one-half, was always in fallow, and as they could have done very little in the way of manuring their land, and as there was very little to sell, no fat stock, and very little corn, and scarcely any markets, this was not a bad return. By making the same allowances, first for the degradation of the denomination, and then for the subsequent depreci-

ation of the precious metals, we find that the Exchequer received as Danegeld from Wherstead what was equivalent to 2*l.* 1*s.* of our money.

It is difficult to understand that within the last 1,000 years there was a state of society in this country in which no taxes were needed or paid; and that 800 years ago the 14¼*d.* we have been speaking of was the total paid in any way by all who were connected, as residents upon, or as owners or cultivators, with our 2,264 acres. But so it was; and this may have suggested to some the thought that what we call civilisation costs us a great deal; and furthermore the question whether, should the world become more highly civilised, it will then have to pay less. The needs of those times and the ways in which their needs were met were very different from the requirements and the ways and means of our day. But the fact that is now before us is that these great people, the tenants-in-chief in Wherstead and elsewhere throughout the country, after having appropriated to themselves the fruits, or what should have been the profits, of the labour of the rest of the community, had themselves to decide, as the Witanegemot or Parliament, how much they would pay in taxation, or, indeed, whether they would pay anything at all; and that what they decided to pay was at the rate of 14¼*d.* on these 163*s.*; that was something less than 1 per cent. paid by the grantees on their incomes. But as the Conqueror was not a man to be trifled with they had not much choice in the matter. And what he demanded of them was what had been paid under the previous dispensation, when the Danish terror was on the holders of manors.

In the Anglo-Saxon period, of which Domesday notes the termination, there had been levied occasionally a tax called shipgeld. It had been raised by the counties separately, and expended by them in supplying ships for the

protection of the coasts. The Danegeld, of which we hear afterwards, was a tax of so much levied on each cultivated hide, which was spoken of here as a carucate, for the shameful and worse than futile purpose of buying off the Danes. In 1002 it had amounted to 24,000*l.*; in 1007 to 36,000*l.*; in 1011 to 48,000*l.*; in 1018 to 72,000*l.*; in addition to which London had paid 10,000*l.* This tax the Conqueror obliged the country to pay every year. It is what is called in Domesday the geld, the first part of the word having been dropped for very obvious reasons. It was towards this that Wherstead, as we have seen, contributed 14¼*d.* Besides this we only hear in Domesday of fumage, or smoke farthings, which were levied on every house excepting those of the poorest. A farthing of those times was, for the reasons just given, equal to about a shilling of our money.

Among the sources of the Royal revenue were the King's own manors; of these we find from Domesday that he had in hand 1,422; his forests, his small rural and urban tenants, and his farms in Rutland, Middlesex, and Shropshire. His feudal dues of many kinds were, when properly collected, as the Conqueror took care they should be, a large source of income. In this way every manor in the country was always being called upon for some payment or other; indeed, it might almost be said that the whole of England had thus become the King's manor. But of course the largest item of all was the Danegeld, now by the aid of Domesday made universal, and exacted regularly: from this no hide of land in the kingdom could now escape. In his attention to finance the Conqueror was far in advance of any ruler of his time; and it was through the financial machinery he devised, of which Domesday was the foundation, that he and his successors became the wealthiest monarchs in Europe.

It is interesting to see what, when Governments first began to tax, were their ideas and methods. The only fund they then deemed it permissible for them to touch was that surplus, over and above what is necessary for the support of the husbandman or labourer, which the bounty of the earth, and the agencies of nature, yield to human labour; and which had been appropriated by those who did not labour. They alone did nothing, and they alone received much. They, therefore, might fairly be called upon to give up something for the general safety and good. The labourer, it was held, who toiled hard, and only received enough to keep him alive in a humble fashion, was not a fit subject for taxation, either direct or indirect. It is curious to notice how complete is the contrast between these ideas and those that are at this moment being carried out amongst ourselves in the department of taxation. This natural surplus, now represented by the rent, has become many times as valuable as it was formerly, through the vast increase of the population that is unconnected with the land, and through modern improvements and economies in the cultivation of the soil: and yet the proprietors of the whole of this enormous increase have demanded—and the Government has accepted, and is acting on, their demand—that the general public, including all the toilers of all sorts, urban and rural, throughout the country, should be taxed to lighten the taxation of the surplus that the bounty of nature grants to the labours of others upon the territories of the untoiling owners.

In these remarks I am not in the least desirous of suggesting that in our methods there is something wrong that might be set right. I am only noting a difference for the purpose of making the point before us more distinct and intelligible. To know the causes and the consequences of anything is not quite all that can be attained in order to

understand it rightly. Additional clearness and insight may be obtained by comparing it with other things the same in kind but varying in particulars. It does, for instance, throw much light on the anatomy of man to set by its side the anatomy of other vertebrates. So shall we be better able to understand the ideas and methods, as respects taxation, of Domesday times if we compare them with the ideas and methods of our own times; and if we compare the incidence and effects of the one system with the incidence and effects of the other. I take our own existing system, because it is the one with which we are best acquainted, being to some degree obliged to understand it.

Historians have not sufficiently considered the fact that institutions favourable to liberty, men of commanding powers, victories with great issues, events that appear to renovate a nation, cannot be so much the cause as they are the result of the condition of a people. It is their economic attainments, the amount among them and the distribution of property, the character, the variety, and the abundance of their means of living, that suggest and make possible liberal institutions, that call into being men of insight and large grasp of thought, that enable great battles to be fought and won, and that prepare the way for great events. Hitherto social phenomena of this kind have not been visible in Russia, nor are they possible in countries in the backward economic condition of Servia and of Bulgaria. On the other hand, never was there a people among whom there was so much social stir and intellectual achievement as among the ancient Greeks; but then there never was a people so large a proportion of whom were collected into cities—they were emphatically dwellers in cities—and of whom so large a proportion was supported by trade, which is a greater awakener and quickener of thought than

agriculture, though both are needed for a strong and active form of civilisation.

The state of society we have been contemplating, and endeavouring to understand, was one in which there were no accumulations of capital. We are ourselves living in a society that possesses enormous accumulations of capital. This economic difference will account for much of the social and political difference between their condition and ours. The most marked feature of their condition was immobility; doubtless an artificial, but still, under the circumstances, a hopeless, immobility. Generation after generation lived and died in the same material, intellectual, and moral condition in which they had been born, and in which their forefathers had lived and died. This was as true of 90 per cent. of the population as it was of the oxen with which the villan ploughed; and in the most important respects of all the condition of the driver of the oxen was worse than that of the oxen—for not only was his, like theirs, a life of bodily slavery, but, besides that, of enforced stagnation and degradation of the intellect and of the conscience: so that with him the best faculties and feelings of man were crushed. And with the remaining favoured 10 per cent. the issue was by no means satisfactory, though in a diferent sense, and as the result of the opposite conditions.

It is true that this to a great extent, but very far from so absolutely as formerly, is still to-day the condition of hundreds of thousands of souls at the east end of London, and of millions of our operatives, our mining population, and our agricultural labourers. But even of these some small percentage, thanks to modern conditions, do escape from uncertainty as to to-morrow, and from the distressing prospects of an unprovided-for old age; and theoretically the way of escape is open to all, though at present it is

certain that, through defects of knowledge and of moral control, very few will find it.

Above these, however, there is in our modern world a vast body of people connected with manufactures, commerce, professions, and trade, but entirely unconnected with the land, probably as numerous as the whole population at the Domesday period, who live and work in the knowledge that improvement or deterioration in their condition depends on their own personal efforts. Among all these no one's final position is irrevocably settled for him by his birth, but will in the end be the resultant of his abilities and energy, or of his carelessness and ignorance. Among these millions, who are the distinguishing element in our modern society, nothing is irrevocably fixed for any one: multitudes are rising; multitudes, too, are sinking.

But what is it that has broken, so far as it has been broken, the old cast iron frame, in which every one's place was fixed? What is it that now gives liberty to so many to move about freely, and to turn to account the capabilities and energies with which nature has endowed them? There can be but one answer. It is another kind of property, a kind that can be carried all over the world in one's pocket, and turned to account anywhere, property in money, capital, that makes the whole difference. The Domesday people could not move, or think of moving; they could not rise in the world, or think of rising, because practically land was the only form of property, and that had been rendered inaccessible to their industry and ambition, while their existence had been made to depend on their being indissolubly tied to it. Multitudes of us can exert ourselves effectively, because we possess some capital; and because, also, capital is accessible to us, and there are everywhere possibilities, bearing, however, in mind the large exceptions already mentioned, for getting it and for

employing it, of which possibilities, wherever they may present themselves in all the world, we may avail ourselves by the help of the property we can carry in our pocket.

In those old times land was here, all but entirely, the only source and form of wealth. And it is possible so by law to arrange and condition property in land as that nobody, or almost nobody, shall be able to attain to any portion of it by his own exertions. Every one is then, and thenceforth, riveted to his place in a social and economic iron frame. We have for many generations been doing all that the perverted ingenuity and blind selfishness of man could do to make the land in Ireland, in Scotland, and in England inaccessible to the great masses of the people. Still vast numbers of us see, though this field has been practically shut against us, that there is a career open. On all sides there are people who have risen, and who are rising, to affluence. This is because there is now other property besides land. And it is a great part of the value and merit of this kind of property that it cannot be made inaccessible. The interest, then, of the east-ender of London, of our operatives, and of our labourers of all kinds, lies in promoting as much as possible, so that it be without unfairness to themselves, the growth of capital; of course at the same time endeavouring to make the land as accessible as possible.

The more abundant capital becomes the more easy it becomes to attain both to the possession of it, and to the use of it; and the larger becomes the field for the employment of an ever-increasing variety of skilled labour. In Domesday times, no matter how bountifully nature might have endowed a man with faculties and qualities such as would be useful for getting on in the world, he could achieve nothing. The way to the acquisition of land was closed against him, and capital was non-existent, or only in its

rudimentary germs. The first and most obvious consequence of this was that even labour had no value, in the sense that it could not enable a man to improve his condition. It is capital that now puts labour in so much better a position. This is a hard world in which little can be got without much effort, but it was a worse world when effort was unavailing. Capital is the best friend of the man who comes into the world with no property but what he has in his brains. To be assured of this he has only to look at, and understand, the condition of working people in the Domesday times. Though, indeed, we ought never to allow ourselves to forget the fact that under that system none were in so wretched a condition as are our residuum and our unemployed.

Without any effort or thought on the part of the working man, the amount of capital now existing, and the necessity for its employment, has, in many important matters, and which are of more importance to him than to the rich, placed him on an equality with the rich. He who was before tied down to one place can now freely move about the country, and about the world, and transfer his labour and skill to the best market, almost as readily as if he possessed the magic piece of carpet of Eastern imagination. This is a gift of capital. He can now read daily all one might want to know about what is going on in the world in the same words the rich read it in ; he can now communicate with his friends, wherever on this earth they may be, almost as cheaply as by mere words of mouth ; and he can eat the same bread, and clothe himself in much the same kind of materials, as the rich. It is capital that has, in all large towns, conferred on him a better library than his well-to-do neighbours possess, and which we trust will soon provide for him a serviceable clubhouse and a comfortable home. All these are gifts of capital conferred

on him by a spontaneous and self-acting process without any exertion or thought on his part. And if we look into the causes of his last advance we shall see that it was through the increase of the capital-supported class that he came to have conferred on him his political emancipation. Had the land remained the only form of property, he would have remained a hopeless drudge bound to another man's land. And besides all these gifts capital opens to him the opportunities for acquiring capital himself, through turning to good account, by his own thought and exertions, whatever abilities and energies he may possess. And when education shall have become of a better and more serviceable quality, the course before him will be still more open for his advance. It is impossible for the working-man to estimate rightly the value of these improvements in his own condition and that of his class without comparison; and there can be no more distinct comparison than that between his present position and that of his predecessors, the working people of the Domesday times. The effect, however, of the comparison should be not to make him content: that it ought not to do, and cannot do: but to indicate to him what has been the path and the instrument of improvement.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE OLD MISCHIEF IN MODERN GUISE.

Manorial Survivals.—In Domesday times the particular spot of land on which men dwelt and worked supplied them with all the necessaries of their lives—food, drink, clothing, fuel, building material, what was used for sugar, and in Wherstead even salt. If all men had been equally vigorous in mind and body, and equally well armed, then equal shares of this land, the universal purveyor, would have been possessed by all. Events, however, and circumstances brought it about that some, a minority, came to have arms, and leisure for learning how to use them, and how to use them in concert; while others, the majority, came to be without arms, or if they had any, were obliged from the necessity of securing their daily bread to attend more to that than to the attainment of skill in the use of arms, and to acquiring habits of promptitude in combining for aggression, or even for defence. The result of this was that the well-armed and well-organised minority were able to seize and to keep possession of the land. This was just what the Anglo-Saxon invaders had done. Everyone else, then, to escape death by the sword, or by starvation, must work for the armed minority on the land they had appropriated by force. The majority thus fell into a state of actual slavery, more or less complete. It was politic, as

was done, to range these workers on an ascending scale of rank and of emolument, for this would divide them, and indispose those who were in a less bad position from combining for any common purpose with those who were more oppressed. All the while the armed minority kept themselves thoroughly organised: they had no other serious occupation. To use a modern term they became a trades union of the armed land-appropriating class, to keep the unarmed land-working class in subjection, in order that they might appropriate the profits of their labour.

The effect of this organisation of the land and of the people would be that the armed minority would, for the future, alone have means to procure the most serviceable kinds of arms, and leisure for meeting to consult about what would be necessary for, or conducive to, the maintenance of their position. This was the meaning of their Witanagemots or Parliaments. They were, as far as concerned home affairs, only assemblages of the big fish to consult together what laws should be passed for the maintenance of their supremacy, and for keeping things quiet and orderly among the mass of the people whom they had arrayed and disciplined in a carefully devised agricultural system, the object of which was that they were to be kept at work all their days for the benefit of the small armed class. This was the law and order of those times, and the relation of the armed class to the working mass. At that day the outcome of everything, the foundation of society and its frame, its body and its soul, were the manor, the perfected combined organisation of the people and of the land—that is to say, of everybody and of everything.

It was necessary for the maintenance of this system pure and simple, unquestioned and unquestionable, that it should have the entire field to itself. Extended trade and commerce would support classes - that is, minds and con-

sciences—that could not be favourable to it, and hands that might wield arms against it. But those were days when not a finger could be raised, or a tongue wagged, in opposition to the established order of things. There was then not far from an entire absence of all investments of every kind, both those that bring profit in the form of dividends, and those that pay a fixed interest. The active employment of money was in its most embryonic stage; and of loans, had there been cash for them, the times did not admit. The manorial organisation had the entire field, both of fact and of motive, to itself. So was it then; but the time came, it was long in coming, when the rival factor of social organisation, capital, began to emerge, and to modify the social organism that rested on land and which arms had created. In the course of the centuries that have succeeded this new birth has grown to marvellous dimensions. It now maintains many times as many mouths, heads, and hands as the land. Mental activity, intelligence, wealth, numbers are all on its side. Lordship is no longer in the land, except by sufferance. Capital is king.

The prepotency of capital is incompatible with the existence of the manor. That in Western Europe had more or less held the field for a thousand years; but it had to go. It is now some centuries since it fell to pieces: for we are dealing with the work of centuries. But did the manorial system in dying out in this country so utterly disappear as not to leave a rack behind? So it might seem. Those who now stand in the place of the tenants-in-chief have got rid of all their old feudal burdens. They are not now, because they hold the land, nominally our conscripts, but more really our armed masters. Nor do they now, because they hold the land, pay for our voluntarily enlisted army. It was once supposed that because they monopolised the surplus, beyond the maintenance of

the toiler, which the bounty of nature supplies, themselves toiling not, therefore the burden of taxation should be borne by them. They have legislated themselves out of the obligations which this view of the nature of things and of their position laid upon them. Somehow or other, too, they have transmuted themselves into absolute proprietors. This seems an entirely new position.

And as to villanage, that seems to have passed away as completely as the teams of eight diminutive half-starved oxen the villans used to plough with. No man in the kingdom is now held to constrained service, being maintained for this purpose by the use of a modicum of land, or in other fashion. This, the largest and most important class of the manorial cultivators, appears to have left behind it no trace of its existence. It has vanished into the air. And as to the descendants of the bordars and cottars, they have been stripped of their five-acre holdings, and have become dependent on competitive wages, eked out with poor-law doles. Their position, indeed, has in material things been changed for the worse, even to a greater degree than the modern representatives of the old tenants-in-chief have, they having had the law-making power in their hands, themselves changed theirs for the better.

It might seem, then, that the transformation had throughout been so complete that no traces remained of the 1,000 years' working of the manorial arrangements.

A conclusion, however, of this kind, which might possibly be arrived at after a superficial comparison of the present with the past, would be altogether erroneous. There is another and quite a different way of regarding the existing conditions of the matter we are considering. There is, for instance, still a lord of the land, for whom every one connected with the land still toils; who does nothing, and yet receives the whole surplus, beyond the

maintenance of the different kinds of workers, which the bounty of nature yields. That he has arrived at this position not by inheritance from remote ancestors, who secured it by arms, but through the use of money employed by an ancestor or by himself, is not an essential difference; for in either case the nature of the position is the same. He holds the land of the country against both its cultivators and the people of the country.

As to the modern occupier, in most cases he does not now, as did his mediæval predecessors, contribute to the concern personal labour, but he contributes personal superintendence, and capital, which is only bottled-up labour, which he re-converts into actual labour through the medium of the hired labourer. Till recently he had had for centuries no pretence of compensation for the improvements he might have effected; and if unprotected by a lease he was day by day completely at the mercy of the landlord, and might at any time be turned out of his home and of his business; and till recently the claims of his other creditors were nothing by the side of those of the landlord. These elements of his condition had a strong family resemblance to the old semi-servile condition of the villan.

The labourer, too, who is the modern bordar and cottar, is still, after the lapse of 800 eventful years, without property, and without any opportunity of attaining to it; and his life probably is harder, and certainly more precarious, than was theirs; and with the modern exception of his ability to escape from his servitude, he is as much a serf as were at any time his predecessors.

Speaking generally of our modern agrarian arrangements, their most prominent feature is that neither those who cultivate the land with their personal labour, nor those who cultivate it with their accumulations of bottled-up labour, have, at this day, any more than had their ante-

cessors 800 years ago, any kind of proprietary rights in the soil. This characteristic of our modern system, which has of late attracted much attention, and will probably receive still more attention in the immediate future, was also the characteristic of the old system: and it can hardly be supposed to have had any other origin than the traditions, the arrangements, the influences, and the ideas of the old system. As we find it now it is very much the essential principle of the Domesday manor in a modern dress.

It is somewhat an illustration of this point that the dwellers in the modern parish confer, of their own mind, on the owner of the land they are cultivating the title of Squire. This is meant for an acknowledgment on their part that his position marks him off from, and elevates him above, all other men; and invests him with very real though, to some extent, unwritten rights and powers. It never would have occurred to them to distinguish him with this appellation had there not been within them a corresponding sentiment that demanded expression. A rich banker, or merchant, or a rich landowner in our colonies, is not honoured in this fashion; but the English landowner is to-day so honoured because in old times, for a thousand years, those who occupied his position in what is now the parish were regarded, each in his day, as the Lord, and the omnipotent earthly Providence of all around him. The origin of the feeling and practice rests both on tradition, and on the substantial survival of many of the conditions which originated the tradition.

The same may be said of another modern rural sentiment. The farmer feels and thinks that in some way or other he is bound to serve his landlord; that he is his landlord's man. He cannot tell you why, or in what: but nevertheless the feeling is real, and rises very often to a

controlling instinctive sense of duty. His lord does not now, as an incident of his tenure, take up arms, as certain understood occasions arise, and so he cannot follow him to the tented field; still he cannot dives himself of the thought that he owes him fealty, and, therefore, ought to follow him, right or wrong; and to the polling booth accordingly, where the modern battle is fought, he does follow him. There is no reason in this, because the relation between the two, rightly understood, has now no elements of the old compulsion and servitude, being simply a voluntary commercial arrangement. Still the feeling is historically intelligible, for it is a survival from the fact that for a thousand years those who dwelt on and cultivated the lord's land were the lord's men. The circumstances and relations are now quite of a different order, and it is now several centuries since the old conditions had any law-supported force or real existence; still there survives the sense of service and of homage due to the head of the territorial hierarchy.

We may even trace these survivals down to the labourer. He does not know why he has no property in the soil he cultivates and no home of his own in his own country, the soil of which would be valueless were it not for the labour he expends upon it, and in defending and aggrandising which his forefathers, brothers, and sons have bled and died all over the world. He cannot tell how it has come about that at a week's notice he may be ejected by those he works for from the cot he is allowed to occupy. These elements of his condition—that he can have no property and no home of his own—constitute, indeed, no small part of the reality of slavery, so that he is not far wrong in the word he uses when he talks of his servitude; and it is a servitude that probably will conduct him, when his work is done, to the poorhouse. Nothing can justify

such a position, but history can explain it. Things are so with him to-day because during the thousand years of the manorial period those who preceded him in the cultivation of the same fields were in an equally semi-servile condition throughout the Roman, throughout the Anglo-Saxon, throughout the Norman, throughout the subsequent English period of the maintenance of the system. Three times has the dominant nationality, three times has the language, three times has the religion of the country been changed; but in his condition there has been no change. In all those centuries, and in the four centuries that have since followed, he has never been able to place his family in a house the tenure of which was not dependent on the will, the interests, the caprices of another man; and for the last three centuries the goal of his labour and of his life has been the dress and the drill of the pauper. That there is still so much good in him is the clearest and strongest of all the indications presented to us of the excellent enduring stuff of which the fair-haired, blue-eyed race is made.

These points are instructive as showing that the effects of an institution that for ages moulded the whole social organism, and every man's daily life, cannot possibly pass away, like the shadow of a cloud when the cloud is gone, but must remain effective for a long time after things have outwardly assumed new forms, like some quality that has been introduced into the blood, and will continue to show itself for many generations, and will be long in wearing out.

We may, then, I think, come to the conclusion that an agrarian system, which would differ essentially in spirit and in form from the old manorial system, through some recognition of the principles of liberty and justice, would not place on the same land one man who was to do

nothing, and many others who were to do everything, and would not give to the men who did everything nothing but a bare and precarious subsistence, and to the one who did nothing all the surplus produce over and above the subsistence of the actual cultivators. It would not admit of territorial estates passing from generation to generation inaccessible as property to those who laboured on them, and to all others. It would not so organise the land and those connected with it as to place one man in the power of another man, still less hundreds of men in the power of one, and this all over the country. It would take care that every acre in the country should everywhere and always be saleable at the will of an absolute owner; that every facility should be given for things to work themselves into such a form that every family should have a chance of owning the land it cultivated, and so of enjoying the whole of the produce of its labour; and that every family should see before them the way open for the attainment of a home of their own, the only true home, where no man could disturb them. Till these become the characteristics of our land system the old manorial ideas and practices, only modified, and not always for the better, by the operation and influences of capital, will still be dominant amongst us. The truth is that we are still very far from having got rid of the arrangements depicted in Domesday. We took down the old building; but we carefully preserved all its materials, and then, adding to them the element of capital, we raised another structure on the same site with the old materials, and under the inspiration of the same ideas, and as far as possible with the same aims and for the same purposes.

The manor in idea and practice was a complex of highly artificial restrictions on the tenure and culture of the soil for the benefit of one man, who was to do nothing.

It divided the agrarian community into the drudges and the drones: many of the former to few of the latter. The opposite principle would be the absence of all restrictions, with nothing to depress, and everything to encourage, those who might be disposed to work. The old barbarous restrictive all-for-one principle is to this day more conspicuous and operative amongst us than the civilised, unrestrictive, and, as far as possible, everything-open-to all principle. The latter, though never as yet embodied in our English land laws, is everywhere to be seen at work amongst our New England relatives in the agrarian arrangements of their townships. These were the inspiration of aims and conditions almost the direct contradiction of those that held the field amongst ourselves. They did not originate even remotely in the violences and injustices of war; or from any thought of maintaining one man at the cost of others, who were to be kept down by being set to work, and kept at work, in a cast-iron frame. The only thoughts and aims present to the minds of the founders of their agrarian polity, which was both the reflex and the foundation of their social polity, was to be equally fair to all; to utterly disintegrate the old social and economic cast-iron frame; and, as far as it could be attained by the equal accessibility of the land to all, to make every man a man, or certainly to open to every man the chance of making himself a man.

My object in this inquiry is not to find opportunities for the expression of opinion, but simply and singly, as far as possible, to ascertain the facts of the subject and to understand them; and it will very often contribute to the better understanding of a matter of this kind to consider what it has produced, because there must always be a family resemblance between the parent and the offspring. Everything originates out of something that preceded it,

and so must it have been with our existing agrarian system. It was the lineal descendant of the manorial system we have been investigating. If it were not so it would then have no parentage, and would have had no cause; it would have been a case of rain and thunder issuing from a clear sky.

Neither have I any wish to keep out of sight my opinions on so leading a subject as the tenure and use of land. There are two directly opposite ways of regarding the land of a country. Our legislators, who hitherto have been the territorial class, and those connected with them, have used the land for maintaining the position and dignity of the privileged orders—that is, of the few—to the exclusion from property in the land of those who cultivated it, and generally of the great bulk of the people. So far has this exclusion been carried that it is quite possible that there may be cities and districts in which not a single resident land-owner could be found; so much so, indeed, that if to-night all the great landowners of the country were taken up into heaven, to-morrow there would be hardly any perceptible difference in the outward aspects of society. Than this way of restricting property in, and the use of land nothing could be more unjust, and politically more dangerous. In the domain of capital it would be somewhat analogous if the legislature were to have pretty nearly all our sovereigns marked with the names of a few hundred families, and enact that no one should possess any of these sovereigns except the heads of these families, and that the only use they should make of them should be that of loaning them out. Of course a system of this kind, upon which the social importance of all our great families depends, will die hard. There are, however, some who think that they can now hear the sound of its passing bell.

The opposite system would be that of opening the

acquisition of property in land to every one who may wish to become a purchaser. This can only be brought about by allowing no tenure but that of absolute ownership, and by prohibiting every form of settlement, and every form of charging land; so that every acre everywhere and always should be as free as nature made it, and be saleable at all times. Had the land been so conditioned during the time that it has been under the shackles of the opposite system, had property in it been so mobilised, all Englishmen, who had in them the qualifications necessary for turning land to good account in any way, would have come into possession of it. In every generation people of this kind would have retained it, or acquired it, as they have done and do all the rest of the world over. What is needed in this supreme matter is that every one, whatever class he may belong to, should stand on the same footing, and be treated with equal justice, and that the people and the land should be brought into the natural and the closest connection. Neither the manorial system, nor that of the hired land of large territories worked by hired labour, fulfil these conditions. Their one-sided arrangements have been the absolute and complete prohibition of these natural and now politically necessary conditions.

CHAPTER IX

THE MANORIAL SYSTEM WORTHLESS FOR WAR, PRODUCED A SURPLUS POPULATION, FOR WHICH IT COULD NOT PROVIDE.

The Manor as a Military Organisation.—Attempts, not of the reasoned but of the picturesque kind, have been made to justify the manorial system by giving prominence to, and endowing with heroic attributes, the class of men it everywhere throughout the country maintained, as a national militia, for defence against attacks from without. All the facts, however, are entirely on the other side; for there is no instance of this class, thus maintained at the crushing cost—it being indeed, no less than the political, social, and economic degradation of the rest of the community—ever having proved anywhere at any time of any use for the purpose alleged.

This is just what might have been expected. The numbers of the class of whom military service was expected were not sufficiently great for the work required of them. And then, their do-nothing and, for those times, luxurious lives incapacitated them for promptitude in taking the field, and somewhat indisposed—at all events, largely disqualified—them for the risks and the rough work of war. The owners of the vills, throughout the great provinces of the Western Empire, were never of any military use whatever. And their privileged position incapacitated the rest

of the population for military organisation, or from possessing military aptitudes of any kind. Whether in Gaul, Spain, Italy, Africa, or Britain, handfuls of invaders, rude, ignorant, and unorganised barbarians, everywhere alike crushed and exterminated this class and took possession of their vills. In Britain it was remarked how few the Teutonic invaders—they were no more than freebooting marauders—had been. Some centuries pass, and the country is again thoroughly organised on this system, the difference being that the vills are held by the intrusive descendants of a more vigorous race. Privilege, however, and monopoly, the fine linen and the sumptuous fare, work their ordained deteriorating effects; and when the Danish pirates appear on our coasts we again behold the utter inability of the favoured military caste to protect themselves and the country. We see small straggling bands of these undrilled savages raiding throughout the land in every direction, plundering, slaying, and burning; and settling, too (mark that), wherever they please. Of course the unarmed cultivators, probably 90 per cent. of the population, cannot move a finger, but the armed and privileged 10 per cent. are in fact equally useless. Then comes the Norman invasion, and a handful of adventurers takes possession of the whole land of the country. Nothing is changed except that we have Norman buccaneers in the place of the descendants of Saxon and Danish buccaneers. The only difference is that now, after a time, it comes to be our turn to be the invaders; and we invade France. And it is again seen, now on French soil, that the privileged caste there, the owners of the vills, are no more able to deal with invasion than the same caste in this island had been able to resist the Saxons, the Danes, or the Normans.

Such are the facts. Romance paints a somewhat different picture. It is never tired of describing to us the

moral elevation of the mailed Knights; their lion-like courage, and their never slumbering sense of honour. But do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? These are not the fruits of inequality and privilege, which mean wrong and injustice, but of love of country, family affection, and of the sense of honour due to all men, and of self-respect on proper grounds. Even physically this military caste were not what we should regard as fine fellows. This we may infer from the armour of the old knights which is still preserved.

History teaches no more than fairy tales, indeed not so much, for it only misleads, if we do not collect its facts, and interpret them aright. An illustration may be taken from what now exists amongst ourselves, to enable us to judge of the military value of the old manor-created military caste. We still have amongst us a class that pretty accurately represents, and boasts of being in some cases actually descended from, the old manorial lords; it is the class that is formed by the peerage and the squirearchy. Probably they are quite as fine men, physically, as were the barons and lords of manors of old; and, doubtless, through the constraining force of public opinion (which in those days was non-existent, but now, through a large combination of modern conditions, is irresistible) are far better men, morally, than their old antecessors, to use the Domesday word. Their numbers, too, are far greater. We may, then, with a view to understanding the old state of things, ask how it would do in these days to commit the defence of the United Kingdom—indeed, of the Empire—to the peers and the country squires and their retainers? The argument here is from the well-known to the less well-known. Should we regard them as a trustworthy, efficient, and sufficient military force? Would it be easy, in case of invasion, to get them together? When got together, would

they be of much use? What proportion of them would be laid up with gout, dyspepsia, and torpid liver? How many of them would ever have slept out of a bed? For aggressive warfare, when there would be time to select and organise, they would be more serviceable. And then, to see still more clearly what the comparison teaches, we must bear in mind what were the arms at that time in use. A mailed knight's value, as a fighting man, depended on the strength with which he wielded his sword and spear. Now all who can pull a trigger may be equally useful.

The military character and value of the class was the only ground on which the justification of the system could be attempted. It was from this point of view that poets and novelists regarded it. It must, however, also be regarded politically. Its relations towards the rest of the community must be considered; and it must be asked how it affected them? Of course, this is the most important point of all. We must also weigh the merits, and, if there be any, the demerits of the class itself, and we must endeavour to judge it by its fruits. We have seen that it was the creation of violence, injustice, rapine, and bloodshed; that it was hardly of any use for the purposes alleged as the justification of its existence; that the force it possessed was hardly more than enough to enable it to maintain its usurped privileges and oppressive monopoly of the land against the natural human rights of the rest of the community: these and all such disparaging facts the romance-writers keep carefully out of sight, as the truth, which, however, might possibly not be known to them, would spoil their effect. But notwithstanding that we have often contemplated with pleasure the mythical figures it is their wont to paint for us, still, we must not shut our eyes to the more matter-of-fact picture history presents to us; though, indeed, there ought to be greater interest and

profit in seeing things as they were than in imagining them as they were not.

The Manor Anti-Malthusian.—The manor was a highly artificial agrarian arrangement, which, like many other artificial arrangements, created evils it could not cure. The evils were an inevitable result of the arrangement being artificial—that is, a contravention of natural freedom; and because that was of its very essence, what constituted its being, there was no remedy for them. One of these evils was its effect on population. Wherever agrarian arrangements have been allowed to form themselves in harmony with the wants and ideas of the people concerned, there has never been any tendency to over-population. Or to put the point in another way, if there is in the human animal a tendency in the direction of over-population, there are counteracting forces, economic and moral, which in a state of freedom have ever proved sufficient checks. In none of the oldest inhabited countries in the world, in Asia, Africa, or Europe, where things have been allowed to take their own course, does history record instances of the population having become too numerous for the means of support. This cause, however, of human degradation and misery begins to show itself so soon as natural liberty in the ownership, division, and tenure of land is interfered with in the interest of a small dominant class, and to the detriment of the great body of the people. The most general form of the cause is the reduction, through such interference, of the labouring—that is, the most numerous—class in the community, to such a state of poverty and hopelessness that a wife becomes absolutely needed for the maintenance of the husband, who has to be every day, and all day long, working for another man; and his condition is so bad that it can hardly be worsened by his having a family; he, being propertyless, has so little to lose that even the burden

of the children is more than counterbalanced by the services of the wife.

We have lately been witnessing an instance of this in our Indian province of Bengal. History records no instance of over-population there in the past; the reason, of course, being that their land system had been the natural resultant of what the people were and of what the country was. We, however, in the crassest ignorance, interfered: we destroyed their natural, spontaneous, self-developed system, and imposed upon them a kind of English system of landlords, who were to do nothing but receive rents, and of tenants who were to pay competition rents. This we called the Perpetual Settlement. It reduced the mass of the people to abject dependence and misery; and as the never-failing consequence of this their numbers began to increase in a way they never had done in all the ages of which there is any record. Of course this has been the cause of the abnormal increase of population in Ireland, in the Highlands of Scotland, and in England: it was the poverty and misery to which an unnatural, unjust, and cruel land system reduced the working population—that is, the mass of the people. No more instances need be given here; it is enough for our present purpose to state the fact and indicate its cause.

In this way the manorial system encouraged an increase of population, at the same time that, by its fixed all-embracing arrangements, it made impossible any provision for the maintenance of the increase. This difficulty was felt in the strictly manorial period. But when that system was falling into decay the evil was enormously increased by the way in which legislation dealt with the labouring class. The transition to wages was inevitable. Still it is clear enough now that what would have been best for the class, and for the country, would have been some arrange-

ment that would have allowed the peasantry to become a land-owning and a home-possessing class: which would, in fact, have combined the receipt of wages with homes and plots of land of their own. Exactly the contrary to this was done, and entirely in the supposed interests of the large landowners, those who represented the old manorial lords. The peasantry were deprived of their ancient rights of common pasturage, so that it was no longer possible for them to keep working cattle, and sheep that would yield them wool for clothing; and in this way their five acres of arable became useless to them. And then the poor law of the 43rd of Elizabeth was enacted so to supplement wages as to keep them alive without land. In this way the bulk of the people, those whose whole life was passed in cultivating the land, became a landless and a propertyless class, maintained by insufficient weekly wages, eked out by poor-rate doles. This brought them into such a state of economic hopelessness and pauperised dependence that a wife became a necessity for maintaining the home (such as it was, unimprovable, and dependent on the will of an employer) while the man was out at work earning the wages. In consequence of this early marriages and large families became inevitable; and, indeed, hardly mattered much, for the condition was so bad that it could hardly be made worse; for life had to be begun without property, must be carried through without property, and must end without property. Misery was the cause of their increase, and their increase would always keep them in misery.

To this numerous, and pre-eminently well-deserving class these unjust and cruel conditions have been degradation and suffering; but things have so fallen out that what was supremely bad for them has in some respects been advantageous for the country, under the highly exceptional

circumstances it has been passing through; though one is obliged to think that on the whole the degradation and suffering of the most numerous class, and the effects of which must be hereditary through many generations, must be bad for the country. Still it seems to have had the following incidental and indirect, but not inconsiderable advantages. It has largely contributed towards supplying us with some millions of hands for our textile and other manufacturing industries, with half a million of men for our coal mines, with as many more for our mercantile marine, navy, and freely-enlisted army; and with the millions of emigrants that were required for securing to our race the continents of North America and of Australia—a fact of such magnitude that its effects on ourselves and on the future of mankind cannot be calculated. It is clear that the population of France, which is, even now, greater than that of these islands, but whose agrarian system has now for some generations been founded on the contradiction of the manorial ideas and arrangements, and hatred of its principles and methods, could never have supplied, and is still altogether incapable of supplying, such enormous demands. On the other side, however, we are at this day feeling a very serious and alarming inconvenience from the artificially stimulated increase of our working class, in the influx into our towns of tens of thousands of hands, the offspring of our landless and propertyless agricultural labourers, but who are now no longer wanted in our towns. It was the maintenance in our modern agrarian arrangements of the old manorial ideas and principles that has engendered the difficult problem of the unemployed we now have to solve. And we may suppose this artificially stimulated increase will continue so long as our agricultural labourers are kept in the unnatural condition of being landless, propertyless, and homeless in their own country.

In passing it may be noted that the problem of the unemployed is now far graver than it ever was in the days of our fathers and our grandfathers. Then there were always open potential fields for escape from its pressure and its consequences. Our textile manufactures, our ironworks, our mines, our shipbuilding, our railways were rapidly growing, and so were capable of absorbing the surplus. Now all these openings for absorption appear incapable of much further growth, and are even overmanned, and at the same time the surplus, as it is ever accruing from an enormously-increased population, is far greater in volume than it ever was before. These facts present prospects that must 'give pause' to all who have their attention directed to our existing social and economic conditions. Emigration, at present our chief resource, is by no means an unmixed advantage, and is a remedy which, from its very nature, cannot be available very much longer.

This is an important matter that should be looked at all round. It has largely affected the history, the development, and the constitution of England. It has made the landed interest the predominant force in our legislature. It still gives it one whole branch of the legislature. It was the application of landlordism, the modern form of the manorial system, to landowning in Ireland and in the Highlands of Scotland that has caused so much trouble in Ireland and in Scotland, and which will probably cause a great deal of trouble in England. It may possibly be the overthrow of the National Church by having placed the clergy, or disposed them to take their places, in the same boat as the privileged territorial landowners. Our constitution, our history, and the political conditions and questions that are the existing situation, would all have been, and would now be, very different from what they have

been and are, if, on the decay of the manorial system, its ideas and principles had been allowed to perish together with its outward form. Instead, however, of that, all that happened was the transmigration of the old offending soul into a new body.

CHAPTER X.

THE MANOR OUTWARDLY AND INWARDLY. TWO DISTINGUISHING POINTS

WE have now before us some materials for sketches of withoutdoors and withindoors Wherstead 800 years ago. To a bird's eye view of its present area there is to-day no indication of where any one farm ends on any side, and the neighbouring farms begin. With our seven manors it was not so. Each was distinctly marked off from its neighbours by baulks, what we now call drifts, or by banks and ditches; in either case always overgrown with bushes and brambles; looking very like what fifty years ago were still our old double tree-studded hedges: some of which, doubtless, had come down from those times. The exterior boundaries were more prominent to the eye, because none of the manors had any interior hedges at all. The whole of the area of each was entirely open, with the exception of the movable posts and rails that separated in each the one patch of corn land from the one patch of summer land: for here on our light soil, that was unfitted for oats and beans, the alternate corn and fallow system was a necessity. A great part of this paling was removed after harvest, so that the whole manor might be open and common to the whole of the manorial stock, both domainial and villan, from Lammas to Martinmas, when the winter sowing would commence. The land for spring sowing

would still be open to Candlemas. Afterwards only the fallow. As it was a two field system, cultivated under rigid field constraint, all the winter sowing, all the spring sowing, and all the summer land, would each be together in a separate patch by itself. There would be no intermixture of operations. At whatever time of the year, then, you might have been taking your bird's eye view of Wherstead, you would have seen each of its seven manors divided culturally in this fashion ; all the winter corn together, all the spring corn together, and all the summer land together ; and you would have seen the live stock of the manor—cattle, pigs, sheep, and goats, indiscriminately, the lord's and the villans', the stock of the nominally free cultivator of nominally his own land, and the goats of the bordars, if any had goats—all together on the stubbles, or on the summer land. So would it show where the manor consisted of one block of land. Where, however, it was composed of several blocks the same cultural arrangements would have been seen upon each.

The necessity just described for having the whole of the interior of the manor open to all the stock of all the holders of land on the manor from Lammas to Martinmas ; and then the winter-sown land railed off ; and at Candlemas the spring-sown land included in the railing, and the fallow only left open, required a great deal of wood and of work. We, therefore, find frequent mention of woods that would supply material for making and mending fences ; and also of the setting up of these wooden fences, consisting of posts, rails, and planks ; and this is spoken of as being a part of the services of the bordars and villans.

But there was at that time a still greater contrast to the aspect of the parish as it is now seen. The whole of each of these two fields—that is, the whole of the arable

land of the manor, both that in corn and that in fallow—was divided, with the regularity of a gridiron, into acre strips, each being 220 yards long and twenty-two yards wide. Each, too, was separated from its neighbours on either side by a grass balk, a furrow wide; and each bundle of these strips had its grass headlands. It would be a curious sight to see a large farm so laid out in separated acres. I have seen in Switzerland communal grass land for mowing so divided by boundary stones into narrow strips, each a furlong in length. The acres of the demesne were often intermixed with the acres of the villans; but if they were in a detached block, still they were marked off in these strips just as the acres of the villans and bordars. Under the manorial system of that day there was no other way in which the land could have been arranged. It was a system of co-aration, and this division of the land into acres made known, without any possibility of disputes, how much each plough had to do and how much it had done. It enabled one also to count speedily and accurately the acreage of the lord's reserved land, and of the land of each villan and bordar. That no two acres of the same holding were necessarily contiguous, but that they might be dispersed all over the manor—in order, of course, that each tenant might share equally in all the qualities of land on the manor—was another reason why interior hedges were inadmissible; the chief reason, however, being that all the land that was not actually in crop might be common pasturage for all, might be shack-land, as they called it. The word 'shack' is still in use hereabouts for what can be picked up by the stock on the stubbles. The artificial cultural arrangements of the surface of the manor exactly corresponded with the artificial social arrangements of its population. Each reciprocally reflected the other. Everyone accepted both as made for all time. The ideas of

improvement or change in either had no place in any man's mind.

It was, too, a result of the manorial system that everyone who worked upon a manor must dwell upon it. He could not reside anywhere else; for manors had no places for outsiders: a man belonged to the manor on which he lived. It was even a punishable offence for a member of the manorial organism to give shelter to an outsider. Another point here to be noted—it was one that arose out of the division of the land into acre strips, and of field constraint in cultivation—was, that no man could live just where he pleased on the manor, but that the houses of all the cultivators must be gathered into one place. And as no one could reside off the manor, so there could be no village street, such as that in which may now reside the labourers who work on several farms in the neighbourhood. And as the Hall, and the cluster of humble cots around it, were all alike of wood, they were incapable of leaving any traces of themselves to our times. This impermanence, however, is a condition of all human dwellings; for whatever their materials, their duration can only be a question of how long. For where, it may be asked, are the now inhabited dwelling houses in Europe, or indeed in any part of the world, that were inhabited dwelling houses in the time of the Cæsars? The *curia*, or court, where the lord, with his free tenants and villans, as assessors, maintained order and administered justice, must have had the appearance of a small barn of wood and thatch. If anyone had contravened any of the rules or customs of the manor, or violated any law, here it was that he had to appear, and to submit to his trial. There must have been some kind of lock-up, but nothing corresponding to a jail, in which delinquents could be confined for a few weeks even; and this was one reason why in those times almost every

offence was punished by pecuniary fines. The dungeon keeps of the Norman castles had not come yet, and when they came were regarded as most hateful innovations.

We who live in the most interesting and stirring times the world has seen, with advances and movements of one kind or another in progress all around us, and in the remotest parts of the earth, of which we are informed every morning, have no means for fathoming the torpidity and the benumbing dulness of the age we are contemplating. The members of the manorial population could have only rarely left the boundaries of their respective manors. Towns were few, and to our ideas ridiculously small. No social contacts woke up their minds, nor were they ever stirred by any thought of improvements, even in their own one employment of agriculture. Everything in that was permanently fixed. There was no room for new facts, and nothing that could suggest new ideas. And so was it with everything with which they had any concern, or of which they had any cognizance. All the incidents of their lives, no matter how hard and oppressive, were elements in an established arrangement, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. Its requirements and results were as unquestionable as the properties of any natural production, or as the succession of the seasons.

Making money, the pursuit which now with most people is more or less engrossing, hardly touched their thoughts at all. They would not be the better for exerting themselves, nor the worse for regarding everything with indifference. In either case body and soul would be kept together, and in much the same fashion; and the more or the less that might come of their work would go to another. In the world beyond them not much was going on, and no intelligence of that little came to them. In the solu-

tion of political questions no part was assigned to them, indeed at that time there were no political questions: everybody's status, and that of his descendants, was settled for ever. Nor were there any theological questions in debate. Nor again were they ever called upon to consider any difficulties arising out of any branch of what is known to us as the labour question, for strictly defined immutable forms of labour were the framework and the life blood of their system; and there were as yet no troubles about wages. Such a world, with so little going on in the whole range of human affairs, so little hope, and so little responsibility, is almost incomprehensible to us. Men had been made mere machines; and that was regarded as social order. And what was the state of things on any one manor was the state of things on every other manor of the kingdom. The cultural, the economic, and the social arrangements, were the same everywhere.

The surface of cultivated England was covered with manors as completely as a cob of maize is covered with grains; and all these manors in their elements and constitution were as like each other as are the grains on the cob of maize.

But, notwithstanding this self-acting and all-pervading stagnation in everything that concerned their material and social existence, yet in one department of life there was to some degree an escape from it. Thought and conscience, and the moral and spiritual elements of man's nature, could not be thoroughly and at every point enslaved and fettered; and in those days there was nothing, except moral and spiritual conceptions, to stir the mind and to awaken the imagination. The Church told them that these kingdoms of the world were not the kingdom of God; that the Saints, of whom the world was not worthy, and whom it had cruelly entreated, were now with God;

that there was in a distant land, but that made his power appear more far-reaching and heaven-given, a visible Head of God's kingdom upon earth, who was the divinely-appointed champion and protector of justice and of humanity in all lands; and who, in right of what he represented, was superior to all temporal powers; that the inner life and aims, such as they might be in the humblest, were immeasurably higher than the lives and aims of the children of this world. It was such thoughts as these that gave to the unconsolidated Wherstead of that day probably three churches, and to the embryo Ipswich of that day certainly ten. Here was something for thought to feed upon, something that in some degree transported men from the grossnesses and hardnesses of the present to the freedom and untroubled serenity of an ideal existence. They could not then make money; they could not read; they could have no illusions about rising in society or in the world; they could have no controversies about anything; they could see no more of the world than a caterpillar that never quits the leaf or the spray on which it first saw the light. No wonder, then, that they thought much of and revered the Church, with its ideals, its promises, and its championing of right against might.

The unbroken dulness of their lives, combined with the place which the external aids and stimulants of religion could not but hold in their unemployed and unfurnished minds, were the reasons why they spent so much on their sacred buildings and on the ministers of religion, why they so profoundly reverenced relics, and found pilgrimages and crusades so irresistibly attractive. With us it is widely different. Now the world and its endless pursuits are open to all, and occupy and satisfy multitudes of minds, and those not at all the least vigorous. And as to religion, in these days those who are possessed of knowledge and

intelligence have but little sense of a need for its external aids and stimulants, feeling rather that they ought to be in themselves and individually 'kings and priests unto God'; and that it is what exists within, and not what is presented from without, that makes a man religious.

Another point of interest in this part of our subject is how many souls were then maintained in what is now Wherstead, under the conditions and by the means we have been describing? Omitting the tenants-in-chief and those who through them were maintained elsewhere by the produce of Wherstead, we find thirty other persons enumerated who must have resided here. As five and a half is the average of a family, including the old, these represent 165 souls. But in this enumeration we are certain that there are omissions, for on our largest manor only one cultivator is specified, with, however, the note appended that there were other cultivators upon it: and on one of our sub-manors of Wherstead no cultivators at all are mentioned. These and other probable omissions of this kind we must fill in; and we may do this by supposing about ten unnoticed persons—that would be fifty-five souls. And besides this there is in our entries no mention of persons of particular occupations, as swineherds, shepherds, cowherds, beemen, salt panmen, carpenters, smiths, &c., of whom we find frequent mention elsewhere. Here, then, again we must supply an omission of at least ten persons, who will give fifty-five souls more. And knowing how at that time the land was held, with no place for additional hands, and yet that the population must have been increasing, and that there was also much waste land, we may be pretty sure that there were several families who had established themselves on the waste and become what we call squatters, and who, as not being taxable, would not be mentioned in the Survey. They had obtained no one's

permission, and no one would feel called upon to interfere with them. They had run up miserable hovels, and grew enough on little enclosed patches to keep body and soul together. Now all these sorts and conditions of men will give a considerably larger population for Wherstead 800 years ago than the 264 of the census of 1881. At all events, we may be quite sure that in those poor and stagnant times there were as many souls within our bounds as there are to-day, when the country is so densely peopled, and so wealthy; and with a flourishing town of 60,000 souls alongside of us, instead of the insignificant, poverty-stricken Ipswich of 1086. For the Survey tells us that in Edward's time it had contained 538 burgesses, but that at the date of its compilation there were only 210, for that 328 houses had been wasted; which, whatever else it may mean, must imply that they had ceased to be inhabited: and these remaining 210 burgesses could have represented a population of only 1,155 souls. It was, however, from these feeble urban germs (now a second time crushed ruthlessly by the foreign spoiler, for they had been even treated worse, and brought nearer to annihilation, by the barbarian Saxon) that the first rescue was to come. Because it would be through the growth of the towns that a constant demand for agricultural produce would arise; and this, as time went on, would make it more profitable to let all the land, than, on the manorial system, to expend half of it in cultivating the other half by a servile and semi-servile organisation of labour.

From among the many conspicuous differences between men's lives in Domesday times and in our own, two of deep and wide significance may here be noted. One was that, in those old arrangements, the outcome of conquest and armed force, the toilers, who were all but the whole com-

munity, there being then not so much as the rudiments of a middle class, had themselves, without buying and selling, to provide for themselves all their requirements: those requirements of theirs being restricted to absolute necessaries, and this in order that all the surplus fruit of their labour, whatever it might have amounted to, might go to the armed and omnipotent over-lord. The system did not allow of the retention by the vast majority of the people of any portion of the profits of their labour, to be exchanged by them for any of the embellishments and conveniences of life. And it was a consequence of the workers being so entirely provided for by the lord's land that there could be no increase in the numbers of the workers, for this would have been entirely at the cost of the share the lord had assigned and appropriated to himself. Here were for the worker no money wages and no shopping, for his food, clothing, fuel, and his wooden hut were supplied by his own hands out of the land on which throughout all his days he stood and toiled. It was a necessary corollary to such a scheme that the villan's daughter could not marry without the lord's consent. Time has changed all this. Now a man provides directly scarcely anything for himself with his own hands—not food, or clothing, or fuel, or shelter. All his wants, now much multiplied, are far better supplied through trade. First he sells his labour for wages in money, and then therewith he buys from all parts of the world of all that he may require all that he can command. Trade organises and purveys the supply of the vastly multiplied requirements of a vastly increased community. And this would appear incontestably to be the better and the right system, because, to take but a single point, it opens to every one of vastly greater numbers the possibility of obtaining, at the market price of the world, a share in all the good things of all the world. In

a sense it makes the whole world every man's field, and every man in it a worker for every man and for himself. This suggests a glimpse of the thought that all mankind may come to be one family, and all the world may come to be a cultivated Paradise that will supply the endlessly diverse material requirements of all. In this view the man who does nothing, and therefore must live on others, is an anomaly and an anachronism. So far as this new order has been established, the point at which wrong may and has come in is in the division of profits between labour and capital, and this has perhaps been the case most markedly with respect to agricultural labour. Here, however, the arrangements, through which the unfairness became inevitable, now appear to be breaking up.

The other difference for which I would now ask a moment's attention is that in those times the individual was absolutely powerless, whilst the system as respected him, or rather as against him, was almighty. Every one, with the partial exception of the over-lord, lived and worked in the trammels of and for the system. People had no more freedom of locomotion and of choice than has the caterpillar on its leaf. With us these matters are precisely reversed; the system is now for the individual, and not the individual for the system. The individual may now be self-directing; and the shaping of his life may be in himself, and not necessarily in an imposed external system. What formerly extinguished now fosters, guards, and secures the liberty of the individual. Now the moving impulse in everything the individual does may be in himself; then the working order of society required and enforced the complete denial of liberty, and of all individual and personal initiative. Then almost every man worked with mechanical regularity for others, without freedom of thought or action; now every man may be an independent

source of thought and action, within the necessary limits of his not interfering with the liberty of thought and action in others, every one of whom is as free as himself; and now every man may work for himself. Now the enemy to be combated, as hateful and hurtful, is whatever interferes with natural freedom without sufficient cause. Then the noxious and disturbing enemy of the established and vital order would have been the thought of freedom, and the consequent attempt to realise it; which, however, would have been destructive of the individual only, for as to the system, there was nothing at that time in the world that could have shaken it: in human affairs it was as firmly established as is in the external world the course of nature. Then every man's life was necessarily the unvarying round of the mill-horse; now it may be for each whatever it can be made by the endlessly varying combinations of the circumstances and conditions of society, and of external nature acting on the endlessly varying combinations of the intellectual endowments and moral aptitudes of individuals, with the course in many directions open before them; striking instances of this are that the workers can now combine for their own purposes, and produce from themselves independent leaders. Then everyone had to work in chains; now every chain has been, or is being, broken, and every mind and all work may be free. Then the system thought for everybody, and arranged for everything, and all the world, with but a few exceptions—which, however, were more hurtful than useful—worked for others; whereas, what is now aimed at is that every one should work and think for himself, and that the profits of every man's thought and work, so far as may be possible and fair, should be for himself. Formerly, the individual existed for an artificial, forcibly established, social and economic organisation; now the social and economic organisation exists for the indivi-

dual: not being imposed by armed force, but being on the road to become the resultant of the spontaneous interaction of the interests of all classes. A consequence of this is that every one now has before him a far wider social and economic range. The old system provided for every man a strictly defined *status*, from which there was no escape. Now a man's *status* depends on himself, and on a multiplicity of circumstances; and what society endeavours to secure is that there shall be nothing to thwart unnecessarily any one's action, or to deprive him of what help circumstances might be able to minister to him.

Here, then, are two strongly contrasted conditions of existence with very different motives, action, and effects. And here again with the latter, as with the previously noticed, difference, our conditions are immeasurably higher and better than those of our predecessors, because, at all events, they may open to every man, beginning with a man's own self, which formerly was crushed, suppressed, and extinguished, the world and all that it contains; which in a high sense ought to be, and ultimately may be, potentially the inheritance of every man. This is the ultimate terrestrial goal of human hope and effort, and the right of every one, and the events of human history have, if slowly, of which we are not judges, yet in the main, tended towards it—that is, towards opening to every man the beneficial usufruct of himself and of the world; in order that every man may be capable of becoming a man to the full stature of a man, the world and all that it contains having been made available for intellectually and economically subserving his purposes.

In the times, then, that we have been endeavouring to resuscitate and picture to ourselves, the body and the soul of most things were so different from what we are accus-

tomed to that we feel almost as if we had been contemplating another world, whose inhabitants bore very little resemblance to ourselves in their manners, customs, and ideas, and in the conditions and requirements of their lives. Still they and their arrangements were the stuff and the conditions out of which we were made. In that lies the interest we cannot but feel in them, and in what concerned them. No new element was afterwards added to the stock they were forming ; and it was from them almost exclusively that our world and ourselves are descended. They were the materials out of which would issue Wycliffe and Shakespeare ; Newton and Darwin ; Watt, Arkwright, and Stephenson ; Marlborough, Nelson, and Wellington ; Cromwell, Peel, and Gladstone ; and with which India was to be acquired, and the new worlds of America and of Australia peopled and secured to our race, and so the main stream in the future history of mankind made English.

BEATUS QUI INTELLIGIT.

APPENDIX A.

NOTE ON THE HARLANDS AND THE VERNONS.

THE names of these two families occur so frequently in the pages of this volume, that it is desirable that some precise information about them should be given, and about the way in which they were connected.

The first Sir Robert Harland attained to the professional rank of Admiral. In 1782 he was made a Lord of the Admiralty. He died in 1784. He lived in the contiguous parish of Sproughton. His portrait by Dance has been engraved. He had three daughters: the Countess Dillon, whose daughter married the Hungarian Count Karolyi (her grandson, Count Ladislaus, is now head of the great house of Karolyi, one of whom, Count Louis Karolyi, was recently Austro-Hungarian ambassador at the Court of St. James's); Lady Rowley, the mother of the Sir Charles Rowley, lately deceased in his eighty-ninth year; and Mrs. Dalrymple, the mother of the seventh Earl of Stair; and one son, the Sir Robert of my day and of this volume.

This second Sir Robert married Arethusa Vernon, sister of Mr. John Vernon, who was nephew and heir of Francis Vernon, Earl of Shipbrook, who was nephew and heir of Edward Vernon, the celebrated Admiral, who was the son of James Vernon, who was Secretary of State in the reigns of William and Mary and of Anne.

The Vernon estates in the last century were very extensive. There were farms belonging to them in Thurlow, Hundon, Stradishall, Nacton, Knodishall, Gosbeck, Little Blakenham, Stoke Ash, Earl Soham, Middleton, Haughley, Old Newton, Rattlesden, Clopton, Stonham, &c. They also owned Thorington Hall in Wherstead. A great deal of this property was sold in 1811, and again a great deal more by a private Act of Parliament in 1820.

Mr. John Vernon, in 1813, exchanged his Orwell Park and estate at Nacton for Sir Robert Harland's Park and estate at Wherstead. His motive for this exchange was that he wished to reside near to

George Capper, my predecessor here, who was his most intimate friend, and of whom mention is made in Chapter viii. of this volume.

In 1818 John Vernon died, aged forty-two, and was buried at Great Thurlow, and Lady Harland inherited the Vernon estates. Wherstead thus again became the property of the Harlands.

In 1847 Sir Robert Harland sold the Orwell estate to Colonel Tomline for £111,000, and came to reside again at Wherstead, where he died the following year, aged eighty-two, and was buried at Wherstead.

Lady Harland survived him for twelve years, dying in 1860 at the age of eighty.

She was buried at Wherstead, in the vault that had been made for Sir Robert Harland. In her epitaph she is described as 'the last of the Vernons of Great Thurlow.' Her husband, by whose side she was laid, was the last of the Harlands of Sproughton and of Wherstead. So came to an end the Harlands and the Vernons, whose names occupy a highly distinguished place in Suffolk history, and are not without mention in English history. The mortal remains of the last representative of each of these families now rest side by side in the same vault. None living bear their names or have inherited the trust of their honours; which, however, are in the far safer keeping of the written page, and of the historic instinct and local sentiment of Suffolk and of Wherstead.

She left what remained of the Vernon estates to Charles Antony Dashwood, second son of Sir George Dashwood, of Kirklington Park, Oxfordshire, whose wife, *née* Rowley, was a niece of the second Sir Robert Harland. The Thurlow, Hundon, and Stradishall property Charles Antony Dashwood left to his younger children. This the trustees, of whom I was one, by order of the Court sold in 1877. The Right Hon. W. H. Smith, the late leader of the House of Commons, was the purchaser. The Wherstead estate Charles Antony Dashwood left to his eldest son, who now, 1893, resides at Wherstead Park.

In 1847, the year preceding Sir Robert Harland's death, the rent of the

	£	s.	d.
Thurlow, Hundon, and Stradishall estate was .	4,864	17	3
Wherstead.	4,822	4	0
Nacton, with Bucklesham and Felixstow. .	2,905	4	9

APPENDIX B.

PRICES OF SUFFOLK PUNCHES AT SIR R. HARLAND'S WHERSTEAD SALE IN 1812.

DR. LISLE'S Suffolk Collectanea, now in possession of F. S. Stevenson, M.P. for North East Suffolk, contains the following newspaper cutting. It is dated 1812, but the name of the paper from which it was taken is not given.

'As a proof of the estimation in which the breed of horses denominated Suffolk Punches is held, at Sir Robert Harland's sale on the 6th inst., at Wherstead, Suffolk, 13 horses averaged £32 8*s.* each; 16 others £62 4*s.* 5*d.* each; 4 others £81 each; 5 others sold for £700, or £140 each; 3 three year old colts sold for £159, or £53 each; 2 two year olds for £51 each; 6 one year olds for £44 each; and, what is still more out of the way, 6 suckerels averaged the sum of £37 16*s.* 8*d.* each. What ought these to be worth at 5 years old?'

It must be remembered that these prices belonged to the period of the great war and of the suspension of cash payments.

Sir Robert Harland paid much attention to breeding carriage horses. His strain was a cross between Suffolk punches and hunter sires. He managed that white stockings should be the mark of his breed. Not long before his death I recollect his selling two pairs for 300 guineas each pair. One of these pairs was purchased for the occupant of the then Subalpine throne.

APPENDIX C.

CAPTAIN RICHARD GOODING OF WHERSTEAD.

AMONGST the contemporary printed documents, bearing on Suffolk history, in Dr. Lisle's Collectanea, is the following :—

'*November 5th*, 1645.—The County of Suffolk divided into fourteen Precincts for classical Presbyteries, together with the names of the Ministers and others nominated by the Committee of the said County, according to Master Speaker's direction by Letters; with names of the several Committees of the County of Suffolk in their several Divisions.

'(London, printed for Christopher Meredith at the Crane, in Paul's Churchyard 1647.)'

Then follow the names of those who formed this Committee for the County of Suffolk. Among these is the name of 'Captain Richard Gooding of Wherstead, Gentleman,' who acted for the Samford Hundred sub-Committee.

During the seventeenth century the Goodings were the leading landowners in Wherstead. In these notes we have had frequent occasion to make mention of the Gooding family. (See pages 10, 46, 147, 331.)

With the Vicar of Wherstead, Samuel Samwaies, petitioning for the abolition of Episcopacy, and the establishment of Presbyterianism, and Captain Richard Gooding of Wherstead, Gentleman, on the County Committee for seeing after the proper maintenance of Presbyterianism, and with John Ellis, the husband of Estofidelis, residing in Wherstead, we may infer that the parishioners were not quite left in darkness upon the questions then so hotly debated. It would have made the picture more complete had we found that our Captain Richard Gooding had been attended by some half-dozen Wherstead Ironsides. Though, indeed, we may be pretty sure that they did not fail him.

APPENDIX D.

LIST OF THE FLOWERING PLANTS, EXCEPT TREES, GRASSES, RUSHES, AND SEDGES, COLLECTED IN WHERSTEAD BY MR. H. HAWARD, AND SUPPLIED BY HIM.

NATURAL ORDER		
RANUNCULACEÆ	*Clematis Vitalba*	Traveller's joy
	Anemone nemorosa	Wood anemone
	Myosurus minimus	Mousetail
	Ranunculus aquatilis	Water crowfoot
	R. sceleratus	Celery-leaved crowfoot
	R. Flammula	Lesser spearwort
	R. ficaria	Lesser celandine
	R. auricomus	Goldilocks
	R. acris	Upright crowfoot
	R. repens	Creeping crowfoot
	R. bulbosus	Bulbous crowfoot
	Caltha palustris	Marsh marigold
PAPAVERACEÆ	*Papaver Argemone*	Small corn poppy
	P. Rhœas	Common poppy
	P. dubium	Longheaded poppy
	Chelidonium majus	Celandine
FUMARIACEÆ	*Corydalis claviculata*	Climbing corydalis
	Fumaria pallidiflora	Rampant fumitory
	F. officinalis	Common fumitory
	F. parviflora	Small flowered fumitory
CRUCIFERÆ	*Nasturtium officinale*	Water cress
	N. amphibium	Yellow cress
	Barbarea vulgaris	Bitter winter cress
	Arabis perfoliata	Perfoliate rock cress
	Cardamine hirsuta	Hairy bitter cress
	C. pratensis	Lady's smock
	C. amara	Common bitter cress
	Sisymbrium officinale	Hedge mustard
	S. Thalianum	Thale cress
	Alliaria officinalis	Jack-by-the-hedge
	Erysimum cheiranthoides	Treacle mustard

Natural Order		
Cruciferæ (*cont.*)	*Sinapis nigra*	Black mustard
	S. arvensis	Charlock
	Diplotaxis muralis	Sand rocket
	Draba verna	Vernal whitlow grass
	Cochlearia anglica	English scurvy-grass
	Thlaspi arvense	Penny cress
	Lepidium campestre	Field pepperwort
	L. ruderale	Narrow-leaved pepperwort
	Capsella Bursa-pastoris	Shepherd's purse
	Senebiera Coronopus	Swine's cress
	Raphanus Raphanistrum	Radish
Resedaceæ	*Reseda lutea*	Wild mignonette
	R. luteola	Dyer's weed
Violaceæ	*Viola odorata*	Sweet violet
	V. silvatica	Wood violet
	V. tricolor	Pansy
	V. arvensis	Field pansy
Polygalaceæ	*Polygala vulgaris*	Milkwort
Caryophyllaceæ	*Silene anglica*	English catch-fly
	S. conica	Conical catch-fly
	S. noctiflora	Night flowering catch-fly
	Lychnis Floscuculi	Ragged robin
	L. vespertina	White campion
	L. diurna	Red campion
	L. Githago	Corn cockle
	Sagina procumbens	Procumbent pearlwort
	S. apetala	Apetalous pearlwort
	Arenaria trinerva	Three-nerved sandwort
	A. serpyllifolia	Thyme-leaved sandwort
	Stellaria media	Chickweed
	S. Holostea	Stitchwort
	S. glauca	Glaucous stitchwort
	S. graminea	Lesser stitchwort
	S. uliginosa	Bog stitchwort
	S. aquatica	Water chickweed
	Cerastium glomeratum	Broad-leaved mouse-ear
	C. triviale	Narrow-leaved mouse-ear
	Spergula arvensis	Spurry
	Spergularia rubra	Sandwort spurry
	S. media	Seaside spurry
	Scleranthus annuus	Knawel

Natural Order		
Malvaceæ	*Malva moschata*	Musk mallow
	M. sylvestris	Common mallow
	M. rotundifolia	Dwarf mallow
Hypericaceæ	*Hypericum tetrapterum*	Square-stemmed S. John's wort
	H. perforatum	Common S. John's wort
	H. humifusum	Trailing S. John's wort
	H. hirsutum	Hairy S. John's wort
	H. pulchrum	Slender S. John's wort
Geraniaceæ	*Geranium pyrenaicum*	Mountain crane's-bill
	G. molle	Dove's-foot crane's-bill
	G. rotundifolium	Round-leaved crane's-bill
	G. pusillum	Small-flowered crane's-bill
	G. dissectum	Cut-leaved crane's-bill
	G. columbinum	Long-stalked crane's-bill
	G. Robertianum	Herb Robert
	Erodium cicutarium	Stork's-bill
Oxalidaceæ	*Oxalis acetosella*	Wood sorrel
Linaceæ	*Linum usitatissimum*	Flax
Celastraceæ	*Euonymus europæus*	Spindle tree
Leguminosæ	*Ulex europæus*	Furze
	Sarothamnus scoparius	Broom
	Ononis arvensis	Restharrow
	Medicago lupulina	Black medick
	M. maculata	Spotted medick
	Melilotus officinalis	Melilot
	Trifolium pratense	Purple clover
	T. medium	Zigzag clover
	T. arvense	Hare's-foot trefoil
	T. subterraneum	Subterranean trefoil
	T. repens	Dutch clover
	T. fragiferum	Strawberry-headed clover
	T. procumbens	Hop trefoil
	T. minus	Lesser trefoil
	T. filiforme	Slender trefoil
	Lotus corniculatus	Bird's-foot trefoil
	L. major	Greater lotus
	Astragalus glycyphyllos	Milk vetch
	Vicia hirsuta	Hairy tare
	V. tetrasperma	Smooth tare
	V. cracca	Tufted vetch

Natural Order		
Leguminosæ—(*cont.*)	*V. sepium*	Bush vetch
	V. sativa	Common vetch
	Lathyrus pratensis	Meadow vetchling
	Ornithopus perpusillus	Bird's-foot
	Onobrychis sativa	Sainfoin
Rosaceæ	*Prunus spinosa*	Blackthorn
	P. avium	Wild cherry
	Spiræa ulmaria	Meadowsweet
	Agrimonia Eupatoria	Agrimony
	Alchemilla arvensis	Field lady's mantle
	Potentilla Anserina	Silver-weed
	P. argentia	Hoary cinquefoil
	P. reptans	Creeping cinquefoil
	P. tormentilla	Tormentil
	P. fragariastrum	Barren strawberry
	Fragaria vesca	Wild strawberry
	Rubus idæus	Raspberry
	R. fruticosus	Blackberry
	R. cæsius	Dewberry
	Geum urbanum	Wood avens
	Rosa tomentosa	Downy rose
	R. rubiginosa	Sweet briar
	R. canina	Dog rose
	R. arvensis	Field rose
	Cratægus Oxyacantha	Hawthorn
Lythraceæ	*Lythrum salicaria*	Purple loosestrife
Onagraceæ	*Epilobium hirsutum*	Great willow-herb
	E. parviflorum	Small flowered willow-herb
	E. montanum	Broad willow herb
	Circæa lutetiana	Enchanter's nightshade
Cucurbitaceæ	*Bryonia dioica*	Red bryony
Crassulaceæ	*Sedum Telephium*	Orpine
	S. acre	Biting stonecrop
Saxifragaceæ	*Saxifraga tridactylites*	Rue-leaved saxifrage
	S. granulata	Meadow saxifrage
	Chrysoplenium alternifolium	Alternate-leaved golden saxifrage
	Chrysoplenium oppositifolium	Opposite-leaved golden saxifrage
Umbelliferæ	*Sanicula europæa*	Wood sanicle
	Apium graveolens	Celery
	A. nodiflorum	Procumbent marshwort
	Ægopodium Podagraria	Goutweed

NATURAL ORDER		
UMBELLIFERÆ (*cont.*)	*Bunium Flexuosum*	Earth nut
	Sium angustifolium	Narrow-leaved water parsnip
	Æthusa Cynapium	Fool's parsley
	Angelica silvestris	Wild angelica
	Pastinaca sativa	Parsnip
	Heracleum Sphondylium	Cow parsnip
	Daucus Carota	Carrot
	Caucalis Anthriscus	Upright hedge parsley
	C. infesta	Troublesome hedge parsley
	C. nodosa	Knotted hedge parsley
	Scandix Pecten-veneris	Shepherd's needle
	Chærophyllum silvestre	Wild chervil
	C. anthriscus	Burr chervil
	C. temulum	Rough chervil
	Conium maculatum	Hemlock
HEDERACEÆ	*Hedera Helix*	Ivy
CORNACEÆ	*Cornus sanguinea*	Dogwood
CAPRIFOLIACEÆ	*Adoxa moschatellina*	Moschatel
	Sambucus nigra	Elder
	Viburnum Opulus	Guelder rose
	Lonicera Periclymenum	Honeysuckle
RUBIACEÆ	*Sherardia arvensis*	Field madder
	Galium cruciata	Cross-wort
	G. Aparine	Goose-grass
	G. Mollugo	Hedge bedstraw
	G. verum	Lady's bedstraw
	G. saxatile	Heath bedstraw
	G. uliginosum	Rough marsh bedstraw
	G. palustre	Marsh bedstraw
VALERIANACEÆ	*Valeriana officinalis*	Valerian
	Valerianella olitoria	Lamb's lettuce
DIPSACEÆ	*Dipsacus silvestris*	Teasel
	D. pilosus	Small teasel
	Knautia arvensis	Field Scabious
	Scabiosa succisa	Devil's-bit, scabious
COMPOSITÆ	*Eupatorium cannabinum*	Hemp agrimony
	Tussilago Farfara	Colt'sfoot
	Aster Tripolium	Sea starwort
	Erigeron canadensis	Canadian fleabane
	Bellis perennis	Daisy
	Solidago virga-aurea	Goldenrod

Natural Order		
Compositæ (*cont.*)	*Pulicaria dysenterica*	Fleabane
	Filago germanica	Common cudweed
	F. minima	Least cudweed
	Gnaphalium uliginosum	Marsh cudweed
	G. silvaticum	Wood cudweed
	Achillæa Millefolium	Yarrow
	Anthemis arvensis	Corn chamomile
	A. Cotula	Fetid chamomile
	Matricaria Parthenium	Feverfew
	M. inodora	Scentless mayweed
	M. Chamomilla	Wild chamomile
	Artemisia Absinthium	Wormwood
	A. vulgaris	Mugwort
	Tanacetum vulgare	Tansy
	Senecio vulgaris	Groundsell
	S. silvaticus	Wood groundsell
	S. Jacobæa	Ragwort
	Carlina vulgaris	Carline thistle
	Arctium majus	Greater burdock
	A. minus	Lesser burdock
	Centaurea nigra	Black knapweed
	C. Cyanus	Corn flower
	C. scabiosa	Great knapweed
	Onopordum Acanthium	Scotch thistle
	Carduus nutans	Nodding thistle
	C. crispus	Welted thistle
	C. arvensis	Creeping thistle
	C. palustris	Marsh thistle
	C. acaulis	Dwarf thistle
	Lapsana communis	Nipple-wort
	Hypochæris glabra	Smooth cat's-ear
	H. radicata	Longrooted cat's-ear
	Leontodon hispidus	Rough hawkbit
	L. autumnalis	Autumnal hawkbit
	Tragopogon pratensis	Goat's beard
	Lactuca virosa	Acrid lettuce
	Taraxacum officinale	Dandelion
	Sonchus oleraceus	Sowthistle
	S. asper	Rough sowthistle
	S. arvensis	Corn sowthistle
	Crepis taraxicifolia	Rough hawksbeard
	C. virens	Smooth hawksbeard
	C. biennis	Biennial hawksbeard

Natural Order		
Compositæ (*cont.*)	*Hieracium Pilosella*	Mouse-ear hawkweed
	H. vulgatum	Common hawkweed
	H. boreale	Northern hawkweed
Campanulaceæ	*Campanula rotundifolia*	Harebell
	Specularia hybrida	Venus' looking-glass
Ericaceæ	*Calluna vulgaris*	Ling
Oleaceæ	*Ligustrum vulgare*	Privet
Gentianaceæ	*Erythræa Centaurium*	Centaury
Convolvulaceæ	*Convolvulus arvensis*	Field convolvulus
	C. sepium	Large convolvulus
	Cuscuta trifolii	Clover dodder
Boraginaceæ	*Borago officinalis*	Borage
	Lycopsis arvensis	Bugloss
	Symphytum officinale	Comfrey
	Echium vulgare	Viper's bugloss
	Myosotis palustris	Forget-me-not
	M. cæspitosa	Tufted forget-me not
	M. silvatica	Wood scorpion grass
	M. arvensis	Field scorpion grass
	M. collina	Dwarf scorpion grass
	M. versicolor	Variable scorpion grass
Solanaceæ	*Solanum nigrum*	Black nightshade
	S. Dulcamara	Bittersweet
	Hyoscyamus nigra	Henbane
Orobanchaceæ	*Orobanche major*	Great broom-rape
	O. minor	Lesser broom-rape
Scrophulariaceæ	*Verbascum Thapsus*	Great mullein
	Digitalis purpurea	Foxglove
	Antirrhinum Orontium	Lesser snapdragon
	Linaria Elatine	Fluellin
	L. spuria	Round leaved fluellin
	L. vulgaris	Common toadflax
	Scrophularia nodosa	Knotted figwort
	S. aquatica	Water figwort
	Melampyrum pratense	Cow wheat
	Rhinanthus crista-galli	Yellow rattle
	Veronica scutellata	Marsh speedwell
	V. anagallis	Water speedwell
	V. Beccabunga	Brook lime
	V. Chamædrys	Germander speedwell
	V. montana	Mountain speedwell
	V. officinalis	Common speedwell
	V. serpyllifolia	Thyme-leaved speedwell

Natural Order		
Scrophulariaceæ (*cont.*)	*Veronica arvensis*	Field speedwell
	V. Buxbaumii	Buxbaum's speedwell
	V. hederifolia.	Ivy-leaved speedwell
Labiatæ	*Mentha piperita*	Peppermint
	M. aquatica	Capitate mint
	M. sativa	Whorled mint
	M. arvensis	Corn mint
	Lycopus europæus	Gipsy wort
	Thymus Serpyllum	Thyme
	CalaminthaClinopodium	Wild basil
	Scutellaria galericulata.	Skullcap
	Prunella vulgaris	Selfheal
	Nepeta cataria	Catmint
	N. Glechoma	Ground ivy
	Lamium amplexicaule	Henbit
	L. purpureum	Red dead-nettle
	L. album	White dead-nettle
	L. Galeobdolon	Weaselsnout
	Galeopsis Ladanum	Red hemp nettle
	G. Tetrahit	Common hemp nettle
	Stachys Betonica	Betony
	S. silvatica	Hedge woundwort
	S. palustris	Marsh woundwort
	S. arvensis	Field woundwort
	Ballota fœtida	Black horehound
	Teucrium Scorodonia	Wood sage
	Ajuga reptans	Common bugle
Verbeniaceæ	*Verbena officinalis*	Vervain
Primulaceæ	*Primula vulgaris*	Primrose
	P. veris	Cowslip
	Lysimachia nemorum	Wood loosestrife
	Glaux maritima	Sea milkwort
	Anagallis arvensis.	Scarlet pimpernel
	A. cærulea	Blue pimpernel
Plumbaginaceæ	*Statice Limonium*	Sea lavender
	S. bahusiensis	Remote flowered sea lavender
	Armeria maritima.	Thrift
Plantaginaceæ	*Plantago Coronopus*	Buck's-horn plantain
	P. maritima	Sea plantain
	P. lanceolata	Ribwort plantain
	P. media	Lamb's tongue plantain
	P. major	Greater plantain

Natural Order		
Chenopodiaceæ	*Suæda maritima*	Herbaceous sea-blight
	Salsola Kali	Saltwort
	Chenopodium polyspermum	All-seed
	C. urbicum	Upright goosefoot
	C. album	White goosefoot
	C. Bonus-Henricus	Good King Henry
	Beta maritima	Sea beet
	Salicornia herbacea	Common glasswort
	Atriplex littoralis	Shore orache
	A. angustifolia	Narrow-leaved orache
	A. deltoidea	Deltoid orache
	A. obione	Sea purslane
Polygonaceæ	*Rumex obtusifolius*	Broad dock
	R. crispus	Curled dock
	R. hydrolapathum	Great water dock
	R. acetosa	Sorrel
	R. acetosella	Sheep sorrel
	Polygonum amphibium	Amphibious polygonum
	P. Persicaria	Persicaria
	P. Hydropiper	Water pepper
	P. aviculare	Knot grass
	P. Convolvulus	Black bind-weed
	Daphne Laureola	Spurge laurel
Euphorbiaceæ	*Euphorbia helioscopia*	Sun spurge
	E. amygdaloides	Wood spurge
	E. Peplus	Petty spurge
	E. exigua	Dwarf spurge
	Mercurialis perennis	Dog mercury
	M. annua	Annual mercury
Urticaceæ	*Urtica urens*	Small nettle
	U. dioica	Common nettle
Cannabinaceæ	*Humulus Lupulus*	Wild hop
Dioscoreaceæ	*Tamus communis*	Black bryony
Orchidaceæ	*Orchis Morio*	Green-winged orchis
	O. mascula	Early purple orchis
	O. maculata	Spotted orchis
Iridaceæ	*Iris Pseudacorus*	Yellow iris
Alismaceæ	*Alisma Plantago*	Water plantain
Liliaceæ	*Ruscus aculeatus*	Butcher's broom
	Allium ursinum	Ramson
	Scilla nutans	Blue-bell
Araceæ	*Arum maculatum*	Arum
Naiadaceæ	*Potamogeton natans*	Broad pond-weed
	P. crispus	Curly pond-weed

INDEX

Acre-strips, 380
Addison, D., 63, 206
Agriculture, Advances in, 28; characteristics of Domesday —, 332
Algiers, Christian captives in, 111
Altar of Santissima Trinidada, 115
American, An — on our parish Churches, 4
Anstruther, Col. — introduces trout, 221
Armageddon and the Milky Way, 258
Association, Pleasures of, 181
Awdus, 37

Ball on Wherstead Church, 11
Bees, Superstitions about, 225
Bells, Wherstead, 10
Benefice, Wherstead, 22
Birds in Wherstead, 204
Blewse, 255
Bordars, 305
Brand, Admiral, 113, 127
Bridge, Bourne, 149
Briefs, 110
Broke, P., 71
Broom, Superstitions about, 235
Burgess, J , 47, 85, 96
Butterflies and hedges, 215
Butts, Dr., 129

Canaletto, A. — at Wherstead, 113
Capital, portable property, 352; Democratic effects, 354
Capon, W., 95
Capper, G., 64
Captives in Algiers, 111
Carriages, Increase in, 148
Case of O. Thorne, 51
Celts, 175
Census of Wherstead, 60
Chair, Nabob of Arcot's, 115
Churches, Our parish, 2; Wherstead Church, 8; Overthrow of the Established —, 84; Torpidity of —, 86; Revival of —, 88; In Wherstead at date of Domesday, 337
Churchwardens' book, 120
Clark, 145
Clergy, Disrepute of medieval —, 77
Coins, Roman, 172
Coke, Sir Edw., 120, 127
Collections, Church, 103; for London, 107; for Pontefract, 108
Commendation, Freemen under, 310
Complaint, P. Ploughman's, 321
Conqueror, The, confiscates the land of England, 288
Cosmos, intellectual construction of the —, 244
Cottars, 305
Courts, Leet and Baron, 336
Crag pit in the glebe, 189
Cullum's, Sir J. — Hawstead, 6, 36; his list of Suffolk words, 253

Darbie, Bell-founder, 10
Darwin, Ch. —, on some Wherstead Celts, 180
Dashwood, Hon. Mrs. —, 10; Ch. Antony —, 394
Davy, D. E., 120
Dawkins, Boyd —, on the Mammoth period, 184
Dialects, 247; East Anglian — dying out, 247; Causes of dialectic differences, 248; Steam engine extinguishes East Anglian, 252; East Anglian in the United States, 260; Vowel sounds in East Anglian, 263
Disraeli, 119
Do, Suffolk use of, 258
Domesday, its purposed uses, 285; Historical value, 286; Wherstead in —, 290

Double, David, 16, 121; Isaac —, 161; Jerry, 15, 16, 159
Drinking 80 years since, 146
Drury, G., 58
Duck baked alive, 224

Elm, A giant —, its times, 200
Emigration 60 years since, 165; Effects on the world, 170; On our own population, 171
Emigrants, money value of, 169
English-speaking race, a cause of its increase, 375
Epitaphs, Samwaies', 46; Leeds', 56, 57
Esquire, 98
Estofidelis, 98
Exorcism by fire, 223

Farmer, A survival, 360, 362
Fauna of Wherstead, 204
Fernery, A natural —, 197; Ferns, Polystichum Aculeatum, 196; Polystichum Lonchitis, 199
Field constraint, 380
Finance, 344
Fire, Exorcism by —, 225
Flora of Wherstead, 193
Forby's Vocabulary of East Anglia, 252
Fox, How a — emptied Wherstead Church, 66
Frost family, 18
Fullerton, Lady G., mistaken, 118
Fumage farthings, 348
Furlongs, 341

Gee, W., 60
Gent, 99
Geology of Wherstead, 183
Gerard of Wachesham, 9, 23
Gilbert Union Houses, Exasperation against, 122
Gizzard, Contents of —, 220
Glacial Epoch, Wherstead in the —, 188
Glacier-borne débris, 191
Gladding, Poacher, 133
Goats in Domesday Wherstead, 328
Goodings, 10, 46, 147, 331, 396
Granville, Lord — at Wherstead, 116
Graye, M., Bell-founder, 10
Green, R., on religious reaction, 86

Harlands, the first Sir R., 18; the second —, 17, 151; Lady —, 72; Last of the Harlands, 393; Sir R. Harland's Suffolk Punches, 395
Hayward, H., 194, 198, 397
Hawstead, A Rector of —, 36
Heronry in Orwell Park, 213
Holly fern, 199
Horses bear exposure, 211; Why not employed formerly in agriculture, 326; Two only in Wherstead at Domesday date, 326; Their easy keep marks our agricultural advances, 326
Hunts of Wherstead, 126

India, An effect of discovery of sea passage to —, 81
Insect, A nondescript —, 216
Jails, No., 381
Jackdaws, Intelligence of —, 206
Jurisdiction, Local, 334, 335

Karolyi, Count, 394

Labourer, Why homeless, 362
Land, abuses of property in, 366; Better in U. States, 367
Landowning in Wherstead, 125; How affected by Poor Law, 130
Language, reflects what is within and outside of us, 241; Memory and thought dependent on, 242; So the ultimate intellectual construction of the Cosmos, 248
Lee, D., indicted for poaching, 137
Leeds, Edw., 55
London Road, 257
Lyell, Sir Ch. —on cragpit in the glebe, 189

Malthusian, The manor anti-, 372
Mammoth period in Wherstead, 184
Manors in Domesday, 286; — In Wherstead, 290; Now farms, 292; Self-contained, 333; Money value of, 344; Survival, 356; As a military organisation, 368; Anti-Malthusian, 372; Outward aspects, 378
Mansion in Wherstead Park, 113
Manure, lack of, in Domesday times, 329

Marlborough, Duke of, 119
Mary, Queen, 83
Mice, pied, 219; Harvest —, 219
Military failure of the Manor, 368
Milk in Wherstead then and now, 326
Milky Way, 257
Mills in Wherstead, then necessary, 329
Money, Medieval and modern, 24, 344
Moon, Superstitions about the —, 231
Moore's Suffolk words, 252

Nail, that lamed a horse, 237
Names, Vicars' baptismal —, 40; Suggestion for —, 42; Vicars' surnames, 33; — invented from Bible materials, 98
New World, Effects of discovery of, 81
Nonconformist, A, — on Church revival, 89

Ock, Frequentative verbs in —, 271
Orris, 68
Ostrich Inn in Wherstead, 128
Ox, Place of the — in agricultural history, 315; Number of — in Wherstead, 321

Parish History, 5
Partridge not to be disturbed, 67; — Nest on a building, 208
Pictures at Wherstead Park, 114
Pigs in Domesday Wherstead, 327
Pitt Club, 66
Places, How names of — formerly pronounced, 99
Plague, Great, 90
Ploughman's, Piers — Complaint, 321
Plough teams in Domesday, 316
Poaching in Wherstead, 132
Poor Law, 123; How it affected landowning, 130
Population of Wherstead in 1811, 69; In 1086, 307; — Of this country a floating population, 131; Cause of over population, 376
Potatoes, when first in Wherstead, 71
Pottery, Romano-British, 175
Preachers, Who should be, 63
Presenters, 92
Printing, An effect of the invention of, 79
Property, No absolute — in land, 304
Punches, Suffolk, 395

Quaranteens, 340

Rameses' ceiling, 21
Rands, H., 156
Rat, Old English black, 216; Dig for cockchafer grubs, 217; Steal eggs, 218; Amputates its own leg, 218; Water rat, 218
Raven, 226
Reformation, 82
Religion, Place of — in the Manor, 384
Registering, Tax on, 102
Revival of classical learning, 79
Rewse, 137
Reymes, Gilbert and Hugh de, 129
Reynold's, Bishop — register, 17
Roads in Suffolk, 68
Routh serves five Churches, 65
Rushout, Hon. Miss, 11
Sac and Soc, 334
Saltworks in Wherstead, 330
Samwaies, S., 38, 45, 85
Sandstone slabs in Wherstead, 185; Dr. Taylor on —, 187
Scott, Game Keeper, 133
Scroope, W., 119, 221
Seeds, Vitality of, 199
Self-provided, The Domesday cultivators, 387
Semmes, Alabama, 39
Shawe, R. N., 65
Sheep in Domesday Wherstead, 328
Shrew, Water, 219
Slaves, 307
Smeaky, 253
Smith, W., 36; W. H. —, 394
Social phenomena dependent on economic, 350
Society in early stages artificial, 312; For the individual now, 388
Squire and Coachman make a drinking arrangement, 147; The modern —, 361
Sparrow family, 127
Status, fixed, 390
Stones grow spontaneously, 234
Stock, live — in Wherstead, 324

Sturgeon captured in Bourn Brook, 222
Suffolk words, 253
Superstitions, 223
Survivals, manorial, 356; In the modern farmer, 360

Taylor, Dr. — burnt at Hadleigh, 83
Taxation, 347; Rent then only taxable, 348
Tea, 72
Tenants-in-chief, 295; Sub-tenants, 297, 345
Territorialism, 1, 282; Serfage and — incompatible with capital, 358; with democracy, 364
Thorne, W., 49; O. Thorne, 50; O. Thorne's case, 51
Thousands, Three — pounds drunk in port wine, 147
Tithes, 339
Torpidity, Mental, 382
Town, 99; Town House of Wherstead, 120
Transport, Place of — in civilisation, 331
Trout in Wherstead, 222
Tusser, 251

Ven, E., 71
Vernon, Francis, His portrait as an Algerine slave, 111; James —, 394; Admiral, 115; Dr. —, formerly Jenkin, 183
Vicarages, Wherstead, 14; A memento of the first, 15; The second, 18; The third, 20
Vicars, List of, 29; Some notes on some of them, 44; Events that touched them, 76
View from Wherstead Churchyard, 12
Villans, 298; Their land and cattle, 301; Their bondage, 302

Watt, how helped to extinguish the Suffolk Dialect, 252
Weasel and rabbit decapitated, 220
Weeds, Spontaneous growth of, 234
Wellington, Duke of — at Wherstead, 116; Shoots Lord Granville in the face, 117; Freeman of Ipswich, 118; Fails in candidature of the High Stewardship, 119
Wesley, 87
Wherstead, variations in spelling, 99; Population in 1811, 69; In 1086, Wherstead in Domesday, 290; State of — in 1647, 396
Whitethorn, Superstitions about, 236
Wilsmores, 153
Wizard, A. —'s familiars, 227; A. —'s curse, 229
Wolsey's College, 94
Woods, Importance in Domesday times, 327
Wool in Domesday times and afterwards, 328
Woollen, burial in, 101
Words, now unused, 100; The educated fight against new, 256; Cullum's Suffolk words, 253; How East Anglian strengthens words, 265; Reduplicated and rhyming words, 265
Worthies, Village, 152
Wycliffe, 78; Compared with Wesley, 87

Zincke, F. B., 11, 19, 42, 75, 96, 174, 175, 177, 189, 204, 211, 216, 219, 220, 253, 271

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