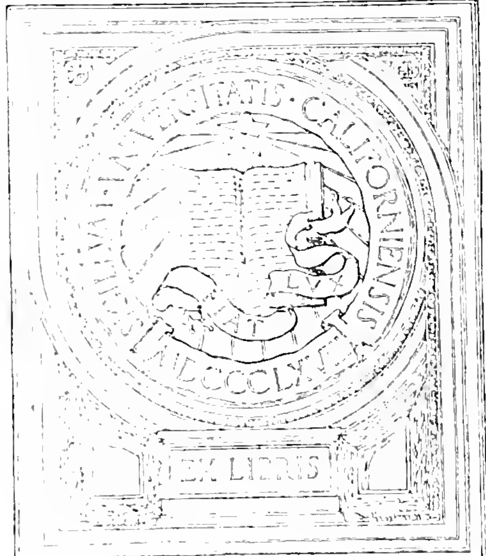
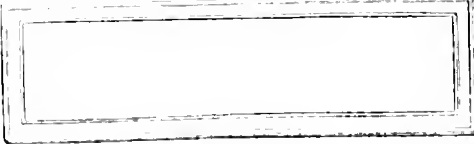
D
0000984410
1

Winchester College

1393-1893

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES





WINCHESTER COLLEGE

1393—1893

This Edition is limited to One Thousand copies

[illegible] M MOBLEY'S COURT

WINCHESTER COLLEGE

1393–1893

BY

OLD WYKEHAMISTS

ILLUSTRATED BY HERBERT MARSHALL

PUBLISHED IN COMMEMORATION OF THE
500TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OPENING OF THE COLLEGE

LONDON
EDWARD ARNOLD
BEDFORD STREET, STRAND, W.C.
Publisher to the India Office
1893

[All Rights Reserved]

Richard Clay and Sons, Limited
LONDON AND BUNGAY.

CONTENTS

PART I

Wykeham's Place in History. By the Earl of Selborne 1
Wykeham's Models. By A. F. Leach 9
Wykeham's Conception of a Public School. By the Rev. W. A. Fearon, D.D. . . 18
The College Buildings. By H. J. Hardy 25
Wykeham's Work in the Cathedral. By the Dean of Winchester 36
The Commoners until Dr. Burton. By T. F. Kirby 48
Life in College in the Sixteenth Century. By the Rev. W. P. Smith 59
Winchester in the Seventeenth Century. By F. Haverfield 70
Winchester in the Eighteenth Century. By H. A. L. Fisher 83
Life in College about 1850. By the Rev. E. C. Wickham 96
Life in "Commoners." By A. O. Prickard 112
Hills, Meads, and Games. By A. K. Cook 125

PART II

Hymnus Wiccamicus. By the Bishop of Salisbury 139
"Half a Thousand Springs." By J. B. B. Nichols 142
Dedication of a Volume of Verse. By Lionel Johnson 147
After Many Days. By the Rev. Canon Moberly, D.D. 154
Ad Meos. By the Bishop of Southwell 158
Alma Nutrix. By F. Sydney Parry 160
Gray November. By J. A. Fort 164
Vestigia Retrorsum. By C. J. Billson 168
Evening on Hills. By E. D. A. Morshead 171
Ad Wiccamicos. By the Bishop of Southwell 174

APPENDIX

Proceedings at the Celebration of the 500th Anniversary of the Opening of the College 183

450709

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

View from Moberly's Court ... ... *Frontispiece.*

School and Tower ... ... *Vignette on title-page.*

Wickham Village 1

Bishop's Waltham 5

Kingsgate 8

Chapel from Chamber Court 19

Outer Gate and Warden's House 25

Middle Gate 28

S.W. Corner of Chamber Court 29

Audit Room... 31

The Cathedral: Junction of Nave and South Transept 37

The Cathedral from the S.E. 45

The Second Master's House 52

Chantry 58

Cloisters 61

School and Tower from Meads 71

Sick-House 81

Kingsgate Street 87

Sixth Chamber 97

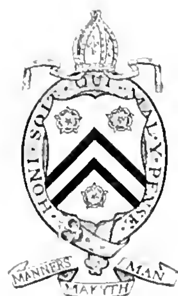
Hall 103

School 107

Lavender Meads and Hills 124

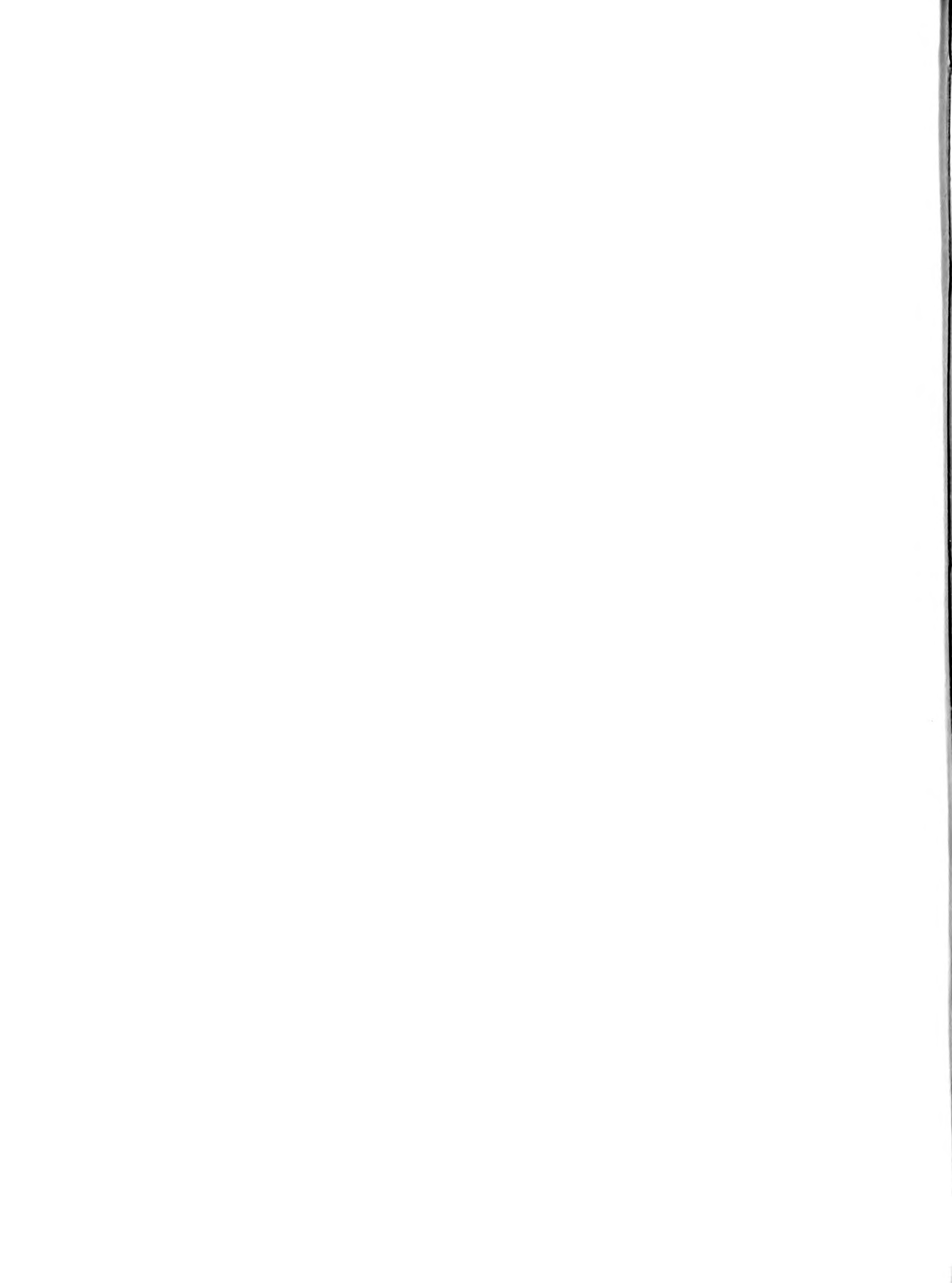
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

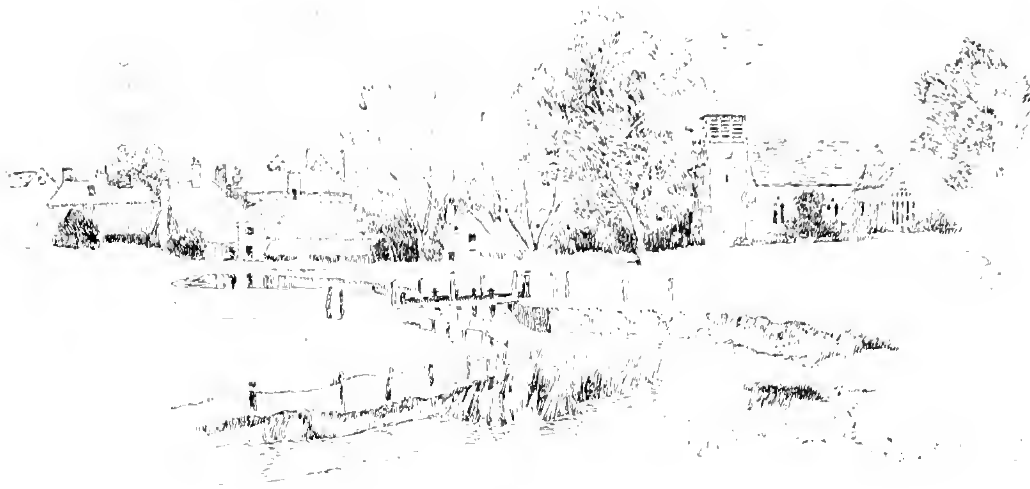
	PAGE
Cricket in New Field	133
College from the Weirs	139
College Street	143
View from Hills	149
St. Cross from the South	157
College from Wolvesey Gate	161
Six and Six	165
St. Cross from the North	168
Winchester from St. Giles's Hill	175
New Field, with Webbe Tent	181
College from the South	187



NOTE

It is necessary to explain, in qualification of a statement on the title-page, that three papers in Part I. of this volume have been kindly contributed by writers who, though intimately connected with the Wykehamical body, were not themselves educated at Winchester. The papers in question are entitled "Wykeham's Work in the Cathedral," "The Commoners until Dr. Burton," and "Life in College in the Sixteenth Century."





WICKHAM VILLAGE.

WINCHESTER COLLEGE

1393—1893

PART I

WYKEHAM'S PLACE IN HISTORY

F William of Wykeham were a man of whom nothing else was known, than that he filled in his day great offices in Church and State, and founded famous colleges, this would be enough to cause his name to be held in honourable remembrance, but not enough to determine his true place in history. As much might be said of others, who, apart from the reverence felt towards benefactors by those who have derived profit from their bounty, could hardly be called great men. Was Wykeham a really great man or not? A Wykehamist, who attempts to examine that question, need not be ashamed to confess some bias; but he may nevertheless feel confident that, apart from prepossession, it ought to be answered in the affirmative.

Mr. Moberly did good service in 1887, when he placed within the reach of all readers, in the Appendix to his *Life of Wykeham*, the entire text of the two memoirs, from which, if not all, most of our knowledge of Wykeham, except that obtained from the public records of the realm and of the See of Winchester, is derived. The earlier and shorter of those accounts, that of Thomas Aylward, Wykeham's friend and executor, was written from personal knowledge. The author of the other, Robert Heete or Heath, who was a fellow, first of New College, and afterwards of Winchester, wrote twenty years later;—he did not himself know the Founder, but relied (as far as he added anything to Aylward) on traditions so recent as to be trustworthy. Both works are eulogies, in the florid ecclesiastical style of the period; both, from prudential reasons explained by the circumstances of the time, are very reticent as to political matters. But, where they are silent, public history comes in.

That Wykeham was a man of genius, his architectural works are sufficient to prove. His buildings at Windsor Castle and his colleges are not seen by us as he left them, but enough is seen to command just admiration; and his transformation of the nave of Winchester Cathedral from the Norman to the earlier Perpendicular style is a wonderful performance, which, if I might trust my own judgment, I should place above all the rest.

It was this architectural genius which led to his introduction to Edward the Third, and to his earlier employments by that king, from the twenty-third to the fortieth year of his age. In the course of those employments he manifested the other qualities which gained for him the king's confidence in greater matters: aptitude for public affairs, practical wisdom, and thorough probity—*eximiam probitatem*, in the words of Aylward, *probitatis præclara merita*, in those of the license to hold lands in mortmain, granted by Richard the Second for his colleges.

It was supposed in his own time to be a disadvantage to him, but it was really an advantage, that his education was not scholastic, nor in any special or narrow sense ecclesiastical. I cannot doubt that it was as good an education as a youth of promise could at that time receive in grammar, geometry, and other elementary knowledge; and Aylward's words, "*in loco illo quo litterarum studium Wynton frequentare et hospitari consueverat*", seem to me quite sufficient to prove that he received it at Winchester, whether in the Priory School (as Mr. Moberly concluded) or not. His wisdom (as is said in the chronicle ascribed to Chandler, one of the earlier Wardens of New College) was not speculative; but he was "*de Practicâ vir summè sapiens.*" Wycliffe, the greatest theologian of that time, who excelled

in those kinds of learning which Wykeham had not, sneered at him as promoted in the Church because he was "wise in building castles", with an insinuation that he could hardly read his psalter. This was certainly not true. The statutes of his colleges, undoubtedly from his own hand, prove that he could write Latin as well as Wycliffe himself, or any other of his contemporaries. What he learnt at school was enough for all the duties of his station in the Church, and was doubtless a much better preparation for the other work of his life, and enabled him to bring to its performance a sounder judgment and a larger mind, than if he had become entangled, at Oxford or Cambridge, in the subtleties of Nominalism and Realism. Nature had given him those graces of person which are everywhere a good introduction; and his education under the shadow of Winchester Cathedral, and in the family of his earliest patron, Sir John Scures, enabled him to add to them good "manners", both in the popular, and in that larger sense (including moral rectitude) which the word bears in his own motto.

For six years, from May, 1364 to March, 1370, Wykeham was Edward the Third's chief minister; holding first the offices of King's Secretary and Keeper of the Privy Seal, and afterwards (for two years and a half) that of Chancellor. In one of the Articles of accusation brought against him in 1377, he is described as having been, before his Chancellorship, "Chief of the Privy Council, and Governor of the Great Council"; and Froissart, who was in England, and attached to Queen Philippa's household, from 1361 to 1368, says that he was "so high in the king's favour that nothing was done, in any respect whatever, without his advice." Of the details of his domestic administration we know nothing; but we should certainly not have been left in that ignorance if it had not been just and pure. Foreign affairs, it must be admitted, did not prosper during those years; but it may at least be doubted whether Wykeham ought to be held responsible for their mismanagement. He could not be so conversant with them as the king himself, the Prince of Wales, and their captains in France, who had carried on the war with that country from 1341 to 1360, and had conducted all the subsequent transactions down to 1364; nor ought it to detract much from his fame if, in an age not remarkable for skilful diplomacy or military science, he did not add those to his other acquirements.

To have been blameless only in the offices which he filled would not, of course, establish Wykeham's claim to greatness. But he proved himself, in and out of office, to have a true conception and firm grasp of constitutional principles much in advance of his age; and he acted upon them with invariable resolution and courage. When his royal patrons, King Edward and the Black Prince,

were no longer capable of befriending him,—the king in his last year, enfeebled in body and mind, and the prince upon his death-bed,—the Duke of Lancaster, arbitrary and imperious, and not Wykeham's friend, became the chief Power in the State. But the near prospect of this did not prevent Wykeham from taking a decided part, in the "Good Parliament" of that year, against wrong-doers in high places belonging to the duke's party, and also against the king's mistress Alice Perrers. He endured with equanimity the proceedings by which that party resented his independence, and their consequences, his temporary banishment from court, and the sequestration of the revenues of his see. There can be no doubt that on that occasion every accusation was made against him for which any plausible pretext could be found; but nothing worse was alleged, than that he had been too indulgent towards some of the king's vassals and debtors, and too remiss in certain foreign affairs. It was suggested, indeed, that in some of those matters he acted with a view to his own profit; but this it was not attempted to prove. The only charge, which was really pressed against him, was that of an improper remission or abatement, in one instance, of a debt due to the crown; which was held to be proved, and was made the ground for sequestering the temporalities of his See. But this was probably no more than an instance of what Aylward described as the general character of his administration—"*populo regni favorabilis et plurimum gratiosus, ipsum a subsidiis et exactionibus et aliis oppressionibus praeservans.*"

The triumph of his enemies, even their enmity itself, was of short duration. His firmness had done much to secure the regular succession to the crown; and as soon as Richard the Second was upon the throne, he was exonerated from all the charges which had been brought against him, and nothing was ever heard of them again. Nor does it appear that the wrong which he had suffered at the hands of the Duke of Lancaster and his partisans influenced in anything his own subsequent conduct. Neither fear nor favour shook his fidelity to the cause of constitutional government. During Richard's minority he received repeated proofs of the confidence of the Commons, at whose instance he was several times nominated as a member of commissions for the prevention or reformation of abuses; and in 1385, when the king was twenty years old and already impatient of tutelage, he accepted a place on a Commission of Regency, then appointed for one year. But so well approved was his integrity and wisdom, that, when Richard, three years afterwards, took the reins of government into his own hands, his first act was to reinstate Wykeham in the office of Chancellor; and in that post he was a prudent and successful mediator between the contending parties in the

State. He did not hesitate, when necessary, to oppose the king's wishes; he had a sense of responsibility to Parliament so strong as to mark it by the singular step of resigning office after one year (with all his colleagues), that the judgment of Parliament might be freely taken upon their conduct; and, after being reinstated, he made regulations, with the king's consent, for the conduct of proceedings in the Privy Council, with a view to ensure method and responsibility. He was then nearly seventy years old; and, having so set

BISHOP'S WALTHAM.

things in order, he thought it time to close his political career by voluntary resignation, while still held in honour by all men. If his principles and system of government had not been departed from, Richard the Second might have lived and died a popular and prosperous sovereign, and the nation might never have been afflicted by the Wars of the Roses.

It cannot be doubted that Wykeham disapproved and lamented the wilfulness and levity of character which cost Richard his throne, and he may probably have felt that the king's vindictiveness, against those who had been his own

political associates, might bring himself also into trouble. But he did nothing to promote or accelerate the revolution which transferred the crown to the House of Lancaster; acquiescing in it only by his presence in the Parliament which accepted Richard's abdication, and at one or two councils held under Henry the Fourth.

The energetic character of his mind was conspicuous during his long episcopate, in the administration of his diocese. He visited all parts of it and all its religious houses, seeing and judging everything with his own eyes. He was a diligent and persevering reformer of abuses. To prevent stagnation or neglect of duty, he frequently removed the parochial clergy from one cure to another. He took compassion (as Aylward tells us) on travellers, and caused the roads in many places between London and Winchester which he found under water, and almost impassable from mud and filth, to be cleansed, raised, and made fit for traffic. Heath adds, that he repaired and rebuilt many frail and broken-down bridges. He restored at his own cost a very large number of churches in the poorer parts of the diocese, and provided them with books, furniture, and ornaments;—Aylward enumerates 113 silver chalices and 100 pairs of vestments. He found the residence-houses of the see (of which there were seven) dilapidated, and restored them all, and also many manorial houses. And he signalised the last years of his episcopate by those great works on the nave of his cathedral, of which mention has already been made.

His liberality to the poor and to his dependents knew no bounds. On his first entrance into the see, he remitted to his tenantry more than £500, and at different times relieved poor officers of the diocese from debts amounting to 2000 marks—great sums at that time. He paid for them three subsidies granted by Convocation or Parliament, and he twice paid the debts of Selborne Priory, which had fallen into difficulties.

Of all the acts of Wykeham's life (passing over, as unworthy of notice, those calumnies of a later time, which Bishop Lowth has refuted), there is only one which appears to stand in need of apology—the accumulation in his hands of an extraordinary number of benefices (well endowed, though without cure of souls), which were conferred upon him by King Edward in different parts of the kingdom. The best apology is the use which he made of them. The system was of the time, and it cannot be defended; his use of it, for the public good, for the needs of his diocese and poor, and for his splendid foundations, was his own.

He conceived the design of his colleges early in life, and never lost sight

of it; its execution occupied him for more than twenty years. His conception of a great Grammar School, training a constant supply of scholars for a great college in the university, was entirely new, and contained in itself the germ of our whole public school system, of which it was historically the beginning. From it we date, and to it we may refer, that development of the study of language and the elements of abstract science and literature (the *μουσική* of the ancients), as the best foundation of a liberal education, which has so largely transformed the character of our universities as well as schools. A greater work it was hardly possible to do. Wykeham planned and executed it with as much thoughtfulness and energy as if there had been nothing else for him to do; but he did not, for its sake, neglect the performance of any one of the many difficult and onerous duties, civil and ecclesiastical, which fell to his lot in life; nor did he withhold his bounty from any good work, to which, in the performance of those duties, he seemed to be called.

It detracts nothing from his greatness that, having no turn for speculation, he was conservative on questions of religion, and accepted without difficulty the ecclesiastical system of his day. Nevertheless, he stood with the king against the Pope, wherever the independence of the realm or the liberties of the Church of England were brought into question by papal claims. It was when he was Edward the Third's chief minister that Parliament and the Crown rejected the Pope's claim of tribute; and he was Richard the Second's minister when the latest statute against "Provisors" was passed. Of Wycliffe's doctrines he did not approve, but he was not intolerant towards those who maintained them. On the only occasion on which he appears to have had anything to do with proceedings against them, his part was that of a successful intercessor with the Archbishop of Canterbury for a clerical Chancellor of the University of Oxford, who, contrary to the archbishop's injunction, had permitted a sermon to be preached in the university pulpit by one of Wycliffe's partisans. Wykeham's own religion was, like his character, genuine and practical. To promote the study and extend the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures was an object which he placed in the forefront of the statutes given to his colleges. It is recorded of his earliest days, that he was a constant and devout worshipper at the chantry in Winchester Cathedral, where his remains now rest; and of his latest, that, when he was no longer able himself to officiate, he was frequent in the reception of the Holy Communion, with great self-abasement, even to tears.

What has been here attempted is only to put together, in such a way as to illustrate the character of the man, materials familiar to most Wykehamists,

which are found in the well-known biographies. The equable moderation of Wykeham's character, in every station and under every change of fortune, may with some tend to throw everything in his life, except his virtues and the magnificence of his foundations, into the shade. But it is a more just estimate which pronounces him, not only virtuous and magnificent, but in genius, character, and action, entitled to a high place among the most illustrious men of the times in which he lived.

SELBORNE.

KING GATE

WYKEHAM'S MODELS

TWO views of the origin of Winchester College commonly prevail: one that in founding it William of Wykeham took over and enlarged an existing school of the Priory of St. Swithun, the Cathedral Monastery; the other that he created it out of his own head, and was the first inventor of an endowed school in England, or, at least, of an endowed boarding school.

These two views, though often held together, cannot both be true. In point of fact, neither of them is true.

In the accounts of the obedientiaries, or officers of the monastery, recently published by Dean Kitchin, there is no evidence of any schoolmaster being kept. There is evidence that the school, which was theoretically maintained by every Benedictine monastery, had, at St. Swithun's, either always been a mere school for novices, or had long shrunk into that. In these accounts, extending from 1308 to the Reformation, the largest number of "youths in school" is nine, the usual number is two or three; sometimes there are none. Each officer sent threepennyworth of beer, or sixpennyworth of wine, "to the youths" or the "youths'-bishop" (he is not called the boy-bishop) on Innocents' Day; and gave a shilling for "knives" to each "youth" at the time of the great fair on St. Giles' Hill, apparently to enable him to entertain his friends; while the chamberlain paid them 3*s.* 4*d.* a head each quarter-day, or a mark a year, the other monks getting 6*s.* 8*d.* each quarter day, or two marks a year. From the similar accounts at Abingdon it seems that these last sums were nominally given "for spices"; no monk being supposed to possess a privy purse. Two entries in one of the Winchester Rolls make it certain that those in the school were not simply boys at school, but were young monks, in other words, novices. For while the entry is, ordinarily, so much "to the youths in school", these two entries account in 1495, for "13*d.* each paid to 24 brethren out of school" and "12*d.* each to

4 youths in the school" as a "courtesy" at fair-time, and in 1533 for the same sums for "37 brethren out of school." The use of the word "youths" instead of "boys" is thus explained. They were not boys but young men.

This School of the Novices was singularly inefficient. William of Wykeham, when bishop, visited the monastery. The result was the following, among other injunctions:—

"Also because some of the monks and brethren of our Church aforesaid have little skill in literature, not understanding what they read, but through their almost total ignorance of letters, while they sing or read, often put a long accent for a short, and *vice versâ*; and, walking without guide, often confound and pervert the true meaning of the Scriptures: and so it happens, that, while they have no learning in the holy Scriptures, they are the more prone to do wickedly"—

therefore the prior is for the future to set up "a fit master to instruct"—whom?

"the novices and others" (*i.e.* other monks, not boys) "who are insufficiently learned in the elements of knowledge . . . . so that they may understand what they read, and be the more ready to contemplate with understanding the mysteries of the Scriptures, as becomes them."

If Wykeham had been at school in the monastery, or under a monk, surely he could not have omitted to point out the backsliding of the monks in not having a schoolmaster then, when they had one in his youth, and the bad use they made of their school-time compared with what he had done.

The passage in Wykeham's Life by Aylward usually quoted to prove that Wykeham attended the Priory School, proves, so far as it goes, the contrary.

"From his elementary study of letters he was sent to Winchester, full of no small devotion to God and Holy Church; and also devoutly frequenting the threshold of the great Basilica of Winchester . . . . before the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary standing in the chapel in which he was afterwards delivered to church burial, he used daily to say his own prayers and to hear the Morrow mass, commonly called Pek's mass"

from the monk who celebrated it. If this means that he went to the Cathedral School, it is a very odd way of saying it. If we wanted to say that a boy went to St. Paul's School, we should not say that after leaving his "t'other school" he went to London, and there used regularly every morning to go to St. Paul's Cathedral, and hear the Minor Canon in course read morning prayers. It is not Wykeham's learning that his biographer is thinking of, but his piety, his energy in getting up to perform his devotions at that early hour at which the Morrow mass, intended specially for the early citizen before going off to his day's work, was celebrated. "Thus", says the biographer, "he shook off even in boyhood the sleep of idleness."

Whether Wykeham attended any grammar school at all at Winchester is

not certain. Both Aylward (Wykeham's executor) and Heete, the only other contemporary biographer (who entered College three years before Wykeham's death), carefully avoid the word school. Aylward says that Wykeham founded his college "at that place, Winchester, where he used to attend and was entertained in the study of letters", "*studium litterarum*", words which in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries would be used for a grammar school, but hardly in the fifteenth. Heete says, in a sentence the construction of which is rather obscure:

> "His parents were of gentle birth, but not overflowing with wealth, and so their son, brought up in secular literature, not on their patrimony but by the patronage of others, is sent as a little boy to be instructed in elementary learning; but never passed the bounds of elementary learning."

These words may only mean that he went to a grammar school, and not to a university; but followed as they are immediately by the statement that he was attached to the Constable of Winchester Castle, they suggest that after leaving home he never went to school at all, but entered the household of the Constable, where, as in most great houses, the boys no doubt received instruction, but grammar was subordinate to "manners", and in Wykeham's case probably to masonry.

It is true that in the evidence given in the action by Wykeham as bishop (and therefore Charity Commissioner) of his diocese, against the Master of St. Cross for plundering the Hospital, it appears that forty years earlier, about 1329, among the hundred poor men, who were every day given dinner in the "Hundredmen's-hall" with pottage drawn from the "Hundredmen's-pot" by the "Hundredmen's-ladle", were included "thirteen of the poorer scholars there sent by the Master of the High School of the city of Winchester." But this High School was not kept in the monastery, nor by a monk, nor at the expense of the monks. Whatever it was, there is no evidence that Wykeham himself attended it, or any other grammar school.

When Wykeham founded Winchester College he was not likely to lean to any monastic model. He was not one of those "bussing monks" against whom the Bishop of Exeter, who founded Manchester Grammar School, warned Fox, the Bishop of Winchester, when founding Corpus Christi College at Oxford; but he was one of the secular clergy. He was not indeed quite so secular a person as Cardinal Pole, the last ecclesiastical statesman, who, though a cardinal, became a priest only the day before he became archbishop. Wykeham took holy orders four years before he became a bishop; but he was a rector, a canon, an archdeacon, and a dean while he was still only "in the first tonsure"; a clerk or cleric indeed, but not in holy orders, and eligible for matrimony. His work

in courts, in castles, in churches, as lawyer, man of business, diplomatist, statesman, and, above all, architect, had been rewarded in the way usual, when Church preferments supplied the want of a Consolidated Fund and Civil Service estimates. Wykeham, together with a fat rectory and the archdeaconry of Lincoln, held a dozen canonries in as many cathedral and collegiate churches at once. Canon of Beverley, of Southwell, of Salisbury, of St. Paul's, of York, Archdeacon of Lincoln, Provost of Wells, Dean of St. Martin's-le-Grand, he would have found flourishing schools attached to all these churches. The school at St. Paul's is mentioned in Henry I's reign; and statutes of St. Paul's, made only about twenty years before Wykeham's birth, expressly declared that all the grammar schools in the city were under the visitation of the Chancellor of the church, anciently called Schoolmaster, with two exceptions, one of them that of the collegiate church of St. Martin's-le-Grand, which Wykeham, as dean, rebuilt. At Lincoln there was not only a cathedral school, which had existed as a day school from the foundation of the minster in 1091, but a boarding-house attached to it, said to be of equal age, for thirteen poor laymen and clerks. York enjoyed its cathedral school, which traces its pedigree from the time of Alcuin, whom Charlemagne bribed away to Aix-la-Chapelle. It was chiefly a day-school for town boys; but attached to it was a boarding-house for fifty boys under a warden, maintained since the time of William Rufus, it is said, at the expense of St. Mary's Abbey.

Yet it may be doubted whether all or any of these were Wykeham's immediate models so much as Oxford and Salisbury. The history of the two is very similar. Salisbury had its cathedral school *ab initio*, and also for a long time a little university, largely increased at intervals by the stampedes of scholars from Oxford, which took place whenever the students had a more than usually bloodthirsty Town and Gown row, or had shot a Papal legate's cook, or otherwise misconducted themselves. The cathedral records show that the students, living in lodgings all over the town, as they do now at a German university, were as rowdy as they had been at Oxford. Hence the college movement: which began not at Oxford, nor at Maldon with Merton, but at Salisbury. The House of the Scholars of Merton, which had a warden, bailiffs, and three chaplains managing estates at Maldon to support twenty scholars at Oxford or other university, was first founded in 1264, and not moved to Oxford till ten years later. The House of the Valley Scholars of St. Nicholas of Salisbury for a warden, two chaplains, and twenty university scholars was first founded at Salisbury by Bishop Giles of Bridport, in 1261, a rival college, devoted exclusively to theology, under the name of

St. Edmund's College, being founded by Bishop Wyley in 1270. The Valley Scholars proved too much for the Dean and Chapter, or they did not find the Dean and Chapter good enough for them; since in 1325 they were moved to Oxford. But the whole establishment did not move, as in the case of Merton. The scholars at Oxford were lodged in Salisbury Hall, but the house of the Valley Scholars with its staff remained at Salisbury, till it fell, under the Chauntries Act, into the pocket of Edward VI. The establishment at Salisbury acted as a feeder to the establishment at Oxford, very nearly in the same way as Winchester did to New College.

At Oxford itself, Merton was the institution of the period. It had predecessors in University and Balliol, it had successors in Oriel, Queen's, Exeter. But its predecessors were only half-developed, and its successors were poor starved things. Until New College arose and eclipsed it, Merton College shone without a rival in the university. Now Merton College included a school. Its statutes provided that thirteen boys of the founder's kin, being orphans or in poverty, should be instructed under a grammar master, be brought up in the house, and elected fellows in due course. The boys were not kept in college, but in a separate hall.

When Wykeham first began to set about his preparations for founding New College, the people he employed to buy his land were two fellows of Merton, John of Buckingham, Canon of York; John of Campden, Canon of Southwell. The same two fellows of Merton witnessed the agreement of Wykeham with the master of his Winchester School in 1373, and together with the Warden of Merton, John of Bloxham, Archdeacon of Winchester, witnessed the foundation charter of Winchester College in 1382, in which Thomas of Cranley, another fellow of Merton, was named the first warden; just as Richard Tunworth, another fellow of Merton, had been first warden of Wykeham's scholars at Oxford, before their formal incorporation in New College; while John More, the first-named fellow of Winchester may be reasonably suspected of being the same person as John More, fellow of Merton and bursar in 1376.

Surely this is evidence enough that Merton was the model on which Wykeham worked, even if we did not find more in the statutes;—in the name of warden, in the provision for founder's kin, in the preference to Winchester diocese and other dioceses where the college lands lay, in the encouragement given to Civil and Canon law, in the whole internal economy.

If we ask what was the origin of Merton College, we must seek it, not, as is commonly supposed, in the monasteries, but in their secular rivals the collegiate churches. The foundation of Merton was at once the sign, the effect, and the

cause of the revolt of the civilised mind against the monastic system. From the age of Dunstan to the age of Grosseteste the various products of the monastic ideal had usurped the land. The secular clergy, married men, living in, as well as for, the world, had been dispossessed from their ancient houses to make way for men professing the newest method for stultifying human nature. The secular canons of Winchester had on plea of reform been turned out in the tenth century, to make room for Benedictine monks. The secular canons of King Harold's foundation at Waltham, and of Christ Church, Hants, were ejected in the twelfth century in favour of the so-called "regular" or Augustinian Canons. But by the middle of the thirteenth century the regulars had been found out. It was discovered that their life was certainly no better: and their utility was considerably less than that of the seculars. A reaction began in favour of the more ancient form of institution, which still remained in the majority of the cathedrals, and in a few great collegiate churches, like Beverley in Yorkshire, and St. Martin's le-Grand in London. Collegiate churches were founded and old ones enlarged *passim*. The same decade that witnessed the establishment of the Valley Scholars College at Salisbury, and Merton College at Maldon, saw the foundation of the collegiate churches of Bishop's Auckland, in Durham, and Howden, in Yorkshire, by the Bishop of Durham at one end of the kingdom; and the re-endowment of Crediton, in Devonshire, and the foundation of Glasney, in Cornwall, by the Bishop of Exeter at the other. The inmates of these foundations, called indifferently secular canons, prebendaries, fellows, or clerks, differed from the ancient as from the modern canon chiefly in the article of matrimony. Their head was sometimes called a dean, sometimes a provost, a warden or a master; all titles of pre-eminence reproduced in Oxford colleges. The head, and in later times the canons, lived in separate houses, enjoying separate revenues, as well as sharing, if resident, in the common fund. Under them was a body of vicars-choral, their deputies for the choir-services. These vicars lived on a common fund, in a common hall; but, unlike monks, had also separate stipends and separate chambers. They formed a separate, though subordinate corporation, a college within a college. In most collegiate churches, and sometimes in large parish churches like Newark or chapels like Hull, there was another subordinate body, the chauntry priests, bound like the vicars-choral to perform the services in the common church, but also having to sing masses or dirges for particular persons' souls. Like the vicars choral they had a common fund, a common hall, and also separate stipends and separate chambers.

It was these colleges of vicars choral and chauntry-priests which formed the

more immediate model of Merton. The warden with his separate lodgings represented the dean or canon residentiary; the fellows and chaplains represented the vicars-choral and chauntry-priests. Merton was simply a collegiate church in Oxford; St. John's parish church was appropriated for it and rebuilt in a more gorgeous style, exactly as was Howden Church when made collegiate two years later. A grammar school was by canon law a necessary part of such an establishment, and was found at Merton, as at Beverley, or Ottery St. Mary's. The difference between Merton and the ordinary collegiate church was that while one was *ad orandum et studendum*, the other was *ad studendum et orandum*. Instead of the scholars being an adjunct of the chaplains, the chaplains were an adjunct of the scholars. The process by which the educational portion gradually overcame the ecclesiastical is well seen in the successive colleges at Oxford. While the fellows of Oriel became the canons or chauntry-priests of St. Mary's church, the fellows of the later Queen's—by accident and not by design—were not attached to any church; but had a private chapel attached to them. That step once taken was not retraced. Both at Oxford and Winchester, Wykeham built a new chapel for his college instead of attaching his college to an existing church. Yet even at Winchester the arrangement of the school with its two "forms", its divisions into "books", and its choristers "secundæ classis" reproduced the arrangement and the terms of the choir of a collegiate church.

Wykeham, then, in taking Merton for his model was taking that of the old collegiate churches. But when he came to deal with the schoolboys, we find the significant and important difference that the school he founded to feed the college was not a part of the college, and was not even in the same town. The Valley Scholars at Salisbury may have afforded a hint on this point. But there is an even nearer precedent. When Merton was half a century old, Bishop Stapledon of Exeter founded Stapledon Hall, which did not attain its full development as Exeter College during Stapledon's life, as his head and career were prematurely cut off by a London mob. He had however gone far enough to strike out a new idea. He also had provided schoolboys to feed his college, but he did not place them in the college, or in Oxford. He founded one school at his native village of Ashburton in Devonshire; and he designed a more important feeder in his episcopal city of Exeter. The design was carried out by his successor Bishop Grandisson in 1332. In the Hospital of St. John Baptist and under the government of its master and warden was established a boarding school for a grammar master and thirteen scholars—the same number as that prescribed by Merton—who, after learning grammar there, were to go to Exeter College to learn logic. This new idea Wykeham

seized on, and with characteristic power carried it to a further and more important development.

Hitherto a school had been a mere adjunct to other institutions. In the monastery, teaching school—the Novices' School—was a mere temporary employment of one of the monks. In a cathedral or a collegiate church such as Southwell, the original teacher, the chancellor of the church, had delegated his functions to a special officer appointed by and responsible to him; but the delegate still remained a full member of the collegiate establishment. In Merton and the other colleges at Oxford the school was still a subordinate and subsidiary item. Even Stapledon's school at Exeter did not stand of itself, but was an appendage to another institution, existing for quite other objects.

Wykeham, for the first time, established a school as a sovereign and independent corporation, existing of, by, and for itself: self-centred, self-controlled. It was not even like a college in a university, an *imperium in imperio*, a protected state under the shelter of a greater whole. To make education, and that education, not the education of clerics in theology or canon law, but the education of boys in grammar, the paramount and pronounced object of an ecclesiastical institution, with all the paraphernalia of Papal Bull, and royal and episcopal license, was no small innovation. It was a new departure, which opened a new era in the world of education, and therefore of thought.

Only less important than the mere fact of the new departure was the scale on which it was taken. William of Wykeham, more nearly perhaps than any one we know of, realised Aristotle's character of the magnificent man. More than any one else, whatever he did, he did in the grand style. Merton and the Salisbury College were, perhaps, greater innovations in their day than Winchester College was: in that they were the first collegiate churches in which learning was not of secondary importance. But the Salisbury College was only for twenty students, and its revenue under £200 a year. Merton had indeed close on £400 a year. Its successors were on a much more modest scale. Oriel had under £200 a year for its rector and twelve fellows; Queen's, a royal foundation, had little over £150 a year for its provost, twelve fellows and eight boys; Exeter was endowed with only £80 a year for its rector and ten fellows. University and Balliol, older in name but later in organization, were even poorer and smaller. But New College, with its warden, seventy fellows, and ten chaplains had an income of close on £1000 a year. The Rector of Exeter had £6 a year; the Warden of Merton £14; but the Warden of New College £40 a year. Winchester College with its £700 (= £14,000) a year for its warden and seventy boys, ten fellows, and three chaplains, was an even more striking creation; the

absolute novelty of which, compared with the thirteen boys of the Lincoln and Exeter schools, and their paltry incomes, can hardly be realised by us.

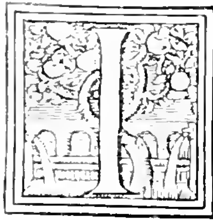
The new foundations took rank at once with the greatest in the kingdom. Only the cathedrals and the largest Benedictine monasteries, with their leagues of territory bestowed when England was an almost uninhabited and uncivilised wilderness, could vie with them in the number of their members and the richness of their revenues. New College had a larger net income than Alfred the Great's posthumous foundation of Hyde Abbey. Winchester College ranked fourth of the ecclesiastical foundations of the diocese. It was surpassed only by the Cathedral Monastery, by Hyde Abbey, and by Merton Priory, which the too intelligent officials of the South-Western Railway have converted into Merton Abbey. Its revenues exceeded by nearly a third those of the Augustinian Canons of Christ Church, Hants; in a still larger degree it passed the Cistercian Beaulieu; and it utterly threw into the shade the famous Waverley, and the Priory of Wykeham's native Southwick.

Nor was its importance measured only by its wealth and numbers. While no one had dreamed for a century and a half, or more, of founding a new Benedictine or Cistercian or Augustinian monastery, New College and Winchester became the starting points of a new system of foundations. Royalty itself was fain to follow in the steps of Wykeham, but at long intervals both in time and completeness. Not till the eighteenth century did the nearness of London, and the favour of the Court, give Eton place above Winchester. Waynflete, in founding Magdalen, endowed it rather more richly than Wykeham endowed New College. But Magdalen College School and his school at Wainfleet combined could not approach the greatness of Winchester. Neither in All Souls nor at Higham Ferrers did the two colleges of Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury though he was, attempt to rival New College or Winchester. Wolsey's Christ Church may have rivalled New College at Oxford; his college at Ipswich perished almost ere it had begun to be.

The most striking testimony to the greatness of Wykeham's foundation is that while all but two of its pre-Reformation imitations were swept away, Winchester again became the model of post-Reformation schools like Westminster, and almost in our own day again, through Rugby and Bedford, of the modern public school. An institution which has served as a model alike in the days of Henry VI and Henry VIII, of Elizabeth and Victoria, is indeed one of which its members may be proud.

ARTHUR F. LEACH.

WYKEHAM'S CONCEPTION OF A PUBLIC SCHOOL



F it is proverbially difficult to give a sound definition of any general term, it would probably be hopeless to expect agreement, even among experts, as to the proper definition of a public school. There was a time when many stiff patriots maintained that there were a sacred three, or possibly as an act of grace some reckoned four, with claim to be admitted within the narrow boundary. Some thought that there was a mystic meaning in the special mention of two colleges and a school in a certain Act of Parliament, recorded in the Prayer Book. Then in 1861 another Act of Parliament seemed to come to the rescue, and ordain a privileged nine to occupy a world apart. But the fact is that the splendid success and influence of the schools of the Victorian epoch have stormed the fortress of the exclusionists. It is perhaps significant that only two years ago, when an Education Bill was introduced into the House of Commons, dealing with secondary education, but markedly reserving the supposed rights of a few select public schools, a unanimous petition was presented to Parliament by representatives of these privileged few, that they might not have their rights reserved, as their interests and responsibilities and positions were identical with those of many other schools. Wykehamists now generally acknowledge that not only truth, but patriotism, requires a larger comprehensiveness; and that it is the greatest glory of Winchester to have been the mother of numerous daughter public schools, some the creation of the fifteenth century, some of the sixteenth, and many of the nineteenth. But who can draw the line?

Still, if we shrink from a scientific definition, it may be useful to point out some prominent features, which have characterised the public school system, as it has been worked out in England; and the purpose of this paper is to consider how far these features were fixed by William of Wykeham. It is clear that, if our Founder not only established the first of public schools, but fixed for all

CHAPEL FROM CHAMBER COURT.

after time on true strong lines the type which should be accepted by popular voice as the most cherished form of national education, the claim that he has on the nation's gratitude is one of paramount importance.

If we desire an interpreter of the English public school conception, probably all modern educational authorities would instinctively turn to an eminent Wykehamical Head Master, Dr. Arnold. It is Arnold's conception which is the accepted model throughout England; it is Arnold's conception which is the final authority in America and Australia, even more than in England; and Arnold learnt his lesson at Winchester. In Arnold's conception, then, we observe three principles. In the first place he had a profound belief in prefectual government, in the importance to a school of self-government. For this purpose, says his biographer, "he used the machinery of the Sixth Form, as he remembered it at Winchester." Secondly, Arnold attached great importance to the feeling of corporate life, to *esprit de corps*, to pride in the school. Thirdly, all Arnold's education was, in the broadest sense, religious; the school with him was not a mere teaching machine; its influence was spiritual.

Now nothing seems more remarkable to us, in studying William of Wykeham's statutes, than the small mention there is of the school throughout them. Though the foundation of the school is obviously the object of the whole, some six or seven pages out of seventy would probably comprise all the definite directions which the Founder gives, as expressing his hopes and wishes for his school. But in these six or seven pages we find most prominent precisely those three principles, which we have already noted as conspicuous marks of the modern public school conception. And moreover, every one of the pages in which these principles are expressed is reproduced line for line, and word for word, by Henry VI in his statutes for Eton.

The results of public school education are often attacked; and none but the most blind admirers of the system can deny that in some respects they fall far short of an ideal; but even opponents of the system will readily acknowledge that the public school character is a definite and a strong type. The public school man has some self-reliance, he can make himself useful in the world; he has learnt a reasonably true measure of himself and others, and has had his conceits, his vanities, his angularities, rubbed off; when required to accept responsibility, whether in the army, in India, or in the parish at home, he does not shrink from forming a judgment, and acting on it; he shows sobriety and courage and independence in public service. This striking and peculiarly English character we should of course not venture to attribute exclusively to the influence of the public schools; but beyond all doubt the

system of our national education has fostered and developed it; and in that system of education prefectual government is the most surprising, the most characteristic, and the most effective element. One of the most eminent Head Masters of Winchester has not scrupled to state that it is the one sufficient test of a public school. "A public school," he says, "is one in which the government is administered, in greater or less degree, with the aid of the pupils themselves; a private school is one in which the government is altogether administered by masters." The system is peculiarly English. As Matthew Arnold says, "in the French schools the continual presence and supervision of the *maître d'étude* leaves no place for our English government through prefects." Then, observe the marvellous foresight and power of practical organization exhibited by our Founder. In his statutes he not only instituted prefectual government, but he laid down with absolute precision the exact order and arrangement, which has made College, for all time, the perfect model and type of prefectual government. 18 College Prefects—18 to 52 Inferiors—this remarkably strong order is fixed by his strenuous hand in those memorable words, which occur in Statute xxxiv, and which are incorporated word for word in the xxxvi[th] statute of Eton:—

"In cameris sint ad minus tres scolares honesti ac ceteris scolaribus maturitate, discrecione, ac sciencia provectiores, qui aliis suis consociis concameralibus studentibus superintendant et eosdem diligenter supervideant, et de ipsorum moribus et conversacione studiique profectu custodem, vicecustodem, et magistrum instructorem de tempore in tempus, quociens causa seu opus fuerit, sub ipsorum debito juramenti Collegio prestiti supradicto, cum requisiti fuerint, veraciter certificent et informent, ut huiusmodi scolares defectum in moribus pacientes, negligentes, sive in suis studiis desides castigacionem, correccionem, et punicionem recipiant juxta eorum demerita debitas ac eciam competentes."

The second note which distinguishes our public schools is the note of "patriotism." There is a sense of corporate life, a joy of comradeship, a pride in the public cause, which is an untold power for good in all public schools. And not only in the schools themselves, but beyond them; it establishes a potent force for good in after life throughout the nation. The memory of school ideals, the shame engendered by companionship, the ambition for the good name of our school, is a stimulus to exertion, a guard of honour. Such patriotic spirit is fostered by the public games, by intellectual rivalries, by all the joys and interests of a common life. I am afraid that there was a time when Wykehamists were half inclined to think that "patriotism" was the peculiar prerogative of their school. Rather let us thankfully acknowledge that Rugbeians are as proud of Rugby, and Harrovians of Harrow, and Etonians of Eton, as Wykehamists of Winchester: and let us claim without hesitation that William of Wykeham

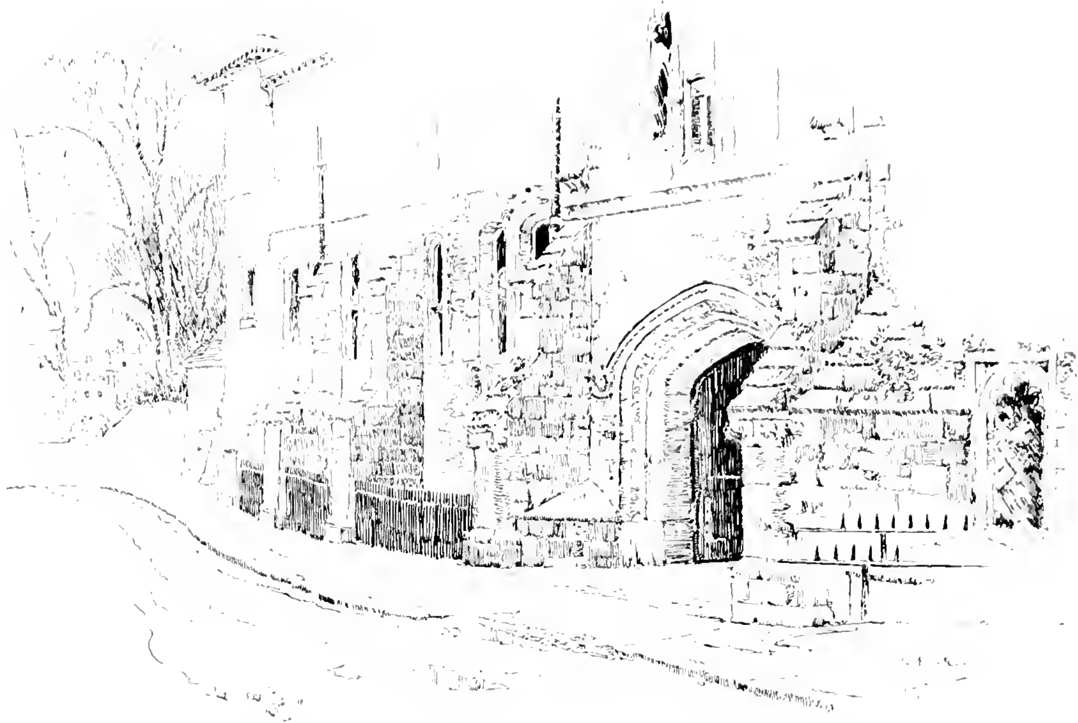
was the founder of this school *esprit de corps*. The schools before William of Wykeham were chiefly Benedictine or Cathedral schools; in the Benedictine schools there was the utmost devotion, but it was devotion to the Order, not to the particular school. William of Wykeham, in establishing his Collegiate School as an independent corporate body, made the sense of comradeship and devotion to the body almost the primary virtue. His statutes are practical and businesslike enactments; almost the only topic which tempts him to break out into more glowing language is the necessity of unity and brotherly love; on this he delights to dwell; on this he shows the warmth and intensity of his nature. Thus in his charter he urges vehemently that all "pro perpetuo tanquam persone collegiales et collegiate simul conversentur ac collegialiter stent et vivant." Again most earnestly in his statutes does he implore, "in the bowels of Jesus Christ", that all should make it their prime object to preserve unity, and love, and peace, and brotherly affection, so as to establish a kind of brotherhood: —"in visceribus Jesu Christi obsecramus etiam et rogamus, ac sub optentu felicitatis vite presentis pariter et eterne, et sub obtestacione divini judicii, ut in omnibus et super omnia unitatem ac mutuam inter se charitatem, pacem, concordiam ac dileccionem fraternam, ex quo inter socios quoddam genus fraternitatis esse dinoscitur, semper habeant, teneant, in omnibusque observent, et pro eis nutriendis et fovendis anhelent pro viribus atque zelent." Again he insists in another place, that all "ea que in eâ parte pro comodo, utilitate, tranquillitate, fraterná pace, mutuâ charitate, et honore dicti nostri Collegii fuerint facienda, fideliter in omnibus exequantur." Once more, to omit other evidence, his final prayer is, that all may preserve the bond of perfect love—"omnibus juxta informacionem Christi, tanquam ejus discipulis, divinum obsequium commendamus, pacisque et unitatis fedus ac perfecte vinculum charitatis. Amen."

The third principle, which was with Arnold the vital principle, and which every public school, since Arnold's time, has acknowledged to be the test of its effectiveness, is that the education should be a training not only of the intellect, but of the character, of the whole man; that, using the words in their broadest sense, the education should be religious. Our public schools have hitherto been nearly all in the main great boarding schools. It is a questionable responsibility for these schools to dare to remove children from the softening and refining influences of home, and to supply the place of parental care; and the only justification for such a venture is that the schools should take the highest view of the spiritual work committed to their charge. It would be waste of time to show that this was the spirit in which our Founder founded Winchester; his very motto proves it: Manners makyth man. No doubt the

Benedictine schools, within their own limits, had done splendid work for Europe in the same direction: all glory to them. But observe the statesmanlike comprehension and courageous faith of our Founder. In the first place he took his religious education straight into the middle of the world; he had no notion that his clerics should be trained apart. In the second place he took the broadest view of the value of learning in all spheres of knowledge. What noble words are those in his charter, "per literarum scientiam justicia colitur et prosperitas humane condicionis augetur"; and again, these which express his desire for his boys, "ut ad sciencias seu artes liberales fiant ut expedit aptiores ad omnium scienciarum facultatum et artium liberalium titulum ampliandum."

It would not have been surprising if a deeply religious man in the days of Wycliffe had regarded with some apprehension the free pursuit of all forms of knowledge. When old beliefs were breaking up, and old convictions were dissolving like a dream, one who saw not towards what goal the modern spirit was tending, might have been excused for shrinking from the bolder issue. But the faith of our Founder was not daunted by such perils. Learning and religion he would have go hand in hand. And for this, as for other reasons, Englishmen should pay their grateful tribute to him to-day as the Founder of Public Schools.

W. A. Fearon.



OUTER GATE AND WARDEN'S HOUSE.

THE COLLEGE BUILDINGS

F Wykeham's buildings do not arrest attention by their size and splendour, they at least possess the charm of a home long lived in and loved. To one who was born in Chamber Court it seemed to be the gem of all Wykeham's work, "in its sincere perfectness and simplicity, and in the order and fitness of all its parts." It is fortunate that, in spite of many tasteless alterations, the Founder's plan remains practically intact: in the two eras when important additions were made to the buildings—the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries—the material used is different (for it is brick), and this later work, except on the side of Meads, does not seriously interfere with Wykeham's design. This consists of two courts: the view of them presented by Chandler's drawing of 1463 suggests the idea of a fortified castle. Such precautions could not be entirely neglected, and it is certainly remarkable how completely the college buildings have escaped damage from outside.

The Close walls on the north side of College Street once frowned on private

houses, which were swept away to make room for Wykeham's plain dull front with its single entrance through Outer Gate. In Outer Court were massed the less important parts; in it were the steward's room over the present porter's lodge, the brewery, the slaughter house with the stables at the west end; on the eastern side were the store-rooms for corn and malt. If the present front of the Warden's house were removed, and the seventeenth century wall (consecrated by the name of Robert Lowth, 1725, carved on it) were pulled down, the court would regain its original proportions. The eastern side of the buildings was protected by the mill-stream, which flows through the Warden's present garden, and also by a wall from the south-east corner of Cloisters; the western and southern sides were soon flanked by walls built on piles, and thus the college precincts were secured.

The site of five acres was hemmed in on three sides by existing foundations, whose land Wykeham's College was destined sooner or later to absorb.

THE SUSTERN SPITAL, THE CARMELITE CONVENT, ST. ELIZABETH'S COLLEGE

Across the Lockburn on the western side was the Sustern Chapel and Spital, where about twenty nursing sisters were supported till the Reformation by the funds of the adjoining monastery of St. Swithun: in place of the chapel is now part of the Head Master's house, nearly on the site of the Spital is Moberly Library with its adjacent buildings.

At the south-west corner of the site was a Carmelite convent, where a begging community of White Friars had lived since 1278. This convent lasted till 1544, and then became College property (annual value *6s. 8d.*) by an exchange with Henry VIII. Its site is occupied by College Sick-House and its burying ground by Racquet Court.[1] On the south stretches the Carmelite Mead, Lavender Mead (where the laundresses washed clothes) and Dogger's Close.

Across the mill stream was St. Elizabeth's College, founded in 1301, for a provost and eighteen members, who were to be of good conversation, remote from laymen, to eat and drink together, and duly maintain the services of the church. This college, dissolved by Henry VIII, was sold to Winchester College in 1544, and now only survives in fragments in Meads' and other walls.

[1] At Bridport was found a small fragment of a seal of red wax and an agreement by which Walter, prior of the fraternity of Mount Carmel (Winchester), promises a remembrance among the obits of Henry le Benet and Isabella (?) his wife. Hist. MSS. Comm.

Within these limits the Founder had completed what was to be almost his latest work. He was nearly seventy when it was finished. Much of the execution of his design must have been due to the skill of the four men whose portraits appear in the eastern window of Chapel round Jesse's head and feet—Simon Membury the treasurer, William Winford the mason (*lathomus*), the master-carpenter and the master-glazier, but the plan was Wykeham's own.

CHAMBER COURT

There is a simple frugality, there is no waste of ornament, the parts are adjusted with due discrimination; the richer material and more elaborate detail are reserved for the south side, the most important part of Chamber Court. In the other three sides there is a fine economy and even severity: they are built of flint and were all once roofed with stone; and the sternness is still further increased by the cobbles, flints and flagstones ("Sands") with which the court is paved. These walls have darkened by age and weather, but they have not caught the wonderful colour which glows on a summer's evening all along the walls and buttresses of Chapel and Hall. Owing to the Founder's skilful design attention is concentrated on this front, which faces any one entering under Middle Gate, and dominates the inferior buildings: the squared stones are more dignified than the flint-work of the rest, there is also a softness and warmth in them which nothing but lapse of time can give. Other competing centres of school life at Winchester have come into existence since Chamber Court was built, but for a long time almost the whole life of the society was within that court. The scholars, in the days when they washed at Chamber Court conduit, were housed in six chambers on the ground floor numbered accordingly; but nothing, except the marks on the wall, remain to show where the pent-house or the later portico stood. In other respects their accommodation has been much improved. They have engrossed much of the room appropriated to fellows, and now sleep in eight chambers all of which lie east of Middle Gate; and have besides four chambers, for their use in the day, Second, Fifth, Sixth and Seventh (once Wykeham's school-room). Clean straw is the name, not the thing: the original beds, or berths, were replaced by Dean Fleshmonger's oak bedsteads, which have in their turn made way for iron. Coal fires are fast pushing out the old-fashioned "half-faggot"; more light and air have come into Fifth, Sixth and Second: the room above Election Chamber. has been prepared and occupied, and Election Chamber itself, originally allotted to the Warden, has descended into a lower social scale. There are no longer

nine fellows living in the rooms above First, Second and Third Chambers: the Second Master's house, in the north-west corner of the court, includes the quarters of *Informator*, *Hostiarius*, the tenth fellow, three chaplains, and such commoners

MIDDLE GATE

as lived in College. The choristers, who once lived on the ground floor between the Kitchen and Sixth Chamber now occupy a house in Kingsgate Street. But the outside of the court has altered very little: attic windows indeed have been

added, all the first floor windows were changed (though half of them have been now remodelled), gas lamps have been introduced, patches of stucco intrude here and there, convenience has forced an entrance into the sacristy,

SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF CHAMBER COURT.

the mouldering Uvedale coat of arms has been replaced by glaring modern work. Still that "worthie and reverend man Bishop Wickham" would find but little change on the whole here.

HALL

In Hall the various red and blue hangings have given way to the simple oak panelling of Dean Fleshmonger, and the paved and rushed floor to planking; pictures of the Founder, and Bishops Morley, Fox, Curle, of the Head Masters Stanley, Cheyney, Goddard, of Mr., Mrs. and Miss (?) Taylor, of the brothers Duncan, and of James Kent are there: but its fine proportions and pristine severity remain unaltered. At its western end are the hatches from which are brought beer, and tea, and bread and butter; below them is the cellar with its roof supported by a single octagonal pillar; and above is the audit room, which, with its ancient arras and settle and Flemish tiles, seems to have been left untouched by the lapse of centuries. Yet one stage higher the Founder's library is reached, one of the five rooms where the College books have at different times reposed; it has now lost even the privilege of having cheese kept in it, and has become an ordinary lumber-room.

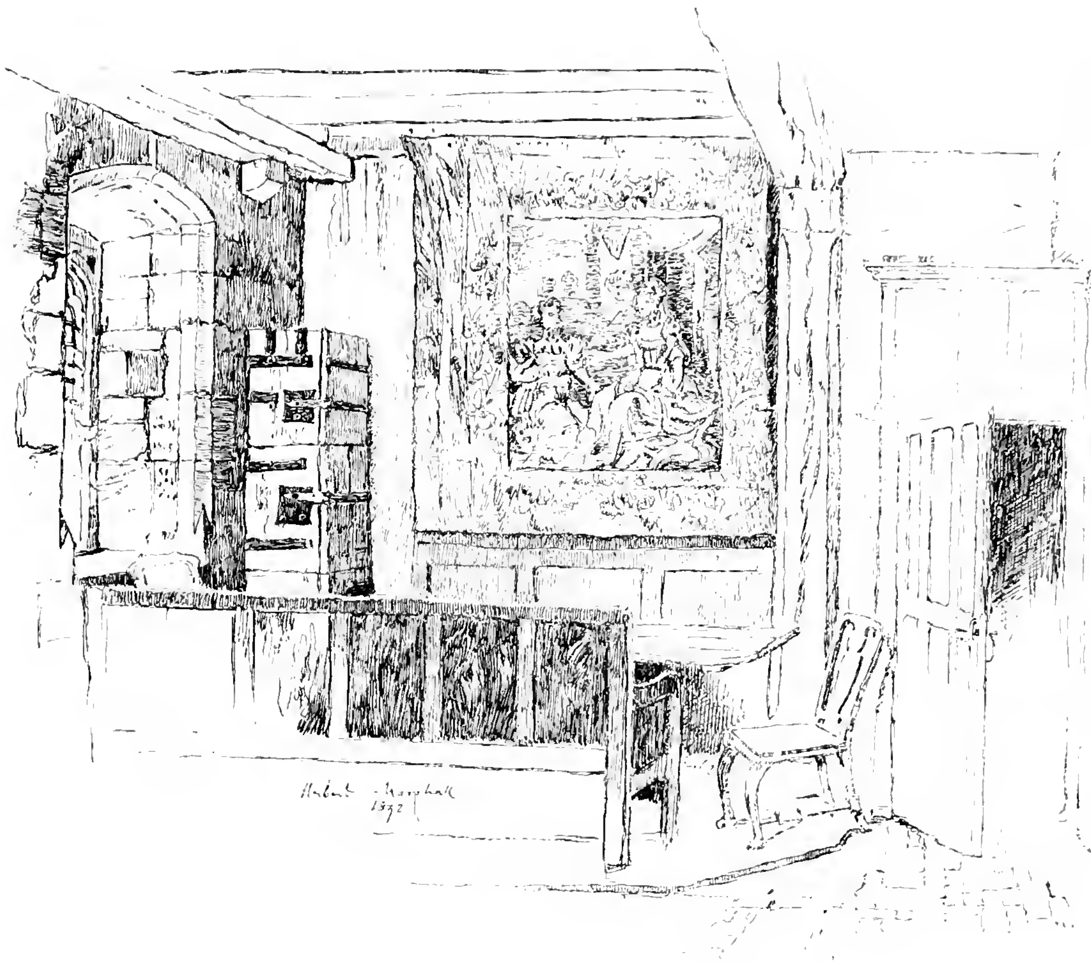
The kitchen, which forms part of the western side of the court, has gained a chimney, but has been reduced to make room for a music-room above and for the entry below, where the Trusty Servant looks down on succeeding generations of imperfection.

For about 200 years in this court lived the warden, the ten fellows, the schoolmaster, the usher, the seventy scholars, the sixteen choristers, the three chaplains and some commoners: here they worshipped, taught or learnt, ate and drank. It was not till 1551 that Watson built out over the bakehouse at the north-west corner a Fellows' common room; about thirty years later Guy Dobbins built three more rooms at the back of the Second Master's present house; then in the middle of the eighteenth century Burton first dealt with the problem of Commoners by getting possession of the leases of the Sustern Chapel and Spital. By that time, in three other directions more room had been obtained.

THE WARDEN'S LODGINGS

The Warden's house had been begun on the street in 1597 by John Harmar. Bilson's wife (whom he married after being single "till I grew weary of solitary labour") apparently lived in the Warden's rooms over Middle Gate. In the time of Warden Love, about 1615, "the dining roume of said lodging was enlarged and fairly wainscoted, and a studye and a lodging chamber newly built over the same," and in 1633, while John Harris

was warden, "a balconic window was added and a staircase leading to a private walke of his" on the east side of the college.[1] Then came the erection of the garden front by Warden Nicholas in 1692; and lastly the gallery, which at



AUDIT ROOM.

present forms the eastern side of the court and contains the pictures of the Wardens and of such distinguished Wykehamists as Ken and Howley, was built from Repton's designs in 1833.

[1] Hist. MSS. Comm. iv.

SICK-HOUSE

While the accommodation for the warden was thus increased, John Harris had not forgotten the sick scholars. In 1544, in time of plague, they had migrated to Moundsmere in the parish of Preston Candover; in 1625 some scholars were sent to Silkstead for a few months; in 1666 many went to Crawley for some weeks; but for ordinary illness John Harris built the College Sick-House in 1640. Its warm red brick front with picturesque chimney and tiled roof remains one of the few beautiful things built in College since the days of Fromond. Enlarged on its southern side by the patriotic John Taylor in 1775, it is now overhung by the vast pile of the sanatorium.

SCHOOL

Lastly, a passage was taken out of Wykeham's schoolroom, and a new school was built in the days of Nicholas (1687); towards the cost of it he contributed more than half. It belongs to the era during which Winchester was reviving under the smile of the Merry Monarch, when the chapel was being made comfortable, and the warden's lodgings convenient; it satisfied the admirers of Nicholas, for one of them wishes "cui det Deus aeternitatem". Its inside, with the dark wainscot on the walls, and the garlands and coats of arms on the ceiling, with the *Tabula Legum* on the east wall, and AUT DISCE AUT DISCEDE, MANET SORS TERTIA CAEDI on the west wall, had a dignified appearance; the body of the room was filled with "scobs", resting on dark smooth forms, with raised masters' seats and triple rows for boys at either end, and had a definite meaning in former days. The emblems of the rod, the mitre, and the crozier and the sword were copied from those once painted in the present seventh chamber; the inkhorn and pencase of the mediaeval scrivener have been translated by the painter of Nicholas' day into an inkpot with an unmeaning appendage. The *Tabula Legum* without Warden Huntingford's additions, must also have found a place in the former schoolroom; the organ has now driven it to the north wall, and what was for 200 years the working room of the school is now used for concerts and meetings. Outside School blocks the view of Wykeham's southern front from Meads, and presents an unsightly façade instead; but Ball Court is a playground much valued by the scholars at all times of the year. The paltry buildings, which ran from the western side of School towards the present class-rooms, have all been swept away; its portico has some merit, and exhibits the Founder's statue, by which the door of preferment was opened to the younger Cibber, after poor Colley, though he brought a "pompous pedigree" in his pocket, had been refused.

CHAPEL

But to return to Chamber Court and to Chapel. The latter has survived many alterations of detail, and two eras of wholesale destruction. The walls, the fan-tracery of the roof, the design and some fragments of old glass in the windows, with at least eighteen *miserere* seats of dark oak, have remained in spite of all changes. It is impossible to state precisely what was the appearance of Chapel in the Founder's time; but the carving on his stalls is so free and so beautiful that it is clear that the "batylments" and other internal ornaments must have been not unworthy of the structure. A rood-screen with two statues and a cross ran across Chapel, dividing it into choir and ante-chapel: to this screen an entrance could be obtained by a staircase on the south side.[1] In the choir was the high altar with a golden tabernacle (*unum tabernaculum auri*), an image of Our Lady, two latten candlesticks, one on each side, and another large pair in front; over the altar was a roll of benefactors, *tam vivorum quam mortuorum*; there were also three other altars and six other candlesticks. Such was its original condition; in 1470 the reredos with coloured niches and statues was put up; a few years later Wykeham's bell-tower was replaced by Thurbern's Chantry (in which ladies at present worship), and in 1480 the tower above it was also finished, mainly out of Thurbern's bequest. Warden Baker was the successful inventor of a fourfold rod, but he was not fortunate in his choice of an architect to do this work. Later the chantry was robbed of its old glass, now in the east window of Fromond's Chantry, and was made an adjunct of Chapel by piercing two large arches. Bad building and subsequent alterations made it necessary to rebuild the whole, in memory of the two Wardens Williams and Barter; an inscription to that effect is on the wall, and the windows erected in memory of Mr. Walford and Bishop Charles Wordsworth are not likely to be forgotten; but when the Reformation destroyed the observance of obits, the gratitude which was due was frequently left unpaid; and just as the rebuses of such great benefactors as Chandler, Thurbern, Sugar, and Beckington have been defaced, so also is the memory of them fading from the minds of Wykehamists. The last inventory before the Reformation (1525) bears witness to the magnificence of the vestments, frontals and plate then in possession of the college; by that time the benefactions to the society had been numerous and splendid. But as time went on the tide

[1] There is said (Kirby, *Annals*, p. 47) to have been an entrance on the north side, blocked up in 1680; if so, it is curious that there is no trace of it in Chandler's drawing (1463) nor in Leggan's plan (1675).

of feeling ebbed and flowed from the reign of Henry VIII to that of Charles II, and the changes of feeling outside were exactly reproduced inside. The charges for again and again pulling down the altar, for making a communion table and rails, for replacing the altar, jostle one another in the accounts from 1547 to 1662, when the altar was rebuilt and the rails replaced. During that time the chapel services were gradually shorn of their splendour; the rood was taken from the rood-loft, the reredos was whitewashed, then the rood-loft was carried away and a choir-screen inserted. Comfort makes its appearance in the shape of oak wainscot at the east end, in 1636 (the year after Laud's visitation) the sides of the choir are panelled; then care is taken to provide the ladies in ante-chapel with oak-skirting and matting for their feet. Though Stanley—the Head Master of that date—allows that "our chappell is well repaired", yet he says "that for ornament it is not so handsome as it should be." This is not surprising, for the inventory of 1649 shows that the services and ornaments were very different from what they had been a hundred years before. The "wainscott seates, the joyned formes, the four great pewes", seem to match "the three pewter candlesticks, two of tinne, twelve wooden, four of yron for ye masters, and two yron and six wooden for ye children." Forty years later Nicholas removed the stalls into the ante-chapel, and by a floor of black and white marble and Ionic columns at the east end he completed the conversion of Chapel and left it pretty much as old Wykehamists remember it before 1874. The Ionic columns at the east end had already been displaced and the reredos restored by Sir William Erle in 1866. Now the rest of Nicholas' work has gone, and the decoration of the building has reached its lowest ebb.

CLOISTERS AND FROMOND'S CHANTRY

Cloisters seem to be an addition to Wykeham's original plan. They and the cloister-garth were consecrated in 1395,[1] and ever since that day they have been the customary burying ground for members of the society. Thanks to their own beauty, to the happy grouping of Chantry with them, whether in sunlight or moonlight, they are always worthy of admiration. They were freely used as a playground (as well as a place for work) from the time of Warden Harris till nearly the end of the eighteenth century. It was during that period that most of the names, which can now be deciphered, were cut on the walls; the earliest which modern scrutiny has discovered is that of H. Nowell, who entered College in 1581, while

[1] Kirby, *Annals*, p. 142, n.

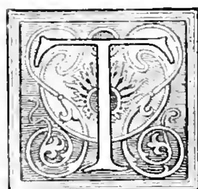
the name of Bassett, carved on the entrance of the sacristy into Chapel, has the date 1577 appended. Of those which have escaped the influences of the weather and the stonemason, THO. KEN is now almost the only one of interest, but Wykehamists will remember the names of T. Flatman, the poet, and William Goddard, 1772. There remain besides memorials of brass and stone, written in English, Latin, and three words of Greek, which disclose the changing taste of each century. The simple piety of the early brasses, the odd conceits of the Elizabethan elegiacs, the ponderous and fulsome prose of the last century, the strange medley of our own day, all are represented here. Chantry was built by that great benefactor Fromond, that in it masses might be said for him, for his wife Matilda, and for the Founder. It is entitled to the praise of being "wholly of the school of Wykeham, and distinguished by the same exquisite geometrical principles." The stained glass of the west window is barbaric: that of the east window, though confused and marred by hideous setting, is worthy of the latter half of the fifteenth century; the date of the building (about 1430) is marked by the elaborate work of the roof with its coats of arms and symbolic carving. Warden Pinke's work in converting it into a library in 1629 was undone in 1874: the room above, after serving as a room for copying MSS. and as a granary, is once more a library; though the modern ceiling has concealed the original roof, it is a well-lighted, pleasant room, one of the most peaceful and secluded spots within the college precincts.

If any one will walk from the class-rooms, past School, catching sight of College Sick-House, into Chantry, round Cloisters, and thence into Chamber Court, he will be following the stream of history up from the nineteenth to the fourteenth century; such a survey will afford food for reflection to every one; to a Wykehamist it may suggest the further remembrance —

FUNES CECIDERUNT MIHI IN PRAECLARIS: ETENIM HEREDITAS MEA PRAECLARA EST MIHI.

H. J. HARDY.

WYKEHAM'S WORK IN WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL



THE strong Norman work of Bishop Walkelin is still to be seen in the transepts of Winchester Cathedral; and if any one will look carefully at it, he will understand how the long nave looked from Norman days down to the latter part of the fourteenth century. For the building was throughout constructed by repetition of the same bay, and we have but to imagine twelve bays, exactly like those of the transepts, stretching down from the massive piers of the central tower to the western portals of the church.

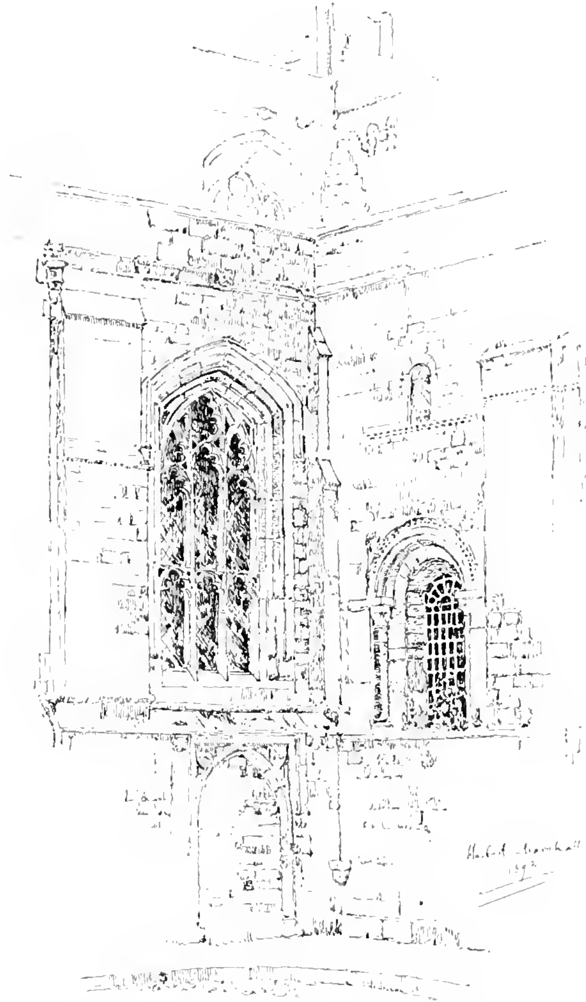
It was not till two periods of English architecture had come and gone that men began to feel dissatisfied with the heavy grandeur of the nave, which was in striking contrast with the impression of height and stiff formality given by the incoming Perpendicular style.

Bishop William of Edington was one of the first, if not the very first, of those who built in the new manner; and after he had constructed his fine conventual church at Edington in Wiltshire, he appears to have at once turned his attention to the cathedral nave. He may have been led to it by the somewhat ruinous state of the west front.

He began by clearing away the Norman façade, and rebuilt the west front from the ground. It is not known whether in this task he was helped by William of Wykeham; all we know is that in 1352 Wykeham was in Edington's service, a young man of twenty-eight, probably too inexperienced to have been able to plan out so vast a scheme of change; the strong differences which can be seen between Edington's Perpendicular and that of Wykeham lead us to think that the younger man did not help at this stage of the transformation.

The materials taken from the west front lay as a huge heap of flints and rubbish in the great churchyard for nearly half a century; for we find in a roll of Brother John Langreod, Almoner of St. Swithun's, dated 1399, that he paid 9s. 4d. for the removal of "112 cart loads of flints and other material from the

front of the cathedral in the churchyard to the Sustern Spital, in order to raise the King's Way (outside Kingsgate) and the square within the Hospital." So that we may remember, as we walk down Kingsgate Street to-day, that we tread on the old west front of the cathedral church.



THE CATHEDRAL: JUNCTION OF NAVE AND SOUTH TRANSEPT.

Edington raised the western façade up to the spring of the arch of the great window; he also rebuilt one bay of the south aisle and two bays of the north. It is fortunate that he went no further, for his work lacks symmetry and proportion, and is in every way inferior to that afterwards carried out by Wykeham. His mullions are heavy, his windows set back deep in the thick-

459769

ness of the walls, stiff and dark-browed, and the glass with which he filled them must have increased rather than lightened the sombre effect. For each panel or light held a cumbrous saint, standing in a heavy niche, all in glass of depressing tones, brown and yellow. Though Edington may have carried up and finished the two stair-turrets which flank the west window, the workmanship shows that he did not also complete the façade up to the point of the gable. Professor Willis gives us architectural reasons for believing that he stopped at the spring of the arch over that window; he notices also that the flowered cusps (the signatures of Edington's work, for Wykeham as a rule did not use them) cease at that point. The statue also in the great niche which crowns the gable was that of Wykeham, not of Edington.

So things stood at Edington's death in 1366. He left behind him the bulk of his fortune as a "chest", mainly intended to carry on his work in the nave; yet we find that seven and twenty years elapsed ere anything more was done. The see lay vacant just a year: though at the urgent instance of Edward III William of Wykeham had been elected by the prior and convent of St. Swithun's within a week of the vacancy, still he was not consecrated till October, 1367. And after that, for many years his work as bishop and chancellor gave him no leisure to think about the reconstruction of the nave. It was not till after he had established his scholars in their new building (on March 28, 1393) that he was able to turn his attention to the cathedral church. First, he made a visitation, specially with an eye to the fabric, and his commissioners reported that the cathedral was much out of repair, and also that it was but badly supplied with funds for sustentation. Taking this report as his text, Wykeham now began the last period of his marvellous activity. He did not go to work with the constructive boldness and energy he had displayed in building his two colleges. At first he seems to have felt his way with some doubt and hesitancy; his coffers had a hollow ring after the heavy charges in them arising from the building, and still more from the endowment, of his colleges, and he may well have felt anxious as to his ability to undertake another great work so soon. We accordingly find him casting about for help. He first, as was natural and right, turned towards the cathedral monastery, and in what may have seemed a somewhat high-handed fashion ordered the prior to pay £100 a year, and the sub-prior and convent one hundred marks a year, for seven years, in addition to the sums already set apart for the sustentation of the fabric. The convent was undoubtedly wealthy, and the prior's income large; still, the sum demanded was not far from £2,000 a year in our money; and to provide so much meant either debt or very serious economies, diminution in number of

monks and dependants, and other such expedients, which could not be undertaken suddenly. The bishop found himself unable to carry his point. Whether he gave way before remonstrances from the monks, or whether he felt that so heavy a claim was unreasonable, we do not know; it is only certain that he receded, and being a man who never hung back when a liberal course had to be taken, waived his demands, and took the charges on his own shoulders. We find him also at this time making an effort in another direction to raise funds, with what success we know not. For among the cathedral deeds is a circular letter, addressed to all abbots, priors, archdeacons, deans, rectors, vicars and parish chaplains, asking for the collection of alms from the faithful throughout the diocese. His way of setting forth his case, and of urging forward the liberality of his people, is not without interest:—

"Cum ecclesia nostra cathedralis Wintoniensis sit mater in Christo omnium nostrorum civitatis et diocesis subditorum, eosdemque filios spirituales affectu materno studeat habundantibus suffragiis Deo jugiter commendare, dignum est ipsam in suis opportunitatibus filiorum suorum provisionibus congruis consolari; vos igitur pro animarum vestrarum salute exhortamur in Domino, vobisque nihilominus in virtute obedientiæ firmiter injungendo mandamus, quatenus cum veri procuratores seu nuncii dilecti filii Sacristæ ecclesiæ nostræ prædictæ ad vos, ecclesias, locaque vestra, venerint fidelium elemosinas in subsidium operis et luminaris ejusdem ecclesiæ et aliorum Deo acceptorum operum eidem sacristæ incumbentium petituri, ipsos studeatis benigne recipere et tractare et hujus Ecclesiæ nostræ negotia intra missarum sollempnia et extra ac omnibus aliis horis et locis competentibus, quotiens et quando eis melius videbitur expedire, populo exponere permittatis eosdem, vel vos ipsa negotia, si hoc voluerint, exponatis."

The document goes on to say that no one should hinder this quest, by saying mass that day, or by asking thereon any offering for other purposes from the people. It also insists that the clergy should encourage their flocks to leave money in their wills for this object. He also lays it down that this quest should be continued year by year in all their churches during Lent, and threatens excommunication against any one who might fail to hand over his collection to the sacrist of St. Swithun's. Nor does he hesitate to add that if any church were under interdict, or any person under penance, on the day fixed for the collection, such interdict or penance should be suspended for the day, "for the reverence due to the mother church", and, no doubt, for the hope of a liberal offering. Finally, the bishop proclaims to all penitents who may help an indulgence for forty days, contingent of course on their ready response to the appeal. Armed with this weighty brief the sacrist went forth to travel from church to church throughout the diocese; we have no account of the results of this episcopal rescript.

There was another source of relief for the bishop. He held the prior and

convent responsible for finding all necessary scaffolding and materials, and he bargains for the power to make use of all such old materials as could be used again with advantage. He seems himself to have provided the necessary apparatus; for one of the obedientiary rolls states that in 1409 Brother John Hurst, then Warden of Works, bought from the bishop's executors the timber he had collected, together with certain implements, apparently cranes for hoisting stones, "duo magna ingennia", as they are styled. And, finally, the episcopal revenues were elastic, and speedily began to recover themselves, so as to provide sufficient funds for the work. We find also that the reconstruction advanced very slowly. Great as was Wykeham's influence on the building, it cannot for a moment be compared with what Walkelin had achieved in almost the same space of time; for while the Norman erected all the main body of the church in fourteen years, Wykeham, aiming at the modification of a part only of his great predecessor's work, had in eleven years accomplished but a small portion of the task.

The testament which Wykeham drew up about fifteen months before his death (dated at South Waltham, July 24, 1403) shows us exactly how far the work had advanced at that time. It appears from it, first, that his chantry in the nave was finished; next, that the reconstruction of the north and south aisles was still incomplete, for the will bids the executors "complete the said aisles", and put in the glazing of the windows; and, thirdly, the body of the nave was in an even less forward state; the "middle part", he says, with the walls, windows and vaulting had still to be undertaken; the twelve piers on either side had, apparently, been transformed, and the groining over a large part of the aisles completed in accordance with the lines of Wykeham's aisle-windows; above this the Norman clerestory and flat roof remained untouched. The slowness of Wykeham's progress may have been due to the exhaustion of his purse, and to the unwillingness of St. Swithun's and of the diocese to afford him serious help; partly too it would be caused by the bishop's advancing years and lessened vigour, for he was over seventy when he began to deal with the cathedral fabric. There was also another curious reason for delay, which, we are told, hindered him for no short time. Soon after the scholars had taken possession of the college, the bishop received grave complaints from the Warden and Fellows, to the effect that they could get no redress for a nuisance which the monks of St. Swithun were inflicting on them. The little stream called the Lortebourne (now corrupted to Lockburn), after passing through the poorest and most thickly-peopled part of the city, enters the cathedral precincts on the north east side. In those days it was treated as

the scavenger for the whole refuse of the convent. One branch was carried under the monks' parlour, the "mandatum", and thence through the prior's offices; the other branch passed through the cloisters, and scoured the kitchens and other premises of the convent; these two streams then united near the southern boundary of the close, and poured a volume of tainted water, filled with offal and pollutions, into the College precincts. For several years this nuisance continued unabated, until at last Wykeham had to intervene with an agreement, which, in the form of an indenture between himself and the monks of St. Swithun, laid down the decision to which he had come in the matter. The document gives us a fairly strong description of the nuisance;—it was, it says, a stream "in quo . . . . cadaverum viscera et intestina putrida fœtida" were carried down to the great detriment of the college and of all sojourners therein; the bishop therefore orders the monks to fix a strong iron grating in their outer wall, at the exit of the Lockbourne, so as to keep their dead dogs, garbage and filth, within the precincts of the monastery. This document, dated December 18, 1398, seems to have brought the difference between the bishop and his monks to a close; while it lasted it had hindered, even if it did not entirely stop, the transformation of the nave; and it is in all probability to these "putrid fœtid" horrors that we owe the preservation of the two transepts as Walkelin left them; for had he been unhindered William of Wykeham would not have left the severe Norman work there, but would have continued the changes already begun in the bays nearest the north-west and south-west piers of the tower. Here the new work is seen in an unfinished state, and the Norman architecture remains visible behind the Perpendicular. The task also of cutting the Norman piers into Perpendicular mouldings has been undertaken, but not carried through; if any one will compare the condition of the columns at the entrance to the transepts with those in the nave itself, he will see that in the former the work is all left quite rough and unfinished; the marks of the chisel can be seen plainly, the Norman triforium arch still shows above the Perpendicular balustrade or gallery, while the Norman clerestory has not been touched at all. These bays are in much the same state as that in which the whole of the nave was left at the time of Wykeham's death, with the Norman clerestory arcading and the flat roof unaltered.

We are accustomed to think of the whole nave as it now stands as having been Wykeham's doing, and the clerestory and vaulting are constantly described as his, so that it is something of a surprise to hear that he never saw these portions of the work completed. Still the ruling thought of it all was certainly his; he probably left designs for it all; for it is clear that the whole

reconstruction is on one plan throughout, and the frequent recurrence of his cost of arms in the bosses of the string-course and the vaulting shows clearly that he was recognised as the author of the whole; his will also tells us that he was much set on the completion of the task. He leaves 2500 marks, a sum not far from £20,000 in money of our day, for the purpose; and makes arrangements by which the ordering and conduct of the new work shall be entrusted to Master William Winford, his master-mason, and other skilful persons, learned in architectural construction, having Simon Membury as paymaster, and Brother John Wayte, whose name occurs not rarely in the rolls of the convent, as controller of the works on the part of the monastery. The bishop also bequeathed 500 marks for the glazing of the clerestory and aisle windows on the south side; and if this amount was more than sufficient for these twenty-three windows (one having been already glazed by Bishop Edington) then the balance was to be expended in glazing the windows on the north side. The convent appears to have gone on steadily with the work thus entrusted to it; the clerestory was refashioned throughout, and the vaulting, a bold and astonishing triumph of architectural skill, was thrown across the body of the nave. The bosses of this vaulting carry not only Wykeham's coat, but also the royal escutcheon of Cardinal Beaufort, and the lilies of Bishop William of Waynflete—so that the nave was not actually finished for half a century after his death in 1404.

When in 1395 Wykeham began to deal with the cathedral he must first have made a careful study of Edington's work; all his changes are distinct improvements. In fact, if the work of the two prelates be compared, it will be seen at once how far Wykeham excelled his predecessor both in taste and in constructive skill. Edington's proportions are not good, his results are heavy and cumbrous, with deep-browed shadows which yet fail to be romantic. Wykeham's windows are beautifully shaped; instead of running, as Edington's do, from buttress to buttress, and filling up the whole intermediate space, they leave enough ashlar wall on either side to give a sense of proportion and harmony between wall and window, and to show the gracefulness of the design: Edington's lights seem to demand support, and have therefore large and clumsy mullions, copied from those in the west window; the heads of Edington's windows are flattened down, and seem to be even heavier than they are, whereas Wykeham's window-heads are admirably lightened, and with great skill follow the lines which Edington had imposed on the groining, while they also show a very graceful arch-head. His lights give an impression of refinement and beauty, and are always delightful to look at. On the outside Edington's labels

over the windows return as string-courses across the buttresses, while Wykeham's turn down and end with well-carved bosses. His windows have been exactly copied elsewhere; no one, I believe, has ventured to reproduce those of Edington.

The panelling of the walls, that special characteristic of Perpendicular architecture, which was carried on by means of mullions and transoms, so that walls and windows are all one in the matter of their traceries, is more graceful and light in Wykeham's work; no contrast is allowed such as we see in the larger and smaller mullions of Edington's windows. Everything tended towards a restful and somewhat monotonous uniformity. It was the same with the buttresses, and pinnacles, which under Edington's hand are more massive, while Wykeham's pinnacles on the north side were lifted into more dignified effect by being raised on a base; they formed a marked contrast with the only pinnacle built by Edington, the last towards the west, which sits down hard on the parapet of the aisle, without any base at all, or any apparent connection with the buttress below it.

In all these points of contrast and comparison we cannot fail to see a distinct tendency, so characteristic of the whole period, towards flatness and sameness of effect. The style, as it releases itself from fancy on the one side, and heaviness on the other, becomes shallow and mechanical; it loses all sense of mystery and religious gloom; the deep triforium vanishes, replaced here with a balustrade, elsewhere with a flat arcade, or even with a carved frieze; the ornamentation, while in the later part of the period it grows more rich in colour and gilding, becomes also more conventional; broad spaces, great heights, no plain surfaces, plenty of light from large windows, long corridors, and often-repeated features, these are the things which mark the changes of this period; a period in which architecture, answering as it has ever done to the appeal of history, as history was working out the development of society, passed from the variety and suggestiveness of the feudal life into that stately uniformity which harmonised so well with the incoming of a new, stronger, more self-centred royalty. No style could have better heralded the power of the House of Tudor; it came into full life just as the Crown was beginning to raise its head above the turmoil of the Civil War, and indicated a desire for order, for uniformity, for a settled rule, and a more distinctly national life; it was a specially and exclusively English style, acting as an expression of the strong feeling which marked the age of the Tudors, who above all things claimed that England should work out her own independent existence. The style seemed to re-echo the feeling which began to fill the hearts of all Englishmen during the latter half

of the fifteenth century, and led the way to the splendid expansion of the nation in the following age.

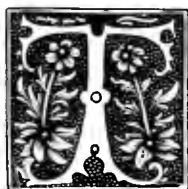
Though we do not know whether Wykeham left behind him any plans for the completion of the nave, it is tolerably clear that a harmonious scheme runs through it all. At any rate it is plain that before his death he had advanced the reconstruction so far that it was quite easy for his successors to continue his work. We can trace the minute details of his plan, bay by bay, in the two unfinished portions of the north and south transepts. Here, instead of pulling down the Norman bays and rebuilding, as Edington would have done, he took the structure as it stood, and boldly transmuted it into the Perpendicular condition by carving out or filling in as was required. The great piers were scored with mouldings suited to the style, the rougher Norman stones were smoothed down, and, where possible, the thickness of the joints concealed. Then the floor of the triforium was cut away, and the great piers carried up to that level; from this point, springing out of simple unadorned capitals, pointed arches were thrown across, crowned by a horizontal frieze and a balustrade, in place of the ancient triforium. In the two unfinished bays the new work reaches this point, and the triforium arch of Norman construction can be seen rising above it; the arcade of the clerestory with a plain round-headed window remains exactly as Walkelin left it. Had Wykeham continued, the triforium arch would have been incorporated in a level ashlar wall (as may be traced to this day in all the bays as seen from above the groining of the aisles), and the window above would have been remodelled, so as to form part of the Perpendicular scheme of panelling. The Perpendicular traceries of the new clerestory windows reappear on the walls to the right and left of each window. Then two plain narrow passages were left in the filling-up of the triforium arch, so as to give access to the space between the two roofs of the aisle behind. The central engaged column of each Norman pier, which rises from its plinth and base on the ground level to the height of about seventy-eight feet, ending with a simple Norman capital supporting the ancient flat roof, has been left intact throughout. Only at the point at which the clerestory begins a Perpendicular capital was inserted in it, from which the groining of the central roof springs. The Norman column passes through this capital, and continues upwards behind the groining, reappearing in the pocket of the vaulting above, and in some cases showing the original capital at the level of the huge Hempage timbers which still span the nave. Even now, with quite one-third of its length hidden from sight, the column wears a disproportionate look, so that the capital at so great a height seems dwarfed into insignificance.

THE CATHEDRAL FROM THE SOUTH EAST

Though Wykeham did not live to complete this great task, he had already arranged for his own interment in the midst of his work. As a child he had served the priest when saying the "Pekismasse" at an altar in the seventh bay of the nave, reckoning from the tower. Here he determined that his bones should rest; he therefore designed and built his chantry at this spot. As the space between the two piers was too narrow for a recumbent figure and an altar, he did not hesitate to cut away over one-third of each pier, and covered the flat surface thus created with panelling and niches, to carry effigies of the saints whom he specially desired to honour. In the midst, on the floor, he placed an altar-tomb with his own effigy in full canonicals; at the feet he set three of his most trusted Benedictines, whose figures and countenances wear the stamp of truth. And at the east end, against the pier, was placed a stone altar, a rare and interesting specimen of panelled work. The chantry was dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin. The mullions and roof of this chantry are almost too light and frail, still it has remained in good condition for five hundred years; and here, where his religious life had begun, he brought it at last to an honoured close. Here in the midst of his unfinished task one autumn day in 1404 the cathedral convent, with much solemnity and dirges deep and sad, laid him to rest; and here, through all the changes of the times, he has rested undisturbed, while round him from age to age the sound of prayer and praise has risen in the splendid fane for which he did so much; and from beside him generation after generation of his scholars have been sent forth into the world trained for the work of life. Very few are they to whom God has granted the happiness of having been able to achieve so much in their time; few have left behind them a name so much honoured and loved, and a tale of work so nobly conceived, and proved effectual by the hard test of use through five centuries of a country's growth.

G. W. KITCHIN.

THE COMMONERS UNTIL DR. BURTON



HERE was no room for outsiders under Wykeham's original scheme of endowment. His main object was to provide instruction gratis for the sons of persons who could not afford to pay for it, as an avenue to the university and orders. Only the sons of such persons, if qualified in other respects, might be admitted to the privileges of the foundation, and no others, lest the society should be incumbered. However, the stringency of this regulation was relaxed shortly after the opening day. Wykeham himself placed four or five favoured boys in College to be boarded there at the expense of the foundation, and to be taught with the scholars. Two of these boys were sons of John de Uvedale, of Wickham in Hampshire, and doubtless owed their good fortune to the circumstance of William Wykeham, the Founder's grand-nephew, having married their sister Alice. The reason why the others were selected is not so apparent. They lodged in College, and took their meals with the fellows. It was the Founder's wish that they should do so; but the college chest was so empty at that time, that the cost of their weekly commons was the subject of expostulation on the part of the Warden and Fellows; and Wykeham sent no more boys to College on similar terms. Non-foundationers who paid for their board and lodging, and consequently were not an incumbrance to the society, must have been received almost from the very first. In the oldest fragment that is extant of the book of the Seneschal of Hall, the book in which the names of those who dined and supped in Hall from day to day, down to the servants and workmen, were recorded, a few leaves relating to the month of January, 1395-6, there is a heading, "Stranger table-fellows" (*Extranei commensales*), over the names of two boys, Ramsey and Stanstede. Ramsey's name is struck through with a pen, as if the marker-in had discovered after writing it that Ramsey was not in residence. We get no more names in this way until October, 1401; but these boys must have gained a firm footing in College during the interval; for in

September, 1400, when Wykeham's commissioners delivered the statutes in their final form to the society, it was found that a clause had been inserted in Rubric XVI *De extraneis non introducendis ad onus Collegii*, which declared that, notwithstanding the general regulation against the admission of persons not on the foundation, a few sons of gentlemen of position and influence, who were good friends of the society (*nobilium et valentium personarum et collegio specialiter amicorum*), might be received, so long as they were not burdensome to the society.

King Henry VI put a similar clause into his statutes for Eton College, where the number of *extranei* was limited to twenty; Wykeham limited the number at Winchester to ten, with regard, no doubt, to the size of the chamber which was available for their reception. This was the chamber over Fifth. It was (and is) entered by a door on the turret staircase in Chamber Court leading to Election Chamber. It is now the Second Master's study. There is reason to believe that the architect of the fabric designed this chamber for the schoolmaster. The device of one of the corbels over the entrance to the staircase—a hand moulding a youth's head—seems to contain an allusion to the *magister informator*, as he is called in the statutes; and it is not likely that the Founder, who provided Election Chamber and the one over it for the warden's exclusive use, and added the chamber over Fourth for him to entertain his guests in meant to confine the second personage in the establishment, with a stipend double that of a fellow[1] to a *studium* or cubicle in the chamber over Sixth. which, according to the final edition of the statutes, he was expected to share with the usher and with the junior fellow whenever all the fellows happened to be in residence. Be this as it may, there is evidence that Wykeham's *extranei* inhabited the chamber over Fifth until they were merged in the general body of commoners in Dr. Burton's time. We gather from casual references in the bursars' accounts that they lay on straw like the scholars, that they provided their own chamberstock (for the college found nothing but the bare walls and an occasional coat of whitewash) and made their own arrangements with regard to attendance. One—his name was Sandys—who had a scholar to wait on him in 1467 was charged two-pence a week for the privilege.

In the first week of October, 1401, there were only three of these boys in residence, whose names were Lucays, Sy or Say, and Perys. A year later there were eight of them: Ryngeborne, Say, Delemare, Harryes, Hussey, Whytby, Wakfeld and Langrysh; all, be it observed, local upper class surnames.

[1] The stipends were: Warden, £20; Schoolmaster, £10; Fellows, £5 each: equivalent to £240, £120, and £60 in our money.

Ryngeborne may have been of the family of William Ryngeborne, who married Edith, a granddaughter of Alice, Wykeham's paternal aunt, and had issue. Nicholas Ryngeborne of Barton Stacey in Hampshire, who was admitted scholar at the college in 1404, is supposed to have been his younger brother. Say is described elsewhere as of kin to the founder. He perhaps was father of William Say, Dean of St. Paul's, who entered College in 1425. Harryes is called *alienigena* in the petition to Wykeham already referred to, which shows that he was not related to the Founder; but he was a boy in whom Wykeham took an interest, inasmuch as he was invited to spend his Christmas holidays at Southwark with Wykeham in 1399, and by his direction, had a complete new fit out of clothes on the occasion. He has been identified with John Harryes, who was Deputy Warden of Chute Forest in 1422, and perhaps lived at Broughton, near Stockbridge; for a boy of the same name from that place was admitted scholar at the college in 1418. Hussey was no doubt of the family of Henry Husee or Hussey, of whom Wykeham bought the manor of Eling near Southampton in 46 Edward III. Whytby is supposed to be elder brother of William Whytby, who was admitted scholar at the college in 1403 and afterwards became a monk. Wakfeld was son of a clerk in the Common Pleas, who was of uncertain relationship to the Founder, and helped the society with money in their difficulties. Langryssh may have been Nicholas Langryssh, who obtained a scholarship at the college in 1401 and was instituted to the rectory of Newbury in 1418.

As early as the year 1407 there is evidence in the book of the Seneschal of Hall of the existence of two grades of *commensales* or table-fellows, reminding us of a similar distinction which prevailed at the universities. Some of them were *commensales cum sociis*, who tabled with the fellows, others were *commensales cum pueris*, who tabled with the scholars.

The fellow-commoners were charged one shilling each per week for their commons, as that was the sum allowed by the statutes for the commons of a fellow of the college. Some of them seem to have claimed their commons at this price long after the altered value of money rendered it inadequate; so that we find Archbishop Bancroft at his visitation in 1608 ordering that every one of them should pay for his commons four shillings a week. The *commensales cum pueris* were charged eightpence each per week for their commons, which was the sum allowed by the statutes for the commons of a scholar, with a penny added in some cases, most likely to cover the cost of breakfast, a luxury which the statutes allowed in the case of the youngest scholars only. The *commensales cum pueris* came to an end towards the close of the seventeenth century. Like

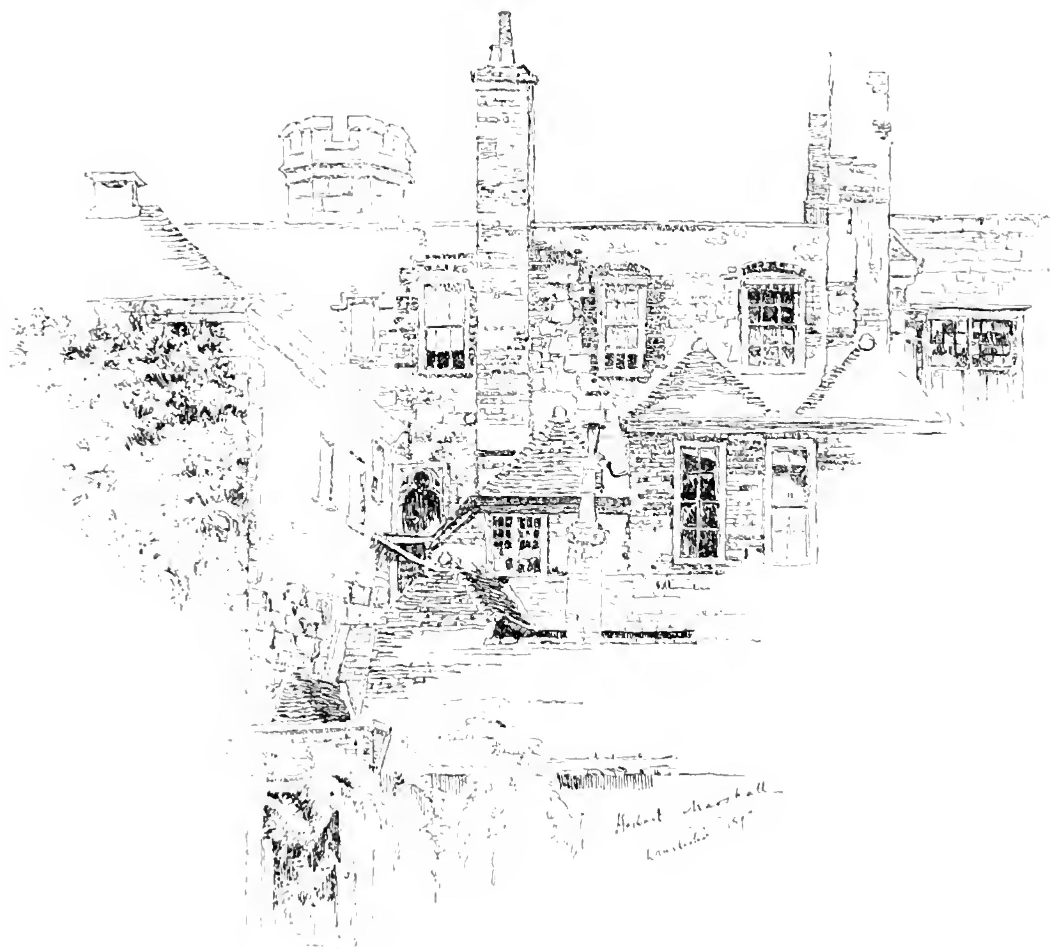
Catesby in 1471 and Capell Wiseman, afterwards Bishop of Dromore, in 1652, they were sometimes younger brothers or cousins of fellow commoners, and frequently boys who were waiting for vacancies on the foundation.

The ordinance of King Edward VI at his visitation in 1547, that the schoolmaster and usher shall have their accustomed fees from the commoners and that the Warden and Fellows shall have no part thereof, leaves us in ignorance as to the amount and nature of these fees. The entrance fee was £3 in 1598. Leaving money, after the beginning of the seventeenth century, was usually laid out in the purchase of books for the College Library. Many names of commoners of the Stuart period have been preserved in this way. For instance, we find the names of the two Capells in the book of benefactions to the College Library. They were sons of the Lord Capell of Hadham who suffered with the Duke of Hamilton and the Earl of Holland in February 1648-9; and when they left the school in 1652 they gave £20, which was laid out in the purchase of a silver bowl, now used at the Warden's table, and of the works of Albertus Magnus (Lyons 1651) in twenty-one folio volumes.

Wykeham's *extranei* were made over to Dr. Burton about the year 1727, and ceased to be under the Warden and Fellows from that time. It is unknown how soon the schoolmaster began to receive boarders on his own account. Indeed he had nowhere to put them at first, except perchance in the garrets or cocklofts in the north-western portion of Chamber Court. The first attempt to enlarge the accommodation for them was made by a forgotten Wykehamist, Guy Dobbins, who was usher from 1574 to 1585, under Dr. Bilson and Dr. Lloyd, and afterwards a Fellow of the College. He built three rooms behind the chaplains' chamber (which is now the Second Master's drawing-room and is on the first floor over the old choir school) at his own expense, with the object of receiving boarders. But the speculation did not answer; and when Dr. Heydon succeeded Dr. Harman in 1596, he acquired possession of the rooms and placed a number of his own boarders in them. Dr. Heydon's successors used them for the same purpose; and in May 1657, Dr. Matthew Nicholas (who had been a scholar at the college from 1607 to 1613, and was then Dean of Bristol) when writing to Sir Edward Nicholas touching his proposal to send his son John to Winchester, was able to recommend the schoolmaster's house as better than any other. "The rate he (Dr. Stanley) takes of his boarders is £20 a year . . . . Near the college the rates of tabling are very high, except in mean houses."

Dr. Burton (1724-66) induced the usher, Dr. Eyre, to give up his apartment in the schoolmaster's lodgings, and then laid out a considerable sum of

money on alterations and improvements, which were completed in 1729. It was Dr. Burton who converted the façade in Outer Court to what it is now with its high coped parapet and sash windows. In Loggan's view of the college it appears as it was before these alterations. It does not appear how many



THE SECOND MASTER'S HOUSE.

boarders Dr. Burton was able to take after his outlay on the schoolmaster's lodgings. It was but a small house after all, having only thirty-eight windows, according to a return made for the purposes of the window tax in 1747; and ultimately Dr. Burton moved out of College, and became independent. Taking a lease of the site and precinct of the Cistern house,[1] an ancient

[1] A corruption of the original name sustern, or sistern, spital (*hospitale sororum*). It had been the house of a sisterhood of mercy dependent on the Priory of St. Swithun, and after the dissolution

building which stood where Moberly Library now stands, he converted the building into a boarding house for his pupils, added a dining hall fifty feet long by thirty feet wide at the back, and united them by a covered alley or cloister to a red brick house which he built for himself and his successors on the western portion of the site of the Head Master's house in College Street. Having thus completed Old Commoners Dr. Burton moved into it with his boarders, and named it "Commoners' College."

It is not our purpose to trace the development of Commoners any further. But our task would be incomplete without mention made of the "street commoners" as they were called in the last century, and of the town day-boys who swelled the numbers of the school in the early days of its existence. The street commoners were *commensales extra collegium*—the term occurs in the college records of the Stuart period—boys who lived with their parents near the college or lodged in such houses as are alluded to by Dean Nicholas. Adams (*Wykehamica*, ch. vi.) mentions one who boarded with the provost of the College of St. Elizabeth in 1462, and quotes the bill of a son of Archbishop Hutton of York, who boarded with a Mr. Phillips in 1620. This Mr. Phillips was not a fellow of the college, as Adams thought; indeed there is an absence of evidence that the fellows received boarders in their chambers. He was simply what would be called at Eton a "dame." Street commoners received less encouragement after the opening of Old Commoners; and they ceased to be received in the time of Dr. Gabell, who had been one himself. They are still received at Eton, where the rule is, that oppidans may live with their parents or guardians, or they may, with the special permission of the Governing Body, obtained on written application by the Head Master, live with other persons.

The Public Schools Commissioners seem to have ignored the class of town day-boys altogether, holding that there is no ground for believing that Wykeham contemplated the presence of any boys at his school except the seventy scholars and the ten *extranei*. It will be safer, perhaps, in view of the recorded facts to suppose that Wykeham left the matter open. He did not, as John Lyon did in the case of Harrow School, expressly authorise the schoolmaster to receive such stipend and wages as he could get for teaching such boys, but on the other hand he did not forbid him to receive private pupils, as he had forbidden Richard de Herton in 1372. After what Martin says in his life of Wykeham [1] of the

of religious houses under Henry VIII., became part of the endowment of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester. The chapel of this sisterhood, known as the Cistern-chapel, and more recently as "Wickham's", faced College Street, and abutted on the north-western corner of the buildings in Outer Court.

[1] Published in 1597.

number of boys from the city and suburbs of Winchester whom Wykeham maintained at their studies in addition to those who were on the foundation at his college, the reader will not be surprised to find that in 1412, only eight years after Wykeham's death, Master Pole, the schoolmaster at the college, was teaching eighty or a hundred boys in addition to the seventy scholars and ten *extranei*. Cardinal Beaufort, who succeeded Wykeham in the see of Winchester, and like his predecessor, is styled *dominus* or patron of Winchester School in the college records, thought this number too great for one master to teach,[1] and on that ground only, without assigning any breach of the statutes or disregard of the unwritten intention of the Founder, he commanded the Warden to see that after Michaelmas, 1412, the instruction given in the school should be confined to the scholars and *extranei*—a sweeping injunction; the gist of which was that one master ought not to attempt to teach so many boys. If teaching town boys had been really contrary to the intention of the Founder we may be sure that the Warden and supervisors from New College would have stopped it before the thing reached the ears of the cardinal.

Perhaps it was on this occasion that the three lower classes of the six into which the school, as at Eton, must originally have been divided ceased to exist. The town day-boys would naturally be in the lower classes, inasmuch as the instruction most of them required was more of a commercial than a liberal character. The three lower classes had certainly ceased to exist in Christopher Jonson's time; for in his school exercise *De Collegiatâ Scholâ Wiccamicâ*, which was written about the year 1553, he mentions only three classes, the sixth, fifth and fourth, together with a lower fourth (*secunda quarta classis*) for the choir boys.

But it must not be supposed that the town boys came to an end altogether in consequence of Cardinal Beaufort's injunction. They continued to attend the school, in reduced numbers no doubt, until Dr. Burton's time. An opportunity for providing a subordinate school for their reception was lost in 1554, when Sir Thomas Wriothesley sold to the Warden and Fellows the site and precinct of the recently dissolved college of St. Elizabeth, with a condition that the buildings should be pulled down unless converted within a limited time into a grammar school "for so many children as were then commonly taught in the new College of Winchester." The condition that the buildings should be pulled down was a

[1] Teaching then consisted in the master reading the book aloud and the pupils repeating it after him. Hence *audire*, "to learn" in the Latin of the period. The adoption of English instead of French as the medium of teaching Latin towards the close of the fourteenth century must have facilitated the instruction of large classes in this way.

usual condition on sales of the sites of dissolved religious houses; the exception was doubtless added out of favour, we hardly know whether to say to the Warden and Fellows, or to the citizens of Winchester. In the result the stones of St. Elizabeth's chapel [1] went to build Meads' wall and the house of residence became a grange.

An event which happened more than seventy years later shows the importance of the town boys to the schoolmaster, whose stipend, as fixed by the statutes, had become insufficient through the altered value of money, and who does not appear to have had a share of the surplus income which the estates, owing to the progress of the country, were yielding at that time. A young fellow of New College named Imber, who had been usher for two or three years under Dr. Stanley, married the widow of a citizen of Winchester, and ceasing to be usher, opened a day school of his own in the disused chapel of St. John's Hospital, whither he was followed by most if not all of Dr. Stanley's day boys.[2] Dr. Stanley took the loss of these boys so much to heart that he addressed the following petition to Archbishop Abbot :—

"The Humble Petition of Edward Stanley schoolmaster in the College near Winchester, shewinge that whereas the said school of that College, well knowne unto your Grace, doth admitt for instruction the youth of all sorts in the Citie of Winton and places adjoining: So it is, that one John Imber (sometime Usher of ye said Schoole) hath of late upon a general license granted out of yor Grace's Court of Faculties, or from yor Vicar Generall, sett up and doth still continue the teaching of Grammar and Latin Bookes within ye said Citie to the greate prejudice and discouragement of the said Collegiat School.

"May it pleaze yor Grace in yor favour to ye said School to grant a revocation or restriction of ye said License, as also to admitt a Caveat to be entered in those yor Grace's Courts, that hereafter in all licenses to be granted for teaching of Grammar within the said Diocess a limitation may be inserted that they shall not teach within seaven miles distant from ye same College.

"And we shall (as otherwise) be bound to pray for yor Grace's prosperitie."

The archbishop inhibited Imber from teaching within five miles of Winchester; but on receiving a memorial or remonstrance from the citizens, referred the matter to a commission comprising the Dean of Winchester, the Warden of the College, and the Chancellor of the diocese; so we conclude that Imber continued to teach his day-school until 1640, when the Dean and Chapter of Winchester gave him the living of Christchurch. Dr. Stanley's admission that Winchester School did in his time "admit for instruction the youth of all sorts in the City of Winchester

[1] It stood in what is now the Warden's kitchen-garden, about the spot on which some proposed to commemorate the quincentenary by building a school chapel.

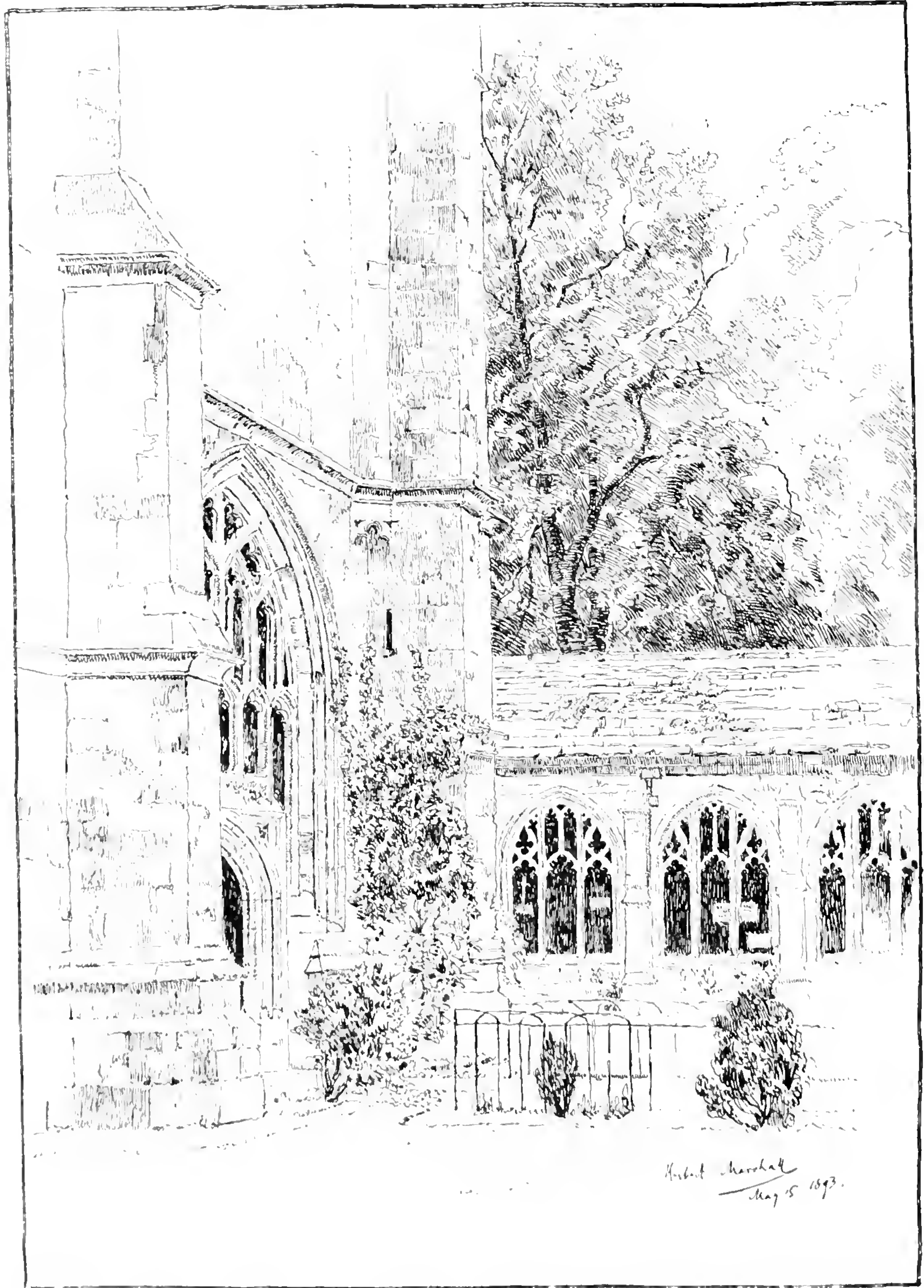
[2] It appears from a passage in the letter of Dean Nicholas already referred to, that at this period the sixth and fifth books were under the schoolmaster, and the fourth book (which no doubt included most, if not all, of the day-boys) under the usher.

and places adjoining" is valuable, and so is a statement by the archbishop in his letter to the Commissioners that "such was the report that heretofore was borne unto the Colledge and School neere Winchester that whereas King Henry VIII in the new founding of his cathedral churches did erect particular schools and schollers in other places, as at Canterbury, Worcester and elsewhere, in contemplation of that famous Schoole at Winchester he did erect none there but left the education of the youth unto that which was founded by that worthie and reverend man Bishop Wickham."

This statement is most likely correct. The demand for a day-school at the college must have slackened in Dr. Burton's time, or he would not have been able to cease to receive day-boys and limit the school to the two classes of scholars and commoners.

T. F. Kirby.

I



CHANTRY

LIFE IN COLLEGE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

HERE is perhaps no spot where the charm of Winchester comes home to us more strongly than in College Cloisters. As we stand by the side of the tiny close, it is not merely that Wykeham's Chapel, Fromond's Chantry and Thurbern's Tower blend their soft grays with the brightness of the grass and make up a picture unsurpassed for the perfection of its quiet beauty, but there more than in any other spot we realise the continuity of our five centuries of corporate life. For the walls and the covered walk no less than the plot of ground itself are rich in memories and records of the dead, which beginning with William Clyff, the first Chaplain of Chantry, stretch on to our own days. And the thought not unnaturally occurs to us, Is it possible to call up some picture, however faint, of one of those byegone generations? Can we for instance piece together again from such fragments as are left something of the ways and manners of those who lived in the Tudor times, when education, thought and religion were being moulded in new forms? And before we leave these cloisters, we will turn to the brasses that belong to this period; for the records of the dead, if they are honest, will lift some portion of the veil that hides their life from us. These at any rate bear upon them the stamp of truthfulness and of an individuality free from the merely conventional. Sometimes there is a quaint touch of personal description, which makes the man, though otherwise obscure, live again to us; who would not like to have known William Adkins, of whom we are told

> "Ingenio tam lætus eras, quam corpore obesus;
> Comodus, et multa, non sine teste, fide."

Nor should John Clerke be forgotten, a man of simple, quiet tastes, if we may trust his epitaph:

> "In terra roseos solitus stillare liquores,
> In celo vivis nunc quoque gaudet aquis."

Sometimes the name of the dead man gives a half-playful, half-pathetic turn to the inscription, as for instance in the case of one George Flower:

> "Ecce! Georgius hoc Florus sub marmore dormit:
> Floruerat, sed flos ille caducus erat."

And again it is sometimes a deeper note that is struck in these memorials of the happy dead:

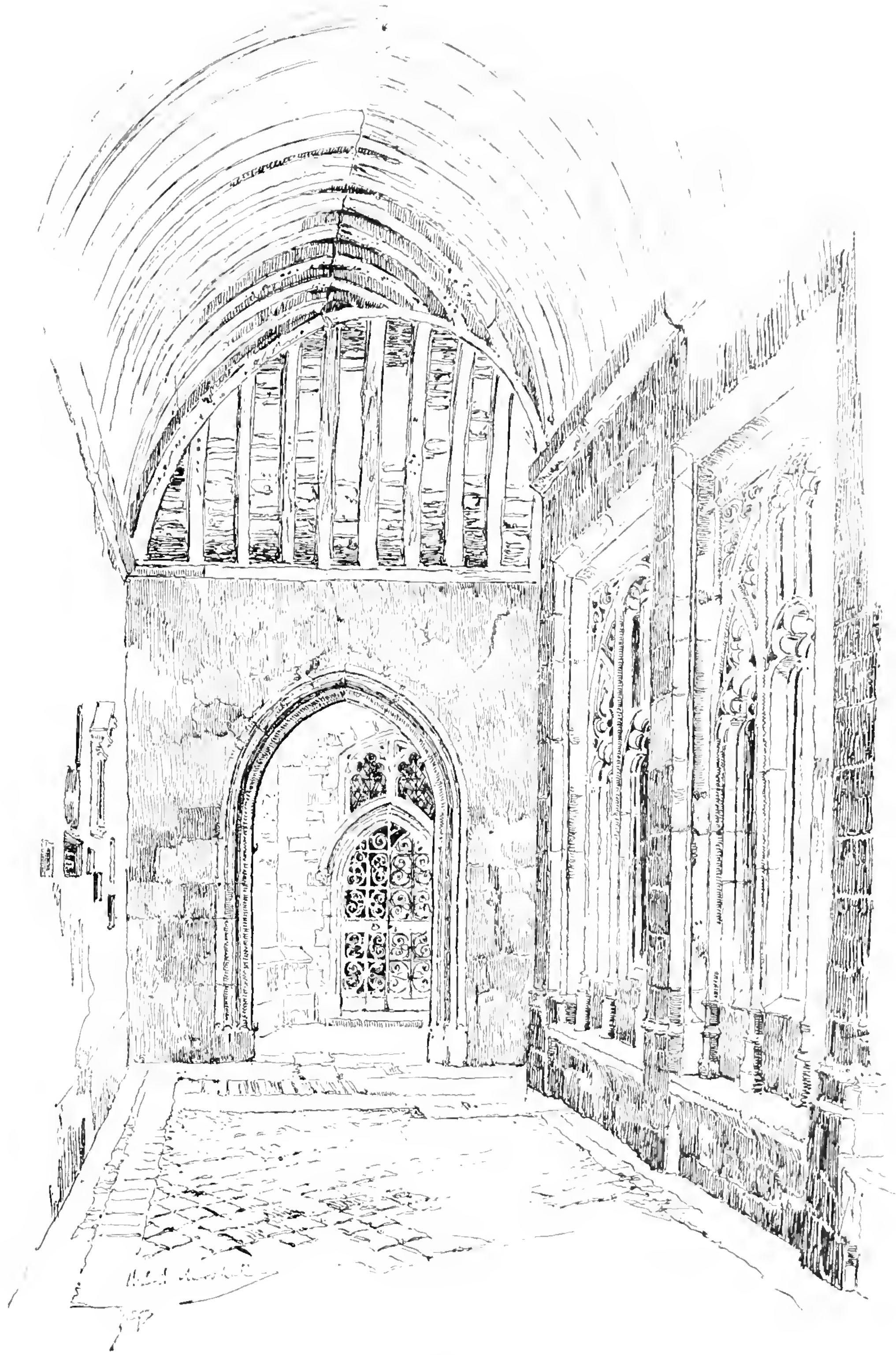
> "Who so thow art, with lovinge harte
> Stonde, reade and thinck on me:
> For as I was, so nowe thow arte
> And as I am, so shalte thow be."

And if this warning of Edmunde Hodson borders upon the conventional, there is a ring of simple piety in the words, which we read of Thomas Jones, who closed a life of sickness at the early age of twenty-four: "Dum vixit, hoc sepe in ore habuit, 'Satis diu mihi vixi, si Domino satis.'"

Such were a few of the men of that generation; can we recall some of the scenes and surroundings amidst which they lived?

It is not hard at any rate to reproduce the outer Winchester of their times. We have to banish the Warden's house; School and Sick-House were of course non-existent, and where the latter stands, a hop garden was planted; there was no Seventh Chamber passage, and in the place of the Head Master's present dwelling, was the old Sustern Spital only recently deprived of its nursing sisterhood; Meads' wall was about this time erected from the materials gained by the acquisition of St. Elizabeth's College.

Nor is the inner life a blank; for we are most fortunate in possessing Christopher Jonson's well-known poem *De Collegiatâ Scholâ Wiccamicâ*, perhaps the most valuable piece of contemporary evidence now in existence. From it we learn that "first peal" was called at five, and unless it is a flight of poetic fancy, the duty in those days was not delegated to a "junior in chambers", but was performed by the prefect himself. Half an hour after came chapel, and we gather that boy-nature then was not nearer to perfection than in these latter days; for it was the prefect's duty to stop talking and the introduction of profane literature as well as to mark the absentee. At six there was school in Seventh Chamber, and as there was no fireplace there, we are told that they had to rely for warmth on the sun's rays and the more constant help of their own breath! If it was a Tuesday or a Thursday, there would be "morning Hills" instead, when the active played such games as they had in those days, whilst a word of warning against *tremulæ febres* is vouchsafed the dreamy lounger



CLOISTERS.

At nine was breakfast, followed by a free time until middle school at eleven, which lasted until twelve, when dinner was served. At two work was resumed and went on until five, with the exception of a break at half-past three for "bevers." At five everybody from the Warden down to the "quiristers" went "circum"; supper followed by chapel at eight closed the day.

The dietary remained much on the same scale as it was in the Founder's time,—a despotism of broth tempered by boiled beef and mutton, cold or sodden in water; it is true that on Sundays there was roast mutton and beef; but to make up for this, there was a total absence of any food besides bread from Thursday night to the noon of Saturday, with the exception of cheese and butter in the middle of Friday. No wonder that Jonson makes a feeling allusion to *latrantes stomachos.*

The holidays were as meagre as the food. Originally there had only been an optional *exeat* twice a year, and even this had more than once been omitted; but by 1518 the school holidays had become fixed; they were however on an extremely limited scale, a week or so at Whitsuntide, and a fortnight or three weeks in August or September.

But if the holidays were scant, not so the punishments. One day in the week—Friday—was devoted to working off the arrears accumulated during the other six; or as Jonson puts it—

> "Veneris lux sanguinolenta propinquat;
> Sanguineamque voco; nam si peccaveris hujus
> Hebdomadæ spatio, pœnas patiere cruentas."

In 1547 a Royal Commission amongst other things limited the "correction of the grammarians" to the Warden or his deputy, the schoolmaster and the usher, and at the same time they directed that there should be "no excess correction." Occasionally some of the scholars ran away, possibly "for feare of beating" as (according to Roger Ascham in his *Scholemaster*) their brothers at Eton did. At any rate in 1579 the grievances of some of these truants, who had been pursued and brought back by a mounted fellow, had reached the Court, and so serious was the emergency deemed that two of the fellows were sent to London to give their explanation of the incident. Another of these runaways—one Richard Lyllington—went straight to Sir William Cecil himself, who sent him back with letters directing his restoration, and we are fortunate enough to possess a copy of the Head Master's reply, in which he enters a mild protest against Mr. Secretary's interference. The facts of the case were these—but perhaps Jonson had better tell his tale himself. "As at all tymes I ever founde him very tumultuous and disobedient, so a little before his repayre to your

Honoure, a pykery" (*i.e.* theft) "being committed among my scholares, and the suspicion falling vehemently upon him (besyde his owne confession), I happened to chalenge him for the same; but he choesinge rather to be expelled, as he sayde, then corrected for his falt, drewe his knyfe at me which he had for the purpose provided, and standing at ward agaynst me and our Subwarden, shoed such an example of stubbernesse to my scholares as these twenty yeares I have not hard the lyke." However, in spite of his "threatninge stomach" and his running away, Lyllington was taken back; but "since that tyme he hath continued in such overthwartness, as were it not for your Honoures sake neither I nor the College cold beare him. That which we doe in sufferinge his evell rule, I fear will prove to the animating of others farder than goode order can abyde." This forecast was only too surely fulfilled, if it is true that Henry Garnet the Jesuit, who was only two years Lyllington's junior, was guilty of conspiring to cut off his Head Master's right hand!

On the whole, however, in spite of such incidents as these, the life in College must have been quiet and uneventful. Occasionally no doubt some tidings of the larger world without would be brought in by the stream of beggars and vagrant soldiers, who were constantly being relieved at the outer gate or even at the foot of Hall steps. In earlier days Edward IV had of his royal pleasure sent the scholars a live lion to look at; whilst a Frenchman—one Ludovicus—who had been taken prisoner at Agincourt and become the college cook, must have had much to tell of that famous fight.[1] In later times there was the *venatio publica*, when the scholars sallied forth in wagons to Longwood and elsewhere, carrying their luncheons with them and following the hounds on foot across the downs. Then too private theatricals were allowed at Christmas time—a substitute perhaps for the festival of the boy-bishop—when a stage was erected in Hall and possibly the comedy of *Ralph Roister Doister*, written by no less a personage than Udal, the Wykehamist Head Master of Eton, for his boys there, may have been performed on the boards at his old school. In connection with these theatricals, or rather with their omission one year, but whether as cause or effect we cannot say, there is dim reference to a riot, in which the lantern at the top of Hall-stairs was smashed, locks, keys, and hinges of doors broken and three tables destroyed. Now and then the monotony of life was broken by an outbreak of plague or sweating sickness, and then, if it were bad enough, the scholars would migrate to the manor of Moundsmere, some thirteen miles off, to enjoy the purer country air, the college having enlarged the farmstead to serve as the "chyldren's hows for their comfort in tyme of siknes."

[1] A later generation will be reminded of Angoville and Waterloo.

To such a community as this, bred up to the study of godliness and good learning and looking forward mainly to service in the ministry of the Church, the Reformation must have been something startling and real; here more than in other places the new movement must have been purely religious, with no admixture of those other motives, social, political and national, which are to be found elsewhere. To those who ranged themselves on the side of the Reformation, the quickening of the new faith came in many ways; sometimes it was from the loan of a book, as when John Lowth borrowed from a brother-scholar for two days Frith's *Book of Purgatory*, and "liking it so well begged his leave to keep it for three and twenty"; with others it came by word of mouth, and on one occasion at least it took shape in action. This was in 1536, when the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII emboldened what was probably only a small minority to show their zeal in deeds, and led to the famous exploit of Mr. William Ford, the *hostiarius*. The story as left us by Strype in his *Ecclesiastical Memoirs* is a thrice-told tale, yet too characteristic to be omitted; and though some of its details are open to doubt, the main facts are probably true. Ford was an earnest Protestant and became usher in college, the famous John White being schoolmaster. "There were many golden images then in that church, the door whereof was directly over against the usher's chamber. One day Mr. Ford tied a long cord to the images, linking them all in one cord, and being in his chamber after midnight, he plucked the cord's end, and at one pull all the golden gods came down. It wakened all men with the rush: they were amazed at the terrible noise, and also dismayed at the grievous sight. The cord being plucked hard and cut with a twitch lay at the church door. At last they fell to searching; but Mr. Ford, most suspected, was found in his bed." What wonder if after this he "had a dog's life among them"? "Lewd men lay in wait for him many times; and one night, going into the town, he must needs come home to the college by the town walls, the gates of Trinity College being shut. This was espied; he was watched, and when he came to a blind, dark corner, by King's-gate, there they set on him with staves. He clapped his gown-collar, furred with fox-fur, round about his head and neck. They laid on him some strokes, but by God's providence the most part, in that great darkness, did light upon the ground. So they ran away and left Mr. Ford for dead. But he tumbled and rolled himself to the gates (for they made him past going), and then cried for help; and people came in, who took him up and bare him to his lodging."

Foiled for a time but nothing daunted, Ford resumed his efforts by another method; he won over to his views Thomas Jolyff, the head of the school, "a forward young man in Winchester College", and through him most of the other

boys. However a great outbreak of sweating sickness in 1551 visited Winchester and amongst its victims were Jolyff and many of his friends. "Then God", we are told by a pious partisan of the old order, "brought them to salutary penance through the preaching of that most saintly man, John White, and soon after took them away by death. All the other boys, nearly two hundred[1] in number, were either converted to the Catholic faith or so strengthened therein, that in after life, by telling the story of this divine visitation, they brought back many others from the heresy of Calvin to the unity of the Catholic Church."

Truly a partial account; for in the following year Edward VI on his visit to Winchester was welcomed with enthusiasm by the very boys who had so recently been won back to or confirmed in the Roman Catholic faith. Of this visit there is no mention in the records of town or college, but we have a most interesting memorial of it in a *Carmen Gratulatorium*, a series of verses presented to the king on this occasion. There are forty-two sets in all, several of them being the work of commoners, and they are contained in a small quarto manuscript volume of beautiful penmanship. White, who in the previous year had been made Warden and also committed to the Tower, had probably not been released, or else he displayed a convenient and unusual spirit of toleration. Denunciations of "*cardinales turgidos, ineptias papisticas*" and entreaties to the king calling upon him "*papistica comprime regna: leges et ritus exime ipocriticos*" would scarcely have commended the writers to the Warden. It would be tedious to dwell at length on these boyish efforts of the Winchester muse, but a few quotations, in which the subject is treated with some approach to originality, may be of interest.

One language is not enough to convey the loyalty of Robert Fernham, who ends his copy thus:

> "Omnibus, ut vivas, votum est, vox omnibus una,
> Gallica, viva le Roy; Græca, *βιῶ βασιλεῦ.*"

Another, Robert Fenn, hints at the possibility of a "remedy."

> "Otia quinetiam, dum invisa magistris,
> (Ni pueros fallit spes) pueris dabitis."

Whilst a third, Anthony Fortescue, allows his enthusiasm to carry him away into more dangerous sentiments:

> "Ite procul lacrymæ, sævi procul ite dolores,
> Ite libri, pexæ, salices, classesque scholæque,
> Ite (fere exciderat, nunquamque redite), magistri."

[1] If these figures are correct, it is interesting as showing the number of commoners at this time.

But perhaps the most interesting of all the sets is the last. Charles Bodley in a few graceful lines has seemingly brought the series to a close; but we turn the page, and there as an after-thought, with all the modesty befitting a subject so comparatively novel and difficult, we discover a set of iambics, probably the earliest existing school-boy attempt in this line.[1] They are by Thomas Stapleton, afterwards famous as a controversialist, and are remarkable for their contempt of the rules of Greek prosody as now received; cretics are trifles, final vowels are elided or not at will; quantities and accents are treated with a freedom which must awaken the envy of the present generation. The last four lines may be quoted as a favourable specimen of the author's method.

χαίρωμεν οὖν διὰ τουτὸ, ὤ ἄνδρεσ φίλοι,
ὁρώμενοι τὸν ἔφορον ἡμῶν πρὸσ δομοὺσ
τοὺσ ἡμετέρουσ ἐλθόντα, τὸν σωτήριον
γεγενημένον ἡμῖν, κακῶς πεπραγόσι.
τέλοσ.

A few years later, and the *Carmen Gratulatiorium* was followed by a *Carmen Nuptiale* in honour of the marriage of Philip and Mary at Winchester. Philip's ride from Southampton to Winchester in the drenching summer rain, his visit at once, wet as he was, to the cathedral, the solemn service there before the altar and when the evening shadows had deepened into night, his torchlight passage through the cloisters to the deanery and thence by a secret way to the queen at Wolvesey, all these things are noted by the chroniclers of the time; and one of them, a certain John Elder, in a news-letter to the "ryghte reverende and his very especial good lord, lord Robert Stuarde, Bishoppe of Cathenes", has not failed to mention the humble offerings of the Winchester boys. "And agaίne' to vew and mark what eligaunt verses in Latin of all kynde of sortes were affixed and set up on the cathedrall churche dores and the portes of my lorde chaunceller's place where the king and the quene laye, by the skollers of Winchester Colledge, in prayse and commendacion of this most noble and rare mariage, it shoulde quicken the spirits of al dull doltes to embrace good letters, and of the learned to favour the good will of al painefull studentes." These verses also are still preserved to us, the very copy indeed which was presented to Mary, as is shown by a small piece of parchment attached to the first leaf, apparently cut out of the original outer cover and inscribed *Mariæ Reginæ* in red ink. A closer examination shows us that some seven or eight of those who welcomed Edward VI

[1] They do not appear in the New College manuscript, which is also written in two handwritings both different from that of the copy in the British Museum.

and the triumph of the Protestant cause still remained in College to praise with equal fervour the religious views of Mary and Philip.

Nor were the royal pair forgetful of the claims of College upon their consideration; for after the wedding they paid a visit and were entertained with suitable hospitality; some traces of the banquet are contained in the accounts for the year, wherein we read "For 16 tons of double beer, when the king and queene came to the college 16*s.* 4*d.*, cloves by the lb. 5*s.* 4*d.*, mace 16*s.*, cinnamon 5*s.* 4*d.* currants 5½*d.*" There were compensations however; for the queen and her consort made offerings in Chapel as follows:

The Kinge's almes	£10	16	8
The queene's almes.	6	13	4
My Lorde of Chychester . .		20	0
Summa. . .	18	10	0

Of this about £6 was expended in gifts of money to the Head Master, usher scholars, and quiristers, and the balance was used in fitting up the "children's bows" at Moundsmere, to which we have already alluded. In connection with this royal visit, there is in all probability another relic besides the *Carmen Nuptiale* still in existence, namely, the "waterwork" recently brought to light during some alterations in college; it is executed on wainscot panels and amongst other designs shows medallions depicting a coifed woman's head of Tudor times and a male Spanish head helmeted: the initials J. W. which occur on nearly every panel are probably those of John White, who though he had been appointed Bishop of Lincoln still retained the office of Warden.

Such were some of the features of Winchester life in Tudor times; it finds its highest development perhaps in the career of this same John White, who by force of character and strength of purpose no less than by his mental powers towered above his contemporaries. With the exception of the few years in which he occupied the see of Lincoln, he was connected with Winchester all his life; for he was a scholar, fellow, Head Master and Warden of the College, and he closed his life, in disgrace but not in dishonour, a dispossessed Bishop of Winchester. The last of the Roman Catholic wardens, he piloted the college safely through the troubled waters of the reign of Henry VIII, saving the estates and endowments from confiscation; and when in due time the old order changed, he remained faithful to the principles of his earlier years. It fell to his lot to preach the funeral sermon for that queen whom he had loved so well and at whose marriage he had assisted, a sermon which deserves some notice not merely for its famous text, "Wherefore I praise the dead which are already dead,

more than the living which are yet alive", but also for its intrinsic worth, for the loftiness of its thought and the terse eloquence of its diction. Here is his conception of life. "To have a being is not evil; but to be a traytor to his Maker, *that* is evil. To be born in Christ's Church, and not to abide therein; to promise and not to perform; to promise penance here and not to practise; to hear the truth and not to believe; to be daily taught and never to learn; ever to be warned and never to be ware; that is horrible, execrable, cursed, damnable. I am born into this world to this end, to serve God and to be saved. I shall be damned not because I was born, but because I served not God." There were good Wykehamists and true on the other side; but it is the beaten cause which generally produces the most picturesque characters; and whilst we cannot but rejoice that the issue of that fierce struggle was as it was, we may freely give our tribute of admiration to those who in the hour of defeat remained true to their convictions. It is surely not the least testimony to the greatness of our Founder's work that in a crisis of our religious history many of Wykeham's sons, both as Protestants and Roman Catholics, were found willing to live and die in singleness of heart "for conscience' sake."

WALTER P. SMITH.

WINCHESTER IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

THE history of Winchester College in the seventeenth century forms a curious contrast to that of England during the same period. For the nation, the hundred years which followed the death of Elizabeth were a succession of epochs. A dynasty rose and fell. A gigantic moral movement worked itself out. The constitution was re-interpreted. The colonial empire and naval supremacy of our country was founded. And all this came to pass, not through those quiet innovations of Time, which Bacon had lauded a few years earlier, but with tumult and tragedy, the dethronements and deaths of kings and their ministers, war and plague and every manner of striking circumstance. In the annals of Winchester College we can find strangely little to set by the side of the national history, neither great changes nor turbulent actions nor striking scenes. The storms of that troubled time left Wykeham's foundation untouched, or at least unravaged; the buildings were unharmed, and those who lived in them suffered neither despoilment nor expulsion. Here and there we can note the influence of the age, but the instances are more curious than important, and owe their significance to their fewness.

This detachment from outer politics is matched by an equal quietude in the inner life. Such as the school was when James I succeeded, such was it when William of Orange died. Throughout the century, its essential elements retained without alteration their various positions and privileges. The Warden and Fellows were still supreme; they played the prominent parts in every incident, and all that we now style the educational machinery of a school was unimportant or undeveloped. It was the same with the boys. "Children" and Commoners lived much the same life that they had lived before. Their numbers, their books, their diet, their housing, their amusements even, underwent no serious modification. Once or twice we mark that this absence of change was not absence of life. One warden built Sick-House, and another

SCHOOL AND TOWER FROM MEADS.

provided it with furniture. But no sign of a real movement is visible till near the very end of the century, till the opening of "School" in 1687. With that event a new order commenced: the college began to develop into something like its present self, and the educational elements took rise which have since become typical of modern public schools. But that new order belongs properly to the next century. We cannot rightly appreciate it till we come to the improvement of diet in 1711, the rehousing of commoners sixteen years later, and the appearance of Head Masters like John Burton and his successors. The century before us had little connection with present or with prospective change.

Perhaps this may seem a negative record,—no politics, no progress, no distinctive features,—but the very negatives have their points of special interest. The detachment of Winchester from the political struggles of the nation is, of itself, a noteworthy fact. The sixteenth century had set a different precedent. The Reformation, we cannot doubt, affected the life and thought of the place in a very real manner. There were internal dissensions; we read of a Puritan *Hostiarius* who pulled down at midnight certain golden images dear to the larger portion of the college, and was well cudgelled for his pains. There was a Royal Commission in 1547, enjoining Protestant practices on an obviously unwilling body. No one, indeed, fellow or scholar, suffered removal for recusancy at this or at any other time during the Reformation, but the new movement was accepted reluctantly, and many of those educated at the school during these years suffered later for their adherence to the Roman Church. Such was Nicholas Sanders, expelled, like many another Oxford man, from his fellowship in the general clearance which followed the accession of Elizabeth; he became Papal Nuncio in Ireland, and died, miserably enough, in the mountains of Kerry. Such, too, was Henry Garnet, ejected from the school—perhaps for religious views, but the reason is not recorded,—afterwards Provincial of the Jesuits, and condemned to death in the matter of Gunpowder Plot. Others, like so many of the Oxford refugees, lived at Douay, or Louvain, or Rheims, taking active part in religious controversy. Oxford, may be, is more responsible than Winchester for many of these men, but the century was almost two-thirds through before the school ceased to send forth future recusants and Romanists. The Reformation, it is plain, was a shock; it might easily have been something far worse, but, such as it was, it was felt distinctly.

The seventeenth century shows us a different picture. The storms of

the Great Rebellion were in some respects as dangerous as those of the Reformation; but, for all that Winchester was affected, the Rebellion might never have been. The method of this strange and happy escape can be traced in some detail. Unwillingly as it may have accepted the Reformation, the college ended by accepting it in full, and in the first half of the seventeenth century its sympathies were apparently Puritan. When Nicholas Love, father of the regicide, became warden in 1613, the Holy Communion was celebrated five times in the year, and the college bought for its library such literature as the works of the Rhenish reformer, Martin Bucer and the Nuremberg controversialist Osiander. But the Puritanism of the place was not very pronounced, and during the long wardenship of Love's successor, Dr. John Harris (1630-1658), the college steered a most judicious middle course. The art was well understood in that century, almost the only century in which it has been possible to "sit on the gate" with elegance. Circumstances brought Winchester, from time to time, into contact with both of the two political parties, but the contacts were not followed by conflicts or confiscations. So far as we can judge, the attitude of the school was more than mere policy; it was due to a really moderate tone which, honestly enough, ensured friends on both sides and serious offence on neither. Add to this the lucky chance that two prominent Parliamentarians were closely connected with Winchester, Nicholas Love as son of the Warden and Nathaniel Fiennes as a scholar on the foundation, while the father of the latter, Lord Saye and Sele (entered College 1596), had strong Puritan sympathies, and the escape of the school is intelligible enough.

Almost every detail we know adds to the distinctness with which it is possible to realize the wise moderation of the school and its rulers. When Laud came to hold his archiepiscopal visitation in 1635, he not unnaturally found much to correct. The Prayer Book services were not used in their entirety on all Sundays and solemn days; the Nicene Creed and other parts were omitted. The Communion Table was kept in the sacristy and brought out when required, instead of being placed against the east wall. But the shortcomings which Laud rebukes are not those of an ardent Puritanism, and the attention paid to his injunctions does not suggest uncompromising zeal. An inventory of the chapel furniture, made at the same time, includes a "fayre payre of organs" and other objects which tell the same tale. Four years later, the college pays its shipmoney, forty-eight shillings, without apparent demur, and buys for its

library the writings of Pitsæus and Campanella. Pitsæus, otherwise John Pits, had been a boy at Winchester (1571–1578) and subsequently joined the Roman Church. Campanella, just dead when his works were bought, had six years earlier asserted the universal dominion of the papacy in the extraordinary sketch of an ideal state which he called *Civitas Solis*, "the City of the Sun."

A little later the storm burst. In 1642 the Civil War began, but the college retained, and retained with success, its moderate course. Three times the Civil War swept by the town; three times the school escaped all harm. In 1642 Nathaniel Fiennes, leading a troop of horse to join the Roundheads outside Winchester, descended at the college, sleeping himself under Warden Harris's roof and bivouacking his men in Outer Court. The visit cost the college £28 16*s*., of which £20 seem to have constituted a forced donation to the horsemen, but no further harm was done. The same good fortune ensued in 1644 when Waller was fighting round about Winchester. The danger was then great from both sides, and the judicious Harris sent the college steward, one Jones, to Oxford to ask royal protection. Finally the Roundheads, triumphing, plundered some of the citizens' houses in Winchester, but the college was outside both the walls and the tumult. The third and greatest wave of peril broke next year in 1645. Oliver, fresh from Naseby, was subduing the royal strongholds in the south; on September 28 he came before Winchester. The garrison surrendered; the Cathedral and Bishop's palace at Wolvesey were wrecked; the Castle was blown up and lost for ever its military importance, but the college again escaped. There is a familiar story that a Roundhead officer, once a member of the school, exerted his influence and saved her in the evil hour. The legend is a noble one; it may also be a true one, though it may possibly belong to another year than 1645.[1] Whatever the

[1] Like most legends, this story has assumed slightly differing forms. Its only known source, the oral tradition of Winchester, was apparently to the effect that Nathaniel Fiennes (entered College in 1623), defended the school as Colonel at some unspecified period in the Civil War. I am told that Warden Barter regularly included this tradition in the annual address which he made to scholars taking the oath to defend the college. Mr. Adams (*Wykehamica*, p. 90) gives a date, 1645, but leaves the preserver nameless, and says that the college paid £29 5*s*. 6*d*. to soldiers set to guard the building. The last item has been obviously transferred from the events of 1642. Mr. Kirby (*Annals*, p. 330) takes the story from Adams but modifies it, altering the date to 1642. It is perhaps idle to criticise a legend which has obviously been told many times without a strict adherence to detail. The preservation of Wykeham's Chantry, as well as of College, seems to demand an explanation, and undoubtedly the events of 1645 constituted the most serious danger, but Fiennes at this time was abroad or at least outside politics, as he was wholly from December 1643 till September 1647. The Warden of New College points out to me that the Fiennes (Say and Sele) family seemingly used their influence at this time in favour of New College.

cause, whether patriotism or the more practical influences of geography and the judicious Harris, the escape was complete. The kneeling figures on Wykeham's tomb and the painted glass in chapel were alike unharmed, and the college accounts give negative but adequate evidence that no manner of damage was done.

When the fighting was over, Harris did not cease to utilize his Puritan friends. In 1646 we find him writing to Nicholas Love, soon to be the regicide, asking him to procure exemption for the college from a recently imposed beer-tax. Love replied that he would prevail on the Commissioners of the Excise to deal gently with the college till Parliament could decide. In 1648 a still more judicious correspondence took place. Oxford had just been visited by the Parliamentary Commissioners and many fellows of colleges had been ejected for denying the competency of the Commission. Among the victims was one Roger Heigham, *protégé* of Harris and probationer-fellow of New College. The Warden first advises Heigham to plead his probationary state and to urge besides that he had denied only the competency of the Commission to visit New College, the statutes of which contemplated only university visitors. The Commissioners, naturally enough, brushed these pleas aside, and Harris then writes to his son for news of what was going on in Oxford, "that, if occasion be, I may send Roger Heigham to Oxford, to see if in a general scramble he can get something." Harris, one believes, was sincere enough in his discreet Puritanism, but he obviously took a very common-sense view of the whole question.

Next year came a Parliamentary Commission to Winchester itself, and among its members Nicholas Love and George Marshall, the intruded Warden of New College. Harris himself was attacked personally, being accused of such things as "corporall bowing at the name Jesus" and "a liking for organicall music in the quire", and "for the surplice and the church beautifyings, and other superstitions": also of "sending usually to the shopps for wares on the Sabbath days", and of "refusing to attend the Assembly of Divines and of sending the King money." To all of which the Commission seem to have paid no heed, and, in fact, they went away without dispossessing anybody or anything. That, however, the ritual ultimately became somewhat more Puritan may be inferred from the fact, if fact it be, that the schoolmaster, John Potenger, resigned in 1652 in consequence of Puritanical innovations. In the same year Love did another good service to the college, prevailing on Cromwell to allow the fellows to buy cheaply a valuable collection of books from the confiscated Cathedral Library. For the rest, our details now become scanty: nothing of note seems

to have occurred till 1658 when Harris died, and Burt, the schoolmaster, succeeded him. The rule of Cromwell did no harm to Winchester.

But, if the school and its rulers were imbued with Puritan sympathies, they were not wholly alien to the Royalists. There are few details preserved which suggest this—perhaps they were dangerous details to preserve. But there is reason to think that part of the college plate did find its way into the King's exchequer, and of the Wykehamists whose history has been traced, more are Royalists than Roundheads. Dr. Thomas Reade, who became Principal of Magdalen Hall in 1643, had the year before trailed a pike for his Majesty in a company of masters, bachelors and undergraduates. William Bewe, or Beaw, or Bevis, fellow of New College, became in 1644 major of a regiment of Royalist horse, was ejected from Oxford in 1648, and went abroad to fight for the Swedes in their Polish wars. He ended, oddly enough as it sounds now, as Bishop of Llandaff in 1679. John Lamphire, a year his senior, also lost his fellowship in 1648, and lived as a physician in Oxford, frequenting the royalist coffee house at Tillyard's, close by All Souls' College. He too had his rewards, the Camden Professorship of Ancient History, and the Headship of New Inn Hall. Less fortunate was young Edmund Verney of Claydon, commoner in 1633–5, who met his death with many more brave men in the Drogheda massacre 1649. Not every one, however, took this royalist line. Richard Zouch submitted to the Commission in 1648 and retained his place and preferments without hindrance from King or Commonwealth, being, as we are told, wanting in nothing but a forward spirit. A less pleasant figure is John Harmar, Regius Professor of Greek from 1650 to 1660,[1] and appointed by Richard Cromwell's influence to a valuable living in 1659. He was, one fears, a poor flatterer, ready enough to laud Oliver with an *oratio serenissimi Protectoris elogium complectens* and Richard with an *oratio gratulatoria inaugurationi nobilissimi honoratissimi Domini Richardi Cromwell*, and equally ready, when the king came home, to rush forward with a "panegyric in honour of Charles, returning to England amid the plaudits of the whole British world." Which did not save him, for he was ejected from his professorship to the joy of many honest men.

With the Restoration, all political danger to Winchester ended. The college rang its bells, sent an address to welcome the king and set to work to buy Prayer Books and Liturgies for the chapel. The new order was at once accepted: no one seems even to have seriously objected. One fellow and one

[1] At least five Wykehamists held this post early in the seventeenth century, an earlier John Harman, Warden 1598–1613, Warden Harris, Henry Stringer, and John South.

scholar are noted in 1662 as declining to wear surplice, but we hear no more against them: they conformed or were left alone. The school continued the wise policy of Harris, and the downfall of James II naturally caused no disturbance. It is a curious record of statesmanship on a small scale, for which the rulers of Winchester in those days deserve to be held in remembrance, and Harris before them all. Eton was far less fortunate. Her royalist Provost and Fellows were ejected one by one between 1642 and 1649 and their places filled by Puritans A more rapid and equally thorough change naturally followed in 1660 at the Restoration.

Inter arma silent leges. The long efforts to escape political troubles constitute, perhaps, one of the reasons for that absence of internal progress which may be observed in seventeenth century Winchester. From whatever cause, the age did not wholly favour education, and the list of schools founded or refounded, contains only three names of note—Charterhouse (1611), Dulwich (1619), and Bradford (1661). In such circumstances there was naturally at Winchester a tendency *stare super antiquas vias.* We can trace no change in the constitution or the practical working of the administrative elements. The Warden and Fellows still govern in name and in fact: they still resemble the governing body of an Oxford college, not that of a modern public school. The Head Master—*Informator*, schoolmaster, he was then styled—was on the foundation and often promoted to the Wardenship, but, as master, he had little independent power, and Warden Harris in 1630 was told that he might control the school hours, "remedies" or holidays, "leave-out" into the town, and a variety of other such details which we nowadays suppose to be everywhere a Head Master's work. The Head Master, indeed, like the Head Master of Eton, was in the first instance master of the Commoners and drew a good part of his salary from their payments. The Warden, like the Eton Provost, was the supreme authority in College. The Warden had a good many other duties which seem even less a warden's task: thus it was ordered, somewhere about 1617, that he should keep the key of the beer-cellar. The duties of the fellows, as defined in 1649 at the Parliamentary visitation, consisted in performing service in Chapel, attending to the college estates, and bearing one of the six college offices, that is, acting as subwarden, bursar, sacrist, outrider, and keeper of a key of the common chest—the last technically styled the "claviger." The very names of these officials show the position which the Warden and Fellows held, and it was natural that, with a practically irresponsible body and in such an age, abuses should result. Archbishop Bancroft in his visitation in 1608 ran tilt at a goodly number of evils,

The Warden and Fellows, it appears, were then apt to be nepotists and elect their own relations; they grazed their private horses in the college estate of Stoke Park; they brought "badde and uncleane wheat and barley made into malt" from their livings and sold it dear to the college; and did a variety of other things which members of corporations have at certain times been ready to do. Things seem in this, as in some other points, to have been worst at the beginning of the century, and with it went certain evils in the school itself. In 1629 there was a quarrel, smacking more of the nineteenth than the seventeenth century, when the usher or second master left the school and took with him a large portion of the commoners, thereby reducing the unfortunate Schoolmaster, one Stanley, to desperate straits. In 1631 the quiristers appear to have been much to seek in singing, in discipline, and in attendance. Harris may have mended this, but the irregular gains of the Warden and Fellows went on through the century, and Warden Nicholas in 1709 was severely attacked for his allowances, just as in 1668 the "supervisors"—we may call them auditors—noted that the Warden took quiristers away from their proper work of waiting in college.

It was a natural result—of the system, not of the men—that the school was somewhat neglected. The food of the boys was often neglected. In 1617, we read, they had to buy meat out of doors. In 1635 Laud required the commons to be augmented according to the statute. In 1668 beer and meat were both noted as insufficient in quantity or quality, and in 1669 the beer was still a matter for complaint. Finally in 1711 the whole was put straight—at least according to the ideas of those days—but at that time the school was beginning to claim an importance which it had not during the previous century. The boarding arrangements appear to have been equally unsatisfactory and equally unaltered. Though some addition had been made to the accommodation for commoners in 1597, they still lodged in cramped College quarters or in the uncontrolled liberty of the town. The prefect system was naturally in full force, the prefect being styled then, as in the preceding century, propositor. Young Verney,[1] for instance writes home that, "the schoolmaster being in London, the Propositors did affront and hurt him", and presently (of a truth, *παῖδες ἀεὶ παῖδες*) that "the Propositors' bark was worse than their bite." Of the teaching we know little, but in the main it seems to have continued on the old lines, and to some extent with the old books. The tutorial system, by which the senior boys looked after the studies of the juniors, was then in existence and in full force, and the fellows

[1] The spelling was "propositor" on the tombstone of Richard Robinson (died 1687) in Cloisters; the title Propositor was at first cut with *o*, and then altered at some later date to the modern form "Præpositor."

appear in some cases to have acted as private guardians of individual boys, more especially commoners. The zeal of the boys and their methods is exemplified in an anecdote of the year 1639, in the autumn of which year eighteen scholars bound themselves to talk Latin till next Whitsuntide. This practice, however, was common till not so long ago, and older Cambridge men will tell you of undergraduates reading for the Classical Tripos within their memory who discoursed in their country walks in Platonic Greek, and familiarly addressed their friends in Plautine Latin. Dr. Hugh Robinson's *Scholæ Wintoniensis Phrases*, a sort of English-Latin dictionary, gradus and phrase-book in one, probably marks some feature in the school-teaching, and deserves mention both from its title and because it ran through eleven editions in thirty years (1654–1698), a record which would not disgrace a popular school-book of to-day. But we know sadly little about much that we can ill spare. We know, for instance, that commoners varied in number from 26 in 1653 to 86 in 1693, but we know very few details about them. The Long Rolls, annual lists of the whole school, cannot at present be traced back further than 1653, and till we can find more of them or some substitute, we can hardly hope to get definite ideas of the commoners who boarded in College.[1] The amusements of the school seem also to have been much what they had been in earlier years. But we may add a public hunt (the first recorded was in 1625) to which the boys went in a waggonette, getting a cup of "Cæcuban"—probably marsala—at supper on their return. The cost of all which things is duly recorded in the Bursars' books; the men who went with the boys received five shillings, the cart cost four shillings, the marsala at supper twelvepence, in all about sixpence a head to each boy who went.

All this amounts to little, but the school apparently was not stagnant. Twice we have records of important buildings. In 1640 Warden Harris built Sick-House in the Carmelites' Mead. What his work superseded we hardly know, but there certainly was an earlier Infirmary. Harris did not, however, build the whole of the existing Sick-House; the more airy rooms at the back were added in 1775. Nor did he even furnish his gift: that was apparently left till his death, or rather till ten years after his death, when a legacy he had bequeathed for the purpose was laid out in furniture to the value of £3 1s. 3*d*. But the front of Sick-House is not the least graceful

[1] For details in this and other paragraphs I am indebted to Mr. C. W. Holgate. It would be presumptuous for me to say anything as to the value of his labours in tracing the history of Wykehamists.

detail in the college buildings, and the artist must admire what the doctor may call old-fashioned.

Far more important were the works of John Nicholas, who spent £1373 on improving the Warden's lodgings and carried out with college funds a well intentioned effort to beautify chapel by an Ionic reredos, screen, and panelling. The charms of the Warden's garden are known to every Wykehamist: of

SICK-HOUSE.

Nicholas' work in Chapel we need say no more than that it has vanished. In 1687 a still greater work was carried out by the same vigorous builder. At a cost slightly under £2600, half subscribed by Wykehamists, half supplied by the Warden, the college was increased by an edifice which is certainly a useful room and possibly a handsome building. It is needless to describe it: its massive outside, its quaint and stately interior are characteristic of its age and conspicuous to the most casual eye. To us its interest lies in

its marking the advance of the school, and we are not surprised to find that, after its erection, the number of commoners reached eighty-six.

The school was, indeed, no obscure one even in the earlier days of the century, and the influence of the Crown was sometimes brought to bear on the college in favour of particular elections—not, be it added, with invariable success. An archbishop of York, a Verney of Claydon were content to send their sons into Commoners to be educated there or to await their turn for the foundation, and the list of subscribers to "School" includes many names of momentary note. It is no part of this essay to trace the subsequent successes of Winchester men: the records of a Ken or a Thomas Browne are before the world. But it is at least plain that those who came from Winchester cannot have lacked either brains or influence (perhaps influence counted more than brains in those days) in their climb to the ordinary and unremembered dignities of civil or ecclesiastical life, and this alone tells its tale. The Winchester of the seventeenth century stood at the dividing of ways; the school was to increase but had not yet done so. But it had laid a solid foundation for future fame.

F. HAVERFIELD.

WINCHESTER IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

HE eighteenth century is a dull space in the annals of English education. The interest in educational methods died with Locke's "idle book on education" as Dr. Warton called it, the universities ceased to inspire or direct, and the public schools taught little else but the classics. In this comparatively narrow field Winchester was for its size successful. In an age when even Porson was "sad to seek" in German[1] it was hardly to be expected that a school should teach the modern languages. If they were taught, they were taught as an extra by foreigners settled in the neighbourhood. So the Etonians learnt French of Lemoine, fencing of Angelo, drawing of Cozens. It is clear that Winchester did not possess even this advantage. "I know", writes Warden Huntingford to a pupil who has gone to Oxford, "the prevailing fashion of sacrificing to French and Italian the first and best year of academical youth. Are these the languages which the university chiefly encourages? Are they the objects of academical institution?"[2] When the Camden Professor at Oxford was restricted to the text of Julius Florus, and when two of the three great English historians were anathema to the Church, it is not wonderful that Wykehamists should have been more familiar with the intrigues of the heathen gods than the merits of Julian the Apostate or Charles the First. The Duncan prize for mathematics was not yet founded, and the value set upon algebra by the scholastic mind may be gauged by the fact that at Eton it was an alternative to the geography of Mela, of Nepos, of Cellarius, and of Salmon. If the boys learnt any science, they learnt it from a chance lecturer, like that Mr. Flower who came down to Winchester in 1770 to "exhibit a course of

[1] Watson's *Life of Porson*, p. 416.

[2] Huntingford to Ingram, December 3rd, 1793 (MSS. *Ingram Papers* in the Library of Trinity College, Oxford). *Cf.* also Wooll, *Life of Warton*, p. 17.

lectures on Astronomy and Experimental Philosophy."[1] But as classical scholars the Wykehamists bore a redoubtable name in Oxford. The Chancellor's prize for Latin verse was established in 1769. Eleven times out of twenty-eight (1769–1798) it fell to Wykehamists. In a volume of Oxford verses published in 1761 the Wykehamists were pronounced by a competent judge to beat the Westminsters. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1775 expostulates with Lord North, the Chancellor of the University, against the Wykehamist monopoly of university distinctions. "Is genius confined within the walls of a single college? Or have Wykehamists effectually kept Minerva among themselves by these iron rails, with which they have surrounded the present image of her?"[2] Perhaps the most elegant writer of Latin prose in the century, Robert Lowth, was a Wykehamist. The first English writer sent abroad on a scientific mission by a learned society was a Wykehamist, Richard Chandler. Of the two Oxford undergraduates who produced learned works on Greek scholarship during the century, one was a Wykehamist, Burgess of Corpus.[3] Another Wykehamist, George Huntingford, afterwards Warden, "that incomparable Greek scholar" as Nichols naively calls him, produced a volume of Greek verse,[4] and an *Introduction to the Writing of Greek*, which in spite of its eminent feebleness ran through thirteen editions before the Reform Bill.[5]

The system which turned out this crop of scholarship consisted of translation, composition, and "standing-up." The boys read Sophocles, Homer, Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Livy, Juvenal, Phædrus, Pindar, Barton's Plutarch, the *Encheiridion* of Epictetus, and the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. Under Dr. Warton they plunged into less known authors, Vida, Longinus, Macrobius. They heard lectures on Grotius *de Veritate* on Sunday evening.[6] They learnt vast quantities of Latin and Greek verse. One boy repeated the whole *Iliad* for standing-up, another astonished the Posers by presenting them with a complete translation of Lucan's *Pharsalia*. They wrote thousands of "vulguses" and "varyings" and at election time performed these feats extempore. Despite its imperfections there is something to be said for the system. The boys construed a large amount of classical literature, and their memories were stored with its

[1] *Bond Letters*, kindly communicated by Rev. Chr. Wordsworth.

[2] *Cf.* also *Letters of Radcliffe and James*, p. 223 (Oxford Historical Society).

[3] The other was Merrick of Trinity, translator and annotator of Tryphiodorus.

[4] The verses, though popular, did not scan, but the Warden defends his license on the plea that th[illegible] (MSS. *Correspondence of Huntingford.*)

[5] For criticism cf. *Letters of Radcliffe and James* (pp. 113, 141, 145, 149, 151, 182).

[6] Mr. Holgate informs me that this practice survived as late as 1825.

choicest treasures. As the universities exercised no pressure on the school, the Head Master was left free to read such books as pleased his fancy. Again, the school hours were not excessive, and the counter-attraction of athletics was far weaker than is now the case. A certain amount of rough cricket—"in slippers red and drawers white"—bathing, nutting, badger-hunting, football, these amusements were too unorganised to absorb the whole being of the boys. While there was more loafing there was probably much desultory reading, and much to foster the literary temper in a life which had not become crowded by the overpowering claims of the class-room on the one hand or the playing-field on the other.

The history of Winchester in the last century is practically comprised within the reigns of three Head Masters, Cheyney (1700–24), Burton (1724–66), and Warton (1766–93).

The reign of Cheyney is chiefly memorable for a contest between the Warden and Fellows in 1711, which throws a singular light on the way in which the funds of the college were misappropriated. The Warden at this time is Nicholas, and he has annexed twenty times as much for his table as is allowed to a fellow, and five times as much as is allowed him by statute. Again he elects a fellow in an underhand way, without giving due notice to the other electors, and this "high invasion" rouses the fellows. They appeal to the Bishop, they cut down the Warden's rations, and augment the commons of the scholars. The Warden tries to outbid them. While the fellows offer beef and mutton, the Warden provides bears and jugglers. He diminishes the school hours, promotes the most insolent boys to the school offices, or places them high on the roll to New College. The Warden was in fact in an inexpugnable position. The Warden and Fellows of New College, who really possessed the visitors' jurisdiction, were too nearly interested in the revenues of their best piece of patronage to fight for the less palpable advantage of a visitor's jurisdiction. The Bishop was enlisted against the fellows who contested his powers, and the Bishop and Warden carried the day.

The quarrel is instructive. It illustrates the power of the Warden, the shameful neglect of New College, and the shameful misappropriation of the funds which should have gone to the scholars of Winchester. Clearly it was impossible that New College should exercise its visitatorial functions properly so long as the wardenship of Winchester was regarded as the natural promotion for wardens of New College. Yet it was more than thirty years before this evil was remedied, and then only by means which were highly questionable. In 1757 Dr. Hoadley, Bishop of Winchester refused to confirm an election of a

Warden of New College to succeed Dr. Coxed, and from that time forward no Warden of New College was elected to the wardenship of Winchester.

This was a step in the right direction. The greatest blot however remained, the undue absorption of the school revenue by the Warden and Fellows. William Bowles has left us a sketch of his great-uncle[1] (fellow 1725-81) in the days when the fellows lived in the upper story of Chamber Court. His income was £140, of which in a given year he spent £19 18*s.* 4*d.* in books, £19 4*s.* 3*d.* in clothes, £16 in port. In the sum devoted to alms we read of an expenditure of four shillings to the boys at Shrovetide, and of £2 10*s.* to the superannuate scholars. "This worthy old man", writes his great-nephew, when I was at school regularly asked me to dinner on Sunday, and after dinner I had one glass of wine from a bottle out of which at eighty-four years of age he indulged himself with three. One glass of wine allotted to me with a shilling with it were always accompanied with a health which he never omitted, and at the age I have mentioned, I have seen him repeat it with tears in his eyes. It was the following:—

> 'To the threescore and ten
> May God make them happy men.'"

Unhappily these stout old Wykehamists were a serious obstacle to the progress of the school. The Head Master was only paid at the rate of four-and-sixpence a scholar, and in spite of the statutes was forced to augment his income by receiving gratuities from the boys. The education which was intended by the Founder to be gratuitous came to cost some £60,[2] and although some private benefactions enabled the gratuities to be reduced, it was only the generosity of Dr. Goddard who transferred £25,000 in Consols to trustees to provide for the salaries of the masters which finally arrested these unstatutable exactions.

But not only were the salaries of the masters sacrificed to the comfort of the Warden and Fellows; the boys were stinted of their food, and made to perform tasks which should properly have been left to servants. There was, however, a gradual improvement in the condition of College in the course of the century. In 1708 the Bishop of Winchester obtains the substitution of six for five as the hour of rising, and "that the scholars should be relieved from the servile and foul office of making their own beds and keeping their chambers clean." In 1711, in consequence of the dispute as to the Warden's rations

[1] [illegible] *Wykehamica*, p. 29.

[2] In 1791 the annual expenses of a commoner are calculated by the Warden at £49 12*s.* 0*d.*, excluding small additional sums (*Ingram Papers*, in the library of Trinity College, Oxford).

KINGSGATE STREET

there is improvement in the diet. The boys are no longer to fast in Lent. They are to have three meals on Friday of beef broth, baked pudding and boiled mutton respectively, instead of one midday meal of bread and butter. They are no longer to go breakfastless on Saturday, and boiled mutton is to be substituted for the less substantial "baked pudding made up with water" at the evening meal. These were improvements, and there was further amendment in 1765, but it is doubtful whether the diet was ever satisfactory. "The whole system", said Sydney Smith, "was one of abuse, neglect, and vice. There was never enough provided of the coarsest food, and the little boys were of course left to fare as they could."

One further result of this economy remains to be mentioned. The masters, being never more than three in number,[1] were unable to maintain the discipline of a school which numbered some one hundred and twenty boys. Everything depended upon the prepositors. If a window was broken the prepositor was responsible. If a boy goes into College Garden during school hours, the *ostiarius* and the prepositors must bear the blame, if the offence is committed during playhours, the prepositor alone. The Prepositor of Hall had to keep the court clear of boys during school hours, and to send them into school, while the prepositors are again responsible for the maintenance of order during "books-chambers", *i.e.*, from 10 a.m. till 11.45 a.m. and from 3.30 p.m. to 5 p.m.[2] It is also more than probable that most of the teaching of the "inferiors" was done by their "tutors in College", and in days when competitive examinations had not yet been introduced, this fact may contribute to explain the superiority of the scholars to the commoners in the learning of the schools.[3]

Of Cheyney we know nothing. Dr. Burton has left a more permanent mark. He was the founder of Old Commoners. There had been commoners before Burton, but for some reason they had sunk in numbers from fifty to twenty-two. Burton saw that it was necessary not only to increase their number, but to house them in a school building. The change was one of great importance. It not only led to an immediate increase in the number of commoners, but brought them wholly within the discipline of the school.

Among the first commoners, to the great joy of Dr. Burton, were the two sons of Lord Bute. "In the length of time", writes the Doctor,[4] "I have been

[1] In 1743 we have the master, the second master, the assistant in school. T. Warton's *Winchester*.

[2] *Regulations of* 1756, quoted in Kirby, *Annals of Winchester College*, pp. 411, 2.

[3] *E.g.* 1766. There are two commoners to eighteen scholars in *Sexta Classis*, seven commoners to sixteen scholars in *Quinta Classis*.

[4] Brit. Mus. MSS. Adds. 5726, f. 105.

engaged in this situation, nothing has given me greater pleasure than the prospect I entertain of success with Mr. Steuart, that I may answer good Lord Eglintoun's character of us, and your Lordship's expectations grounded upon it. I observed with great satisfaction the cheerful and smiling looks with which your little gentlemen received me. Their eyes and countenance showed that they considered me as their friend more than their master. . . . I will be particularly vigilant to prevent any excursions into the town. I am thoroughly convinced of the prejudice young gentlemen receive from such a practice, which is as much guarded against by the situation of Mr. Warton's house as locks and doors can provide, besides the care of their master's eye."

The following letter (August 21, 1759), also from Dr. Burton to Lord Bute, throws a little more light on life in Commoners.[1]

"My Lord,

"By L[d] Eglintoune's command this Address has the honor to waite on y[r] Lordship. I was extremely mistaken in the intention of my Lords first letter to me. I imagined that he wanted to provide for some worthy gentleman's son in the least expensive manner. The Foundation is a very improper situation for your Lordships son, nor agreable to the Statutes. But there has lately been erected contiguous to the College, a building dedicated to the reception of gentlemens children, that answers every good purpose of the Foundation. Such rules and confinement are established as secure them from all temptations to Idleness, especially such as has an ill tendency. They are entirely excluded from all commerce with the town and the People of it, who are generally the Seducers and Agents of young Gentlemen, and at all times are subject to the Masters eye even in their diversions."

Clearly Dr. Burton saw that College was not meant for the aristocracy. Neither on the other hand were the scholarships awarded to talent. There was indeed some examination of the "Children" "suitable to their age and understanding", and we even hear of a preparatory school in Winchester, but we suspect that a nominee of any one of the electors would have to fall very low indeed below the usual level to be refused admittance to the foundation, and some corrupt influence there certainly was.[2] On the other hand it is to the credit of the school that so many boys of humble origin received an education there. Collins was the son of a hatter, Crowe of a carpenter; Whitehead began as a chorister; and the instances can be multiplied. Unfortunately the Founder's

[1] Brit. Mus. MSS. Adds. 5726, f. 106.

[2] Colley Cibber's *Apology for his Life*, ed. Lowe, vol. i., p. 56

provision for his own kin excluded some of the most promising scholars from New College. Collins, Warton, Burgess, Chandler had to content themselves with inferior resorts. But the examination for New College appears to have been a reality and not a sham, and on one occasion (1794) no election was made because no one was declared to be up to the standard.

Dr. Burton will always be memorable as the founder of Commoners. He was probably an able teacher, as Whitehead (a good Wykehamist though a poor poet) testifies to Lowth.

> "From the same stream with reverence let me boast
> The classic streams with early thirst I caught,
> What time they say the Muses revelled most,
> When Bigg presided and when Burton taught."

But we have no image of his personality, such as his rod purchased for Busby or his pen for Warton.

Many Head Masters may arise after the pattern of Dr. Burton. It is safe to predict that never again will there be a Head Master after the pattern of Dr. Warton. His erudition was wide and inexact. Though he edited Virgil and contemplated an edition of the select Epistles of Politian, Erasmus, and Grotius, not to speak of a "History of Grecian Poetry", he was yet obliged to resort to transparent and humiliating artifices to conceal his inability to construe a hard chorus of Sophocles and Æschylus. In his youth, even in his maturity, he wrote verse. As a scholar of Winchester he sent a poem to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which might, said Dr. Johnson, do honour to any collection. As an undergraduate his muse was singularly prolific. He wrote *The Enthusiast*, *The Lover of Nature*, *The Dying Indian*, and "an elegant satire on Ranelagh House after the manner of Lesage." As a Head Master he could still turn off his copy of verses to Delia. The friend of Johnson and a member of the Literary Club he was throughout his life adored by young ladies and military officers. "An ardour for military knowledge", says Wooll, "was a prominent feature in the family character, and it was no uncommon circumstance to see Dr. Warton at breakfast in St. James's Coffee House surrounded by officers of the Guard who listened with the utmost attention and pleasure to his remarks." In his old age he corresponded with Wilkes, and the two even contemplated a joint edition of Pope. In the history of literary criticism Warton's name stands deservedly high, and the essay on the genius of Pope will always be remembered as the first sane and impartial estimate of that poet's place in literature. "Few people", says one of his pupils, "knew so much of what may be termed the private history of literature."

A humanist of this large and easy type is not well fitted to govern a school, nor were Warton's interests primarily scholastic. His correspondence, which reveals omnivorous reading and an unflagging interest in literature, scarcely betrays a trace of his professional occupations. He was too constitutionally timid. Although he adored captains he was mortally afraid of boys. If they hissed him in Hall he would inquire whether they were not metamorphosed into serpents, if they hissed him again he would probably leave Winchester on a visit to a friend. It is no wonder that the boys slunk off to drink in the town, that bullying went on unchecked, and that once when a parent came down to the school to take away a son who had been the victim of brutal treatment, he was stoned in the close by a mob of college ruffians. Three serious insurrections, in 1774, in 1778 and in 1793, attest the chronic disorder of the school. On the first occasion forty "of the middle class of commoners" set off home because they were ordered to bed before their usual time. In 1778 there was a similar secession because the Head Master desired to stop masquerades in the Common Hall. In 1793 the Warden's lodging was invaded, the Warden, the *hostiarius* and one fellow kept in confinement during a whole night, and then despatched down College Street followed by a band of boys armed with clubs. For three days the boys held out against the authorities, and then only yielded to the mediation of the sheriffs and the magistrates, and in the end no less than thirty seven were expelled.

With the end of this rebellion Dr. Warton resigned. With his favourite boys he had always been on familiar terms, and would in writing address them by their Christian names. He had too a lively sense of the dignity and traditions of the school. He made an impudent chairman kneel down in Hall and beg pardon of the boys whom he had insulted.[1] He gleefully watched his scholars, as they destroyed a building, which seemed to impair the sanctity of Domum tree.[2] Though incompetent as a disciplinarian and inexact as a scholar, Dr. Warton was loved and revered by all who could appreciate his sane judgment, wide learning and amiable and poetic temperament. For these he was a true and stimulating guide, and no more beautiful tribute has been paid to a Head Master than the lines in which Bowles commemorates his loss.

"So I loved to lie
By the wild streams of Elfin poetry
Rapt in strange musings; but when life began
I never roamed a visionary man;
For taught by thee I learnt with sober eyes
To look on Life's severe realities."

[1] *Bond Letters.*

[2] *N. and Q.*, 1st Series, x. p. 193.

Was it possible to be otherwise than miserable at Winchester in the last century? The answers of course are various. Sydney Smith to the end of his days could never think of the place without a shudder. Still the poets, who are said to be made of a finer clay, all found the place congenial. Tom Warton celebrates the life of the happy junior of Sixth Chamber :—

> "Yet still with pleasure shall we think on
> The junior's happy life at Winton,
> Pies, hot cakes, lozenges, and snacks,
> Taws, hogsheads, dispars, gomers, Jacks."

And from 1788 onward we have records not only of an annual Wykehamist meeting at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, but actually of a monthly meeting of Wykehamists at the same place which was by no means ill-attended The "Wykehamical spirit" found utterance on these occasions in a number of loyal toasts and poetic effusions. Here is a sample :—

> "I sing not your heroes of Ancient Romance
> Cappadocian George or St. Denis of France.
> No Chronicler I am
> Of Troy or of Priam,
> And those crafty old Greeks who to fritters did fry 'em,
> But your voices, brave boys, one and all I bespeak 'em
> For due celebration of William of Wykeham."[1]

We regret that the Founder should be condemned to rhyme with "bespeak 'em."

Of diversions we have scant notice. Now and again plays were acted, in the Winchester play-house over the Shambles, where, as Tom Warton has it,

> "Divided only by one flight of stairs
> The monarch swaggers and the butcher swears,
> Quick the transitions when the curtain drops
> From weak Monimia's[2] moans to mutton chops.
> Cleavers and scimitars give blow for blow,
> And heroes bleed above and sheep below."

In this stimulating building *Cato* was performed by the boys in 1742, Whitehead taking the part of Marcia, and in 1755 Otway's *Venice Preserved* was given with a prologue by Robert Lowth.[3] Plays appear indeed to have been tolerably frequent, and Tom Warton is known to have acted in several, and to have written an Epilogue for *Cymbeline*, and a Prologue for the *Lying Varlet*.[4] An

[1] MSS. kindly communicated by Mr. Lionel Johnson.

[2] Otway's *Monimia* is referred to.

[3] *Hampshire Repertory*, vol. ii. 1804. *N. and Q.*, 3rd Series, viii. p. 475.

[4] J. to N. Bond, April 23, 1770. (*Bond Letters.*)

occasional Town and Gown row is noticed in contemporary literature, but the relations between the Mayor and the Warden appear to have been cordial, and we have at least one instance of the Mayor asking for a "remedy".[1] Warden Huntingford at any rate appears to have been popular in the town, and is an object of solicitude to the *Hampshire Chronicle*. "We are sorry to hear", says that organ on March 19, 1791, "that the active busy and hospitable life of the present admirable Warden of Winchester College will in all probability prevent him from favouring the Republic of Letters with any new work. May this most excellent scholar and worthy man prove our information to be false, and may the muses once more hear him speaking with the *Os rotundum* of Greece herself." The *Os rotundum* was however not heard again, but the Warden is known to have meditated a commentary on Stobæus.

Winchester had her fair share of distinguished sons in the last century. It contributed four Speakers to the House of Commons: Onslow, who was Speaker for no less than thirty-three years, Cornwall, famous for the porter and chops which he consumed to relieve the tedium of debate, Addington, the "Doctor" of *The Antijacobin* and Mitford. It provided one prime-minister in Henry Addington, Lord Sidmouth, a highly respectable man though by no means a powerful statesman, and one archbishop in Howley, whose fine simplicity of character redeems the narrowness of his views. It is responsible for George Bubb Dodington, the most corrupt though not the least witty politician of his time, who was pilloried by Sir Charles Hanbury Williams in his own day, and has been pilloried by Mr. Browning in ours. It sent "brother Hiley" and "Brother Bragge" to Parliament to be immortalised by the satire of George Canning. It can boast one celebrated lawyer in Sir James Eyre, famous as a barrister for his attack on general warrants, and as a judge for his summing up in *Rex v. Hardy, Thelwall, and Tooke*. Two famous admirals were Wykehamists: Sir John Borlase Warren, who commanded the Quiberon squadron of 1795, and Sir Richard Keats, captain of the *Superb*, and afterwards admiral, of whom Nelson said that his person alone was equal to one French '74, and who will ever be remembered for the battle of St. Domingo, when the *Superb* went into action with the band playing "God save the King", and Nelson's portrait hung on the mizen stay. Five Peninsular heroes were Wykehamists: General Sir R. Wilson, who raised the Lusitanian Legion; Sir William Myers, killed in command of the Fusilier Brigade at Albuera; Sir Alexander Woodford, who commanded the first brigade of the Coldstreams; Sir Charles James Dalbiac, who fought with the Fourth Light Dragoons at Talavera and Salamanca, and

[1] *Scrap book in the Mayor's parlour.* September 16, 1788.

lastly Sir John Colborne, who led the famous Fifty-Second through the Peninsular War, and whose charge on Ney's Old Guard at Waterloo turned the fortunes of the day.

It is however in literature that Winchester makes its most distinctive contribution to the list of national worthies. No school can produce a poet, but any school can suppress one, and to Winchester belongs the credit of having failed to suppress, not one poet but several poets. Warton, Collins, Bowles, Crowe, Russell, were all men who had been touched in varying degrees by the true Muse. They were all lovers of nature, and worked in the same spirit and with the same aim. They represent in fact the romantic reaction from the formalism of Pope and the classic school. The attitude seems to have been traditionally Wykehamical. Joseph Spence begins to criticise the classic giant in his *Essay on Pope's Odyssey*. Joseph Warton takes up the tale in his *Essay on the Genius of Pope*, and finally Bowles publishes an edition of Pope, in which he denies to him the title "great", a thesis which he is prepared to defend against all the fiery artillery of Byron. Collins in his *Ode on Highland Superstitions* opens the vein of poetry which was hereafter to be worked by Sir Walter Scott. Thomas Russell translated,—perhaps he was the first to do so—German love poetry, and has left some fine sonnets.[1] What Bowles was to Coleridge will always be remembered through the sonnet in which Coleridge acknowledged the debt, and have not these lines from Crowe's *Lewesdon Hill*[2] the true Wordsworthian note?—

> "Yet it flows along
> Untainted by the Commerce of the world
> Nor passing by the noisy haunts of men,
> But through sequestered meads a little space
> Winds secretly, and in its wanton path
> May cheer some drooping flower, or minister
> Of its cool water to the thirsty lamb,
> Then fall into the ravenous sea, as pure
> As when it issued from its native hill."

The love of natural beauty and of antiquity which are the two mainsprings of the literary movement may well have been inspired in these men by the natural influence of their school, its gray buildings, close-cropped meads and waving downs. Anyhow this is a belief which the pious Wykehamist may innocently hold.

H. A. L. FISHER.

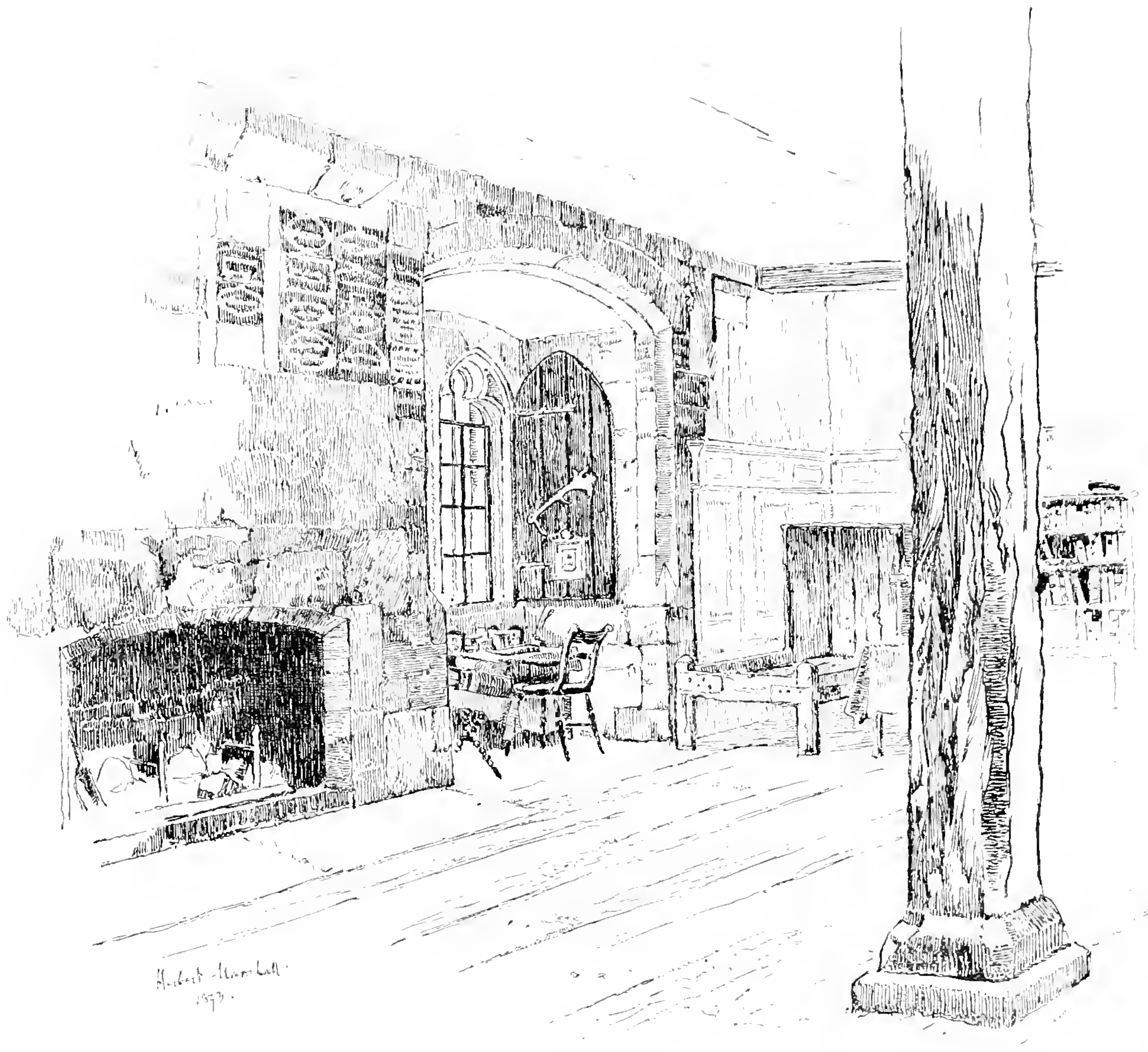
[1] Cf. *Wykehamist*, No. 235, July 31, 1888.

[2] *Life and Correspondence of T. Moore*, ii. 80. Parr, when asked how he liked Crowe, replied, "Madam, I love him; he is the very brandy of genius mixed with the stinking waters of absurdity."

LIFE IN COLLEGE ABOUT 1850

VEN in schools where tradition is strongest, changes of detail are frequent, not least in a century in which something like a revolution, both in habits of life and in educational methods, has been in progress. In giving these remembrances of life in College about 1850 every effort has been made to avoid anachronisms, but memory plays us all strange tricks.

The period named was in many ways the end of an epoch; it was also itself a time of transition. The next ten years were to witness the two events which in their results have so largely modified the conditions internal and external of Wykehamical life, the opening of College to competition, and the establishment of the first "tutor's house" for Commoners. In 1850 the community was still a small one, capable of meeting as a whole in Chapel and being taught wholly or almost wholly in "School." Its customs and methods, though they had felt the influence of the time, had still many old-world features which were soon to be lost. The picturesque hardnesses of the life which the Trollopes have described to the world had disappeared under the kindly rule of Warden Barter. We had not to wash at a frozen conduit, nor to breakfast at ten o'clock on bread and cheese and beer and dine at six off wooden trenchers; the trenchers were there still, but side by side with modern plates. But we still slept in the old wooden beds in Chambers and sat at "scobs" in School. We spent our days (until we were prefects *plena potestate*) between Seventh Chamber passage and Meads' wall, only going out of College on Sunday to the midday service at Cathedral and on week days to "Hills", and then as the *Tabula Legum* enjoined, *sociati incedentes*. We still took the oath in Chapel to observe the statutes. We were asked in Election Chamber if we could sing, and answered "All people that on earth do dwell." And in the same way, though considerable changes had been made and were being made in the system of education, the framework was still very much what it had been under Gabell and Williams. We still said



SIXTH CHAMBER.

"standing-up", and went up to "Pulpiteers", and wrote "vulguses" and "varyings", and understood the point of view of days when a false quantity was serious enough to give its name to a corner of Meads.[1]

The most characteristic part about life in College was that which belonged to Chambers. It was a misfortune that a "chamber", in the material sense of the term, did not show itself at its best to a visitor. It needed to be "viewed aright", not empty and dingy in the rather scanty daylight, but in the evening, full of busy young life, books or tea-cups on the prefects' green-baize-covered "washing stools", candles at the "Toys", a faggot crackling and glowing in the big chimney. In later times the sleeping room has been separated from the room for evening work and refreshment, no doubt wisely: but we lived in Chambers, happily unconscious of any sanitary objection, from the time when we were locked through Seventh Chamber passage (that is, in winter at 6 p.m., in summer after evening Hills) until Chapel the next morning.

The sleeping arrangements of English public schools are very various,—large bedrooms and small, single rooms, cubicles,—but none correspond exactly to ours. It was the large-room arrangement, but with conditions entirely our own. A "Chamber" in the human sense, was a miniature of the whole community. At its head was one of the seven senior prefects with one or two colleagues, according to its size. The special feature of the arrangement was the careful provision that among the "inferiors" in a chamber every grade of standing should be represented. The prefect chose his subjects, but in a prescribed way. The lists when completed were submitted to the Head and Second Masters for their approval. The little community which became so closely bound together was constituted for the half-year only, it being necessary to re-adapt the arrangement to constantly changing seniority. Tradition arranged chamber-fagging with the same exactness. There was no room for caprice, every one had his share and no more; and there was always in prospect change, immunity, privilege. We did not wait on ourselves in any sense that implied hard or rough work; but the junior (after a free fortnight, if he were a boy newly come to learn our ways) had charge of the fire, learnt to divide a faggot and light it, and to put on the boilers for hot water (a luxury we could enjoy in the morning as

[1] May it be added that we had not yet learnt to speak of ourselves, in any generic or distinctive sense, as "*men*"? The present writer can date with some exactness the time when this modernism had gained sufficient currency to reach for the first time the Head Master's ear. He remembers in the year 1858 or 1859 "the Doctor", as he passed through "Moberly's passage" on his way from school, meeting some masters, his face beaming with amusement, and saying to them, "What do you think I have just been told? I asked a boy who some little fellows were, who were making a noise, and he answered me, 'Please, sir, they are *Fourth Book men*'"

well as the evening). He also got up first when we were called and woke the chamber, dressed, and then watched for the successive moments between "second peal" and chapel,—"bells go single", "bells down", "Moberly through." The next two or three, according to the number of prefects, were "valets." This implied, besides some small attentions suitable to the name, the duty of preparing "mess" in the evening and the correspondent privilege of taking what was left of it. We were sufficiently fed in Hall for the requirements of nature, but the pleasantest meal in the day was this supplementary tea (or coffee) which we made for ourselves in Chambers, College supplying us for the purpose with bread. In winter it was a luxury, for we had just had or might have had a supper in Hall—on four days in the week of cold beef, made generally by prefects more appetizing by frying it with some potatoes, on other days of bread and cheese, the cheese again being usually toasted. In summer "mess" was after our return from evening Hills and bathing, when appetite had revived. We liked then to bring the table, or "washing-stool", out of doors and sit in Court till chapel bells began.

Between mess and Chapel, until "Long Meads" began, came "Toy time", an hour sacred to quiet and work. Perhaps this is a fitting place to refer to the system, often described, of boy-tutors—not that it was necessarily connected with Chambers, though a tutor would generally get some of his pupils into his chamber, and when he did so the tie became closer—but it was another case of the instinctive skill with which the old Wykehamical system managed to create kindly and wholesome relations between elders and youngers. Every inferior had a "tutor." Pupils were assigned by the Head Master with some care. The senior prefects, if trusted by him on moral and intellectual grounds, would have as many as seven or eight, quite a fortune (as a pupil meant £1 a half-year to his boy-tutor), and even at this date something of a responsibility. The tutor was expected to take a real interest in his pupil's work. If the pupil was idle the master would speak to his tutor, and a good deal was done in the way of encouragement, help, and pressure. In Senior Part V a pupil's "vulgus" and "gatherings" were looked over by the tutor before being sent up to the Doctor, and any serious mistakes which had been passed over by him were put to his account and punished by an imposition. The boys below that part went for preparation during "toytime" to Election Chamber, and worked and did their composition for the college tutor, the Rev. G. B. Lee, the present Warden. Evening prayers were at 8.45, read in Ante-chapel by the Second Master. When we returned to Chambers, as soon as the hour struck there were five minutes of silence for private prayers, the

good custom which was begun at Wordsworth's instance in 1838, and to the maintenance of which successive generations of prefects have to this time dutifully bound themselves by subscribing their names in a copy of Bishop Ken's works given by Wordsworth for the purpose to the Prefects' Library. Inferiors then went to bed. A candle was winked at for some of the elder of them, but in spite of movement and voices the younger boys were soon asleep. The Second Master occasionally, the Head Master very rarely, came "about", but there was a good deal of sitting up late—more than was good for us—not always over work. It was solaced at times by "brewing" cocoa or treacle posset. Sometimes higher flights of cookery have been known to be attempted, as apple puddings ("apple daddies"), which without fear of nightmare were to be eaten at midnight.

Our morning hours were what would now be thought severe, especially as we had little boys among us, for in most years the "Roll ad Winton." contained the names of boys of ten or even nine. We met in chapel at 6 (6.45 in winter), on every week-day morning except saints' days ("leave-out days") when chapel was at 8, and "holidays" ("Hatch Thokes") when we were not disturbed till breakfast-time. Names were called by a Prefect of Chapel, from his place in chapel, and answered ("'sum") from all parts of the building, a process which would shock us now, but which (such is the force of habit) conveyed to no one in those days the sense of irreverence. The service was a short one, always sung, though without organ or choir, "the Doctor" himself intoning and leading the *Venite* (our only Psalm, and there was no Lesson) to Tallis's chant. What Wykehamist of that date cannot see him taking the note from a tuning-fork? Another memory of morning chapel which endures is the glory of purple light as the eastern sunshine streamed on us through the Jesse window.

When after chapel we passed through Seventh Chamber passage we had said goodbye to Chambers till the evening. They were locked during the day, the keys deposited within the Second Master's door, only to be obtained by personal application and under rare circumstances. Happy the boy who never found that one of the *arma scholastica* which he was bound to produce "up to books" was in Chambers. Happy the valet who had not left his master's "washing drawer" or other appliance which should have been brought through.

With the earlier hours, there was an interval of an hour and a quarter before the half-hour Morning School (7.30–8). There was plenty to be done in it for those who still had to say "lines", which was the occupation in morning school

of all below Senior Part on every weekday but one. The exception was Monday, which was given to divinity—the Head Master taking for that half hour throughout the year all boys who had not yet been confirmed. He followed the lead of the Catechism, and occasionally we had to repeat an answer from it, but the lesson was in effect an instruction in a perfect body of divinity suited to our years, given greatly by way of question and answer, but in Moberly's happiest way, with keen interest and admirable lucidity and definiteness. None of his lessons was more effective. Notes were taken and these were called for occasionally, fulness and neatness commended, and carelessness censured.

Breakfast was in Hall at 8; we had tea and bread and butter, but there were perhaps traces of the view that tea was an exotic in the fact that it was supplied, not from the college hatch, but (at the college expense) through La Croix. Dinner at 1.15 was a more formal meal, the college tutor often appearing. All sat in their school order; the quiristers waited on us. Grace was said by the Prefect of Hall from his place at the head of the first table on the north side below the dais or "grace-place." After dinner it was sung, with the addition of two stanzas of the *Te de profundis, summe rex*, as in Wordsworth's *College of St. Mary Winton*, where the scene is given in pencil and the words in print. We had chiefly mutton—southdown no doubt and excellent—two sheep being supposed to be allowed daily. Prefects had the choice of joints, and carved for themselves. Plum-pudding was added on Saturdays and Sundays. On one day in the year, the Thursday in "sealing week", we had, at the prefects' messes at least, venison pasty and applepie—whence the day went by the name of Applepie-day. It was further celebrated in the afternoon by our having eggflip (made with college beer) and sitting round the fire in School singing songs.[1]

The other schools on a whole school day were from 9 to 12 ("Middle school") and 2 to 6. The latter, which was heavy both for boys and masters, was only broken in summer time by a quarter of an hour (4.30 to 4.45) which went by the name of "Bever time", bread and beer having been procurable at that time from the College Hall. Twelve to one was the time sacred to exercise, not that in the lower divisions boys were not occasionally kept in.

The occupation of the hour between school and dinner belongs to another

[1] Soon after 1850 Mr. Walford was made deputy bursar, and under his *régime* various improvements were made in the arrangements in Hall, where, for inferiors, the serving of meals had not been as comfortable as for prefects. In their materials little or no change was made for some time. The story went that in 1859 the Prefect of Hall, now a learned judge at Sydney, a bright eyed boy, who could ask anybody for anything without offence, asked if they might have goose on Michaelmas-day: "There are some questions, M——," answered Mr. Walford, "which do not deserve an *ans(w)er*."

HALL

paper which deals with games, but one remark may be made which belongs to our whole life in College. Play was never confined to fixed hours or regular games. Nothing strikes one more in comparing the life we remember with the life in schools with which we are now familiar, than the more vigorous use that was then made of every fragment of free time for active exercise. Perhaps it came from our confinement in College. In any case it showed that cricket-fagging and compulsory football did not disgust us with games. Between breakfast and school, in Bever-time, between 2 and 3 on Saturday, after supper ("Long Meads") before evening Hills began, a large proportion of us was employed in playing, as they would say in university statutes, *sine solemnitate*; and our taste in games was catholic, small cricket ("crockets") in School Court to the risk of Prefect of School's windows, a pat up at fives or at bat-fives [1] on Ball Court, a "long-game" of football, tip and run in summer, prisoner's base (excellent on a cold morning before nine o'clock school), and rounders.

It will be understood that in those days "School" meant not only that some were in School, but that *all* were. There were only two class-rooms; "Fourth Book", where a tutor (at that time the Rev. H. C. Adams, the author of *Wykehamica*) taught the division that bore that name. and the room next to it between School and Commoner Grass Court, where under some difficulties, but with unfailing patience, geniality, and freshness of spirit, John Desborough Walford, beloved by many generations of Wykehamists, taught us mathematics. We should have no more thought of taking a real liberty with "John Des" than with "the Doctor" himself, but he had something of the boy in him, and liked now and then to provoke by some sudden sally or ancient jest the traditional "roar" which he knew would follow, and which was audible and provoked a sympathetic smile in School itself. We looked forward especially to his "results", *i.e.*, the announcement of the result of a mathematical examination, which he was wont to give with gusto, prolonging the interest and commenting on the place of this boy and that above or below the line, with humour which never gave offence.

The Prefects' Library, which was on the other side of Fourth Book, was occasionally used by the Head Master for an afternoon lesson; otherwise all save the lowest division and those who were doing mathematics would be in School itself. "Up to Books", we sat on the three tiers of seats (senior, middle, and junior row), the senior on the lowest bench and next to the master. It was a

[1] Exquisite, but hardly popular, played with a snack or racquet-ball and a special bat of walnut-wood, with a long handle joined to a small but heavy head by a neck thinned so as to give a spring. The court was of rammed chalk, like Virgil's threshing-floor, *creta solidata tenaci*.

high misdemeanour to be without bands, which with white ties formed part of the college dress, and the gown, as always in addressing a master, was buttoned. Until our division was "up to Books" we sat at our "scobs." These were arranged in pairs or in squares. Some places belonged by prescription to dignities—the Prefects of Hall, Library, and School occupying, in that order, the three places between the Head Master's chair and the fireplace. A prefect's square was a little domain. His own seat with a green cushion ("baker") and a reading-board stretching from scob to scob before him, was comfort itself, and he could extend hospitality to a Commoner friend, as well as to his own "writer", a junior who helped him in preparing official lists, &c., and enjoyed various privileges in return. School was not an ideally quiet place, but Wykehamists have always learnt the useful lesson of working amid distractions. The hum of voices enabled friends to go over the lesson together in subdued tones. Order was kept by two prefects, the bible-clerk, or chapel-reader of the week, and the *ostiarius*, or door-keeper for the day. These sat, when at rest, at their official scobs (*τῷ ἀεὶ ἀναγνώστῃ* and *τῷ ἀεὶ θυρωρῷ*), the former at the western end of school, the latter by the door, one of his duties being to attend to inquiries and messages[1] and to open the door for the masters. From time to time they walked about, ground ash in hand, and did their best, as the Doctor was fond of exhorting them (not a bad hint for all disciplinarians and rulers), to keep others quiet without making more noise themselves in the process.

The Head Master and the Second Master, in theory, divided the school between them, and one or the other was always in School. On a whole school

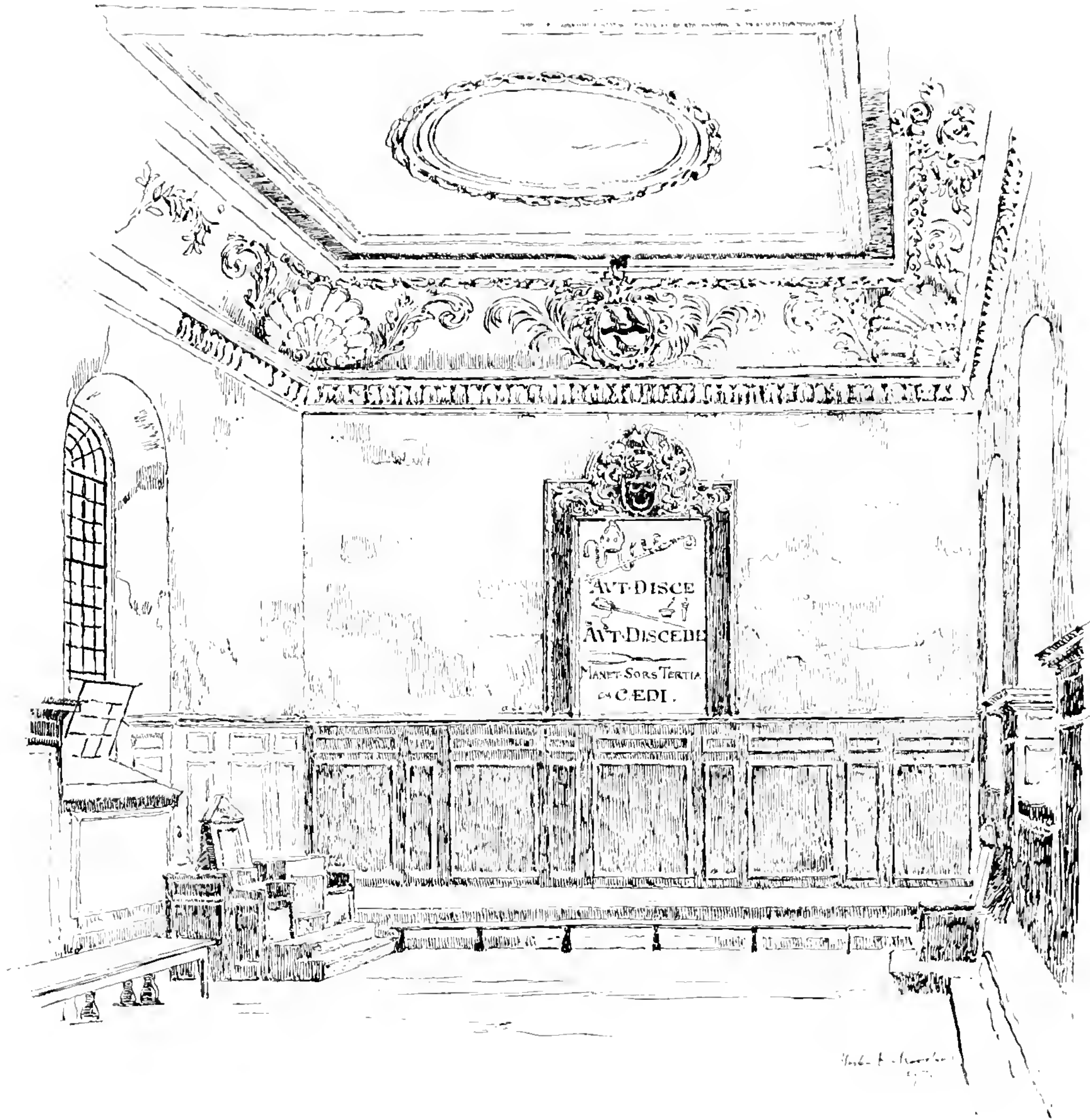
[1] He was the *interpres divom* who carried messages between the masters in school—messages usually written hastily on the back of a vulgus or other piece of paper that came to hand. We thought them no doubt of serious import, big with the fate of holidays or punishments—but they were sometimes on lighter topics. Perhaps it may be lawful to give two actual specimens. The first explains itself and its authorship to Wykehamists, and the second will be seen to be an answer to an invitation to dine and meet Mr. Quicke, then a fellow.

(1) C. W. J. D. W.
s. p. d.

Scriptam Wickhamica manu
Ægris de pueris quæris epistolam,
Ne quisquam effugiat tui
Euclidis studium scilicet invidens:
Quo nummo saturum anserem
Mercemur, quis aquam temperet *eau de vie*,
Quo præbente domum, et quota
Clamoso caream gymnasio, taces.

(2) Velox ille bonus: bonus et tu: nec mala cena.
Tot bona quis renuat? Non ego. Certe adero.

day Dr. Moberly would come in at nine and stay till eleven or a little later. Mr. Wickham would come in at ten and stay till twelve. In the afternoon, the first half of the school time belonged to the Second Master, the last to



SCHOOL.

the Head Master. When a master came in or went out all who were "up to Books" at either end of School stood up, and the outgoing and incoming masters exchanged a ceremonious bow. The punishments which have been

often described of "scrubbing", and "bibling", were performed in public, immediately before the master left school. He put on his cap, called the name of the culprit and "*ostiarius*", or "bible-clerk and *ostiarius*" (according to the punishment to be inflicted). When the "scourging" was over, he threw down the rod, took off his cap, and went out of school in the way already described.

The Head Master had the entire teaching in school of about the first sixty boys (Sixth Book and Senior Part V). This was made possible partly by arranging that one class should be learning a lesson or doing mathematics, while the other was "up to Books", partly by the system known as "Pulpiteers." The two divisions came up together, the lesson being first construed through by Sixth Book. The Doctor then dismissed them, or set them a "varying" to compose, while he went to the opposite chair and heard the lesson construed again by Senior Part. As we read rapidly, always a hundred lines a lesson, and never went over the same ground twice, the books which had been read in this way (Homer's Iliad, Theocritus, parts of Virgil, Horace, and Juvenal) would probably come round again before a boy who had read them in the lower division had left the school, and what had been imperfectly taken in the first time was the more easily mastered the second. When Dr. Moberly described the arrangements of the school to the Public Schools Commission, he had increased the number of boys under himself to eighty, making two divisions of Sixth Book, and putting one under a tutor. Under this arrangement Pulpiteers seems to have become unmanageable, and to have disappeared.

The school year was divided in two ways: (1) Into "halves"—the "long half", properly so called, from January to July, there being at this time no general Easter holiday, and the "short half", from September to Christmas; (2) Triply, into "Common time", which covered the short half and the first weeks of the long half, "Cloister time", the ten weeks before Election, and "Easter time", the six weeks before Cloister time. The work and general arrangements of the school varied in some marked ways with this second division. Easter time had two special characteristics. (1) The lessons in Middle Part V and below it were devoted entirely to grammar. We went through it again from beginning to end, construing (for it was in Latin) and saying by heart. It was a painful discipline but not unprofitable. (2) It was the time of "speaking." The school was divided into six "chambers", seventh being merged for this purpose into the others (thus recalling the original arrangement of College) and commoners being also divided between the six, each "chamber" taking a Saturday, First the first Saturday and so on. The prefects were responsible for seeing that every boy in their chamber prepared a passage from Shakespeare or some other English

poet for recitation. Considerable pains were taken for the credit of the chamber. The last hour on Saturday morning was given to it, the Warden and masters coming in to hear us. About twenty of the best speakers at "Easter speaking", from all parts of the school, were chosen to repeat their speeches at "Commoner speaking", usually in May, when there was a larger audience of friends and neighbours, and when the "Easter Tasks" which had won prizes and the Junior Maltby, a Latin prize poem for boys below Sixth Book, were recited.

Another institution which existed at this date may perhaps be treated as belonging to Easter time. It has been said that there were no Easter holidays; on Good Friday we had the usual services, but after the afternoon service instead of a sermon we went into School, Sixth Book and Senior Part taking their places as for Pulpiteers, the rest of the school sitting as near as they could. Dr. Moberly came in and took his chair and read us a carefully-written address (called by us commonly "Good Friday prose") on the events of the school year, burning questions of school discipline, or other subjects on which he did not care to speak in Chapel, but on which he desired the school to hear his views in clear and weighty words.

Cloister-time was the time we looked forward to through the rest of the year: the time when Thursday became a "whole remedy" as well as Tuesday (which was always one), the time of evening Hills, as soon as bathing leave was given (earlier than we should venture in these degenerate days), and of "Long Meads" before that; of "Bevers", the break already mentioned of a quarter of an hour in afternoon school (extended soon after 1850 to half an hour and made continuous through the year). It was marked in school work in various ways: in Sixth Book by the substitution of "Metre Tasks" for Greek iambics, and by an increase of Pulpiteers; in Middle Part by the amalgamation of the two divisions, so that a forward boy in Junior Division might, as it was called, "run Cloisters", *i.e.*, get "Books" or go within range of promotion from the top of the combined class. It was also the time when boys in Middle and Junior Part set to the severest task of their school life, the preparation for "standing-up." This was in idea the summing-up of the repetition of preceding halves; but in the stress of competition it went beyond this. It was divided into eight lessons, and a boy who was looking for "Books" (the prize) at the top of Cloisters would at that time have probably offered a reputed 1000 lines a lesson. The qualification "reputed" means that we had a tariff, a line of Virgil being the standard: Horace's Odes were handicapped, three lines counting as two; Latin prose or Greek verse on the other hand were twice as valuable. One lesson was always of Greek

grammar, another of Euclid. All lessons were to be construed as well as repeated.

Another curious institution which belonged to Cloister-time was what was called "Fever-time." The superannuates of the year, to whom the Election examination was of vital moment, were allowed in their turn to excuse themselves from school for a week. The good "mother" (Mrs. Maskell) at "Sick-House" put a room at our disposal, and there many books of Homer and other Election work were got ready for the "Posers." This came to an end in 1853.

It has been said that there was throughout the year a "whole remedy" on Tuesday. Thursday, a half remedy in other "times", was in Cloister-time a remedy. The remedy-ring, which was the customary authentication of the grace allowed, was on these days asked of the Head Master by the "Warden's child" and conveyed to the Prefect of School who was its custodian. Friday was not unfrequently a half remedy, especially in summer, but this was by special gift and had to be asked by the Prefect of Hall, who was expected to produce a reason, such as some university distinction won for the school. Saturday was never one, but afternoon school began on it at 3 and ended at 4.45 to give place to a Chapel service. A "remedy" of course in Wykehamical phrase was not a "holiday." There was no school proper, but there were "Books-Chambers" (for College in School, under the charge of the bible-clerk and *ostiarius*), for an hour and a half or two hours in the morning, and an hour, after Hills, in the afternoon. These were to some extent used (with Saturday afternoon) for French and German lessons, no room being allowed for these in the regular school hours. This was evidently a recent application of the liberty of a remedy. In its own idea that belonged (like standing-up, Pulpiteers and other peculiar institutions among us) to the older scheme of education which was beginning to pass away. Much more was still left than is left now, or perhaps can be left, to work out of school. If the ends sought by the study of Greek and Latin were the same, the methods were still in many points different. Grammar was less than it is now a subject of reflection and philological discussion; on the other hand it was most carefully learnt by heart for practical purposes, for guidance in reading and accuracy in composing. Great authors were read rapidly for their general effect, impressed on the mind not by minute analysis and illustration of difficulties but by committing them on a large scale to memory. English literature was not ignored, but it was cultivated not by reading a few books critically, but by the constant practice of illustrative quotation, a general knowledge of and interest in it being assumed, and by learning by heart and declaiming great passages. Even history was not taught directly, but

in the lower classes text-books were analyzed on paper, and at the top of the school a good deal was read, by a few always with considerable care and fulness, for the Goddard examination. But above all composition, in the sense almost wholly of original, and chiefly of Latin composition,[1] was the great mode of making accurate, using and keeping fresh, the knowledge attained, the great engine, as we got higher in the school, of stimulating imagination and creative power, of teaching us to think consecutively as well as to express thought with order and grace. The amount of original composition done in a week was very large. In Sixth Book there were in Cloister-time three "tasks" (of from twenty-five to forty lines) in other times two and one translation. There were "varyings" to replace the "vulgus" of lower divisions. There were also Medal tasks Easter tasks, Maltbys, each with a week given to it. At other times of year there were "gatherings" or Latin critical essays on appointed literary subjects. The practice of translation into Greek and Latin was being introduced at this time. but (with the exception of Greek iambics which formed the third regular task in Common time) not in substitution for original composition but in addition to it. At the point which had been reached in 1850, it can hardly be doubted that composition was overdone. Claims which could not be resisted were being urged on behalf of new studies. Perhaps also a free system such as has been described was better for the few than for the many. In the meantime other circumstances were bringing Winchester more and more fully into the current of university competition, and if Wykehamists were to hold their own, as they had done, in that, it was impossible to hold fast to methods or ideals which schools generally had already abandoned.

E. C. WICKHAM.

[1] The true representative of the rhetorical training which in Roman schooling followed that of the *grammaticus*. There was a good deal of liberal education, by the way, even in Verse tasks, if they were well set, as Moberly's always were—setting us thinking, putting common things in a new light, making us turn out and look up some famous historical scene, or triumph of invention, or masterpiece of art.

LIFE IN "COMMONERS"

HEN, in the early days of Dr. Moberly's reign, it became clear that "Old Commoners" was no longer tenantable, there was at least room for some difference of opinion as to the future of Commoners. The theory that all members of the school not in College were the Head Master's boarders, living in his house or in buildings close to it, might have been given up, and boarding houses at once established. How far this plan was then discussed I do not know; certainly the idea that its adoption had been at the time possible was more or less familiar to those who were at school shortly before Mr. H. J. Wickham's house was opened in 1860. Had it been carried out, there would have been no "Life in Commoners" to recall, other than that which Mr. Adams has so delightfully sketched in *Wykehamica*. As a matter of fact, we all know that nothing of the kind was done. Dr. Moberly built "New Commoners", a pile of red brick attached to his own (the present) house in College Street; which still exists in nearly every brick, yet which is recognizable by the oldest (or youngest) inhabitant only after some little effort of memory and faith. Here for nearly thirty years, from 1840 to 1869, the life and traditions of Old Commoners were continued; though for the last nine of these, one, two, and finally three of the present houses existed side by side with Dr. Moberly's buildings.

What the effect on the general fortunes of the school might have been, had the movement of 1869 been in any fulness anticipated in 1840, it is idle now to ask. Certainly a society would have been lost which, to one looking calmly back, presents many curious points of organization and manners; one too which the commoners of that period remember with zeal and warm affection, for the strength of the common life, the single-mindedness of its leaders, and the generosity and heartiness of all its members. It is likely that many old commoners may have been drawn to Winchester by the special celebration of 1893; and having satisfied themselves as to walls, courts, and corners of the old

home, may be willing to go back to the life passed there, so quaint in some of its particulars, so eager and absorbing to those whom it concerned. Some commoners too of a later day will perhaps join us on the way: in their interests we will be sparing of reminiscence, and only recall a few features which seem to stand out most sharply.

Two things must always be borne in mind in speaking of the Commoners of that time. One is the parallelism with College. In numbers the two bodies were fairly balanced. At one time there were less than seventy Commoners, but the average was a good deal higher. The organization of Commoners, though complete in itself, was yet affected in many essential points by that of College (from which it was, of course, derived), and can hardly be explained without reference to it; and this though in temper and traditions the difference was somewhat more evident than the likeness. The other is the survival of customs and ideas current in "Old Commoners", having accumulated there during a long series of years. One or two of these we will notice separately; but no doubt the continuity went deeper down into the spirit of the place than can be thus easily shown.

Let us first be clear as to places. If we take Moberly Library as a starting-point, there were on the ground floor below it, on either side of the central open lobby (then "hat-place"), the sitting-room of the junior tutor, prefects' library, and two or three rooms used for such occasional purposes as hair-cutting, German (!) and the like. On the level of the present library was Lower Gallery, presided over by the matron, and containing, besides her rooms and "Lower Continent Rooms", all which that name should imply. Above was North Gallery, in which were the senior tutor's rooms. From this central block, in the direction of Grass Court and Meads, ran the two halls, exactly alike in size and shape, having above them the two hall galleries, known as East and West Hall; each of which was a large dormitory, divided, hospital-fashion, into open wards. In the middle was Flint Court, pitched then as now with flints, and having on either side a broad passage or cloister, raised and flagged, and covered by a flat roof. From Moberly Library to the Head Master's house, and opening into it on every floor, ran a long three-storied building; the ground floor of this was used by servants; above ran Lower Cloister Gallery, or "Lower Cloisters", a narrow passage with windows to Moberly's Court, and opening into rooms which all looked the other way, and of which one, divided from the others by an iron gate, was Continent Room. "Upper Cloisters", on the floor above, answered to this room for room, but all were bedrooms. Each room had two doors, and the mark of an old division was seen across it; the fact being that

the rooms were originally half the size, and there was no fireplace ; a reconstruction was soon found necessary on grounds of health.[1] The senior prefect had a room to himself which adjoined West Hall.

Thus the buildings were grouped around two courts, Moberly's Court and Flint Court. In the former, standing against the wall of the block which contained the cloister galleries, and opening outwards into the court like bathing-boxes, were twenty[2] small studies, each about seven feet by five, warmed (when the boiler was at work) by hot-water pipes. These studies had no counterpart in College life, and were an important item in ours. Beyond Flint Court was Grass Court, afterwards thrown into Meads, but then divided from Meads and Ball Court by a high brick wall, and bounded on the side of Kingsgate Street by the flint and stone wall, in which the "temples" still witness to the bygone activity of an early iron age. On the opposite side was the block containing Walford's, &c., built against School, and projected into Grass Court. The famous "Walford's Corner" was formed by the wall of Ball Court and the end of Walford's. The only communication with School Court and College was by "Good Friday Passage", a narrow flagged alley, with a heavy door at each end, locked during school hours. When "swilled" and frozen this made a magnificent slide ; at such times I suppose the passage was made by the flints on either side the flags, certainly there was no other way. In its whole effect to the eye no one could well have called Commoners beautiful, and perhaps no one ever did. Its founder used to tell of a too candid friend who said to him, "'Why, Dr. Moberly, you have built a workhouse.' 'My dear sir, that is the very thing I meant to do,' was my reply to the gentleman." Still the warm colour of the brick, and a certain spaciousness of the ground-plan, made the whole effect far from unpleasing, as any one can see from the old engravings. At least the buildings did not suggest any competition with those of the Founder hard by ; and with Winchester skies, and turf, and trees, it would be hard to have arrived at a result altogether lacking in charm.

Names such as Cloister Galleries, Linen Gallery, Conduit, sufficiently show the intention to continue the system of Old Commoners with a new outer shell. The two halls, beautifully named "Mugging" and "Grubbing Hall", replaced by differentiation of function the single hall of the older time.

In the society itself, perhaps the most striking feature was its extreme self-government, and its apparent independence of elders and their influence. Let me not exaggerate on this point. The Head Master, we all well knew, was a man of great and varied gifts, with a matchless power of winning and holding

[1] *Wykehamica*, p. 237. [2] Strictly nineteen, the last being a double one.

men or boys by personal charm and by graceful speech, well seasoned with salt. The upper part of the school, Sixth Book and Senior Part, spent hours daily at his feet; and his utterances to them, or those made, in chapel or elsewhere, to the whole school never missed their mark. Yet, as the ruler of Commoners, he intervened but seldom, and that at stated times: thus he read prayers on Sunday evenings, and visited Continent Room daily. Constitutional points, of prefects' duties and the like, were sometimes, but very rarely, referred to him. To individual applicants for advice or direction he was accessible and very gracious, but perhaps it was not then a common thing for boys to seek out their elders. Thus, though the place was constantly under his eye, yet Commoners had not often occasion to realise that they depended immediately upon him, and that from him all other authority issued.

Again, there were two tutors living within the walls, as in Old Commoners there had been one. It cannot have been but that the life of a number of boys was largely influenced by two men who were much in their midst, and whose relations with them singly were always kindly and helpful. Yet it would have seemed to us, if questioned, that it was on certain fixed points of discipline and routine that we were aware of the tutors' share in the government, and that the real problems were to be solved without them. Perhaps this is no more than saying that the methods of Commoners were those of a public school. I can only describe the general effect, which was that of a machine set going in some past time, and revolving still by its own momentum, not without some creaking and groaning, yet on the whole in a true direction.

Imagine a new-comer entering at twelve or thirteen this very independent society. He makes his appearance, as warned to do, in stand-up collars (which really do stand up and out), and a round jacket, to which the only alternative is the tail coat of riper years. I fear photography was too late to have preserved the somewhat remarkable effect of the collars; the tail coats you can see any day upon the hill at Harrow. He has been handed over to a prefect, perhaps a countryman or neighbour at home, whose client or "tégé" he becomes, and who in turn has intrusted him to a junior of middle standing, to learn his way about. The latter will impress upon him the importance of mastering his "notions"; a fortnight's grace will be given him, at the end of which time he will be "in course", and will become a full-fledged citizen. During the fortnight he will receive extreme, almost ironical consideration from every one; afterwards he must think no longer, but know everything, the situation of "Goldfinch's", a form of sound words in reply to the question, "Who's Jupiter?" and, which much more really concerns himself, his duties and rights as a commoner.

Two subjects are likely to exercise his thoughts while he may yet use them: prefect government, and the fagging which will fall to his share. Let us look at both with or for him.

The full number of commoner prefects was twelve. They were always in Sixth Book, and there was sometimes a difficulty in finding the complement, met by the early elevation from Senior Part of commoners otherwise eligible. At last Sixth Book was divided, its junior row forming a lower division. "I have a tail", we used to be told; and it is to be feared that the tail, before severance, did impede the free movements of the body, and that it was composed too largely of commoners. The twelve were divided into two messes, senior and junior, which sat separately at two out of the three meals. There was a curious cohesion among the members of each mess, and a sense of increased respectability and responsibility in passing up from one to the other.

The authority of prefects, allowing for some checks of a traditional or customary kind, was almost absolute. The commission proceeded of course from the Head Master, and was, in very rare cases, resumed by him (the phrase being to give or take away "your hat", since no hats or caps were worn by inferiors within the gates), and he had been known to settle points of privilege or the like. Speaking generally the order was looked upon as one formed by Nature for the discipline and well-being of Commoners. Though all prefects were in theory equal, the total amount of control exercised depended much on the character and self-assertion of the senior prefect, and of the one or two who were his natural advisers. It was possible to interfere too much, to be autocratic and fussy; but the fault was more often in the other direction. Anarchy, not pedantry in government, was the danger which threatened society; not a direct attack upon authority, but a narrowing of it by prefects themselves to what was merely official. Hence a strong senior prefect left a name which was honoured long after his own time; and indeed it would be hard to find a purer tribute of posthumous gratitude than that which was accorded to some such rulers, ranking them among the heroes who slew the enemies of mankind

"Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo."

Mr. Adams suggests[1] that the difficulties in the way of efficient government were so great in Commoners, that the system was maintained only or mainly by the moral support of the system seen at work in College under more stringent conditions. There is much truth in the idea, though a commoner, at least a junior, would have scouted it. Let us take one or two points for comparison.

[1] *Wykehamica*, p. 131

In College the number of prefects was eighteen, six being only "in half-power", but equally belonging to the order. Between the proportion of eighteen to fifty-two, and that of twelve to seventy or so, there is not much to choose; the advantage may be with the more compact number. But a body of eighteen was likely to include a larger admixture of all that was personally eminent in different ways than one of twelve. Then again, for obvious reasons, the number of commoners who failed to reach Sixth Book, even if they stayed out their full time, was larger than in College. Thus there were always a few commoners, conspicuous by size or skill in games, and often worthy and influential persons, who remained inferiors. This order was in a way recognized by being allowed, or invited, to take places round one side of the double stove at "Commoner singing", and some jealously limited rights of fagging were tolerated. I think that this particular class did not do much to thwart prefects, or to oppress juniors. But the fact of its existence was a drawback to the working of the system, and one in the main peculiar to Commoners.

Again, College prefects were mixed up with inferiors in daily life, in school, and still more in chambers. Commoner prefects naturally passed a good deal of time in their studies (which withdrew altogether the twenty seniors from the main body) or their library. In each gallery one prefect had to be present from 9 P.M., the common bedtime, the others stayed downstairs till 10. There were no boy-tutors in Commoners; but it was common for a prefect to concern himself with the school-work of a promising junior, or of one who was not doing as well as he should, hearing his "Standing-up," for instance, and seeing that he got fair time for himself.

Another point to be noticed here is the presence of the tutors, two of whom, as we have seen, had rooms in the building. So far as work went, they divided between them as pupils the whole body of inferiors, and revised tasks and vulguses till fit to be sent up to the masters. With prefects they had no relations of this kind, though they were always considerate and cordial, especially to those who had been their pupils. The tutor in course for the week was present during most of the three meals, his entry being the signal for one of the prefects in course to call names, the other walking about and seeing to defaulters. "Toys" in the evening and "Book Chambers" on remedies and half-remedies were kept by the prefects in course; but again names were called if and when the tutor came in, which he always did at Toys. At other times a tutor would intervene, if there were any outrageous noise going on, especially in galleries, either coming down upon offenders himself or remonstrating with the prefect in charge. Thus it was on points of order and routine that the action of the

tutors came in; I doubt if much responsibility on their part for the general life of the place was even contemplated. Whether, under all the conditions of Commoners, the prefect system could have worked so entirely of itself as it appeared to do in College, is doubtful; the fact that it was supplemented by the tutors points to a weakness in it, and was to some extent a cause of weakness.

However, the prefects were only twelve, and it is time to turn to the life of the remainder, and to the questions about fagging, which we offered to answer. What did fagging come to in Commoners, and who did it? I think that the amount was not very grievous, but that the incidence was somewhat uncertain. Let us make this point clear. In College the latest comer was always junior, whatever his place in school; and, having borne the yoke early—a pretty severe one we believed it to be—moved up by regular stages into freedom and leisure. In Commoners things were much more haphazard. Senior Part was entirely (unless in the rare case of a new-comer placed there), and Middle Part was in great measure exempt; for the rest there was no very certain fagging order. The gallery fagging was arranged on a scheme drawn up by "coursekeeper" (or rather "coursekeeper's fag", for the higher sounding office had been abolished). To every prefect was assigned a water-carrier, who did nothing, and whose office was perhaps a relic of some old state of things, a valet, who brushed his clothes, and a water-boiler. This last had no sinecure. He had to be up at first peal, and to grope his way, dressed commonly in a horsecloth, worn poncho fashion, and armed with a funnel-shaped "Waterloo" boiler, to hall; there to get the best place he could on a fire usually black and unpromising. Two "peal callers" were appointed to each gallery, on whose efficiency the water-boilers, and indeed every one, depended. These duties were distributed fairly enough; downstairs chance came largely in. Here, too, each prefect had his body-officers: a "study fag", who looked after his study, and "baked" there at odd times (sometimes introducing his friends to the exclusion of the lawful owner, if too easy-going), and a "baker-layer", who took charge of a huge green baize baker, which was laid and removed at every meal, it being unconstitutional to the last degree for a prefect to sit on bare boards. These offices gave a right to answer "Fagging" when a prefect called "Here" in either hall. It was also possible, for service done, to "give" a junior "fagging", that is the right to make the same answer for so many hours—a somewhat unsound part of the system, open at least to abuse. The duties for which "Here" was called were mostly of a slight and passing nature—a message, or the like. The real taxes on juniors' time were watching-out at "small crockets", and cleaning boilers (used for brewing coffee, &c.). The last was detestable work; it had to be

done in Junior Conduit with sods from Grass Court; the worst was that it seemed often to fall into the unfortunate hands of a few, who were again and again retained by some middleman. There were certain public servants who were exempt from all fagging; thus each tutor had a "collector", who collected and distributed vulguses and tasks, being generally an estimable member of Middle Part.

The subject of fagging touches on one of its sides that of school games; that is of cricket and football, for there was nothing else of serious account: there were no fives courts, sports were in their early infancy, and so was the rifle corps. Football was, on the whole, very well organized. It is true that Commoner Field was a long quarter of a mile off, and that a leave-out of an hour and a quarter gave little time for a game which should have lasted an hour, for the double journey, and for dressing at each end; and, as College got the full hour in practice, we met them at a slight disadvantage. Still the results were not bad; the rolls for the "canvas" game were carefully made, and there were arrangements for a junior and middle game. The "long-game" once a week gave a chance to obscure merit of emerging. The fagging connected with football (except some more water boiling, done by the clotheskeeper, another body-servant) was trifling—kicking-in was a matter of the far past—the rota of umpires and of the few juniors needed to "put in" was fairly kept. Grass Court was quite large enough for a running game kept up at odd times. Twenty-two a side was an absurdly large number to play the Winchester game: but there was the advantage that nearly every one had a chance in his time of playing for Commoners in the most important, if not the most scientific, trial of strength. Cricket, so much more exacting a game, came off rather poorly. The turf in Commoner Field was laid down afresh at considerable cost in 1859; but the times for which it was accessible, with the one weekly exception of the whole-remedy leave out (two hours) was far too short. Grass Court was useless for cricket; and Meads, where the higher cricket went on, was otherwise the exclusive property of College. There was plenty of watching-out to be done, but it seemed to be little organized and to lead to nothing. However the state of things was different in different years, and it may well have been better on the whole than what has been here described.

There were other, but minor amusements. The river had hardly come into use for boating, but was always at hand for bathing and fishing, the leave-outs, if short, being fairly numerous. The commoner tutors presented a number of sets of quoits, which were a great boon, especially for short intervals such as

"Bevers", and for which Grass Court did well. Hockey, also played in Grass Court, had a short but lively season. But the one indigenous game was "small crockets." The two cloisters in Flint Court were always in use. The play was fast and furious, and, it must be added, costly. The windows of the halls and hall galleries were undefended; and by the end of the week, were riddled through and through. These were mended, under senior prefect's orders, out of "battlings". If I could give, which I cannot, the number of battlings "sconced" for this purpose, I should not expect to be believed. Small crockets, if not a real substitute for cricket, had merits of its own, at any rate it was a real amusement, and was played as such.

Any account of Commoners would be incomplete which failed to touch on our relations with College. To the mind of a junior Commoners was everything. He had been born into Commoners, and knew no other word to describe the society of which he was an unit. Gradually it would be borne in upon him that he was a member of the school and a Wykehamist. Commoners and College were divided by walls and gates; which, even when the latter were not locked, were seldom passed by juniors except for chapel, school, or Hills. There the whole school was together, and commoners came under the control of college officers, a relation in which there was no reciprocity. In time a commoner was pretty sure to find one or two fast friends in College, the difference in the two conditions of life being just what fostered friendship. The long hours spent in school (two to six, less Bever-time, on a whole school day afternoon) gave opportunity for much pleasant and never forgotten hospitality at a friendly "square", a welcome relief to the stiffness of commoner tables. In Sixth Book intercourse was easy and frequent. The hospitalities were largely on the side of College, and we were often bidden to "Mess" in Chamber Court or "toasted cheese" in hall, but we could also receive visitors with some comfort in studies. There was a standing epithet for the body to which one did not belong; but I think it was only used to emphasize the loyalty felt to one's own.

The Commoner life preserved many customs of an older time which had become meaningless. One or two must suffice. There were the "pealings", a noisy and very persistent usage. The license of the personal pealings, described by Mr. Adams, had disappeared. But regularly as each half drew to its close, on the last Tuesday but one, the whole body of commoners remained at their places in hall after dinner, the tutors going out; and, when the door was closed raised a lusty chorus of "Once! twice! thrice! Party Rolls!" three times repeated. So on the following Tuesday, only this time it was Money and

Direction Rolls. Here was a curious mixture of past and present. Party Rolls, *i.e.*, the roll showing the party assigned to each coach, had gone to the same limbo as "Collier's" itself. But they lived on in name and in the pealing; also in the fact that Money and Direction Roll was made out by the *second* senior prefect, his senior being assumed to be still busy upon the party roll. Another survival was the practice of beginning Commoner singing every evening with the "Soldiers' Cheer", a convivial song of victory over the fall of the tyrant Tippoo slain at last (in 1798!), and of yearning for the joys of the next campaign. In College the song was in use, and it deserved to live; but if I am not mistaken, with a slightly different tune, nor was it there exalted into this sort of ritual precedence.

A third instance, which may seem trivial, but which I recall with admiration and amusement, was the supply of toast to commoner prefects. Year by year, as the stove made its appearance in Mugging Hall (there was none in the other) about November, two pieces of toast were served to each at breakfast and supper; when the stove disappeared in May, the toast ceased. As to the toast itself, there was a theory that it was made wholesale in the summer, and kept in sand till wanted; but with the chemistry of this I am not able to deal. Whatever its natural history, and whether gratefully received or no, the toast never failed in its season. Now this was, I believe, the faithful performance of a compact made *in Old Commoners*, where there was a fire in hall, and where toast fagging had become oppressive, that, if the fagging ceased, the toast should be made in the kitchen.

Such were a few of the curiosities in the daily life of Commoners. The life itself was full of inconsistencies: an intense corporate spirit went with a good deal of individual license; a modest standard of reading and thought with an eager acknowledgment of any intellectual success or capacity; traditional aims of real severity and even loftiness with some uncertainty in realising them. There was a strong touch of the turbulent spirit which animated the Roman Commons in its early struggles; or to borrow a fancy which some chronicler had followed out with spirit and success in one of the "annals" written on the fly-leaves of folios in Commoners' Library, there were passages in school history which recalled the occasional waywardness and murmurings of Israel in its Exodus. The system of the past must be judged by its fruits, and a commoner turning over the rolls of twenty or thirty years ago need not fear but that his fellows who are left in the world are doing their fair share of its work. Whether the system itself could have been preserved into the future, was a difficult question; all the conditions for settling which were perhaps only known in

the quarter where the responsibility of decision lay. "Fuimus Troes—Fuit Ilium." New Commoners has gone the way of Old Commoners, and no old commoner of either era can affect not to regret the vanished home. When the change had to be carried out, it is matter for common rejoicing that it was so wisely planned, and so resolutely executed, and that the new settlements were fostered by such loyal hands as those of the first house masters. The commoners who left our devoted Ilium for Culver's Close in 1869 had a noble fortune before them, and their successors have not been wanting to it.

A. O. Prickard.

LAVENDER MEADS AND HILLS.

HILLS, MEADS, AND GAMES

T would be interesting to know, if only it were discoverable, when St. Catherine's Hill became, what it so long continued to be, the sole, or at least the principal, recreation-ground of Wykehamists. Some writers have indeed inferred, from the absence of any other such provision by the Founder, that "going on Hills" was an original institution; and the same conclusion would follow, if the *Tabula Legum* (in its earlier or some similar shape) could be proved to be the work of Wykeham. But to attribute to the Founder a belief in the necessity of active exercise is, perhaps, an anachronism;[1] and Mr. Adams' interesting argument for the primeval origin of the *Tabula* is inconclusive. Our earliest evidence for the procession to Hills is Jonson's poem, where, by the way, what seems to have been called "Hille" without qualification long before Wykeham's time appears (as in the older version of the *Tabula*) in the familiar plural. Already in 1550 the institution asserts its supreme importance in Wykehamical outdoor life; an importance which it retains in the poem of Thomas Warton (1760), in such lines as are addressed to "Catherine Hill" by the poet of the *Hampshire Magazine*, or again in those delightful pages where T. A. Trollope records "what he remembers" of his life at Winchester. Till recent times it was Hills, it was not "Meads", that their games endeared[2] to Wykehamists.—A writer in the *Wiccamical Chaplet* (1804) deplores the death, from fever, of a school-fellow, and concludes—

> "Quin huc pulchra veni, Catherinæ in vertice nata,
> Et semper nostros rite beato, Salus!"

[1] The prohibitions of sport and other activities in the statutes seem to justify this statement. Wolsey was perhaps, Mr. Leach informs me, the first school-founder who recognized the importance of bodily exercise. Beckington (the Wykehamist Bishop of Wells, who assisted Henry VI in starting Eton) directs (1460) that an ordinary day's playtime at his choristers' school shall not exceed half an hour.

[2] "The hill that our sports have endear'd", says W. P. Taunton (admitted 1792), in a patriotic song which Mr. Lionel Johnson communicated to the *Wykehamist* of July 30, 1889. The poet does not mention Meads.

Latterday mothers and matrons may question whether groups of breakfastless juniors, huddled together at "Misery corner" from 7 to 9 on an east-windy February morning, were courting *Salus* rather than those very fevers which the poet prays that Hills may banish. Did not even Jonson warn—

> "nec aude,
> Ne tibi sint tremulæ febres, discumbere terræ"?

For all that it is certain that at any time for at least three centuries a poet might with justice have spoken of Hills as the birthplace of Wykehamical Health.

The multifarious recreations of which Hills have been the scene are described by many writers. Football was played there in 1550, and as late as 1860; Warton describes the game with spirit in his own felicitous Latinity. We do not know whether the rules of Jonson's game of *pila* and *bacillum* were such as to warrant its identification with some forerunner of cricket; but cricket was probably played on Hills as soon as there was a cricket to play. Certainly it survived football there; "junior match" was played on successive March hill-times, amidst storms of chaff and often of snow, as late as 1866. Quoits, hand-ball[1] and rounders have also served to beguile the hour; and to these may be added the popular sports of pole-jumping, bird-slinging, and mouse-digging, the last of which Frank Buckland describes with the affection of an expert. The hill has always been the happy hunting-ground of naturalists, from Darwin to the scientific junior; thence Buckland obtained some of those dead and living specimens of which his contemporaries tell good stories.—Such pursuits as these were open to the unprivileged "inferior", within the circle of the *liciti colles.* But if your Prefect of Hall was negligent; if, for instance, like Whitehead, who sank to be poet-laureate, he "sought a sequestered nook, and read some book of poetry"; or again if you were yourself a prefect, or, being an inferior, could obtain a prefect's protection, you could pass the limits of "trench" and wander far afield.

> "Longinquos campos et non sua rura capessunt."

Sometimes indeed in their wanderings boys would lay violent hands on what was "not their own": thus in 1818 a commoner "killed and carried away clandestinely a fowl",[2] and involved Dr. Gabell in a portentous corre-

[1] *Pila palmaria* (Jonson). Twenty years after Jonson wrote John Lyon "directs his scholars, among other diversions, to toss a hand ball." Thornton's *Harrow School*, p. 317.

[2] A friend informs me that his father, who had wished to vary the dietary of "Old Commoners" by [illegible] means, "had his name ordered" on Hills "*pro utendo instrumento fulmine* [illegible] *nitrato repleto*"—for so the "Bible clerk" phrased it.

spondence which found its way into print. Others, in defiance of repeated fulminations, would at morning Hills hurry off to Twyford or St. Cross, and wisely anticipate the legal breakfast-hour. But predominant among the diversions of the privileged was the hunting of the badger, who was actually domiciled in College, under the special custody of a junior, at the end of the last century; Mr. Copleston remembers the pair of tongs with which the caterer of his day (about 1818) would recover his property. Boys of a quieter turn "constructed arbours"; and some would wander among the streams, and talk of poetry, and institute, perhaps, an "order of SS. Shakespeare and Milton." Of such were Hook and the future Lord Hatherley.

"I love your playing-fields", said Lord Selborne *ad portas* in 1873, "but *especially your Hills*, and all the life that is associated with them." Such was probably the general sentiment of Lord Selborne's contemporaries, though the late Lord Sherbrooke speaks without enthusiasm of the boys being "marched, two and two, to the hill a mile away"; but it was not the sentiment of a later generation. The editor of the *Wykehamist* laments in 1867 that "to be condemned to go on Hills" is generally declared "unbearable"; and just as Mr. Kirby has discovered that "diligent attendance of the scholars at Hills" was a *desideratum* in 1630, so contemporaries will remember that drastic methods were deemed necessary in 1867 to secure the diligent attendance of commoners. Morning Hills, indeed, had been abolished in 1860; no one disliked the bathing at evening Hills in the summer; but, though bounds had been extended, the afternoon procession to Tunbridge (for that since 1859 had been its goal) was by no means a success. If many used their leisure wisely, and learnt to love their water-meads, yet doing nothing, tempered by refreshments, was perhaps the usual pursuit. And so Hills as an institution passed away, unmourned, in 1868. The centre of Wykehamical outdoor life, the birthplace of Wykehamical Health, was no longer Hills, but Meads.

The southern boundary of the original precincts of the college was a wall running westwards from just beyond "*Non-licet* gate" until it reached another wall, which ran southwards from the south-western corner of Outer Court. The space thus inclosed behind the buildings was certainly not a playground, though some portion of it became, at an early date, the *area pilaris* to which further reference will be made; it was garden, farm-yard, and so forth. About 1548, when St. Stephen's Chapel and the church of St. Elizabeth's College had been pulled down, the present south wall of Meads was constructed with their stones, and the grounds of the Carmelite friars were thus brought within the college

precincts. It was probably a few years later that Jonson wrote of life in College, but to this important extension he does not allude; indeed he says very little about Meads at all. That they were cool and shady; that the "remedy-ring" gave you the privilege of access to them; that, if Sirius burned, that privilege was valuable—is the sum of what he has to tell. From certain regulations of 1788 we learn that the boys were allowed to go (hatted) into Meads "at the season"; which must have been the case continuously from Jonson's time. For from 1569 onwards the names of scholars were freely carved upon the southern wall; among the earlier names is that of Robert Pinke [2] (admitted 1588), who was afterwards Warden of New College. Not that Meads were in 1588, or even perhaps in 1788, in any full sense a playground. The northern portion was probably till the end of the last century what it had been at first, principally a garden; from the remainder the college used to reap a hay-harvest.[3] It would be interesting to know what was the precise appearance of the Meads from which, in 1778, George III "admired the view of the plantation on St. Catherine's Hill."

The north-western part of Meads has been much altered since 1862. A wall which ran from Ball Court westwards and shut off "Commoner Grass Court" was demolished in that year; the writer remembers Dr. Moberly explaining, in his last "Good Friday prose", that the alteration, by opening "Commoners" to breezes from the south, should prove beneficial to health. It had the additional advantage that it brought scholars and commoners into freer intercourse. Further changes, consequent on the building of the racquet court (1872) and of the gymnasium (1878), have thrown into Meads what was once the graveyard of the Carmelites, and was afterwards Sick-house Meads. But by far the most significant change has been the insertion (in 1869) of a gateway at the south-western corner. "I wish we had more ground," said Dr. Moberly in 1862; "it is one of our greatest necessities, but we are bounded by rivers; there is a stream immediately behind the meadow wall, so that we cannot extend the ground an inch further in that direction." Physical impossibilities, however, gave way before the genius of Dr. Moberly's successor; and by the gateway at "*Salve Diva potens* corner" you now make your way into "Lavender Meads" and the beautiful "New Field", for which a more adequate "notion", surely, was (and is) ready to be coined. A further southern extension towards Prior's Barton—which, it was long remembered, was once Speaker Cornwall's house—

[1] See Kirby's *Annals*, pp. 150, 185, 236.

[2] The inscription is "Robert Pinket 1594"; but the "t" must be a later addition.

[3] See Loggan's celebrated view of the College (1675) in *Oxonia Illustrata*.

will provide the school, through the munificence of an anonymous benefactor, with a new football-ground in this year of the quincentenary.

Of Winchester cricket before the present century nothing is known.[1] There is, indeed, a tradition that Bishop Ken was in his school-days a cricketer of distinction; but at what sort of cricket did he excel? It must have been a cricket without stumps. Before 1700 some unnamed innovator "added a *stick*" to the primitive elements of the game; a second stick was added at some unrecorded date; and with the appearance, in 1775, of a third—it is like a scoffer's history of the Attic drama—the game became, in all essential points, the game we know. Of cricket, however, during all this period of development we have no Wykehamical record. We cannot of course doubt that the game was played at Winchester, as at other schools,[2] in the days when Hampshire was its special home, and the Hambledon club supreme; that club, indeed, which flourished from 1750 to 1791, and met All England annually, had its poet, and a very good poet too, in our own George Huddesford. Yet it must be observed that Huddesford does not connect cricket with Winchester life; it is "on the immediate approach of the holidays" that he asks Whitsuntide to

> "With thee bring
> Cricket, nimble boy and light,
> In slippers red and drawers white."

Not even the elegance of its costume, apparently, could thoroughly naturalize cricket among Wykehamists. It was possible, in the summer of 1770, for a Winchester commoner to write long letters to a brother and schoolfellow invalided home, to declare that news is "very scarce and very difficult to be met with", and yet to make no allusion to a game for which the modern schoolboy claims, and can often command, the attention of his whole home-circle.[3]

Even when we reach the first quarter of the present century the evidence, and the absence of evidence, lead to the conclusion that these early days were, with respect to Wykehamical cricket, "great neither in their contests nor in anything else." The eponymous hero of "bartering", indeed, came to Winchester in 1803; and William Ward (1800–1804?), the most famous of our cricketers,

[1] Mr. Thornton makes the same statement with regard to Harrow.

[2] The *Gentleman's Magazine* for October, 1756, contains a poetical *Exercise at Merchant Taylors' School* on cricket. The game was played at Eton in Horace Walpole's day.

[3] The allusion is to the valuable *Bond Letters*, which the Rev. Chr. Wordsworth has very kindly shown me.

played for All England as early as 1810.[1] "Whether", says Ward's biographer, "he was in the Winchester eleven is now unknown"; he might have added that it is improbable that in those days there was a Winchester eleven at all. There were no public-school or foreign matches,[2] and an eleven is not constituted if there is nothing for it to do. The comparative unimportance of our cricket between 1800 and 1820 may be illustrated in many ways. The *Hampshire Chronicle* for instance deals with cricket in the Hambledon days, and has always taken a lively interest in the school; but it never speaks of cricket at the school till 1825.[3] No one, again, who was in College between 1820 and 1840 records the rigours of his early school-days without assigning a chief place among them to the endless "watching-out" upon a remedy. Frank Buckland indeed went so far as to confess to a hatred for the game (which surprises us in one of his family) derived from his experience as a fag. But in the early years of the century watching-out was apparently not yet a grievance. For instance Moyle Sherer (admitted 1800) has much to say of the trials of his juniorship. He was "a severely beaten fag; a little faggot-lighting, shoe-polishing, bason-cleaning, towel-drying, bread-toasting, chocolate-making, gaiter-buttoning varlet"; he passed "many a long cold wintry hour, leaning against the iron-cased gate, to give warning of the coming step" of a master who generally did not come; but of cricket he speaks as an admiring looker-on, never as a weary watcher-out. It is no rash conjecture that when cricket became a really serious pursuit watching-out became a very serious thing too. Anyhow it is certain that till about 1820 less importance was attached to the game by Wykehamists than by their future rivals.

For "Eton was in 1800 already famous in the cricket field." Scores of foreign matches played there as early as 1793 are extant, and there are still earlier records of matches of old Etonians; the first Wykehamical score known to be in existence is that of the Harrow match in 1825. In 1796 Eton sent an eleven clandestinely to play Westminster on Hounslow Heath. The Etonians

[1] Ward's innings of 278 in 1820 was long a "record." From 1816 to 1828 his scores were enormous; and a poet declares, as a thing which "no man will deny",

"That he's without rival first bat of the day."

[2] It is true that the *Salisbury and Winchester Journal* alludes, on July 25, 1803, to a "grand match of cricket between eleven gentlemen of Winchester College, and eleven gentlemen of the town." But probably the former set of gentlemen (as was the case on a later occasion, when the same [illegible] were selected from College or from Commoners exclusively; and the event, "grand" [illegible], was, it would seem, of an exceptional kind.

[3] Mr. W. H. Jacob has most obligingly examined the earlier files of the *Chronicle* for the purposes of this book.

were beaten, and (says Mr. Maxwell-Lyte) were also flogged; and this, the first public-school match, was followed by others between the same combatants in 1800 and 1801. There was an informal Eton *v.* Harrow, in which Lord Byron played, and, says his captain, "very badly too",[1] in 1805; of another, played in 1818, the veteran author of *Eton of Old* supplies a lively narrative. It is not till 1825, when Christopher Wordsworth was a prominent Winchester cricketer, and his brother one of the triumvirate of "club-keepers" who managed Harrow games, that we reach the epoch-making occasion of the first appearance of Wykehamists at Lord's. The late Bishop of Lincoln used to say, and the assertion is confirmed by *Wykehamical Scores*, that in this first Harrow match he "caught out Henry Manning"; but the *Chronicle* and other contemporary records assign the Cardinal a different fate.[2]

"His fall was destined to a dubious hand."

In 1826 there were matches with both Eton[3] and Harrow, "attended", says the *Chronicle*, "by most of the nobility and gentry in town", and doubtless by not a few members of the School; but in those pre-railway days it was difficult for boys to come from distant homes to London. From 1834 onwards the public-school week was a regular feature of the Marylebone programme, until in 1855 the Harrow match was dropped, and we come to the period of those alternate games at Eton and at Winchester which have done so much to maintain our *amicabilis concordia*. Of these there is neither space nor need to speak. Though Eton has upon the whole prevailed; though its Lytteltons and its Studds have often proved, both qualitatively and quantitatively, too many for us; yet there have always been excellent cricketers at Winchester, not only in these later days when victory has become familiar, the days of Mason the record-breaker, of Lewis and the Leveson-Gowers, but even in that depressing period of uniform defeat which was terminated in 1870 by the bowling of Moyle and Raynor, and by the batting and generalship of Guinness. The feats of Wykehamists at Lord's are also a tempting theme; it would be pleasant to record the

[1] Lloyd to Dean Merivale, in Thornton's *Harrow School*, p. 239.

[2] See Charles Wordsworth's *Annals of My Early Life*, p. 11, and the *Life of Christopher Wordsworth*, p. 33.

[3] "The Winchester costume", writes Mr. E. S. Turner, "was white-duck trousers, a white jean jacket bound with pink, and a high hat. The Eton eleven had no particular dress; some were in flannels, and one of the bowlers was in knee-breeches and silk stockings." Space does not permit me to trace the evolution of cricket and football uniforms; but I may mention that dark blue was in no way a Winchester colour till the appearance of "Lord's caps" in 1851. On the other hand we hear of "the blue tie of Eton" as early as 1820.

deeds of Meyrick and of V. C. Smith, of Darnell and of Lowth[1]; but there can be no better tribute to our early elevens than the following. "They come a long way", said a Harrovian, "to play a cricket match, and they take things just as they find them; and though they make noise enough if they win, if they lose they take it without any grumbling. . . . They don't seem to think that they are to have all things made easy for them, but take things as they come; and they do work so hard." Such was the verdict of Robert Grimston, as it stands recorded by his lively Wykehamical biographer.

The year of our first encounter with Eton was also that of the first of our foreign matches of which we possess the score; if games at Compton and at Tichborne "between eleven Gentlemen Commoners of St. Mary's College and eleven Gentlemen of Winchester" can be called foreign matches at all. In 1827, on the last Monday in "Cloister Time", Commoners defeated the local club on Tichborne Down; the presence on this latter occasion not only of "a vast concourse of spectators", but also, says the *Chronicle*, of "many genteel carriages", testifies to the interest which our cricket was beginning to inspire. Such holiday games as these appear to have been for some years our only encounters, other than public-school matches, with the outside world; the first year in which the *school* eleven played against a foreign eleven which was not too obviously a mere scratch team was 1837. Even after 1850 foreign matches were still rare events; their greater frequency ten years later was no doubt largely due to the opening of the Basingstoke and Reading railway. Meanwhile, till 1867, the most important encounters, next to Eton match, were undoubtedly those between College and Commoners—the term "senior match" does not occurs till 1842—of which, and of other matches played from 1825 to 1851,[2] *Wykehamical Scores* is the record. Senior match, which is of pre historic origin, was discontinued after 1870[3]; a series of three games was necessitated by the separation (in 1867) of Commoners and Houses, and this was felt to be a tedious business, for which the foreign matches left insufficient time. It may

[1] In 1836 these two famous bowlers disposed of Harrow for twenty-nine and twenty-four, of which fifteen and twelve were extras.

[2] Many of these games, we observe, were left unfinished. There was "some mistake", or, more definitely, "a mistake of the scorers", or there was "a dispute"; and on two occasions we read with concern that Wykehamists knew when they were beaten, and "gave up." A too partial editor assigns a definite result to one unfinished game: "Winchester", he explains, "won by a single innings *less* [illegible] runs." On the other hand in 1841 a College and Commoners game was finished twice. Both sides had completed their second innings, and Commoners headed their opponents by a single run. But perhaps they scorned to win by such a trifle; or the scorers' arithmetic was once more at fault; a third innings was resolved, and, thanks to V. C. Smith, College secured a six wickets' victory.

[3] A subsequent attempt to revive it proved abortive.

CRICKET IN NEW FIELD.

however be observed that from 1825, and probably earlier, till 1847 there were already three senior matches annually between College and Commoners, unless indeed the same side won both the first two. Between 1825 and 1850 College won a large majority of these games, a result partly, perhaps, due to the longevity, as schoolboys, of the "Founder's kin"; but chiefly to the scanty opportunities enjoyed by commoners for practice. For "Commoner Field" (which was originally rented by the boys themselves) was remote, rarely accessible, and small; College had the sole right to Meads, of which at least the prefects made abundant use.

It is often regretted that the old Meads see so little cricket now. Lavender Meads, on a half-holiday, are a far more animated scene; the interlacing games of junior and of "junior-junior" house elevens, however dangerous a nervous stranger may think them, are a joy to all Wykehamical eyes. But the pleasantest, perhaps, of out-door sights at Winchester is that of a foreign match on an early summer afternoon. The immemorial elms, which half cheat you into the belief that New Field is an immemorial playground; the swallows (though swallows have been known to stop a cricket match) circling over an *area tonsa* such as delighted the eye of Bishop Wordsworth; the water-meadows, separated from us by no visible boundary, with their blue streams, their cool verdure, and perhaps their wealth of buttercups, if haymakers are not already lading their slowly-moving carts; the soft slopes of Hills, where flocks are peacefully wandering, and shadow is chasing shadow; the still fresh foliage of the beeches in their crowning "Clump";—the interest of the match is not so intense but that a lazy looker-on can feel the charm of its delightful setting.

There is another fine picture, of a different kind, which Wykehamists will associate with their games, but do not, perhaps, adequately study; for noble as is the view of Cloisters and of Chantry, of Chapel and of Tower, through the delicately-tinted tracery of the centenarian plane-trees on a bright December morning, that view is seen by most of us only as the background to a "Six." A Six is the choicest product, a Wykehamist will say, of any kind of football, certainly of the Winchester variety; but it was apparently a rather late, and seventy years ago it was regarded as a more or less irregular, product of the game. It was something of an extra; a Wykehamist of 1829 describes it as "a long-game",[1] on the ground that there was "only kicking and running", and that the characteristic "hot" was absent. The true old Winchester game was the

[1] A long game in 1830, an old Wykehamist tells me, was something "highly casual: more like what they call Association." In later parlance a long game is one in which seniors, playing "behind", teach juniors to play "up"; it is at least intended that all the Winchester rules should be observed.

cumbrous "Twenty-two", in which the rules in 1825 were roughly what our rules are now; such terms as "tag" and "flyer" are remembered by Wykehamists of a slightly later date. But the distinction between "ups" and "behinds" was as yet undeveloped; a behind in 1835 was not necessarily a person who on occasion could "kick his six posts", but was any one who might be out of breath. The Warden of New College describes an interesting feature in the football of his day. "Whenever", he writes, "a hot occurred, the outsiders were reminded of their duty to get into the middle of it by the application of a gentle persuasive from a leather strap employed for the purpose."

The chief peculiarity of Winchester football is of course that the game is played within so small an area. Meads are not very large; and though the central portion supplied but a poor wicket till after 1836, when on the initiative of Wordsworth it was scientifically laid, "Turf" was sacred to cricket in the earliest times of which we can now obtain a glimpse; football consequently was confined to the restricted limits of the strips of ground surrounding it. Perhaps—but the evidence is scanty—the area of the game was still further restricted just fifty years ago. Wordsworth, to whom, though no Wykehamist, Wykehamists owe so much,—

ὀθνεῖος, ἄλλως δ' ἦν ἀναγκαῖος δόμοις—

was impressed by the hardships of a system under which all unprivileged inferiors were "required to stand, often shivering with cold, for an hour or more at a time, on the confines of the game",[1] to which they served as side-walls. It was Mr. Walford, apparently, who suggested that by constructing a framework and stretching canvas upon it these human walls would be made unnecessary. That in constructing such a framework the length of the sides of what was now to be called "canvas" should be somewhat reduced would be suggested by considerations of expense.

Even after the introduction of canvas the matches between College and Commoners continued to be played without it ("in ropes"); as was obviously necessary if the play was to be comfortably seen. Of course there was a disadvantage in the fact that the side-walls were built of boys. Wall, as we know from Shakespeare, is a difficult *rôle* for human actors, and these particular walls

[1] On Wordsworth's suggestion the college prefects proclaimed "that the system of kicking-in at football is totally abolished." The Prefect of Hall records the proclamation "to induce all succeeding prefects to follow up the abolition of a plan (introduced within the last few years) which was really a hardship to the juniors." The parenthetical words are optimistic history. In Dr. Moberly's school days (as in Dr. Sewell's) "there was but one football game, and the little boys used to fag out."

had many "crannied holes and chinks" through which the ball could pass. Then again they were animated by human passions, so that it might depend on the sympathies of some particular portion of the masonry whether a "second behind" was or was not to get an easy flyer.[1] From a sense of these inconveniences it was resolved to transfer the matches to the netted enclosure, as soon as netting had (in 1866) been substituted for canvas. The change, however, as had been foreseen, introduced a new evil. It led to the development of "under-ropes play", and much of the attractiveness of the game seemed likely to disappear. From any such degeneracy it has happily been preserved by a series of well-conceived reforms; and a "Six" or a "Fifteen"[2] is nowadays as lively as of old and considerably more scientific.

Next in historical importance to cricket and football comes fives. An *area pilaris*, Mr. Kirby tells us, existed in College from very early times; and a *sphæristærium ubi globis luditur* occasioned expenditure in 1641. Ball Court, says Mr. Kirby, dates from 1688. The glare of its chalk floor was trying both to fags and to the players of bat-fives who were its legitimate occupants; concrete was first laid down (in the centre only) about 1851. The oldest court specially intended for hand-fives is that at Chernocke House; Mr. Ridding's fives-courts were built in 1862; his racquet-court in 1872.—Wordsworth's attempt to naturalize rowing at Winchester was followed by a systematic attempt to "get up boats" in 1861; but the Navigation Commissioners complained that it injured the navigation, and the thing fell through. The present boat club dates from 1867. A cynical οὔτις describes the scene of its operations as something which "was once a canal, is called a river, and is a drain"; the club's successful career for a quarter of a century is a notable example of Wykehamical tenacity.—

> "Fas est his lusibus uti,
> Lusibus atque aliis—quos jam præscribere nolo."

For though the athletic sports, the gymnasium, golf and so forth mean a good deal at Winchester, the proper limits of this paper have been transgressed.

A. K. Cook.

[1] Somewhat similar inconveniences must have arisen from the arrangement (which survived till about 1845) by which the functions of goal, goal-keeper and umpire were assigned to one individual.

[2] Fifteen was substituted for Twenty-two after the separation of Houses from Commoners in 1867.

COLLEGE FROM THE WEIRS.

PART II

HYMNUS WICCAMICUS

A.S. M.CCC.XCIII—M.DCCC.XCIII

GAUDETE, pubes Wiccami,
Gaudete, cantantes Deo,
Qui quinque nos per saecula
Hunc in diem servaverit.

Dei datoris omnium
Confisus ille gratia,
Christo Mariae filio
Hoc obtulit Collegium.

Instinctus ille caelitus
Aedes, scholas, cubilia,
Deo favente condidit,
Deo datori reddidit.

Instinctus ille caelitus
Vitam bonis sub legibus
Sancto paravit ordine,
Exempla tradens posteris.

Qui vota cordis intima
Scrutatur, accepit Deus,
Servans semel quod accipit
Per temporum discrimina.

Exinde forti examine
Robusta proles Wiccami
Ivit, redivit, exiit
Ecclesiam redintegrans.

Quis filiorum Wiccami
Renuntiabit nomina?
Hos ara, castra praedicant,
Forum, senatus, curia.

Proles futura Wiccami
Ne sit prioris degener!
Fide manente pristina
Fides manebit Numinis.

Hic lecta plebs Scholarium,
Immixta Commensalibus,
Severa vitae munera
Obire discat invicem.

Bonis polita litteris,
Imbuta priscis moribus,
Rerum sacrarum diligens
Sic pergat omni tempore!

Orate, pubes Wiccami,
Orate, laudantes Deum,
Qui quinque nos per saecula
Fideliter servaverit,

Ut cum dies advenerit,
Dies tremendi Iudicis,
Cum splendor orbis transeat,
Turresque celsae decidant,

Fundator ille nobilis,
Agni piatus sanguine,
Cinctus choro scholarium
Stet laetus ante Iudicem;

Et nos, salutis conscii,
Summam Patris clementiam,
Aeterna Christi munera,
Cantemus uno ex Spiritu.

† JOHANNES SARISBURIENSIS EPS.
Pr. Non. Jan. M.DCCC.XCIII.

"HALF A THOUSAND SPRINGS"

HALF a thousand springs
  Vanished and gone by
Whither such things fly
As are born to die,
Moons and leaves and kings,
Transitory things;

Sun above or rain;
Grief below or mirth,
And the human earth
Where they had their birth,
Flexible and vain,
Turned to dust again;

Chances of the state,—
Waves to speed or toss
Unto hap or loss,
Winds that blew across,
Winds that followed straight
England and her fate;

Battle near and far,
Shocks with foreign foes,
Internecine throes,
Bloodshed of the Rose,
Later Civil War,
Blenheim, Trafalgar;

COLLEGE STREET.

These, unchecked, unswayed,
These our ancient school
Knew, and kept her rule
In her cloisters cool,
While beneath their shade
Englishmen were made.

Men she could (and can)
Make as she designed,
Brave of hand and mind,
Courteous, faithful, kind;
For her legend ran:
Manners Makyth Man.

Fair her silver walls,
Fair her meads and trees,
Fairer even than these
Something no man sees,
Yet within her halls
Hears it when it calls.

Nor in vain it cries
Still from year to year
Sweet command and clear
To the reverent ear;
Who can recognise
Honour's voice, replies.

All that out the past
Hear that gracious tone
Common kinship own,
Speak in unison;
Sunlit shapes will cast
Shadows to the last;

Mortal tears will stir
Tears in mortal mind,
Honour honour find
Evermore assigned,
Here in Winchester;
Where, if not with her?

Who through five uncrossed
Centuries of fame,
Dignity and name
Hath maintained the same,
So her founder's ghost
Owns his pains not lost.

Time and change he brings
Scorning, may she thrive
Through another five,
Strongly still survive
Transitory things
Half a thousand springs!

J. B. B. Nichols.

DEDICATION OF A VOLUME OF VERSE

TO the fairest!
Then to thee
Consecrate and bounden be,
Winchester! this verse of mine.
Ah, that loveliness of thine!
To have lived enchaunted years,
Free from sorrows, free from fears,
Where thy Tower's great shadow falls
Over those proud buttressed walls;
Whence a purpling glory pours
From high heaven's inheritors,
Throned within the arching stone!
To have wandered, hushed, alone,
Gently round thy fair, fern-grown
Chauntry of the Lilies, lying
Where the soft night winds go sighing
Round thy Cloisters, in moonlight
Branching dark, or touched with white:
Round old, chill aisles, where moon-smitten
Blanches the *Orate*, written
Under each worn, old-world face
Graven on Death's holy place!

To the noblest!
None but thee.
Blest our living eyes, that see

Half a thousand years fulfilled
Of that age which Wykeham willed
Thee to win; yet all unworn,
As upon that first March morn,
When thine honoured city saw
Thy young beauty without flaw,
Born within her water-flowing,
Ancient hollows, by wind-blowing
Hills enfolded ever more.
Thee, that lord of splendid lore,
Orient from old Hellas' shore,
Grocyn, had to mother: thee,
Monumental majesty
Of most high philosophy
Honours, in thy wizard Browne:
Tender Otway's dear renown,
Mover of a perfect pity,
Victim of the iron city,
Thine to cherish is: and thee,
Laureate of Liberty;
Harper of the Highland faith,
Elf, and faery, and wan wraith;
Chaunting softly, chaunting slowly,
Minstrel of all melancholy;
Master of all melody,
Made to cling round memory;
Passion's poet, Evening's voice,
Collins glorified. Rejoice,
Mother! in thy sons: for all
Love thine immemorial
Name, august and musical.
Not least he, who left thy side
For his sire's, thine earlier pride,
Arnold: whom we mourn to-day,
Prince of song, and gone away
To his brothers of the bay:
Thine the love of all his years;
His be now thy praising tears.

VIEW FROM HILLS.

To the dearest!
Ah, to thee!
Hast thou not in all to me
Mother, more than mother, been?
Well toward thee may Mary Queen
Bend her with a mother's mien:
Who so rarely dost express
An inspiring tenderness,
Woven with thy sterner strain,
Prelude of the world's true pain.
But two years, and still my feet
Found thy very stones more sweet
Than the richest fields elsewhere:
Two years, and thy sacred air
Still poured balm upon me, when
Nearer drew the world of men;
When the passions, one by one,
All sprang upward to the sun:
Two years have I lived, still thine;
Lost, thy presence! gone, that shrine,
Where six years, what years! were mine.
Music is the thought of thee;
Fragrance, all thy memory.
Those thy rugged Chambers old,
In their gloom and rudeness, hold
Dear remembrances of gold.
Some first blossoming of flowers
Made delight of all the hours;
Greatness, beauty, all things fair
Made the spirit of thine air:
Old years live with thee; thy sons
Walk with high companions.
Then, the natural joy of earth,
Joy of very health and birth!
Hills, upon a summer noon:
Water Meads, on eves of June:
Chamber Court, beneath the moon:
Days of spring, on Twyford Down,

Or when autumn woods grew brown;
As they looked, when here came Keats
Chaunting of autumnal sweets;
Through this city of old haunts,
Murmuring immortal chaunts;
As when Pope, art's earlier king,
Here, a child, did nought but sing;
Sang, a child, by nature's rule,
Round the trees of Twyford School;
Hours of sun beside Meads' Wall,
Ere the may began to fall;
Watching the rooks rise and soar,
High from lime and sycamore:
Wanderings by old-world ways,
Walks and streets of ancient days;
Closes, churches, arches, halls,
Vanished men's memorials.
There was beauty, there was grace,
Each place was an holy place:
There the kindly fates allowed
Me too room; and made me proud,
Prouder name I have not wist!
With the name of Wykehamist.
These thy joys: and more than these:
Ah, to watch beneath thy trees,
Through long twilights linden-scented,
Sunsets, lingering, lamented,
In the purple west; prevented,
Ere they fell, by evening star!
Ah, long nights of Winter! far
Leaps and roars the faggot fire;
Ruddy smoke rolls higher, higher,
Broken through by flame's desire;
Circling faces glow, all eyes
Take the light; deep radiance flies,
Merrily flushing overhead
Names of brothers, long since fled;
And fresh clusters, in their stead,

Jubilant round fierce forest flame.
Friendship too must make her claim:
But what songs, what memories end,
When they tell of friend on friend?
And for them, I thank thy name.

Love alone of gifts, no shame
Lessens, and I love thee: yet,
Sound it but of echoes, let
This my maiden music be,
Of the love I bear to thee,
Witness and interpreter,
Mother mine: loved Winchester!

1888. LIONEL JOHNSON.

AFTER MANY DAYS

I

AH! every common sight is cordial here!
In crystal water-ways the still trout lie;
While skim the swallows through the crystal sky;
And the wide downs about the city rear
Their slopes of breezy freshness, crisp and clear;
Till the first tufts of woodland greet the eye,
Which, gathering still to seaward, gradually
In the dim Forest distance disappear.

Dear Home! whom I—well knowing how divine
The music of that name beyond compare—
Do knowingly call "Mother",—thou, this day
(While men grow old, and faint, and pass away,)
Still ever fresh as youth is fresh, declare
What magic of perpetual youth is thine!

II

Yet did the tale of mighty deeds begin
From immemorial time to dint on thee
Grave memories of most stirring history!
What countless visions rise thy walls within!
Briton, and Roman eagle, and the din
Of battle, and a nation's infancy,
Eldred and Knut, Ælphege,[1] and Walkelin,

[1] Bishop of Winchester, 984, "a prelate who shines in an evil world" (Latham). Archbishop of Canterbury, 1005; murdered by the Danes at Greenwich, 1012.

Who strove, and died, and left their names wrought in
To the dim web of antique memory,
Long ere young Wykeham thither came to see;
And, as their steps he reverently trod
In marvel at their vastness, lo! even he
Dreamed also his high dreams of things to be,
For service of his brethren, and his GOD!

III

Brave Architect! whose genius, wise as bold,
Dared even the Old Minster's central avenue
(True to the old, yet fearless of the new!)
In rhythm of statelier majesty remould:
How meetly old with new, and new with old
Blended that morn, as forth from Wolvesey drew
With chanted psalm, and Cross raised high to view,
Thy scholar-children to their destined fold!

They, infantlike, in wonder, from the breath
Of the old Bishop's blessing pass elate
To Quadrangle and Chapel newly won:
He only, dim and venerable, kneels on
Within his Palace-cell to meditate
On old, and new, on life, and change, and death.

IV

Fair o'er St. Giles'[1] the unbloody mornings shone:
And the deep trench on "Hille's" embattled head
Slept like a dream of long forgotten dread
When the new College echoed to the tone,
For the first time, of boyish unison;
When Wardens, stewards, grooms, in "progress" sped
When Thurbern ruled, or Beaufort "visited",
Or secret tears gave depth to lives unknown.

[1] The scene of the execution of Earl Waltheof, at daybreak, May 31st, 1076; a fact very deeply engraven on Winchester memory.

Then meek King Henry, kneeling in the Choir
Beneath the image of the Crucified,
His royal gifts before the Altar laid,
And Stafford ministered, and Wayneflete prayed,
While silently the Jesse window dyed
Their vestments with a flood of purple fire.

V

Two sons of Wykeham! each in turn well known
For loyal zeal, and learning reverend;
Headmaster each; then Warden; each ere the end
Seated, as "Winton", in the Founder's throne;
And each one loved the College as his own;
As brethren, like; diverse, as foe from friend;
One stout for Rome; one forward to defend
The Church reformed—and tottering. Not alone

For White's sake, or for Bilson's, we endeavour
To honour both as one; ah! many more
When doubt was everywhere, and strife waxed loud,
Diverse allegiance even to death avowed!
Those strifes, though deadly, with their death are o'er.
Only their fealty is alive for ever.

VI

Out on the down!—towards Hursley and the west;
Then turn, and look; how peacefully they lie!
The old Minster, and the College nestling by,
And fair St. Cross, whose every line is rest.
And *this* is "Oliver's Battery"! Heaven be blest
To-day no battle thunder rends the sky;
Only the faint and fitful bugle-cry
Floats upwards when the wind is silentest.

Slowly the city creeps along the hill;
Above the castle of the ancient kings
Lo! the red Barrack, Charles' royal hall;
Then, tier on tier, the Prison, the Hospital;
So change caps change! yet the rich sunset flings
Its glow o'er all alike; and all alike is still.

VII

The Warden's streamlet softly murmureth;
 I hear the rustling of broad leaves unseen;
 The buttressed Chapel fronts me like a screen
Northward; the modest Chantry lies beneath;
The Cloister round me! here in early faith
 Ken and his fellows learned what life should mean;
 The Cloister round me! in its quiet green
What sacred dust sleeps the still sleep of death!

ST. CROSS FROM THE SOUTH

Is it not peace?—or what could Earth do more?
 Here every sound is stilled, and whispereth low;
 Here memories of high deeds of long ago
Kindle the soul to wonder and adore;
 Here stay we then, and be at rest!—Ah, no!
Forth speed we hence to *live*,—as those have lived before!

R. C. MOBERLY.

AD MEOS

O PARS magna mei, quot intus olim
 Et curae et mihi gaudio fuistis,
Ut patri suboles amans amanti,
(Prosit vos subolem vocasse amantem!)
Si quondam tolerastis imperantem,
Nunc concurrite nomina invocanti.
 Si Domus procul urget exsulantes
Vos desiderium, mei quod instar?
Quot olim mihi congregatus ordo
Illic discipulos dedit magistro!
Ignotus repeto domum, nec ullus
Interesse sua putat scholaris,
Qualis umbra vager prioris aevi.
 Prolem Wiccamicam tamen saluto
Donatus rude iam senex, sodales
Nunc, qui discipuli fuistis olim.
 Quingentesimus annus ecce! felix
Est natalium et hora gaudiorum:
Huc adeste. Domum, quot estis, omnes,
Domum, nobile canticum, sonemus.
Iam negotia Musa mittat omnis:
Et Musis datur otium: remittant
Cum Musis pueri senesque curas.
Cum ridentibus annus ecce! pratis
Ridet; advena Daulias profugit
Domum: nos quoque iam domum petamus.

Reprinted from the *Wykehamist* for July 25, 1893.

Nos amabile limen osculisque
Mater excipiet domum; Rogerus
Quamquam nullus adest ferens caballos,
At nos ocius eia! nunc eamus:
Una voce canamus ad Penates
Dulcem Wiccamicamque cantilenam.
Sic, cum finis erit nec emicabit
Segnis Phosphorus et domum reducet,
Tum, nec post grave taedium moranti,
Cuique meta petita sit laborum:
Domum, dulce melos, canant sodales.

GEORG: SOUTHWELL:

ALMA NUTRIX

MORNING star of the schools of a nation,
  Corner stone in the college of Fame,
Generation to generation
  Passes the worship and praise of thy name
Glory of statesmen, glory of sages,
  Glory of warriors fade from our ken :
Thine shall endure through the tramp of the ages,
  Winchester, mother of men.

Worldward away from the homeland that bore us,
  Far as the banner of Britain is flung,
Jubilant echoes the Domum chorus,
  Kindly the speech of our old-world tongue.
Far and away from their boyhood's regions,
  Unrecorded, unknown, unseen,
Rank and file of forgotten legions
  Keep thy memory green.

War has leaguered the courts of College,
  Plague has stormed them with pallid fears :
Safe hast thou handed the torch of knowledge
  Son to son through five hundred years.
Long as in silence thy Watermeads slumber,
  Ever while Hills take the upland breeze,
Change shall not scathe thee nor age encumber
  Stabit Wiccamica Res.

COLLEGE FROM WOLVESEY GATE

Names writ large in our island-story
  Tell thy teaching with sword and pen
Harry of Agincourt, flower of thy glory,
  Grocyn the schoolman, our gentle Ken;
Ruler of Rugby, maker of Eton,
  Leader slain in the lost Soudan
Theirs the blazon that crowns the Briton,
  Manners that Makyth Man.

We who tread in their glorious traces,
  We who follow their famous ways,
Laud their deeds in the ancient places,
  Breathe their renown to the dawning days.
Deathless shades of the dead, they gather
  Thronging unseen in Chapel and Hall,
Here where we honour our nursing-father,
  Wykeham, founder of all.

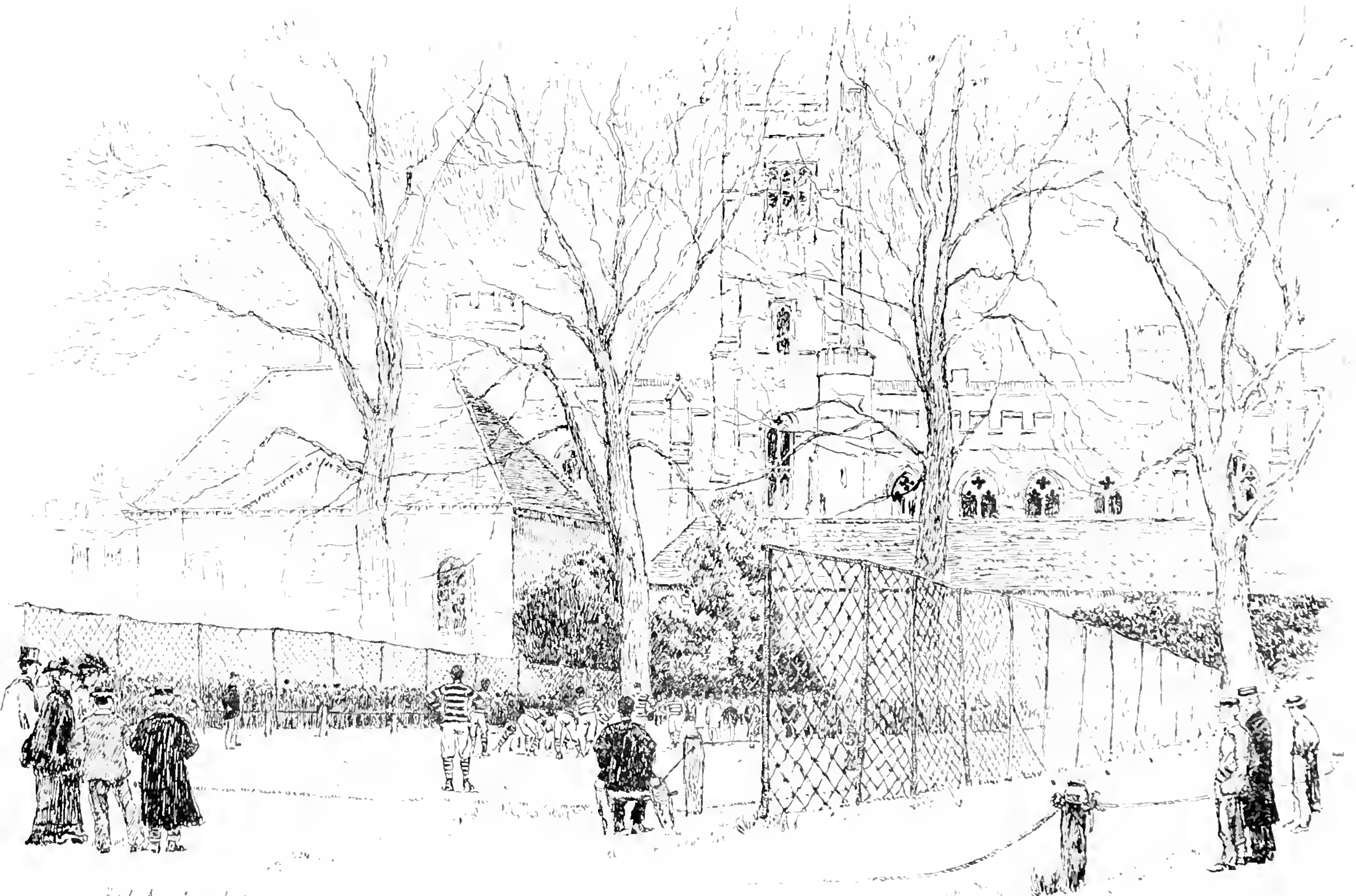
F. SYDNEY PARRY.

GRAY NOVEMBER

HOW dear to every player's heart
  The month of gray November!
Oft as it comes, old memories start,
  And call him to remember;
Old times, past years come once again,
  A backward course pursuing,
Old limbs grow strong, old eyes see plain,
  Their former force renewing.

Again our eager youth returns,
  The keen fierce joy of striving,
And all our heart within us burns,
  Forgotten thoughts reviving;
For years a growing store reveal
  Of wisdom and of pleasure,
But that's no reason they should steal
  Aught of our earlier treasure.

The match we played so long ago
  Is worth as much as ever;
Still with us lives the eager glow,
  The love of hard endeavour;
The strength we won in many a fray
  We'll never leave behind us,
And friendships, that we found in play,
  In sterner work shall bind us.



SIX AND SIX.

The course of years must bring to all
  A load that oft shall wear them,
The weight of care must on them fall,
  Life's battle shall not spare them;
But still we'll meet the stress of life
  And take its joy or sadness,
With cheerful face amid the strife
  And all our boyhood's gladness.

Then let us dream of all once more
  That made the game worth gaining,
The wild mad rush that onward bore,
  The strong hot fiercely straining;
So let us dream, nor leave untold
  The joys of gray November,
Still keeping young, although we're old,
  Still able to remember.

J. A. Fort.

ST. CROSS FROM THE NORTH.

VESTIGIA RETRORSUM

TO C. H. F. C.

"memor
Aetae non alio rege puertiae."

COME back, old friend, to Itchen's stream:
It sparkles like our boyhood's dream
Its fringing reeds among;
And still the lapsing water sings
Its tale of visionary things,
The sweetest ever sung.

Such was the old melodious lay
Which often charmed our truant way
To some Arthurian quest;
Two knights from Camelot were we,
Two knights ablaze with chivalry,
And cravings unconfest.

We passed beyond the Minster bell,
Through woods enchained by Merlin's spell,
    By dragons couched in trance;
Still seeking in the golden light
Some Vision of the errant knight,
    Some Rose of old Romance.

Ah! radiant hours! From dream to dream
We tracked the Vision's fleeting gleam;
    Till sudden, as we stood
Deep in some fold of Shawford lane,
The Nightingale's exultant strain
    Broke from the neighbouring wood.

How strange indeed that rapturous note
Thrilled from the Daulian exile's throat.
    Such triumph born of woe!
So might the pæan crown our strife,
Could we within our larger life
    Her subtle secret know.

But us what suffering had taught?
How should we find the Glory sought
    By sad Quixotic men?
A little heedless work and play
Filled up the measure of our day;
    We smiled at sorrow then.

So eager for the sterner sphere,
We lightly held our boyish cheer,
    Blind gamblers! fain to cope
With all the hazards of the game,
To stake our unreturning flame
    On that cold Star of Hope!

Impatient as we turned away,
The quiet limit of the day
Was shining through the Vale;
The Genius touched us, and we went
Across the storied meads content,
To seek our cloistral pale.

We saw the westering fires illume
The long Cathedral's sacred gloom,
Our Wykeham's tower espied;
The Norman strength of old St. Cross,
The trees that crown the dateless fosse
On Hills' familiar side.

* * * *

Frail glimpses of the golden prime!
How poorly skills this rusted rhyme
Their glamour to restore!
Forgotten in the world and flown,
The world, too jealous of its own,
Sighs after them no more.

Forgotten? Nay, they take not flight,
Those dreams and visions of delight,
Once caged in boyish brain.
Whate'er the burden of the day,
The world it is that wags away,
The primal gleams remain.

Charles J. Billson.

EVENING ON HILLS

HERE, where the legendary height
Is plumed with beech and pine,
And the dim shadows lengthen, and the streams
Wane to the southward in the waning light,
And the skies grow from dreamy to divine—
Here for five hundred years
Have lived their little life Youth's hopes and fears,
Here, in the Land of Dreams.

Transfigured by the soul,
The furrowed ridge, where skyey shadows roll,
Fleeted thro' waving bents and grassy hollows,
Was Parnes' height, where cloudlet cloudlet follows;
And yonder, where the wave
In wider sweep with louder murmur ran,
In the soul's sight, came down the hunted man,
Urged by the Volscian glaive;
But, ere he plunged, his arm was strong to save—
Safe sped the maiden-child, that knew not fear,
Camilla, on the spear!

And one, who was not of us, here had past,
Diana's kiss yet newly on his brow,
And the great song, he knew not for the last,
Still on his lips; he saw the autumn glow
On the low sallows, on the "hilly bourn",
And sang full-voiced—alas, he could not know

What shade, more dark than Autumn's shortening day,
Was closing round him, not to pass away:
It crept between him and his love forlorn,
And hung a viewless veil 'twixt him and home,
And tracked him o'er the foam,
Till, under southern skies, mid vernal breath,
It gathered, and was Death,
And gave him peace, and one more memory to Rome!
Surely his nightingale it was that sang
Last May, when all the thicket rang
With the old echoes of the Daulian height,
Till, at the noon of night,
Sleep taught sweet silence to the singing-bird,
And scarce the reed-grass stirred.
And one, our bravest—in the years' dim cloud
A half-forgotten name—
Yet him our memory holds, in gray-haired fame.
He climbed this height, our mimic wars he knew,
Till years brought toil more proud,
And o'er his head war's louder breezes blew.
Him first the swaying tides of battle bore
From fight to fight; he on Corunna's shore
Strove by the side, bowed by the grave, of Moore;
And after, through the midnight murk of war,
Followed, unflinching, England's rising star,
Till o'er the Pyrenean crags rang out
The bugle and the shout—
And when, one moment, seemed the star to pale,
And heroes' hands almost to fail,
He clove the ranks at Orthez, plucked the bay
From out the doubtful fray.
Last, in the last throw of the iron game
For stake of Death and Fame,
He, high of heart as keen of eye,
Set on for victory,
And fiercely breasted, stemmed, and overthrew
The last dark wave that swelled and broke at Waterloo.

* * * * * *

Gray mother of five hundred years!
Behold thy second cycle rise to-day
Unto an honoured morn!
Here, in the land of youth and hopes and fears,
What should thy living children pray
For the long scope of time, thy children yet unborn?
—Be not those spirits bound
Unto the vulgar round
Of dull self-praise, nor marred with luxury,
Nor with that meanest superstition soiled,
That saith *Our place is high,*
We are content to stand where other men have toiled.
That let them spurn, in thought and action bent
Always to that ascent
That leadeth upward, through all years that roll,
Unto the Land of Dreams, the visionary goal.

E. D. A. MORSHEAD.

AD WICCAMICOS

QUINGENOS recolentibus per annos,
Fratres Wiccamici, Domum vetustam
Fastosque propriamque disciplinam,
Fundatoris opus decusque nostri,
Quo mens, quo memori beata fastu
Spes sodalicium refert amatum?
Stet fortuna Domus vices per omnes!
Debitis vicibus perennis usus.

Stat fagis redimitum, ut ante, culmen
Montis, quem Catharina consecravit:
Itchinus nitet, ut nitebat olim:
Vallis subdita collium coronae
Immutata tulit vices virorum.
Stat natura loci, vices et ipsa
Prae se mille ferens, superstes ultro.

Urbis impositae iugis supinis
Portas moeniaque et vias ad amnem
Miratus queritur stupor coloni.
Quae tam nescia compitalis usus
Gens obstruxerit exitus macelli.
At septemgeminis adaucta regnis
Hic pulcherrima Saxonum propago
Angliae sibi nomen occupavit,
Anglis principium imperi futuri.

WINCHESTER FROM ST. GILES' HILL

Hic arcesque palatiumque regum
Normannus domitor locavit, Anglis
Mox cessurus et ipse gentis auctor.
Rerum maxima crevit his ab artis
Muris Anglia et orbis imperatrix.
Usus, imperio superbiore
Fastos despiciens originesque
Regias, spatiosiora claustra
Et vitam sibi poscit ampliorem.
Villis multiplicata rusticanis
Prisco diffluit urbs soluta muro:
Servant nomina Saxonum tabernae,
Antiquosque situs viae minores.
Moles grandis adhuc Episcoporum
Artes prorogat et sacram Cathedram,
Tectis perpetuis ad astra nitens,
Ipsa tertia; quot suique passa
Annis mille, quot et vices suorum!
Non regum monimenta, nec perempta
Arturi Tabula est nec urbis aura
Pristinae: vetus urbs decus recentis.
Vivit relligio loci superstes.

Itchini viridem sciens ad amnem
Wiccamus vetera inter instituta
Nobis constituitque avis Penates,
Praesul nobilis idem et ἀρχιτέκτων,
Doctrinae specimen novamque normam.
Hanc quae publica seminariorum
Musis copia floret Anglicanis,
Matrem respicit omnis et magistram.
Quingentesimus annus hos Penates
Fetu multiplici salutat auctos.
Simplex vivit, ut ante, pulchritudo,
Cui non altera par nec est secunda;
Necdum sacrilega manu vir ullus
Perfectam artificis domum inquinavit,
Fratres Wiccamici, nec inquinabit.

Quantas Anglia post vices subibat!
Quot gentes tulit extulitque regum!
Quantis Francia cladium ruinis
Cepit Wiccamicum subacta regem!
Quas, certantibus heu! Rosis, domorum
Strages nobilium redintegravit
Wiccami suboles Etona nascens!
Itchini viridantis inter umbras
Doctrinamque fovebat et quietem
Wiccami schola, sive Veritatis
Seu rerum nova verba publicarum
Seu Graecas meliore disciplina
Litteras didicit novasque Musas.
Monasteria proruens pepercit
Rex illi spoliator, et Sacrorum
Contemptor populi rebellis aestus:
Non illam impietas benigna regis,
Nec regis pietas maligna movit.
Regum et sustinuere plebis iras
Viri Wiccamici, fide sacramenti
Aeque miles episcopique salva,
Wiccami genus οὐκ ἄπαππον ignis.
Immutata dies Elizabethae
Consuetudinibus refecta notis
Moresque speciemque disciplinamque
Ad saeclum schola duxit usque nostrum.
Vixit carmine[1] norma, vixit usu.
Tu, Victoria, prima post tot annos,
Dedignata dies Elizabethae,
Tu cum coniugio disertiore,
Par iunctum bene, Wiccami scholares
Vitam dedocuistis obsoletam.
Debitis vicibus perennis usus.

Quid, quod Wiccamici Decemviratus
Prisca Curia Curiam recepit

[1] Christopher Jonson's *D. Collegiata Schola Wiccamica* presents the school life of fifty years ago.

Ad rerum regimen novam novarum?
At lex prisca loci manet superstes,
Ut Mores faciant Viros scholares.
Si iam condicionibus remissis
Gens Gentes vetus excipit Minores,
At servat Toga pristinos honores.
Si maeret Catharina sola montem
Desertum, at spatiis recessit auctis
Pratorum Crucis Hospitale Sanctae.
Si crescens numerus refregit artos
Cancellos speciosioris aevi,
Et serum decus exuit Capellae;
At structoris opus redintegrabant
Ipsum verior ars amorque fidus,
Iudex[1] fidus et artifex severus.
Si doctrina vetus novas recepit
Artes atque opera in dies adaucta,
Nullam difficilis fovere Musam;
Si ludis operosior iuventus
Exuta feritate nescit horridum
Aut parare cibum aut frui parato;
At virtus patiens manet laborum
Non magna sine laude, sive Musis
Seu ludis magis ambiat triumphos;
At secura sui per omne litus
Exit officio potens propago,
Haec belli patriaeque ferre curas,
Haec succurrere pauperum periclis.
Si non laus erit una amorque solus
Notas stare super vias priorum,
Et sprevisse alios nec aemulari,
Spartam quippe suam nimis foventes;
Si magni patris aemula propago
Vult adsciscere quidquid est honesti,
Prima inire vias ad altiora,
Nec timens meliora mutuari:

[1] Sir W. Erle, whose loving loyalty restored William of Wykeham's East End under Mr. Butterfield's advice.

At Natura manetque, disciplinae
Mater, relligio loci ; nec unquam
Defecit, patrio beata fastu,
Laudis Wiccamicae memor iuventus,
Fundatoris amans ; manet superstes,
Et, si non aliis, at hic manebit
(Quae suprema fuit patris voluntas)
Christi Sancta Fides Deique Honos et
Fraternae sua vincla Caritatis.[1]

GEORG : SOUTHWELL :

[1] The last clause of the College Statutes.

NEW FIELD WITH WEBB TENT

APPENDIX

PROCEEDINGS AT THE CELEBRATION OF THE 500TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OPENING OF THE COLLEGE

At a meeting of the Governing Body held in January, 1892, it was resolved, "That in consequence of the 28th March, 1893 (which is the day of the 500th Anniversary of the entry of William of Wykeham and his scholars into possession of the College Buildings) falling in Holy Week, the proposed commemoration of the event will be held on the last Tuesday in July, 1893, which is to be Domum Day." The celebration accordingly took place on the 25th of July.

On the previous evening a Concert was given in School by the College Glee Club. The programme included four pieces of which the words and music were specially written for the occasion:—a "*Carmen Saeculare Wiccamicum*", by Mr. G. H. Cremer and Dr. F. H. Champneys; "The Oak Tree", by Mr. E. D. A. Morshead and Dr. G. J. Bennett; "Alma Mater", by the Rev. C. H. Hawkins and Mr. W. Hutt; and "Country singers, leave not mute", by Mr. Lionel Johnson and Lord Alfred Douglas.

The proceedings on Tuesday commenced with celebrations of the Holy Communion in Chapel at 7, 8, and 9 o'clock, the celebrants being the Head Master, the Bishop of Southwell, and the Bishop of Salisbury. The offertories were given to the Winchester College Mission at Landport.

At 11 o'clock there was a muster of past and present Wykehamists and other guests of the Governing Body in Chamber Court, where a short service was conducted by the Bishop of Winchester. The prayers used were those written for the celebration of 1887: the hymns were "O God, our help in ages past", and some verses from the Bishop of Salisbury's *Hymnus Wiccamicus* (published in full in this volume), which was sung to the tune of *Iam Lucis*.

About 11.30 the company started for the Cathedral in a procession arranged in the following order:—

The Mayor and Corporation.
The Second Master.
The Scholars.
The Commoners.
Old Wykehamists.
Other invited Guests.
The Warden and Fellows.
The Visitor of the College with his Chaplains.
The Choir.
The Bishops and Archbishops with their Chaplains.

On his arrival at the west door the Archbishop of Canterbury was met by the cathedral clergy and choir, and there was a procession up the nave, during which Richardson's anthem "O how amiable" was sung. Proceeding through the choir to the south transept, the Archbishop returned to the nave, the college choir now leading the way and singing "Now thank we all our God", which was accompanied by the band of the 3rd Battalion of the Hampshire Regiment. At the conclusion of the hymn, the sermon was preached by the Archbishop of Canterbury on the text :—"Tribulation worketh out patience; and patience, probation; and probation, hope; and hope maketh not ashamed" (Romans v. 4). This was followed by the singing of the "Old Hundredth" and the 147th Psalm, after which the familiar lesson "Let us now praise famous men" was read by the Warden, and the *Te Deum* was sung to settings by Jekyll and Wesley. The Blessing was then pronounced by the Archbishop.

Leaving the Cathedral the Mayor and Corporation proceeded to the Guildhall, and the rest of the company to Chamber Court, to await the arrival of the Prince of Wales. At about 1.30 His Royal Highness, accompanied by the Duke of Connaught, and attended by the Lord-Lieutenant of the County, the High Sheriff, and others, was received by the Warden at Outer Gate, a guard of honour, consisting of officers and men of the College Rifle Corps, being drawn up opposite the Warden's house. Advancing through Middle Gate, the Prince was addressed *ad portas* by the senior scholar, C. W. Turner, as follows :—

"Salve, Princeps augustissime! In hac antiqua sede, quam post decem annorum intervallum iam tandem revisis, paulisper commorari velis, et nobiscum, natalem diem huius nostri Collegi, olim Ricardo II progenitore tuo favente fundati, maximo gaudio celebrantibus, gaudere. Non soli nos gaudemus; gaudet hoc regnum, gaudet universa patria. Quingentos enim iam abhinc annos fundator noster, Gulielmus de Wykeham, has sedes instituit, in quibus studio liberalium artium et vitae integritate septuaginta pueri usque educarentur. Cuius exemplum imitati alii alia condiderunt collegia, inter quae illud apud Etonam praecipue nominandum est, nobiscum et fidelitate erga reges et regum erga nos benevolentia semper "amicabili concordia" coniunctissimum. Iure igitur litterarum studium ipse praesens praemiis confirmare voluisti, atque amoris nostri et augustissimae Reginae voluntatis certissima pignora et daturus et accepturus adiisti. Quod Deus bene vortat hoc praesertim anno evenisse, qui et Wiccamicae domui boni eventus, et domui Regiae bonae spei, tanta significatione illuxit. Floreatis, Principes! floreat Wiccamica domus vobis heredibusque vestris in perpetuum commendata! Quare, hospes illustrissime, haec penetralia iterum auspicato ingrediare."

The Prince replied:

"Gentlemen, it gives me great satisfaction to receive your loyal address, and to be present here to day for the purpose of joining you in doing honour to the memory and work of the eminent man by whom this college was founded. I congratulate you upon the present prosperity and usefulness of this the most ancient of our public schools—a prosperity and usefulness which have been greater during the last half century than at any former time, and which, after the lapse of 500 years, promise still to increase instead of suffering a diminution. I am gratified by your loyal reference to the recent marriage of my son, and it is a sincere pleasure to the Princess of Wales and myself to find that an event which so nearly concerns us has met with the warm approval of the entire nation. It will afford me much satisfaction to show my interest in the studies of this college by presenting this afternoon to the successful competitors of the day the medals given by the Queen."

His Royal Highness then proceeded through Ante-chapel and the Stewart Memorial gateway into Meads, where there was a parade of the Rifle Corps; upon the conclusion of which the Princes, the Governing Body, and other distinguished guests, lunched with the Warden in Hall.

At 3 o'clock Medal speaking took place in School. The Prince of Wales, who occupied a chair at the west end of the building, presented the medals as follows:

GOLD MEDALS.

Latin Essay—*Quibus maxime modis Publica, quam vocant, puerorum Institutio prosit patriae.*

C. W. Turner.

English Verse—*The Birthday of Winchester College.*

R. A. Johnson.

SILVER MEDALS.

Latin Speech—*Speech of Camillus to the Romans* (Livy v. 53, 54).

G. E. V. Austen.

English Speech—*Speech of Lord Chatham in defence of Wilkes.*

A. W. S. Fisher.

At the conclusion of the speeches a few verses of *Domum* were sung by the Glee Club: and immediately afterwards (at 3.35) the Royal party took their departure.

Domum Dinner was the next event in the day's programme. It was served (at 4.30) in the Great Hall of Winchester Castle; those guests for whom room could not be found in the building itself dined in adjacent marquees. There was a high table at the west end of the hall, and eighteen other tables, nine of which were set apart for the school. In accordance with custom the gospel for the day was read during dinner by the Prefect of Hall. Election Grace having been sung by the choir,

The WARDEN proposed the toasts of "the Queen", and of "the Prince and Princess of Wales, the Duke and Duchess of York, and the rest of the Royal family." He remarked that this was the first occasion on which the medals had been presented by any member of the Royal family in person.

The WARDEN announced that he held in his hand an illuminated address from old Wykehamists now in India. It had been presented on their behalf by Mr. A. L. P. Tucker.

The BISHOP of WINCHESTER spoke to the memory of the Founder.

The ARCHBISHOP of YORK (in the absence of the Lord Chancellor) proposed the toast of "Public Schools."

The PROVOST of ETON (in the absence of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Chief Justice) responded.

The HEAD MASTER of ETON presented an illuminated address from Eton, designed by Mr. Nutt, Draughtsman at Windsor Castle. The terms of the address were as follows:—

"Wiccamicis
annum jam quingentesimum
ab inaugurato Collegio
B. M. de Winton
celebrantibus
amicabilis concordiae studiosissimi
fraternis animis
summa cum gratulatione
bona omnia ac felicia ominantur
Etonenses."

The Earl of Selborne proposed and the Warden of New College responded to the toast "*Omnibus Wiccamicis.*"

The Bishop of Southwell proposed "*Stet Fortuna Domus.*"

The Head Master, in acknowledging the toast, announced that he had received during the day congratulatory telegrams from Wykehamists in all parts of the British empire.

The company adjourned to *Domum*, at which the band of the Royal Marines was in attendance. A large bonfire was lighted at nine o'clock on the top of St. Catherine's Hill, and Chamber Court was illuminated with coloured lamps.

On Wednesday a cricket match was commenced in New Field between elevens of Old Wykehamists and Old Etonians, and in the afternoon Mrs. Fearon gave a garden party in Lavender Meads "to all old Wykehamists and the ladies of their party"; the number of guests exceeded 1,300. In the evening Domum Ball took place at the Guildhall. 670 ladies and gentlemen were present, and the new dining-room was used for dancing as well as the large hall, the music being played by two divisions of the band of the Royal Light Infantry.

The cricket match, begun on Wednesday, was continued on Thursday, and ended in a draw; the Old Wykehamists, with eight wickets to fall, requiring 154 runs to win. There was a Cinderella dance at the Guildhall in the evening.

A "List of Guests who have accepted the invitation to be present at the Commemoration" was printed and circulated. It contains the names of 869 Old Wykehamists, arranged according to the date of their entrance to the school as follows:—

Entered	between	1820	and	1829	inclusive	16
"	"	1830	"	1839	"	50
"	"	1840	"	1849	"	85
"	"	1850	"	1859	"	82
"	"	1860	"	1869	"	91
"	"	1870	"	1879	"	275
"	"	1880	"	1889	"	264
"	in	1890				6

Besides past and present Wykehamists the company included those members of the Governing Body and of the staff of Masters who are not Wykehamists; and the official list gives the names of the following "Guests not educated at the School."

H.R.H. The Prince of Wales.
H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught and Strathearn.

The Lord-Lieutenant of the County.
The High Sheriff of the County.
The Mayor of Winchester.
The Colonel Commanding the District.
The Colonel Commanding the Depôt.
The Dean of Winchester.

The Archbishop of Canterbury.
The Archbishop of York.
The Bishop of Winchester.
The Bishop of Newcastle.
The Bishop of Derby.
The Bishop of Guildford.
Archdeacon Haigh.
Archdeacon Sapte.
Canon Warburton.
Canon Durst.

The Lord High Chancellor.
The Lord Chief Justice of England.
The Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.
The President of Magdalen College, Oxford.

Professor G. G. Ramsay, of Glasgow.
The Provost of Eton.
The Senior Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.
The Senior Fellow of Eton.
The Head Master of Eton.
The Senior Assistant Master of Eton.
The Senior Scholar of Eton.
The Senior Oppidan of Eton.
The Head Master of Charterhouse.
The Head Master of Harrow.
The Head Master of Marlborough.
The Head Master of Merchant Taylors.
The Head Master of Rugby.
The Head Master of Shrewsbury.
The Head Master of Westminster.
Rev. E. W. Sergeant.
Rev. H. A. Dalton.
Rev. Canon Utterton.
The Fellows of New College, Oxford.
The Auditor.
The Secretary.

COLLEGE FROM THE SOUTH.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES
THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
This book is DUE on the last date stamped below

NOV 23 1953

UNIVERSITY of CALIFORNIA
LIBRARY

*LF
795
W75W7