

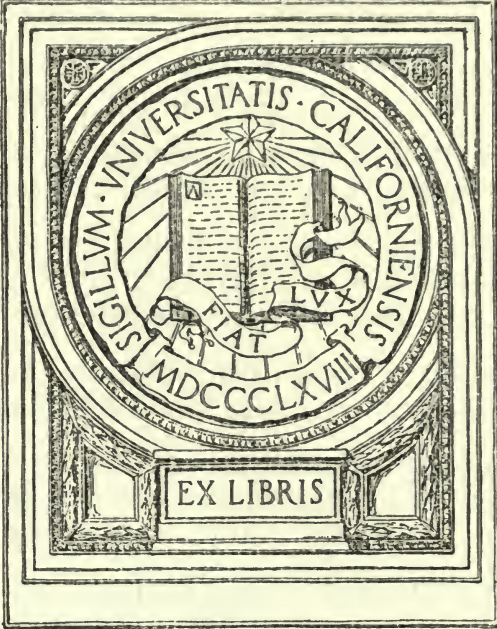
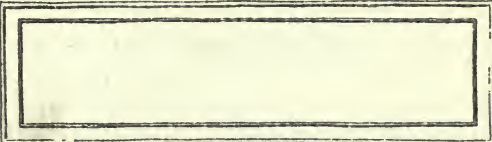
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OXFORD HISTORICAL AND LITERARY STUDIES

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BONDS AND THEIR REPRESENTATION IN
CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE. BY FRANK

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VOLUME XI. THE EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION
OF JOHN EVELYN. BY H. MAYNARD SMITH.

September 1920.



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HISTORICAL AND
LITERARY STUDIES
VOLUME XI

Oxford University Press

London Edinburgh Glasgow New York

Toronto Melbourne Cape Town Bombay

Humphrey Milford *Publisher to the University*

O X F O R D
Historical and Literary
S T U D I E S

Issued under the direction of C. H. FIRTH
and WALTER RALEIGH Professors of
Modern History and English Literature in
the University of Oxford.

V O L U M E XI
The Early Life and Education
of John Evelyn

With a Commentary

By H. MAYNARD SMITH

OXFORD
At the *Clarendon Press*

1920

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THE
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OF
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" "
1620-1641



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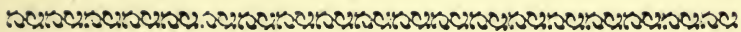
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THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED TO
THE REV. H. E. D. BLAKISTON, D.D.
PRESIDENT OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD
VICE-CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY
by one of his oldest and
most grateful pupils
THE EDITOR



437137

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REFERENCES

ABBREVIATIONS have been freely used in the references, but it is hoped that the ordinary reader will find them intelligible. The editions used, for the most part, are those in common circulation, but as the editor has usually been restricted to his own bookshelves this is not always true. Space, however, does not permit of a complete bibliography.

The following initials have been used:—

- C.S.* = Camden Society.
C.S.P. = Calendar of State Papers.
D.N.B. = Dictionary of National Biography.
G.M.L. = Gentleman's Magazine Library.
H.S. = Harleian Society.
N.E.D. = New English Dictionary.
N. & Q. = Notes and Queries.
V.C.H. = Victorian County Histories.

Cross references to other parts of the Diary were a difficulty, as there are so many reprints. It was cumbersome always to give the date, and so the Editor has given the volume and section in his proposed edition as (iv. 3). For the convenience of the reader the dates may be found below.

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| <p>I. 19. July 31, 1641. 26. Sept. 10, 1641. 32. Oct. 8, 1641. 36. Oct. 3, 1642. 37. Mar. 11 and Ap. 15, 1643. 64. April 6, 1644. II. 88. Feb. 25, 1645. III. 31. Easter Monday, 1646. 50. Nov. 9, 1647. 52. Nov. 29, 1648. 59. July 12, 1649. 65. Dec. 29, 1649. 72. July 25, 1650. 91. March 5, 1652. IV. 3. Aug. 21, 1653. 8. June 27, 1654. 13. July 20, 1654. 25. Oct. 24, 1654. 53. Sept. 27, 1658. 54. Oct. 27, 1658. 56. Oct. 17, 1659.</p> | <p>V. 5. July 1, 1664. 26. Oct. 21, 1665. 49. Jan. 6, 1667. 58. Aug. 3, 1667. 65. Jan. 10, 1668. 66. March 3, 1668. 95. Aug. 19, 1671. 98. Oct. 17, 1671. VI. 4. March 21, 1672. 43. Aug. 1, 1676. 82. Dec. 12, 1680. 83. March 8, 1681. 93. Feb. 7, 1682. VII. 27. May 11, 1684. 84. Oct. 6, 1687. VIII. 8. April 12, 1689. 29. June 1, 1691. 61. Feb. 2, 1696. 62. April 19, 1696. 85. Sept. 20, 1700. 88. Jan. 1701.</p> |
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THE EDITOR'S APOLOGY

OF all literary hobbies nothing can compare with the pleasure of annotation, for you can take it up and drop it at will. You cannot do that with a garden, nor can you write a consecutive book with too many interruptions. I have tried. It is worse than a nightmare to go about with the next chapter throbbing in your brain, and no leisure to write it down. It is a waking terror to return to a manuscript, which promised so well, and to find how impossible it is to recapture the Spirit in which the work was begun. No such terrors haunt the Editor. He can spend peaceful hours in looking for facts, and will find all manner of interesting things for which he was not looking—serendipity is the word for this delight. He can read at large what he likes, and sooner or later in the most unlikely book he will find a reference for the interleaved copy of his chosen author. If he feel dull and conscientious, he can work on his index; if he be away from books, he can rearrange his quotations; and when he has a really free evening he can draft one of the longer notes. Such a note can be finished in an evening. It is complete in itself. It does not keep him awake at night, it does not interfere with his work next day, and it does not matter if his next note is written six months later.

But a great deal of circumspection is necessary in choosing a literary hobby, for no one wishes to be labelled a bore, and no one wishes to keep his hobby out of sight. A man who perpetually talks of the shop, will find for his friends those in the same line of business, and they will forgive him; but the man who perpetually talks of his hobby will soon have no friends at all, unless his hobby be so humane that it brings him into touch with the interests of others. Some years ago I resolved to edit the Memoirs of John Evelyn, and there are

few aspects of life, subjects, and interests on which John Evelyn has not something to say. If his views are not always profound, they at least come to us from a respectable antiquity; and his editor should be like an out-of-date encyclopaedia, full of the knowledge that delights and amuses up-to-date people.

I chose him also because he had not been appropriated. ~~Mr. Wheatley~~, indeed, has written a workmanlike biography and provided an excellent index to the Diary; but it was Samuel Pepys and not John Evelyn who really belonged to Mr. Wheatley. Mr. Austin Dobson has added many notes, written a delightful introduction, and compiled even a better index to the Diary; but Mr. Dobson's real authority begins with the reign of Anne. When he crossed his proper frontier he had no idea of annexation. He wandered hither and thither like a delighted tourist; and, always charming himself, he no doubt responded to the charm of some of the new friends whom he made on his excursion.

Mr. Wheatley is no longer with us, but he was kind enough to approve of my scheme. Mr. Dobson remains, and Mr. Dobson has already helped me towards the solution of a difficulty, not in this portion of the Diary. He has ridden so many hobby-horses to victory that he can cheer on one who follows in his own course.

I chose Evelyn's Diary also because I approve of the author's principles, sympathize with many of his prejudices, and respect his judgements even when I cannot applaud his taste. He knew also so many of the other people in whom I am interested; and he went the Grand Tour in the great style and described not only what he saw but whom he met. Hobby-horses come out of their stables in the holidays, and with this particular hobby-horse you may prance as far as Naples, or trot at leisure by the banks of the Loire.

But the time comes when a literary hobby must appear in public, for no hobby is quite perfect unless others can be induced to share in the fun. So I am grateful to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for making a preliminary canter possible.

Most people will say that I may have a fine beast, but its

tail is too long for its body, or, without metaphor, that the notes are out of proportion to the text. I acknowledge the criticism but I do not apologize, for it is the nature of a hobby-horse not to conform to the ordinary ideas of equine symmetry. It may also be said: 'At this rate you will never be done.' Perhaps not; but a man well astride his hobby-horse has no wish to dismount. He comforts himself with the thought that it will last his time.

This Commentary is in some respects a new venture. There are plenty of histories of the seventeenth century describing its political struggles, religious controversies, social life, science, art, literature, and philosophy. But in this book note follows note with the same disconcerting irrelevance as one impression follows another each moment of our own lives. These impressions are unified by our own experience of continuity, and these notes are bound together by the continuity of John Evelyn's life. Those who read the book will, I hope, begin to breathe the atmosphere of the seventeenth century; and those who only want information will find help from the index. Many a subject dealt with here will receive further elucidation at a later stage; but there will, of course, be no later stage unless this little volume meets with approval. The notes on *John Evelyn in the Low Countries* are well advanced. I still hope to ride my hobby-horse of Dutch construction into the arena with something better than Dutch courage in a future not too remote.

My thanks are due

1. To Dr. Blakiston for much encouragement and help. He supplied me with extracts from *Balliofergus*, gave me information as to William Hobbs, has read the manuscript, and made many suggestions.

2. To Mr. F. F. Urquhart of Balliol for information as to John Evelyn's presentation books.

3. To Miss Helen Evelyn for answering a question as to Chanterell, and for many facts in her history of the Evelyn Family.

4. To Mr. H. W. Liversidge, of the Inner Temple, for verifying some quotations and discovering John Crafford.

5. To Lord Desart for two references.
6. To Mr. R. O. Hall of B.N.C. for looking up a fact in the Bodleian.
7. To the Dean of Christ Church for trying to gain me access to the MSS. at Wotton.
8. To the late Mr. Cannan and to Mr. C. R. L. Fletcher of Magdalen for their interest in the work.
9. To Mr. R. W. Chapman of the Clarendon Press for his kindness and courtesy.
10. To Professor Firth and Sir Walter Raleigh for allowing this book to be published under the protection of their distinguished names.

May, 1920.

INTRODUCTION

MORE than one hundred years after John Evelyn's death, William Upcott, while arranging the library at Wotton, became interested in these *Memoirs*. Later in life he somewhat exaggerated the circumstances of his 'discovery'; but there is little doubt that we owe their publication to his enthusiasm.¹ Lady Evelyn, indeed, entrusted the MS. to William Bray, but he was over eighty at the time, and ninety-one when the third edition, bearing his name, was published. He acknowledged that Upcott had seen the whole work through the press, and given him material assistance, which probably means that Upcott transcribed the microscopic text, while Bray, as Editor, decided what should or should not be published. Bray was also responsible for the notes; and in writing them had the assistance of Mr. James Bindley and an anonymous friend.²

The *Memoirs* were published in 1818 by Colburn in two quarto volumes, and were an immediate success. A second edition was called for within a year, while a third edition, in five octavo volumes, was published in 1827. The first edition contained many mistakes which were corrected in the second, while the third edition was only issued after a thorough re-examination of the MS., which was presumably made by Upcott. Mr. Wheatley has used this text in the editions of 1879 and 1906 published by Bickers.

Bray died in 1832, and Upcott continued to work on the *Memoirs* until 1845. After his death his materials were handed over to John Forster, and the fourth edition was published in 1850. This was the first edition in modern spelling. It contained a hundred new letters, and considerable additions to the earlier part of the diary, and many new notes by the

¹ *Notes and Queries*, 1895-6.

² Bray's Preface.

editor. Forster had never seen the MS., but says in his Advertisement that Upcott 'lived to complete . . . a fresh and careful comparison of the edition printed in octavo in 1827 . . . with the original manuscript; by which many material omissions in the early quartos were supplied, and other not unimportant corrections made'. This edition was reissued in 1857 in Bohn's Illustrated Library, and was used by Mr. Austin Dobson in 1906 for his edition in three volumes, published by Messrs. Macmillan.

The existence of these two texts, Bray's and Forster's, gives rise to certain questions which could only be answered satisfactorily by a reference to the MS. or MSS. at Wotton; but, while that is impossible, the following evidence may be of value.

Bray tells us—'The Journal is written in a very small close hand, in a quarto volume containing 700 pages, which commences in 1641, and is continued to the end of 1697, and from thence is carried on in a smaller book till within about three weeks of his death.'¹ This seems at first clear, but does Bray mean that the Quarto begins with 1641, and if so whence comes the earlier matter? He cannot mean that Evelyn began to write in the book in 1641, for at the end of § 1 is a reference to George Evelyn's second wife, whom he married in 1645.

In 1858 Nathaniel Hawthorn visited England, and was taken by Martin Tupper to see Wotton. Mr. W. J. Evelyn was not at home but followed his visitors to their inn, and showed them three books which he had brought with him. Two were Stuart relics, but 'one was an octavo volume of manuscript in John Evelyn's own hand, the beginning of his published diary, written as distinctly as print in a small clear character. It can be read just as easily as any printed book'. Now this is clearly not the same as the manuscript described by Bray.²

In 1885 Mr. J. J. Foster described a visit to Wotton in the eleventh volume of *The Antiquary*. He tells us—'There are preserved at Wotton three manuscript copies of the *Memoirs*, viz., A., a quarto book (in a small and exquisitely neat hand-

¹ Bray's Preface.

² *English Note-Books*.

writing) from the beginning of the diary till February 3rd, 1706, all of it written by John Evelyn himself (except from August to September 1697, which seems to have been copied in a modern hand). . . . *B.*, from the beginning till October 1644. This is in Mr. Evelyn's handwriting, except the last few lines, which are by the pen of his grandson, afterwards Sir John Evelyn, Bart. This is an unfinished amplified version of *A.* It is handsomely whole-bound, with the crest of Mrs. Evelyn over John Evelyn's own crest, and has a monogram on the corners. *C.* is a copy from *B.* in a youthful handwriting and was made, apparently in 1737, by the author's great-grandson, afterwards Sir John Evelyn, second Baronet.¹

This is satisfactory and agrees with the information supplied by Mr. W. J. Evelyn in the *Abinger Monthly Record*, July 1889. We may conclude that the volume seen by Hawthorn was *B.* and not *A.* It will, however, be noted that there is no reference to the second book mentioned by Bray. Mr. Foster's *A.* ends not in 1697 but in 1706. Upcott, however, tells us that the quarto of 700 pages had lost its cover. The editors speak of a missing leaf in 1697, evidently the last leaf of the quarto. They insert a letter to Dr. Bohun, which is no doubt what Foster found re-copied in a modern hand. Evidently the whole has been re-bound in a single volume.

In 1879 the late Mr. W. J. Evelyn, in refusing Mr. Wheatley all access to the MS., wrote—'Colburn's third edition of the Diary was very correctly printed from the MS. and may be relied on as giving an accurate text.' Ten years later Mr. Evelyn began to publish in *The Abinger Monthly Record* transcripts of the Diary. He says—'We cannot be certain, even after the most careful inspection, that we have succeeded in always correctly copying the original text';² and the variations from Colburn's text are very numerous. He goes on—'Those who compare the Diary as reproduced by us with the published editions will see how much was omitted, especially those paragraphs that indicate the deep religious sentiments and faith of the author of Sylva.' Mr. W. J. Evelyn only transcribed the Diary of the closing years, when

¹ *Antiquary*, xi, p. 22.

² *Abinger Monthly Record*, Nov. 1889.

the author was the octogenarian squire of Wotton. The very considerable additions include sermon notes, a great many political details, and a certain number of domestic facts. The exclusion of the sermon notes is understandable, but it is difficult to see on what principle Bray selected or rejected the other matter. *The Abinger Monthly Record* is now hard to obtain, but copies may be seen in the British Museum and Bodleian Library.

Such is the evidence as to the existing MSS., but how did the *Memoirs* come into existence? In 1631 Evelyn writes—‘in imitation of what I had seene my Father do, I began to observe matters more punctually, which I did use to set downe in a blanke almanac.’¹ This habit, formed when eleven, was persisted in through life, and his last entry was Feb. 3, 1706, a few weeks before his death. The original diary is not in existence, except from 1697 onwards—that is Bray’s smaller volume which we believe to be now bound up with the quarto of 700 pages.

In a MS. at Wotton, quoted by Wheatley,² there is a list of ‘things I would write out faire, and reform if I had leasure’. Among such things are ‘My owne Ephemeris or Diaries’.

We may conclude that the Quarto of 700 pages was the first attempt to do this, and that *B.* was the unfinished attempt to give his work more coherence and a better literary form. The only argument against this conclusion is Mr. W. J. Evelyn’s assertion that ‘The writing of John Evelyn, which in his youth and in his prime is small and clear, became in his old age most indistinct and full of contractions and abbreviations most difficult to decipher’. We have, however, to remember that the Diary from 1697 onwards consists of occasional memoranda; and it does not follow that he was at this time incapable of ‘writing out faire’ when he had ‘leasure’.

I believe that Evelyn not only kept a diary but, unlike most diarists, re-read what he had written, adding interlineations from time to time. Sometimes his comments are such as could not have been made on the dates in question, and he

¹ § 3.

² vol. iii, 194.

often adds the consequences which did not mature until years afterwards. Secondly, the Diary is the record not only of things seen but also of things read. At any rate, when Evelyn wrote up his travels he consulted his bookshelves, and sometimes describes more than he could have seen, because it was not there at the time. Thirdly, he did not wholly depend on his written notes, and his memory, though generally accurate as to facts, is sometimes at fault as to dates and places. Fourthly, there are the more elaborate descriptions and character-sketches, which were probably written at various dates and interpolated into the diary.

As to the differences between the Bray and Forster texts, I believe that they are due to the use of the *B.* document, for they are only of consequence for the period up to 1645. We can argue nothing from omissions, for they may be due to Bray; but we note in the descriptions of Amsterdam and Antwerp how paragraphs have been entirely re-cast in the interests of style. In the additional passages also it will be noted that the author writes more freely and indulges his vein of reminiscence. He was no longer checking himself with contemporary note-books.

We have still to consider how much of the Diary has been suppressed, and judging only by the additions in *The Abinger Monthly Record*, we should have to say a half. But Evelyn, when a busy man, did not probably transcribe his sermon notes, and I do not imagine that such notes take up much space in the Quarto. Secondly, we know from Bray that the Quarto has 700 pages, and from *The Abinger Monthly Record* the size of the page; and conclude accordingly that at most a fourth, and probably far less, has been omitted. Thirdly, I do not believe the omissions are many or important until the travels were ended. After that time I cannot altogether trust Bray's judgement as to what was worthy of the dignity of history. He was an excellent antiquarian, but he belonged to the eighteenth century. I should expect to find more details about gardens, and about scientific experiments; I should expect more theological reflections and literary judgements. Such details would be valuable, by enlarging our

knowledge as to the ignorance of our forefathers. I should also expect some lengthy 'characters' about people of no importance. *The Abinger Monthly Record* gives us the *character* of George Glanville who is otherwise a name in a pedigree. Lastly, I should expect a number of domestic details about himself and his family. There should be more in the Diary about Mrs. Evelyn, who must have been a lady worth knowing, if we may judge from her few letters. But for all this we shall have to wait.

In presenting the following fragment, I have used the third edition, and printed Forster's added matter within square brackets. Minor variations are placed in foot-notes, and occasionally the texts are printed in juxtaposition. If the critic be inclined to complain of this unpleasing presentment, I would remind him that this work is intended for reference—it is for those who already love the Diary and are interested in the age with which it deals.

JOHN EVELYN, HIS PARENTS
AND HOME

I was borne at Wotton, in the county of Surrey, 31st Oct. 1620, after my Father had been married about 7 yeares, and my mother had borne him two daughters and one sonn, *viz.* Eliza 28th Nov. 1614; Jane 16 Feb. 1616; George 18 June, 1617. They had another sonn after me, Richard, born 4th Dec^r 1622.

[I was born (at Wotton in the county of Surrey,) about twenty minutes past two in the morning, being on Tuesday the 31st and last of October, 1620, after my Father had been married about seven yeares, and that my mother had borne him three children; *viz.* two daughters and one son, about the 33rd year of his age, and the 23rd of my mother's.]

My Father, named Richard, was of a sanguine complexion, mixed with a dash of choler: his haire inclining to light which tho' exceeding thick became hoary by that time he was 30 yeares of age; it was somewhat curled towards the extremity¹; his beard, which he wore a little picked, as the mode was, of a brownish colour, and so continued to the last, save that it was somewhat mingled with grey haire about his cheekes; which, with his countenance, was cleare, and fresh colour'd, his eyes quick² and piercing, an ample fore-head, manly aspect; low of stature, but very strong.³ He was for his life so exact and temperate, that I have heard he had never been surprised by excesse, being ascetic and sparing. His wisdom was greate, and judgment most acute; of solid discourse, affable, humble, and in nothing affected; of a thriving, neate, silent and methodical genius; discreetly severe, yet liberal on⁴ all just occasions, to his children,⁵ strangers, and servants; a lover of hospitality; and [, in brief,] of a singular

¹ extremities. ² extraordinary quick. ³ —in sum a very well composed visage and manly aspect: for the rest, he was but low of stature, yet very strong. ⁴ upon. ⁵ to.

and Christian moderation in all his actions; [not illiterate or obscure, as having continued] Justice of the Peace and of the Quorum; he served his Country as High Sheriff, [being, as I take it, the last dignified for that office] for Surrey and Sussex together [, the same year, before their separation.] He was¹ a studious decliner, of honours and titles; being already in that esteem with his country, that they could have added little to him besides their burden. He was a person of that rare conversation, that upon frequent recollection, and calling to mind passages of his life and discourse, I could never charge him with the least passion or inadvertence. His estate was esteem'd about £4,000 per ann.² well wooded and full of timber.

My Mother's name was Elianor, sole daughter and heyresse of John Standsfield, Esq.; of an ancient and honourable family (though now extinct) in Shropshire, by his wife Elianor Comber of a good and well known house in Sussex. She was of proper personage; of a browne complexion; her eyes and haire of a lovely black; of constitution³ inclyned to a religious melancholy, or pious sadnesse; of a rare memory and most exemplary life; for œconomic and prudence esteemed one of the most conspicuous in her Country [: which rendered her loss much deplored, both by those who knew, and such as only heard of her.]

Thus much in briefe touching my parents; nor was it reasonable I should speake lesse of them to whom I owe so much.

Wotton, the mansion house of my Father, left him by my Grandfather (now my eldest Brother's), is situated in the most Southern part of the Shire,

[The place of my birth was Wotton, in the parish of Wotton or Blackheath, in the County of Surrey, the then mansion house of my father, left him by my grandfather, afterwards and now my eldest brother's. It is situated in the most southern part of the Shire;]

¹ yet.

² annum.

³ more.

and though in a valley, yet really upon part of Lyth Hill, one of the most eminent in England for the prodigious prospect to be seen from its sum'it, tho' by few observed. From it may be discerned 12 or 13 Counties, with part of the Sea on the Coast of Sussex, in a serene day; the house is large and ancient, suitable to those hospitable times, and so sweetly environed with those delicious streams and venerable woods, as in the judgement of Strangers as well as Englishmen it may be compared to one of the most tempting and pleasant Seates in the Nation, and most tempting for a great person and a wanton purse to render it conspicuous: it has rising grounds, meadows, woods, and water in abundance.

The distance from London little more than 20 miles, and yet so securely placed as if it were 100; three miles from Dorking which serves it abundantly with provision as well of land as sea; 6 from Gilford, 12 from Kingston. I will say nothing of the ayre, because the præminence is universally given to Surrey, the soil being dry and sandy; but I should speake much of the gardens, fountaines and groves, that adorne it, were they not as generally knowne to be amongst the most natural, and (til this later and universal luxury of the whole nation, since abounding in such expenses) the most magnificent that England afforded, and which indeede gave one of the first examples to that elegancy since so much in vogue, and follow'd in the managing of their waters, and other ornaments¹ of that nature. Let me add, the contiguity of five or six Manors, the patronage of the livings about it, and what is none of the least advantages,² a good neighbourhood. All which conspire to render it fit for³ the present presence, my worthy Brother, and his noble lady, whose constant liberality give them titles both to the place and the affections of all that know them. Thus, with the poet,

Nescio quâ natale solum dulcedine cunctos

Ducit, et im'emores non sinit esse sui.

¹ elegancies.
advantages.

² what Themistocles pronounced for none of the least
³ an honourable and handsome royalty, fit for, &c.

§ i. NOTES

1. **Birth.** Notwithstanding Evelyn's precise statement, the Parish Register at Wotton says that he was born at one o'clock in the morning, and Aubrey (*Brief Lives*, i. 150), who amused himself by drawing the horoscopes of his friends, says the same. In *the rude draught* of Wotton, drawn by Evelyn before his brother altered the house, he has written round a window in the east wing, which faces south, 'y^e roome where I was borne'. Within is a sunny low old-fashioned apartment with a fine view. In the centre are two Jacobean pillars, which probably mark where the foot of the bed was (J. J. Foster, *The Antiquary*, xi, p. 20).

2. **Richard Evelyn**, 1588-1640. He was the youngest son of George Evelyn (n. 17) by his second wife, Joan Stint. He married Eleanor Standfield at St. Thomas', Southwark, Jan. 27th, 1613. A record of the marriage is in the Wotton Register. Very little is known of him beyond what his son tells us.

3. **Sanguine, Cholera, &c.** According to the old physiologists, the four humours, or principal moistures of the human body, were blood, cholera, phlegm, and melancholy. In combination they were spoken of as the *complexion*, and when they were duly tempered all was well. As the natural colour and texture of the skin is indicative of health, *complexion* came to be used for the appearance of the skin. So a man with a clear skin and red face was said to be *sanguine*, but when we are told that this was qualified by *a dash of cholera*, we may imagine a somewhat swarthy countenance. The induction to Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of His Humour*, is the literary *locus classicus* (vide Trench, *Select Glossary*, ed. Mayhew, p. 137; *N.E.D.*, *cholera, complexion, humour, sanguine*). The best modern Essay on the subject is *The Portraiture of Humours*, by Percy Simpson, in his edition of *Every man in his Humour*: Clarendon Press, 1919.

4. **Beards.** In the Middle Ages beards were discouraged by the clergy, because chins, 'like stubble lands at harvest home', were less likely to be attractive to the ladies. They became fashionable under the Tudors, and were at first square or of a formal cut (*As You Like It*, ii, sc. 7); but under Elizabeth and James I fantastic devices prevailed. There was a French, Spanish, and Italian cut, 'a bravado cut . . . with infinite the like

vanities' (Stubbes, *Anat. of Abuses*, N. Sh. Soc. ii. 50). They were dyed 'wey coloured' or 'cane coloured' (*Merry Wives*, i. 4). There were also 'orange tawny, purple in grain, and French crown-coloured' beards (*Mids. N. Dream*, i. 2). Ben Jonson (Timber, cii.) speaks of unmanly young men 'gumming and bridling their beards'. John Taylor, the Water Poet, (*Superbiae Flagellum*, quoted Grey's *Hudibras*) takes some thirty lines to enumerate varieties of cut. Six will suffice here :

'Some like a spade, some like a fork, some square,
 'Some round, some mowed like stubble, some stark bare,
 'Some sharp, stiletto fashion, dagger like,
 'That may, with whispering, a man's eyes out pike;
 'Some with a hammer cut, a Roman T,
 'Their beards extravagant, reformed must be.'

When Evelyn was a boy, the peaked or T-beard was the extreme cut of the courtier, 'Your T. beard is the fashion, And two-fold doth express the enamoured courtier' (Beaumont and Fletcher, *Queen of Corinth*, iv. 238, Dyce), but Richard Evelyn is shown in his portrait with a beard only slightly peaked. This was the Spanish fashion, and Ben Jonson (*Alchemist*, iv. 2) says: 'Your Spanish beard, is the best cut.' The beards of lawyers were short. Only knights and benchers were allowed to 'ware any beards above iii weekes growings', and the penalties varied from a fine of three shillings to expulsion (Dugdale, *Origines Iudiciales*, 1671; Hopwood, *Middle Temple*, i. 112; Inderwick, *Calendar of Inner Temple*, i. 142, 179). The poor man's beard was round. 'Barber, when you come to poor Cloth-Breeches, you either cut his beard at your own pleasure, or else in disdain ask him if he will be trimmed with Christ's cut, round like a half of a Holland cheese, mocking both Christ and us' (Green, *Quip for an upstart Courtier*, 1592; *Harl. Misc.* v. 406). At a later date, Puritans took vows not to cut their beards until the war ended. In *The Cobbler and Vicar of Bray*, we read :

This worthy Knight was one who swore
 He would not cut his beard,
 Till this ungodly nation was
 From King and Bishop cleared.

This led to the 'meteor beards', celebrated in *Hudibras* (Pt. I, cant. i. 246). These monstrous beards needed much attention, and cardboard cases were invented to put over them at night (Grey's *Hudibras*, ft. n. i. 34). The Puritan

clergy were renowned for their beards. One of them said his beard reminded him that 'no act of his life should be unworthy the gravity of his appearance'. (Disraeli, *Curiosities*, i. 220.) Butler devoted a poem to the Preacher's Beard (Butler, *Remains*), and in Hudibras' *Epistle to his lady*, we have a reference to Philip Nye's 'Thanksgiving beard', so called because it was said to have secured him his appointment as Preacher at Thanksgiving services. After the Restoration beards dwindled, and were altogether removed from polite chins at the Revolution.

5. **Genius** = character. The Romans believed that every man and nation had a tutelary God or Genius; and by a natural sense-development *Genius* came to be used for the distinctive character of a nation or individual (*N.E.D.*).

6. **Decliner**. The word in this sense is very rare. The *N.E.D.* gives but one parallel instance, 1748, Richardson (*Clarissa Harlowe* III. liv. 301). 'Do not ... be so melancholy a decliner, as to prefer a shroud, when the matter you wish for is in your power.'

7. **Quorum**. In the wording of Commissions of the Peace there was a special clause beginning 'Quorum vos' wherein certain justices of learning and ability were named as necessary for the forming of a Bench (Blackstone, *Commentaries*, 351).

8. **Conversation** = social intercourse, *passion* = anger, and *inadvertency* = heedlessness. Evelyn wishes to tell us that, in society, his father did not lose his temper, but was always courteous and attentive.

9. **Knighthood**. Bray quotes, in proof of Richard Evelyn being 'a studious decliner of honours and titles', the following receipt found at Wotton: 'Red, the 29 Oct^r 1630, of Rich^d Evlinge of Wottone in the countye of Surr', Esq. by waie of composic'one to the use of his Ma^{ties}, being apoynted by his Ma^{ties} collecto' for the same, for his Fine for not appearinge at the time and place apoynted for receaving order of Kthood, the somme of fivety pounds. I say receav'd. Thos Crymes.'

Rous writes in his *Diary* (p. 51) 'In Easter terme (1630) writtes went out of the Exchequer to gentlemen of 40^{li}. annuat., that were not at the King's coronation, to receive Knighthood'.

Under the feudal system any person possessed of a certain amount of land was bound to present himself for Knighthood, and fines were exacted for not doing so as early as 1225. Henry VIII in 1522, when imposing a kind of income tax, rated Knights at thirty shillings for every twenty shillings paid by the untitled gentry. Knighthood thus became a

costly honour, but men were allowed to contract out of it by paying a composition. The law was obsolescent when it was revived by Charles I in 1629. The Commissioners appointed for different counties met with much opposition and many ingenious pleas for exemption. Sir John Eliot writes from Cornwall: 'My County was much urged to composition as before, but their poverty or ignorance hath withheld them; *I am loath to impute it to ill nature.* But whatever was the cause no one was drawn to yield' (Forster, *Life of Sir John Eliot*, ii. 686.) Oliver Cromwell in Huntingdonshire paid £10 which was the ordinary fine. More was levied from men like Richard Evelyn who neglected to appear before the Commissioners. £173,537 was raised in this way. The Long Parliament in 1641 abolished the King's right (M. Burrows, *Annals of England*).

10. **Four Thousand a Year.** Roughly speaking the purchasing power of money was four or five times as great in 1620 as in 1900. But wealth is comparative, and a man is rich or poor as he has more or less than his social equals. Gregory King (*State and condition of England*, 1696) gives us the average incomes of different classes when wealth had much increased. A nobleman £3,200, a bishop £1,300, a baronet £880, a knight £650, an esquire £450, a country gentleman £280, a merchant £400, a lawyer £154, a dignified clergyman £72, an inferior clergyman £50, a freeholder £90 to £55, a farmer £42 10s., a shopkeeper £45, an artisan £38 (Quoted Thorold Rogers, *Work and Wages*, 463, 464).

11. **Fathers and Sons.** Their relations varied very much during the seventeenth century. In the time of James I the tendency was to spoil children. Ben Jonson makes Knowell lament:

'Nay! would ourselves were not the first, even parents,

'That did destroy the hopes in our own children...

' The first words,

'We form their tongues with, are licentious jests.

'Can it call whore? Cry bastard? O then kiss it!

'A witty child! Can't swear? The Father's darling!

'Give it two plums' (*Every Man in his Humour*, ii. 5).

If there is any truth in this, we can understand Milton's caution, 'Not to labour, as most men doe, to make them (children) bold and pert while they are young, which ripens them too soon' (*Common Place Book*, p. 111). Such different people as Endymion Porter, Lord Strafford, and Isaac Basire show in their letters what tender solicitude a father of this

period could show for his children. Ralph Verney also was from the beginning worrying about Edmund, but he was scarcely tender. Lady Denton in 1638 wrote on behalf of her great grandchild, aged three: 'I heare he is disliked, he is so strange (shy) . . . he must be woone with faire meanes. Let me begge of you and his mother that nobody whip him but Mr. Parrye. . . . Indeede, Raphe, he is too young to be strudgelled in any forcing way' (*Verney Memoirs*, i. 216, 217). It was the Puritans who introduced extreme severity. They had so little belief in sacramental grace, and were so convinced of original sin, that they lost no opportunity to whip the offending Adam out of their offspring. High spirits were for them a sign of the Devil's possession. James Janeway (1636-74) reminds parents: 'Your child is never too young to go to Hell'; and recommends, 'Put your children upon learning their catechism (the Westminster) and the Scriptures, and getting them to pray and weep for themselves' (*A Looking Glass for Children*, &c., Opening salutation). Roger North writes: 'We were taught to Reverence our father, whose care of us consisted then in the gravity and decorum of his comportment, order and sobriety of life, whereby no Indecent or Mischievous Impressions took place with or from his example.' This somewhat Olympian parent occasionally condescended 'to entertain the little credulous Impertinents' with a 'Petit Regale' in his closet; but he left his wife to birch them, which she did with vigour (*Lives of the Norths*, iii. 2-5). In the next generation Mrs. Wesley protected a studious husband from a noisy family, 'and when a year old (and some before) they were taught to fear the rod and cry softly' (*Journal*, i. 388). As children grew up, there was more ceremony between fathers and sons than now. Roger North's father, Sir Dudley, though sixty-three, 'never would put on his hat, or sit down before his father, unless enjoined to do it' (*Lives of the Norths*, i. 35). Aubrey, in 1642, regrets that at home he had no one to converse with but rustics and servants, 'for, in those dayes, fathers were not acquainted with their children' (*Brief Lives*, i. 38). However another Wiltshire squire was an exception. Clarendon, writing in the third person of his father's death, says: 'It cannot be expressed with what agony his son bore his loss, having . . . not only lost the best father, but the best friend and the best companion he ever had or could have' (*Life*, i, § 17).

12. **The Standsfield Family.** In the Heralds' *Visitation of Shropshire*, 1613 (Harl. Soc.), no family of this name occurs; but the Stansfields of Stansfield have been since

the conquest a well-known family in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Burke (*Landed Gentry*) assumes that John Standsfield was descended from them. His lands in Sussex probably came to him through his wife.

13. **Eleanor Standsfield.** Evelyn's mother was born at Lewes, November 17, 1598, married Richard Evelyn, January 27, 1613, at St. Thomas', Southwark, and died September 25, 1635. Her portrait at Wotton bears out Evelyn's description of her 'personage' or bodily appearance. She had a long face, and an especially long thin nose, a baby mouth, and a small pointed chin. Her eyes are large, wide open under heavy lids, and have a most pathetic expression. She must have been a woman with a large frame, but she does not look strong. She holds one beautiful hand in the other. They are eloquent of patience without hope.

14. **The Comber Family** sprang from Barcombe near Lewes, and were widely distributed through Sussex and Surrey (vide Heralds' *Visitations* and *Familiae Minorum Gentium*, Harl. Soc.). William Comber of Shermanbury, Barrister at Law, was overseer to George Evelyn's Will (Helen Evelyn's *Hist. of Evelyn Family*, p. 25); and Thomas Comber, Dean of Carlisle, William's twelfth son, composed George Evelyn's epitaph. From these facts we should infer that Eleanor Comber may have been one of this large family.

15. **A religious melancholy.** Evelyn explains this by 'pious sadness', and describes a character common at the time. Religion tended to be very introspective, and scrupulosity was encouraged by Divines of all parties, Roman, Anglican and Puritan, even when they wrote formally against its dangers. Charles Rich, the fourth Earl of Warwick, was not himself a religious man, but very proud of his wife's (Mary Boyle's) piety. On one occasion he introduced a friend into a closet where he might hear the Countess weeping and bewailing her sins (Disraeli, *Curiosities*, &c., iii. 435). Sir William Temple (*Works*, i. 287) writes: 'I remember an ingenious Physician, who told me in the fanatic times, he found most of his patients so disturbed by troubles of conscience that he was forced to play the Divine with them, before he could begin the Physician.'

16. **A woman's economy.** At a time when nearly everything was home-made, a woman's economy meant more than keeping accounts and saving remnants. Not only clothes were made at home, but also household linen. Bread was baked, fruit preserved, hams were cured, and beef powdered against the winter. Candles, soap, cordials, sauces, and medicine

were all made from treasured recipes and stored in the still-room. Cider was made and beer brewed at home. The nursery, the maids, the laundry, and the hen-roost were all under the mistress. Sometimes her dominion extended to the garden, and Cottington, describing to Wentworth the improvements in the garden at Hanworth, writes: 'My wife is the chief contriver of all this Machine, who with her Cloaths tucked up, and a Staff in her Hand, marches from Place to Place, like an Amazon commanding an Army' (*Strafford Letters*, i. 51). As Fuller says (*Holy State*, 2): 'The house is the woman's centre', and Overbury, fearful of fancies that come with leisure, agrees, 'Domestic charge doth best that sex befit, Contiguous business' (*The Wife: Works*, p. 41). At a much later date Halifax in his *Advice to his daughter* (*Life and Works*, by Foxcroft, ii. 404) speaks of 'a husband, whose province is without doors, and to whom the economy of the house would be to some degree indecent'. So the wife stayed at home to look after her children and household,

—To invite the poor o' the parish
 . 'To dinner, keep a table for the tenants.'

Sometimes she entertained,

'Having three fiddlers upon holidays,
 'With aid of bagpipes, that called in the country,
 'To dance and plough the hall up with their hobnails.'
 (*Shirley, A Lady of Pleasure*, ii. 1.)

She could 'sway her house' like Olivia, 'command her followers,

'Take and give back affairs and their despatch
 'With such a smooth, discreet and stable bearing.'
 (*Twelfth Night*, iv. 3.)

Meantime the husband went to Court or to Parliament, or to keep term time and look after his lawsuits. Clarendon's father had been more than once a member of Parliament, but the son records the fact that his mother, married for forty years, had never been in London (*Life*, i, § 5). He approved of these stay-at-home wives. 'By which providence they enjoyed and improved their estates in the country, and kept good hospitality in their houses, brought up their children well and were beloved by their neighbours' (*ibid*). James I issued a proclamation menacing the gentry who came to live in town (Rymer, xvii. 693). Lady Verney (*Memoirs*, i. 221) draws attention to the fact that neither of the Ladies Verney ever attended the Court of Charles I, and draws the alto-

gether illegitimate inference that it was not a fit place for such highly respectable ladies. But Sir Philip Warwick (*Memoirs*, p. 67) tells us: 'Besides the women who attended upon his beloved Queen and consort, he scarce admitted any great officer to have his wife in the family.' Lady Fanshaw followed her husband from town to town when he was Latin secretary to the Prince of Wales, but did not frequent the Court for 'it was not in those days the fashion for honest women, except they had business, to visit a man's court' (Lady Fanshaw's *Memoirs*, p. 37).

17. **Evelyn's Grandfather.** George Evelyn (1526-1603) was the son of John Evelyn and — Vincent of Kingston-on-Thames. He inherited the Kingston property from his father, and Long Ditton from his mother's family. In 1565 he obtained from Elizabeth a monopoly for the manufacture of gunpowder, which he first manufactured at Worcester Park, Surrey, and with the profits bought large estates at Godstone and Wotton. In 1566 he was Bailiff of Kingston. He married first, in 1550, Rose Williams, daughter and heiress of Thomas Williams, the brother and heir of Sir John Williams. By her he had sixteen children, most of whom died young. She died in 1577. In 1578 he married again Mrs. Joan Rogers, a young widow, née Stint. By her he had eight children, only two of whom survived. By his will, he left Long Ditton to his eldest son Thomas; Kingston to his second son John; Godstone to his third son Robert, who sold it to John and emigrated to Virginia; Wotton and Abinger to his fourth son Richard (Helen Evelyn, *Hist. of Evelyn Family*, 19-27). He was buried at Wotton, and Richard put up the monument to his memory. The epitaph was composed by Thomas Comber, 1575-1654, who was Master of Trinity, Cambridge, and subsequently Dean of Carlisle. Bray has confused him with Thomas Comber (1645-99), who was Dean of Durham.

18. **Extract from George Evelyn's Will** dated January 20, 40 Eliz.: proved May 30, 1603 (*P.C.C.* 35, *Belein*). 'Item I give and bequeathe to my sonne Richard Eveline and to the heirs of his bodie lawfullie begotten for ever all those my Manor landes, Tennements, and appurtenaunces to the same belonginge lieng and being in the parrish of Abinger in the Countie of Surrey. And also all other my landes and tennementes whatsoever lieng and beinge in the said parrish of Abinger to the said Richard Eveline my sonne and to the heires of his bodie lawfullie begotten as aforesaide. And also further I give and bequeath to the said Richard

Eveline one certaine lease and woodes lieng and being in East Clangdon, in the saide countie of Surrey with all the tearme of yeares therein yet to come' (quoted Helen Evelyn, *Hist. of Evelyn Family*, p. 24).

19. **Wotton** = Wood-town, in Doomsday Wodeton (Dobson). 'The parish is about nine miles in extent from north to south, but seldom exceeds a mile in breadth, and is still narrower towards the northern extremity. On the north it borders on Effingham; on the east on Dorking and Oakley; on the south on Stenfold and Rudgwick in Sussex; and on the west it joins Abinger' (Brayley, *Hist. of Surrey*, 1850, p. 17). Evelyn wrote to Aubrey: 'We have not been at Wotton (purchased of one Owen, a great rich man) above 160 years' (*Hist. of Surrey*). Evelyn is hardly accurate. Sir David Owen, a natural son of Owen Tudor, acquired the property through marriage with a Bohun of Midhurst (*V.C.H., Surrey*, iii. 156); and George Evelyn bought the estate in 1579 from his grandson Henry Owen, and the advowson and other lands from his son-in-law, Richard Hatton. In 1585 he acquired half of the Manor of Abinger from the Hill family, and in 1622 Richard Evelyn bought the other moiety from Edward Randyll of Chilworth (Helen Evelyn, *vide supra*).

20. **Leith Hill** lies to the south of Dorking. It is 965 feet above sea-level and commands a most extensive view. At least nine counties can be seen from the summit—the sea, which is thirty miles distant to the south, and the Dome of St. Paul's to the north (*G.M.L. Topography*, vol. xii).

21. **The House** stands 400 feet above sea-level in an upland valley, a fold of Leith Hill. It is built of red brick and dates back to the Tudor period, when it consisted of a centre and two wings, surrounded by a moat. In 1652 George Evelyn employed his cousin, Captain George, to carry out many alterations. The banqueting hall was then built. The west wing was burnt in 1800 and the east wing became ruinous. Both were rebuilt by W. J. Evelyn, the architect being H. Woodyer. There are at Wotton four drawings of the house by John Evelyn, dated 1640, 1646, 1653, and 1704. The earliest of these have been reproduced in *The Antiquary*, vol. xi. (Cf. Dobson's note and Helen Evelyn).

22. **Venerable woods.** Wotton is now surrounded by beautiful beechwoods. Evelyn wrote to Aubrey that his grandfather cut down 'the goodly oaks', and beech grew in their place. He adds: 'Where my brother has extirpated the beech there rises birch, under the beech spring up in-

numerable hollies, which growing thick and close together in one of the woods, next the meadow, is a viretum all the year long, which is a very beautiful sight when the leaves of the taller trees are fallen' (*Hist. of Surrey*, reprinted *Misc. Works*, 687).

23. **Distances.** Wotton is six miles from Guildford, fourteen from Kingston, and twenty-six from London (Bray's note).

24. **Dorking** was famed for its Thursday market and for its annual cattle fair on Ascension Eve. When Evelyn was a boy it was also a great place for sheep, and it has always been famed for its fat capons and other poultry. It had a fish market supplied from Brixthelmstone and Worthing. Grain was not sold in open market, but was stored at the various inns where the bargaining took place (*G.M.L. Topography*, vol. xii).

25. **The Garden.** In 'the rude draught' (*Antiquary*, vol. xi.) there is a little garden laid out in beds under the east wing, and a 'pheasant garden' before the west wing. Both of these are within the moat. On the hill to the north is 'the upper garden', but none of these were either extensive or exceptional. In 1652 a mound was levelled, the moat filled up and an Italian garden laid out by George Evelyn. Of this only a Doric portico and fountain remain (Helen Evelyn).

26. **Garden and Waterworks.** Evelyn overestimates the importance of Wotton in the history of gardening. The gardens of Beddington (i. 5), Wilton (iv. 13), Balls Park (i. 37), Hatfield (i. 37), Gorhambury (Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, i. 79 ff.), Shirburn (Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, ii. 52), were all of earlier date. The elegance of waterworks was well understood at the time of the Kenilworth revels (Laneham's *Letter*, 70-8); and Bacon, who writes sensibly of fountains, adds: 'fine devices of arching water without spilling, and making it rise in several forms (of features, drinking glasses, canopies, and the like), they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to health and sweetness (*Essay on Gardens*). Hentzner (*Travels*, c. 1600) describes the waterworks in St. James's Park (p. 24), Theobald's (p. 38), and Nonsuch (p. 58); but his editor, Horace Walpole, exaggerates in the contrary way to Evelyn, when he writes: 'There is scarce an unnatural and sumptuous impropriety at Versailles, which we do not find in Hentzner's description of the gardens mentioned above' (p. vii). De Caus, who planned the gardens at Richmond, c. 1612, before he went to Heidelberg in 1615, published *Les Raisons des Forces Mouvantes avec diverses Machines tant utiles que plaisantes*.

Ausquelles sont adjoints plusieurs desseings de grottes et fontaines.

27. **Elegancy.** We should not to-day speak of waterworks as an *elegancy*, but etymologically the word implies careful and skilful choice, and if *elegans* was first used as a term of reproach, it came in later Latin to qualify the refinements of a luxurious age (vide *N.E.D.*). Elegant was a favourite epithet in the seventeenth century and was applied to men, food, buildings, and to all the luxuries of life, including unexpected fountains which drenched you to the skin, and to the wine cellars in Mr. Povey's house (v. 65, cf. v. 5).

28. **Six Manors.** 'Seven manors, two advowsons (Wotton and Abinger), and a chapel of ease, Sir John Cotton's' (Bray's note).

29. **A good neighbourhood.** Camden's description of Surrey may here be quoted: 'A country it is not very large, yet wealthy enough where it beareth upon Thames, and lieth as a plain and champion country; it yieldeth corn meetly well, and forage abundantly especially towards the south, where a continual vailey falling low by little and little, called in times past Hoimdsdale of the woods therein, runneth down very pleasant to behold by reason of the delectable variety of groves, fields, and meadows. On each side there be pretty hills, rising up a great way along in the country. Parks everywhere replenished with deer, rivers also full of fish, whereby it affordeth for pleasure fair game of hunting, and as delightful fishing' (*Britannia*, p. 294). It was only when James I was attempting to borrow money, that the gentlemen of Surrey represented to the Lord Lieutenant, 'the extreme barrenness of the County, great part of it being given to forests, chaces, and parks' (Loseley, *MSS.* 1611, quoted *V.C.H.*).

30. **Themistocles.** 'Having a piece of land he would sell, he willed the crier to proclaim open sale of it in the market place, and with all he should add into the sale, that his land lay by a good neighbourhood' (North's *Plutarch* ii. 29, Rouse edition).

31. **His noble lady** = Lady Cotton, George Evelyn's second wife. This shows that the passage was written after 1645.

32. **Ovid, *Epistolae ex Ponto*, I. iii. 35, 36.** The last word of the first line should be *captos*.

EVELYN'S INFANCY

[I had given me the names of my grandfather, my mother's father, who, together with a sister of Sir Thomas Evelyn of Long Ditton, and Mr. Comber, a near relation of my mother, were my susceptors. The solemnity (yet upon what accident I know not, unless some indisposition in me) was performed in the dining-room by Parson Higham, the present incumbent of the parish, according to the forms prescribed by the then glorious Church of England.

I was now (in regard to my mother's weakness, or rather custom of persons of quality) put to nurse to one Peter, a neighbour's wife and tenant, of a good, comely, brown, wholesome complexion, and in a most sweet place towards the hills, flanked with wood and refreshed with streams, the affection to which kind of solitude I sucked in with my very milk. It appears by a note of my father's, that I sucked till 17th January, 1622; or at least I came not home before.

1623. The very first thing that I can call to memory, and from which time forward I began to observe, was this year (1623) my youngest brother being in his nurse's arms, who, being then two days and nine months younger than myself, was the last child of my dear parents.]

1624. I was not initiated into my rudiments till neare four yeares of age, and then one Fryer taught us at the church porch of Wotton; and I do perfectly remember the greate talke and stirr about il Conde Gundamar,¹ Ambass^r from Spain (for near about this time was the match of our Prince with the Infanta proposed) [; and the effects of that comet, 1618, still working in the prodigious revolutions now beginning in Europe, especially in Germany, whose sad commotions sprang from the

¹ now Ambassador.

Bohemian's defection from the Emperor Matthias : upon which quarrel the Swedes broke in, giving umbrage to the rest of the princes, and the whole Christian world cause to deplore it, as never since enjoying perfect tranquility.]

§ ii. NOTES

33. **Baptism of Evelyn.** '1620. John the sonne of Mr Richard Evelyne, Esquire, was baptized the xxth day of November' (*Wotton Parish Register*).

34. **Susceptors = Godparents.** Jeremy Taylor used the word (*Duct. Dub.* i. 3). C. J. Cox finds in Parish Registers—Godfathers, Gossips, Susceptores, Fidejussories, Compatres, Witnesses, and Sureties (*Parish Registers*, p. 51). Barlow in 1603 uses the word *Patrini* (Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 172) from the Latin Prayer Book, but this word is not found in the *N.E.D.* *Sponsor* first occurs in Baxter, 1651 (*Infant Baptism*, p. 153, Vide *N.E.D.*). Evelyn uses the word *susceptor* again, iii. 52. *Godfather*, ii. 88, v. 95, vii. 84; *Godmother*, v. 95, vi. 43; *Gossip*, iii. 65; *Sponsor*, vii. 84.

35. **The Sister of Sir Thomas Evelyn.** Rose Evelyn was half-sister of Sir Thomas, being the sixth daughter of Thomas Evelyn by his second wife, Frances Harvey of Chessington. She was baptized at Long Ditton, Sept. 12, 1596, and married in the same church, March 4, 161⁸/₉, to Thomas Keightley, merchant and citizen of London (Long Ditton, *Parish Register*). Miss Evelyn (*Hist. of E. Fam.*, p. 512) says that Keightley came from Staffordshire. In 1643 Evelyn visited her at Hartingfordbury (i. 37) and in 1681 he records another visit after staying with Lord Essex at Cashiobury. He found her at 86 (85?) 'sprightly and in perfect health, her eyes serving her as well as ever, and of a comely countenance, that would suppose her not above fifty' (vi. 83). One of her daughters married Sir Roger Langley in 1547 (Howard, *Misc. Gen. et Heraldica*, II, Series i. 158).

36. **Sir Thomas Evelyn (1587-1659)** was John's first cousin, being the son of Thomas Evelyn by his first wife Frances Moore. He was knighted in Scotland on July 17, 1617. He married Anne, daughter of Hugh Gold, a London merchant, and she survived him ten years. By her he had thirteen children. Not much is known about him beyond the fact that he was a Royalist and quarrelled with his parsons. He

quarrelled with Richard Hinde, who had been put into Long Ditton by Laud, and he quarrelled with Richard Byfield who was intruded during the Commonwealth. Coxe in his *History of Surrey* has a story that Cromwell personally reconciled squire and parson, but from the State Papers printed by Miss Evelyn (*Hist. of E. Fam.* 516-22) it is practically certain that this story is untrue.

37. **Long Ditton** is a village a mile and a half south-west of Kingston. The parish is two miles in length and one in breadth. Originally it contained two manors, one of them George Evelyn acquired from the Vincents, and the other Sir Thomas Evelyn received with his wife Anne Gould (*V.C.H., Surrey*, vol. iii. 516).

38. **Mr Comber**. This may have been Richard Comber who married Elizabeth Higham, daughter of the Vicar of Wotton, whose eldest son was six years old in 1620; or it may have been his uncle William Comber, who was settled at Dorking when the Heralds made their visitation three years later. Both belonged to the Selscombe branch of the family (*Visitations of Surrey, Harl. Soc.* p. 159).

39. **George Higham** had succeeded his father as Vicar of Wotton, and was succeeded by his son, their incumbencies lasting from 1583-1684 (vii. 27). His sister Elizabeth had married Richard Comber, and Richard Evelyn left an annuity of £10 to his servant Richard Higham (Howard, *Misc. Gen. et Her.* II. Series, vol. iii. 158) so the families were closely connected. Evelyn heard Higham preach at Wotton in August 1653 (iv. 3) and again in Oct. 1654 (iv. 25). He describes him as 'a plain preacher, but an innocent and honest man'. It is obvious that he was unmolested under the Commonwealth and he apparently died in 1660 when his son succeeded (vi. 46).

40. **Private Baptism in Houses**. In the 1549 Prayer Book, curates were charged to warn their people, 'that without great cause and necessity they baptise not their children at home, or in their houses'. The matter was further discussed in Convocation, 1575, at the Hampton Court Conference, 1604, and at the Savoy Conference, 1660 (Cardwell, *Synodalia*, i. 135. *Hist. of Conferences*, 155, 325, 326). The mind of the Church was clear, baptism in private houses was to be *in articulo mortis*, or as Evelyn says, 'because of some indisposition'; but fashion disregarded the law. Clarendon (*Rebellion*, i, § 198) complains of the clergy, that they allowed 'the sacraments themselves to be ministered where the people had most mind to receive them'. Wickham Legg (*English Ch. Life*, p. 154) quotes an open letter of 1683 to Dr. Denis

Granville complaining 'of the baptizing of children in private houses, without the least appearance of necessity'. In 1701, Leslie, the non-juror, asks, 'what can be said to justify or excuse the corrupt practice of baptizing the children of the poor at church, and of the rich at home? . . . The practice is so much in use, that a stranger who lived some months in a populous parish without seeing a public christening, asked if children were baptized in the Church of England' (*Case of Sureties in Baptism*, quoted by Southey, *C.P.B.*). There is a curious document among the muniments of Westminster Abbey dated Nov. 24, 1648. 'These are to certify that Mr. Byng (Binns), the reader of the Parish, Margaret's Westminster, hath usually cristen'd children at their parent's houses wt the Boke of Comon Prayer, and signed them with the signe of the crosse, and useth to go to Alehouses and gaminge in some of them' (quoted Westlake, *S. Margaret's, Westminster*, p. 233). Lady Verney writes of 1684, 'Sir Richard Temple's little daughter, Maria, is christened on his birthday in the drawing room. The baby's mother and the godmothers, Lady Chaworth and Lady Gardiner, are immersed in cards. They leave off gambling "for 3 or 4 rounds" while the service is actually performed, then fall to it again, oblivious of everything around them' (*Verney Memoirs*, ii. 407). On April 12, 1689, we find Evelyn urging on the Archbishop 'that the baptising in private houses without necessity might be reformed' and imputing the custom 'to the pride of women' (viii. 8). It had sometimes a better reason. Mrs. Thornton (*Autobiography*, 142) writes: 'My son Robert (born Sept. 19) was baptized on Saturday, the twentieth of September, 1662, by Mr. Luckcock, att our house in East Newton in my owne chamber, where the Lord gave me opportunity to see his admittance into the Church Militant.'

41. **The then Glorious Church of England.** Bishop Hall in his prefatory letter to *Via Media*, 1622, writes: 'It needs no propheticall spirit to discern by a small cloud, there is a storm coming towards our Church: such a one as shall not only drench our plumes, but shake our peace. Already do we see the sky thicken, and hear the winds whistle hollow afar off, and feel all the presage of a tempest, which the late example of our neighbours bids us fear.' Two years later the prescient Andrewes told Wren that when Charles came to the throne, 'he will be put to it upon his head and crown, without he will forsake the support of the Church'—(Maeleane, *Andrewes*, 168). In the reign of James I, there was a bishop like Andrewes, there were parish priests like Herbert and Bedell,

an enthusiast like Nicholas Ferrar, and laymen like Sir Henry Savile and Sir Henry Wotton. The last took Orders. Clarendon (*Rebellion*, i, § 198) says that 'through the remissness of Abbot and the Bishops', the churches 'were kept so indecently and slovenly, that they would not have endured it in the ordinary offices of their own houses'. Hacket (*Life of Williams*, i. 46) says that when Williams became Dean of Westminster, he 'found the Church in such decay, that all who passed by and loved the honour of God's house, shook their heads at the stones which dropped down from the pinnacles'. A few years later when Laud became Bishop of London, he found 'that ancient and famous Cathedral of St. Paul ready to sink into its own ruins' (*Works*, iv. 92). For the conditions of Paul's Walk see Dekker's *Gull's Handbook*, ch. iv, and Earle's *Microcosmographie*, 52. Thirty years later Evelyn exclaimed, 'O how loathsome a Golgotha is this Pauls' (*A character of England, Misc. Works*, 151). Baxter (*Reliquiae*, I, 2) gives a bad account of the clergy in Staffordshire, and what he says can be illustrated from the Visitation records of Wren and Laud, only in them we find that the Puritan clergy were even more to be censured than the orthodox (*Ch. Q. Rev.* lviii. 103 ff.). Simony was prevalent (Howell, *Letters*, I, Sect. v, Ep. 15. Cp. *Return from Parnassus*). Vacant benefices were advertised for sale on the doors of St. Paul's Cathedral (Hall, *Satires*, ii. 5). Many clergy were non-resident, though James I protested that if he ever granted an improper dispensation, 'he was a knave who misinformed me, and I a fool for not better inquiring' (Overbury, *Works*, p. 273). The Blessed Sacrament was not always celebrated three times a year, and the Services even in the Royal Chapel were sometimes disorderly. Rich men bought dispensations from fasting during Lent (Oglander, *Memoirs*, 162, and Lady Brilliana Harley's *Letters*, xlvi); and poor men were spied upon and fined, as may be noted from the farcical scene in Middleton's *A Chaste Maid in East Cheap* (Act ii, Sc. 2). Tilting took place at Court on Good Friday (Laud, *Works*, iii. 150). An improvement, however, was taking place and continued up to the outbreak of the Civil War. The new generation of clergy were zealous and learned. Bishop Hall (*Noah's Dove*, 1624, p. 5) had exclaimed '*Stupor mundi, clerus Britannicus*', and even the anti-clerical Selden had to admit, 'there never was a more learned clergy: no one taxes them with ignorance' (*Table Talk*, 37). Milton, indeed, both in *Areopagitica* and *Lycidas* did so, but he was never accurate as to his facts when his prejudices were in question. The squires and rich merchants,

however, preferred 'the trencher chaplains' described in Hall's *Satires* (ii. 7). 'They did observe', says Clarendon (*Rebellion*, i, § 203), 'the inferior clergy took more upon them than they used to do, and did not live towards their neighbours of quality, or their patrons themselves, with that civility and condescension they used to do.' Perhaps, on the whole, it may be doubtful if the Church of England in 1620 should be called *glorious*, but we have to remember that in the day of trial thousands were prepared to fight, suffer, and die for the Church of England. If she were not glorious, they made her so, and Evelyn is proved right by events.

42. Put out to Nurse. As in the case of his private baptism, Evelyn suggests excuse and hints disapproval. James, Duke of Ormonde was, as a baby, committed to the care of a carpenter's wife at Hatfield (Lady Burghclere, *Life of Ormonde*, i. 27); while the great Earl of Cork sent his numerous children to an Irish cabin, where the foster-mother put them into 'a pendulous satchel'. It had a slit for the child to look out from (vide Godfrey, *Eng. Children, &c.*, pp. 8, 174). Phelan justifies fosterage because 'it united without confounding the upper and lower classes' (*Ch. of Rome in Ireland*, p. vii). However, not only people of quality, but citizens also put their children to nurse, alleging the necessity of pure air (C. J. Cox, *Parish Registers*, p. 67). If Evelyn was reared in sylvan solitudes, Samuel Pepys and his brother Tom were nursed by Goody Laurance, and played with bows and arrows in the meadows of Hackney and Kingsland (*Diary*, Ap. 25, 1664, May 12, 1667). Shirley refers to a merchant's wife who went to fetch her nurse-child, and came home 'Laden with fruit and cheese cakes' (*A Lady of Pleasure*, Act i, Sc. 2). The children, however, did not always get enough to eat. There is a letter of 1629 in the *Cornwallis Correspondence* (p. 202) about a little boy: 'albeitt the nurse doth her part to the uttmost, yett he nowe beginnes to growe, and will looke for better comons than her wages will beare.' Religious opinion was against the practice. The dowager Countess of Lincoln in 1622 published a tract at Oxford with an introduction by Thomas Lodge to prove, 'It is the express ordinance of God that mothers should nurse their own children, and being His ordinance, they are bound to it in conscience'. This lady tells us that she had had eighteen children and nursed none of them herself, but she is properly repentant. She says also 'I fear the death of one or two of my little babes came by the default of their nurses' (*Harl. Misc.* iv. 27-33). Mrs. Collett, writing in 1631 from Little Gidding to Dr. Mapletóft about her

delicate daughter, says: 'For the nursing of her child, when God shall please to send it her, I would advise her not so much as to think of doing it by any one but herself . . . and leave the issue to God.' If she did otherwise, 'she would think her health bought at too dear a rate' (quoted *Nicholas Ferrar*, p. 171). Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (I. ii. 4. 1), discusses the matter with much learning and common sense. He agrees, 'It is most fit a mother should suckle her own infant'. But all mothers cannot. Then let them 'make choice of a sound woman, of a good complexion, honest, free from bodily diseases, if it be possible from all passions and perturbations of the mind, as sorrow, grief, fear, folly, melancholy . . . And if such a nurse may be found out, that will be diligent and careful withal, let Phavorinus and Marcus Aurelius plead how they can against it, I had rather accept her in some instances than the mother herself . . . For why? May not the mother be naught, a peevish drunken flirt, a waspish choleric slut, a crazed piece, a fool (as many mothers are), unsound as soon as the nurse? There is more choice of nurses than of mothers.' John Evelyn in his old age also dilated on 'the Manners and Dispositions of Nurses', reminding us that 'Phavorinus the Philosopher and Avicen give special caution of the Inconveniences that spring from milk vitiated by their Passions and natural Inclinations, whether pendent, sober, foolish, fearful or furious' (*Numismata*, 313). Evidently, he was here only remembering his Burton, and not thinking of what he owed to Peter's wife at Wotton.

43. **First Memory.** The memory of few go back to so early a date; but as a first memory it is not improbable. The first memory is of the first conscious sin—jealousy. St. Augustine writes: 'I have seen jealousy in a babe. It could not speak, but it eyed its twin brother with pale cheeks and look of hate' (*Confessions*, Bk. i, c. viii).

44. **Frier** was probably the parish clerk and not much of an educationalist. Mulcaster (*Positions*, 223) had written, 'For the Elementarie, because good scholars will not abase themselves to it, it is left to the meanest and therefore the worst. For the first grounding should be handled by the best, &c.' The Civil War and deprivation of the clergy, led to some of them becoming village schoolmasters. Wood (*Ath. Oxon.* iii. 253) tells of Thomas Farmbie that 'his distresses made him stoop so low as to be an abcdarian, and several were taught their hornbooks by him'. (Cf. Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii. 405.)

45. **Schools in Churches.** Dobson says, 'The church porch

at Wotton has long been modernised, but John Coney's sketch in the Quarto of 1868 shows the window of a small room over the door'. This, however, cannot have been more than a loft and the *Victoria County History* suggests that the school was held in the Tower, or in a Porticus farther west, of which some indications remain (*Surrey*, iii. 159). Schools in churches were far from uncommon. Hobbes, born in 1588, at four years old went to school in Westport Church, till eight; by that time he could read well and number four figures (*Aubrey, Brief Lives*, i. 238). Aubrey himself went to school in 1634 in the church of Leigh Delamere, and characteristically writes, 'I had then a fine little horse and commonly rode; I was not a vulgar boy, and carried not a satchell at my back' (*ibid.* i. 332).

46. **Rudiments** then consisted of the two Rs—reading and religion. Writing was taught later and arithmetic sometimes not at all. Pepys had to learn the multiplication table after he became Clerk of the Acts (*Diary*, July 4, 1662). The hornbook was the means of instruction. It was a frame with a handle, containing a single page, covered with 'pellucid horn To save from fingers wet the letters fair' (*Shenstone, Schoolmistress*). The village school had probably altered very little when Shenstone wrote. The hornbook contained the alphabet in Black Letter and in Roman type, a brief syllabary, the Lord's prayer and a grace. The alphabet was preceded by the sign of the cross, which gave its name to the Criss-cross-row, and concluded with the ampersand '&'. It is interesting to know that 'A. apple pasty, B. baked it, C. cut it', &c., dates back to this period, but it is not to be presumed that Frier's lessons were so appetising (*vide Field, Child and his Book*, pp. 112-35). The alphabet mastered, the first reading-book was the Bible, so Wood (*Life and Times*, i. 47) says of himself aged seven (1639) 'He was in his Bible, and ready to go into his accedence'.

47. **Gondomar**. Diego de Sarmiento de Acuña (1570-1626) was a devout Catholic, a patriotic Spaniard, a scholar and a bibliophil, besides being the ablest diplomatist of his time. Sir John Eliot (*Life*, i. 416) calls him 'a juggling jack', and Lord Herbert of Cherbury alone could claim to have got the better of him (*Autob.* 126, 127). He was twice Ambassador to England (1613-18 and 1620-2). So Evelyn is in error as to his being here in 1624, though Howell reports in February 1625 that he was expected (*Letters*, I, Sect. iv, Ep. 10). He came in 1613 'to keep the King of England good' from the Spanish point of view, and because of his success was created Count of

Gondomar. He bought the favourite Somerset and became the friend of Buckingham. He was a jovial companion for James whom he first managed and finally dominated. He insisted on the execution of Raleigh, he nearly ruined the Virginia Company, he protected the Papists in England, he prevented James from helping the Palatinate, and was said to be responsible for the dissolution of Parliament in 1621. Finally it was he who suggested the journey of Charles and Buckingham to Madrid. But notwithstanding his many diplomatic triumphs, he never conciliated the people. In 1620, Thomas Scott of Norwich (*vide D.N.B.*) published a tract—*Vox Populi*—purporting to retail Gondomar's report of his embassy at Madrid. This impudent and very clever fabrication was widely accepted as history, and was reprinted in 1659 as by Sir Robert Cotton who had been Gondomar's friend (*Smeeton's Tracts*, vol. i). Scott had to fly the country, and other pulpit denunciators like Ward of Ipswich, Everard of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and Dr. Winiffe were imprisoned. The Prevaricator at Cambridge was expelled the University for an ill-considered joke at his expense (Lyon, *Gondomar*, 98, 99). Middleton was sent to prison for satirizing him in his *Game of Chess*, 'The only work of English poetry which may properly be called Aristophanic' (Swinburne, *Introd. to Thomas Middleton's Plays*, vol. i, p. xxiii). Lithgow assaulted him in the presence chamber and was committed to the Marshalsea for the offence (*Rare Adventures*, pp. x, xi). Recruiting drums for the Palatinate were beaten under his windows at Ely House. Prentices cursed him as he passed in his litter to court, and he had to demand from the king the protection of a body-guard. Yet he had many literary friends, liked English wines, and bought a first folio of Shakespeare (Firth ed. of *Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, p. 127). On his return to Madrid, Howell (*Letters*, I, Sect. iii, Ep. 10) writes how he saved Englishmen from the Inquisition, and Sir Edmund Verney who had assaulted a priest. He concludes, 'I could allege many instances how ready and cheerful he is to assist any Englishman whatsoever; notwithstanding the base affronts he hath often received of the London boys as he calls them'. Health and disinclination prevented his return to England. He was made Governor and Captain-General of Galicia and died at Bommel in Flanders. His portrait by Mytens is at Hampton Court.

48. **The Spanish Match.** Diplomacy had been concerned with the marriage of Charles and the Infanta for six years. The match was unpopular in England and not desired in Spain,

but Gondomar believed in its possibility. At his instigation, Charles and Buckingham, disguised with false beards and calling themselves John and Tom Smith, left Theobalds on Feb. 17, 1623, and to the great embarrassment of Lord Bristol arrived in Madrid on March 7. Charles had gone like a knight-errant in search of a bride only to find that the conditions for wedding her were far harder when he was in Madrid than when he was in London. He was ready to promise almost everything short of his apostasy, much to the annoyance of Olivares, who did not desire the match. James sent a magnificent retinue to wait upon the Prince, but they were lodged uncomfortably and quarrelled with the Spaniards. The stately Spaniards were scandalized by the Prince who climbed a garden wall to have speech with the Infanta: they shuddered at a courtier, like Buckingham, who sat in his master's presence, clad in a dressing-gown without his breeches: while the familiarities of Archie the Jester disgusted them. Meantime Buckingham quarrelled with every one. One delay succeeded another, and when the marriage was agreed to its consummation was postponed. With much politeness Charles left Madrid in September, and the moment he was safely out of Spain his indignation found a vent. On October 3 London received him with transports of joy, because he had not returned with a Spanish bride. James, remembering the Palatinate, consoled himself by saying, 'I like not to marry my son with a portion of my daughter's tears' (Hacket, *Williams*, i. 165), *vide* Gardiner, *Hist.* v. 1-131.

49. **The Comet.** It was the comet of 1577 and not that of 1618 which caused Tycho Brahe to predict that in the North, in Finland, there should be born a prince, who should lay waste Germany, and vanish in 1632. This was fulfilled in the life of Gustavus Adolphus (*Encycl. Brit., Astrology*). The comet of 1618 appeared in November, for John Hales (*Works*, iii, *Synod of Dort*, 23) writes Nov. $\frac{19}{29}$ to Carleton, 'We have much speech of a strange comet of unusual length seen this morning'. Howell refers to it (*Letters*, I, Sect. ii, Ep. 7), 'Queen Anne is dead of a dropsy in Denmark House, which is held to be one of the fatal events, which followed the last fearful comet, which arose in the tail of the constellation Virgo . . . but this is nothing in comparison to those hideous fires, that are kindled in Germany, blown first by the Bohemians, which is like to be a war without end'. Howell apparently agreed with Lord Herbert of Cherbury, that judicial astrology was useful; 'but only for general predictions; particular events being neither intended by, nor collected out of the stars'

(*Autobiography*, p. 29). Bodin (quoted by Southey, *C.P.B.*) in the same way had guessed that each nation had its star, and that neither nation nor star was immortal. A comet being a star in process of dissolution presaged the ruin of a nation. Evelyn here (cp. vi. 82) merely states the current opinion that a comet 'from its horrid hair Shakes pestilence and war' (*Paradise Lost*, ii. 709), an image which Milton, that 'celestial thief', stole from Sylvester's translation of the Huguenot, Du Bartas. Shakespeare had previously put his own doubts into the mouth of Cicero (*Julius Caesar*, i. 3):

'Indeed it is a strange, disposed time;
'But men may construe things after their fashion
'Clean from the purpose of the things themselves.'

50. **Matthias, 1557-1619**, was the third son of Maximilian II and was educated at the Spanish Court. Nevertheless for a short time in 1577 he assumed the sovereignty of the Netherlands, backed by the Catholic insurgents. He afterwards visited England incognito. Wotton saw him in Vienna in 1590, 1591, when he was regent for his brother. He describes him as 'a man of slight presence, rather modest than courtly', and temperate in his habits (*Reliquiae*, 588, 589). Notwithstanding his poverty, he was out of debt (*ibid.* 645). He meddled so little in religion 'as he hath hardly escap't an opinion that he dissembles his faith' (*ibid.* 645). As a matter of fact he intrigued with Protestants to trouble his half-insane brother, Rudolph II, who was in the hands of the Jesuits. By 1610 he ruled Hungary, Moravia, and Silesia, in 1611 he was elected king of Bohemia, and in 1612 emperor. In 1615 the Turks defeated him, and 1618 the Bohemians revolted against Ferdinand, whom he had made king in his place. He was lucky enough to die before the full fruits of his selfish mismanagement were seen in the Thirty Years War.

51. **The Thirty Years War (1618-48)** began with the defenestration of Prague, and the election of the Elector Palatine as king of Bohemia, but by 1628 Gustavus could write to Axel Oxenstierna, 'all the wars that are on foot in Europe have been fused together, and have become a single war' (quoted *Camb. Mod. Hist.* IV, p. iv). With the exception of Bernard of Weimar all the greater leaders were of non-Germanic origin—Spinola, Tilly, Wallenstein, Piccolomini, and Gustavus. There was much diplomacy and many stately courtesies between the armies, but all parties waged war on the civil population with a brutality and a bestiality proper to Germans (*vide* Trench, *Thirty Years War*, Lect. iii). In

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 vain Gustavus remonstrated with his allies at Nuremburg in June 1632. 'You princes, counts, lords, and noblemen are showing your disloyalty and wickedness on your own fatherland, which you are ruining. You colonels and officers, from the highest to the lowest, it is you who steal and rob every one, without making any exceptions. You plunder your own brothers in the faith' (quoted Gardiner, *Thirty Years War*, p. 156). After the death of Gustavus at Lützen, the Swedes proved apt pupils of their allies in pillage, lust, and abominable cruelty. Fuller (*Ch. Hist.*, Bk. xi, 196), speaking of the word 'Plunder' says, 'Sure we first heard thereof in the Swedish wars'. The awful condition of the country may be learnt from Crowne's *Lord Arundel's Travels as an Ambassador extraordinary to the Emperor Ferdinando II in 1636*, a work not mentioned in the Cambridge History. The war ended with the Peace of Westphalia, when Germany was completely ruined and demoralized, when Spain and Sweden were impoverished, and when the dominating position of France in Europe seemed for ever assured. In the early days of the war many Scots and Englishmen took part, the most famous being the Marquis of Hamilton (*vide* Burnet, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, 1677), the fighting Veres, Sir John Hotham, the two Leslies, and Lindsay who was one of the murderers of Wallenstein. Hamilton on his return declared, 'he had learnt no High Dutch but one proverb: *Ein barmherziger soldat ist ein hundsfoot vor Got*, or a merciful soldier is a rogue in God's repute' (Sir P. Warwick, *Memoirs*, 117). This desolating struggle produced but little literature in England, although in 1640 Henry Glapthorne published a play called *Albertus Wallenstein* (*Old English Drama*, vol. ii). The following four volumes were recently advertised in one of Sotheran's catalogues: '1. The Warnings of Germany by wonderful Signes and strange Prodigies, seene in divers Parts of that Countrey 1618-1638, &c., by L. Br. Cap. 2. The Invasions of Germanie, with all the Civill and Bloody Warres therein, 1618-1638, &c. 3. The Lamentations of Germany; wherein, as in a Glasse, we may behold her miserable condition, and reade the Woefull Effects of Sinne, composed by an Eye-witness thereof, &c. 4. Lacrymae Germaniae, or the Teares of Germany. Unfolding her woefull Distresse by Jerusalem's Calamity, in a Sermon preached at Norenberg, translated out of the high Dutch Coppy.' They are all duodecimos and all dated 1638, before England had her own woes to attend to. There is also a Pamphlet of 45 pages on 'The great and famous battle of Lützen', printed 1633, and reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*, iv. 197.

52. The Swedes broke in giving umbrage, &c. It is just possible that Evelyn used the word *umbrage* in the sense of shadow, shelter, protection (for such usage *vide* Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii. 9); but the succeeding clause makes this unlikely. The Protestant princes had three years before earnestly sought for aid from Gustavus Adolphus; but they had been so cowed by Tilly and Wallenstein, that when he came in 1630 they were afraid to join him. The selfish Elector of Brandenburg, and the cautious Elector of Saxony had to be coerced into an active alliance with the Swede. It was not until after the victory of Breitenfeld, Sept. 17, 1636, that the Protestants generally hastened to the aid of the victor. Evelyn obviously did not understand the situation, and the better informed Whitelock generalizes when he writes: 'It is certain that the King of Sweden had not the least ambition or thought of beginning a war with Germany . . . until he was earnestly solicited and pressed by the Protestant Princes of Germany, to take their cause and oppression, and the cause of all the Protestants of Germany into his compassion' (*Memorials*, p. 15). Rous, the Country Parson (*Diary*, p. 59), records with more precision the alleged reasons of Gustavus for entering on war.

53. Accession of Charles I. James I died on March 27, 1625, at Theobalds, and Charles was proclaimed in London the same afternoon at five o'clock.

JOHN EVELYN AT LEWES

1625. I was this year [being the first of the reign of King Charles] sent by my Father to Lewes in Sussex, to be with my Grandfather Standsfield, with whom I passed my childhood. This was the year in which the pestilence was so epidemical that there dy'd in London 5,000 a week; and I well remember the strict watches and examinations upon the ways as we passed; [and I was shortly after so dangerously sick of a fever, that (as I have heard) the physicians despaired of me.]

1626. My picture was drawn in oyle by one Chanterell, no ill painter.

1627. My Grandfather Stansfield dyed this yeare on 5 Feb.: I remember¹ the solemnity at his funeral. He was buried in the parish church of All Soules, where my Grandmother, his second wife, erected him a pious monument. About this time was the consecration of the Church of South Malling, near Lewes²; the building whereof was chiefly procured by my Grandfather, who having the Impropriation, gave £20 a-year out of it to this Church. I afterward sold the Impropriation. I layd one of the first stones at the building of the Church, which was consecrated by Bishop Field, Bishop of Oxf^d, the sermon being preached by M^r Coxhall, afterwards minister there.

[1628-30.] It was not till the yeare 1628, that I was put to learne my Latin rudiments, and to write, of one Citolin, a Frenchman in Lewes. [I very well remember that general muster previous to the Isle of Rhés expedition, and that I was one day awakened in the morning with the news of the Duke of Buckingham being slain by that wretch, Felton, after our disgrace before La Rochelle. And I now took so extra-

¹ Perfectly. ² Forster inserts—by Dr. Field, Bishop of Oxford (one Mr. Coxhall preached, who was afterwards minister). He omits the last clauses of the paragraph.

ordinary a fancy to drawing and designing, that I could never after wean my inclinations from it, to the expense of much precious time, which might have been more advantageously employed.] I was¹ put to schoole to M^r Potts, in the

Cliffe at Lewes, and in 1630, [Cliff at Lewes, from whence fromthence to the Free-Schole on the 7th of January, 1630, at Southover, being the day after Epiphany, I went to the free-school at Southover,]

neere the town, of which one Agnes Morley had been the foundresse, and now Edward Snatt was the master, under whom I remained till I was sent to the University. This yeare my Grandmother (wth whom I sojourn'd) being married to one M^r Newton, a learned and most religious gent. we went from the Cliff to dwell at his house in Southover. [I do most perfectly remember the jubilee which was universally expressed for the happy birth of the Prince of Wales, 29th of May, now Charles the Second, our most gracious Sovereign.]

1631. There happen'd² an extraordinary dearth in England, corne bearing an excessive price; and, in imitation of what I had seene. my Father do, I began to observe matters more punctually, which I did use to set downe in a blanke almanac. [The Lord of Castlehaven's arraignment for many shameful exorbitances was now all the talk, and the birth of the Princess Mary, afterwards Princess of Orange.]

§ iii. NOTES

54. Lewes 'for frequencie of people and greatness is reputed one of the chiefest townes of the County' (Camden, *Britannia*, 313). It dated from Saxon times and had the right to coin money as early as Athelstan. Taylor, the Water Poet (*Certain Travels*, 9), describes its government:

'Twelve men they choose, the most substantialest
'Most rich and wise to govern all the rest;
'And out of that discreet and honest dozen
'Two (as it were) high Constables are chosen;

¹ now.

² now.

‘These have no power themselves to hang and draw,
 ‘Or on offenders to inflict the law,
 ‘But to a Justice of the Peace or Coram
 ‘They bring the parties and their cause before ‘em.’

Of the town, he says (p. 10):

‘This town contains six churches at the least,
 ‘It is a mile in length from West to East:
 ‘A strong and spacious castle there hath been
 ‘As by its mouldered relics may be seen.’

The castle had been for long a ruin, and in 1620 the materials were being sold to the inhabitants—‘flints at 4^d a load’ (Sayers, *Lewes*, p. 21). The great Cluniac Priory of St. Pancras had been completely demolished by Thomas Cromwell; but in Evelyn’s time, the great house built of its materials for Gregory Cromwell and Elizabeth Seymour remained, and was known as Dorset House. John Rowe, principal of Clifford’s Inn, the antiquarian, lived in the High Street, where the Shelleys also had a house. The Springetts and Newtons were among the chief inhabitants. It is doubtful if ‘the Corporation Rousers’ and Bonfire Boys had yet learnt to celebrate the fifth of November, or developed a fantastic devotion to the Sussex Martyrs. At least Taylor says nothing about it, though he lodged ‘at the terrestrial Star’—the famous inn, where the thirteen Protestants are said to have been confined, and before which they were burnt (Lowers, *Hist. of Sussex*). None the less Lewes was a centre of Puritanism. Laud (*Works*, v. 369), reporting to the king in 1639 on his province, speaks ‘of some little disorder’ about Lewes, but adds ‘the Diocese is not so much troubled with Puritan ministers, as with Puritan Justices of the Peace, of which latter there are store’.

55. **The Plague of 1625.** London had a dense population, narrow streets, and old houses. Plague was no doubt brought by shipping in the Thames, but it was the lack of sanitation in the City which made it so dangerous, and not the fact that Saturn was in Capricorn, as Camden and Aubrey believed (*Brief Lives*, i. 143). Webster (*Appius and Virginia*) knew better:

‘The plague that in some folded cloud remains,
 ‘The bright sun soon disperseth; but observe,
 ‘When black infection in some dunghill lies,
 ‘There ‘s work for bells and graves if it do rise.’

The plague broke out, according to Howell (*Letters*, I. iv. 7),

in Whitechapel, in the same house and on the same day of the month as twenty-two years before. In the first week of April there were twelve deaths, in the second week in June there were 161 (Gardiner, *Hist.* v. 339). One dreadful week in August 5,200 people died (Lilly, *Autobiog.* 25; Howell, *Letters*, I, Sect. iv, Eps. 23, 24), and the pestilence did not disappear until the following spring. From the Bills of Mortality, out of 54,000 deaths, 35,417 are attributed to the plague (Strype's *Stow*, ii. 408). Maitland (*London*, i. 299) estimates that a third of the population perished. Among the victims were John Fletcher, Thomas Lodge, and Florio. All the preparations for receiving the bride, Henrietta Maria, had to be abandoned. There were two deaths in Whitehall itself (Howell, I. iv. 20); the Court in consequence left London, and Parliament was summoned to Oxford. 'But alas! no avoiding God's hand. The infection followed or rather met the Houses there' (Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* xi. 108). By August, Lilly states that no one in the habit of a gentleman was to be seen in the streets. The Law Courts were adjourned to Reading, and Judge Whitelock was sent to London to conclude the formalities. He dined on the ground at Hyde Park Corner, having brought his food in the coach. He then 'drove fast through the streets, which were empty of people and overgrown with grass, to Westminster Hall'. The ceremony over, 'he drove away presently out of town' (Whitelock, *Memorials*, p. 2). 'A Forme of Common Prayer, together with an order for Fasting, for the averting of God's heavy visitation, &c.' was issued by Benham Norton and John Bill (Sanderson's *Works*, ii. 265, foot-note). 'On July 2 the Fast was kept by both Houses of Parliament, to set an example therein to the whole Kingdom' (Laud's *Diary: Works*, iii. 166). On July 20 the fast was held throughout England (*ibid.* 168). The churches in London remained open. There was a daily sermon at St. Antholin's, and Lilly was present at a celebration of the Holy Communion at St. Clement Danes. So numerous were the communicants that thirteen sections of Psalm cxix were sung during the distribution. Of the three priests, two caught the infection at the service and one died. Of the third, Lilly remarks, 'Mr. Whitacre . . . escaped not only then, but all the contagion following . . . though he officiated at every funeral'. He adds that 'He was given to drink [and] seldom could preach more than one quarter of an hour'. Great pains were taken to keep the infection from spreading, and Howell was jubilant when he obtained 'a post-warrant' as far as St. David's. George Wither in 1628 published a history of the Plague in

verse, called *Britain's Remembrancer*, which for some reason he had had great difficulty in getting licensed. The engraved title has a map of Britain with the sea and ships. It is overshadowed by a cloud containing the Divine Punishments.

56. **Portrait by Chanterell.** This artist is otherwise unknown, and his picture is lost.

57. **All Souls, Lewes** should be All Saints. The church, except the tower, was rebuilt in 1807. The monument of John Standsfield has been preserved.

58. **South Malling**, according to Camden (*Britannia*, 314), had been a manor of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and how it came into the possession of John Standsfield is unknown. The church consists of a single pace or nave and a tower. Within is a Latin inscription which states: 'This building, sacred to God and His saints, was erected in the year of Our Lord 1628, by the favour and goodness of King Charles, and the contributions of the devout' (Sawyer's *Lewes*, p. 56). According to the *V.C.H. (Sussex*, ii. 379) it was not consecrated until 1632.

59. **Impropriations** arose through patrons endowing monasteries with rectories. 'Rome', says Archbishop Sandys (*Sermons*, p. 45, Parker Soc.), 'hath robbed Christ of his honour, and by impropriations given his patrimony to idle fat monks to feed upon.' At the Reformation these impropriations passed into lay hands, and Sandys did not scruple to enrich his own family out of 'Christ's patrimony'. In the seventeenth century there was more than one movement to re-endow the Church. In 1625 a small society of Puritans began to buy up impropriate tithes. 'Had the managers been honest', says Kennett (*Paroch. Antiq.* ii. 58) 'much good and glory might have been expected from it, but they were represented . . . to have restored no impropriations to the parish church, nor settled them on the incumbents, but only to have set up stipendiary lecturers, and maintained silenced ministers.' In fact it was a plot by a group of capitalists 'to tune' the pulpits to their liking. Laud says (*Works*, iii. 217), 'they were the main instruments of the Puritan faction to undo the Church'. Gardiner (*Hist.* vii. 259) notes that the tithes of Presteign, Radnorshire, were diverted to a London Puritan, but he forgets to say that Charles subsequently bestowed them on the rightful rector for ever, that the grant was revoked during the Rebellion, and again confirmed by Charles II (Laud's *Works*, iv. 304). By 1630, Heylin (*Cyprianus Anglicus*, 199) says, 'they (the feoffees) have more preferments to bestow, and therefore more dependencies, than

all the Prelates in the Kingdom'. This was doubtless an exaggeration. In his sermon at Oxford he says, 'Will they not soon have, &c.?' Anyhow, Laud was alarmed, and, at his instigation, Noy lodged an information against the Feoffees as an illegal corporation holding property without royal license. On February 13, 1633, the Court of Exchequer dissolved the Feoffment and transferred its patronage to the Crown. The London Petition of 1644 complains of 'the suppressing of that godly design, set on foot by certain saints, and sugared with many gifts by sundry well affected persons for the buying of impropriations . . . which the Prelates could not endure' (Rushworth, i. 94). As a matter of fact the restoration of impropriate tithe to the parishes was a project dear to the heart of Laud. He did persuade the king to restore to the Church of Ireland the tithes possessed by the Crown (*Works*, iii. 253), and he was accused of Treason in consequence, having impoverished the Crown. Vesey (*Life of Bramhall*, p. 15) notes: 'He is said to have designed £40,000 for the purpose of impropriations in Ireland out of his own purse', but the benefactions of Laud were so continual that it is doubtful if he ever had so much money at his command. During the Rebellion the Puritans levied fines from the Royalists in order to purchase impropriations for the benefit of their chosen ministers (*Report 1648* in Morgan's *Phoenix Britannicus*, xiii). In Charles II's reign, an Act (17 Car. II. cap. 3) made the transference of such tithe easy, and freed both owners and incumbents from obtaining a licence in mortmain (Phillimore, *Eccles. Law*, p. 1696).

60. Theophilus Field (1574-1636) had been chaplain and 'a sort of broker' to Bacon when Lord Chancellor. In 1619 he became Bishop of Llandaff. Two years later he was impeached by the Commons for bribery and brocage. Nevertheless, in 1627 he became Bishop of St. David's, but continued to live in Broad Sanctuary at Westminster, alleging 'want of health and means of recovery in that desolate place, his diocese, where there is not so much as a leech to cure a sick horse'. In 1630 he held a visitation and ordered his cathedral to be whitewashed. In December, 1635, he was translated, to Hereford, and died the following June (*D.N.B.*). Field was never Bishop of Oxford, but in 1628 that See was vacant through the death of Bishop Howson. It was well known that Field desired an English Diocese, and Evelyn no doubt had a confused remembrance of people speaking of him as the probable new Bishop of Oxford. As a matter of fact Richard Corbet became Bishop. If the *V.C.H.* is right and the Church was

not consecrated until 1632, the See of Oxford was again vacant and the same explanation would hold good. In 1632, however, Bancroft succeeded Corbet.

61. **Mr. Coxhall** = Esdras Coxall, first vicar of the new church at South Malling. He continued to sign the parish registers until 1642, when he was preferred to the valuable living of Worth in Sussex, taking the place of the excluded George Miles. He was undoubtedly a Puritan, but 'tis said he paid the fifths to Mr. Miles' (Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii. 312), so he was more honest than most of the interlopers.

62. **Elementary Latin.** Evelyn was eight. It was usual for boys to begin Latin at seven, although Mulcaster had advocated twelve (Quick, *Educational Reformers*, 97). Lilly, the Astrologer, speaking of his education at Ashby de la Zouch, says, 'The several authors I there learned were these, viz. Sententiae Pueriles, Cato, Corderius, Aesop's Fables, Tully's Offices, Ovid de Tristibus; lastly Virgil and then Horace' (*Life and Times*, p. 7). Lilly's schoolmaster, John Brinsley, had edited most of the above works (*D.N.B.*). He was a rigid Puritan, which perhaps accounts for the fact that the *Fasti* and *Metamorphoses* are not in the list, for most seventeenth-century pedagogues agreed with Holofernes—'Ovidius Naso was the man' (*Love's Labour's Lost*, iv. ii). 'The good old Mantuan', Battista Spagnuoli, is also omitted, though quotations from him hall-marked 'the grammar-school wit' (Harvey's *Four Letters* in Grosart, i. 195). The *Eclogues* of Mantuanus retained their position as a school-book up to the second half of the seventeenth century (Hart ed. of *Love's Labour's Lost*, p. 80). Plays also were generally read, Seneca much more frequently than now. Masters taught Latin by talking it (Ascham, *Scholemaster*, 28), and woe betide the boy who 'broke Priscian's head'. Lyly's Grammar was supreme, and as late as May, 1675, a Bill was actually read a first time in the House of Lords providing pains and penalties for using any other (Field, *The Child and his Book*, 170). This fact, had he known it, would have pleased George Borrow (*Lavengro*, 38-40).

63. **Writing** was, as a rule, taught by itinerant masters who journeyed through the country with their copy books. One of these copy books, preserved in the British Museum, has the following instructions:

- 'Your bodie upright, stoupe not with your head,'
- 'Your breast from the boord when you have well fed;
- 'Ink alwaies good store, in right hand to stand,
- '*Brown* paper for great hast, or else box with sand;

'Dip pen, and shake pen, and touch pen for haire
'Wax, quils and penknife see alwaies ye beare.'

(Quoted Field, *Child and his Book*, 162.)

Writing was regarded as a fine art (cp. iii. 59 and iv. 10), and Disraeli (*Curiosities of Literature*, iii. 167) tells many curious anecdotes of the writing-masters: but writing was not universally taught even among the upper classes. Archbishop Abbott refused to allow his ward Ormonde to be taught when he was ten years of age, and Ormonde's future wife, the Lady Elizabeth Preston, the richest heiress in England, was driven to teach herself, as Lord Holland, her guardian, grudged the expense (Lady Burghclere, *Ormonde*, i. 34 and 37). Even in Charles II's reign it was possible to taunt a Knight with the fact, 'You cannot read written hand' (Dryden, *Wild Gallant*). Ezrael Tonge (1621-80) first taught 'children to write a good hand in twenty daye's time, by writing over with black inke copies printed from copper-plates in red inke'. The children from eight to nine years of age had to work at it for four hours a day (Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ii. 262).

64. *Isle of Rhé*. 1627. The expedition under Buckingham set sail on June 27, and anchored off St. Martin, the principal town of the island, July 10. A landing was only effected with great loss. The town was besieged. On September 27 Toiras, the French Commandant, offered to surrender, but on that very night the wind changed, so that twenty-nine boats were able to break through the fleet and revictual the garrison. On October 20 the French landed an army in Buckingham's rear; on the 27th he failed to take the town by assault; on the 29th the island was evacuated with great loss. 'The charge which history has to bring against Buckingham is not so much that he failed in the expedition to Rhé, as that there was an expedition to Rhé at all' (Gardiner, *Hist.* vi. 200). The project should have been abandoned when the Commons refused supplies. Holland's reinforcements did not arrive: men and money were alike lacking. Buckingham approved himself a soldier, but on him fell the blame. Evelyn probably heard much the same gossip as Denzil Holles forwarded to Wentworth: 'The disorder and confusion was so great, that the truth is no man can tell what was done. This only every man knows, that since England was England it received not so dishonourable a blow. Four Colonels lost, 32 colours in the enemy's possession, but more lost,—God knows how many men slain—they say not above 2000 on our side, and I think not one of the enemy's' (Strafford's *Letters*, i. 42).

65. **Assassination of Buckingham.** August 22, 1628. The Duke was staying at Mr. Mason's house in the High Street of Portsmouth, preparing the fleet to relieve La Rochelle. He had breakfasted in a parlour with Soubise and others, and was going to the king. As he came out into the dark passage which communicated with the hall, he stooped to speak to 'honest little Tom Fryer', and was stabbed over his shoulder. 'After thirteen years triumphing in Grace and Gallantry one stab dispatched him' (Hacket, *Williams*, ii. 81). His dead body was hastily laid on the hall table, and deserted 'as if he had lien in the sands of Ethiopia' (Wotton, *Reliquiae*, 235). 'The Duchess being with child, hearing the noise below, came in her night gæars from her bed chamber, to a kind of rail, and there beheld him weltering in his blood' (Howell, *Letters*, I, Sect. v, Ep. 7). 'Alas, poor ladies!', wrote Carleton to the Queen of Bohemia, 'such were the screechings, tears and distractions, that I never in my life heard the like before, and never hope to hear the like again' (Ellis, *Letters*, I. iii. 256). Buckingham had been warned to protect himself, but told Throgmorton 'that against any popular fury, a shirt of mail would be but a silly defence: and as for any single man's assault, he thought that he was in no danger' (Wotton, *Reliquiae*, 233).

66. **John Felton** was born in Suffolk, the younger brother of a good family. He served as Lieutenant in Sir James Ramsay's regiment, and had been refused his Company although recommended for promotion both by Sir William Uvedale and Sir William Becher (*C.S.P. Dom.* 1627, 1628, p. 238). His pay was at least £70 in arrears, and he was in debt (Gardiner, *Hist.* vi. 352). His landlady, Elizabeth Joscelyn, deposed that she had never seen him merry (*C.S.P. Dom.* October 1628). He read Dr. Eglisham's infamous libel on Buckingham (it is printed *Harl. Misc.* ii. 74, cp. iv. 528), attended Puritan preachers, and was incited to action by the Grand Remonstrance. 'In a by-cutler's shop on Tower Hill, he bought a tenpenny knife (so cheap was the instrument of this great attempt) and the sheath thereof he sewed to the lining of his pocket, that he might at any moment draw forth the blade with one hand, for he had maimed the other' (Wotton, *Reliquiae*, 232). Leaving his name to be prayed for in a Fleet Street Church (Gardiner, vi. 353), he made his way to Portsmouth on foot, and found his opportunity the morning after his arrival. He made no attempt to escape, but retired into the kitchen, and at the first challenge owned to the deed. He was with difficulty saved from being lynched, his most furious assailant being the cook with a spit (*Carleton to Queen of*

Bohemia, Ellis's *Letters*, I. iii. 256). In his hat was pinned a paper stating, "Nought he did in hate but all in honour". If I be slain let no man condemn me, but rather condemn himself. It is for our sins that our hearts are hardened and become senseless, or else he had not gone so long unpunished. John Felton' (quoted Gardiner, vi. 353; cp. Rous, *Diary*, 26). This paper was picked up by Edward Nicholas, and passed with his granddaughter into the Evelyn family, from whom Mr. Upcott acquired it (Forster, *Eliot*, ii. 356). Felton was brought to London the second week in September, and met with an ovation on his way to the Tower. Zouch Townley wrote a poem which expressed the national feeling. England was tired of keeping 'an Admiral to lose the seas'. He apostrophized Felton:

'Let the Duke's name solace and crown thy thrall,
'All we for him did suffer, *thou* for all.'

(the whole poem is quoted Disraeli, *Curiosities*, # 378). Felton refused to incriminate any one, and the judges declared torture to be illegal. He was tried before the King's Bench, November 27, and hanged next day at Tyburn. At the last he confessed: 'I did sin in killing the Duke; and I am sorry that I killed a most wicked impenitent man so suddenly, but I doubt not that good will result to the Church and Commonwealth by it' (D'Ewes, *Autob.* i. 386). His body was subsequently hung in chains at Portsmouth 'in the same clothes he wore, when he killed the Duke' (Pory to Mede, quoted by Forster).

67. **La Rochelle.** The Puritans professed great enthusiasm for the relief of Rochelle, but their representatives in the Commons refused any supplies. Charles did his best and pawned his Crown lands for money, while Buckingham spent £60,000 of his private means on the equipment of the fleet. He told Gerbier, 'If God please, I will . . . be the first man who shall go and set his foot upon the dyke before Rochelle: or die or do the work' (Disraeli, *Curiosities*, ii. 368). After his assassination, the Earl of Lindsay (vide 92) sailed with an ill-found fleet, with pressed men corrupted by seditious propaganda, and with commandeered merchantmen resolved not to risk their vessels. Meantime Rochelle, commanded by the heroic Guiton, had already lost 16,000 by famine alone. So sore was it 'that the poor people would cut off the buttocks of the dead who lay in the Churchyard unburied, to feed upon' (Ellis, *Orig. Letters*, I. iii. 275). The great moles built by Richelieu blocked the approach. Lindsay's men-of-war

drew too much water to approach, and the merchantmen, despite of orders, kept at so safe a distance, that after an attack, lasting all day, not a single Englishman was killed. Diplomacy was then tried in the hope that the French might be bounced into relinquishing their grip on the town, but Walter Montague was no match for Richelieu. On October 18 the town surrendered and its walls were destroyed. The popular leaders in England denounced Charles for failing in an attempt which they had rendered impossible. They affected to believe that the expedition had been a blind, and that a perfidious betrayal of Rochelle had been intended from the first. Hating Buckingham, and opposed to Charles, they were no doubt sincere; but it is amazing that modern historians, like Forster, can accept the suspicions of these blind partizans as facts.

68. **Drawing and Designing.** Evelyn is apologetic. Drawing was regarded as a waste of time, and hardly the accomplishment of a gentleman. Peacham (*Compleat Gentleman*, 126) says, 'When I was young, I have been beaten by ill and ignorant Schoolmasters, when I have been taking in black and white the countenance of someone or other . . . yet they could never beat it out of me'. He shows how useful the power to draw would be to soldiers, mathematicians, travellers, and virtuosi; and he proves the respectability of the talent by classical quotations and modern instances. So, later in life, Evelyn wrote: 'It is hardly to be imagin'd how great use, and conducive, a competent address in the art of Drawing and Designing is to the several advantages which occur' (*Sculptura*, 133; cp. Locke, *Thoughts on Education*, 243).

69. **The Cliff at Lewes.** A suburb, so called from being built on the chalk cliff which is, like Malling, on the other side of the Ouse to Lewes. It has always belonged to the Rape of Pevensey.

70. **School Holidays and School Work.** Holidays came but twice a year, and it will be noted that Evelyn went to school the day after the Epiphany, so we may conclude that the Christmas holiday lasted for a fortnight. If the holidays were short the hours of work were long—from six to eleven in the morning and from one to six in the afternoon. Mulcaster in Elizabeth's reign and Peacham (*Compleat Gentleman*, p. 25) in the seventeenth century alike protested in vain (Eliz. Godfrey, *Children of the Olden Times*, 145). In 1644 the boys of Merchant Taylors' School petitioned the Company for Play-days instead of Holy-days—the latter being allotted to public disputations in Latin (Field, *Child and His Book*, p. 91).

71. **The Free School at Southover.** There had been a grammar school in Lewes as early as 1248, and in 1285 John de Hampton, Master of Lewes School, was ordained an acolyte in South Malling Church. But John Evelyn's Free School was founded in accordance with the Will of Agnes Morley, proved in 1512. She left 'a messuage with a garden in Southover . . . lying next to the Mylle called Watergate . . . to serve for a scholemaistre and usher there to dwell in, to teche grammar in the same forever'. The Prior of Lewes was to nominate the Master, who was to receive £10 a year, and to serve the chapel of St. Erasmus in St. John the Baptist, and to say mass for the soul of the Founders (*V.C.H., Sussex*, ii. 411). Among Evelyn's schoolfellows were Herbert Morley, who became a Roundhead colonel, and one Heath, who was still Evelyn's 'worthy friend' in 1688 (vide v. 64). John Pell, the Mathematician (1611-63) was also educated there (*G.M.L. Topography*, xii. 174): perhaps also Ralph Winterton (1600-36), but he went on to Eton (Snatt's *Letter in Evelyn's Correspondence*, iii. 95, Bohn's edition). The school was removed in 1714 to better quarters in St. Anne's parish given by Mrs. Jenkins, but once a year it was customary to hold school in the old buildings until 1808, when the site was purchased by Colonel Newton for £300. The school came to an end in 1885, and the endowment (£90 per annum) is now spent on scholarships for the children of Lewes' residents (*V.C.H., Sussex*, ii. 415).

72. **Mr. Snatt.** Edward Snatt was still at Southover School in May 1657, when he wrote to thank Evelyn for a presentation copy of his *Lucretius* (*Correspondence*, iii. 95, Bohn). 'Your poor Mulcaster', as he styles himself, is not without self-congratulation in contemplating his pupil's success; but as the thought of Evelyn's authorship 'makes me stand amazed', we may infer that the pupil showed but little promise while at school. Evelyn, however, by presenting his work, showed an affectionate remembrance of his old schoolmaster. Edward Suatt's son, William, went to Magdalen College, Oxford, became a Canon of Chichester, and was one of the Non-juring divines who absolved Freind and Perkins on the scaffold (vide viii. 63).

73. **Mr. Newton.** The Newtons came from Cheshire and lived at 'The Priory of S. Pancras' or Dorset House (vide 54), next door to the Free School. William Newton of Gray's Inn was a widower with a grown-up family of one son and four daughters, by his first wife, Jane Apsley (*Sussex Arch. Coll.* iv. 220).

74. Birth of Charles II took place in St. James's Palace on Saturday, May 29, 1630, a little before 1 p.m. (Laud, *Works*, iii. 212). He was the second child, his elder brother, also christened Charles, having only lived one hour (ibid. 211). He was baptized by Laud on June 27, his godparents being the King and Queen of France and the Prince Elector (Baker, *Chronicle*, 448). His nurse was rewarded with £1,000 (Rous, *Diary*, 54). The rejoicing was general. Lord Baltimore declares that it extended to the Court of Spain, where 'not so much as the young infant of so many months old but had a Feather in his Cap, all the Town full of Masks and Musick' (Strafford, *Correspondence*, i. 55). Herrick (*Hesperides*, i. 92) wrote a pastoral in honour of the event:

'Three days before the shutting in of May
'(With whitest wool be ever crown'd the day')
'To all our joy, a sweet fac't child was borne,
'More tender than the childhood of the Morne'.

Oxford produced a volume of verses, *Britannica Natalis*, but Laud laments that it arrived just too late for the christening (*Works*, v. 19). The sober Whitelock records: 'Upon the 29th of May, the Queen was brought to bed of a son, Prince Charles, to the exceeding joy of the subjects; and the same day, a bright star appeared shining at noon day in the East' (*Memorials*, 15). So Sir Henry Wotton begins his Birthday Ode:

'You that on stars do look,
'Arrest not then your sight,
'Though Nature's fairest book
'And signed with propitious light;
'Our blessing now is more divine
'Than planets that at noon do shine' (*Reliquiae*, 381).

Thirty years later, Dryden (*Astraea Redux*) and Cowley (*Coronation Ode*) refer to this portent; and so does Bathurst in his Latin verses on the same occasion (Warton's *Bathurst*, 281). But some of the verses at the time were satirical. Rous (*Diary*, 54) preserves the following:

'When private men get sonnes, they gette a spoone,
'Without eclipse or any starre at noone:
'When King's get sonnes, they get withall supplies,
'And succours far beyond five subsidies,
'Welcome, God's loane, great tribute of the state,
'Thou mony new come in, rich fleete of plate;
'Welcome, blest babe, whom God your father sent
'To make him rich without a parliament'.

75. **Dearth of 1631.** In February, 1630, the Justices in Sussex reported that there was not enough corn to support the inhabitants until the next harvest. The price of wheat had risen from 6s. to 8s. the bushel. At Arundel they issued an order that no wheat should be sold to any except the poor until two hours after the market bell had rung. All export was forbidden, and forestallers and maltsters were severely dealt with. In February, 1631, a scarcity was again reported. In March, Laud notes in his diary, 'the famine great this time, but part by practice' (*Works*, iii. 213). On April 23 the Justices of the Lewes Rape notified that there was sufficient corn 'to serve the people and help the wildish parts of the country' (*C.S.P. Dom.*, 1631-33, p. 18). The scarcity, however, was so great in the Wealden and Pevensey Rape that the Justices appealed to the more 'substantial inhabitants of the parishes, where the poor did most abound, to afford some liberal help to their poor people, who partly by the persuasion of us, and of their own charitable dispositions, have laid down in some one parish about £30, in another £20, in some less, according to the extent and ability of their parishes'. Badgers had been appointed in every parish to buy corn, and to sell it to the poor 12d. in every bushel cheaper than it cost. The measures taken for relief led to a great apprenticing of children from ten years old and upwards, and also to a great whipping of rogues and beggars (*V.C.H., Sussex*, ii. 194-6).

76. **Evelyn's first Diary.** Among the *English Stocke* of the Stationer's Company in 1620 are not only Almanacks, but 'Kalendars for Table-books'. From this it would appear that Diaries were then published with blank spaces for memoranda (*Field, Child and His Book*, p. 170).

77. **Lord Castlehaven.** Mervyn Touchet, twelfth Lord Audley and second Earl of Castlehaven (1592-1631) was tried before his peers, Lord Coventry acting as Lord Steward, in Westminster Hall on April 23, 1631, and was beheaded May 14 on Tower Hill. His 'shameful exorbitancies' may be read in *State Trials* (vol. i, p. 18, ed. 1775). It is to be hoped that Evelyn is mistaken in suggesting that such exorbitancies were discussed in his pious home before a little boy of ten. Sir Henry Wotton, with due reticence, notes 'that he died for a fault unworthy of his birth' (*Reliquiae*, 150).

78. **Exorbitancy.** Its first meaning is divergence from the ordinary track, so Milton (*Eikonoclastes*, ch. xxvi, *Works*, i. 468) speaks of 'that planetary motion, that unblamable exorbitancy'. The word, however, during the seventeenth

century was constantly used for gross deviations from right conduct. Sanderson (*Works*, iii. 255): 'God restraineth some men . . . from sundry outrageous exorbitancies.' Clarendon (*Rebellion*, i. 29): 'The exorbitancy of the House of Commons . . . proceeded chiefly from their contempt of the Laws.' Hacket (*Williams*, iii. 117): 'From this exorbitancy sprung the Iliad of wrongs which the Bishop endured.'

79. **Mary, Princess of Orange.** 'Nov. 4th, 1631. Friday, the Lady Mary, Princess, born at S^t James, *inter horas quintam et sextam matutinas*. It was thought she was born three weeks before her time.' Laud (*Works*, iii. 215).

MARRIAGE AND DEATH OF ELIZABETH
EVELYN

Oct. 21st, 1632. My eldest Sister was married to Edw^d Darcy, Esq.; who little deserved so excellent a person, [a woman of so rare virtue. I was not present at the nuptials; but] I was soone afterwards sent for into Surrey, and my Father would willingly have weaned me from my fondness of my too indulgent Grandmother, intending to have placed me at Eaton, but,¹ [not being so provident of my own benefit, and unreasonably] terrified at the report of the severe discipline there,² I was sent back to Lewes, which perverseness of mine I have since a thousand times deplor'd. [This was the first time that ever my parents had seen all their children together in prosperity.] While I was now trifling at home, I saw London, where I lay one night onely. The next day I dined at Beddington, where I was much delighted with the gardens and curiosities. Thence we returned to Lady Darcy's at Sutton, thence to Wotton, and the 16th of Aug. 1633, back to Lewes.

1634. My Father was appointed Sheriff for Surrey and Sussex before they were dis-joyned. [1633: 3rd November. This year my father was appointed Sheriff, the last, as I think, who served in that honourable office, before they were dis-joined]

He had 116 servants in liverys, everyone livery'd in green sattin doublets; divers gentlemen and persons of quality waited on him in the same garb and habit, which at that time (when 30 or 40 was the usual retinue of the High Sheriff) was esteem'd a great matter. Nor was this out of the least vanity that my Father exceeded (who was one of the greatest decliners

¹ Colbourne, 'But I was so.'

² Colbourne, 'that.'

of it), but because he could not refuse the civility of his friends and relations, who voluntarily came themselves, or sent in their servants. But my Father was afterwards most unjustly and spitefully molested by y^t jeering judge Richardson, for re-preeving the execution of a woman, to gratifie my L. of Lindsey, then Admiral; but of this he emerged with as much honor as trouble. [The King made this year his progress into Scotland, and Duke James was born.]

Dec. 15th, 1634. My Sister Darcy departed this life, being arriv'd to her 20 yeare of age, in vertue advanc'd beyond her yeares, or the merit of her husband, the worst of men. She had been brought to bed the 2nd of June before, but the infant died soon after her [the 24th of December. I was therefore sent for home the second time, to celebrate the obsequies of] my sister [: who] was interr'd in a very honourable manner in our dormitory joyning to the parish church, where now the monument stands.

§ iv. NOTES

80. **Marriage of Elizabeth Evelyn.** In *Marriage Licences: London* (*Harl. Soc.* 208) there is the following entry:—'1632. Oct. 24th, Edward Darcy Esq^r of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, 22, son of Sir Robert Darcy, Knt., of Dartford, Kent, dec^d, and Elizabeth Evelin, spinster, 18, daw. of Richard Evelin Esq^r of Wotton, Surrey, who consents; at St Anne's Blackfriars.'

81. **Edward Darcy**, b. 1610, was sixteenth in the lineal male descent from Norman D'Arcy, who came over with the Conqueror and was rewarded with Nocton and thirty-two Lordships in Lincolnshire (*N. & Q.*, Oct. 10, 1863). He was the son of Sir Robert Darcy of Newhall in Derbyshire, who bought Dartford Priory and the Manor of Temples in 1612 from Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury. He called the old Priory Dartford Place (*N. & Q.* 1863, cp. Ireland's *Kent*, iv. 406). Edward Darcy married secondly Lady Elizabeth Stanhope, daughter of the first Earl of Chesterfield, and had by her three daughters; Katherine, who married Sir Erasmus Phillips of Picton Castle, Pembrokeshire; Dorothy, who married Sir . . . Rokesby; and Elizabeth, who married first Thomas Milward of Derbyshire and secondly a Mr. Barnes (*N. & Q.* 1863). In

a foot-note to Aubrey's *History of Surrey*, Evelyn writes:— 'He ruined himself and his estate by his dissolute life. He sold the Maner of Grisham and Horton to Mr. Mynne of Woodcut, whose only daughter and co heir married my younger brother, Richard Evelyn.' I have not traced the year of his death, but he sold the Manor of Sutton after 1670 (*V.C.H., Surrey*, vol. iv. 43).

82. **Eton and its Discipline.** Evelyn was 'unreasonably terrified', though Mr. Dobson would justify his fears by quoting from Thomas Tusser's experience under Udal (vide *Five Hundred Points of Husbandry*); but Tusser was at Eton ninety years before. He might also have referred to Dr. Malim and the famous discourse which took place at Sir William Cecil's dinner table because 'divers scholars of Eaton be runne away from the Schoole, for feare of beating'. This was in 1563 and led to Ascham's *Scholemaster* being written. However, it is more to the purpose that we should remember how Sir Henry Wotton became Provost in 1624 and 'was not only a fine gentleman himself, but very well skilled in the art of making others so' (Boyle, *Philaretus* apud Birch, i. 8). He was constantly in school, and 'had two boys to attend him at meals', noting 'their discourse and behaviour' for that great work on education of which only fragments were written (Walton's *Lives*, 71). As we should expect, the masters under him, Bust, Harrison, and Nixon, were not brutal, though the last was 'rigid' (Boyle). Little Henry Hammond went to Eton in long-coats, and though Mr. Bust was surprised at 'the softness of his temper', he was not ill-used (Fell, *Life of Hammond*, pp. 4 and 5). Robert Boyle went to Eton in 1635, aged eight; and his 'Governor for Manners', Robert Carew, writes of him that 'he is very fat and very jovial, and pleasantly merry'. Even then, however, he 'preferred learning before all other virtues and pleasures' (*Lismore Papers*). He himself tells that Mr. Harrison was an easy going schoolmaster. He gave the boy private instruction, and 'would clog him with fruit and sweetmeats': he 'would also bestow upon him such balls and toys as he had taken away from others, who had unduly used them' (*Philaretus*). Mr. Cust remarks:—'Probably little Boyle's tenure of the latter gifts was a stormy one' (*Hist. of Eton*, p. 81). 'Sir Henry Wotton', writes Robert Carew again, 'was much taken with him for his discourse of Ireland and of his travels, and he admitted that he would observe and take notice of those things that he discoursed of' (*Lismore Papers*). Boyle was, of course, very precocious, and Sir Henry Wotton, no doubt, wrote truly to Strafford: 'In this Royal Seminary

we are in one thing, and only in one, like the Jesuits, that we all joy when we get a Spirit upon whom much may be built' (Strafford, *Letters*, i. 45).

83. **Schools and Schoolmasters.** Schools, if not Eton, were often cruel and bad. Aubrey (*Brief Lives*, i. 262 and ii. 163) gives some unpleasant portraits of schoolmasters, and so does Peacham (*Compleat Gentleman*, 21-23). Sir John Bramston (*Autobiog.* 99-101) describes his first master, 'the popular vicar of Blackmore in Essex', as 'a very mean superficial scholar and I believe did his best. . . . He was indeed of a temper very unfitt for a scholemaster . . . he was like a furie to wife, children, servants, schollars, all the house'. Sir John's little brother, about ten years of age, received fifty blows with the great rod for failing in grammar. This 'greatly followed preacher' and 'great pretender to sanctitie and relligion' employed his pupils in tending cattle and encouraged them to rob ponds and snare the pigeons from his neighbour's dovecots. It is only fair to add that Sir John was lucky in his second master, the famous Dr. Farnabie. Burton (*Anatomy*, I. ii. 4, 2) says that 'many children endure a martyrdom'. He condemns the bad food and bad conditions of life as well as the lashings. Sir John Reresby (*Memoirs*, 22), who went to a good school at Enfield Chace, complains of 'the scarcity of diet'; but he was himself fortunate 'as my master's sister took a particular kindness to me'. Burton (*ut supra*) says again:—Many children think that 'there is no such misery in the world (as once I did myself) like to that of a grammar-scholar'. The Pedagogue describes himself in the *Two Noble Kinsmen* (Act iii. 5) saying:

' I let fall

' The birch upon the breeches of the small ones
' And humble with a ferula the tall ones.'

Even John Brimsley, an educational reformer, only pleads that 'a lytel twigge' should be kept for the correction of mistakes, while the birch should be reserved for serious offences (*Ludus Literarius*, 1622, quoted Mrs. Field, *Child and his Book*, p. 84). It is hardly fair to judge of schoolmasters from the stage, for the comic pedagogue was a convention borrowed from Italy. Montaigne (*Essays*, i. 129) says: 'I was often as a boy wonderfully concerned to see, in the Italian farces, a Pedant always brought in for the fool of the Play.' We must allow in consequence for exaggeration in Sir Hugh Evans (*Merry Wives*), and Holofernes (*Love's Labour's Lost*), and in Sidney's *Rombus*. The Latin-English 'mingle-mangle'

of Holofernes is due to the fact that men taught Latin by talking it, and had frequently to explain as they went along. Winkfield, Elizabeth's Greek reader, produced at Cambridge a satire, called *Pedantius*, on Gabriel Harvey, that 'firking finicaldo fine schoolmaster', (vide Nash, *Have with you to Saffron Walden* in Grosart, iii. 117); but perhaps the scene from Marston's *What you will* (1607), quoted by Mrs. Field (p. 89), gives us the best idea of a lesson during the period :

Enter Pedagogue and boys—Batteus, Holofernes Pippo, Nous and others.

All. Salve, Magister!

Ped. Salvete, pueri estote salvi, vos salvere exoptor, vobis salutem. Batte, mi fili; fili mi, Batte!

Bat. Quid vis?

Ped. Stand forth, repeat your lesson without book.

Bat. A noun is the name of a thing, that may be seen, felt, heard or understood.

Ped. Good boy, go on.

[After a typical schoolmaster's joke as to *lingua* being feminine, Holofernes Pippo begins *As in praesenti.*]

Pippo. As in praesenti perfectum format in—in—in—

Ped. In what, sir?

Pippo. Perfectum format in what, sir—

Ped. In what, sir?—in avi.

Pippo. In what, sir? in avi—ut no, nas, navi, vocito, vocitas, voci, voci, voci.

Ped. Voci—What's next?

Pippo. Voci what's next?

Ped. Why, thou ungracious child, thou simple animal, thou barnacle! Nous, snare him, take him up, an you were my father you should up.

Pippo. Indeed, I am not your father. O Lord now. For God's sake, &c.

Pippo Holofernes was evidently a frightened child, but he had quite certainly not learnt his lesson. The master within limits was ready to prompt, but to be hoisted (taken up) and whipped was the recognized penalty for idleness. Thomas Ellwood (*Life*, pp. 12, 13), the Quaker, went to Thame Grammar School and always knew his lessons, 'but', says he, 'few boys in the school wore out more birch than I'. He goes on, I was 'a little busy boy, full of spirit . . . and was often playing one waggish prank or another among my fellow scholars . . . so that I have come under the discipline of the rod twice in a forenoon; which yet brake no bones'. It is evident that a little

boy who was whipped twice in one morning for being waggish, was not whipped very severely the first time. Ben Jonson (*Timber*, cxiv), speaking of boys, says:—'From the rod and ferula I would have them free, as from the menace of them, for it is both deformed and servile.' Peacham (*Compleat Gentleman*, 29) after condemning in unmeasured terms the ordinary pedagogue, expressly excepts 'the worthy and learned Masters of our Publike Schooles, many of whom may be ranked with the most sufficient Scholars of Europe'. So Ben Jonson (*ut supra*) would have boys sent to school, 'and a Public School, which I think the best'. He tells the Earl of Newcastle that his sons are 'in more danger in your own family, among ill servants (allowing they be safe in their Schoolmaster), than amongst a thousand boys however immodest'. Obadiah Walton (*Of Education*, 22) is equally insistent on the dangers from 'indiscreet, impertinent, unmanaged servants'. On the whole, unlike Ben Jonson, he favoured a day school (p. 23); but, if that be not convenient, 'great care is to be had that the Family, where he sojourneth, be of good example'; and he advises a clerical pedagogue 'somewhat versed in learning, who may continually attend the child, see to his repetitions and performing his tasks and exercises, model his manners and preserve him from danger'. On this Lord Herbert of Cheshire is in agreement (*Life*, p. 25). 'When children go to School, they should have one to attend them, who may take care of their manners, as the Schoolmaster doth of their learning; for among boys all vice is easily learned; and here I wish it constantly observed, that neither the schoolmaster should correct him for faults of his manners, nor his governor for manners for the faults of his learning.'

84. **Evelyn's first visit to London** was probably to see his sister in her new home at Blackfriars. No doubt he was taken to 'see the Tombs at Westminster and the lions in the Tower' (Dekker, *Gull's Hornbook*, 69).

85. **Beddington.** Note Evelyn's early interest in gardens. For a description of Beddington see vol. iv. 53 and viii. 85. Sir Nicholas Carew built the house and entertained Henry VIII there. He was executed in 1539 (*D.N.B.*). His lands were restored to his son, Sir Francis Carew, in 1553, who died without issue. His property was divided between the heirs of his two sisters. One had married a Throckmorton, the other, Mary, had married Sir Arthur Darcy, the second son of Lord Darcy, who was executed for complicity in the Pilgrimage of Grace. The Throckmortons inherited Beddington and took the name of Carew. The Darcy's inherited Sutton and

Edward was the great-grandson of Sir Arthur (*V.C.H., Surrey*, iv. 243).

86. **Grace Darcy** was the widow of the pious Sir Robert Darcy to whom Bishop Hall dedicated one of his Decades. On his death in 1618, Lady Darcy compounded with the Court of Wards and obtained the management of the estates. She was a Puritan, and when Lord Keeper Williams presented Dr. Grant, a royal chaplain, to Sutton, she instituted proceedings against him. Her suit was disallowed, but the question was raised in the House of Commons. Finally, Williams provided for Dr. Grant elsewhere, and Lady Darcy presented Mr. Glover to the living (*C.S.P. Dom.*, 1623-5, 192, 224, 238, 246). Hacket (*Williams*, i. 192, 194) gives an *ex parte* account, and says the widow was 'a lady but a virago'. As vicar of Ewell, he probably knew her well. After the death of Elizabeth, she apparently lived with her son, for in 1639 she is described as of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, when consenting to the marriage of her daughter Anne with Thomas Gouge, vicar of St. Sepulchre's (*Marriage Licences, London*, 247, Harl. Soc.).

87. **Sutton** must not be confused with Sutton Place near Woking, the seat of the Westons. It is a village, twelve miles from London, on the road from Croydon to Epsom.

88. **Sheriffs of Surrey and Sussex.** William Morley was actually the last sheriff of the combined counties. He succeeded William Culpepper who succeeded Richard Evelyn (Fuller, *Worthies—Surrey*).

89. **A Sheriff's Liveries, &c.** To Evelyn's description of his father's equipage, Brayley (*Hist. of Surrey*, p. 21) adds some details. The liveried men had 'cloth coats guarded with silver galoon, as were their hatbands with white feathers in them'. They had also 'new javelins' and were preceded by two trumpeters with banners, on which were blazoned his (Richard Evelyn's) arms (Dobson, foot-note). It is interesting to compare Sir John Reresby's account of how he was High Sheriff of York in 1667. 'The gaoler gave me £160 to have the custody of the gaol. I had the same sum presented me for the County Court, and I made of the bailiwicks about £145, besides the profits of the seal, which made the whole near £1200; but the charges of both assizes, salaries to officers, liveries and equipages, took off so much that I cannot say that I saved clear £200, all charges considered. . . . The Assizes were appointed this year in March. I took a house in the Minster Yard, where I entertained all comers for ten days together; my friends sent me twixt 200 and 300 liveries. I kept two coaches, one for myself and one for my under-

sheriff, had my own violins there all the assizes, and gave a ball and entertainment to all the ladies of the town. The assizes cost me three hundred and odd pounds' (*Memoirs*, pp. 70-2).

90. **Sir Thomas Richardson** (1569-1635) was Speaker of the House of Commons in 1621, Chief Justice of Common Pleas in 1626, and Chief Justice of King's Bench in 1631. His suppression of Sunday wakes in Somerset (Kennet's *Paroch. Antiq.* ii. 309) brought him into collision with Laud and led to the remark: 'I am like to be choked by the Archbishop's lawn sleeves.' He was a good lawyer, a merciful man, but a master of flouts and jeers. When Prynne wanted books in prison, he decreed:—'Give him the Book of Martyrs, for the Puritans do account him one.' When a condemned criminal hurled a missile at him, which he escaped by stooping, he remarked: 'If I had been an upright Judge, I had been slain.' He owned Starborough Castle, Lingfield, but died in his house in Chancery Lane (*D.N.B.*).

91. **Robert Bertie** (1569-1642), created first earl of Lindsay in 1526, was the eldest son of Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby de Eresby. He was well educated, a great traveller, a good sailor, soldier, and farmer, and according to a rare tract of 1624, 'Honour in his Perfection'. He was knighted for conspicuous valour at the taking of Cadiz in 1597, was at the siege of Amiens in the following year, was afterwards engaged in adventures on the Spanish Main, and saw more than one campaign in Flanders. He drained over 36,000 acres of the Lincolnshire Fens, and improved his fortune as a merchant adventurer. On Buckingham's assassination he became Admiral, and commanded the Fleet which failed to relieve La Rochelle (*vide* 69). At the outbreak of the Civil War he was Commander-in-Chief, but his dispositions at Edgehill were ruined by the insubordination of Prince Rupert. Declaring 'if he were not fit to be a General, he would at least die as a Colonel at the head of his regiment', he led the infantry, pike in hand, and received a mortal wound. Essex visited him, while he lay dying on the straw in a cottage, and he spent his last moments in exhorting him to return to his allegiance (*D.N.B.*).

92. **Reprieving a woman.** Miss Helen Evelyn (*Hist. of E. Fam.* 31-3) has found the petition of Richard Evelyn for an inquiry dated July 1635, and the findings of the commission in Feb. 163 $\frac{5}{8}$. The names of Richardson and Lindsay do not occur, and there were two women and not one—Elizabeth Wynne convicted of house-breaking, and Margaret Dutton convicted of taking a purse, containing £10. Both were con-

demned to death, but the first had just become a mother and the second was enceinte. Both were reprieved and ultimately transported to Guiana. The date of Richard Evelyn's petition is noteworthy, for in June 1635 Lord Keeper Coventry had charged the Judges leaving London for the Assizes, to guard against 'the corruption of Sheriffs and their deputies, the partiality of jurors, bearing and siding with men of countenance and power in the country' (quoted Gardiner, *Hist.* viii. 78). I cannot, however, discover that Lindsay had any connexion with Surrey or Sussex, but the decision was given in 1636 when Northumberland, already employed at sea, was Lord High Admiral; and the owner of Petworth might well overawe the High Sheriff. It is probable, in consequence, that 'the Admiral' was mentioned in the family archives, and that Evelyn looked up who was Admiral in 1633 when his father was Sheriff, instead of in 1636 when the charge against him was heard.

93. **Charles I progress into Scotland.** 'Some in Scotland', says Whitelocke, 'had given out in speeches that the King thought the crown of Scotland not worth his journey thither' (*Memorials*, p. 18); but on May 13th, 1633, he started on his progress to the North attended by a gallant company (Laud, iii. 217). On June 15th he entered Edinburgh amid much pageantry. The citizens had even striven to remove some of the filth from the town (Lang, *Hist. of Scotland*, iii. 19). The poor Scotch nobles were not to be outshone by their richer brethren from the south of the Tweed. On June 18th the Coronation took place in Holyrood, and Laud declares: 'I never saw more expressions of joy than were after it' (iii. 217). Laud was shocked at the ruinous and dirty condition of Scotch churches, and delighted to show the Northerners the decency and solemnity of the English ritual. He did not understand the impression he was making. Here were things worse than the monstrous 'Kyst of whistles', organs, if that were possible. Even Spottiswoode was in white sleeves. In the chapel was 'a four-cornered table in manner of an altar, with two books, at least resembling clasped books'. Still worse, there were candles and a basin 'wherein there was nothing'. Worst of all was a tapestry, wrought with the crucifixion, to which the Bishops 'becked and bowed', 'for quhilk', the narrator adds with grim satisfaction, 'they were all deposit' in 1638 (Spalding, i. 36, quoted Lang, iii. 20). Parliament met and voted taxes. Charles distributed many honours, and left Scotland well pleased with his visit and fully resolved to introduce the English Liturgy and Church system into the

land. But the nobles he left behind were full of fears lest they should have to disgorge the stolen property of the Church, the Ministers were suspicious of Popery and jealous for the rights of their General Assembly, while the rascal multitude were determined that they would not be anglicized. 'They began to mutter and then to mutiny' (Whitelock, *ut supra*). Neither Charles nor Laud had any understanding of Scotland, and were at the mercy of Hamilton who misdirected them.

94. **Birth of James II.** James (1633-1701) was born at St. James Palace, Oct. 14th, was christened by Laud, and a few days afterwards created Duke of York and Albany. Cartwright, who was a good poet but a bad prophet, hailed him

'A son of Mirth,
'Of Peace and Friendship; 'tis a quiet birth'.

Herrick (*Hesperides*, i. 118) was content to pray:

'May his actions high be told
'Through the world, but writ in gold.'

He was a delicate baby, so that Strafford wrote to Cottington from Dublin on Nov. 24, 1633 (*Letters*, i. 163): 'I am sorry the young Duke of York should be the least ill in his health: God Almighty confirm him in strength, and I trust it shall be so, who, with many other such royal Plants may be the Establishment of his Father's throne.'

95. **Dormitory** = a sleeping-place. Isaac Basire (*Correspondence*, 278) calls a churchyard, 'a place consecrated for the saints' dormitory', and Manchester (*Al Mondo*, p. 19) somewhat incorrectly writes: 'Death is but a dormitory for a day.' In Evelyn's usage the word is used for an intramural tomb and not for an earthen grave. *Vide* the distinction in *Sylva*, vol. ii. 344.

96. **Elizabeth Darcy's monument** is on the north wall of the Church, adorned with the arms of Darcy and Evelyn. The inscription runs:

'Here sleeps my babe in silence. Heaven's her rest
For God takes soonest those Hee loveth best.'

To the pretious memory of Elizabeth Darcie, wife of Edward Darcie of

Dartford in Kent Esq^r Daughter of Richard Evelin Esq^r Lord of This Mannor By whom he had issue one Daughter who dyed yonge

She also departed this life the 15 day of December Ao 1634
Ætatis suae
20 For whose pious memory her loving husband erected this
Memorial

[verses follow in her honour]

Whose pious spending of her youthful yeares
Deserves thy imitation, not thy teares.

(Howard's *Misc. Genealogica et Heraldica*, II. Series, vol. i, 354.)

DEATH OF EVELYN'S MOTHER AND END OF SCHOOLDAYS

1635. My deare Mother departed this life upon the 29th September, about the 37th of her age, and 22nd of her marriage; her death hastened by excessive grief for the losse of her daughter.

[1635. But my dear mother being now dangerously sick, I was on the 3rd of September following, sent for to Wotton. Whom I found so far spent, that, all human assistance failing, she in a most heavenly manner departed this life upon the 29th of the said month,

about eight in the evening of Michaelmas-day. It was a malignant fever which took her away, about the 37th of her age, and 22nd of her marriage, to our irreparable loss, and the regret of all who knew her. Certain it is, that the visible cause of her indisposition proceeded from grief at the loss of her daughter, and the infant that followed it; and it is as certain, that when she perceived the peril wherewith its excess had engaged her, she strove to compose herself and allay it; but it was too late and she was forced to succumb.¹] When near her death, she summoned all her children then living (I shall never forget it), and expressed herself in a manner so heavenly, with instructions so pious and Christian, as made us strangely sensible of the extraordinary losse then imminent; after which, embracing every one of us, she gave to each a ring with her blessing, [and dismissed us.] Then taking my Father by the hand, she recom'ended us to his care [; and, because she was extremely zealous for the education of my younger brother, she requested

¹ Therefore, summoning all her children, &c.

my father; that he might be sent with me to Lewes ;] and [so,] having importun'd him that what he design'd to bestow on her funeral he would rather dispose among y^e poore, she labour'd to compose herselfe for the blessed change which she now expected. There was not a servant in the house whom she did not expressly send for, advise, and infinitely affect with her counsell. [Thus she continued to employ her intervals, either instructing her relations or preparing of herself.]

Though her Physicians, D^r Merwell,¹ D^r Clement, and D^r Rand had given over all hope of her recovery, and Sir Sanders Duncombe tried his celebrated and famous powder, she was many days impairing, and endur'd the sharpest conflicts of her sicknesse with admirable patience and most Christian resignation, retaining her intellectuals and ardent affections for her dissolution to the very article of her departure. When near her dissolution, she laid her hand on every one of her children, and taking solemn leave of my Father, with elevated heart and eyes, she quietly expired, and resign'd her soule to God. [Thus ended that prudent and pious woman, in the flower of her age, to the inconsolable affliction of her husband, irreparable loss of her children, and universal regret of all that knew her.] She was interr'd, as neere as might be, to her daughter Darcy, the 3rd of October, at night, but with no meane ceremony.

[It was the 3rd of the ensuing November, after my brother George had gone back to Oxford, ere I returned to Lewes, when I made way, according to instructions received of my father, for my brother Richard who was sent the 12th after.]

1636. This yeare being extreemly dry, the pestilence much increased in London, and divers parts of England.

[1637.] Feb. 13 I was [especially] admitted [(and, as I remember, my other brother)] into the Middle Temple, London, though absent, and as yet at schoole]. There were now large contributions to the distressed Palatinates. ,

[The 10th of December my father sent a servant to bring us necessaries ; and the plague beginning now to cease on the] 3rd of April, 1637, I left schoole, where, til about the last

¹ Mereval.

yeare, I had been extreemly remisse in my studies, so as I went to the Universitie, rather out of shame at abiding longer at schoole, than for any fitnessse, as by sad experience I found, which put me to re-learne all that I had neglected, or but perfunctorily gain'd.

§ v. NOTES

97. **Medical Diagnosis** in the early seventeenth century was very haphazard. Richard Baxter (*Reliquiae*, 9-11) was in the hands of the doctors most of his life and has left us an account of his experience. After speaking of measles and small-pox, he tells of a violent catarrh which he attributes to eating apples and plums. He thought he was in a consumption and ate much raw garlic. Sir Henry Herbert persuaded him to take flower of brimstone, which cured his cough. Then an unskilful physician told him that he had an Hectick and prescribed milk 'and other pituitous things', also 'the anointing of his stomach and reins with refrigerating oils of violets and roses', and forbade him to take exercise. 'An aged and experienced Doctor', however, told him that his chief complaint was scurvy, the remedy for which was scurvy grass, horse-radish, mustard, and wormwood. Not being better, 'divers eminent physicians agreed that my disease was the hypochondriack melancholy and not the scurvy.' He then tried for a time to cure himself 'by drugs without number', recommended in many authors, but soon consulted Sir Thomas Mayern, the Court physician. He did him some good, but '*after that riding much with the Army did me more good than anything*'. Mayern sent him to drink the Tunbridge waters and advised the eating of apples; but 'riding thin in the snow' after eating apples brought on 'a Haemorrhagie', whereby he lost a gallon of blood. His legs then began to swell and Dr. George Bates, 'Archiator to King Charles II', was called in. He agreed with Mayern's diagnosis that he would suffer from dropsy, and to prevent this they often purged him. Later, he fell into the hands of physicians who believed in phlebotomy. They told him that his blood 'was a mere putrilage *sine fibris*'; yet, he concludes, 'with such blood, in a kind of Atrophy, which hath caused a very troublesome drowsiness to seize upon and trouble me, I have lived now these many years, and wrote all the books that ever I wrote, and done the greatest part of my service'. It is evident that he would have been a healthier man had he

avoided doctors; and, had he thought less of the acrimony in his blood, his writings might have been less acrimonious.

98. **Death-beds.** The Memoirs of this period emphasize the importance of an edifying end (*vide* Mrs. Thornton's *Autobiography, passim*). Lord Manchester (*Al Mondo*, p. 147) says: 'Amongst men it is a matter of chief mark, the manner of a man's death. . . . The chief grace of the Theatre is the last scene.' Again (p. 151) he says: 'there is no spectacle in the world so profitable, or more terrible, than to behold a dying man, to stand by and see a man dismanned.' It was supposed to be profitable to the dying that they should linger. So Hooker (*Eccles. Pol.* v. 46. 1) writes: 'a virtuous mind would rather wish to depart this world with a kind of treatable dissolution, than to be suddenly cut off in a moment.' The famous apology of Charles II for being 'an unconscionable time in dying' was gracious but quite unnecessary. When we read accounts like that of Evelyn concerning his mother's death, we cannot doubt that many, who might have recovered, must have died of exhaustion, in trying to provide suitable material for their funeral sermons. Some, indeed, agreed with Bacon (*Essay on Death*) that it was the pomp of death which made it terrible. Montaigne (*Essays*, i, ch. xix) alludes to 'the cries of mothers, wives, and children, the visits of astounded and afflicted friends; the attendance of pale and blubbering servants; a dark room set round with burning tapers; our beds surrounded with physicians and divines'; and he concludes from the ghostliness and horror, 'happy is the death which leaves us no time to prepare things for all this foppery'.

99. **Dr. Merevel.** Probably Othowell Meverall (1585-1648). He was educated at Cambridge and Leyden. He became a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and was President from 1640-1. His anatomical lectures, many prescriptions, and a rhythmical declamation on the Fear of the Lord being the beginning of Wisdom are to be found in the Sloane MSS. Though a classical scholar he quoted from Rhazes as well as from Galen and Hippocrates. He was buried in St. Lawrence, Jewry (*D.N.B.*).

100. **Dr. Clement.** William Clement of Trinity College, Cambridge, B.A. 1590. M.A. 1594. M.D. of Padua. Licentiate of the College of Physicians, 1605; Candidate, January 8, 1605⁵; Fellow, 1607; Censor, 1612, 22, 28, 30, 33; Registrar from 1629 until his death on May 12, 1636 (*Munk, Dict. of Physicians*, i. 137).

101. **Dr. Rand.** This was not Samuel Rand (1588-1653),

who seems to have practised chiefly in the north, and was in favour with the Parliamentarians (Munk, *Dict. of Physicians*, i. 186), but a certain Ralph Rand who practised at Godalming, was the Evelyn's family physician, and had married a near kinswoman of theirs. So William Rand, in dedicating his translation of the *Life of Peireskius* to Evelyn, says: 'I had been once civilly entertained by you in the company of my deceased kinsman Dr. Raphe Rand of Godalming, at your Father's house of Wotton in Surrey . . . my kinsman aforesaid [being] frequently found at your Father's house, both when sickness required his presence and at other times.'

102. **Sir Sanders Duncombe** was the second son of William Duncombe of Battlesden and Elizabeth Sanders of Pottesgrove, Bedfordshire (*Visitation of Bedfordshire, Harl. Soc.* 100). In 1634 Garrard writing to Strafford describes him as 'a traveller, now a pensioner', and alludes to his patent for 'carrying people up and down in close chairs' (Strafford, *Letters*, i. 336. Cp. vol. ii. 75). He also obtained a patent for 'the sole practisinge and makeinge profitf of the combatinge and fightinge of wild and domestick beasts' (*vide Notes and Queries*). Nothing is now known of his once 'celebrated and famous powder'.

103. **Celebrated Cures.** Burton (*Anatomy*, IV. iv. 1) writes: 'Paulus Jovius in his description of Britain and Levinus Lemmius observe that there was of old no use of physic among us, and but little at this day, except it be for a few nice idle citizens, surfeiting courtiers and stall-fed gentlemen lubbers.' This may have been true of the sixteenth century, but was certainly not true of the seventeenth. This is clear by the number of popular medical works. Besides the well-known herbals, I have noted in sale catalogues, *A rich Store-house or Treasury for the Diseased* (1596); Philip Barrough's *Method of Medicine* (1624); William Langland's *Garden of Health* (1633); Thomas Brugis's *Marrow of Physic* (1644); and *The Englishman's Doctor* (1614) by Sir John Harington, in verse. Every one was in search of the sovran elixir:

—'Tis the secret

'Of nature naturized 'gainst all infections,
'Cures all diseases coming of all causes.'

(Ben Jonson, *Alchemist*, ii. 1.)

Volpone describes 'a most sovereign and approved remedy: the mal-caduco, cramps, convulsions, paralyties, epilepsies, tremor cordis, retired nerves, ill vapours of the spleen, stopping of the liver, the stone, the strangury, hernia, ventosa,

illiacæ passio; stops a dysentery immediately, easeth the torsion of the small guts, and cures melancholia hypochondriaca, being taken and applied according to my receipt' (*Volpone*, ii. 1). This may be regarded as burlesque, but Ben Johnson was following closely on the claims made by Ventura and Paracelsus (*vide* quotations in Reynold's edition of Bacon's *Essays*, 195). Professor Firth (in his edition of the *Life of D. of Newcastle*, p. 119) quotes from *Mercurius Politicus*, May 10-17, 1655, the following advertisement: 'That excellent cordial called the Countess of Kent's powder, approved by long experience of the nobility, gentry and best physicians of the nation, in any malign disease, Plague, Small pox, Burning fevers, Wind, Colic, Women in labour, Children newly born, &c. It is now made by one Mistress Williamson, living in Whitefriars near the late Countess' house, who was servant to her, and for many years compounded it by her Lady's direction. The whole stock of powder and of the ingredients left by the Countess, was, after her death, given to the said Mistress Williamson by M^r Selden, her Ladyship's executor, &c.'

Much information may be gained from John Cotta of Northampton's 'Short Discovery of the observed Dangers of several sorts of Ignorant and Unconsiderate Practisers of Physicke in England' (1612). He has chapters on 'The Empiricke'; on 'Women, their custom and practice about the sicke'; on 'Practisers of Spels'; on Witchcraft, Wizards, 'The Methodian learned Deceiver'; on Astrologers and 'Ephemerides-Maisters'. But the greatest of all dangers was the famous cure. 'If . . . it doe good eyther by chance or the strength of nature in the Patient, they (the Doctors) straight have gotten among the people a fame of certain and almost divine knowledge, and many others by their deaths shall pay for the cure of that one man' (Barclay, *Icon Animarum*, ii. 50).

The unity of Nature was an article of faith, and Doctor Preston 'thought he could not be a good physician that could not read the powers of herbs and plants in stars and planets' (Ball's *Life of Preston*, p. 15). Great was the controversy between the herbalists and the chemists. There were those who

'Seek out plants with signatures

'To quack of universal cures'.

(Butler, *Hudibras*, III. i. 329.)

So wood-sorrel was used as a cordial, because its leaves were heart-shaped; and the herb-dragon was used to counteract poison, because its stem is speckled like some serpents (Grey's note on *Hudibras*). Then there were the hermetic philo-

sophers and the spagyrist, chemists and physicists. There were those who said

'He's a rare physician, and has done

'Strange cures by mineral physic'; (*Alchemist*, ii. 1.)

but the orthodox were suspicious. Fuller (*Occas. Med.* 157) says: 'I read in a learned physician, how our provident Mother, Nature, foreseeing men (her wanton children) would be tampering with the edge-tools of minerals, hid them from them in the bowells of the earth, whereas she exposed plants and herbs, more obvious to the eye, as fitter for their use. But some bold Empiricks, neglecting the latter as too common, have adventured on these hidden minerals, oft-times (through want of skill) to the hurt of many and hazard of more.' Herbalists and chemists were agreed on one point—the sovereign remedy was to be composed of many ingredients. Volpone boasts of his that 'there goes to it six hundred several simples, besides some quantities of human fat we buy of the apothecaries' (ii. 1). There was also a superstition that a cure was more efficacious if its material was costly. Lady Politick Would-Be prescribes:

'Seed pearls were good enow, boiled with syrup of apples,

'Tincture of gold and coral, citron pills,

'Your elicampane root, myrobolanes, &c. (*Volpone*, iii. 2.)

Two generations later the Royal College of Physicians prescribed for the Plague: 'Powder of hartshorn, pearls, coral, tormantil, hyacinth stone, onyx stone, and East Hunicorn's horn' (*Verney Memoirs*, ii. 242). Great stress was laid on atmospheric conditions. So Strafford (*Letters*, i. 19) writes: 'This stormy winter weather, physicians say, their physic will not work so well as when the air is open and moderate.' So Mrs. Legh in sending her brother-in-law a concoction of 'ellacompain', says that it 'is to be taken now (April) at this time of year. Summer is not so good by experience' (Lady Newton, *House of Lyme*, p. 142). Ladies dabbled a great deal in physic. Lady Brilliana Harley (*Letters*, p. 16) found 'beare boyled with licorish' an 'excellent thinge for the kidnes'; also (*ibid.* 53) 'scurvigras pounded and strained with beare' good to purge the blood in May. She objected to others prescribing for her son and writes to Ned at Oxford (*ibid.*, p. 49), 'I believe y^e sneezing powder did you noe good, and let it teach you that wisdome not to take medecine out of a strange hand'. Mrs. Thornton used oil of roses for a cricked neck (*Autobiography*, 63), and oil of amber for a child in convulsions (*ibid.* 129), and owed her recovery after child-birth to syrup of cloves (*ibid.* 141).

Aunt Isham, in June 1665, exhorts Sir Ralph Verney 'to ware a quill as is filed with quicksilver and sealed up with a hard waxe & soed up in a silke thinge with a string to ware about your neck, this is as sertine as anything to keep you from taking the plage'. A few days later she writes: 'The quicksilver must be corked up fast & then seled, itt 'tis nitty for one's teth and eies, so without one is in danger one would not ware itt' (*Verney Memoirs*). Even Evelyn dosed his neighbours, and in his *Sylva* (vol. ii. 22) under *Funiper* we read: 'The Electuary, which I have often made for my poor neighbours, and may well be called the forrester's panacea against the stone, rheum, phthisic, dropsy, jaundice, inward imposthumes, nay palsy, gout and the plague itself.'

104. **Intellectuals** = mental powers, wits. The earliest use of the word in this sense known to the *N.E.D.* is in 1615.

105. **Burials at Night.** 'Interments by night, *causa honoris* was reserved for persons of distinction, and handed down by family tradition. Aldermen of London, who had filled the office of Lord Mayor, were by ancient use buried by torchlight with great ceremonial; but these nocturnal funerals led to so much disorder that they were prohibited in the time of Charles I' (C. J. Cox, *Parish Registers of England*, 117). Of the thirty-seven funerals which Evelyn tells us about, the majority took place at night (*vide* Index). Flaring torches were carried by the mourners and extinguished at the grave (Brand, *Antiquities*, 466). Not only people of quality, but those who died of infectious diseases were buried at night (Wood, *Life and Times*, ii. 321; iii. 123, 166, &c.). The custom had its inconveniences, through the muffled peals which were rung. Shadwell (*Sullen Lovers*) complains: 'That men should be such owls to keep five thousand people awake, with ringing a peal to him that does not hear it.'

106. **The Epitaph on Evelyn's Mother.**

To the pretious memory of
Ellen Evelin

The dearly beloved wife of Richard Evelin Esquire
A rare example of piety loyalty providence charitie
A happy mother of five children

George John Richard Elizabeth and Jane

Who in the 37th year of her age y^e 22nd of her marriage
And y^e 1635 of Man's Redemption
put on immortalitie

Leaving her name as a monument of her perfection
And her perfections as a precedent for imitation.

107. **George Evelyn at Oxford.** He went up to Trinity College, Oxford, from the Free School at Guildford, and matriculated on October 24, 1634. His Tutor was Dr. Hobbs (§ vi. 122). There are three letters among the *Add. MSS.* of the British Museum (15948, fol. 2). The two earlier are first printed by Miss Evelyn (*Hist. of E. Fam.* 37-9), the other is in Bray. (1) George writes to his Father, June 30, 1634, professing economy and asking for '2 pieces', as Act was approaching, and friends might visit him—his brother Darcy for one. He could not get his battels 'summoned up by the Bowser'. (2) Richard Evelyn replies: He has no faith in his son's economy, but sends the two pieces and some good advice. He writes: 'Your brother Darcy is come to see you, and designs to bring you home with him after the Act.' George is to invite his tutor to come also. (3) On October 26, George describes the visit of the Court to Oxford. He tells of the books presented to the King, Queen, and Palsgrave, not forgetting the gloves, 'for Oxford is famous for gloves'. The King had to listen to many orations, and there was a play called '*The Calming of the Passions*'; but it was disliked by the court because it was so grave, and especially because they understood it not'. Next day a visit was paid to the Schools, 'the glory of Christendom', Prince Rupert, was made a Master of Arts, Laud gave a dinner and banquet at St. John's followed by another play. In Christ Church Hall at night a third play, *The Royal Slave*, was performed in 'Persian habite' and was much commended. Then follow personal details. George had received £30, and bought a black satin doublet and black cloth breeches. Also 'a white satin doublet and scarlet hose; the scarlet hose I shall weare but little heare, but it will be comely for me to weare in the country'. The letter concludes with assurances that he spends none of his money 'in riot and Toys'; but he wants another £6 to discharge his 'battailles'. It is interesting to compare the impressions of an undergraduate with those of the Chancellor (Laud's *Works*, v. 144-55). Of the play called *The Passions calmed, or the settling of the Floating Island*, by William Strode, the Public Orator, Laud writes: 'It was very well penned yet did not take the Court so well.' While he says of *The Royal Slave*, by William Cartwright, 'It was very well penned and acted, and the strangeness of the Persian habits gave great content; so that all men came forth from it very well satisfied.' The Queen borrowed both the *habits* and the perspectives by Inigo Jones and had the play acted again by her own company at Hampton Court. It is somewhat sur-

prising that George did not tell his father he had to contribute 10s. as a gentleman commoner towards the King's entertainment (Crossfield's *Diary, Queen's Coll. MS.*). Laud would have been shocked at the satin doublet and 'scarlet hoase', as he had forbidden 'slashed doublets or any light or garish colours' (*Works, v. 83*).

108. I made way . . . for = I prepared the way for.

109. **The Plague.** The Plague was prevalent throughout 1636 and 1637. In London alone 10,400 people died of it (Maitland, *Hist. of London, i. 306*). At Hull 2,730 died, numbers deserted the town, commerce ceased, and the great seaport was reduced to penury (Stirling, *The Hothams, i. 30, 31*). In April 1636 Sir Edmund Verney wrote to his 'Dear Prue', that 'the plaage is likely to encrease' (*Verney Memoirs, i. 220*); and in July because of the contagion, a Proclamation forbade the holding of Southwark or of St. Bartholomew's Fair (Maitland). The Court retired to Hampton Court early in the summer and remained there for a year. No one from London was allowed to come within ten miles of the Palace, and barges were forbidden to ply on the river. Londoners living in the vicinity were compelled to remove; and yet the plague broke out at Kingston and Teddington (Ernest Law, *Hist. of Hampton Court, ii. 120*). As for London, young Mr. Hyde wrote to his fellow barrister, Whitelock, 'Our best news is, we have good wine abundantly come over; and the worst is, the plague is in town and no Judges die' (Whitelocke, *Memorials, 25*). Perhaps for the better preservation of the Judges, term was suspended early in the following year (*ibid., p. 26*). After some hesitation, Act at Oxford was abandoned (Laud's *Works, v. 173*); and as late as September 1637, Nathaniel Ward wrote to Isaac Basire, 'A good many of the inhabitants of Sandwich have been carried off by the plague. At Canterbury, they are seized with alarm and are dispersing. The public school is shut up' (Basire, *Correspondence, 27*). Laud attributed the spread of the plague to 'the carelessness of the people and greediness to receive into their houses infected goods. To this add great defect in the inferior governors, with great want among the poor, by reason of so many base tenements with their inmates, erected to private gain with public mischief, and you have all the causes under God Himself of the present infection' (*Works, vii. 308*). Laud was a sanitary reformer before his time.

110. **Middle Temple.** According to Bray, Evelyn was admitted in 1636. Forster's edition says 1637. The Sub-Treasurer of the Middle Temple kindly informs me that the

correct date is February 16, 1637⁶. In consequence it is clear that Forster has not intercalated his fresh material in the right place. Admissions during absence were not unusual. As George Evelyn was leaving Oxford for the Temple, it was natural that his father should have his younger son admitted at the same time. He evidently bought chambers in their joint names (§ 10) which they were ultimately to share in common. Edward Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon (*Life*, i, § 8), his chamber fellow, Sir John Bramston (*Autob.* 103), and Bulstrode Whitelock (*Memorials*, 19) were all of them Evelyn's seniors. Among his contemporaries were his fellow-travellers and life-long friends, Francis Bramston (Bramston, *Autob.*, p. 23), and Thomas Henshaw (*D.N.B.*). Among his acquaintance of later life Sir Francis North (*Lives of North*, i. 17) was not admitted until November 1655, and Elias Ashmole (*Diary*, 335) until November 1658. At the Middle Temple it took a student twenty-eight terms to qualify, and at the Inner Temple only sixteen. The fee on admission was five pounds (Maitland, *London*, 973).

III. Contributions for the Distressed Palatinates. There were three collections throughout England for the Palatinate; in 1618, 1628, and 1635. Laud's Letter to his suffragans, enclosing the Briefs and commending the charity, is dated May 8, 1635 (*Works*, vi. 417), but the returns came in slowly. One Ruly or Rulsius represented the German Calvinists; and he, biting at the hand which fed him, tried to make mischief between Laud and the Queen of Bohemia. In this he failed (*Works* vii. 126 and 151), but Laud's discourtesy to Ruly furnished one of the charges at his trial. It was also objected that in the Brief he had not identified the Church of England with that of Geneva (*Works*, iv. 312). Laud's agent with the Elector was apparently the Army chaplain, Stephen Goffe (§ 19), who ultimately became an Oratorian and chaplain to Henrietta Maria.

112. Means of communication between Surrey and Sussex were never good. Fuller (*Worthies*, 91) says: 'Sussex is a fruitful County, but very dirty for travellers therein, so that it may be better measured by days-journeys than by miles. Hence it is that in the late order for regulating the wages of coachmen at such a price a day or distance from London, Sussex alone was excepted, as wherein shorter way or better pay was allowed.' The present road from London to Horsham which runs through Dorking was not made until 1751 on the complaints of the people of Horsham that they could only drive to London round by Canterbury (*V.C.H.*, *Surrey*,

iii. 152). If such was the ordinary difficulty, the rules with regard to the Plague must have made travelling almost impossible. Evelyn, at five years of age, marked and afterwards remembered 'the strict watches and examinations' on his way to Lewes in 1625. Even in other parts communications were interrupted. We have noted the prohibition of barges on the Thames. Also in Sir Edmund Verney's letter (*Memoirs*, i. 220) it is obvious that he feared lest his household at Claydon should want for necessaries. 'I would faine have the carrier bringe up a cart about this daye fortnight, if it maye be no prejudice to him.'

113. **Too old for School.** Many boys of Evelyn's age were ashamed of remaining at school. Peter Legh was only fifteen, when John Houghton of Brasenose College wrote to his mother, having seen him at school at Amersham: 'He was in perfect health, and well in all things (as he told) except his imprisonment, for soe he term'd his staying at schoole; for he was asham'd, he said, for one of his years and stature to be still an abcdarian and a companion of children, under the supercilious eye of a severe schoolmaster; but he hoped the next Spring to see Oxon if his Mother would condescend to his wishes' (Lady Newton, *House of Lyme*, p. 152). Lady Brilliana Harley (*Letters*, 112) tells her son Edward, 'Your brother, Robine, in my eye, is too tall for his scoule'. Robin was then under fifteen.

114. **Evelyn's Education.** He had no doubt been a spoilt boy, quick to observe and learn, but lacking in concentration, and in passive rebellion against the daily grind and dull routine of his grammar school. In a letter to Wren (April, 1665) he acknowledges 'myne own defects in the Greek tongue' (Wheatley, *Correspondence*, iii. 305). Later in life his books, so full of irrelevant learning, betray the man as largely self-educated. Interested in too many subjects, he left many projected works unfinished. He was never an accurate scholar and he had not a disciplined mind; but at least he had learnt from Mr. Snatt a sufficiency of Latin and Greek, more necessary then than now, if any one would live up to Evelyn's motto—*Explorate omnia, meliora retincte.*

EVELYN AT OXFORD

May 10th I was admitted a fellow-com'uner of Balliol College, Oxford, and on the 29th I was matriculated in the Vestry of St. Marie's, where I subscribed the Articles and took the Oaths, Dr. Baily, head of St. John's, being Vice Chancellor, afterwards Bp. [It appears by a letter of my father's, that he was upon treaty with our Mr. Bathurst (afterwards Doctor and President), of Trinity College, who should have been my tutor; but, lest my brother's tutor, Dr. Hobbs, more zealous in his life than industrious to his pupils, should receive it as an affront, and especially as] the Fellow-Com'uners in Balliol, were no more exempt from Exercise than the meanest scholars there, [and] my Father sent me thither to one Mr. George Bradshaw (*nomen invisum!* yet the son of an excellent father, beneficed in Surrey) I ever thought my tutor had parts enough, but as his ambition made him much suspected of y^e College, so his grudge to Dr. Laurence, the governor of it, (whom he afterwards supplanted,) tooke up so much of his tyme, that he seldom or never had the opportunity to discharge his duty to his scholars. This I perceiving, associated myself with one Mr. James Thicknesse, (then a young man of the Foundation, afterwards a Fellow of the House,) by whose learned and friendly conversation I received great advantage. At my first arrival, Dr. Parkhurst was Master; and after his disease, Dr. Laurence, a chaplaine of his Ma'ties and Margaret Professor, succeeded, an acute and learned person, nor do I much reproch his severity, considering that the extraordinary remissenesse of discipline had (til his coming) much detracted from the reputation of that Colledg.

There came in my tyme to the Coll: one Nathaniel Conopios out of Greece from Cyrill the Patriarch of Con-

stantinople, who, returning many years after, was made (as I understand) Bishop of Smyrna. He was the first I ever saw drink coffee, w^{ch} custom came not into England till 30 years after.

After I was somewhat settled there in my formalities (for then was the University exceedingly regular, under the exact discipline of William Lawd, Archbishop of Canterbury, then Chancellor), I added as benefactor to the Library of the Coll. these books: [*ex dono Johannis Evelyni, hujus Coll. Socio-Commensalis, filii Richardi Evelyni, à com. Surriae, armiger.*']

Zanchii Opera, vols. 1, 2, 3.

Granado in Thomam Aquinatem vols. 1, 2, 3.

Novarini Electa sacra and Cresolii Anthologia sacra, authors (it seems) desired by the students of Divinity there.

§ vi. NOTES

115. Oxford. 'A citie seated, rich in everything;
'Girt with wood and water, meadow, corn and hill'
(Agas, quoted Lang, *Oxford*, 106).

Hentzner (*Travels*, p. 42) not only praises 'the elegance of its private buildings, the magnificence of its public ones'; but also 'the beauty and wholesomeness of its situation' sheltered from 'the sickly south' and 'blustering west', open to the east that blows serene weather, and to the north the preventive of corruption.

It boasted of its foundation, when Alfred

'Worthy the glorious Arts, did gorgeous bowers provide'
(Drayton, *Polyolbion*. xi. 405). Camden (*Britannia*, 377) calls it 'oure most noble Athens, the Muses seate, one of England's staires; nay, the Sun, the eye and the Soul thereof'. It had suffered from the Reformation and afterwards; but new colleges like Trinity, St. John's, Wadham, and Pembroke, had been founded, and when Evelyn went up the University was prosperous. The Schools had recently been finished with their strange tower of five orders. Laud had built the beautiful library of St. John's, and his chaplain, Mr. Owen, had enriched St. Mary's with the south porch and 'scandalous image' of our Lady and Child. Wadham and the Fellows' Quad at Merton were still new buildings. The first Quad at

University may have been finished and faced the gothic front of Queen's. The first Quad at Pembroke, the hall and chapel at Oriel, and the Convocation House, were in course of construction, and the beautiful staircase leading to Christ Church Hall may have been begun. Exeter, Magdalen, and Magdalen Hall were the strongholds of Puritanism. All Souls, Christ Church, and St. John's, of the Laudian party. Chillingworth, Sanderson, Prideaux, Pocock, and Fell, were scholars of whom any University might be proud. The undergraduates were numerous, and Wood complains that they were contaminated by the frequent presence of the Court at Woodstock. Some were very young. Peacham (*Complete Gentleman*, p. 33) pities 'these young things of twelve, thirteen or fourteene, that have no more care than to expect the next Carrier, and where to sup on Fasting nights; no further thought of Study then to trimme up their studies with Pictures, and place the fairest Bookes in openest view, which poore lads they never open or understand not'. The average age, however, for matriculation was sixteen.

116. Balliol was founded 1260 by John de Balliol, father of Bruce's rival. He had unjustly vexed and enormously damnified the churches of Tynemouth and Durham. For this the Bishop had him publicly scourged at the doors of his cathedral, and condemned him to contribute eight-pence a day each to certain poor scholars at Oxford (*Matt. Paris*, Luard, ed. v. 508). His widow, Dervorguilla, formed these scholars into a community, and Sir Philip Somerville in 1340 enlarged the foundation (*Rashdall, Med. Univ.* ii. 473). Wyclif was Master in 1360. Originally the College of the Northerners, in the fifteenth century it was the home of humanism in Oxford. The good Duke Humphrey was a member of the college, and so were four out of the five Oxford men who studied Greek at Ferrara (Clark, *Oxford Colleges*, 35, 36). At the Reformation it declined in reputation, and discipline was bad. A few years before, a freshman named Moore had stabbed to death one Crabtree for calling him an undergraduate and pulling his hair (*ibid.* 47). Its muniments and accounts were so badly kept that Wood 'was much put to a push to find what learned men had been at that College' (*Life and Times of Anthony à Wood*, Clark's ed. ii. 46). The College was always poor. When the Colleges sent their plate to Charles I's mint, Balliol contributed least of all, though it only retained one chalice (*ibid.* i. 94). A little later it is described as having but half the income of such colleges as Oriel, Exeter, and Queen's

(Gutch, *Collect. Curiosa*, i. 195), and in 1681 Balliol was rated at £100 and Christ Church at £2,000 (Wood, *Life and Times*, ii. 565). Wood reckons it in 1629 as one of the smallest colleges (*Hist. and Antiq.*, ed. Gutch, i. 74), and yet in 1612 it contained 127 souls (Gutch, *Coll. Cur.* i. 200), and, in 1638, twenty-six matriculated from Balliol and only twenty-seven from Christ Church (*Verney Mem.* i. 74). How such numbers were accommodated can only be explained on the supposition that many shared a single room. The college has now been so enlarged and rebuilt that it is hard to imagine it in Evelyn's time. There was then a close, planted with trees in front of the college, facing the city ditch, now the Broad. So Philip Vernon (*Oxonium Poema*, 1667, p. 18) writes:

'Stant Baliolenses maiore cacumine moles,
Et sua frondosis praetextunt atria ramis.'

The reading-room of the present library was then the dining hall. The upper and lower libraries due to Chase (Master, 1412-23) and Abdy (Master, 1477-94) have been restored by the notorious Wyatt. The beautiful chapel of 1521 with its stained glass windows, presented by Laurence Stubbs in 1529, was destroyed in 1856 to make way for Butterfield's erection (Wells, *Oxford Colleges*, 56). Hammond's Buildings (*temp.* Elizabeth) stood on the site of the present Master's house, and Caesar's lodgings, pulled down in the last century, were opposite the 'Martyrs' Memorial'. They had been recently acquired from Henry Caesar, Dean of Carlisle, and brother of Sir Julius Caesar, Master of the Roll.

117. **Fellow Commoner.** One who took his Commons (i.e. dined) with the Fellows. The goldsmith in *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* (Act i. Sc. 1, Middleton, *Plays*), sends his son a 'silver spoon to eat his broth in the Hall Amongst the Gentlemen commoners'. Colleges were not originally intended for the rich who resided in halls or their own lodgings. The accounts of Queen's College imply that a few boys were received as Commoners as early as 1363. Wykeham at New College first forbade the admission of *extranei*, but afterwards allowed twenty high born youths to board and be educated in his college. Waynflete in the Magdalen Statutes provides that *Filii Nobilium* may be *commensales* (Rashdall, *Med. Univ.* ii. 517, 518). Balliol had for long had its scholastici who were not on the foundation; but in 1610 Fellow Commoners were admitted. They were to be free from 'public correction', save for scandalous offences; they

were not bound to exhibit reverence for the Fellows except they met them face to face; and they had to pay at least five pounds on admission either for plate or books (Clark, *Oxford Colleges*, 40). They were not exempt from exercises as at Pembroke (Maclean, *Hist. of Pembroke*, 189), and at Trinity until 1657 (Blakiston, *Hist. of Trinity*, 142), and elsewhere. Stephen Penton (*Guardian's Instruction*, 50) sneered at the fellow-commoner who thought, 'because he hath a peny commons more than the rest, therefore he ought to be abated a penyworth of duty, learning and wisdom. Whereas the gentlemen in the University ought to doe *more exercises* than others, for they stay but little time there, and ought to be accomplished in *haste*, because their quality and the national concern make them men *apace*'. None the less they were rarely reading men, and in Cambridge slang an empty bottle was called a Fellow-Commoner (Grose, *Dict. of the Vulgar Tongue*, 1785).

118. Matriculation took place in the Vice-Chancellor's Court, which still met in Adam de Brome's chapel—'in Boreali Sacillo Eccl. B.V.M.' (*Corp. Stat. tit. xxi. § 1*). The new Convocation House and Vice-Chancellor's Court were not finished and in use until the following year (Wood, *Hist. and Antiq.* ii. 939). Evelyn being over sixteen had to subscribe the thirty-nine Articles, take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and also an oath of fidelity to the University. Had he been under sixteen but over twelve, subscription to the Articles would have sufficed. So Sir John Branston writes: 'I was too young . . . to be matriculated with the oaths, so I only subscribed to the articles of faith and religion' (*Autobiography*, 103). As to this, Amherst (*Terrae Filius*, 14, 15) remarks: 'What a pack of conjurors were our forefathers! to disqualify a person to make a plain simple promise to obey the King until he is sixteen years of age, which a child of six is able to do; and at the same time suppose him capable, at twelve years of age, to subscribe thirty-nine articles of religion, which a man of three score, with all his experience, learning and application, finds so hard to understand'.

119. Richard Baylie (d. 1667). Wood says he was born at Coventry (*Life and Times*, ii. 115). Hutton says that he was connected with Stony Stratford (*Laud*, 56). He was the young fellow of St. John's, who tore up the voting papers in the hope of invalidating Laud's election to the Presidency (Heylin, *Cyprianus*, 56). None the less he became Laud's friend, married his niece, Elizabeth Robinson, and was sole executor to his will. The first edition of the Conference with

Fisher was published with the initials R. B. Preferment came to him in abundance. He was Chancellor of St. David's which he resigned in 1626, Archdeacon of Nottingham, 1627, Prebendary of Chiswick in 1631, President of St. John's, 1632, Vicar of Northall, 1632, Dean of Salisbury, 1635, and Rector of Bradfield, 1637 (Laud's *Works*, v. 143, foot-note). He was Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, 1636-8, and again after the Restoration in 1661. He collected the College plate for the King's cause, and it was minted at New-Inn-Hall, stamped with his rebus (Wood, *Life and Times*, i. 94, foot-note). On the surrender of Oxford he had to fly for a time, but was soon back; and with Sheldon and Fell organized the opposition to the Visitors. After prolonged proceedings, he was forcibly ejected from St. John's with his wife and 'six pretty children' on June 2, 1648, but he continued to live in Oxford. At the Restoration he recovered his preferment, and overcame with his civility the Presbyterians and Independents (Wood, op. cit. i. 408). Evelyn is wrong in supposing that he was ever a Bishop, but he refused the Diocese of Lichfield in December, 1661 (ibid. i. 422). He died July 22, 1667. Walker (*Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii. 117) says: 'He was much a gentleman, very hospitable and charitable, and bore his sufferings with a great deal of cheerfulness.' The same authority gives an amusing account of his altercation with godly Sir William Cobbe, which I abbreviate: *Baylie*, 'By my faith'. *Cobbe*, 'Horrible blasphemy! Faith is not your own'. *Baylie*, 'I doubt, Sir William, you will come but lamely off when you come to be saved, if you depend upon another's faith'. *Cobbe*, 'Faith is the gift of God'. *Baylie*, 'And what gives a man a more unquestionable right to anything than a free gift'.

120. **Ralph Bathurst.** Richard Evelyn was wrong in supposing that he could appoint a Trinity man to be his son's tutor at Balliol. The College Statutes required that every Commoner should have for his tutor either the Master or one of the Fellows (Clark, *Oxford Colleges*, 40). Evelyn was wrong in supposing that the letter he discovered referred to his friend of later life, Ralph Bathurst, who was born in 1620 and was still an undergraduate. The letter must refer to Ralph's elder brother George who was born at Garsington, became a scholar of Trinity in 1626, and Fellow in 1631. He was the author of an oration pronounced at the funeral of George Allen, the antiquarian and astrologer. He died in 1644 from a wound in his thigh received while defending Farringdon against the rebels (Warton, *Bathurst*, 32, 33).

121. Trinity College was founded in 1554 by Sir Thomas Pope of Tittenhanger, Hertfordshire, for a President, twelve Fellows, and twelve Scholars, in the precincts of the Benedictine 'Nursery', called Durham College. There was, at this time, but one quadrangle and some outlying buildings, but its beautiful grove was famous. Old Dr. Kettell (1563-1643) was President (Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ii. 17-27). The younger Gill, later High Master of St. Paul's, and Chillingworth his enemy; Farringdon the preacher and Sheldon the future Archbishop; Lord Cleveland and Lord Craven the Cavaliers; Ireton and Ludlow the Roundheads; and James Harrington, the faithful servant of Charles I and ardent republican, were all members of this College (Blakiston, *Trinity*, 100-129).

122. **Dr. Hobbs.** William Hobbs was born in 1595 at Deverall Longbridge. He matriculated 1612, became a scholar of Trinity, 1617, and took his B.A. the same year. Foster (*Alumni Oxonienses*) states that he took his M.A. from B.N.C. in 1621, and was incorporated at Cambridge in 1627. He became a probationer Fellow of Trinity in 1623 and full Fellow the following year. In 1630 he proceeded B.D., and on the Feast of the Epiphany, two years later, he got into trouble through preaching at St. Mary's on 'Falling from grace', a subject forbidden by the Royal Declaration (Prynne, *Canterbury's Doom*, 176). He made his submission and was once more licensed to preach in 1633. In 1639 he was granted his D.D. During the Civil War he cared for the prisoners in Oxford, and concluded his sermons by urging his hearers to vindicate their own prayers for all prisoners and captives (Weylen, *Marlborough*, 203). He was presented by his College to the Living of Great Waltham, Essex, in 1644, but it is doubtful if he went there. At any rate he was Senior Fellow when the Visitors arrived in Oxford in 1648. Foster (*Alumni*) says he was subsequently vicar of Kympton, Hants, 1653; of Sherrington, Wilts., in 1657; and became a canon of Salisbury in 1662.

123. **George Bradshaw** was the son of Nicholas Bradshaw, Rector of Ockham, Surrey. A younger brother, Robert, matriculated in 1635, aged sixteen. George graduated B.A. 1636, and M.A. 1637. He was elected Fellow of Balliol, 1635 (Foster, *Alumni*). He bitterly opposed Dr. Laurence in his reformation of the College, and in 1640 was punished for non-residence by the loss of his commons for two months (Carless Davis, *Balliol*, 127). Time brought revenge; he was the friend and spy of the Parliamentary Visitors (*ibid.* 129);

he became a delegate to report on 'malignants' (ibid. 135), and was Master from 1648-50 in place of the excluded Laurence (ibid. 138).

124. Tutors charged no fees, but expected an honorarium. So young Edmund Verney writes in 1636: 'I asked Mr. Sessions what it was fit for me to give my tutor, he told me that Mr. Jones gives him £1 5s. a quarter, and that he would advise me to give him the like' (*Verney Memoirs*, i. 100). In an age when there were practically no text-books for beginners, the pupils had especial need for a tutor. George Wither was lucky in having one

'Who by his good persuasion sought
'To bring me to a love of what he taught'
(*Abuses Stript and Whipt*).

Hobbes tells us that his tutor talked of logic and physics, sympathies, and antipathies.

'Et supra captum talia multa meum' (*Vita*, p. 3).

Ralph Verney, who, like Hobbes, was at Magdalen Hall, had in Mr. Crowther an indefatigable tutor. He gave him 'a generall scheme of the Arts and a genealogy of the Kings', begged him 'to devote to Logick and Divinity from three to four hours a day', followed him to Claydon that he might show him 'the principall grounds of geography', promised 'to draw forth his notes after a more stately fashion', and intruded on the young man's honeymoon with academic information (*Verney Memoirs*, i. 74, 75). From such abstracts and notes the ordinary student made his *topic folio*, recommended by George Herbert (*Country Parson*, ch. v.), and ridiculed by John Milton, who had no respect 'for these gatherings and savings of a sober graduatship' (*Areopagitica*, *Works*, ii. 86). No doubt many tutors were negligent, and most were indulgent to young noblemen and fellow commoners. Earle, who was Proctor in 1631, describes the young man who 'Upon foule days for recreation . . . retyres [to his study] and lookes over the prety Booke his Tutor reades to him, which is commonly some short Historie, or a piece of Euphormio, for which his Tutor gives him money to spend next day' (*Microcosmographie*, 45). On February 28, 1640, Laud, in the midst of his own troubles, wrote regarding the rich, 'Tutors in most colleges do only bestow a little pains in reading to them if they (the pupils) will come at them, but use no power of government over them or any restraint' (*Works*, v. 259). Two later testimonies may be quoted.

Stephen Penton, who was at New College from 1659, writes: 'My Tutor was a great philosopher' and 'began at first gloriously with me to magnify the advantages of a good education. . . . But alas! the fame of his parts and learning had gained him acquaintance whose company was dearer than mine; so that a lecture now and then was a great *condescension*, and I, most days in the week, when others were carefully looked after, was left naked to infinite temptations of doing nothing or worse' (*Guardian's Instructor*, 18-20). On the other hand, John Pottenger, who was elected a scholar of Corpus in 1663, writes: 'I had the good fortune to be put to Mr. Roswell, a man eminent for learning and piety. . . . He did not only endeavour to make his pupils good scholars but good men. He narrowly watched my conversation, knowing that I had too many acquaintance in the University that I was fond of, though they were not fit for me. Those he disliked he would not let me converse with, which I regretted much, thinking that, now I was come from school, I was to manage myself as I pleased, which occasioned many differences between us for the first two years, which ended in an entire friendship on both sides' (*Memoirs*, 28-29).

125. **Dr. Laurence.** Thomas Laurence (1598-1657) was the son of a Dorsetshire clergyman. He was scholar of Balliol in 1614; B.A. and Fellow of All Souls, 1618; M.A. 1621; B.D. 1629; D.D. 1633, and incorporated at Cambridge, 1627 (Foster, *Alumni*). In 1629, he was Treasurer of Lichfield Cathedral. He was first chaplain to the Earl of Pembroke, and then to Charles I. On February 7, 1637, he preached before the King and stated with great moderation the doctrine of the Real Presence. 'We must believe He is there, though we must not know how; that He was there the Church always said; but *con, sub, trans*, the Church said not' (Lloyd's *Mem. of Loyalists*, 544). On November 11, 1637, he was elected Master of Balliol, and was also appointed Lady Margaret Professor with a stall in Worcester Cathedral. Laud warned him 'of the waspishness of the times' and commanded him 'to read upon no argument that may make the least trouble in Church or University' (*Works*, v. 186); yet his Popery was alleged against Laud at his trial (*Works*, iv. 295). It is not certain when he was ejected or how. Wood says he resigned and made his submission 1648 (*Athenae*, iii. 438), but in *Hist. and Antiq.* (II. ii. 74) he gives the date as 1646. Walker (*Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii. 100) says 1650, which is impossible (vide 120). Colonel Walton, the regicide, whom he had befriended as a prisoner

of war, gave him the Chapelry of Colne, where he died. Wood (*Athenae*, iii. 437) says: 'he was accounted famous for scholastical divinity, a profound theologian, and exquisite in his excellencies of the Greek and Latin tongues. After the declining of the cause of K. Charles I and upon a foresight thereupon of the ruin of all things that would follow, he grew melancholy, careless, and did much degenerate in his life and conversation.'

126. **James Thickness**, or Thicknis, son of 'Radulphi' Thicknis of Whitechapel, Middlesex, Gentleman, was born 1619 and matriculated from Balliol, February 18, 1635. He became B.A. in 1639 and M.A. in 1642 (Foster, *Alumni*). In 1639 he was elected a probationer Fellow (Carless Davis, *Balliol*, 127), and a full Fellow in 1641 (Foster). From November, 1645 to 1646, he was Evelyn's travelling companion. In 1648 he was expelled from his Fellowship and restored in 1660 by an especial writ from the Crown stating his virtues (Carless Davis, 138). Walker says that 'he was the only person of his whole college to be repossessed of his place (*Sufferings*, ii. 101).

127. **College Friendships** then as now were the best means of education at Oxford. Peacham advised his *Compleat Gentleman* to 'entertaine . . . the acquaintance of men of the soundest reputation for Religion, Life, and Learning, whose conference and company may bee unto you *μουσείον ἐμψυχον καὶ περιπατούν*, a living and moving Library' (p. 39). Cowley, two years Evelyn's senior, went to Cambridge, and also owed much to his friend Mr. William Harvey.

'Say, for ye saw us, ye immortal lights,
How oft unweary'd have we spent the nights,
Till the Ledaean stars, so famed for love,
Wondered at us from above:
We spent them not in toys, in lusts and wine;
But search of deep philosophy,
Wit, eloquence and poetry,
Arts which I loved, for they, my friend, were thine.'
(*Poems*, i. 170.)

128. **Dr. Parkhurst**. John Parkhurst (1564-1639) was related to John Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, and his younger brother became Lord Mayor of London. He entered Magdalen Hall 1582, became a Demy of Magdalen 1583, B.A. 1584, M.A. 1590, B.D. 1600, D.D. 1610. He was chaplain to Sir Henry Neville in Paris, held several livings, and in 1613 became secretary to Sir H. Wotton at

Turin. Charles Emmanuel of Savoy sent him 'clothed with many magnificent titles' to negotiate with the Protestants at Geneva, but Sir Dudley Carleton found it necessary to assert that he was in Geneva on private affairs (Winwood, *Memorials*). On February 6, 161 $\frac{6}{7}$, he was elected Master of Balliol, and Savage says that he proved himself 'a man of singular Learning, Gravity, and Piety, frequent in preaching, and vigilant in the government of the College (*Balliofergus*, 126). Evelyn hardly bears this out. He resigned in 1637 and died at Shellingford, January 163 $\frac{8}{9}$. He married Sarah Tisdall of Abingdon and had several children. His portrait by Hickes has disappeared (*D.N.B.*).

129. **Disorder and Discipline.** When Laud became Chancellor in 1630, he found the University 'sunk from all discipline and fallen into all licentiousness' (*Works*, v. 13). Sir Robert Harley in 1638 warns his son as to 'y^e base wayes wherein many young men wallow; and I feare y^e universities do too much abound with such pigges' (Lady Brilliana Harley, *Letters, Introd.*, p. 1). Rowdiness in the streets was common, and we read of poor students stealing plate (Laud, 232). There were poaching expeditions to Shotover and even to Woodstock. Rich men kept horses, and 'would ride forth to neighbouring places to drink and perhaps do worse' (*ibid.* 259). But drinking was the vice most in view. Clarendon (*Life*, i, § 8), speaking of 1622, says: 'The discipline of that time was not so strict as it hath been since, and as it ought to be . . . the custom of drinking being too much introduced and practised.' Arthur Wilson (*Life*, in Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, 470) who went to Trinity in 1631, a seasoned man of the world with no very savoury reputation, found 'the debauchery' to be 'most burthenous', and asserts that the Scholars of St. John's and the Bachelors of Divinity were the worst offenders. But we must remember Wilson hated Laud, was anticlerical and a mud-slinger. Sir Henry Blunt, also, who 'allowed wenching', exclaimed against the drunkenness of Oxford (Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, i. 109). In 1637 there were 300 Alehouses in Oxford (Laud, *Works*, v. 239) and 97 of them were unlicensed (*ibid.* 179). There was also the Mitre, kept by one Green, a Papist, which was a rendezvous for recusants, and had a privy door into Turl Street (*ibid.* 269). In the Colleges, fasts and vigils were kept, but the members gave supper parties in the town. Laud persuaded the King himself to forbid the supper of the old Westminster Boys which took place on a Friday 'against the Canons of the Church and the Laws of the

Realm' (ibid. 213). Laud insisted on the Vice-Chancellor making him a weekly report, and he had private correspondents as well. The Proctors were sent out to scour the streets, and to have a care of 'noctivagation' and other disorders (ibid. 164). He cared for everything, from the conduct of an examination to the length of an undergraduate's hair. Penalties abounded. Fines were exacted, long impositions set, and men were discomfited. Scolding was then something more than a joke, and a man was scolded for speaking English in Hall and not as now for speaking Latin. Expulsion followed grave offences, and the birch was still resorted to. Mediaeval students had been free from corporal punishment; and it was first instituted for grammarians who would be usually under fifteen (*Statutes of Queens and Magdalen*). Brasenose, founded in 1509, allowed the college lecturer to birch his pupils for unprepared lessons, bad behaviour and 'odious comparisons'. Wolsey's statutes for Cardinal College allowed any one under twenty to be flogged, and at Cambridge Dr. Caius fixed the age at eighteen, because 'ante eam ætatem et antiquitas non solebat' (*Cambridge Documents*, vide Rashdall, *Med. Univ.* ii. 622, 623). At Trinity the age was fixed at twenty (Blakiston, *Trinity*, 60). The sixteenth century was the age of the birch, but it lasted on much later. Aubrey remembers how even gentlemen commoners suffered this indignity, and tells how Dr. Hannibal Potter 'right well whipt his scholar with his sword by his side, when he came to take his leave of him to goe to the Innes of Court' (*Brief Lives*, ii. 171). Milton is said to have been whipt at Christ's, Cambridge (ibid. ii. 63), and Anthony Farrington whipt Ireton, who revenged himself years afterwards by turning his old tutor and family on a winter's night out of the vicarage of Grays and then burning his tutor's books and papers (Jackson, *Introd. to Farrington's Sermons*). Lawford, the outgoing Proctor in 1638, was hissed in St. Mary's, and three boys were whipt for doing so. Laud thought a more severe punishment was needed, or at least that the punishment like the offence should have been in public (*Works*, v. 195).

130. Cyril Lucar (1572-1638), a Cretan, Patriarch first of Alexandria and then of Constantinople, had resided in Germany and Switzerland and there studied Western Theology. He had been attracted by some elements in the teaching of the Reformers, was a correspondent of Archbishop Laud, and presented to Charles I the Codex Alexandrinus, now in the

British Museum. After being five times deposed, and as often reinstated, he was strangled by the order of the Grand Vizier of Murad IV in 1638. Publicly he was accused of treason, but privately he had been delated for heresy, and his execution is said to have been the result of a Jesuit intrigue.

131. **Nathaniel Conopios** was not the first Greek scholar in Oxford. Twenty years before Metrophanes Critopylus came to England and was sent by Archbishop Abbot to study at Balliol. On his return home he became Patriarch of Alexandria, and is the author of a book against Calvinism. Nathaniel Conopios, a Cretan, had been Primore to Cyril Lucar, came to England, and was maintained by Laud at Balliol. Both Savage (*Balliofergus*, 121) and Wood (*Athenae*, iv. 808) are wrong in stating that he fled here after the death of Lucar. Savage tells us 'he spoke and wrote the genuine Greek', but immediately adds, 'Poetical Greek he had not but what he learnt here'. He was also a musician, and his correspondents 'stiled him *μουσικώτατον*', but the notes in the music book composed by him 'were such as were not in use with or understood by any of the Western Churches' (Savage, *Ballio*. 121). He took the degree of B.D. and became a chaplain at Christ Church, but in 1648 'he was expelled the University by the barbarians . . . and returned into his own country among the barbarians' (Wood). In 1651 he became Bishop of Smyrna. Wood mentions, 'he made for his own use the drink called coffee and usually drank it every morning'.

132. **Coffee in Oxford.** Evelyn is wrong in writing thirty years, but perhaps it is a slip for thirteen. Wood under 1650 writes: 'This year Jacob a Jew opened a Coffee House at "the Angel" in the Parish of St. Peter in the East, Oxon; and there it was by some, who delighted in noveltie, drank. When he left Oxford he sold it in old Southampton Buildings in Holborne neare London, and was living in 1671' (*Life and Times*, i. 168). '1654, Cirques Jobson, a Jew and Jacobite, borne neare Mount Libanus, sold coffee in Oxon in a house between Edmund Hall and Queen Coll: corner' (*ibid.* 188). Mr. Clark has a foot-note on p. 201: 'There is an advertisement slip at the end of Rumsey's *Organon Salutis*, 1657, stating coffee "is sold by James Gough at Mr. Surge's the tayler by Queen's Coll: corner, Oxon".' These appear to be one business carried on by three successive proprietors. But in 1655, 'Arthur Tillyard, apothecary and great royalist, sold coffey publickly in his house against All Soule's Coll: He was encouraged to do so by some royallists, now living in Oxon, and by others who esteem'd themselves *virtuosi* or

wits' (ibid. 201). Among them were the three Wrens—Christopher and his cousins, Matthew and Thomas, and 'John Lamphire, physitian, lately ejected from New Coll: who was sometimes the natural dull of the company' (ibid.). At Cambridge, coffee was of later introduction. Dr. John North was at Jesus in 1668, but 'coffee was not of such common use as afterwards and coffee houses were young. At that time, and long after, there was but one kept by one Kirk' (*Lives of the Norths*, ii. 292).

133. Coffee-sandys (*Travels*, 66) in his account of Constantinople describes how the Turks 'sip of a drink called coffa . . . in little china dishes, as hot as they can suffer it, black as soot, and tasting not much unlike it'. He supposes it to be the black broth of the Lacedæmonians. So does Burton (*Anatomy*, II. v. 1. 5) who declares 'it helpeth digestion and procureth alacrity'. Parkinson (*Herbal*, 1622) says much the same, and Bacon (*Nat. Hist.* fol. 155) says 'it comforteth the brain and expelleth fear'. It was not until 1659 that Edward Pocock, the Orientalist, published *The Nature of the drink, Kauhi or Coffee*. Dr. Harvey, who discovered the circulation of the blood, is said to have been the first coffee drinker in England (Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, i. 301). In 1651 Ralph Verney met with this curious novelty in Italy, and sent home a recipe for making it: 'Two spoonfulls in a pint of boiling water, boiled by a soft fire for half an hour' (*Verney Memoirs*, i. 9 and 483). In 1657 the East India Company ordered ten tons of 'Coho seed' (coffee berries), to be sent from Surat, and in 1659 double that quantity. In 1659 also the Dutch Company ordered a consignment in consequence of the English demand (Foster and Sainsbury, *Court Minutes of E.I.C.*, 1655-9, p. xxxiv). By the Excise Act 1660 a duty of fourpence a gallon was imposed on coffee, and twice as much on chocolate, sherbet, and tea (ibid.). In *The Public Advertiser*, May 19-26, 1657, there is an advertisement claiming that 'coffee quickeneth the spirits, maketh the heart lightsom', and is good for a multitude of disorders (*N. and Q.*). The introduction of coffee did decrease drunkenness in London. As early as 1657 Howell writes (Rumsey, *Organon Salutis*): 'The coffee drink hath caused a great sobriety among all nations, formerly apprentices, clerks, &c., used to take their morning draughts in ale, beer or wine, which often made them unfit for business. Now they ply the good fellows in this wakeful and civil drink.' Later Chamberlayne (*Angliae Notitia*, ed. 1684, p. 40) says: 'There is generally less excess in drinking

(especially about London) since the use of coffee, tea, and chocolate.' The new beverage also had its enemies. It was currently supposed to induce impotence (*Harl. Misc.* i. 569). So in a *Women's Petition against Coffee*, 1674 (quoted Disraeli, *Curiosities*, ii. 324) they complain 'that it made men unfruitful as the deserts, whence that unhappy berry is said to have been brought; and that the offspring of our mighty ancestors [will] dwindle [to] a succession of apes and pygmies'. Satire poked fun at the new craze. In *A Cup of Coffee*, 1663 (quoted by Disraeli, ii. 323), we read:

'For men and Christians to turn Turks and think
 'To excuse the crime, because 'tis in their drink!
 'Pure English apes! ye may, for aught I know,
 'Would it but mode, learn to eat spiders too.

'Syrup of soot, or essence of old shoes
 'Dash't with Diurnals, and the Books of News'.

134. **Formalities**=Academical costume. Hentzner (*Travels*, p. 45) says: 'This habit is almost the same as that of the Jesuits, their gowns reaching down to their ankles, sometimes lined with fur; they wear square caps; the doctors, masters of arts and professors have another kind of gown that distinguish them.' Laud's *History of His Chancellorship* contains much about Formalities (*Works*, v. 16, 23, 24, 47, 83, 202, 216, &c.). 'The end of our cap and gown', Crosfield notes in his Diary for 1630, 'was to put us in mind of piety, sobriety, studiousness and other virtues' (*Queen's College MSS.*, quoted Bliss). Opposition to wearing them came equally from Puritans and the smart world. At the Hampton Court Conference Bancroft asked Reynolds if he agreed with Mr. Cartwright 'that we ought in Ceremonies rather to conform to the Turks than to the Papists. I doubt you approve his position, because here appearing before His Majesty in Turkey gowns, and not in your scholastic habits, according to the order of the Universities' (Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* x. 11). In Shirley's *Lady of Pleasure* (Act ii. sc. 1), when Fred returns home like a scholar, Lady Bornevell faints, and wishes she had sent him into France, where they would have 'taught him another garb, to wear his lock... To dance and wear his feather à la mode', and not 'to look so like a chaplain'. Laud forbade any one to wear boots and spurs with formalities, and ordered gowns to be made in the ancient mode with wide sleeves. Tailors were to be punished for cutting them according to new fashions. Some doctors and

masters preferred the lawyer's gown as like to Geneva. Wood writes long afterwards (*Hist. and Antiq.* i. 68, 69): 'The gown that a D^r of Divinity as also that by a Master of Arts . . . hath . . . only long sleeves with a cross slit to put the arms through: which gown is not ancient, and never known to be worn by any before the time of John Calvin.' Also Laud found that the Masters sat bare in St. Mary's, not out of reverence, but because they had come to sermon in prohibited hats. Wood again says (op. cit. i. 71): 'As Divines preached in their caps . . . so the auditors if scholars sat in them, which continued so until the late unhappy times; but when King Charles II was restored, then the auditors sat bare, lest, if covered, should encourage the laical party to put on their hats, as they did all the time of the Rebellion.' Strangely enough when the Puritans were triumphant, they became stiff for the formalities, so that a Satirical writer in 1659 asks 'whether the Doctors are not concerned to uphold the formalities of caps, gowns and hoods, because there is nothing else to distinguish them from common fools?' (*Harl. Misc.* vi. 91). Laud was a mighty disciplinarian, but his antiquarian knowledge was at fault. He wished to maintain old fashions, but the University in the Middle Ages cared but little for uniformity in dress, and Laud was only stereotyping Elizabethan fashions (Rashdall, *Med. Univ.* ii, p. 643). Wood (*Life and Times*, ii. 84) gives the instructions issued to tailors in 1666. They would not prove very useful to their successors of to-day. We can, however, imagine Evelyn in a long gown, half sleeved, adorned with at least four dozen buttons. It cost from £5 to £6. Sorbière (*A Voyage to England*, p. 41) was much amused at the sight of Hobbes in a college cap. He describes it as a *Porte-feuille*, covered with black cloth, and sewed to the calot.

135. **Laud and his Chancellorship.** April 1630—June 1641. He was elected chancellor in succession to William, Earl of Pembroke, by a narrow majority of nine votes. Prynne (*Cant. Doom*, 71) says the votes were miscounted, and Wood (*Annals*, 368, 369) bears this out. Joseph Mede (*Harl. MSS.* 4931) wrote to Ussher that D^r Frewen illegally occupied the chair, and Crosfield (*Diary, Queen's Coll. MSS.*) says that the election was prematurely closed. Notwithstanding a petition, the appointment was confirmed. Laud's greatest achievement was in carrying through the codification of the Statutes. The work took four years, and the *Corpus Statutum* definitely promulgated in 1636 was not superseded until 1854. He also set up a regular examination for the B.A. and M.A.

degrees, which did not last. Under his direction the Convocation House was built and the Bodleian Library enlarged. He gave to the latter many books and a splendid collection of Oriental MSS. He secured for the Universities the right of printing Bibles. He established the Professorship of Arabic, and persuaded the King to annex one Canonry at Christ Church to the Professorship of Hebrew and another for the Public Orator. He strove in every way to improve manners, morals, and tuition, and did his best to repress that controversial bitterness which interrupted education and was to ruin the country.

136. **Presentation Books** (vide 107). They are still in the Old Library and are in good condition. In fact, they do not seem to have been as much used as Evelyn was told that they would be. They are all inscribed 'ex dono Johannis Evelyn filij Richardi Evelyn Armigerj et hujus Collegij Socio-Com.'. All the inscriptions but one are in a flowing Italian hand, one is in an older hand with some Gothic letters.

137. **Zanchius**. Hieronymo Zanchi (1516-90) was born at Alango near Bergamo, and joined the Augustinian Canons in 1631. He studied under Vermigli and began to preach the reformed doctrines at Lucca. Subsequently he visited Geneva and England and became a strong Calvinist. In 1553 he was appointed Old Testament Professor at Strasburg, but had to retire to Chiavenna because of his attacks upon the Lutherans. In 1568 he became a Professor at Heidelberg, when the Elector, Frederick III, who married Brederode's widow in 1569, was a strong Calvinist; but on the Elector's death in 1576 a Lutheran reaction took place, and Zanchi, like his Zuringlian opponent Erastus, had to retire. He died, however, at Heidelberg in 1590. His collected writings in three volumes were published at Geneva in 1619 (Schaff-Herzog, *Encyclopaedia*). An English translation of his *Spiritual marriage betwixt Christ and His Church*, was published at Cambridge in 1692. He is only once quoted by Jeremy Taylor (*Works*, v. 630).

138. **Cresolius**. Louis Crésol was born at Treguier in Brittany, 1568, and died at Rome, 1634. He was a Jesuit who compiled various Common Place Books (Michaud, *Biographie Universelle*, ix. 476). His *Vacationes Autumnales*, Paris, 1620, is concerned with action and pronunciation in oratory. His *Anthologia Sacra* is on ethical subjects.

139. **Aquinas**. In the Middle Ages Oxford had been the head-quarters of the opposition to the Thomist theology.

Duns Scotus and Ockham were probably trained there; William de la Mare and Roger Bacon, Kilwardby and Peckham, Bradwardine and Wyclif, certainly were (Rashdall, *Med. Univ.* ii. 518-42). The influence of Aquinas, however, was great among the Reformers. Hooker and Sanderson were greatly indebted to him, and for his vogue at Cambridge, vide Ward *Vindiciae Academicarum*, 21. The famous Puritan, Dr. Preston, who had conned all that Scotus or Ockham wrote, 'Yet continued longer in Aquinas, whose summas he would sometimes read as the Barber cut his hair, and when any fell upon the place he read, he would not lay downe his booke, but blow it off' (Ball's *Life*, 19). The full title of the book presented by Evelyn is: 'Jacobi Granadi Gaditani (of Cadiz) e societate Jesu in Collegio Sancti Hermealgildi, Hispali Theologiae Professoris, Commentarii in Summam Theologiae Sancti Thomae: Mussiponti, 1624.' Mussipons is the Jesuit College of Pont-à-Mousson, north of Nancy, founded by Charles III of Lorraine.

140. Novarini. The title was: 'Aloisii Novarini, Veronensis, clerici regularis, Electa Sacra, Lugduni, 1629.' It is a work on Christian Antiquities.

EVELYN AT OXFORD AND WOTTON

[Upon the 2nd of July being the first Sunday of the month, I first received the blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in the College chapel, one Mr. Cooper, a Fellow of the house, preaching: and at this time was the Church of England in her greatest splendour, all things decent and becoming to Peace, and the persons that governed. The most of the following weeks I spent in visiting the Colleges, and several rarities of the University; which do very much affect young comers.]

18th July I accompanied my eldest brother, who then quitted Oxford, into the country; and on the 9th of August, went to visit my friends at Lewes, whence I returned the 12th to Wotton. On the 17th of September, I received the blessed Sacrament at Wotton church, and 23rd of October went back to Oxford.

5th November. I received again the Holy Communion in our college chapel, one Prowse, a Fellow (but a mad one) preaching.

9th December. I offered at my first exercise in the Hall, and answered my opponent; and, upon the 11th following, declaimed in the chapel before the Masters, Fellows and Scholars, according to the custom. The 15th after, I first of all opposed in the Hall.]

1637. At Christmas the gentlemen of Exeter College presented a Comedy to the University. [The Christmas ensuing, being at a Comedy which the gentlemen of Exeter College presented to the University,]

[and standing, for the better advantage of seeing, upon a table in the Hall, which was near to another, in the dark, being constrained by the extraordinary press to quit my station, in leaping down to save myself I dashed my right leg with such violence against the sharp edge of the other board, as gave me a hurt which held me in cure till almost Easter, and confined me to my study.]

§ vii. NOTES

141. **Holy Communion at Balliol.** 'In all Colleges and Halls within both the Universities, the Masters and Fellows . . . shall be careful that all the said pupils, . . . [shall] receive the Holy Communion; which we ordain to be administered in all such Colleges and Halls, the First or Second Sunday in every month, requiring all the said Masters, Fellows and Scholars, and all the rest of the said Students, Officers, and all other the Servants there, so to be ordered, that every one of them shall communicate four times in the year at least, kneeling reverently and devoutly upon their knees, according to the order in the Communion Book in that behalf' (Canon xxxiii. 1603). Sir John Bramston, who went up to Wadham before he was sixteen, says, 'I therefirst receaved the communion which was as soone as I was capable by the lawes of the Church' (*Autobiography*, 103).

142. **Mr. Cooper** = Edward Cowper born at Worcester in 1597. He entered Balliol 1615. B.A. 1619 and M.A. 1622. Incorporated at Cambridge 1633 (Foster, *Alumni*). Sir John Pakyngton presented him to the Living of Hampton Lovett, May 8th 1621 (Nash, *Worcestershire*, i. 540); and John Cowper, clothier of Worcester, perhaps his father, presented him to the Living of Birts Morton 'ex concessione Egidii Naufan de Castle Morton on July 29th 1625' (Nash, *ibid.* i. 87). The Parish Register of Birts Morton notes 'the coming of Mr. Edward Cowper to be parson, whose induction was the 2 of August 1625'; but he only once signed the register and so apparently lived at Hampton Lovett. He was sequestered and died before the Restoration (Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii. 227). When Evelyn heard him preach, he was probably in Oxford for his B.D. degree, which Foster thinks that he took this year.

143. **Rarities.** George Wither, *Abuses Stript and Whipt*, writes:

'I was so happy to that Ford I came
Which of the belowing Ox doth bear the name
.
.
.
There once arrived, in years and knowledge raw
I fell to wondering at each thing I saw:
And from my learning made a month's vacation
In noting of the place's situation.'

144. **Long Vacation.** Most students resided at Oxford throughout the year. Stephen Penton (*Guardians' Instructor*, pp. 51, 52) thought it a good rule that a student 'writes no

letter to come home for the first whole year'; and he disapproved of 'the livery man with the led horse' who came inquiring where 'the young squire lives', and takes him home, where he hunts and becomes 'debaucht'. Even in the next century John Wesley writes (*Journal*, iv. 78), 'In the English Colleges everyone may reside all the year, as all my pupils did; and I should have thought myself little better than a highway-man, if I had not lectured them every day but Sundays'.

145. **The Blessed Sacrament at Wotton.** Evelyn being unconfirmed was incapable of receiving according to the rubric, but being over sixteen years of age, would have been 'exhibited' to the Bishop had he not received (*Canon* cxii). The 17th of September would be in Ember week, and the celebration was no doubt also connected with the Harvest Home. George Herbert (*Country Parson*, ch. xxii.) writes:—'Touching the frequency of communion, the Parson celebrates it, if not duly once a month, yet at least four or six times in the year; as at Easter, Christmasse, Whitsuntide, afore and after Harvest, and the beginning of Lent. And this he doth not merely for the benefit of the work, but also for the discharge of the Churchwardens, who being to present all that receive not three times a year, if there be but three communions, neither can all the people so order their affairs as to receive just at those times, nor the Churchwardens so well take notice, who receives thrice and who not.' Baxter (*Christian Directory*, 602) goes much further, and says, the Blessed Sacrament 'in well disciplined Churches, should be still every Lord's Day', and that 'omitting it, maimeth and altereth the worship of the day'. Again he says, speaking of Sunday (*ibid.* 855), 'The celebration of the Lord's Supper was always a chief part in its observation in the Primitive Churches; not merely for the Sacrament sake, but because with it was still joined all the laudatory and thanksgiving worship'. Bishop Cosin (*Works*, v. 16) says, 'Every day there should be a communion'. Again 'The Sacrament should be propounded every day, for them to come unto and receive who were godly disposed'. Again, 'The three solemn times being for all upon penalty of Law; but every day being for those devout people that shall be well disposed'. Notwithstanding these opinions, it was not until 1694, that Edward Stephens, the curate of St. Giles, Cripplegate, established a daily celebration which was continued for four years (Ollard and Crosse, *Dict. of English Ch.*, sub *Stephens*). There was, however, improvement throughout the century. In 1692 there were ten Churches in London with a weekly Eucharist (Wickham Legg, *Eng. Ch. Life*, p. 30).

146. **Mr. Prowse.** Edward Prowse is described as of plebeian origin. Foster's account (*Alumni*) is imperfect, for he does not mention that he was ever a Fellow of Balliol, and describes him as taking his B.A. degree three days before he matriculated. He was B.A. in 1629 and M.A. in 1632. Evelyn may have heard his farewell sermon for he became Vicar of Long Burton in 1637. In 1644 he became Rector of Elsdon, and in 1661 Rector of Bothel. All these places are in Westmoreland. In 1660 he was Vicar of Burgh Lincolnshire.

147. **Methods of Teaching** inherited from the Middle Ages did not aim so much at imparting knowledge as in developing the abilities of the Student. Even in elementary subjects the catechetical method was followed, while in exercises, disputations and declarations the adroitness of the student was tested rather than his knowledge. Obadiah Walker who matriculated in 1633 describes the lectures of his youth. First there was an account of the previous lecture; secondly, there was reading and writing for about half an hour; thirdly, there was an explication of what had been done for half an hour; fourthly, there was a disputation of the scholars in the presence of the lecturer; and lastly, there was an outline of the next lecture with questions for disputation (*Of Education*, 117). Lectures were from 6-10, dinner was at 11, followed by a post-prandial disputation. There were disputations from 1-5 and then supper. I have not found that anyone at Oxford emulated John Bois at Cambridge in lecturing at 4 a.m. (Anthony Walker's *Life of Bois* in Peek, *Desid. Curiosa*, viii. 331). The student, not on the foundation, then as now, often did very little. Sir Simonds D'Ewes, who was at Cambridge, and always exemplary, confesses:—'Mine own exercises, performed during my stay there, were very few, replying only twice in the two Philosophical Acts: the one upon Mr. Salstonsall in the public schools, it being his bachelor's Act; the other upon Mr. Neville, a fellow-commoner and prime student at St. John's College in the Chapel. My declamations also were very rarely performed, being but two in number, the first in my Tutor's chamber, and the second in chapel' (*Autobiography*, i. 121). In order to obtain a B.A. degree the student was bound to have attended lectures in grammar, rhetoric, the Ethics, Politics, and Economics of Aristotle, logic, moral philosophy, geometry and Greek. This was a four years' course. Another three years were necessary before proceeding to an M.A. degree, and they were to be spent in studying geometry, astronomy, metaphysics, natural philosophy, Greek, and Hebrew (Brodrick, *Hist. of Univ. of Oxford*, p. 114). Under such a scheme it is not sur-

prising that most Commoners left the University without a degree. Evelyn is said to have studied logic and philosophy (Wood, *Athenae*, iv. 464).

148. **Exercises and Disputations.** In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries all lectures were given in the Schools and none in Colleges. Few had any books, and candles were two-pence a pound. In consequence students assembled in the evening round the fire of the nearly dark hall, to discuss the points which had been raised in the day's lecture (Rashdall, *Med. Univ.* ii. 649). By degrees these exercises were superintended by one of the Fellows and became a training ground for the disputations. Evelyn, as a junior Sophister, would first be obliged to maintain some well-known truth impugned by an opponent. Secondly, as opposer, he would have to furnish arguments against some truth for another to answer. 'The art of disputation', says G. H. Lewes, 'was to the Athletes of the Middle Ages, what parliamentary debate has been to the English' (*Hist. of Philos.* ii. 8). It was no doubt an excellent training for public life, but it encouraged a controversial spirit. Dury, the ecclesiastical peacemaker, attributed the discord of Christendom to university training (*Constructive Review*, iv. 416), and Sir Henry Wotton declared 'Disputandi pruritus, Ecclesiarum scabies' (Walton, *Lives*, 86). Besides the University Disputations each College had its own. They were sometimes disorderly, and Laud enjoins that the cellars of B.N.C. 'be better looked to, that no strong and unruly argument be drawn from that topic place' (*Works*, v. 216). The Archbishop also forbids 'coursing', which was the practice of one College invading another, jeering, interrupting and jostling the disputants. Shaftesbury, who matriculated the same year as Evelyn, describes 'coursing' in the Schools. 'They forbore striking, but making a great noise with their feet, they hissed and shoved with their shoulders, and the stronger in that disorderly order drove the other out before them, and, if the Schools were above stairs, with all violence hurrying the contrary party down, the Proctors were forced either to give way to their violence or suffer in the throng. Nay, the Vice-Chancellor, though it seldom has begun when he was present, yet being begun, he has sometimes been unfortunately so near as to be called in, and has been overcome in their fury, once up in these adventures' (Christie, *Life of Shaftesbury*, I. App. i, p. xi). The practice was abolished by Dr. Fell when Vice-Chancellor, 1647-9 (Wood, *Athenae*, ii. 796), but during the Commonwealth 'coursing' was as bad as ever (Wood, *Life and Times*, i. 247).

149. **Declamations** might be recitations in hall or chapel like

'Narrare' at Trinity (Blakiston, *Trinity*, 62) or original compositions. John Potenger tells us: 'I acquired just logic and philosophy enough to dispute in my turn in the Hall, for I was addicted most to poetry, and making of declamations, two exercises I desired to excell in' (*Memoirs*, p. 29). Anthony à Wood tells us the themes of his two declamations: (1) 'Bonum quoddam quilibet efficiat, optimi autem solum perseverant.' (2) 'Utrum praestantius esset Ciceronis libros comburere quam mortem subire' (*Life and Times*, i. 197). He also tells us a story of Edward Best of Balliol (1650) who, 'being to stand in the tub or pew where those who are examined stand', ventured to pun in Latin, but 'his seniors laughed at him, and one flung an old shoe at him'. Of this gentleman it was said, 'Oratour Best is not the best oratour' (*ibid.* i. 177).

150. **Exeter College, Oxford.** Bray's text runs, 'At Christmas the Gentlemen of Exeter College presented a comedy to the University'. ~~Exeter College was founded in 1314 by Walter de Stapledon, Bishop of Exeter, for scholars from Devon and Cornwall; and its foundation was enlarged 1566 by Sir William Petre, a typical Tudor statesman. It long remained attached to the old Faith and old learning, but Elizabeth had two loyal men, Thomas Glaisbie, 1578, and Thomas Holland, 1592, appointed Rectors in succession (Clark, *Oxford Colleges*, 80, 81). During the lengthy Rectorship of Dr. Prideaux (1612-42) the College became the home of Puritanism. Sir John Eliot, William Strode, Sergeant Maynard, and Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, were educated there. The connexion with the West Country was maintained. Shaftesbury says that the College 'was famous for the courage and strength of tall raw-boned Cornish and Devonshire Gentlemen' (Christie, *Life of Shaftesbury*, I. App. i, p. xi). It was full, and in 1638 it heads the list with 41 matriculations (*Verney Memoirs*, i. 74). During Prideaux's Rectorship, the College was largely rebuilt, including a new chapel. This was declared to be unsafe in 1856, and then knocked to pieces by gunpowder. 'It was sacrificed to Gothic purism by Goths' (Wells, *Oxford Colleges*, 85). Notwithstanding its Puritan reputation, in 1636 Charles I founded Fellowships there for men from the Channel Islands, and in 1642 nominated Prideaux as Bishop of Worcester.~~

151. **The Stage and the University.** 'The Comedies which began to be acted in the Colleges and Halls towards the end of the Fifteenth Century form almost the only amusement of an intellectual character, which relieved the stern reality of academic life. . . . The comedies represent the first contact of academic culture, with the new, fuller and more vigorous

current of popular literature' (Rashdall, *Med. Univ.* ii. 670). Many of the earlier Playwrights like Peele, Green, and Marlowe were University bred, but none the less the criticism put into the mouth of Kemp in *The Return from Parnassus* (iv. sc. 2) was generally true: 'Few of the university pen, play well; they smell too much of that writer Ovid and that writer Metamorphosis, and talk too much of Proserpina and Juppiter.' This rather than their modesty answers the question of Shirley, 'What makes so many scholars then come from Oxford and Cambridge, like market women, with dossers full of lamentable tragedies, and ridiculous comedies, which they might have vent to the players, but will take no money for them?' (*The Witty Fair One*, iv. 2). Some typical University dramas however attained celebrity. James I was so captivated by Ruggles's *Ignoramus*, that he revisited Cambridge to see it played a second time (Mullinger, *Camb. Characteristics in Seventeenth Century*, p. 40). *The Return from Parnassus*, perhaps by John Day of Caius (Ward's *Eng. Dram. Lit.* ii. 641), has had more enduring fame; while Cartwright's *Royal Slave* (vide note 104) was most successful of all. Cartwright (1611-42) was at this time student of Christ Church. He was a scholar, playwright, poet, philosopher, and preacher. Ben Jonson called him Son and said 'he wrote like a man', and even Charles Kingsley speaks of him with reluctant admiration (*Plays and Puritans*, 58-64). George Wilde, Laud's chaplain, John Blencowe, and Joseph Crowther, Fellows of St. John's, were among the playwrights of the time (*Mod. Lang. Review*, July, 1916); while the famous Dr. Busby was such a successful actor in *The Royal Slave*, that he thought of adopting the stage as his profession (Wood, *Hist. and Antiq.* I. i. 344). Many, however, looked on the University Plays with disfavour. Isaac Barrow 'thought not without reason that they were the principal cause of the licentiousness then prevalent' (Hughes, *Life of Barrow*, p. 87). Burnet says that the pious Sir Matthew Hale, who was at Oxford in 1628, 'was so corrupted by seeing many plays, that he almost entirely forsook his studies' (*Life of Hale*, p. 14). But scorn finds its most elaborate expression in the *Apology for Smectymnuus* (Milton, *Works*, iii. 267). 'But since there is such a hearsay of a tire, a periwig or a vizard, that plays must have been seen, what difficulty was there in that, when, in colleges, so many of the young divines, and those of next aptitude to divinity, have been so oft upon the stage, 'writhing' and unbowing their clergy limbs to all the antic and dishonest gestures of Trinculoes, buffoons and bawds, prostituting the shame of that ministry, which either they had or

were nigh having, to the eyes of courtiers and court ladies, with their grooms and mademoiselles? There, while they acted and overacted, among other young scholars, I was a spectator: they thought themselves gallant men and I thought them fools; they made sport and I laughed; they mispronounced and I disliked; and, to make up the Atticism, they were out and I hissed.' Even in youth the author of *Comus* and *Samson Agonistes* was a consciously superior person, but we need not suppose that he hissed, for in the passage quoted he was borrowing the eloquence of Demosthenes in *de Corona*.

152. **Evelyn's Accident.** Evelyn's statement that his 'hurt held in cure until almost Easter' seems inconsistent with his joining a dancing and vaulting class on Jan. 22nd. But Easter Day in 1638 fell on March 25th, and it does not follow that because he was admitted on Jan. 22nd that he became an active member of the class for a week or two.

EVELYN AT OXFORD AND IN THE ISLE
OF WIGHT

[1638. 22nd January] I¹ was admitted into the dancing and vaulting Schole,² of which late activity one Stokes, the Master,³ set forth a pretty book, which was publish'd with many pretty elogies before it.

[4th February. One Mr. Wariner preached in our Chapel: and on the 25th, Mr. Wentworth, a Kinsman of the Earl of Stafford; after which followed the blessed Sacrament.]

1638. [13th April.] My father order'd that I should begin to manage myne owne expenses, which till then my Tutor had done; at which I was much satisfied.

[9th July. I went home to visit my friends, and, on the 26th with my brother and sister to Lewes, where we abode till the 31st: and thence to one Mr. Michael's of Houghton, near Arundel, where we were very well treated; and, on the 2nd of August, to Portsmouth, and thence, having surveyed the fortifications (a great rarity in that blessed halcyon time in England), we passed into the Isle of Wight, to the house of my Lady Richards, in a place called Yaverland; but we returned the following day to Chichester, where, having viewed the city and fair Cathedral, we returned home.

About the beginning of September, I was so afflicted with a quartan ague, that I could by no means get rid of it till the December following. This was the fatal year wherein the rebellious Scots opposed the King, upon the pretence of the introduction of some new ceremonies and the Book of Common Prayer, and madly began our confusions, and their own destruction, too, as it proved in event.]

¹ I would needs be admitted. ² Schools. ³ did afterwards set forth.

§ viii. NOTES

153. **Dancing.** The Brawle with its endless figures, the stately Saraband, and the ceremonial Pavan were not at the time in fashion. Evelyn was probably taught 'the nimble galliard', as Shakespeare calls it (*Henry V*, Act i. sc. 2) which involved 'lofty turns and caprioles in air' (Sir John Davies, *Orchestra*, 68); and 'in the English dancing schools' they still taught 'lavoltas high and swift corantos' (*Henry V*, Act iii. sc. 5). The first was an anapaestic measure 'with lofty jumping or a leaping round'. The partners we are told 'whirl themselves with strict embracements bound' (*Orchestra*, 70). The coranto, on the other hand, must have been like our waltz, a dactylic measure danced to triple time, the feet of the dancers 'close to the ground with sliding passages'; and they turn and wind their way every where (*ibid.* 69). It is noteworthy that Laud, who forebade the establishment of a Riding School in Oxford (*Works*, v. 173), issued no such prohibition against dancing. As Owen Feltham (*Resolves*, 276) says, 'Doubtless it was out of the jollity of Nature that the Art was first invented. . . . Bate but the Fiddle, the Colts, the Calves and the Lambs of the field do the same'. It was regarded not merely as natural, but also as a healthy exercise. So Davies (*ut supra*, 54) advises

'Contemn the drugs that physic doth devise
And learn of Love this dainty exercise';

or as Shirley (*Hyde Park*, Act ii. sc. 1) writes:

'The motion every morning will be wholesome
And beneficial to your body, Sir.'

It was also esteemed necessary for the carriage of a gentleman, 'to fashion the body' and to dispose 'the limbs to a kind of souplesse (as the French call it) and agility' (Lord Herbert of Cherbury, *Life*, 37). Burton (*Anatomy*, III. ii. 2, 4) indeed complains that 'it is part of a gentlewoman's bringing up, to sing, dance and play on the lute or some such instrument, before she can say her paternoster or ten commandments'; but even he commends it in moderation after studying 'the just tracts' of Lucian, Macrobius, Libanius, Plutarch, Julius Pollux, and Athenaeus. James I insisted on dancing, and bade his children dance to each others' whistling and singing when they could not get better music (Mr. Everett Green, *Eliz. Q. of Bohemia*, p. 23). The Protestant ministers in France forbade dancing, according to Harrington (*Oceana*, 275); but the

Puritans did not condemn it, although Cumberland's Presbyterians danced 'only in obedience to the ordinance' (*Poems*). Milton (*L'Allegro*) was complacent

'When the merry Bells ring round,
And the jocund rebecks sound
To many a youth, and many a maid
Dancing in the chequer'd shade.'

Mrs. Hutchinson (*Memoirs*, 43), speaking of her husband at Cambridge, says: 'There were masters that taught to dance and vault, whom he practised with, being very agile and apt for all such beaming exercises.' The Duchess of Newcastle (*Life*, 173, Firth's ed.) 'thought it a graceful art, and becometh unmarried persons well; yet for those who are married, it is too light an action'. The Verneys also and their rather seriously minded circle regarded dancing as important. Sir Roger Burgoyne asks Sir Ralph Verney's 'good counsel for his son Jack, lest he should "make choice of some pedantic master, which will doe him more hurt than good, most of the dancing masters teach them such affected gates and carriage as is conceited and ridiculous. Advise him to the Best, though he pays 3 times as much for it"'. *The Best* was indeed so well paid at Oxford that 'an honest tutour sold his hours cheaper than the fencer and dancing master' (Penton, *Guardian's Instruction*, p. 49); and it was a common complaint that 'Taylors, Dancing masters, and such trifling fellows arrive to that Riches and pride, as to ride in their coaches, Keep their Summer Houses, and to be served in Plate &c. &c., an insolence insupportable in other well governed Nations' (*Verney Memoirs*, ii. 427). Bathurst was later to complain that these dancing houses 'were troublesome to myself and the Proctors, by reason of the frequent concourse of idle scholars, whom they either find or make such' (Warton's *Life of Bathurst*, p. 146). Obadiah Walker (*Of Education*, p. 65), speaking of dancing, approves 'of a moderate exercise; so much whereof is to be learned, as may give a graceful motion to the body': but he disapproves of its becoming 'a difficult study' and of 'the infinite practice' required 'for reasonable perfection'. He finally quotes with approval M. de Rhodéy as saying: 'There is nothing which doth more dissipate powers of the spirit, nor more enervate the forces of the soul, then the continual agitation of the body, and the charm of ladies' conversation.' Writers so different as Locke (*Thoughts on Education*, § 196) and Froebel (*Education of Man*) would have disagreed with him.

154. Vaulting and other gymnastic exercises were in the

seventeenth century, as in ancient Greece, taught with dancing, for many dances required muscular development. Step dancing or, as it was then called, 'the cutting of capers' was not confined to the Stage, but was the accomplishment of a gentleman. Sir Andrew Ague-cheek (*Twelfth Night*, i. 3) pretended to it, but Sir Christopher Hatton capered until he became Lord Chancellor, and Buckingham could always charm King James by his surprising leaps, turns, and marvellous agility. Such solitary displays, or the dancing of a well-matched couple before the court, was quite usual. For instance, Rowland White wrote to Sir Robert Sydney in 1602: 'Mrs. Mary, upon St. Stephen's Day, danced before the Queen two galliards with Mr. Palmer the admirablest dancer of this time' (Southey, *C.P.B.* iv. 604). However, vaulting was valued for its own sake. Lord Herbert of Cherbury (*Life*, p. 42) says: 'It will be good also for a gentleman to learn to leap, wrestle, and vault on horseback, they being all of them qualities of great use.' Peacham (*Compleat Gentleman*, 216) adds that 'leaping is an exercise very commendable, and healthful to the body, especially if you use it in the morning, as we read Alexander and Epaminondas did. Upon a full stomach, or to bedward, it is very dangerous, and in no wise to be exercised'. Schools of dancing and vaulting continued into the early eighteenth century, so that Elijah Fenton writes in his Prologue to Southern's *Spartan Dance*:

'The Muses blush'd to see their friends exalting
'Those elegant delights of jig and vaulting.'

(*British Poets*, vol. xxix. 274.)

155. **Mr. Stokes' Book** is now extremely scarce. It is called: 'The Vaulting Master, reduced to a method comprised under certain rules, Illustrated by examples, and now primarily set forth by Will Stokes: Printed for Richard Davis: 1665.' It is a small oblong quarto, with the author's portrait prefixed, and a number of plates beautifully engraved (most probably by Glover), representing feats of activity on horseback (*Bray's Note*).

156. **Elogy**, derived from *elogium*, a short report or inscription, but it is often confused with *eulogy*, and perhaps here. Hales (*Synod of Dort*, p. 123) uses the word correctly when he represents Bogerman saying to the Remonstrants, 'I will dismiss you with no other elogy than one of the foreigners gave you, *quo coepistis pede, eodem cedite*, with a lie you made your entrance into the synod, with a lie you take your leave of it'. The *N.E.D.* gives no example of the use of the word after 1740.

157. **Mr. Warriner.** Evelyn by saying 'one Mr. Wariner' implies that he was a stranger. He may probably be identified with John Warriner, of Queen's College, plebeian, who matriculated 1628, became a B.A. 1630, and M.A. 1633, and was incorporated at Cambridge in 1641 (Foster, *Alumni*). He is also probably the chaplain of New College who was reported to be scandalous in 1649, and 'utterly turned out by the Visitors' (Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii. 131).

158. **Mr. Wentworth.** Peter Wentworth (1602-61) was the son of Thomas Wentworth, Recorder of Oxford and M.P.; and the grandson of Peter Wentworth, who had dared to oppose Elizabeth in Parliament and been sent to the Tower. He was related to Strafford. He matriculated 1617; became B.A. and Fellow of Balliol, 1621; was incorporated at Cambridge in 1623; M.A., 1624; B.D., 1631; D.D., 1634 (Foster, *Alumni*). From 1633-7 he was Rector of Riseholm, Lincolnshire, but apparently retained his Fellowship. He attracted Laud's notice by preaching before the King at Woodstock in 1636 (*Works*, vii. 296), and shortly afterwards Strafford preferred him to the Deanery of Armagh. This led to his resignation of Riseholm, as Laud and Strafford had a rule as to 'no divided preferments; either all here [in England] or all there [in Ireland]' (ibid.). Laud praises the 'soberness of his carriage and the goodness of his learning' and he had heard of his 'well tempered disposition' (ibid. vii. 339). He was commended to the tutelage of the Bishop of Derry (Bramhall) (Strafford's *Letters*, ii. 100 and 132). On the outbreak of the Irish Rebellion he came to England, and acted for a time as Archdeacon of Carlisle (Foster, *Alumni*). At the Restoration he did not return to Ireland, but accepted the Living of Haseley in Oxfordshire from which the father of Sir Christopher Wren had been ejected by the Rebels. On July 22, 1651, he died at Bath and was buried in the Abbey Church with the inscription: 'Angliae praeconum primus' (Wood, *Fasti*, i. 471).

159. **Allowances to Undergraduates.** It was no unusual thing in the seventeenth century for a tutor to manage the expenses of his pupils, but the sons of Dr. Basire found this inconvenient when their tutor went down for the long vacation. These two boys provided their father with careful accounts, including what they spent on tobacco or gave in alms at the Holy Communion. The total for a quarter was only £6 13s. 11½d. (Basire, *Correspondence*, 254-8). They were the sons of a poor man. Phineas Pett, who entered Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1588, was allowed £20 per annum . . . 'beside books, apparel and other necessaries.' Peter Pett

was well-to-do (Autobiog. in *Archaeologia*, xii. 218). In 1607⁷ the rich Sir Peter Legh of Lyme sent his two sons to Brasenose with an allowance of £30 a piece, and their tutor, Richard Taylor, had spent it all by Michaelmas, and explained: 'I am sure that there are none of their rank wch have lived so thriftelie as they have done' (Lady Newton, *House of Lyme*, 87, 88). Later he asked that another £10 might be allowed for the elder boy, because he was 6 feet 2 inches in height and expensive to dress (*ibid.* p. 90). In 1612, when Francis Legh was twenty-two, Taylor wrote to the father: 'Your elder sonne thinks that he should keepe his own money, wch I hold highly inconvenient, for experience hath taught me that some young gentlemen can hardly be kept in anie order, let them but have an angell or two in their purse. . . . It will not be in my power, on Fridays and Satterdays suppers to keepe them out of the towne as nowe I do.' He also alleges that they will meet the unthrifty, be importuned for loans, and excite the jealousy of Taylor's other pupils (*ibid.* 93, 94). Edmund Verney, like Evelyn the younger son of a rich squire, went up to Magdalen Hall in 1636. His father, Sir Edmund, allowed him £40 a year, plus a cloth suit against Easter and his gown, or 'if he prefers to provide his gown then £10 for that and his entrance fee'. The father considered this sufficient, if well husbanded, but Edmund got into debt (*Verney Memoirs*, i. 99-100). Sir Robert Harley allowed his son Edward at Magdalen Hall (1638-40) £50 a year: £10 going to his Tutor (Lady Brilliana Harley's *Letters*, p. 97). From the same source we may gather that a servitor required £20 a year (*ibid.* 137). Bacon (*Of Parents and Children*) wrote from experience: 'The illiberality of parents in allowance towards their children is a harmful error, makes them base, acquaints them with shifts, makes them sort with mean company, and makes them surfeit when they come to plenty: and therefore the proof is best when men keep their authority towards their children and not their purse.' But a boy needs to be trained in spending. So Obadiah Walker (*Of Education*, p. 62) wrote: 'Methinks the best general rule . . . is, that he be allowed so much a month to be spent according to his own fancy, yet overlooked and strictly watched . . . by his governor. . . . But by no means let him have all his allowance in his own power, for that is to put the bridle out of his own mouth, the means by which the governor may coerce him.' Similarly, the Tutor in Stephen Penton's *Guardian's Instruction* (p. 60) is made to say: 'As for your allowance and moderate pocket money, it must be at your *discretion*; onely I desire that it may go through my hands, at least the whole

first year, till I can make some measures of his *discretion*. I would not have him allowed too little, that he may live like a *gentleman*; and I would not have him allowed too much, lest he should set up for nothing else.'

160. **Houghton and Mr. Michael.** Houghton is a little village between Amberley and Arundel. It has a very ancient bridge. The Evelyns had property in the adjoining parish of North Stoke, which John sold in 1701 to Robert Michell, Esqre. (vol. viii, § 88). There were several Michaels or Michells of Sussex who were at Balliol (Foster, *Alumni*): one of them, a priest, took his M.A. degree in 1638.

161. **Arundel.** The little town lies under the shadow of the Castle, which rises above the river and has existed since the days of Alfred. It has passed from the Montgomerys, to the Albini, Fitzalans, and Howards. By an Act of Parliament 1415, the possession of the Castle carries with it the dignity of an Earldom (Morris, *Seats, &c.*, iv. 3).

‘ Since William rose and Harold fell
There have been Counts of Arundel :
And Earls old Arundel shall have
While rivers flow and forests wave.’

(Quoted Hall, *Baronial Halls*, vol. ii.)

In 1638 the Castle was still a fortress rather than a home, and none of the seventeenth-century Howards resided there. It was much injured in the Civil Wars, being first held by the Parliament, then captured by Hopton, and finally reduced after a long siege by Waller. The famous Chillingworth acted as engineer for the Royalists, and they imputed to him the loss of the place. He was carried as a prisoner to Chichester and died of the ill usage he received. The Puritan, Dr. Cheynell, undertook to bury him, and cast his *Religion of Protestants* in the grave, saying: ‘ Rott with the rotten: let the dead bury their dead’ (Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, i. 172). After the Civil War the Castle was left to decay, and it was not until 1791 that the then Duke of Norfolk rebuilt the place, preserving as far as possible what remained of the historic pile (*G.M.L. Topog.*, xii. 189).

162. **Fortifications of Portsmouth.** ‘ It is the strongest castle in England for the bignesse; it is walled about by a wall of three or foure yards thick, about thirty foote high, a graft round about of some three or four yards deep, and five yards in breadth, it hath fourteen pieces of Ordnance planted round, all but two pieces shot 12 pound bullets, besides other small pieces, it hath dainty chambers in it fit to entertain

a Prince' (Thomason's *Tracts*, E. 116). And yet it was no safe place, for Lady Fanshaw relates: 'In October (1647), as I told you, my husband and I went into France by the way of Portsmouth, when, walking by the sea side about a mile from our lodgings, two ships of the Dutch, then in war with England, shot bullets at us, so near, that we heard them whizz by us; at which I called to my husband to make haste back, and began to run. But he altered not his pace, saying, if we must be killed it were as good to be killed walking as running' (*Memoirs*, p. 47).

163. **Lady Richards.** Elizabeth Hungerford was the second wife of Sir John Richards who died in 1626. Her elder son Edward was Lord of the Manor at Yaverland at this time (*V.C.H., Hampshire*, v. 208). Her younger son John matriculated from Magdalen Hall in 1635, and entered the Middle Temple at the same time as the Evelyn brothers in 1636. Their cousin, John Richards of New College and Rector of Yaverland, took his M.A. in 1638 (Foster, *Alumni*). Their sister, Elizabeth, married Sir John Baber the physician (1625-87) (Le Neve, *Knights*, p. 130).

164. **Yaverland**, a village on the sea bounded by Sandown, Bembridge, and Brading, with a little church dating back to the reign of Edward I (Barber's *Isle of Wight*, p. 30). The Manor had come into the Richards family in the sixteenth century, German Richards, who died in 1567, being Vice-Admiral of the Isle of Wight. He built a rectangular Manor House, to which his son Edward added wings in 1620. His grandson Sir Richard died in 1626, and his great-grandson Edward was still living in 1676. The estate passed to the Wright family on the death of Anne Richards in 1771. There are two pictures of the Manor House in *V.C.H., Hampshire*, v. 207-9.

165. **Chichester** has not altered much since Camden wrote (*Britannia*, p. 307), 'The Cittie . . . had growne indeed to a more wealthy estate, but that the haven is badde. . . nevertheless the Cittizens goe now in hand to make [it] more convenient. The Lavant a pretty river running hard by it, on the West and South sides. Foure gates it hath opening to the foure quarters of the world: from whence the streets lead directly and crosse themselves in the mids where the market is kept, and where Bishop Robert Read erected a faire stone market place, supported with pillars round about.' The canal is still in use, the walls remain, while the beautiful market-cross has been more than once restored. It was however built, not by Robert Read (Bishop 1397), but by Edward

Story (Bishop 1477-1503). The town was a great centre for malting. Fuller (*Worthies, Sussex*, p. 99) says the toll on grain amounted annually to £60, a halfpenny being exacted on every quarter. From the fifteenth century it had also been famous for its needles, but this trade was killed by the Civil War (*V.C.H., Sussex*, ii. 199). Although Richard Montague had been Bishop for ten years (he died in 1638), the Mayor and his brethren were puritans, and so we may imagine was the city (*ibid.* ii. 33).

166. **The Cathedral at Chichester.** Not until after the Conquest was the See moved from Selsey to Chichester. The first two Cathedrals were burnt down and the present building owes its origin to Sigefrid, Bishop 1180-1204. It is 407 feet in length, 150 feet in breadth, and is noteworthy as having double aisles. Camden (*Britannia*, 307, 308) says: 'All that space which lieth between the West and South gates is taken up with the Cathedrall Church, the Bishop's palace, and the Deanes' and Prebendaries' houses. . . . The Church itself truly is not great, but verie faire and neat, having a spire steeple of stone, rising up passing high, and in the South Crosse Isle of the Church, of the one side is artificially portraied and depainted the historie of the Churches foundation, with the Images of the Kings of England: on the other side the images of all the Bishops, as well of Selsey as of Chichester, at the charges of Robert Shirburn, Bishop, who greatly endowed and beautified this Church. . . . But that high tower which standeth neare unto the West door of the Church was built by R. Riman, as the report goeth (when he was forbidden to erect a castle at Aplerham his habitation hard by) of those stones which for that Castle he had provided before.' This south-west tower fell in 1630. The spire fell in 1861, and was rebuilt by Sir Gilbert Scott (Stephens, *Memorials of Chichester*, 311). The beautiful adornments and interesting pictures were defaced by the troops under Waller and Hesilrigge. Fuller says, metaphorically, 'Bishop Sherborn gave the Trimming and best Lace . . . [but] it is now not only Seam ript, but Torn in the whole cloth' (*Worthies, Sussex*, 100). For an account of the devastation see Ryves, *Mercurius Rusticus*, 139-43 (cf. § 36). From Laud's Visitation it is apparent that there had been many encroachments on the Cathedral Precincts. The 'Paradise' had become a private garden; 'Campus', where the boys of the Prebendal School should play, had been let to an alderman, and the very Churchyard had been invaded (*Works*, v. 485, 486). Stephens (*Memorials of Chichester*, 312) states

that not only were hogs and dogs in Paradise, but that swine were kept in the cellar under the Vicar's Hall.

167. **A Quartan Ague.** 'A fever quartayne . . . doth infest a man every thyrd day, that is to say two days whole and one sycke' (Boorde, *Brev. of Health*, 1547, cxxxix. 51). Harington (*Salerno's Regimen*, p. 25) tells us that 'Cow's flesh, Hart's flesh, &c. . . do engender fever quartaines'. The disease puzzled the physicians. So Bishop Hall (*Occas. Meditations*) says: 'Physicians cannot so much as ease; they know not how to cure it.' Even Sir Henry Wotton (*Reliquiae*, p. 470) can only counsel 'courage as the French do use to speak' and 'cheerfulness'. He indeed quotes from 'the barbarous translator of Avicenna' as to the nature of the complaint without a hint of the remedy. Gerarde (*Herbal*, 1597, Bk. I, ch. 103, p. 170) advises Satyricon Royal or Palma Christi (the early purple orchis) on the authority of Nicholas Nichols. 'It is to be given with wine before the fit cometh. . . One Biliolias, after he had endured fower and fortie fits, was cured therewith.' He also (p. 463 a) advises the Dodder *Cescuta* as a cure. Evelyn's own treatment for the complaint may be read, vol. vi, § 93. Mrs. Thornton (*Autobiography*, 88) thought she was cured 'upon a medicin of London treacle', but most people had more belief in charms. Arthur Wilson (*Life in Peck's Desid. Cur.* ii. 461) tells us that in 1609, 'being sick of an ague, a miller of Clerac in Gasconie cured me of it by a charme, and I never had the fitt againe'. Commenting on which he asks, 'how far God hath given Satan power to do good, for the blinding of Evil men?' He found it more puzzling that the miller was a Huguenot. Aubrey (*Miscellanea*, pp. 133-5) gives more than one magical receipt against ague. Abracadabra written out in form and worn round the neck is one, and he quotes Jamblichus on the Mystery of Divine Names to show how a word of no meaning might be endued with power. He also tells a tale of how a woman was thrice given a charm by Dr. Napier, and thrice induced to burn it by a parson, 'who thundered of Hell and damnation'. The woman then died 'because she had contemned and slighted the powers of the blessed spirits'. Elias Ashmole, another member of the Royal Society, writes (*Diary*, Ap. 11, 1681): 'I took early in the morning a good dose of Elixir, and hung three spiders about my neck, and they drove my ague away: Deo Gratias.' The belief that spiders were a prophylactat against ague continued into the next century. In Bradley's *Family Dictionary*, 1725, we read: 'The Spider itself will cure quartans.'

168. **The Scottish Liturgy.** Although not formally authorized

by the Kirk, the Scots had for a long time used their *Book of Common Order*, popularly called the *Psalm Book* and now known as *Knox's Liturgy* (Sprot, *Introd. to Sc. Liturgies under James VI*). In 1617 James ordered the English Prayer Book to be read in Holyrood Chapel, and the General Assembly at Aberdeen appointed Commissioners to compile a Liturgy for Scotland. Spottiswood forwarded the book they prepared to the King, who commanded the Bishops to recommend its use (Collier, *Ch. Hist.* ii. 754). Nothing more is known of it; but Hill Burton has identified a manuscript in the British Museum as this work, and, in order to prove its distinctively Scottish character, he quotes a rubric which occurs in the Baptismal Office of the Church of England (*Hist. of Scotland*, vi. 117, 118). When Charles was crowned in Scotland, in 1633, Laud advised the adoption of the English Prayer Book, in order that there might be one worship throughout the King's dominions, but the Scottish Bishops were unanimous in desiring a Prayer Book of their own. It was only at their request, backed by the King's command, that Laud and Wren took part in the work. But, once committed, Laud's influence was dominant: he was, in Baillie's phrase, 'the prime stickler' (*Canterburian's Self Conviction*, p. 96). An enthusiastic Liturgiologist, he tried to produce a model book, and forgot that it was even more important to conciliate Scottish prejudices. Presbyter indeed was substituted for Priest, Scottish Saints were commemorated, and very few lections from the Apocrypha were admitted. He was also ready to modify his language in deference to Scottish suggestions, as may be seen from his letters to Wedderburn, and by comparing the *Lambeth Book* with the volume which was published. A first impression was suppressed, and the rejected sheets 'were given out athort the shops of Edinburgh to cover spice and tobacco' (Baillie, *Letters and Journal*, I, p. 31). The format of the book was unfortunate. It was a splendid folio, printed in gothic type and beautifully rubricated. It had 'a variety of curiously cut head-pieces, finises, bloom letters, factotums and flowers'. It suggested the old Missal to Scots who refused even to read a Bible with decorated capitals lest they should break the Second Commandment (Hill-Burton, vi. 147). With the production of the book Laud's responsibility ended. He says: 'I ever did desire, it might come to them with their own liking and approbation. Nay, I did ever, upon all occasions, call upon the Scotch Bishops to do nothing in this particular but by warrant of law. And further I professed unto them before His Majesty, that though I had obeyed his com-

mands in helping to order the book, yet, since I was ignorant of the laws of that kingdom, I would have nothing at all to do with the manner of introducing it, but left that wholly to them, who do, or should understand that Church and her laws' (*Works*, iv. 336). Every conceivable mistake was made. The book was not presented to the General Assembly. It was not issued on episcopal authority. It was imposed on Scotland by a Royal Proclamation issuing from the Secret Council. From Charles's letter it is obvious that he regarded the book as already having ecclesiastical authority. His Proclamation was intended to give it legal force (*Documents in Baillie*, i. 440). But the Scottish Bishops hid behind the King, and the Scottish nobles, like Traquair, were anxious to secure the royal favour while they damned the Bishops in the eyes of their countrymen. Both Spalding (*Memorialls*, p. 78) and Guthrey (*Memoirs*, 17, 20) accuse Traquair of playing a double part. Laud's letters to Strafford complain bitterly of the folly of the Scottish Bishops and the traitorous counsel of the Scottish lords. The introduction of the book was twice postponed, giving critics time to misrepresent its purport and agitators time to organize resistance. It was declared to be popish by men who conscientiously declined to buy the volume and presumably had not read it. At length, on July 23, 1637, the Dean of Edinburgh began to read the service in St. Giles, when a hubbub arose among the waiting-maids, 'who use in that toun to keep the places for the better sort', Scottish ladies disdainng prayers and only attending sermons (*Gordon, State Affairs*, i. 7). The Bishop of Edinburgh went up into the pulpit to plead for silence; stools were thrown at him, and so, as Fuller says, 'the same book [might have] occasioned his death and prescribed the form of his burial' (*Ch. Hist.*, Bk. xi, ch. 17). Jenny Geddes is indeed an apochryphal heroine, and Woodrow (*Analecta*, i. 64) reports that the waiting-maids were prentices disguised. This is hardly likely, for, as Gardiner remarks, prentices would not have missed their mark (*Hist.* viii. 316). The riot began with 'the devouter sex', but it was preconcerted, and immediately spread throughout the town. The Bishops went in peril of their lives, the Secret Council moved from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, and in October Traquair informed Charles that it would take an army of 40,000 men to enforce compliance with the Liturgy (*D.N.B.*, Traquair). The book was itself good; but one much worse, composed in Scotland, would have better served the cause of episcopacy. The Proclamation cannot be defended, and most will sympathize with the *Supplication* of Alexander Henderson, especially when he

says: 'The Kirk of Scotland is ane free and independent Kirk, and their pastours should be most able to discern and direct, what doth best beseame our measure of Reformation, and what may serve most for the good of the people' (Baillie, i. 449).

169. **Scottish Troubles.** Hobbes (*Leviathan*, ch. xix) thought that, if James I had only succeeded in uniting his two kingdoms, there would have been no Civil War. This may be true; but Hobbes did not understand the force of Scottish sentiment. Charles, by his ecclesiastical policy, was hoping to create a bond between his peoples, and Scottish opposition was largely due to a fear of being Anglicized. After the riots of 1637, *The Tables* (a committee of sixteen, sitting at four tables, representing the four estates) were established and practically assumed the government. They loudly proclaimed their loyalty and their determination to have their own way (Gordon, *State Affairs*, 172). The Covenant was first signed on the flat tombstones of Greyfriars Churchyard at Edinburgh, March 2, 1638. It was then dispersed throughout the country, and where it was not received with enthusiasm, compulsion was applied (Hill-Burton, vi. 205). Hamilton was sent by Charles to attempt a pacification. The Canons and Liturgy were not to be pressed, and other grievances were to be referred to Parliament. But a packed Assembly was allowed to meet at Glasgow in November 1638, with Hamilton as the King's Commissioner. He had been instructed to gain time until the King was ready to intervene (Burnet, *Mem. of Ham.* 55, 56); but he failed and prorogued the Assembly. It continued to sit, declared episcopacy abolished, and excommunicated the Bishops. The Covenanters meantime had brought Alexander Leslie from Sweden, levied taxes, raised men, purchased ammunition in Amsterdam, and complained that Charles was interfering with their freedom of trade, when he tried to intercept their supplies (Hill-Burton, *Hist.* vi. 220).

The warlike operations North and South must be treated separately. First the Covenanters had to deal with the prelatial city of Aberdeen, backed by the power of the Gordons. Alexander Henderson and two other ministers attempted conversion, but the six Doctors of the University were too strong for them in argument (Lang, *Hist.* iii. 55; Hill-Burton, vi. 234-5) Montrose at the head of 6,000 men proved more convincing; and, by an act of treachery, Huntly, 'the Cock of the North', and his son Lord Gordon were secured. But as soon as Montrose had retired, Lord Aboyne, Huntly's second son, aged 18, put the Covenanters to flight at the battle, known as the Trot of Turriff, where

three men were killed and the rest ran. Then that enterprising schoolboy, Lord Ludovic Gordon, ran away from his grandmother; and was soon at the head of 1,000 Highlanders, plundering the Keiths and Frasers. Montrose and his Blue Bonnets returned, the Highlanders dispersed, and the dogs were massacred in Aberdeen because in derision they had been adorned with Montrose's blue ribbons (Spalding, *Memorials*, i. 195). Shortly afterwards Montrose retreated, having heard correctly that Charles had ordered Aboyne to be reinforced with 2,000 men; but Hamilton, rather than help the Gordons, sent the men to England. Nevertheless the Cavaliers moved rapidly south until Montrose turned on them. At the first discharge of his cannon, the Highlanders broke and the whole force melted away. Montrose then seized the Bridge of Dee, and a few days later entered Aberdeen to hear of the Pacification of Berwick. In all these warlike excursions there had been much thieving, but not a dozen men were slain.

In the South the insurgent Covenanters did not wait to be attacked. By April 1639 they had surprised or taken the castles of Edinburgh, Dumbarton, and Dalkeith. Charles had summoned a feudal levy to meet him at York, and the response in men and equipment was deficient. Burnet (*Mem. of Ham.*, p. 113) tells us of the plans for overwhelming the Scots; Sir Edmund Verney of the actual state of the army. 'Our men are very raw, our arms of all sorts nought, our victual scarce, and provision for horses worse; and now you may judge what case we are in; and all for want of money to help us till we may be better men, or to bring more to us' (*C.S. Letters*, p. 232). A little later he writes: 'The truth is we are betrayed in all our intelligence' (*ibid.* 243). The traitor was Will Murray, whom Charles loved, and the Scottish Gentlemen of the Bedchamber (*vide* refs. in Gardiner, *Hist.* ix. 8). Arundel, the Lord General, was only a splendid figurehead; Holland, commanding the cavalry, was a carpet knight; and Essex, the one capable soldier, was not supported when he seized Newcastle. The country was apathetic. They called it the Bishops' War, and were averse from spending either blood or treasure on a parson's row in which they were uninterested (*vide* Aston, *Iter. Boreale* quoted by Gardiner, ix. 13). Opposed to this army without enthusiasm and without supplies was a compact body, full of zeal, commanded by a veteran, posted in a well-nigh impregnable position, and living luxuriously at free quarters on the rich lands of non-covenanting nobles (Baillie, *Letters, &c.*, i. 213). Only once, however, at Kelso, did the English come in touch with the Scots; and then Holland

retreated without fighting and without being pursued. There is no truth in Baillie's description (*Letters, &c.*, i. 210) of 'Cavaliers whose right arms was not less weary in whipping, than their heels in jading their horses'. Holland was probably acting on orders not to fight unless attacked. Bramston (*Autobiography*, p. 72) interprets correctly the King's mistaken policy when he speaks of 'His Majesty having not intent to fight them, but to draw the Scots by terror of soe great an army to doe him reason'. The Scots also did not want to fight. They knew the apathy of England, and how a victory on their part might wake the country up. A royal page visiting the Scottish camp made the Conference of Berwick possible. The Covenanters did most of the talking. They found the King 'very sober, meek and patient to hear all. . . . One of the most just, reasonable and sweet persons they had ever met' (Baillie, *Letters*, i. 217); but they also found him more than a match for themselves in dialectics. On June 18 the Pacification was signed. The Scots were to disband, to break up the Tables and all unlawful Committees, and to return the Royal Castles to the King's officers. The King was to disband his Army; ecclesiastical differences were to be settled by Assemblies, civil grievances by Parliament (Gardiner, *Hist.* ix. 39, 40). Charles dismissed his army, but the Scots did not fulfil their conditions. Moreover, they published an *ex parte* account of the deliberations, which the English Representatives declared to be false, and Charles had it burnt by the common hangman. Then 'the pulpits spoke it out very loudly that the King had caused burn all the articles of the Pacification of Berwick' (Gordon, *State Affairs*, iii. 31). Ludlow (*Memoirs*, 4) makes the same false statement. Finally, ere the new campaign began, Charles published a Large Declaration as to Scotch Affairs in a small folio printed by Robert Young. This must not be confused with the short declaration published in *Bibliotheca Regia*, 173 ff. It is a careful narrative and well documented. It shows up the arrogance of the Covenanters and the forbearance of their sovereign. It was hard to answer, and the Scots demanded the head of the reputed author, Balcanquhall, Dean of Durham. In publishing this volume Charles despaired of peace, and appealed for support to his English subjects. It was necessary because Clarendon (*Rebellion*, ii. 18) tells us that the English knew more of Poland and Germany than they did of the sister kingdom.

OXFORD AND A FIVE DAYS' TOUR

1639: [14th *January*. I came back to Oxford, after my tedious indisposition, and to the infinite loss of my time, and now] I began to look on the rudiments of musick, in which I afterwards arriv'd to some formal knowledge, though to small perfection of hand, becaus I was so frequently diverted by inclinations to newer trifles.

May 20th. Accompany'd with one M^r Jo. Crafford, (who afterwards being my fellow traveller in Italy there chang'd his religion) I tooke a journey of pleasure to see y^e Summersetshire Bathes, Bristoll, Cirencester, Malmesbury, Abington, and divers other townes of lesser note, and returned the 25th.

[8th *October*. I went back to Oxford.

14th *December*. According to injunctions from the Heads of Colleges, I went (amongst the rest) to the Confirmation in St. Mary's, where, after sermon, the Bishop of Oxford laid his hands upon us, with the usual form of benediction prescribed: but this, received (I fear) for the more part out of curiosity, rather than with that due preparation and advice which had been requisite, could not have been so effectual as otherwise that admirable and useful institution might have been, and as I have since deplored it.]

Jan. 21st 1640. Came my Bro. Richard from schole to be my Chamber-fellow at the University. He was admitted the next day, and matriculated the 31st.

§ ix. NOTES

170. **Music.** The teaching of Music was part of the ordinary school education, so that Howes, in his continuation of Stow's *Annals* (quoted *Ch. Q. Rev.*, vol. 87, p. 90), notes the fact that it was not taught at St. Peter's, Cornhill. Sir James White-

lock (*Liber Famelicus*, 1609) says that when he went to Merchant Taylors', Mulcaster's 'first care was . . . to encrease my skill in musique'. But Shirley (*Hyde Park*, iv. 3) no doubt expresses the popular judgement on this accomplishment :

' Does any tune become
A gentleman so well as a ballad? Hang
Curiosity in music; leave those crotchets
To men who get their living with a song.'

Peacham (*Compleat Gentleman*, 98-100) is a little more favourable: 'I desire not that any Noble or Gentleman (save at his private recreation and leisureable hours) prove a Master in the same [Music], or neglect his more weighty employments, though I avouch it a skill worthy the knowledge and exercise of the greatest Prince. . . . I desire no more in you than to sing your part sure, and at the first sight withall, to play the same upon your Violl, or the exercise of the Lute, privately to yourself.' Owen Feltham (*Resolves*, 122) tells us, 'It hath been counted ill for Great Ones to sing or play like an Arted Musician'. Obadiah Walker (*Of Education*, 111) is very discouraging: 'Music, I think, not worth a gentleman's labour, requiring much industry and time to learn, and little to lose it. It is used chiefly to please others, who may receive the same gusts from a mercenary (to the perfection of many of whom few gentlemen arrive) at a very easy rate. I should rather advise *Singing*, especially if you fear him subject to a consumption; which, besides that it strengthens the lungs, modulates the voice, gives a great grace to elocution, and needs no instrument to remove or tune.' These quotations, however, unfairly represent the seventeenth century, when musical virtuosi abounded, and chamber music was at its best. The poet Quarles, when a Templar, sold 'his Inn-of-Court gowne' to pay for a lute-case (*Anecdotes and Traditions*, C.S. p. 48).

171. **Formal Knowledge.** Evelyn may mean that he learnt the rules of musical composition, or only how certain instruments were to be played. He did not practice enough for proficiency. The *N.E.D.* does not quote the words, and under none of its headings can the phrase be placed. Evelyn's experience, however, may be illustrated by that of 'the renowned Dr. Preston', who entered King's College, Cambridge, in 1604 and 'applied himself to the genius of the College, & that was musique; and finding that the theory was shorte and soon atteyned, he made account that ye practice would

also be so; and according adventured upon the Lute, the hardest instrument; but heere he found though theory was shorte, art was longe; and so [was] unwilling to attend it' (Ball's *Life of Preston*, p. 5).

172. **Mr. Jo. Crafford** was the fourth son of Edward Craford, a wealthy squire of Gt. Mongham in Kent. As his elder brother was only six in 1619 (*Heralds Visit.*) he cannot have been much Evelyn's senior. His great-aunt, Milicent, had married a Vincent of Wotton, a family with which the Evelyn's were connected (note 17). The principal seat of the Vincents was at Fetcham near Wotton. The pedigree of the Crafords is in Hasted (*Hist. of Kent*, vol. iv).

173. **Five days' tour.** The young men covered a good deal of ground, no doubt with post-horses. Bath and Bristol will be described later.

174. **Cirencester** in Gloucestershire was the Corinium of the Romans and a great place; 'the ruinate wals do plainly show that it was; for by their report they took up two miles in compass' (Camden, *Britannia*, 366.) Richard I and Henry IV were the great benefactors of the town. The ancient church has a tower, 132 feet high, containing twelve bells, and its five chapels still retained their famous glass in 1639. The altar, in spite of Laud, was not railed in, and as late as 1785 men used the pews near it when receiving the Blessed Sacrament (*G.M.L. Topog.* iv. 251). The town was prosperous, the famous Gloucestershire wool supplying the clothiers.

175. **Malmesbury** in Wiltshire is situated on an eminence above the Lower Avon, and its earlier history is connected with the monastery founded by St. Aldhelm, to which William the Chronicler belonged. Its first Charter was granted by Edward the Elder, and it had recently received a new one from Charles I (*Encycl. Brit.*). In 1639 it was still a prosperous town of clothiers; and Evelyn visited it on the eve of the Great Fair (May 25), at which, says Camden (*Britannia*, 242), 'there is a band of armed men appointed to keep the peace among so many strangers resorting thither'. During the Civil War it was twice captured by the Rebels and once by the Royalists. In 1643 the town, though Puritan, petitioned against the exactions of the Roundhead soldiers and their officers 'who have not only notoriously deceived the State by filling up their musters with hired men, but have also rather applied themselves to excessive drinckinge, p'phane swearing, and vicious and riotous livinge, then to exercise the duty of their places'. (The petition is in *G.M.L. Topog.* xiii. 288.) The town never recovered from the war, so that when Anthony

à Wood visited it in 1678, he found it 'poore and ragged' (*Life and Times*, ii. 410). At the dissolution of the Monastery, a part of the great Abbey Church had been purchased for the town by Thomas Stumpes, a wealthy clothier; and Cranmer's licence for converting it into a parish church is dated August 30, 1541 (Aubrey and Jackson, *Topog.*, Coll. for Wilts., 262). 'I found', says Wood (op. cit.), 'the body of the Church onlie standing, and that scarce to, for if I am not mistaken part of the west end hath been pulled downe. As for the long choire and north and south isles, with the most larg and statelie tower in the middle, were as I conceive demolished at the dissolution tempore Henr. VIII.' Leland, however, in his *Itinerary* (i. 131), states that the central tower had fallen at an earlier date. Wood goes on: 'When I entered into the Church, I had a strang veneration came upon me to see the ruins of such a majestick and gigantick pile, with windowes over windowes and walkes over walks in the walls, statelie pillars, curious carved work everywhere.' He was shown the tomb of Athelstan which had been damaged by the Rebels, and was evidently not the sixteenth-century carved canopy which is now pointed out as the tomb. The other interesting sight seen by Evelyn was the Cross in the market-place, with its nine pillars and eight open arches. This, says Leyland, was constructed 'in hominum memoria', i. e. probably in the reign of Henry VII.

176. Abingdon was then the chief town in Berkshire, its bridge, built by Henry V in 1416, having made it a place of traffic. Camden says (*Britannia*, 280), 'it maketh great gaine by that steeped barley, spouting and chitting againe, which the Greekes terme *Byne*, and wee *Malt*'. The Cross in the market-place, raised by that Brotherhood of St. Cross which Henry VI founded, and the remains of the Abbey were the principal sights. Anthony à Wood, in 1662, says of himself, 'He there saw the ruins of the most antient and stately abbey that once stood there; but those ruins are since gone to ruin. A great scandal it is that that most noble structure, should now have little or no memory of it left' (*Life and Times*, i. 455). Evelyn may also have been interested in Tisdall's Grammar School, because of the Tisdal money which nearly came to Balliol, and did instead found Pembroke College (Maclean, *Hist. of Pemb.* 167, &c.).

177. Confirmation, from the time of Peter Lombard reckoned as one of the Seven Sacraments, was in the mediaeval Church usually conferred on children under seven; though in days when Bishops were few and often away from their dioceses,

many had to wait long or were never confirmed at all. The rubric of the 1552 Prayer Book orders: 'None shall be admitted to the Holy Communion until such time as he can say the Catechism and be confirmed.' The words 'can say the catechism' were struck out in 1661, and Sancroft is responsible for the saving clause, 'or be ready and desirous to be confirmed'. He and Cosin both wished to make matrimony also conditional on confirmation (Parker, *Introd. to the Revisions of C.P.B.* cclxxvi). But notwithstanding the rubrics, practice was slack. Evelyn, for instance, had been for some time a communicant. So Jeremy Taylor (*Works*, v. 664) writes: 'If Confirmation have been omitted (as of late years it hath been too much), as we do in baptism, so in this also, it may be taken at any age, even after they have received the Lord's Supper . . . but the sooner the better.' The Bishops were becoming more insistent, and their critics asked, 'if Bishops confirme little children and old people, perhaps they will never be at leasure' (*Verney Memoirs*, i. 205). Baxter, in 1658 (*Confirmation and Restauration*, 94, 95), writes: 'Papists shall have no cause to say that we needlessly or erroneously do deny either the name of Confirmation, or the true use and end of it, or the notional title of a Sacrament to it in a large (yet not the largest) sense. We affect not to fly further from them than we needs must, much less to fly from the ancient practice of the Universal Church.' The same author urges that the clergy ought to keep a register of those confirmed (*ibid.* 147). Robert South (*Sermons*, iii. 90), after the Restoration, not only pleads for proper instruction, but for greater frequency: 'There should be episcopal visitations more than once in three years, if it were only for the sake of confirmations; especially as the judges of the land think it not too much for them to go two circuits a year.' Croft, Bishop of Hereford (*Naked Truth*, 102), also found triennial visitations stood in the way of a pious child who 'reverently desires it before his death'; but it never occurred to him that he might confirm more frequently, so he suggests that Rural Deans might be empowered to confirm. In William III's injunctions of 1694 (Cardwell, *Doc. Annals*, ii. 382) it is laid down 'that the Bishops be careful to confirm, not only in their triennial visitations, but at other seasons'. 'The children that are to be confirmed', says Sparrow (*Rationale*, 246), are to be brought to the Bishop, by one that shall be their Godfather, who may witness their Confirmation. The Godfather may be the same that was at Baptism, but in most places the custom is to have another.' In Mrs. Thornton's

Autobiography (217) we read 'My Lady Yorke . . . desires . . . now she is at Yorke, to have her god-daughter confirmed by the Bishop, it being her duty to present her to him, and she had bin confirmed herself'. Nicholas Ferrar (*His Household and Friends*, p. 9) was confirmed at six years old and contrived to present himself twice to the Bishop during the ceremony, explaining afterwards: 'I did it because it is a good thing to have the Bishop's prayers and blessing twice; and I have got it.' John Wesley was a communicant and probably confirmed at eight (Tyerman, *John Wesley*, i. 19), but Bishop Croft (*Naked Truth*, 102) was scandalized by 'the pittiful creatures' curates presented 'desiring to please the .fond Mother', when they 'cannot without a miracle, be of a capacity to understand those Divine Mysteries'. Bishop Cosin, who speaks of 'this holy Sacrament' (*Works*, v. 142), thinks 'that they should not be confirmed so young as they used to be, but when they are of perfect age, and ready to be admitted to the Holy Communion, which is between fourteen and sixteen years of age' (ibid. 488, cf. 144). Jeremy Taylor (op. cit.) preferred an earlier age, 'when reason begins to dawn'; but he adds, care must be taken 'that the parents and god-parents, ministers and masters, see that the children be catechized, and well instructed in the fundamentals of their religion'. George Herbert (*Country Parson*, ch. xxii), writing of the Blessed Sacrament which succeeds confirmation, says: 'the time of 'every one's first receiving is not so much by years as by understanding: when any one can distinguish the Sacramentall from 'common bread, knowing the Institution and the difference, he 'ought to receive, of what age soever. Children and youths 'are usually deferred too long, under pretence of devotion to 'the Sacrament, but it is for want of Instruction; their understanding being ripe enough for ill things, and why not then for 'better.'

178. **The Bishop of Oxford.** John Bancroft (1574-1640) was a nephew of the Archbishop of the same name. He was educated at Westminster and Christ Church, Oxford. As senior student he was the tutor of Robert Burton, author of *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. He became Bishop of Oxford in 1632 and built the palace at Cuddesdon 'in a good air, good prospect, good soil, both for profit and pleasure not so easy to be matched' (*Anatomy*, II. ii. 3). 'He was a good steward of Church property rather than a great ecclesiastic' (*D.N.B.*); but he hardly merits Prynne's condemnation as 'a corrupt unpreaching Popish Prelate' (*Canterbury's Doom*, 353).

179. **Chamber Fellow.** In some Colleges, a Gentleman Commoner had a room to himself, but this was apparently not the case at Balliol. Even a rich young man like Amoretto (*Return from Parnassus*, ii. 6) could remember 'when I was 'at Cambridge and lay in a trundle bed under my tutor'. Often four, as at New College (*Statutes*, p. 88), or even more, shared one apartment. The larger room was then the bedroom, the little rooms the studies (Wakeling's *B.N.C. Quatro-cent: Monographs*, vol. ii). Movable partitions were also erected as studies (Willis and Clark, *Cambridge*, iii. 296).

180. **Richard Evelyn at Oxford.** He matriculated January 31, 16 $\frac{39}{40}$. He was probably only in residence until May, for he was admitted to the Middle Temple in 1640, and is probably the brother who shared chambers with John in Essex Court. It is hard to believe that George, the bridegroom of a fortnight, would be setting up bachelor quarters.

THE MIDDLE TEMPLE

April 11th. I went to London to see the solemnity of his Ma^{ties} riding through the City in state to the Short Parliament, which began the 13th following, a very glorious and magnificent sight, the King circled with his royal diademe and the affections of his people [: but the day after I returned to Wotton again, where I stayed, my father's indisposition suffering great intervals, till] *April 27*¹ [when I was sent] to London to be² resident in the Middle Temple.³ My being at the University in regard of these avocations was of very small benefit to me.

⁴ *May 5th* was the Parliament unhappily dissolved.⁵

May 20th. I return'd with my Bro. George to Wotton, who on the 28th of the same month was married at Aldbury to Mrs. Caldwell (an heiress of ancient Leicestershire family), [where part of the nuptials were celebrated.]

June 10th. I repaired with my brother to the Tearme, to go into our new lodgings (that were formerly in Essex Court,) being a very handsome apartment just over against the Hall-Court, but four payre of stayres high, w^{ch} gave us the advantage of the fairer prospect, but did not much contribute to the love of that impolish'd study, to which (I suppose) my Father had design'd me, when he paid £145 to purchase our present lives and assignments after.

London, and especially the Court, were at this period in frequent disorders, and greate insolencies⁶ were com'itted by the abus'd and too happy City: in partiular the Bish. of Canterbury's Palace at Lambeth was assaulted by a rude rabble from Southwark; my Lord Chamberlain imprison'd; and many scandalous libells and invectives scatter'd about the streetes, to y^e reproch of Government and the fermentation of

¹ I went to London. ² first resident. ³ So as my being. ⁴ Upon May 5th following. ⁵ and on the 20th I returned. ⁶ insolences.

our since distractions[: so that upon the 25th of June, I was sent for to Wotton, and the 27th after], My Father's indisposition augmenting, by advice of the physitions he repaired to the Bathe.

§ x. NOTES

181. **The Short Parliament** met on April 13, and not on April 11. The King was at the end of his resources, and Strafford advised the summoning of Parliament. Those elected were for the most part moderate men (Clarendon, *Rebellion*, ii. 79; Warwick, *Memoirs*, 159). Strafford persuaded the House of Lords to suggest that the Commons should vote supplies before considering grievances; but the Commons resented what seemed an interference with their right to introduce money bills. Strafford also advised that the Ship-money judgement should be sent to the House of Lords, where it was certain to be reversed. This would have saved the King's face, established his desire for legality, and done away with all excuse for delaying supplies. Strafford counselled him to be content with eight subsidies. Charles, however, listened to Vane, maintained his right to Ship-money, but offered to abandon it for twelve subsidies. The sum only came to £840,000, and was to be spread over three years, but many 'affirmed it to be more than the whole stock of money in the country' (Clarendon, *Rebellion*, ii, § 71). Those, however, who denied the King's right to Ship-money could scarcely bargain on these terms. Hampden 'the most popular man in the house' (ibid.), saw his opportunity and asked for a straight vote on the King's proposal. Hyde diplomatically proposed that the House should first decide whether it would vote supplies, and then discuss the amount and the conditions. Vane, however, claiming to speak with authority, said the King would not abate his terms. This was to play directly into Hampden's hands. The House adjourned. Strafford, Northumberland, and Holland tried to avert a dissolution, but Charles listened to Vane's assurance that 'the Commons would not give him a penny'. The King had doubtless other reasons. He knew his Scottish subjects were in treasonable correspondence with France, and he also knew that Pym and his friends were in touch with the Scottish commissioners. As a matter of fact Pym meant to raise questions in Parliament with the intent of dividing England, which would have been fatal in

face of the Scottish menace. In consequence, Charles dissolved Parliament on May 5 (cf. Gardiner's account, *Hist.* ix. 84-118).

182. **Parliamentary hours.** 'The House met always at eight of the clock, and rose at twelve; which were the old parliament hours; that the committees upon whom the greatest burden of business lay, might have the afternoon for their preparation and despatch' (Clarendon, *Rebellion*, ii. 67).

183. **Intervals.** Although the *N.E.D.* finds the word in *Cursor Mundi* and Chaucer, it was not in common use before the end of the seventeenth century. It is found in Cotgrave, but not in Florio or Minshew. Originally the space between ramparts or palisades, it came to be used for *intervals* in time. Tyrwhyt (Trans. of *Balzac's Letters*, i. 70) uses the word for the good days of a tertian fever, Evelyn apparently for the days of attack.

184. **The Undergraduate become Templar.** Earle (*Micro-cosmographie*, 45) ends his description of 'a mere young Gentleman of the University' by saying, 'hee is now gone to the Inns of Court, where he studies to forget what he learned before, his acquaintance and the fashion'. Sir Thomas Overbury (*Works*, 103) adds, the Templar 'is distinguished from the schollar by a paire of silke stockings and a beaver hat, which makes him contemn a schollar as much as a schollar doth a schoolemaster. By that he hath heard one mooting, and seene two playes, he thinks as basely of the University, as a young sophister doth of the grammar-schoole.' Howell (*Introd. to Forreine Travel*, 79) hopes 'he may learn enough to preserve his own, for, for want of some experience herein [in the Law] many have mightily suffered in their estates, and made themselves a prey to their solicitors and agents, nor indeed is he capable to bear any office in town or country, who is utterly unacquainted with *John an Okes* and *John an Stiles*, and with the terms'. They were not all industrious. As Francis Lenton (*Young Gallants' Whirligig*) writes':

'—he reads not *Littleton*

But *Don Quixot*, or els the *Knight of the Sun*:

. . . Instead of *Perkins* peddler's French, he sayes

He better loves Ben Jonson's book of Playes:

. Stead of *Coke's Reports*,

Hee's fencing, dauncing, or at other Sports.'

On the other hand the tradition of Plowden and Coke was not dead. Plowden was so industrious that for three years he is said not to have left the Temple (*D.N.B.*). Coke as a stu-

dent spent his whole day in Court or in study (Walford, *Old and New London*, i. 178). Sir Matthew Hale at one time used to read for sixteen hours each day, but in later life recommended six (Burnet, *Life of Hale*, p. 11; cf. Jebb's foot-note). Roger North gives a detailed account of his brother's studies and Common Place Books (*Lives of the Norths*, i. 18-23). The industrious student not only read hard, but attended Boltings and Mootings, and became a pupil to some Utter barrister in good practice. So Sir Peter Frecheville wrote to Sir William Wentworth about 'Law Toil, wherein my Experience hath taught me that little progress can be expected without much conference' (*Strafford Letters*, i. 1).

185. **Albury** is a village five miles east of Guildford and seven miles west of Dorking. It is separated from Wotton by the parishes of Abinger and Shere. The Tillingbourne stream runs through it, and in Evelyn's day the old village surrounded a common, which was enclosed in Albury Park (i, § 36) by Mr. Drummond in 1842. In 1640 a great part of this parish was owned by George Duncombe, who bought the estate in 1611, and it remained in his family until 1724. He lived at Weston House, named after the old Lords of the Manor, and from it George Evelyn was married. The splendid staircase of Spanish mahogany is now in the County Club at Guildford, and the present Weston House is an altogether different building on a different site. William Oughtred (iv, § 3) was Rector at this time, and no doubt performed the ceremony (*V.C.H., Surrey*, iii. 72-44).

186. **Mary Caldwell and her family.** Mary (1624-44) was the daughter of Daniel Caldwell (1593-1634) of Horndon on the Hill, Essex, by his second wife, Mary Duncombe of Albury. She was co-heiress with her three half-sisters, who were daughters of Daniel by his third wife. Having lost her mother as a baby, she was probably brought up by her grandparents (Howard, *Misc. Gen. et Her.*, 2nd Series, iii. 104-6). Her father was born in London and baptized at St. Michael's, Cornhill. His father Laurence was a Vintner with a seat at Battersea, his uncle Florence was a haberdasher, and his uncle William a grocer. They had all flourished in the City, and were cadets of the Caldwells of Rolleston in Staffordshire, to which parish they all left money in their wills (*ibid.*). Daniel must have been a rich man, and had bought a considerable estate in Essex. He was a friend of Howell, who writes, 1619: 'Our first ligue of Love, you know, was contracted among the Muses of Oxford; for no sooner was I matriculated to her, but I was adopted to you; I became her son and your

friend at one time. You know, I followed you to London, where our Love received confirmation in the Temple and elsewhere' (*Letters*, I, Sect. i, Ep. 6). There are several letters to him at Battersea, and in 1627, when Mary was there, he sends 'a thousand thanks for the plentiful Hospitality and Jovial farewell you gave me at your house in Essex' (*ibid.* I. Sect. v, Ep. 1). The Staffordshire Caldwells bore the same arms and crest as the Caldwells of Leicestershire (cf. *Herald's Vis., Leicestershire, Staffordshire and Essex, Harl. Soc.*), and so were no doubt descended from the same stock, but it is more probable that George Evelyn and his bride proceeded to Horndon, of which she was heiress, than to any remote relations in Leicestershire.

187. **Weddings.** In the seventeenth century the Bride went to Church attended by the Groomsman or by 'two sweet boys', while the Bridegroom was followed by the Bridesmaids 'carrying bridecakes and garlands of wheat finely gilded' (Brand, *Antiquities*, 363). Among the guests were distributed scarves, gloves, ribbands, and bunches of rosemary dipped in sweet waters, and tied with bride laces (*ibid.* 366-72). Rushes were strewn on the way to Church (*ibid.* 363); and, at the Porch, wheat and not rice was showered on the happy couple (*ibid.* 365). The wedding-ring was placed on the fourth finger, because thence 'the master vein shoots to the heart' (Middleton, *A chaste maid in Cheapside*, iii, sc. 1), but it was customary up to the beginning of the eighteenth century to wear the wedding-ring on the thumb (*Hudibras*, Pt. III, c. ii, 306; cf. *British Apollo*, i. 270; *Spectator*, No. 614). After the ceremony the bride and bridegroom pledged one another in wine before the Altar, and hippocras and cakes were handed to the guests (Brand, 377). On the return home there was music, feasting, and dancing. Rich people had an epithalamium recited and a masque performed (Ben Johnson, *Epicene*, iii. 2). The spirit of the festivities is best preserved in Herick's *Hesperides* (*passim*) and Suckling's famous *Ballad of a Wedding*. It was no unusual thing for a marriage to be solemnized in one place and celebrated in another. So in Shirley's *Witty Fair One* (iv, sc. 2) the hero says: 'We will be married here, but keep our wedding at my house in Croydon. We will have the City waits down with us, and a noise of trumpets; we can have drums in the country and the Trainband, and then let the Spaniards come an they dare.' In Middleton's *A trick to catch the Old One* (iv, sc. 4), Howard asks: 'I would know, sweet wife, which might stand best in thy liking, to have the wedding dinner kept here or i the

country?' The answer comes—'Here you were married, here let all the rites be ended.'

188. **Essex Court Temple.** Evelyn occupied chambers in a row which overlooked the gardens of Essex House, and had an extended view of the river. On the death of the Earl of Essex, his house passed to the Duchess of Somerset, who left it to Lord Sidmouth. He sold it to Dr. Barbon, brother of Praise God Barebones, and in 1676 the Middle Temple acquired a strip of the garden, on which one side of Essex Court and Devereux Court are built. The chambers belonging to Evelyn were pulled down in 1656, and 'a very large high spacious building' took their place. It was subsequently known as 1 and 2 Essex Court. Evelyn's reference to Essex Court is probably a late insertion to identify the spot where he lived (vide Bellot: *Inner and Middle Temple, passim*, and Wheatley's *London*).

189. **Hall Court, Temple,** was between the Hall and the chambers in Essex Court and Brick Court. At a later date it is spoken of as Hall or Fountain Court (vide *Master Worsley's Book*, 257).

190. **Chambers in the Temple.** The custom then was to buy chambers for life and share them with some one else. Sir Dudley North bought Francis 'the moiety of a petit chamber' (*Lives of the Norths*, i. 17); but his brother tells us: 'After his Lordship was called to the bar, the first thing he took care for was a practising chamber, as they call those that are not above two pair of stairs high. The ground floor is not so well esteemed as one pair of stairs, but better than two.' For £300 'he bought his life in a corner chamber one pair of stairs in Elm Court. A dismal hole for the price; for it was not only dark next the court, but, on the back side, a high building of the Inner Temple stood within five or six yards of his windows' (ibid. i. 41, 42).

191. **The Impolished Study.** Barclay complains of our 'municipall and sometimes barbarous decretalls', and says that the Law must 'be hateful even to those who are most studious of it' (*Icon Animarum*, p. 189). Lady Fanshaw (*Memoirs*, 27) says that her husband 'was admitted into the Inward Temple; but it seemed so crabbed a study and disagreeable to his inclinations, that he rather studied to obey his mother than to make any progress in the Law'. Even Clarendon (*Life* i, § 9) 'could not bring himself to an industrious pursuit of the law study, but rather loved polite learning and history'. England, says Barclay (ibid. 190), 'cannot adorne her Students of the Law with the humanity of Philo-

sophy and the Roman eloquence ; because in her laws there are no tracts and footsteps of the Roman Law, or learned antiquity. They are conceived in the French tongue, even that old French which we now ayther neglect, or laugh at in ancient Authors.' When the illiterate Goldsmith in Middleton's *A chaste maid in Cheapside* (i. 1) has a Latin letter which he cannot translate, he is advised, 'Go to my cousin at Inns of Court', but replies, 'Fie! They are all for French, they speak no Latin'. Law French was a term of derision. 'It goes like Law French, And that they say is the courtliest language' says Ben Jonson in *The Alchemist* (iv. 2), punning on court and poking fun at courtiers. Sir Thomas Overbury (*Works*, 84), in his character of *A mere Common Lawyer*, says: 'Hee thinks no language worth knowing but his Barrogouin,' and *Barrogouin* is the French equivalent of our Double Dutch (*N.E.D.*). To quote Barclay (191) once more, 'It is thought enough for the learning of a Lawyer to be able to reade over these old books, and corrupt them in pronunciation'. The Latin of the Courts was as barbarous as their French was obsolete. So Strafford (*Letters*, i. 524) ends one of his letters to Laud: 'Deo gratias ; for I am now at the end of all your letters. O quantum crowda, quantum pressa, profecto fere meltavi pingue meum,—Ignoramus his own words, coming piping hot from Westminster Hall. You make no such Latin at Oxford.' The Cambridge Play *Ignoramus* makes elaborate fun of Lawyer's Latin, and Collier (*Eccles. Hist.* ii. 707) repeats the absurd story that Selden wrote his *History of Tithes* by way of revenge. Milton, describing the *Dramatis Personae* to his friend Diodate (*Elegia Prima*, 31, 32), writes :

'Sive decennali foecundus lite patronus
 . Detonat inculto bārbara verba foro.'

Cowley, in his *Practical Revenge*, tells of how, when a boy, a Templar turned him out of his seat in Court :

'Boy, get you gone ; this is no school.' 'O no ;
 'For, if it were, all you gowned men would go
 'Up for false Latin.'

'To go up' or be 'taken up' was the current schoolboy phrase for being hoisted and whipped. Some, however, would combine the crudity of the Law with the sweetness of the Muse. So Bathurst (*Warton's Life*, 170) writes to Alexander Brome, 'You can swallow the ranke phrases of our law, like so many heads of garlick, next your heart in the morning ; and before night breathe forth soft and jovial ayres, surprising the

most captivated votaries of love and wine'. A century later, Blackstone bade a long adieu to 'gliding floods', 'warbling woods', and all his 'pleasing dreams', in order that he might dedicate himself to Law:

'The toil by day, the lamp by night,
The tedious form, the solemn prate,
The pert dispute, the dull debate,
The drowsy Bench, the babbling Hall,—
For Thee, fair Justice, welcome all.'

(Quoted Walford, *Old and New London*, i. 166.)

192. **Court and City.** It was quite common for County families of good standing to apprentice their younger sons to trade, and many shop-keeping citizens were acknowledged as armigerous by the Heralds (*London Visitations*, Harl. Soc.). But the flat-cap apprentices, clad in frieze, were young, turbulent, and animated by an intense *esprit de corps*. They carried on a perpetual feud with the young men in silk and plumed hats who were, or pretended to be, courtiers, templars, or soldiers. The latter also found a distinction in being Roaring Boys (Middleton, *Roaring Girl* and *A Fair Quarrel*. The Roaring scenes in the latter play are probably by Rowley). The Balladmongers and Pamphleteers supported the City; the Playwrights sought their patrons from the Court and 'the twelpenny stool gentlemen' who sat on the stage (*Roaring Girl*, ii, sc. 1). *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, by Beaumont and Fletcher, is an amusing play, but it was badly received in London in 1615. In 1635 and 1636, it was received with approval at Court and acted before the Queen (Sir Henry Herbert, *MSS. Notes*). The feud between Court and City had originally no greater significance than a Town and Gown row at Oxford, but it gradually led to the apprentices opposing whatever was the policy of the Court in Church or State. Then Puritan preachers, astute politicians, and the paid agents of Richelieu began to inflame passions for their own purposes, and things looked ugly. In April 1640 the Privy Council addressed the Lord Mayor, complaining of 'the insolencies and disorders committed heretofore on May days'. They ordered sufficient watches to be kept, and that 'you do likewise appoint to be in readiness with powder and shot, some of the Trained Band to the number of eight hundred . . . for the preventing of any riots and tumults' (Maitland, *Hist. of London*, i. 320).

193. **The too happy City.** Trade had never been better or more secure. Captain Lewis Roberts (*The Treasure of*

Traffic, 1641, p. 86) says the customs had reached £500,000 a year, whereas in 1590 they were £14,000; but Dr. Cunningham quotes these figures with some reserve (*Eng. Industry and Commerce*, first ed. 384). In James I's day, Bishop Goodman (*Fall of Man*, p. 149, quoted Southey *C.P.B.*) says: 'If an Alderman be worth but £12,000, we pity him for a very poor man, and begin to expect and fear his estate, lest his overhasty aspiring to honour may break his back.' In 1629 (Rushworth, *Coll.* ii. 28) we are told, 'the City of London was in great splendour and full of wealth; and it was then a most glorious sight to behold the Goldsmith's shops all of one row in Cheapside'. Sir Philip Warwick (*Memoirs*, 63) says: 'Trade ran so high, that the credit and exchange of the English merchants, through every Bourse or Exchange, exceeded any nation's in Christendom, and our manufactures have increased daily; and I think I may truly say there were few good cobblers in London but had a silver beaker; so rife were silver vessels among all conditions.' D'Israeli (*Commentaries*, iii. 31) quotes *Le Mercure François*, art. *Angleterre*, 1633: 'It is pleasant to live in England, where everyone lives joyously, without other cares than those of his profession, finding that prosperity in repose, which others are compelled to seek in action.' Mr. Hallam (*Const. Hist.* ii. 81) grudgingly admits the extreme prosperity of England under Charles's personal rule. Dr. Gardiner (*Hist.* viii. 219) says: 'Like all the Stuart kings, Charles took an interest in those improvements which were likely to increase the material prosperity of the country.' He kept at peace with Spain and the Netherlands, he swept the sea of pirates, he arranged the first posts with Scotland, Plymouth, Holyhead, Paris, and Antwerp. He encouraged and protected new trades, and licensed trading corporations. Modern writers have had much to say on the iniquity of monopolies, but they injured the consumer more than the trader. Bacon (*Life and Letters*, vi. 49, cf. vii. 183), indeed, had said that monopolies 'are the canker of all trades'; and then we read Hacket's complaint of 1621 (*Life of Williams*, i. 49) of 'Cankerworms, Harpies, Projectors, who between the easiness of the Lord Marquis (Buckingham) to obtain, and the readiness of the Lord Chancellor Bacon to comply, had obtained Patent Commissions for latent knaveries'. It was the recognized way of protecting new industries, or controlling the sale of luxuries; and the State which granted the privilege had a right to some of the profits. For the State, indeed, the system was a bad one. Sir Benjamine Rudyerd was right when he said, 'Projects and monopolies are but leaking conduit

pipes' (May, *Long Parl.* 76). It was bad also because of the scandals which inevitably ensue when the State becomes a partner in trading enterprises. City men tried to get Courtiers and Ministers to further their projects; and Courtiers, like Hamilton, used their social and political influence to fill their own pockets. But there were other causes of discontent. The Privy Council was sometimes tactless, while the Corporation was exceedingly jealous of its rights. Laud quarrelled with the City for defrauding incumbents of their tithe, and Laud was right. The forfeiture of the Londonderry Charter caused more ill feeling; but the forfeiture, if not the fine, was just; and the fine was for the most part remitted. The new fashionable quarter about Drury Lane also occasioned friction. The City refused to incorporate any part of it, resented its having a corporation of its own, and was suspicious lest the inhabitants might infringe its monopolies. To conclude, the City had grievances, but was very powerful and prosperous. She made the most of her grievances and stood upon her rights. In Evelyn's phrase, she was 'too happy'; and did not know how well off she was.

194. **The attack on Lambeth** (Laud's *Works*, iii. 235-84). On May 9 a notice was posted in the Old Exchange, calling on Prentices to meet in St. George's Fields, sack Lambeth, and hunt 'William the Fox'. Lilburne is said to have posted it (Nalson, *Coll.* i. 343). The attack took place two days later, but Laud had been warned and had strengthened his house. 'I went over the water and lay at my chamber in Whitehall that night and some other following.' Woodford (*Diary, Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. 498) says he escaped disguised in a grey cloak. 'Five hundred rascal routers' assembled and rioted before the Palace for two hours, but Woodford says, 'a drum was beat up in Southwark and charge given to the Trained Band there to guard the Archbishop's house'. Many arrests were made, but a mob subsequently broke into the White Lion Prison at Southwark and rescued the prisoners. 'One young fellow', says Laud, 'had a little hurt with a dag, and was taken and executed' on May 23. He was a sailor, according to Clarendon (*Rebellion*, ii. 202), and his execution, says Ludlow (*Memoirs*, p. 5), 'served only to exasperate the rest'. Strode spoke in the House of Commons of the riot 'with much pleasure and content', and Clarendon insinuates that Pym was equally pleased (*ibid.* 203).

195. **The Lord Chamberlain imprisoned.** Here Evelyn's memory has misled him. Philip Herbert, first Earl of Montgomery and fourth Earl of Pembroke (1584-1650), was Lord

Chamberlain, but he was not imprisoned until July 1641. In 1640 he was one of the commissioners who treated with the Scots at Ripon, and persuaded Charles to accept their terms. He secured the election of many popular burgesses for the Long Parliament and voted against Strafford. In 1641 he quarrelled with Lord Maltravers during the sitting of a Committee of the House of Lords (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* x, pt. vi. 143). The House committed both disputants to the Tower, and the King dismissed Pembroke from his post as Lord Chamberlain (*D.N.B.*).

196. **Libels.** The English *Libel* has had the same sense history as the Latin *Libellus* (*N.E.D.*). It first means a little book or pamphlet, it is then extended to a handbill or announcement, and finally means a defamatory statement or lampoon. The *Libelli famosi* complained of by Tacitus (*Annals*, i. 72) and by Suetonius (*Augustus*, 55) were not unlike 'those cheap senseless libels' which Clarendon (*Rebellion*, ii. 86) tells us 'were scattered about the city, and fixed upon gates and public remarkable places'. Many are quoted in *Rous Diary* (Camden Society). The acute Selden (*Table Talk*, 67) remarked: 'Though some make light of libels, you may see by them how the wind sits. . . . More solid things do not show the Complexion of the times so well as Ballads and Libels.' The Queen and Queen Mother of France were alike unpopular in the city. The king was reminded of the fate of Edward II, Richard II, and Henry VI (*Harl. Misc.* v. 41, cf. 80, 81) by gentlemen none too well acquainted with the history of those monarchs. Strafford's intentions were violently misrepresented, but Laud was the favourite target. He writes in his *Diary* (*Works*, iii. 391): 'The faction of the Brownists and those three saints (Burton, Bastwick, and Prynne) . . . filled the Press almost daily with ballads and libels, full of all manner of scurrility, and mere untruth, both against my person and my calling.' It was the Church those Puritans hated. In *Vox Populi in plain English* (Rushworth, *Coll.* ii. 807) we read:

'These fat-bellied priests that have livings great store,
'If Bishops go down they shall never have more;
'The journeymen-readers likewise are afraid,
'That they must be forced to give over their trade,
'And wear leathern garments instead of black cloth,
'Which makes them love Bishops and lukewarm broth.'

By *lukewarm broth* the Puritans intended the Book of Common Prayer. They also called it 'a dry morcell, cold

meate, nay popish superstition' (Mrs. Thornton, *Autobiography*, 218).

197. **The Bath.** It was customary in the seventeenth century to speak of The Bath and not Bath, vide *Lismore Papers*, 1st Series, v. 101; Lady Fanshaw, *Memoirs*, 82, &c.; Wood's *Life and Times*, i. 456. For descriptive notes on Bath vide vol. iv, § 8.

198. **The Cure at Bath.** The City, apart from legend, dates from the first century, when the Romans founded it as *Aquae Solis*. Fuller (*Worthies, Somerset*) says the place 'is well known all England and Europe over'; but Baccio, the physician of Sixtus V, is the first foreigner to mention it (*De Thumis*, 1570, iv. 13), and he was indebted for his knowledge to Sir Edward Carne, Elizabeth's ambassador. William Turner (d. 1568), the Reformer and herbalist, had not even heard of the springs until he returned from Germany in 1547, and was not able to test their virtues until he became Dean of Wells in 1550. In his *Book of Bath* (Cologne, 1562) he complains, 'I have not heard that any rich man hath spent upon those noble bathes one grote these twenty years' (quoted, Warner, *Hist. of Bath*, 318). Traditionally, the springs were due to the magic of King Bladud, and John Jones, in *Bathes of Bathes Ayde*, provides that monarch with a pedigree back to Adam (*Harl. Misc.* ii. 322). Camden (*Britannia*, p. 234), after quoting Pliny on British magic, says, 'Yet dare I not ascribe these Bathes to any art magicall'. Drayton sings:

'Wise Bladud of the kings, that great Philosopher
Who found our boiling Baths.'

(*Polyolbion*, viii. 62.)

But he attributes no merit to the King but discovery. Science was ousting fable, and in 1628 Dr. Thomas (or Tobie) Venner published '*The Bathes of Bathe*' (*Harl. Misc.* ii. 311 ff.), and in 1631 Dr. Jorden published his *Discourse of Natural Baths and Mineral Waters*, a work praised by Howell (*Letters*, I, Sect. vi, Ep. 35) and by Guidott (*A Letter concerning Bath*, *Harl. Misc.* ii. 322). There were four principal baths—The King's, Queen's, Cross, and Hot, each with a different temperature and recommended for a different disease. Men and women sat in the baths apart, they put on linen garments before entering the water, and were accompanied by guides (Camden). As the Baths were not roofed-in, the season was short (Fuller), and I find in consequence that most visitors were there in August, and a doctor is described by Wood (*Athenae*, iv. 123) as 'a summer-practitioner of physic at Bath'.

Dr. Venner, however, was ready to prove that all seasons were favourable, if only the patients had a qualified physician (*Harl. Misc.* ii. 314). He insists on a man 'not relying wholly on the use of the water for his cure, as many ignorantly, and some basely do, to save their purse'. Neither should they bring their physic with them, 'for they require the help of a present physician' (p. 313). They should be in no hurry to depart, and above all they should beware of 'the empirick or upstart apothecary'. Such people ought 'to be utterly prohibited to practise in the city' (315). One such, Ostendorpfe, a Dutchman with a degree from Leyden, sought incorporation at Oxford; but Laud (*Works*, v. 256) wrote to the Vice-chancellor, 'the man is evidently an illdeserver . . . an empirick or worse . . . and his practice hath been dangerous'. Richard Evelyn was suffering apparently from an intermittent fever, and Dr. Venner would not have allowed him to bathe, for in such cases the Bath 'distempereth and consumeth the very habit of the body and maketh it carrion-like lean' (p. 313). But besides the Baths there were the Pumps. So in 1638 Howell writes to Sir Kenelm Digby how 'I am here for a distillation of Rheum, that pains me in one of my arms' and have 'had about 3,000 strokes of a pump upon me in the Queen's Bath'. Similarly in 1676 Anthony à Wood writes (*Life and Times*, ii. 350), 'I received at the drie pump in the King's Bath nine thousand two hundred and odd pumps on my head in about a fortnight's time, but I found no present remedy'. He adds, 'My journey, horses, and servant cost me 14 or 15 pound'. Sir Edmund and Ralph Verney were at Bath with Richard Evelyn, for Lady Sussex wrote to Ralph on August 27, 1540 (*Memoirs*, i. 157), 'I longe much to hear what your good father is lyke to finde by the bath; for yourself, i presume will, by getting an acquaintance with many fare ladyes, and much jholity will be amonst you, but i pray siffility do him no hort now, but doo you undertake all things of compyny, but have a care of your health to, for i have hard the bath is a very aguies (agueish) ill are (air), therefore i pray be not out of your loginge to late of night'. This was not their first visit. Five years before, in August, Sir Edmund (*Memoirs*, i. 78) had written to his daughter-in-law that Ralph 'is every day in the bathe, I pray God it may doe him goode; for my part, I am sure, I find none in it, but since I am come here I will try the uttermost of it, that I may not be reproacht att my returne for doing things by halves; att our first coming the town was empty, butt now itt is full of very good company, and we pass our time as merrily as paine will give us leave'.

Sometimes people sought the distractions of Bath not because of aching limbs, but for an aching heart. So the Earl of Cork (*Lismore Papers*, I, Series v, 101) writes, 'Mr. Jeames Hamylton being refused by my unruly daughter (Mary, afterwards Countess of Warwick) departed 2 September (1639) to ye Bath'.

DEATH OF RICHARD EVELYN

July 7th. My brother Geo. and I, understanding y^e perill my Father was in, upon a suddaine attaq of his infirmity, rod post from Guildford towards him, and found him extraordinary weake;¹ but on 8 Sept. I returned home with him in his litter.

October 15th. I went to the Temple, it being Michaelmas Tearme.

30th. I saw his Ma^{tie} (com'ing from his Northern Expedition) ride in pomp, and a kind of ovation, with all the markes of a happy peace, restor'd to the affections of his people, being conducted through London with a most splendid cavalcade; and on 3 Nov. following (a day never to be mention'd without a curse) to that long, ungratefull, foolish and fatall Parliament, the beginning of all our sorrows for twenty yeares after, and the period of the most happy Monarch in the world: *Quis talia fando.*

² My Father's disorder appeared to be a dropsy, an indisposition the most unexpected, being a person so exemplarily temperate, and of admirable regimen, hastened me back to Wotton, [December 12th,] where on the 24th Dec. he died, that excellent man and indulgent parent, retaineing his senses and piety to the last, which he most tenderly expressed in blessing us, whom he now left to the world and the worst of times, whilst he was taken from the evil to come.

1641. It was a sad and lugubrious beginning of y^e yeare, when on the 2^d of January we at night followed the mourning hearse to the Church at Wotton; when after a sermon and funebral³ oration by the minister, my Father was interr'd

¹ Yet so as that, continuing his course, he held out till the 8th of September, when, &c. ² But my father being by this time entered into a dropsy. ³ funeral.

neere his formerly erected monument, and mingled with the ashes of our Mother, his deare wife. Thus we were bereft of both our parents in a period when we most of all stood in need of their counsell and assistance, especially myself, of a raw, vaine, uncertaine, and very unwary inclination; but so it pleased God to make tryall of my conduct in a conjuncture of the greatest and most prodigious hazard that ever the youth of England saw: and if I did not amidst all this¹ peach my liberty, nor my vertue, with the rest who made shipwreck of both, it was more the infinite goodnesse and mercy of God then the least providence or discretion of myne own, who now thought of nothing but the pursuite of variety, and the confused imaginations of young men.

§ xi. NOTES

199. **Guildford.** For description *vide* vol. iv, § 3. The town being on the Portsmouth Road would have a Posthouse and Postmaster. The Evelyns would ride to Reading and there join the Bath Road.

200. **Posting.** In 1517 Posts with relays of horses were established on the main roads for the conveyance of government dispatches. Elizabeth and her postmaster Randolph extended the system, and Charles I allowed these posts to be used for private correspondence. In 1603 it was ordered, 'That in all places where Postes are layde for the packet, they also, as persons most fit, shall have the benefit and preheminance of letting, furnishing and appointing of horses to all riding in poste' (*Rep. of Secret Com. on Post Office* 1844, p. 39). The traveller, if on public business, paid two pence halfpenny a mile, but otherwise threepence. Sixpence had also to be given to the post boy who brought the horse back (C. Hughes in *Shakespeare's England*, i. 201, 202). As a matter of fact posting was somewhat more expensive, as may be seen from Symons's Accounts (*New Hakluyt Soc.*, vol. xvii. p. 218). By posting, men covered from 70 to 150 miles a day, changing horses every ten miles (Bates, *Touring in 1600*, 292). Robert Carey (*Memoirs*, 77, 78) must have been 'a reeking

¹ impeach.

post, Stewed in his haste, half breathless' (*Lear*, iv. 4), when he knelt at King James's bedside and saluted him 'King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland', having ridden from London to Edinburgh in three days. Post horses were only used in times of stress. The ordinary gentleman rode his own horse, and after twenty or thirty miles put up at an Inn (*vide* Brereton's *Itinerary in Travels*, p. 189). Horses could also be hired for a journey at the rate of 1s. for the first day and 8d. afterwards. It was also no unusual thing for a man to buy a horse for a journey and sell it on his arrival (Hughes, *ut supra*).

201. **Horse-litters**, 'i.e. chairs or couches fixed on poles, resting on horses backs, were also used in the Middle Ages, by great ladies and infirm persons. These survived to Elizabethan times' (C. Hughes in *Shakespeare's England*, i. 204). They survived another fifty years. In 1640, Strafford, coming from Ireland, was brought to London in a litter (Gardiner, *Hist.* ix. 139). In 1642 Richelieu travelled through France in an immense litter hung with crimson and gold, carried by eighteen men. Gates and walls had to be pulled down that this great 'machine' might pass (Eleanor Price, *Richelieu*, 286). When coaches had no springs, and the roads were full of ruts and holes, an invalid travelled more comfortably in the old-fashioned litters than in the coaches which were superseding them. Montaigne (*Essays*, iii. 129) indeed says: 'I can bear a litter worse than a coach'; and gives as the reason: 'It is an interrupted motion that offends me, and, most of all when most slow.'

202. **The Treaty of Ripon**. On August 20, 1640, the Scots, led by Montrose, crossed the Tweed, and in a few days forced the fords of the Tyne and captured Newcastle. They had been in communication with Pym and the Puritans. Savile had asked them to invade England, and though he had forged the signatures of seven Peers in the actual invitation, those peers were not in a position to resent his action (Gardiner, *Hist.* ix. 179, 180; cp. 210, 211). The Scots promised that they would hurt no one unless attacked, and would pay for all that they consumed. Mr. Gardiner (*ibid.* 203) admits that they did not keep this promise after they had gained their objective, and never kept it at all so far as the property of recusants and ecclesiastics was concerned (*ibid.* 129). He omits to remind us how numerous were the recusants in the north, and how wide were the estates of the Bishop and Chapter of Durham. Charles, without money, and an irregular army of pressed men, hastened to the North. His coming

stirred Yorkshire to enthusiasm, so that Vane wrote 'the presence of a king is worth 20,000 men at a pinch' (quoted, *ibid.* p. 191). Strafford urged the king to resistance, and Clarendon argues that this would have been the wiser course (*Rebellion*, ii. 118 ff.). But Charles was systematically betrayed by the Scottish gentlemen in his camp, and Hamilton 'was very active for his own preservation'. The great Peers summoned to council at length got their way. A Parliament was to be called, and the conference at Ripon began. The Scots army were to be paid by the English Parliament, and Henderson explained how 'it was more blessed to give than to receive'. The policy of Charles at the moment is summed up in the *Eikon Basilike* (p. 3): 'I cared not to lessen myself of my wonted prerogative, since I knew that I could be no loser if I might gain but a recompense in my subject's affections. I intended not only to oblige my friends, but mine enemies also, exceeding even the desires of those that were factiously discontented, if they did but pretend to any modest and sober sense'. So Cowley, with the wonted hyperboles, hailed the king's return to London:

'Hail Charles! Let Caesar boast Pharsalia's fight,
 Honorius praise the Parthians unfeign'd flight;
 Let Alexander call himself Jove's peer
 And place his image near the Thunderer;
 Yet while our Charles with equal balance reigns
 'Twixt Mercy and Astrea, and maintains
 A noble peace, 'tis he, 'tis only he
 Who is most near, most like the Deity.'

The verses are almost blasphemous; but they represented the views of many loyal men, who disagreed with Strafford and hated 'Thorough'. In the light of subsequent events they are simply ludicrous.

203. **The Opening of the Long Parliament.** It was represented to Laud 'that the third of November was an ominous day, the Parliament called on that day 20. H. VIII, beginning with the fall of Cardinal Wolsey, and ending in the dissolution of the Abbeys, but the Archbishop took little heed of such things' (Whitelock, *Memorials*, 37). For the Court the assembling of Parliament was a day of gloom, 'a deplorable and dismall parliament', says Sir Philip Warwick (*Memoirs*, 165). 'The King', says Clarendon (*Rebellion*, iii. 1), 'did not ride with his accustomed equipage, nor in his usual majesty, to Westminster, but went privately in his barge to Parliament Stairs, and so to the Church.' 'The King', says Thomas

May (*Long Parl.* 69), 'expressed himself very well in a speech, gracious and acceptable to both houses, who did not expect from him any such acknowledgment of former errors, as might seem too low for the majesty of his person, but only desired to gain his affection for the future.' May, himself a disgruntled courtier, must have written that last clause with his tongue in his cheek. But at the time the great majority of the members were personally loyal to Charles, and earnestly desired to rid him of his advisers and take their places. Pym, Lord Say, Hampden, and St. John were all expecting honourable and lucrative appointments. The Country Party had triumphed and were not unmindful of the spoils. How was that triumph obtained? (1) Harrington (*Oceana*, p. 12) writes: 'For in the way of Parliaments, . . . men of country lives have been still entrusted with the greatest affairs, and the people have constantly had an aversion to the ways of the Court.' There were but two parties, the Court and Country. But the Courtier lived in London, and was at a disadvantage with the local magnate who lived in the constituency. The Country Squires hated the Courtiers who, though their equals in birth, gave themselves airs and pretended to be their superiors in manners. (2) Unlike Louis XIV, Charles and his father had discouraged great landowners from coming to Court, unless business brought them there; and Strafford had a knack of disobliging great men desirous of jobs. So, many great men, like Pembroke, exerted themselves to secure the election of men opposed to the Court. (3) The Queen was a Papist, Roman envoys were in England, and there was a genuine dread of Popery, so that many more Puritans were returned to Parliament than their numbers in the Country justified. (4) Lawyers with nothing to lose and everything to gain by change regarded opposition as the way to prominence. Glynn and Maynard, Whitelock and his friend Sir Edward Hyde, St. John and Lenthall were all to make names in this Parliament. (5) Lastly, the Country Party had the support of learned constitutionalists. Selden, possessed of immense erudition, was returned for the University of Oxford. Sir Simonds D'Ewes came from Sudbury with many curious parchments, prepared to assert rights and privileges which had not been heard of since the Wars of the Roses (Forster, *Grand Remonstrance*, 121). Sir Roger Twysdem, another learned antiquary, was returned for Kent. He writes (*Journal in Arch. Cant.* i. 187): 'Never did any man with a more earnest expectation long for a Parlyament then I did . . . never imagining a Parlyament would have tooke upon them the redressing things amisse, eyther in the eccle-

siastique or Temporal government, by a way not traced out unto them by their auncestors.' The Great Rebellion then was carried through by a Parliament composed of reactionary country squires, discontented aristocrats, fanatics who dreaded innovations in religion, lawyers, and antiquarian theorists. The Long Parliament, moreover, was composed of the same elements as its predecessors. No good had come of Parliaments since the time of Henry VIII. But previously the King had been in a position to dissolve them. With the Scots living at free quarters on English soil until money was voted, the King's hands were tied. As Sir John Bramston (*Autobiography*, 73) says: 'The King was in the trap or snare which he had so long laboured to avoid.'

204. **Dropsy.** Evelyn (*Sylva*, ii, 22) commends his electuary made from juniper as a cure for dropsy. Sir Thomas Browne (*Pseudodoxa*, bk. ii, ch. iii) tells us that Galen commended powder of loadstones, but that he is somewhat doubtful of its efficacy. In view of Evelyn's surprise that a man so temperate as his father should suffer from dropsy, it is interesting to note that Milton (*Par. Lost*, xi, 470-90) reckons 'Dropsies and Asthmas, and joint-racking Rheums' among the dire diseases due to that intemperance in meats and drinks which follows from 'th' inabstinence of Eve'.

205. **Death of Richard Evelyn.** The epitaph on his monument, erected by his sons, says he died on December 20 and not on the 24th. Evelyn inherited his grandfather's property at South Malling, and £4,000 in money (Miss Evelyn, *Hist. of Evelyn Family*, 35).

206. **A Parent's Blessing.** Roper, in his life of Sir Thomas More (p. 175), tells us that when Lord Chancellor 'he passed through Westminster Hall to his place in the Chauncery by the Court of King's Bench, yf his father, one of the Judges thereof, had been sett ere he came, he would goe into the same Courte, and there reverently kneeling downe in the sighte of them all, duely ask his fathers blessing'. Nicholas Ferrar coming home unexpectedly, after being five years abroad, knelt at his father's feet and asked his blessing (Jebb, *Life of Ferrar*, § 19). Of John Bois (1560-1643), Anthony Walker (*Life in Peck, Desiderata Curiosa*, 346) tells us: 'To his children he was a most careful affectionate father. With whom if he were displeased, his custom was to deny them his blessing, when, at usual times of morning and evening, they did in ordinary manner request it.' George Wandesford, on the day he was drowned, came back a second time and kneeled down before his mother, saying: 'I cannot have your prayers and blessing

for me too often.' His sister, Mrs. Thornton (*Autobiography*, p. 64), thought it was premonition of his fate. Roger North (*Lives of the Norths*, iii. 2) speaks of his Father's blessing 'which was observed as sacred'; and the Captain in Middleton's *Fair Quarrel* (iv. 3) speaks of such blessings 'since obedient custom Taught me to Kneel and ask 'em'. Donne (*Sermon on Gen.* i. 26) asks: 'Children Kneel to ask blessing of parents in England, and where else.' The Puritans, however, were opposed to the practice. Bishop Sanderson (*Works*, ii, p. xxxv) writes in 1657: 'Children asking their parents' blessing, &c., which whilome were held innocent, are now by many thrown aside as rags of Popery.'

207. **The Mourning Hearse.** As Evelyn says that he followed the mourning hearse, he did not mean the temple-shaped structures erected in churches (*vide* note, i. 32), nor was it the carriage containing the coffin. The earliest use of the word in this sense known to the *N.E.D.* is 1650. Evelyn speaks of a *chariot* in describing the Duke of Richmond's (i. 12), Ireton's (iii. 91), and Cromwell's (iv. 54) funerals. He first uses *hearse* in the modern sense in describing Cowley's funeral in 1667 (v. 55). The hearse of Richard Evelyn was probably a light framework of wood covered with a pall, and borne above the coffin.

208. **Funerals** in the seventeenth century occasioned ruinous expense among all classes. When Anne of Denmark died in 1619, Lorkin wrote to Puckering, 'the Queen's funeral is like to be deferred from want of money to buy the blacks' (*Court and Times of James I*, vol. ii, p. 153). The house, or at any rate the death chamber, was draped in black. Black clothes were presented to relatives, friends, and retainers; also gloves and mourning rings. The Heralds' fees also were heavy. (Clarendon, *Life*, i, § 80) and the funeral sermon was a response to a legacy. Doles were distributed to the poor. Taylor, the Water Poet (*Works*, 260), states, on one occasion seventeen beggars lost their lives where 'burial groats apiece were given'. At Lord Aubigny's funeral 'the man who drove the chariot strewed money about the streets as he passed' (Wood, *Life and Times*, i. 82). Open house was kept. The funeral baked meats sustained the mourners. Wine and biscuits were handed to all. Anthony à Wood (*Life and Times*, iii. 199) tells us that claret, which was not generally drunk before the civil wars, was 'only burnt at funerals'. When Lady Wandesford died, an impoverished widow, 'Infinit numbers of poore were served by dolle at the doore; above fifteen hundred, besides in the Church of Catterick'

(Mrs. Thornton, *Autobiography*, 117). The Duchess of Richmond in 1639 'desired to be buried in the night without any ceremonie'; but she set aside £2,000 to pay the expenses (Will in *Arch. Cantiana*, xi. 247). She, of course, was a very great lady. Lady Harrison's funeral cost £1,000 (Lady Fanshaw, *Memoirs*, p. 187), but this was thought extravagant. In 1643 Lady Sussex had to be economical, and buried her husband for £400 (*Verney Memoirs*, i. 161). Christopher Wandesford's 'funeral charges' did amount to above £1300' (Mrs. Thornton, *Autobiography*, 26), but he died Lord Deputy of Ireland, and the cost was by the King's command to be borne by the Treasury, but the Parliament refused to pay. Cromwell embarrassed the Usher family by insisting, against their wishes, on a public funeral for the Archbishop, and then leaving them to pay the expenses (Parr, *Life of Usher*, p. 78). Many no doubt sympathized with *Whitsun's Farewell* (p. 25, quoted Southey, *C.P.B.*), 'Let not the multitude of mourners, that attend my chest, be an argument of vain glory and unreasonable expense'. Owen Feltham's last *Resolve* in 1668 was that only £30 should be spent on his funeral (*D.N.B.*). But parsimony at funerals occasioned remark. So Smith, in his *Obituary* (Peck, *Desid. Cur.* 549), records the burial of Mr. Cornelius Bee, bookseller in Little Britain at St. Bartholomew's, 'without sermon, without wine and wafers; onely gloves and rosemary'. Rosemary was always carried by mourners and cast into the grave. So Cartwright, in his *Ordinary*, writes:

'If there be
Any so kind as to accompany
My body to the Earth, let them not
Want for Entertainment. Prythee see they have
A sprig of Rosemary, dipp'd in common water,
To smell at as they walk along the streets.'

209. **Funeral Sermons.** In the early days of Christianity, says Jeremy Taylor (*Works*, iv. 452, 453), funeral sermons were 'only at the death of princes, or of such holy persons as "shall judge angels"'; but 'nowadays men that die are commended at a price, and the measure of their legacy is the degree of their virtue'. 'Rich men', says Shirley (*Witty Fair One*, v, sc. 3), 'do not go to the pit hole without compliment of Christian burial. . . . So much legacy as would purchase some preacher a neat cassock' will also obtain 'as good estate and assurance for my soul as the best gentleman in the parish'. George Denton, in 1636 (*Verney Memoirs*, ii. 118), left 40

shillings to Mr. William Oakley for his funeral sermon; and Penelope Osborn (*ibid.* ii. 475) left £5 to a scholar at Oxford for the same purpose. Sir Edward Verney, having been visited by a person named Gilpin, wrote to his son in 1638: 'He proffered one complement I darest not acquaint my grandmother with, that upon a weake's warning he would be provided with an excellent-funerrall sermon for her' (*ibid.* i. 214). Mr. Thurston was asked to preach John Bois's funeral sermon 'which he performed no less to his own praise, than to the honour of the deceased, and the delightful satisfaction of the auditors' (A. Walker, *Life of Bois*, in Peck, *Desid. Cur.* 342). No doubt the same may have been said of George Higham's tribute to Richard Evelyn. Cosin (*Works*, v. 172) says that funeral sermons are preached 'that not only the living might be instructed, but the pensive, whom it concerned most, might have words of comfort ministered to them'.

210. **The Monument** erected by his sons is adorned with his armorial bearings, and contains some verses (*vide* Howard, *Misc. Gen. et Herald.*) which we hope John Evelyn did not write. The best lines run:

'A man so good' that I am scarce content
'To say each Act deserved a monument.'

211. **To peach my liberty.** Originally, to peach meant to accuse, then to give incriminating evidence or tell another's secret. Midway comes Evelyn's usage, for to peach my liberty would mean to betray it. The text, however, is not certain. In Forster's edition we read *to impeach my Liberty*. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to impeach often means to injure. So Archbishop Sandys (*Ellis, Orig. Letters*, 1st Series, ii. 193) writes: 'To pursue my honestie from malice which mynded to impeach it.' But Evelyn probably uses the word in the sense of bringing into discredit (*N.E.D.*). So Shakespeare (*Mids. N. D.* ii. 1) writes:

'You do impeach your modesty too much
'To leave the city and commit yourself
'Into the hands of one who loves you not.'

212. **The young man about Town.** Clarendon (*Life*, i, § 71), a few years Evelyn's senior, writes: 'The town was full of soldiers and of young gentlemen who intended to be soldiers, or as like them as they could; great license of all kinds, in clothes, in diet, in gaming; and all kinds of expenses equally carried on, by men who had fortunes of their own to support it, and, by others, who, having nothing of their own,

cared not what they spent, whilst they could find credit ; so that there was never an age, in which, in so short a time, so many young gentlemen who had not experience in the world, or some good tutelar angel to protect them, were insensibly and suddenly overwhelmed in that sea of wine and women, and quarrels and gaming, which almost overspread the whole kingdom, and the nobility and gentry thereof.' In Ben Jonson's *Epicoene* (i. 1), *Clairmont* asks: 'Why, what would you have a man do?', and *Truewit* answers, 'Why, nothing; or that which when it is done is as idle. Harken after the next horse-race or hunting-match, lay wagers, praise Puppy or Peppercorn, Whitefoot Franklin; swear upon Whitemane's party: speak aloud that my Lords may hear you; visit my Ladies at night time; and be able to give them the character of every bowler or better on the green. These be the things in which your fashionable men exercise themselves, and I for company.'

THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF STRAFFORD

April 15th. I repair'd to London to heare and see the famous tryall of the Earle of Strafford, Lord Deputy of Ireland, who, on 22nd March before had been summon'd before both Houses of Parliament, and now appear'd in Westminster Hall, which was prepar'd with scaffolds for the Lords and Com'ons who together with the King, Queene, Prince, and flower of the Noblesse, were spectators and auditors of the greatest malice and greatest innocency that ever met before so illustrious an assembly. The Earle of Arundel and Surrey, Earle Martiall of England, was made High Steward upon this occasion, and the sequel is too well known [to need any notice of the event.]

¹ 27th. Came over from Holland the young Prince of Holland, with a splendid equipage, to make love to his Ma^{tie} eldest daughter, the now Princess Royall.

That evening was celebrated the pompous funeral of the Duke of Richmond, who was carried in effigie[, with all the ensigns of that illustrious family,] in an open charriot,² thro' London [to Westminster Abbey,] in great solemnity.³

⁴ *May 12th.* I beheld on Tower Hill the fatal stroake which sever'd the wisest head in England from the shoulders of the Earle of Strafford; whose crime coming under the cognizance of no human law [or statute,] a new one was made, not to be precedent, but his destruction. [With what reluctancy the king signed the execution, he has sufficiently expressed, to whom he imputes his own unjust suffering—] to such exorbitancy were things arrived.

¹ On the 27th April.
^{12th} of May.

² in great solemnity.

³ omit.

⁴ On the

§ xii. NOTES

213. **Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford** (1593-1641) was born at Wentworth-Woodhouse, educated at St. John's, Cambridge, entered the Inner Temple and went the Grand Tour. In 1644 he inherited the Baronetcy and property worth £6000 a year. In the same year he sat in the Addled Parliament. He opposed the Spanish and French wars and incurred the enmity of Buckingham; but from the first Charles distinguished him from the other Parliament men, acknowledging that he was 'an honest gentleman' (*Strafford's Letters*, i. 29); and Wentworth when most ill used, wrote:—'my rule, which I will never transgress, is never to contend with the prerogative out of Parliament' (*ibid.* i. 33). In the Parliament of 1628 Wentworth practically led the opposition to the Court, but he was very moderate in his proposals, and, if Charles had been guided by him, the Petition of Right would have been differently drafted. In July 1629 he was created a Baron, and in December a Viscount. At the same time he was made President of the Council of the North. In his first speech to the Council he said:—'To the joint individual well-being of sovereignty and subjection do I here owe all my cares and vigilances through the whole course of my ministry. I confess, I am not ignorant how some distempered minds have of late very often endeavoured to divide the consideration of the two, as if their end were distinct—nay, in opposition; a monstrous, a prodigious birth of a licentious conception, for so we should become all head or all members . . . Princes are to be the indulgent nursing fathers of their people; their modest liberties, their sober rights, ought to be precious in their eyes, the branches of their government, to be for shadow, for habitation, the comfort of life. [The people] repose safe and still under the protection of their sceptre. Subjects, on the other side, ought with solicitous eyes of jealousy to watch over the prerogatives of a crown. The authority of a king is the keystone which closeth up the arch of order and government, which contains each part in due relation to the whole, and which once shattered, infirm'd, all the frame falls together into a confused state of foundation and battlement, of strength and beauty' (*Tanner MSS.* quoted *D.N.B.*). Considering Wentworth was a man of action, few have shown greater consistency. He always opposed self-seeking courtiers, and was openly contemptuous of their miserable intrigues. Thanks to Greenwood, his tutor, he never had any inclination to Puritanism, but was a convinced Churchman. Usher, who

prepared him for death, told Laud, 'that he never knew any layman in all his life, that so well and fully understood matters of divinity' (*Laud's Works*, iii. 442). He was not a doctrinaire politician like Pym and his associates, and had no interest in their theoretical constitutionalism. He was from start to finish the upholder of strong government. His watchword was *Thorough*. Lastly, as Gardiner says (*Hist.* ix. 368), 'alone among his generation his voice was always raised for practical reforms.' His enemies, however, naturally looked upon him as 'the Grand Apostate', because for a short distance their ways had lain together. When they parted, Pym is said to have told him, 'You are going to leave us, but I will not leave you while your head is upon your shoulders' (Mozley, *Essays*, i. 15). Pym was implacable and kept his word. For him party came first: Wentworth only cared for the welfare of King and people.

214. **The Lord Deputy.** Wentworth was appointed Lord Deputy in Jan. 1632, but entered Dublin eighteen months later. He found Ireland desolate, he left her prosperous, and his enemies undid his work. He increased the revenue and persuaded Irish Parliaments to vote subsidies, telling them that 'they must not expect to have His Majesty come to them once a year, with his hat in his hand, to entreat that you should be pleased to preserve yourselves' (*Letters*, i. 238). He forbade the military to live on the country, and raised a small army that was efficient, well disciplined, and paid. He suppressed piracy. In his seven years trade was doubled, exports grew to be twice the imports, and for every ton of shipping in 1633 there was a hundred ton in 1641. He abolished some monopolies, bought out some monopolists, and made others pay more for their exclusive rights. He was forced, by pressure from England, to allow the export of wool, which ruined the cloth trade, but he promoted the cultivation of flax, and introduced the linen industry, financing it out of his own purse. He reclaimed much Crown land, which occasioned a good many legitimate grievances, and was not successful in the plantation of Connaught. He brought some order into the distracted Church, insisted on the restoration of Church buildings, and made many Church robbers, like the Earl of Cork, part with some of their plunder. He strove to improve agriculture; but the fact that he prohibited the burning of corn in the straw, the pulling of wool off live sheep, and ploughing by the tail, were considered infringements of the liberty of the subject (Lady Burghclere, *Ormonde*, i. 108). He waged continual war with the courtiers in England who strove to

obtain concessions, posts, patents, and pensions in Ireland. He also had to wage continual war with Irish officials because of their malversations. His methods were often high-handed, and many of his acts could not be defended by a constitutional precisian. He was haughty and unpleasant to those he did not like. His indignation was terrible; he cowed his opponents, who called him 'Black Tom Tyrant' behind his back; but though Lord Mountnorris was condemned to death, he left Ireland unsullied by the blood of any, although he knew how many sought his life.

215. **Fall of Strafford.** In consequence of the Scottish troubles (*Notes*, 159, 160, 192) Wentworth came to England, and became the chief adviser of the King, but Charles could not be *Thorough*. He was created Earl of Strafford on January 12, 1640, and on September 15 Knight of the Garter. When the Long Parliament met, Charles summoned him to London, promising him protection (*Whitelock Memorials*, 37), but Strafford had few illusions. He set out on November 6, 'with more dangers beset, I believe, than ever any man went out of Yorkshire' (Whitaker, *Life of Radcliffe*, 214). His intention was to impeach his enemies of treasonable complicity with the Scots, and the evidence was not far to seek; but Charles hesitated, and the courtiers betrayed the plan (*Gardiner, Hist.* ix. 329 ft.-note). Pym, in consequence, struck first. On November 11 the Commons impeached Strafford, and the Lords refused to hear his defence. The story of his arrest is told by Baillie (*Letters and Journals*, i. 272), an eyewitness. The indictment was not presented before January 20, and Strafford wrote to Ormonde, 'I see nothing capital in their charge, nor any other thing which I am not able to answer as an honest man' (*Carte, Ormonde*, v. 245).

216. **Westminster Hall** is 239 ft. in length, 68 in breadth, and 42 ft. high. These are the interior measurements. The hall was added to the Royal Palace by William Rufus, who first held his Court there in 1099. Under Richard II, between 1394-9, the walls were raised, the windows altered, and the roof constructed: the last, designed by Henry of Yelwey, is perhaps 'the finest existing example of scientific construction in carpentry' (Timbs, *Curiosities of London*, 827). The rafters were popularly supposed 'to admit neither cobweb nor spider', and Bishop Goodman (*Fall of Man*, 167) thought 'God in his providence hath so fitly ordained it, as prophesying or prescribing a lesson'. For the great feasts which have taken place in the Hall, *vide Stow's London*, Strype's edition vii. 47. 'In the reign of Charles I, the King's servants, by his Majesty's

special order, went to Westminster Hall in term time to ask gentlemen to eat of the King's achates or viands, or in Parliament time to invite the Parliament men thereto' (Delaune, *Angliae Metropolis*, 1690). The Hall had from the days of Magna Carta housed the Courts of Justice, and so became 'the field where mutual frauds are fought and no side yield' (Ben Jonson). Common Pleas was on the right of the entrance, while King's Bench and Chancery shared the Dais at the upper end of the Hall. All three courts were screened off, but open at the top. The left side of the hall and half the right were given over to stalls, which were let out by the Warden, who was also Warden of the Fleet. Here sempstresses plied their trade—also books, mathematical instruments, and knickknacks were sold. Westminster school-boys sold books out of school hours, but Mr. Pepys preferred the stall kept by Mrs. Mitchell (*Diary*, vols. iv, v *passim*). In February 1631^o the hall was nearly destroyed 'by the burning of the little shops or stalls kept therein' (Laud, *Works*, iii. 213). The place was, and continued to be, of great resort. An amusing writer at the end of the century writes:—'On your left hand you have a nimble-tongued painted sempstress with her drawing treble invite you to buy some of her knickknacks, and on your right a deep-mouthed cryer, commending impossibilities, viz. silence to be kept among women and lawyers' (*Tom Brown's Amusements*).

217. **Westminster Hall during Strafford's Trial.** The first great State Trial in Westminster Hall was that of Sir William Wallace in 1305, and the last was that of Lord Melville in 1806. On such occasions the Courts were removed and the stalls boarded up (Timbs, *Curiosities of London*, 829). Baillie (*Letters and Journals*, i. 314-16), the Scottish Commissioner, gives a detailed description of the arrangements. There was a great platform with an empty throne, and beneath it the Lord Steward and Judges seated on woolsacks. The Lords sat in their robes, behind them were benches for the commons, and above, tier upon tier, seats for spectators and boxes for ladies. The prisoner stood at a little desk facing the throne, and at a rail close by the eight members of Parliament appointed to conduct the prosecution. 'The King', says Baillie 'came not into his throne, for that would have marred the action; for it is the order of England when the King appears he speaks what he wills, but no other speaks in his presence'. The royal party occupied two boxes at the end of the Hall. Hollar's print shows the Queen looking out of a sort of a cupboard. 'The tirlies', says Baillie, 'that made them to be

secret, the King broke down with his own hands.' Gardiner (*Hist.* ix. 303) unnecessarily suggests that 'he wished to impose restraints on the managers by being himself seen', but the pawky Scot, Gardiner's authority, was only amazed that he was so little regarded. As to the ladies in the boxes, for which, says Baillie, 'they paid much money', May (*Long Parl.* 91) remarks, 'It seemed a very pleasant object to see so many Sempronias . . . with pen, ink, and paper in their hands, noting the passages and discoursing on the grounds of law and state. They were all of his (Strafford's) side; whether moved by pity proper to their sex, or by ambition of being thought able to judge of the parts of the prisoner'. Every morning the Hall was crowded by seven o'clock, although the Lords did not take their seats until eight. The behaviour of the spectators was scandalous. Food was eaten, bottles were passed round, and the most disgusting indecencies took place in the sight of all.

218. **April 15th.** The trial had opened on March 22, and Strafford made his great defence on Tuesday, April 13 (Rushworth, *Trial*, 633, says the 12th), but the Court did not meet that day; vide *Brief and Perfect Narrative* (Reprinted *State Trials*, 1775, vol. i, p. 63) and Verney's *Long Parliament*, p. 38. Afterwards there were only arguments by counsel on points of law, and the centre of interest had shifted to the House of Commons, where the Bill of Attainder was being debated.

219. **Strafford's Trial.** Evelyn speaks of 'the greatest malice and the greatest innocence' not without reason. Pym's malice was at all times apparent. Glynn and Maynard were like wolves ravening after their prey, while Sir Walter Earle, being a fool, overreached himself in his malignity (Whitelock, *Memorials*, 42, 43). Palmer showed some sense of decency, and became in consequence suspect; and Whitelock claims that he himself behaved like a gentleman. Selden and Digby were amongst the prosecutors, but ended as Straffordians. Every advantage was taken of the prisoner. Accusations were sprung on him without notice; he was refused time to produce witnesses who were for the most part in Ireland; hearsay evidence was freely admitted, and chance expressions were made the basis of important charges. Pym dressed up one of his disreputable Irish witnesses in black satin, in order that he might be imposed on the court as a person of quality. Strafford was said to have told an Alderman that he deserved to be hanged, and these words, spoken in anger, were admitted as proof of a design to subvert the laws of England. Privy Councillors were absolved from their oath of secrecy, in order that a fishing enquiry might be instituted as to the advice given

by Strafford at the Council table. Sir Harry Vane swore that Strafford had advised the King to bring over an Irish Army to subdue England, but none of his eight fellow-councillors heard the advice. Vane was Strafford's enemy, and he had already sworn to the contrary, but Gardiner accepts his evidence (*Hist.* ix. 329). All through the trial the prisoner was calm and courteous, but resolute to defend his honour. Suffering from stone and often in great pain, he faced his enemies, raised every point of procedure, and as plea after plea for fair treatment was over-ruled, continued his defence 'without a sign of repining' (Baillie, i. 319). Baillie's descriptions are illuminating. Mozley (*Essays*, 81) says:—'By force of a strong clear mind, the intellectual Scotchman proceeds, in spite of himself, to describe in Strafford a fallen greatness, before which the noisy bustling scene sank into vulgarity, and while his hatred of the champ'on of Church and King is as intense as ever, his intellect bows to the nobleness and grandeur of the man.' On Tuesday, April 13, he made his celebrated defence:

'His wisdom such, at once it did appear
Three Kingdoms wonder and three Kingdoms fear.

So did he move our passions, some were known
To wish, for the defence, the crime their own.
New private pity strove with public hate
Reason with rage and eloquence with fate.'

(Denham, *Poems*, 129, 130. Brit. Poets, vol. xxi.)

On April 13, Strafford had remarked: 'Every new article acquainted him with a new treason' (*Brief and Perfect Narr.* in *State Trials*, i. 48), and in his concluding speech he enlarged on this text. After surveying all the charges, he asked, 'How can that be treason in the lump or mass, which is not so in any of the parts'. They would put 'the necessity of divination on a man' if they punished him for breaking laws before they were made. He warned the Peers against the doctrine of constructive treason, and asked them which of you would be safe 'if every word, intention or circumstance of yours be sifted and alleged as treasonable, not because of a statute, but because of a consequence or construction of lawyers, pieced up in a high rhetorical strain, and a number of supposed probabilities' (*ibid.* 66). He ended with a reference to his dead wife, 'now a saint in heaven', and the pledges she had left him. It was for their sakes that he was bound to defend his honour. From the Peers he hoped for justice, but '*In te, Domine, confido, ne confundar in aeternum*' (*ibid.* 67).

Glynn's reply was hardly effective. Gardiner (*Hist.* ix. 322) says his strongest point was that 'for many years past . . . an evil spirit hath moved among us, which in truth hath been the author and ground of all our distractions'; but how small had been the influence of Strafford on English politics until quite recently, Gardiner's history itself shows. Pym followed with what Gardiner (*ibid.* 334) calls 'a noble exposition of constitutional right'. But neither was that effective, 'It was sport to see how Master Pym in his speech was fearfully out, and constrained to pull out his papers, and read with a great deal of confusion and disorder before he could recollect himself'. It was indeed 'a premeditated flash and not grounded upon his (Strafford's) answer' (*State Trials* 65). Pym could not convict Strafford of treason, but he was a powerful advocate of a constitutional theory to which Strafford was opposed. The opponent had to be killed in order that the theory might triumph. For that the Bill of Attainder was preparing. The constitutionalists were making a special law to put Strafford to death.

220. **Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel** (1585-1646) was the son of Philip, Earl of Arundel, who died in the Tower, 1595, and grandson of the Duke of Norfolk who was beheaded. His mother was Ann Dacre, a great heiress and devout Papist. He was educated at Westminster and Trinity, Cambridge, was created Earl of Arundel and Surrey on the accession of James I, and was restored in blood 1604. He married Alatheia, the heiress of Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, and travelled from 1609-11. In 1613 he escorted Elizabeth to Heidelberg on her marriage with the Elector Palatine, and passed on into Italy, where he began to collect art treasures. In 1615 he was received into the English Church (Note on vol. iii, § 31), became a Privy Councillor, and a member of the Committee of the Plantations. At one time he planned a colony in Madagascar (Dallaway in Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, i. 298). In 1621, he became Earl Marshall (Note 221). In 1630 he went to the Hague to bring the widowed Queen of Bohemia to England, but she refused to come. In 1636 he went on an embassy to Vienna (Note 241). In 1638-9 he was Captain-General against the Scots (Note 171). In 1641 he was Lord Steward at Strafford's trial (Note 224), and petitioned for the restoration of the Dukedom of Norfolk, but was disregarded. In 1642 he escorted Marie de' Medici to Cologne (§ 26), and in the same year he left England for ever and died at Padua, 1646 (vol. iii, § 31) (*D.N.B.*). Evelyn calls him 'the magnificent Earl of Arundel, my noble friend'

(vol. vi. § 52), and it is evident that he was kind to the young man. All writers note his pride (Clarendon, *Rebellion*, i. 118, 119. Sir Edward Walker, *Hist. Observations*, 209. Lilly, *Life and Death of Charles I*, 224, 226. Lloyd, *Mem. of Loyalists*, 284-9). 'He resorted sometimes to the Court for there only was a greater man than himself; and went thither the seldomer because there was a greater man than himself' (Clarendon). He hated Buckingham, was quarrelsome, and was more than once committed to the Tower. He affected the older and simpler fashions, but was renowned for his dignity, 'so that it was a common saying of the late Earl of Carlisle, "here comes the Earl of Arundel, in his plain stuff and trunk-hose, and his beard in his teeth, that looks more like a nobleman than any of us" . . . he was a great master of order and ceremony, and knew and kept greater distance towards his sovereign than any person I ever observed, and expected no less from his inferiors, often complaining that the too great affability of the King, and the French garb of Court, would bring Majesty into contempt' (Walker). Charles disliked, used, and respected him (Lilly and Lloyd). Clarendon is right in saying that he was not learned, but he loved learning, and delighted in the conversation of scholars. He may not have had a pedant's knowledge of statues and medals, but a perfect taste and the collector's instinct for the right thing. Evelyn is right in calling him 'the great Maecenas of all polite arts', and Walpole (*Anecdotes of Painting*, i. 293) 'the Father of virtue in England'. Far from being penurious, as Clarendon says, he could never live within the limits of his great fortune. It was probably a reflection on himself when he defined 'a compleat man' as one who was 'able to cast accounts' (Lloyd).

221. **The Earl Marshall** is 'the eighth great officer of the Crown . . . He is an Earl, some say, by his office, whereby he taketh as the Constable doth, cognizance of all matters of war and arms, determineth contracts touching deeds of arms out of the realm upon land, and matters concerning wars within the realm, which cannot be determined by Common Law; and in these matters he is commonly guided by the Civil Law' (Chamberlayne, *Angliae Notitia*, 84). Arundel became Earl Marshall in 1621, and the office has since been hereditary in his family. He was really skilled in heraldry, and Lloyd (*Mem. of Loyalists*, 289) notes the excellence of his heraldic library. He re-established the Earl Marshall's Court in 1630, and Lilly (*Life and Death of Charles I*, 226) says, 'He was a great patron of decayed gentry; and . . . carried too strict a hand against the yeomanry and commonalty; for which he was nothing beloved,

but rather hated of them. However the nobility and gentry owe much to his memory'. The Marshall's Court had ever been unpopular (Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* ii. 351, 359, &c.), and Edward Hyde first came into notice by his attack on it in the Short Parliament (*Life*, i, §§ 78, 79). Shortly after the beginning of the Long Parliament he renewed his attack and the Court was abolished (*ibid.* i. 84).

222. **The Lord High Steward** 'is the first great officer of the Crown . . . *Magnus Anglice Seneschallus* . . . the last that had a state of inheritance in this high office was Henry of Bolingbroke, afterwards Henry IV. Since then he has only been appointed *pro hac vice* at a King's Coronation, or at the Trial of a Peer for Treason or felony. During his Stewardship he bears a white staff in his hand; and, the trial being over, breaks it; and so his office ends' (Chamberlayne, *Angliae Notitia*, p. 76). Lord Arundel was appointed to this office although he was known to be Strafford's enemy. He had claimed as heir to Strongbow's daughter practically the whole province of Leinster (Lady Burghclere, *Ormonde*, i. 111). He had not waited for the Lord Deputy to adjudicate on his claims, but appointed two agents, Jones and Kendall, 'a couple of beagles to hunt at random all over the province' inquiring into defective titles, and filling an unsettled country, which Strafford was trying to pacify, with suspicion (Strafford's *Letters*, ii. 30). He had especially set his heart on Idough, which was adjudged to the Crown as heir of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and granted in fee farm to Ormonde. Strafford wrote to Ormonde from the Tower: 'My Lord Marshall . . . hath not got Edough of (off) his stomache . . . but I hope for all this to make forth thes stormes' (Carte, *Ormonde*, v. 245). Arundel behaved with great decorum during the trial; and if he could not forgive one who had 'lessened his Pretences', he was incapable of the malignity of a Pym or the brutality of a Maynard.

223. **William II**, Prince of Orange (1626-50), was the son of Frederick Henry, and grandson of William the Silent. His mother was the Princess Amelia von Sohms. He became a General of Cavalry at the age of three, and from the age of twelve onwards accompanied his father on his campaigns. When thirteen he took his seat in the Council of the States, and at seventeen surprised a part of the Spanish army and took many prisoners. He grew up a young man of attractive manners and chivalrous disposition. He apparently cherished romantic ambitions, and he was certainly skilled in the art of war. In 1647 he succeeded his father in his office and dignities by virtue of the Act of Survival of 1631 (*Camb. Mod.*

Hist., 724). He was bitterly opposed to peace with Spain, and on the conclusion of the peace of Munster wrote to a friend:—'Je voudrois pouvoir rompre le cou à tous les coquins qui ont fait la paix' (quoted *Nyevelt, Court Life in the Dutch Republic*, 126). Notwithstanding the peace, he insisted on maintaining an army, and when the powerful States of Holland opposed him, he arrested Jacob de Witt and five others at the Hague, and attempted to surprise Amsterdam. Holland gave way, and the prisoners were released. William had established his authority, and had plunged into schemes for further advances with the aid of Mazarin, when he died of smallpox at the age of twenty-four. His only son, William III, was born a few days after his death. D'Estrades, Governor of Dunkirk, who acted as intermediary, wrote of him to Mazarin: 'Il a beaucoup d'esprit et de cœur et l'on peust faire fondement sur son amitié lorsqu'il l'aura promise' (*ibid.* 127). Although not faithful to his young wife, he was proud of his alliance with England, and did what he could for the royal cause. In 1648 he sold property at the Hague, and shortly afterwards borrowed 2,000,000 florins in Amsterdam for the help of his father-in-law. When James, Duke of York, escaped from England disguised as a girl in April 1648 he received a kind welcome, while Charles, Prince of Wales, was received with royal honours four months later (Clarendon, *Rebellion*, xi, § 89), and many other royalist exiles had reason to be grateful for his 'open table'.

224. **Equipage** was a word much used in the seventeenth century, and the *N.E.D.* quotes the sentence of Evelyn under the definition of 'a train of retainers or attendants, retinue, following', and marks the usage as obsolete. The most interesting usage that I have met with is in Fuller (*Worthies, Kent*, 74) where, speaking of Cardinal Kemp, he says, 'Some are mistaken who report him as the first raiser of his family to a knightly degree, which he found in that equipage.'

225. **The Marriage.** In 1639 Frederick Henry had proposed the marriage for his son, but had been offered the Princess Elizabeth and not the Princess Royal. Charles was anxious, for commercial reasons, to cement alliances with Spain and the Netherlands, and intended his eldest daughter for the son of Philip IV. The victory of Van Tromp over the Spanish Fleet in the Downs, and the quarrel of the Queen with Mme. de Chevreuse, who represented Spanish interests, altered the situation. In January 1641 Charles told the Dutch ambassadors that Elizabeth, aged five, had seen the portrait of William and had said, 'he was a fine and pretty boy, but more fit for her elder sister than herself' (*Nyevelt, Court Life in the*

Dutch Republic, 44). After this negotiations proceeded apace. Mary was to remain at home until she was twelve, was to receive £1,500 a year pocket money, and two residences with £10,000 a year if left a widow (*D.N.B.*). On February 20, 1641, Charles announced to Parliament the conclusion of the marriage treaty. On April 19 the young Prince landed in England, and was received with enthusiasm in London (Evelyn's date is wrong). It was not until some days later that Scottish Commissioners were whispering as to the amount of money that he had brought to the aid of the King, and that the untruthful Marie de' Medici was alarming Rosetti, the Papal agent, with news as to what the Protestant Prince was going to do for her son-in-law (Gardiner, *Hist.* ix. 288). The marriage took place on May 2, in the midst of the troubles connected with Strafford. There was but little ceremony. The Queen could not reconcile herself to what she considered a *mésalliance*, while the elector Palatine refused to be present at the banquet, because he thought that the bride should have been given to himself (*ibid.* 348). The charming picture of the little bride and bridegroom by Vandyck is now at Amsterdam.

226. **Mary**, the Princess Royal (*vide* note 79). She was at this time a pretty little girl, skilled in dancing; and the young bridegroom wrote to his father that 'at first they were very serious together, but now were quite at home with one another, that she is more beautiful than her picture, that he loves her and thinks that she loves him' (Nyevelt, *Court Life in the Dutch Republic*, 46). Throughout her life Mary retained her title of Princess Royal, and never adopted that of Princess of Orange.

227. **The text** here is corrupt. On April 19, 1624, the Duke of Richmond's funeral passed from Ely House, down Whitehall, on its way to Westminster Abbey. On April 19 (not 27), 1641, William made his state entry to Whitehall. Evelyn, no doubt, in his original diary, noted the anniversary and compared the splendour of the two events.

228. **The Duke of Richmond.** Ludovick Stuart, second Duke of Lennox and first Duke of Richmond (1574-1624), was born in Paris. On the death of his father in 1583 James sent for him to Scotland, and he remained the King's friend until his death. He supported James against the rebels, Huntly and Errol; he sided with the King in the matter of the Gowries, although the Earl was his brother-in-law; and he strenuously supported the King's policy as regards the Kirk. He was more than once ambassador to Paris. On the accession of James to the English Crown he was rewarded

with great properties in Yorkshire, and with a large share in the forfeited estates of Lord Cobham. He received several English titles, and finally the Dukedom of Richmond. He was three times married, his last wife being Frances Howard, daughter of Viscount Bindon. He left no issue, but the Dukedom of Lennox passed to his brother, and the Dukedom of Richmond was revived in favour of his nephew in 1641 (*D.N.B.*).

229. **Pompous** here implies a stately show, and in the seventeenth century was used as an epithet applicable to processions. No censure or condemnation is implied (*N.E.D.*).

230. **The Funeral.** 'Ludovick, Duke of Richmond and Lennox, Lord Steward of H.M. Household, died February 16, 1624 and was buried next day in a little side chapel on the south side of Henry VII Monument; but his funerals were solemnized April 19th 1624' (Chester, *Registers of Westminster Abbey*, H. S.). For six weeks there was a formal lying-in-state at Hatton House (Ely Place), Holborn, although his body was already in the Abbey (*Dom. S. P., James I.*, vol. 162, no. 45). The funeral was 'as if for a Prince of England' (*ibid.* 163, 16). His effigy in a coach was drawn by six horses, and followed by a thousand mourners. His hearse in the Abbey rivalled that of Anne of Denmark. Several noblemen refused the offices assigned them in the ceremony 'as unfitting to the deceased and to themselves'. Williams, the Dean, preached the funeral sermon (*ibid.* 163, 74). Sir Francis Nethersole (*ibid.* 163, 3) writes, 'The funeral was marked by two arrows being carried before the Duke's effigy, in honour of his being a good archer, and by the strange behaviour of the Duchess' (*Arch. Cant.* xi. 247).

231. **Effigy.** These effigies were preserved in the Abbey. Many have fallen to pieces but some are still there. Bunyan (*Life and death of Mr. Badman*, Pref. Ep.) alludes to this custom at great men's funerals. 'They are sometimes, when dead, presented to their friends, by their compleatly wrought images, as lively as by cunning men's hands they can be, that the remembrance of them may be renewed to their survivors, the remembrance of them and their deeds.'

232. **Strafford's Attainder.** Evelyn's view is that which prevailed among Royalists, and may be justified to-day. Vane had sworn that Strafford had said at the Council Board, 'Sir, you have an army in Ireland, which you may employ to reduce this Kingdom'. He had given different evidence before the Committee, and to the end prevaricated between *this* (England) and *that* (Scotland). Though eight others were

present, there was no second witness, but Pym produced the notes, which the younger Vane had stolen, and maintained that Vane was one witness and his notes another. It was not even then certain that the Lords would convict, although Pym thought so. Sir Arthur Hazlerigg and the Inflexibles were taking no risks, and brought in the Bill of Attainder. Falkland supported it, arguing, 'How many haire's breadths make a tall man, and how many make a little man, noe man can well say, yet we know a tall man when we see him from a low man, soe 'tis in this, how many illegal actions make a treason is not certainly well known, but we well know it when we see' (Verney, *Long Parl.*, p. 49). St. John went further and declared plainly for club law. 'We give law to hares and deer because they be beasts of chase; it was never accounted either cruelty or foul play to knock foxes and wolves on the head as they may be found, because they be beasts of prey. The warrener sets traps for polecats and other vermin for the preservation of the warren' (Rushworth, *Trial*, 703). The brilliant and erratic Digby opposed the Bill, and there is no evidence for Gardiner's supposition that he was won by the blandishments of ladies (*Hist.* ix. 339). Concerning Vane's testimony he asked, 'Now consider whether any man can proceed upon another man's life upon the difference of a letter, viz. whether the word was *here* or *there*, *this* or *that*; especially on the testimony of a gentleman who twice before upon oath had denied the same' (Warwick, *Memoirs*, 175). The learned Selden also opposed the Bill on constitutional grounds. As he said in his *Table Talk* (p. 59), 'The Parliament of England has no arbitrary power in point of judicature, but in point of making law only'. The Commons were quite aware of their arbitrary conduct and inserted a clause (*Harl. Misc.* iv. 527) providing that 'no Judge or Judges, Justice or Justices whatsoever, shall adjudge or interpret any act or thing to be treason, nor hear or determine any treason, nor in any other manner than he or they should or ought to have done before the making of this act'. Sir Simonds D'Ewes alone voted against this clause because 'it would be a great dishonour to the business, as if we had condemned him because we would condemn him' (quoted Gardiner, *Hist.* ix. 338). It was what they were doing, but D'Ewes wished to conceal the fact from himself. The Bill passed the House in a thin house by 204 votes to 59 (List of the 59 in Verney, *Long Parl.* 57). The Commoners returned to Westminster Hall on April 29 as judges and not accusers. St. John made the Speech from which I have quoted. Strafford, says Nalson (*Coll.* ii. 86),

'made no reply, but lifting up his hands to heaven . . . he seemed to express greater eloquence by his silence, than the other (St. John) had done by his prolix discourse'. The Lords might still have thrown out the Bill, but the astute Say persuaded the King to come down to Parliament and plead for Strafford's life. As Say foresaw, this produced a storm when properly misrepresented in the City. The names of the 59 Straffordians had already been posted, and they went in peril of their lives. The Peers were now intimidated by mob violence, and passed the Bill, 46 only voting out of the 80 who had attended the Trial. Efforts were still made to save Strafford's Life, but the popular leaders were afraid for their own. 'Stone dead hath no fellow,' said Essex (Clarendon, *Rebellion*, iii, § 164). The Commons were full of fears. Army plots, court intrigues, and the consciousness of treason with the Scots kept the Commons in terror. On one occasion a board cracked under the weight of two stout members. The House started. Sir Joseph Wray shouted that he smelt gun-powder and started for the door. A panic ensued. The flying people carried the news to the City. The Trained Band turned out and reached Covent Garden before they heard it was a false alarm. It was Strafford they were afraid of, and a tense stricken people are apt to be cruel (Rushworth, *Trial*, 744).

233. **The King's reluctance.** London was in an uproar. An armed mob pushed into the very courtyard of Whitehall, and 'the roguery offscum in the streets of Westminster talked so loud, that there was cause to dread it' (Hacket, *Williams*, ii. 161). The Queen and Queen Mother were threatened, and the Popish courtiers in Whitehall were making their confessions in fear of instant death (Gardiner, *Hist.* ix. 364). Henderson, at St. Antholins, and Puritan ministers cried from their pulpits for blood (Whitelock, *Memorials*, 45). Fierce and bitter libels came out daily (Laud, *Works*, iv. 444). A confederacy was formed to have Strafford brought once more to Westminster that he might be lynched by the way (Hacket, *Williams*, 161). Newport, the new Constable of the Tower, promised that Strafford should die with or without the King's consent (Clarendon, *Rebellion*, iii. 200). The Council urged Charles to yield. He sent for the Judges, who declared the Attainder to be law, but refused to express any opinion on Strafford's guilt (Radcliff, *Mem. in Strafford's Letters*, ii. 432). Charles consulted the Bishops. Juxon, like an honest man, counselled Charles not to yield. Usher, in a modified way, gave the same advice (Parr's *Life of Usher*, 61, cp. 144-6). Williams

maintained that Charles had two consciences, and as a man might believe him to be innocent, while as a King he decreed his guilt in accordance with law (Hacket, *Williams*, 161, cp. Clarendon, *Rebellion*, iii. 198). Finally Charles was persuaded. He said, 'If my person only was in danger, I would gladly venture it to save Lord Strafford's life; but, seeing my wife, children, and all my Kingdom are concerned in it, I am forced to give way unto it' (Forster, *British Statesmen*, vi. 81). On the following morning, May 10, 'the King signed the Commission to pass the Bill', saying with tears that my Lord Strafford's condition was more happy than his (Radcliff, *Mem. in Strafford's Letters*, ii. 432). Laud (*Works*, iv. 441) says, 'it would have been far more regal to reject the Bill when it had been brought to him, his conscience standing so as his Majesty professed it did'. Sancroft remarks that Laud's censure was too hard upon the King, but he was not so hard as the King was on himself. The *Eikon Basilike* (p. 6) records his repentance. 'I never met with more unhappy conjuncture of affairs, than in the business of that unfortunate Earl . . . I am so far from excusing or denying that compliance on my part (for plenary consent it was not) to his destruction . . . that I never bare any touch of conscience with greater regret, which, as a sign of my repentance, have often with sorrow confessed to God and man . . . I see it a bad exchange to wound a mans own conscience, thereby to salve state sores, to calme the streames of popular discontents by stirring up a tempest in a mans own bosom.'

234. **Tower Hill** was a large open space to the West and North of the Tower of London, and within its jealously guarded privileges. It was surrounded with the houses of merchants and gentry for

—'The Tower Hill

Of all the places London can afford

Hath sweetest ayre.'

(Haughton, *Englishmen for my money*, 1616.)

On the hill those found guilty of treason were commonly executed. Stow (Strype's ed., Bk. ii. 29) writes, 'The scaffolds were built at the charge of the city; but, in the reign of Edward IV, the same were erected at the charge of the King's officers, and that many controversies have been between the City and Lieutenant of the Tower touching their liberties'. Hollar's print of Strafford's execution shows the immense crowd of both sexes. Over 200,000 were said to have been present (Gardiner, *Hist.* ix. 369). In the distance one of the stages

has apparently fallen, a not unusual accident. At Lord Lovat's execution in 1746, a scaffold fell containing 1,000 persons, twelve of whom were killed (Timbs, *Curiosities of London*).

235. **Strafford's execution** took place on Wednesday, May 12. As Strafford passed out of the Tower, he knelt before Laud's window and received his blessing. The Lieutenant wished to convey him by coach for fear of the people, but the Earl answered, 'No, I am not afraid to look death in the face and the people too'. He mounted the scaffold, saluted his friends and made a speech. 'I am now in the very door going out, and my next step must be from time to eternity of peace or pain. To clear myself before you all, I do here solemnly call God to witness, I am not guilty, so far as I can understand, of the great crime laid to my charge. . . I submit to the judgment that has passed on me, with a quiet and contented mind, and I thank God I freely forgive all the world from my heart.' He strove to dissipate some misapprehensions, saying, 'I was so far from being against Parliaments, that I always thought the Parliaments of England were the most happy constitutions that any kingdom or nation ever lived under, and the best means under God to make both King and people happy' . . . but he besought them 'to consider whether the beginning of the happiness or reformation of a kingdom should be written in letters of blood; and may I never be so unhappy as that the least drop of my blood should rise up in judgment against any of you; but I fear you are in a wrong way'. He professed, 'I die a true and obedient son to the Church of England, wherein I was born and in which I was bred'. He spoke of his devotion to Our Blessed Lord and his hopes of pardon. He went on, 'I desire heartily the forgiveness of every man for any rash or unadvised words, or for anything done amiss'. He concluded by asking men to pray with him, and kneeling down prayed for a quarter of an hour. He then took an affectionate leave of his brother, sent messages to his wife and children, undressed as cheerfully as one going to bed, tucked his hair beneath a white cap, knelt at the block, and his neck was severed with a single blow (*Brief and Perfect Narrative in State Trials*, 1775, vol. i. 77-9). Laud noted in his History of his Trial (*Works*, iii. 443): 'The Earl of Strafford beheaded on Tower Hill. Some doubted whether his death had more of the Roman or the Christian, it was so full of both'. The pious Lady Brilliana Harley (*Letters*, 131) wrote to her son, 'Lord Strafforde, I think, dyed like a Seneca, but not like one who had tasted the mystery of godlyness'. She no doubt relied for her information on some Puritan divine. Another

pious lady, Mrs. Thornton (*Autobiography*, 15-19) was of another opinion. Her authority was evidently the one quoted above, but she knew the real Strafford, having been educated in Dublin with the Ladies Anne and Arabella. Wentworth (*ibid.*, p. 8). Richelieu, who by his intrigues with Covenanters had largely brought about Strafford's ruin, remarked, 'The English nation was so foolish, that they would not let the wisest head among them stand upon its shoulders' (Sir Philip Warwick, *Memoirs*, 76). GG
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236. **To such exorbitancy were things arrived!** Sir Philip Warwick (*Memoirs*, 179) writes, 'To show how mad this whole people were, especially in and about this their bloody and brutish city, in the evening of the day, wherein he was executed, the greatest demonstrations of joy which could possibly be expressed ran through the whole town and countries hereabout; and many also came up to town on purpose to see the execution, rode in triumph back, waving their hats and . . . through every town they went, crying, "His head is off, His head is off", and breaking the windows of those people who would not solemnize the festival with a bonfire.' If the deceived people were glad, the popular leaders at length felt safe. Bramston (*Autobiography*, 75) writes, 'I remember that day the Kinge passed that Act [of Attainder], I came from Westminster Hall with Mr. Mainard . . . he with great joy sayd, "Now we have done our worke; if wee could not have effected this, we could have done nothing"'. Strafford's enemies had no longer to insist on his crimes, and Whitelocke (*Memorials*, 45), who had exploited so well Vane's testimony, as prosecuting counsel, could write, 'Thus fell this noble Earl, who for natural Parts and Abilities, and for Improvement of Knowledge by Experience in the greatest affairs, for Wisdom, Faithfulness and Gallantry of Mind, hath left few behind him that may be ranked equal with him'. But this triumph over justice did not bring peace. Some eight years later, May (*Long Parliament*, 95) wrote, 'How far the Earl of Strafford did in his lifetime divide the King's affections from his people and Parliaments . . . I cannot surely tell; but certain it is his trial and death . . . did make such a division in that kind, as being unhappily nourished afterward, has almost ruined the three kingdoms'. The King concurred, for on January 14, 1645, he wrote to his wife (App. to *Ludlow's Memoirs*, 501), 'Nothing can be more evident, than that Strafford's innocent blood hath been one of the great causes of God's just judgment upon this action by a furious civil war; both sides hitherto being almost equally punished, as being in a manner equally guilty'.

VANDERBORCHT, HOLLAR, AND LORD ARUNDEL

June 28th, I went from Wotton to London with my Sister Jane, and the day after sate to one Vanderborcht for my picture in oyle, which I presented to her, being her request, upon my resolutions to absent myselfe from this ill face of things at home, which gave umbrage to wiser than myself, that the needail was reversing, and our calamities but yet in their infancy.

[On the 24th May, I returned to Wotton; and on the 28th of June, I went to London with my sister Jane, and the day after sat to one Vanderborcht for my picture in oil at Arundel House, whose servant that excellent painter was, brought out of Germany when the Earl returned from Vienna (whither he was sent Ambassador-Extraordinary, with great pomp and charge, though without any effect, through the artifice of the Jesuited Spaniard, who governed all in that conjuncture). With Vanderborcht, the painter, he brought over Wincellaus Hollar,]

[the sculptor, who engraved not only the unhappy Deputy's trial in Westminster hall, but his decapitation; as he did several other historical things, then relating to the accidents happening during the Rebellion in England, with great skill; besides many cities, towns, and landscapes, not only of this nation, but of foreign parts, and divers portraits of famous persons then in being; and things designed from the best pieces of the rare paintings and masters of which the Earl of Arundel was the possessor, purchased and collected in his travels with incredible expense: so as, though Hollar's were

but etched in aqua-fortis, I count the collection to be the most authentic and useful extant. Hollar was the son of a gentleman near Prague, in Bohemia, and my very good friend, perverted at last by the Jesuits at Antwerp to change his religion; a very honest, simple, well-meaning man, who at last came over again into England, where he died. We have the whole history of the King's reign, from his trial in Westminster hall and before, to the restoration of King Charles II, represented in several sculptures, with that also of Archbishop Laud, by this indefatigable artist; besides innumerable sculptures in the works of Dugdale, Ashmole, and other historical and useful works. I am the more particular upon this for the fruit of that collection, which I wish I had entire.]

§ xiii

VANDERBORCHT, HOLLAR, AND LORD
ARUNDEL

237. **Jane Evelyn** (1616-51) *vide* note 2. Very little is known of her. Evelyn sent her another portrait of himself from Paris in 1644 (i. 64). She consulted him about her marriage with George Glanville in 1647 (iii. 50). She accompanied him to Gravesend when he left for Paris in 1649 (iii. 59), and he visited her immediately on his return next year (iii. 72). She died in childbirth, and was buried at Wotton, December 19, 1651 (Helen Evelyn, *Hist. of E. Family*, p. 36). On January 2, 165½, Evelyn, being in Paris, writes, 'News of my sister Glanville's death in childbed, which exceedingly affected me'. Her only son, William, lived until 1691 (viii. 29).

238. **Arundel House** was situated in the Strand, east of Somerset House, and had previously been known as Hampton Place and Bath Inn (Stow, *Strype's ed.*, iv. 105). The Bishop of Bath and Wells surrendered it to the crown without any compensation, and it then passed to Thomas Seymour, Lord Sudeley. He largely rebuilt it, and after his execution in 1549, the Earl of Arundel bought it 'with several other messuages, tenements, and lands adjoining for £41 6s. 8d.'

(*ibid.*). It was confiscated on the attainder of Philip, Earl of Arundel, and was the French embassy under James I. The Duc de Sully declared that it was the finest and most commodious house in London, from its large number of apartments on the same floor (Pennant, *London*, 143). Thomas, Earl of Arundel, bought it back and made it the home of his vast collections. Hollar's print shows 'a congeries of low irregular buildings and the remains of a chapel' (Chancellor, *Annals of the Strand*, 289). Evelyn wonders that the Earl, who 'incited others to build with stone and brick after the present gusto' should have neglected his own palace (*Numismata*, p. 50). Henry Howard, in 1659, consulted with Evelyn as to rebuilding the house (iv. 56), and Evelyn was urging him to do so as late as 1671 (v. 98). After the Great Fire the Royal Society met there (v. 49), and it was offered to them as the site of a permanent college (v. 65). But at the end of the century it was pulled down, and Norfolk Street, Arundel Street, Howard Street, and Surrey Street, occupy the site. Seymour (*Survey of London*, ii. 1734) says, 'it was very large and old built house, with a spacious yard for stabling towards the Strand, and with a gate to enclose it where there was a porter's lodge, and as large a garden towards the Thames'.

239. **Vanderborcht** = Henry Vanderborcht the younger. His father, a Flemish painter, lived at Frankendal, and with him Arundel had many dealings. He met the son at Frankfurt, and sent him with Mr. Petty to buy pictures in Italy, and 'afterwards kept him in his service'. He was a painter and engraver. He drew many of the rarities in the Arundel collection between 1631-8 (Dallaway), and a book called the Catalogue of the Orangerie, containing 576 pieces pasted into a book, is in Paris containing many of his drawings (Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, i. 294, and iii. 176). He was for some time drawing-master to Charles II, then Prince of Wales; but on the outbreak of the Great Rebellion he retired to Antwerp, where he died.

240. **His portrait of Evelyn** is described by Aubrey (*Hist. of Surrey*). 'It represents a young man of a dark complexion, with dark brown hair, parted in the middle of the forehead, slightly curled and falling on shoulders, dark brown eyes, expression refined and intelligent, but for a young man somewhat ascetic, face turned to left, and both hands holding a book, light blue vest thrown over right shoulder, showing white tunic fringed with lace' (J. J. Foster, in *The Antiquary*, xi. 20). This portrait is now at Wotton.

241. **Lord Arundel's Embassy.** He received his instructions April 1, 1636, and set out with a magnificent train. William Crowne was his secretary, and a year later published the story of his *Travels*, with moving pictures of German desolation. William Harvey was his doctor, and frequently got lost on the journey through his scientific curiosity (Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, i. 301). Vanderborcht and Hollar also accompanied him to delineate what was worthy of remembrance. They were towed up the Rhine from Cologne, and found the French from Ehrenbreitstein battering Coblenz, and the people at Bacharach 'dead with grass in their mouths'. At Rudesheim, Arundel relieved the starving. Up the Main he found 'all towns, villages and castles be battered, pillaged or burnt'. Neustadt was a desolation, the upper Palatinate in ruins, and Croats lurking everywhere. One village 'hath been pillaged eight-and-twenty times in two years, and twice in one day' (Crowne). But such times of misery may be a collector's opportunity. Arundel is said to have laid out no less than £40,000 on purchases (Lodge, *Portraits*, iv. 199). On his return in January, 1637, E. R. wrote to Sir Thomas Puckering: 'Tuesday last week their Majesties came to Somerset House to lodge there, and on Wednesday the King went to Arundel House to see those rarities My Lord Marshall had brought out of Germany' (Birch, *Letters*, iii. 254).

242. **Jesuited Spaniard.** By this term Evelyn probably intended the Emperor. Crétineau-Joly (*Hist. de la Compagnie des Jésuites*, iii. 388) tells us that the Jesuits 'were the most able auxiliaries of Ferdinand in destroying the Protestants, they were in the imperial cabinet, in his armies, among the defeated sectaries, and they even dared to penetrate the camp of the Lutherans'.

243. **Failure of the Embassy.** Arundel's instructions were to urge the restoration of the Palatinate, to refuse any terms which might involve the King in war, and to offer the King's mediation in forming a league of Peace (Gardiner, *Hist.* viii. 158). Leicester was sent on a similar errand to Paris. The King's diplomacy was not so absurd as Mr. Gardiner would have us believe. Maximilian of Bavaria might ask with scorn, how could the English Fleet influence a campaign in Alsace, but Richelieu would have had no difficulty in answering the question—an English Fleet would facilitate or prevent the transport of men and money to the Spanish Netherlands. Charles was disinterested and at peace with all the combatants, and therefore in a position to mediate. The Fleet, built and

equipped with ship money, gave him a position of power. Germany, Sweden, and Poland, wanted peace. His project seemed possible. Contemporary English writers (Lloyd, *Memoirs of Loyalists*, p. 255) generally attribute the failure to the Electeur of Bavaria, but Ferdinand had become the tool of Spain, and both Spain and France were determined to settle their pretensions to supremacy in Europe on German soil. Neither wanted a mediator but an ally; and this being the case the embassy was bound to fail. On January 10, 1637, Dorothy, Lady Leicester, wrote to her husband in Paris: 'The Mareschal has been very kindly used by the King since his coming home . . . though he hath done nothing that was desired. He has had an ill journey, scurvy usage, and a base present (quoted, Julia Cartwright, *Sacharissa*, p. 51). As a matter of fact he had accepted no present, but left the Emperor's court without leave-taking or compliments. Throughout his embassy he had behaved with considerable spirit (Lloyd, 255).

244. **Engraving.** Evelyn attributes the first invention of engraving to Adam (*Sculptura*, p. 11), but owns (p. 35) 'The Art of Engraving and working off from Plates of Copper, which we call Prints, was not yet appearing or born with us, till about the year 1490'. Vasari (*Lives*, vi. 91), however, attributes the invention to the goldsmith, Maro Finiguera, and a plate of his has been discovered dated 1452 (Wornum in Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, iii. 122). The art came to England with printing, and Caxton's books are adorned with woodcuts; but the art did not thrive here, and most prints in English books were executed by Dutchmen. In 1650 Fuller (*Pisgah-Sight*, p. 46) says, 'Eminency in English Engravers is not to be expected, till this art be more countenanced and encouraged'. Arundel, who told Evelyn (*Sculptura*, 103), 'that one who could not designe a little would never make an honest man', provided his children with Henry Peacham as a Tutor. That worthy not only wrote *The Compleat Gentleman* for his pupils, but busied himself with engraving, and one plate of his after Holbein survives. Arundel liked to have his collections illustrated, and for this purpose employed not only Hollar and Vanderborcht, but also Vorstermans.

245. **Sculptor** = an engraver. The *N.E.D.* only illustrates this usage from Evelyn and Sir Thomas Browne, but it was fairly common in the seventeenth century. It allowed of Evelyn's beginning his *Sculptura* with a great parade of learning, tracing the connexion of terms in relation to

statuary, chalcography, and the engraving of seals. He was interested in the relation of one art to another, and the mechanism which was common to them. However, quoting Salmasius, he admits, 'those who wrought any of these hollow-cut works, were by some called Cavatores and Graphatores, whence doubtless our Gravers may have derived their Appellation' (p. 6).

246. **Aquafortis** = nitric acid, a powerful corrosive used by etchers.

247. **Wenceslaus (Vaclav) Hollar** (1607-77) was born at Prague, the son of a lawyer, who, according to Aubrey (*Brief Lives*, i. 407), was a Knight of the Empire. There is no truth in Aubrey's story that the family was Protestant, or in Evelyn's story that Wenceslaus was perverted by a Jesuit in Antwerp (*D.N.B.*). He was apprenticed to Matthew Marian at Prague, and afterwards worked at Frankfort, Cologne, and Antwerp, but 'had difficulty enough to subsist' (*Vertue*). In 1636, at Cologne, he introduced himself to Lord Arundel and accompanied him to Vienna. He was afterwards established in Arundel House, and married Mrs. Tracy, a gentlewoman of the Countess. In 1640 he became drawing-master to the Prince of Wales, whose early efforts are preserved among the Harl. MSS. of the British Museum. Early in the Civil War he became a soldier, and with his friend, William Faithorne, helped to defend Basing House. Afterwards he retired to Antwerp, and 'Wenceslaus Hollar, plaatsnyder' was entered in the Gild of S. Luke (*D.N.B.*). In 1652 Dugdale persuaded him to return to England. Aubrey (*Brief Lives*, i. 408) says, 'I remember he told me that when he first came to England (which was a secure time of peace) that the people both poore and rich did look cheerfully; but on his return, he found the countenances of the people all changed, melancholy, spiteful as if bewitched'. He worked hard, but was wretchedly paid. For his View of London from Greenwich he only received thirty shillings. Faithorne employed him at fourpence an hour, and he is said scrupulously to have turned the hour-glass on its side if he were interrupted. The Restoration brought him but little relief, though he worked for Prince Rupert and had the barren honour of being *Iconographus Regis*. Charles indeed induced the City of London to assist him to a slight extent (*C.S.P. Dom.*, 1666, 1667). In 1669 he went to Tangiers with Henry Howard to make plans and drawings of the fortifications. On his return he had a narrow escape from Algerine Pirates, and then had great difficulty in getting his promised pay of

£100. In 1677 his bed was seized by bailiffs as he was dying. He was buried in the Churchyard of St. Margaret's, Westminster, to the N.W. of the Tower. Parthey (*Wenzel Hollar*, Berlin, 1853) enumerates 1753 prints, which testify to Hollar's amazing industry. Granger (*Biog. Hist.* ii. 363) says, 'he has perpetuated the resemblance of a thousand curiosities of art and nature'. Gilpin (*Essay on Prints*, 154) says, 'If we are satisfied with exact representations, we have them no where better than in his works. But we are not to expect pictures'. Bryant (*Dict. of Painters and Engravers*) says his prints 'are executed with surprising lightness and spirit. His point is free, playful, and at the same time firm and finished'. Dallaway (Walpole, *Anecdotes*, iii. 171) says, 'he had no rival in point of truth to nature and art, and extreme delicacy of perception'. Yet 'he was extremely short-sighted, and did work so curiously, that the curiosity of his work is not to be judged without a magnifying glass. When he took his landscapes, he had then a glasse to help his sight' (Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, i. 408). In the eighteenth century there was a rage for collecting his prints. The Duchess of Portland formed the most complete collection. It passed to the Earls of Stamford and is now possessed by Lady Grey at Enville Hall.

248. **Hollar and Strafford.** He engraved Vandyck's portrait of Strafford, and produced historical pictures of his trial and execution.

249. **Cities, Towns, and Landscapes.** One of his earliest known prints is of Wurzburg, inscribed 'Hollar delineavit in legatione Arundeliana ad Imperatorem' (Bryant, *Dict.*). His Antwerp Cathedral is very fine, and his etchings of London most interesting. Pepys (*Diary*, vi. 72) mentions 'Hollar's new print of the City, with a pretty representation of that part which is burnt, very fine indeed'. Some of his latest prints are of Lincoln, Newark, Southwell, and York Minster.

250. **The Earl of Arundel's collection.** Hollar engraved an equestrian portrait of his patron as Lord General against the Scots in 1639, and delineated the wonderful Arundelian Cup ascribed to Andrea Mantegna. He also produced thirteen plates after Leonardo de Vinci's caricatures, and thirty-eight plates of shells, which are some of his rarest works.

251. **Hollar's portraits** are very numerous. He produced ten of Charles I and five of his Queen. Vandyck disliked his manner, according to Dallaway (Walpole, *Anecdotes*, iii. 165), and preferred Bolsaert, so that of the portraits taken from Vandyck, the greater part were executed after 1642, when the artist was dead.

252. **The Historical Plates** begin with a series commemorating Marie de Medici's visit to England, and go on to the Coronation of Charles II.

253. **Book Illustration.** Of Dugdale's *St. Paul's*, illustrated by Hollar, Granger (*Biog. Dict.* ii. 363) says, 'We seem to walk in the venerable structure, and with a pleasing memory survey its tombs, and dwell on their inscriptions, and are led to the thoughts of our own mortality'. Hollar also illustrated Dugdale's *Monasticon* and his *History of Warwickshire*; Thoroton's *Antiquities of Nottinghamshire* and Ashmole's *Antiquities of Berkshire*. Though this last work was not published until 1719, the drawings were made in 1659 (*Ashmole's Diary*, May 25, 1659). He also illustrated Ogilby's *Virgil* and Stapleton's *Fuvenal*. He was engaged on Sandford's *Royal Genealogy* at the time of his death. His last plate, uncompleted, is of Edward IV's tomb at Windsor.

254. **Hollar and Evelyn.** He executed for Evelyn the frontispiece of his *Lucretius*; and Evelyn was one of his earliest collectors. 'We may justly pronounce', he says (*Sculptura*, 82), 'there is not a more useful and instructive collection to be made.'

EVELYN SETS OUT ON HIS TRAVELS

[This picture I presented to my sister, being at her request, on my resolution to absent myself from this ill face of things at home, which gave umbrage to wiser than myself that the medal was reversing; and our calamities not yet in their infancy¹: so that on] the 16th July, having procur'd a passe at the Custome-house, where I repeated my oathe of allegiance, I went [from London] to Graves-end, accompany'd with one Mr. Caryll, [a Surrey gentleman], and our servants, [where we arrived by six o'clock that evening,] with a purpose to take the first opportunity of a passage for Holland: but the wind as yet not favourable, we had tyme to view the Blocke-house of that towne, which answered to another over against it at Tilberry, famous for the rendezvous of Queene Eliz. in the year 1588, which we found stored with 20 pieces of cannon and other ammunition proportionable.

On the 19th we rode to Rochester and Chatham to see the Sovraigne, a monstrous vessell so called, being for burthen, defense, and ornament, the richest that ever spread cloth before the wind,

[On the 19th of July we made a short excursion to Rochester, and having seen the Cathedral, went to Chatham to see the Royal Sovereign, a glorious vessel of burden lately built there, being for defence and ornament the richest that ever spread cloth

before the wind. She carried a hundred brass cannon; and was 1200 tons; a rare sailer, the work of the famous Phineas Pett, the inventor of the frigate fashion of building, to this day practised.]

¹ Cp. p. 156.

and especially for this remarkable, that her building cost his Ma^{tie} the affections of his subjects, who quarrell'd with him for a trifle, and it was managed by some of his secret enemys, who made this an occasion, refusing to contribute either to their own safety or his glory.

[But what is to be deplored as to this vessel is that it cost his Majesty the affections of his subjects, prevented by the malcontent great ones, who took occasion to quarrel for his having raised a very slight tax for the building of this, and equipping the rest of the navy, without an act of Parliament ;

though, by the suffrages of the major part of the Judges, the King might legally do in times of imminent danger, of which his Majesty was best apprised. But this not satisfying a jealous party, it was condemned as unprecedented, and not justifiable as to the Royal prerogative ; and accordingly the Judges were removed out of their places, fined and imprisoned.]

§ xiv

JOHN EVELYN STARTS ON HIS TRAVELS

255. **Reasons for Travel.** Evelyn's confession is not in the heroic spirit, but it is endorsed by others in those troublous times. Lady Wandesford sent her eldest son to France, where he remained 'during the heate [of] warre in part, all though he was compelled to return into England for lacke of supplies, when his rentes were seized on by the parliament' (Mrs. Thornton, *Autobiog.* 40). Four years later Birkenhead writes, 'Many of us are doomed to wander, not like Cain for shedding blood, but for asking peace (Pref. Lett. to Raymond's *Il Mercurio Italico*, iv). Swift, speaking of Sir William Temple, says: 'At nineteen he began his travels into France, in 1648, a time so dismal for England, that none but they, who were the occasion of those troubles and confusions in the country, could be sorry to leave it' (Temple's *Works*, I. iv). Of 1654 Sir John Reresby writes: 'The position of affairs so changed the face of home

that to live there appeared worse than banishment: which caused most of our youth (especially such whose families had adhered to the late King) to travel, amongst others myself' (*Travels*, 1). On the other hand the soldiers of fortune were trooping home. With them came John Milton, because 'I considered it dishonourable to be enjoying myself at my ease in foreign lands, while my countrymen were striking a blow for freedom' (quoted Pattison's Milton, p. 39). 'With some degree of merriment' the unfriendly Johnson comments 'on a man who hastens home because his countrymen are contending for their liberty, and, when he reaches the scene of action, vapours away his patriotism in a private boarding-school' (Dr. Johnson, *Works*, ix. 95).

256. **Umbrage**, *vide* note 52 where Umbrage may mean shade in the sense of shelter. Here it suggests a shadow that causes suspicion. Darmesteter (*Vie des Mots*, p. 77) traces in French the word *ombrage* from shadow to suspicion. In English also what is shadowy or shady is often suspicious. Umbrage is used by Fuller (*Holy War*, v. 25) for shadow as opposed to substance. He speaks of 'umbrages and state representations rather than realities'. Jeremy Taylor (*Works*, viii. 62) speaks of 'there being in the Old Testament thirteen types and umbrages of this Holy Sacrament'. Bacon (*War with Spain in Harl. Misc.* v. 84) speaks of 'umbrages, light jealousies and apprehensions afar off'. Donne (*Sermons*, 557) says: 'At the beginning men were a little umbrageous and startling at the name of the Fathers.' Lastly, Bishop Bull (*Works*, ii. 151) says that the corporal austerities of Roman Catholics are 'umbrages to the vilest vices and impurities'.

257. **The Medal was reversing**. We find on the reverse of a medal its explanation or the occasion of its being struck. The reversing of a medal is in consequence no good metaphor for a revolution. The *N.E.D.* does not quote Evelyn's phrase. Not until 1868 does Duff (*Political Survey*, 195) write, 'Thus for the reverse of the medal, you have Mr Christie's Notes on Brazilian questions'. Evelyn was probably unconsciously influenced by the phrase, *the Reverse of the Shield*, which implies a change of government, and dates back to Robert of Brunne; and to the fact that Coats of Arms were reversed for treason (Guillim, *Heraldry*, I, ch. viii) and weapons were reversed at funerals.

258. **Pass at the Custom House, &c.** On April 30, 1637, a proclamation was issued forbidding persons of property ('subsidy men') to quit the country without the licence of the Privy Council. Such licences were only to be issued to those

who were able to produce certificates of having taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and the testimony of their parish minister as to their conformity in ecclesiastical matters (Burrows, *Annals of England*, 409). The proclamation aimed at restricting emigration to America, and the regulations were no doubt modified for tourists.

259. **From London to Gravesend.** This was called the Long Ferry, the Cross Ferry being from Gravesend to Tilbury. The barges or tilt-boats started from Billingsgate; the journey had to be completed during a single tide; and the fare in the public boats was sixpence. Care, however, had to be taken to bargain beforehand as to luggage (Cruden, *Hist. of Gravesend and Port of London*, passim).

260. **Mr. Caryll.** This was probably John of Tangle, Wonersh, &c., born 1615, or Simon his brother, born 1619. They were the sons of Simon Caryll, and connected with the Duncombes of Albury (note 185). John matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford, in 1630, and the same year entered at Gray's Inn (Foster, *Alumni*). In 1649 he mortgaged his property at Bramley to George Duncombe (*V. C. H., Surrey*, iii. 148), who was acting also as honest broker for the Howards.

261. **Gravesend.** Hentzner (*Travels*, 71) found Gravesend 'a small town famed for the convenience of its port'. He also states that 'the largest Dutch ships usually call here'. The place first appears in Domesday book as Gravesham. There were then, and still are, three manors of Gravesend, Milton, and Parrock, and two ecclesiastical parishes of Gravesend and Milton. The place owes its existence to the fact that travellers to the continent, and pilgrims to Canterbury generally came by water from London. Richard II granted the inhabitants the sole right to ply the Long Ferry (note 259); and there was a *Curia Cursus Aquae* to maintain their rights. The town was not incorporated until 1562, and only obtained a Mayor in the reign of Charles I. In 1612 the Prince Palatine was there; in 1614 the King of Denmark. In 1616 Pocohontas, Rolfe's Indian bride, died there, 'giving testimony all the time she lay sick of being a very good Christian' (Smith, *Hist. of Virginia*, 119). In 1624 Charles and Buckingham, on their way to Spain in disguise, were nearly stopped here, through giving the waterman a gold piece. In 1625 Henrietta Maria took boat from Gravesend for London. No provincial town in England has welcomed more Kings and Ambassadors. 'The custom having ever been for the Lord Chamberlain to command, and for Ambassadors (especially extraordinaries) to use his Majesty's Barges to and from Gravesend, as well at

their coming, so at their departing' (Sir John Finett, *Philoxenis*, quoted Cruden, *Gravesend*, 287).

262. **The Blockhouse at Gravesend.** 'King Henry the eight . . . raised a platforme at Gravesend, one other at Mylton, and two others over against them on Essex side, to command the river in those places' (Lambarde, *Perambulation of Kent*, 438). William Browne of Gravesend, in his *Regiment of the Sea*, 1573, says: 'All those castles and forts that were builded in the times of Henry VIII were rounds, or parts of rounds, which are of no force for they cannot flank the ditches' (quoted Cruden, *Gravesend*, 212). In the alarm occasioned by the Spanish Armada, the fortifications of the Thames were reconstituted by the Mantuan, Federigo Gianebelli (Hakluyt, *Voyages*, i. 593); but they soon fell into disrepair. In 1623 and 1630 there are reports showing that the ramparts and building needed reconstruction, that many of the guns were not mounted, and that the pay was in some cases six years in arrear (printed in Cruden, 292 ff.). What was done is not known, but in the *Commons Journal*, July 31, 1647, the Blockhouse at Gravesend was reported to be scarcely tenable (Cruden, 315). The Fort became of more importance after the Restoration (v. 26; vi. 4). From 1778-80 new fortifications were carried out under the directions of Sir Thomas Hyde Page (Wheatley, *Pepys*, vi. 357); but in 1834 the forts were dismantled. Two years later the ground became the property of the town, and the Terrace gardens were laid out (Cruden, 509-18).

263. **Gravesend and Tilbury during the Armada.** On July 22, 1588, Leicester came to Gravesend with Peter Pett of Deptford to stop the passage of the river with boats protected by a palisade (*Leicester to Walsingham*). 'It was very late,' as Hakluyt observes (*Voyages*, i. 595). However, 'western barges were brought to make a bridge like that at Antwerp, to stop the entrance of the daring foe; and to give free passage, both to horse and foot, between Kent and Essex as occasion served' (*Progresses of Q. Eliz.*, quoted Pocock, *Hist. of Gravesend*, 163). On July 23 Leicester 'perused' the forts and 'found not one platforme to bear any ordinance' either in Gravesend or Tilbury. The forts were lacking in everything, from wheelbarrows to 'beare and befe' (*To Walsingham*). Gianebelli was soon at work on the fortifications. On the 25th Leicester had received 4,000 men of Essex, but many had come without a Captain, and all without provisions. He ordered a 'c tonnes of beare' from London, and notes the good spirit of the men who said 'they wold abyde

more hunger than this to serve her Ma^{ty} and the countrey' (*To Walsingham*). On the 25th Leicester wrote to the Queen, 'You shall, dear La., behold as goodly, as loyall and as able men as any Christian Prince can shewe you'. Stowe (*Annals*, p. 749) describes the prevailing enthusiasm of the muster. 'It was a pleasant sight to behold the soldiers as they marched towards Tilbury, their cheerful countenances, courageous words and gestures, dancing and leaping wheresoever they came; their most felicity was hope of fight with the enemy, where oftentimes divers rumours ran of their foes' approach, and that present battle would be given them. Then were they joyful at such news as lusty giants to run a race.' An old soldier, Sir John Smith (*Instructions, &c. Mylitarie*, 1595, p. 183), is more critical: 'In the Camp and Armie at Tilburie, 1588, whereas there were regiments of divers shires, with divers bands both of demilaunces and lighthorsemen, I did see, and observe, so great disorder and deformitee in their apparell to arme withall . . . whereof it came to passe that the most of them did weare their Armes verie uncomelie,, uneasilie.' Leicester had great difficulty in feeding his men, and on August 7 a proclamation was published fixing maximum prices (*Cruden, Gravesend*, 293). Profiteering was not unknown in the days of the Armada.

264. **Queen Elizabeth at Tilbury.** On July 25, 1588, Leicester had heard of the Queen's intention to visit the camp, and wrote: 'Good sweete Q, alter not yo^r purpose yf God gyve you good health. Hit will be yo^r payne for the tyme, but yo^r pleasure to beholde such people.' Two days later he writes of 'imploying yo^r own person in this dangerous action'; and 'yo^r person being the most deinty and sacred thing we have in the world to care for', yet 'yt is no small favour, to send to your pore servant, thus to vysesett him'. So, on August 8, Elizabeth came, escorted by a 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot under Sir Roger Williams. Her coach was studded with diamonds, emeralds, and rubies,

'In checkerwise by strange invention
With curious knots embroidered with gold.'

(Aske, *Elizabetha Triumphans*.)

She stayed the night at Mr. Rich's house, and at daybreak there was a review. 'The Queen with a masculine spirit . . . riding about through the ranks of the armed men drawn up on both sides of her, with a Leader's truncheon in her hand, sometimes with a martial pace, another while gently like a woman, incredible it is, how much she encouraged the

hearts of her Captains and Souldiers by her presence and speech to them' (Camden, *Q. Eliz.* 416). After the Review she dined with Leicester and his captains

'Who lately were beclad in Mars his cloathes,
Inranked then in Court-like costly suits' (Aske);

and during dinner she received a dispatch from Sir Thomas Morgan, 'that the D. of Parma was deternyned this spring-tide to come out' (*Walsingham to Burleigh*). It was after this that she sent for the Sergeant Major, and gave him her message to the troops. 'I have come among you at this time, not as for any recreation or sport, but being resolved, in the midst of the heat and the battle, to live or die among you all; to lay down for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood even in the dust. I know I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart of a king, and of a King of England too; and think foul scorn that Parma, or Spain, or any Prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm. To which rather than any dishonour should grow by me, I myself will take up arms; I myself will be your general, judge and rewarder of everyone of your virtues in the field' (quoted Creighton, p. 151). Having delivered this message, the Queen was escorted to her barge and went away. Mr. Christy Miller (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, January, 1919) thinks that this speech was spoken by the Queen in substance to the troops. This is not inconsistent with my view. The Queen made many speeches to the bodies she inspected, and they are summed up in the speech she delivered for publication.

265. **Rochester.** In 1588 William Smith, Rouge Dragon, made an interesting perspective drawing of the City and appended an account (*Sloane MSS.* 2596, quoted *Arch. Cant.* vi. 54). It was then 'a little cittie, but very ancient as may appear by the walles thereof, which now in many places are gone to decay'. The inhabitants, indeed, claimed that Julius Caesar had founded Rochester, but Lambarde (*Perambulation*, 322) will not credit the 'farre fetched antiquitie', but prefers the authority of Bede, who says it was the castle of Rof, a Saxon. The Norwich officer, who visited the city in 1635 (*Lansdowne MSS.*, quoted *Arch. Cant.* vi. 62), 'found this Citty little and sweet, so I found her cheife and best structures correspondent to her smallnesse, which was neat and handsome, and neither great nor sumptuous'. The principal sights were the Cathedral (*vide infra*), the Castle, and the Bridge. The Norwich officer speaks of 'an old ruinated Castle'.

Besides the Keep, assigned perhaps erroneously to Gundulf, the architect of the White Tower, six towers were still standing, and the walls enclosed a court of two acres. The Keep was dangerous, but 'there is yet so much remayning as a man may adventure an ascent of 140 staires to the top thereof, without any great danger'. It was on these staires, in 1665, that Pepys (*Diary*, vi. 101) 'did overtake three pretty maids' and kissed them. They went with him to the summit, but 'Lord to see what a dreadful thing it is to look down the precipices'. The sight 'did hinder me much pleasure' with the maidens. The Stone Bridge, built by Sir Robert Knollys about 1400, took the place of a wooden erection which had always been dangerous (*Arch. Cant.* vi. 44). 'That olde worke . . . was fiered by Simon, the Earle of Leicester, in the time of King Henrie the third: . . . and not fully twenty years after, it was borne away with the Ise, in the reigne of King Edwarde his Sonne' (Lambarde, *Perambulation*, 344). The Stone Bridge was out of repair when Henry VII visited the City, and he was obliged to use the ferry. Cardinal Morton granted indulgences for forty days to those who contributed to its restoration (*Arch. Cant.* vi. 48, 49). Leland (*Itinerary*, iv. 52) says that John Warner, a merchant, provided the coping, and Archbishop Warham the iron bars above (cp. Camden, *Britannia*, 333). These were six feet high, and the French Ambassador (1641), Jacques d'Estamps, Marquis de la Ferté-Imbault, thinks they were provided 'that drunkards, not uncommon here, may not mix water with their wine' (*Arch. Cant.* vi. 64). Sorbière (*Journey into England*, 12) only observes 'that they hinder hats to be blown away by the wind'. The Norwich Officer (*ut supra*) noticed how 'the water noyseth' beneath the arches, and Smith (*ut supra*) notes how the river 'is of such depth that all the Queene's Ma^{ties} shippes do ryde there at a low water, all along the River from Rochester to Upnor Castell'. The old Bridge was destroyed in 1856 (*Encycl. Brit.*).

266. **Rochester Cathedral.** The See was founded by St. Augustine in 604, and Justus was first Bishop. Ethelbert built a church, dedicated to St. Andrew (*Arch. Cant.* xviii. 261). This church was ruined by the Danes, and Gundulf founded the present cathedral eastward of the Saxon church. His work was continued by Ernulf (1115-24) and John of Canterbury (1125-37). It was dedicated 1130, and the town was burnt down the same day (Lambarde, *Perambulation*, 335). The Priory was never wealthy, and in 1212, after a lawsuit prosecuted at Rome, the monks were obliged

'to coine the silver of Paulinus shrine into ready money' (ibid. 341). They subsequently derived a considerable income from the shrine of St. William, the Scotch pilgrim, who died at Rochester (ibid. 342). This revenue came to an end at the Reformation when a Dean and six canons took the place of the monks. 'The Cathedral of Rochester', says Fuller (*Worthies, Kent*, 58), 'is low and little, proportional to the Revenues thereof. Yet hath it (though no Magnificence) a venerable aspect of Antiquitye therein.' It is only 310 feet in length and 68 feet in breadth, but it is an admirable example of Norman architecture, and its west front, and richly carved door are famous. In 1633 Laud reported on the evidence of the Bishop, 'that the Cathedral suffers much from the want of glass in the windows, and the churchyard lies very undecently and the gates down'. In his Visitation Articles of two years later, he asks 'whether the boys be suffered to play in the Cathedral churchyard, whereby the Church windows are sometimes broken' (*Works*, v. 455, 456). But by then, all was in order, for the Norwich officer (*Lansdowne MSS.*, quoted *Arch. Cant.* vi. 63) notes, 'The Cathedral, though the same be small and plaine, yet it is very lightsome and pleasant, her quire is neatly adorn'd with many small pillars of marble; her organs, though small, yet are they rich and neet; her quiristers, though but few, yet orderly and devout'. The monuments of two unknown bishops, of Gundulf, Walter de Merton, Mr. Streater and Sir Alexander Temple are then described; and the author adds that there are 'diverse others also of antiquity, so dismembred, defac'd and abased as I was forc'd to leave them to some better discovery'. It is therefore clear that all the damage was not done by the Roundhead soldiery. They broke but did not rifle Walter de Merton's tomb, which was restored by Sir Thomas Clayton, Warden of Merton, in the reign of Charles II (*Arch. Cant.* xi. 1). Ryves (*Mercurius Rusticus*, 316) only accuses them of tearing down the altar rails, stealing the velvet covering of the altar, and of tearing up the Prayer Books in the choir.

267. **Chatham.** When Lambarde before 1570 wrote his *Perambulation of Kent*, he had nothing to record but the indecent competition between Our Lady of Chatham and the Rood of Gillingham (pp. 324 ff.); but the sagacious Burghley and the practical Hawkins made it a Naval Port. The latter endowed a Hospital for sailors, and with Sir Thomas Drake established a contributing system for pensions, which developed into 'The Chatham Chest' (Ireland, *Hist of Kent*,

iv. 343 ff.). James removed the Naval works from The Old Dock to their present site, but he was not much interested in the sea; and the French Ambassador, the Count de Beaumont, in 1604, reported that after visiting the Fleet the seamen were offended, saying, 'he loved stags more than ships, and the sound of hunting-horns more than canon'. Charles I on the other hand paid much attention to shipping. In his reign Sir William Monson in his *Naval Tracts* (Churchill's *Voyages*, iii. 454) weighs the advantages of Chatham and Portsmouth, and prefers the former harbour. It was safer, it was easier there to provision the Fleet, it was a better recruiting ground for men, and it would be more convenient in the war with Holland which he thought to be inevitable. He recommends the fortification of the estuary and deplures the condition of Upnor Castle. Had he been listened to, the Dutch would never have sailed into the Medway.

268. **Phineas Pett** (1570-1647). Thomas Heywood (*England's Remembrance*) says, 'his ancestors . . . for the space of two hundred years and upwards have continued in the same name, officers and architects of the Royal Navy'. In 1637 this was rather a prophecy than a fact. The Royal Navy was not so old, and the first Pett who built for it was Phineas' grandfather. Fuller (*Worthies, Kent*, 59) is more accurate, saying, 'the mystery of shipwrights hath been for some descents preserved successively in Families, of whom the Petts about Chatham are of singular regard'. The autobiography of Phineas has been largely printed in *Archaeologia* (vol. xii. 217 ff.). He was the son of Peter Pett by his second wife, was educated at the Free School, Rochester, 'to my small profiting'; and by a Mr. Adams of Greenwich. He entered Emmanuel College, Cambridge, but his father died in 1589, and his mother married again 'a wicked husband', who beat Pett's sister to death with a pair of tongs (*C.S.P. Dom.*, May 28, 1599) and cast Phineas destitute on the world, his half-brothers refusing to support him. He was apprenticed to Mr. Chapman with £2 6s. 8d. to keep him in tools and clothes. He went to sea, but soon returned to the dockyard as a workman, 'always endeavouring to keep company with men of good rank, better than myself' (*Arch.* xii. 220). 'In the evenings I spent my time to good purposes, as in cyphering, drawing, and practising to attain the knowledge of my profession' (*ibid.* 222). In 1597 he was presented to the Lord High Admiral, and obtained a place as keeper of the plank-yard at Chatham with 1s. 6d. a day, plus a yearly fee

of £6. But his success began with the building of a miniature Ark Royal, as a pleasure boat for Henry, Prince of Wales. He was reconciled to his half-brothers, and succeeded the eldest of them as Master Shipwright. This rapid promotion made him many enemies, who won over Lord Northampton, the Admiral's enemy at Court. Finally, James I came to Woolwich, held an inquiry at which he showed great shrewdness, and Pett's efficiency was established (*ibid.* 231-66). In 1613 he built the *Destiny* for Sir Walter Raleigh, but was never fully paid. In 1622 he made a voyage against the Algerine Pirates. He was in the fleet which brought back Charles from Spain, and in the ship which brought Henrietta Maria to England. He was present when Buckingham was murdered, and employed in the improvement of Portsmouth harbour. But his principal work was shipbuilding, and *the Sovereign of the Seas* was his crowning achievement. With the launching of that vessel his Autobiography ends, although he lived ten years afterwards.

269. **The Royal Sovereign.** First called *the Sovereign of the Seas*, then *the Sovereign* (v. 66), and lastly *the Royal Sovereign*. Charles I 'was magnificent in some measure, and was the only cause of building that miracle of ships, the Royal Sovereign' (Lilly, *Life and Death of Charles I*, 190). Phineas Pett (*Archaeologia*, xii. 279 ff.) tells how, in 1634, when *the Leopard* was launched, the King 'being in the ship's hold, called me aside privately, and told me of his resolution of building a great war ship'. The model was ready for the King's inspection by October 29. During 1635 Pett was in the north purchasing timber in Chapley Wood and Brancepeth Park. It was stripped of its bark while growing in the Spring, and felled the second autumn afterwards. Dr. Plot (*Philosoph. Trans.* iii. 424, ed. 1809) says that after forty-seven years the timbers were so hard that it was almost impossible to drive a nail into them. The keel was laid down December 21, 1635, and September 25, 1636, was fixed for launching the vessel; but owing to bad tides she only slipped into the water on October 16. She was finished June 6, 1637, when the King and court inspected her. Thomas Heywood described her in *England's Remembrance*. Fuller (*Worthies, Kent*, 59) says she is 'a Leiger Ship for State', and 'the greatest Ship our Island ever saw'. Howell (*Letters*, I, Sect. vi, Ep. 33) says, 'We have a brave new ship, or Royal Galleon, the like, they say, did never spread sail upon salt water . . . for her burden she hath as many tons as there were years since the Incarnation . . . she is in length 127 ft., her greatest breadth within

the planks is 46 ft. six inches. She carrieth a 100 pieces of Ordinance, wanting four, whereof she hath three tyre; half a score men may stand in her Lanthorn; the charges his Majesty hath bin at in the building of her are computed to be four score thousand pounds, one whole year's Ship Money' (see further, v. 66 and viii. 61).

270. **Frigates.** The word is found in French, Italian, and Spanish, but Florio (*Worlde of Wordes*) defines it as 'a pinace, a barge, a flieboat'. It does not occur in Minsheu (*Guide unto Tongues*) or in Phillips (*Worlde of Wordes*); but Bailey (*Dictionary*) defines it as 'a small man-of-war, built somewhat longer and lower than others for swift sailing; and not having more than two decks'. The *N.E.D.* adds 'that a frigate had a descent of some steps from the quarterdeck and forecastle into the waist'. Pett did not invent, but introduced these vessels into the Navy and improved their construction. So Fuller (*Worthies, Kent*, 59) says: 'We fetched the first Mold and Pattern of our Frigate from the Dunkerks, when in the days of the Duke of Buckingham (then Admiral) we took some Frigots from them, two of which still remain in his Majesty's Navy, by the name of the Providence and the Expedition. All this is confessed, and honest men may lawfully learn something from thieves for their own defence. But it is added, we have improved our Patterns, and the Transcripts doth at this day exceed the Original: witness some of the swiftest Dunkerks and Ostenders, whose wings in a fair flight have failed them, overtaken by our Frigots, and they still remain the Monuments thereof in our Navy.'

271. **Ship Money.** Constitutional lawyers rejoice over the opposition to Ship Money, and they are right; but it is hard to see how Charles could have acted differently. Every one agreed that the Parliament ought to vote taxes, but the King 'found that he could not have any [money], unless by yielding up his prerogatives, or delivering up his officers to ruine' (Bramston, *Autobiography*, 64). Either the rights of Parliament or the rights of the King had to be sacrificed, for the old constitution had ceased to work. Meantime, the Dutch were shutting us out from the Indies and had massacred our traders as at Amboyna. They were attempting to prevent our fishing in the North Sea, were themselves fishing in our territorial waters, fought Spaniards in the Downs, and dared to land on our coasts in pursuit of Spanish crews. Privateers from Dunkirk and Ostend preyed upon English commerce; while Barbary Pirates, sometimes officered by English renegadoes, swarmed in the English and Bristol Channels. In

1626 no less than 2,000 wives petitioned the Crown, stating that their husbands were slaves to the Moors. When Grotius wrote his *Mare Liberum*, Selden replied with *Mare Clausum*, showing that history, if not reason, proved England's sovereignty in the Narrow Seas. Bishop Sanderson (*Works*, ii. 263) speaks of our 'casual confidence and security in the strength of our wooden and watery walls'. England, from the days of Elizabeth until 1914, has been proud of her Navy, and grudged the money for keeping it efficient. It was not only Charles who appealed to facts as far back as the days of Edgar, John Milton (*Prose Works*, v. 341) did the same. The question was, Who was to pay? Ship-money from the sea-port towns was indubitably legal; it had been, but it was no longer sufficient. The King, in consequence, demanded Ship-money from the inland shires. This, as Evelyn says, was *unprecedented*. Sir John Stanhope of Elvaston refused to pay. His example was followed by Lord Say and Sele and John Hampden. The King consulted the judges, who declared (1) that when the Kingdom was in danger, the King could legally call on all his subjects for ships or for money to supply them; and (2) that the King was the sole judge of when such an emergency had arisen. Viewed in one way this was common sense, for necessity knows no law; viewed in another, it might endanger all the liberties of the people. Hampden, jealous for liberty, stood his trial; the case was argued, and the majority of the judges adhered to their previous decision. To-day we may be glad that Hampden maintained his constitutional position, but we cannot condemn his adversaries. A practical man, like Monson, Admiral of the Narrow Seas, had no patience with constitutional theorists. He saw the complete change of conditions, he feared the aggressiveness of Holland; and he rejoiced that renewed naval activity had made the Dutch 'pluck in their horns and quit our coasts' (*Naval Tracts* in Churchill's *Voyages*, iii. 290, 294). He argues with a malcontent, 'You are like a covetous Man, who, out of avarice, will not be at the charge of mending his chimney, to avoid the hazard of burning his house' (*ibid.* p. 288). Howell (*Letters*, I, Sect. vi, Ep. 15) writes: 'We have a gallant Fleet Royal ready to set to Sea. . . Hans said the King of England was asleep all this while, but now he is awake; nor do I hear doth your French Cardinal tamper any longer with our King's Title and Right to the dominion of the Narrow Seas. These are brave fruits of the Ship Money.' A little later Sir Philip Warwick (*Memoirs*, 53, cp. 129) adds that the Fleet 'had reduced both Dutch and French to modesty; had

asserted the King's right against their fishing, freed our Channel from the pirates, secured the forts on Flander's side, and brought from Spain and other ports a large enlargement of trade, and advancement to our Mint, and every where an honour to our nation'. Even Whitelocke (*Memorials*, 23, 25), a stalwart opponent of Ship Money, notes the advantages of having a fleet once more at sea. The ships built by Charles rendered possible the victories of Monk and Blake. Charles bears the blame, and they take the credit. Never was England so prosperous as in the days of Charles' personal rule, never so lightly taxed; but through the long peace which followed the Armada, the spirit of Patriotism slept: men were eager for better government, but unwilling to pay for any government at all. William Lilly (*Life and Death of Charles I*, p. 207) writes: 'This Ship Money was generally disliked, being a mere innovation, and a cleanly trick to poll the subjects, and cheat them into an annual payment. My self was then a collector for it in the place I lived in. I remember my proportion was twenty two shillings and no more. If we compare the time then and the present (1651) in which I now live, you shall see great difference even in assessments, the necessity of maintaining our armies requiring it: for now my annual payments to the soldiery are very near or more than twenty pounds, my estate being no way greater than formerly.' About the same time John Milton tells us (*Prose Works*, ii. 260), 'I usually kept myself secluded, where my own property, part of which had been withheld during the civil commotions, and part of which had been absorbed in the oppressive contributions which I had to sustain, afforded me a scanty maintenance'. The men who preferred Cromwell to Charles had to pay for the privilege of maintaining militarism.

272. **Unprecedented.** Arguing from etymology, Evelyn would mean that Ship Money was complained of because it did not constitute a precedent. He means, however, that there was no precedent for the levy. Under *Precedential*, the *N.E.D.* quotes a similar solecism, 1642 (R. Watson, *Serm. on Schisme*, p. 29), 'They can fix on the same an unparallell'd non-precedentiall interpretation'.

273. **The Judges Removed.** Bacon (*Essay on Judicature*) wrote: 'Let judges also remember that Solomon's throne was supported by lions on both sides: let them be lions under the throne; being circumspect that they do not oppose any point of sovereignty' (cp. *Life and Letters*, vi. 202 Bacon's speech to that Hutton who did not sign the declaration on Ship Money). Some went further. Robert Berkeley declared, 'Rex

est Lex, Lex loquens' (*D.N.B. Berkeley*). It is not surprising that such judges decided in favour of Ship Money, and also gave an honest decision. Finch, who managed the whole business, asserted, without contradiction, that 'he did never use the least promise of preferment or reward to any, nor did use the least menace' (quoted Gardiner, *Hist.* viii. 25). Hutton did not sign, and Cooke returned an independent answer, 'that when the whole Kingdom is in danger, the defense thereof ought to be borne by all' (*ibid.*). Bramston signed, but would have welcomed a more guarded statement (*His Son's Autobiography*, p. 68 ; cp. Crooke's *Letter* in Whitelocke, p. 49). On December 17, 1640, St. John reported that Ship Money was illegal, and the declaration of the judges in defiance of the Law. Falkland proposed their removal, and was supported by Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon (Gardiner, *Hist.* ix. 245, 246). Denham, James, and Vernon were dead. Finch fled the country (§ 16). The rest were impeached, Hyde managing the prosecution against three of the accused. Berkeley was arrested on the King's Bench (Whitelocke, *Memorials*, 40), was fined £20,000, and deprived. He compounded by paying half the sum at once. Trevor was likewise imprisoned, but paid his fine of £6,000, joined the Parliament side, and resumed his place on the Bench (*D.N.B.*). The impeachment of the others was allowed to drop for lack of evidence, but Crawley and Weston were disabled from acting. Davenport resigned and went to Oxford. Bramston was confined to London, and in consequence relieved of his office by the King. The Commons pretended to be jealous for the independence of the judicature. They rightly contended that Judges should not hold office merely at the King's pleasure. But they did not advance the cause of judicial independence when they imprisoned and removed such judges as gave decisions displeasing to themselves.

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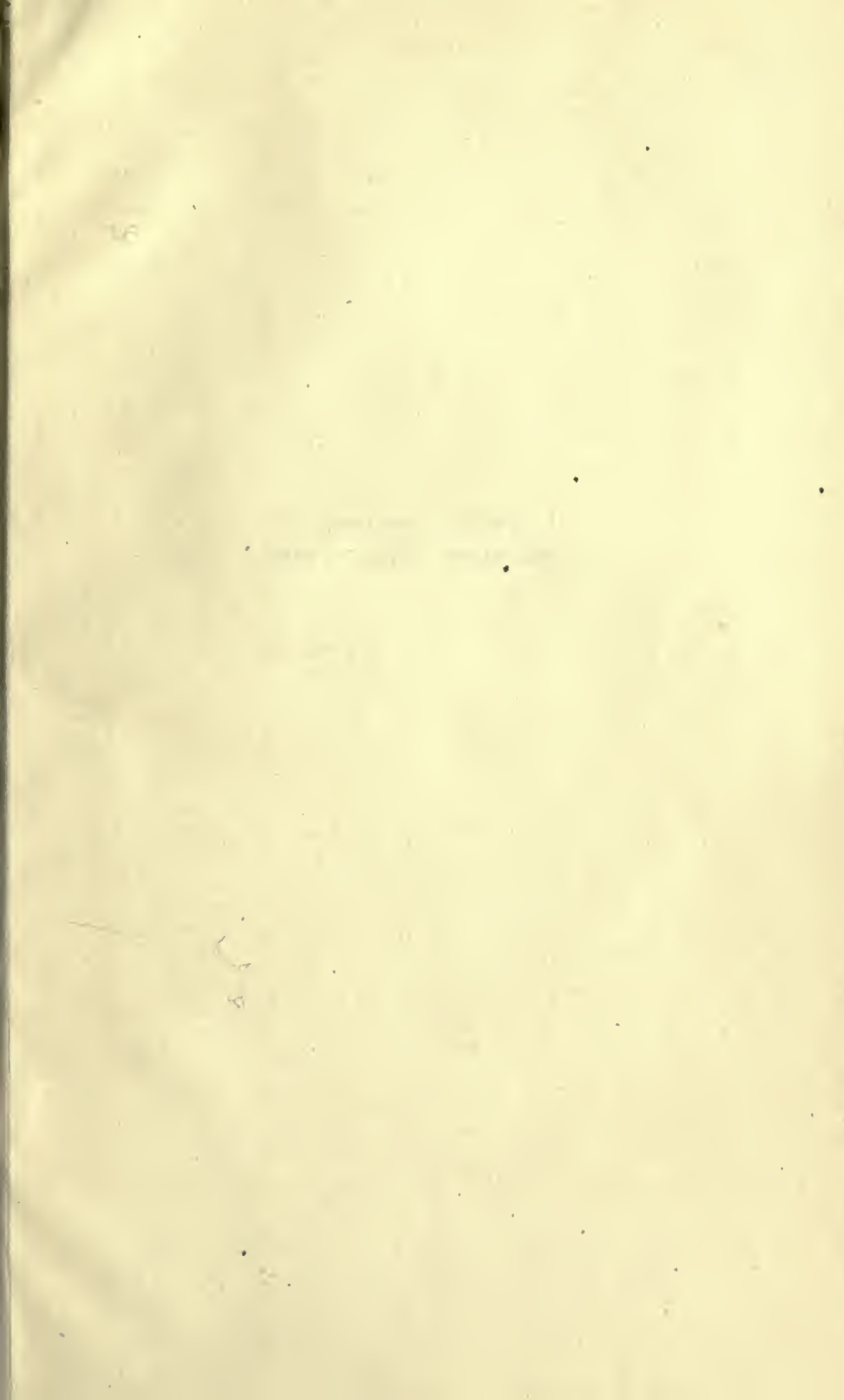
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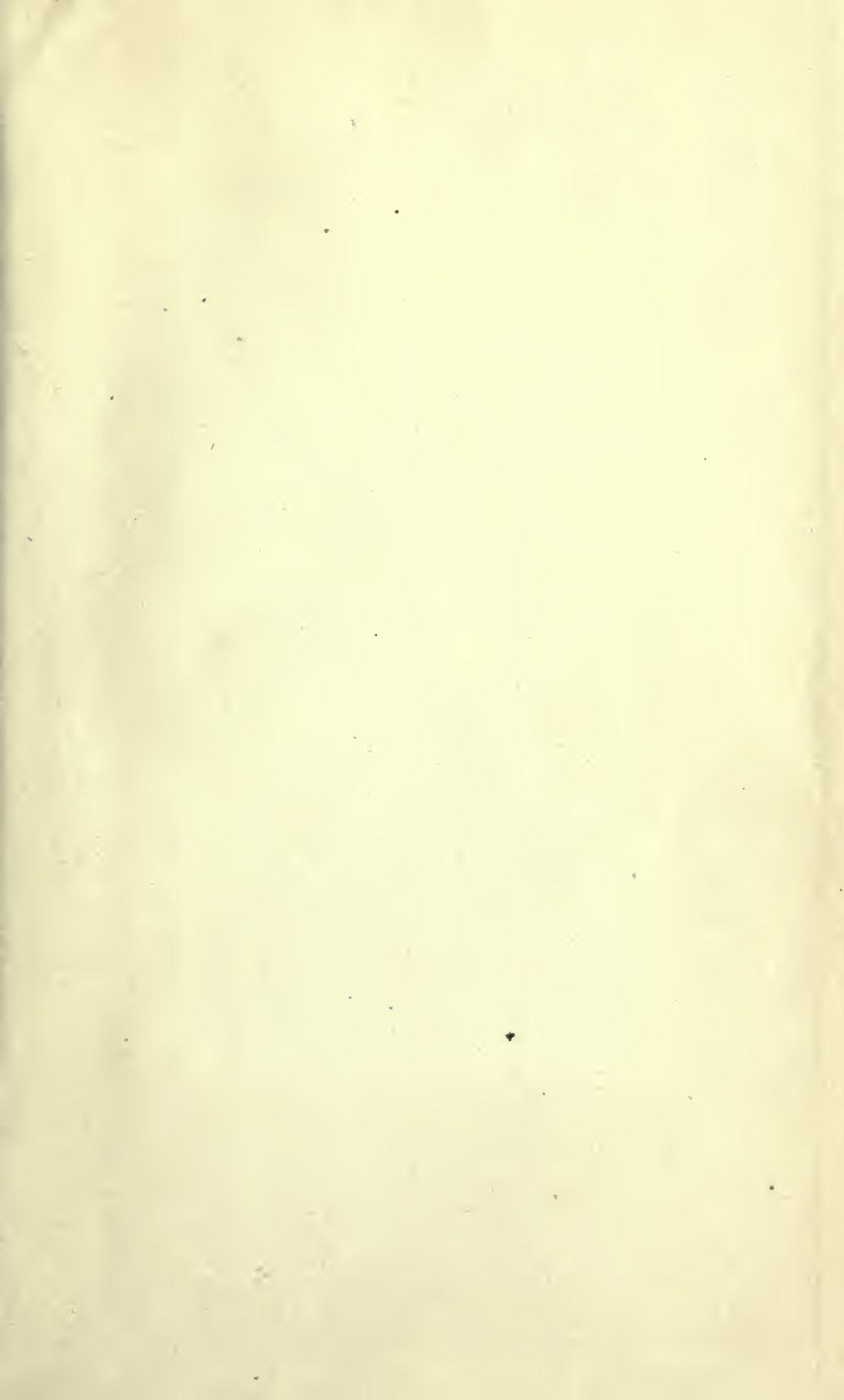
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