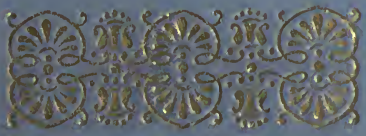
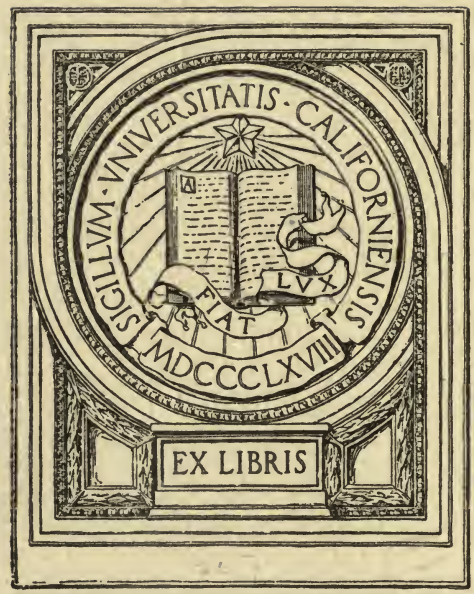
# CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE HISTORIES



## MAGDALENE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COLLEGE
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# MAGDALENE COLLEGE


VIEW BY LOGGAN (c. 1675)

University of Cambridge

COLLEGE HISTORIES

# MAGDALENE COLLEGE

BY

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# INTRODUCTION

I CLAIM indulgence for this little book, as having been written in the intervals of school-work. The task, which has enabled me to revive old friendships and to make new ones, was unsought by me.

Unlike Bishop Browne of Bristol, who, in his introduction to his 'History of St. Catharine's College' in this series, is able to say, for the best of reasons, that he has not plagiarized Willis and Clark's 'Architectural History of the University,' and that only two of the members of his College whose names appear in the 'Dictionary of National Biography' were previously unknown to him, I could not without the aid of those great works have even attempted this volume.

I have consulted Cooper's 'Athenæ' and 'Annals of Cambridge,' and the Cole and other MSS. in the British Museum. Mr. J. Bass Mullinger's 'History of the University of Cambridge' has been most suggestive.

At best, however, a College history must be in great part a compilation, and I am indebted for information to various authors, ancient and modern, and to many members of the College, old and young, especially to the President and Fellows, and above all to my friend Professor Newton, for much help, direct and indirect.

I have also to thank Mrs. Peskett and another friend for photographs, from which the drawing of the water-gate, and the plate of Spinola's seal were produced.

The College is remarkable for a unique experiment on the part of its second founder, Thomas, Lord Audley. He attached for ever to his heirs, the successive owners of Audley End, the nomination to the Mastership, and on the Master thus appointed he conferred, in a society never likely to be large, the enormous power of two votes, besides the casting vote, in College meetings. That no University Commission has interfered with the nomination is a strong proof of satisfaction with the past, and of confidence in the future. The double vote, constantly a matter of contention between Visitor and Master on the one part, and Fellows on the other, was abolished by the last Commission.

The story of the loss of the City property bequeathed to the College by Audley will be new to many. We are now the poorest, and but for fraud, at which the highest in the land connived, we should have been almost the richest College at Oxford or Cambridge.

In early days Magdalene was the Lincolnshire College. Later benefactors connected us with the West Riding, Norfolk, the town of Wisbech, and the great school of Shrewsbury. To Magdalene Samuel Pepys bequeathed his unique library and prints.

Readers of Macaulay will remember how a Master of Magdalene fell when James II. tried to romanize Cambridge. That the College was a great nursery of Evangelicals a century ago is generally forgotten. Forty years later Magdalene sent forth one of the most open-minded clerics of our own times in the person of

Charles Kingsley. In the interval it had produced a Cardinal.

Till the end of 1903 I had the assistance and encouragement of him who is best known to Magdalene men as Latimer Neville. I hoped to submit my proofs to his criticism. But he has gone to his rest, honoured by King, University, College, and neighbours; and errors from which he would have saved me, and omissions which he would have noticed, will now be detected by others.

E. K. Purnell.

Wellington College,
*May*, 1904.

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# CHAPTER I

## MONKS', LATER BUCKINGHAM COLLEGE

As we cross the bridge towards Magdalene, we are, Mullinger* tells us, really leaving the suburb for the original town, where, on the left bank of the river, upon 'rising ground above, secure from inundations, rose the little church of St. Peter *juxta castra*, which, with some three or four hundred tenements, composed the Grantbrigge of the time of the Norman invasion.' That the town extended on the right bank, rather than northward towards Huntingdon, was due to 'the attraction of the river,' and a feeler thrown out in this direction soon reached 'what was probably a distinct village encircling the Church of St. Benet.'

But it was on the left bank near the castle, that Picot, a Norman and Sheriff of the county, with Hugolina, his wife, built and endowed in 1092 the votive Church of St. Giles, with convenient apartments, after the lady's recovery from an illness deemed hopeless. Twenty years later the Canons of St. Giles were removed to a new house at Barnwell, and Fuller says that the old site was purchased by the Benedictine houses of

* 'History of the University,' vol. i., p. 332.

Ely, Ramsey, and Walden. We hear no more until on July 7, 1428, Henry VI. granted two messuages with their appurtenances in the parish of St. Giles, of the yearly value of 48s. 8d., to the Abbot of Croyland, it having been found that neither the abbey in particular nor the Benedictine Order in general had any hostel or manse of its own in Cambridge to accommodate such monks of the Order as were sent to the University schools to study Canon Law and Holy Scripture, who consequently had had to occupy hostels 'in common with secular persons,' and could not 'be managed and directed in conformity with the rules of their Order, as if they had had a definite place of their own to reside in.' The original of this grant is in the Record Office. Abbot Litlyngton, who obtained it, died in 1469. Of his successor, John de Wisbech, we are told by the continuation of the Croyland Chronicle that in the 'Monks' College of Buckingham, at Cambridge,' he erected chambers convenient for rest and study, while the Treasurers of the Corporation* received in 1432 'of the Abbot of Croyland for lez pondyerds 18d.' These ponds lay in the triangle formed by the river, Chesterton Lane, and the high road to Huntingdon, and are known by the College audit-book to have been filled up between the years 1585 and 1587.

In 1483 the high gable rental of the town includes a payment by the Abbot of Croyland of 14d. for a 'hostel called Bokyngham College.' In a list of College officials compiled for town purposes in 1503 appears the 'Mancipil [Purveyor] of Bokyngham College,' which house is again mentioned in a cycle for the

* Cooper's 'Annals,' vol. i., p. 184.

appointment of Proctors in 1514. It does not, however, appear in the valuation made in 1534 under the Act transferring annates to Henry VIII., possibly because it was still regarded as merely a 'cell' of Croyland, Dugdale giving Frisetum, or Freston, Holland (both in Lincolnshire), and 'Buckingham, now St. Mary Magdalene, College in Cambridge,' as cells of that abbey.

Thomas, youngest son of Edward III., marrying an heiress, as his brothers had, was created Earl of Buckingham. His daughter Anne married two brothers, firstly Thomas, third Earl, and secondly, in 1398, Edmund, fifth Earl of Stafford. The son of Anne's second marriage, Humphry, born 1402, a year before his father was killed at Shrewsbury, was created in 1444 Duke of Buckingham. A letter of his appears in the Paston Collection, addressed to his 'brother,' Viscount Beaumont, referring to the latter's 'good desire of certain debts that I owe you. At this time I have but easy stuff of money within me. I send you by my son Stafford an obligation whereof of late time I have received part of the debt therein comprised; the residue I pray you to receive by the same obligation and that I may have an acquittance thereof.' It does not seem, therefore, that this Duke was in a position to do much for any College. He was killed in the Yorkist victory at Northampton in 1460, and his eldest son, Humphry also, having died in 1455 of wounds received at St. Albans, his grandson Henry, whose mother was Margaret Beaufort, daughter of Edmund, *second* Duke of Somerset, became second Duke. She must not be confounded with her better-known namesake, daughter of the *first* Duke of Somerset, mother of Henry VII. and foundress of Christ's and St. John's

Colleges, a mistake the more excusable as the latter took as her second husband another Henry Stafford, younger son of the first Duke of Buckingham, and uncle to the second Duke, of whom John Caius (1510 to 1573) says, *ex opere lateritio initium dedit*—he began the College in brick. Again, the Cotton MS. Faustina, c. iii. 489, says: *Ædificare incepit Henricus, dux Buckinghamiæ, sed intermissa ædificia abbates Elienses, Ramsienses et Waldenses prope absolverunt.* To this work the Harleian MS. 7,033 wrongly assigns the date 1526 but Cole (MS., Brit. Mus.) observed as late as 1777 the arms of the Monastery of Ely, three keys, wards in base, 'in one corner of the arch Turning (*sic*), much filled up with whiting and paint,' at the staircase at the left, or north-west, corner of the first court.

Duke Henry of Buckingham was knighted at the coronation of Elizabeth Woodville, Queen of Edward IV., in 1465, and within a year he married the Queen's sister Catharine. On the death of Edward IV. he was equally distrusted by his sister-in-law, the Queen-mother, and by Richard, Duke of Gloucester; but when the latter got the young King into his hands by Buckingham's help, nothing was too good for Buckingham, who repaid the usurper by being present when Shaw preached at St. Paul's Cross on the alleged illegitimacy of the children of Edward IV., and by acting as Great Chamberlain at Richard's coronation on July 6, 1483. Further honours, abstract and concrete, followed in the next few weeks, but the scene shifted rapidly. Early in August the King was at Gloucester, on progress, escorted by Buckingham, but the latter was already wavering in his allegiance. Departing to his

castle at Brecon, he was further influenced by Bishop Morton, who had been committed to his custody there in the early summer. There were rumours, too, of the death of the Princes in the Tower. Buckingham accordingly urged Henry of Richmond to hurry over from Brittany, and a general rising was arranged for October 18. To carry out his share in this scheme Buckingham raised troops in Wales, but could not cross the Wye, flooded by what was long known as 'the Duke of Buckingham's water.' His troops dispersed, and his hiding-place was revealed for a reward. Brought to the King at Salisbury, on November 1, by the Sheriff of Shropshire, he was beheaded the very next day, leaving a son Edward, then five years old. His widow married Jasper Tudor, uncle to Henry VII., on whose accession the attainder was reversed, and the wardship of Duke Edward made over to Margaret Beaufort, the new King's mother, now wife of Sir Henry Stafford (see p. 4), the boy's great-uncle.

There is a tradition that Duke Edward was educated in the College to which his father had been a benefactor. He served against the Cornish rebels in 1497, and was one of the deputation sent to meet Catharine of Aragon. At the coronation of Henry VIII. he was Lord High Steward. He served again in the French war of 1513. He married, in 1500, Alianore, daughter of the Earl of Northumberland.

Lloyd, in his 'State Worthies,' says that he vied with the King in gallantry and with Wolsey in pride. He was outspoken enough to say of the King that the women governed him more than he did the kingdom. There is a story that Wolsey once tried to

wash his hands in a basin which the Duke was carrying for the King's ablutions, which so enraged Buckingham that he tipped the water into the Cardinal's shoes. Wolsey, in return, threatened to tread on the Duke's skirts, whereupon the latter appeared at Court without skirts, and proclaimed the reason. 'A servant,' says Lloyd, 'always pulled down the house of the Staffords;' the Duke's secretary wrote anonymously to Wolsey, reporting his master's treasonable sayings and aspirations, for he had dwelt upon his prospects as a direct descendant of Edward III. The Duke was accordingly, in 1521, sent to the Tower. Forbidden to cross-examine hostile witnesses, one being his own confessor, he was beheaded on May 17. Charles V., hearing of this, said that a butcher's dog had killed the fairest buck in England. All accounts agree that Duke Edward built our hall in 1519, in which year he stayed some days at the College.

He is named, without reference to his father, as founder of Buckingham College by John Scot, who wrote a history of the Colleges for King James's visit to Cambridge in 1617, also in the Harleian MS. 7,033 and in Tanner's 'Notitia Monastica,' 1695. But in face of the fact that Monks' College was called Buckingham College as early as 1483, it seems only safe to infer that both Duke Henry and Duke Edward did something for the College. The confusion between them, due, possibly, to both having been beheaded, is stereotyped by the legend on the Houbraken print of the portrait of Duke Edward, which the engraver names as Henry, giving an inset view of the Duke on his knees offering the crown to Richard III. The

Bodleian copy of Caius has a marginal MS. correction against the word 'Henricus.'

What, then, did Duke Henry build? Most probably the chapel, the oak roof of which is assigned by architects to the latter half of the fifteenth century. It was certainly built before the hall (1519), for the latter overlaps it in a very curious way. The original East window, as shown by Kerrich, (see p. 19), is older than those of the hall. The repetition, inside and outside, of the Stafford knot, by the chapel restorers in 1848, may well have been suggested by something they had seen about the building.

Of the life of Buckingham College not much is known. Strype says that Cranmer, vacating his Fellowship at Jesus about 1515, by marrying 'black Joan,' niece to the landlady of the Dolphin, an inn of good repute at the Bridge Street and Jesus Lane Corner, lived on at the Dolphin, and 'read the common lecture' at Buckingham during his short year of married life. The best-known student there was Robert Rede, of a Morpeth family who had settled at Norwich. He was subsequently a Fellow of King's Hall, and Chief Justice in 1509. He left money to King's and Jesus, and founded the lectures which bear his name. Cole mentions a *Licentia ad prædicandum concessa Antonio Overton S.T.B. Priori Monachorum studentium in Collegio Buckinghamiensi*, and in his list of wills in the Cambridge Registry gives that of Robert Mennall of Buckingham College, dated May 15, 1503.

The 'Old Book' of Magdalene College, a volume of MS. in early sixteenth-century binding, with the Tudor rose and escutcheon of France and England quar-

tered, says that in 1423 *Johannes Bardney fuit prior studentium Cantabrig: sed quæritur quod. hospitium nondum ædificatum est.* Then Johannes Sudbury was Prior. In 1535 Henry Rands, who on becoming a monk of Croyland took the name of Holbeach from his birthplace, was Prior. Later he was Prior of Worcester and Suffragan Bishop of Bristol; in 1540, on the surrender of the priory at Worcester, he was Dean there, and in 1544 Bishop of Rochester; he was translated to Lincoln three years later. He was one of the compilers of the first Prayer-Book of Edward VI. He was married, and died in 1551. Dodd ('Church History') calls him a man entirely subservient to the Court. John Reeve, surnamed Melford, Abbot of Bury, was probably also of Buckingham College.

Clemens Regnerus, in an account of the Benedictine Order, published 1626, in appendix iii., chap. xiii., specially deals with Oxford (Gloucester College), but refers also to Cambridge. The *Cathedræ Doctoris* in theology and law were to be filled by monks of the Order, who were to take precedence next to the Prior Studentium, on a vacancy in which last office no canvassing was allowed; the Prior was to see that no monks lived among seculars, and was to be specially charged by the Abbot or Prelate to do his duty faithfully and to see that the students were regular at chapel; no chambers or studies were to be left vacant *ultra anni medietatem;* those who had built or repaired chambers were to have prior claim to their occupation; sermons were to be delivered and disputations held; old men were not to be sent to study philosophy; students' quarrels were not to be taken into secular

courts, but settled by the Prior and seniors; as to dress, *licentiales ad incipiendum* in both faculties were to wear *caputia capparū* (hoods) *scholasticarum cum buggio* (Anglice 'budge,' lambskin) *furrata, sive cum syndone nigro linita*, the latter alternative being forbidden to bachelors; *pernoctatio* without leave of the Prior was forbidden; *tabernæ* were to be rarely frequented by students, and the Prior was to have a special eye to this; the pensions of the students were to be paid by the *officiarii*, who in default, and, after warning, were to abstain from flesh till they did pay. A Master of Theology was to receive sixty Turin pounds (£15 English), a Bachelor forty; a Doctor of Canon Law fifty, a Bachelor thirty-five.

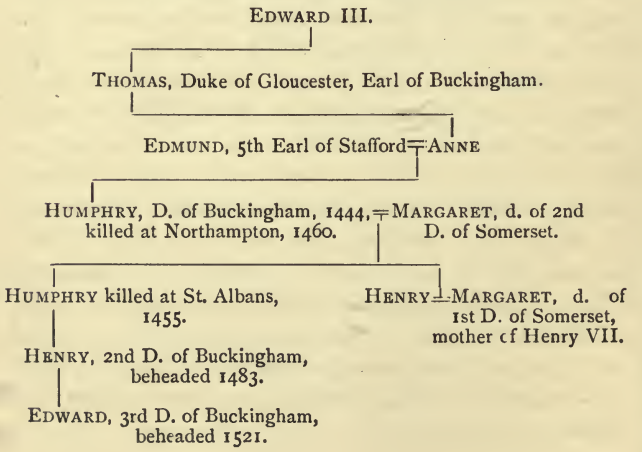
Cooper, in his 'Memorials of Cambridge,' without giving authority for the statement, says that in 1465 Richard Thylburg, monk of St. Mary's, York, was Prior at Buckingham College, and that William Peblyngton, monk of the same house, was collated to the office of Prior by Thomas, Abbot of St. Albans. He, too, mentions, in 1517, Antony Overton, whose name occurs in the acknowledgment of the King's supremacy at Croyland in 1534; he received a pension of £13 6s. 8d. in 1539. Cooper adds that Cromwell issued an order in 1535 that Buckingham College was to found and continue for ever two daily public lectures, one in Latin, one in Greek. He speaks of Stephen Limbert, Master of Norwich School, died 1589, as a member of the College, and, naming Rands as the last Prior, says that John de Wisbech, Abbot of Croyland, built, in 1476, chambers in the College for students from Croyland.

Of Archbishop Grindal, Strype says that 'Magdalene (*i.e.*, Buckingham) College first contained him and gave him his earliest seasoning.' As he soon migrated to Christ's, and graduated from Pembroke in 1537-38, Magdalene cannot claim him; but by will he left £100 to produce £5 yearly for the maintenance of one scholar at the College, 'to be chosen of such as come from the free Grammar School of St. Beghes in Cumberland,' his native place.

Of Buckingham College careful search has elicited nothing further. Fuller, indeed, calls it

'Trans-Cantine, an anchoret in itself, lying between a rose-garden on one side, and what is no rose, a smoking brewhouse on the other. The scholars, though furthest from the schools, are every year eminent, as living cheaper, privater, and freer from the temptations of the town.'

GENEALOGY OF THE STAFFORDS.



# CHAPTER II

## THE SITE AND BUILDINGS

The copy of Caius in the Bodleian contains a plan of Cambridge by Richard Lyne, 1574, bearing Archbishop Parker's arms, Lyne having been, it is said, an artist employed by him. This shows between the College and river some houses, and the brewhouse named by Fuller, with a street known in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as Kymbalton's, but later as Salmon's Lane. In Peckard's mastership, at the end of the eighteenth century, the College bought from the town a plot here, lying 'behind the brewhouse,' and from Jesus College a plot between the tenement of Thomas de Welles and the *Regis Fossatum*, of which more presently.

The purchase of this plot was in contemplation in Goche's time, nearly 200 years before. The conditions exist in a MS. draft agreement. Immediately to the north of the College, in Magdalene Street,* was an inn called the 'Star' (the multiplication of inns here being doubtless due to the market-folk putting up at the entrance of the town), originally belonging to Trinity, and described in a conveyance of 1550 as bounded on

* Originally known as Monks' Place.

the east by a watercourse, which crossed the street about 100 yards north of the Town Bridge, at a point marked in Lyne's plan as *Crates ferrea, ubi olim pons Cantaber, a Cantebro unde Cantebriggia.* On the subject of this—'le Kinges Dytche,' not to be confused with Henry III.'s ditch, on the south and south-east of the town—the writer has been much helped by an able paper read by Mr. A. H. Gray, of Jesus College, to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. Having become a lane, the part east of the street was sold to us in 1792, by the town as a 'parcel of lane which abutted upon Cambridge Bridge.' Mr. Gray believes that, crossing the street at right angles, it came very near the old wall which runs from the second court towards the new Lodge. Here, as it formed the *eastern* boundary of the Star property, it must have taken a turn southwards, passing through what is now the second court, to form, before it joined the river, the boundary between the town property and that of Jesus College, the south boundary of the latter being given in the draft agreement above named as 'the great River.' The King's Ditch, from its straight course, was probably artificial, and may have been filled up by material taken from the steep natural, or semi-natural, slope, the vallum of the castle. This now forms a terrace in the College garden parallel to Chesterton Lane, and near the Lodge it eases off considerably, as it heads to the south-west, thus nearing the right-angle in the bed of the old watercourse, which it probably served to fill. The ditch must have been of some depth, first to allow for the 10 feet headway between the normal level of 'the great River' and the

town bridge, and, secondly, because there is evidence* that *naves* once came almost up to the door of *old* St. Giles's Church, a statement corroborated by Camden's 'Magna Britannia.' The Star property was bought for the College by Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk (see p. 46), November 1, 1605. Next, north of this, came the 'Greene Peele,' with a frontage of 52 feet, partly next the King's Ditch. This was bought for the College by Dr. Barnaby Goche, then Master (see p. 93), in 1615, for £249 15s. Further north came another inn, the Black Boy, purchased also by Goche, in 1615. Then came a plot belonging to St. John's College, and at the Chesterton Lane corner was the Chequers, later called the Three Swans, which, with two tenements belonging to it, was bequeathed to the College *inter alia* by John Smith, President, in 1637. It was soon after let for £12. The eastern neighbour of the Chequers—*e.g.*, towards Chesterton—was a house called 'Copped Hall,' belonging to Merton College, bought by our College in 1835. It probably extended as far as 'land heretofore part of a farm called St. Giles's Rectory,' bought in the same year, to complete the site of the new Lodge, from the Bishop of Ely, as appropriate Rector of the parish. It is seen in all the old plans. On December 10, 1813, the year of the penultimate Master's appointment, an agreement was made between him and George Hodson and William Cornforth, Fellows of the College, to let to the Master 24 poles of Fellows' garden, divided from the Master's garden by a brick wall, for £4 per annum. The Master was to have the option of

* Mr. Gray's paper, p. 73.

taking down the wall, but on requisition by a majority of the Fellows was to rebuild it, and likewise to do so on his removal if the arrangement was not continued. To the building of the wall which forms the north boundary of the 'backside,' or 'largest garden,' or 'orchard,' John Howorth, Master 1664 to 1668, gave £40. The fish-ponds in the 'backside' (referred to on p. 2) were let, in 1578, for three years, with option of extension up to twenty-one years, to T. Cawthorne, fishmonger, for 20s. lawful money, and 5s. every third year, with one pickerell, value 4d., every week for the table. In 1586 nine of the elms were sold to a baker for £9, which money was spent on making 'a great louvre' for the hall. It may be mentioned that in 1902 a piece of stone column and traces of foundations were turned up when a tree was planted. Part of the ground belonging to the Greene Peele and the Black Boy was used as a bowling-green, for which a rental of 10s. appears in the audit-books; the back part of the Star plot was added to the Master's 'garden into which his chamber looks' (Statutes). The Master's chamber occupied the north-west corner of the first court, west of the chapel, the ground-floor being now the College library. Later there was a T-shaped block of buildings, of which the tail, the 'Master's gallery' with oriels at the east and west ends, abutted on the street; Cole says that in the Master's study at the end of the gallery was 'a large handsome bow-window which looks towards Chesterton and commands the river: in the window were four neat whole figures in painted glass'; the north arm was a stable still existing; the south communicated with the buildings of the court, and

was cut through in 1835, to make the carriage-drive to the new Lodge, but traces of the doorways are still visible in the exterior wall of the College. Access from the eastern ground-floor room of the old Lodge in the first court, now the front room of the library, to the first-floor was given by an exterior staircase on the northern side, doubtless removed at the same time. Its site is still marked by a door remaining in the library. Part of the ground-floor of the Master's gallery, with its thick walls, may be seen in the house which has for many years been occupied by Professor Newton. The present College library was probably the Prior's chamber in the days of Buckingham College.

The gate of the College was built about 1585 by a subscription to which Sir Christopher Wray, Mr. Parkinson, and Mr. Lucas contributed. Over it on the inside are the arms of Richard Aldworth Neville, who became second Baron Braybrooke. A view of Cambridge by Braunius, 1575, preserved in the University Library, shows a turret over the gate and posts in front of it. The existence of the posts is confirmed by Loggan's view, and by Pepys,* who observes: 'The posts new painted; the Vice-Chancellor is there this year.' This was Howorth, who died in his year of office. On the posts were carved the Howard arms. The west and south fronts of the College were refaced with stone and red brick, under Mr. Penrose, in 1873, the stucco and battlements, which had since 1750 defaced the interior and exterior of the first court, being then removed from the exterior.

* 'Diary,' October 9, 1667.

It is not easy to be at all sure of the history of the buildings in this court, the doorways being almost the sole guide. Caius and Cole, already quoted, assign the chambers at the north end of the street front to the monks of Ely, and if so, Ramsey and Walden must have completed the façade. Caius says that in his day there were twenty-three pensioners and seventeen sizars. Although these slept by twos and threes in rooms over their tutors, they must even in these circumstances have occupied more than the west side of the court. Norfolk built some chambers between his visit in 1564 (see p. 45) and his death in 1572.

The original chapel doorway is given in the University Almanac for 1820. It was a pointed arch of three mouldings, with hood-mould resting on carved corbels, differing entirely from the doors on the western side, which are plain arches with square hood-moulds, and not a pair. Wray's contribution to the court must have been on the south side. Here, again, the doorways differ, no two being quite alike in style or dimensions. The windows of the first two sets of rooms are, however, similar, and different from the next pair, and the first two sets have, on the ground-floor, fine oak ceilings. Wray built twelve chambers with studies. His two Fellows certainly 'kept' in rooms at the south-east corner of the court over the (extended) kitchen, facing the chapel. He reserved for his descendants the right to occupy these rooms if they entered Magdalene. The whole court was stripped and covered in 1702, £50 each being borrowed from the Master—Dr. Quadring—and from Dr. Johnson, Master of Sidney. A cold bath was ordered to be made in 1750, but there

*From a photograph by*] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

THE OLDEST PART OF THE COLLEGE

is now no trace of its existence. Of further work, about 1759, the accounts are given in the Register No. 3, pp. 766, 767. The vacant (Drury's) Norfolk Travelling Fellowship supplied the bulk of the £154 expended, mainly for stucco, with an item of 5s. for 'tiling over the barber's shop.' In 1764 £50 appears for the clock, and in 1765 the 'pallisades' were painted. These appear to have been put up to protect the grass, paths then running round the court as well as across it. If Harraden's view of 1811 is trustworthy, they had gone by that time, and shrubs had certainly been planted against the walls in 1781. Harraden also gives *two* archways on the chapel side of the court, four small windows where the large combination-room window was certainly inserted in 1757, and a different clock and louvre. He may possibly have followed some older views. A print in Cooper's 'Memorials of Cambridge' gives a second gate opening on to the street, north of the fourth window from the College gate, which must have given access to the old Lodge. In Loggan's view, four windows between the gate and the old Lodge are much smaller than the others. This feature was sacrificed to secure uniformity in 1873.

The chapel, which alone of the buildings of the first court is faced with brick, has three windows on each side. A poor modern arch admits to a lobby leading on the left to the College library, on the right to the antechapel. The east end of the chapel overlaps externally the north-west corner of the hall. In 1643 William Dowsing, Parliamentary Visitor of Suffolk and Cambridge churches, broke down 'about 40 superstitious pictures, Joseph and Mary standing to be espoused in

the windows.' The fine oak roof was before 1688 filled in by a flat ceiling, over which, as over the hall, rooms had been contrived, and in 1710 Uffenbach (*Merkwürdige Reisen*, vol iii. p. 18) found there a library of some 600 books overgrown with mould. In 1733 these came down to a ground-floor room facing the street, west of the old Lodge, £41 10s. being subscribed for their removal by Dr. Waterland, Mr. Foulkes (President), and Mr. Melmoth, formerly Fellow-commoner. The position of the organ given by Dr. Duport, Master, in 1677, is as uncertain as its fate. The organist's stipend ceased to be paid in 1693, when every possible economy was in force in view of the building of the second court. He cannot have been a great musician, as he only received £3 18s. stipend—18s. more than was paid to the scavenger, and 2s. less than the cook received. In 1733 the chapel clerk's stipend was £6 per annum, and a reader of prayers was appointed at 7s. per week. In 1754 £640 was spent on chapel decoration, the sum being more than raised by the profits of the Norfolk Travelling Fellowship, which came in frequently for similar purposes, and by donations, including £100 from Dr. Waterland's widow. The result is seen in Mackenzie's print of 1815, reproduced by Le Keux ('Memorials of Cambridge'), and on a larger scale in colours in Ackermann's 'Cambridge.' Plaster scrolls and a central rosette adorned the ceiling, and plaster concealed the fine old tracery of the windows. The east end was spanned, as far as the first windows, by a nearly flat plaster arch. A panelled wall entirely blocked the east window. A plaster altar-piece, representing the Maries at the Tomb, was the work of the

'ingenious Mr. Collins,' and is now in the library. Several Masters, including Howorth, Quadring, and probably Chapman, were buried under the chapel, but Gretton's resting-place alone is marked by a stone in the antechapel. He is said to have sat and watched the men digging his grave. Among the drawings, in the British Museum, by Thomas Kerrich is an exterior of the east end of the chapel, showing a window of three lights, with square mouldings, above the existing window. This must have lighted the rooms over the chapel, and disappeared when they were abolished.

In 1847 a circular, issued by Mynors Bright, Dean, invited subscriptions for the restoration of the chapel.

'It is uncertain when it was first built, or what part was standing previous to the time of Edward IV. The roof is a beautiful specimen of that period, divided into nine compartments. The arms of the See of Canterbury [Grindal], St. George, Stafford Duke of Buckingham, and other coats, are introduced upon the spandrils. On recently removing the panels by the altar, four niches with vestiges of richly decorated canopies have been discovered; also an Elizabethan doorway on the south side of the altar, communicating with the hall. Several names with the accompanying dates 1603 and 1623 are scratched upon the doorposts. . . . At present there is no painted glass, except a few old shields' [now in the library].

The estimate for the work was about £2,000, and the first list of subscribers included Lord Braybrooke, the Dean of Windsor, then Master, and Henry (now Lord) Thring. The east window, incidents in the life of the Magdalene, was the gift of various friends in 1849. The design was Pugin's, executed by Hardman,

who filled six of the seven windows. It is said to have been his first work at Cambridge. This window having been done, the College seemed inclined to be content, but some of its members were not satisfied, feeling that if one of the side windows was painted, the rest would be done, and accordingly steps were taken by Mr. Cleaver, undergraduate, who was cordially backed by Mr. Raven, President, to proceed with one of the others. A large sum having just been found by subscription, economy was necessary, and the work was executed by amateurs. It represents the events in our Lord's life referred to in the invocation in the Litany. The east window on the north side is in memory of George Neville-Grenville, Master from 1813 to 1853, Dean of Windsor, Registrar of the Garter. The middle north window is a memorial of Philip Hamond, B.A. of the College, who died in India in 1861. The altar candlesticks were given by the Rev. W. J. Stracey, now Stracey-Clitherow, Norfolk Fellow 1846 to 1849.

The windows of the hall are unchanged from Loggan's plan, but he shows a louvre over the middle window (see frontispiece), with sundial on each of its sides, a bell-turret over the butteries, and another sundial under a small penthouse over the northern window of the room subsequently adapted as a combination-room. The open roof of the hall, which still exists in its entirety in the garrets over it, was ceiled in 1714, at the expense of £265, to make more rooms. The interior was wainscotted in 1585, by Mr. Lucas, also a contributor to the gates. The College erected his arms, with motto *Sic nobis eluxit Edwardus Lucas.* These are now over the door of

the combination-room. This wainscot rises to the cills of the windows, and is raised over the daïs, where, as by the door, it is adorned by two pilasters, enclosing two smaller pilasters with Ionic capitals, with bunches of fruits. Over the daïs the whole wall is covered by a large heraldic painting, the royal arms occupying the centre, quarterly 1 and 4 Great Britain (England impaling Scotland), 2 France, 3 Ireland, with motto *Semper eadem;* on the flanks are the coats of Lord Audley, Sir Christopher Wray, Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, with motto *Non quo sed quomodo*, and Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, builder of the hall, 1519, with motto *En lui plaisance.* 'The Earl of Suffolk sent workmen to paint the arms at the upper end of the hall, and defrayed the charge himself' (College Register).

In 1712 'that part of the First Court that is over y^e^ Butteries and Kitchen being decayed, it was repaired at the College charge, and a Combination Room fitted up for the use of the Fellows,' the whole charge amounting to £100. To the combination-room a double staircase ascends from the hall, ending in a gallery over the screens, in the centre of which a door leads to the combination-room. Two pilasters rise from the gallery front to the ceiling, connected by an arch, and other two are worked into the screen. The whole distinctly recalls the south end of the hall at Audley End, which was done by Sir John Vanbrugh in 1721, and he may possibly have been consulted by the College. In 1757 the combination-room was further decorated:

'For carving scrowls £1 10s. Ovolo round Chimney 12s. 6d.; Grate, Fender, Fire Shovell, Tongs and Poker

£7 10s.; Portland Chimney Piece, with Ketton slab, and stone in window £7 9s. 6d. [The new window corresponds with that at the north end of the hall, replacing the four windows shown by Loggan and Harraden; it is divided by a transom at the level of the combination-room floor, the lower part lighting the pantry below.] New wainscot, new floor £93; relaying floor, new hanging doors £5. Chairs and Tables [still there, so the money was well invested] £25 18s. 6d., and April 1758, round Mahogany Table £1 5s.' [The money for this was found by a loan from the Master (Chapman) of £100; by a gift from W. Reed, Fel. Com., £5 5s.; by surplus from the 'Chaple' account, £13 12s. 6d.; and once again they drew upon the Travelling Fellowship for £37 16s.]

It was probably at this time that the louvre dial and bell-turret were removed, and the present plain but well-proportioned bell-turret and clock (see p. 17) were built.

In the hall over the daïs are the portraits of (1) Lord Audley, after Holbein, the gift of S. Hey (Fellow 1773, President 1778-1787, when he accepted Steeple Ashton); (2) Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, given by T. Kerrich (Drury Fellow 1771, Smith's Fellow 1781, President 1788); (3) Sir Christopher Wray, given by W. Bywater, 1788 (Fellow 1773, Rector of Anderby with Cumberworth and curate of Garnthorpe, 1793); (4) Rainbow, Bishop of Carlisle, gift of Peckard, Master 1781-1797: these four are said to be copies by Freeman; (5) Richard Cumberland, Bishop of Peterborough, gift of Bishop Cumberland of Kilmore: said to be a copy by Romney; (6) Peter Peckard, Master 1781-1797, and benefactor; (7) Martha, *e generosa*

*From a photograph by*] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

AUDLEY END: THE HALL, LOOKING SOUTH

*Ferrarum* (see p. 171) *familia, Peckard uxor, hujus coll. benefactrix*—a proud face, with auburn hair in coif, red and white dress, open at throat, round which is lace kerchief: these two are by Ralph, R.A., died 1796; (8) the late Master, by Lowes Dickinson; (9) Charles Kingsley, also by Dickinson, facing (10) Pepys,* by Lely, in brown robes with ruffles, three-quarter-length, all the preceding being half-length; (11) the first Lord Braybrooke, in peer's robes; (12) Henry Howard, tenth Earl of Suffolk (ob. 1745, see p. 50), also in peer's robes, gift of Sarah, his wife, daughter of Thomas Inwen, M.P. for Southwark. These two are full-length. On the screen on the south side is a portrait: subject unknown, possibly Lord Anglesey (see p. 149); three-quarter face, looking right, red coat with ruffles, long hair or wig, handsome long face with heavy mouth—canvas). On the opposite side is, ætat. about seventy, Gretton, Master 1797-1813—a weak face. On the stairs, south, is Hezekiah Burton, by Beale—a handsome face with brown eyes and long hair. He was made Fellow by authority of Parliament, 1650, and was in residence in 1659-1660. Pepys inquired about him as possible tutor for Sir W. Penn's son (afterwards founder of Pennsylvania), who was about to migrate from Oxford. He died, of a somewhat mysterious illness, Rector of Barnes.

Opposite is a portrait of Elizabeth's Essex (exhibited Camb. Antiq. Soc. 1884). In this lobby is a print of W. Waring, Archdeacon. In the combination-room are: (1) John Lodge, President, Public Librarian, 1822, by

* The gift of Mr. Harvey, of Palgrave, Suffolk; Kerrich told Cole that the Fellows preferred the Kneller in the Pepysian.

Walmisley; (2) Mynors Bright (see p. 187), by Dickinson; (3) George Neville-Grenville, in surplice, with Garter collar, by Pickersgill; (4) Francis Pattrick; (5) Alfred Newton, *Anat. Comparat. et Zoologiæ Prof. Soc.* 1854, *iterum Soc.* 1877 : these two by Dickinson; then Farish, Senior Wrangler 1778 (see p. 176); Dr. Waterland, in wig and black gown; Edward Waring, Senior Wrangler in 1757; Thomas Busby, Mus. Doc., ob. 1738, by Lonsdale; Mr. F. C. Penrose, architect and Honorary Fellow (see p. 188); and finally Kerrich himself, *Academiæ Protobibliothecar.* William Walton, for many years Mathematical Lecturer; Dr. Lumby, E. C. Baber, Thomas Stevens, now Suffragan Bishop of Barking, Archdeacon Bond, and the fifth Lord Braybrooke, are reproduced by photography, while small portraits of the Grants hang on either side of the mantelpiece. There are also prints of E. Warter, the third Lord Braybrooke, and Isaac Newton, who appeared with Peachell (Master) before Jeffreys.

It may be added that the arms in the west windows of the hall are modern.

Passing through the screens, we stand before one of the most striking pieces of seventeenth-century work in Cambridge. The first mention of it is in 1640, when Smyth, then Master, wrote to Bishop Bridgeman, of Chester, soliciting a subscription, of the receipt of which there is no trace. The building, of which a view will be found facing this page, was completed in Quadring's mastership (1690-1713), but subscriptions were being worked up in 1679, when John Maulyverer, Fellow, wrote to Pepys, thanking him for a loan. 'We had made a tender of it before this time, had not some

*From a photograph by*] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

THE SECOND COURT

of our benefactours been very slow in paying their subscriptions. We have not yet furnished the inside.' Dr. Peachell, Master 1679-1690, thanks the diarist for his liberal gift of £60. Dr. Quadring, by dint of several journeys to London and to Lincolnshire, at a total cost of £57 3s., raised £718. Among interesting outside subscriptions are the Masters of Queens', Bennitts (*sic*), Sydney (*sic*), Trinity, Jesus; the Provost of King's; Mr. Newton (Sir Isaac), Lucasian Professor, £5; Madam Howland and her daughter, the Marchioness of Tavistock, in memory of Dr. Howland, Master, £20; Lord North, £30 (if this was the fifth Baron, he had two sons at the College; see p. 150). A loss of £50 6s. was incurred by the fall in the value of guineas. The whole amount collected was £2,029.

It is questionable how far the original design of 1640 was followed. Willis and Clark (vol. ii., p. 367) seem to think that the great change of taste must have much modified it, and they lay stress on Loggan's plan not giving the carved enrichments of the arches of the façade with those above and below the five central windows of the first floor, which are now attached to the main wall by small iron clamps. But the late Mr. Penrose was of opinion that the style is more in accordance with the reign of Charles I. than of Charles II., and that if the design had been remodelled after the Restoration, Sir Christopher Wren's work at Somerset House and the Trinity College Library would have suggested an entirely different character. To the omission of the ornamentation in Loggan's plan he attached little importance, owing to the building lying back and appearing small in the plan. On the side

facing the hall there are curious irregularities of design —or accident. The middle window is not in the middle of the façade, and the space between the second and third windows north of this is greater than that between the corresponding windows south thereof. The wall here rests on a five-arch cloister, and all the rooms on the first floor are spacious and light. Above these are good rooms, surmounted externally, except at the north and south gables, by a stone balustrade. Over the first floor windows are, in the centre, the coat of Pepys; over each of the next windows, on either side, is a bust; then, north, the coat of Wray, and, south, that of Peter Peckard, with the Ferrar quartering. It was in the room, since divided, over this cloister that Pepys' library was first housed. It is now in a first-floor room, at the south-east corner of the building on the first floor of the right-hand staircase.

The east and north sides of this building are only to be seen from the garden, but are well worthy of inspection. Brick here takes the place of the stone of the west side; the south wall is not square with the west; two wings project, the south some feet shorter than the north, enclosing a shrubbery, with square towers for staircases. Creepers and pear-trees complete the resemblance to a country house, and the windows on this side overlook the river and Fellows' garden.

The Lodge dates from 1835, when Prince George, afterwards Duke of Cambridge, laid the first brick. It is a plain, not to say heavy, square building, containing good rooms and the following pictures: Edward

*From a photograph by*] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

THE SECOND COURT, FROM THE FELLOWS' GARDEN

Stafford, Earl of Buckingham, presented by Mr. Cartwright of Aynhoe; Nicholas Ferrar, 1546-1620; Mary Ferrar, 1552-1635; Nicholas Ferrar, 1592-1637—all by Jansen: into this family Peckard (Master 1781-1797) married, and he appears here again; John Whitwell Griffin, first Lord Braybrooke, the second Lord Braybrooke, Bishop Cumberland, Sir Christopher Wray, and a full-length of Lady Portsmouth by Reynolds. There is also a Mary Magdalene by Sir Martin A. Shee, given to the College by Lord de Dunstanville.

It may be added that over the north gable of the west front, restored by Penrose, is a goat, as supporter of the College arms; over the south gable of the same, the Buckingham swan; and below the oriel window of the south front, the College and the Buckingham and Neville coats, above a carved head of Queen Victoria. Over the iron gate leading from the new lawn to the street is the Peckard coat.

The gossipy Cole, whose grave under the tower of St. Clement's Church in Bridge Street is recalled to us by the *Deum Cole* inscribed on the west front, says that the houses which stood between the 'College and the Bridge Foot' were held by his grandfather on a lease from Jesus College. 'Here is a very ancient stone (Professor Newton says brick) gate out of the merchant's yard down to the river, close to the mansion house whose foundations are laid in the river.' Mr. Penrose would have kept, or restored, this river-gate in 1873, but it fell to pieces as soon as it was touched, and the gate which is so charming a feature in his work (see drawing on p. 29) is a reproduction of it. Cole remembered the two predecessors of the present iron

bridge—the first 'rebuilt in my time, of wood.' 'On the wooden bridge was fixed a cucking-stool, which I have seen made use of for scolding women—the chair is now (1777) in the Townhall.'

In the windows of the College library in the first court are four out of the six coats of arms named by Cole as being in the windows of the Master's gallery in his time. The first in the outer library is the coat of Charles Seymour, sixth Duke of Somerset, a benefactor, and next that of Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon. In the inner library are, firstly, Vere, Earl of Oxford, and then Somerset, Marquis of Worcester. The four heads in stained glass here—a King, St. Lawrence, and two others—also came from the old Master's gallery, and were the work of Kerrich, done, says Cole, while he was in Belgium as Norfolk Fellow. These two rooms were the dining and drawing rooms of the old Lodge.

The original catalogue of this library is a manuscript volume with illuminated heraldic frontispiece, with the coat of Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, in the centre; on the opposite page is an olive-tree, bearing on its lower leaves the names of the earlier donors, and the motto *Virgulta et prolem tarde crescentis olivæ.* The first private donor appears to have been Thomas Nevile, Master, whose coat is given, and the compiler stopped at Maulyverer. Included among the names is that of Guevara, Fellow Commoner 1632. Probably the oldest books here are the Nuremberg Chronicon, folio, 1493; an Æsop, de Worde, 1503; a Manuale ad Usum Sarum. Rotomagi (1504); and a Missal of 1509. There are also a Salisbury Breviary (Lond.), 1556, which is rare, and an English and Latin Primer (Lond.), 1545,

Gower's 'Confessio Amantis,' 1554, and a Bible of 1566. Of seventeenth-century productions there are a first edition of 'Paradise Regained,' 1671; Drayton's 'Muses' Elizium,' 1630; 'Sir T. Overbury, His Wife,' 1638; Dugdale's 'Warwickshire,' 1655; a 'Hudibras' of 1663; and Udall's 'Mary Stuart,' 1636. Many of these were the bequest of Peter Peckard, from whom came the materials for a concordance to the Bible, consisting of two large bundles of folio sheets, plotted out for engravings and letterpress; no further progress had been made except the title page, which ends 'done at Little Gidding, A.D. 1641' (*Little Gidding*, by J. G. Acland).

THE COLLEGE WATER-GATE.

# CHAPTER III

## THE FOUNDATION OF THOMAS, LORD AUDLEY

'Quæ ponti vicina vides, Audleius olim
Cœpit, et adversi posuit fundamina muri.'
GYLES FLETCHER (*circa* 1595), quoted by MULLINGER.

WITHIN twenty years from the death of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, the Abbot of Croyland,* who had fondly hoped to avert dissolution by sending to Cromwell 'with dew reverence by this berar parte of our fenne fyshe' had nevertheless to surrender, and Buckingham College, with site and buildings unendowed, ceased to exist, to be refounded, the former name being doubtless offensive to the King, in 1538 under a new dedication to St. Mary Magdalene, by Thomas, Lord Audley of Walden, who possibly had in mind the river walks of Magdalen, Oxford. Of doubtful parentage, his name appears in the oath-book of the Corporation of Colchester in 1516—*natus in Colne in Com. Essex Burgeus.* No arms appear to have been granted to his family until, in 1538, he applied for the following coat: Quarterly, Or and Azure, per pale indented, two eagles

* Cotton MS., quoted by Wright, 'Monastic Letters.'

Or; over all a bend of the second quarter; on the bend a frett between two martlets of the first quarter: and upon the crest a wywern quarterly, Or and Azure, rising upon a chapeau Vert, lined Ermine; the mantle Gules, doubled Argent, buttoned Or. The original grant is preserved at Audley End. The motto *Garde ta Foy* belonged to Touchet, Lord Audley. These arms our second Founder allowed the College to use; and in framing our statutes, signed after his death by his executors, he ordained that his heirs, the possessors of the late monastery at Walden, should be Visitors of the College for ever, and should nominate the Master.

Audley was born in 1488 at the Hay House, Earl's Colne, a property which had certainly not been in the family for more than forty years. Lord Campbell, in his 'Lives of the Chancellors,' doubts his ever having been a student at any college, but he entered the Inner Temple, where he was Autumn Reader in 1526, having been previously Town Clerk of Colchester. At the Bar he was successful, according to Lord Campbell, both from his presence and tact, but this biographer writes down his character as 'unprincipled, false and deceitful.' He got into Parliament in 1523, More being Speaker, and he was probably present when the latter defended the rights of the Commons against Wolsey's demand for money, without which the policy of making England hold the balance between France and Spain could not be maintained. Audley took the Cardinal's view, and secured the favour of King and Cardinal and practically the reversion of the Speakership. Meantime he was rewarded by inclusion in Princess Mary's Council, by

appointment as Attorney to the Duchy of Lancaster, by an annuity of £20, and by the office of Groom of the Chamber. He had hoped for the Great Seal on Wolsey's fall, but this went to More. Audley, however, in 1529, secured the Speakership. Presented at the bar of the House of Lords, he made an oration:

'He much praised the King for his equity and justice, mixed with mercy and pity; he endeavoured to disable himself, for want of sense, learning and discretion for the taking of so high an office, beseeching the King to cause his commons to resort again to their House, and there to choose another Speaker.'

To this Lord Chancellor More, by the King's command, replied that—

'Whereas he sought to disable himself in sense and learning, his own elaborate discourse there delivered testified to the contrary: and touching his discredit and other qualities, the King himself had well known him and his doings, since he was in his service, to be both wise and discreet; and so as an able man he accepted him, and admitted him Speaker.'

The King had shown his hand. His designs against Rome, acceptable as they were to the Commons, were met in a strong speech by Fisher in the Lords: 'Now with the Commons is nothing but Down with the Church. And all this, meseemeth, is for lack of faith only.' This elicited a highly irregular protest from the Lower House, who, expressing their view by a deputation to the King and by the mouth of their Speaker, 'thought themselves grievously injured thereby, being charged with lack of faith as if they had been infidels

or heretics.' The King summoned the Bishop before him, and requested him to choose his words more temperately.

In 1532 the Commons were rather too sympathetic with Queen Catharine, and the King, sending for Speaker Audley, defended his divorce. In his forty-first year wantonness of appetite was not to be imputed to him. (Lord Campbell aptly quotes:

> 'fuge suspicari
> Cujus octavum trepidavit ætas
> Claudere lustrum.')

His conscience was sorely troubled at having married his brother's wife. In the result the Commons were brought by the Speaker to the stage of being ready to renounce the Papal supremacy on demand. Within a month More resigned the Seal, and it was only because Audley was invaluable in manipulating the Commons that he was not immediately removed to the Woolsack. On May 16 he became Lord Keeper, and received the honour of knighthood. In the following January he became Lord Chancellor. In 1535 he issued, with his own name as leader, a commission for the trial of Fisher and More. Against the Bishop the only witness was Solicitor-General Rich, who repeated a private conversation which passed between himself and Fisher at a friendly visit paid by him to the Bishop at the Tower. To the admission of this evidence Fisher objected, only to be overruled by Audley, who was also against the prisoner's objection that denial of the King's supremacy only if malicious would amount to treason, and that

he had only expressed his personal opinion upon a request from the King. Further objection was raised that two witnesses were necessary to establish treason. This somewhat gravelled the court, which, however, ruled that the law did not apply to a case in which the King was personally concerned. Nothing was to be allowed to save the Bishop.

At the trial of More, Rich gave similar evidence, and the jury having found a verdict after a brief deliberation, the Chancellor began to give sentence without allowing the prisoner opportunity to speak, a lapse which caused his lordship some confusion, but did not affect the doom.

In 1536 he had to deal with the case of Anne Boleyn. He arranged for her arrest after the tilting at Greenwich, took her himself to the Tower next day, urged her to confess, and tried her supposed accomplices. In 1538 the Chancellor received his peerage as Baron Audley of Walden in the county of Essex, possibly that he might try as their peer Courtenay and De la Pole, and having already been rewarded with the Priory of

'the Trinity in Eald Gate ward, the first cut, and that a dainty morsell. It was dissolved in 1531—a van currier that fore-ran the other abbeys by two years. This I may call (afterwards the Duke's Place) the Covent Garden within London—as the greatest empty space within the walls, tho' since filled, not to say pestered with houses. He afterwards had a large partage in the abbey lands in several counties. The gift to Audley was an excellent receipt to clear his voice and make him speak shrill and loud for his master' (Fuller).

Audley wrote to Cromwell (Cotton MS. quoted by Wright):

'I beseche your good lordshipp be my good lord in this my sute. . . . In the besy world I susteyned damage and injury, and this shall restore me to honeste and comodyte. . . . I have promysed you to gyf his highness Vc. markes redy money. . . . I have lost of very ordynary ffeez annexed to my office above M^li.'

The result of this application was the land of the dissolved Abbey of Walden, the site of Audley End.

In the Cleopatra MS. in the British Museum (E. IV., 193) is another letter from Audley to Cromwell. He wished to exchange certain estates formerly belonging to St. Botolph's, Colchester, and the parsonage of Edmonton, for the parsonage and manor of Chesterford:

'I married at His Majesty's command, and do not repent it, but if I have children all my lands do not exceed £800.'

He complains of pain in his right foot, and will give Cromwell £40 when the exchange is arranged.

In June, 1539, the Chancellor brought in the Bill of the Six Articles, and got it through the two Houses with a rapidity which few measures secure in these days. The Garter was his reward for this.

The King's distaste for his fourth wife, Anne of Cleves, involved the fall of Cromwell. Here, again, Audley helped the King, by recommending that attainder should be passed without the prisoner being heard in his own defence. For this there was a precedent, Cromwell having dealt in a similar way with Lady

Salisbury a year before. Dissolution of the marriage followed, and the King married Catharine Howard. For a third time Audley had to dispose of a Queen, and, not without comparing the King to David, who prayed for understanding that he might search the law, the Chancellor moved the attainder. On the first reading he was anxious that a deputation should give the Queen a chance of defending herself. This was not at all to Henry's liking, and fell through. The King being once more a widower, a Bill was hurried through Parliament which made it treason for any woman not being a *virgo intacta* to marry a King without disclosing the fact. The spinsters of the court, says Campbell, shunned the approach of the King as if he had himself been the executioner, and his sixth wife had been previously married, first to Lord Gainsborough, and secondly to Latimer, Lord Neville.

Audley's last service to the King was the introduction of a Bill settling the succession as it subsequently went, but the closing speech of the session was delivered by Norfolk, for the Chancellor was on his death-bed at his 'mansion at Crechurche.' A month later he resigned the Seal, and died on April 30, 1544, in his fifty-first year. He was buried at Saffron Walden, in the glorious church built by himself. In the south aisle is a small altar-tomb of black marble, with the following inscription:

'The stroke of Death's inevitable dart
Hath now alas of lyfe beraft the hart
Of Syr Thomas Audeley of the Garter Knight
Lord Chancellour of England under our Prince of might
Henry Theight wyrthy high renowne
And made by him Lord Audley of this Town.'

'The stone is not harder, nor the marble blacker, than the heart of him who lies beneath' (Fuller).

Lloyd ('Statesmen and Worthies') calls him

'the most dexterous and passable rather than the wisest or greatest man of his age. He could please the humour of the King, where more have failed: whose rule was to believe no doctrine but what the law established, that Church and State had more knowledge than himself.'

He married firstly a Suffolk lady, by whom he had no issue; and secondly, in 1538, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Grey, second Lord Dorset, and cousin to Lady Jane Grey. They had two daughters—the elder died unmarried; of the younger, Margaret, and her husband, more will be said hereafter.

The charter of the College is a Signet Bill, April 3, 33 Henry VIII., now in the Record Office.

Mđ qđ t'cio die Aβlis anno R'. R'. H'. viiij xxxiiij ista billa lib'ata fuit đno Cancellario Anglie apud Westm exequend.

Rex Omnibz ad quos &c̄ salt̄m. Sciatis qđ nos in augmentacõem scienciar' arciũ erudicionũ virtutis necnon ad bonor' studior' & morum incrementum ac ad sp̄alem contemplacõem & humillimam requisicõem βdilči & fidelis Consiliarii ñri Thomae Audeley βnobilis ordinis ñri Garterii militis đni Audeley de Waldeñ ac Cancellarii ñri Anglie de gr̄a ñra sp̄ali ac ex c'ta sciencia & mero motu ñris ad laudem & honorem Sc̄e Marie Magdalene quoddam Collegiũ perpetuo futuris temporibz duratur in fundo t'ra scitu circuitu & pcinctu cuiusdam loci nup vocat̄ Bukkyngham Collegge in alma Achademia siue vniu'sitate Cantabrigie scituat̄ & existeñ videlt vno magro & octo

sociis ꝑ ꝑfatum dñm Cancellariū hered vel assign suos noiand in ibi diuina Officia indies ministraturis ac oñia & singula alia fc̄uris & ꝑinpleturis iuxta ordinacões disposicões ꝑuisiones & statuta que ꝑ ꝑdc̄m Cancellariū ñrm hered executores vel assign suos in ea parte erunt ordinata disposita & ꝑuisa tenore ꝑsencium fundam' facim' erigim' cream' & stabilim'. Quodquidem Collegiū Sc̄e Marie Magdalene Cantabrigie imꝑp̄m noiabit$^{r}$ nuncupabit$^{r}$ & vocabit$^{r}$ sicq' Collegiū illud imꝑp̄m noiari nuncupari & vocari volum'. Concedim' eciam qd ꝑdc̄i Magister & socii sic ꝑ ꝑfatum dñm Cancellariū vel executores suos noiati & successores sui Magistrum & socios Collegii Sc̄e Marie Magdalene in Achademia siue vniu'sitate Cantabrigie vocabunt$^{r}$ & noiabunt$^{r}$ sicq' vnum corpus corporatum re & noie ac eosdem Mag'rm & socios perpetuis temporibꝫ duraturos corporamus & ipsos vnū corpus cream' facim' & stabilim' eosq' ꝑ vno corpore declaramus acceptam' & approbamus. Et qd ħeant successionem p'petuam. Et p' nomen & sub noie Mag'ri & socior' Collegii Sc̄e Marie Magdalene in alma Achademia Cantabrigie noiabunt$^{r}$ & vocabunt$^{r}$ imꝑp̄m. Concedim' eciam sūma auctoritate ñra regia qd ꝑdc̄m Collegiū Magister & socii necnon successores sui sint et in perpetuum erunt membrum de corpore Achademie siue vniu'sitatis ꝑdc̄e dc̄mq' Collegiū ac ꝑdic̄t Mag'rm & socios & successores suos eidem corpori vniu'sitatis vnim' & consolidam' uniri & consolidaꝛ volum' & Collegiū illud ac mag'rm & socios eiusdem & successores suos tanq'm membrum & ꝑ membro vniu'sitatis ꝑdc̄e facim' cream' & stabilim'. Ita ut dc̄i magister & socii & successores sui imꝑp̄m in oñibꝫ & ꝑ oñia tractent$^{r}$ & oñibꝫ lib'tatibꝫ & priuilegiis eidem vniu'sitat spectañ ꝑut membrum & pars eiusdem gaudeant & vtunt$^{r}$. Volum' eciam & concedim' qd ꝑdc̄i magister & socii & successores sui p' idem nomen subdc̄m eis p' nos tenore ꝑsenciū assign

sint & erunt imp'p̃m p'sone habiles & in lege capaces ad p' quirend̄ recipiend̄ & accipiend̄ terras tenementa redditus pensiones s'uicia aduocacões Rectorias decimas lib'tates franchesias priuilegia & annuitates ac alia emolumenta possessiones & hereditamenta quecunq' tam sp̃ualia quam temporalia. Ac p' nomen ꝑdc̄m ꝑlitare possint & impl̄itari aut ꝓsequi om̃imod̄ causas querelas accões reales personales & mixtas cuiuscumq' gen'is fu'int vel alias suas lib'tates & franchesias calumniari necnon respondere & respond̄ ac defendere se sub noie ꝑdc̄o in eisdem causis querelis ac accõibꝫ ac quodcumq' aliud quod ꝑ ꝓficuo & iure dc̄i Collegii fu'it facien̄ facere coram iudicibꝫ eccl̄iasticis & secularibꝫ & tam coram noꝺ q'm coram quibuscumq'. Judicibꝫ & Justic̄ in quibuscumq' Cur̄ & placeis ñris & ħered & successor' ñror' Regum Anglie ac in aliis Cur̄ quibuscumq' q̄q' ꝑdc̄i Magister & socii ħeant sigillū cõe ꝑ rebus & negociis suis vtend̄ & ordinand̄. Et preterea de vb'iori gr̃a ñra dedim' & concessim' ac p' ꝑsentes damus & concedim' ꝑfatis Mag'ro & sociis Collegii ꝑdc̄i fundum t'ram scitum circuitum & ꝓcinctum dc̄i loci nuper voca̅ Bukkingham Collegge ac om̃ia edificia eiusdem. Ac illa dua gardina siue parcellas t're cum stagnis in eisdem voca̅ two pounde yarde eidem nuper Collegio de Bukkingham spectañ. Ac redditus firmas & reu'cões ꝑdic̄ gardinor' & stagnor' cum om̃ibꝫ suis p'tiñ p' manus tenere suas siue firmarior' duor' gardinor' & stagnor' soluend̄. Habend̄ & tenend̄ ꝑdic̄ fundum t'ram scitum circuitum ꝓcinctum edific̄ gardina stagna redditus firmas reu'cões & cet'a ꝑmissa cum suis p'tiñ eidem Mag'ro & sociis & successoribꝫ suis imp'p̃m de noꝺ hered̄ & successoribꝫ ñris Regibꝫ Angl̄ in lib'am puram & p'petuam elemosinam imp'p̃m. Concedimus eciam ꝑfa̅ Mag'ro & sociis q̄d ip̄i & successores sui auctoritate ꝑsenciū p'quirere recip'e possint & valeant eis & successoribꝫ suis man'ia t'ras teñ Rectorias

decimas redditus ac alia hereditamenta quecumq' ad clarum annuū valorem centum librar' de quacumq' p'sona siue quibuscumq' p'sonis illa eis dare volentibus licet eadem man'ia t're teñ Rectorie decime redditus vel alia hereditamenta aut aliquæ inde parcellæ de noƀ tenent^r in capite vel alit'. Concedim' eciam ꝑfato ꝺno Cancellario qꝺ tociens quociens Officiū Mag'ri ꝺci Collegii p' mortem cessionem resignacõem vel alia causa quacumq' vacau'it qꝺ tunc ꝑꝺcus Cancellarius hereꝺ & assigñ sui ꝺni nup' Monasterii de Walden in coñ Essex alium Magr̃m noiabit vel noiabunt p' litras sub sigillo eor' conficienꝺ. Et tociens quociens Officiū alicuius socior' ꝺci Collegii p' mortem cessionem resignacõem vel alia causa quacumq' vacau'it qꝺ tunc Magister & residuū socior' ꝑꝺci Collegii aut eor' maiopars aliū sociū vel alios socios eligant iuxta statuta ordinacões & ꝓuisiones p' ꝑfatum ꝺñm Cancellariū hereꝺ vel executores suos facienꝺ & statuenꝺ. Concessim' eciam ꝑfato Mag'ro & sociis qꝺ iꝑi de tempore in tempus fac'e & condere possint & valeant regulas ordinacões & statuta ꝓ bono regimine Collegii ꝑꝺci ac ꝺcor' magistri & socior' & alior' quor'cumq' in ꝺco Collegio coñioranciū & studenciū iuxta sanas discrecões suas ꝓ ut eis melius videbit^r expedire. Et hoc absq' fine seu feoꝺ magno vel parvo noƀ in Cancellar̃ ñra vel in hanap'io Cancellar̃ ñre ꝓ ꝑmissis vel aliquo ꝑmissor' aut ꝓ his ıris ñris patentibꝫ h̃enꝺ fienꝺ seu delib'anꝺ reddenꝺ seu soluenꝺ statuto de t'ris & teñ ad manū mortuam non ponenꝺ seu aliquo alio statuto actu ordinacõe ꝓuisione siue restriccõe in incont'riū fact̃ edit̃ ordinat̃ siue ꝓuis' aut aliqua alia re causa vel mat'ia quacumq' in aliquo non obstañ. In cuius rei &c̃ Testimonium has Literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium 3^tio die Aprilis anno regni ñri 33^tio Annoque Domini 1542°.

Thomas Audeley, Canc̃.

Audley's will was dated April 19, 1544, one of his executors being Sir Thomas Pope, the founder of Trinity College, Oxford, who received a legacy of £250, while the King got £100, to be paid on the first New Year's Day after Audley's death. To the College he bequeathed

'all that my parsonage of St. Catherine Christchurch within Algate London with all Tythes and profitts thereto belonging they serving the cure thereof except thereof all manner of Tythes to be paid for my great Mansion House that I dwell in in the said Parish and the Tythes of the house in the tenure of Lord Clinton and the house late in the tenure of Lady Burrough and of all other houses in the Churchyard and next adjoyning to my said Mansion House whereof I will no Tith shall be paid Also I give the said Master and Fellows all that my great Garden in the said parish of Botolphs in the tenure of Carye.'

Dr. Waterland believed that Pope was responsible for the statutes. They were made by his executors — his widow; Edward, Lord North; Thomas Pope, Thomas Barbar, and one other — a year after his death, and received sanction *Regis et Reginæ Angliæ*, February 15, 1554.

The object of the founder being *dei cultus, probitas morum et christianæ fidei corroboratio*, prayers were to be said thrice weekly, in the morning between five and six, and, when there were thirty or forty in residence, daily. For absence from service Fellow Commoners were to pay 3 obols; scholars, 1 obol; if boys under eighteen, to be beaten. The Master was to be of good

character; married or single [later addition]; M.A. at least; about thirty; to be in deacon's orders within a year of appointment, and priest within two years. The next official was to be President, to be responsible for discipline in the Master's absence, and chosen by him [addition]. The Fellows must not be heirs to property. There were to be six Fellows and a Bibliothista, or Chaplain. If circumstances required, the number might be less. A Fellow resisting Master's authority to be expelled by him [addition]. In elections the Master was to have two votes and a casting vote [addition], the Fellows only one. There were to be the usual disputations, to be arranged by the Master [addition], from which he was to be exempt at his pleasure. He could be expelled only by the founder and his successors. No student in receipt of emolument from the College was to be absent for more than six weeks and three days; the Fellows were allowed three months, and were not to hold benefices, except [addition] with the Master's leave. In absence no one was to receive commons, unless ill. The rooms were assigned in the usual manner. In the lower rooms, with two studies, two Bachelors might be placed. The statutes were to be read twice yearly in the presence of all students. These were not to go out without the leave of Master or President, nor to take meals except in Hall. At the beginning and end of each term, after service, Ecclus. xliv. was to be read. The whole concluded with prayers for the soul of the founder and for the welfare of his successor and other benefactors. A distinct paragraph over an erasure declares no one eligible to a Fellowship *qui Regis auctoritatem post Christum supremam ex conscientia non*

*agnoverit, qui canonicas scripturas Patribus ac conciliis humanis omnibus non anteposuerit.*

This code is 'noticeable chiefly for what may be termed its domestic character, and the evident design of the founder and his executors that the society should be permanently, to a great extent, under the control of his heirs, the successive owners of Audley End. No clause requires the Master to reside, a fact which is partially explained by the appointment, notwithstanding the limited numbers of the society, of a President.'*

In the Harleian MS. the total income of the College on its refoundation by Audley is stated as £43 7s. 4d. Though the poorest of the then existing Colleges (St. Catherine's being next with £55, as against King's with £1,010), it was the only one which did not show an adverse balance-sheet in the survey made by the King in 1545. Expenditure included the items of bread, wine, and wax (for chapel), 10s.; repairs, £4 10s. 8d.; 'stipendium coci,' £1 6s. 8d. The Master received £8, four Fellows £4 each, and one scholar £2 13s. 4d., leaving a balance of £10 odd. This, however, included ear-marked income, acquired by a curious benefaction.

In 1511 Hugh Dennis had by will charged his estate with an annual payment to the Priory of Shene, his burial-place, for the endowment of two priests to pray for his and 'divers other soules.' The priory was dissolved, and the heir obtained an Act of Parliament to enjoy the lands of Purleigh, on which the chantry was charged, on payment to the College of £20 per annum for ever, of which 20 nobles were for the use

* Mullinger's 'History of the University of Cambridge.'

of the College, and 20 marks yearly to two Fellows to be nominated by the King to pray for the souls of his father and himself, and for the other souls named in the will. These were the first Bye-Fellowships, all of which were abolished by the first University Commission.

# CHAPTER IV

## AUDLEY END AND AUDLEY'S HEIRS

Audley's younger daughter, Margaret, married first, at the age of fourteen, Henry, brother of Leicester and Guildford Dudley. Sentenced to death for complicity in his father's plot, he was pardoned, and was killed at St. Quintin in 1557. Next year she became the second wife of Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, born 1536, great-grandson of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, the builder of our hall. Thomas, the elder son of this marriage, was born in 1561. The Duchess died in 1563, three weeks after the birth of her second son, Lord William Howard, better known as 'Belted Will.' She was buried in Norwich Cathedral, the Bishop writing that all things were done honourably, '*sine crux, sine lux, at non sine tinkling*' (*sic*). Norfolk was too young to take part in politics in Mary's reign, but he attended Elizabeth on her visit to Cambridge in 1564, and received the degree of M.A. He was moved by the sight of the unfinished buildings of Magdalene, developed by his great-grandfather and refounded by his father-in-law, and contributed liberally to their completion (see p. 57). In 1568, being again a

widower, he conceived the idea of marrying Mary, Queen of Scots, who wrote to him as 'Yours faithful to death.' But by that time Norfolk was in the Tower on suspicion of treason, and was only released on parole in 1570 on account of the prevalence of plague. False to his parole, he encouraged Ridolfi in his plot, his guilt being proved by the carelessness of his secretary, who allowed a cipher to fall into wrong hands. He was tried for treason in 1572, and the Queen's reluctance to sign his death-warrant being dissipated by the negotiations for a marriage with Alençon, he was executed.

His elder son by Margaret Audley was educated at St. John's, and was restored in blood as Lord Thomas Howard in 1584. Knighted at sea for having shown himself 'no coward' in the attack on the Armada off Calais, he commanded at 'Flores in the Azores' when Grenville was killed in 1591; and when he again distinguished himself there in 1597, the Queen wrote of him to Essex as her 'good Thomas.' That year he was summoned to Parliament as Baron Howard de Walden, and became High Steward of the University in 1601. James I. created him Earl of Suffolk in 1603, and he became Lord Treasurer of England, and Chancellor of the University in 1614. His portrait in his Chancellor's gown hangs in the saloon at Audley End. In this capacity he induced James to visit Cambridge in 1615, when Thomas Nevile, previously Master of Magdalene, was at Trinity Lodge. Suffolk lay at St. John's, his own College, but his wife stayed at Magdalene. Of this visit Mr. Chamberlayne writes from Cambridge, under date March 7, 1615, to Carleton, Minister at Turin, whose portrait is at Audley End:

'Of ladies there were few or none present except the Howards or that alliance as the Countess of Arundel [wife of Duke Thomas's eldest son], with her sister the Lady Elizabeth Grey; the Countess of Suffolk with her daughters of Salisbury and Somerset; the Lady Walden and Henry Howard's wife which were all that I remember. The Lord Treasurer kept there a very great part, and magnificent table with the expense of £1,600 a day, as it is said; but that seems too large an allowance, but sure his provisions were very great, besides plenty of presents, and may be in some sort estimated by his proportion of wine whereof he spent 26 tun in five days.' *

Three years later great irregularities were, possibly in consequence of this lavish hospitality, discovered at the Treasury, nor did the Countess herself escape. At an earlier date she had received secret-service money from Spain, a discovery probably made by a Magdalene man, Digby, afterwards Earl of Bristol. The pair were confined in the Tower, at their own expense, and fined £30,000. 'Well considered, it is not amiss, and might easily have been worse.'† To avoid payment, Suffolk made over great part of his property to his son-in-law, Salisbury, and his brother William. His disgrace did not last long, for the King and Buckingham were sponsors for his grandson James in 1619, and in 1621 he was one of the first to complain of Bacon's wrongdoings. He died in 1626, and was buried at Walden. His avaricious Countess lost her beauty from small-pox in 1619, and died about 1636 in great poverty. After a severe contest, Buckingham became Chancellor of

* Extract from the 'Private Book' of the Masters of Magdalene.
† Letter of Bacon to Buckingham, in Leonard Howard's collection.

Cambridge, defeating the Earl of Berkshire, Suffolk's younger son, by 108 votes to 102.

The building of Audley End House was started about 1603, and the date 1613 remains on one of the gateways. By 1610 the works must have been well advanced, for James I. visited Lord Suffolk that year, and again in 1614. On one of these occasions James said the house was too large for a King, though it might do for a Lord Treasurer.

Its builder is said to have told King James that first and last, inside and outside, with the furniture, it cost him £200,000. At any rate, when sent to the Tower he was in debt £40,000, though he had recently sold the Charter House, where he had entertained Elizabeth, to Mr. Sutton for £13,000, and had disposed of other property. The house originally consisted of two spacious quadrangles. The larger and westward, approached by a bridge over the Cam, terminated in an entrance gateway, flanked by four circular towers. The apartments to north and south of the first court were built over a cloister, and supported by alabaster pillars. On the east side (facing the entrance) a flight of steps led to the still existing entrance porches, placed on a paved terrace parallel to the great hall, which formed the centre of the building, and is now the west front. Beyond the hall was the inner court, three sides of which constitute the present house. Evelyn visited the house in August, 1654, and took exception to the site as 'an obscene bottom.' Pepys was there in February, 1659-60, and played his flageolet in the cellar, where 'we drank most admirable drinks, a health to the King, there being an excellent echo.' Seven years later

*From a photograph by*] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

AUDLEY END, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST

'the cielings are not so good as I always took them to be; the staircase exceedingly poor, and a great many pictures, and not one good one, but one of Henry VIII., done by Holbein.' Only the gallery was good, and above all things the cellars, where they again drank 'of much good liquors.' He and his wife did sing to his 'great content. Then to the garden, and there did eat many grapes, and took some with us: thence well satisfied, tho' not to that great degree that by my old esteem of the house I ought and did expect to have done, the situation not pleasing me.'

In 1669 Cosmo, afterwards third Grand-Duke of Tuscany, was there; 'the King is so much delighted with this place that he is in treaty with the Earl for the purchase of it.' Purchased it was in this year for £50,000, of which £20,000 was left on mortgage.

In 1701 the estate was reconveyed to the fifth Earl, on his relinquishing all claim to the outstanding mortgage. Valuables had, however, been removed from the house, and an oak chimney-piece is said to have found its way to the Master's Lodge at St. John's.

To return to its owners, our hereditary Visitors. Theophilus, second son of the builder, succeeded his father in 1626. His brother Thomas, coming in for the Wilts property of his mother's family, was created Earl of Berkshire. Then three sons of Theophilus inherited Audley End in turn. James, the eldest, left two daughters: the elder, Lady Essex Howard, married the first Lord Griffin; and the second was wife of Sir Thomas Felton, and mother of the second wife of John, Earl of Bristol, whose descendants ultimately inherited the barony of Howard de Walden. The earldom then

passed to the son and grandson of the fifth Earl, to revert to two uncles of the latter. The fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth Earls were members of the College. The tenth Earl left no issue, and the earldom then passed to the Berkshire family, descendants of Theophilus, second Earl.

Audley End was, however, claimed by the second Earl of Effingham under a settlement executed in his favour by the seventh Suffolk in case of failure of male heirs. Against this was raised a settlement of 1687. The successful claimants were on the one part the two daughters of the second Lord Griffin, the elder being wife (1) of Henry Neville Grey of Billingbear, and (2) of John Wallop, Earl of Portsmouth, the younger having married William Whitwell of Oundle; and on the other part George William, Earl of Bristol, grandson of the third Earl of Suffolk.

Family tradition says that Lady Portsmouth's solicitor accidentally discovered the draft of the forgotten 1687 settlement in selecting old documents, deemed valueless, for his son to copy for practice. The original was found, and Lord Effingham's claim fell through. This deed does not appear to have covered the house, which, however, Lady Portsmouth then purchased, having taken the Essex property in the partition between the two sisters and the Earl of Bristol.

The Countess died childless in 1762, and left all her property to her sister Anne's eldest son, John Griffin Whitwell, conditionally on his assuming the name of Griffin. Born in 1718, he had served in the Austrian Succession War under Cumberland, and in the Seven Years' War under Brunswick. Severely wounded, he

was made K.B. in 1761; he then established his claim to the barony of Howard de Walden in right of his great-grandmother, Lady Essex Howard. In 1788 he was further created Baron Braybrooke of Braybrooke, Northants, his grandfather having been Baron Griffin of the same place, with special remainder (for he was childless) to his kinsman, Richard Aldworth Neville of Billingbear. Made a Field-Marshal in 1796, the first Lord Braybrooke died in 1797. His portrait hangs in the College hall. His surviving sister Mary (died 1799) and her husband, William Parker, of Balliol, D.D., Rector of St. James's, Westminster, and curate of Catharine Cree Church (died 1802), had a life interest in Audley End, and he and his wife jointly signed the patent for the admission of William Gretton to the mastership of Magdalene in 1797.

The second Lord Braybrooke was descended on his father's side from the Aldworths of Stanlake, near Twyford, Berks. His grandmother was Catharine Neville, sister to Henry Neville, who assumed his mother's name of Grey, and was the first husband of Lady Elizabeth Griffin, afterwards Countess of Portsmouth. His lordship's father, Richard Aldworth, had assumed the name of Neville on succeeding to the property of his maternal uncle, Henry Neville Grey. He married, in 1780, Catharine, daughter of George Grenville (the enactor of the Stamp Act).

The children of the second Lord Braybrooke included his successor Richard; George, who was Master from 1813 to 1853, Rector of Hawarden, and from 1847 Dean of Windsor; and a daughter Mary, who married Sir Stephen Richard Glynne of Hawarden.

The third Baron, Richard, who married Lady Jane, eldest daughter of the second Lord Cornwallis, succeeded to the title in 1825. He published in 1835 a sumptuous volume, the 'History of Audley End,' to which the present writer is much indebted. He was also the original editor of Pepys's 'Diary.' Dying in 1858, he was succeeded by his son, Richard Cornwallis, fourth Baron (born 1820). He served with the Grenadier Guards in Canada in 1838, and on his retirement from the service became a distinguished antiquary and collector. In 1861 he was succeeded by his brother, Charles Cornwallis (born 1823), who had been a scholar of the College. He died in 1902. The title then passed to another brother, Latimer, born 1827, Master of Magdalene from 1853 to 1904, an intervening brother, Henry, and a fifth brother, Grey a Graduate of the College, having perished in the Crimean War. The present Baron is the late Master's elder son Henry, born in 1855, and the heir-presumptive is his brother Grey, clerk in Holy Orders. Both graduated at Magdalene.

The existing house is but a small portion of the original building, for Lady Portsmouth, on buying it for £10,000 in 1749, and finding one wing unsafe, took down quite a third of it. The existing building, as seen from the west, consists of two wings connected by the hall. It contains a very complete set of family portraits, commencing with Lord Audley, his wife, and their daughter Margaret, by Holbein. The latter bears the word *invicta;* the beginning of the Norfolk motto *sola virtus* is on the companion picture of her husband, now in Lord Westmorland's possession. Here, too, are Lady Audley's first cousins, Jane and Catharine

Grey; Frances, daughter of the first Earl of Suffolk—who, divorcing her first husband, became wife of Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset—and Somerset himself; 'little Miss Davis,' whose dancing in boy's clothes much commended itself to others besides Pepys: for Charles II. gave her 'a ring of £700, which she shows to everybody, and hath furnished a house in Suffolk Street for her'; and probably the only original portrait of George II., who, hating 'boetry and bainting,' refused to sit, but was caught by Pine, with much success.

Of the books, two especially are remarkable—an illuminated folio Psalter, at present in the Fitzwilliam museum, said to have been given by Queen Mary to Sir Thomas Cornwaleys, whose autograph it bears; and an Aldine Pliny in three volumes, of which only one other copy is known. The first and second volumes had been admired by Bishop Dampier of Ely in the Billingbear Library. Afterwards he bought at a bookstall a third volume of the same edition, which proved to be the missing volume of the set.

The connection between Magdalene and Audley End became in 1902 more close than ever before, and it has seemed necessary to explain at some length the way in which the offices of Visitor and Master for the first time devolved upon one man.

The criticisms of Pepys and Evelyn on the site of the house will hardly commend themselves to those who approach it from the station. Permission to visit the mansion has been hitherto granted on one day in the week.

# CHAPTER V

## THE FIRST THREE MASTERS AND THEIR TIMES

In 1554, after the accession of Mary, the University received orders from Gardiner to provide a 'seemly cross of silver to be used in their processions, as had been used amongst them in times past, and was throughout Christendom at that day observed.' It cost £30, and Magdalene apparently, *pro rata*, contributed 10s. At the visitation which took place two years later, on January 17, 'at one the Visitors wente to Mawdlen College, and were received of the Master and Company standing at the Gate within, and so wente straight into the Chapple and viewed the awlter and superaltare, and then went uppe into the Masters Chamber [at that time over the present library], where fyrst all the Company were called by name, and after that they asked the Master and Company if they had anything to say . . . and required to se the foundation [the deed], which was done, and they made an end there sone after iii.' Richard Carr was then Master, his predecessor, Robert Evans, Dean of Bangor, having resigned the Mastership in 1546, and having been temporarily ejected from his deanery by Mary as being

married. Carr was deprived by Elizabeth, or resigned, in 1559, when the Oath of Supremacy was imposed.

One celebrity of his Mastership was Thomas Ithell. He was of Welsh origin. Taking his degree in 1553-54, he became Fellow of the College soon after, and with Carr, Thomas Kitchin, and Henry and Thomas Medley, signed a lease of the Carnarvonshire property in 1585 (Harleian MS. 7,031). In 1563 he became Master of Jesus College, being then a Prebendary of St. Patrick's, Dublin. At a visitation of the cathedral in 1568, he pleaded, as an excuse for being still a layman, a dispensation from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and for non-residence a like dispensation for absence during such time as he was studying at Cambridge. This he had left in England, and he was allowed ten months in which to produce it. When the day came, his proxy pleaded that Ithell had sailed for Dublin, but had been driven back by contrary winds. The end of the story is unknown. The following year, being then an advocate, he was one of a Commission for visiting King's College, and helped to frame the statutes given to the University by Elizabeth in 1570. In 1576 he was a Commissioner for the Visitation of St. John's College.

Charles, son of William, first Lord Willoughby of Parham, entered in 1551, aged fourteen. In 1580 he was of those who escorted to Antwerp the Duc d'Anjou, who had been paying court to Elizabeth; and in 1589, having succeeded his father, he was one of the peers who tried Philip, Earl of Arundel, Norfolk's son by his first wife, for saying Mass for the success of the Armada. His verses in the University collections show that he

was kinsman to the Suffolk family. The Lansdowne MS. 53 contains an autograph letter from him protesting against the Queen's purveyance of corn in Lincolnshire in 1587.

Rowland Thomas of Anglesea, a Fellow in 1552, died Dean of Bangor, and desired to be buried next to Dean Evans, our first Master.

Carr's successor was Roger Kelke, an appointment most disastrous to the College. The Harleian MS. contains his petition to Burghley, November 18, 1561. The Bishop of Lincoln, Holbeach, had previously promised Archdeacon Elmer, but otherwise would have used his influence for Kelke. Another competitor was Dean Latimer. Kelke was Fellow of St. John's in 1545. On the accession of Mary he fled to Zurich, where the Anglican refugees were reduced to eating mice. On Elizabeth's accession he returned to Cambridge, and from 1559 he was Senior Fellow of St. John's, and Master of Magdalene. He was twice in 1559 an unsuccessful candidate for the Mastership of his own College. On the Queen's visit in 1564, he trained the actors who performed before her the 'Aulularia' of Plautus. The Queen, delighted at first, was apparently somewhat weary towards the close of her stay, for when the 'Ajax' was to be given, on her last day at Cambridge, she excused herself on the ground of her early departure. The next day (Aug. 9) she took horse at nine a.m., intending to dine at the palace of the Bishop of Ely, Long Stanton, and sleep at Sir Henry Cromwell's at Hinchinbrook. As she passed Magdalene the Master and Company were ready with an oration, which, because of the heat and the crowd,

was taken as read. The Duke of Norfolk set Her Majesty on her way, and, returning, entered the College and 'gave much money, promising £40 per ann. till they had builded the quadrant of their College. His further promise to endow the College with land was never fulfilled.'*

In 1572 a dispute arose between Kelke and his Fellows as to the expulsion of a Fellow named Elias Newcomen. The Master replied to Archbishop Grindal, named arbitrator by the Chancellor, Lord Burghley, that he had been fourteen years Master, and in all that time the College had been 'a virgin, free of all contention,' till now, when two Masters of Arts and two Bachelors raised charges against him. One of them was Newcomen, who, Kelke contended, 'came not into his Fellowship legally and statutably, but by connivance; him by my power and authority as Master (which in that College is considerably great) I deprived, and next day opened the matter to all the Fellows, showing the causes thereof to be neither trifles nor toys, as Newcomen had pretended.' The Queen had the nomination to two Fellowships, the Master recommending two names, and she selecting one. On a vacancy, 'one would run to Court, and obtain letters from the Queen to the College to fill that room so vacant.' This was contrary to the statutes. The breach was healed by Newcomen making submission. In 1586 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the headmastership of Merchant Taylors', and, after conducting a private school for some years, he became in 1600 Vicar of Stoke Fleming. Kelke also deprived Luke Clayson

* Nicholls' 'Progresses of Queen Elizabeth,' p. 20.

and John Bell, and, as the former had also been nominated by Elizabeth, the cause may have been the same. Burghley restored them both.

Kelke admitted some men of mark. Geoffrey Whitney of Cheshire had previously been at Oxford, and does not appear to have graduated at Magdalene. He became Under-bailiff of Great Yarmouth, and as such got to know many Netherlands scholars. He went to Leyden, and published there in 1587 his 'Choice of Emblems,' that 'by the office of eie and eare the mind may reape double delighte, through holsome preceptes, adorned with pleasant devises.' The book, dedicated to Leicester, contained 248 emblems in six-line stanzas, with woodcut prefixed. An emblem, says Quarles (1592-1644), is 'but a silent parable.' Through Whitney, Shakespeare gained his knowledge of the Continental emblematists of the sixteenth century.

Whitney and Quarles were pupils of Stephen Limbert, who was Master at Norwich Grammar-School before entering Magdalene in 1561. He had followed in Kelke's footsteps, and was no half-hearted disciple. He carried from Cambridge to Norwich in 1569 the agitation against ritual and vestments. Finding sympathizers among the Prebendaries, he led a procession to the cathedral, damaged the organ, and stopped the choral service. In 1561 also entered John Kearney, or Carney, of Connaught. In 1571 he brought out the first printed Irish book, the 'Aibgiter.' It contained: (1) Brief elements of the Irish language; (2) the Catechism; (3) personal prayers; (4) rules of Christian life and faith. He was Treasurer of St. Patrick's, and in 1572 declined the See of Tuam,

'frayed away with the unquiet state of the country' (Lord-Deputy Fitzwilliam to Burghley). Afterwards he began an Irish version of the New Testament. To Dublin also we sent about this time Henry Ussher, whose name is said to have been originally Neville. He was one of the founders of Trinity College, 1591, and three years later was Archbishop of Armagh. Richard Topcliffe matriculated 1565, sat for Beverley, and later for Old Sarum. At one time he had a dispute with Sir C. Wray about an impropriation in Lincolnshire. First an Admiralty Judge, he became a persecutor of recusants, and invented an instrument of torture much worse than the rack. Gipsies, too, were an object of his attentions, and 'Topcliffizare' was to hunt a recusant. He ultimately got into trouble, and addressed from the Marshalsea some cringing letters to Elizabeth.

Hugh Broughton, matriculated 1569, afterwards a Fellow of St. John's and of Christ's, was a great Hebraist and Puritan preacher. He even disputed against Popery at the table of the Archbishop of Maintz. He dedicated to Elizabeth 'a concert of Scripture,' an attempt to settle Scripture chronology. He was much hurt at not being included by James I. among the translators of the Authorized Version.

William Spelman, author of a remarkable 'Dialogue,' was younger son of Sir John Spelman of Norfolk, Justice of King's Bench. He was at Magdalene under Kelke, but does not appear to have graduated. In 1573 he was engaged in an expedition on behalf of the King of Spain in the Low Countries. He married a Dutch wife. His manuscript is written in an Elizabethan hand, and

from internal evidence is supposed to have been produced about 1580. Sir F. Palgrave calls it a curious and amusing dialogue, containing anecdotes and observations upon the state of society and people in the author's time. It begins:

'A dialogue or confabulation betwen two trauellers, sometime companions in study in Magdaline Collydge in Cambridge. The one named Viandante, and the other called Selvaggio. *Viandante:* "Now we have geven thangkes to almightie god in owr prayors for his myghtie works shewed upon us, in p'servinge us ffrom many dangers . . . I praye you, brother Selvaggio, make a large discourse howe you have spente your time sins owr company was dissevered. And yt wilbe a helpe to myttygate the payne of owr Longe Jurneye ouer this Newmarket heath, And make us think the waye lesse tedyouse untill we come to London."'

A great deal of the story which then comes out seems to be founded on fact. England was able to export beer, lead, Suffolk cloth, and even corn, to the Netherlands, but there were worse dangers than hostile tariffs, and misfortunes fell on Selvaggio faster than on Job. His travels take him to Germany and North Italy, and he gives *inter alia* an account of evensong in the Duomo at Milan, and of a Celebration at Hamburg. Executions and strappados are described. Spain and its spiritual whoredom, its betrayers of God's people, disgusted him, though he tells a quaint story of an image-carver. The two speakers cap one another's tales. Selvaggio then gives some account of London, and a story of a Lord Mayor who, having lent Henry VIII. £1,000, invited the King to a 'banket' where was a

fire of sweet spices. The King approved of its sweetness. 'I will make yt more sweeter unto your grace.' Going to his counting-house, the host fetched all the King's notes of hand and burnt them. The dialogue was reprinted in 1896 by the Roxburgh Club, edited, with notes and introduction, by Mr. Railton Pickering.

Thomas Gatacre was of a very old Salop family. In 1553 he was a student at the Middle Temple. He was present at the examination of Protestants, whose constancy favourably impressed him. Taking alarm, his father sent him to Louvain, settling £100 on him. This plan failing, he revoked the settlement and cast him off. Friends sent him to Oxford for eleven years; afterwards he was four years at Magdalene; and, being ordained by Grindal about 1570, he was for a time chaplain to Leicester.

But one of the most remarkable figures at Magdalene at this time must have been Cyprian de Valera. Born in Seville in 1532, he emigrated upon the outbreak of persecution through Geneva to England, and was admitted B.A. by special grace in 1559. He then became a Fellow of the College by the Queen's mandate, still in the College archives. In 1563 he married in Cambridge, and in 1566 migrated to Oxford, and the *bene discessit* granted to him by Kelke also still exists. With a view to the conversion of his compatriots, he published tracts on the Pope and the Mass, and translations of the Catechism and 'Institutions' of Calvin, and in 1602 of the Bible. He is named in the Index in 1667 as *clamado vulgamente el Herege espagnol* (vulgarly called the Spanish heretic). His Bible was a folio of 900 pages, and not very suited for the concealment

necessary in Spain at that time. The Lansdowne MS. 60 contains a certificate in his hand of the nationality of an English sailor, a prisoner of war, who had apparently been forced to sail in the Armada.

Here may be inserted—

Thaccomptes of all receytes and expenses in Magdalen Colledge since ye death of Doctor Kelke, late M^r^ of ye Col, viz., from ye Feast of ye Nativitye of Christ in ye yeare above mencioned.

R. by me Richard Howland, Bachiliour in Divinitie and M^r^ of Magdalen Colledge :

| | *li.* | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| It. 14 Junii, from Purley Hall, for halfe a yeares rent due at ye annunciation of ye Virgin Marie last past ... ... ... | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| It. of M^r^ Benedict Spinola for one yeares rent of our parsonage and gardens in London due at Michaelmas, 1576 ... ... | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| It. M^r^ Hodilo for his garden a year at Michaelmas ... ... ... ... | 0 | 13 | 4 |
| It. for 6 olde broken spoones solde wayinge 5 oz. ... ... ... ... ... | 0 | 25 | 8 |
| It. halfe a years rent from Purlie at Michaelmas, 1576 ... ... ... ... ... | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| It. of Cawthorne for ye pond yardes a year and an halfe at Easter, 1577 ... ... | 0 | 22 | 6 |
| It. from M^r^ Spinola, 25 Junii, a yeares rent due at Michaelmas, 1577 ... ... | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| It. of M^r^ Kelke for M^r^ Smithe his debt ... | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| It. from Purly Hall, 11 Julii, 1577, halfe a yeares Rent Annunciation past ... ... | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| It. for utensilles at 20 Julii ... ... ... | 0 | 31 | 2 |

| | *li.* | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| It. for prel[rs] and chamber wares till ye 16 August, 1577 ... ... ... ... | 4 | 10 | 0½ |
| It. of pensioners in the fellows commons to buy plate ut patet in libro senescalli ... | 13 | 0 | 0 |
| It. for coales of M[r] Bulkeley ... ... ... | 0 | 0 | 21 |
| It. R. of M[r] Bulkeley for 2 yeares rent ending at Michaelmas, anno 1577, due by Robert Ap John Ap Meredithe, one of our tenants in Wales ... ... ... ... | 4 | 13 | 4 |
| It. M[r] Hemsted de Purley Hall for rent ending at Michaelmas, 1575 ... ... | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| It. arreragia ex Wallia ut patet in altero libro ad festum Michaelis, anno 1577 ... | 6 | 5 | 4 |
| It. Thomas Pargon of Wales for 2 yeares ending at Michaelmas, 1577, wch ys not as yett receyved ... ... ... ... | 0 | 32 | 0 |
| (*sic*) | 191 | 5 | 11½ |

On Kelke's death, three nameless Fellows (Baker MS. in Harleian Collection) wrote to Burghley, petitioning for Barber of St. John's, in whose favour, they said, Kelke had wished to resign. In the same collection is found also a letter of May, 1573 (or 5), to Burghley, from John Bell and Luke Clayson, petitioning for regular visitation of the College.

Valera, John Bell, and Newcomen petitioned the Visitor for Stephen Rickmannus; Luke Clayson boldly applied for himself; while William Bulkeley and three others petitioned against the Master's extra vote at the election of Fellows.

In 1573 the numbers in residence were forty-nine. In 1575 the University legislated against fire, calling on

Magdalene to provide two buckets, one scoop, and two long ladders. About this time all rents were to be paid as to one-third in wheat or malt, and the Act of 1571, prohibiting Colleges from granting longer leases than twenty-one years, was made more stringent; but neither this nor his own statutes prevented Kelke, gibbeted by Mullinger as 'careless and incompetent,' from carrying through, apparently upon the suggestion of Burghley, the disastrous transaction to which the next chapter is devoted.

# CHAPTER VI

OUR CITY PROPERTY, AND HOW WE LOST IT

That both Kelke's predecessors had violated the College Statutes in granting long leases of the Covent Garden, is proved by the following letters:

From State Papers (Domestic), Elizabeth, 1575.

'*Thos. Barbar to Burghley, Jan.* 8.

'It may like your ryghte honourable good Lordshippe to understande that when the late Lorde Audley . . . gave to Magdalyn Colledge in Cambridge his parsonage of Seynte Katherine Chrystchurche in London, and a garden plott of seaven acres of ground in the tenore of Case. The p'sonage att the value of eleven pounds a yere, and the garden plott at value of nyne pounds by the yere, when the sayde p'sonage with the gardeyne plott cam to the hands and possession of the sayde Colledge, they made a lease to one Lawrence Owen for the terme of ffyftie yeres, he paienge the said rente of twenty pounds whereuppon I Thomas Barbar with the reste of my Lorde Audley's Executors: consideringe that so longe a lease was to the greate hurte and dyscomoditie of the sayd Colledge (amonge other statutes which my lorde willed us his executors to make by his last will and testament)

we ordayned for the Colledge this statute for a lawe and ordyñce to be kepte that they should make no lease above tenne years, to cut of the long leases that might hereafter be made howe be it notwithstanding our Rewles and statutes gyven to the said Colledge, the mr and fellowes did make another lease for one and twentie yeres after the expiratione of the lease of ffyftie yeres which lease I take to be voide in lawe, by reason it was made after our rules and statutes. And furder I the said Thomas Barbar do saie that the said garden grounde is now letten for above one hundred markes a yere, and will be after the expiration of the oulde lease be worth one hundred pounds yerelye to the said Colledge, besydes fynes. Wherefore I shall desyre your good Lordshippe that this garden plott which will be after twentie yeres expyred so profitable for the inrichinge and mayntayninge of so poore a Colledge and fellowshippe may still by your wisdomes procurement remayne to the behaulf of the sayd Colledge, and that the small annuytie as I understand which M$^{r}$ Spynola offreth above the rente of nyne pounds which is the oulde rente, do not pluck from that poor Colledge this garden plott which will within fewe yeres bringe such proffitt and increase the revenues of the Colledge in such sorte that it shall hereafter flouryshe among the rest. And therefore I desyre your good Lordshippe to pitie the case of the poore Colledge and to stand their good Lorde, and that by your honore's procurement, the mr and fellowes be kepte from makinge so unprofitable a bargayne. The Lorde God increase you in all honor. Amen.

'Your Lordshippes most obedyē
To Command
'Thomas Barbar'
[one of Audley's Executors].

*'Thos. Watts to Burghley, Jan. 21.*

'With humble remembrance of my bounden duetie to your good L. It may please the same to understand that according to your Honor's direction I went to M^r^ Sollicitor and by him had intelligence that M^r^ Hurleston a counsellor of ye inner Temple was well acquaynted with the conveyances touching ye p'sonage of Katheryn Christchurch in London and the Gardens that M^r^ Benedict Spinola should have in ffee ferme of Magdalene College in Cambridge, who upon my repairing unto him declared to me as followeth:

'That one Evans m^r^ of the said Colledge in King Henry Theightes time and the fellowes there made a lease of the said p'sonage and gardens together for L. years and for the yearly rent of xx pds. viz. 12^l^ 10^s^ pds. for the p'sonage and 7^l^ 10^s^ for the gardens.

'One Carre afterward being mr, and the fellowes, graunted a lease in reversion of the same p'sonage and gardens for xxi yeres for the like rents. Of which two termes there are about xlii yeres yet unexpired.'

How Benedict Spinola came upon the scene is unknown, but as Kelke wrote to Burghley on January 26, 1575 (State Papers, Domestic), that the College had acted according to his request about Spinola, it is probable that it was Burghley who suggested the plan which was carried out on December 13 of the same year, when Kelke and the Fellows of the College granted to Queen Elizabeth, her heirs and successors for ever, at the yearly rent of £15, premises in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldgate, London, bequeathed to them by Audley, and then let for £9 per annum, with a proviso that the grant should be void if

the Queen did not duly convey the same, by letters patent under the Great Seal, to Benedict Spinola, Genoese merchant of London,* and his heirs, before April 1 following. On January 29 following the Queen did make the grant to Spinola, who subsequently conveyed the premises to Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and, after some changes of ownership, part thereof passed to one Hamond, from whom Barnaby Goche, Kelke's successor, in January, 1602-03, accepted a year's rent by a receipt not under the College seal. Then the premises passed to Alice, widow of one Masham, who married Sir Francis Castillion. On February 5, 1606-07, Goche entered the house in question, and made a lease to John Smith, Fellow of the College, for six years, upon whose possession Castillion re-entered and made a lease to John Warren, who was ejected by Smith. Warren then laid an action of ejectment against Smith. The case stood for trial in the Michaelmas term of 1607, but was delayed by an information exhibited in the Court of Wards on behalf of Henry, Earl of Oxford, then one of the King's wards. The Court of Wards, however, ordered a trial at law, when Sir Henry Hobart, Attorney-General, and Sir H. Montague,

* Spinola is mentioned in Strype as having taken a message to the Portuguese Ambassador, warning him not to allow English subjects to attend Mass at his chapel, 1576. He is named by Sir T. Row, Lord Mayor, 1568, in a list of strangers, 'Benedict Spinola, denison, merchant of Jeane: he goeth to the English Church.' He was a banker, and had lent the Queen £11,000 on a bond (State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, June 24, 1573), indorsed 'All payd—W. Burghley,' no date. The State Papers in the Pepysian Library include letters which show that Spinola took part in the European politics of the time. He died in 1580, having presented to the College a handsome silver seal. He sold the Garden for £2,500.

EX DONO BENEDICTI SPINOLA

: SIGILLŪ · COLLEGIJ · S · MARIE · MAGDALENE · IN · ALMA · ACHADEMIA · SĀTA · (*sic*) BRIGIE ✠

The device below the Saint is the Audley crest.

King's Serjeant, appeared for the plaintiff Warren, and Sir Henry Yelverton, Solicitor-General, and Thomas Crew, for the defendant Smith. Four points were made: (1) Was the conveyance by Kelke to the Queen restrained by the Act of 1571? (2) Admitting the conveyance to be restrained by that Act, had the Act of 1576 supplied the defect and made the conveyance good? (3) Admitting that the latter Act had not done this, did the transfers which had taken place in the interval, and the interval itself, bind the right of the College for ever? (4) Did the acceptance of rent by Goche disable him from entering the house? On all these four points the court (Coke, Chief Justice; Sir J. Croke, Sir J. Dodderidge, and Sir Robert Houghton, Justices) were unanimously in favour of the defendant—*i.e.*, of the College.

The first point turned on the question whether the Queen was 'a *person*, body politic or corporate,' for to such a longer lease than ten years could not be granted. Person she certainly was, and the Act forbidding long leases from Colleges had not exempted the Queen; moreover, an Act of 1 James I. was specially directed against this way of evading that of 13 Elizabeth, and if the acceptance of such leases to the detriment of learning was wrong in the case of a subject, it was *a fortiori* wrong in the case of a Sovereign, bound to protect religion and education. The Act of 13 Elizabeth was *actus remedialis* to protect the good of the ecclesiastical State and the possessions of Colleges; the law is reason and equity, and will not make construction against law, equity, and right. The statute *de donis conditionalibus* was to preserve the property of families

according to the will of the donor; in this case the donor's will was the advancement of religion and education—a better object than that of a family.

Again, the College was disabled from granting, therefore the Queen could not receive. The College, disabled by law from conveying to Spinola direct, had endeavoured to do so indirectly, making the Queen, essentially the fountain of justice, the instrument of injury and wrong. The office of Judges is to repress the mischief and advance the remedy. There had been, it was urged for the plaintiff, instances since 13 Elizabeth in which colleges, had made similar grants, but *multitudo errantium non parit errori patrocinium.* As to the second points, the Act 18 Elizabeth applied only to grants made for any debt, sum of money, or other consideration; now it was not contemplated that the Queen should pay any rent to the College, for rent was only payable at Michaelmas, and the Queen was to grant the premises to Spinola before April 1. Nor, again, did 18 Elizabeth enable persons to make grants who were disabled by law. The Master and Fellows were disabled by law from making a grant to bar their successors. As to the third point, the sales of the property had not taken place in Dr. Goche's mastership; while as to the fourth, it was briefly held that the Master alone could not by his personal acceptance of rent (especially as it was without seal) conclude the right of the College to re-enter.

The property which was the subject of this suit was only a small part of that demised to Spinola, upon which 130 houses had been built at a cost of £10,000, and pending the proceedings at law, a bill in Chancery

was filed by the Earl of Oxford and one Wood against the College. Goche and Smith, the defendants in the action at law, excepted to the jurisdiction of the court, and, persisting in their refusal to answer, were committed to the Fleet by Lord Chancellor Ellesmere in October, 1615, and in the following March possession was decreed to the plaintiffs, the suggestions of the bill being taken *pro confesso* without examination of witnesses. Still dissatisfied with this order, Oxford, in 1619, presented a petition to the King (the draft is appended to this chapter), who referred the matter to Lord Chancellor Bacon, to the two Chief Justices, Montague and Hobart, who had been counsel in Warren *v.* Smith, and to Chief Baron Tanfield. They were to call the parties before them and endeavour to effect a compromise. The referees, with somewhat suspicious speed, certified to the King that the decree of Lord Chancellor Ellesmere should be confirmed, and recommended that, for the better security of Oxford, the King should signify his pleasure, by letter under his privy seal to Bacon, that the decree should stand inviolable. The premises were then worth £800 per annum. The matter came more than once before Parliament. In March, 1620, an Act was introduced by the Solicitor-General confirming all grants made to Elizabeth by Colleges. On May 4 following, Goche, then M.P. for the University, presented a petition in favour of the College, and after debate it was 'resolved that he should put in a Bill' reversing the decree in Chancery, which was read a first time on May 8. Goche moved the second reading, but the House was counted out.

Two years later a Bill in favour of Oxford's case was

passed by the Lords. The Lower House had, however, granted second reading to a Bill in the contrary direction, Goche being ordered to withdraw as an interested party, and later, on Goche's motion, both Bills were sent to a Committee, when the case was referred to mediators. At one time £10,000 was offered to Goche to compromise, which was unfortunately refused. He died in 1626, and was succeeded as Master by Henry Smyth, who, encouraged by Buckingham—just elected Chancellor after the contest (page 48), in which promises may well have been made by both candidates—petitioned the King, and obtained a reference of the case to Lord Keeper, Coventry ; but in consequence of Buckingham's murder and the Civil War, nothing further was done by the College until 1669 (Duport being then Master). A petition was presented to Parliament, and a Committee appointed, of which Samuel Pepys was one. On behalf of the Earl of Oxford, it was urged that the College had not made a bad bargain, as it had recovered the rectory of St. Catharine Cree, of which, in 1544 and later, the College had granted leases which would not expire till 1616, for £11 per annum. Elizabeth had obtained this in 1574, and conveyed it to Spinola, who reconveyed it to the College in 1578, after granting a lease of it to Ralph Paris for thirty-one years at £28 per annum, Paris covenanting to repair the chancel and to pay a 'sufficient minister' to serve the cure. In 1609 Dr. Goche appears to have secured the lease for himself at £28, and to have sublet it at £68. In 1627 the College granted a lease to certain parishioners for £60 per annum, the lessees to provide the minister, and in 1636 the College begged them to

accept a nominee of its own. Six years later the College offered them a lease by which the curate was to be nominated by the Master and Fellows. This the parishioners refused, but held the rectory on parole for two years. In 1644 they threw this up, and, complaining to the Committee concerned with plundered ministers, proposed that the whole profit should be sequestered to the curate. Ultimately they took a new lease at £25, paying a fine of £20. In 1727 an Act was passed to establish a certain provision for maintaining the curate, and for repairing and supporting the chancel. Three years before the College had leased the impropriate rectory to one Knapp, and the Act provided that after that period the parishioners should pay the College £150 per annum, clear of taxes, in lieu of tithes, receiving the burial fees and mantaining the chancel. The College was for ten years to pay £50, and subsequently £70 to the curate.

It will be convenient to trace here the later history of 'Creechurch.' In 1873, by Order of Council, the parish of St. James, Duke's Place,* was united to that of Cree Church. St. James's Church occupied the site of the chapter-house of the Priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate. Of the Priory itself, which Audley, as already stated, received from Henry VIII., two plans by John Symons exist at Hatfield. They were found among Cecil's papers, and probably were made about 1592, when the first Lord Suffolk sold the property, by licence from the Crown, doubtless to raise money to build Audley End. To us they are most interesting as giving the exact site of Audley's 'mansion house.' The south-east angle of

* So called after Margaret Audley's husband.

the priory church must have been about 100 feet north-north-east from the north-east angle of St. Catharine's Church. Its whole length was about 245 feet. A central tower stood on the transept separating nave from choir. Under the choir were buried King Stephen's son and daughter. Audley unroofed nave and choir to make two open courts. Under, or in place of, the central tower he built, on the first floor, a great drawing-room called the Ivy Chamber. North of the nave was the graveyard of the monastery. West of this, on the first floor, were Audley's hall and parlour. The chapter-house was north of the transept, and beyond this, again, was the dorter (dortoir), looking on to the 'Great Garden,' while another 'Great Court' lay west of hall and parlour. The north boundary of the property was London Wall. In the south-west corner of their holding the Priors built the first St. Catharine *Cree Church* (at Christ Church), that the devotions of the canons might not be disturbed by the presence of the laity at their services. Stow says that in his time the original church was standing, the pavement of the (Leadenhall) street being so much above the floor that there was a descent of several steps. The tower, built about 1500, still exists. It was open to the church, and inside the present church, probably built by Inigo Jones about 1630, and consecrated with much ritual by Laud, can be seen part of the first arch of the old nave, now only about 3 feet above the floor.

St. James's, Duke Place, built by the Corporation in 1622, was pulled down in 1873, and by Order of Council £300 per annum, which the Rectors had received from the living of St. Peter, Cornhill, was

transferred to 'St. Catharine with St. James,' and the Corporation, as patrons of the latter church, now present to the united parishes alternately with the College. In this church is annually delivered, on October 16, the 'Lion' Sermon, to commemorate the escape of Sir John Gayer, Lord Mayor 1646, from a lion in Arabia. An annual Whitsuntide Flower Sermon was instituted by the late Vicar in 1852. The vestry-house of St. Catharine Cree, escaping the Fire, was lent to the Merchant Taylors' Head-usher as a schoolroom. The present Vicar has seen a Gothic arch built into the wall of a house demolished on the north side of Leadenhall Street, and fragments of Gothic pillars which came from its foundations. For fuller details, see *Home Counties Magazine*, vol. ii., p. 45.

Nicholas Brady, Tate's colleague, was Vicar of Creechurch 1691-1696. The appointments by the College seem to have been: Lawrence Cook, 1729; R. Foulkes, 1732; William Parker, the first Lord Braybrooke's brother-in-law, 1752; Richard Buck (Fellow and Tutor), 1803; George Hodson (Fellow), 1814; J. J. Gelling, 1829; C. P. Shepherd, 1866; and the present incumbent, J. Miles, formerly scholar of the College.

To return to the fate of the 'Covent-Garden.' The miserable £15 was paid yearly until 1720, when the property was in the hands of Sir John Blunt, of the South Sea Company, whose estate being forfeited, the company paid the rent, which the College long received for some 7 acres of ground in the heart of the City. It may be mentioned that Sir Samuel Romilly (1757-1818) who was consulted by the College, was of opinion that our case was not hopeless.

In the Michaelmas term of 1631 one Jeffs was indicted in the King's Bench for an infamous libel directed to the King against Coke, Chief Justice, affirming his judgment in the Spinola case to be treason, and calling Coke traitor and perjured judge. A copy of the libel was affixed to the great door of Westminster Hall and elsewhere. Jeffs, who put in a scandalous plea, was committed to the Marshalsea, pilloried at Westminster and in Cheapside, fined £1,000, and kept in prison till he made submission and gave sureties. An epigram by Duport (Musæ Subsecivæ) addressing Magdalene contains the line:

'*Spina tuo in latere, O, Spinola quanta fuit.*'

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI.

From the Harleian MS. 6,806, Art. 78.

'A draft of the deed for the confirmation of a grant made by ye M^r^ and fellowes of Magdalen Colledge in Cambridge to ye late Queene Elizabeth in ye 17 yeare of her raigne of a house and garden lying in ye parish of St. Bottolph without Algat London

'Showeth that whereas ye M^r^ and fellowes of ye foresaid Colledge ye 13 die decembris anno 17 Elizabethæ Reginæ being seized in fee of ye aforesaid house cont. about 7 acres then in lease for 50 years at ix^li^ per annum In respect of ye immediate increasement of ye Rent from ix^li^ to xv^li^ did give and grant ye said house and garden to ye said Queene Eliz. rendering perpetually ye yearly Rent of xv^li^ to ye said M^r^ and fellowes and their successors being then ye uttermost value that it was worth

'The which estate by divers meane [intermediate]

conveyances came to ye late Edward de Vere Earle of Oxenford who for divers great sums of money did lease ye same to sevrall persons charged ye same with rent charges and annuities not yet determined

'And ye said Earle and his tenants and undertenants have expended 10000$^{li}$ at ye least in buyldings and fences in and about ye said garden

'The said Earle of Oxon and his tenants have quietly enjoyed ye same 30 yeare and more and every succeeding M$^{r}$ and fellowes have allwaies accepted ye said rent of xv$^{li}$ and delivered them acquittances

'And by ye death of ye said Earle of Oxon ye reversion of ye premises descended to Henry now Earle of Oxenford

'Now for that some questions have been stirred and moved by ye aforesaid M$^{r}$ whether ye said conveyance to ye late Queene Eliz: were good ye evicting whereof would tend to ye great damage of ye nowe Earle and to ye utter undoinge of ye nowe tenants

'In consideration whereof ye said Earle doth praie that ye said graunte made by ye late Queene may bee good and effectual in ye lawe against ye Master and fellowes and their successors

'Saving to the King and his heirs and successors and to every other person and persons &$^{c}$.'

Note.—In 1880 the District Railway, and in 1882 the Commissioners of Sewers, acquired part of the rent-charge for £270 and £165 respectively, and the actual rent received by the College is now only £2.

# CHAPTER VII

## HOWLAND TO SMYTH

KELKE was succeeded by Richard Howland, born near Saffron Walden in 1540. A pensioner at Christ's in 1557-58, he graduated from St. John's in 1560-61. Two years later he was Fellow of Peterhouse, and held the Peterhouse living of Stahern. Burghley was still Chancellor, and got Suffolk, who may have known the Howland family at Walden, to appoint Richard to Magdalene. One of his first orders was that pensioners should pay £1 entrance fee, with silver cup or the equivalent, W. Bulkeley signing as Senior Fellow. When Whitgift became Bishop of Worcester, the Chancellor was too late to secure for Howland the mastership of Trinity, which went to Still, and Howland was consoled by Still's vacancy at St. John's. Baker remarks that he must have been glad to leave Magdalene, his predecessor having ruined that foundation. There could not, adds Baker, have been a fitter man, from his experience at Magdalene, for the designs then on foot, of giving new statutes to St. John's and enlarging the Master's power, 'yet too much limited' to keep the College in order. In 1584 Whitgift, then Archbishop, asked for

the See of Bath and Wells, or the Deanery of Peterborough, for Howland. The Queen thought him too good for the Deanery, and made him Bishop of Peterborough a few months later. The vacancy at St. John's seemed likely to lead to a contest, and it was therefore arranged that the Bishop should for a time hold the Mastership with his see. He was the object of scurrilous attack by 'Martin Marprelate':

'Wherefore is Richard of Peterborough unmarried but to provide for other men's children? Now, I remember me, he has also a charge to provide for—his hostess and cousin of Sibson. The petticoat which he bestowed upon her within the last six months was not the best in England, but the token was not unmete for her state.'

He died unmarried at Castor, near Peterborough, in 1600, and was buried in his cathedral without any memorial.

On Howland's promotion to St. John's, the Queen named Henry Copinger, Fellow of St. John's, to take his place at Magdalene. He was a great scholar. His father on his death-bed asking him what he would be, and being answered, 'A Divine,' said: 'I like it well, for otherwise how could I meet Martin Luther in heaven, having ten sons, and not one of them a minister?' Copinger accepted the Mastership, but, his appointment being entirely *ultra vires*, was resisted by the Visitor, and he resigned at the Queen's request, but too late to recover his Fellowship at St. John's. In Copinger's place Lord Suffolk named Degory Nicholls, Fellow of Peterhouse, and then Rector of Lanivet, Cornwall. Against him and others the heads of Colleges had exhibited articles.

'They doe goe very disorderly in Cambridge, wearing for the most part their hates, and continually very unsemely ruffles at their handes, and great galligaskens* and barreld hoese stuffed with horse tayles, with knit nethersockes too fine for schollers.'

He had a troublous time at Magdalene. In his first year he expelled William Bulkeley and other Fellows. The Fellows made counter-charges: he had an enmity to all Welshmen; his kine were milked at the door of the College hall; his wife was such a scold that she was heard all over the College (the Lodge being then where the College library now is). Nicholls, after appeal to Burghley, whose Chaplain he was, retired to the West, and held various preferments there, including a Canonry of Exeter, resigning the Mastership in 1582. In his time there were few Fellows and one Scholar; the date of entry of George Lloyd, Fellow, Bishop of Sodor and Man, 1600, and of Chester, 1604, is unknown; as is that of Sir William Ingram, Master in Chancery and antiquary. He died 1625; his manuscript notes on Cambridge are in the Bodleian. Other contemporaries were William Chaderton, Bishop of Lincoln, died 1608; Murtogh O'Brien, died 1613, Bishop of Killaloe; and Rowland Lynch, Bishop of Clonfert. On July 20, 1580, Nicholls wrote to Burghley that the Chief Justice (Wray) had been inquiring from him about the state of the College, with a view to helping it. He begs Burghley to influence his lordship in that direction.

Nicholls' successor, Thomas Nevile—to follow his own spelling—was a man of very different stamp. His

* Seamen's breeches; see New Eng. Dict. *sub voce*.

father was of Notts, but Thomas was born at Canterbury. His mother was aunt to Barnabe Goche, or Googe, author of the 'Eclogs,' father of a later Master of Magdalene. Thomas Nevile entered at Pembroke, where he was Fellow in 1570. He became Master of Magdalene in 1582, and shortly after Chaplain to the Queen, Prebendary of Ely, and Rector of Doddington-cum-March. In 1590 he was Dean of Peterborough; in February, 1592-93, the Queen nominated him to the Mastership of Trinity; in 1597 he was made Dean of Canterbury. He was high in favour with Grindal, and was chosen by him to bear to James I. on his accession the greetings of the English clergy. When James visited Cambridge on Suffolk's suggestion (see p. 46) Nevile was paralyzed, but the King visited him in his room, and was 'proud of such a subject.' He died a few months after this, having indeed treated Trinity with a 'bachelor's bounty.' The first court, except the chapel, is entirely his work, the hall, indeed, being built by a loan of £3,000 from his own purse, while he built at his own cost about two-thirds of the north and south sides of Nevile's Court. His arms, impaled with Corbet, were seen in our chapel in 1726, but Cole could not find them in 1773. It is disappointing that no crumbs of Nevile's liberality fell to Magdalene from the rich man's table at Trinity; but having had no benefactions since 1543, in the forty years beginning 1584 the College received much-needed and substantial gifts, which might not have come in had it had another Master of the type of Nicholls.

In 1584 John Spen(d)luffe, of Lincolnshire, gave lands valued at £30 for the maintenance of one

Fellow and two Scholars, and possibly the advowson of Cumberworth, where he had property; while John Hughes, Chancellor of Bangor, and Archbishop Grindal also founded scholarships. In 1587 Sir Christopher Wray gave us the parsonage of Grainthorpe, Lincolnshire, for the maintenance of two Fellows and six Scholars, having already built part of the first court of the College. Grainthorpe was then let on lease for £40 per annum. Wray retained the right to nominate both Fellows and Scholars during his life. After his death the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, with the concurrence of his heirs, were to nominate the Scholars from the Free School of Kirton-in-Lindsay, or, failing such, from Lincoln School. The Fellows, after his death, were to be nominated out of the six Wray Scholars, by the Master and Fellows, who were also, if the Dean and Chapter did not exercise their right, to award the scholarships to the poorer Scholars of Magdalene, or, in default of such, of Peterhouse. The scholarships were tenable till one year after the M.A. degree. In 1705 the rent had increased to £80, and in 1724, with a fine of £50, to £100. In Wray's will, dated 1589, and proved in 1592, occur these words:

'Item I give to my son [-in-law] S$^{t}$ Poll my nephew Girlington my nephew Yarborough and Master Brighouse the annual rent [£6 13s. 4d.] of all my lands and tenements in Nubell in the county of Lincoln . . . upon trust that they shall convey the same to the Master and Fellows of Magdalene College in Cambridge for the maintenance of one Fellow.'

Lady Wray also gave land at Saltfleethaven, Lincoln-

shire, to allow two Scholars of her foundation 20 nobles per annum each.

Sir Christopher, born in 1524, was the third son of Thomas Wray of Coverham, Richmondshire, by his wife Joan, a Bedale lady. Lord Campbell ('Lives of Chief Justices') inclines to the report that he was the natural son of Sir Christopher Wray, Vicar of Hornby, Lancashire. Against this may be urged, first, that there was no Vicar of Hornby of that name, and, second, that his mother, who, after Thomas Wray's death in 1540, became wife of John Wickif of Richmond, in her will names 'her welbeloved sonne Christofor Wray.' He studied at Magdalene about the time of its second foundation by Audley, though it does not appear that he graduated. He was called to the Bar in 1549-50; he was Treasurer of Lincoln's Inn in 1565-66, and Serjeant-at-Law in 1567. He represented successively Boroughbridge, Great Grimsby, and Ludgershall, and on becoming Speaker in 1571, made a rule that prayers be read every morning in the House at half-past eight, those members who were late having to pay a fine of fourpence into the poor-box (Sir Simonds d'Ewes' 'Parliaments'). As Speaker he was able to expedite the passing of the Act confirming the charters of the University. The next year he became Justice, and in 1574 Chief Justice, of the Queen's Bench, Bacon recommending him as a safe man to be head of the administration of criminal justice in times critical owing to the designs of Mary, Queen of Scots.

Wray presided over various State trials, dealing with Campion and other Jesuits, with a firmness verging on

brutality, and with plots against Elizabeth. He sentenced Babington in 1586, and was assessor at the trial of Mary, Queen of Scots, which soon followed. After considerable hesitation, Elizabeth signed the warrant, giving it to Davison, her secretary, to take to the Great Seal, and 'trouble me no more with it. Surely Paulet and Drury might ease me of this burden. Do you and Walsingham sound their dispositions.' Davison took the warrant to Walsingham. They then and there made out a letter (preserved in the British Museum) to Paulet and Drury proposing assassination. Paulet flatly refused, and Elizabeth, calling him 'a precise and dainty fellow,' sent for Davison and told him to despatch the warrant to Paulet. This, however, had already been done, and Richard Howland, fifth Master of Magdalene, then Dean of Peterborough, assisted at the funeral of the ill-starred Queen, and entertained the nobles who went to that city to attend upon that occasion (Gunton's 'History of Peterborough'). The execution being officially announced to Elizabeth, she turned upon Davison and ordered him to be tried in the Star Chamber for his action in the matter. Wray presided at his trial, and concluded his speech by saying that the Queen's express authority should have been obtained for executing the warrant. The punishment was a fine of 10,000 marks and perpetual imprisonment. In 1583 Wray dealt with the Brownists at Norwich, hanging one of them and burning their books. Of him Fuller says that he heartily 'feared God in his religious conversation. He bountifully reflected on Magdalen College in Cambridge, which infant foundation had otherwise been starved at

nurse for want of a maintenance.' David Lloyd ('State Worthies') says:

'Five particulars I have heard old men say he was choice in: (1) His friend, who was always wise and equal; (2) his wife; (3) his book; (4) his secrets; (5) his expression and garb. By four things he would say an estate was kept: (1) By understanding it; (2) by spending not until it comes; (3) by keeping old servants; (4) by a quarterly audit. He was mindful of what is past, observant of things present, and provident for things to come. No better instance whereof can be alleged than his pathetic discourses in behalf of those great stays of this kingdom—husbandry and merchandise; none was more tender to the poor or more civil in private, and yet none more stern to the rich—I mean justices of the peace, officers, etc.—or more severe in public.'

Elizabeth granted him the profits of the coinage till he had built a mansion at Glentworth, Lincolnshire. He married Anne, daughter of Nicholas Girlington, of Normanby, and died at Glentworth in 1592, leaving a son and two daughters. He and his wife were buried in the chancel of the Church there, and lie under a monument of alabaster and various marbles. The inscription contains a play on his name:

'. . . . Capital Justiar Angl.
Christopherus Wraius, re justus, nomine verus. . . .'

Wray's daughter Frances married, first, Sir George St. Paule, and, secondly, Robert Rich, grandson to Rich, Solicitor-General at the time of the trial of Fisher and More, and afterwards Lord Chancellor. 'The Lord Rich, after much wooing and several

attempts, hath at last lighted on the Lady Sampoll (*sic*), a rich widow of Lincolnshire,' writes Chamberlayne to Carleton. A year later he adds: 'Lord Rich [is] overreached by his wife, who hath so conveyed her estate that he is little or nothing the better by her, and if she outlive him like to carry away a great part of his.' Finding herself a childless widow within two years after her second marriage, the Countess earned from Fuller the character of a 'pious lady, much devoted to charitable actions. I am not perfectly instructed in the particulars of her benefactions. Only I am sure Magdalene College in Cambridge hath tasted largely of her liberality.' She gave the College lands at Aukborough, Lincolnshire, to found a Fellowship and two Scholarships. Wray's daughter Isabel married Godfrey Fuljambe, who gave us in 1604 an annuity of £13 6s. 8d. out of the impropriate Parsonage of Addenborough, Notts.

In the College accounts of 1582 appear payments to 'Baylaife, Schavenger, Laundres,' and to the 'musitions,' 2s. 6d., with present to my Lord Chief Justice [Wray], 20s.; a march pane [cake—It. *marza pane*] to his Lady, 10s.; while the preacher of a 'Combination Sermon' received only 8d. The Fellows then in office included Barnabe Goge (*sic*), Master twenty-two years later. The earliest entry in the 'Old Book' bears date 1586, and states the sale of the trees for the louvre over the hall.

Nevile ordered that Master, President, and four senior Fellows should be served in Hall by sizars:

'Modo tria ad minimum fercula sociorum pensionariumque fuerint in cominis: quod si bina tantum fuerint fercula, tunc quattuor tantum prædictorum subserviant,

idque pro Tutorum suorum senioritate. Reliqui sizatores mensis scholarium Baccalaureorumque inferioribus ministrabunt.'

In 1588 he required Fellows and Fellow-commoners to pay as caution money to the Steward 30s., to be repaid on their leaving the College, and settled the stipend of the Primarius (President) at *viginti solidos et quattuor denarios*, and that of the Dean at *viginti solidos*.

How far Magdalene shared in the social changes of Cambridge at this time there is no proof. From its comparative poverty and situation it may have escaped, but writers and preachers of the time complain of the intellectual decadence of the University, and trace it to various causes, which were only symptoms thrown out by the sudden acquisition of wealth by the one class enriched by the spoils of the monasteries. Avarice followed, the wealthy selling their patronage, and rich parents, as now, absorbing benefactions intended for a different class. 'Numbers overflowed, but there were fewer real students' (Mullinger). To cope with this, Edward VI. framed statutes which were to recast the studies of the place, while laxity was checked by the prohibition of fencing-schools and dicing-taverns, and of card-playing except on Christmas Eve.

On January 12, 1592, it was

'ordered that every man who has been Fellow shall at his choice, or upon request by him made, enjoy this favour to keep his name on the boards, paying only his weekly obol, or ½d., to the poor, and double festival shillings at the three solemn feasts, as his due to the University wayters for quarterly waiting at the Buttery table, and one common

play in the Chapel yearly by him or his deputy, to be performed at his own time, so as no man whom at that instant other duty may concern be thereby eased, but stand charged with the next ordinary duty of that kind, provided that some Fellow shall be his Tutor and undertake for him performance and discharge of the said duties. And be it further hereby established that neither the (*illegible*) nor any other of the Society shall give up his name to the University in their quarter bills or otherwise whereby the absent party may be charged with such duties as the University shall impose upon him by virtue of his name so remaining in the College, except it shall please the party to have his name so exhibited to undergo those duties, provided that this favour extend not, nor be hereby yielded to any man abiding and continuing for the most part in the College or University.'

This order plainly forecasts the modern non-resident member of the Senate.

Nevile's successor at Magdalene was Richard Clayton, pensioner of St. John's, 1572. He graduated at Oxford, but returned to St. John's as Fellow in 1577. He was a Lancashire man by birth, but two years after he came to Magdalene was made Archdeacon of Lincoln. On Whitgift's recommendation he became Master of St. John's at the end of 1595. During his reign there the second court was built, but Baker says that under him learning declined, the Johnians being 'so overbusied with architecture that other studies were intermitted, and the noise of axes and hammers disturbed them in their proper business.' He became Canon of Peterborough in 1596, and Dean the following year. Dying in 1612, he was buried in the chapel at St. John's

with much pomp. It is a curious coincidence that the builders of these great additions at the two great Colleges should have learnt administration at Magdalene. Goode, Barwell, and Chaderton petitioned Burghley to secure the Magdalene Mastership for John Neale of St. John's, but Suffolk selected another member of that house (his own College) in the person of John Palmer.

John Palmer was of Kent, and, entering St. John's in 1567, became Fellow in 1573. In 1580 he took the part of Richard III. in Legge's play before the Queen in the College hall, and Fuller says that ever after he was 'so possest with a princelike humour that he did, what he then acted, in prodigal expences.' Filling various College offices, he was recommended by Burghley in 1589 as Public Orator, but was not chosen. He became Master of Magdalene in 1595, being the eighth Master nominated by the first Earl of Suffolk. Two years later he was Dean of Peterborough. This took him away from Cambridge a good deal, and an order was passed, April 26, 1598, that the President was not to be absent in the Master's absence; failing him a Deputy-President was to be appointed. The four foundation Fellows were not to be absent without the Master's leave, and all Fellows, scholars, and pensioners were to reside in College. There is foundation for Fuller's remark, for Palmer sold lead off the roof of his cathedral to pay his own debts. Resigning the Mastership in 1604, he died in prison for debt in 1607.

In Palmer's first year John Digby entered Magdalene as a Fellow-commoner. He bore word to James I. of Princess Elizabeth's safety at the time of the Gunpowder Plot, and the King took a fancy to him.

He went twice to Madrid to negotiate—in 1611 the marriage of Prince Henry, and in 1614 that of Prince Charles, with the Infanta. He then further commended himself to the King by discovering that secret service money had been paid to English politicians, including, possibly, the Countess of Suffolk (see p. 47). In 1617 he was in Madrid again on the same errand; again there in 1622, as Earl of Bristol, he offended Charles and Buckingham, and his demands for inquiry on his return were ignored. In 1628 he was neutral on the Petition of Right, nor would he vote on Strafford's attainder. His dismissal from Court was, not without reason, demanded in the peace negotiations at Oxford in 1643, as he encouraged the King to hope for foreign aid. He was in Exeter when it surrendered to Fairfax in 1646; he then left England, never to return.

James Palmer of Magdalene, B.A. 1601, apparently not a kinsman of the Master's, was Vicar (1616) of St. Bride's, Fleet Street. He had Puritan views in middle life, omitted the prayer for Bishops and clergy, and read the service sometimes in gown, sometimes in his cloak.

'A pious man and painful [*i.e.*, painstaking] preacher, who besides many great benefactions to ministers' widows built and well endowed a neat almshouse in Westminster for twelve poor people, with a free school and convenient chapel, where he once a week gave a comfortable sermon. Verily I have found more charity in this one sequestered minister [he had resigned voluntarily] than in many who enjoy other men's sequestrations' (Fuller).

The almshouse is now in Rochester Row, and in the

United Westminster Schools its Founder's name is commemorated by Palmer scholarships. He died in 1659-60, and is buried in St. Margaret's, Westminster.

John Bridgeman, of Peterhouse, became a foundation Fellow of Magdalene in Palmer's Mastership. He was made Bishop of Chester 1619, and, the revenue of the see being small, he held with it the rectory of Wigan, and another in Wales. 'He loved neither to threaten nor to strike, but when he did strike, he did it effectually, and as if he loved it.' He suspended a Nonconformist minister who prayed with his own wife when sick, but was ready to wink at his getting 'another place anywhere at a distance.' A minister being cited before him for refusing to kneel at the Eucharist, the Bishop laid himself on a bench by the side of a table to demonstrate the unseemliness of the ancient attitude. On the overthrow of Episcopacy, Bridgeman lived in retirement, and died and was buried near Oswestry in 1652.

Buying from the Ashtons the property which had formerly belonged to the Levers, he caused four places to be left for coats of arms. In the one he put the Levers' with motto *Olim ;* in the next the Ashtons' with *Heri ;* in the third his own with *Hodie ;* in the fourth only the motto *Cras nescio cujus* (Pepys).

Orlando, his eldest son, by Elizabeth Helyar, daughter of a Devon cleric, went to Queens' in 1619, but was Fellow of Magdalene in 1624.* He began his political life in the Long Parliament as M.P. for his father's town of Wigan. He voted against Strafford's attainder,

* Prince ('Worthies of Devon') calls him Master. Possibly he was President.

and was for the King on the militia question. He was, however, too moderate in Church matters to suit Charles or Hyde. By submitting to Cromwell, he was allowed private practice at the Bar, and was the leading conveyancer, even enemies seeking his advice. On the Restoration he was Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and, presiding at the trial of the regicides, in his charge 'ripped up the unjustnesse of the war against the King from the beginning' (Pepys, October 10, 1660). He was not so successful in equity as in law, North saying he was timorous to an impotence. His family, too, especially his sons, who practised in his court, were out of hand. In 1670 he was hoodwinked over the secret Treaty of Dover, and was also too Protestant for the King. He objected to the Declaration of Indulgence, to martial law, and to grants to royal mistresses. History anticipated itself. The Pilot was dropped, to die in retirement at Teddington.

The College letter of congratulation to Orlando on his becoming Lord Keeper describes him as

'Litterarum benevolum mæcenatem . . . Magdalena nostra dum tibi nuperum honoris incrementum gratulatur, ipsa sibi videtur etiam sibimet ipsi novum felicitatis accessum una gratulari . . . prima futuræ magnitudinis fundamenta ponentem sinu suo ferebat, jam ad suprema Regni gubernacula evectum videt visumque venerabunda suspicit. Nonne merito gloriari licet quod illum olim alumnum nostris ædibus quem Rex nuper omnium dignissimum judicabat, cujus fidei sigilli sui custodiam demandaret? . . . quod iisdem ædibus filium tuum nuper alumnum habuimus adolescentem summæ spei indolisque eximiæ. Parentis vivam veramque effigiem . . . jam

dulce decus nostrum, olim insigne ornamentum futurum. . . .

'Humilissimi tui clientes

'Præfectus sociique Coll. Magd. Cant.

'J. Howorth.

'Dat iii non Oct. 1667.'

The register states that on March 3, 1587, an advowson of Stanton Parsonage was granted 'unto our Master, Doctor Palmer (either for his use or for any ffrend of his), by the consent of the Company whose names are here subscribed.—John Palmer, M^r^ Collegii, Thomas Yates, Barnabe Goche,' and six other Fellows. This was the gift of Henry Harvey, Master of Trinity Hall, 1559-1585, who was at one time Rector of Littlebury, near Audley End, whence, possibly, his wish to benefit Magdalene.

The first Earl's last appointment was a member of Magdalene, Barnabe Googe, or Goche, B.A. 1587. He was son of the author of the 'Eclogs,' and kinsman of the Cecils and of Thomas Nevile, in whose Mastership he entered Magdalene. He was born at Alvingham, Lincolnshire, where both he and Wray had property. The part he played in the Spinola case has been already described. He was Chancellor of the Diocese of Exeter, and died there in 1625. Of the state of Cambridge in his day, Sir Simonds d'Ewes, who entered St. John's in 1618, writes that 'swearing, drinking, and rioting abound. . . . Nay, the very sin of lust began to be known and practised by very boys.' On the visit of James I. in 1615, all tobacco-shops were put out of bounds, and the bold step of bathing in the Cam was

forbidden about the same time; an offending undergraduate was to be birched.

Among the entries under Goche were: (1) Robert Anton, B.A. 1609, author of a volume of satires, dedicated to Lord Herbert of Pembroke, commencing with a dialogue between Nature and Time (a copy is in the British Museum). (2) The Master's son John, Fellow in 1615. (3) Richard Culmer, who came up from the King's School, Canterbury, in 1613. He was famous for 'football-playing and swearing,' and did not 'seem cut out for a Mercury.' As Rector of Goodnestone, Kent, he was suspended by Laud for refusing to assent to the 'Book of Sabbath Sports.' Afterwards he had a vicarage in Canterbury, where, having destroyed much glass in the cathedral, he had to be protected by soldiers. In 1644 he was Rector of Minster, and made a bid for popularity by offering to reduce the rent of his glebe to 1s. per acre. But Kent was very Royalist, and, his former parishioners following him there, he had to break a window in the church to read himself in. He removed the cross from the spire amid jeers for doing things by halves, as he was the greatest cross in the parish. His parish offered to pay him his dues for life if he would leave. Wearing a blue gown, he got the name of 'Blue Dick of Thanet,' and for years in Thanet 'Culmer's news' was the current name for a lie. He was ejected on the Restoration, and arrested for complicity in the plots of Thomas Venner, a Fifth Monarchy man. Being asked why, when breaking windows in Becket's Chapel, he had spared the figure of the devil, he said his orders from Parliament did not name the devil. He certainly

justified Laud's remark that he was ignorant, but one of the most daring schismatics in Kent. (4) Brian Walton; he matriculated in 1614, but in his third year became a sizar at Peterhouse. In 1641 he was ejected from his living for ritualism, and imprisoned. He then went to Oxford and studied Oriental languages. In 1652 he published by subscription (one of the first books so published in England) his polyglot Bible, being allowed by the Council of State to import paper free of duty. He received £8,000 by subscriptions, £10 securing a free copy, which was a good investment, for the price soon rose to £50. On the Restoration he became Bishop of Chester, and was a member of the Savoy Conference. He died in 1661, and was buried in St. Paul's. (5) Adrian Scroope, son of Sir Gervase Scroope of Cockerington, Lincolnshire; he entered as a scholar in 1613, and was Fellow in 1618. His brother, Sir Gervase, raised a regiment for the King, and led it to Edgehill. There he received sixteen wounds, and lay out for forty-eight hours in a frosty October. His son found him and got him safely into Oxford, where he recovered and lived till 1655. Father and son were fined £6,000 by Cromwell for their loyalty. A Gervase of a later generation came to Magdalene at the end of 1667. (6) Timothy Thurscross, Archdeacon of Cleveland, and Fellow in 1622. He gave books to the library of the Dean and Chapter of York, and may have been son to Henry Thurscross, B.A., 1568. Sir Henry Slingby's Diary, quoted in the Catalogue of the York Capitular Library, says:

'Dec. 19, 1638. I became acquainted with M^r^ Tim. Thurscross, a Prebend of York, . . . he is a man of late

greatly mortified, having within less than this half year resigned unto ye Archbishop of York his Archdeaconrie [of Cleveland] and Vicaridge of Kerby Moorside, being much troubl'd in conscience for having obtained them through Symonie, and now living at York hath nothing. . . . He preacheth on Sunday where most need is, . . . he riseth at 4 o'clock in ye morning, and is at prayers in privatt and with his family until 6, at which time he goes to ye Minster prayers, and thence to ye Librarie till 10, and then to ye Minster prayers again, and thus he spends his days and strength, being much impar'd and weaken'd by his much fasting.'

Goche's order-book contains the following:

'Whereas I, George Tothby, Fellow of this College, being convented before the Maister and Fellowes the 27 day of February in the year of our Lord 1607, and then convicted of sundry misdemeanours tending to the great offence and disquiet of the whole society, was consented [sentenced] to lose my commons or dyet from the 27 day aforesayed unto Easter next, and admonished to reforme my disordered life, and to conforme myselfe to a more quiet and peaceable life: I doe by these presente willingly confess myselfe guilty of the premisses, taking it as an especiall favor done unto me by the sayed society that they be not here to my further disgrace more particularly excited, and I doe acknowledge the sayed censure to be justly imposed uppon me: and I doe further protest that I am hartyly sorry for my former disorders, and will endeavour hereafter by my honest and peaceable life to recover the love and good opinion of the whole society, and if I shall hereafter fail herein, I shall be contented to forfet my whole estate and interest in Magdalen College.

In wittness whereof, I have to this my present submission sett my hand, the daye and yeare above written.'

Richard Vines, B.A., 1622, was, according to Neal ('History of the Puritans'), a perfect master of the Greek tongue, a thorough Calvinist, and bold, honest man without pride or flattery—'a son of thunder, but moderate and charitable to those who differed from his judgment. His Majesty valued him for his ingenuity, seldom speaking to him without touching his hat, which Mr. Vines returned with most respectful language and gesture.' In 1642 he was one of the divines consulted by Parliament on the reformation of Church government and the Liturgy. Next year he was one of the Westminster Assembly which accepted the Solemn League and Covenant, and Rector of St. Clement Danes. In 1644 he was Master of the Temple, and was unwillingly made by Manchester Master of Pembroke. That College was then very empty, and Vines attracted entries. In 1645 he was a 'Tryer' for the Province of London. Essex had given him the rectory of Watton, and on October 22, 1646, he preached the Earl's funeral sermon at the Abbey. With startling metaphor, he described Essex as the man who

'broke the ice and set his first footing in the Red Sea. No proclamation of treason could cry him down, nor threatening standard daunt him that, in that misty morning [at Newbury] when men knew not each other, whether friend or foe, by his arising dispelled the fog.'

Referring to Cromwell, then present, the preacher continued:

'If he shall have but one stone out of each city or

stronghold taken by his arms to make his tomb, it will be such a monument that every stone of it will speak a history, and some a miracle; or, if that cannot be, it will be enough that he lay his head upon an immortal turf taken out of Naseby field.'

Well might Fuller call Vines a 'workmanlike preacher using strong stitches.' In January, 1648-49, he went with the Commissioners to treat with Charles in the Isle of Wight, and he proffered religious consolation on the morning of the King's execution. But, like Rainbow, he could not accept the Engagement, and was ejected from Pembroke and from Watton, though he was afterwards invited to St. Lawrence Jewry. He died in 1656.

His chamber-fellow at Magdalene, John Knowles, had become Fellow of Catharine Hall, but in 1639 he went to New England, where he taught in schools and preached in private houses, having been inhibited from public preaching for refusing to wear a surplice. He returned to England in 1650, and was lecturer at a Bristol church. Deprived on the Restoration, he went to London, but was silenced by the Act of Uniformity of 1662. Like other Nonconformists, he worked manfully in the Plague. Samuel Eaton, B.A. 1624, had preceded him to New England, and came home in 1640, intending to return, but remained in England attacking Episcopacy. Like Knowles, he was a victim to the Act of 1662.

In Goche's Mastership (*a*), 1612, it was ordered that the four senior Fellows should have diet or commons in Hall to the value of 5s. 6d. weekly, the three next 4s. 6d., the rest 3s. 6d. (*b*) 1612, the seniors' allowance was fixed at £10 yearly, that of the others at £5, and

every scholar's at 2s. 2d. per week. By both arrangements the Master was to receive double the allowance of a senior Fellow. (*c*) 1624, the profits of the Steward's accounts were to be divided among the Fellows, but this was not to be retrospective.

In 1621 the numbers, including 10 Fellows and 20 scholars, were 120.

By Goche's will the College received his library, and £24 per annum from lands in 'Dale' for two Fellows to have equal rights with the foundation Fellows. The latter then received £36, and the Goche Fellows demanded that sum, but did not get it; for it was manifestly unfair to make up their income to that of the foundation Fellowships, which were open and required ordination, while Goche's were partly close and tenable by laymen. Moreover, Goche had made money in the Creechurch matter, and died worth £4,000, while the College had lost £10,000 by his refusal to compromise in the case against De Vere (see pp. 68 and 71).

To return to the statutes. In 1625 Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, Chancellor of the University and Visitor of the College, wrote from Audley End:

'Whereas it appeareth by reason of some additions made by the means of Dr Kelke [Master] the Fundamental Statutes of the College are not regarded, to the great prejudice of them that deserve best among you: These are to abrogate and disannul all those additions and customs that have grown thereby, and to make void all such Elections as shall be made hereafter, either before a place be actually void, or before the oath prescribed in the Statutes be taken by every man that shall give his voice to the said Elections: Requiring you carefully to

observe your Fundamental Statutes and the Statutes of the University, as you desire to avoid the danger that may ensue if they be neglected. And thus not doubting of your readiness hereunto, I bid you heartily Farewell, and rest,

'Your loving Friend,
'T. SUFFOLK.'

There must have been a further attempt to tamper with the statutes, for a note was made in the College book:

'This pretended Copy was foisted into the Book during such time as it was in the custody of old M^r^ Smith after D^r^ Gooch's death: and D^r^ Smyth did never observe it [? notice it] at all during the life of The Right Hon^ble^ Tho. Earl of Suffolk, who told his son Theophilus Earl of Suffolk, and Baron Weston, and D^r^ Wivill, and others sitting together, that he would not alter any of the College statutes at all: but should continue as they were, without any diminution at all of the Master's power or liberty—a false and a juggling trick to pretend this to be a true copy of that which they durst never show.'

Again, in Smyth's mastership, came a letter from Audley End, read publicly in the chapel, together with the statutes, on August 15:

'*Dated* 31 *May*, 1631.

'After my hearty commendations. Whereas the illustrious Prince, the Duke of Norfolk, my noble grandfather, . . . with the unanimous consent of the Executors of your honourable Founder penned and established all your Statutes and every Clause and branch therein according to your Founder's will and direction, as appeareth both by

his Highness' Letters prefixed to the said Statutes, as also by the certificate and subscription of the Vice Chancellor and Heads of Colleges remaining with you upon Record, all which Statutes were religiously observed and obeyed by Dr Kelke, then Master, and by all the succeeding Masters and Fellows, without opposition or detraction.

'These are therefore, by the Authority derived to me and my Heirs by Right of Inheritance and lineal Descent, to require you to keep and observe all things enjoined by the said Statutes and to abrogate all Innovations and Customs which may be prejudicial to the Priviledges by the said Statutes graunted to the Master of your Colledge belonging to our Patronage and Protection. And I require you, the Present Master, to use your diligence to see the Statutes kept and preserv'd: and if you find any man factious or disobedient therein, that then you make use of the Authority given you by the said Statutes for the quiet government of the said College. And thus not doubting of your performance therein I commit you to the protection of the Almighty, and rest

'Your very loving Friend,

'Theoph: Suffolk.'

Dissatisfaction at the power possessed by the Master, and his two votes besides the casting vote, in so small a society, did not die out, and seemed likely to cost the College a benefaction from one of its members, for the same Earl of Suffolk writes: [*Baker MS.*]

To Mr. Smith.

'Mr Smith, you are now in the fullness of your age and in the school of affliction by sicknesse, and as in my youth you instructed mee, so let mee reflect my love now upon

you to putt you in minde, to sett your affaires in order, and settle your estate, as good K. Ezekias did in his sicknesse, whose life upon soe doing was enlarged, and the like Blessing may fall upon you. As you received the begininge and encrease of your estate from the Colledge, and have accordingly all your life hitherto continued a carefull nurse and steward in it, so you, I doubt not, but in the ende of your dayes, you will return a thankfull and cordiall memory and gratification, in disposing some part of your estate, especially of your lands and other inheritance to ye same place where God hath so much blessed you, wch act as it will bee a sweet smelling sacrifice to God, and exemplary to the world, so it will be most acceptable unto mee who will ever remaine

'Your very lo: Friend

'THEOPH: SUFFOLKE.

'Suffolke House 20 Martii 1636[7].'

REPLY.

'MY VERY GOOD LORD,

'Your honour hath written unto mee to doe that which I desired: but our Statutes devised by Dr Kelke (he under Trust deceaving the good Duke) are such as I know not what to doe, they make way only for tyranny, and as they have been a great hindrance, soe they will be the undoing of the Colledge. It only belonged to your Honor by your Letters to appoint some good Statutes to bee presently presented by the Mr and Fellowes to your Honor, that they may bee well perused and confirmed. It is therefore my last suite, that such Statutes may neither be allowed nor suffered any longer, as are soe much against the good of the Colledge, and against the Honor of your noble House. And soe not ceasing to pray

for your Honor's welfare heere and happiness hereafter, I rest

'Your Honors ould servant

'Jo. Smyth [*sic*].*

'March 28, 1637.'

'One of the Fellowes (who opposed the M^r^) carried this letter to My Lord and tells his Ldp: that unless M^r^ Smyth [Smith] receive some satisfaction in this kinde, he will give nothing unto the Colledge, but bestow it (1500 lib) upon some other Colledge, where there are better Statutes: and besought my Lord to write to M^r^ Smyth to send him up the Colledge Statutes, w^ch^ my Lord did, but withall his Ldp: wrote to the M^r^ of the Colledge to heare from him. Whereupon the M^r^: carries my Lord the Statutes, w^ch^ he sent to Councell to peruse, and wrote this letter following to M^r^ Smyth:

'"M^r^ Smyth, I finde that your Statutes were not made by D^r^ Kelke, but by the Executors of your Founder, according to his discretion and perused and approved by my noble Grandfather the Duke of Norfolk: and that these Statutes, w^ch^ you now have, are the very same, without addition or alteration, as they were made by the Executors of the Founder, it appeares by certificate of the Vice Chancellor and Heades of Howses when D^r^ Howland was M^r^ of the Colledge; by and under w^ch^ Lawes your Colledge hath ever since prospered and flourished, and divers Benefactors, viz. the ArchBp. Grindall, the Cheefe Justice Wray, the Countesse of Warwick, and others have willingly submitted ye Foundations and Donations to the same Lawes, and none of them desyred any alteration of your Statutes, as they now stand, w^ch^ you and all

* The names are indifferently spelt Smith and Smyth. Henry was Master; John, President.

Fellowes are sworne to observe, and procure alwayes to bee observed. In consideration whereof, I see noe cause, why they should bee altered, or how I can in honor attempt to alter them. But if you can make direct proofe, that D^r^ Kelke hath forged or falsifyed any of the Statutes, I will doe my best endeavour for due reformation thereof. But if the Statutes doe continue in the same state, as they were recommended by my noble Grandfather the Duke, then, I hope, for the honor you have to his memory, and your relation to his Family, you will submitt to the same Lawes, as other Benefactors have done, w^ch^ I shall take very kindly, and acknowledge you doe something for my sake. And I conceive, it will be better for your own creditt to follow the example of former Benefactors, than to beginne a new way of charitye, in clogging your guift with hard conditions or innovations, especially if you have enjoyed all the cheefest offices and places of the Colledge all this time. But if these reasons bee not of the same weight with you, as they are with mee, I shall give way, that you make such ordinances for the government of your owne Donation as your learned Councell shall advise, and I will assist you for the establishment thereof. Thus nothing doubting, but that you will rest fully satisfied herewith, I recommend you and your intentions to the Blessing of the Almighty and rest

'"Your loving Friend

'"THEOPH: SUFFOLKE.

'"Suffolke House 5 April 1636."'

On John Smith's death, Suffolk, after reading his will, wrote to the College begging them to make his bequests conform to the statutes. To the College he left lands for the maintenance of two Fellows and six Scholars, with £200 towards the new building, and £100 to be

kept constantly for a Bursar's stock. Of him Fuller ('Worthies of Lancashire') wrote: 'This man could not fiddle, and could not turne himself to be pleasant and plausible, but he could and did make that little College great.' He and Goche, continues Fuller, lay long in prison for refusing to submit to Bacon's order in Chancery, fearing lest their cause would be prejudiced by consent. He was many years Fellow and President under Goche's successor, Henry Smyth, in whose time a meeting was held to elect to the office of Bursar, started by John Smith's bequest, according to which that official was to be elected by the Master and Fellows, the Master *having one vote only*. Dr. Smyth urged that the Fellows had no power so to elect, and threatened to refuse the bequest. The Fellows gave way, and Rainbow was named 'Bursar,' it being understood that the Bursar's power was to be limited to matters bursarial. The register notes:

'againe upon Saturday 15 Augusti 1635 the said original letter (whereof this is a true copy) and the Statutes of ye Colledge were publickly and audibly read, by Sir Gale, in the chapelle, immediately after common prayers, before any fellow or scholar went out of Chapelle: and then and there the Master of the Colledge [Henry Smyth] exhorted and advised all fellowes and scholars to the study of divinity and monished and required them all to keepe and observe all the Statutes of the Colledge and University, together with all the Canons and lawfull ceremonyes used in the Church of England generally, and to wear capps in the hall, and cappes and surplices in the Chapell, and to forbeare all hunting or coursing, and haunting the towne, especially all such houses and places where wine, ale, beare, or tobacco, is soulde.'

In 1636 Suffolk wrote confirming the election as Fellow of a son of the Master. Such matters went by favour, for Lord Windsor (Baker MS.) wrote to Smyth begging for a Scholarship for a friend, and again, thanking the Master and offering a service in return.

In Smyth's time, the Province of Canterbury being short-handed, many dispensations were given to Fellows to hold Church preferment. Among others, Howorth, Rainbow's successor in the Mastership, was allowed to officiate at Trinity Church, Cambridge, and Rainbow himself at Childerley, while extensions of time before ordination also appear, Henry Smyth, probably the Master's son above named, being allowed to postpone ordination till he was twenty-six. In 1633 Thomas Cracherode was scholar; he may have been ancestor of the book-collector, who was born 1730.

In 1641 a Registrar was first appointed. His payment was to be by results, Fellows paying 2s., Fellow-commoners and scholars 1s., pensioners 6d., and sizars 4d., on admission; while he received 2s. 6d. for each use of the College seal.

A serious visitation of plague occurred in 1630, having begun close to Magdalene. By April the University was 'in a manner wholly dissolved. In many Colleges none are left' (Meade). There were 347 deaths in about nine months, and great destitution, nearly 3,000 living upon the charity of some 140 people.

Edward Dering appears to have come up in Smyth's time. He was born in the Tower of London, of which his father was Deputy-Lieutenant. He was Protestant, but not Puritan. As M.P. for Kent he took the popular side in Strafford's case. In 1641 he moved the Root and

Branch Bill, but on the Grand Remonstrance he voted with the Royalists. He was then sent to his native Tower for a week, and his speeches were burnt. At the Maidstone Assizes he induced the grand jury to petition for Episcopacy, and was impeached, but escaped and raised a regiment of horse. He proved no great soldier. When Charles turned to the Irish Catholics, he dropped off, and in 1644 accepted pardon, taking the Covenant. He was a 'fair representative of the bulk of the nation, against extreme courses, but unable to construct any workable scheme' (Gardiner).

Having sent forth one of the founders of Dublin University in the person of Ussher, in 1640 the College produced the first President of Harvard, Henry Dunster, B.A. 1630, who emigrated to New England on account of High Church tyranny. He built the President's house at Harvard, and gave that Society 100 acres of land. He produced a version of the Psalms used for many years in New England.

Simon Gunton, 1629, during the Civil War found a retreat with the Duke of Richmond. He took copies of many epitaphs in Peterborough Cathedral before they were obliterated by the army, and, being a Prebendary, he published a folio history of the cathedral, as well as ὀρθολατρεία, or Bodily Worship God's Due. Orlando Bridgeman was his chief patron.

Isaac Ambrose, originally of B.N.C., was incorporated at Magdalene as B.A. in 1631. He was one of the King's four preachers in Lancashire and Vicar of Preston. That place he found too Royalist, after helping to establish Presbyterianism by signing the 'Harmonious Consent.'

# CHAPTER VIII

## RAINBOW TO HOWORTH

The cause of Edward Rainbow's coming to Magdalene is obvious. Born 1608, the son of a Vicar in Lindsey, Lincolnshire, he was Godson of Edward Wray, a younger son of the Glentworth family, which had done so much for the College. His mother, daughter of a neighbouring Rector, knew Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Her sister married a Peachell. Beginning his school-life at Gainsborough, he became in 1620 pupil of Dr. John Williams, then Prebendary of Peterborough. In 1621 Williams became Dean of Westminster, and Rainbow was then moved to Westminster School. In 1623 he entered Christ Church, Oxford, but in 1625, the year in which Milton entered Christ's, Frances, Countess of Warwick, gave him one of her father's scholarships at Magdalene. B.A. in 1627, he was made in 1630, by Sir John Wray, Master of the school at Kirton-in-Lindsey, but soon moved to London, settling near Sion College, to read for Orders. Ordained in 1632, he failed to get the chaplaincy of Lincoln's Inn, but became curate at the Savoy Chapel. He was recalled in 1633 to Magdalene as Goche Fellow, with the promise of the first vacant foundation Fellowship.

Among his pupils were two sons of Theophilus, second Earl of Suffolk, who made him trustee of a settlement which he executed in 1640. In 1637 he became Vicar of Childerley, near Cambridge, Dean of Magdalene, and in 1642 Master, on the nomination of James, third Earl of Suffolk, who was thereby carrying out a promise made by his father.

The Solemn League and Covenant was required of everyone by Manchester, and twelve out of sixteen heads of Colleges were ejected. From Magdalene went no fewer than nine Fellows, including Howorth, subsesequently Master; also Gale, Erskine, Green, Whitaker, Pulleyn, Leech, and Butler (or Boteler).

In the following February the House ordered that the 'plate of Mawdlyn College seized, as it was conveying away to Oxford, be referred to my Lord of Manchester to be disposed of for the use of the public,' and in March he issued a warrant requiring Mr. Huddleston of Magdalene and another to send him notes of their prayers and sermons at St. Mary's on a Sunday. How Rainbow got over the 'Covenant' is not known, but when required in 1650 to accept a purely political test in the 'Engagement,' and to be 'true and faithful to the Government established without King or House of Peers,' he refused, and was ejected with Perrinchief, Fellow of Magdalene. He appeared in London before the Committee for the Regulation of the Universities, offering to live quietly under the Government. That was insufficient, and Sadler reigned in his stead for ten years. It was at this time that Sancroft wrote:

'I hope God will enable us to teach them that swords and pistols, though they may overthrow kingdoms, yet

alter no principles. If we be cntinued here till the man in the North [Cromwell on his Dunbar campaign] has done his business, we must look for stricter penalties.'

The Mastership was then worth £103, and it was proposed to augment it to £150 out of the £2,000 voted by Parliament as an annual subsidy to the Universities. The College paid a poor rate, as did Corpus, Trinity Hall, Sidney, and St. Catharine's, of £1 10s., as against Trinity £8, King's £7, and St. John's £6.

In the list of plate in Rainbow's time is entered '1 Pot, Boone'; this is afterwards erased, with side-note: 'Ye goodman Townsend saith was lost before Dr. Rainbow left ye Coll. on the Thanksgiving Day for the victory in Dublin' (? Drogheda).

In 1652 Rainbow received the living of Little Chesterford from the Earl of Suffolk, and married the daughter of Henry Smyth, his predecessor in the Mastership. In 1658 he became Rector of Banefield, Northants, on the nomination of the Earl of Warwick, Lord Orrery procuring his induction without his going before the 'Tryers.'

Richard Perrinchief departed owing the College £4 10s. 2d. What he did till the Restoration is not known. He then became Prebendary of Westminster and of St. Paul's, and Subalmoner. He published the collection of King Charles's works made by Fulman, and compiled his life from the same source. Dying in 1673, he was buried in the Abbey, bequeathing £600 to trustees to buy an impropriation in Hants, his native county, or elsewhere, to endow the vicarage of Buckingham.

Payne Fisher, who wrote as *Paganus Piscator*, came to Magdalene in 1637 from Hart Hall, Oxford. He was Cromwell's Poet-Laureate, writing Latin verses on Marston Moor, where he had deserted, having previously served in the Netherlands and against the Scots in 1639 as Sergeant-Major of the Cumberland Militia. Some of his poems were dedicated to his tutor, Rainbow. Wood says he had a 'rambling head and a turn for verse-making.' He presented to Pepys his 'Epinicion Ludovici XIII.,' with portrait of that monarch and his arms, 'dedicated to me very handsome.' He had, however, a way of dedicating the same work to several people. A turncoat at the Restoration, he published imaginary speeches of Cromwell, Henry Ireton and Bradshaw 'intended to have been spoken at their execution at Tyburne 30 June, 1660, but for weightie reasons omitted.' He spent some years in the Fleet, and wrote a useful account of some of the City churches before the Fire. Winstanley says he had 'well deserved of his country had not lucre of gain and private ambition overswayed his pen.'

Here may be mentioned a Royalist divine, Thomas Bayly, B.A. 1627. He was Subdean of Wells. He attended the King at Raglan Castle after Naseby, and was there during the stubborn siege. He then went to Flanders, where he became a Romanist. After the King's execution he was in Newgate, and wrote there 'Herba Parietis'—'the wallflower as it grew out of the Stone Chamber of Newgate Prison—a history partly true, partly romantick, mostly Divine.' He escaped to Douay, and was zealous against Protestantism. He edited also a 'Life of Bishop Fisher' and 'Golden

Apothegms of Charles I. and Henry, Marquess of Worcester.'

John Saltmarshe, of Saltmarshe, Yorks, originally a Churchman, came under the influence of John Hotham. In 1643 he had said of the King 'that it were better that one family should perish than the whole kingdom.' He became chaplain to Fairfax's troops, and preached at St. Mary's after the surrender of Oxford. The Long Parliament made him Rector of Brasted, Kent, in succession to Thomas Bayly. He resigned in 1646, and in December, 1647, he said he had a Divine message to the army and Council at Windsor. He rode thither from Ilford, and would not uncover to Fairfax, with whom 'God was displeased.' To Cromwell he said much the same, and, announcing on December 6 that his work was done, he went home and died at Ilford five days later. In a pamphlet, 'Smoke in the Temple,' he advocated a free press with signed articles. In his 'Divine Right of Kings,' 1646, he said: 'Surely it is not an University, a Cambridge or Oxford, a pulpit and black gown which makes a true minister.' As he was at Cambridge in 1636, he cannot have been more than thirty when he died. Fuller calls him no contemptible poet and a good preacher.

Arthur Dacres was Fellow 1645, and M.D. 1654. He was assistant physician at St. Bartholomew's 1653 to 1678. In 1664 he succeeded Isaac Barrow as Gresham Professor of Geometry, defeating Robert Hooke, the next holder of the Chair. In 1665 he was Fellow of the College of Physicians, then numbering only thirty members, and in 1672 he was Censor to that body.

Sir Robert Howard, descendant of the first Earl of

Suffolk, is said by Wood to have been of Magdalen College, Oxon, but Cole 'suspects' Cambridge; and Lord Braybrooke, in his notes to the Diary, seems to have no doubt that he belonged to Magdalene. He was knighted on the field of Newbury, 1644, for bravery at Cropredy three months before. Under the Commonwealth he was imprisoned at Windsor. After the Restoration he sat for Stockbridge, and was secretary to the Commissioners of the Treasury. Though a strong Whig, he induced Parliament to vote money to Charles II. He purchased the Ashtead estate in Surrey, and had his house decorated by Verrio. Evelyn says that he 'pretended to all manner of arts and sciences, not ill-natured, but insufficient and boasting.' Assisted by Dryden, his brother-in-law, he produced plays, and in his 'Duke of Lerma' so satirized the Court that Pepys was 'troubled for it,' and 'expected it should be interrupted.' He lived till 1698, and was buried in the Abbey.

Boteler, ejected in 1644, was in 1658 a Lincolnshire Rector, and, preaching a Restoration sermon at Lincoln, was rewarded by being made King's Chaplain.

Richard Cumberland matriculated from St. Paul's, and was a friend of Burton, and of Pepys, who would have liked his sister 'Pall' to marry him. In 1667 Orlando Bridgeman gave him the living of Stamford, where he remained quietly, though 'getting a fever' over the Romanist tendencies of James II., until he one day read in a paper in a coffee-house that William III. had made him Bishop of Peterborough. He was a student of Jewish antiquities, and the result was published after his death by his son-in-law and chaplain,

Squier Payne, Fellow of Magdalene in 1695, and son of William Payne, Fellow, 1671, and Chaplain to William and Mary. Aged eighty-three, Cumberland learnt Coptic in order to read a Testament in that language which had fallen into his hands. The originator of the saying that it is 'better to wear out than to rust out,' he died in his library chair, having spent his income in charity, and saved only £25 to pay for his funeral in the cathedral. Cole says that he was not 'naturally quick, but strong and retentive: he had a cool head, and was not carried away by a warm imagination. He was well read in classics, mathematics, theology, and antiquities.' His grandson, Denison Cumberland, Bishop of Clonfert, married Bentley's daughter, and had by her a son Richard, the dramatist, born in the Judge's Chambers at Trinity Lodge. He was intimate with Romney, who may therefore have copied for him his great-grandfather's portrait which hangs in our hall.

William Howell, Fellow in 1651, encouraged by Orlando Bridgeman, wrote a 'General History from the Beginning of the World till Constantine the Great,' a work praised by Gibbon, and the 'Medulla Historiæ Anglicanæ'; while one Hammond, son of a butcher at York, obtaining a Fellowship through Manchester's interest, became a great preacher at St. Giles's. Sir Arthur Hesilrige, possibly a member of the College, for he presented an 'eare pot,' took him to the North as his chaplain in 1648, and he settled as minister at Newcastle, to be ejected at the Restoration. Thence he went to Hamburg as minister to the Society of Merchants, whose charter was thereby threatened.

Wandering on to Sweden and Dantzig, he ended his days in London in 1665.

Francis Tallents, born in 1619, migrated to Magdalene in 1635 from Peterhouse. He became Fellow and President. The sons of Theophilus, the second Earl of Suffolk, and Sawyer, and Hezekiah Burton, were among his pupils. In 1652 he was minister of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury. He was pleased at the Restoration, and made some advance towards conformity, but the 'Clarendon Code' was too much for him. Giving up his work, he always observed as a fast St. Bartholomew's Day, on which day, in 1662, the Act of Uniformity came into effect. In 1673 he was minister of a Dissenting congregation at Shrewsbury, and in 1685 was in prison at Chester for advocating the cause of Monmouth, the Protestant Duke. He published in his 'View of Universal History' chronological tables which Calamy calls the 'fruit of many years' labour and pains, the exactest of any of the kind.' He died before the Tory Ministry of 1710 stopped occasional conformity, with which he sympathized. Richard Pell, who had been a tutor at Durham when Cromwell tried to found that University, was restored to his living on the Restoration, to be re-ejected in 1662. He was an Orientalist, and after imprisonment at Durham for violation of the Conventicle Act he practised medicine.

John Sadler (Master 1650-1660) was son of a Sussex Rector, but of Salop by descent. He had been Fellow of Emmanuel, and was a Hebraist and Orientalist. He was of Lincoln's Inn, and was a Master in Chancery in 1644, when he was only twenty-nine. Being Town Clerk of London in 1649, he was offered by Cromwell,

then at Cork, the office of Chief Justice of Munster, with salary of £1,000, but refused. In 1653 he became M.P. for Cambridge, and later for Yarmouth, and in 1655 obtained leave for the Jews to build a synagogue in London. At the Restoration he retired to his wife's property in Dorset, where he had a wonderful dream: that many thousands should die; that the City would be burnt down, and St. Paul's fall as if 'beaten by great guns'; that there would be three sea-fights with the Dutch; that three small ships would land west of Weymouth and put all England in an uproar, which would end in nothing; that in 1688 such a thing would happen in this kingdom that all the world would take notice of it; that the person to whom he told the story (one Bound, a Dorset minister) should live to see it, but that he and his man would die. Of this dream affidavits were said to have been made at the time before magistrates.

His misfortunes did not end with his ejection from Magdalene, for in the Fire his house in Salisbury Court, which had cost £5,000, was destroyed, and later a house of his in Salop was burnt. Moreover, his house at Vauxhall, and other Crown lands, were confiscated, as was his interest in the Bedford Level. He died in 1674.

Thomas Doughty, to whom he gave a sizarship in 1653, was twenty-nine years Canon of Windsor, where is his monument. He was tutor to Mary and Anne, daughters of James II., but did not live to see either of them on the throne.

An order of September 9, 1654, says that

'Sir White and Anderson being both taken drunke, should have received admonition, but being contumacious

and refusing to come into ye Hall, they had both their names forthwith cut out of ye tables, and Sir White was finally expelled, though Anderson, upon his reading a recantation, had his name put on again.—J. PEACHELLE, Registr.'

Sadler's last signature in the register bears date April 26, 1660. In his day morning chapel was at six. He produced a Headmaster for Wakefield in 1665, in the person of Jeremy Boulton, B.A. 1661.

At the Restoration Rainbow returned to the Mastership, was Chaplain to the King, and in 1661 Dean of Peterborough, coming back to Cambridge in November, 1662, to serve his Vice-chancellorship, when he secured to Magdalene the proctorship once in nine instead of forty-four years. The Act of Uniformity allowed College prayers to be said in Latin, which was the case in the time of Charles I., as we know from the story of the chaplain at Christ's who, in his anxiety not to offer posthumous prayers for James I., substituted *Deus Caroli* for *Deus Jacobi* in the Psalms, to his great confusion. This Act, however, ejected one Fellow from Magdalene, Thomas More, nephew to Andrew Marvel, and from their livings: (1) John Cromwell, son of Robert Cromwell of Barnby Moor, Notts, Fellow 1654, who had been presented by Oliver to a living in Notts. He was imprisoned, and had scurvy in prison. Mark Noble ('House of Cromwell,' 1784) says that he disclaimed relationship to Oliver. (2) Edward Lawrence, who fell by the Conventicle Act for preaching in a private house to four of its inhabitants and one child from outside. (3) Nye, matriculated 1662, who is said to have invented the word

'Unitarian.' (4) Dudley Ryder of Wisbech, matriculated 1645-46; he had lost a good estate by an uncle's dislike of his Puritanism; his two sons became tradesmen, and one of them, who settled in Smithfield, was father to the Archbishop of Tuam, and to Sir Dudley Ryder, Chief Justice, 1754.

In 1664 Rainbow became Bishop of Carlisle, resigning both Mastership and Deanery, though he might have held one of those offices with his see. He had to borrow money for the expenses of consecration and to get into Rose Castle (damaged in the war), and he became involved in a lawsuit over dilapidations with his predecessor, who had been translated to York. At Carlisle he was noted for generosity and for denunciation of immorality, which last, it is said, so irritated a great lady that she prevented his translation to Lincoln in 1668. Dying on March 26, 1684, of gout and stone, he was buried, by his own request, at Dalston, Cumberland, under a plain stone with simple inscription. He was a great preacher, abandoning in later life an ornate style in favour of plainness and perspicuity. He is said to have prayed that for his wife's sake he might live over quarter-day!

John Howorth had been ejected with Rainbow, whom he succeeded in 1664, on the nomination of the third Earl. He died Vice-chancellor in 1668. Cole found his hatchment stowed away in a lumber-room over the chapel, with those of Duport and Quadring and one other unidentified.

James Torre, antiquary and genealogist, author of the 'Antiquities of York' and five volumes of 'English Gentry and Nobility,' supplemental to Dugdale's

'Baronage,' entered in Howorth's Mastership. He was of an old Lincolnshire family. So also was Richard Carr, who entered 1667; for a time he was Master of Saffron Walden School, but, studying physic at Leyden, took his M.D. at Cambridge in 1686, and F.R.C.P. in 1706. He wrote curious 'Epistolæ Medicinales'; his subjects included sneezing-powders, smoking, coffee, 'thee, twist' (a mixture of tea and coffee), and chocolata. He refuted the theory that for reasons of health a man must get drunk once a month.

# CHAPTER IX

## SAMUEL PEPYS AND HIS FRIENDS

One of the best friends of Magdalene was Samuel Pepys. Not only was he a liberal subscriber to the building fund for the second court, but he bequeathed to the College the manuscript of his Diary and his collection of prints and books, with the eleven presses of red oak (see plate facing p. 131),* made for them by 'Sympson the joiner.' Unrestricted access to the Pepysian Library is obviously impossible, but the Fellows seem never weary of showing its treasures to accredited visitors, and special arrangements have ere now been made for students to work at particular volumes. Macaulay, it will be remembered, thanked the Master for such a concession.

If only Pepys had begun his Diary in his undergraduate days, we should have known of the social life of Cambridge in the seventeenth century all that is worth knowing; but as it is, by his visits to his Huntingdonshire home, he kept up his connection with the College into later life.

Though he obtained a sizarship at Trinity Hall in

* Two volumes of the diary lie on the bookstand in the foreground.

June, 1650, Pepys began his Cambridge life as a sizar at Magdalene, in Sadler's Mastership, on March 5, 1651 ; he became a Splendluffe Scholar in the following month, and two years after was scholar on Smith's foundation. His tutor was Samuel Morland, son of a Berkshire parson, who had entered the College as a sizar in 1644, and comparison with the register leaves no doubt that the following entries in a commonplace-book (Sloane MS. 138) are in Morland's writing, and refer to himself:

'I came to Magdalen Coll: from London 25 April 1644. I entered into Coñons Aprill the 28.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| for coñons per ann. ... ... ... | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| for coñns bread ann. ... ... ... | | 19 | 0 |
| for Bedmaker ann. ... ... ... | | 10 | 0 |
| for washing ann. ... ... ... | | 12 | 0 |
| for all except siz. ... ... | 7 | 6 | 0 |
| siz. at 18$^{d}$ p. weeke ... ... ... | 3 | 6 | 0 |

[He therefore resided forty-four weeks.]

| | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| May 2 | for siz. coñons ... ... | | 1 | 0 |
| 9 | „ „ ... ... | | 1 | 0 |
| 16 | „ „ ... ... | | 1 | 0 |
| 23 | „ „ ... ... | | 1 | 4 |
| 30 | „ „ ... ... | | 1 | 0 |
| June 5 | „ „ ... ... | | 1 | 0 |

'I came from London the 9 of August and returned into coñons August the 16.

[After a vacation of eight or nine weeks.]

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aug. 15 for sizing ... ... ... | | | 3 |
| 23 „ ... ... ... | | 1 | 1½ |
| for this last quarter's detrim. ... | 6 | 1 | 7 |
| for the month May 17 ... ... | 5 | 11 | 0 |
| more ... ... ... ... ... | 15 | 0 | 6' |

His lists of effects include:

'1 tender box, 1 looking glasse, 3 capps, 2 cloaks, 1 black suite, 1 pair of boots, 1 pair of shoes.'

There is also a list of books lent out, including a Hebrew Lexicon to Ds. Perrinchief, one volume to Ds. Wood, Turner's Latin Testament, Hill's 'Discourse on Tacitus,' and others. Parts of the commonplace-book are in a different hand, and contain notes on lectures.

Morland was employed by Cromwell among the Vaudois, when the Protector was making terms with France for the Protestants there, and published in 1658, in folio, a 'History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont.' As Thurloe's secretary, pretending to be asleep at his desk, he overheard Cromwell discussing a plot to induce Charles II. and his brother to land in Sussex, where they were to be murdered. Cromwell suddenly discovered Morland's presence, and was only dissuaded from killing him on the spot by Thurloe's assurance that he was sleeping off two nights of work. Morland then became Royalist, and conveyed to Charles at Breda such useful information of the faithlessness of some of his party that he was knighted on the spot, and afterwards made Baronet. He also received a pension of £500, but had to sell it. He

then devoted himself to mechanics, inventing the speaking-trumpet, a calculating machine, and a plunger-pump. In his 'Elevation des Eaux' (Harleian MS. 5,771) he made one of the first steps towards working by steam. At one time he had a lease of Sadler's old house, Vauxhall (originally Faukes or Fulke's Hall), which Pepys visited in 1662. 'He is looked upon by my Lord [Sandwich] and all men as a knave,' but Hoole, of Magdalene, told Pepys he had the King's promise of a Garter (August 13, 1663). The next year 'he is believed to be a beggar, and so I ever thought he would be.' Evelyn saw him 'entirely blind, a very mortifying sight.'

To return to Cambridge. On October 21, 1653,

'Peapys and Hind were solemnly admonished by myself [Morland] and Mr. Hill for having been scandalously over-served with drink ye night before. This was done in the presence of the Fellows then resident, in Mr. Hill's Chamber' (College Register).

Samuel's 'chamber-fellow' was Robert Sawyer, Craven Scholar 1649, Goche Fellow 1652, and Dennis Fellow 1654. Called to the Bar at the Inner Temple, Sawyer was M.P. for Chipping Wycombe 1673, a Knight in 1677, and Speaker in the following year. As Attorney-General he led for the prosecution of the Rye House plotters, of Algernon Sidney, and of Titus Oates; but the line he took against Sir Thomas Armstrong, before Jeffreys, caused his expulsion from the House, though representing the University, when the Whigs got power in 1690, in spite of his services in defence of the Seven Bishops. The University, however, re-elected him in the following year.

Roger North describes him as a 'good general scholar, and perhaps too much of that, inclined to be pedantic.' Burnet calls him a 'dull, hot man, and forward to serve all the designs of the Court.' It does not appear that Pepys saw much of his old tutor in after-life. He was present and 'glad to see him in so good play' when he conducted the impeachment of John, Lord Mordaunt, in an unsavoury case, and on another occasion 'he and I by water to the Temple.' The Sawyers were an East Berks family, and their descendants were living near Maidenhead late in the last century. Sir Robert died at Highclere, where he had purchased the property which, after his death, passed, through his daughter, to the Carnarvon family. He was buried there in the church built by him adjoining the castle. This church was pulled down in 1870, and his tomb was moved to the chancel of the present church.

With regard to Hill, there is among the State Papers Domestic a letter of W. Rattee to E. Colman, under date July 10, 1666. A hoy had landed 'a Mr. Hill, brought over to do the Dutch intelligence from England; he was Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and, ejected in 1662, had since been in Holland, where he is to marry a merchant's daughter with £2,500. I told Hill he had come for no good out of Holland. I took his papers, and sent them to the Lord Lieutenant—a dangerous person had he got to the Nonconformists.' Another letter in the same series, from one Mayden, his wife's father, shows that Hill was trying to procure the release of a Friesland minister confined at Chelsea. Hill edited a Greek Lexicon in 1685. His son entered in 1700.

Bachelor of Arts, 1653, Pepys married two years later. On February 24, 1659-60, taking horse at Scotland Yard, Mr. Pierce and he set forth 'about seven of the clock, the day and the way very foul.' They baited at Puckeridge.

'Then up again and as far as Foulmer, within six miles of Cambridge, my mare being almost tired: here we lay at the Chequers, playing at cards till supper. We came to Cambridge by eight o'clock in the morning to the Falcon in the Petty Cury. . . . I went to Magdalene College, to Mr Hill, Mr Zanchy [who signs 'Sankey' in the College Register], Burton [*auctoritate ordinationis Parliamentariæ socius*] and Hollins. Was exceeding civilly received by them and took leave on promise to sup with them. At the Three Tuns we drank pretty hard till it began to be darkish: then I and Mr Zanchy went to Magdalene College, where a very handsome supper at Mr Hill's chambers, I suppose upon a club among them, where in their discourse I could find nothing at all left of the old preciseness, specially upon Saturday nights. Mr Zanchy told me that there was no such thing now-a-days among them at any time. The next day (Sunday) I went to Magdalene College and met with Mr Burton in the Court, who took me to Mr Pechell's chamber . . . by and by Sanchy and I to the Rose Tavern [at the Market Hill end of Rose Crescent] where we sat and drank till sermon done, and then Mr Pechell came to us, and we three sat drinking the King's and his whole family's health till it began to be dark. Then . . . Sankey and I to my lodging, where we found my father and Mr Pierce at the door, and I took them to the Rose Tavern, and there gave them a quart or two of wine, not telling them we had been there before.'

More drink followed, but nevertheless he was up at four next morning, and took Audley End on his way to town. His next visit was in June, 1661, on his way home from his uncle Robert's funeral at Brampton.

'At King's College chapell I found the scholars in their surplices at the service with the organs, a strange sight to what it used to be in my time here. Then . . . to the Rose Tavern . . . and sent for Mr Sanchy of Magdalen, with whom . . . we were very merry, and I treated them as well as I could.'

Later in the year came Sir William 'Pen,' to consult him on his son's migration from Oxford to some private college (see p. 23). Next year 'Nicholson, my old fellow-student at Magdalene,' came to him in London, and 'we played upon the violin and basse.' In 1664 he met at dinner 'Sir John Skeffington, whom I knew at Magdalene, a fellow-commoner, my fellow-pupil, but one with whom I had no great acquaintance, he being then, God knows, much above me.' Skeffington afterwards became Viscount Massarene, and was a contributor to the building fund at Magdalene. He was a firm Protestant, and was attainted by James II.; he subscribed to the defence of Derry. Another College friend was Carter, who had

'spent his time in the north with the Bishop of Carlisle [Rainbow] much. . . . We had talk of our old acquaintance of the College, concerning their various fortunes; wherein, to my joy, I met not with any that have sped better than myself.'

In 1667 Pepys took his wife and poor 'Deb,' and showed them Trinity and St. John's and the outside of

King's Chapel, 'they walking in their pretty morning-gowns, very handsome . . . and to bed, lying, I in one bed, and my wife and girl in another, very merry talking together.' In 1668 he went by coach to Cambridge, starting at 6 a.m., and arriving,

'after much bad way, about 9 at night: there, at the Rose, I met my father's horses, with a man, staying for me. But it is so late, and the waters so deep, that I durst not go to-night: but after supper to bed: and there lay very ill, by reason of some drunken scholars making a noise all night.'

On the return journey,

''lighting at the Rose I took my boy [servant] and two brothers [one being his brother-in-law, Jackson] and walked to Magdalene College: and there into the butterys, as a stranger, and there drank my bellyfull of their beer, which pleased me, as the best I ever drank: and hear by the butler's man, who was son to Goody Mulliner over against the College, that we used to buy stewed prunes of, concerning the College and persons in it; and find very few, only Mr Hollins and Pechell, I think, that were of my time. But I was mightily pleased to come in this condition to see and ask, and thence, giving the fellow something, to Chesterton, to see our old walk, and there into the Church,' etc.

Pepys cannot have learnt much mathematics at Cambridge, for in July, 1662, he engaged 'Cooper, mate of the Royall Charles,' as his instructor, and they had to begin with the multiplication table. Twenty years later, perhaps fortunately for Magdalene, want of 'academic knowledge' prevented his yielding to

friends' solicitation that he should apply for the provostship of King's, though at first he was willing to give the College the whole of the first year's income and half that of succeeding years if elected.

The first to decipher the Diary was John Smith, an undergraduate of St. John's, who was engaged for this purpose by Neville-Grenville. Mynors Bright went all through the work again—3,012 quarto pages of shorthand, names and dates being usually in longhand. The manuscript makes in all six volumes of unequal size. Bright's transcript, with Lord Braybrooke's notes, was edited by Mr. H. B. Wheatley, F.S.A., and published in eight volumes by Bell in 1893, with two extra volumes, of which one is a most excellent index, the other a collection of Pepysiana, which has been utilized in this chapter by the present writer; from which may be added the statement that the descendants of the diarist's sister pronounce the name *Peeps*, while other members of the family favour *Peppis*. For *Peps* there is no authority, in spite of Mr. Ashby Sterry's neat epigram in the *Graphic*, reprinted by Wheatley:

'There are people, I'm told—some say there are heaps—
Who speak of the talkative Samuel as Peeps;
And some, so precise and pedantic their step is,
Who call the delightful old diarist Pepys;
But those I think right, and I follow their steps,
Ever mention the garrulous gossip as Peps.'

The following is extracted from the Masters' Book at Magdalene:

Samuel Pepys, Esquire, Secretary of State, in a codicill (*sic*) annexed to his will,* leaves these orders

* Dated May 12, 1703.

relating to the disposal of his choice library, valued at £4,000, set up at Clapham, to which orders and the several particulars he requires his nephew, Mr. John Jackson, his executor, to have special regard. 1. That after the death of his nephew the library be for ever settled in one of the Universities; and rather in Cambridge than Oxford, and rather in a private College than in the public library. 2. In the Colleges of Trinity or Magdalene, preferable to all others, and of these two, *cæteris paribus*, rather in Magdalene, for the sake of his own and his nephew's education therein.* 3. If in Magdalene, in the new buildings there, and any part thereof at his nephew's election. 4. That the library be continued in the same form as when it comes first to the College, without any mixture of other books, one whole distinct library, and called Bibliotheca Pepysiana. 5. That it be in the sole power and custody of the Master of the College for the time being. 6. That no books be ever carried out of it anywhither but to the Master's Lodge, and not more thither than ten at any time, and that strict entry be made of them in a book remaining in the library for that *sole* purpose.† 7. That before the College take possession of the books they enter into covenant for performance of the articles. 8. That the two Colleges be a mutual check upon each other,

* John Jackson was second son of Pepys's sister Paulina, or 'Pall,' of whose marriage with Mr. Jackson in the end of February, 1667-68, he says: 'That work is well over.' John entered the College in 1686.

† Kerrich, being asked through Cole by Horace Walpole (December, 1780) about some prints in the *Pepysian*, offered to copy them for him when the weather was warmer, as they might not be taken from the Library.

subject to an annual visitation and forfeiture of the books to the other upon conviction of any breach of covenant by the College holding them.

Pepys died May 26, 1703. In August Jackson wrote to the Master (Quadring):

'This trust may appear to you a little remote, and subject to some uncertainties, nor would I be guilty of raising expectations in you, wherein you might afterwards be disappointed: but this, you may please to assure yourselves of, that the persons charged with the final determination [to be made in a year after his decease] thereof were entirely concurring in every article of the scheme: and have not any present thoughts of departing therefrom: the conditions required on your part therein are so easy, for what concerns your College at least, that I cannot suppose their meating [*sic*] with any difficulties from you.

'And altho' upon a further and more solemn consideration, pursuant to my uncle's injunctions, some articles should be added, beyond what his condition [he was then dying] would allow him opportunity of debating, regard will still be had to the requiring nothing but what shall be judged of absolute necessity for the surer attaining his ends in this disposal: namely, the Benefit of Posterity in general and your Society in particular, for which I shall ever retain a venerable becoming.

'Reverend Sir,

'Your most obedient humble servant,

'J. Jackson.'

In the following year, Jackson, coming to Cambridge, made choice of the two middle chambers of the new building, over the cloister, for the books. He died in 1724, and the library then came to the College, Lord

Anglesey (see p. 149) giving £200 to pay the library-keeper £10 per annum for ever. Of this sum, £117 was spent—with a note in the book that it is to be made good by the College—on removing the books. The loss of chamber income is put down at £26 5s.; wainscotting the chamber, etc., £44 18s. 7d; Herald-Painter, £2 2s.

The library, however, even then had further removals. The room where it was first placed, on the first floor in the second court, with five windows looking on to the hall and kitchen, was gradually curtailed at either end, and in 1834 it was decided, owing to the demand for undergraduates' rooms, to build the present Lodge, to convert such part of the old Lodge as formed part of the quadrangle of the first court into rooms, and to move Bibliotheca Pepysiana into the new Lodge. This, however, was not begun till the following year, and in the interval the Pepys collection went into the dining-room of the old Lodge, whence in 1847 it was removed, with the consent of the Trinity College authorities, into the new Lodge. After the accession of the late Master in 1853, it was again removed into the second court, where it occupies the south-east room on the first floor, which was rendered fire-proof, under the direction of Mr. Penrose, in 1879, at a cost to the College of £380.

On February 4, 1666-67, Pepys notes: 'Finished my catalogue of my books with my own hand.' A year later, February 15: 'After dinner all the afternoon and evening till midnight almost, and till I had tired my own backe, and my wife's, and Deb's, in titleing of my books for the present year, and in setting them in

order.' The work of catalogue-making was continued next day, though it was 'Lord's Day.' The books contain at the back of the first cover his larger bookplate, being a print of the portrait by Kneller which hangs over the fireplace, guarding his books. On the oval frame of the bookplate is 'Sam. Pepys. Car. et Jac. Angl. Regib. a Secretis Admiraliæ,' with his motto, *Mens cujusque is est quisque*,* on a scroll below. At the other end of each volume is his smaller bookplate, with initials S. P. and the two anchors 'fouled' of the Admiralty. On the outside of many books is stamped in gold on one cover, 'Sam Pepys . . . admiraliæ,' on the other end his crest. Most are in calf, a few in morocco or vellum. Duplicates and inferior editions were ejected by Pepys, and occasionally books which he disliked. 'Hudibras,' for instance, he 'met with at the Temple: cost me 2s. 6d. But when I came to read it, it is so silly an abuse of the Presbyter Knight going to the warrs, that I am ashamed of it, and by-and-by . . . I sold it for 18d.' The second part he borrowed and tried to read; 'it hath not a good liking in me.' Its reputation, however, induced him to try again, and, hoping to find 'where the wit lies,' he read it on his voyage to Tangier. ('Samuel Pepys and the World he lived in,' Wheatley, p. 90.) There are six Caxtons, including the 'Game and Playe of the Chesse,' second edition, and the 'Caunterburye Tales,' second edition, and a Caxton manuscript. There is also the 'Hystorye of Reynart the Foxe,' 1481, wrongly stated by Hartshorne to be in the University Library. There are several of Wynkyn de Worde,

* From Cicero's 'Somnium Scipionis,' the passage continuing '*non ea figura quæ digito monstrari possit.*'

*From a photograph by*] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

MAGDALENE COLLEGE: PEPYS' OWN BOOKCASES

three of which are unique: 'A Lytell Tretyse that sheweth how every Man and Woman oughte to faste and absteyne them from Fleshe on the Wednesday,' 'The Justes of the Moneth of Maye,' and 'The Justes and Tourney of the Moneth of June'; there is also 'The Boke of the Recuyles of the Siege of Troy,' of which another example exists in the King's College Library. We have also some half-dozen Pynsons, including Froysshart's 'Cronycles,' in two volumes, folio, 1523 and 1525; the 'Fœdus Matrimonium inter Carolum Maximiliani Imperatoris Filium et Mariam Henrici VII. Regis Angliæ filiam'; and a 'Missal ad Usum Ecclesiæ Sarum,' 1520, on vellum, a most magnificent book in blue morocco.

Next may be mentioned five folio volumes of old ballads, 1,800 in all, of which about two-thirds are in black letter. They have all been separately catalogued, in many instances by the hand of the late Mr. F. Pattrick, Fellow and President. They are arranged in ten classes: 1. Devotion and Morality. 2. History, true and fabulous. 3. Tragedy—viz., murders, executions, and judgments of God. 4. State and Times. 5. Love, pleasant. 6. Love, unfortunate. 7. Marriage, Cukoldry. 8. Sea: love, gallantry, and actions. 9. Drinking and Good-fellowship. 10. Humour, Frolic, and Mirth. There are also four duodecimo volumes lettered: 1. Penny Merriment. 2. Penny Witticism. 3. Penny Compliments. 4. Penny Godlinesses. Also collections labelled 'Old Novels,' 'Loose Plays,' and 'Vulgaria.' Likewise several folio and quarto volumes of 'Tracts' on contemporary history, and news pamphlets from the Restoration to the commencement of the gazettes; a

'vast treasure' of papers given by Evelyn to our diarist; a collection of papers relating to the escape of Charles II. from Worcester, taken down by Pepys from the King's own mouth; and a journal of the Monmouth attempt which culminated at Sedgemoor, by Edward Dummer, who served in the artillery on the King's side. Here, too, is the Maitland manuscript collection of Scottish poetry, and here, too, is the first edition of Juliana Barnes,* on the 'Manere of Hawkynge and Huntynge, and Heraldrie.' Also a little pocket-book with autograph on flyleaf, 'F. Drak,' containing a loose folded chart, well thumbed, of the Spanish and French coasts and the British Isles, and part of a curious almanack in Dutch. Another almanack of the same character is framed, and over the fireplace is a copy of Agas's map of London and Westminster. More than quaint is a small volume, in blue morocco, 'Industria Spiritualis,' an *Index Peccatorum* for use in the confessional; each page has a detachable outside margin, removed by raising a little gilt clasp. The pages are cut into slips, of which the penitent could take as many as were required. Thus the book was not injured, for the back of each page is blank. The sins are grouped according to the Decalogue, and vary in degree from *vota non servavi—graviter mentitus sum* to the most heinous offences against human life and decency. Professional sins, *e.g.*, of a doctor, are there: *Morbos produxi lucri causa—Pauperes ægrotantes adire nolui.* A perfect copy, the only one known, is at Paris. Among the volumes of State Papers are several autographs of Elizabeth, Charles I., and Charles II., and

* Prioress of Sopewell, sister of Richard, Lord Berneys.

a letter to Leicester ends with the autograph: 'Your gud Cusign Marie R.' (Mary, Queen of Scots); also letters from Robert Dudley and Thomas Blount, referring to the death of Amy Robsart. There are also two manuscript New Testaments, translated by Wicliff, and a manuscript volume of his sermons, with notes on flyleaf in Waterland's hand.

There is a professedly facsimile copy of letters which passed between Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn. This was made in 1682 by Dr. Fall, Precentor of York, from the originals in the Vatican. This copy was collated by Pepys with another, whose owner was glad to expose the 'base disingenuousness of the great men at Rome,' who 'make it a matter of sport and triumph to show these letters to our English gentlemen.' Part of the correspondence has been printed. Presents were exchanged, including a hart killed by the King, which was to suggest the donor's name, and diamonds, while His Majesty's second physician was to be at the lady's service if attacked by the sweating sickness, then prevalent.

Several large books contain the prints, of which only a few can be here named. There are Oliver Cromwell between the pillars (Fairthorne), the same plate doing duty again, with William III. substituted for Cromwell, his Queen taking the place of the sun on the column to the left; Charles II. as an infant; Richard Cromwell; Catharine of Braganza, by Stoop, very rare; Overbury, by Elstracke; Nell Gwyn as an angel, with wings and little else; Essex, by Cockson; a collection of designs in ironwork, including the Hampton Court gates, by Tijou; a unique series, published at Antwerp, including

Henri II., Henri III., Francis of Valois, Philip II. of Spain, Anne of Austria, Maximilian (son of Ferdinand of Bohemia), and Isabella of Valois—mostly by Liefrinck; Eric of Sweden; and very rare prints of Mary, Queen of Scots, and Elizabeth. Unfortunately, the old collector did not know the value of uncut margins, and in some cases the prints, being face to face, have slightly injured one another; but the great majority are in beautiful condition. Creevy could scarcely tear himself away from them, and 'even these are nothing compared to all the other curiosities' (Creevy Papers, Vol. II., p. 280).

# CHAPTER X

## DUPORT TO QUADRING

James, son of John Duport, Master of Jesus, was born in the Lodge there in 1606, his mother being a daughter of Cox, Bishop of Ely. He entered Trinity from Westminster in 1622, and was Fellow in 1627. He was a celebrated teacher, and was made in 1639 Regius Professor of Greek, being specially allowed to hold his Fellowship with the Professorship. He was Prebendary of Lincoln and Archdeacon of Stow, but was ejected by Manchester in 1644, though he continued his Greek lectures through the war, those on Theophrastus and some of the orations of Demosthenes being still extant. The 'Engagement' deprived him of his professorship in 1654, but in the next year he was Vice-Master of Trinity. Immediately after the Restoration he preached in St. Paul's, and was reinstated in all his appointments except his archdeaconry; but he soon resigned the Professorship in favour of his pupil, Isaac Barrow. In 1664 he was Dean of Peterborough, and in 1668 he succeeded Howorth at Magdalene. He died at Peterborough in 1679, and was buried in the cathedral. To Magdalene he gave the Quoy property to found scholarships, as well as £235 to the new

building, the organ, and a magnificent silver ewer and basin the latter bearing the palindrome* *νίψον ἀνομήματα μὴ μόναν ὄψιν.* This comes from a palindrome of twenty-seven lines in the *καρκίνοι* of the Emperor Leo VI., and is found also on the font of St. Sophia, Constantinople, and in other churches both in England and France.

The following bills of undergraduates are of Duport's time, and are in the writing of Quadring, then Tutor:

CLAVERING'S BILL ENDING MICHAELMAS, 1670.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Money, June 24, 5s.; window mending, 9d. ... | 0 | 5 | 9 |
| Moneys, July 7 [illegible]; 2 keys, 1s. 3d.; doctor, 10s. ... ... ... ... | 1 | 11 | 6 |
| Moneys for Plutarch's Lives, 5s.; bed to Marshaell ... ... ... ... ... | 0 | 16 | 0 |
| Money for a bason, 12d.; to the smith, 3s. 1d. | 0 | 4 | 1 |
| Work to Marshall, 3s.; chimney mending, 4d. | 0 | 3 | 4 |
| Glazier and smith, 1s. 10d.; steward's bill, £4 5s. 11d. ... ... ... ... | 4 | 7 | 9 |
| Matriculation, 1s. 1d.; money by Mr. Peachell, 2s. 6d. ... ... ... ... ... | 0 | 3 | 7 |
| Coles and carriage, 10s. 10d.; candles, 3s. 1d. | 0 | 13 | 11 |
| Cooke, 12s. 4d.; talour's bill, £2 12s. 1d. ... | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Stockings, 3s. 10d.; draper's bill, £3 1s. 3d. ... | 3 | 5 | 1 |
| Chamber income and studdy income ... ... | 4 | 10 | 0 |
| Books Brech, (*sic*) £1 2s. 6d.; butter and cheese, 8s. ... ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 10 | 6 |
| Shooes and mending, 5s.; talour's bill, 3s. 8d. | 0 | 8 | 8 |
| Books Str., £1 3s. 0d.; to the Master's man, 9d. | 1 | 3 | 9 |
| Barber, 3s. 10d.; landress and bedmaker, 8s. | 0 | 11 | 10 |
| Tuition ... ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Totall ... ... ... | 24 | 0 | 2 |

* A palindrome reads forwards and backwards.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Received of Sir James, £5; of Mr. Radcliff, £6 6s. 7d. ... ... ... ... ... | 11 | 6 | 7 |
| Received since by a retourne from London ... | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| In all ... ... ... | 21 | 6 | 7 |
| Which deduct then due to me ... ... | 2 | 13 | 7 |

Mr. Clavering's bills for other terms were: £17 19s. 10d.; £12 13s. 6d.; £8 18s.; £15 8s. 1d.; £29 13s. 5d.; £21 9s.

Clavering entered as a Fellow-commoner in 1692.

Bedford's Quarter's Bill ending at Midsummer, 1671.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Moneys given for lock and shelves, 2s. 6d.; butter and ch., 1s. ... ... ... | | 3 | 6 |
| Books, 10s. 6d.; barber, 1s.; steward's bill, 14s. 7d. ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 6 | 1 |
| Caution, 10s.; bedmaker, 6d.; cooke, 1s. 3d. | | 11 | 9 |
| Admission and matriculation ... ... ... | | 1 | 3 |
| Income for his studdy ... ... ... ... | | 17 | 0 |
| Totall ... ... ... | 2 | 19 | 7 |
| Receaved £5 2s. soe due from mee ... ... | 2 | 2 | 5 |

Bedford entered as a sizar in 1697.

In Duport's time (1672) the numbers, including fifteen Fellows and twenty-one scholars, were forty-eight, and we were larger than Peterhouse, Trinity Hall, King's, or Jesus. The following orders were made by him—that (1) scholars and pensioners, in order of seniority, should sit before sizars in chapel; (2) if any Fellow pay not his steward's quarterly bill before next quarter be expired, he and his pupils be forthwith put out of commons and sizings by the steward till the

debt be paid, which if the steward neglect to do within five days he shall be answerable; (3) the organist's stipend of £8 was to be produced by a foundation scholarship value £4, and by a tax upon all in residence, except the Master, of 8d. a quarter for Fellows and Fellow-commoners, 4d. for scholars and pensioners, and 2d. for sizars. Mr. Norfolk, Butler of Jesus College, was organist in 1680. Among the admissions in 1676 were, on the same day, William Herrick, father, and William Herrick, son, Fellow-commoners, and in 1677 another son, Thomas, as pensioner; Samuel, son of Sir Samuel Morland, and Richard and John Cumberland, sons of the Bishop—a good proof of the reputation of the College. Samuel Barker, of Eton, entering as sizar in 1675, saw out the century, being successively Scholar, Denis and foundation Fellow, Steward, and Bursar; while Richard Thompson, who came from University College, and was Dean of Bristol in 1684, was so zealous a Churchman that he was 'suspected of Popish Plots, brought on his knees to the House of Commons, and blasted for a priest.' In 1708 Samuel Strimesius sent to the College a book he had published at Frankfort-on-Oder, in remembrance of a year at Magdalene under Duport and Mauleverer (Fellow 1658).

Marmaduke Fothergill, born 1654, son of a dyer at York, and of St. Peter's School at that city, was B.A. in 1673. He gave the usual 'treat' on qualifying as D.D., but, not taking the oath, did not assume the title. His journeys to Cambridge were performed on foot (Drake's 'Eboracum'). For some years he was Vicar of Skipwith, resigning as a Nonjuror. The rest of his life was passed at Pontefract and Westminster,

where he died in 1731. He was one of the earliest Liturgical scholars, but printed nothing, though his manuscripts were largely used by Blunt for his 'Annotated Book of Common Prayer.' He left his books to form a clerical library for his old parish under conditions which might have been suggested by Pepys's will. He provided no building, and, as the Vicar could not do so, his widow entrusted the 1,500 books to the Dean and Chapter of York. They include an 'invaluable series of Liturgical MSS. and books,' among which are many pre-Reformation service-books, 'which give a tone and character to the whole library' (Introduction to Catalogue of the Library, by Chancellor Raine, now presented to the College library by the Dean of York). Fothergill's motto was *Fortiter et suaviter*. His portrait is in the Chapter library. He had settled £50 a year for the payment of a catechist at Pontefract, but was driven thence by persecution of a J.P. Blunt says that none seem to have qualified themselves for the task of illustrating and interpreting the Prayer-Book as Fothergill, who left an interleaved Prayer-Book in eleven large volumes, with an unmatched collection of old English service-books. He is also claimed for St. John's College.

Once more the third Earl had to nominate a Master, and his choice was not a very wise one. John Peachell was a Lincolnshire man by birth, and nephew of Rainbow's mother. He entered Magdalene as a sizar from Gainsborough School in 1645. He worked his way up to a foundation Fellowship, but cannot have spent his whole life in the College, having held livings in Cambridgeshire and Cumberland. Early in his Mastership

(December 8, 1679) he issued the somewhat verbose order quoted below, the force of which must have been weakened by his own well-known convivial habits, for even Pepys says (May 3, 1667): 'I to Westminster Hall, and there took a turn with my old acquaintance Mr. Pechell, whose red nose makes me ashamed to be seen with him, though otherwise a good-natured man.'

'Whereas of late yeares divers vitious and disorderly customes have by the petulancy and presumption of some looser schollers been introduced into this College, tending notoriously to ye idle expence of time and money: to wit, excesse and quarelling, and all this to ye manifest corruption and debauchery of youth, and so to ye just scandell and offence not only of ye present society, but of many worthy persons formerly members of ye same, and utterly strangers to such loose and idle manners in their time: For prevention of ye like enormities for ye future, and ye mischievous effects consequent thereupon [ordered] that no Sophister or scholler whatsoever demand for Sophisters cheese above 12d of a pensioner, and 8d of a sizar: and yt no scholler after or at his first admission, offer or yield to pay more, and yt he pay it in cheese to be equally divided twixt himself and ye Sophisters, pensioners by y$^{m}$selves and sizars by y$^{m}$selves, according to former and even late custome and privledge. . . . That no scholler at his entrance into a chamber upon his first comming to ye Colledge, or upon any removall afterward, do offer to give money or to treat and intertaine, eyther by eating or drinking, his chamber fellowes, or any yt keep above or below ye same floors or staires, or any other schollers in ye Colledge. And yt no scholler whatsoever dare to demand or receive any such treat, entertainment, or money, at, after, or before, any such entrance or removall. . . .

That no schollers give or receive at any time any treat or collation upon account of ye football play, on or about Michaelmas Day, further than Colledge beere or ale in ye open Hall to quench their thirsts. And particularly, yt ye most vile custome of drinking and spending money, Sophisters and Freshmen together, upon account of making or not making a speech at ye football time, be utterly left off and extinguished. That neyther ye Freshmen nor any others dare at all to make any treat or collation, as aforesaid, for their comrade, who make ye speech on Magdalen Day. That no Sizer, who is a senior in commons, dare to demand or receive groats or ye worth of one farthing from any his juniors, upon their coming to ye table, eyther when Freshmen or Sophemen, nor ye Fellowes sizers to exact or receive admission-money, or ye expence of one farthing, from any, at their coming to wait and serve tables in ye hall. That no senior dare to hale or compell any his juniors, at ye time of ye yeare, eyther in ye Colledge or out of it, to give them cherries, berries, or any other expence of fruit whatsoever, nor set others on to do it. That those sottish and even savage trickes of grubbing, salting, mustarding, and ye like, rarely used by any but rakehells and dunces, be utterly disused and abolished.'

[*Signed by J. Peachell the then Master newly appointed and nine Fellows.*]

As Vice-Chancellor, Peachell received, on February 9, 1686-87, a letter from James R., signed 'Sunderland P.,' requiring him to give an honorary M.A. degree to one 'Albin Francis.' After an interval for consideration, it was laid before a congregation on the 21st. It was very rarely that such letters were not obeyed. Even a Mohammedan, secretary to the Morocco Ambassador, had received the degree. Peachell had on receipt of the

letter written to Albemarle to intercede with the King; but this having failed, the two houses of Regents and non-Regents separately supported the Vice-Chancellor in refusing to admit Francis unless he would swear as by law required. Francis immediately rode off to Whitehall, the Senate sending an Esquire Bedell to Albemarle, then Chancellor of the University, and Sunderland, explaining the circumstances, and Peachell wrote to Pepys:

'Magd. Coll. Camb.,
'*Feb.* 23, 1686-7.

'Honoured Sir,

'I am to returne you manifold thankes for many favours, particularly the warrant for the Doe, though our audit was put off; and for crediting us with the education of your nephew [see p. 129] who came to continue last Tuesday; and I shall be very mindfull of his health, behaviour, and improvement, while God continueth him and me together I must not conceale from such a friend as you, what before this comes to you will be known in Court and City. His Majesty was pleased to send a letter directed to me, as Vice-Chancellor, to admit one Alban Francis, a Benedictine Monk, Master of Arts, without administering any oath or oaths to him. Now the oath of allegiance and supremacy being required by the Statutes of Eliz: and Jac: I could not tell what to do—decline his Majesty's letter or his lawes: I could but pray to God to direct, sanctifye and governe me in the wayes of his lawes: that so by his most mighty protection, both here and ever, I may be preserved in body and soul: then by our Chancellour I endeavoured to obtaine his Majesty's release, which could not be obteined. I thought it unmannerly to importune his Sacred Majesty, and was afraid to straine friends against the graine: and so could only

betake myselfe to my own conscience, and the advice of loyall and prudent men, my friends : and after all I was persuaded that my oath as Vice-Chancellor, founded on the statutes was against it, and I should best exercise a conscience void of offence towards God and man, by deprecating his Majesties displeasure, and casting myselfe upon his princely clemency.

'Worthy Sir, tis extraordinary distresse and affliction to me, after so much indeavour and affection to his Royal person, crown, and succession, I should at last, by the providence of God, in this my station be thus exposed to his displeasure; but I must commit myselfe to the great God, and my dread Soveraigne, the law and my friends, none of which I would have hurt for my sake, but desire all favour and helpe they think me capable of without hurting themselves; for if I do ill, tis not out of malice, but feare of the last judgment, and at the worst through involuntary mistake. Sir, I am sorry I have occasion to give you this information and trouble : but you will pardon, I hope, if you cannot helpe, Sir,

'Your most devoted Servant,

'Whatever befall,

'J. PEACHELL.'

A second letter from the King arrived about February 26, but was not read in the Senate till March 11. Two of its members were then sent to London to interview Albemarle and Sunderland, but without effect; for a King's messenger arrived at Cambridge citing the Vice-Chancellor and a deputation from the Senate to appear in person in the Council Chamber on April 21. Among the eight deputies was Mr. Isaac Newton, Fellow of Trinity and Lucasian

Professor. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners, before whom they appeared, included Jeffreys, Sunderland, Mulgrave 'Lord Allpride,' and the Bishops of Durham (Crew) and Rochester (Sprat). To begin with, Peachell begged time to answer, and six days were allowed. A long written answer was then put in. Stress was laid on the Oath of Supremacy, which all candidates for degrees had by statute to accept, and the Act against Popish recusants, taken, of course, by the Vice-Chancellor. On this the court adjourned till May 7. Peachell, being asked to specify the oath which prevented his obeying the King's mandate, weakly tried to fence with the question. Pressed as to whether the oath had not been waived in certain cases, he could not remember, and Jeffreys, with his usual vigour, declined to allow answers from other deputies. 'You may speak, sir, when you are Vice-Chancellor.' He objected also to the informality of the protests raised by the Regents and non-Regents as conveyed in an irregular manner, having as a Cambridge man 'some small remembrance of the manner of the proceedings there.' In the end the deputies were told to withdraw, and after an hour and a half sentence was pronounced, rounded off with the text: 'Go your way, and sin no more, lest worse happen.' In the Masters' Book is found a printed copy, 'as it was fixt on the publick School Doors, and Magdalen College gates':

'By his Majesties Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and for the Visitation of the University, and of every Collegiate and Cathedral Churches, Colledges, Grammer-Schools, Hospitals, and other like Incorporations, or Foundations, or Societies.

'Whereas John Peachell, D^r^ of Divinity, Vice-Chancellour of Cambridge, Master of Magdalen Colledge, in the said University, has been conven'd before us for his Disobedience to his Majesties Royal Letters Mandatory, and other his Contempts; and the said D^r^ John Peachell having been heard thereupon, we have thought fit, after mature consideration of the matter, to Declare, Decree and Pronounce, that the said Doctor John Peachell, shall for the said Disobedience and Contempts, be deprived from being Vice-Chancellour of the said University, and from all power of acting in the same: and also that he be suspended ab officio et beneficio of his mastership of the said Colledge, during his Majesties pleasure: and accordingly we do by these presents deprive him from being Vice-Chancellour. . . . And also we suspend him ab officio et beneficio of his mastership . . . peremptorily admonishing and requiring him hereby, to abstain from the functions of Master . . . during the said suspension under pain of Deprivation from his mastership. And we also further Order and Decree, that the profit and perquisites belonging to his mastership shall during his suspension be applyed to the use and benefit of the said Colledge.

'Given under our Seal, the 7^th^ day of May, 1687.'

Within fifteen months the King had 'alienated a loyal gentry and priesthood.' The first act of the drama was the Francis case; the second was enacted at

Magdalen College, Oxford; and the climax came when our ex-Attorney-General Sawyer successfully defended the Seven Bishops. That night was despatched the definite invitation to William of Orange. The King took fright. 'Every gazette announced the removal of some grievance,' and on October 24, 1688, when nothing but the 'Vento Papista' was delaying William, the royal sign-manual, countersigned by Sunderland, and still preserved at the College, restored Peachell, though he did not live long to enjoy the very moderate emoluments of the Mastership. Sancroft came to Cambridge in 1690, and spoke so strongly to him on his drunken habits that, conscience-stricken, he administered to himself four days' abstinence from all food and drink. At the end of the time he 'would have eaten, but could not.' He was buried in the chapel, and the College marked the spot by no memorial.

Thomas Johnson, who was a Fellow in his time, an Eton master and good scholar, was equally bibulous. He published an edition of Sophocles, and other school books.

Gabriel Quadring, who entered the College in 1657, was the one appointment of the fourth Earl, and was Master for twenty-three years. Howland had presented him to the rectory of Dry Drayton. He kept his own accounts in one of the College books, and notes that he received 'a year Rent for the tythes, £102, paying John Campion in full for serving the Curacy for one year £30.' In 1692 appears a receipt for £3 8s. 3d. for

'7 kilderkins of great and 4 kilderkins of small beer, and for chaldron of coles £4 10s. 1697 [erased] guineas

on the top of press by my bedside 7. More upon a pin [peg] in ye cubbard that is lock'd. My bonds in a little white box in my study and my will above, and some money behind ye books. Ye key of my locked cubbard lies upon ye shelfe in my study betwixt ye windows.'

Taking his D.D. in 1690, he was one of the heads who met at the King's Lodge on October 30, 1710, and banished Whiston from the University for heresy. On his death, in 1713, £274 was found in his room, while his gown sold for £2, his hat for £1 2s. 6d., and his 'wigg' for £1 1s. 6d. Debts due to him brought the total to £444. Wine at his funeral cost £2 13s. 4d.; rings, £24 19s. 6d.; coffin, £5; Dr. Green, £5 17s. 1d.; letters, 2s. 6d.; but deducting legacies, the College came in for £129, which went to the repairs fund. To this fund, in 1715, Lords Anglesey and Castleton gave £50 each, and Dr. Otway and John Millington £10 each. More, however, was spent than was received. Possibly this was for improvements to the new building. Lord Anglesey had entered the College as Arthur Annesley, and was Fellow in 1700. He completed an edition of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius, begun by Barker. He was one of the Lord Justices in charge of affairs between the death of Anne and the arrival of George I. In 1721 he was High Steward of the University, for which he had been member. He died *sine prole* 1737, leaving the College £200 to provide a stipend for the Pepysian Librarian.

James Saunderson entered in 1681, aged fourteen. He was M.P. for Newark between 1698 and 1710, and succeeded his father as sixth Viscount in the Irish Peerage in 1714. He was made Baron Saunderson

of Saxby, Lincolnshire, the same year, and Viscount Castleton in the English Peerage 1720. He died *sine prole* in 1723.

Two sons of the fifth Lord North and Grey entered the College in 1691. Their father had died in that year, and the widow immediately remarried the Governor of Barbados, leaving William in charge of his brother Charles and a sister Dudleya, so called after her grandfather, Dudley, fourth Lord North. William was then only thirteen, and Charles twelve. The three had been educated together, and Dudleya, who was two years older than William, had learnt Latin and Greek with her brothers. She went on to Oriental languages and Hebrew, and used to take a fine Hebrew Bible to church. She died of overstudy at her brother William's house in 1712. Charles became Fellow in 1698; he then went into a bad regiment, and did not get on. Afterwards his brother got him a command, but he died in 1710. William took no degree, but went to Foubert's Military Academy, established by William III., in Leicester Fields. Involved in debt, he took the advice of his uncle Roger (called at one time 'Roger the Fiddler,' from his having edited a 'History of Music,' but afterwards 'Solomon,' as arbitrator of the quarrels of his Norfolk neighbours), and went abroad. He took his seat in the Lords in 1699, and in 1702 William III., under almost his last signature, gave him a commission as Captain of the Foot Guards. In 1703 he was Colonel of the 10th Regiment, and lost his right hand at Blenheim. He was at Ramillies, and was mentioned in despatches. At his death in 1728 the Grey title expired, but that

of North went to Francis, Lord Guildford, grandson of the Lord Chancellor (see Jessop's 'Lives of the Norths').

John Groome came up as a sizar from Norwich School in 1695, and became Vicar of Childerditch, Essex. He wrote 'The Dignity and Honour of the Clergy, showing how useful the Clergy have been to the Nation.' He left the College a ground-rent for two sizars, also a reversion of £30 for three sizars, to be by preference sons of Essex clergy. He left £6 yearly to the Vicars of Childerditch, to 'go to the College yearly on St. Mary Magdalene's Day when the benefactions are read over to see that his sizarships were filled'; the profits of any vacant were to go to the Vicar. He also left his library to the College.

Quadring's senior tutor, John Mauleverer, was ejected from his Fellowship as a Nonjuror in 1699, while John Hollings, of Shrewsbury School, Fellow, became in 1726 Physician-General to the Army and Physician to the King. He was F.R.S., and delivered the Harveian Oration in 1734. Peniston Booth, 1698, was in 1729 Dean of Windsor, whither Waterland, the next Master, followed him as Canon.

# CHAPTER XI

## WATERLAND TO PECKARD

Daniel Waterland, son of Henry Waterland, Rector of Walesby, Lincolnshire, was born at that rectory on February 14, 1683. His father was a Wray Scholar. Taught by his father's curate, Daniel is said to have been able to read well at the age of four. His father then took him in hand until he went to the Free School at Lincoln, where he got on rapidly, producing exercises which were 'handed abroad for the honour of the school.' He entered Magdalene at sixteen, under the tutorship of Samuel Barker, (see page 140), and became a Wray Scholar, in Quadring's Mastership, nearly three years later. He was elected to a Fellowship before he was twenty-four, taking pupils and becoming 'a great support to the Society,' which increased in numbers under his influence. On the death of Dr. Quadring in 1713, he was nominated to the Mastership, in his thirtieth year, by Henry, sixth Earl of Suffolk, from whom he also received the rectory of Ellingham, Norfolk. He continued to hold the tutorship, and it was about this time that he wrote his 'Advice to a Student.' That he practised what he

preached is plain from the testimony of a contemporary, who used to tell how a light was often seen in his rooms in winter when most of the world was asleep. He recommended constant attendance in chapel and early hours.

'Never go to any tavern unless sent for by some country friend, and then stay not long, nor drink more than is convenient. Covet not a large and general acquaintance, but be content with a very few visitants, and let those be good. Come in always before the Gates are shut, winter and summer; and before nine of the clock constantly when your Tutor expects you in his chambers.'

He prescribed a course of three years' study in literature; philosophical (Euclid, Locke, Puffendorf), classical, and religious (Sharp, Tillotson, Atterbury, Pearson on Creed). The B.A. might add to his classical list Suetonius, Tacitus, Lucretius, Martial, Catullus.

The neat writing in the Masters' Book is Waterland's, and the following orders appear in his Mastership—1713: Every pensioner to pay 40s. rent for chambers, and every sizar 20s. 1714: Those who keep Acts in the public schools, when it was customary to give treats, are in future to have the option of giving £5 to the steward for the use of the College. 1717: The office of Register (*sic*) is created, to be paid by fees on admission and exeats and on checking the inventory of plate and other household goods. 1788: Those coming through the gate after ten to pay 2d.; after eleven, 4d.; after midnight, 6d. No dogs to be kept in College under penalty of 10s. per mensem. 1724: The Bursar to keep a constant stock of wheat to the

value at least of £50; this be laid in when wheat is 3s. per bushel. The baker to make ten dozen bread per bushel instead of eleven, and to be allowed only £10 per annum.* This appears to have been the answer made to the undergraduates of the day who laid upon the High Table the small loaf made in Magdalene, and the large one from elsewhere. In 1730 Foulkes and Johnson, on election as Fellows, signed an undertaking to pay their steward's bills. All this tends to show Waterland's business-like ways, and that he was certainly not absorbed in controversial theology.

John Hutchings, the Dorset antiquary, was incorporated from Oxford in 1730. In 1762 his papers were imperilled by a great fire at his rectory of Wareham, and were only saved by his wife at the peril of her life; and when printed, much of his History was destroyed by fire in 1808.

Henry Coventry entered in 1726, and was Fellow in 1733. He wrote a theological dialogue. 'He is a young man,' said Horace Walpole, 'but it is really a pretty thing.' Cole met him at Strawberry Hill and at Conyers Middleton's. At first he was a religious enthusiast, visiting prisoners in gaol. Afterwards he became an infidel. He had property in the Isle of Ely. Bishop Warburton says that he borrowed proofs from him and plagiarized them.

Waterland proceeded to his B.D. by performing the customary exercises, his first opponent in the disputations being Sherlock, afterwards Bishop of London. Oxonians present noted the great applause he received.

* Thomas Healy retained this office from 1738 to 1784.

As Vice-Chancellor he ordered undergraduates to attend the University sermon, and, if they went to other churches, to go into pews and remain for the whole service. He supported the Medical Faculty of Cambridge in resisting an attempt on the part of the College of Physicians to prevent their practising within seven miles of London. This was in 1715, and nowhere was political animosity more strained than at Cambridge. The Tories were strong, but Waterland was Hanoverian, and while Bentley preached against Popery, Waterland delivered the thanksgiving sermon for the suppression of the 'Fifteen.' In the autumn of 1716 Bentley succeeded, at the second attempt, in passing through the Senate a tardy address of congratulation to the King, of which he writes: 'The fury of the Jacobites here against me and Mr. Waterland is inexpressible.' In the Harleian MS. is a letter unsigned, but in Conyers Middleton's writing, addressed, in 1716, to Harley, justifying the attitude of the Cambridge Tories, who regarded, he says, the address as a job to secure preferment for Waterland and immunity for Bentley. The latter had, indeed, let it be known at Court that the Cambridge Whigs, and especially Waterland, must be rewarded. The hint was taken, and in 1717 Waterland was made Chaplain to the King, and Bentley Regius Professor of Divinity. The principle was, however, driven so far that for years, with a clergy mainly Tory, none but Whigs could hope for the loaves and fishes. The result was the religious apathy from which the country was only awakened by the Wesleys.

At Cambridge Jacobite demonstrations continued among the undergraduates, but Waterland, from the

University pulpit, tried to quell animosities. 'Arianism, Deism, Atheism, will steal upon us while our heads and hearts run after politics.' Nor was he always a pro-Bentleian.

In 1720 he preached at St. Paul's, on the invitation of the Bishop of London, a course of sermons in defence of our Lord's Divinity, and was presented by the Dean to a City living. Later he was Chancellor of the Diocese of York, and dedicated to the Archbishop his chief work, the 'Critical History of the Athanasian Creed.' In 1727 he became Canon of Windsor, on the nomination of Townshend.

It was in this year that he wrote to Browne Willis, the antiquary and friend of Cole:

'I can now acquaint you that we have passed an order in our College for £60; you may draw on me for half now, the other half you will be so good as to give me credit for till next year. And now, Sir, I rejoice in the expectation of seeing our College arms to shine over the altar [in the church of Fenny Stratford, then building in Bletchley parish, to which Willis had nominated Cole]. The picture you sent us [the portrait of Edward Stafford, now in the Lodge] is commended by all that see it; please to present the thanks of our Society to good Mr. Cartwright [the donor], and tell him when he comes to Cambridge, we shall be heartily glad to know the gentleman who has so heartily obliged Buckingham College. I forgot to thank you for the History of the Duke, wherein you have so nearly united our two Founders [the Staffords and Norfolk]. Your good countrywoman sends service' (from the Cole MS., British Museum).

To this Cole appends a note:

'Dr. W. married a Baronet's daughter, but I don't recollect her name. [She was Jane Treagonwell, descendant, not daughter, of Sir John Treagonwell of Devon. To her Waterland left all his property unconditionally.] I was much in the Family when my grandmother lived in the next house to Magd: Coll: at the Bridge Foot. They had no children; . . . the Dr. had a niece of Lincolnshire who lived with them. Some of his relatives were much disappointed on his death as he hoped to be made a Bishop. [He declined about 1738 the See of Llandaff.] Mr. Willis would never call it anything but Buckingham Coll: and his correspondents had to be careful to remember this.'

In the 'Doctrine of the Eucharist,' Waterland adopted Hooker's view in answer to the 'Unbloody Sacrifice' of John Johnson, who entered Magdalene in 1678, and was Vicar of Cranbrook, where he instituted daily service, and was so strong a Tory that he would not use the Accession Service for George I. Johnson's scholarship is commended by Bishop Harold Browne in his work on the Articles.

From Windsor, in March, 1735-36, Waterland wrote to Dr. Gray at Cambridge:

'I am moving to Twickenham [where he was Vicar], and shall be within call if the University sends up the Petition with respect to the [Mortmain] Bill depending. We have had all reasonable success in the Test affair; which I look upon as the Church's triumph. . . . That storm is happily blown over; as to the other . . . I was told yesterday that it was only to prevent death-bed alienations, and that all would be free to dispose of their

estates while there was *mens sana*. . . . Thank the Master of Jesus for his acute remark upon the old Knight's Blunder [a mistake made by Newton in his "Observations upon Daniel"]. I never supposed that Sir Isaac was a great Divine. But that he should be caught tripping in calculation or failing in his own art, is enough to make his friends blush.'

From Magdalene Waterland wrote in July, 1740:

'It will not be long before I must return to Twickenham. . . . In the mean season I am here in an agreeable situation, amidst plenty of books, printed and manuscript, entertaining myself, and serving distant friends in a literary way.'

He was, however, then under treatment for an ingrowing toenail, which necessitated a London surgeon. He therefore returned to Twickenham, where, after several operations, he died on December 23, and was buried in the Bray Chapel of St. George's, Windsor. He had not lived his fifty-eight years without making enemies. Conyers Middleton wrote, shortly after his death, to Warburton: 'The Church has received a great loss by the death of Dr. W——d. Whenever they think fit to oblige the public with his life, they will not forget one story, I hope, which is truly worthy of him.' The story was that on his last journey from Cambridge he had had to call in an apothecary, who, mistaking the name Waterland for Warburton, complimented him on being the author of 'The Divine Legation of Moses,' which so enraged Waterland that he turned the surgeon out of the inn. Warburton passed on the tale to Pope, who was 'sorry that he had so much

of the modern Christian rancour; as I believe he may be convinced by this time, that the kingdom of heaven is not for such.'

The Master's brother Theodore entered Clare in 1699, becoming Fellow in 1705-6, but migrating to Magdalene in 1713-14, was successively Dean, Bursar, and President, resigning in 1724.

George Harvest, B.A. 1738, originally a Fellow-commoner, got into financial difficulties owing to the failure of his father, a brewer at Thames Ditton. He was Fellow of the College and curate of Ditton. He became engaged to a daughter of his Bishop, but being an absent-minded fisherman, and the gudgeon being on the feed on his wedding morning, he overstayed the canonical hour, and the lady broke off the marriage. His servants gave balls in his own house, and pretended that the noise was caused by the wind. He was very intimate with the Onslow family, and going with Lord Onslow to Calais, he got lost in the town. Onslow was at the Silver Lion, so Harvest put a shilling in his mouth, and, assuming a rampant attitude, was taken to the inn by soldiers, who thought him an escaped lunatic. Other less edifying tales are told of him in Grose's 'Olio.' He did an epigram on the Speaker:

> 'His Rules and Orders with his latest breath
> Onslow lamenting saw the approach of death.
> "To order, sir, to order!" Death replied:
> "Death knows no rules nor orders—Onslow dies."'

On Waterland's death, the tenth and last Earl of Suffolk offered the Mastership to one Tait, a Scotchman, then Vicar of the two Chesterfords, who had been

his travelling tutor. Tait refusing, he turned to Edward Abbot, of Eton and Emmanuel. His mother had kept a dame's house at Eton. 'Still more orthodox,' says Daniel Wray to Hardwicke. Others say that he was a man of amiable qualities and prudent conduct, a cheerful and witty companion, and very honest man. He was engaged on a translation of Cæsar, which was to be dedicated to the hero of Culloden—Cumberland—when he was found dead in his bed on August 18, 1748, having officiated the previous day in chapel. He had given a Fellowship to his cousin, Richard Roderick, of Queens', F.R.S., critic and versifier.

John Delap, a migration from Trinity, was Fellow in 1748. He was once curate to Mason, the poet, and produced at Drury Lane 'Hecuba,' with prologue spoken by Garrick, and 'The Captives,' of which Kemble wrote to Malone: 'The captives were set free last night amid roars of laughter.' He knew the Thrales, and through them Dr. Johnson and Madame d'Arblay, who says that his 'ignorance of common life and manners are not very material, since his characters are of the heroic age, and require more classical than worldly knowledge.'

A brighter man was Francis Coventry, nephew to Henry, B.A. 1748, who produced as an undergraduate the 'Autobiography of Pompey the Little,' a pet dog. Pompey at one period of his life went to Cambridge with his master, a Fellow-commoner of Magdalene, who, going up at the age of seventeen, had a 'hearty contempt of the place, and a determination to receive no profit there.' The author says that Fellow-commoners were much favoured by tutors who had

'sagacious noses after preferment,' and exempted them from public 'exercises' and private lectures in their tutors' rooms, that they might hunt or play tennis. Pompey's master was a public-school boy, and, being more of a man than the rest, soon led their pranks. Their butt was a

'Mr. Williams, a young M.A., elected Fellow in preference to one of greater learning, because he made a lower bow to the Fellows, and was unlikely to disgrace his seniors by the superiority of his parts. He was a man of most punctilious neatness; his wigs were powdered with the utmost delicacy; and he would scold his laundress for the whole morning if he discovered a wry plait in the sleeve of his shirt, or the least speck of dirt on any part of his linen. He rose constantly to chapel, and proceeded afterwards with great importance to breakfast, which, moderately speaking, took up two hours of his morning. This over, he amused himself either in trimming his nails or watering two or three orange-trees, which he kept in his chamber. or in tending a little speck of ground about 6 feet square, which he called his garden, or in changing the situation of the few books in his study. The *Spectators* were removed into the place of the *Tatlers*, and the *Tatlers* into the place of the *Spectators*. But generally speaking he drew on his boots immediately after breakfast, and rode out for the air, having been told that a sedentary life is the destruction of the constitution, and that too much study impairs the health. At his return home he had barely time to wash his hands, clean his teeth, and put on a fresh powdered wig, before the College bell summoned him to dine in the publick hall. His afternoons were spent in drinking tea with the young ladies, who esteemed him a prodigious genius. In these agreeable visits he remained till the

time of evening chapel, after which supper succeeded to find him fresh employment, from whence he repaired to the coffee-house, and then to some engagement at a friend's rooms for the rest of the evening. He could not find leisure for study in the midst of so many important avocations; yet he made a shift sometimes to play half a tune on the German flute in the morning, and once in a quarter to trans-scribble a sermon out of various authors. He was kept supplied with stories of genteel life by a female cousin, a milliner in London, though she frequently mistook the names of people, and ascribed a scandal to one lord which was the property of another. Her cousin did not find out her mistakes, but retailed her blunders about the College with great confidence and security.

'Nothing pleased him better than to entertain strangers. Invited by them to sup, he made them promise to dine with him next day at his chambers, and held consultation with the College cook.'

'Mr. Williams' was no doubt a portrait. The author had not, however, acquired the brevity of the late Master of Trinity, who is reported to have said, most unjustly, of a brilliant scholar that he spent upon adorning his person the time he could spare from neglecting his work.

Coventry also describes preparations for dissection of animals in College rooms, Pompey being the intended subject. He died of small-pox, 1759. There are reasons also for assuming him to have been the author of 'The Fragment,' a skit on Newcastle's election as Chancellor in 1748.

Lord Howard of Effingham nominated, on Abbot's death, Thomas Chapman of Northumberland, educated

at Richmond School, Yorkshire, and Christ's. Cole says that he was not of age according to the statutes, and had to wait six months before his admission. He was recommended to the Visitor by the Earl of Buckinghamshire, to whom he had been tutor. Few of his contemporaries have a good word for him. Cole calls him most forward, arrogant, overbearing, and haughty.

Gray writes to Mason:

'Chapman is warm in his mastership. Soon after his accession I went to see him. There was a very brilliant (Cambridge) assembly—Conyers Middleton, Rutherford [Regius Professor of Divinity] and others. He did the honours with a great deal of comical dignity, assisted by a Bedmaker in greasy leather breeches, and a Livery; and now he is gone to London to get Preferment. But what you'll wonder at (and what delights me), Coventry is his particular confident (though very disagreeably to himself): he can't open his door but he finds the Master there.'

Being Vice-Chancellor, he worked hard to secure the Chancellorship for Newcastle, and Cole produces a pretended extract from the Vice's diary:

'Sent for Sim [Simson of Caius, the Bedell] to confer about the ceremonial. Sim submits all to my judgment—declares I shall to-morrow be the most consequential person in England. Sim of opinion we should breakfast at home before we breakfast abroad. Sim's account of the different sorts of wines—the Sack old and well flavoured. Sim is as great a lover of Sack as Jack Falstaff. Poor Sim in a dropsy. The Court held at 10—great debates whether any Cavaliers should be admitted. Fitzrichards [Richardson,

Master of Emmanuel,] for the question—Crow [Rook, Master of Christ's] contra. Mem.: Crow's oysters a good precedent to prove that no civilities be shown to the Cavaliers [Tories]. Nothing settled. Return home and resolve to settle everything myself.'

This little piece of 'Tom's' journal is sufficient to show his great opinion of himself. He 'never thought anything well managed in Bridgetown that did not come under his inspection' ('The Fragment'). Gray proceeds with the account of the installation of Newcastle:

'Our friend's zeal and eloquence surpassed all power of description. . . . I was ready to sink for him, but might have spared my confusion; all people joined to applaud him. I dare swear not three people but think him a model of oratory. Everyone very gay and very busy in the morning, and very owlish and very tipsy at night. I make no exception from the Chancellor to Blue-coat.'

Newcastle two days after his admission dined at Magdalene. He gave each College porter and butler a guinea.

In Chapman's day Magdalene had its first Senior Wrangler—Henry Best, 1752—while William Bell, founder of the Bell Scholarships, was 8th Wrangler, 1753. He was domestic chaplain to Amelia, daughter of George III., and held City livings, with a prebend at Westminster. He sank £15,200 on the Scholarships, for which originally Members of Trinity Hall and King's were ineligible. He wrote a book on the nature of the Lord's Supper. Two Senior Wranglers in a decade was not bad for a small College, the second being Edward Waring of Salop (1757). He was in-

tended for Orders, but gave this up owing to an impediment of speech, and the wish of a young lady, whom he never married. He was prematurely made M.A. by royal mandate 1760, to qualify him as Lucasian Professor. He took his M D. in 1763. He practised at St. Ives, but had so little belief in medicine that he is said to have given patients money to consult other physicians. He left Magdalene in a huff, because his brother Humphrey was not promoted to a higher Fellowship. He was F.R.S. He ultimately became a Unitarian, followed in this by Edward Holmes, Wrangler 1762, poet and scholar, at one time a Harrow master.

Samuel Cooper, B.A. 1760, became a Norfolk parson, and in 1791 took part in the controversy between Burke and Priestley on the subject of the French Revolution. He published, shortly after Cowper's 'Task' had appeared, a dull poem with the same title, occasioning the epigram:

> 'To Cowper's Task see Cooper's Task succeed—
> That was a Task to write, but this to read.'

Sir Astley Cooper, the surgeon, was his fourth son.

Chapman and his successor between them produced a Lord Mayor of London. Watkin Lewes came up from Shrewsbury in 1759, and went to the Chancery Bar. He contested Worcestershire unsuccessfully four times, and was knighted. In 1780 he was Lord Mayor and M.P. for the City. He was head of the poll in the election when Pitt dissolved in May, 1784, but was turned out in 1796. In 1819 he resigned his aldermanic gown, and died within the rules of the Fleet Prison,

having, it is said, never recovered the ruinous contests in Worcestershire. He and Sheridan were once in a sponging-house together, Lewes 'exhibiting great good humour and equanimity' (Wraxall).

James Atcherley, Headmaster of Shrewsbury 1770-1778 (Samuel Butler's predecessor), was a Wrangler in 1753.

Chapman was not a man of tact, for Cole's friend, Browne Willis, sending the College fifty books, the gift was not acknowledged; but the College was then 'under a man of very different spirit from Waterland.' For his services, Newcastle got him the living of Kirkby-over-Blow, so recently done up at a cost of £1,000 by its late holder, then Bishop of Norwich, that Hardwicke told Chapman not to enter the house in his best cassock for fear of wet paint. Yet Chapman demanded dilapidations. A year later he got a prebend at Durham, and Gray writes to Wharton: 'I wish you joy of that agreeable creature who has got one of your Prebends of £400, and will soon visit you with that dry piece of goods his wife' [Elizabeth, niece of Dr. Barnewell, Vicar of Trumpington, with whom he got £4,000 or £5,000]. The Chancellor appears soon to have wearied of his supporter, whose only work was a book on the Roman Senate, satirized in the 'Capitade' (1750):

> 'On public spirit how the man can prate;
> He'd die to serve his friend or save the State;
> But in Rome's days . . .
> They priz'd an honest man and hang'd a knave.
> Scorn'd the sly, sneaking sycophant of power,
> Who changes with his interest every hour.'

Nor did Gray leave his victim when dead. Letter to Clarke:

'Pembroke Hall,
'12 *Aug.*, 1760.

'Cambridge is a delightful place now. Our friend Dr. —— is not expected here again in a hurry. He is gone to his grave with 5 mackerel (large and full of roe) in his belly. He eat them all at one dinner, but his fate was a Turbot on Trinity Sunday, of which he left little to the company besides bones. He had not been hearty all the week, but after this 6th fish he never held up his head more. They say he made a very good end.'

Chapman had his revenge on his enemies by leaving £13,000 behind him. Cole says that on his death Colonel Vachel, of Abington, told him to call on Mr. Foulkes, then President, to know the statutory age of a candidate for the Mastership. Cole went innocently, and found that it was already settled, much to the disappointment of Foulkes, a hard-working official, who had his hopes. The Colonel was intending to use his influence with his cousin, Lady Portsmouth, then Visitor, in favour of Cole himself.

Samuel Ogden, of St. John's, and Oliver Naylor, Rector of Milton, Cambridgeshire, were also candidates for the vacancy. The former was an eccentricity. The Johnian cook had spoilt a dish; his punishment was left to Ogden, who fined him three cucumbers, then just in season, and ate them himself.

Newcastle, who 'gave everything while Pitt did everything,' also saw an opportunity, and wrote to the Countess to suspend nomination till he had consulted

the supporters of the Government at Cambridge. She pleaded a previous promise, and her step-grandson the intended nominee, being still a minor, she evaded the difficulty, and presented, under bond to resign when required, George Sandby, Fellow of Merton, a Suffolk parson. In fourteen years he had struck root so deep that, when her successor—for Lady Portsmouth died in 1762—came round to remove him, he was found by Cole in a frame of mind little 'suited to a philosopher. He and his wife were crying. It would have looked better to carry it off steadily.' Not even an offer of money averted eradication. He wrote, however, to Field-Marshal Griffin, Lady Portsmouth's nephew and intended heir: 'I with great readiness transmit my resignation of the office, and which will, I hope, afford him more pleasure than it ever gave me.' He ultimately became Chancellor of Norwich.

Habits were changing in Cambridge now. Bishop Watson complains in 1762 that the dinner-hour had changed from twelve to three, and foolish dons, like William Purkis of Magdalene, talked of combining the scholar and the gentleman. Purkis got in consequence the nickname of 'Mr. Union.' In 1768 Richard Hey of Leeds came out 3rd Wrangler and Senior Chancellor's Medalist. He was originally Fellow of Sidney, but was Fellow and tutor of Magdalene from 1782 to 1796, and Esquire Bedell. He won three prizes of 50 guineas each for essays on (1) Gaming, (2) Duelling, (3) Suicide. Thus trained he wrote, in reply to Tom Paine's 'Rights of Man,' his 'Happiness and Rights of Man,' pronounced excellent by Paine himself. He also produced a tragedy, 'The Captive Monarch,' and a

novel, 'Edington.' He lived till 1835. His brother Samuel, also of Leeds, graduated as 9th Wrangler in 1771. He also was tutor, and in 1787 became Vicar of Steeple Ashton. He was a great collector of seals.

Thomas Kerrich, son of a Norfolk clergyman, was 2nd Senior Optime in 1771, and held the Drury Travelling Fellowship, visiting France, the Netherlands, and Italy. At Antwerp he won a medal for drawing. He bequeathed to the British Museum forty-eight volumes of sketches and architectural notes, and his collection of early royal portraits—suggested, probably, by Pepys' collection — to the Society of Antiquaries, while his son bequeathed to the Fitzwilliam seven pictures, 200 books, and portfolios of early prints. In 1775 he succeeded to his father's vicarage of Dersingham. In 1797 he was University Librarian, in 1798 Prebendary of Lincoln, and in 1812 of Wells. Cole sat to him, and W. Bywater, Fellow and tutor. The latter acknowledges his portrait from Chester le Street in 1776. Kerrich, who is said by Cole to have spoilt a good-looking youth named Hewitt, of Magdalene, whom he painted ten or twelve times, died in Cambridge in 1828.

Barton Wallop, Goche Fellow in 1766, for whom Sandby had been seat-warmer, was grandson of John Wallop, created Earl of Portsmouth in 1743. He was not more than twenty-seven on his presentation by Field-Marshal Sir John Griffin in 1774, Lady Portsmouth having secured his appointment by deed. Cole says that Wallop was of 'good breeding and behaviour, but totally illiterate. His whole amusement was horses,

dogs, and sporting.' Cornwallis, Archbishop of Canterbury, tried to avert the scandal of Wallop's becoming Master, and wrote to an unknown correspondent: 'My Lord . . . if he does, he will, I think, disgrace both himself and the University.' He was of Magdalene, and had already received his M.A. *tanquam nobilis*, but the University refused his D.D., and, sulking in his Hants rectory, he was absentee Master, except during his year of office as Vice-Chancellor, when he proved a good magistrate. He died almost suddenly on September 1, 1781, which reminds Cole of a story of Dr. Walker, Vice-Master of Trinity, a great florist, who, when told of a florist who had shot himself in spring, said: 'Good God, is it possible? at the beginning of tulip-time, too!'

The great event of his Mastership was Farish's senior wranglership in 1778. He is dealt with later. John Atkins, B.A. 1774, and Fellow 1780, published 'The Ascension,' a poem which had failed to win the Seatonian Prize, on which Cole remarks that Mr. Seaton had made many bad poets, who might otherwise have been better employed. Thomas Rogers, B.A. 1783, was Headmaster of Wakefield, and afterwards chaplain of the gaol there, doing much good. His portrait is preserved in the school.

On Wallop's death the Field-Marshal, who had been created Lord Braybrooke, bought from his executors for £100 the furniture of the Lodge, and presented it to the College. In 1795 he gave the College £100 to repair the damage done by an extraordinary flood. By his will he left £500 towards redeeming the land-tax on property in the town, and the rectory of Ellingham,

Norfolk, since sold, to be annexed to the Mastership. He must have been ashamed of his first appointment, for he selected a very different man. Peter Peckard, son of a Lincolnshire parson, was born in 1718, and had been well known to the Visitor for thirty years. He was of Corpus College, Oxford, where he was a probationary Fellow in 1744. He was for a time an army Chaplain, but, marrying about 1752 Martha Ferrar, he held in 1760 two livings near Peterborough. To do this a dispensation was needed. This was a difficulty, for his views on the separate state of conscious existence between death and the resurrection did not satisfy Archbishop Secker, and he had to recant, Bishop Law remarking that 'Peckard escaped out of the Lollards' tower with the loss of his tail.' Even after his marriage he was Chaplain to a battalion of the Grenadier Guards in Germany. He held prebends at Lincoln and Southwell Minster, and from 1793 to his death was Rector of Abbot's Ripton, Hunts. Nine years after his coming to Magdalene he was made Dean of Peterborough, and after a convivial youth became parsimonious, and only gave one annual dinner to his Chapter. Three of his University sermons are extant: (1) 'The Nature and Extent of Civil and Religious Liberty'; (2) 'Piety, Benevolence, and Loyalty'; (3) 'Justice and Mercy recommended, particularly with Reference to the Slave Trade,' 1788. On this subject he had already written a pamphlet: 'Am I not a Man and a Brother?' (1778). As Vice-Chancellor he selected as subject for a disputation for Senior Bachelors '*Anne liceat invitos in servitutem dare?*' The Prize was won by Thomas Clarkson, whose thoughts were thus first turned to Abolition. His father-in-

law, Edward Ferrar, attorney of Huntingdon, left him many papers, including a manuscript Life of Nicholas Ferrar, the founder of Little Gidding, well known to readers of 'John Inglesant.' This manuscript Peckard lent and lost. He brought out, however, in 1790 'Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar.' This contains a genealogy showing that Mrs. Peckard was decended from John Ferrar, elder brother to Nicholas.

Peckard found the College on the verge of ruin. Heavy debt had to be incurred for repairs. To meet it the Fellows sacrificed a year's dividend, and the Norfolk Fellowship was suspended, much to the indignation of an aspirant.

The old dispute as to the Master's power cropped up again, we find in the Masters' Book :

'With respect to the President, by what I can collect from documents before me, his office and power is as follows—to regulate discipline under the Master, to punish neglect or failure in College exercises in the Master's absence, and to punish light offences with regard to behaviour, habits, etc. He is to give leave of absence when the Master is not present, and to take the keys of the College in his absence. Several other particulars are mentioned which like the last by course of time and change of manners are fallen into disuse. But I cannot anywhere discover that he has any Authority or Priviledge to controul the Master in the appointment of College meetings or keeping Fellowships vacant, which as far as I can judge seems to be vested by the Statutes in the Master solely and absolutely.

'I greatly dislike the exercise of power ; nor have I, or

will I, ever knowingly transgress any power with which I may have been invested. But when a certain Authority is committed to me in Trust for those who shall come after me, I will not suffer it to be dishonoured or torn from me. With respect to this Power I am not conscious that I have transgressed the statuteable bounds, except it may be in my permission given to Mr. K—— to hold 2 benefices with his Fellowship. But in this particular he does not controvert my dispensing power, disputing only my Authority to call College meetings and keep Fellowships vacant. These . . . I will assume and maintain and in consequence of this resolution I do hereby call and give notice of a College meeting to be held at the Master's Lodge on Monday 7th day of June next at 11 in the forenoon.

'(Signed) P. P., Master.

'A former resident thinking the Master's power too great appealed to the Visitor, who confirmed the Master's authority. But upon this and other articles I refer you to a letter which I have directed to the Fellows in general, whose good opinion I am anxious to deserve, and therefore wish to show them that I have neither acted arbitrarily nor capriciously. I wish to do my duty and to do service to all, but at ye same time I will maintain the rights which are given to me in Trust for those who come after me. Our sentiments upon these points differ so much that we can never come to an agreement. But as I have always had a real and great regard for you, I am sorry for our dissension, wishing at ye same time that it affect none but ourselves ; that it may not become matter of reproach to the College, and that we may at least preserve to each other that civility of behaviour which is due from one Gentleman to another.

'P. P.'

In other words, the Society had got out of hand in Wallop's absence, and Peckard, having to assert himself, did so with dignity.

The first distinction of Peckard's reign was Buck, 2nd Wrangler in 1783, with Whitely 6th and Knight 7th. Whitely was a Leeds boy who wanted a Hastings' Exhibition at Queen's, Oxford, but election was then settled by lot, and he drew a blank. He became Headmaster of Leeds. Stainton was 8th Wrangler in 1788, Huish 10th in 1789, and Noddins last Wrangler in 1791, and all became Fellows. Peers was 5th Wrangler in 1773, but never Fellow; Isherwood 15th, becoming Fellow. Thomason (see p. 177) was 5th and Ebrey 8th in 1796, both Fellows. In 1797 Harper and Jerram (see p. 177) were Wranglers. Thomas Rogers, Senior Optime in 1779, and Fellow, became Headmaster of Wakefield, where his portrait is preserved. His afternoon lectures in the parish church raised the religious life of the neighbourhood. Resigning his headmastership, he became Chaplain to West Riding Gaol, where he effected great reforms.

Francis Wrangham, pupil of Joseph Milner at Hull, matriculated at Magdalene in 1786, and won Browne's Greek and Latin Epigram Prizes. He migrated to Trinity Hall, and graduated there as 3rd Wrangler and 2nd Smith's Prizeman. Disappointed of a Fellowship, he left Cambridge and took pupils. It was said by Sir James Mackintosh that boys educated by him would be walking Encyclopædias. In 1795 he was Rector of Hunmanby, and Archbishop Harcourt, by telling Sydney Smith that he was an ornament to his diocese, gave him the name of 'Ornamental Wrangham.'

He won four Seatonian prizes, but was beaten by Charles Grant (see p. 181) for a poem on 'The Restoration of Learning in the East.'

A good Whig, Peckard lived till the end of 1797, and must have had to choose between Fox and Burke on the great question of the French Revolution, but we know not what line he took. Some of his manuscripts bearing on the genealogy of the early American settlers were quoted by a Boston author as recently as 1859. He left the College £400 to augment the dividends of the Master and Foundation Fellows, and £400 to roll up for 112 years, at the end of which time he hoped it would amount to £50,000; he founded two scholarships, and gave many books to the library. He died at Peterborough, and was buried there. He contributed to the Evangelical development of the College, which is dealt with in the next chapter.

It met with little sympathy from his successor, William Gretton of Peterhouse, who at the time of his appointment by Dr. and Mrs. Parker, sister to the first Lord Braybrooke, held the family living of Littlebury, near Audley End, with an Archdeaconry. He was only a Senior Optime, and it was an ungraceful thing of the joint Visitors to ignore the claims of such a brilliant trio as Farish, Buck, and Kerrich, then resident.

# CHAPTER XII

## THE EVANGELICAL PERIOD

William Farish, born in Cumberland in 1758, remained in Cambridge for sixty years, succeeding S. Hey as tutor in 1782. Elected Jacksonian Professor in 1792, he struck out a new line, making working models, and illustrating his lectures in an attractive manner. The 'Annals of the Venn Family' show that he was before his age both in engineering and political economy. He assured the promoters of the Manchester and Liverpool Railway that thirty miles an hour was a perfectly safe speed, and that sixty miles could be done. He would have the Government undertake railways, and believed that they might clear off the National Debt thereby. He became Vicar of St. Giles's, practically rebuilding the church, and providing schools for 700 children. Over his pulpit he devised a parabolic sounding-board, with the result that every whisper in the congregation was heard by the preacher. Long after his time, a stranger, preaching of our faith being anchored on a rock, thus heard the criticism of an Admiral to a naval friend: 'What will the lubber say next?' Farish, says his pupil Dikes, who entered Magdalene in 1785, was of astonishing

mathematical power, of great piety and benevolence, coupled with singular simplicity of manner and a ludicrous absence of mind. The latter quality is said to have had an awkward result. The Professor lived at the east end of the 'Backs' at Merton House, where was a curious partition, working up and down through the ceiling, dividing a large room on either floor into two rooms. Farish had guests—a lady and gentleman. When they retired to their divided chambers, the host sat down to work in the undivided room below, and presently drew down the partition, with startling results overhead. The partition still exists, with modifications which now render such a catastrophe impossible. Being Proctor on the occasion of a discussion in the Senate on the subject of petitioning Parliament on a political question, Farish observed an undergraduate in the gallery who was applauding. He marked his man, and, rushing up, tapped him on the shoulder and accused him of clapping. 'I wish to Heaven I could!' was the reply. The guilty person was S. T. Coleridge, who, noting Farish's ascent, had changed seats with a one-armed man near him!

To Farish were confided many of the men sent to Cambridge at this time by the Thorntons of Clapham and the Elland Society, which before 1793 had assisted quite fifty men with a view to ordination. The Colleges selected were Magdalene, or Queens' then under Milner, a Cumberland man. Of these men may be named, at Magdalene, David Brown, 1782, a Bengal chaplain, founder and first Provost of the College at Fort William; Thomas Thomason, 5th Wrangler 1796, who joined Brown in India; Charles Jerram, Norrisian

Prizeman, a friend of Newton of Olney; A. S. Cottle, 1795, translator of the Edda of Saemund into English verse; Romaine Hervey, to whose diary we owe an account of Samuel Settle of Leeds, 1794, which throws light on life at Magdalene at that time:

'Oct. 26, 1795, drank tea with Mr. Simeon at King's; 27th, went after dinner, and a particular share of wine and cakes, in procession to the Schools, where heard a Divinity Act. Nov. 9, at night attend Lecture with the other freshmen, in Farish's rooms, on College discipline. Jan. 14, played at battledore and shuttlecock in the Hall; 30th, fast for King Charles; I went to Chapel at half-past three, dined at 4. March 2, went to Milton; this was the first time I went out in my hat. April 3, Prince of Orange at Church: the Prince and Princess came to our College and took coffee in the Library with the President [Kerrich]; 6th, went to Newmarket to breakfast, got back by noon; we set out before 5. May 29, sent Round Robin to the Fellows' table, with College roll and Town roll, that College rolls might be enlarged. Dec. 3, attend our House of Commons, seconded motion for the ejection of Ministers [Pitt survived this]; 5th and 7th, skate on river below Church Stanton; 10th, got Settle to cut 5 inches off my [pig] tail; 13th, elegant supper with Batley; after supper went up to H., leaving my door open. Batley and Settle came to row me, making noise which alarmed Farish, who found them in my bedroom by the help of a lighted taper; they were in a dreadful funk. Jan. 3, 1797, cut C.'s hair and made him a crop; 21st, tea and supper at Clare Hall, the first time I was out after gates were shut; 18th, Grant, senior, spouted his declamation. April 3, played at foils, then walked to Parker's Piece, where the volunteers were exercising; smoking party at G.'s; 22nd, meeting of

the County to petition the King to eject his Ministers and for peace; speeches by the Duke of Bedford, Lord Hardwicke, etc. [In this year Austria's secession from the coalition had left us without an ally against France.] Dec. 11, famous row in the Hall; it was about guarding the freshmen against . . .; the President had the impudence to ask who attended Simeon's Church; 28th, the new Master [Gretton] read prayers in Chapel this morning; S. and I. did not attend, but walked out in our hats. Feb. 8, 1798, went down the river in Funnies, shooting; I fell into lock at Chesterton.'

From the above it will be seen that men did not go down for Christmas.

Settle, as 14th Senior Optime, was so disappointed with his place that he writes: 'A Maudlin man stands little chance in the Senate House. The world is not fond of seeing a religious man honoured. A great deal of unfairness has been shown to Magdalene College.' There was so little foundation for this feeling that Milner of Queens', who was often called in to decide in cases of equality, is said by Gunning to have favoured Magdalene and his own College. On being asked by a tutor, 'Do you mean, sir, that —— deserves to be above my pupil?' he replied, 'I did not say so; I only said he should stand above him.'

The account of Settle and Hervey's Diary is from the 'Life of Rev. Samuel Settle,' by Rev. Thomas Hervey, privately printed 1881. Settle ultimately repaid the Elland Society £260, being more than a year's income of his living.

The reputation of the College for tea-drinking lasted till 1827, when the author of 'Alma Mater' chaffs

Magdalene men for choking up the river with tea-leaves, and the first boat we put on the river was known as the *Teakettle*.

Another remarkable Elland man was Samuel Marsden, who entered Magdalene in 1791 (not St. John's, as stated in the 'Dict. Nat. Biog.'), at the age of twenty-six, having been in business in Yorkshire. He took no degree, being induced by Wilberforce to become Chaplain to His Majesty's Territories in New South Wales. Returning home in 1807, he directed the attention of the Church Missionary Society to New Zealand, taking on his return to the antipodes several workers to that virgin field of labour. He gained great influence over the chiefs, and fully earned the title of 'the Apostle of New Zealand.' Nor was he the first who went from Magdalene to Australasia, Richard Johnson, in 1780, having gone out to Botany Bay as Chaplain to the 'First Fleet.' He built the first place of worship there in 1793, of posts, wattles, planks, and thatch, at a cost of £40, raised by voluntary effort, the Government refusing aid. On the first Sunday after Governor Hunter's arrival, Johnson attacked the Administration for their indifference, finding, however, consolation in officers of the Crown being prohibited to take part in the liquor trade. He was a great horticulturist, introducing orange-seeds from Rio de Janeiro. It is satisfactory to know that he ultimately brought home a large fortune.

Not to multiply names, though not forgetting John Scott, who won the Hulsean Prize in the second year after its institution, enough has been said to prove what is almost forgotten at the present day, that Mag-

dalene a century ago was one of the nurseries of the Evangelical party. Gretton, indeed, complained that wherever he turned for a Fellow, that man was certain to become a Methodist. His Mastership, however, saw the triumphs of the Grants, who had entered under Peckard. Their father, a director of the East India Company, nominated Henry Martyn to a Chaplaincy, and was an intimate of the Thorntons. Charles, the elder, was born in Bengal in 1778, and was 4th Wrangler and Senior Chancellor's Medalist (for Classics) in 1801, winning the Members' Latin Essay in 1802. He became Fellow, and was 'called' at Lincoln's Inn 1807. He contributed to the *Quarterly*, was M.P. for Inverness Boroughs 1811 to 1818, and for that county in 1818, having become in 1813 a Lord of the Treasury. In 1823 he was Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and in 1827 President thereof, under Canning, and Colonial Secretary under Melbourne. Created Baron Glenelg in 1831, he introduced in the Lords the Abolition of Slavery Bill in 1833, and refused in 1835 to sanction d'Urban's action after the Kaffir invasion of Natal. He offended all parties by vacillating policy in the matter of Canada, and resigned in 1839. He died unmarried at Brougham's house at Cannes in 1866, when the peerage became extinct.

His brother Robert, a year younger than himself, was Craven Scholar in 1799; he was one place above Charles in the Tripos, but contented himself with the second classical medal. He also was Fellow of the College, and 'called' at Lincoln's Inn. He was in Parliament from 1818 till after 1832. He then became Judge-Advocate-General, and was Governor of Bombay from

1834 to his death, near Poona, in 1838. He was author of several well-known hymns: 'Saviour, when in dust to Thee'; 'O worship the King, all glorious above'; and 'When gathering clouds around I view.' He left two sons, one being 7th Wrangler, from Trinity, in 1845.

As late as 1815 John Raven, Senior Optime, was sent up by a similar society at Bristol; while the Elland records—to which access has been most kindly granted to the present writer by the secretary, Canon Lambe, of Clapham, Yorks—contain a notice that E. Eliot (Magdalene College 1797) found that he could dispense with further assistance from the society.

Within the first twenty-five years of its institution the Norrisian Divinity Prize was won fifteen times by Magdalene men: thrice by Thomason—who became Fellow of Queens'—twice by J. Fawcett—2nd Senior Optime 1792—and seven times by Whitely.

The Hey family produced another Wrangler, John, 7th in 1799, in which year Scott was last Wrangler, gaining the Hulsean Prize in 1803.

# CHAPTER XIII

## THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Gretton discouraged the Evangelicals, and his Mastership produced only Wilding — 15th Wrangler 1802, Norrisian Prize 1803—W. Cecil—Bell Scholar 1811 —and Cole—Seatonian Prize 1808—a poor record for sixteen years! He died in 1813.

The second Lord Braybrooke then nominated his son George, of Eton and Trinity.* His portrait shows him to have been of dignified presence, and after ten years of his rule the College began to recover, although he must have been often absent, having been Rector of Hawarden from 1814 to 1834; while his maternal uncle, Thomas Grenville, who left the Grenville Library to the British Museum, made over to him the Butleigh property in 1825, when the Master assumed the surname of Grenville. In 1846 he accepted from Peel the deanery of Windsor. He resigned the Mastership in 1853, and died 1854. In his year of office as Vice-

* After his nomination to the Mastership he was ordained deacon and priest on the same day in Trinity College Chapel by Bishop Mansel. He was then only twenty-four, so that there was a double violation of the statutes.

Chancellor, in 1818, he entertained in our hall the Duke of Gloucester, then Chancellor, and his Duchess.

A rather remarkable man of Neville-Grenville's early days was George Stephen, 1812. After being a solicitor, he was called to the Bar. He worked for the abolition of slavery in our colonies, and was knighted in 1837 for rendering gratuitous services to imprisoned pauper debtors. He brought out in 1835 'The Adventures of a Gentleman in Search of a Horse,' by 'Caveat Emptor'; in 1839 'The Adventures of an Attorney in Search of Practice'; and in 1855 'Anti-Slavery Recollections.' His sons had gone to Melbourne, where he died in 1879.

Robert John Eden, third Lord Auckland, took his M.A. in 1819. He was Chaplain to William IV. and to Victoria. In 1847 he became Bishop of Sodor and Man, and in 1854 of Bath and Wells. He died at Wells in 1870. He edited the journals of his father, the first Lord Auckland, Pitt's colleague and neighbour at Keston. Indeed, in 1796 Pitt was in love with the Bishop's sister, Eleanor.

Robert Smith, the banker, took his LL.D. as a member of Magdalene in 1819. He was a supporter of Pitt, and had even examined that unsatisfactory volume, Pitt's pass-book, and Pitt made him Lord Carrington in 1797. His character was without reproach and his fortune ample; but he had no Parliamentary talent (Wraxall).

Thomas Steele (1788-1848), having been at Trinity College Dublin, was B.A. and M.A. of Magdalene in 1820. He had fought in Spain against Ferdinand VII., raising money for the insurgents by mortgaging his own

property in co. Clare. In 1828, though a Protestant landlord, he seconded O'Connell's nomination for that county, and Sheil gave credit to Steele for O'Connell's success. He fought a duel with Smith O'Brien, and was arrested, with O'Connell, in 1843. After the latter's death he tried to commit suicide. He died in 1848.

Not very many Colleges can claim a Cardinal. Charles Januarius Edward Acton, uncle to the late Lord Acton, was son of Sir J. F. E. Acton, who commanded the land and sea forces of the Neapolitan Bourbons up to 1806. Charles was born at Naples in 1803. He was at Westminster for a short time, and entered Magdalene in 1819—a strange preparation (says Wiseman) for the Roman purple, which he received in 1842. He died at Naples at the early age of forty-four. A misunderstanding as to the position of Roman Catholics at Magdalene appears to have prevented Lord Acton himself from entering the College.

In 1816, the second year of the Civil Law classes, Bere of Magdalene took a first class; and in 1822 Lockey followed his example, supported this time by a second and third. The Classical Tripos was only instituted in 1824, and until 1850 it was only open to men who had already taken honours in Mathematics. But in the first year Crawley, Vicar of Steeple Ashton 1828-1870, being a low Wrangler, took a third in Classics, Hall, afterwards Professor at King's College, London, being 5th Wrangler. Next year S. W. Waud took the same place. One of the latter's pupils, still living, writes:

'Our dear President, Waud, was a charming character. We were nine or ten going out in mathematical honours

[1840]; and how cheery was his "Come to my rooms, and we will have a problem or two and an oyster and cigar." The Master once said to him, "Mr. Waud, I hear that some of our men drink what you call milk punch?" "Only on red-letter and saints' days," was Waud's answer. As Rector of Rettendem he was noted for hospitality and liberality. A bank failed and he lost all his capital. But never did you hear a murmur.'

In 1828 H. Longueville Jones was a Wrangler, and later Fellow and Dean. He became a school inspector, and urged the people of Manchester to found a University. He is best known as joint-editor with Wright of the 'Memorials of Cambridge,' published by Le Keux. In 1828 Dodd, and in 1830 Urquhart, from Leeds, took double honours. But it was not till 1834 that we had a first in Classics—Edward Warter, fourth. H. H. Swinny, Wrangler and 2nd Class Classic, 1836, was afterwards Fellow and Vicar of St. Giles's, and eventually Principal of Cuddesdon.

About this time John Lodge, of Trinity, who accepted a Fellowship at Magdalene and was afterwards University Librarian, is remembered by one of his hearers, still living, as having preached good sermons in the chapel; and it was possibly due to these that George Pakenham Despard, B.A. 1837, was moved to take up the mission-work started in Tierra del Fuego by Captain Allen Gardiner. He secured the island of Keppel in the West Falklands, and a schooner. Later in life he was working in Australia, and died there.

In 1838 George Augustus Chichester May, of Shrewsbury, was a Wrangler and 3rd Classic. He was stroke of our boat, and was asked to row for the University.

He went to the Irish Bar. In 1887 he was Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, and should have tried a man of his own College, C. S. Parnell; but having dismissed a motion for the postponement of the trial, he was accused of partiality, and did not sit. He died 1892. Willock, of Leeds, a Wrangler in May's year, went out as parson and farmer to New Zealand, and died an Archdeacon.

We now reach another great year, 1840, with two Wranglers—Lewthwaite (6th) and Spinks—five Senior and three Junior Optimes. Of the Senior Optimes, Mynors Bright was top of Class II. in Classics, and Sandford (Wooden Spoon in Mathematics) was next to him. Of these, Spinks had 'degraded' from the previous year, having been nearly killed in January, 1839, by a storm, which blew in the roof of his rooms. He was the well-known Sergeant-at-Law.

Mynors Bright, son of a Birmingham physician, was of Shrewsbury School. Having been Tyrwhitt Hebrew Scholar in 1843, he was tutor and President for many years, retiring in May, 1873. He was an excellent oar; and it was only in middle life that he became a cripple, having slept, it is said, in a damp bed. He managed the College with great tact; and on one occasion his defence of an offending undergraduate led to the resignation of the Proctors, which, after a long discussion, was accepted by the Senate. Confined to his sofa, he spent a great part of his time deciphering Pepys' Diary. His benefactions to the College were most liberal, and shall be separately noticed. Of the other honour-men of that year, Montagu and Hales are well and hearty (1903), and have kindly helped the writer of this

volume. In 1841 Thring, still to the fore, was 3rd Classic, having, of course, taken honours in Mathematics. Brother to the great Headmaster of Uppingham, he gained honours in later life as counsel to the Home Office and a Parliamentary draughtsman. He was made a peer by Gladstone. In 1842 Francis Cranmer Penrose and Charles Kingsley were Senior Optimes; the latter took a first in Classics. Penrose died in 1902, having been for many years surveyor to the fabric of St. Paul's Cathedral. He was travelling Bachelor of the University, and visited Athens in this capacity in 1845, where he was induced by a pamphlet published in 1844 by Mr. Pennethorne to give special care to the mensuration of the Parthenon. The Society of Dilettanti sent him to Athens in 1846 to test Pennethorne's theories, and he then made the astounding discovery that in the whole edifice of the Parthenon there is not a single straight line. As a result, he published in 1851 his 'Principles of Athenian Architecture,' the standard work on the subject. He also measured and examined the columns of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, and contributed a paper on that subject in 1885 to the *Transactions of the Institute of British Architects*, of which body he was afterwards President. He was in later days associated with Sir J. Norman Lockyer in the matter of the orientation of temples, from which their dates can be approximately discovered. He was also a good astronomer, and F.R.S. 1894. He was Doct. Litt. Camb., D.C.L. Oxon., and antiquary to the Royal Academy. Charles Kingsley's life is so well known that it is unnecessary here to give more than a few details of special interest. Mr. Hales

*From a photograph by*] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

THE COLLEGE FROM THE BRIDGE

says that he kept in the ground-floor rooms on the right of the second court. He is also said to have had rooms on the ground-floor of letter C. Mr. Montagu, who also was up with him, contributed some reminiscences of him to Mrs. Kingsley's biography of her husband, and in his ninety-fourth year sent an article on his old friend to the *Treasury*. Kingsley confesses to having scaled the wall of the second court at early dawn to go fishing at Shelford. That feat would now be useless, unless the climber were willing to swim the Cam.

The Hon. Lewis Denman, who took classical honours in 1844, when Warter, classical tutor, was 'most kind and painstaking, and a good rider to hounds,' was present at the Magdalene dinner in July, 1903. His rowing record appears in the Appendix.

Edward Lyon Berthon was B.A. in 1845. He had studied surgery, but was devoted to engineering, and in 1834 invented the twin-screws, which were rejected by the Admiralty, with the remark that they never could and never would propel a ship. He then decided to take Orders, and came to Magdalene at the age of twenty-eight. He spent more time in painting than on mathematics, but was already experimenting with a 'log' to show the speed of ships.

'I obtained' ('Retrospect of Eight Decades') 'a glass tube about 3 feet long with a bit of brass pipe, and an elbow at the lower end. Then one day, while steering an eight, I told the men I would show them how fast they were going. So I put the lower end of the pipe in the water; at each stroke it rushed to the top, and between each stroke it sank almost to the bottom. A roar of laughter greeted my supposed failure, but . . . I ran to

my rooms, and stuffed the brass pipe with sponge. I went on board again, and again was laughed at, because the water did not show for nearly a minute. But when they saw it stand at $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles, which by the marks on the bank was the correct speed, then chaff was turned to congratulations.'

He continued to experiment with his patent log on the Jersey boats while Vicar of Fareham. He showed it to the Prince Consort by request, and it was supplied to the *Victoria and Albert*, where it was in use for two years, when, the Queen complaining to her Captain of a reduction in speed, the latter put it down to bad coal. Next year the speed was less, and the Captain's excuse was that these logs could not be trusted after a year or two. 'Then take them away'; and they were consequently condemned by the Admiralty. Berthon also devised an instrument for measuring the roll of ships, and a collapsible boat. This, too, was rejected by the Admiralty; and 'to get away from boats' he became Vicar of Romsey. In 1873, on Plimsoll's suggestion, he returned to the collapsible boats, and his idea being taken up by Sir W. R. Mends, their manufacture was started in earnest at Romsey. They are now in general use in the navy, and for bridging rivers. He was also an astronomer, and made a speciality of mounting telescopes. He died at Romsey in 1899.

Robert Edgar Hughes, elected Fellow from St. John's in the forties, was a brilliant classic who had failed to qualify in the Mathematical Tripos. He was a magnificent oar and horseman. Taking a yacht to the Baltic during the Russian War, he got into great trouble with the authorities for standing in under the

guns of Sveaborg with several Captains of the Navy on board his vessel. Their object was to provoke a general engagement, to which Sir Charles Napier was very properly averse. Hughes wrote 'Two Cruises with the Baltic Fleet.' He was afterwards an inspector of schools, and in that capacity, having to sleep in a bad inn's worst room, he struck his head against a beam, sustaining injuries from which he never recovered.

In 1847 John Roberts, from Leeds, was Senior Optime and 4th Classic. He remained in residence as Fellow and assistant-tutor to Bright for over twenty years, and in his year Knubley, the first of three generations who have come to the College, took a second in Law. In 1849 Hartley's name appears in the Mathematical and Classical Tripos lists, the late Master being close to him in Classics, and presenting him, after many years, to our living of Steeple Ashton. He had been Headmaster of Beccles. C. E. Jenkins, for many years chaplain at Brussels, took double honours in 1850; and the Natural Science Tripos being instituted in 1851, Harden took a first. In 1853 Arthur Cohen, K.C. and University Counsel, was 5th Wrangler, and in 1854 six men appear in the Triposes, three of them with double honours; while Wilson was 5th Classic and Junior Optime in 1856.

On the resignation of Dean Neville-Grenville in 1853, the third Lord Braybrooke nominated to our Mastership his fourth son, Latimer, who celebrated in 1903 both his golden wedding and the jubilee of his Mastership. Born in 1827, he was in the Eton XI. in 1844.*

* He took eight wickets in the Harrow match, and ten in the Winchester. He was a left-hand slow bowler.

He was Vice-Chancellor 1859-1861, and in that capacity aided the formation of University Volunteer Corps in 1860; and in the following January he matriculated the then Prince of Wales. As defendant in the leading case of Kemp *v.* Neville, which went to the Court of Appeal, he established the validity of the proctorial power over persons not members of the University, as well as the status of the Vice-Chancellor's Court as one of Record. Until his succession to the title, he was the organizer of the Conservative party in the University, and up to 1903 he earned the affection of his parishioners as Rector of Heydon, a position commanding only from its site on almost the highest point between Oxford and Cambridge.

On December 10, 1903, he was the recipient, in the College hall, of a congratulatory address from the Senate, read by the Vice-Chancellor in the presence of Professor Sir R. C. Jebb, M.P. for the University, the Public Orator (the author of the document), the Masters of seven Colleges, and many University officials and friends. The Master's reply, delivered without any notes and without the slightest failure of memory, concluded thus:

"'Felix adolescentia illa talibus auspiciis inchoata: felix maturior illa ætas talibus exemplis confirmata; felicior autem senectus illa, cui concessum fuerit non solum experiri, et recordari, sed ad posteros tradere quali firmitate vinculorum Academia alumnos suos sibi possit obstringere, quantum apud nos profecerint per quinquaginta annos artes et scientiæ, quantum pro patria contulerit ardor militaris auctus et exercitatus, quanto denique splendore spes rerum secundarum Principem olim salutantes in Rege

nostro coronatæ sint"? Vivet, amici, in me, dum vivam, vestræ benignitatis memoria; vivet postea in domo, in Collegio superstes.'

The record of the College for scholarship was taken up by Wilson (Leeds), 2nd Senior Optime and 6th Classic, 1856 (Indian Civil Competitive); by Lee, 7th Classic, 1857; and by Joseph Rawson Lumly, 9th Classic 1858, equal as Crosse Theological Scholar 1860, and Tyrwhitt Scholar 1861. He was of Leeds School, and was a schoolmaster, when friends sent him to Magdalene, at the age of twenty-three, with a Milner Scholarship. For some years he was Fellow of Magdalene, and, vacating his Fellowship by marriage, became chaplain. In 1873 he was one of the Old Testament Revisers, and was elected Fellow of St. Catharine's. In 1875 he was Vicar of St. Edward's, in 1879 Norrisian Professor, and in 1892 succeeded Hort as Lady Margaret Professor. He founded the Early English Text Society, and was a contributor to the Rolls Series and to the ninth edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica.' For 'The Speaker's Commentary' he edited the Epistle of Jude and Peter II., and parts of 'The Cambridge Bible for Schools.' He died in 1895.

Alfred Newton, B.A. in 1853, was the last holder of the Drury Travelling Fellowship, and travelled to such purpose that in 1860 he was elected Professor of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy. He was re-elected to a Magdalene Fellowship in 1877.

In 1854 Campbell was 7th Classic and a Senior Optime. He was Professor of Classics in the University of Fredericton.

Henry John Wale, of Shelford, was cornet in the 15th Hussars 1845, and served in the Crimea. He

married, and decided to take Orders. An acquaintance, hearing which College he had selected, scratched his head, and murmured, 'Magdalene, did you say? I know it—a little college somewhere in Huntingdonshire.' He tells, in his 'Sword and Surplice,' how at his matriculation the Registrar asked one Woodd to spell his name, and repeating, 'Double-u, double-o, double-d,' 'I trust the simplicity of your character will atone for the duplicity of your name.' A Magdalene lecturer, remonstrating with a man, who kept over the lecture-room, for unpunctuality, said: 'You keep over the hall, and are always late. Mr. Wale, who lives a mile away, gets here in time.' 'Oh, sir, you forget Mrs. Wale,' was the offender's reply.

In 1855 six men appear in the Triposes; eight in 1856. Wilson being 6th Classic and 2nd Junior Optime.

In 1861 John Bond, who was twenty-one during the examination, was 2nd Wrangler (and 2nd Smith's Prizeman), and Francis Pattrick 8th. The former was first an assistant-master at Rugby, and then held in succession the College livings of Anderby and Steeple Ashton. He is now Archdeacon of Stow and Canon and Precentor of Lincoln. Francis Pattrick remained in the College until his very sudden death in October, 1896, at the house of his old friend Henry Latham. He succeeded Mynors Bright as President in 1873, nor was he an inferior administrator or less popular tutor. He was a most patient teacher of the dull, and stimulating to the quick; his kindness and tact ruled the College without friction. The dedication on his portrait truly ran:

'Viro singulari morum humanitate et animi æquitate prædito; per viginti fere annos collegii famæ impigerrim

custodi: lucidissimo mathematicæ artis præceptori, discipulorum studiosorum benevolentissimo fautori, errantium æquissimo correctori, omnium amico, depictam suam ipsius imaginem alumni priores donum nuptiale . . . dederunt . . . MDCCCXCIV.'

About this time James Baker, brother of Sir Samuel and of Valentine Baker, entered as Fellow-Commoner. He was Adjutant, and afterwards Commandant, of the University Volunteers.

Walpole Warren, B.A. 1862, son of the author of 'Ten Thousand a Year,' died 1903. He was for many years Rector of a church in New York, and on his original appointment was prosecuted and fined under the Contract Labour Law, the decision being reversed on appeal.

Thomas Stevens, of Shrewsbury School, now Suffragan Bishop of Barking, was Junior Optime and 2nd Class Classic in 1863. He has been Chaplain to the Grand Lodge of Freemasons. Next year came seven Tripos men, including two firsts, Giles and Preston, and another great Mason, J. S. Brownrigg, Secretary to the National Society. In 1865 S. T. Nevill, now Bishop of Dunedin, was in Class II. of the Natural Science Tripos. F. Gunton, a Shrewsbury scholar, graduated in Class I. (Classical Tripos) in 1867, and won Browne's Medal in 1865 and the Camden Medal 1865 and 1866; but the most noteworthy man of that year was E. C. Baber, who afterwards won a competition studentship for China, and rose to be successively Secretary of Legation, Consul-General in Korea, and Resident at Bhamo. He made three great journeys inland, and received the Geographical Society's medal in 1883. He died in 1890.

We next produced another Irish patriot, C. S. Parnell,

who entered in 1865. His College career was short, for, having been convicted of assault, he was sent down in accordance with the rule in such cases. It is understood, however, that the Master would have allowed him to return if he had wished to do so. He appears to have had few friends in the College. Mr. Bryce ranks his speeches in 1889 and 1890 as exciting less interest only than Gladstone's. 'Yet one note of greatness was absent from them . . . there was no lofty feeling, worthy of the man who was deemed to be leading his nation to victory.'

In 1868 J. H. Fellowes entered. Succeeding to the property of his uncle, he assumed his name of Benyon in 1897; in 1901 he was made Lord-Lieutenant of Berks, and is now Chairman of the Education Committee of the county. Charles Tournay Tournay, who entered in the same year as 'Tournay Allen,' became a great hunter of big game, and his home near Hythe, Kent, was a museum of trophies of the chase. He died in 1903. C. E. Beck, of the same standing, rose to the command of the 12th Lancers, but had retired before the South African War, and Gerald Lascelles (matriculated 1868), author of the 'Badminton' volume on Falconry, and part of that on Shooting, is now Deputy-Surveyor of the New Forest; while Arthur Bosworth (1871) quickly rose to be Lieutenant-Colonel in the West India Regiment in 1892; he died on the march to Karena in 1897, refusing to be carried in a hammock, though sick, for fear of fire being attracted to the bearers. The success of the last half-century was, however, achieved when A. G. Peskett, now President, was Senior Classic in 1875. Walter Ruthven Pym, Bishop of Mauritius and (1903) of Bombay, graduated in 1879.

Two modern travellers, Harry de Windt and Harold Crichton Browne, the latter holding the South African medal with three clasps, hail from Magdalene. Nor will the College readily recover the loss in 1899, after a few months' illness, of Wilfrid Austen Gill, 8th Classic 1879, who seemed to have a brilliant career before him.

In 1900 the Chancellor's English Verse Medal came to the College for the first time, the winner, G. D. R. Tucker, having previously taken Browne Medals for both Epigrams. Peel, 5th Wrangler, was Senior in Mechanics (1894).

The University Commissioners in 1860 made very considerable changes in the original statutes. Bye-Fellowships were abolished; the number of foundation Fellows was increased from four to eight; Fellows were allowed to marry upon certain conditions; and the scholarship fund was augmented by the abolition of the Bye-Fellowships. In regard to these, there was much weight in the objection raised by the College, that these Fellowships had been found most useful as rewards for deserving men who could not be regarded as having claims to foundation Fellowships. Again, it is more than doubtful whether the marriage of Fellows has helped the internal administration of small Colleges. Residence was required of the Master during the major part of term.

In 1882, however, far more sweeping changes were introduced. The Mastership was opened to a layman, not necessarily a member of the Church of England, Ordination not being required of Fellows; and, finally, College payment for University purposes was made compulsory to an extent which, although it has not yet reached its ultimate amount, has seriously

crippled the Colleges. It is no secret that more than one College has found difficulty in selecting a man financially able to accept the Mastership, while the dividends of Fellows have been reduced to an annual value hardly equal to the wages of a skilled artisan.

The end of 1903 had seen our Master receiving unprecedented honour from the University, and acknowledging it with charming grace. The last day of the year he wrote from his bed:

'*Ad unumquemque amicorum.*

Jam mihi lustra decem datur explevisse ; cubile
Stat comes, et medici lex, tenuesque cibi.
Advenit interea, longas ceu stella per horas,
Nuntia vox curæ testis, amice, tuæ.

'Coll. S. M. Magd., Prid. Kal. Jan. MDCMIV.

My jubilee leaves me in bed on a diet
Low, meagre, imposed by a ruthless decree ;
But a light cheers the wearisome hours of quiet—
The voice of your friendship and kindness to me.

With all good wishes for the New Year.—B.'

After a few days his illness was causing grave anxiety, and early on January 12 he passed away. Few who may read this history need be reminded of his deep religious feeling, his fidelity to duty as he saw it, and his perfect simplicity of nature. Yet he was chosen Vice-Chancellor as best qualified to lead the University during the residence of the then Prince of Wales, and from the King, 'For Auld Lang Syne,' came a wreath which was placed on his coffin before it left our chapel on January 15. A letter of sympathy from His Majesty was addressed to his widow.

From the *Cambridge Review* of January 21, 1904, is extracted :

'Whatever was the contest in which he was engaged, he carried it on in the most honourable spirit. Nothing gave him greater offence than to hear, as occasionally he had to hear—whether the rumour was true or not—of any sharp practice on one side or the other. . . . In his own College he was honoured—nay, loved : for his rule was mild —some might think too mild, but he always had a compassionate feeling for undergraduates' shortcomings, though when occasion required he could be stern enough. With his Fellows he was ever on the best and easiest of terms. He was most punctual in carrying out the old unwritten law of the College, which had been scrupulously obeyed by his predecessor, and is probably of still more ancient practice, that the Master when in residence should always dine in Hall on Sundays, and that every Fellow should also be present. Of late years, there being no Fellow of the College in Orders, he undertook the honorary office of Dean. In this connection may be mentioned his sermons —remarkable for their brevity, their earnestness, and their point. Avoiding all conventionalities of the ordinary preacher, he never used a word too much, and the right word was always in its place. The same qualities characterized his speeches. There was no attempt at oratory, but the delivery was natural, and, be the occasion what it might, almost every sentence had a happy turn in it. . . . While all who came in contact with him will ever cherish his memory, it is reserved for those who were his intimates to know and feel that he was one of the men who may be truly numbered among "the pure in heart," for such his life had been from the beginning.'

By his will he bequeathed to the College £1,000 to found a History Prize.

# APPENDIX

## LIST OF MASTERS

| | Name. | College. | Appointed by | Further Appointments, etc. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1542 | Evans | B.C.L. Oxon., 1534 | — | Resigned 1546; Dean of Bangor; died 1570 |
| 1546 | Richard Carr | — | — | Ejected or resigned |
| 1559 | Kelke | St. John's | Duke of Norfolk | Archdeacon of Stowe; died Master |
| 1576 | Howland | St. John's | 1st Earl of Suffolk | Master of St. John's Bishop of Peterborough |
| 1577 | Copinger | St. John's | Queen Elizabeth | Resigned |
| 1577 | Nicholls | Peterhouse | 1st Earl of Suffolk | Canon of Exeter; resigned mastership |
| 1582 | T. Nevile | Pembroke | 1st Earl of Suffolk | Master of Trinity; Dean of Canterbury |
| 1593 | Clayton | St. John's | 1st Earl of Suffolk | Master of St. John's; Dean of Peterborough |
| 1595 | John Palmer | St. John's | 1st Earl of Suffolk | Dean of Peterborough; resigned mastership 1604 |
| 1604 | Goche, or Googe | Magdalene | 1st Earl of Suffolk | M.P. for University; Chancellor of Exeter (Dioc.) |
| 1626 | Henry Smyth | Magdalene | 2nd Earl of Suffolk | Died Master |
| 1642 | Rainbow | Magdalene | 3rd Earl of Suffolk | Ejected |
| 1650 | Sadler | Emmanuel | Council of State | Ejected at Restoration |
| 1660 | Rainbow | — | Returns on Restoration | Dean of Peterborough; Bishop of Carlisle; died 1684 |

| | Name. | College. | Appointed by | Further Appointments, etc. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1664 | Howorth | Magdalene | 3rd Earl of Suffolk | Died in year of office as Vice-Chancellor |
| 1668 | Duport | Trinity (Greek Professor) | 3rd Earl of Suffolk | Dean of Peterborough; died Master |
| 1679 | Peachell | Magdalene | 3rd Earl of Suffolk | Died Master |
| 1690 | Quadring | Magdalene | 4th Earl of Suffolk | Died Master |
| 1713 | Waterland | Magdalene | 6th Earl of Suffolk | Canon of Windsor; Archdeacon of Middlesex; died Master |
| 1740 | Abbot | Emmanuel | 10th Earl of Suffolk | Died Master |
| 1746 | Chapman | Christ's | Lord Howard of Effingham | Prebendary of Durham; died Master |
| 1760 | Sandby | Merton, Oxford | Countess of Portsmouth (under bond to resign) | Resigned |
| 1774 | Wallop | Magdalene | 1st Lord Braybrooke | Died Master |
| 1781 | Peckard | Corpus Christi and Balliol, Oxford. | 1st Lord Braybrooke | Dean of Peterborough; died Master |
| 1797 | Gretton | Peterhouse | Dr. and Mrs. Parker (as life tenants of Audley End) | Died Master |
| 1813 | George Neville (-Grenville) | Trinity | 2nd Lord Braybrooke | Dean of Windsor; resigned mastership |
| 1853 | Latimer Neville | Magdalene | 3rd Lord Braybrooke | Died Master and Visitor, January 12, 1904 |
| 1904 | Donaldson | Trinity (Assist. Master at Eton) | 7th Lord Braybrooke | |

Between 1542 and 1600, nine masters; 1600 and 1640, two masters; nineteenth century, three masters.

## TUTORS IN NINETEENTH CENTURY

| Senior. | Junior. |
|---|---|
| W. Farish, to 1801. | J. Hey, to 1800. |
| | W. Buck. |
| W. Buck, to 1802. | T. Paley. |
| T. Paley, to 1802. | |
| E. Rogers, to 1809. | George Hodson, 1810. |
| George Hodson, 1810-1815. | |
| R. Crawley (Trinity), 1815-1829. | |
| | J. Lodge, 1821-1826. |

Joint Tutors.

T. G. Hall, W. Waring } 1829-1831.
J. Lodge (Trinity), W. Waring } 1831.
J. Lodge, S. W. Waud } 1832.
S. W. Waud, 1833-1841.
E. Warter, 1842-1844.
E. Warter, S. G. Fawcett } 1844-1846.
E. Warter, V. Raven } 1846-1851.
V. Raven, M. Bright } 1851-1853.
M. Bright, R. Hughes } 1853-1856.
M. Bright, H. Callender } 1856-1858 (from St. John's)
M. Bright, 1858-1861.
M. Bright, J. Roberts } 1861-1865.

M. Bright, 1866-1872.
F. Pattrick, 1873-1896.
A. G. Peskett, W. A. Gill } 1896-1899.
A. G. Peskett, A. S. Ramsey } 1899.

## LIST OF BENEFACTORS NOT SPECIALLY MENTIONED

1586. Thomas Parkinson, Rector of Wyvelingham: £500 to the old building.

1591. William Roberts: A yearly sum of £10 for three scholars from Beccles.

1614. Thomas Sutton,* possibly student of the College, and founder of Charterhouse, £500.

1626. James Chaloner: Two silver flagons for the chapel, and books.

1656. William Holmes, of Exeter: £20 per annum for two scholars from Wisbech, and 20s. to the College to see the exhibitions duly paid. The capital was invested in land now producing £80 per annum, while unpaid income, invested under an Order of Court (1766), yields about £200 more—sufficient to provide four exhibitions of about £70 each.

1697. The Rev. Drue Drury bequeathed to the College the perpetual advowson of the vicarage of Steeple Ashton, Wilts, and the impropriate parsonage of the said place, to found a Travelling Fellowship for a 'gentleman's son

* Sutton was born at Lincoln, and is said to have been secretary to Audley's son-in-law Norfolk; hence his interest in the College. He left the manor of Littlebury and other property to the first Earl of Suffolk, Norfolk's son.

of Norfolk.' (In 1847 the value of the Fellowship was £366 gross, £268 net.) Drue Drury, third son of Drue Drury, second Baronet, of Riddlesworth Hall, Norfolk, entered the College in 1654, and was followed in 1657 by two brothers. The baronetcy became extinct, on the death of his elder brother, in 1712. Drue's will is dated 1697. He purchased Steeple Ashton from Samuel Martyn after 1688, and may possibly have married into the Martyn family, though not at Ashton. The present church dates from about 1500, and the tower is even a century older. The chancel was lengthened and improved by the College in 1853. Semington Chapelry is attached to the living.

1708. John Chadwick, President : £50 to be left in the hands of the steward.

1724. John Millington, D.D., formerly of Magdalene, gave land valued at £80 per annum for four Shrewsbury Scholars, and provided for a Shrewsbury Fellowship, to commence forty years after his death, with £400 to augment the livings of Anderby and Cumberworth. (The Millington Scholarships are now tenable at any College.)

1736. Thomas Milner, clerk, formerly Fellow, bequeathed a reversion to £1,000 for three Scholars from Halifax, Haversham, and Leeds, his sister Mary adding £200.

1750. John Citizen, B.A. of the College 1696, Vicar of Aldrington, Sussex, bequeathed the advowson of the sinecure of East Aldrington, which was ultimately sold for £1,500.

1766. Mr Edmund Anderson left £100 for the beautifying of the College.

1767. Rev. Robert Payne left £200 to augment the chapel clerk's income.

1779. Margaret Dongworth, of Durham, spinster, left £1,000 to augment four small Fellowships (possibly daughter of Richard Dongworth, who entered 1722).

1824. The third Lord Braybrooke gave £1,000 from the profits of the publication of his edition of Pepys' Diary to found an annual benefaction of £52, hence known as the Pepysian, for deserving students; and, in 1854, £1,000 towards the extinction of the debt on the new Lodge.

1878. Mynors Bright gave £500 to found benefactions for deserving students; and in 1883 he bequeathed £5,000 to be applied for the building of a resident tutor's house, and his transcript of Pepys' Diary.

## ATHLETICS

Boating.—Magdalene first appeared on the river in the Easter term of 1828, commencing their career by being bumped five times. In 1829 we had a joint crew with Christ's. In Lent, 1830, we rowed alone. The next term we tried a temporary partnership with Corpus. Our boat made its first bumps in 1833, starting thirteenth and ending sixth. The club appears not to have been started till 1835, when W. F. Smithe, captain, was secretary to the C.U.B.C. The second boat was known as the Cannibals, and its members were heraldically designated in the Boat-book by three tusks argent. That year we finished third on the river, and took part in the first recorded procession from the Town

Lock to Newnham Mills. In 1837 we had a six-oar, in which Mynors Bright (known among his friends as 'Billy') rowed third. It went up four places, and the event was celebrated by a dinner, to which Waud, then tutor, contributed two dozen of claret. In 1838 C. Kingsley rowed in the Cannibals; while F. C. Penrose rowed for the University for four years from 1839, being captain in 1840 and 1841. H. Jones and G. C. Uppleby rowed with him in 1840; and the Hon. L. W. Denman—present at the Magdalene College dinner in July, 1903—rowed three in 1841, and two in 1842, rowing also at Henley in 1842 and 1843. J. Raven rowed bow for Cambridge in 1842, W. S. Lockart three in 1845, and J. Wilder five in 1846. We made nine bumps in Lent and May, 1838, leaving off ninth; and in 1839 we were fourth. This event was celebrated by a supper in Hall, when Mr. Penrose records the amount of fluid consumed. In Lent, 1840, by the aid of Penrose (stroke), Bright, and Denman, we got up to second. In 1842 we were again second; and until 1852, inclusive, we were only once out of the first five on the river. In 1857, with Lewis Lloyd, and 'Jack' Hall up—Lloyd being president of the C.U.B.C.—we won the 'fours,' and kept in the first six until 1860. R. Wharton was 'cox' of the University Eight in 1857, and in 1862 Lewis Lloyd was the recipient of a cup at a great 'meet' in the combination-room. H. J. Fortescue got his 'blue' in 1866. In 1868 we rowed the *Sam Pepys* up to eleventh, gaining five places; but since that year things have been against us, other Colleges increasing in numbers. In 1878 Watson-Taylor's crew made four bumps, and repeated the feat in 1879. 'Why do you call your boat *Sam Pepys*?' he was asked by a boating friend. 'Because of the Diary man, of course.' 'Oh,' replied the questioner, 'I always use Letts'!'

Cricket.—Early cricket 'blues' were E. A. F. Harenc (1841), S. N. Micklethwaite (1843), the Hon. F. S. Grimston (1843 to 1845), E. T. Drake (1852 to 1854), R. D. Balfour (1863 to 1866), A. Walker (1864 to 1866), J. M. Richardson (1866 to 1868), and G. Savile (1867 to 1868). J. M. Richardson, says W. J. Ford, was an 'admirable field at cover-point and long-leg. S. G. Lyttelton used to chaff him for never hitting to leg, but, as a matter of fact, he invented the 'glide.' He was the best gentleman rider of his day in England, and one of the best judges of horse-flesh. He won the Grand National in two successive years. Nor must W. N. Roe (1883) and Lord Hawke (1882 to 1885) be forgotten—the latter 'one of the wisest of county captains, the strictness of his discipline being only equalled by his consideration towards his men both on and off the field.' In 1883, against C. J. Thornton's team, he made 141 for the University off Peate, Ulyett, Barnes, and Rotherham; and, again, at Fenners, in 1894, he made 157 against Cambridge for A. J. Webbe's Eleven. In 1881 the College Eleven defeated Jesus, St. John's, Caius, and other much larger Colleges. About this time, owing to the collapse of one of the Eight, W. N. Roe had to rush down from Fenner's to the river and take a seat in the boat, untrained. He had his reward, for the *Sam Pepys* was unbumped in the four races. In a Long Vacation match in 1881 he scored 415, not out.

Athletic 'blues' were won by R. E. Leach (1877) and H. P. Hodson (1880), both for the 'quarter.'

The College has been unrepresented in the tennis court since the time of R. D. Balfour, but L. V. Lodge (1893 to 1895) and A. E. Harrison (1894) played in the Association team. In polo the College had representatives between 1885 and 1899 more than once, and T. P. Wickham (1866 to 1867) and C. J. R. Lowe (1878 to 1879) won

the Cue. Several Magdalene men have been masters of the Drag.

The College plate-chest was depleted by our loyalty to Charles I. Most fortunately, the Society had retained a very splendid silver-gilt chalice and cover of 1587. The bowl is ornamented with arabesques, and stands on a baluster stem. The cover has as finial a statuette of a soldier, armed with shield and spear, on a vase-shaped pedestal. The chalice is 18 ounces and the cover 9 ounces; total height, $15\frac{3}{4}$ inches. There are also two large flagons for sacramental use, given by James Chaloner, Fellow 1628, and two patens. Two large stoups for beer are of 1568, and other ancient stoups were the gift of Guevara, Fellow-Commoner 1632. Four large cups bear date 1625. Another large cup, surmounted by a bird, was the gift of James Bertie, Lord Norreys (entered 1667; created Earl of Abingdon 1682), while one of four pint tankards was the gift of Orlando Bridgeman. A silver beaker of 1744 was given by T. Whipham. It is cylindrical, with slightly enlarged lip and broad band of stippling round the centre. A very fine bowl with appliqué work of upright leaves, the handles surmounted by crowned heads of bold design, weighs 95 ounces, and the cover 33 ounces; its height is $12\frac{1}{4}$ inches. There is also a very curious crook, made of three chamois' horns, with wooden handle, for pushing or pulling a decanter. Dr. Duport's ewer and basin have been noticed on p. 138.

SILVER-GILT CHALICE OF 1587

## MAGDALENE MEN WHO SERVED IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR, IN ORDER OF SENIORITY OF ENTRANCE

KESTEVEN, LORD : served 1900 with 14th Battalion Imperial Yeomanry ; Honorary Lieutenant in Army. Now Major, Lincolnshire Imperial Yeomanry.

HENNIKER-MAJOR, Colonel the Hon. ARTHUR HENRY, C.B. : served as Lieutenant-Colonel 2nd Coldstream Guards, mentioned in despatches ; C.B. 1902 ; now Brigadier-General 4th Army Corps, with rank of Colonel and temporary rank of Brigadier-General.

✠ CROPPER, EDWARD DENMAN, Major and Honorary Lieutenant-Colonel, Pembroke Yeomanry Cavalry : served 1900 as Captain 9th Battalion Imperial Yeomanry ; died of wounds received near Bethlehem, December 29, 1900.

FREWEN, STEPHEN, Lieutenant-Colonel hp., 16th Lancers : served 1900 ; Commanded Cavalry Depot.

MAGNIAC, HERBERT RICHARD : served 1900-01 as Major 15th Battalion Imperial Yeomanry, severely wounded, mentioned in despatches, D.S.O.

HUNT, ROWLAND, M.P. South Salop from 1903 : served with Lovat's Scouts (Captain, Lovat's Scouts, 1903).

SHERIFFE, ROBERT THOMAS OLIVER, Captain Sherwood Rangers Yeomanry Cavalry : served 1899-1900 with Imperial Yeomanry.

HARGREAVES, ROBERT HALSTEAD, Major 3rd Battalion North Staffordshire Regiment : served 1902.

SONDES, EARL, a Captain and Honorary Major East Kent Imperial Yeomanry : served 1900-01 with 11th Battalion Imperial Yeomanry.

BENSON, JOHN MUSGRAVE, Major 3rd Battalion West York-

shire Regiment: served 1899-1902 as a Special Service Officer.

DUNCOMBE, the Hon. HUBERT VALENTINE: served 1900-01 as Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding 14th Battalion Imperial Yeomanry, mentioned in despatches, D.S.O.

MUNN, HENRY TOKE: served as Captain 38th Battalion Imperial Yeomanry.

CRICHTON-BROWNE, HAROLD WILLIAM ALEXANDER FRANCIS, Honorary Major 3rd Battalion King's Own Scottish Borderers: served 1899-1902.

BAILLIE, ALGERNON HAROLD, Captain 3rd Battalion Norfolk Regiment: served 1899-1900.

SHAW, JOHN REGINALD, Captain 4th Battalion Durham Light Infantry: served 1900-01.

HOOLE-LOWSLEY-WILLIAMS, GEORGE WILLIAM LOWSLEY (commonly known as George Lowsley-Williams), Captain 3rd Battalion Princess of Wales's Own (Yorkshire) Regiment: served 1899-1901, mentioned in despatches.

DE LAS CASAS, MANUEL, Captain Royal North Devon Hussars Imperial Yeomanry: served with Imperial Yeomanry 1899-1900.

BAGOT-CHESTER, HUGH AUGUSTUS, Captain 3rd Battalion the King's Own (Royal Lancashire) Regiment: served 1899-1901 as a Staff Officer.

FRIEDERICHS, LIONEL HUGH THOMELY, Captain 4th Battalion Cheshire Regiment: served 1899-1902; Station Staff Officer; mentioned in despatches.

HUNTER-MUSKETT, RAWDON GRAHAM: served 1902 as Captain 24th Battalion Imperial Yeomanry.

ALLSOPP, RICHARD: served 1901-02 as Captain 1st Battalion Imperial Yeomanry.

FULLER, PHILIP REGINALD, Captain 3rd Battalion The Leicestershire Regiment: served 1902.

PACKE, EDWARD CHRISTOPHER, Lieutenant 2nd Battalion Royal Fusiliers : served 1899-1900 ; severely wounded, February 19, 1900, in the relief of Ladysmith.

FREND, JOHN PERCY : served with Imperial Yeomanry.

OTTER, WALTER WILLIAM, Lieutenant 3rd Battalion Royal Sussex Regiment : served 1901-02.

KNUBLEY, EDWARD MILES : served with C.U.R.V. detachment.

FISHER, EDWARD BENJAMIN : served with Imperial Yeomanry.

BURR, CHARLES FREDERICK, 2nd Lieutenant 1st Battalion The Leicestershire Regiment.

LLOYD, MEYRICKE ENTWISLE : served with Militia. Was from May, 1899, Lieutenant 3rd Battalion Northants Regiment, and from June, 1900, 2nd Lieutenant 2nd Battalion Royal Welsh Fusiliers.

FLETCHER, ANDREW MANSEL TALBOT : served 1900 as Lieutenant 3rd Battalion The Royal Scots (Lothian Regiment).

The above list is kindly contributed by the Rev. A. Peskett, of Magdalene, Rector of Long Stanton.

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