THE EAGLE

A Magazine

SUPPORTED BY MEMBERS OF

St John's College

VOLUME LIV, No. 238

PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
FOR SUBSCRIBERS ONLY

MCMLI

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

All contributions for the next issue of the Magazine should be sent to The Editors, *The Eagle*, St John's College, by 1 June 1951. The Editors will welcome assistance in making the College Notes, and the Magazine generally, as complete a record as possible of the careers of members of the College. They will welcome books or articles dealing with the College and its members for review; and books published by members of the College for shorter notice.

[*Reproduced by kind permission of the Dean of Westminster from an electrotype kindly supplied by the Oxford University Press.*]

JOHN WILLIAMS: THE WESTMINSTER PORTRAIT

THE EAGLE

VOL. LIV JANUARY 1951 No. 238

JOHN WILLIAMS (1582–1650)

A TERCENTENARY Commemoration Sermon preached in the Chapel of St John's College, Cambridge, on Sunday, 5 November 1950, by the Reverend CHARLES SMYTH, Canon of Westminster and Rector of St Margaret's.

Prov. xiv. 12: *There is a way which seemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof are the ways of death.*

Phil. iv. 12: *I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound: every where and in all things I am instructed both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need.*

"He tasted equally of great Prosperity and Adversity, and was a rare Example in both...; not elevated with Honour, nor in the contrary state cast down."* That is the testimony of John Hacket, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, who had been Williams' domestic chaplain, and essayed to rehabilitate his memory in one of the most fantastically learned biographies in our literature: SCRINIA RESERATA: *A Memorial Offer'd to the Great Deservings of John Williams, D.D. Who some time held the Places of Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, Lord Bishop of Lincoln, and Lord Archbishop of York. Containing a series of the Most Remarkable Occurrences and Transactions of his Life, in Relation both to Church and State.* (1693.)†

* H[acket], II, 229.

† The most recent biography of Williams is Miss Barbara Dew Roberts' *Mitre and Musket* (Oxford University Press, 1938). It is not entirely accurate in detail, though it is particularly useful for its account of the Archbishop's military activities in Wales during the Civil War. "Hacket knew everything about Williams' life until his return to Conway" ("John Williams of Gloddaeth", by Judge Ivor Bowen, in *Trans. Soc. Cymmrodorion*, 1927–8, p. 11). It may be added that *Scrinia Reserata* wants an index.

"This is that man, whose Life was so full of Variety; *Quod consul toties exulq:; ex exule consul*, says *Manilius* of *Marius*. He was advanced to great Honours very young; half of his Pomps cut off within five years; lay four years current in the Tower, sequestred of all, and very near to be deprived of all, and of a sudden recovers his Liberty, and a higher Place than ever."* "But from that day his Afflictions were constant to him, and never lent him pause or intermission of Peace."† "Few men ever lived whose lives had more Paradoxes in them."†

Such was the history of John Williams: "the last churchman who held the Great Seal—the last who occupied at once an Archbishopric and a Deanery—" and, adds Dean Stanley (writing in 1867), "one of the few eminent Welshmen who have figured in history."‡ He was born at Conway on Lady Day, 25 March 1582, and died in obscurity and in debt at Gloddaeth in Caernarvonshire on Lady Day, 25 March 1650. His tomb in the parish church at Llandegai has lately been restored at the charges of this College, of which he was an alumnus and a Benefactor.

"Envie it self cannot deny", says Thomas Fuller, "but that whithersoever he went, he might be traced by the footsteps of his benefaction."§ His liberality to St John's, "the Nurse of his hopeful breeding",‖ began in 1622: he endowed scholarships and fellowships, ear-marked for Old Westminsters, of which more anon; and he presented four advowsons¶ to the College. "But", says the egregious Hacket, "the Chief Minerval which he bestowed upon that Society was the Structure of a most goodly Library, the best of that kind in all *Cambridge*. And as he had pick'd up the best Authors in all Learning, and in all plenty, for his own use, so he bequeathed them all to this fair Repository. This was Episcopal indeed, to issue out his Wealth, as the Lord brought it in, in such ways."** He contributed over two-thirds (£2011. 13*s.* 4*d.*) of the cost of the building: and the initials I.L.C.S. with the accompanying date 1624, still plainly visible from the river, are a memorial of the munificence of "Johannes Lincolniensis Custos Sigilli".

As a boy at Ruthin Grammar School, he had attracted the attention of his relative, Bishop Vaughan of Chester, quaintly described by Fuller as "a corpulent man, but spiritually minded",†† who "being

* H. II, 167. † H. II, 182.
‡ *Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, 1st ed., p. 468.
§ *The Church History of Britain* (1656), XI, vi, 26.
‖ H. I, 96.
¶ Soldern, Freshwater, Aberdaron, St Florence. (T. Baker, *History of St John's College, Cambridge*, ed. Mayor, II, 619.)
** H. I, 96.
†† *Church History*, X, iii, 11.

not only as Learned as most Men to try a Scholar, but Judicious above most Men to conjecture at a rich Harvest by the green Blade in the Spring, took speedy care to remove his Kinsman to *Cambridge*, and commended him to the Tuition of Mr *Owen Guin* of St *John's* College, well qualified by his Country and Alliance for a Friend, and no indiligent Tutor".* John Williams matriculated as a sizar in the Easter Term of 1598,† and was admitted to a foundation scholarship on 5 November 1599.‡ Good-looking and precocious, he was proudly welcomed to Cambridge by his fellow-countrymen, "the Old *Britains* of *North-Wales*, who praised him mightily in all places of the University (for they are good at that, to them of their own Lineage), and made more Eyes be cast upon him, than are usual upon such a Punie". But, since he "brought more *Latin* and *Greek*, than good *English* with him", "such as had gigling Spleens would laugh at him for his *Welsh* Tone". He felt their mockery acutely, but it served to sharpen his ambition. Deliberately he acquired, as the foundation of his fortunes, an English accent; and lived "a very retired Student, by shunning Company and Conference, as far as he could, till he had lost the Rudeness of his Native Dialect. Which he labour'd and affected, because he gave his Mind to be an Orator".§ For "he never liv'd *Ex tempore*, but upon premeditation to day what to do long after....Such Blood and Spirits did boil in his Veins as *Tully* felt, when he spake so high; *Mihi satis est si omnia consequi possim:* Nothing was enough, till he got all....He was full of warmth, and tended upward".‖

Shortly before the old Queen's death, he commenced Bachelor, and was elected to a Fellowship, though not without opposition.¶ He continued assiduous and insatiable in the pursuit of learning. "He Read the Best, he Heard the Best, he Conferr'd with the Best, Excrib'd, committed to Memory, Disputed, he had some Work continually upon the Loom....All perceived that a Fellowship was

* H. I, 7. One of Williams' first successful intrigues (which he subsequently regretted) procured the Mastership of the College for his old tutor and fellow-Welshman in 1612: H. i, 23.
† Venn, *Alumni Cantab.* Pt. I, IV, 415.
‡ "Admissio discipulorum Novembris 5°: 1599....Ego Joannes Williams Caernarvoniensis admissus sum in discipulum huius collegii pro doctore Gwin." (MS. Register of Fellows and Scholars of St John's College, Cambridge, vol. I, p. 279.)
§ H. I, 7. ‖ H. I, 27; 11; 9.
¶ "Without disparagement to his Merit, it shall not be concealed, that some of the Seniors did make resistance against him, whose Suffrages are required by Statute for the Election of Fellows": H. I, 10. "Admissio Sociorum Ann: Dom: 1603: Aprilis 14....Ego Joannes Williams Bangoriensis admissus fui in perpetuum socium huius Collegij pro Domina fundatrice." (MS. Register, p. 161.)

a Garland too little for his Head, and that he that went his pace, would quickly go further than St *John's* Walks."* In 1611 he was Junior Proctor. "So have many been, who did nothing, but that which deserves to be forgotten....[But] his was κηδεμονία, or a procuration indeed (so it is Translated out of *Xenophon*) which he filled up with as much of real Worth and Value, with as much Profit and Dignity to the University as could be dispatcht in the Orb of that Government....The Night-Watches, indeed, he committed sometimes to Deputies...."†

It was about this time that he made what Hacket calls "his first, and most advantagious Sallies into the world".‡ Employments of one kind or another—ecclesiastical, academic, or litigious—brought his exceptional abilities to the notice of the great: King James, Archbishop Bancroft,§ and above all, Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, who took the rising young Welshman into his own household ("a Nest for an Eagle")‖ as his domestic chaplain and confidential secretary. "What could not such a Master teach? What could not such a Scholar learn?"¶ It was from this patron that Williams received his first lessons in statecraft and his initiation into the higher mysteries of English law.** He received also a very liberal provision in the way of ecclesiastical preferment.†† "He was now in the House of *Obed-Edom*, where everything prosper'd, and all that pertain'd to him." But all this was but a foretaste of dignities and emoluments to come.

Williams went down from Cambridge in 1612, when he was thirty. By 1620, he was Dean of Westminster; by 1621, retaining his Deanery *in commendam* on the ground that it provided him with an official residence near his work, he was Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England and, in lieu of the perquisites of that office (which had been the technical cause of Bacon's downfall), Bishop of Lincoln.

For the understanding of a period of history, the careers of secondary figures are often more rich in clues than the lives of protagonists in the great movements and controversies of the times.

* H. 1, 10. † H. 1, 20. ‡ H. 1, 17.

§ "Upon this Reverend Father he gained so far, by his neat Wit and decent behaviour, that the Arch-Bishop sent for him two years before he was Bachelour of Divinity, and *ex mero motu* gave him the Advouzon of an Arch-Deaconry in *Wales* (*Cordigan*, if I forget not) which came to the Metropolitan by his customary Prerogative": H. 1, 17.

‖ H. 1, 24. ¶ H. 1, 28.

** Such was his energy that, while living in York House, he also, as a spare-time occupation, studied Cosmography under the guidance of "Mr *Richard Hackluit*, a Prebendary of *Westminster*, and so his near Neighbour, indeed the most versed Man in that Skill that *England* bred": H. 1, 13.

†† These ecclesiastical preferments are conveniently listed in the article on Williams (by S. R. Gardiner) in *D.N.B.* (XXI, 414).

To the old question, "Does the man make the age, or the age the man?", it may be answered that some men create, and others are created by, the circumstances under which they work; and that if we wish to learn what were the normal and normative conditions in Church and State under the early Stuarts, we shall find the lives of men like Williams and Cottington and Windebank more informative and less misleading than the biographies of Laud and Strafford.

John Williams was conspicuously a survival from the Pre-Reformation prelacy. Despite the comparison drawn by Puritan pamphleteers, there was little in common between Wolsey, the politician in holy orders, and Laud, the clergyman in politics: and Laud was as bad an example to politicians as Wolsey was to priests. The true disciple and successor of the Cardinal was not Laud, but Williams, as Lord Ellesmere, his first patron, told him in as many words. John Williams was a politician with a taste for splendour, who had taken orders as medieval noblemen took them, as a step to power and feudal dignity: a far cry from the humdrum middle-class bishops around him, who had "got a living, and then a greater living, and then a greater than that, and so come to govern". At his episcopal palace of Buckden, not far from Cambridge, "he liv'd like a *Magnifico* at home":* and the interest of the Church was nothing to him when weighed in the balance against his own advancement or the outwitting of a rival. Such is the judgement of Mr Trevor-Roper,† and I think that it is not unjust: except that it should be qualified by the suggestion that, in so far as Williams ever consciously distinguished in his mind between the Church's welfare and his own, he would have regarded the latter as conducive to the former, if not as a pre-condition of it. For personal ambition is seldom purely or cynically selfish: and they who seek power do so in the conviction that they are better qualified than their competitors to use it in the public interest.

In July 1620, at the early age of thirty-nine, John Williams achieved the Deanery of Westminster. In January 1621, at the late age of forty-eight, William Laud became a member of the Chapter as junior Prebendary, and noted in his Diary, not without a touch of

* H. 1, 35. The reference is actually to "his liberal House-keeping" at his parsonage at Walgrave, Northants., bestowed upon him by Lord Ellesmere: but it is even more applicable to the hospitable splendour of "his Seat of *Bugden*", so vividly described by Hacket (II, 29–38). "His *Adversaries* beheld him with *envious eyes*, and one great Prelate [Laud?] plainly said, in the presence of the *King*, that *the Bishop of Lincoln lived in as much pompe and plenty as any Cardinall in Rome, for Dyet, Musick, and attendance*": Fuller, *C.H.* XI, ii, 76.

† *Archbishop Laud: 1573–1645*, by H. R. Trevor-Roper (1940), pp. 53–4, to which this paragraph is indebted.

bitterness: "having had the advowson of it ten years the November before".* A little more than four years later, on 27 March 1625, King James I and VI was gathered to his fathers. Williams attended him on his death-bed, ministered the Holy Communion to the dying monarch, and preached the funeral sermon (from I Kings xi. 41–3, significantly omitting the concluding words).† But with his Master's death, "the Day of the Servant's Prosperity shut up, and a Night of long and troublesome Adversity followed".‡ At the coronation of King Charles I on 2 February 1626, Williams, already relieved of the Great Seal and banished to his diocese, was forbidden to officiate as Dean of Westminster. The King commanded him to absent himself, and invited him to name one of the Prebendaries to take his place. Williams could not pass over Laud (as Bishop of St David's) and he would not nominate him. He therefore submitted a list of the names of the twelve Prebendaries, and left it to the King to choose. The choice, not unexpectedly, fell on Laud, who officiated as Deputy-Dean. The coronation, if ill-omened, was well-ordered: for Laud, with characteristic thoroughness and efficiency, ransacked ancient precedents, and expended the most minute attention upon every detail of the service. (Time deals its own revenges. Nineteen years later, the careful scholarship which he had brought to bear on the revision of the Coronation Order was to be one of the deciding factors which sent him to the block.)§

* Laud, *Works* (Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology), III, 136.

† *Great Britains* SALOMON: *A Sermon Preached at the Magnificent Funerall, of the most high and mighty King,* IAMES, *the late King of Great* Britaine, France, *and* Ireland, *defender of the Faith, etc. At the Collegiat Church of Saint* PETER *at* Westminster, *the seventh of* May *1625.* By the Right Honorable and Right Reverend Father in God IOHN, Lord Bishop of *Lincolne,* Lord Keeper of the Great *Seale* of *England,* etc. (4to: 76 pp.) Cf. H. I, 223; Fuller, *C.H.* XI, i, 3–4. The text is given as II Chron. ix. 29–31 (the parallel passage) by Hacket, Fuller, and Stanley; and as II Kings ii. (instead of xi.) 41–3 by Beedham (*Notices of Abp. Williams*) and B. Dew Roberts. "The great funeral was on the 7th of this month; the greatest, indeed, that was ever known in England, there being blacks distributed for above nine thousand persons; the hearse, likewise, being the fairest and best fashioned that hath been seen, wherein Inigo Jones, the surveyor, did his part. The king himself was chief mourner, and followed on foot from Denmark House to Westminster Church, where it was five o'clock stricken before all was entered; and the lord keeper took up two hours in the sermon . . . ; so that it was late before the offering and all other ceremonies were ended. In fine, all was performed with great magnificence, but the order was very confused and disorderly. The whole charge is said to arise above £50,000." (John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, London, 14 May 1625: in *The Court and Times of Charles I* [ed. R. F. Williams], 1848, I, 22.)

‡ H. I, 228.

§ Stanley, *M.W.A.*[1], p. 88: L. E. T[anner], art., "John Williams (1582–1650)", in *Westminster Abbey Quarterly,* April 1939, p. 5.

The wind was blowing from a fresh quarter,* and the affront put upon Dean Williams at King Charles' coronation was but one instance of the fact. So, under the new King, the older man outstripped the younger in the contest for the Archbishopric of Canterbury, and, with inexorable determination, proceeded to the crushing of his rival. Then, in turn, Laud fell: the doors of the Tower of London opened to receive him, and to release Williams, who was almost immediately† promoted to the Archbishopric of York and to the *de facto* Primacy of the Church of England. The prize for which he had so long struggled and intrigued was at last within his grasp. But by that time the Crown was tottering to its fall, and the Church of England with it. A few days previously in the Commons the Grand Remonstrance had been carried by a small majority in the early hours of 23 November 1641, after a long and angry debate, the chimes of St Margaret's, Westminster, serenely striking two o'clock as the Members left the House.

One page, and one page only, of the Chapter Minutes of the Abbey carries the autographs of both Laud and Williams before they had attained to their episcopal dignities. It is an Order dated 4 May 1621, securing "Mr Dr Laud, Dean of Glocester", in the possession of his Prebendal residence on the sunless north side of the Abbey Church, and it is signed at the top by "John Williams" as Dean, and at the bottom by "William Laud" as the junior Prebendary. By one of the ironies of history, when, at the Restoration, the bodies of John Pym and the Cromwellian magnates were contemptuously exhumed from their graves in Westminster Abbey, they were flung into a common pit in St Margaret's Churchyard outside the back door of this very house which had once been Mr Dr Laud's.‡ That was the last act of the tragedy, and rang down the curtain.

It is interesting to reflect that the vendetta between Laud and Williams was cradled in our Chapter. They were both men of inordinate ambition: but Laud sought power not as an end, but as a means. They had both won their spurs in the sharp intellectual cut-and-thrust of the academic world: but Williams had been a Cambridge, and Laud an Oxford don. They were both distinguished by great personal courage and by untiring industry: Williams never slept more than three hours in the twenty-four.§ In

* Cf. Williams to Buckingham, 7 January 1625, in *Cabala, sive Scrinia Sacra* (ed. 1663, p. 310).

† 4 December 1641.

‡ J. Armitage Robinson, "Westminster Abbey in the early part of the Seventeenth Century", in *Proc. Royal Institution,* XVII, 519 ff.

§ "From his Youth to his old Age he ask'd but 3 hours Sleep in 24, to keep him in good plight of Health. This we all knew, who lived in his Family": H. I, 7.

all other respects, their characters were in the sharpest contrast.* Williams despised Laud as an unpolitical idealist, and hated him as a successful rival: and Laud returned the hatred, despising his enemy for his worldliness, his acquisitiveness, and his methods of intrigue. Williams loved ostentation: Laud was wearied by it. Williams was sociable, with a weakness for feminine society: Laud had few friends, and all of them were men. Williams had none of Laud's scrupulosity, none of his superstition, none of his austerity, none of his single-mindedness. Laud was a doctrinaire, Williams a realist.† Laud's political judgement was notoriously bad: that of his rival was almost indecently astute.

Laud was a man of rigid principle, and therefore could be ruthless: but Williams' whole outlook was so secular that he was temperamentally incapable of ecclesiastical partisanship. It is true that "He hated Popery with a perfect hatred":‡ but that detestation was rather political than doctrinal. Proudly indifferent to the convictions of more earnest churchmen, at Cambridge he had offended Anglicans by frequenting "Reverend Mr *Perkins* his Congregation",§ and Puritans "because he was an Adherent to, and a Stickler for the Discipline and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*",§ even as in later life he was to affront the Laudian Anglo-Catholics by his disapproval of stone altars, and the Puritans by having *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* performed in his episcopal residence on a Sunday.‖ Throughout his career, he behaved as though differences in religious principles were of no significance. When in November 1640 he readily acceded to the request of the House of Commons that the Holy Table in St Margaret's might be moved into the middle of the church, "according to the Rubrick", for their corporate Communion,¶ it was not to propitiate the Presbyterians, nor as a hopeful

* Cf. Trevor-Roper, op. cit. p. 54.

† E.g. in the controversy over the placing of the altar: cf. G. W. O. Addleshaw and F. Etchells, *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship* (1948), pp. 120–47, esp. p. 126.

‡ Fuller, *C.H.* XI, vi. 28. § H. I, 9.

‖ B. Dew Roberts, p. 122 (but I can find no authority for the statement that the performance took place "after the Bishop had just held an ordination"). H. ii. 37, does not refer directly to this incident, but merely states that "some strict Censurers" thought the worse of his Governance of his Family at Buckden "because the Bishop admitted in his publick Hall a Comedy, once or twice to be presented before him, exhibited by his own Servants for an Evening Recreation", and pleads as a precedent the performance of "an Enterlude" at Lambeth before Archbishop Bancroft by his own Gentlemen, "when I was one of the youngest Spectators": he also says that "Some, that liv'd in nothing but Pleasure in the Court, objected, that such Pleasure did not befit him, that was under a Cloud". But see Appendix, p. 241.

¶ "...the Reverend Dean of *Westminster*...gave this Answer...that it should be removed, as it was desired by this House; with this further Respect

experiment in Christian Unity, but because, as a politician, he regarded the matter as indifferent, and thought that this might be a way of gaining time. There he miscalculated: for Prelacy, whether of his pattern or of Laud's, was already doomed. I believe it to be true that, considering the violence of the rising tide of political and religious Puritanism,* the episcopal Church of England would inevitably have been overthrown whether in the hands of Williams or in the hands of Laud; and that it was by the providence of God that the prize of Canterbury in those ominous years fell to Laud and not to Williams, for this meant at least that the Church of England went to its ruin uncorrupted by worldly wisdom and uncompromised by the artifices of a secular diplomacy. The Restoration Settlement restored the Church, if not as it had been left by Laud, at least as it had been left by Bancroft. The Church as Williams would have left it might never have survived the years of persecution and of exile. *There is a way which seemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof are the ways of death.*

These things must be said. Yet there is something to be said upon the other side. Gardiner left it as his considered judgement that "As far as it is possible to argue from cause to consequence, if Williams had been trusted by Charles instead of Laud, there would have been no Civil War and no dethronement in the future".† Certainly the advice that Williams tendered to his royal master in the supreme crisis of May 1641 was indisputably sound, and brilliant in its simplicity. Parliament had laid two documents before Charles for his signature. One was the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford: the other was a Bill depriving the Crown of the power to dissolve Parliament. Charles was a man of sensitive honour: whatever the difficulties of his position, the demand that he should sign Strafford's death-warrant—a demand which it was as morally intolerable to concede as it was politically impossible to refuse—impaled him on the horns of a dilemma by which he was

to the House, that, though he would do greater Service to the House of Commons than This, yet he would do as much as this for any Parish in his Diocese, that should desire it." (*Commons Journals*, II, 32.)

* Cf. Peter Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus* (1668), p. 468: "The first Assault against the Church, was made at St *Margarets* Church in *Westminster*, on a day of Publick Humiliation, *November* 17, the same on which the Bishop of *Lincoln* was re-estated with such Triumph in the *Abby*-Church: At what time the Minister Officiating the Second Service at the Communion-Table, according to the ancient Custom, was unexpectedly interrupted by the naming and singing of a Psalm, to the great amazement of all sober and well-minded men."

† *History of England, 1603–1642*, VI, 340; cf. also p. 32: "Had Charles accepted him as an adviser, the reign would hardly have been eventful or heroic, but it would not have ended in disaster."

psychologically obsessed. But Williams, whose attitude was more detached, perceived quite clearly that his fellow-Johnian,* "Black Tom Tyrant", was now past saving. Had not the condemned Earl himself, that brave proud man, sent from his prison a message to his Master, "that *he was well prepared for his End, and would not his gracious Majesty should disquiet himself to save a ruin'd Vessel that must sink*"?† So Bishop Williams advised the King to sign Strafford's attainder, because that was inevitable: but to refuse his signature—as he could have done with impunity—to the other Bill giving the Parliament an indefinite time to sit, until both Houses should consent to their own dissolution. He even made bold to ask the King "*If his wise Father would have suffer'd such a thing to be demanded, much less have granted it?* And, *Whether it would be possible for his truest Lieges to do him Service any more?*"‡ But Charles was so preoccupied with the fate of Strafford, and confused by conflicting counsels and intimidated by demonstrations against the Queen, that he was momentarily no longer capable of clear and balanced judgement. "And on *Sunday, May* 9 he signed the indefinite continuance of the Parliament... and *Strafford*'s Execution, with the same drop of Ink."§ Williams was right, and the King was wrong: but none the less it is permissible to feel that the famous advice "That there was a Private and a Publick Conscience; [and] that his Publick Conscience as a King, might not only dispence with, but oblige him to do, that which was against his private Conscience as a Man",‖ however constitutionally sound, might yet have come more seemly from someone other than a Bishop in the Church of God.

Even in the more limited sphere of politic and worldly wisdom, his counsel was not invariably prescient not unequivocally wise. Though Hacket tells us that "he had the Policy and Gravity of a Statesman, before he had a Hair upon his Chin",¶ yet, from young manhood to old age, his judgement was apt to be deflected by the native defects of his character; and these, in that censorious age, did not pass unremarked. Hacket himself admits that "he gave Distast to some by his Vehemency of Anger, not seldom flying out...".** "They twitted him that he was lofty and supercilious. Underlings will never forbear to object to it in Men in places of Preheminence, when there is more of it in themselves....Yet I

* Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, matriculated as a Fellow-Commoner in the Easter Term of 1609, when Williams was still a Fellow of St John's.

† H. II, 161. ‡ H. II, 162. § H. II, 162.

‖ Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, bk. III (ed. 1732: vol. I, p. 257).

¶ H. I, 17. ** H. i. 9.

concur with others, who knew this Lord, that Choler and a high Stomach were his Faults, and the only Defects in him. And it had been better for him, if he had known a meek temper, and how to be resisted."* It was his hot temper and impetuosity that, at a most critical juncture at the end of December 1641,† embroiled the Bishops with the Parliament, exposed them to a charge of treason, and immured them helpless in the Tower while the Bill for taking away all temporal jurisdiction from those in Holy Orders passed through the House of Lords. And it was the same defect of temper, inflamed by a quarrel with the local Royalist commander, that in 1646 caused the Archbishop to change sides and to go over to the Parliament.‡ His conduct may be extenuated by the fact that the King was already in the hands of the Scots, that continued resistance by isolated garrisons like that at Conway was as useless as it was hopeless, and that Williams, as a patriotic Welshman, was perfectly correct in seeing that Wales must either submit or be ruined. He received a pardon from the Parliament, and his estate was freed from sequestration. But Royalist tradition neither forgave nor forgot. In 1683, Bishop Morley of Winchester, in his *Answer to Father* Cressey's *Letter*, brushes aside, as something quite exceptional in the conduct of the clergy of the Church of England, "the *Archbishop of York's* prevarication and Apostacy".§

But when we turn to consider the singular munificence of Williams' benefactions, we are on less controversial territory: and you will bear

* H. II, 229. Cf. Clarendon, bk. IV (vol. II, p. 550): "he carried himself so Insolently, in the House, and out of the House, to all Persons, that he became much more Odious Universally, than ever the other Arch-Bishop [Laud] had been."

† The Bishops were rabbled on their way to the House of Lords on 27 December: Williams' remonstrance, signed by eleven other Bishops besides himself, was presented on 30 December. The Bishops protested that, having "been at several times violently menaced, affronted and assaulted by multitudes of People, in their coming to perform their Services" in the House of Peers, "they dare not Sit or Vote" in that House until given protection: *all enactments passed during their enforced absence to be deemed null and void.* (H. II, 178–9.) Clarendon comments: "the Arch-Bishop's Passion transported him, as it usually did; and his Authority imposed upon the rest, who had no affection to his Person, or reverence for his Wisdom." The signatories were promptly impeached and imprisoned. (On 4 January the King made his abortive attempt to arrest the Five Members.) On 14 February, the Disenabling Bill, which had been hanging fire in the Lords since 23 October, passed into law. Williams was released on 5 May.

‡ Cf. Norman F. Tucker, *Prelate-at-Arms: an Account of Archbishop John Williams at Conway during the Great Rebellion, 1642–1650* (Llandudno, 1939).

§ Op. cit. p. 12, in Morley's *Several Treatises* (1683). It is fair to say that the judgement of John Walker in his *Sufferings of the Clergy* (1714), pt. II, p. 82, is more reserved.

with me if, as in private duty bound, I now say something of what the Collegiate Foundation of the Church of St Peter in Westminster owes to one of the greatest of our Deans. John Williams was acquisitive, but not avaricious; believing with Bacon, his predecessor in the office of Lord Keeper, that "*Riches* are for Spending; and Spending for Honour and good Actions".* yet good-natured, placable,† and kind to the young. Westminster School was then a more modest institution than it was shortly to become under the rule of Dr Busby: but Dean Williams did a great deal to foster it, though he was too busy to emulate a former Dean, Lancelot Andrewes, who "did often supply the Place both of Head School-master and Usher for the space of a whole week together", and "sometimes thrice in a week, sometimes oftner, he sent for the uppermost Scholars to his Lodgings at night, and kept them with him from eight till eleven, unfolding to them the best Rudiments of the *Greek* Tongue, and of the elements of *Hebrew* Grammar.... He never walk'd to *Cheswick* for his Recreation, without a brace of this young Fry; and in that way-faring Leisure, had a singular dexterity to fill those narrow Vessels with a Funnel".‡ Williams also, in the midst of his heavy legal duties as Lord Keeper (or, as we should say, Lord Chancellor), none the less found time to take classes in school when he was in residence: and then "the choicest Wits had never such Encouragement for Praise, and Reward. He was very bountiful in both, and they went always together, scattering Money, as if it had been but Dung to manure their Industry. And seldom did he fail, no not when he kept the Great-Seal, to call forth some of them to stand before him at his Table, that in those intervals of best Opportunity he might have account of their Towardliness; which ripen'd them so fast, made them so Prompt and Ingenuous, that the number of the Promoted to the Universities, which swarm'd out of that Stock was double for the most part to those that were Transplanted in the foregoing Elections."§ All this was very much in character. Furthermore, to the number of forty Scholars on Queen Elizabeth's foundation, "he added four more, distinguish'd from the rest in their Habit

* Bacon's *Essays* (XXVIII. *Of Expence*).

† H. I, 37: "he was strongly espoused to love where he had loved, and 'twas hard to remove his Affections when good Pretences had gained them. Chiefly he was of a most compassionate Tenderness, and could not endure to see any Man's Ruine, if he could help it". Cf. H. II, 37–8.

‡ H. I, 45. Andrewes was Dean of Westminster from 1601 to 1605: Hacket, a King's Scholar of Westminster, went up to Trinity College, Cambridge, with a scholarship in 1609. (He was elected to a Fellowship in 1614, subsequently became Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, 1661–70, and built Bishop's Hostel, Trinity College, in 1670. He bequeathed his books to the University Library.)

§ H. I, 45.

of Violet Colour'd Gowns, for whose maintenance he purchas'd Lands",* providing for them also four close scholarships and two close Fellowships at his old College. These boys, who were known as "Bishop's Boys", had to be natives of Wales or of the then vast diocese of Lincoln. They were abolished in 1847, though the benefaction still forms part of the School Exhibition Fund.† The Fellowships at St John's were suppressed at about the same time, owing to lack of candidates.

For Williams' services to the Abbey, I will confine myself to three points. First, "he converted a wast Room, scituate in the East side of the Cloysters... into a goodly Library, model'd it into decent Shape, furnished it with Desks and Chains, accoutred it with all Utensils, and stored it with a vast Number of Learned Volumes".‡ (Anyone who compares our Library with yours will recognize at once the general similarity of their equipment, though yours is the more elaborate.) Secondly, he embellished the Jerusalem Chamber with an overmantel of cedar wood, displaying his own arms and the heads of Charles I and Henrietta Maria: this seems to have been erected especially for the occasion§ of the banquet at which he entertained the French envoys who had come over to negotiate the royal marriage. Thirdly, being himself extremely musical, he raised the music of the Abbey to unexampled heights by lavish spending, and "procured the sweetest Music, both for the Organ, and for the Voices of all Parts, that ever was heard in an *English* Quire".‖ When the French

* H. I, 47, 96. "Both here and at St John's, the funds which he left for these purposes were wholly inadequate to maintain them" (Stanley, *M.W.A.*[1], p. 470 n.).

† Lawrence E. Tanner, *Westminster School* (1934), p. 11.

‡ H. I, 47.

§ Or in commemoration of this entertainment: Stanley, *M.W.A.*[1], p. 473 n.

‖ H. I, 46. Likewise at Buckden, when he resided there, "the holy Service of God was well order'd and observ'd at Noon, and at Evening, with Musick and Organ, exquisitely, as in the best Cathedrals: and with such Voices, as the Kingdom afforded not better for Skill and Sweetness: the Bishop himself bearing the Tenour part among them often. And this was constant every day, as well as on solemn Feasts, unless the Birds were flown abroad.... The Bishop's Fancy was marvellously charm'd with the Delight of Musick, both in the Chappel, and in the Chamber... Which was so well known, that the best, both for Song, and Instrument, and as well of the *French* that lodg'd in *London*, as of the *English*, resorted to him; chiefly in the Summer-quarter, to whom he was not trivial in his Gratifications. One of the Gentlemen of the King's Chappel, Mr *R.N.* hath acknowledg'd, that he gave him a Lease worth 500 Pounds.... In those days, when God was so worshipp'd, the Concourse was great that came to the Bishop's Chappel for Devotions. So he had more Guests at his Table of generous and noble Extraction, than any Prelate in long Memory before; for the Musick of his great Chamber, which did feed, and relieve the Ear, was sought unto, more than the Cheer which was prepared for the Belly." (H. II, 30–1.) One of the thirty-six allegations

envoys visited the Abbey, for the space of about half an hour "the Quiremen,* Vested in their Rich Copes, with their Choristers, sung three several Anthems with most exquisite Voices before them", while "the Organ was touch'd by the best Finger of that Age, Mr *Orlando Gibbons*".† The Dean took advantage of the opportunity to present his guests with copies of the Book of Common Prayer, which he had thoughtfully had translated into their own language: but Monsieur Villoclare, the French Ambassador, afraid of being in any way ecclesiastically compromised, ostentatiously kept on his hat throughout the proceedings, and left his copy "in the stall of the Quire where he had sate".§

It is also to be gratefully recorded that John Williams twice saved the Abbey Church from destruction. When he came to Westminster as Dean in 1620, he "found the Church in such decay, that all that passed by, and loved the Honour of God's House, shook their Heads at the Stones that drop'd down from the Pinnacles.... The great Buttresses were almost crumbled to Dust with the Injuries of the Weather".‖ He at once repaired and beautified the fabric, at the enormous cost of £4500, all paid for out of his own pocket. "For in the midst of his Profuseness he fell upon Works of great Munificence, which could not come into a narrow Mind, nor be finish'd by a narrow Fortune."¶ But for his timely restoration, Westminster Abbey might not stand to-day.

Twenty-one years later, when Dean Williams, released from

made against Williams in 1635 by the four junior Prebendaries of Westminster (headed by Peter Heylyn, who was Laud's chaplain) was to the effect that "whereas the Deane of the said Collegiate Churche ought to take speciall care that the singinge men of the said Church be diligent in attending divine service.... The said Lord Bpp did for a longe time keepe one or more of the said singinge men to attende him in his quire at Bugden to the great disservice of this Church." Williams "Denied he did soe, Hee kept none in his Quire. But welcomed anye that came to spend a weeke or 2 in his howse at Buckden. And thankt them for it, if they (voluntarily) did singe in his Quire." Williams' reply to the allegations ("Heades for the Deanes Answers to ye objections of the 4 Junior Prebendaryes", *Westminster Abbey Muniments*, 25095) is printed as App. C to Judge Ivor Bowen's "John Williams of Gloddaeth" in *Trans. Soc. Cymmrodorion*, 1927–8, pp. 75–91.

* Presumably the Minor Canons (or Priest Vicars). In the Elizabethan draft statutes of the Abbey, the office of the Minor Canons and Lay Vicars is treated as one, and the stipend of the Minor Canons was originally the same as that of the Lay Vicars.

† H. I, 210.

§ But "among those Persons of Gallantry" that made up "the Splendor of the Embassage", there was "an Abbat, but a Gentleman that held his Abbacy *alla mode de France*, in a lay Capacity"; and he, astonished to discover so great a difference between Anglican and Huguenot forms of public worship, was more forthcoming: H. I, 210–12.

‖ H. I, 46. ¶ H. II, 34.

prison, restored to his ecclesiastical dignities and temporalities, and advanced to the Archbishopric of York, was enjoying the brief Indian summer of his career, on 27 December 1641, the London mob, after rabbling the Bishops on their way to Parliament, surged towards the Abbey, threatening to pluck down the organs and to deface the monuments. Some of the apprentices in the advance guard came rushing into the church shouting "No bishops! no bishops!": but, on being reproved by a verger for their irreverent behaviour, they seem to have left quietly. Thereupon Williams gave orders to make fast the doors, which the rioters found shut against them; "the Archbishop all this while maintaining the Abby in his own person, with a few more, for fear they should seize upon the *Regalia*, which were in that place under his Custody". The mob attempted to force the north door, but were beaten back by the officers and scholars of the College dropping stones on them from the top of the leads, and one of the ringleaders, Sir Richard Wiseman, received injuries from which he died. Finally "after an hours dispute, when the Multitude had been well pelted from aloft, a few of the Archbishop's Train opened a Door and rush'd out with Swords drawn, and drove them before them, like fearful Hares".*

Williams was not a man to be intimidated. "His enemies lik'd nothing worse in him than his Courage, and he pleased himself in nothing more."† But his personal religion remains an enigma. It is indeed rather obscured than illuminated by the panegyrics of Bishop Hacket, himself, as Baker says, *praesul sane dignissimus, historicus non optimus*.‡ The lengthy discourse which Williams addressed to the French Ambassador in justification of the penal laws against the Recusants, in which he argued that since Roman Catholics could, at a pinch, do without priests in any one of several particular emergencies, therefore it was no intolerable hardship that they should be forced to do without priests at all,§ is possibly ingenious but certainly disturbing: it could have come only from a man who had not the first idea of the meaning of priesthood. On the other hand, he was (says Hacket) "a great Devotee to publick and private Prayer":‖ and he enjoyed officiating in choral services.¶ There is also the evidence, for

* H. II, 177–8: Fuller, *C.H.* XI, iv, 13, 14. † H. II, 229.

‡ Baker-Mayor, I, 261. Ambrose Philips, in the Preface to his *Life of John Williams* (1700), says of Hacket: "*His Lordship's commendable Gratitude to his Great Patron* Williams, *has made him so very studious of Embellishments for his Life, that I can liken the Lord Keeper, as represented by him, to nothing so properly as to the Statue of some Ancient* Hero, *so beset with Trophies and Ornaments, that the Comliness and just Proportion of the Image underneath is scarce discernable at first sight.*"

§ H. I, 212–22. ‖ H. II, 230.

¶ H. I, 211; II, 30; Stanley, *M.W.A.*[1], p. 474 n.

what it is worth, of his *Certain Prayers, and Short Meditations, Translated out of the Writings of St* Augustine, *St* Gregory, *St* Bernard, Joannes Picus Mirandula, Ludovicus Vives, Georgius Cassander, Charolus Paschasius, *and others; for the private Use of a most Noble Lady*,* posthumously published in 1672. More baffling is the story of his relations with Nicholas Ferrar's community at Little Gidding,† whose dedicated life clearly possessed for him a fascination which we should hardly have expected. One is a little reminded of Dostoievski's Grand Inquisitor. For all his worldliness, Williams had in him a streak of genuine piety and devotion: and he responded instinctively to all that Little Gidding stood for, because he knew that it was what he might himself have been.

Moralizing once upon his life, he is reported to have said: "*I have passed through many places of honour and trust, both in Church and State, more than any of my Order in* England *this seaventy years before. But were I but assured that by my preaching I had converted but one soule unto God, I should take therein more spiritual joy and comfort, than in all the honours and offices which have been bestowed upon me.*" ‡ It is, I think, fair to accept that statement at its face value. Whether the speaker would have been prepared to give up all his wealth and dignities in order, like St Francis, to follow a naked Christ in his poverty for the sake of winning souls for God, is, however, another question. Perhaps the principal value of the life of Williams for the Christian moralist is as a reminder of the complexity of human character and of human motive, and the consequent difficulty and hazard of passing moral judgements upon individuals. The heart of a great man is inscrutable. As William Barlowe said of Thomas Wolsey: "I will wrestle with no souls: he knoweth by this time whether he did well or evil." §

* Comprising the first section (34 pp.) of *A Manual: or, Three Small and Plain Treatises: viz.* 1. *Of Prayer, or* Active Divinity: 2. *Of Principles, or* Positive Divinity: 3. *Resolutions, or* Oppositive Divinity. *Written for the Private Use of a most Noble Lady, to preserve her from the Danger of* POPERY. By the Most Reverend Father in God, JOHN, Lord Arch-Bishop of York. (1672.)

† H. II, 50–3: A. L. Maycock, *Nicholas Ferrar of Little Gidding* (1938), pp. 118, 151; B. Dew Roberts, pp. 128, 153.

‡ Fuller, *C.H.* XI, vi, 31.

§ Bishop Barlowe's *Dialoge describing the originall ground of these Lutheran Faccions* (1551), ed. J. R. Lunn (1897), p. 91.

APPENDIX

This interesting and mysterious document (which has been printed in *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*, April 1914, vol. XIII, pp. 48–9) is contained in a volume of *Original Letters between Archbishop Laud and Archbishop Williams* in the Library of Lambeth Palace (Lambeth MS. 1030, no. 5). It is endorsed: "September 27, 1631. John Spencer presents the Lord Byshop of Lyncolne for having a playe that night in his house, it being ye Lords Daye." The abbreviations are here ignored.

A COPIE OF THE ORDER OR DECREE EX OFICIO COMISARIJ GENERALLIS JOHN SPENCER

Fforasmuch as this courte hath been informed by Mr Comisary generall of a great misdemenor comitted in the house of the right honorable John Lord Bishopp of Lincolne by intertaining into his house divers Knights and Ladyes with many other householders and servants upon the 27° Septembris being the Saboth day to see a play or Tragidie there Acted which began about ten of the Clocke at night and ended at about two or three of the clocke in the Morninge:

Wee doe therefore order and decree that the right honorable John Lord Bishopp of Lincolne shall for his offence erect a free scoole at Eaton [Socon] or else at great Staughton and endowe the same with 20*l.* per annum for the maintenance of the Schoole master for ever;

Likewise wee doe order that Sir Sydney Mountagu, Knight, for his offence shall give to the poore of Huntington 5*l.*; and his Lady for her offence five Blacke gownes to 5 poore widdowes uppon New Yeares day next.

Likewise wee doe order that Sir Thomas Headley, Knight, for his offence shall give unto the poore of Brampton 5*l.*; and his Lady for her offence blacke Cloath gownes to 5 poore uppon New Yeares day nexte.

Likewise wee doe order that Mr Williams, Mr Frye, Mr Harding, Mr Hazarde and Mr Hutton, shall etch one of them give a black Coate and 5*s.* in money unto 5 poore in Bugden uppon New Yeares day nexte.

Likewise wee doe order that Mr Wilson because he was a speciall plotter and contriver of this busines and did in such a brutish Manner act the same with an Asses head, therefore hee shall uppon Tuisday next from 6 of the Clocke in the morning till sixe of the Clocke at night sit in the Porters Lodge at my Lorde Bishopps house with his feete in the stockes and Attyred with his Asse head and a bottle of haye sett before him and this superscripcion on his breast;

Good people I have played the beast
And brought ill things to passe
I was a man, but thus have made
Myself a Silly Asse.

[*Marginal note in a later hand*] the play. M. Nights Dr

Joined to this is a letter—sententious, deferential, and spiced with Scriptural allusions—from John Spencer to an unidentified lady of quality who had been present at the entertainment and had been censured on account of it, which had obviously made her very angry and recalcitrant. This letter, dated 10 November 1631, is also printed in *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*, vol. XIII, pp. 49–50.

Good Maddame...I trust your noble hearte will tell you, Though you were drawne with the Bishopps Coach to his house to hear such excellent Musick, such rare Conceits and to see such curious Actors and such a number of people to behold the same; yett all was but vanity and vexacion of spiritt; And the more vanity, the more vexacion of speritt, because it was uppon the Lords day, which should have been taken upp with better Meditacions, And contemplacions of heaven, and heavenly things; And therefore that this Maye not prove a presidentes unto others I beseech you, submit yourself to this censure that is passed against you...that soe you may stopp the Mouthes of Many people, which proclaime such liberty from this example to follow their pleasures uppon the Sabboth day; But I trust that when they doe heare, that such persons [of superior quality] are questioned and censured for beholding such vanities it wilbe a great danting and discouragement unto them and a means to repaire the breache wherein otherwise wholle Troopes of people will venture to violat the Lords sacred day....

NOVEMBER

THE gardeners are sweeping up the leaves,
Those golden leaves that carpeted the lawns.
And from my window, high beneath the eaves,
The breathless magic of the scene is gone—
Green uniformity returns.

Till now, their stolid unremitting toil,
Repeated and frustrated day by day—
Whilst nature strove to nurse her weary soil—
Was but a parable: Plod on! Heed not
The morrow or the yesterday!

But now the trees are harvested and bare:
The gardeners have won. Tomorrow's dawn
Will find no golden glory scattered there:
Only the cold cold river and the great gaunt trees
And—man's monotony—a naked lawn.

ANON.

A SYMPOSIUM

A SHORT while ago, there appeared on the board outside the J.C.R. two notices, not more than an inch apart. One notice read, "For Sale, Bicycle in good condition, £3", and the other, "Wanted, Bicycle in good condition, prepared to pay £3". We felt it would be interesting to see what could be made out of this meagre situation, and we asked a number of well-known people to write us a paragraph on the subject. Many of those that we approached either politely or less politely declined the offer, but the following replied:

FOURTH LEADER WRITER, "THE TIMES":

How, one is forced to ask oneself, how can it be that these two advertisers have failed to meet one another? Surely, one says to oneself, surely it is just the under-bicycled advertiser who can satisfy the needs of the over-bicycled advertiser, and so, in the words of Kipling (or Tennyson), universal peace and contentment may reign once again.

WORKERS' DIARY, "DAILY WORKER":

Here is yet another proof that capitalism has failed....

T. S. ELIOT:

Why these two advertisers
Should place side by side on the same board
Two notices about bicycles
I do not know.

LIVE LETTER, "DAILY MIRROR":

Dear Sir, My boy Bert who is a very clever lad though its I who say it as shouldn't and is at St John's College, Cambridge!!!!! says he saw two adverts pinned not an inch apart on the school boards, one for selling and one for buying a bike, and both for £3, Hows that for the Halls?—A MOTHER.

[We old Codgers don't agree, Ma, we don't see why you shouldn't be proud of your boy.]

J*** T. N**:

I should like to bring to the attention of the kitchen committee....

SIR OSBERT SITWELL:

I did, of course, see the notice—in fact I believe I was the first to see it, though I am, to be honest, not absolutely sure about this—however, I am certain that I was the first to appreciate the humour of the notice, over which I condescended to have a quiet laugh with some of my many friends—how true it is that the very greatest men can retain the common touch.

"TIME MAGAZINE":

Red-blazered Johnsmen (Cambs., Eng.) woke up last week to find two brash advert-men sticking notices (one sale, one purchase) on the walls of their local drugstore (J.C.R. to them). Both were for £3 ($10) Bikes. Said flustered John G. Smith (Yorks) "I guess I just didn't see the other guy's notice."

SHERLOCK HOLMES:

My dear Watson, I perceive from the expression on your face that you find these advertisements confusing. Now beyond the fact that the author of one has a cast in his left eye, sings carols, lives in New Court and suffers from rheumatism, while the author of the other has ingrowing toenails and rows, characteristics which, I am bound to admit, have little or no bearing on the question, I find no complications at all; the situation is perfectly clear. Whoever pinned up the second notice, which, as of course you are aware, was the "wanted" notice, was culpably unobservant.

CHRISTOPHER FRY:

Did you see
That irresponsible notice fluttering at you
Winking a bright new eye of puerile pulp
Down at you there below? Come off
From the board, you riddlous, conundrical
Unnecessary notice.

ANN TEMPLE:

I think you both should meet and have a quiet cosy talk together, and you are sure to find that all your little differences will settle themselves.

THE EDITOR, "VARSITY":

If a University Education is to be of value it is of the greatest importance that such notices as those outside the Johns J.C.R. this

week should be deplored by all right-thinking people. Student Opinion Groups, Research Panels, Student Panels, and Student Research Groups have already united in expressing their disapproval, and all students must conform.

BOSWELL AND DR JOHNSON:

I asked him if he was acquainted with the story of the two notices in St John's College. JOHNSON. "Sir, I am." BOSWELL. "And is it not a most diverting story?" JOHNSON. "You may find it so, Sir, but I do not."

T.M.B.C.B.

SONNET

'"...BEFORE the Scaean gate." he said:
Death veiled his eyes.' We felt the awaited shock.
The old man, lifting up his whitened head,
Bit back the wingéd words, looked at the clock.
For though the strength had left Achilles' thews
And worms had eaten into Helen's eyes,
Three thousand years the sightless old man's Muse
Survived; awoke to hear an old man's sighs.
Then, frightened by his pining tone, she crept
From the narrow confines of the lecture hour,
In search of that green age took wings and leapt,
Before a mushroom three miles high could tower
Above the dust wherein no Helen wept
The tears from which an Iliad might flower.

J.P.S.

CAMBRIDGE EXERCISES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

OUR knowledge of Cambridge education in the seventeenth century is still in rather an elementary stage. We know the official requirements for degrees, and some of the subjects in which formal instruction was given at different stages in the century. There is, however, no adequate synthesis even of this information.* Contemporary critics such as Sir Isaac Newton and John Webster† indicate the bias of the educational system and suggest subjects which ought in the author's opinion to be added to the course. The comments of men such as Sir Simonds D'Ewes, Matthew Robinson, Oliver Heywood, William Stukeley, on their university careers give some idea of their opportunities and methods of work as students. Recently, portions of two manuals giving advice to students on the arrangement of their university work have been published: Dr Holdsworth's *Directions for a Student in the University*,‡ and James Duport's *Rules for Study*.§ From evidence of this kind we can build up a reasonably good picture of seventeenth-century aims and recommendations in university education, but we lack specimens of the work in progress. We need to know not only what the students were told to read but also what they did read; what kind of written work they produced; what topics they and the dons debated in the schools, and what kind of speeches they did in fact make on these topics.‖

Two manuscripts in the library of St John's College provide welcome examples of work done by an early seventeenth-century don and a late seventeenth-century student.

The student was J. Allsop, from Derbyshire, who entered the College as a Sizar in 1685, and held one of its Fellowships from 1692 to

* A good deal of information is scattered through such documents as the early statutes, Cooper's *Annals*, Dyer's *Memorials*, Heywood and Wright's *Transactions*, and the works of Mr Bass Mullinger. Modern histories of separate colleges throw some light on the kind of instruction each provided.

† Author of *The Examination of Academies*, 1653.

‡ The MS. of this manual is in the library of Emmanuel College. Samuel Eliot Morison, who published a detailed account of the work in his book *The Founding of Harvard College*, thinks it epitomises Dr Holdsworth's teaching methods during his academic career, 1613–43.

§ The MS. is in Trinity College Library. Extracts from it were published by the Master of Trinity in the *Cambridge Review* for 22 May 1943.

‖ A few lists of *quaestiones* have been published, and Milton's academic exercises are by now widely known. Much more evidence must be collected before this aspect of university education can be assessed.

1701. His work is recorded in a commonplace book.* He began by using this in the orthodox manner: that is, he headed a series of pages with topics and prepared to index his reading material under them. He was apparently hoping to find wise sentences on Anger, Activeness, Art, Arms, Action, Benefits, Clemency, Charity, Cheerfulness, Devotion, Drowsiness, Drunkenness—the list continues solidly on its way through the alphabet. Under most of these headings there are no entries at all. When Allsop does take serious notes on his reading, at the beginning of his note-book, they run consecutively and are not cut up by alphabetical headings. He dealt in this way, for example, with some of Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*, and with a history of the main events since the Creation (all dated). The note-taking is followed by several lists of books bought, by drafts of letters and short themes, and by an account of some laboratory experiments. He read Descartes also, and made abstracts of his principles: recording what ought to be doubted, but noting that these doubts apply to the contemplation of truth and not to the processes of day-to-day existence.

The experiments are of more general interest. It seems probable that Allsop had been watching an actual demonstration, as he comments on the reaction of the spectators, and describes the experiments in English. (His reading-notes are normally in Latin.)

1. An experiment whereby to proue the Air hath vis elastica. A lambs bladder was taken which was large, well dryed and very lember, being about halfe full of air, was put into the receiuer, and the pump was set on work, and as the air in the receiuer was more and more exhausted, the imprisoned air in the bladder began to swell more and more, so that before all the air was exhausted, the bladder appeared as full as if it had been blowed with a quill.

2. An experiment whereby tis proued that air is necessary to preserue flame....

3. An experiment whereby tis proued that the water hath an elastical power....(Water rises in the vessel when a vacuum is created.)

4. An experiment to proue whether the water haue a spring in it. A vessel of puter was taken and filled full of water, and the bole afterwards soldered up by an excellent puterer, after which the vessel was waryly and often struck with a woden mallet, and thereby was manifestly empressed, wherby the inclosed water was crouded into less room than it was before, after which the vessel was perforated with a needle, the water was suddenly throne after it into the air, to the height of 2 or 3 feet.

5. An experiment whereby tis proued that air is necessarily required to the making of sound....(A ticking watch is placed in a vacuum, where it cannot be heard.)

6. An experiment whereby tis proued that air is necessarily

* S. 17.

required to preserue life in animals. A lark, a hen sparrow, a mouse were all put into the receiuer, all which after about 8 minutes exsuction of air dyed, onely 2 of them to wit the mouse, and the sparrow after that the air was let in again reuiued but the pump being imployed again all dyed about the same time, to wit 8 minutes.

7. An experiment whereby tis proued that flies, worms, caterpillars and such like animals do breathe. For these 3 being put into the receiuer, the air being exhausted, to the great wonder of the spectators, were all found to fall down and dye.

Unfortunately there is nothing to show when and where these experiments were conducted, but as an indication of the kind of teaching available in Allsop's day it seemed reasonable to include them. Allsop's account of them is more lively than that found in the average laboratory note-book to-day.

The books Allsop lists in his commonplace book are a varied collection. It seems likely that he owned the ones he mentions: he heads each section, "Catalogue of books bought from Lady Day till Midsummer"—or whatever the appropriate quarter-days may be; he usually gives the price, and only too often he records little more than the author's surname with perhaps one syllable of the title. This kind of brevity suggests that he is merely making a memorandum of the price of articles so well known to him that he did not need to give a full description.

He owned many classical texts: the works of Cicero, Livy's History, Vergil, Sophocles, Seneca's *Morals*, variorum editions of Sallust and Justinian, Plato *De Rebus Divinis* (selections from the Dialogues), Homer, Terence, Tibullus, Pliny's *Letters*, Valerius Maximus, Aulus Gellius, Quintus Curtius and Cornelius Nepos. In this collection there is an obvious preponderance of poetry and history, and Aristotle is not represented.

His modern books were predominantly religious and philosophical in character. He had a catechism, a "Popish Catechism", and *Dissuasions from Popery*; *Evening Conferences*, *Reflexions*; works by Dr Patrick, Dr Sanderson and Archdeacon Parker (all famous Restoration divines); Cave's *Primitive Christianity*, Grotius *De Veritate Christianae Religionis*, Drexilius *Considerations on Eternity*, Erasmus *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, Goodman's *Old Religion*, Allestree's *Whole Duty of Man* and *The Gentleman's Calling*. In the philosophical group are R. Baronius, *Metaphysick*; Grotius, *Principles*; Lipsius, *De Constantia*; a *New Philosophy* (? Descartes); and Hobbes *De Cive*. Here also probably belong the unspecified works by Puffendorf and Vossius.

Allsop had few scientific books: Gassendi's *Astronomy*, an *Anatomy*, and three geographical text-books: Varenius' *Geography*, published

in 1650 (possibly he had the English edition edited by Sir Isaac Newton); Cluvier's *Geography*, 1630; and a third by an author apparently called Spence, which I have failed to trace.

For the rest, there are some school manuals: Erasmus' *Colloquies*, an aid to spoken Latin, and his *De Conscribendis Epistolis*, an introduction to rhetoric through letter-writing, and an *Oxford Grammar*. Modern letter-writing is represented by Howell's *Letters Familiar, Domestick and Foreign*. There are more historical works: Allsop had a copy of *The Present State of England* (Edward Chamberlayne's *Angliae Notitia*), and one of Sleidanus' works (he wrote a *Key of History*, and a *Famous Chronicle of England*); Bussière was represented, either by his *History of France* or his *Miscellany of Poetry*. Only three seventeenth-century English poets are mentioned: Flatman, Oldham and Aphra Behn. Milton was represented only by his vitriolic assaults on Salmasius, the European champion of Charles I.

Such a library suggests that Allsop's interest in any kind of science was limited in comparison with his interest in religion and philosophy, both of which he studied in the works of English and European contemporaries. It is noteworthy that his English divines were orthodox Anglicans; he bought nothing written by the Cambridge Platonists. At a time when text-books of logic abounded, he did not buy even one. The general impression made by his choice of classical texts is that he read the classics primarily for pleasure; there are few "technical" works. His choice of books cannot by itself be used as evidence of general tendencies in undergraduate reading, but it is perhaps significant that he owned more modern than classical works, and that the modern ones were not those now famous as Restoration literature.

As a writer of themes Allsop is at rather an elementary stage in this commonplace book. His Latin was reasonably correct, apart from occasional mistakes in spelling, but all the themes remain on the exclamatory level. There are five of them in the book:

Whether the eloquence or the wisdom of the emperor Caesar ought to be preferred.

Fluidity arises from the various movement of particles.

The orator did better who despised gold, than Midas who esteemed it so greatly.

Which is preferable—an ignorant or a learned wife?

Monarchy is the best form of government.

Samples from two of these will serve to illustrate the quality of Allsop's writing. The diatribe against gold is simply a collection of moral commonplaces:

There is nothing, then, illegal or unnatural which gold does not bring about; it assails, plots against and dissolves the closest bonds of

nature, it alienates the son from the father and no less the father from the son, violates the rights of consanguinity, stirs up, cherishes and lays up hatred between the most loving. Magistrates so easily allow themselves to be bent and corrupted with bribes and gifts because they have tongues, hands, nay, souls for sale.... What is gold and silver but red and white earth, which none of the philosophers did not despise? Let my antagonist boast that it has furnished him with friends, and I admit it—but false ones; and the rich man is most unfortunate because he cannot distinguish his friends.... That man most enjoys riches who least wants them, and if anyone wishes to make himself a rich man, he should not increase his riches but decrease his desires. For the man who desires nothing has everything. What does it matter how much lies in coffers and how much in patrimonies, if he still longs for other men's property, if he counts up not what he has but what he still has to get?

He goes on in this style for another page at least, using all the Latin phrases he has ever heard of. The sentiments are irreproachable, but the carefully cultivated style, the sonorities of the phrasing, and the facile emotion cannot make up for the lack of something real to say. He is equally sententious on the subject of wives, though in a jocular vein. After dismissing the learned as necessarily old and deformed, he goes on to consider the youthful and ignorant:

Like pleases like, therefore to my mind an unlearned and youthful wife is best, who will not put out her eyes or her teeth in little boxes; nor do we want a different one until spring sleeps beneath the frozen poles.... And though I grant you that these girls don't know many languages, yet they don't hold their tongues; one, then, is more than enough, and if you want my opinion, really I think neither a learned nor an unlearned woman is satisfactory—what is much better, clearly, is no wife at all.

Set against the modern essay, these speeches appear to be feeble efforts; but they were intended as little more than exercises preparing the way for the more serious debates in the schools of the university, where philosophical, legal and religious topics were handled at length. The finished product can be found in the work of the early seventeenth-century don, Alexander Bolde. He was a Pembroke man who became a Fellow of the college in 1610, and subsequently Hebrew lecturer.* There is a vellum-bound manuscript in the library of St John's College in which he made fair copies of many of his addresses

* He was minister at St Benet's from 1615, and vicar of Swaffham Prior St Mary from 1620, holding both offices until his death in 1625. (Venn, *Alumni Cantab.*, I, 173.) The list of benefactions to the Pembroke Library shows his coat of arms: argent, a griffin segreant sable, armed and langued gules, in the dexter chief a mullet of the last.

and disputations, together with formal letters and both Latin and English poems.* They are written in a minute and meticulous hand which looks like italic type, at the rate of nine hundred words to a page very little larger than that of the modern Everyman series. Bolde seems to have confined himself to recording his own compositions. He spoke on a variety of subjects, mainly philosophical, sometimes treating them with great seriousness, sometimes quibbling on the meaning of a word. There are fourteen full-dress speeches of various lengths, on the following subjects:

Memory and recollection are different functions of the mind.
Action and reaction are equal in degree.
Accident cannot produce substance.
The soul is essentially distinguished by its powers.
Matter does not stir unless it is moved.
Form cannot be transmitted.
The coldness of Saturn is the figment of a cold brain.
It is not certain whether the numbers of men or of angels are greater.
All being is good.
All things are not better than some things.
Power of feeling remains in a separated soul.
It is the soul by which we live.
In matters of conversion we cannot take the first step.
Deacons are not permitted to dispense both elements at communion.

The speech on the numbers of men and angels takes us back to the more unprofitable speculations of the minor Schoolmen, but on the whole Bolde's topics are worth discussion. Besides these disputations, there are several ceremonial speeches, and four half-page exercises of the kind that Allsop was set as a student ("Whether Hannibal did more wisely to end his life with poison than to fall miserably into the hands of his enemies"; "Whether knowledge of the virtues or ignorance of the vices is more useful"). It seems probable that Bolde used to set these topics for his pupils, composing a "model exercise" with which their efforts could be compared.

His formal debating speeches sometimes depended merely on logical definitions and reference to the right authorities, but he was not incapable of a less rigid and orthodox treatment. He could be frivolous. The whole of his attack on the proposition "Matter does not stir unless it is moved" (*Nullum corpus agit, nisi moveatur*) was based on the numerous meanings of the verb *agere* used as part of an idiom. He began on a pedestrian level:

I was persuading myself (and indeed being glad of it) that I was discharged completely from this laborious and tedious burden, but alas, I was led on by a deceitful joy, and misled by a fallacious augury.

* S. 34. Two of the speeches are dated 1615; the rest are undated.

Now that I feel myself being hurtled into the former drudgery and reduced to it once again, I feel not so much that I have nailed my arms to the doorposts of Hercules—I feel rather that I have, as it were, had a breather from frequent disputations for a short time, and now, warming up again for the fight and taking up the attack which was blunted and broken by stronger opponents, I am returning here to make war upon the little maestro for today with more eagerness and vigour.

But perhaps someone will insist on knowing what impelled me to do this. What moved me to undertake this commission? For, he says, a body does not stir unless it is moved. I shall reply, by Hercules: First of all my feet moved me in this direction—my feet that have so many times led me on the round trip from the west to Cambridge and back again to the west. My habit of activity moved me to be active: a habit which has grown so strong that it has almost become second nature. Nature, moreover, is the source of activity. When therefore my body has been constrained by a natural impulse to come down to this assembly, I am almost afraid lest it should always go on being moved in the same direction, for whatever is moved by natural means goes on unless it is stopped. And certainly I know very well that nobody hindered me or held me up on my way here. The imperious voice of that noisy bell moved me, warned me too—I might say, ordered me; for if it had not struck with its beaten metal at my sleeping ears, I should have been allowing my opponent to wrestle with shadows. Finally, and most powerfully, I was moved and impelled by the more severe necessities of a friend who is travelling and enjoying a holiday; a man whom the close ties of our friendship do not allow me to fail. I have not so much supplied his place today as exchanged with him in the business of disputing. Impelled by these motives and moved by these arguments, having been driven away from my own affairs, I am taking charge of other people's business and making up for my friend's absence with my assiduity. Matter does not stir unless it is moved.

What you, Sir,* may have done, are doing, or want to do, I neither know nor care. This much I do know, that you would not be on the point of putting any story across in this assembly, unless you had first been moved by the necessity of inescapable duty. A body does not stir unless it is moved. You therefore persuade yourself of this beyond all doubt—any and every body that stirs, has been moved in some way; nor meanwhile do you realise, or at least you conceal it if you know, that the body of matter submits to reason. (Bolde here digresses somewhat on the nature of *prima materia*, proving it passive from Zabarella, Aristotle and common opinion.)

But I do not know by what means my speech was deflected, and how it flowed down towards another point; it must, then, be recalled, and forced within the circle of the question. Matter does not stir unless it is moved. I shall not consider it unbecoming to take the first argument with which I attack my opponent from dwarfs, who though they are bodies (albeit minute ones, I grant you) have been actively moving about for thirty or even forty years without having the power to be moved beyond the tiny stature of children. Thus some matter moves about without being moved. Nor indeed is the argument frivolous which I seem to have found in Silvius Italicus, by which I shall destroy your case; these are his verses, very excellent ones:

> Sleep looks down on all things throughout the earth and the wide waters of the deep, and when the day's labour was laid aside, the heavens would send peace to mortals, peace given by night.

The heavens are said to send peace by night, when the bodies of all living things, freed from toil and movement, lay hold on stillness and sleep; thus many bodies perform actions without being moved. I learned something too from schoolmasters, on which I shall prelude to you at least a little (if the theme does not offend you?): while they are acting the part of frowning Orbilius, who loved flogging, and threatening angrily, they cannot be moved by the boys' tears and loud shrieks to any desire of using the whip more sparingly. Thus, again, many people act without being moved. Furthermore, how many pettifogging lawyers are active in pleading causes every day, and yet are not moved by any prayers that they should plead without a fee; thus again, many people are active without being moved. Nor indeed do fewer of those patrons with favours to distribute act the part of Simon Magus, nor can they be moved, either by cries of distress or by the extreme poverty of the clergy, to hand over ecclesiastical livings to anyone without cash down.

Finally, I shall omit all those who can be alleged against you—those assassins, drunkards, adulterers, homicides, thieves, who actively commit many crimes and atrocities, and are not moved from their vices by the tenour of the law any more than if they were hard flint or Parian marble. But in the way of prelude I think I have said enough. Do you, then, learned respondent, pursue your task, and, if you can, be active to such purpose that by no machinations of argument can you be moved from your position. I meanwhile for my part will like another Vulcan manufacture arms which I can afterwards move up against you.

I have reproduced almost the whole of this speech because it is impossible to see how a topic is being handled if only excerpts are provided. Unlike Allsop's, Bolde's speech is based not on amplifying phrases but on a train of thought—admittedly a perverse one. If his arguments are over-ingenious, at least they are not hackneyed, and they require a certain agility of mind in the audience. Half of the speech is tactfully given up to introductory remarks, in which Bolde tries to put himself on good terms with the audience by suggesting that he is not the sort of pedant who enjoys nothing better than the labour of disputing; that it is kind of him to oblige a friend, but that

* Bolde is addressing his opponent directly.

he does not presume to think that he can really supply the place of his friend. These remarks are made relevant to the subject in hand by constant references to the causes, physical and psychological, which moved him as a body towards the debating hall to make this speech. So far, he appears to accept unquestioningly his opponent's contention that matter does not move without being pushed, though he belittles it unobtrusively by removing it from the philosophical sphere and relating it to mundane physical experience—"I was moved by my feet...." Only in the second half of the speech does he begin his confutation; but it is hardly a logical one. Instead of distinguishing the instances in which he considers his opponent's proposition valid, and those in which he considers it invalid, he turns from apparent agreement to multiply instances in which the verbs *agere* and *moveri* have shifted from their original meanings, and are used idiomatically, so that their meanings can no longer be regarded as having any necessary relationship of cause and effect. It becomes an elaborate parlour game played with verbal counters instead of logic; amusing to an audience that would have recognized Aristotle *travesti*. It constitutes a neat demolition of an over-serious opponent.

Bolde had, of course, a variety of techniques at his command. He was able to convince by serious and orthodox methods when he wished. For instance, when discussing the processes of conversion he began with a clear exposition of the heresies of the enthusiasts and the Pelagians on this matter. He settled at some length the nature of conversion, discussing the case of St Paul and the views of Aquinas. He divided the evidence for his assertion ("In matters of conversion we cannot take the first step") under three heads, subdividing the heads into artificial and inartificial. (An inartificial argument is one based on testimony, as opposed to one reached by logical processes.) Many of his inartificial arguments necessarily came from the Bible. The analytical division of the subject was continued throughout the speech, until he reached the conclusion: "Wherefore as all things are brought to one end, not unto us O Lord, not unto us but unto thy name we give the glory of our conversion... Neither our will nor our merits nor our strength take away anything of any kind from God's praise."

Bolde cannot be described as a brilliant dialectician or as a stirring rhetorician, but he represents a reasonable level of achievement for his time; he has solid logical and rhetorical training, a sound knowledge of the Bible and the classics; he has common sense and a sense of humour. By our standards he can be tiresome, but he is often ingenious. He is honest enough to rely on an argument rather than on appeals to feeling; feeling is confined to the exordium, where he gets on good terms with his audience, and the peroration, where any

suitable emotion aroused by the subject is deployed. Even in the ingenuities there is concern for truth; Bolde was not the man to resort to the methods and standards of the modern propaganda-writer. Such training as his proved extremely useful to the pamphleteers in controversies during the Civil Wars. There is no doubt that problems of contemporary interest were debated formally at the universities in Bolde's time; there was little attempt to restrict the topics to safe issues. Bolde himself gives a list of questions debated by the Doctors of Theology which demonstrates this:

The Roman pontiff has no jurisdiction outside the Church of Rome.
Sacred things may not be put to profane uses.
Spiritual activities may not be bought and sold.
It is not a part of the Christian religion to found religious orders.
Individual absolution need not be kept up.
The church is permitted to give one priest several benefices at the same time.

God condemns no one by an absolute decree.
God's hardening of hearts is not a positive action.
Predestination is not the cause of sin.
The foreknowledge of faith in the elect is no diminution of the grace of God who elects them.
The doctrine of justification by faith does not allow of the validity of works.
There is no scriptural justification for lay presbyters.
The magistrate in office does not permit the people to attempt the reform of the church.
Once the public church services are over, Sunday is not profaned by the decent use of games.

The clergy are not immune from the obligation of political subjection.
The secular magistrate is allowed some power of direction to priests in church matters.
It is the duty of a prince not merely to protect church discipline but to create it.
Civil jurisdiction is justly granted to ecclesiastical personages.
Christian liberty is not taken away by the power of human law.

The real power of absolution is really denied to ministers.
The bond of faith is loosened by a lesser sin than the bond of nature.
In the true church the discipline that ought to be urged can be somewhat relaxed for the sake of neighbours.
Children ought to celebrate not only Sunday but the other festivals of the church.
Marriages contracted before years of discretion are reached are invalid.

It is obvious that most of these questions touch on topics which were of vital interest between 1615 and 1625: the relations between

Church and state, and the principles which distinguished the Anglican Church from Puritanism on the one hand and Roman Catholicism on the other. The dislike of Rome and the fear of Counter-Reformation methods is reflected in the choice of subjects: several of the "Roman abuses" are glanced at (simony, the cult of monasticism, the insistence on auricular confession). But the recusants were less dangerous to the Anglican Church than were the Puritans. The Puritans attacked the doctrine of free-will by their rigid insistence on predestination, which went so far as to suggest that God created souls for the purpose of damning them and then took an active part in their fall; they attacked the constitution of the Church by asserting the right of the laity to take part in the government of the Church; and they attempted to restrict the liberty of the individual by prescribing the rigid observance of Sunday. The second group of questions deals with aspects of all these controversies. The third group is devoted to the relations between Church and state: the political obligations of the clergy, and their power in civil matters, and the power of the civil magistrate over the Church. The questions are predominantly topical ones; the university is taking a lively interest in public affairs, not only in private conversations but in formal ceremonies. There is no retreat towards antiquarian or safe subjects; the trained intellect is being applied to modern problems which have no consecrated and established solution. Cambridge education in the seventeenth century did not consist merely of "base authority from others' books".

K. M. BURTON

EPIC FRAGMENTS

I THINK, said Damon, that as I am now
A man of middle age or more, my life should rest
A moment here, that I may step aside
From the constant motion of this world, and see
Where I have been and where I yet may go.

As far as I can see before me, where
Into the crimson dust the road disappears
The tight pressed crowd moves on, and at a pace
Inexorable, unvarying, crushed in
On the narrow road of cruel flints. But away
On either side of us the fields lie at ease
Cushioned upon the gently heaving ground;
Their emerald invites us, and the cool
Clear streams that wander through them
Seem to call us from our task
Upon the road, but no man responds,
The lambs dance, but we do not.

No wall or hedge divides us from those cool inviting fields,
But you might think that each man saw
The sirens and the bones of their past victims
In those green fields beside us, and that he
Though lured by those golden voices, knew too well
The dark unspoken horrors of those fields
And terrified, pressed inwards to the centre.
The daisy unmolested flowers for joy
And man moves on through his sad length of years
Towards a goal he is not sure is there
And that he may not reach before he dies,
A journey he must travel all his life
Hurried, friendless, jostled, comfortless,
Through green and pleasant fields he may not enter,
His thoughts confused, tormented, and his being
Certain alone of the fact of knowing nothing.

My feet are blistered, and I need to stop;
Stop and survey this endless stream of life.

SAD STORY

HAYLOCK and Tubbs had been the best of friends since school-days, but although their business careers had been quite dissimilar, they still retained a common link in a keen interest in sport, and both liked a flutter, according to their means. Not that these were the same, for although Haylock had been moderately successful, had married quite well and had a pleasant family, Tubbs was still a bachelor at sixty, without relatives or other friends but with an astonishing knack of making money. How he'd done it nobody—least of all Tubbs—knew. "It just comes" he would say mildly, and so it did, so that he was a very wealthy man, by present-day standards at least, for he continually grumbled at the tax demands he was always receiving. "They'd take it all if they could," he moaned, "but I'll beat the vultures off yet."

His chief complaint was that nearly all his money would go in Death Duty when he died "to nationalize beer and buy Daimlers for party hacks". In this Haylock sympathized whole-heartedly, as it had always been understood that Tubbs's money would go to him and his family, and neither could face the thought of all that money going to waste. Tubbs was too conservative a business man to give it all to Haylock, and hope to avoid the duty by living another five years—"They'd probably kill me off just to get it, anyway", he said, and so nothing was done, until the doctors told Tubbs that he had at the outside a year to live.

One day soon after the Derby Tubbs had a brainwave. "Look", he said, "if I give you the money you'll have to fork out the duty. If I buy something from you, you'll still have to pay Income Tax on your profits. But if I make a bet with you, and I lose, you won't pay anything at all—winnings aren't taxable, and they can't charge death-duty on money I've lost gambling, can they?"

So the two started joyfully on the Scheme. Being methodical men, Tubbs would give Haylock a betting slip (on a most unlikely horse), and would duly hand over his "losses". Everything went wonderfully for a time, with Tubbs sometimes winning back a little, which Haylock solemnly paid out, for the look of the thing. "After all, you can't pick a loser every time", he said, and the two men hugged themselves at the thought of all that money saved from going down the drain.

Until Tubbs went to see the doctor again, and came back with a long face: not more than a few months, he reported. They decided to speed up the transfer, and Tubbs increased the size of his bets, and branched out a little. But a most peculiar thing began to creep in: Tubbs kept winning. At first they thought it was just an unusual streak, but the amount owing to him continued to grow.

Soon they were forced into feverish activity, but it was no good. If Tubbs bet on a dog, it died; if he bet on *all* the horses in a race, one was sure to come in at a hundred to one and defeat them; he put an accumulator on a third division team to win the Cup Final—their opponents were all hit by mysterious illnesses, the centre-forward of the League champions, whom they met in the Final, broke his neck in the first five minutes of the match, and as usual his choice romped home winners.

"I can't understand it", Tubbs said miserably, but by now his "winnings" had amounted to a fabulous sum, and Haylock, who was head over heels in "debt", began to give him queer glances. "Just how did he make his pile in the first place?" he wondered bitterly, and would have been only too glad to have called the whole thing off, but the obstinacy of the one and the greed of the other were too great to allow them to do so. The time dragged round towards the doctors' limit: Tubbs was indeed not looking too well, but Haylock, fingering the pile of betting slips which he had no hope at all of honouring, thought gloomily that if Tubbs lived much longer he ought by rights to be a multi-millionaire—with Haylock's non-existent money.

However, Tubbs took a turn for the worse, and it was obvious that they would have to act quickly to redeem any chance of success for their brain-child. Fortunately, there was one sure cert left to them: the Boat Race was due to be rowed in three days' time. Here was their big and last chance: Cambridge were the firmest of favourites. Illness had seriously disorganized the Oxford crew, and they looked, and rowed, like a collection of one-armed spinsters. Cambridge, on the other hand, with a boatload of Olympic oarsmen, were so good "They just couldn't lose", as Tubbs said, making out the final slip for the fortune that was by now involved.

And indeed they were certain to win: so certain of victory, in fact, that the crew celebrated the foregone conclusion the night before the Race, instead of waiting until the night after. Unfortunately, their celebrations led them to the amusing idea of kidnapping the Vice-Chancellor and suspending him by his pyjama-cords from the top of King's College Chapel; they were all sent down on the day of the Boat Race, and Oxford scrabbled home the winners by thirty-five lengths.

This sudden exchange of certain wealth for disaster was too much for Haylock, and he brained Tubbs with a mashie, only to find that as a murderer he could not benefit by his victim's will. Tubbs' money escheated to the Crown, and this final blow sent Haylock insane. However, his family got him a good counsel, and he went to Broadmoor, where he is at present relegated to bread and water for tearing up the inmates' Snap cards for the third time.

P.M.

THE river reflects the leaves
And the bridge in the stillness
For me; silvering over her magic pattern
With sycamore, elm and beech.
The mirror of silence completes
In her picture what I know to be there,
The rest of the bridge that is under the water.
Constant yet flowing, her outlines of life
Go silently by. Yet hiding beneath
Mystery: for who can challenge the depths
Of her images?
And the leaves are orange and gold
And sorrel: they have passed through
The fire of their own immortality,
Phoenix like, leaving the bud. And now
They have come down to me, the mortal remains
So fine in their glory, now resting in peace.
Like so many palms of so many hands
Of so many sinners, staring at me.
Why won't someone crash through their ranks,
Resounding the war-cry, flinging asunder with impetuous rage,
To scatter or sink them? Yet I dare not.
For I know that the mystery cannot be solved.
The bridge will reflect and the leaves will come floating:
And if I disturb them?
They but alter their clusters, bowing their heads
And mocking me: so I watch: and in silence
The silvering leaves slide down into space.

J. S. C.

SEA TIME

ON the evening of 11 July 1950 a civic reception was given to the members of the Ship's company of H.M.S. *Swiftsure* at the Deutsches Haus, Flensburg, formerly one of the principal bases of the German Navy. It was an historic occasion, for it was the first time since the war that the Germans had done such a thing for a visiting British ship. Since the occasion had no precedent, we had not the slightest idea what to expect. We arrived at 7.30 with mixed feelings, and were shown straight into the main hall of the Haus—an impressive modern building with a fine stage at one end. The floor was studded with tables shared by sailors and their hosts and hostesses provided for the occasion. As the evening was still young, they were all still obviously rather worried by the problem of communication, and were taking refuge from embarrassment in stolid contemplation of their glasses of lager. This apparently insoluble problem soon solved itself as the evening proceeded.

We were given our places at a long table just below the stage at the far end of the hall. The Captain, who spoke no German, sat next to the Lord Mayor, who spoke no English: but cordial relations were speedily established with the assistance of the latter's secretary who was a charming and competent interpreter. In each of our places was a conveniently bilingual *Gutscheinheft* or Ticket-Book, containing vouchers which entitled us to

3 glasses of beer;
1 sausage (Flensburger?) with potato salad;
3 cakes;
1 cup of coffee.

These "Courses" appeared at intervals over the course of the next three hours.

We wondered whether our neighbours at the table were Germans or Norwegians (Norway was responsible for the Occupation Forces). To discover the answer would require a good deal of delicacy: but for the moment the exertions of the band made all conversation impossible and we could shelve this difficult matter for the moment. The band was composed entirely of displaced persons, but the pathos implied by their condition was belied by the vigour of their performance. When they finished their piece, the need for embarking on conversation was again, fortunately, postponed, as the Mayor rose to his feet to make his speech, his secretary moving to the microphone to translate it, sentence by sentence, as he delivered it.

The speech, commendably short, was a plea for a fresh start in Anglo-German relations. He hoped that the evening might do something towards assisting that purpose. As a pledge of their sincerity and as a reminder of their friendship, the citizens of Flensburg wished to present the "Swiftsures" with a clock. It had not yet arrived at the Haus since it was still in process of being suitably inscribed; but it would do so in the course of the evening. It was no ordinary clock, for was it not going to a ship? So, at 10 o'clock it would not strike ten times, but four only; for, as a nautical clock it knew that 10 o'clock was really Four Bells! His speech was enthusiastically acclaimed.

The lull that intervened before the Captain's reply enabled us to discover that our immediate neighbours were the Norwegian Colonel and his wife who were possessed, to our relief, of a limited but easily intelligible amount of English. Even so, conversation was not entirely easy. Fortunately, just as we were nearing the end of our resources, the Captain rose to reply to the Mayor. His speech, too, was a model of brevity, very much to the point, and well seasoned with humour. It was just the right thing for the occasion, and the peroration, with its accompaniment, was inspired. There was an old English saying (he remarked), that it was a good thing for antagonists to bury the hatchet. He was sure that this was the time to do it, and he was now going to do so. Then he produced a box of soil from behind his chair, and a miniature hatchet (beautifully made on board by the shipwright) from his pocket; and he and the Mayor proceeded to bury it together—a manœuvre which they generously prolonged for the benefit of the flash-mad official photographer who had been caught on the wrong foot by this entirely unexpected development! Amid tremendous applause, the Captain shook hands with the Mayor and presented him with a *Swiftsure* ribbon (which he wore proudly in his buttonhole for the rest of the evening). The President led three cheers for the "Swiftsures" which were promptly returned with interest.

The company then sat down to their sausages and potato salad to the accompaniment of the first act of the stage show. This was a series of gymnastic displays to music given by girls from the famous Flensburg School of Physical Culture. It was a consistently high and accomplished performance by girls whose ages must have ranged from eight to eighteen. Unfortunately the Captain, the Mayor, his wife (who had clearly just slipped straight out of *Struwelpeter*) and the rest of the *élite* were not very well placed for the performance. They were sitting immediately below the stage with their backs to it; in their efforts to do justice both to the food on the table before them, and to the show on the stage behind them, they had to spend much of the evening uncomfortably rotating on chairs

which, unlike piano stools, were obviously never meant to be rotated in!

The arrival of the promised clock produced a lull in their gyrations and coincided with the conclusion of the gymnastics. Once again, a significant moment—the presentation of the clock by the Mayor to the Captain—had to be prolonged for the benefit of the photographer who this time had a flash-gear failure!

The rest of the evening was happily divided between ballet and ball-room dancing; dances by the girls of the Municipal Ballet alternated with waltzes and fox-trots for the company at large. (It was here on the dance floor that sailors and frauleins, dancing together with tremendous zest, found that the problem of communication had entirely disappeared!) This was an admirable arrangement which plainly suited everybody. Indeed, throughout the evening the organization in every respect had been practically beyond reproach.

So all went on happily until 11.15 when the party ended. Handshakes all round and the reluctance of the dispersal left no one in any doubt that a thoroughly good time had been had by all—and that the evening had been abundantly worth while.

It only remained to collect our caps. The middle-aged frau in the cloakroom was being run off her feet. She exchanged the Chief's check for a sailor's hat, and refused to believe his protests that it did not belong to him. It took him some time to recover his brass hat. Then, at last, we climbed into the car.

As we sped towards the ship the parcel on the Captain's knee struck seven. Surely the clock could not have gone wrong already? It was 11.30 not 7 o'clock.

I had forgotten that it was a nautical clock! E. G. K.-F.

COLLEGE ATHLETIC CUPS: DECEMBER 1950

KEY

1 Maidenhead Regatta: Junior Sculls.

2 Henley Regatta: Visitor's Challenge Cup.

3 C.U.A.F.C. Challenge Cup.

4 C.U.R.F.C. Challenge Cup. The Rugger Cuppers were first won by St John's in 1937, and the cup has remained in the College since then for all but four years.

5 C.U.B.C. Mitchell Cup. This cup is awarded to the most consistently successful Boat Club of the year.

6 C.U.B.C. Junior Sculls Challenge Cup.

7 Lady Somerset Boat Club Fours Cup. This was presented to the short-lived Lady Somerset Boat Club, a second College Boat Club, in 1857, and was raced for by Fours of the club.

8 Grand Marlowe Regatta: Grand Challenge Cup. This was won for the second year in succession.

9 Bedford Regatta: Senior Sculls.

10 C.U.L.T.C. League Challenge Cup.

11 L.M.B.C. Colquhoun Sculls.

12 C.U.B.C. Light Fours Cup.

13 C.U.S.C. Freestyle Relay. The three swimming cups have been in the College many times, but this is the first time that all three have been won in the same year.

14 This cup was included in error. It is part of the College silver, and was presented by, or purchased with the money of, Francis Foljambe (Fellow Commoner 1723), in 1724.

15 C.U.S.C. Water Polo Cup.

16 C.U.B.C. Head of the River Plate (Lents).

17 St Ives Regatta: Enderby Challenge Cup, Sculls.

18 L.M.B.C. Pearson-Wright Cup, Sculls, presented in 1857.

19 Reading Head of the River. This cup is held by the L.M.B.C. for the third year running.

20 C.U.B.C. Head of the River Plate (Mays).

21 Henley Regatta: Challenge Sculls.

22 C.U.S.C. Medley Relay Cup.

[Photo: Br

THE COLLEGE ATHLETIC CUPS: DECEMBER 1950

"THE ZEAL OF THY HOUSE"

DECEMBER 1950

ACTION and contemplation are the ingredients of life, but for their proportions there is no standard recipe. To some is given intuition which makes action easily sure; to others inborn experience which makes their contemplation fruitful. These are the missionaries and the prophets. But for most, an even balance is appointed as the sufficiency of living: life is an unending struggle to find and to preserve an equilibrium against distracting forces. It was the error of William of Sens that his moment of contemplation, which found utterance in a grand design for Canterbury's Choir, did not stay to inform his action in its achievement. In the absence of this communication, enthusiasm corrupted.

The story, at once natural and supernatural, offers a model structure for dramatic presentation. But more than one reader of Miss Sayers's play must have felt that in a sense she herself falls victim to the temptation she depicts. Does she not also, plainly uplifted by the poignancy of the episode, run a careless course to its dénouement? Because the printed page forces consciousness of attempted poetry, its too frequent mediocrity deadens the impact of its narrative. The parallel is not exact—William was a great architect: Miss Sayers, here, is rarely a poet—but words, rough cast, obstruct the contemplation of the scene they describe.

This to the reader. Like Father Theodatus he exclaims, "Must we stand by, and smile, and still do nothing?" But the audience in the Chapel, let it be said at once, enjoyed a happier experience of the play. The producers (Donald Rudd and Robert Busvine) had not been content to stand by and do nothing. They had allowed little deliberate poetic diction, and their wisdom—served occasionally by the holy echo which has sometimes mastered their forerunners—brought to the fore the dramatic value of the play and minimized its literary limitations. Where there was poetry for all to hear, most often they heard it; for the rest, they enjoyed the rhythmic prose which it properly becomes and should remain. This was a notable achievement.

The handicap of its letter mastered, it was the greater pity that so much of the unifying spirit of the play should have escaped the producers. It had captured several of the individual players—it was beautifully interpreted by the Prior (John Hosier), by the archangel Michael (Christopher Stephens), by Father Theodatus (John Sullivan), and by the Lady Ursula (Pauline Curson): it was sensitively expressed in the singing of the choir (Margaret Lander, Lorna

Vickerstaff, Leonard Mason and Robert Beers)—but it was not all-pervasive. Ironically, this was the architect's own fault doubly rehearsed: there was too much preoccupation with the mechanics of stagecraft (which were almost faultless), too little study of the object of the action. This resulted in an irregularity of mood—there was a perpetual hiatus, for example, between the spirit in the music and the spirit in the ensuing word—which a little contemplation would have cured.

This lack was more serious because it was rendered noticeable by the technical competence of Gordon Birtles's performance as William of Sens. His stature, the rich quality of his voice, his distinctive features, all served him well and gave him presence to command a "stage" which, by its dimensions, often dwarfs the players: but he did not always seem consumed by zeal of spirit. The moment of his great blasphemy—

> Oh, but in making man
> God over-reached Himself and gave away
> His Godhead. He must now depend on man
> For what man's brain, creative and divine
> Can give Him. Man stands equal with Him now,
> Partner and rival.

—this moment faded away as if he did not know, as if none had told him, just how much he dared. As the Lady Ursula, Pauline Curson left us in no doubt that she, in the role of Eve, knew precisely what she was asking: later, she fully understood the blasphemy. Her interpretation was sensitively informed, her role most comprehendingly and convincingly discharged: but did not Adam also eat of the tree, and understand? So again, in the final act, a liturgical extravagance went unchecked, misunderstood perhaps, and William delivered his confession with a touch of oratory which belied contrition.

These are special points, but they assume importance in this special type of play: they are of its essence and they can easily escape the unwary and the uninitiated. They rendered the production less perfect than it deserved to be, than in almost every other way it was.

Great care had been taken to give distinct character to each of the twelve members of the Cathedral Chapter, which gently delineated the slightly cosmopolitan nature of a religious Order. Stephen the Treasurer (Derek Whitehead) sounded the apposite note of Lancastrian business acumen; Theodatus, the puritanical Sacristan (John Sullivan), was appropriately Scots; and Gervase the Clerk (Derek Bond), in his innocent lack of perception, retaught us all we have patiently learned of the foibles of monastic chroniclers. The

behaviour of this assembly of men was always credible and always reverent, even in the rare touch of humour which Paul the Gardener (Wheatley Blench) and Ernulphus, Director of the Distillery (Michael Cooper), brought to their masterly moment at William's bedside. And over the Chapter presided the Prior (John Hosier) whose wise piety and human sympathy—contemplation and action harmoniously integrated—were portrayed with such feeling that he commanded all the requisite authority of his position. From these performances grew the conviction that we were witnessing something more than a mere stage representation of a community of the spirit, and it was easy to forget the misfitting habit, the variety of tonsures and the occasional extravagances of make-up.

Perhaps because the Church militant is nearer to experience than the Church triumphant, it was at times difficult to be convinced by the angelic host (Christopher Stephens, Iain McGlashan, Richard Salisbury-Rowswell and Michael Littleboy). Their emergence from the (strangely) red glow of the heavenly spheres into the clear light of the earth below was rather abrupt, but throughout they managed to convey something of their more-than-human nature. Height, and power of voice, gave them dominance; and in the final scene they both earned and enjoyed their triumph.

From the noble words of the archangel Michael in the closing moment came, not only a judgement on the story, but a judgement on the play and its production:

> "For every work of creation is threefold, an earthly trinity to match the heavenly.
>
> First: there is the Creative Idea; passionless, timeless, beholding the whole work complete at once, the end in the beginning; and this is the image of the Father.
>
> Second: there is the Creative Energy, begotten of that Idea, working in time from the beginning to the end, with sweat and passion, being incarnate in the bonds of matter, and this is the image of the Word.
>
> Third: there is the Creative Power, the meaning of the work and its response in the lively soul; and this is the image of the indwelling Spirit.
>
> And these three are one, each equally in itself the whole work, whereof none can exist without other; and this is the image of the Trinity."

A production such as this which the Lady Margaret Players brought to the Chapel in December is in itself a "work of creation" needing Idea and Energy and Power in their given meaning. Where these were present in the performance of *The Zeal of Thy House* there was achievement: where they were absent there was a challenge for the future.

MOMUS

COLLEGE NOTES

Honours Lists

New Year Honours, 1951:

Knight Bachelor:

THOMAS HENRY HAVELOCK (B.A. 1900), Honorary Fellow, Emeritus Professor of Mathematics, King's College, Newcastle upon Tyne.

K.B.E.:

HARRY MASON GARNER (B.A. 1914), chief scientist, Ministry of Supply.

K.C.M.G.:

HUGH MACINTOSH FOOT (B.A. 1929), Governor designate of Jamaica.

C.M.G.:

G. E. B. SHANNON (B.A. 1929), assistant secretary in the Commonwealth Relations Office.

C.B.E.:

H. J. BRAUNHOLTZ (B.A. 1911), keeper, Department of Ethnography, British Museum.

A. H. R. GOLDIE (B.A. 1913), deputy director, Meteorological Office, Air Ministry.

W. H. GUILLEBAUD (B.A. 1912), deputy director, Forestry Commission.

Decorations

Brigadier F. HORLINGTON (B.A. 1917), O.B.E., has been awarded four clasps to the Territorial Decoration.

Election to Fellowship

Mr R. C. O. MATTHEWS, University Assistant Lecturer in Economics, has been elected into a Fellowship, from 1 October 1950.

Prizes, Awards and Other Honours

A Royal Medal of the Royal Society has been awarded to Sir E. V. APPLETON (B.A. 1914), Honorary Fellow.

Sir J. D. COCKCROFT (B.A. 1924), Honorary Fellow, and Professor P. A. M. DIRAC (Ph.D. 1926), Fellow, have been elected Foreign Honorary Members of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Mr M. F. HAUGHTON (B.A. 1948) has been elected into a Stuart Coldwell Goodwin Travelling Studentship.

The Gedge Prize for physiology has been awarded to Mr P. A. JEWELL (B.A. 1947).

On the recommendation of the Council of the Royal Institute of Chemistry, the Society of Maccabaeans has awarded the Meldola Medal for 1949 to Dr A. J. B. ROBERTSON (B.A. 1941), formerly Fellow, for his work on explosives.

Sir ROBERT TATE (B.A. 1894, Hon. Fellow 1948) has been elected President of the Historical Society of Trinity College, Dublin. He succeeds the late Dr DOUGLAS HYDE, the first President of Eire.

The Neill Prize of the Royal Society of Edinburgh has been awarded to Dr J. WALTON (B.A. 1920) for his work on carboniferous palaeobotany.

Academic Appointments

Dr W. A. DEER (Ph.D. 1937), Fellow and Tutor, has been appointed Professor of Geology and Director of the Geological Laboratories in the University of Manchester from 29 September 1950. He is succeeded as Tutor by Mr E. MILLER (B.A. 1937).

Dr S. GOLDSTEIN (B.A. 1925), formerly Fellow, has resigned the Beyer chair of Applied Mathematics in the University of Manchester to become Professor of Applied Mathematics in the College of Technology, Haifa.

Mr R. H. HOWORTH (B.A. 1942), Lecturer in Classics at University College, Hull, has been appointed Reader in Classics at the University College of the Gold Coast, from January 1951.

Professor H. JEFFREYS (B.A. 1913), Fellow, has been elected a life member of the New York Academy of Sciences.

Mr D. A. KIDD (B.A. 1936), Lecturer in Latin in the University of Aberdeen, has been appointed Professor of Classics in the University of the Gold Coast.

Mr T. P. R. LASLETT (B.A. 1938) has been appointed University Assistant Lecturer in History from 1 October 1950.

Mr E. W. PARKES (B.A. 1946) has been appointed University Demonstrator in Engineering from 1 October 1950.

Dr R. T. H. REDPATH (Ph.D. 1950) has been elected into a staff Fellowship in Trinity College; he has been appointed University Assistant Lecturer in English.

Mr E. J. RICHARDS (B.A. 1938) has been appointed Professor of Aeronautical Engineering at University College, Southampton, from 1 October 1950.

Dr G. S. RUSHBROOKE (B.A. 1936), Lecturer in Theoretical Physics at Oxford, has been appointed Professor of Theoretical Physics at Newcastle, University of Durham.

Mr B. M. W. TRAPNELL (B.A. 1945) has been elected to a Commonwealth Fund Fellowship, tenable at an American University, from September 1950.

Dr D. H. VALENTINE (B.A. 1933), formerly Fellow, Reader in Botany in the University of Durham, has been appointed Professor of Botany there.

Dr G. L. WILLIAMS (B.A. 1933), formerly Fellow, has been appointed Quain Professor of Jurisprudence at University College, London, from 1 October 1950.

Public Appointments

Mr KENNETH ADAM (B.A. 1929), Director of Publicity of the B.B.C., has been appointed Controller of the Light Programme.

Mr H. K. ASHBY (B.A. 1932) has been appointed senior agricultural officer, Federation of Malaya.

Mr V. R. S. BECKLEY (Matric. 1949) has been appointed agricultural officer, Kenya.

Mr H. M. FOOT (B.A. 1929), Chief Secretary, Nigeria, has been appointed Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of Jamaica.

Mr C. W. GUILLEBAUD (B.A. 1912), Fellow, has been appointed chairman of the court that is to inquire into railway wages (1950).

Mr J. M. B. HARLEY (Matric. 1949) has been appointed entomologist to the East Africa High Commission.

Mr T. W. KEEBLE (B.A. 1945), first secretary in the Commonwealth Relations Office, has been appointed first secretary of the United Kingdom High Commission to Pakistan.

Mr H. T. LAYCOCK (B.A. 1932) has been appointed medical officer, Tanganyika.

Mr F. W. MOTTERSHEAD (B.A. 1933) has been appointed an Under-secretary in the Admiralty.

Mr H. W. SANSOM (B.A. 1947) has been appointed meteorologist to the East Africa High Commission.

Dr P. S. WATTS (Ph.D. 1936), F.R.C.V.S., has been appointed head of the veterinary section of the Institute of Medical and Veterinary Science at Adelaide, South Australia (1950).

Mr F. T. WILLEY (B.A. 1933), M.P. for Sunderland North, has been appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Food (1950).

Ecclesiastical Appointments

The Rev. E. R. BARDSLEY (B.A. 1947) was ordained priest 17 December by the Bishop of Manchester.

The Rev. C. H. BUTLER (B.A. 1935), vicar of St Matthias, Preston, to be rector of Crawley.

The Ven. H. L. CLARKE (B.A. 1904) has resigned the Archdeaconry of Leeds, but retains the living of Horsforth.

The Rev. A. H. DENNEY (Matric. 1948) was ordained priest 24 December 1950 by the Bishop of Ely in St Andrew's, Chesterton.

The Rev. E. J. G. FOSTER (B.A. 1934), chaplain and lecturer of Chester Diocesan Training College, to be vicar of St John, Balby, Doncaster.

The Rev. F. G. GIVEN-WILSON (B.A. 1892) has resigned his honorary canonry in Chelmsford Cathedral, and has been appointed canon emeritus; he has also resigned the vicarage of Dedham, which he has held since 1906.

The Rev. W. G. A. GRIFFITH (B.A. 1922), vicar of Aldborough, Yorkshire, to be vicar of St Columba, Scarborough.

The Rev. N. W. HAGGER (B.A. 1915), rector of Coningsby, has been appointed to the prebendal stall of Buckden in Lincoln Cathedral.

Mr J. L. R. HALE (B.A. 1925) was ordained deacon 21 December 1950 by the Bishop of Chester, to St George, Altrincham.

Mr P. E. C. HAYMAN (B.A. 1937), Lincoln Theological College, was ordained deacon 8 October 1950 by the Bishop of Salisbury, to a curacy at Marlborough, Wiltshire.

The Rev. H. N. HOLLINGWORTH (B.A. 1926), vicar of Holy Trinity, Halifax, to be also chief inspector of religious education in the diocese of Wakefield.

The Rev. J. E. N. JACKSON (B.A. 1908), vicar of Gilsland, Carlisle, to be rural dean of Brampton.

The Rev. A. E. R. KNOPP (B.A. 1933), vicar of St John the Evangelist, Walthamstow, to be vicar of Babraham and Pampisford, Cambridgeshire.

Mr E. J. MILLER (B.A. 1948), Wells Theological College, was ordained deacon 17 December 1950 by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, to the curacy of St Luke, South Lycombe.

The Rev. K. E. NELSON (B.A. 1933) to be curate of Pocklington.

The Rev. Canon E. H. J. NOOTT (B.A. 1920), headmaster of the King's School, Gloucester, to be rector of Withington, Gloucestershire.

The Rev. J. R. G. RAGG (B.A. 1938), curate of St Martin in the Fields, has been appointed priest in charge of St Thomas, Bristol.

The Rev. H. I. ROBINSON (B.A. 1906), vicar of Sutton on the Forest, Yorkshire, to be rural dean of Easingwold.

Mr E. G. H. SAUNDERS (B.A. 1948), Ridley Hall, was ordained deacon 24 September 1950 by the Bishop of Oxford, to the curacy of St Ebbe's, Oxford.

The Rev. F. S. SPACKMAN (B.A. 1921), vicar of Marple, Cheshire, to be an honorary canon of Chester Cathedral (1950).

The Rev. G. L. TIARKS (B.A. 1931), assistant chaplain, Diocesan College, Rondebosch, to be rector of St Paul, Rondebosch, Cape Town.

Mr W. H. VANSTONE (B.A. 1950), Naden Divinity Student, of Westcott House and the Union Theological Seminary, New York, was ordained deacon 1 October 1950 by the Bishop of Manchester, to the curacy of St Thomas, Halliwell.

The Rev. H. WHEWELL (B.A. 1909), rector of Ashton under Lyne, and honorary canon of Manchester, has retired and has been appointed canon emeritus.

The Rev. P. R. K. WHITAKER (B.A. 1931), vicar of St John, Masbrough, Yorkshire, to be rector of Brinkley and Burrough Green, Cambridgeshire.

The Rev. G. W. WOODWARD (B.A. 1947) was ordained priest on 4 June 1950 by the Archbishop of York.

Other Appointments

Mr P. B. D. ASHBROOKE (B.A. 1949) was called to the bar by Gray's Inn in May 1950.

Mr W. J. D. EBERLIE (B.A. 1942) was elected M.R.C.P. 27 July 1950, and Mr H. G. MATHER (B.A. 1942) on 26 October 1950.

Mr W. E. EGNER (B.A. 1933), headmaster of Heanor Grammar School, Derbyshire, has been appointed headmaster of Ormskirk Grammar School, from January 1951.

Mr M. D. T. EVANS (B.A. 1949) was called to the bar by Lincoln's Inn 21 June 1950.

Mr R. A. LAYTON (B.A. 1925), master at St Martin's Preparatory School, Northwood, Middlesex, has left to become a partner in Norwood School, Pennsylvania, Exeter.

Mr N. C. LENDON (B.A. 1930) has been appointed medical officer, Queen Alexandra Hospital, Cosham, Hampshire.

Mr C. G. ROB (B.A. 1934), M. Chir., has been appointed professor of surgery at St Mary's Hospital Medical School from 1 October 1950.

Mr P. V. STEVENSON (B.A. 1933) has taken over an Incorporated Accountant's practice (Hopkins, Stevenson and Company) in Liverpool.

Mr J. SUTCLIFFE (B.A. 1934) has been appointed assistant radiologist, Hospital for Sick Children, Great Ormond Street, London.

Mr G. WHITEHOUSE (B.A. 1941) has been appointed senior mathematics master at Penistone Grammar School, Yorkshire.

Marriages

JAMES TYRRELL BROCKBANK (B.A. 1942) to PAMELA PARKER, younger daughter of J. O. Parker, of Colchester—on 11 November 1950, at St Germanus Church, Faulkbourne, Essex.

BERNARD HENRY KINGSMILL BROWN (B.A. 1936) to ELIZABETH BARBARA WELLS—on 10 June 1950, at St Andrew's Church, Boxford, Berkshire.

ARCHIBALD CHARLES CALLAWAY (B.A. 1949) to HELEN ANN LUND, eldest daughter of George N. Lund, of Reserve, Montana, U.S.A.—on 4 November 1950, at St Peter in the East, Oxford.

HARRY CARTWRIGHT (M.B.E., B.A. 1940) to CATHARINE MARGARET CARSON BRADBURY of Didsbury—on 18 February 1950.

HENDRIK PAULUS COSTER (Research student 1946) to SHIRLEY JANE WAY—on 26 August 1950, at St Alban's, Golders Green.

STANLEY GUSTAV DEHN (B.A. 1934) to AVRIL SYMES-THOMPSON, daughter of Dr Henry Edmund Symes-Thompson, of Finmere House, Buckingham—on 14 October 1950, at St George's, Hanover Square.

AUSTIN RIMMINGTON EVERY (B.A. 1915) to AMY LOUISE JACKSON—on 9 September 1950, at Lewes, Sussex.

ALAN DOUGLAS FREEMAN (B.A. 1948) to DIANA MAXINE TRACEY JOHNSON, younger daughter of W. A. Johnson, of Silchester—on 12 September 1950, at the Church of St Mary the Virgin, Silchester.

ROBERT MUIR GLEN (B.A. 1930) to SYLVIA CLARISSA FORMAN, daughter of Richard Forman, of Ossulton Way, London, N. 2—on 16 September 1950, at St Peter's, Vere Street, London.

GILBERT WILSON GREEN (B.A. 1945) to JULIAN ELIZABETH QUICK, daughter of the late Rev. O. C. Quick—on 5 September 1950, at St James's Church, Longborough, Gloucestershire.

JAMES ALEXANDER GREEN (Ph.D. 1950) to MARGARET LORD, second daughter of H. Lord, of Oldham—on 2 August 1950, at St Andrew's, Girton.

LESLIE ALFRED GRINT (B.A. 1947) to Margaret Evans, daughter of Charles Colin Evans, of Rotherham—on 29 July 1950, at St Edward's Church, Cambridge.

ANDREW MACKENZIE HAY (B.A. 1950) to JENNIFER MARY DIMOLINE, elder daughter of G. E. Dimoline, of Colombo, Ceylon—on 27 June 1950, at Holy Trinity, Brompton.

PATRICK JAMES HOBSON (B.A. 1949) to JEANNE BARBARA CULPIN, daughter of William Culpin, of Great Dunmow, Essex—on 1 July 1950, at St Mary the Virgin, Great Dunmow.

AMBROSE FREDERICK HUSSEY-FREKE (B.A. 1932) to MARY GEORGIANA CODRINGTON, twin daughter of Commander Claude Codrington, of Wroughton House, Swindon, Wiltshire—on 21 October 1950, at the parish church, Wroughton.

FRANCIS PAUL KEYSELL (B.A. 1936) to DIANA FORBES ROBB, youngest daughter of P. J. Robb, of Zanzibar—on 8 July 1950, in Zanzibar.

ROBERT JOHN LOFTS (B.A. 1947) to ANNE GILLESPIE, daughter of EDWARD GILLESPIE—on 23 September 1950, at All Saints' Church, Bishop's Stortford.

ARCHIBALD DUNCAN DUGALD MCCALLUM (B.A. 1937) to ROSEMARY CONSTANCE RHIND, widow of Squadron-Leader John Rhind, and elder daughter of William C. Thorne, of Edinburgh—on 3 August 1950, at Christ Church, Morningside, Edinburgh.

KENNETH EDMUND NELSON (B.A. 1933) to BARBARA JEAN DYE—on 21 August 1950, at Huddersfield Parish Church.

JOHN WARDLEWORTH NUTTALL (B.A. 1949) to MARY NEWCOMB, of Walberswick, Suffolk—on 12 August 1950, at Walberswick.

JOHN ADRIAN PETTIT (Matric. 1941) to PATRICIA CAMPBELL PRESTON, daughter of G. W. Preston, of Maidwell, Northamptonshire—on 30 June 1950, at Maidwell Church.

ADRIAN DE POTIER (Matric. 1942) to BARBARA JANET GWENDOLEN WELCH, younger daughter of H. G. Gordon Welch, of Purley, Surrey—on 27 July 1950, at St Mary and All Saints' Church, Beaconsfield.

ARTHUR REGINALD POTTS (B.A. 1949) to ELIZABETH MERYON RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS, of Silchester—on 23 December 1950, at St Mary's, Silchester.

PETER MCGREGOR ROSS (B.A. 1941) to SYLVIA ROBSON GRIPPER, daughter of Laurence A. Gripper, of Shortlands, Kent—on 1 April 1950.

JACK HOWELL SWINGLER (B.A. 1941) to ELSIE ELIZABETH ELLEN MCDOWELL, daughter of D. H. McDowell, of Westerham, Kent—on 10 June 1950, at Fontmell Magna, Dorset.

CLIFFORD HEYWORTH TALBOT (B.A. 1946) to MARGARET HILDA HOOPER, daughter of Wallace Hooper, of Wimbledon Park—on 17 June 1950, at St Luke's, Wimbledon Park.

ROBERT TURNER (B.A. 1939) to DORIS VERA THOMPSON, only daughter of Oliver Thompson, of Croydon—on 6 May 1950, at St Peter's, Croydon.

RICHARD GEOFFREY WATKINSON (M.B. 1949) to ELLEN VELDHUYZEN, stepdaughter of O. Lauper, of Pembridge Gardens, W.—on 15 July 1950, at St James's, Garlickhythe, London.

COLIN ARTHUR MACKENZIE YOUNG (B.A. 1948) to PHOEBE CURTIS-BROWN, daughter of Spencer Curtis-Brown, of Chelsea—on 30 September 1950, at St Peter's, Eaton Square, S.W.

On 5 October 1950 a memorial window in Westminster Abbey to commemorate Sir Charles Algernon Parsons (B.A. 1877), sometime Honorary Fellow, inventor of the steam turbine, was dedicated by the Dean.

OBITUARY

MARTIN PERCIVAL CHARLESWORTH

MARTIN CHARLESWORTH was one of that quartet of distinguished men whom we were fortunate in bringing to the College from outside at the end of the first World War, when the numbers of our own body had been depleted by war and other causes, and who gave the College great service in those days of reconstruction and expansion—Coulton, Creed, Henry Howard and Charlesworth himself. All threw themselves into the work of the College and became wholly identified with it. All have now gone on; two of them, as it must seem to us, prematurely, in the prime of their invaluable work.

Martin Percival Charlesworth, the youngest of them, was born on 18 January 1895, the elder son of the Reverend Ambrose Charlesworth, at the time curate of Eastham, Cheshire and, later, rector of Thurstaston in the same county. He was educated at Birkenhead School, from which he came up to Jesus College in 1914 as a Scholar in Classics, thus beginning an academic career which, though interrupted like that of other men of his age by military service, was to prove one of unusual distinction. A Bell Scholar in 1915, an Open Stewart of Rannoch Scholar (Greek and Latin) in 1916, he was, after his return from the war, placed in the First Division of the First Class in Part I of the Classical Tripos in 1920 and elected a Craven Scholar. The following year he was in the First Class of Part II of the same Tripos, with the mark of special merit in History, was awarded a Chancellor's Classical Medal, and elected a Fellow of his College and Procter Visiting Fellow at Princeton, U.S.A. In 1922 he won the Hare Prize.

These distinctions marked him out for university work, if that were his wish, and in December 1921 St John's invited him to assist in the classical teaching of the College from the Michaelmas Term following. The appointment was so successful that within a few months of his taking it up he was elected a Fellow and College Lecturer in Classics (March 1923), and with us his lot was henceforth cast.

More was soon asked of a man who was showing remarkable gifts as a teacher and, more widely, in his sympathetic interest in his pupils, and, on a Tutorship becoming vacant in 1925, he was offered the post, which he held for the next six years.

These were pleasant years, I think, for him and his colleagues, of hard and harmonious work. Martin combined with his classical men the majority of the medical side. But he seemed always very happy

[*Photo: Elliott and Fry.*]

MARTIN PERCIVAL CHARLESWORTH

with it, and to find not so much additional trouble as additional interest in the new experience, and I have no doubt of the advantage to his men to have as Tutor one in all senses so humane. For in this appointment there was no mistake. As a Tutor he was an immense success. In a characteristic letter an old pupil writes, "I loved every minute of my St John's days and not a little was due to the fact that Charles was my Tutor", and another says truly that he gave "an example of the Tutorial system at its best". The freshman, shy and diffident, in touch with this human personality, was himself humanized, and gained confidence and purpose. Many men were encouraged to attempt the things they afterwards achieved. The boy from a country grammar school was soon put at ease in friendly talk, a book pressed into his hand—Martin was a very ready lender of books. He loved to be surrounded with men; how many of his old pupils recall memorable evenings in his rooms—the short paper, the lively talk or the play to read, the discussion, his wide interest in out-of-the-way things, the infectious gaiety of it all. His rooms were always to be a great centre of hospitality.

Walking and music were his recreations. Many will remember him at the piano or as Master of Ceremonies at a College concert, thoroughly enjoying himself and with happy unself-consciousness making everybody else feel at home. And there were his frequent visits to the Roman Wall, taking undergraduates with him, forming friendships where he went with high and low, and what was more difficult, renewing them on subsequent visits. How diverse was his acquaintance, how many cherished some grateful memory of him, only his death revealed.

In 1937, on the retirement of Mr Sikes, he was elected President of the College. The duties of that office are not generally arduous. But he saw that the position offered special opportunities to one who lived in College and his generous and delightful entertainment became a feature of our life. He kept an open mind and was ever bold to experiment with new social activities, and to take the extra trouble new steps involve.

Happily he remained at College throughout the war, though taking on outside duties; not least in his selection of suitable men for various kinds of Government work. He was quick at seeing the capacity and promise of men. And in College he was very active, looking after our many visitors from overseas, particularly from the Dominions and the United States. Of the United States he had a good deal of knowledge, for not only had he been Procter Fellow of Princeton University in 1921 and a graduate of that University, but, later, in 1935, he held a visiting lectureship at Oberlin College, Ohio, and throughout his life he kept in touch with his American friends.

The College Committees in which he displayed most interest were the Entertainments Committee, on which his office of President made his work important, and the Livings Committee, to which he gave most useful service for many years. He valued, too, his experience as a Governor of Sedbergh School; he was sedulous in attendance and was held in much affection there.

It was no surprise to his friends when in 1940 he decided to seek ordination. Though his intellectual interests did not appear to be theological, the bent of his nature was pastoral, and he thought the religious vocation would help him in his relations with younger men and also enable him to be of some use on this side of College life. Henceforward he frequently took some part in Chapel Services and in his vacations assisted his brother, the Reverend Lancelot Charlesworth, Vicar of Tilston, adding to the already wide range of his academic labours a form of work in which he found a new vocation. At the same time he made it quite clear that he desired no ecclesiastical preferment; he liked the larger range of service opened to him, but that service was to be given in his own way and time. His faith appeared simple and unquestioning; Christianity sufficed for the problems of living and the problem of life, and he loved the forms of its worship.

Of his service to learning, I must leave others to write; only the bare facts can be recapitulated here. On the introduction of the new University Statutes he was appointed a University Lecturer in Classics (1926), an office he held until his appointment as Laurence Reader in Classics (Ancient History) in 1931, when he resigned his Tutorship. In 1924 he had published his *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire*; he was a contributor to the *Cambridge Ancient History*, and, from vol. VII, published in 1928, became one of its Editors; two other books followed in recent years: *Five Men*, in 1936, and *The Lost Province*, in 1949. In the University he served not only on the Faculty Board of Classics, but was for some years a valuable member of the Press Syndicate.

Martin carried his learning lightly. But it was wide and humane and received important recognition. Among the distinctions awarded to him in later life were the Fellowship of the British Academy (1940), and honorary degrees by the University of Bordeaux and the University of Wales, at the latter of which he had given the Gregynog Lectures in 1948. He was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and his archaeological interests extended beyond his own special field of study. He was an excellent lecturer and broadcaster and no less successful at a School Speech Day or an after-dinner occasion.

His health had always seemed reasonably good, but he did so many things with unremitting zest that he doubtless imposed a good deal of strain upon it. A year ago he had cause for anxiety and took a term off, which was partly spent in Cambridge and partly in Cyprus. We hoped that he was recovering and he seemed full of his usual interests in the summer, but in September he broke down on his holiday and after a short illness at Leeds the end came rather suddenly on 26 October.

As one of his friends wrote, "Like so many good things at Cambridge we took him for granted". He made his own place and filled it in his own way, creating a sphere for his particular gifts. All that he touched was well done, for he spared no trouble. He was an admirable teacher, but his social gifts were unique and most generously bestowed. Widely known in the University, and as widely loved and respected, he lives in the memories of his numerous friends and in the work of the pupils whom he encouraged and inspired. The College must ever be grateful for one who served it so well, so enthusiastically, and in so many different ways through long and difficult years.' E. A. B.

Professor Adcock writes:

Charlesworth first made his name with the Hare Prize Essay of 1922, published as *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire* (1924), which is still admittedly the best treatment of its subject. It is rare for a scholar's first publication to hold the field unchallenged for so long. While he had a good knowledge of Greek history of the Classical period and of the history of the late Republic, he remained faithful to the Empire of the Julio-Claudians and Flavians as his especial field. He not only advanced the study of its economics and civilisation in Rome and the provinces, especially Britain, but had a sympathetic understanding of its ways of thought. This last was most brilliantly displayed in his Martin Lectures *Five Men* (1936) and in his British Academy Lecture on "The Virtues of a Roman Emperor" (1937). His excellent scholarship and grasp of archaeological and more directly historical method earned his early election to the Society of Antiquaries and to the British Academy. As a political historian he contributed notable chapters to the *Cambridge Ancient History*, one in particular on Tiberius which has been well described as achieving the hard task of doing justice both to the Emperor and to Tacitus. He was for over ten years an editor of that work (vol. VII–XII), which owes a very great debt to him, as do the many scholars in this country and abroad who enjoyed his friendship and prized his help. He possessed a rare skill as a lecturer, whether to undergraduates or to a more general public, and what he said, like what he wrote, was infused with a *vivida vis animai*. His recently published Gregynog Lectures entitled *The Lost Province* (1949) are ample proof of this. It is largely due to his initiative that the application of Air Photography to historical studies is being fostered by the University. Just before he died he passed for press

a book on the Roman Empire in the Home University Library. Great as is the loss which his death in the fullness of his powers inflicts on Ancient History, his lasting contribution to it is a gain which will long be remembered.

A pupil writes:

My memories of "Charles" go back to a December afternoon when as a candidate at the College Open Scholarships examination I had been asked to call on him in his Third Court rooms for the customary interview. I found him in his ante-room, and his reaction immediately on receiving my name was to make a dive for his gyp-room door and fling it triumphantly open, admitting by his action a billowing gust of steam which advanced swiftly towards the pair of us and almost cut him off from my sight. Through the haze I heard him exclaim: "This must be the kettle. Don't you think I have arranged things rather cleverly? I said to myself, 'Whoever the lucky man is that comes at 4.15 he shall have his interview *and* a cup of tea'." "But of course it's quite ridiculous for me to interrogate you here from the depths of my gyp-room, so let's vary the humdrum a little, and you shall ask me whatever it is you want to know." This meeting in the flesh with someone who till then had been no more than an august name on the title-page of some volumes of the *Cambridge Ancient History* and elsewhere went far to dispel the schoolboy's diffidence and very soon the conversation was leaping along.

Looking back it seems one guessed, or ought to have guessed, in those first minutes of acquaintance, many of the traits one was to know and to admire in him: his great social gifts, his talent for doing and saying the surprising thing, and his essential kindheartedness over all. Nor are any of us who were present ever likely to forget the pattern of a meeting of a College society in the President's rooms: the gaiety of the talk—more especially if "Charles" was reading the paper or leading the discussion—the host's open-handed welcome, the late-night readings of snatches from unfamiliar essays (often with Classical allusion or inspiration), nonsense-poems and parodies in that high and light, infectiously bantering voice.

In his lecturing and formal teaching, too, the same light-hearted approach must have reclaimed many a man to the Classics whom years of sixth-form work had made apathetic; but his private pupils were blind indeed if they did not glimpse more than once, behind the gaiety, the deeply-held conviction that books can and ought to be a lamp to life. Teaching composition he would ask a man to render in Tacitean idiom the sentence: "He drained a cup of poison and expired." What more was needed, he would ask, twinkling, than *poculum exhausit*, in that style where every cup is envenomed and every inference left to the reader? But a serious question, in or out of teaching hours, never failed to produce instantly those stores of learning held always a little in reserve.

Later in a man's College life he might move away from the Classics to a new interest; but if ever "Charles" had been teacher he remained as mentor and, often, as friend. Copies of British Academy lectures relevant to one's new studies might be lent or given, an occasional small volume of poetry (Whitman, Traherne) sent, with a note recalling some earlier conversation, and introductions contrived that would often turn out to be of countless profit.

His pupils of three decades will mourn the passing of a teacher and friend for whom Horace's advice, *misce stultitiam consiliis brevem*, was never needed, for it was his birthright; and it is hard for the College at large to bear the all-too-early loss of a most dutiful son and a well-loved President. L. A. G.

WILLIAM ASHBURNER (B.A. 1888), rector of Ridlington, Uppingham, from 1920 to 1941, died at Colsterworth, Grantham, 11 August 1950, aged 84.

BARTRAM WALLER ATTLEE (B.A. 1890), solicitor, formerly Town Clerk of Romsey, Hampshire, died there 16 December 1950, aged 80.

ALFRED EDWARD BUCHANAN (B.A. 1893), rector of Pedmore, Worcestershire, from 1913 to 1940, died at Oxford 6 November 1950, aged 78.

ANDREW JAMES CAMPBELL (B.A. 1897), Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland 1945–6, and minister of Evie, Orkney, from 1936 to 1948, died in Edinburgh 1 May 1950, aged 74.

WILLIAM HENRY CHARLESWORTH (Matric. 1882) died at Brighton 12 November 1950, aged 88.

WILLIAM FAIRLIE CLARKE (B.A. 1897), rector of Hallaton, Leicestershire, from 1930 to 1937, and vicar of Little Malvern Priory since 1939, died at Malvern Wells 22 April 1950, aged 74.

LESLIE JOHN COMRIE (Ph.D. 1924), F.R.S., head of Scientific Computing Service, died 11 December 1950 at Blackheath, aged 57.

JOHN MICHAEL CURNOW (Matric. 1941) died 6 October 1950 from war disablement.

SAMUEL ERNEST DORE (B.A. 1894), M.D., F.R.C.P., dermatologist, died in London 27 June 1950, aged 77.

CHARLES HENRY DYER (B.A. 1905), vicar of Great Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire, from 1923 to 1929, died in Edinburgh 16 September 1950, aged 73.

CHRISTOPHER GATHORNE (B.A. 1905), vicar of Hutton Roof from 1924 to 1937, died 19 August 1950, aged 67.

ARNOLD STOUGHTON HARRIS (B.A. 1886), Fellow of the Institute of Actuaries, died at Cheam, Surrey, 2 January 1951, aged 86.

CLAUD DAWSON HENRY, M.D. (B.A. 1889), for many years in medical practice in Wellington, New Zealand, died 13 July 1950, aged 81.

JOHN CHARLES WILLIAM HERSCHEL (Matric. 1899 as an advanced student), 3rd baronet, M.A. Oxford, grandson of Sir John Frederick William Herschel, died at Observatory House, Slough, 15 June 1950, aged 81. He had been rector of West Clandon, Surrey, from 1919 to 1934, and vicar of Westbury, Northamptonshire, from 1939 to 1945.

JOHN JASPER HULLEY (B.A. 1890), vicar of Skelmersdale, Ormskirk, from 1897 to 1944, died 15 June 1950 at Bunbury, Cheshire, aged 82.

ARTHUR HAZEL LIONEL JOHNSON (B.A. 1937), a member of the management staff of Rowntree and Co., of York, died in London 4 October 1950, aged 34.

WILLIAM HERBERT JUDD (B.A. 1889), vicar of Wigtoft, Lincolnshire, from 1910 to 1946, honorary canon of Lincoln, died 4 November 1950 at Boston, Lincolnshire, aged 83.

FRANCIS LYDALL (B.A. 1896), consulting engineer, of the firm Merz and McLellan, Victoria Street, S.W., a leading authority on the electrification of railways, died at Weybridge 15 August 1950, aged 77.

CHARLES WYNFORD PARSONS (B.A. 1923), lecturer in zoology in the University of Glasgow, died at Birmingham 26 August 1950, aged 49.

GEORGE BERTRAM REDMAN (B.A., from Jesus, 1908), sometime Naden divinity student of the College, vicar of Whatfield, Suffolk, from 1938, died 20 November 1950, as the result of a road accident, aged 64.

CHARLES MACAN RICE (B.A. 1892), rector of Medbourne with Holt, Market Harborough, since 1930, died 5 October 1950, aged 80.

WILLIAM HENRY CARTWRIGHT SHARP (B.A. 1905), K.C., Recorder of Wolverhampton since 1938, died 20 December 1950, aged 67.

CLAUDE MABERLY STEVENSON (B. Chir. 1905), M.D., for many years in practice in Cambridge, died 14 July 1950, aged 71.

PERCY ERNEST TOOTH (B.A. 1887) died at Hove 24 October 1950, aged 87.

JOHN REGINALD TREVALDWYN (B.A. 1935), assistant secretary, H.M. Treasury, died in Washington, D.C., 3 October 1950, aged 36.

FRANCIS ALFRED HUGH WALSH (B.A. 1889), formerly a preparatory schoolmaster, died at Kingston on Thames 20 August 1950, aged 83.

ALLAN DODSON VICKERMAN (B.A. 1930), Town Clerk of Whitehaven, was drowned off St Bees Head 17 June 1950, aged 41.

WALDEMAR SHIPLEY WEST (B.A. 1887), M.D., formerly in practice at Aylesbury, died 29 July 1950 at Dulverton, Somerset, aged 84.

EDWARD WHISTON (or WHINSTONE ARNOTT) (B.A. 1905), of the Inner Temple, barrister at law, died 31 December 1950 in London, aged 67.

REVIEWS

Capability Brown. By DOROTHY STROUD. With an Introduction by CHRISTOPHER HUSSEY. (London: Country Life. 266 pp. £2. 2s.)

The College made two modest contributions to the career of Capability Brown. Directly, a gift of plate worth £50 for his work on the Backs and in laying out the Wilderness. Indirectly—to the soubriquet which helps so much to make his name memorable. For if the primary reason for it is Brown's habit, when surveying a new landscape for improvements, of remarking, "It has Capabilities", another may be found in the fact that a no less famous contemporary, the Johnian John "Estimate" Brown, by his fame as the Cassandra of the *Estimate of the Manners of the Principles of the Times* (1757), made it essential for "Capability" to be given a nickname, too, if the two Browns were not to be confused.

William Kent and Lancelot Brown were the main authors of what is perhaps the most characteristic and beautiful aspect of the English countryside—the "natural" treatment of landscaping which in the eighteenth century created such a harmonious fusion between the cultivated and the wild which we can still glimpse to-day. Many of the trees which Capability Brown placed so carefully in clumps and flowing lines to create the serenity and spaciousness of his parkland are now no more. It is fortunate, therefore, that while enough stand to give some picture of his work, a study such as this should at last have been undertaken, and undertaken so well.

The author is fortunate in having had at her disposal the records of many country houses, and above all, of Brown's own account-book, to supplement the works of his which still endure, or which were recorded in pictures before disappearing. From this material a magnificent and definitive record has emerged, not only of the gardens of Kew, Blenheim, and Claremont, but also of scores of other less well known achievements. The book amply demonstrates the great range and excellence of Brown's landscaping activities; and further, it reveals him, for the first time, as a not inconsiderable architect.

Of particular interest to us, is the account of his work for the College. The association began informally through a friend, a Fellow of the College, John Mainwaring, himself a keen landscaper in his small estate, and a "complete hypochondriac, apprehensively studying the thermometer every hour and donning wooden clogs if perchance he had to stand on a stone floor". Brown supervised the repair of the river-bank in 1772, and in the next year his plan for the alteration of the grounds was approved. Its main feature was the laying down of a lawn and glade—"The Wilderness"—in place of the bowling-green and formal walks which are shown on Loggan's map of 1688.

The sequel is equally interesting. Inspired by his success, Brown drew up an unsolicited plan for the whole of the Backs, from Magdalen to Peterhouse, which featured the conversion of the Cam into a lake, and the rearrangement of the landscape in the form of a parkland centred round King's College! The failure of this plan, which has recently been treated in greater detail by Marcus Whiffen, in the *Architectural Review*, need occasion neither surprise nor regret; but both its merits and its defects are particularly worthy of consideration when attempts to treat the Backs as a landscape whole are, partly of necessity, being made once again.

The general contemporary relevance of Brown's work is one of the points made by Christopher Hussey in his excellent introduction, which authoritatively places Brown in the general context of eighteenth-century taste. Equally valuable are the numerous and excellent illustrations of all aspects of Brown's work. I.P.W.

The Arcadian Rhetorike. By ABRAHAM FRAUNCE. Edited from the edition of 1588 by ETHEL SEATON. (Published for the Luttrell Society by Basil Blackwell, Oxford.)

Abraham Fraunce came up to John's in January 1572 from Shrewsbury School. He matriculated in May 1576; was admitted scholar in 1578; became B.A. a year later, Fellow in 1580, and resided in the College until taking his M.A. in 1583. Of his College career it is known that he acted in two plays, Legge's *Ricardus Tertius* and the anonymous *Hymenaeus*: and that before going down he had written a Latin comedy, *Victoria*, which though forgotten to-day was no doubt a useful preparation for his later career as a writer under the successive patronage of Sir Philip Sidney, Mary, Countess of Pembroke, and Sir John Egerton. It was mainly the thorough classical training he received at John's which led to his later fame, such as it is, as one of those University wits who attempted to write English hexameters; a fame which won him the commendations of Nashe and Gabriel Harvey, and the later, and final, condemnation of Ben Jonson, who told Drummond of Hawthornden "that Abram Francis in his English Hexameters was a fool".

In another respect, however, Fraunce was less characteristic of John's at this period. He was a Ramist, a follower of Petrus Ramus, the great disciple of Calvin who achieved so much in the simplification of the teaching of University subjects, and especially of logic and rhetoric. The present reprint makes available Fraunce's much shortened version of Ramist rhetoric, based on Audemarus Talaeus's *Rhetorica*. It is interesting for two reasons. First, that it provides the most concise and yet methodical exposition of Elizabethan ideas of the subject which is available. Secondly, that the tropes and figures treated are illustrated, not only in Greek and Latin, but in French, Spanish, Italian and English; so that a clear but compendious comparative survey of examples is possible under each head.

The book is not, of course, light reading: and those who study it may well feel as Fraunce felt about the "paynes of a Maister of arts": he tells us of his life at Cambridge: "I was an University man eight years together, and for every day of these eight years, I do not repent that I was an University man.... It was incident to my nature (as I think) to bee carried away with as delicate and pleasant kind of learning, as any of my time in Cambridge. Which (notwithstanding an inestimable delectation that drowned the pains of study) yet did so rack my ranging head, and bring low my crazed body, that I felt at last when it was too late, the perpetuall vexation of Spirit and consumption of body, incident to every scholar."

Many have had similarly mixed feelings; but few readers of the *Arcadian Rhetorike* to-day could fail to appreciate that at least one burden has been lightened, the one which Fraunce was attempting to ease for his contemporaries.

Ethel Seaton provides a most learned introduction which deals with such matters as Fraunce's relation to his sources, and to the literary evidence supplied by his quotations. In view of its rarity, the re-printing of *The Arcadian Rhetorike* itself is welcome. Until now, the only complete, though worm-eaten, copy was that in the Library of the College; where it was "found" by Professor F. P. Wilson. The claim to merit allotted by the Editor seems a little curious. One might have expected to find a copy in Fraunce's own College. But perhaps the perils of Bletchley are as arduous for an Oxford scholar as the Atlantic was for Columbus, who also "found" something with which the natives had been long acquainted, though without informing him.

I. P. W.

Jacob and Thomas: Darkness. By FRANK KENDON. (Cambridge University Press, 1950. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

Mr Kendon's Seatonian Prize Poem was written on the text, "For he had great possessions". The work is a meditation on the question, "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?" and on Christ's uncompromising answer. Mr Kendon has written a sensitively articulated dialogue in which Jacob recounts to Thomas, his guest and friend, the story of his soul's journey in the forty years which have passed since his encounter with his "would-be Pardoner". He has been a foolish traveller, who,

> Bound for a city of his sole desire,
> And being directed, did not trust the Native;
> Kept on along an excellent wrong road.

Jacob's fear is that he has lost eternal life, but Mr Kendon's imaginative portrait is of a man whose very doubts and questionings seem to compose themselves into an ultimate allegiance to his rejected Master.

J. B.

Almond in Peterhouse. By FRANKLIN KIDD. (Cambridge University Press, 1950. 6*s.*)

Mr Kidd has recorded in these perceptive poems many of the sights and sounds of Cambridge in all its moods and seasons; he sings of aconite and tulip, starling and jackdaw, sketching in verse the familiar cycle of the Cambridge year. But Mr Kidd is scientist as well as poet, and his observations of men and nature give rise to reflections on the world and life which he sets forth in a number of pieces larger in scale and deeper in tone than the glimpses and echoes of which the collection is chiefly composed. The poems gain their freshness and their vigour from the author's lively sense of that wonder in which art and science meet.

J. B.

The Enthronement of Love. By JOHN FERGUSON, M.A., B.D. (Published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation. 6*s.*)

In setting out his case for pacifism Mr Ferguson avowedly aims "simply to challenge Christian thinking afresh". Those who knew the author as an undergraduate and research student of the College will expect a forceful and independent argument to issue from his pen. Here they will easily recognize Mr Ferguson the individualist; they will also discover Mr Ferguson the enthusiast.

The book is concerned with constructive pacifist action, with emphasis on activity in time of "peace".

Mr Ferguson is a convinced adherent of the pacifist position. He finds it "hard to understand how anyone can interpret Jesus' words in any but the pacifist sense" (p. 28); but his book might have been more convincing if he had tried harder.

M. W. S.

The Wordsworth Centenary Commemoration

The portion of No. 237 of *The Eagle* dealing with Wordsworth has been published as a book by the Cambridge University Press. The title is *Wordsworth at Cambridge* and the price 4*s.* 6*d.* It was discussed in a second Leader in the *Times Literary Supplement* of 29 December 1950.

JOHNIANA

(i) *Advice for a Student in* 1836:

A manuscript letter book preserved in the Leeds Reference Library contains one item of special interest for Johnians. It is a single letter, only survivor of a correspondence between a Leeds business man and a young friend* who began residence at St John's College in the Michaelmas Term of 1836. What makes it worth attention is not so much the intrinsic merit of the advice it offers, sound as this may be, but rather the light it throws on changing social conditions.

The writer of the letter, John Wager, was chief cashier of a large local factory—a responsible post but of course subordinate to the management, which may explain the undertone of deference in what he wrote. As the letter reveals, he had both the virtues and the defects to be expected from a largely self-educated man. His intellectual equipment was fragmentary, the harvest of an enthusiastic amateur who, outside working hours and consuming duties, dabbled in many branches of study and tried his hand at poetry, prose and painting, without rising above mediocrity in any of them. It is remarkable, and significant, that theology, one of the most abstract of subjects, should have rippled his mind so much. He, too, is typical of another important social phenomenon of the period of the Industrial Revolution—the passion for knowledge, and not merely technical accomplishment, of the intelligent clerk and artisan, which produced first the Mechanics' Institutes in the manufacturing towns, and later, the Public Libraries movement. John Wager was chiefly responsible for providing his factory with a library, one of the earliest of its kind in the country, and he also arranged lectures for the workmen; among the first books he obtained were the poetical works of Ebenezer Elliott, famous as the "Corn Law Rhymer" of Sheffield. It is not surprising to find that his own views in politics were strongly progressive, and in religion Nonconformist.

* William Spencer was the son of a Leeds clothier. He went to Leeds Grammar School and after a two-year interval of teaching in a school at Harrogate, was admitted as a Sizar on 7 July 1836, at the age of 24. He graduated B.A. in 1840, was ordained in 1841, and became a successful schoolmaster. He died in 1867. His pupils put up a tablet in his memory in St Nicholas Cathedral, and there is also a memorial window in Wallasey Parish Church.

The following is a transcript of the letter, slightly abbreviated:

"Leeds,
October 30th, 1836.

To Mr Spencer,
St John's College, Cambridge

Dear Sir,

The agreable [*sic*] hours I have spent in your company along with others of our friendly band give me an interest in your success & I have pleasure now in congratulating you upon it.

Though the engagements of trade are those by wh.[ich] I live they are not those for wh.[ich] I live; the love of knowledge is the vital stimulating principle within me, & I feel a far livelier sympathy with those who are engaged in the ennobling pursuit of science & literature, whose spirits burn with an ardent desire of tracking the wide, unbounded realm of thought—of searching with keen & penetrating eye the mysteries of our being & the great & wondrous system in wh.[ich] we are placed & of wh.[ich] we form a part....

The disposition of my mind inclines me much to theological studies, & I have lately commenced reading on that subject & on mental & moral philosophy in a more regular & systematic manner than I have been wont to do. I have likewise in my plan devoted a smaller portion of time to general literature—history, poetry, etc.

As regards the theological part I have made three divisions, according to the succession in wh.[ich] I intend to study—1st. Natural theology, 2nd. Evidences of Christianity & 3rd. Biblical Criticism—on each of wh.[ich] subjects I intend to read some of the best works. I have made a similar arrangement with regard to mental & moral philosophy.

Although I think I have heard you assert & quote Dr Johnson in proof of the contrary, I feel convinced that this is the best means of forming a solid intellectual character—to have an object in view & regularly & steadily to pursue it, making all incidentally acquired knowledge as far as possible tributary to it & observing how every fresh fact we acquire bears upon it. By such discipline as this the reasoning faculty is strengthened; a clear, connected & consistent system is formed in the mind; its diversified ideas illustrate each other & various particular facts illustrate general truths instead of floating loosely & incoherently in the mind....

When I reflect that I have uttered all this to a being enrobed in cap & gown I almost shudder at the contemplation of my presumption, but trusting that though so metamorphosed you yet retain some human feelings & sympathies I hope soon to hear from you.

Yours very sincerely
JOHN WAGER"

(ii) *Stephen Fovargue and the "New Catalogue of Vulgar Errors":*

St John's College has little reason to honour the memory of Stephen Fovargue. One authority calls him "dissipated...and partly insane": another refers to his "known ill character": and the facts of his life indicate that he was one of the shadiest individuals the University has ever admitted—or expelled. For in 1771 he was forced to flee the country on suspicion of having horse-whipped his servant so severely as to cause the man's death. It is not often that a college Fellow is classed as an "outlaw". Fovargue, however, after experiencing great distress in Paris, returned to Cambridge and surrendered himself to the Vice-Chancellor; and though he could not be given a normal trial he was acquitted of manslaughter at the Assizes in July, 1774. The next year he left the University; and he is reported to have died at Bath in June 1775. Except that he was a Bachelor of Divinity and at one time Fellow of St John's, very little in detail is known of Stephen Fovargue's career. He is remembered (if at all) by a curious book published in Cambridge in 1767 under the title of *A New Catalogue of Vulgar Errors*.

Sir Thomas Browne's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (1646), on which the *New Catalogue* is obviously modelled, had several successors during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Fovargue's work is marked by a truculence and eccentricity which remind one of Mr Tom Brown (of facetious memory) rather than the author of the *Religio Medici*. The errors Fovargue refutes are of a miscellaneous kind. One is "That there is now, or ever was, such a Science as Astrology"; another is "That the more Hay is dried in the Sun, the better it will be"; and a third, "That teaching Boys Bawdy Books, will make them religious Men and good Clergymen"! Fovargue was apparently much interested in natural history, for he discusses the manner in which the bittern makes her curious booming sound; and wonders whether the heron dangles her long legs through her nest when sitting on the eggs she is hatching.

All Fovargue's thinking is shallow, and his presentation of the case he tries to make is pathetically Quixotic. In one respect, however, the *New Catalogue* is of considerable cultural interest. During his exile in France, it is reported that Fovargue earned money by playing on a violin he had with him. Some of the errors dealt with in the *New Catalogue* are musical ones: and they reveal Fovargue as maintaining certain attitudes towards musical theory and practice which must have been widely shared among amateurs of his age. He writes enthusiastically about the violin when controverting such errors as "That the Tone of a Violin is to be brought out by laying on like a Blacksmith" and "That the Violin is a wanton Instrument, and not proper for Psalms; and that the Organ is not proper for Country Dances, and brisk Airs". But one of the most dogmatically reasoned sections of the *New Catalogue* is Fovargue's fierce denial "That the Musical Composition of this present Age is inferior to that of the last". "Masters of Music", he claims, "by Practice have lately found out a better, easier, and stronger Way of Performing upon their several Instruments, than was formerly known; and to this new and better Method of Performance they have composed suitable music, which admits of greater Execution, greater Variety of Expression, and a better Tone, than could be brought out of Instruments before such Improvements were made."

Those are the words of a cultural "enthusiast", anxious to express in popular terms his sense of the age's self-sufficiency. This is evident enough from Fovargue's style, which is brisk and easy, almost to a point of coarseness. But when we have made allowances for its prejudice and wrong-headedness, the *New Catalogue of Vulgar Errors* can be read with great amusement. And as a product of a certain phase of English civilization it has something more than a mere museum-piece significance. So perhaps after all Stephen Fovargue is not such a disgrace to St John's College as the biographical accounts would make him appear to have been.

(iii) *Queen Victoria admires the Bridge of Sighs:*

The following extract from Queen Victoria's *Diary*, describing the proceedings at the installation of the Prince Consort as Chancellor of the University in July 1847, is printed by Sir Theodore Martin in his *Life of the Prince Consort* (vol. 1, p. 398):

> [After a great banquet in the Hall of Trinity], "the evening being so beautiful we proposed to walk out, and accordingly at ten set out in curious costumes: Albert in his dress coat, with a macintosh over it; I in my evening dress and diadem, and with a veil over my head, and the two Princes (Prince Waldemar of Prussia and Prince Peter of Oldenburg) in their uniform, and the ladies in their dresses, and shawls, and veils. We walked through the small garden, and could not at first find our way, after which we discovered the right road, and walked along the beautiful avenues of lime-trees in the grounds of St John's College, along the water and over the bridges. All was so pretty and picturesque—in particular, that one covered bridge of St John's College, which is like the Bridge of Sighs at Venice. We stopped to listen to the distant hum of the town; and nothing seemed wanting, but some singing, which everywhere but here in this country we should have heard. A lattice opened, and we could fancy a lady appearing, and listening to a serenade."

(iv) *Celia Fiennes in the College Garden:*

> "St Johns College Garden is very pleasant for the fine walks, both close shady walks and open rows of trees and quickeset hedges, there is a pretty bowling green with cut arbours in the hedges...."
>
> (*The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, edited with an Introduction by Christopher Morris, London, The Cresset Press, 1949, pp. 65f.)

Celia Fiennes visited Cambridge on her "Northern Journey" in 1697, and her description of the grounds of St John's, in particular of the "cut arbours in the hedges" of the bowling green, confirms the close accuracy of the view depicted by David Loggan in *Cantabrigia Illustrata* (1690).

(v) *Anthony Hammond contributes to the building of the kitchen bridge.*

Anthony ("Silver-Tongued") Hammond (1668–1738), who came to the College in 1685 as a Fellow-Commoner, and was later Member of Parliament for Cambridge, writes in his diary under the date 6 December 1693:

"I contributed 30 ll. or 40 ll. towards building a Bridge at St John's Coll: in Cambridge."

(Bodleian Library: Rawl. MSS. A. 245.)

This was presumably the Kitchen Bridge.