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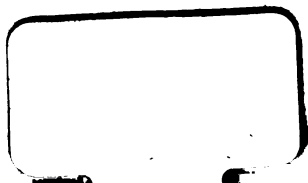
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SYDNEY GRAVES

1815-1890

THE LIFE OF SYDNEY GRAVES

BY

SIDNEY GRAVES HAMILTON, M.A.

FELLOW AND LECTURER IN ENGLISH LITERATURE

LONDON

F. E. ROBINSON & CO.

20 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY

1903



University of Oxford

COLLEGE HISTORIES

HERTFORD COLLEGE

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SIDNEY GRAVES HAMILTON, M.A.

FELLOW AND LIBRARIAN OF HERTFORD COLLEGE

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F. E. ROBINSON & CO.

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PREFACE

HERTFORD COLLEGE, as the University Calendar annually assures us, was invested by the Act of Parliament which created it with 'all such rights and privileges as are possessed or enjoyed or can be exercised by other colleges in the University of Oxford,' and among these rights is no doubt included that of having its history written. But the College has not yet attained its thirtieth year, and whatever continuity it may claim with the halls which successively occupied the same site before it, it certainly possesses no continuous records. Halls have none of their own, and little is to be obtained from the registers of the University, under whose tutelage they are, beyond the meagre entries of the admission of Principals. It is, consequently, from the various works of Anthony Wood and the Diary of Thomas Hearne that the bulk of the materials for this volume have been collected. Besides these sources there are the early documents relating to Hart Hall, which owe their preservation to the ancient dependence of the Hall upon Exeter College, and were printed by the late Rev. C. W. Boase in his *Registrum Collegii Exoniensis*; and the prolonged resistance of the same College to the efforts of Dr. Newton in the eighteenth century to pro-

cure the incorporation of the Hall produced a rich crop of controversial literature on both sides, from which the history of the foundation of the first Hertford College may be gathered without much difficulty.

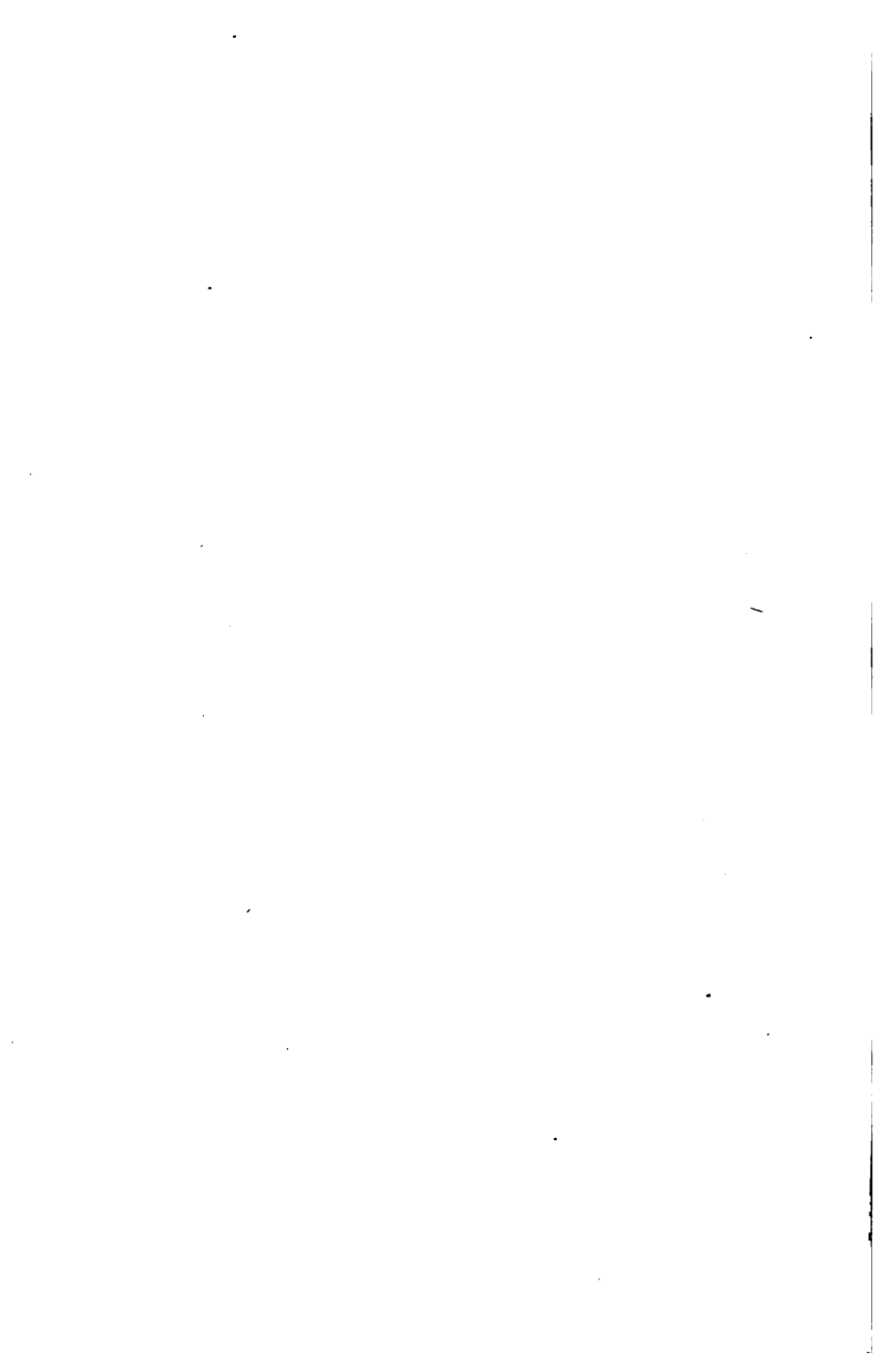
For a collection of transcripts of such documents relating to the Hall as are to be found in the University Archives, I am indebted to the Principal of the College, the Rev. Dr. Boyd, for whom they were made some years ago, as also for some original letters and papers bearing on the matters narrated in pp. 77-80. To the Rev. Hastings Rashdall, fellow of New College (besides the debt which everyone who touches upon Oxford history necessarily owes to the historian of the Universities of the Middle Ages), I am obliged for a sight of the New College evidences, which however throw less light than I had hoped upon the interesting episode in the history of Hart Hall, of the occupation of its buildings by Wykeham's scholars. For information about matters of recent date I must also express my acknowledgments to two of my colleagues: to the late Rev. G. S. Ward, whose recent loss the College laments, after a continuous residence as a member of Magdalen Hall and Hertford College of over fifty years; and to Mr. C. N. Jackson, to whom, amongst other things, I am particularly indebted for the list of athletic distinctions in the Appendix.

S. G. HAMILTON.

HERTFORD COLLEGE, OXFORD,
December 6, 1902.

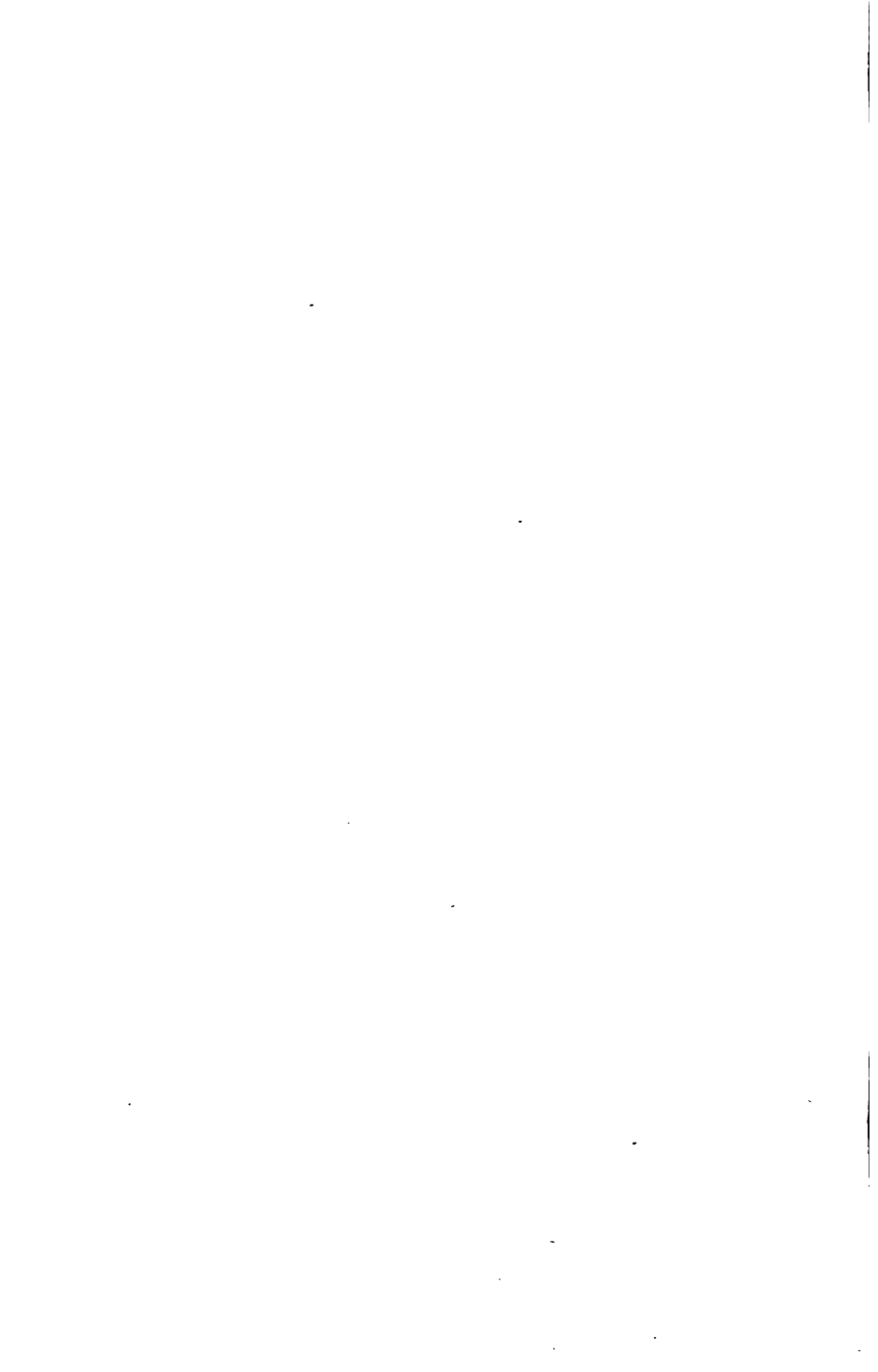
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CHAPTER I

HART HALL—EARLY HISTORY

HERTFORD COLLEGE, the youngest of Oxford foundations, must found its claim to a history on the two halls of which it is the heir and successor, and the site on which its buildings stand. Towards the end of the thirteenth century no less than five halls, besides other tenements, were crowded upon the space which has proved too narrow for the present College. That one among them which was destined to absorb and impose its name upon the rest was first 'letten to scholars' by one Elias of Hertford some time after 1283, when he purchased it, and before 1301, when he made it over to his son. This original tenement occupied the site of the present library of the College, and some parts of the buildings adjoining it towards the west; further to the west was Black Hall, belonging to the University. To the east was Shield Hall, shortly to be demolished by William of Wykeham, though the north-east corner of Hertford College seems to cover a small portion of its site.* The

* Elias's purchase included a piece of ground which had been let by Henry Punchard, one of his predecessors in title, to the Prioress of Stodley, the owner of Shield Hall, doubtless to be joined to that hall. This ground, at any rate, was absorbed by Hart Hall at a very early date.

frontage of these tenements was upon the present New College Street, then called, from the name of a Hall further to the east, Hammer Hall Lane, which separated them from the town wall. Fronting Cat Street was the entrance* to Arthur Hall, and further to the south Cat Hall, on the site of the present Principal's house.

Elias of Hertford is by no means to be regarded as a pious founder; all he did was to invest in a kind of house property for which there was a special demand in Oxford. The rent, indeed, of such houses was fixed quinquennially by the Taxors, a committee appointed jointly by the University and the town; but for five years together it was certain, and in those days such an investment probably offered better security than could readily be obtained elsewhere. That the name of Elias's place of origin† has become permanently associated with his purchase seems to be the result of a mere blunder, or at least a hasty conjecture. Elias used for a seal the device of a hart's head with a cross between

* It must be remembered that the line of frontage on Cat Street was considerably thrown back in 1822, when the Magdalen Hall buildings were erected. A line drawn from the now projecting corner of All Souls Library, parallel with the front of Hertford College, would fairly represent the old frontage. The entrance to Arthur Hall was a passage between private tenements; the hall itself lay so far back as to adjoin the back of Hart Hall, and the two halls together formed a capital L, cutting off Black Hall with the tenements adjoining it, which made the corner of Cat Street and Hammer Hall Lane.

† Presumably he came from Hertford. His deed of quitclaim to his son (May 10, 1301) is dated at Wycombe, as it were half-way home from Oxford. His designation in the Latin deeds concerned with Hart Hall is *Elias de Hertford*; but to call him so in English gives a false impression of *de Hertford* being a surname, whereas his son calls himself *Elias filius Elie de Hertford*.

the antlers, which has been adopted by Hertford College for its arms; and it is most likely that the outside of his hall was decorated with a hart or a hart's head by way of a sign. At any rate, the name of Hart Hall—*Aula Cervina*—was well established by the first year of the fourteenth century, and there is nothing to show that it was ever known by any other name. That it was called first Hertford's, and then 'for brevity' Hert or Hart Hall, though stated with great confidence by Anthony Wood, seems to be a mere fiction of the antiquary, to which his great authority has given currency.

Elias made over his rights in 'le Herthalle' to his son Elias in May, 1301; and a month later the son sold the hall to John of Ducklington,* a wealthy citizen and fishmonger of Oxford, who, seven years later, acquired also the adjoining Arthur Hall. Ducklington is best known as the founder of the chantry forming the south aisle of St. Aldate's Church, which long served as chapel and library to Broadgates Hall, subsequently Pembroke College. To Broadgates, which, like Hart Hall, was his property, he thus proved in some measure a founder; Hart and Arthur Halls he sold in 1312 to Walter Stapledon, Bishop of Exeter, who was then seeking a site for the College which he had in mind to found.

Stapledon's purchase closes the first period of the halls' existence, of which we know nothing beyond

* I prefer Hearne's 'John Ducklington' to Wood's 'John de Dokelynton,' since the last form needlessly obscures the name of the place from which, as I cannot but think, the worthy fishmonger came, Ducklington by Witney.

what can be gleaned from the deeds which passed between the successive owners. But the history of a hall of that early date would be no more than the history of a lodging-house. Colleges were few, and restricted, as a rule, to a handful of foundationers; halls were innumerable, small in size, and anything but permanent, their names quite unknown to the world at large. People were content to know that a man was a 'clerk of Oxenford,' and no more troubled to know anything more about him than the still large class of persons who think and speak of the University as 'Oxford College.' But if a hall was externally very like a lodging-house, internally it was something more: it was a lodging-house in which the lodgers formed a community—a community originally of poor scholars, who clubbed together for their necessary expenses of lodging and meals. In their dealings with their landlord they were represented by their Principal, not at first an official superior imposed upon them by authority, but one of their own number elected by themselves to be responsible for the rent. Ability to get credit was his chief qualification. The landlord was generally a townsman, and as the Chancellor of the University was the recognised guardian of scholars as against citizens, it was the established practice for the newly-elected Principal to appear before him with his sureties for the rent he was to pay. The Chancellor, if he thought them insufficient, could reject them; and from this small beginning grew his constantly increasing influence in these elections, culminating in an absolute right of nomination.

At the time when Hart Hall first became a dwelling

of scholars, the Great Hall of the University was struggling into collegiate existence on the rather scanty endowment of William of Durham; and it was easy enough for any hall, being already an informal corporation, to become a permanent college through the favour of a munificent patron, if it could find one.* It might have seemed that such was the destiny of Hart Hall when Bishop Stapledon became its owner. For rather more than a year, indeed, it was actually the home of Stapledon's scholars; but the bishop having purchased a more spacious site for his foundation, the scholars and the name of 'Stapledon Hall' were transferred thither, and Hart Hall resumed its former name and status, with the change, on the whole for the better, of having a permanent and academic landlord in Exeter College, as the bishop's foundation soon came to be called. For the moment the Hall seems to have been altogether emptied by the migration. In the interval which follows, we catch a glimpse of one Walter de Plescy, who had a ten years' lease of Arthur Hall from the College from Michaelmas, 1334.† But this is the last time that this hall is separately

* Yet this transformation did not as often occur as one might expect; only four of the existing Colleges (University, Pembroke, Worcester, Hertford) can fairly be said to have been developed out of previously existing halls. It was quite a different thing when a new foundation, such as Wykeham's or Wolsey's, sat down (like Tiberius at Capri) 'on the names and sites' of a dozen or so of halls, which were obliterated in the process.

† It may be observed that the term of Plescy's lease begins immediately after the great secession to Stamford (May, 1334); whether Hart Hall was particularly affected by this secession or not we cannot tell. In the interval between Plescy and Hawe occurred the coming to Oxford of the Black Death (1349) and the great riot of St. Scholastica's day (1355). The whole period was one of great disturbance.

mentioned, and it is probable that Arthur Hall under Plesceye included Hart Hall, as it is certain that it was itself included in the Hart Hall of which 'Mr. Nicholas Hawe occurs Principal,' as Wood puts it, in 1360.

But before the Hall could settle down to its proper course of existence, it was once again to serve as the temporary home of a great college. While William of Wykeham's magnificent buildings were in course of erection, his scholars, already incorporated, were lodged in Hart and Black Halls, and the first two Wardens of New College consequently appear also on the list of Principals of Hart Hall. Such, of course, was their formal position in the view of Exeter College, to which they paid rent, and of the Chancellor of the University, before whom they pledged themselves to pay it. Richard Tonworth, the first Warden of Wykeham's foundation, passed the whole of his short term of office in Hart Hall. It was under his successor, Nicholas Wykeham, that the foundation-stone of the College was laid in 1380, and the buildings were sufficiently advanced for him to take possession of them with due solemnity in 1386. The Warden, it seems, had been already settled for some time in his new abode, since Thomas Cranleigh, the first Warden of Wykeham's College at Winchester, appears to have succeeded him as Principal in 1384. Under Cranleigh's principalship and that of his three Wyccamical successors* the migration of Wykeham's scholars into their own college was gradually carried out, and was

* John Walter, 1387; William Ware, 1388; John Wryngton, 1391. There was yet another Wyccamical Principal, John Wytham, 1397-98. The sequence of these names suggests that room was found in New College for Wykeham's Scholars in *alphabetical* order.

probably completed by the time that Cranleigh himself succeeded to the wardenship.* The management of the Hall reverted to Exeter College; but a certain connection with New College had been established, which lasted longer. For the next century and a half, on the rare occasions when a break occurs in the regular succession of Exeter Principals of the Hall, the place was filled from New College; and until late in the seventeenth century there are frequent instances of Wykehamists matriculating at Hart Hall while waiting for a vacancy on their own foundation.†

* Whether this were in 1389 (Lowth) or 1393 (Wood). It seems probable, though there is no proof, that Wykeham had a lease of Hart Hall from Exeter College. A lease of twenty-one years from 1377, when Wykeham was about to begin building, would just bring us to 1398, when Exeter resumes possession, and would account for the Hall being in the hands of New College so much longer than it was wanted.

There is, indeed, among the New College evidences an actual conveyance of a messuage, called Hart Hall, to Wykeham's agents. But the name of the vendor, the Prioress of Stodley, and the description of the premises, show plainly that this Hart Hall was further to the east than ours, and divided from it by Shield Hall. Now, there may have been many Hart Halls in Oxford—there was certainly one other by Merton; but it is not likely that there would have been two so close together in the same street. I should therefore suppose that this one received its name from being temporarily occupied by the scholars of Hart Hall when they were turned out by Wykeham, and that they went back to their own home as soon as it was again vacant. It would have been so long before their temporary lodging was wanted, since that must have occupied the site of part of the cloister of New College and perhaps of the Warden's stables, and neither of these buildings was begun until the habitable part of the College was finished.

† An illustrious instance is Bishop Ken, matriculated March 10, 1658, Hart Hall, but admitted to New College before the end of the year. Wood has (rightly, I think) omitted him from his list of *Hart Hall Bishops*, yet he has as much claim to a place in it as Cranleigh (the previously mentioned Warden of New College, Archbishop of Dublin, 1397), whom he inserts.

Under the rule of Exeter College the principalship of Hart Hall became practically a College office, held generally for only a few years together either by one of the fellows or by some person nominated by them. The office was still, of course, theoretically elective, and the electors were the scholars of the Hall; but as the Principal's chief responsibility was at first the rent, it was natural that the landlord's nominee should be elected. But as time went on, it was not so much on its rights as landlord that the College was disposed to insist. The old provisions for the protection of halls against exaction on the part of their owners presupposed a sort of landlords who, if not exactly the natural enemies of scholars, would at least aim at making as much out of them as they could for their own profit. When colleges became owners of halls, landlord and tenant questions fell into the background, and in proportion as they did so the academical position of the Principal of the Hall increased in importance. By the latter half of the fifteenth century most of the teaching work of Exeter College had come to be carried on in Hart Hall. It was there that lectures were given and disputations held, to which the scholars of Exeter themselves were bound to resort. It was the province of the Principal of the Hall to punish defaulters, or in extreme cases to report them to the Rector.* So that at this period the Principal of Hart Hall was in reality what we should call the chief tutor of Exeter College.

Prominent among the Principals of the fifteenth

* Boase, *Reg. Coll. Exon*, lxxiii. At this time, and until 1566, the rectorship of Exeter was an annual office; the Principal of Hart Hall had consequently a more permanent position.

century was Gilbert Kymer, Doctor of Medicine and twice Chancellor* (1431-33 and 1446-53). He was not of Exeter College, and it is possible he was himself a scholar of the Hall; if so, he and the chronicler, William of Worcester,† are the only alumni of much distinction belonging to the century that Hart Hall can claim. Kymer became Principal in 1412, in which year he was also Proctor; his term of office in the Hall was short, but doubtless his experience there contributed to the making of the first code of Aularian Statutes, which was drawn up under his auspices during his first tenure of the chancellorship. Kymer's code is no longer extant, but the making of statutes for the halls by the University is an important event in their history. They gained by it in status, but in return they had to submit to stricter control. When we come to a provision in the second—still extant—code (about 1488), 'That every member of a Hall shall pay due honour to his Principal as his superior and governor . . . under pain of expulsion and denunciation to the Chancellor as a rebel,' we have evidently travelled a long way from the time when a Principal was merely the most solvent of an association of poor scholars. It was also under Kymer's chancellorship that the suppression of 'chamberdekyns'‡

* Kymer was also physician to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and acted as his intermediary in conveying to Oxford the famous library which the Duke gave to the University. He died Dean of Salisbury in 1463.

† Otherwise Botoner, the name of his mother's family.

‡ Scholars who rented a *chamber* for themselves in the town, outside any college or hall, and were consequently subject to no discipline but that of the University. This is unquestionably what the word meant; it is not so clear why it should mean what it does. A *chamber-deacon* should be some sort of bedmaker, but scholars of this class also lay in the beds which they made.

was decreed ; it was not, indeed, until the seventeenth century that this decree could be properly enforced, but in theory every scholar from this time forward had to be attached to a college or to one of the halls, whose position was now regularized. These reforms led naturally to a gradual diminution of the number of halls. Of those occupying our site, Hart and Arthur Halls had long since been completely united. Black Hall, joined with them for a time for the use of Wykeham's foundation, had now again its own Principal ; but that Principal was the nominee of Exeter College, which rented the buildings from the University. Not unfrequently he was the same person as the Principal of Hart Hall, an arrangement which was made permanent in 1530. Cat Hall, leased by the University to All Souls from about 1450, and governed by fellows of that College as Principals for some fifty years, was also rented by Exeter after 1509, but was no longer used as an academical hall. By the date of the dissolution of monasteries Hart Hall had absorbed all its immediate neighbours.

That event touched the Hall in its only endowment. In the course of the previous century a knight named Bignell—not improbably that Sir John Bignell to whose known generosity the University appealed in 1490 for a donation towards the repair of St. Mary's*—had bestowed certain lands on the Abbey of Glastonbury, on condition that ten scholars should be maintained from the revenues in Hart Hall. After the surrender of the Abbey the payment of the pension, then amounting to 50 marks a year, five for each

* *Epistola Academica* (ed. Anstey), p. 574.

scholar, continued to be made, at first from the Exchequer, afterwards by the Marquis of Winchester, who had become the owner of the lands from which it arose. After his death, in 1571, the payment ceased, and some fruitless negotiations followed, the only result of which seems to have been that Queen Elizabeth, having had her attention called to this endowment, with characteristic munificence settled one-half of it on Sir Walter Mildmay's new Cambridge foundation of Emmanuel College; the remainder was not recovered for Hart Hall until the time of the Commonwealth. So far Brian Twyne is justified, in 1608, in speaking of the Hall as having to deplore the iniquity of past times in the loss of its revenue; but in speaking of it as a 'colony of Glastonbury Abbey' he greatly exaggerates.* Presumably Bignell's scholars came from the monastery school of Glastonbury, but the greater number of the scholars of the Hall were such as would have been commoners of Exeter had there been any place in that College for others than foundationers.† It may be admitted that the Glastonbury exhibitioners formed a kind of college, which must have contributed to the independence and stability of the Hall, and in this way Bignell's foundation may be set down as one of the causes why it was Hart Hall that absorbed its neighbours instead of being absorbed by them.

* Twyne's *Miscellanea de Aulis*, at the end of his *Apologia*. His words are: 'Aula Cervina, vulgo Herthall, olim Monasterii Glasconiensis colonia, unde et 30 annui redditus libras percipere antea solebat; quibus nunc diu orbata superiorum paulo temporum iniquitatem deplorat.'

† The College did not receive commoners, in the modern sense of the term, before the middle of the sixteenth century.

Kymer was succeeded as Principal by William Payne, a fellow of Exeter; after him followed six Principals not belonging to that College, but as at least three of their family names are of frequent occurrence in the Exeter registers, it may be supposed that they were West-countrymen and scholars of the Hall. From Michael Trewynard, who succeeded in 1436, for a full century the series of Exeter Principals is broken only by the names of William Somaster (evidently a Devonian), in 1463, and John Fermour, a fellow of New College, in 1465. In 1482 James Babbe was at once Principal of the Hall and Rector of Exeter; the next year he added to these two offices that of Proctor; two years later he died of the sweating sickness. William Glover, Principal in 1499, was one of a large number who received a special command from the King to 'forbear for the future hunting after and killing the King's deer.* In 1506 William Ewan, Principal of Hart Hall, met with a violent end in an affray on August 8 'between the Southern and Northern Scholars, who, being gathered together in the High-street before St. Mary's Church, about four o'clock in the afternoon, fought with arms in an hostile manner.'† Pestilence alternated with riot during the latter years of Henry VII., yet the same period saw the visit of Erasmus to Oxford and the beginning of the New Learning.

In 1522-27 the Principal was John Moreman, who shortly afterwards distinguished himself as one of the five who held out to the last in Convocation against giving to Henry VIII. the answer he desired to his

* Wood, *Annals*, i. 656.

† Wood, *Ibid.*, i. 663.

question about the lawfulness of his marriage with Catherine of Aragon.* Moreman rented Black Hall from the College for 6s., as well as Hart Hall for 40s.; under his successor, John Whyte, the two halls were finally united. Whyte was succeeded by John French in 1535, who was also elected Rector of Exeter in 1539. An intruder followed, Roger Bromhall, fellow of New College, who was Principal 1541-43. The principalship reverted to Exeter College with the election of William More, who in turn was succeeded by another fellow of the College, Thomas Vyvyan, who resigned in 1548.

At the date of his election Bromhall was Proctor, and it is just possible that as the representative of the Masters of the University he may have chosen to champion the freedom of the electors by offering himself as a candidate. But even if this were the case, it is probable that the matter had been arranged with Exeter College beforehand; at no time more than during the first half of the sixteenth century did Hart Hall seem to be a mere dependency of the College. It was under the principalship of Philip Rondell, the successor of Vyvyan, that the Hall began to stand alone.

* Wood, *Annals* ii. 48, *sqq.* The answer finally sent to the King, after a year's delay, was dated April 8, 1530. There are conflicting accounts of how it was passed, and two versions of the list of the five dissentients; but both agree in giving the names of Moreman and Holyman (who received from Queen Catherine's daughter the bishopric of Bristol). In 1549, when the West Country rose in revolt against the new Prayer-Book, Moreman was one of the two divines whom the rebels demanded to be beneficed among them ('Dr. Moreman and Dr. Crispin, who hold our opinions'—Froude, iv. 418, chap. xxvi.), with the result to Moreman that he spent the rest of Edward VI.'s reign in the Tower. He died 1554.

CHAPTER II

HART HALL—RONDELL AND HIS SUCCESSORS

IN 1548, when Vyvyan resigned his principalship, great changes at Oxford were fresh in men's minds, and greater were expected. The monastic Colleges had not long been dissolved and the University generally visited with considerable severity by Henry VIII.'s Commissioners, and a more drastic Visitation was now looked for. Pending the appointment of the new Commission, a royal injunction had been issued forbidding the filling up of all vacant places in the University. The Chancellor at this time was Dr. Cox, Dean of Christ Church, soon to be himself the life and soul of the new Visitation; and in pursuance of the injunction he refused permission to the fellows of Exeter to proceed to the (annual) election of a Rector,* an action which doubtless made a due impression on the dependency of Exeter, since we find that Philip Rondell,† on his election as Principal of Hart Hall, was admitted 'by

* The result, and apparently the intention, of the visitors being to make the office perpetual, like other headships. William More, the existing Rector—he had preceded Vyvyan in Hart Hall—retained his position until Queen Mary's accession.

† I follow the traditional spelling of his name. Boase, in *Reg. Coll. Exon.*, writes *Randell*. The name is the same which appears in the various forms *Randell*, *Rendall*, *Rondell*, or *Rundle*.

the Chancellor's special licence.' Other newly elected Principals were admitted at this time in the usual manner by the Vice-Chancellor; the halls, in fact, as compared with the colleges, offered but little material to King Edward's visitors, and seem to have been left very much to themselves.

In Exeter College the attitude adopted towards the religious changes of the time was one of grudging acquiescence, and Rondell's sentiments were those of the majority of his colleagues. He became Rector of the College in 1556, and resigned his fellowship at the end of his year of office, at a time when it could hardly have been expected that the Reformers would shortly again have the upper hand in the Church of England. Yet so it was; and under Elizabeth Rondell's Hall, like some others, became a refuge for those adherents of the old religion to whom a college without a chapel furnished an opportunity to evade attendance at the new services. Such a one was Thomas Neale, Professor of Hebrew 1558-69. He had been fellow of New College, but on his return to Oxford from a country benefice at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign he became a member of Hart Hall, and built himself a house 'joining to the west end of New College cloister,' and opposite to the Hall of which he had become a member—an enthusiastic member, if we may judge from what he says of it in his *Topographica Delineatio*, addressed to the Queen on the occasion of her visit to Oxford in 1566:

Harum [i.e., aularum] quæ forma est pulcherrima, proxima
tectis

Aula, Wykame, tuis ordine prima subit.

Quæ licet hic primas videatur habere, sororum
 At nulli laudem detrahit illa suam.
 Inclyta nobilium numerosa pube referta
 Cervina a cervi nomine dicta domus.
 Eminent hæc aliis formæque situsque nitore
 Ut cursu canibus cerva præire solet :
 Unde suo merito Cervina hæc dicitur Aula,
 In media cervi cornua fronte gerens.

The remaining eight halls are dismissed in half a dozen lines, with an apology for dwelling on them at such length!* Neale naturally insists on the beauty and brightness (*nitore*) of Hart Hall, since he saw daily from his windows what are now the oldest buildings of Hertford College, then new and fresh from the stone-cutters' hands. The old hall, which has served as the library since its disuse as a dining-hall in 1888, and the old buttery connected with it, forming the north-east corner of the present quadrangle, were built by Rondell in the early years of Elizabeth's reign; he repaired at the same time the other buildings of the Hall, all of which

* The last *two* lines account for *five* Halls :

' Sacra Mariæ, Alburnensis, Glocestria, divi
 Edmundi, ac demum Magdalis aula frequens.'

It is some gratification to find that our other hall, Magdalen, is redeemed from utter insignificance by its numbers. Neale's poem is cast in the form of a dialogue between Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Leicester, who, as Chancellor of the University, is supposed to be acting as the Queen's guide, describing the different colleges in turn. It was first printed by Hearne in 1713, and since by Mr. Plummer in *Elizabethan Oxford* (Oxf. Hist. Soc., 1887).

It must be noticed that Neale has no idea of Hart Hall ever having been called by any other name, and in the last line of his sketch he seems clearly to connect the name with a painted or sculptured hart's head on some part of the building, very likely opposite his own house.

have since been entirely reconstructed. A glance at Agas' map (drawn in 1578*) gives a good idea of the general appearance of Hart Hall as it was under Rondell. There are Rondell's new buildings at the corner, rising above the other parts of the Hall; in front of them in the lane is something that looks like a line of posts and rails, suggesting that Hart Hall then claimed more ground towards the north than it actually occupied; from the buttery southwards runs a long range of building, in which was then the kitchen, ending with the Principal's lodgings, which project westwards, threatening, as it were, to enclose a quadrangle of about half the size of the present. To the south of the Principal's lodgings is open ground, occupied by gardens up to the boundary of All Souls; opposite, though a little to the north, opening upon Cat Street, is the old entrance of Arthur Hall, apparently an open passage barred by a wicket-gate. This, though the largest entrance, was then considered the back-gate of Hart Hall.† A block of building on the south of this entrance belonged to the Hall; two lines of houses which run south from it, the one fronting Cat Street, the other parallel with it, seem to have been in private hands. To the north of the gate is Black Hall, fringed

* But not engraved until 1588. Neale's verses on the colleges were written to illustrate Bereblock's drawings of them, which were executed as a present for Queen Elizabeth on her visit before mentioned. These drawings were added as a border to the reproduction of Agas' map by R. Whittlesey in 1728. Some notes of Neale in prose appear on Agas' original map; the same with additions on the reproduction.

† Leonard Hutten's *Antiquities of Oxford* (written early in Charles I.'s reign), p. 141: 'In Catt Streete . . . there is the back Doore of Hart Hall on the right hand, and the great Front of the new Schooles on the left.'

towards Cat Street by private tenements, but having a frontage on New College Street. Between it and Rondell's buildings is the narrow doorway which was then the principal gate of the Hall. On the other side of the street runs a low wall, parallel with which and behind it is the wall of the city; the space between the two walls is as yet vacant, except for a group of houses at the western end clustered against the octagonal chapel of Our Lady at Smithgate, which recent demolition has again exposed to view, and at the eastern extremity appears Neale's house, built in the angle between the city wall and the outside of New College cloister.

After Exeter College had received a fresh endowment from Sir William Petre and a new Charter from Queen Elizabeth in 1566, nothing more is heard of Exeter scholars resorting to Hart Hall for lectures and disquisitions; probably the practice gradually ceased as the College began to receive commoners in addition to scholars on the foundation. At the same time the field from which the Hall drew its members was enlarged; the matriculation lists no longer show any great preponderance of the western counties; there are numerous entries from Wales; there is one in 1568 of the son of a Yorkshire knight;* in 1573 there is even one of a Scotsman. Wood† tells us of Rondell that 'he had weathered out several changes of religion, though in his heart he was a Papist, but durst not show it.' Some of his former colleagues at Exeter,

* It was but little more than sixty years since a Principal of the Hall had been killed in a fight between North and South (p. 12).

† *Ath. Ox.*, i. 480, under Alexander Briant.

who were more daring, were ejected* or retired from the College, which gradually became Puritan; while the Hall, under Rondell's long principalship, drifted further and further from it. But the Hall achieved formal as well as practical independence under the chancellorship of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, who during his tenure of that office 'altered almost the whole government of the University, in some things for the better, but in most for the worse.'† Amongst other alterations, whether for better or for worse, he took into his own hands the appointment of the Principals of halls‡—a right which was perhaps deemed to be already in existence, but, at any rate, was confirmed to Leicester and his successors in office by Convocation. The scholars of the halls still met, as before, to elect their Principal; but they were now summoned and presided over by the Chancellor's deputy, and, as in the case of the election of a bishop by a chapter, the leave to elect was accompanied by a recommendation, which was practically a command, to elect a particular person.

Hart Hall, owing to its Principal's longevity, was unaffected by this change during Leicester's chancellorship, and was probably not greatly affected by Leicester's institution of divinity readers for the halls, although

* Including the Rector, John Neale, who refused to attend the chapel service.

† Wood, *Annals*, ii. 167.

‡ Except Edmund Hall, the appointment to which had been reserved to Queen's College by an agreement between the College and the University at the beginning of the century. The fact of such an agreement having been made seems to be an acknowledgment of the normal right of the University, represented by the Chancellor.

great stir was made in the University generally about the reader appointed for Hart Hall. This was one Antonio Corrano, a Spanish Protestant. There is some reason to think that in this, as in some other appointments, Leicester was moved by a praiseworthy desire to keep alive the intercourse of Oxford with the Continent, which the Reformation had gone far to break off, and, conversely, it is likely enough that the opposition to Corrano was largely due to insularity; in any case, the appointment was unpopular. Although Leicester favoured the Puritans—was by way of being a Puritan himself—the heads of that party, then dominant in Oxford, were not inclined to trust him blindly with the choice of theological teachers; and during the time Corrano resided in Oxford he was constantly being called upon to purge himself of charges of heresy, and to the last the University evaded conferring upon him the promised degree in divinity.* Still, for ten years (1576-85) he held the post of ‘lector catechismi’ in Hart Hall and the others† to which he was appointed. Doubtless Rondell, as a ‘Papist in his heart,’ was well pleased that the Protestant teacher in his Hall—if he must have one—should be one whose reputation as a heretic deprived his teaching of half its authority.

At the same time with Corrano there was a tutor of a different school flourishing in Hart Hall, Richard Holtbie by name, who had come from Cambridge in 1574, and subsequently transferred his activities, and

* Promised conditionally upon his clearing himself of certain charges of heresy; but when he offered himself for the purpose no one appeared to accuse him. He *matriculated* only October 1, 1586 (from Christ Church), just before leaving Oxford.

† St. Mary and Gloucester Halls.

apparently some of his pupils, to Douay. 'Many persons,' Wood tells us, 'who were afterwards noted in the Roman Church, were educated under him.* And after Holtbie's departure the Hall was still a resort for the sons of those numerous Catholic families who were still hoping for a reaction in religion, though unwilling to assist in bringing it about by violent methods. It was quite in accordance with the character of the Hall that John Donne was matriculated here, at the early age of eleven, in 1584, since we find that a few years afterwards he forbore to take his degree, 'by advice from his family, who, being for their religion of the Romish persuasion, were conscionably averse to some parts of the oath that is always tendered at those times.† Eventually, but not until 1610, the future Dean of St. Paul's was created M.A. by the University without the usual exercises, *tanquam optime de republica litteris et religione meritis*.‡

In the days when the subordination of the Hall to Exeter College was unquestioned, the Rector and fellows had granted to Philip Rondell a twenty-one years' lease (dated June 10, 1559) of their 'Tenement or House, ordained for the advancement of learning, comenly called Hart Hall,' at a yearly rent of 33s. 4d.,

* Wood specially mentions him as the tutor of Alexander Briant (*Ath. Ox.*, s.n.), who was executed for high treason as a seminary priest, December, 1581. Among Hart Hall *traitors* Francis Throckmorton (matriculated 1572) must not be forgotten. He was convicted of high treason, May 21, 1584, having been for some time past in correspondence with the Queen of Scots and several persons abroad in a plot for the invasion of England by the Duke of Guise.

† Walton's *Life of Donne*.

‡ April 17, 1610. Donne was then still a layman.

the sum, be it observed, at which it had been 'taxed' in 1551.* This lease had run for only fourteen years, when Rondell's tenure was prolonged by the execution of a fresh one in identical terms (July 20, 1572). Both these instruments bound the tenant not to assign or underlet the Hall 'but only to one fit and able man for that purpose of the foundation of Exeter College,' showing that the latter did not intend, if they could help it, to relax their hold on the Hall. Yet there is an acknowledgment that the College felt their legal position to be not quite unassailable in the further provision that, 'for the better accomplishment of the same,' Rondell is to 'use and practise all honest and friendly means with the Company of the Hall and the Chancellor or his Commissary of the University'—that is, to induce the *aulares* to elect, and the Chancellor to admit, the nominee of the College. Rondell was still Principal when this second lease expired in 1593, but his age—he was now seventy-nine—induced him to commit the care of his Hall to a Vice-Principal. He chose, no doubt by arrangement with Exeter College, John Eveleigh, one of the fellows. The College used the opportunity for the advancement of their claims. They gave a fresh lease for twenty-one years (October 10, 1593) to Eveleigh on the same terms as those granted to Rondell, but in addition Eveleigh was required to enter into a bond not to disturb Rondell in his principalship and his tenure of the Hall as long as he lived. As a matter of fact, neither Eveleigh nor the College could

* As has been mentioned, the rent paid by Moreman was 40s. ; but since this last intervention of the taxors no attempt to raise it was ever made.

turn him out; but the object was that immediately upon Rondell's decease Eveleigh should be in actual possession of the Hall, and his succession as Principal practically assured.

Rondell lived for some five years longer. His principalship had been a period of prosperity for the Hall. According to a census taken in 1552, in the troubled times of the Visitation, Hart Hall had then forty-five members, and in point of numbers stood eighth in the whole list of colleges and halls together; in 1568 there were sixty-five names on the books, besides eight *servientes*,* and for a long period after that date an average of twenty-five matriculations a year was kept up. The wonder is how such large numbers could have been accommodated in a hall which, with all Rondell's new buildings, only occupied half the ground of the present quadrangle.

At the time of Rondell's death (March 11, 1599),†

* These were cook, butler, manciple, a 'vice-cook,' two 'vice-manciples,' with two others. In 1552 Hart Hall had only a 'cookesse.'

† Wood (*City of Oxford*, ed. Clarke, iii. 180) has preserved his epitaph in the Church of St. Peter-in-the-East, which has now disappeared; it is a strange medley of doggerel and pedantry:

'Epitaphium Philippi Rondell, Universitatis Oxon Artium Magistri, filii Thomæ Rondell de Lamerton comitat. Devon, vita foeliciter functi xi Martii an. Dom. 1598, et ætatis suæ 87.

Ecce Philippus in hoc tumulatur marmore Rondell
Lustra decem qui olim Cervinæ præfuit Aulæ
Collegii postquam Rector semel annuus Exon
Et socius fuerat, multos quibus ille scholares
Tam puræ exemplo vitæ quam dogmate sacro
Fecit doctrina morum et dulcedine claros,
Ut non discipulum sed dicas esse Cratippum
Cæcropiæ merito quam nobilitantur Athenæ.
Ut vixit sancte, sancte sic mortis adivit

John Eveleigh had governed the Hall as Vice-Principal for more than five years, and no difficulty was made about his succession as Principal. The Chancellor, elected in 1591 in succession to Sir Christopher Hatton, was Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, who, if he were not himself a member of Hart Hall, had at any rate sent his three sons to be educated there, and was probably sufficiently acquainted with its circumstances.* The lease from Exeter College of 1593, so far from being appealed to on this occasion, seems never even to have been entrusted to Eveleigh's keeping at all, but remained forgotten for more than a century among the college archives.

Eveleigh's principalship is chiefly distinguished by the matriculation at Hart Hall on the same day of the year 1600 of the famous John Selden and the infamous Sir Giles Mompesson. Selden, however, resorted to New College for tuition, and seems to have entered at Hart Hall chiefly in order to be as near as possible to his tutor,† of whose college he was not himself qualified to become a member. He was remembered at Hart Hall

Limina, cum coeli voluit qui vivere sanctis.
 Cum quibus esse rogo dubites nil, candide lector,
 Namque fide in Christum sperabat habere salutem.
 Cui simili vita fac sis, et morte secundus,
 Sic, morte invita, fuerit tibi vita perennis.'

I should suspect that *cuius* (scanned as a monosyllable) ought to be read for *quam* in line 8.

* Lord Buckhurst was a graduate of Cambridge, incorporated at Oxford after his election as Chancellor. It is not recorded, though it is probable enough, that he chose to be entered at the Hall of which his sons were members.

† Ant. Barker, fellow of New College.

by Mompesson as 'a long, scabby-pol'd boy, but a good student.' But though barely sixteen when he matriculated, within three years he abandoned Oxford for the Inns of Court, and it was his studies in the Inner Temple that procured him the title of 'the great dictator of learning of the English nation.' He sat afterwards in the Long Parliament as Burgess for the University, a position which in the circumstances of the time effectually separated him from his constituents, and his later relations with Oxford were somewhat strained. His library certainly found its way into the Bodleian, but rather, it seems, against his wishes, through the action of his executors.* He was an ornament to the Hall and the University, but for a man of learning very slightly indebted to either.

The year 1603 was remarkable for an exceptionally virulent outbreak of the plague, which spread from London to Oxford in the autumn. During the winter the University was practically suspended, and the Michaelmas term was kept only by a formal and thinly-attended congregation on December 5. Not until the following April was it thought safe for scholars to return, and the infection was not even then extinguished. In August, 1604, Principal Eveleigh fell a victim, and died 'at his house in St. Mary Magdalen's parish,' a circumstance which reminds us that he was the first Principal of the Hall with a wife and family.†

* Wood, *Ath. Ox.* (s.n.). He was offended at the University's refusal to lend him MSS., and cancelled the bequest which he had actually made of his books to the Bodleian. But he gave his executors full powers to deal with his library (and all his other property), and they carried out his original intention.

† Rondell had married late in life (after 1579), but left no children.

No doubt the accommodation of Rondell's lodgings was insufficient for him ; besides, it was as yet considered an innovation for the head of a house, though he might be married, to bring his wife to live within the College precincts.

The Chancellor was still the same Thomas Sackville, now become Earl of Dorset. On this occasion he exercised for the first time in Hart Hall the Chancellor's right to appoint a Principal. He nominated Theodore Price, a fellow of Jesus College. Apparently no objection was offered by Exeter College, although in theory their lease of the Hall to Eveleigh had still ten years to run. But the new Principal even contested the right of the College to receive rent for the Hall ; it was only after six years' litigation that he was ordered by the Chancellor in 1610 to pay the arrears since his predecessor's death, at the old rate of 33s. 4d. The Chancellor who made this order was Archbishop Bancroft,* a strenuous assertor of the rights of his office, who had done what he could to deprive Queen's College of their undoubted right to appoint the head of Edmund Hall, so that we may be sure that the ownership of Exeter College rested on the clearest evidence.

A memorial of Dr. Price's headship remains in the range of buildings immediately opposite the present college gate, now chiefly occupied as common-rooms, but serving until the dissolution of the first Hertford College as the Principal's lodgings. The upper story of this building is, however, of a later date. The Hall maintained its position in point of numbers under Price's headship, and seems to have preserved the tradi-

* Elected Chancellor April 22, 1608 ; died November 2, 1610.

tions of Rondell's time to the extent of being decidedly anti-Puritan in tone. Dr. Price himself was exceedingly obnoxious to the Puritans; Prynne described him as 'a professed unpreaching epicure and Arminian,' and was certain that he 'died a reconciled Papist to the Church of Rome.*' He had, however, while he lived, the rare good fortune to enjoy the favour both of Laud and of Laud's great rival, Bishop Williams. In March, 1622, on account of 'some speciall imployments in his Maiesties service,' he resigned his Principalship; already a Prebendary of Winchester, he was appointed to a like position at Westminster, where he died in 1631.

Four days after Dr. Price's resignation the scholars of the Hall elected,† on the Chancellor's nomination, Dr. Thomas Iles, of Christ Church, to the vacant headship. He continued the necessary work of building. The Principal's lodgings, as left by Dr. Price, shared with the rest of the Hall the common kitchen, placed

* Quoted by Wood from Prynne's *Canterburies Doome*. Prynne also says that Laud 'did endeavour to promote him (Price) to a Welsh Bishoprick, but was opposed by Philip, Earl of Pembroke; so Dr. Morgan Owen was preferred in his stead.' But Owen was not preferred until 1639, eight years after Price's death, and there was no 'Philip, Earl of Pembroke' until 1630, a year before it; so that Prynne, in his eagerness to strike at Laud through Price, has forgotten his dates. Morgan Owen would have been to Prynne quite as objectionable a bishop as Price, since it was he who built the south porch of St. Mary's Church, with its 'scandalous' figure of the Virgin and Child. He had taken his M.A. degree, by the way, from Hart Hall in 1616, though previously a member of Jesus College, and is therefore reckoned among the Hart Hall bishops.

† On March 13, 1622. The *aulares* who voted were 3 masters, 5 bachelors, and 19 undergraduate commoners. The Chancellor was William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke.

between them and the dining-hall. Dr. Iles built a new kitchen to the west of the dining-hall for the common use, and appropriated the old one to his own house. The new kitchen of the Hall must have blocked what had hitherto been the principal gateway, which, however, was still represented down to quite recent times by the door used as a tradesmen's entrance to the kitchen as long as the kitchen occupied that site. There was still left an outlet from the Hall into New College Street by the door that, before 1888, was the only ordinary entrance to the present Hertford College, in its origin probably the gate of Black Hall. However, the passage opening upon Cat Street now became the principal gate of the Hall, and to the north of it Dr. Iles constructed a small block of buildings containing chambers, besides some chambers above the new kitchen. Aubrey* relates that the afterwards famous Dr. Willis, when Dr. Iles' servitor at Christ Church, was employed by the doctor's wife to 'assist her in making of medicines,' she being 'a knowing woman in physique and surgery.' The story belongs to Dr. Iles' later days at Christ Church, but may perhaps explain his conversion of the Hall kitchen to his own (and his wife's) use; in any case, his buildings compensated amply for the encroachment.

In Dr. Iles' time began the strenuous chancellorship of Archbishop—then Bishop—Laud,† and it is rather remarkable that the first person to feel the pressure of the restored ecclesiastical discipline was one Thomas Hill, of Hart Hall, who had fallen foul of the new

* *Brief Lives* (ed. Clarke), ii. 303, under *Willis*.

† Elected in April, 1630, being then Bishop of London.

Arminian tenets in a sermon at St. Mary's in 1631: 'Popish darts, whet afresh on a Dutch grindstone, have pierced deep, and without speedy succour will prove mortal.' Hill, however, made without difficulty the very humble submission and recantation of his sermon required of him;* it was not from Hart Hall that Laud had to expect opposition.

Dr. Iles, having been promoted to a canonry in Christ Church, resigned his Principalship in March, 1633. His successor was Philip Parsons, a fellow of St. John's. The new Principal had been an unsuccessful candidate for the proctorship in the election of 1624,† which was memorable in those times for 'the greatest canvas in the memory of man.' Since then he had studied at Padua, whence he had returned a Doctor of Medicine, in which degree he was incorporated at Oxford, though already M.A., in 1628. On the occasion of his nomination to Hart Hall, Exeter College sent in a protest which, though ineffectual for the purpose intended,‡ seems to have had the effect of directing the Chancellor's attention to the affairs of Hart Hall. Black Hall and Cat Hall, as has already been related, were held on lease by Exeter from the University. The Principal of Hart Hall was in theory the subtenant of the College, but for many years he

* It must be remembered that his offence was not in preaching or opposing any particular doctrine, but in dealing with matters of controversy, contrary to the King's then recent Declaration, which is still prefixed to the Thirty-Nine Articles.

† The Proctors were then elected in Convocation. The first 'Cycle' was made in 1629.

‡ It was not noticed at the election of Dr. Parsons, which took place with the usual formalities, April 15, 1633.

had paid the rent of these two halls directly to the University. It was now discovered that the last lease had expired in 1624, and the University, acting no doubt by Laud's advice, refused to grant a fresh one to the College. This in the circumstances was natural enough ; but it is not so easy to understand why the University (always under Laud's guidance) should have taken the course of giving leases to townsmen, who in their turn made their profit by subletting to the Principal of the Hall. It was not till after the Restoration that these two halls, whose area was absolutely necessary to Hart Hall, were leased directly to the Principal.

Possibly in view of the diminishing numbers of the Hall the Principal did not feel justified in taking a long lease of the adjoining buildings. Under the rule of a Principal nominated by Laud the Hall was not likely to serve, as some of the halls did at this time, as a refuge and stronghold of the Puritan party ; nor would this have been in accordance with the traditions of the Hall itself. From whatever cause the numbers under Dr. Parsons certainly dwindled, and the Hall was finally depleted by the Civil War. When the Parliamentary Visitors sat to regulate the affairs of the University after the capitulation of 1646, only four members of Hart Hall appeared before them. All submitted, and three of the four were provided by the Visitors with forfeited fellowships elsewhere ; the fourth was the cook.

Nothing more is heard of the Principal. He had taken some part in the resistance of Oxford to the Parliament ; he had served on the Delegacy of 1642,

called 'The Council of War';* it was at his lodgings in Hart Hall that a later Delegacy met in November, 1647, to draw up directions for the use of those who should be summoned before the Visitors;† yet he himself, whether by retiring from Oxford altogether or by being beforehand in submitting himself to the Visitation, escaped unmolested. He retained in name at least the principalship of the deserted Hall until his death, which took place on May 1, 1653.

That the Hall was practically deserted seems to be shown by the proceedings at the appointment of Dr. Parsons' successor. There was no election, because there were no electors, and for the same reason it is likely that Oliver Cromwell, who was now Chancellor, took the unusual course of appointing by patent.‡ His

* Whose object was, according to Wood (*Annals*, ii. 447), 'to order all things that were to be done on the University behalf in joining with the Troopers (of Sir John Byron) for the finding of Maintenance for them during their abode here, and for providing of arms for the safety of the University.'

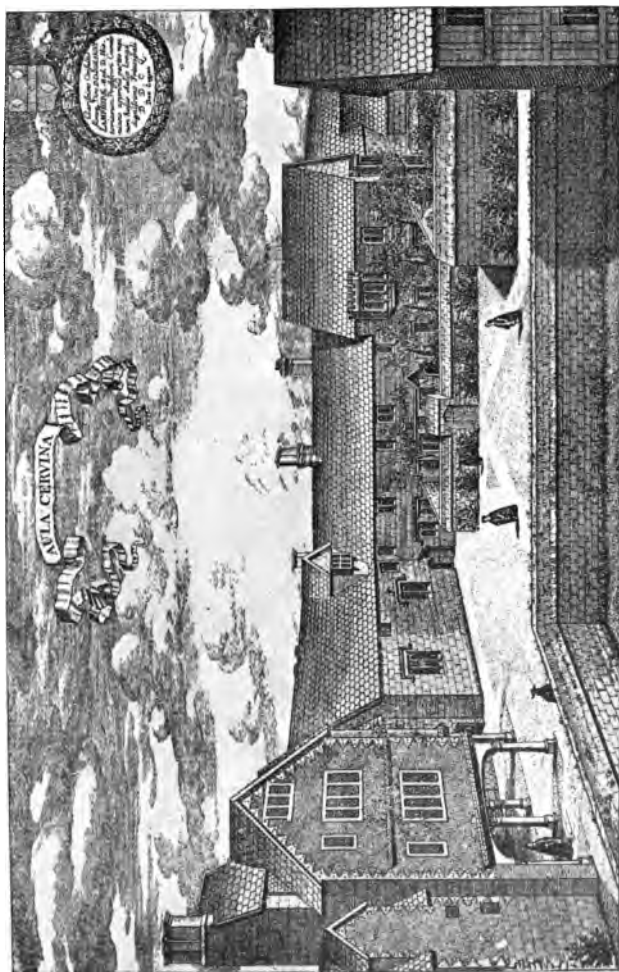
† Of these directions one clause is a fair epitome of the whole: 'Be sure to answer to no question positively "Yea" or "No."'

‡ This was the *first* document produced and read in the proceedings (*Univ. Reg.* D. 21, f. 70). It runs thus: 'To all to whom this present writing shall come, Knowe yee that I Oliver Cromwell Captaine Generall of the Armyes and forces of the Commonwealth of England and Chancellour of the University of Oxon, according to the Power and Priviledges to mee granted by the Statutes of the said University doe hereby Nominate Constitute and ordaine Mr. Philippe Stephens Master of Arts and one of the Fellows of New College to bee Principall of Hart Hall in the said University (the place being now vacant by the death of Dr. Parsons late Principall of the said Hall) to Have Hold Exercise and Enjoy the said office of Principall of the said Hall with all rights Privileges Customes and Emoluments thereunto belonging and of right appertaining Unto the said Phillip Stephens soe long as he shall well demeane himselfe therein. Given under my hand and Seale the twelfth day of May 1653. O. Cromwell.' *Next* was read this letter: 'For my worthy Friend

nominee was Philip Stephens, who, originally a member of St. Alban Hall, had been intruded by the Parliamentary Visitors into New College as Fellow, Bursar, and finally Subwarden. He was himself on the new Commission of Visitors appointed in 1654, and was even more conspicuous in the same year as a commander of horse, when, on the news of an expected Royalist rising — Penruddock's ill-fated rising — 'a troop of scholars was raised and armed, and put in a posture of defence under the command of Captain Stephens, Doctor of Physic and Principal of Hart Hall.' Dr. Stephens was frequently to be seen riding about with his troop, accompanied by Dr. Owen, the Vice-Chancellor, arrayed likewise with sword and pistols.* For the rest, Dr. Stephens was successful enough in restoring the numbers and character of his Hall, and it must always be remembered to his credit that he recovered for it the

Mr. Owen Vicechancellour of the University of Oxford these.—Sir, Upon the Vacancy that is now in Heart (*sic*) Hall through the death of Dr. Parsons the late Principall I have made choice of Mr Philippe Stephens Master of Arts and fellow of New College to succeed in that place ; he having the testimony and character of one very worthy and deserving. And I desire that you will take notice thereof and admitt him Principall of the said Hall According to the custom of the University. I rest—Your loving Friend, O. Cromwell.' This last is such a letter as the Chancellor was in the habit of writing by way of nomination, except that it would run '*see him elected and admitted*' in place of '*admitt*,' and it would be *followed* by the election of the person nominated. But in this case the patent first read took the place of the election, and the Vice-Chancellor proceeded at once to admission by handing to the new Principal the keys of the Hall, and conducting him into the Principal's lodgings. He ought also to have inscribed his name in the Buttery^s Book (*promptuarium*), but probably, in the circumstances of the Hall, there was none to be found on this occasion. In Cromwell's abnormal patent an abnormal feature is the *quamdiu se bene gesserit* clause.

* Wood, *Annals*, ii. 668.



LOGGAN'S VIEW OF HART HALL, 1675

remains of the Glastonbury exhibitions, which had been lost since 1571. There was no difficulty, when the Restoration drove him from his position, in gathering a sufficient number of scholars of the Hall for the election of his successor.

Dr. Stephens had been appointed to his principalship for so long only 'as he should demean himself well therein,' a limitation which made his ejection the easier when his friends were no longer in power. The months preceding the recall of Charles II. were marked at Oxford by a general replacement of Independents by Presbyterians in University offices, and it is likely that such a sturdy Independent as Stephens had already disappeared before the Restoration.* The restored Chancellor, the Duke of Somerset, treated his place as notoriously vacant. On June 21, 1660, the scholars of the Hall were summoned to elect Timothy Baldwyn, fellow of All Souls; but though a sufficient number of them appeared, no chance was given them of exercising their ancient, if merely formal, privilege; the precedent of the last admission was followed, and Dr. Baldwyn was installed without election. His principalship lasted no longer than was necessary to cause his predecessor to be regretted. It was generally understood that he regarded the Hall only as a stepping-stone to promotion in the law.† Having secured his desire, he resigned in

* He lived long afterwards, until 1680. Though he died in London, he was buried at St. Peter's-in-the-East, the parish church of his former Hall.

† Baldwyn was D.C.L., and just at this time the vacant offices in the Ecclesiastical Courts, suspended during the Commonwealth, were eagerly sought after by qualified persons. He became, in fact, Chancellor of Hereford and Worcester; finally, Master in Chancery and a knight.

1663. His neglect of the Hall is illustrated by a story told by Wood of a Hart Hall undergraduate, who coolly told the Proctor, by whom he had been found late in the streets, that 'our Hall doors are open all night.*

Dr. Baldwyn's successor was John Lamphire, a fellow of New College, who for not quite a year had been Principal of New Inn. In the times of the Protectorate Baldwyn and Lamphire had been members together of a club of royalists, which used to meet at Tillyard's coffee-house.† Lamphire is described as having been 'the natural droll' of this society. But he had also shown himself a man of principle in undergoing expulsion from New College by the Parliamentary Visitors, while Dr. Baldwyn was suspected of having secured immunity in his fellowship at All Souls by influence, if not bribery. Dr. Lamphire's natural gaiety was so far subdued by a quarter of a century as Principal of Hart Hall that he left behind him the reputation of 'a grave person and far from being jocose';‡ but this was perhaps only the conventional character of a model Principal. That he was a model Principal we may fairly gather from Wood's description of him as 'a

* Wood, *Life and Times* (Clarke), i. 56. According to Wood's version, the undergraduate also told the Proctor 'that neither religion, law, or gospel was there observed.' But this looks much more like an addition of the Proctor's own. Wood is clearly wrong in attributing this state of things to Dr. Lamphire, who only became Principal in 1663, the date of the incident.

† 'Against All Souls,' Wood (*Life and Times*, i. 201). This coffee-house was opened in 1655. Christopher Wren was another member of the club.

‡ Hearne (under date November 6, 1709). Yet this description prefaces the story of a joke of Dr. Lamphire's.

good, generous, and fatherly man, of a public spirit, and free from pharisaical leaven or the modish hypocrisy of the age he lived in.' He had been appointed Camden Professor at the Restoration on the ejection of Lewis du Moulin, rather as a reward for his loyalty than for any qualifications as a historian; but he was industrious in collecting and publishing various pieces which were in danger of being lost, amongst others Bishop Andrewes' *Preces Privatae*.*

Dr. Lamphire was the last layman who was Principal of the Hall. Like most of his lay predecessors in that position, he had taken his doctor's degree in medicine; unlike most of them, he practised the art of his profession. But it would seem that the faculty of medicine at that time provided the easiest road by which a layman could proceed to the doctorate. He took an active interest in several useful public works, such as the pitching of St. Clement's causeway and the filling up of Canditch, then a series of stagnant ponds, marking the line of the ancient fosse on the north of the city wall. In 1681 he stood for Parliament, and came very near being elected as a Burgess for the University; indeed, there was something more than a suspicion of his not having had fair play in the election. It mattered the less, as the Parliament then elected never sat.

In Dr. Lamphire's time Hart Hall began again to rent Black Hall directly from the University. During the interval that it was in the hands of private lessees

* The first printed edition of these prayers was brought out by him in 1675. His principal volume of *Collectanea* appeared in 1681 under the title of *Monarchia Britannica*.

the old buildings had been entirely renewed. On the inside had been erected the curious flimsy structure—the ‘paper building,’ as Wood calls it—supported on wooden pillars, which may be seen to the left of Loggan’s view of Hart Hall. The ancient Black Hall fronting New College Street, which Wood had seen demolished in 1667, and which he judged, from the fashion of its windows, to date from the time of Edward III., had been replaced by a substantial, though probably less picturesque, building. Opposite to it, in what was then the wide street (which, for want of a better, must be called by the name of New College*), there stood at this time, according to Loggan’s map, a maypole—one of the twelve which had been raised in Oxford during the enthusiasm of the month which saw the return of Charles II. Cat Hall was at this time ‘the ball-court of Hart Hall,’ which shows that the Hall was sufficiently flourishing to make some provision for recreation.

Dr. Lamphire died March 30, 1688, and his successor, William Thornton, of Wadham, was installed the very next day. No doubt he had a promise of the place from the Chancellor beforehand; but it must have been the fear of royal interference that so indecently hastened the ceremonies of nomination, election, and admission. These were all duly performed, but it may be observed that the Chancellor’s letter of nomination actually bore a date two days before the late Principal’s

* It seems very doubtful by what name it was called at this time—not as yet, I think, *New College Lane*, a name reserved, as it is now, for the narrow part by the cloister; certainly not *New College Street*, which is quite a modern invention. The name of St. John’s Street given in Agas’ map is due to a mistake.

death.* Just at that moment the King's arbitrary dealings with Magdalen College had reached their climax. Bonaventure Gifford was installed President of Magdalen on the very same day that William Thornton was admitted Principal of Hart Hall. In the excited state of men's minds no position seemed sufficiently humble to be safe. Later in the same year, on the death of the Duke of Ormonde, the University, by hastening to elect his grandson as their Chancellor, barely succeeded in anticipating a royal mandate for the election of Lord Jeffreys.†

In his Camden Professorship Dr. Lamphire was succeeded by Henry Dodwell, of Trinity College, Dublin, whose high reputation secured his election to the post in his absence and without his knowledge, and also raised expectations of his professorship which were never fulfilled, since the new Professor took the first possible opportunity‡ of refusing the oath of allegiance to the new sovereigns after the Revolution. However, it was as a member of Hart Hall that he filled the chair for some three years, whether he chose it as a compliment to the late Professor at his incorporation from Dublin,

* The wording of the letter, however, does not imply that the death had occurred ; it runs : ' MR. VICE-CHANCELOUR,—Upon the decease of Dr. Lamphire, Principall of Hart Hall in Oxford, I do constitute and appoint Mr. William Thornton M^r of Arts of Wadham College to succeed him in that trust : and further I do will and require you to see him Elected and Admitted Principall of the said Hall, according to the Customs and Statutes of the University.—Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Your affectionate friend and Servant, ORMONDE.'

† The Duke died July 21 at night ; the second Duke was elected July 23 in the morning ; the King's mandate arrived the evening of the next day.

‡ August 1, 1689. Dodwell, however, was not actually deprived until November, 1691.

or, as is more likely, because Hart Hall from its antiquity enjoyed a precedence in the right of inscribing strangers on its books. A few years later the Hall received a stranger, then scarcely known, but shortly to become far more famous than Dodwell. On June 14, 1692, Jonathan Swift was incorporated from Dublin as a member of Hart Hall, and took his M.A. degree from there in the following month.*

William Thornton signalized his principalship by an important addition to the buildings of the Hall. Hitherto the entrance from Cat Street had been through an open passage, having on the north side the block of chambers erected early in the century by Dr. Iles. There must have been a barrier of some sort across the entrance and a porter to shut it at night, though this duty, as we have seen, had at times been very negligently performed. Thornton built a gate, and decorated it with that device of the drinking stag† which has been reproduced in the present building; the doors which were hung in it remain, and after several vicissitudes still serve their original purpose in the gate of Hertford College. The room above the new gate was appropriated to the library of the Hall, which is now heard of for the first time, having presumably begun to overflow the accommodation of an ordinary room. The erection of the library was partly due to benefactions from outside;

* In 1708 (April 14) Hearne speaks of him thus: 'Jonathan Swift was of Hart Hall in Oxon, and writ the Book call'd *The Tale of a Tub*, and that Jocular Pamphlett call'd *Isaac Bickerstaff's Predications*.' The *Tale of a Tub* appeared in 1704.

† I presume that Thornton also devised the motto *Sicut cervus anhelat ad fontes aquarum*, adding yet another to the already remarkable numerous Latin versions of Psalm xlii. 1.

Dr. Hudson (for many years Bodley's librarian) contributed both money and books: but such aid did not prevent Thornton's munificence from largely exceeding his means. When he died in 1707 he had not only spent all he possessed, but had burdened the Hall with a debt.*

Thornton's successor was Thomas Smith,† who had resigned a Fellowship at Brasenose some months before his appointment to Hart Hall, where he was admitted October 2, 1707. In his former college the new Principal had made himself a reputation as a tutor, and he seems to have maintained and even raised the character of his Hall. But his principalship was short and uneventful. On the death of Dr. Meare, Principal of Brasenose in 1710, Dr. Smith—he had taken the D.D. degree—stood for the vacant place, and in the election, which took place on June 2, lost it by a single vote. On July 15 following he died, and the last vacancy that ever occurred in the principalship of Hart Hall was shortly afterwards filled by the nomination and election of Richard Newton.

* He died September 25, 1707, intestate, since he had little or nothing to leave by will. But, as Hearne puts it, he 'left behind him the Character of a Learned Divine, and a man of very great Probity and Integrity.'

† Not to be confounded with his more famous namesake, Dr. Smith of Magdalen.

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST FOUNDATION

THE new Principal, the work of whose life was to be the transformation of the Hall into a College, was admitted July 28, 1710. Formerly a Westminster student and tutor at Christ Church, he now came back to Oxford from the rectory of Sudborough, in Northamptonshire, where he had still employed his leisure in taking pupils. Among these were at this time the two sons of Lord Pelham, both destined afterwards to be Prime Ministers, the future Duke of Newcastle and his brother, Henry Pelham. The elder brother about this time matriculated at Cambridge; the younger came with his tutor to Oxford, and was entered at Hart Hall. Newton was thus already known as a teacher, and it seems really to have been his success as a tutor, quite as much as the distinguished rank of some of his pupils, that led to his being 'sent for,' as he himself put it, 'from a very Peaceful Retirement' to take charge of an Oxford Hall. The charge of an Oxford Hall was, indeed, the very thing for which he was best fitted by character and inclination. He returned to Oxford with a strong sense of the necessity for reform in the University generally, and he aimed

from the first at making his Hall a model in learning, discipline, and economy. His first care was to pay off the debt which Thornton had bequeathed to his successors. For this purpose he determined for a time to devote the whole income of the Hall to the benefit of the Hall itself, retaining his rectory as a sufficient provision for himself; and by this means he was able within six years not only to relieve Thornton's buildings of their burden of debt, but to add to them new buildings of his own on land which he acquired for the purpose. These buildings, which still remain, now form the south-eastern angle of the College, as they then did of the Hall, and to these Dr. Newton added the still existing chapel, built partly by subscription, which was consecrated November 25, 1716.*

But these buildings were but a part of a much larger scheme. The whole Hall was to have been rebuilt in the same style—a project which it was, fortunately, never in Newton's power to carry out. The dining-hall was to correspond with the chapel opposite, and the Principal's lodgings with the gate and the library above it. The four angles were to be arranged on the pattern of the angle already built, the central set of rooms in every angle to be occupied by a tutor. The internal economy of the Hall was to correspond with its outward form: as there could be but four corners to a quadrangle, it naturally followed that there would be four

* Hart Hall was rather late among the halls in acquiring its chapel, but it was a comparatively new thing for a hall to have one. St. Mary Hall chapel, the earliest, dated from 1639; St. Edmund Hall set up at once a chapel and a patron saint in 1682. On the other hand, New Inn Hall was only provided with a chapel by its last Principal, Dr. Cornish, in 1868.

tutors, four servitors, and four bedmakers to control or attend upon thirty-two undergraduates, eight in each angle, and as each angle was to contain fifteen sets of rooms there would be about twelve sets left for Bachelors residing in the Hall. By the time that the chapel was finished the Hall was already arranged, as far as the existing buildings would permit,* upon this plan, and a scheme of discipline was established essentially the same as that embodied in the statutes afterwards drawn up for Hertford College.

In his own Hall the Principal had practically a free hand to make what regulations he pleased ; but the very ease with which Newton had so far carried out his designs was a proof that it would be equally easy for his successor to upset them. His desire, on the contrary, was that his remodelled Hall should be a permanent institution, and to achieve this a charter of incorporation was necessary. So in 1720 Dr. Newton published his 'Scheme of Discipline with Statutes intended to be established by a Royal Charter for the education of youth in Hart Hall, in the University of Oxford.' His professed object was to invite criticism in matters of detail ; but the whole design at once provoked opposition. Dr. Newton had made more enemies than he was aware of. In purchasing the land on which he had built his chapel and his angle, it seems that he had anticipated Dr. Gardiner, the Warden of All Souls, who had thoughts of annexing the same ground, if not the whole Hall, as a garden for his

* The angle which Newton had built, and the Black Hall angle as it stood, would probably have come up to Newton's requirements ; but the angle on New College Lane would have been deficient, and the Cat Hall angle was non-existent.

College. A late fellow of the same College, Dr. Worth, was aggrieved, because he had a promise from the Chancellor of the next succession to Hart Hall, which, of course, would fall through if the Hall should be turned into a College. Then Dr. Worth's cause was taken up by Dr. Clarke, also a fellow of All Souls, and M.P. for the University, who thought that Worth's interests might be secured by a tortuous scheme of his own for improving the position of a great number of persons by making them change places with one another. In his view it would be convenient if Dr. Newton would exchange halls with Dr. King, the Principal of St. Mary Hall, and found his College, if he must needs found one, on that site—a cool proposal indeed, when Newton had just expended some £2,000 on Hart Hall. Dr. Clarke, however, failed to persuade the Earl of Arran, now Chancellor of the University, of the justice of his views; and it was with the Chancellor's hearty approval, and the less hearty acquiescence of the heads of houses, that Dr. Newton presented his petition for a Royal Charter on May 18, 1723.

But Dr. Newton's troubles were only beginning; the opposition which he had hitherto met with was trifling compared with that which was now offered by Exeter College. That College, it will be remembered, was the owner of the original Hart and Arthur Halls, comprising, perhaps, one-third of the whole site occupied by Hart Hall in 1723. For this was still paid the old rent of 33s. 4d., which had never been varied since the last taxation in 1551, and had naturally come to be regarded as a mere quit-rent. So Newton regarded it, and in the innocence of his heart began to make over-

tures to the College for its redemption, offering the liberal price of fifty years' purchase. To his surprise he was answered to the effect that it was not so much a question of how many years' purchase might be accepted in redemption of a rent of 33s. 4d., but rather at what rate the rent ought to be calculated in the first instance; the College, it was hinted, could not only raise the rent of the Hall, but could actually recover possession of it, and would invoke the aid of the law to do so, if Dr. Newton's design was persisted in. In fact, Exeter College contained at this time some decided ill-wishers to Newton and his schemes, who thought it possible that the position of their College as landlord of the ambitious Hall might be turned to account in opposition.

Chief among these was John Conybeare, one of the Fellows, whose championship of the claims of his College was stimulated and embittered by personal hostility to Newton. Conybeare, in looking through the College archives, lighted on the leases formerly given to the Principals Rondell and Eveleigh. As we have seen, the tenor of these documents certainly does, at first sight, put the College in a far stronger position as regards the Hall than that of a mere rent-charger. To Conybeare there seemed to be no doubt whatever 'that Hart Hall might be recover'd to Exeter College, if ever it should be thought worth while to contend for it.' So on the strength of this discovery, as soon as Dr. Newton's petition for a charter was referred in the usual course to the Attorney-General* to report upon, Exeter Col-

* It was formally referred 'to Mr. Attorney or Mr. Solicitor-General,' and actually, at first, to the Solicitor-General; but Sir P. Yorke, who

lege formally entered a *caveat*, in order that their case against the proposed foundation might have a hearing.

The arguments on both sides were heard on February 25, 1724, and the Attorney-General, Sir Philip Yorke, made his report on October 1 following. It was decidedly favourable to Newton's petition. The leases put forward by Exeter College in support of their position were dismissed as attempts on the part of the College to establish, by collusion with the Principal of the Hall, the very claims which they were now asserting, the lease to Eveleigh being stigmatized as a particularly suspicious document. There was besides a recent precedent in favour of the Hall. In 1694 Magdalen College had failed in an action of ejectment against Magdalen Hall, although there could be no doubt that the site occupied by the latter was part of Waynflete's original purchase for the benefit of his foundation. As far as the claims of Exeter College were concerned, the Attorney-General concluded thus :

‘ It must be admitted that if the Society of this Hall held the Possession of their House only as Tenants at Will to the College, and might be turned out at their pleasure, it would not be for the Honour of the Crown to Grant a Charter and Erect a Colledge, whose only place of Abode as a Society Depended upon so precarious a Foundation ; But I am humbly of Opinion that the Principall and

was Solicitor-General in May, 1723, had become Attorney-General by February, 1724, and made his report in that capacity. Sir Philip Yorke became afterwards Lord Chancellor, with the title of Hardwicke.

Fellows of the Hall have a good Title to the Inheritance of the Scite thereof paying the annuall Rent of One Pound Thirteen Shillings and four pence, and that if Exeter Colledge should attempt to disturb them in their Possession, it would either be presumed that the legall Estate had been conveyed in Trust for the Principall and Fellows of the Hall, as in the case of Magdalen Hall above-cited ; or if the legall Estate should be taken to be in Exeter Colledge, a Court of Equity would Decree it to be merely a Trust in them for the Society of the Hall and for the Advancement of Learning, that appearing from the Acts of the Colledge itself, as well as from the long and uninterrupted Enjoyment, which is exactly the same thing as to the present Question.'

The only doubt that troubled the Attorney-General in recommending the granting of the charter was whether the endowment of the new College would be sufficient. Dr. Newton had undertaken to convey the ground he had purchased, with the buildings he had erected on it, to the new Society, and, further, to settle upon it a rent-charge of some fifty or sixty pounds a year, arising from an impropriation which formed part of his paternal estate at Lavendon, in Buckinghamshire. - 'This,' said the Attorney-General, 'I conceive to be but a very slender Endowment for a College in the present Age.' But at this time Newton had a promise from a former member of the Hall of a benefaction sufficient to complete the foundation within the limits which the founder had marked out for it. Those limits were narrow enough ; but as they were not as yet very clearly defined, the Attorney - General's objections seemed to be sufficiently met by Newton's assurances

of the wealth and benevolent intentions of his friend Mr. Strangeways.*

It might have been supposed, upon the appearance of the report, that the Hart Hall charter would encounter no further obstacle, especially as Dr. Newton's old pupil, the Duke of Newcastle, had become Secretary of State in April, 1724. The Under-Secretary, besides, was his old friend and schoolfellow, Temple Stanyan. But Dr. Newton was the last man in the world to profit by such advantages. He had a genuine horror of incurring the least suspicion of jobbery, which, while it was greatly to his honour, did not further the success of his projects. But while his relations with the Duke of Newcastle were rather embarrassed by the Duke's official position, in Henry Pelham he had a friend in whom he could confide without scruple; to him he now committed some alterations he wished to make in the draft of his charter. Henry Pelham, on his side, exerted himself on his old tutor's behalf. 'I beg,' he wrote to his brother, 'you would forward the matter with as much expedition as you can, for, you see, the poor man's heart is set upon it.' But by the time the draft had been amended to Dr. Newton's mind, it was again doubtful whether any charter whatsoever would be granted him.

The Attorney-General's report seemed to have disposed at least of the opposition of Exeter College; but, after all, the Attorney-General was not a court of law, and the opponents of the charter now professed their intention of appealing to one. The College,

* Thomas Strangeways, formerly of Hart Hall, at this time M.P. for Dorset.

indeed, was no longer united on the matter: the Rector and some of the fellows were for dropping it; but the party of opposition, led by three of the fellows, called by Newton the *Triumvirate*,* had lately found a powerful ally in the newly appointed Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Stephen Weston, the Visitor of the College, who, basing his view of the case on Conybeare's representations, threw the whole weight of his influence into the scale in favour of what he considered the just cause of the College. That influence was sufficient to stop the further progress of the charter for an indefinite period. On May 18, 1725, Dr. Newton received from the Duke of Newcastle the unwelcome intimation that the Bishop of Exeter opposed his charter, and that he must 'make the Bishop easy' before it could go forward.

Meanwhile the Newtonian scheme had been fully established in Hart Hall, though still wanting the sanction of a charter to give it permanence. The tutors began already to be known as fellows—except when they were more irreverently spoken of as *Anglers*;† the weekly disputations on Mondays and Wednesdays, the public lecture on Thursdays, the declamations on Saturdays—the whole system was in working order. But even here Newton's peace of mind was disturbed by some incidents which he could not help connecting with the opposition to his charter. The conduct of his case

* The chief being, of course, Conybeare; the others were James Atwell, who held a general power of attorney from the College to prosecute their claims, and Thomas Bailey, who died in 1733.

† Amhurst (*Terra Filius*, p. 207) speaks of 'a formal fellow of Hart Hall'; and (p. 283), addressing Dr. Newton, 'a precarious Angler in your Hall'; *precarious* because Dr. Newton throughout maintained the right of dismissing his Tutors at pleasure.



From a photograph by the

Oxford Camera Club

took him frequently to London ; in one of these absences there occurred something like a rebellion against the tutors left in charge. The tutor who was to deliver the Thursday lecture took upon himself to alter the hour, 'as I Myself,' says Newton, 'have often done.' But what was accepted from the Principal could not be endured from his substitute. After refusing first to attend the untimely lecture, then to submit to the ordinary penalties so incurred, a large body of undergraduates attempted to secede altogether to another hall or college ; we do not hear where they applied for admission, but wherever it was, they were refused, and had no alternative but to return, apologize, and submit. But though this trouble was at an end, some individual secessions which followed seemed to indicate a new danger in Newton's path. What was to become of the wholesome discipline which he had established if the disciples were free to withdraw themselves from it when they pleased ? An old statute provided that the head of a college admitting a scholar who had migrated from another without leave should be quit for a fine of forty shillings paid to the head of the college aggrieved. Forty shillings was indeed a trifling penalty in 1723 compared with what it had been in 1489, when the statute was made ; but such had been the good understanding among the heads of houses that there was only one instance on record, and that instance of so ancient a date as 1548, of the fine having been demanded, and even on that occasion the matter had been compounded by the return of the truant scholar. But the good understanding among the heads required, if they made it a rule not to admit to their colleges

any emigrant who applied for admission without leave from his former head, that they should not be too strict in refusing such leave on occasion themselves. Dr. Newton's extreme strictness in this matter was the occasion of an appeal to the statute of 1489.

William Seaman, a commoner of Hart Hall, had applied in the summer of 1723 for a *discessit* in order to migrate to Oriel, and as Dr. Newton would not hear of it, took his name off the books of the Hall and went away. After what he probably thought a decent interval, he came back and applied for admission at Oriel. He was admitted by one of the fellows named Joseph Bowles, who had himself been a member of Hart Hall, but had quitted it for a place in the Bodleian Library,* in spite of the strongest pressure put upon him by Newton to remain. He was therefore well aware of Dr. Newton's dislike of migrations, and it is likely enough that there was some collusion between him and Seaman. At any rate, it so fell out that the latter applied for admission at Oriel at a moment when the Provost and the Dean were both absent, and was admitted by Bowles accordingly. Dr. Carter, the Provost, on his return accepted the situation; the statutable fine of forty shillings was paid, and all the outcry immediately raised by Dr. Newton could elicit nothing more. As it was put by Newton's former Vice-Principal :†

* Offered him by Dr. Hudson, the Librarian, whom he succeeded in that post in 1719.

† Samuel Davies. Hearne, who has preserved the lines (November 16, 1724), rather thinks the author was 'Mr. Jones, of Baliol.' But then Hearne, as we may gather from other remarks of his, probably thought Davies too much of a Whig to be witty.

‘Newton with open mouth demands a stray ;
Carter looks wisely, and will nothing say :
Newton remonstrates ; Carter’s wondrous shy :
Newton then prints, but Carter won’t reply :
O endless Question, should it last so long,
Till Carter speaks, or Newton holds his tongue.’

What Newton *printed* on this occasion was his book, entitled *University Education*, the design of which was apparently to show that there was no hope for the University as long as the statute regulating migrations was unaltered. Yet Seaman’s was the only case of its kind in which Dr. Newton was really aggrieved ; the other instances of attempted migrations from his Hall, which he relates, merely illustrate the strength of the understanding on the subject among the colleges. There was the gentleman who wanted to remove to Trinity, because ‘at Trinity they had a very Fine Garden, and he hoped to have his Health better there than at Hart Hall’ ; but Newton having refused him a *discessit*, the President of Trinity refused to admit him.* There was Joseph Somaster, whose migration to Balliol Dr. Newton could not object to, since he himself gave him a *discessit* on the reasonable ground of his being qualified for a scholarship at that College. But he figures in Newton’s book because he had committed the

* *Univ. Ed.*, p. 120 *sqq.* After all, Dr. Newton let him go, ‘after he had given in Hart Hall a Specimen of Behaviour that was fit to be approv’d in Trinity College,’ and he now ‘intrudes into the young Gentleman’s Retirement’ to point out to him that the true lesson to be learned from the fine garden of Trinity was that of Obedience, since the appearance of the trees and shrubs depended on their bearing with patience the ‘seeming severity of the Pruner.’ In those days Trinity garden was, far more than at present, an affair of pleached alleys and clipped hedges.

grave offence of urging the superior cheapness of Balliol as one of his reasons for wishing to go there. The Principal indignantly refutes this calumny on the economy of his Hall by publishing to the world Somaster's last battell-bill. It is true we do not know what his first bill at Balliol may have come to, but his account for one quarter at Hart Hall, during which 'he was not absent one day,' amounts to less than £8; for £32 he would easily have been able at the same rate to live in the Hall the whole year,* and at that time £60 a year was the average allowance that was usually made to an Oxford undergraduate.

Economy was a great object of Dr. Newton's proposed reforms, and was the subject of a pamphlet first printed by him in 1727, the year after the appearance of *University Education*. But everything that he wrote at this period was coloured by his quarrel with Exeter College. In the preface to the first book he reflects on 'those who would obstruct my charity,' as well as on 'those who would steal away my scholars'; and in *The Expence of University Education Reduced*, which is cast in the form of a letter addressed to a fellow of Exeter, occurs the following outbreak, which may be quoted, as giving a specimen of Newton's style and an account of the position in which his affair now stood. The writer is supposed to be anonymous:

* The quarter of Somaster's residence accounted for (*Univ. Ed.*, p. 196) was from *Midsummer* to *Michaelmas*, 1723. In those days, when scholars were poor and lived at a distance (Somaster's home was at Kingsbridge in Devon), they did not think of leaving Oxford in the Vacation, and arrangements were made for their staying up. There are provisions in Newton's statutes for prayers in chapel and lectures throughout the Vacation.

‘You may remember when first there was an attempt to get a Charter for the Establishing of these and many other Useful Rules of Discipline in a House of Learning you have been wont to express some regard for, what a reluctance there was in several Heads of Colleges since deceas’d (intrusted possibly with the Sentiments of many other Members of the University), even so much as to signify to the Chancellor who had desired their Opinion, that they had nothing to say against it; a Reluctance so great, that some force was necessary to overcome it. And how, after *this* Obstruction was removed *Another* instantly arose in your own College, on *pretence* indeed of *Right*, but mark if it be not found to have been given either to *hinder* the Introduction of a Scheme of *Discipline* they were jealous had advantages above their *own*; or to oblige the keen Promoter of this Publick Good to buy off their Opposition to it at a Price that must disable him from doing it; or thro’ *Resentment* of Complaints which they had first *Provoked*, and *late Forgiveness* of the Man they had *Injured*; or in *Mischievous Frolick* only, of which, I affirm, they are not incapable. But, *Envy* and *Avarice* and *Spleen* and *Sport* disclaim’d, yet still can no Indifferent and Equal Man believe they have any *Opinion* of their *Right*. For the Attorney-General having heard their Counsel, and assured His Majesty they had not the *Right* which they claim’d, or if they had, *it* could not be prejudiced by a Charter, they dissembled their satisfaction in the Report, lodged another *Caveat* with the Lord Privy Seal, as if they had really desired another *Hearing*; and then got their Visitor (Horrid Disrespect!) relying on *their* Representations for the *Merits* of their Cause (Deceitful Bottom!) to interpose *His* Interest with Men in Power to stop the Progress of the Charter they were before inclined to forward, and thereby to shut up the way to the Office

where the *Caveat* lay, and so to shelter their *pretended Right* from any further *Examination*.*

The state of the case was really as Newton represents it: the charter, having been approved by the Attorney-General, would next have found its way to the Privy Seal Office; there it would have encountered the second *caveat*, by which its opponents claimed a hearing before the King in Council. But since they had no reason to think that the second hearing would leave them in a better position than the first, they persuaded the Visitor of the College to use his influence with the Duke of Newcastle to prevent the charter reaching the Privy Seal Office at all. It is possible that if Newton had pressed his own interest with the Duke at this stage he might have had better success, but this was just what Newton would not, and did not, do. So, as we have seen, he was required to 'make the Bishop easy' before his charter could be allowed to proceed. The Duke not unnaturally supposed that the party which said nothing had nothing to say; while on the other side there was no lack of representations to show that in justice to the claims of Exeter College the Hart Hall charter ought at least to be delayed.

The most effective complaint of the opponents at this time was that the College was anxious to try the question of its rights before a court of law, but that the Rector withheld from the fellows the muniments on which their case depended. Dr. Hole, the octogenarian Rector of Exeter, had all along been inclined to be Newton's friend, while he was not on the best of terms

* *Exp. Univ. Ed. Reduced*, pp. 43-45. The 'Men in Power' no doubt means the Duke of Newcastle.

with the fellows of his own College. He had joined with the College in demanding a hearing for their case before the Attorney-General; but the decision having gone against them, he would have carried the opposition no further. The means, however, which he took to impress his views on the College were rather embarrassing than otherwise to Newton, whom he wished to befriend. The hearing before the Attorney-General had cost the College some eighty pounds; this money, which had been paid by the fellows, the Rector refused to refund,* and apparently thinking by this means to bring the fellows to their knees, gave Newton to understand that he should be troubled with no more opposition. By this refusal, and by his frequent consultations with Dr. Newton—though he never followed the doctor's advice—he put himself decidedly in the wrong, and contrived to give the impression that he was engaged with the Principal of Hart Hall in a conspiracy against his own College; and this impression was not weakened, when there was a question among the fellows of a second hearing of their case, by his denying them access to the College muniments. It is true enough that they were not likely to find anything in the muniment-room that had not been there at the time of the first hearing, when it was accessible; but Dr. Hole's action gave them a pretence for saying that their Rector was withholding the documents which would prove the justice of their claims, or, worse still, that he was allowing the enemy to make away with them.†

* The Rector of Exeter was *ex-officio* Bursar, and had the sole control of the archives and treasury of the College.

† Conybeare actually hinted in his book (*Calumny Refuted*, p. 128) that Dr. Newton had taken away 'Bishop Stapledon's Original Grant

On this unsatisfactory footing things continued until Dr. Hole's death in 1730. Nor were the prospects of Dr. Newton's charter improved by the election of Conybeare as Rector. Though it could no longer be pretended that the College was debarred from the use of its own archives, it was now a sufficient excuse that those archives did not contain what, in the new Rector's view, they ought to have contained; at any rate, he soon made it clear that he had no intention either of abandoning the claims of the College or of allowing them to be tried by a competent tribunal. If Newton pressed for a hearing before the Privy Council, he was told that the College intended to proceed by an action of ejectment—an effectual method for keeping in their own hands the initiative, which they neither used nor had any intention of using.* At the same time the Bishop of Exeter's influence barred the progress of Newton's charter on its way to the Privy Seal Office, where the *caveat* originally entered on behalf of Exeter College had been allowed to expire, and was never renewed; such was the confidence of the fellows in their Visitor's power of obstruction.

of Arthur and Hart Halls to a Rector and Twelve Scholars,' a document which could not possibly have been of any service to either party, which had not been seen in Oxford since it had been sent up to London for Archbishop Laud's inspection during his chancellorship, and which had most probably been seized with the rest of the Archbishop's papers when he was committed to the Tower.

* Newton's *Letter to Dr. Holmes*, p. 20: 'They have since suffer'd Three several Assizes to be held at their Door, without submitting this matter to the Cognizance and Decision of the Court. As often as the Essoign Days have approach'd and the Declaration of Ejectment threaten'd to be deliver'd hath been expected, or rather *wished* for, so often have I found myself amused and disappointed.'

In 1733 Conybeare became Dean of Christ Church, but he was succeeded at Exeter by Atwell, the remaining member of the 'triumvirate,' and the situation, as far as Newton was concerned, remained the same. Nor did Conybeare, in spite of his removal, show any signs of relenting. On the contrary, he was threatening a prosecution for libel* against the author—supposed to be anonymous—of the pamphlet on *The Expence of University Education Reduced*. The author replied with a second, then a third edition,† each containing a fresh postscript justifying what he had said; and in the next year appeared *A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Holmes, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford and Visitor of Hart Hall*,‡ the avowed work of Dr. Newton, in which he arraigns his opponents, as he professes, before 'the tribunal of fame,' since they denied him access to any other.

The *Letter* caused a rhymester to address some *Verses to Dr. Newton of Hart Hall*:

‘ On an ill-fated day,
When a lad ran away,
You open’d your grievance to Carter :
But to Conybeare now
You no quarter allow
For wantonly stopping your Charter.

* Under the *University* statute *De famosis libellis*. The namelessness of the author of the pamphlet made it at once easy to threaten, and impossible to set on foot, a prosecution.

† Both published in 1733. A fourth and final edition appeared in 1741, when Dr. Newton's troubles were over, from which both the postscripts and the reflections on Exeter College in the body of the text were cut out.

‡ As deputy of the Chancellor, the Visitor of all halls.

‘ In your former dispute
The defendant stood mute ;
Not so in the present, I fear :
For though not Yea nor Nay
The good Provost would say,
The Dean may be tempted to swear.’

The Dean's reply actually took the form of a book, entitled *Calumny Refuted*, which appeared early in 1735—not too late to receive some notice in a post-script to the second edition of the *Letter*—in which Dr. Newton gives the following very just description of his adversary's book :

‘ I have read the Answer of the Dean of Christ Church to the foregoing Letter. What was promised is not performed. I do not apprehend that I have been guilty of any Calumny, or written any Libel. Some things are denied by Mr. Dean, which I still affirm ; others affirmed by him, which I deny. I do not see there is anything Refuted more than that, whereas in p. 9 I have said the new Petition was for another Hearing before the Lord Privy-Seal, I should have said, before the King in Council. The Conduct of the Society of Exeter College is not vindicated, neither that of their Visitor, nor yet that of the Dean. The main View in this answer is, I find, to discredit Me in Matters not at all relating to the Dispute between us, that the Reader may from thence infer how little Credit is to be given to what I say of Matters that *Do* relate thereto. In *this* View I think he will not succeed. Neither is it generally believed, that he had ever any reasonable Hopes of succeeding. But having, either through Impatience of Censure, or *Dream* of a *rich* Stock of Materials for an Answer, put out a rash Advertisement

of it, not to be recalled when he should *Awake* and find himself *Poor*, he brought himself, as it were, under a Necessity of saying *Something*, though never so little to the purpose; and in a manner that is *Angry*, as if he therefore had *Reason*. Accordingly it is a Scolding Piece; but it is so of One, who all the time he is scolding, is walking off, while his Adversary keeps his Ground.'

Dr. Newton was acute enough to see, in what must have been a very rapid perusal of Conybeare's book,* where its strength and its weakness lay. As a defence of the obstructive proceedings of Exeter College, the book is a complete failure. The most that Conybeare can show in his detailed account of the series of interviews and letters that passed between the contending parties is that Newton sometimes lost his temper, and that each side habitually, and perhaps purposely, misunderstood the expressions used by the other. But though he talks much of the claim of right, which he professes that the College is able and anxious to establish, he has no further evidence to bring forward in support of it than the old leases, which had been sufficiently exploded by the Attorney-General's report; and from his own account of the matter it is clear that his own efforts had throughout been directed by a desire not to secure, but to postpone and evade, a second trial of the dispute. The strength of the Dean's attack upon Newton lies in that part of his book in which he seeks to prove that the scheme of the proposed foundation was faulty in itself. This, of course, was altogether irrelevant to the question at issue. If Exeter College

* *Calumny Refuted* appeared in 1735, and Newton's *Postscript* is dated January 28 of that year.

would not be injured by the erection of a college on the site of Hart Hall, it could have no further concern with the new foundation. But, unfortunately, Conybeare's remarks on the faults of Dr. Newton's scheme were only too true, and though they could not justify his opposition, yet it is likely enough that they damaged the prospects of Hertford College by diverting benefactions from what seemed, from the Dean's account, to be a hopelessly impracticable design.

At the end of his book* Conybeare had written :

' As this is the first, so likewise shall it be the last time I will have anything to do with him [Dr. N.] in the Way of Publick Writing. I know the temper of the Gentleman so well, as to expect and take for granted, he will not be quiet, nor lay down his Pen whilst he hath a Hand to hold it.'

The resolve was a wise one, for, having failed to give any adequate answer to the *Letter to Dr. Holmes*, he would have found it difficult indeed to reply to the *Grounds of the Principal of Hart Hall's Complaint*,† which appeared in the course of the same year. This exhaustive vindication of himself by Dr. Newton was the last word of the controversy.

The Bishop of Exeter meanwhile continued to obstruct the progress of the Hart Hall charter,

* Page 133.

† The full title is, *The Grounds of the Complaint of the Principal of Hart Hall, concerning the Obstruction given to the Incorporation of his Society by Exeter College and their Visitor, as lately set forth in a Letter to Dr. Holmes, more fully represented and justified*. The form of the work is *folio*, as cumbrous as the title.

relying on Conybeare's assurances that by so doing he was 'opening a way to the College to try their right in one of His Majesty's courts.*' But he must have become somewhat tired of keeping this way open, when after ten years or so he saw no movement on the part of the College to enter it. Newton, besides, did not leave him alone, and had the satisfaction of finding that his expostulations were not without effect. 'What I writ,' he says,† 'so staggered his Lordship, that he was then in a mind to have reconsidered the whole matter.' Probably the bishop had entered into engagements with the 'triumvirate,' which prevented his changing his policy as long as the College was governed by theirs. After Dr. Atwell's resignation of the rectorship, the Visitor's opposition ceased.

That event took place in March, 1737, and the situation of 1725 was re-established. The way to the Privy Seal Office again lay open to Dr. Newton's charter. It remained only to revise the charter and statutes, to adjust them to the change of date and the maturer judgment of the founder. Two only of the four fellows named in the original draft survived; in the new charter not only were the vacancies filled by new names, but the new feature is introduced of eight 'junior fellows or assistants.' But in the general scheme there was hardly any change; Newton's design was, as he conceived, perfect from the very first.

That design, however, had now been deprived of its prospects of success by an event which had occurred in

* *Calumny Refuted*, p. 81.

† *Grounds*, chap. x., p. 53.

the long delay caused by its opponents. According to Dr. Newton's scheme every member of his College was to be to some extent endowed. Every undergraduate was to be on the foundation, to wear a scholar's gown, and to be called by the name, borrowed from Christ Church, of *student*; the modest revenue he was to receive was to be the pledge of his observance of the statutes. An endowment sufficient for the thirty-two students had been promised, as has been said, by Newton's friend, Strangeways; but the intending benefactor had died in 1726, precisely at the time when the incorporation of Hart Hall seemed least likely to take place, without having made any provision for carrying out his intentions,* and there was but little hope of finding another benefactor who would be willing to tie up his charity within the exact limits prescribed by Newton's statutes even for the honour of giving his name to the new College. Newton, however, was still sanguine, and was content, for the sake of his charter, to lose Lady Holford's bequest of £1,600 to the Society, 'of which,' as he himself tells us, 'whilst as yet they were not incorporated, they enjoyed the Benefit; when they came to be a Corporation subject to Rules and Statutes that would not admit of the Benefaction, they were obliged to forgo' it.†

* This was not unnatural, since he died at the age of 43. 'He waited to see the Hall incorporated, that he might settle his endowments upon it.'—*Univ. Ed.*, p. 18, note.

† Preface to *Stat.*, 1747. This benefaction is, nevertheless, mentioned in the charter of foundation; the objection to it in Newton's view seems to be that it provided an annuity of £25 to the Principal, as well as two scholarships for Charterhouse, which last do seem to fit into the Newtonian scheme. The endowment went in the end to University College.

At last, on November 3, 1739, the revised rules and statutes received the Royal approbation, and on September 8, the next year, Dr. Newton obtained the charter for which he had struggled and waited so long. Hertford College was founded, and Dr. Richard Newton established as 'the first and modern Principal' thereof.

CHAPTER IV

DR. RICHARD NEWTON

APART from the accession of dignity to itself and its Principal, little change was made in Hart Hall by its conversion into Hertford College. Dr. Newton's scheme of discipline had long been established, and would remain in force as long as Dr. Newton lived to enforce it; but its permanence depended on endowment, and the incorporation of the College, so far from being accompanied by any new endowment, actually caused, as we have seen, the loss of an old one. The Principal and the four senior fellows, or tutors, were indeed provided for, as far as they could be, under the statutes; that is to say, the Principal received the rents of all the rooms in College for which rent was paid, and the tutors, in addition to their tutorial fees, divided between them Dr. Newton's own benefaction, which, no longer consisting of an impropriation of £60 a year, now appears in the charter as 'an Annuity of fifty-three pounds six shillings and eight pence Issuing out of the Capital Messuage or Manor House . . . and other Lands in the Parish of Lavendon.' The reason for this odd sum of money being fixed on is probably



From a photograph by the]

THE OLD GATE, 1690-1820

[Oxford Camera Club

to be found in the amount of the one endowment which the College inherited from ancient times. Diminished by a half, Bignell's benefaction was still annually paid to Hart Hall from the Exchequer, and was continued by the charter to Hertford College. The amount was 25 marks, or £16 13s. 4d., which was divided among five exhibitioners, each of whom received 5 marks, or £3 6s. 8d. This last sum Dr. Newton seems to have taken as his basis for the whole scheme of his endowments, actual or intended. Every undergraduate in his first year—for so long he was a probationer only—was to have twice the revenue of a Bignell's exhibitioner, every actual student twice as much again, and every junior fellow twice the endowment of a student, or as much as £26 13s. 4d. a year. The senior fellow was to receive, 'as a member of the foundation,' no more than the student (£13 6s. 8d.), but he had in addition rooms rent free for himself, his servant, and the servitor of his angle;* besides his tutorial fees, calculated to amount to £65 a year, and capitation fees from the whole College, which, if the College had ever contained the exact number of rooms contemplated in Newton's design, and all of them had been occupied, would have come to £17 more. But apart from fees, all the statutable revenues of the foundationers are multiples of that enjoyed by a Bignell's exhibitioner;† the five exhibitions were now, however, divided among

* This is set down as part of the *tutor's* emoluments, but the advantage to *him* is not obvious.

† The sums can consequently be expressed in *marks*. The senior fellows and students would have had 20 marks a year, the probationers 10, and the junior fellows 40, the five 5-mark exhibitions being turned into four 6½-mark servitorships.

four servitors, it being impossible for five exhibitors to be fitted into Dr. Newton's quadrangular scheme.

It was easy enough for Dr. Newton to indulge his taste for symmetry in the endowment of his College, since he had no actual endowment to deal with besides his own rent-charge and the Glastonbury exhibitions. The junior fellows, the students, and probationers were, and remained, totally unprovided for; but the exact scale of their endowment was carefully set out, in order that intending benefactors might know *how* to bestow their bounty, Newton being quite determined to reject, as he had rejected Lady Holford's legacy, any gifts that did not conform to his design. He was still sanguine in expecting benefactors to come forward; but as long as they did not, a large part of the elaborate statutes of the College was in abeyance, since it was by means of the endowment that the student was to be induced to observe the statutes, or enabled to pay the numerous fines which were the penalties for neglect of them.

But though the financial part of Dr. Newton's scheme was never carried out, his statutes respecting discipline and education were not allowed to remain a dead letter. In the constitution of the College, the Principal retained the same supreme authority which he had possessed in Hart Hall. As it is expressed in the statute,* 'It is the *Natural*, and shall be the *Indispensable*, Duty of the Principal to see that *All* the Members of his Society do their Duty faithfully and effectually in their respective stations.' In *addition* to this he was to be 'perpetual Bursar' of the College.† He had the absolute right of

* *Stat.*, vi. 9.

† *Ibid.*, vi. 15.

nominating both 'tutors' and 'assistants,' and, after two 'admonitions,' of dismissing them. It follows that though the Society was incorporated with the title of 'the Principal and Fellows of Hertford College,' the fellows were in no way a governing body. It is true the Principal was to call them together once a fortnight in full term, and to 'confer and consult with them about Matters relating to the Honour and Interest of the Society'; but the reason for this was avowed to be that the responsibility for any unpopular action or regulation might be shared amongst them all, and 'that everyone of them thus united to each other in the support of the same uniform Discipline, may equally share the Affection of those they Govern, and equally bear the Blame of any Errors in Government.*' In like manner at the audit meetings the Principal (as Bursar) 'shall have all the tutors' hands' to his accounts.

The College was 'a Society Incorporate for the Education chiefly of young Scholars design'd for holy Orders'; in fact, few others at that period thought it worth while to proceed to a degree. For the clergy a University degree was practically necessary as a condition of their ordination; consequently, the course of education provided in Hertford College had to be adjusted to the scheme of disputations at stated intervals, by which, according to the requirements of the University, the degree was to be attained. But the exercises of the schools had long become a farce, and Dr. Newton was determined that the exercises performed in his

* *Stat.*, vi. 12. It is characteristic that these provisions for College meetings are placed under the title, 'Of the Power and Duty of the Principal.'

College, while following the course of those prescribed by the University, should be a reality. Undergraduates were to dispute in 'Philosophy' every Monday and Wednesday, and Bachelors in 'Theology' every Friday in full term; and their 'Supposition' and 'Opposition' speeches were *not* to be 'bare Transcripts out of Philosophical or Theological Books';* nor, it is implied, are their arguments to be 'strings,' as they were called, of syllogisms learnt by heart beforehand.† The Principal was to give a 'public lecture' every Thursday to the whole of the undergraduates; the fellows were to lecture on all other days (except Saturdays) *as tutors*, and in the evenings of Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays *as officers of the College*; but they were at liberty to depute the evening lecture to their 'assistants.' Saturday was a kind of weekly Speech-Day. A weekly essay was required from every undergraduate, whether it took the form of a theme, a declamation, or a translation, and Saturdays in full term were set apart for the public recital of these compositions. Provision is also made for yearly *Collections*, a name still in common use to describe a function which, though now different from the Collections of Newton's day, is evidently derived from them. Every undergraduate was required to pick out from his year's reading a *collection* of passages which he deemed in any way remarkable and deserving to be

* *Stat.*, v. 2 (p. 23).

† Amhurst (*Terræ Filius*, p. 109) gives a specimen of a String on the stock theme *An datur actio in distans?* This String, he assures his readers, is really a new one and consequently a very great rarity. There is not a word about Supposition and Opposition speeches, which I suppose were not to be heard except in Hertford, though they may have been usual in Dr. Newton's undergraduate days.

remembered. This *spicilegium*, as it grew week by week under his hands, he was to show every Thursday to his tutor, and finally at the end of the year to the Principal.

Under this system, which, it must not be forgotten, had been in full working order in Hart Hall for over twenty years before its incorporation, it is clear that Hertford College undergraduates were kept pretty well at work; and there were no exceptions. Gentlemen-commoners were admitted only on condition of submitting to the discipline, though they might 'possibly not be inclined to accept of the Indowment,' which, indeed, was never available for their acceptance. Their only privileges were those of wearing the distinctive gown and paying double fees.* Even the single pupil, of whom the Principal was allowed to take charge, 'if he delight in the education of Youth and it shall be made worth his while,† was to be subject to the same rules with the rest of the College, though he was not to be counted as one of the number.

According to the ideal scheme set out in Newton's statutes, exactly eight undergraduates and one servitor should have come into residence every year, should have occupied the rooms of one angle, and put themselves under the tutorial care of its 'angler,' who would have remained in charge of them till he had safely conducted

* *Stat.*, i. 13. In the amended statutes of 1747 he is shorn of the gown, but is still allowed 'a Tuft upon his Cap.'

† *Ibid.*, vi. 14. This provision seems to be intended for cases similar to that of Henry Pelham, who was in a peculiar way the Principal's pupil; though, as Dr. Newton is careful to explain, 'The Principal is the *proper* Tutor of the whole Undergraduate part of the Society. Those who are *call'd* Tutors are *properly* his Substitutes.'

them to the B.A. degree. The course required for the degree being of four years, it would follow that every year there would be one of the four tutors dismissing a class of nine pupils and starting afresh with nine more. Meanwhile the tutors themselves were passing in yearly rotation through the four College offices of Vice-Principal, Chaplain, Catechist, and Moderator. Thus the tutor, who as Moderator had taken charge of an undergraduate fresh from school, would be able, as Vice-Principal, to present him for his degree at the end of his fourth year,* the office of Dean being included in the vice-principalship, the post next in dignity and authority to that of the Principal. As for the others, the Chaplain was 'to do all the offices of a Parish Priest to the Society,' the Catechist was to lecture on Sunday evenings in Lent 'on the Principles of the Christian Religion,' at other times on the interpretation of Scripture and the Articles of the Church of England, while the Moderator's function was to preside at the disputations. As has been mentioned, the College officers, as such, were responsible for evening lectures; and it is implied by the office of Chaplain being held, like the others, in rotation, that the senior fellows were necessarily in Holy Orders. They must also have taken the M.A. degree before appointment, and they were to vacate their fellowship eighteen years after the date of their matriculation. This was carrying the then novel principle of terminable fellowships to an extreme, since his tutors could hardly have continued in office for more than ten years; but doubtless Newton

* On which occasion he could *truly* describe him as *hunc meum scholarem*, according to the formula.

thought that by that time a tutor of decent ability would have been presented to a living—at that period the natural end of a retired tutor—and, in fact, he inserted in his statutes a provision that ‘there may be Given to the Society, or Purchased by it, Six Rectories or Vicarages, of the value of One hundred Pounds a year each at the least,’ to which the tutors might be presented in order of seniority. But no one ever gave, nor had the College ever the means to purchase, a single benefice.

It is extremely difficult to discover exactly how much of Newton’s statutes was held to depend on the endowment, and, consequently, to be of no obligation until the endowment was provided. As a general rule, one would be inclined to say: Under Newton, as *little* as possible; under his successors, as *much* as possible. Newton, however, had, by the terms of the charter, the right to alter the statutes during his lifetime, provided he obtained the consent of the Visitor, duly signed, sealed, and attested, to his amendments. If the statutes had not appeared in print by the time of the first Principal’s death, they were then to be printed as they stood, and to remain unalterable. In 1747 Newton printed and published his statutes, as he had amended them up to that date; but he seems to have neglected in the end to obtain the Visitor’s approbation, or perhaps to have been content with an informal one. Meanwhile the statutes printed by Newton were the only statutes of the College known to the world, and with them were printed the Principal’s voluminous ‘observations on particular parts of them, showing the Reasonableness thereof.’

Among these observations* we find it stated that the fine for non-residence had never been exacted pending what Newton was fond of calling the *completion* of the endowment.† Newton himself, as long as he lived, used his own judgment in executing or not executing his statutes: he had a right to amend them, and a right to discover by experiment how they ought to be amended; but his unfortunate successors found themselves bound by an elaborate code in which they had no power or prospect of making the slightest alteration. It is no wonder that they availed themselves to the utmost of the liberty their founder left them.

In the statutes of 1739 an oath is exacted from the Principal, the tutors, and students on their admission to observe the statutes. In the printed statutes of 1747 this oath is omitted, and the omission is justified (at considerable length) in an 'observation.' In the Principal's case, he is said to be obliged to observe the statutes by accepting the office and receiving the revenue; but as the revenue never reached its proper

* Statutes, 1747, Appendix x., p. 133. The fine was one shilling a day for every day's non-residence in term time, *whether excusable or not* (Stat., ix., p. 54). There is not a word *in the statute itself* about the fine not being exacted until the endowment is complete.

† What was required for this, according to Newton's scheme, is as follows:

			£	s.	d.
For 8 probationers	-	-	53	6	8
„ 24 students	-	-	320	0	0
„ 8 junior fellows	-	-	212	6	8
Total			586	13	4

to which might be added an allowance for commons to the whole College, amounting to £244 2s. 6d. a year more.

amount, since it consisted of the rent of rooms, at least a fourth of which were never built, and, further, considering that the Principal, at the time of his writing this observation, was actually holding his living of Sudborough* in addition to his headship—a plurality in consequence of which, according to his own statutes, his headship ought to have been *ipso facto* void†—there was certainly here some justification for regarding the statutes as a distant ideal only to be realized in circumstances which were not in the least likely to arise.

The great fault of Dr. Newton as a legislator was that he saw no difference between what might be a salutary regulation for a time and a statute that was to be binding for ever. No doubt the medieval founders of colleges erred in the same way, yet not to the same extent as the founder of Hertford; though certainly a belief in the immutability of circumstances was more justifiable in the fourteenth than in the eighteenth century. Indeed, Dr. Newton did recognise that circumstances sometimes changed, only he seems to have assumed that they would not do so any more after his statutes had once passed beyond the reach of further alteration. In 1739 he had fixed the hours of dinner and supper, the two meals taken in hall, at twelve and six respectively; by 1747 he had changed these hours to

* He held it until the next year, 1748. It is true that he received no income from the living, but had made it over to his curate; but the language of his statute does not justify *any* excuse. He was really holding the living against his will; it was not until 1748 that he could persuade Bishop Sherlock, the patron—his predecessor, Bishop Gibson, had refused—to bestow it on his curate, the only condition on which he would resign.

† *Stat.*, vi. 17 (p. 36), 1747.

one and seven. To that date he was willing to go with the times, but for the future Hertford College should for ever dine at one and sup at seven. Threepence was fixed as the maximum value of a commons of meat,* in spite of Newton's own remark that '200 years ago more meat might have been bought for three half-pence than can now for threepence.' It is impossible to suppose that such regulations as these can have been looked on by anyone but their framer as permanent statutes, only to be altered by Act of Parliament or a new charter. If it were generally thought that they would be made permanent by the endowment of the College, that would have been a sufficient reason for the endowment not taking place. Meanwhile Dr. Newton executed or suspended his statutes at pleasure, knowing that a power to alter them existed as long as he lived.†

So administered, his system worked extremely well, and his principalship was a time of prosperity for Hart Hall and for Hertford College, except so far as the business of turning the one into the other was concerned. The requirements of the University for its degrees were so slight that he was practically free to provide what educational course he pleased, and he used his liberty

* *Statt.*, 1747, p. 67: 'The meat to be provided for Commons shall be, in the general, of the Ordinary kind; the Best of the kind; in Quantity within a Pound to a man; in Value not exceeding Threepence, or the House to be charged with the Excess.' There seems to be some loophole of escape from the strictness of this statute in the last clause. Certainly it is not the case, as is popularly supposed, that it was this statute which killed the College; the College would not have scrupled, if necessary, to disregard it altogether.

† Whoever drafted the abortive charter of 1725 attempted to reserve a similar power to future principals; but Dr. Newton detected and expunged the clause. He had no confidence at all in his successors.

in a liberal spirit. When once a scholar of his could write Latin correctly, his weekly essay might be a translation into 'Greek or any other useful language,' or it might take the form of poetry 'if it should not be found to draw off his mind from more serious studies.'*

While the College was declared to be 'chiefly for scholars designed for Holy Orders,' the scantiness of its endowments—even if they had ever come into existence—sufficiently showed that it was not intended to be a charitable foundation for *poor* scholars. Dr. Newton, in fact, disapproved of a plebeian clergy; he thought it 'inconvenient that many more should aim to be educated clergymen than who can themselves bear the charge of a liberal education';† he considered there were 'Servitors places enough in the two Universities to bestow on all the Poor Youth in the kingdom'—all, that is, who deserved to have the opportunity of rising in the world. It is even doubtful whether he would have included the four meagre servitorships of his own foundation among the number, since in his revision of the statutes he changed them into 'scholars,' and relieved them of the servitors' duty of waiting in hall. They were still, however, in their turns to be 'Officers of the Gate.' The scholar on duty was to lock the gate at nine o'clock, and to act as porter until ten. At that hour the gate was to be finally shut for the night, and the key taken to the Principal.

The class of scholars which Dr. Newton was most

* *Statt.*, 1747, p. 26. I suppose that 'Greek prose' was not in the ordinary day's work of Newton's time. The phrase 'other useful language' leaves the door wide open to the tutor's discretion. Newton, I think, undoubtedly included modern languages in his curriculum.

† Appendix to *Scheme* (1720), p. 1.

anxious to attract to his College was that from which gentlemen-commoners were taken, and he was successful in attracting them. We hear that it was his habit to make 'excursions in the Long Vacations into various parts of the kingdom, most commonly taking with him for company and improvement one or more young gentlemen of fortune in his College, at the request and with the approbation of their parents.' And as the 'students of Hertford never acquired their endowments, there was the more room for these young gentlemen of fortune, whose double fees must have been a welcome addition to the College revenues. It was seldom thought worth the while of a gentleman-commoner to proceed to a degree; but at Hertford he was strictly obliged to go through the same strenuous course of studies with the rest of the College, and this, no doubt, was an attraction to parents who did not wish their sons to spend their time at Oxford as Gibbon describes himself as having spent it.

Of this class was George Selwyn, who matriculated at Hart Hall in 1739, on the eve of its conversion into Hertford College. Two years later he left Oxford, and went on the 'grand tour,' and such, as a rule, would have been the end of a gentleman-commoner's University career. Selwyn, however, came back in 1744, with the intention of taking a degree in Civil Law,* and, as

* At this time the easiest of attainment of all Oxford degrees. It was necessary first to devote two years to the study of philosophy and *litteræ humaniores*. So much of his task Selwyn had already performed, but in a College of laxer principles *residence* alone would have counted for study. The next step was to 'put on the civilian's gown,' and as a student of Civil Law to attend the lectures of the Regius Professor of the faculty during a space of five years longer.

a proof of his seriousness of purpose, had himself admitted as a reader to the Bodleian. But Oxford had social and convivial attractions for him besides those of its libraries. He was still *in statu pupillari*, and it began to be rumoured that the Proctors had something against him. Dr. Newton was pressed to induce him, for his own advantage, to take his name off the College books, or even to strike it off himself. The Principal, however, could not find that there was anything more laid to his pupil's charge than some disorderly conviviality at the 'Angel,' and refused to take so extreme a step; at the same time he made Selwyn quit his lodgings in the town and come into residence in college. This is the character he gives of him in a letter to Dr. Brooke, the Professor of Civil Law :

'The Suspicion which the Vice-Chancellor told me the Proctors had of him is, I hope, groundless, and I believe the Proctors themselves are better satisfied in this respect. The upper part of the Society here, with whom he often converses, have, and always have had, a very good opinion of him. He is certainly not Intemperate, nor Dissolute, nor does he ever Game, that I know or have heard of. He has a good deal of Vanity, and loves to be Admired and Caress'd, and so suits himself with great Ease to the Gravest and the Sprightliest. I wish, upon the whole, you could persuade the Vice-Chancellor to be contented with his going at his own time. He will be little here in

With two disputations and a *viva voce* examination the B.C.L. could then be obtained. The degree was therefore more a matter of 'keeping terms' than anything else. Dean Aldrich was in the habit of stigmatizing the S.C.L. as 'the idle gown,' since it conferred a status equivalent to that of B.A., while all the exercises for that degree had been evaded.

the long Vacation : I will be responsible for his being in good Order.'

The Proctors' suspicions, however, turned out to be less groundless than Newton supposed. In the course of May, 1745, a club of which Selwyn was president had met for supper at a private house in Oxford—possibly Selwyn's own lodgings. In accordance with the rules of the club, certain healths had to go round in a suitable cup, and no suitable cup could immediately be found but an ancient chalice. There is no doubt that by this time Selwyn was not sober enough to be fully aware of what he was doing ; but there is also no doubt that by his manner of handling the chalice, and by the words that he used, he gave the impression to the company of a travesty of sacred things. The scandal soon got abroad, and it was while it was still founded only on rumour that the Proctors had tried to procure Selwyn's voluntary retirement from the University. By the middle of June they were in a position to prove their case, and Dr. Newton felt himself obliged to strike the offender's name out of his College books.*

Selwyn was now no longer a member of the University, but the Proctors did not on that account let the matter drop. The depositions of several who were present at the supper were laid before the Hebdomadal

* Selwyn, it seems, had hitherto persuaded him that the Proctors could have nothing against him but the 'Angel' affair. In writing to Newton on June 18, after his name had been removed, he still affects to speak of his real offence as a 'ridiculous story'; he cannot think that 'persons of your character could be imposed upon by it.' This, of course, is quite inconsistent with the defence which he afterwards set up.

Board on July 22, and a week later before Convocation. On July 29 Selwyn was expelled and 'banished'* by decree of the latter body.

In thus passing sentence on one over whom it had no longer any jurisdiction, the University certainly seems to have exceeded its powers, and to the end of the year Selwyn still talked of appealing. In the end he seems to have seen the force of Newton's advice: 'The Decree might be Injurious, and yet the Injured acquiesce in it, rather than revive the Infamy of the action censured.' But for some time he was rather inclined to press for a rehearing of his case on its merits, having struck out what he seems to have considered a highly ingenious line of defence—namely, that it was not the English liturgy that he had intended to ridicule, but the Roman mass, as he had observed it in foreign parts! On the constitutional question it was rather Dr. Newton himself who felt aggrieved: 'I complain,' he wrote, 'of the Injury, which, in the irregular Censure of Him, is done to Me, who, having punish'd Him myself,† have a Right to have that Punishment not overlook'd, but consider'd as sufficient.' And in writing to Selwyn himself, he enlarges in a very characteristic way on the possible results of the precedent:

'If the having once been Matriculated, or Register'd a Member of the University, doth make you always so; and a Magistrate may pursue you after you are gone from thence, and bring you back again to Receive a second Punishment for the same Crime: young Gentlemen, who

* Forbidden to come within a certain distance (in this case three miles) of the University.

† *I.e.*, by removing his name from the books.

aim at a Liberal Education, will consider whether it will be proper for them to be Matriculated or no: since without entering a College or putting on a Gown, they may live as safely and as cheaply in Oxford, and study under such Tutors as they shall bring along with them or find there, with as much Profit.'

By exceeding their powers in this instance, the University authorities annoyed Dr. Newton nearly as much as they had annoyed him twenty years before by refusing to exceed their powers at his request in the case of William Seaman. In that instance their conduct was to have had the effect of depleting every college in which discipline was maintained; in the present, of closing the University against all but those to whom a degree was a necessity; the rigour of University discipline would deter all others from subjecting themselves to it. But however contradictory the positions which Dr. Newton took up on these two occasions, he was so far consistent that in both cases he was upholding his rights as the head of a house against an injustice, real or supposed, done him by the University.

A gentleman-commoner was a person in whom it was a gratuitous act of respect to the University to seek for a degree at all, and who therefore could not be blamed for choosing the easy road which led to the degree of B.C.L. But Dr. Newton absolutely refused to allow any of his other scholars to take any steps towards this degree from Hertford College. Some persistent applicants he disposed of by granting them a *discessit* to another college, but he took the opportunity of expressing in the wording of the *discessit* itself what he

thought of their conduct.* His objection to the degree was not so much that it was easy to obtain as that, when obtained, it qualified the holder for a dispensation to hold two benefices in plurality, and that it was generally sought for with this object in view. To have such an object was criminal in the eyes of Newton, who is seen at his best in the vigorous attack on pluralities which he published in 1743 under the title of *Pluralities Indefensible*. Nor does he ever miss an opportunity of denouncing this abuse in his statutes, though here his actual legislation is ineffective, since it deals chiefly with those benefices which *might* have been, but never were, presented to the College. The rule laid down in the statutes was that no office could be held by the Principal or any of the Fellows, which implied his residence anywhere else than in Hertford College. But in the actual circumstances of the College this rule might seem intended rather to condone particular instances of plurality than to check pluralities in general. There was nothing, for instance, to prevent Dr. Newton himself from holding a canonry in Christ Church with his headship, as he afterwards did, or his successor at Hertford from retaining a studentship of the same house during the whole time that he was Principal.

Of all Dr. Newton's ordinances none seems to have been more uniformly carried out during the later history of the College than that by which fellowships were

* This is his formula (*Pluralities Indefensible*, p. 188): 'Liceat G.C. commensali e C.H. qui bene se gessit, quamdiu apud nos commoratus est, istam in quavis alia domo veniam querere, quæ negatur in sua; nempe, ut cum Sacris Litteris *revera* incumbat unice, Juri Civili, statutis Academiæ elusis, studere *videatur*.'

vacated at eighteen years from matriculation, yet even this regulation could not be immediately enforced. Much had to be forgiven to the two fellows whose names had figured in the draft-charter of 1725, and who had clung to the fortunes of Dr. Newton and his struggling foundation, when they were at their lowest; it was only reasonable that they should reappear in the list of original fellows created by the charter of 1740. But by the time the charter was granted both of them had passed the eighteenth year after matriculation: one, Dr. Hutchinson, was Rector of Horsham in Sussex; the other, Thomas Hunt, a distinguished Orientalist, held the two professorships of Arabic; presumably he resigned his fellowship on becoming Regius Professor of Hebrew in 1747, if he had not done so before.* As has been mentioned, it was not until 1748 that the Principal found himself able to resign his rectory of Sudborough. All these flagrant violations of the statutes, justifiable as they no doubt were by circumstances, show that the statutes had already proved unworkable at the very time when they received the long delayed sanction of a charter. Dr. Newton, however, continued to hope against hope for the endowments which were to make it possible for his scheme to be fully and rigorously carried out.

In 1752 Dr. Newton was promoted to a canonry in Christ Church, a preferment which he owed to the good offices of a friend with Henry Pelham, who was then Prime Minister. The story runs that on the

* He did resign the Lord Almoner's professorship, but the Laudian professorship of Arabic he retained with his Regius professorship and canonry in Christ Church till his death.

friend's expressing his surprise to the Minister that he had done nothing for his old tutor, Pelham answered: 'How could I? He never asked me.' Pelham must at one time have known Newton's character better; but under pressure of the daily importunity of place-hunters he had doubtless ceased to believe that anyone existed who would accept, and yet scruple to ask for, any favour he could bestow.

Probably no preferment could have been more agreeable to Newton than this, which, while it did not oblige him to abandon his own College, gave him a position in the house in which his earlier Oxford days had been spent. His attachment to Christ Church was strong and lasting, and he had given a proof of it in his statutes. It seems to have been a tradition of Dean Aldrich's time that to be a really well-educated man it was necessary to be a Westminster student of Christ Church; and in accordance with this tradition Dr. Newton ordained that the Principal of Hertford College should always be selected from among the Westminster students, further limiting the field to those who were, or had been, tutors in Christ Church, were in priests' orders, and in standing had not passed the earliest date at which they might have taken the D.D. degree.* The Chancellor of the University was to nominate; but if he had not filled up the principalship within a month† of the vacancy, the nomination was to lapse to the Dean of Christ Church, who in any

* *Stat.*, iv. In the revised statutes of 1747 the fellows of Hertford are added to the number of those qualified for the principalship, but only in default of others.

† Or three months, if the Chancellor is 'beyond the seas.'

case was to perform the ceremony of admitting the new Principal to office. As the event afterwards proved, Newton was by these provisions unintentionally sacrificing the future of Hertford to his affection for Christ Church.

Dr. Newton was installed in his canonry January 5, 1753. It is to be hoped that he was by this time reconciled with his old enemy Dr. Conybeare, who was still Dean. The two heads must have met for many years at the Hebdomadal Board, and had not now much longer to bear with one another; on April 21 (the first Easter Eve according to the new style in England), Dr. Newton died at his country house at Lavendon. He is commemorated by a monument in Lavendon Church, where he was buried. In the chapel which he had built in Hertford College he had strictly forbidden that any burial should ever take place or any monument ever be set up.* His last gift to his College was his edition of *Theophrastus*,† which he left ready for the press, and which was published the next year.

* The strip of ground between the chapel and All Souls' was consecrated as a burial-ground for the College in case of need; but it does not seem that any interment has ever taken place there.

† The *Theophrastus* was printed by subscription, the profits to go to the benefit of the College. It is noticeable that Newton puts forth his notes as 'the thoughts and conjectures of a Public Lecturer imparted to his proper Class'; and that he writes them '*in English* with design (1) to introduce and countenance the practice . . . (2) to invite and encourage our Youth to read' the author.

CHAPTER V

NEWTON'S SUCCESSORS

THE first appointment to the headship of Newton's foundation was duly made according to the letter of Newton's statutes. The Chancellor nominated William Sharpe, a student of Christ Church, who, though he accepted the office, prudently reserved a refuge for himself by retaining his studentship, to which, in fact, after four years' experience of Hertford, he retired, 'discontented with the fortune of the College.* A legacy for the increase of the Principal's income, which came to the College in 1755, was not likely to reconcile him to his position, amounting as it did to barely £30 a year, but deserves notice because the benefactor was Dr. Richard Rawlinson,† who had been a personal friend of Newton; yet he did not hesitate to make, nor the College to accept, a bequest which Dr. Newton would certainly have rejected as incompatible with the scheme of endowment drawn out in his statutes.

* Gutch (Wood), *Colleges*, p. 647.

† Of St. John's, perhaps best known as the collector of the voluminous Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian; he was also the founder of the Anglo-Saxon professorship. His benefaction to Hertford consisted chiefly of a copyhold at Fulham, which presumably reverted to the Bishop of London on the decease of the College.

But though the prospects of Hertford College were not such as to induce Dr. Sharpe to sacrifice his own to its service,* he did not allow its character to decline during his principalship. The College was indebted to him for the appointment of three of its best tutors—David Durell (his successor), Benjamin Blayney, and William Newcome. In John Kidgell, the fourth tutor of this period, Dr. Newton had bequeathed to his foundation an example of the evils which he had himself anticipated from an impecunious clergy.† Kidgell was well qualified to be a tutor, and performed his tutorial duties well enough; but the position was not permanent, and led to nothing. On vacating his fellowship he became chaplain to the Earl of March,‡ was presented by his means to a valuable rectory, which after his induction he never condescended even to visit, and finally fled the country under a load of debt and

* Dr. Sharpe became Regius Professor of Greek in 1763, a position which he held till his death, twenty years later.

† Newton's words, in Appendix to *Scheme* (1720), p. 2, 'their Liability to improper Compliances with Great wicked Men for Bread,' seem quite prophetic. Compare the lines put into Kidgell's mouth by a contemporary scribbler :

'To talk with Lords, to simper with his Grace,
To rise in dignity, and fill a place,
* * * * *
'Tis all I want, 'tis all the great can give :
The price I know ; with odium I can live.'

Kidgell's novel, *The Card*, 1755, and his French *Fables*, 1763, seem to show that his more creditable ambitions were literary. On the title of the latter work he had the impudence to print the device of the drinking stag, with *Sicut cervus*, etc., which had appeared in Dr. Newton's *Theophrastus*, and was to have been reserved for books intended, like it, for the benefit of Hertford College.

‡ Better known as Duke of Queensberry. Kidgell's fellowship would naturally have expired in 1759.

the infamy of his attempt to exploit, or, as he professed, to expose, Wilkes' notorious *Essay on Woman*.

On the resignation of Dr. Sharpe in 1757, whether the headship was or was not first refused by such members of Christ Church as were qualified for it, the Chancellor availed himself of the alternative permitted by the revised statutes in appointing a fellow of the College. Durell, a native of Guernsey, who had held a Channel Island scholarship at Pembroke, was in his thirtieth year only at the time of his appointment as Principal of Hertford ; and it was a misfortune for the College that his life was cut short before he had reached the age of fifty. At no time more than under his principalship did Hertford College seem in a fair way to prove a success. The reputation of the College, which had been built up by its founder, was intact, while its founder's more obstructive statutes were in course of time becoming forgotten. Durell himself violated them in a way that would have been particularly offensive to the author of *Pluralities Indefensible* by holding with his headship a vicarage in Sussex and a prebend in Canterbury Cathedral. Even his position as Principal was illegal, since the revised statutes of 1747 had never received the formal sanction of the Visitor and the Crown, while those of 1739 restricted the choice of a Principal absolutely to the Westminster students of Christ Church. However, the legality of Dr. Durell's position was never called in question, even when he served in his turn the office of Vice-Chancellor.*

* He was Vice-Chancellor 1765-68. Though the Principal of Hertford was eligible, like any other head, for this office, the College never had the chance of electing a Proctor, the *Cyclus Carolinus* being still

It is remarkable that the only head of the first Hertford College who was ever Vice-Chancellor should have been, according to the letter of the law, disqualified for his headship, and consequently for the higher office.

It was under Dr. Durell that Charles James Fox matriculated in 1764 as a gentleman-commoner of Hertford. Fifty years later there were floating traditions of a window in the College which the great statesman had used, sometimes for getting in and out after the gate was closed, sometimes for 'haranguing the mob' in the street.* But as an equally credible tradition asserts that his rooms were in the 'paper' buildings, which had no look-out except upon the quadrangle, it seems more likely that, as Fox was famous in after-life both for dissipation and for oratory, it was considered necessary that he should have given proof of both qualities in his undergraduate days. In reality his greatest excess at Oxford was an excess of study. His father, the first Lord Holland, seems to have considered that it was proper for his son to spend a year at the University, but only as an episode in an education which was to be perfected by foreign travel. But Fox himself could hardly be torn away from Oxford. 'By his own request,' Sir George Trevelyan

in force, which, devised in 1629, could take no account of foundations later than that date. But as late at least as 1828 the Principal of Hertford still had a turn assigned him in the cycle of preachers in the University pulpit.

* Lockhart, in his story *Reginald Dalton*, expresses a hope that the window from which C. J. Fox made a 'memorable leap' has been preserved. G. V. Cox does not seem to have heard of this, but only of Fox's harangues. *Vide his Recollections*, p. 178.

tells us,* 'he was permitted to spend a second year at college, where he resided continuously, both in and out of term-time, whenever his father could be induced to spare his company.' His tutor, Dr. Newcome, was obliged to moderate his pupil's ardour. 'Application like yours,' he wrote, 'requires some intermission, and you are the only person with whom I have ever had connexion to whom I could say this.' And again, when Fox had been carried off by his father to the Continent, 'You need not interrupt your amusements by severe studies, for it is wholly unnecessary to take a step onwards without you, and therefore we shall stop until we have the pleasure of your company.' For so exceptional a pupil Dr. Newcome was content to defer the progress of the rest of his class.

After Kidgell's disappearance the number of tutors in the College was permanently reduced to two; the reduction marks the abandonment of the original scheme of college buildings: as there were only two practicable angles, there was no need for more than two anglers. To help the tutors in their teaching work, lecturers under the Newtonian title of 'Junior Fellows,' or 'Assistants' seem to have been appointed from time to time; but no regular endowment was ever provided for them, nor was their statutable number of eight kept up even in the founder's own lifetime. A few fresh endowments came to the College during Durell's principalship. A studentship was endowed, presumably of the limited value prescribed by Newton,

* *Life of Fox*, p. 58. The author, by the way, makes the mistake of supposing Newcome to be head of the College, probably confusing him with Newton.

for an undergraduate coming from Hampton Lucy Grammar School;* and in 1775 Sir John Thorold, of Cranwell, in Lincolnshire, having £1,000 entrusted to him for charitable purposes, bequeathed the sum to Hertford College. It was at first devoted to the endowment of two studentships, which might now be called exhibitions, since it was the exception, not the rule, for a studentship to be endowed. In the same year the College received a legacy which would have been better deferred. Dr. Durell died October 16, in the forty-eighth year of his age. In the time of his vice-chancellorship he had advanced money to the University for the building of the new market, and the interest arising from this loan, amounting to £20 a year, he bequeathed to his College: half of it was to be given to the Principal, half to be divided between the two senior fellows—in both cases for the ‘relief of commons.’ Dr. Durell even contemplated the possible reduction of the senior fellows to one, in which case the Principal was to have two-thirds, and the fellow one-third, of his endowment. The College, however, was never brought quite so low as this, but was able to maintain two tutors as long as it maintained a Principal.

Dr. Durell was, perhaps, inclined to take a gloomy view of the future of the College by the break-up of his own particular society. The three tutors appointed

* By the Rev. William Rogers, of Warwick, who died about 1757, though his will, by which this benefaction was established, was made during Dr. Newton’s lifetime. It is remarkable that this school should have been endowed with scholarships both at Hertford College and at Magdalen Hall, and that it should not have been in a position to avail itself of either benefaction within memory.

by Dr. Sharp were bound to one another, both as contemporaries* and by common interests and studies; but Dr. Newcome was, in 1766, raised to the bishopric of Dromore, the first of a series of promotions through which he ultimately attained the archbishopric of Armagh, and a little before Dr. Blayney had been driven to take a country living by the inexorable statute which decreed the termination of his fellowship. It was, however, from Hertford College that Dr. Blayney dated his advertisement† of that version of the English Bible which has since been known as the *Standard Edition*, and has served as the standard in all particulars except the headings of the chapters. which Dr. Blayney and his collaborators, 'with a prodigious expense of time and inexpressible fatigue to themselves,' rewrote in the style, slightly disguised, of their own day. Needless to say, the length of the headings was more than doubled, with the result that subsequent printers did not trouble themselves to reproduce them. But though this part of their labour was wasted, the editors did useful work in correcting numerous printers' errors which had crept into the text.‡

* Durell and Newcome were undergraduates together at Pembroke. Blayney was a contemporary, but at Worcester.

† In 1765; the Bible itself did not appear till 1768.

‡ It is not unlikely that the fine copy of the 'Vinegar' Bible still belonging to the College was Dr. Blayney's immediate incitement to the work of revision. This Bible was printed at Oxford in the very year that Hertford College chapel was consecrated, and it was natural that a copy of the handsomest and most recent Bible should have been procured for the use of the new chapel. But though a magnificent specimen of typography, it contains many more errors than that from which it takes its name—'Parable of the *Vinegar*,' St. Luke xx.

Dr. Durell was succeeded by Bernard Hodgson, who was admitted to the principalship October 30, 1775. The new Principal was a student of Christ Church, legally qualified for the position; but he proceeded immediately to put himself wrong with the statutes by resigning his studentship, which he might have retained, after the example of Dr. Sharpe, and accepting instead of it the Christ Church living of Tolpudell, in Dorset. Dr. Hodgson was Principal for nearly thirty years, which were years of continuous decline for the College. It is not likely that any exertions on the part of Dr. Hodgson or his tutors could have arrested the process. The truth of Sir Philip Yorke's prediction in 1724 was, as time went on, becoming more and more evident, that Newton's would prove 'but a very slender endowment for a College in the present Age'; and the cost of living had certainly not diminished in the age which succeeded. So far the College had lived on its gentleman-commoners, but now, probably as much from a change of fashion as from any other cause, it ceased to attract them. New endowments had begun tardily to come in, but after Cale's bequest to the library in 1777 they ceased,* and they were insufficient to enable the College to tide over a period of depression. Yet when Dr. Hodgson died in May, 1805, it could hardly have been thought that the end of Hertford College was so near.

To fill the vacancy caused by his death the Chan-

* John Cale, of Barming, in Kent, left his valuable library to the College, with £30 a year for a librarian. There were two small legacies only to the College after this date: from Dr. Sharpe, the late Principal, and from Dr. Newton's widow.

cellor* nominated Henry Phillpotts, afterwards well known for over forty years as Bishop of Exeter. This nomination entirely ignored the statutes, since Phillpotts was a fellow of Magdalen who had been at Corpus, and had no connection whatever with either Hertford or Christ Church. No doubt, if anyone could have resuscitated the moribund College, the Chancellor had pitched upon the right man for the purpose, but the position of Principal of Hertford was not so attractive in itself as to be worth holding by a doubtful title; and when the Dean of Christ Church made difficulties about admitting the Chancellor's nominee to office, Phillpotts, though he had at first accepted the headship, was probably not sorry to find a reason for renouncing it in the irregularity of the appointment. As provided by the statute, the nomination shortly afterwards lapsed to the Dean of Christ Church. Dr. Cyril Jackson, then Dean, showed no great eagerness to make use of his privilege. There was no duly qualified student of Christ Church who was willing to accept the principalship, and the Dean had made the discovery that the statutes of Hertford, printed in 1747, had never been duly ratified, and that those approved in 1739 alone were in force. According to these, as we have seen, fellows of Hertford were not eligible, as such, for the headship, and Dr. Jackson was most likely glad to find himself precluded from choosing either of the two fellows then existing. He could not well nominate the junior of the two, James Carpenter, since his appointment to a tutorship dated only from a few weeks before Dr. Hodgson's death, and he did not care

* The Duke of Portland, Chancellor 1792-1809.

to take the responsibility of nominating the senior fellow, Richard Hewitt, whose eccentricity was already notorious, though he was not yet so obviously insane as he afterwards showed himself.

Meanwhile, Hewitt and Carpenter, and the former alone after Carpenter had retired to a country living, had the charge of such undergraduates as were actually in the College; but the number of these was small and constantly diminishing; for, though degrees were taken from Hertford as late as 1810, if not later, matriculations had by then completely ceased. Dr. Jackson seems to have made up his mind to allow the College to die a natural death; and it was in his power to bring about this end by simply refraining from appointing a Principal. In vain Hewitt, who acted as interim head of the College with the title of Vice-Principal, clamoured for the higher office, for which, he asserted, he was 'pointed out by the finger of God.' Against so masterful a personage as Dr. Jackson, who, 'reminded him,' as he said, of Cardinal Wolsey, Hewitt felt himself powerless. When, in 1809, Dr. Jackson was succeeded at Christ Church by Dr. Hall, and the Duke of Portland by Lord Grenville as Chancellor, he thought his opportunity had come, but he soon found that the situation was unchanged. In 1812 he appealed to the Crown, but was referred back to the Chancellor, only to find that his grievances were outside the Chancellor's jurisdiction. In 1814 Hewitt's fellowship expired, and with it such claim as he had to the principalship.

It was then seen that the fate of Hertford College had been decided without reference to Hewitt and his claims. Since the seventeenth century Magdalen

College had cherished the idea of recovering for itself the site of Magdalen Hall. What the College had failed in 1694 to accomplish by process of law might, it was hoped, now be done by arrangement. The arrangement proposed was that which was afterwards carried out: that the University should acquire the site of Hertford in trust for Magdalen Hall, the site of which should revert to the College to which it had originally belonged. The difficulties in the way of this scheme arose from the number of interests in the two sites to be adjusted and compensated, but among these interests that of Hertford College was not reckoned. Hewitt continued until May, 1816, to occupy his rooms; otherwise the College stood empty, until 'a solicitor named Roberson introduced himself and his family into the Principal's Lodgings, at first on sufferance,'* under colour, it seems, of keeping the house in order. The example was followed by others, who settled themselves in the empty rooms. 'Very queer characters they were,' says G. V. Cox,† who was an eyewitness of the state of things; to be 'half-cracked' seemed to be the qualification for rooms in Hertford. In such circumstances the College could only be regarded as dead, and nothing remained but to hold an inquest upon its remains. On May 4, 1816, an inquisition held by virtue of a Commission under the Great Seal, found that 'Hertford College in the University of Oxford on the twenty-eighth day of June in the year

* G. V. Cox, *Recollections*, p. 178.

† *Recollections*, *ibid.* The settlers found not only free lodging in Hertford, but free firing also, as long as the trees and shrubs, which then occupied the centre of the quadrangle, would bear lopping.

1805* became and was dissolved,' and its property escheated to the Crown. The next step was an Act of Parliament passed in the same year, 1816, to enable the Crown to grant the escheated property to the University in trust for Magdalen Hall ; and this grant was finally made by Letters Patent, dated July 11, 1818, the only reservation made from the trust regarding Magdalen Hall being in respect of a sum of about £1,500, from which the costs and expenses of the University were first to be defrayed, the interest of the remainder to be paid to Hewitt for his life, and after his death to be devoted to the foundation of a University scholarship. The Glastonbury exhibitions, which had not been paid since 1813, reverted to the Crown.

According to the finding of the inquisition, the site of Hertford College was almost exactly three-quarters of an acre in extent ; the greater part of this was the property of the College, subject always to the old quit-rent to Exeter, and a further trifling quit-rent to Christ Church on a part of Newton's purchases.† A quarter

* That is, just one month after Dr. Hodgson's death. The College was allowed to have been in existence as long as it was in the Chancellor's power to nominate a Principal ; but the dating of the dissolution so far back as 1805 was a fiction intended to make it easier to deal with the property of the College.

† What Newton purchased he purchased as freehold ; but finding that a tenant of Christ Church had for a long time been paying fourpence a year 'for a Garden in Hart Hall,' which 'he had never seen in his life, nor knew where to find,' Newton procured the transfer of this not very tangible leasehold to himself. Conybeare afterwards tried to convince himself and others that the garden in question was the ground on which Newton had built his chapel, and that he had defrauded Christ Church in having it consecrated ; but the ground seems really to have been unknown.



From a photograph by the

DR. NEWTON'S ANGLE

[Oxford Camera Club

of an acre is accounted for by the sites of Black Hall and Cat Hall—or, at least, so much of the latter as was within St. Peter's parish;* these were held from the University at the ancient rents of 10s. and 1s. 8d. respectively, but on leases renewed every forty years; and on the same terms the College held a small addition recently made, it would seem, to its quadrangle from Magdalen College, at the more substantial rent of £3 15s. This last acquisition had added slightly to the frontage of Hertford on Cat Street, from which, except at the gate and the buildings immediately adjoining, the College was shut out by a fringe of private tenements and shops.†

Most of this fringe, abutting on the west side of the old Black and Cat Halls, was already the property of the University; the rest of it and the existing leasehold

* The present Principal's house occupies pretty nearly the original site of Cat Hall, and the southern end of the house is in St. Mary's parish. This part was not among the possessions of the old Hertford College, which was entirely in the parish of St. Peter-in-the-East.

† The ground held from Magdalen College seems to have originally consisted of three tenements built upon a court opening from the street, and to have been situated immediately to the north of Dr. Iles' buildings at the side of the gate. The description of it, however, which had evidently been repeated in lease after lease for centuries, states that the 'North end of it boundeth on the Abbot of Ensham's ground, and the South side on Our Lady Hall.' The 'Abbot of Ensham's ground' would then have been occupied by tenements between Black Hall and the street. 'Our Lady Hall,' I presume, is the same as 'Our Lady's House,' conjectured by Mr. Hurst (*Oxford Topography*, p. 165) to have been the dwelling of the priest serving the octagonal chapel at Smithgate. The site of it must have been built over by Dr. Iles.

This small property seems to have been the only item standing to the credit of Magdalen College at the beginning of their negotiations for the eviction of Magdalen Hall, besides their ownership of the site of the latter.

interests were bought up for the purpose of demolition, it having been determined to use the opportunity for improving the approach to the tower entrance of the Schools by widening the street, a scheme which also involved the destruction of the old College gateway, the library above it, and the buildings adjoining it. The result is the open space between Hertford and the Bodleian, with which we are now familiar, wide enough in itself, but accessible only by narrow approaches. It may be questioned whether the older and narrower Cat Street was not equally convenient, as it was certainly more picturesque, and there can be no question about the injury done to Magdalen Hall (and consequently to Hertford College) in cutting short its already narrow boundaries.*

The Letters Patent of 1818 recognise Richard Hewitt as 'the last surviving member of the dissolved College,' and as such he received from its property a pension, which amounted to something over £40 a year. As long as he lived he did not allow the name of the College to be forgotten. He received his pension directly from the Vice-Chancellor, and was, of course, bound to acknowledge receipt of the half-yearly payments; the receipt naturally and easily grew into a letter, and thus Hewitt gradually became one of those regular correspondents who are in the habit of invading the leisure of successive Vice-Chancellors with their

* Before the building of the present College Gate there was a strip of pebble pitching in the roadway outside the pavement, which was said to mark the limits of the ground which *might have been* occupied by the buildings of Magdalen Hall. But when it was suggested that Hertford College might claim the same boundary, it was found, as is usual in such cases, that the right, if it ever existed, had been lost.

grievances. The letters addressed by Hewitt to Dr. Collier Jones of Exeter College during his Vice-Chancellorship have been preserved,* and are no doubt typical of the whole series. The burden of his complaint is that if it were not for a wicked plot he would be Principal of Hertford, and that in any case he is entitled to a larger pension. Everything upon which he touches in his discursive letters leads him back to the same subject; he reads Coleridge's *Christabel*, and finds in it an allegory: 'I am Sir Leoline; Christabel, my daughter, is Hertford College,' and so on. Some interesting details of the last days of the College may be gathered from Hewitt's letters. He tells us, for instance, that 'Dr. Hodgson used sometimes to divide his £30 exhibition money into eight parts,' and to distribute sums of £3 15s. to as many Junior Fellows 'to enjoy during good behaviour.' Whence it appears that Dr. Hodgson had a sense of humour as well as a pretty open contempt for the College statutes.

Hewitt's last letter to Dr. Jones is dated October 19, 1832. He must have died in the course of the following year; in 1834 the University was able to devote his pension to the foundation of the Hertford Scholarship.

* In the Bodleian MSS., Eng. Misc. d. 9. Dr. Jones was Vice-Chancellor 1828-32. Hewitt's letters are dated from Birmingham or its neighbourhood; but during 1831 he is in 'retirement for his health' (? an asylum) and his sister acknowledges payments. His last letter is dated from near Rochdale in his 'native county.'

CHAPTER VI

MAGDALEN HALL*

MAGDALEN HALL owed its origin to the munificence, though not to the design, of the founder of Magdalen College. Bishop Waynflete established in connection with his college a Grammar School, the master of which was to give to all comers free instruction in grammar, just as the other readers attached to the College were to give open lectures in theology and philosophy. Probably the founder intended his school to be great, and expected the adventitious hearers of the grammar lectures to be few; but if such were his expectations, they were reversed by the course of events. The revival of letters first showed itself in an improvement in grammatical teaching, and also in an increase in the demand for it. John Anwykyll, the first master of the

* For the account of the beginnings of Magdalen Hall I am necessarily much indebted to the Rev. H. A. Wilson's excellent history of Magdalen College (in this series). Wood, indeed, states the matter correctly enough, though very briefly; but his statement has been discredited by the persistent assertion of later writers that the Hall was a part of Bishop Waynflete's foundation, a fiction which, originally imagined by the College for the purpose of establishing their claim to the site of the Hall, had come to be generally accepted, and had been stereotyped in the *University Calendar*.

school (1480-88), and his usher and successor, John Stanbridge, were among the foremost grammarians of their time in England, and their teaching attracted many besides members of the College. These strangers appear to have settled themselves in tenements which adjoined the original school building, and which, had Bishop Waynflete's plans been fully carried out, would probably have been demolished to make room for its enlargement.* But, as the ground was not immediately wanted, the settlers were allowed to remain, at first, it would seem, as individual tenants of the College, but before long as joint tenants under a 'Principal' of what was at first called the Grammar Hall.

The original school building, erected before Bishop Waynflete's death in 1486, occupied a site opposite the west front of the College, extending from the turreted fragment, which still retains the name of 'the Grammar Hall,' to about the south-eastern angle of the new 'St. Swithun's Buildings.' Besides the school-room, it contained little more than chambers for the master and usher, with a common kitchen; but whatever room was to spare seems to have been occupied at once by members of the Grammar Hall; and when, in the early years of the sixteenth century, the school buildings were extended, the addition was made, not so much for the benefit of the school as for that of the new Hall, which at the same time began to be known as Magdalen Hall. The change of name points to the origin of the Hall in the grammar lecture being forgotten.

* The whole site was part of the precincts of St. John's Hospital, which had been acquired and suppressed for the foundation of Magdalen College. It does not seem that the Hospital buildings extended so far west as this, but tenements of some sort there must have been.

In thus permitting, and even encouraging, the establishment of an academical hall at their very gates and within their very precincts, the authorities of Magdalen College cannot possibly have been carrying out their founder's intentions. But Magdalen Hall was full grown before it was realized that a great part of the site purchased by Waynflete for his college had been practically alienated. The Hall, of course, continued to pay rent for the ground it occupied ; but, as in the case of Hart Hall, the rent was, or soon became, a mere quit-rent, and though Magdalen certainly continued to appoint Principals for its dependency for a much longer period than Exeter in the parallel case, the right to do so rested ultimately on no better security in one case than in the other. For the time things went on well enough ; the College and the Hall were on friendly, even intimate, terms, and no doubts troubled the minds of the fellows of Magdalen as to their power, if they liked to exercise it, to remove the Hall to the other side of the High Street, or even of the Cherwell. Nor is it likely that the members of the Hall had any idea that they could successfully resist such eviction.

The first Principal of the Hall was Richard Berne,* who was for the last quarter of the fifteenth century Vice-President of the College, and had superintended the erection of its buildings. Indeed, it seems to have been as a natural extension of his other functions rather than by any formal appointment that Berne held the principalship, for the Hall itself came gradually into existence under his care. - But, as the Hall developed,

* Or *Bernes* (= *Barnes*, the form of the name preferred by Wood).

the ordinary practice of election of the Principal by the *aulares* and admission by the Chancellor or his deputy came to be followed. The nomination however, though less by right than by custom, remained with the College, and for more than a century the Principal of Magdalen Hall was always a fellow, or late fellow, of Magdalen College.

Though effectually kept under during the fifteenth century, Wycliffism still survived in Oxford long enough to be absorbed in the general movement of the Reformation, and it naturally received a fresh impulse wherever the New Learning gained a footing. It is only by such a revival of Wycliffism in Magdalen Hall that it is possible to explain the few facts known about the life of William Tyndale at Oxford. According to Foxe's account* of him, he was

'Brought up from a childe in the Universitie of Oxford, where he, by long continuance, grew and encreased as well in the knowledge of tongues and other liberall artes, as especially in the knowledge of Scriptures, whereunto his mind was singularly addicted, insomuch that hee, living in Magdalen Hall, read privelye to certain studentes, and fellowes of Magdalene College, some parcell of Divinity, instructing them in the knowledge and trueth of the Scriptures.'

This can only mean that Tyndale was the leading spirit of a Wycliffite society,† and certainly the influence

* Prefixed to his edition of Tyndale's *Works*, 1573.

† Wood (*Athenæ Oxon.*, s.n.), loosely paraphrasing Foxe's account, says of Tyndale at Magdalen Hall: 'Where, having sucked in *the doctrine of Luther*, he read it privately to certain students and to some of the junior fellows of Magdalen College adjoining.' Tyndale took

of Wycliff is seen in the attitude of hostility to the temporal wealth and power of the higher clergy which he assumes in all his writings. Wycliff's example also, it is impossible to doubt, inspired the great work of Tyndale's life, the work of setting before his countrymen the Bible in their native language. Where Wycliff, in an age of manuscript books, had failed, Tyndale, with the aid of printing, succeeded, though indeed his translations owed it to their own merit that they survived the severe proscription with which they were received by the English bishops. Tyndale, though he himself actually printed only the New Testament, the Pentateuch, and the book of Jonah,* has impressed the charm of his style and a hundred now familiar turns of expression on all subsequent English versions of the Bible.

Foxe's phrase, 'brought up from a child in the University,' seems to imply that Tyndale matriculated at a very early age, and, if so, almost certainly as a

his B.A. degree in 1512 and his M.A. in 1515, before Luther could have been heard of in England; but these dates were unknown to Wood, who, nevertheless, saw that some explanation was required of the secrecy with which Tyndale's Bible-readings were conducted. The dates of Tyndale's degrees are to be found at p. 80 of vol. i. of the *Register of the University of Oxford* (ed. Boase), whence it appears that he passed at Oxford under the name of Hychins, the alternative name of his family, which they are said to have adopted for political reasons during the Wars of the Roses.

* He is said also to have left in MS. a great part of the rest of the Bible, which was afterwards printed by John Rogers under the name of 'Thomas Mathew.' 'Mathew's' Bible is, in fact, often described as Tyndale's; but had it been so described in 1537, when it first appeared, it would have been condemned, like Tyndale's own editions, to the flames; under the name of 'Mathew' it received the King's licence.

scholar of the Grammar School. The date of his birth is uncertain, and has been assigned to various years between 1477 and 1495; probabilities, however, are in favour of the middle year, 1486. If this is the true date, Thomas Wolsey would probably have been Tyndale's teacher during the short time in 1498 that he held the Mastership of the Grammar School, and it may have been partly from his personal remembrance of the boy that the Cardinal in 1525 nominated Tyndale to a canonry in his magnificent Oxford foundation. It is also likely that Wolsey hoped to win to his side a suspected, but not yet declared, opponent.* But in 1525 Tyndale was at Cologne, busied with the printing of the first English New Testament, and, though not yet expressed, the feelings with which he regarded bishops in general, and Cardinal Wolsey in particular, were already bitter beyond the reach of conciliation. Indeed, the violence of his subsequent writings made his return to England impossible,† and it was by agents of Henry VIII. that he was lured from Antwerp to his doom at Vilvorde in 1536.

Magdalen Hall passed easily enough through the

* After 1515 Tyndale had spent some years at Cambridge, where Erasmus had lately been teaching as Professor of Greek. Many of Wolsey's nominees to canonries in Cardinal College, as it was then called, came from Cambridge, and these were generally thought to have introduced the ideas of Luther to Oxford.

† Especially the *Practice of Prelates* (1530). The King may have been well pleased, as is commonly asserted, with the *Obedience of a Christian Man* (1528); at any rate he was probably glad that his subjects should read Tyndale's vehement assertion of the royal authority against that of the Pope, though he can hardly have liked the theological parts of the book. But in the *Practice of Prelates* Tyndale had the unpardonable temerity to oppose the King's divorce.

period of the Reformation under the rule of fellows of Magdalen, who were content to go with the times. Thomas Coveney was admitted Principal in the last year of Edward VI. (April 4, 1553), and retained the office till near the end of Queen Mary's reign, when he was elected President of the College. His successor, Adrian Hawthorne, admitted October 22, 1558, had likewise no difficulty in continuing Principal under Elizabeth. Hawthorne resigned in 1567, and was succeeded by Robert Lyster, under whom the commoners of the Hall numbered as many as sixty in 1579; as at Hart Hall, there was a *lector catechismi* attached to the Hall,* appointed, no doubt, by the Earl of Leicester, but not, we may be sure, without the sanction of Dr. Humfrey, the President of Magdalen. It may be supposed that during the period of Humfrey's presidency the tone of the Hall, like that of the College, was, on the whole, Puritan.

The year 1602 is generally assigned as the date at which Magdalen Hall became 'independent.' But this merely means that it was the first occasion on which the Chancellor enforced his right, claimed, but apparently never used, by the Earl of Leicester, to nominate to the principalship. At the death of Robert Lyster, in July, 1602, the Chancellor was the same Lord Buckhurst, who as Earl of Dorset first broke through the succession of Exeter Principals at Hart Hall. His nominee to the vacancy at Magdalen Hall was

* *Reg. Univ. Oxon.* (ed. Clarke), II., i. 156. The name of the *lector catechismi* is given as D^o Kinge, who may perhaps be identified with Andrew King, a member of the Hall, who was certainly B.A. ('dominus') in 1579.

Dr. James Hussey, of New College, for many years the Registrar of the University. But, the independence of the Hall being asserted, Dr. Hussey did not long retain the principalship; he resigned in 1605. In the person of his successor, John Wilkinson, the old connection between the College and the Hall was renewed; but it must be observed that Wilkinson was elected to a fellowship at Magdalen only in the same year in which he became Principal, and that he had taken his degrees in arts from Queen's College.

It must have been in the last days of Lyster's principalship that Thomas Hobbes was admitted to Magdalen Hall.* In the Latin verses, in which he has left us a sketch of his own life, he has allotted a due space to his Oxford career. The course of instruction at Magdalen Hall was not at all to his mind. He painfully learnt his *Barbara celarent*, but only to be rid of it, and because with it he acquired freedom to reason after his own fashion.† The scholastic philosophy which followed the formal logic repelled him still more, and drove him to more congenial studies.‡ However,

* He says himself (*Vita*, 32) that he was sent to Oxford in his fourteenth year—that is, sometime between April, 1601, and April, 1602. His matriculation seems not to have been entered.

† *Vita*, 44: 'Quos tarde disco, disco tamen, abiicioque,
Admittorque meo quæque probare modo.'

‡ *Vita*, 46 *et seq.*:

'Admoveor physicæ, conflataque cuncta magister
Materia et forma, ut partibus, esse docet,
Et species rerum, volitando per æra formas
Donare hinc oculis, auribus inde sonos.
Multos effectus tribuit syn- et anti-pathiæ,
Et supra captum talia multa meum.
Ergo ad amœna magis me verto.'

Hobbes's autobiographical verses were written quite late in life, but

as 'his prevailing principle was to suffer for no cause whatever,* he submitted to the exercises necessary for his degree, to which he was admitted in February, 1608, and left Oxford with the recommendations of the head of his Hall to the Cavendish family, who continued his patrons to the end of his long life.

During John Wilkinson's long tenure of the principalship, which lasted until the beginning of the Civil War, Magdalen Hall became more and more the seminary and stronghold of the Puritans in Oxford. New Inn Hall, under Christopher Rogers (1626-43) had the same character; but of these two 'nests of Precisians,' as Wood calls them, Magdalen Hall, from its size, numbers, and traditions, was much the more important. Laud, then a fellow of St. John's, first ruffled the peace of the University by a sermon which he preached in 1606, the year after Wilkinson's appointment as Principal. Consequently, at a later period, when Laud was a power in the land, Dr. Wilkinson represented, to the average parent who had a son to send to the University, the older Oxford, such as he himself, perhaps, had known it; and Magdalen Hall seemed a safer place of educa-

it is likely enough that these doctrines of the causes of sight and hearing excited his indignation as much in his youth as afterwards. Compare what he says of them at the beginning of his *Leviathan* (Eng. Works, ed. Molesworth, iii. 3): 'The philosophy schools through all the universities of Christendom . . . say, for the cause of *vision*, that the thing seen sendeth forth on every side a *visible species*, . . . or a *being seen*, the receiving whereof into the eye is *seeing*, etc. . . . I say not this,' he continues, 'as disproving the use of universities, but because I am to speak hereafter of their office in a commonwealth, I must let you see on all occasions, by the way, what things would be amended in them, amongst which the frequency of insignificant speech is one.'

* Kennett, note on *Athena Oxon.*, s.n., Hobbes.

tion than other halls and colleges whose heads had been elected or appointed under Laudian influences. The reaction against Puritanism, which was making much way in Magdalen College, did not touch the Hall, and Dr. Wilkinson, on his side, fostered the Puritan tradition as much as he could. His influence was doubtless the greater for his having been, as a fellow of Magdalen, tutor to Prince Henry. So under his rule Magdalen Hall had no lack of scholars; about 1624 it had, according to Wood, as many as 300 members, including forty Masters of Arts. Many who were noted as divines in the Commonwealth period were at Magdalen Hall under Wilkinson, such as Thomas Horne, the Presbyterian Headmaster of Eton; Henry Hurst and Nathaniel Hardy, London ministers, of whom the former lost his rectory* through the Act of Uniformity in 1662, while the other conformed and became Dean of Rochester; Edward Leigh, lay theologian, soldier, and member of Parliament, who considered himself libelled when he was described as 'a man of a fiery disposition, and one generally made chairman upon any business that doth concern the clergy.'† Besides these, Matthew Hale, the future Chief Justice, matriculated in 1626, and the younger Henry Vane entered the Hall in 1628, but after a short stay discovered that he could not take the oaths required of him, and left without matriculating. Some five years earlier Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, had matriculated, but only while waiting for a demyship in Magdalen College, for which he had a royal mandate; however, no

* St. Matthew, Friday Street.

† *Athen. Oxon.*, s.n

vacancy occurring, he quitted Oxford for the Inns of Court, still a member of the Hall.* Before Hyde left, his predecessor in the Court of Chancery, John Lisle, also matriculated here in January, 1625; he was one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal during the Commonwealth, and one of Cromwell's 'lords.' After the Restoration he found a refuge at Lausanne, where 'he was treated by the magistracy of that town as Chancellor of England, being always vested with the robe of that dignity.†

The great increase in the numbers of the Hall necessitated large additions to the buildings, which were carried out by Dr. Wilkinson about 1614. To this date belongs the building now called the Grammar Hall. This was properly part of the school, but it was enclosed and imbedded in the new buildings of the Hall, which were now extended so as to form a quadrangle, which, however, remained for the time incomplete on its western side.

Dr. Wilkinson, it may be presumed, belonged to the old school of Puritans represented by Archbishop Abbot, Calvinistic in doctrine, but sufficiently conformable to escape interference even under Abbot's successor. Still, it may be observed that he refrained from adding a chapel to his buildings. Morning and evening prayer were required to be said in all halls and colleges;

* Hyde resorted to the College for tuition; his tutor was John Oliver, one of the fellows, and afterwards President.

† Wood, *Ath. Oxon.*, s.n. Lisle had been on the commission, though he did not act, for the trial of Charles I., and was therefore excepted from pardon. His conspicuous attire made him a mark for assassination at Lausanne, where he was shot by some Irish loyalists in 1664. The fate of his widow, Alice Lady Lisle, is well known.

where there was no chapel the dining-hall served for the purpose; but in an unconsecrated building the order of the Prayer-Book could be supplemented to such an extent as to be almost supplanted by other 'exercises,' in accordance with the taste of the Principal. It was probably from his remembrance of the character of the services of the Hall as they had been in his own time that Clarendon afterwards accused Dr. Wilkinson's namesake and successor of not using the Book of Common Prayer,* and it may be supposed that in Hart Hall, under Rondell, the Prayer-Book had likewise been supplemented by devotions of quite a different tendency from those which found favour in Magdalen Hall.†

Though Dr. Wilkinson was too circumspect to expose himself to ecclesiastical censures, the spirit of his Hall began to manifest itself the moment it appeared that the absolute rule of the King and the Primate in Church and State could no longer be maintained. In 1640 a maypole was, as usual, set up in Holywell parish, surmounted on this occasion by a figure in a tub, representing a parishioner who was notorious for holding conventicles in his house; the scholars of Magdalen Hall joined with those of New Inn in an armed attack on the obnoxious maypole, which they succeeded in destroying.

* Wood, *Life and Times* (Clarke), i. 413. Probably the Chancellor's accusation and the Principal's reply, 'that he had it read every day,' were both true. The Prayer-Book was read, but swamped by other matter.

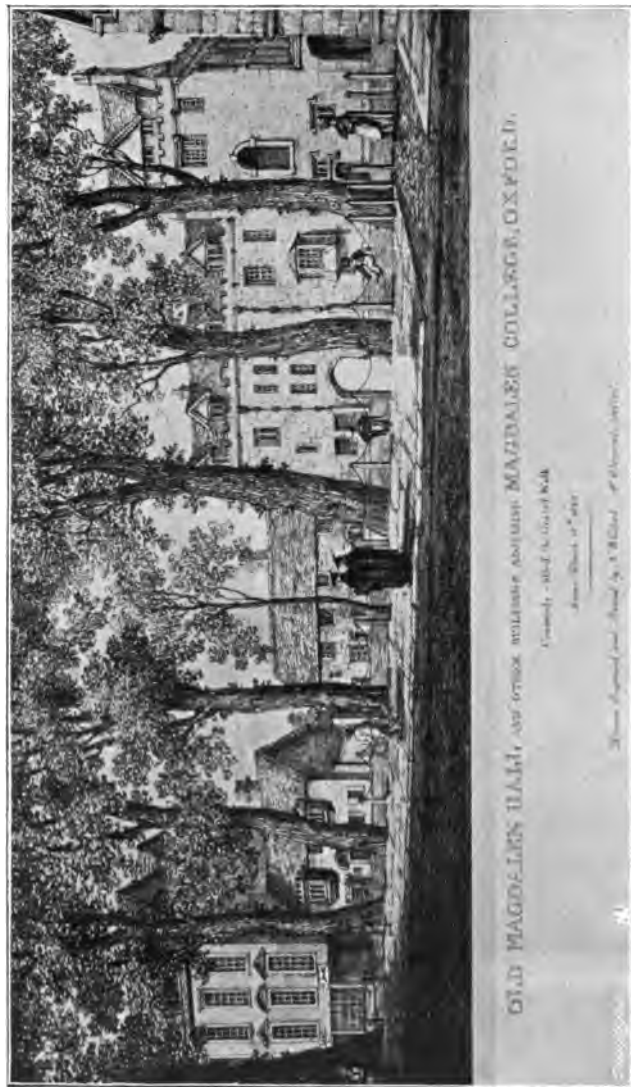
† See pp. 15, 20. Rondell seems not to have been in Holy Orders, so that he would have had greater liberty than Dr. Wilkinson; there was, besides, comparatively great laxity of discipline in the early years of Elizabeth's reign.

Later in the same year Henry Wilkinson,* a tutor of the Hall, preached a violent sermon in St. Mary's against the ceremonies of the Church; he was called upon to recant, but rather to the surprise, it would seem, of the authorities, who for many years had been accustomed to ready submission in such cases, and had prepared the form in which Wilkinson's apology was to be made, he absolutely refused, and was thereupon suspended from all clerical functions. But he had foreseen that he should find friends in the Parliament which was shortly to meet,† and to the Parliament, as soon as it met, he appealed. The Committee for Religion, to which his case was referred, ordered, not only his suspension to be taken off, but his sermon to be printed. Besides this the Vice-Chancellor was sent for to answer for his conduct in the affair at Westminster, so that the attempt to silence Wilkinson resulted in a signal triumph for his party.

The Civil War first appeared at Oxford in the person of Sir John Byron, who came in with some 200 troopers on the night of August 28, 1642; but he left with his forces to join the King on September 10, and two days later the city was occupied by the soldiers of the Parliament under Lord Say, the Parliamentary Lord-Lieutenant of the county. Lord Say, however, could not be persuaded to leave a garrison in the place, and

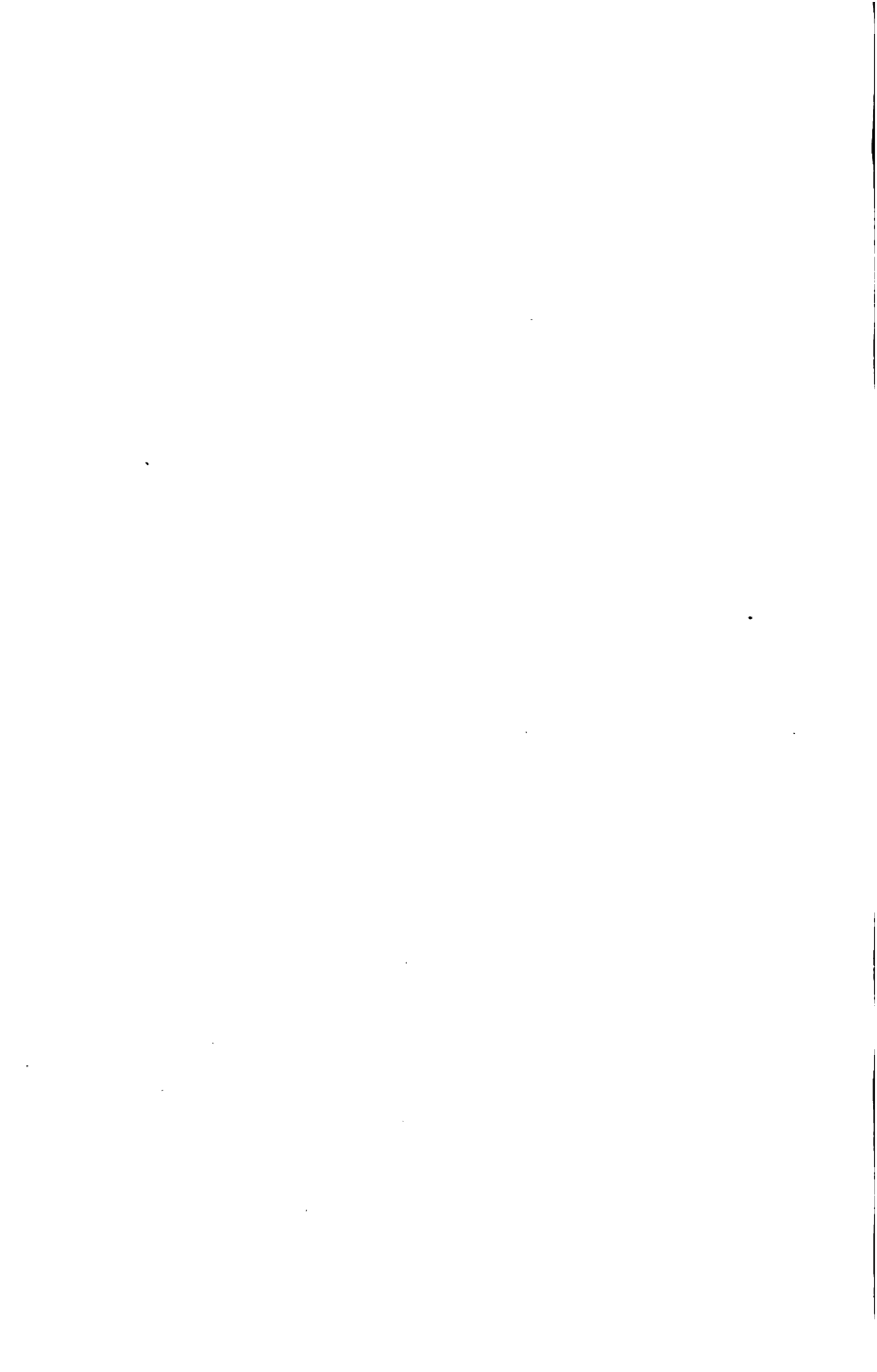
* Commonly known as 'Long Harry,' to distinguish him from another Henry Wilkinson in the same Hall, known as 'Dean Harry.' The latter was related to John Wilkinson, the Principal, and had a brother also named John, a doctor of medicine, and afterwards one of the Parliamentary Visitors.

† The 'Long' Parliament. The 'Short' Parliament had been sitting at the time of the maypole incident.



From a photograph by the

[Oxford Camera Club



by the middle of October his troops had gone off to the main army under the Earl of Essex, so that the King met with no opposition when he entered Oxford after the battle of Edgehill on October 29.

While the Court and the King's headquarters remained at Oxford, some effort was made to keep at least the framework of the University together. In 1643 the Earl of Pembroke, who had been elected Chancellor on Laud's resignation, was deprived, and the Marquis of Hertford was admitted in his place on October 24. During the vacancy of the chancellorship a new Principal had also been admitted to Magdalen Hall by the King's command in place of Dr. Wilkinson, who had quitted the University, and was now a declared adherent of the Parliament. The new Principal was Thomas Read, a fellow of New College; he was an ardent Royalist, and his appointment to the Hall was his reward, but in the troubled condition of the University his principalship was a mere name. Not very long afterwards he entered the Roman communion, and left the country.*

After the surrender of Oxford to Sir Thomas Fairfax in 1646, Magdalen Hall naturally stood high in the favour of the new rulers. Dr. Wilkinson returned as a matter of course to the vacant principalship, but he returned also as one of the Commissioners appointed by Parliament to visit the University. No less than three Wilkinsons of Magdalen Hall were on the same commis-

* He became a priest in the Church of Rome. In the circumstances his restoration to his principalship in 1660 was impossible; but he returned to England at that date, and obtained a place in Doctors' Commons as surrogate of the Prerogative Court, which he kept until his death with the connivance of the authorities.

sion: the Principal, John Wilkinson the younger, and 'Long Harry,' whose sermon had made such a stir in 1640, besides another member of the Hall, Robert Harris. The last two were also among the seven preachers sent to Oxford to prepare the way for the Visitation,* in the exercise of which function Harris unintentionally succeeded in delaying the whole business which it was his office to forward. The University had received notice to meet the Visitors in the Convocation House between nine and eleven on the morning of June 4, 1647. But the Visitors choosing to inaugurate their proceedings by hearing a sermon at St. Mary's, Harris, the preacher appointed for the occasion, spun out his discourse to such an inordinate length that the clock struck before the Visitors could reach the Schools. As they entered they met the University procession coming out. The Vice-Chancellor politely raised his cap, saying, 'Good-morrow, gentlemen; 'tis past eleven of the clock;' and the Visitation was postponed *sine die*.

However, the Visitors got to work at last, and in Magdalen Hall they met with no opposition; fifty-five members were summoned, and all submitted. Many were rewarded with forfeited places and fellowships in other Colleges. 'Long Harry' was made Canon of Christ Church. Dr. Wilkinson was intruded with a great show of force† into the presidency of Magdalen

* 'To prepare a way for a Visitation, or, if you will, to convert the scholars to their doctrine' (Wood, *Annals*, ii. 490). They had a licence to preach in any church in Oxford, and, if they chose, to supersede the University preacher at St. Mary's. They generally made a point of doing so.

† Wood, *Annals*, ii. 568, April 13, 1648: 'In the morn, about

College, and Harris the preacher into that of Trinity. John Wilkins was made Warden of Wadham, and a fellowship at All Souls' was bestowed on Thomas Sydenham, then a member of the Hall, and afterwards famous as a physician.*

The same authority substituted for Dr. Wilkinson as Principal of the Hall the younger Henry Wilkinson, who for the sake of distinction from his 'long' namesake was called 'Dean Harry'†; he was also made fellow and Vice-President of Magdalen College, and in the year following (1649) Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy. At this time Magdalen and New Inn Halls, being the only places in the University already in the hands of the dominant party, were alone in possessing any considerable number of scholars seriously intent on academical studies. But there were enough scholars of the opposite party left in Oxford to give considerable annoyance to the Visitors, and to flout and turn to ridicule the exercises which the Magdalen Hall

9 of the clock, the Chancellor, Visitors, and a strong guard of Musqueteers, went to Magdalen College,' etc. They found the doors of the President's lodgings locked, and had to break them in to give Dr. Wilkinson possession, but found no one inside but the President's servant, who was sent off to prison in charge of the musqueteers; Dr. Oliver was away, professedly on a 'progress.' The Chancellor mentioned was the Earl of Pembroke, now restored to the office of which he had been deprived in 1643.

* Sydenham was given his bachelor's degree in medicine at the second inauguration of the Earl of Pembroke in April, 1648, without having taken any degree in arts. But in the visitation of Magdalen Hall, held May 4, 1648, his name appears among the M.A.'s as Mr. Sidnam. See *Register of the Visitors* (ed. Burrows), p. 36.

† He had been Dean of Magdalen Hall, an unusual office in a hall, where it is generally merged in that of Vice-Principal, but accounted for by the unusually large numbers of Magdalen Hall at this time.

men attempted to perform in the schools.* After this disturbing element had been removed by the simple process of expulsion, the University began to resume its normal appearance, though with new men and new principles. But in the matter of new men and principles Magdalen Hall had already a start of most other colleges, and maintained a leading position throughout the time of the Commonwealth. The Hall was certainly fortunate in its Principal, of whom Wood, who was certainly not prejudiced in his favour, has given this character :

‘ He was a zealous person in the way he professed, but oversway’d more by the principles of education† than reason. He was very courteous in speech and carriage, communicative of his knowledge, generous and charitable to the poor, and so public spirited (a rare thing in a Presbyterian) that he always minded the common good more than his own concerns.’‡

The last sentence is high praise indeed from Wood, who complained particularly of the ‘interval men’ that they had ‘no public spirits, but minded only their endearments and comfortable importances.’§

Henry Wilkinson left evidence of his public spirit in the chapel which he added to the buildings of the Hall about 1650 and in the library which he built at his own expense in 1656 on the western side of the quadrangle; to this he further contributed a large number of books, and procured the contribution of more from

* Wood, *Annals*, ii. 591.

† I suppose that by ‘the principles of education’ Wood means ‘the principles in which he had been educated.’

‡ *Athen. Oxon.*, s.n. (Wilkinson), iv. 284.

§ Wood, *Life and Times* (ed. Clarke), i. 298.

other members of the Hall. On May 7, 1657, the library was opened with over 300 volumes.

No doubt during Wilkinson's principalship, as before it, most of the members of the Hall were adherents of the Presbyterian and Parliamentary cause. Yet the Earl of Clarendon, when he came as Chancellor* to visit the University during the reaction in 1661, seems to have treated the Principal with needless harshness. Clarendon was the guest of Dr. Oliver, the restored President, at Magdalen College,

‘Where being, Dr. Wilkinson of Magdalen Hall invited him to his Hall to a banquet. Which the chancellor not accepting, chid him and told him that “he entertained a company of factious people in his house,” naming them, “and but one honest man among them,” meaning Mr. Josias Pullaine, and told him that “he was afraid to come there.” Which Dr. Wilkinson, taking in a fume, went away and returned his sweetmeats (which cost him 26*l.*) with loss.’†

Clarendon had previously accepted from the hands of Dr. Wilkinson a presentation Bible, but with a very ill grace, telling him that ‘he thanked him, but he did not intend to follow him and relinquish the Common Prayer-Book,’ the Bible presented having no Common Prayer bound up with it, as was then usual, and not containing the Apocrypha.

Henry Wilkinson suffered ejectment from the Hall under the Act of Uniformity in 1662. There is something rather pathetic in an entry in the library-book in

* Elected Chancellor, Oct. 27, 1660, on the death of the restored Chancellor, the Marquis of Hertford, lately created Duke of Somerset.

† Wood, *Life and Times* (ed. Clarke), i. 415.

his handwriting setting forth an arrangement recently agreed upon for defraying the cost of an additional purchase of books ; it is dated August 20, only four days before the fatal St. Bartholomew. To the last moment the Principal maintained his interest in the library which he had founded. After leaving Oxford he preached in various places to Nonconformist congregations, sometimes being troubled for so doing, but lived to see the Revolution and the Toleration Act, and died in 1690.

Josiah Pullen, whom Clarendon considered the only honest man in the Hall, had been appointed Vice-Principal by Wilkinson in 1657, and for fifty-seven years he filled that office, and, according to tradition, took his daily after-dinner walk, the limit of which is still marked by 'Jo. Pullen's tree,' now a mere wreck, on Headington Hill. He seems to have been trusted by both parties; he was not only Wilkinson's Vice-Principal, but domestic chaplain to Bishop Sanderson, to whom he administered the Sacrament on his death-bed.

After the ejection of Henry Wilkinson, the appointment of a Principal fell to Clarendon as Chancellor. He nominated James Hyde, a doctor of medicine, who was duly admitted September 22, 1662. Hyde had originally matriculated at Hart Hall, and had been a fellow of Corpus, where he distinguished himself as the only member of the University who roundly refused to take the Protestation, as it was called, imposed by the Parliament in 1641.* The new Principal became

* The Protestation was ostensibly a manifesto in favour of (1) 'the true reformed Protestant religion, expressed in the doctrines of the

Regius Professor of Medicine in 1665, the same year in which his younger contemporary, Thomas Hyde, from whom he must be distinguished, was appointed Bodley's Librarian. Dr. Hyde's rule in the Hall was uneventful; he made considerable additions to the library, both in books and book-room; but it seems that the management of affairs was left for the most part to the Vice-Principal, under whom Dr. Robert Plot, the historian of Oxfordshire, held office for some time as Dean. Dr. Hyde, at any rate towards the end of his principalship, lived outside the Hall in his own house in St. Peter's parish,* where he died May 7, 1681.

Dr. Hyde was the first Principal entirely unconnected with Magdalen College who had governed the Hall for any length of time. Accordingly, on his death the fellows of Magdalen thought it high time to assert what they believed to be their rights over the Hall. In the absence of their President, Dr. Henry Clerke, they elected Francis Smith, one of themselves, to be Hyde's successor, and were about to give him forcible possession of the Hall, when the President returned, bearing a request from the Visitor of the College that they

Church of England, against all Popery and Popish innovations'; (2) 'the power and privileges of Parliament, the lawful rights and liberties of the subject'; (3) 'union and peace between the three kingdoms.' It was, of course, the circumstances in which this Protestation was pressed on the University and the appearance that it necessarily had of being a recantation of opinions opposed to the spirit of these articles that made it objectionable. But most of the objectors simply absented themselves from the Convocation in which it was proposed. Hyde alone had refused it.

* Wood, *Life and Times* (ed. Clarke), ii. 512. He suffered a dis-
traint on his refusal, as a 'privileged person,' to pay a city rate
'towards the militia which trained when the Prince Elector was here.'

would proceed no further ; Dr. Clerke himself effectually seconded the Visitor's wishes by refusing the fellows the use of the College seal ;* so no further opposition was given to the Chancellor's nominee.

This was Dr. William Levet, a former member of Magdalen Hall, who had afterwards become a student of Christ Church, whence he had taken his degrees. While he was Principal he took a considerable part in University affairs, and a sufficient interest in those of his Hall ; but after his appointment in 1685 to the deanery of Bristol he was probably an infrequent resident. There was no need for him to interfere with so efficient a Vice-Principal as Josiah Pullen, who continued to manage matters under Dr. Levet as he had done under Dr. Hyde.

When Dr. Levet died (February 10, 1694), the fellows of Magdalen made a second and more serious attempt upon the principalship of the Hall. On this occasion they had the concurrence of their President, Dr. Hough, though he was not actually present at the meeting on February 12, when Dr. Mainwaring Hammond was formally elected Principal. The election was duly notified to the Vice-Chancellor—at this time Dr. Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church—but he declined the responsibility of admitting Dr. Hammond without the Chancellor's consent. The fellows then proceeded to do what they could to fortify their nominee in his position ; they gave him a lease of the

* According to Wood (*Life and Times*, ii. 542), or rather his informant Allum, they wanted it to seal up the gates of the Hall. A more natural object would be to seal the instrument of Smith's election.

Hall and possession of the Principal's lodgings. The Chancellor meanwhile had nominated another Principal, Dr. Richard Adams, a fellow of All Souls', to whom Dr. Aldrich succeeded in giving admission on March 3, though it was necessary to use force to break down the gates of the Hall, and Dr. Hammond seems for the moment to have kept the lodgings barred against his rival.

On June 20 following the matter came before the Court of Common Pleas. As might have been expected, the decision of the jury was against the College. The College, in fact, could not prove a single appointment to the principalship; recent nominations had admittedly been made by the Chancellor, while in earlier times, for all that appeared from the records, the Principals of the Hall had always been elected by the *aulares*, whatever may have been the unrecorded influences which decided the choice of a particular person. Perhaps the strongest point in the case for the College was this: since the College statutes, to which all the fellows were sworn, absolutely forbade the alienation of any part of the site given by the founder, it ought not to be assumed that the fellows had been guilty of perjury, as they would have been, had any such alienation to the University ever been made of the site of the Hall. But the truth was that the ground had become alienated from the College by time and circumstances, without any action on the part of the fellows.* The rent which they continued to exact for the site of the Hall had become a quit-rent,

* Chief Justice Treby, who summed up strongly against the College claim, quoted a dictum of Sir Matthew Hale, that 'he would presume a private Act of Parliament in favour of an ancient possession rather than disturb it.'

simply because there were no longer any taxors, who alone, according to the custom of the University, had power to vary it. That it was a mere quit-rent the jury seem to have been convinced by the unwillingness of the College to produce their rental-book :

‘The rental was called for, but not being produced, it was suspected that this 40 shillings was placed among the quitt-rents, and that therefore the College did not think convenient to exhibit it for feare it should be evidence against them.’*

By this trial the claims of Magdalen College to the Hall were finally disposed of; though the law was against them, it is easy to understand that the existence of an independent Hall on the site which Magdalen Hall occupied was a very real grievance to the College. Whether it was an attempt on the part of the fellows to make the best of a bad business, or to throw upon their founder the blame which was due to their own predecessors’ negligence, the fiction now first makes its appearance, that the Hall was part of the foundation of Bishop Waynflete, ‘intended for students previous to admission into his college.’ It has been seen that a Grammar School was all that Bishop Waynflete had intended to found upon the disputed site, and the Grammar School remained, still closely dependent upon the College, though its buildings were inextricably confounded with those of the Hall.

As a result of the trial Dr. Adams gained full

* Wood, *Life and Times*, iii. 457. The quotation is from a report of the trial by Thos. Wood of New College, nephew of the antiquary, who was present.

possession of the Hall and the Principal's lodgings. Of the latter he made but little use. Pullen was still supreme in Magdalen Hall, of which he had been practically sole governor under two Principals, and he retained the same authority under a third. Eleven years later Hearne mentions Dr. Adams as 'Principal of Magdalen Hall, whither he never comes but once or twice a year to receive his cash'; the next year he 'intends to build six Rooms and come to live in Oxon, intending now to keep Residence, which to his Eternal Shame he has neglected ever since he was made Principal.* After all, unless he was prepared to quarrel with his deputy, there was probably nothing better for him to do in the Hall than to collect his room rents. He did, however, finally settle himself in the lodgings which he was intending to enlarge in 1706, and died there January 5, 1716. Just a year before, on the last day of 1714, Pullen himself had died, vigorous to the last, but having overtaxed his strength in administering the Sacrament to a large congregation in St. Peter-in-the-East on Christmas Day.† In the course of his long vice-principalship he had seen the Restoration, the Revolution, and the accession of the House of Hanover.

Dr. Adams was succeeded by Digby Cotes, a former member of the Hall, who in 1712 had been elected Public Orator in opposition to Dr. Newton of Hart Hall. He was admitted Principal on January 31, 1716.

* Hearne, *Diary*, under dates December 7, 1705, January 2, 1706.

† Hearne, January 1, 1715. He adds that Pullen, in spite of age and failing sight, characteristically refused to wear spectacles in public, 'which made him guilty of great blunders in Divine Service.'

Like his predecessor, he was a fellow of All Souls', and retained his fellowship long enough to pronounce a funeral oration in All Souls' Chapel on June 19 at the burial of Colonel Codrington, the founder of the library.* Cotes' thirty years principalship was uneventful, except that towards the end of it Magdalen Hall received the benefaction of Dr. William Lucy, a member of the well-known Warwickshire family, and a former alumnus of the Hall. Dr. Lucy founded four scholarships, to be confined to Hampton Lucy School, with preference for the founder's family and for natives of Kilton in Somerset,† from which county one of the scholars was in any case to come. These restrictions seem to have created no difficulty‡; but it was otherwise with the provision of Dr. Lucy's will, 'that the said scholars whilst Undergraduates shall wear open-sleeved Purple Gowns with Square Capps, black silk and white silver Tuffs equally mixt, as a mark of Distinction to dispose others to the like or greater charity.' The Principal seems to deserve the credit for devising a way of satisfying this fancy of Dr. Lucy's without violating University discipline. According to the scheme confirmed by the Court of Chancery, December 21, 1744, it was arranged that

'the Scholars who shall be sent to Magdalen Hall under the Will of Dr. William Lucy shall at their admission sign

* 'His Year of Grace being not yet expired,' Hearne, June 20, 1716. Cotes' fellowship was vacated, not by his appointment to Magdalen Hall, but by his marriage on April 13 to 'Mrs. Eliz. Banister.'

† 'Where I had the Honour to serve many years at the Holy Altar.' —Dr. Lucy's will.

‡ Hampton Lucy School must have been, about this time, in a very flourishing condition. Cf. p. 90, *note*.

a writing or paper to be deposited with the Principal or Vice-principal, declaring that they are willing and ready to wear such gowns, etc., whenever the Statutes of the University will admit the same to be worn.'

Digby Cotes, himself a Warwickshire man, probably received Dr. Lucy's rather eccentric bequest in a more sympathetic spirit than would have been shown by a stranger. It was the last act of his principalship; he died at his rectory of Coleshill on January 11, 1745.

Dr. Newton's candidature for the place of Public Orator had failed through a new and ill-founded interpretation put upon the statute relating to the office. The Public Orator was to be a master of arts; Newton was a doctor of divinity, and therefore held to be disqualified.* Cotes, having been elected under this limitation, seems to have considered himself precluded from proceeding to the doctor's degree. In reality the statute had been misinterpreted for his especial benefit; after his death a doctor of divinity, Thomas Lisle of Magdalen, was elected without question in his place.

His successor in the principalship of Magdalen Hall had likewise come into contact with Dr. Newton. William Denison had been a fellow of University, and one of the two candidates for the mastership on the death of Dr. Charlett in 1722. In the disputed election† Dr. Newton had employed his pen on the

* As a doctor would be disqualified for the proctorship. But there is no analogy; a Proctor is essentially the representative of the masters of arts; the Public Orator is the mouthpiece of the whole University.

† There were two elections, at the first Cockman, at the second Denison was elected. But the first election was set aside by the Visitors as invalid, and the second, which was held by the Visitors' order, was looked on as invalid by everyone else; indeed, even by some of the Visitors themselves.

side of the Visitors of the College, who had admitted Denison as Master, and by so doing he had secured for himself no less an advantage than the consent of the heads of houses to his proposed charter,* the Visitors being at that time the Vice-Chancellor, Proctors, and Doctors of the University. But his championship was powerless to keep Denison, or even the Visitors themselves in office; after some six years of litigation the mastership was adjudged to Denison's rival, Thomas Cockman, and the King (as the successor of Alfred) declared the true and lawful Visitor of the College. Probably Denison's appointment to Magdalen Hall was considered a suitable compensation for his loss of the mastership, to which he had had *pendente lite* at least as good a right as his rival, and on the strength of which he had married. For this last rash act indeed he was very fully compensated, for when in ten years he resigned the principalship, his son (of the same name) was appointed Principal in his place.

The second William Denison was admitted Principal May 31, 1755. Neither his principalship, which lasted till 1786, nor that of his father is specially notable, and the appointment of his successor, Matthew Lamb, is only so as an example of the way in which at this period headships and other places at Oxford were regarded as ecclesiastical preferments.† Rector of Harvington, Prebendary of Lichfield and of Worcester,

* Page 43.

† Particularly the History professorships. For instance, that of Modern History (Regius) was founded in 1724; and already in 1736 it seemed to the Duke of Newcastle to be a suitable preferment to bestow on an applicant for a canonry when no canonry was vacant. The substitute was accepted, with an express disclaimer on the part of the new professor of any knowledge of the subject he was to profess.

and Chancellor of the Diocese of Oxford, Dr. Lamb received the principalship of Magdalen Hall just as he might have received another prebend or any other addition to his pluralities. He had taken his degrees from Queen's College, but he held no position in the University, and was in no way connected with the Hall, though it no doubt provided a convenient residence for the diocesan Chancellor.

Dr. Lamb, however, resigned his principalship in 1788, and was succeeded by Henry Ford, of Christ Church, who in 1780, immediately upon taking his B.A. degree, had been appointed Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic. On his appointment to the Hall he proceeded to a doctor's degree in Civil Law, since the head of a house was expected to be a doctor, and then retired as much as he could from the public view; it was his excessive shyness that gained for him a certain notoriety and a place among the early Oxford caricatures. His principalship takes us to the eve of the migration of the Hall from its ancient site. He died July 26, 1813.

CHAPTER VII

THE MIGRATION OF MAGDALEN HALL

JOHN DAVID MACBRIDE, who was appointed to succeed Dr. Ford, not only as Principal of Magdalen Hall, but also in the Lord Almoner's professorship of Arabic, had some years before vacated by marriage a fellowship at Exeter. It was a mere coincidence, but it was certainly appropriate that a leader for the new colony, which was to be planted on the ancient site of Hart Hall, should be chosen from the college which had originally been founded within the same precinct. When Dr. Macbride* became Principal, the migration of Magdalen Hall had already been planned. In 1812, as Hewitt complains,† before his own fellowship expired, Magdalen College 'began to move.' Hewitt hoped, as he afterwards told the Vice-Chancellor, 'some day to publish a complete history of *the Hertford Plot*.' It is to be regretted that he never did so, for the history would have been interesting, even though the plot existed chiefly in Hewitt's imagination. No doubt there was a general agreement among the heads that Hertford

* He was already D.C.L. and Assessor of the Chancellor's Court, an office which he held from 1812 to 1840.

† Letter to Dr. Collier Jones, October 26, 1830 (see p. 99).

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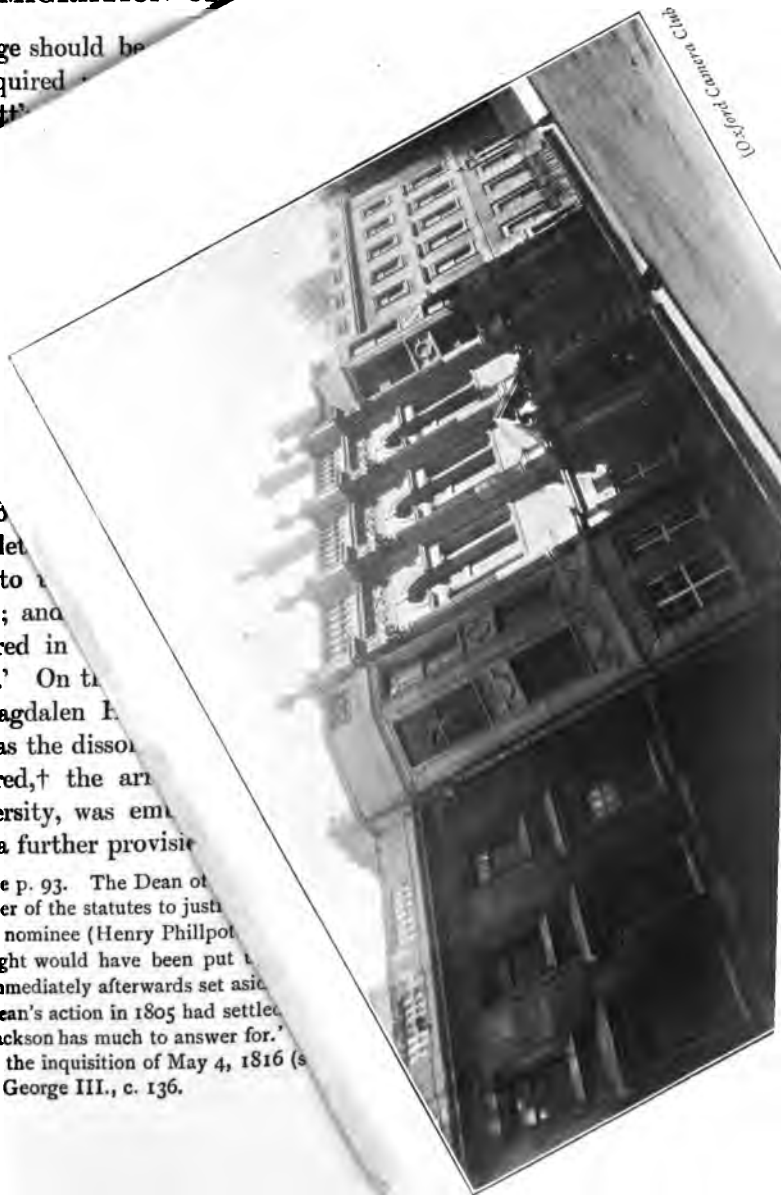
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From a photograph by the

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College should be allowed to die a natural death, but it required no very deep-laid conspiracy to pass by Hewitt's claim to the principalship, since that claim was invalid, according to the strict letter of the College statutes;* the same statutes would shortly insure the termination of Hewitt's fellowship, and the College would thereupon cease to exist.

With this prospect before them the conspirators, as Hewitt regarded them, made their plans, which were made public as soon as the last Hertford fellowship had expired. On March 15, 1815, proposals put forward by the President and Fellows of Magdalen for the transfer of Magdalen Hall to the site of Hertford College were submitted to Convocation. The College undertook (1) to put the buildings of Hertford into 'a state of complete repair'; (2) to relinquish all their right and title to the small part of the site which belonged to them; and (3) to defray 'whatsoever expense shall be incurred in carrying the proposed arrangements into effect.' On these conditions the old site and buildings of Magdalen Hall should revert to the College. As soon as the dissolution of Hertford College was formally declared,† the arrangement, with the consent of the University, was embodied in an Act of Parliament,‡ with a further provision that Magdalen College was to

* See p. 93. The Dean of Christ Church, having once appealed to the letter of the statutes to justify his objection to admitting the Chancellor's nominee (Henry Phillpotts) to the principalship, an unpardonable slight would have been put upon the Chancellor had the statutes been immediately afterwards set aside by the appointment of Hewitt. The Dean's action in 1805 had settled the matter. As Hewitt put it, 'Dr. Jackson has much to answer for.'

† By the inquisition of May 4, 1816 (see p. 95).

‡ 56 George III., c. 136.

repay yearly to the Principal of the Hall the old rent which was still paid to Exeter College for the site of Hart Hall; but this rent-charge was soon afterwards commuted or extinguished, possibly through the good offices of Dr. Macbride.* The Act also provided for the 'improvement' of the site of Hertford College by the demolition of the gate and of the houses between the College and Cat Street, and for this purpose the University was authorized to treat with the owners and occupiers concerned. These negotiations and the pulling down of the houses, to say nothing of the eviction of the tenants who had intruded themselves into the College itself, required time. Three years elapsed after the passing of the Act, and Magdalen Hall still remained on its ancient site.

It might have remained longer but for an accident which hastened its removal. Early on Sunday morning, January 9, 1820, the guard of a mail-coach passing through the street saw, and gave the alarm, that Magdalen Hall was on fire. The flames had broken out in the rooms of Robert Broadley,† an under-

* This was contemplated by the Act, which contained a proviso 'that it may be lawful for the Rector and Scholars of Exeter College to extinguish such rent-charge with or without consideration.'

† I am indebted for the name and other particulars of the (involuntary) incendiary to his nephew, Mr. A. M. Broadley, of Bradpole, in Dorset. The Buttery-book of the Hall shows an extraordinary increase in Broadley's battels for the 8th, and a note is inserted *immediately under his name* to the effect that 'the fire was discovered at three o'clock in the morning of Sunday the 9th.' But this hint, significant enough to those who knew the facts, is insufficient in itself to record them. A further note tells us that Broadley's name was taken off on the 24th. It is only fair to his memory to add that he afterwards took Holy Orders, and became a devoted parish priest. Ten years later he attended the deathbed of Mr. Huskisson, the first victim of a railway accident in England (September 15, 1830).

graduate with a passion for the stage, who the evening before—it was, of course, vacation time—had given a dramatic entertainment, followed by a supper, and had failed to extinguish all his lights before going to bed. Few rooms can have been occupied in the middle of January, and no life was lost, but about half of the buildings of the Hall was burnt down. The library was saved, but some pictures in an adjoining room were destroyed, and as much of the Hall plate as had been in use for Broadley's party.

Not long afterwards the old 'paper building' of Hertford College, deprived, it may be supposed, of its last support by the demolition of the houses between it and Cat Street, came down one morning in a cloud of dust. It was time for Magdalen College to fulfil their undertaking to put the buildings of Hertford into a state of complete repair, and on May 3, 1820, the first stone of the new Magdalen Hall was ceremoniously laid by the Vice-Chancellor. In 1822 the new buildings were completed, and the migration of the Hall to its new abode was accomplished.

The new buildings consisted of the two blocks which still form the ends of the present college front. Then, as now, the northern block was divided into rooms, while the southern contained the Principal's lodgings. But the two blocks were joined together merely by a stone screen, in the middle of which rose an archway, built to contain the old gates of Hertford College, and to serve as a *porte-cochère* for the Principal, since a rigid symmetry denied him a door opening directly upon the street. There were, however, two smaller doors in the screen, one on each side of the principal gate, and the

nearest of these to the Principal's house was used as his hall-door. In practice the old doors which hung in the new archway were scarcely ever opened, and the public entrance to the Hall was that dark and ignoble passage leading from New College Lane, which can still be remembered.*

The whole design is said to have been adapted from that of the buildings planned, but never erected, by Dr. Newton, and in its severity and simplicity it certainly seems to imitate them. The two square blocks with their connecting-screen might have been in their right place as *propylæa* to a palace of the size and character of Blenheim, to which the central gate might lead through an avenue of suitable length; but since the gate opened upon nothing but an oblong quadrangle bounded at some thirty yards' distance by the low and irregular range of buildings containing the former Principal's lodgings, the effect must fully have justified Skelton's strictures† on 'the vile taste of the century,' which had so marred the buildings of Hertford, 'picturesque from their varied character and venerable for their antiquity.' The old lodgings were allowed to remain, but however picturesque and venerable they may have appeared in their former surroundings, they were hopelessly dwarfed by the new buildings,

* The memory of it was kept alive until quite recently by the paved crossing which formerly led to it across New College Street, and latterly led to nothing at all, the old entrance having been closed by the new Hertford College buildings. The crossing was obliterated when the street was asphalted in 1900.

† In *Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*, p. 58. At the same place are depicted some fragments of ancient work (capitals of columns, etc.) found during the demolition of the old street front, some of which seem to be of earlier date than Elias of Hertford himself.

which towered in front of them, until Dr. Macbride, at his own expense, carried them to their present height by the addition of an upper story. This addition harmonizes so well with the older building that there is some difficulty in believing it to be of so recent a date; but it would be hard indeed if Dr. Macbride's good taste should be allowed to blind us to his munificence. At a later date he also added an upper story to the dining-hall.*

In respect of size and numbers, Magdalen Hall now not only surpassed the other halls, but held a fair place in the whole list of colleges and halls combined.† At the same time it is significant that Magdalen Hall was able to increase its accommodation only by adding to the height of its buildings. With the exception of the space now filled by the College gate, with the dining-hall above, the Hall occupied the whole of its site, whereas most of the colleges had ample room for expansion whenever the want of new buildings should be felt. That time, however, was not yet. Magdalen College, in urging the removal of Magdalen Hall, had laid particular stress on the necessity for their proposed new buildings, the design of which could not be properly carried out as long as the Hall remained where it was. Yet the need was so far from pressing that the College, having once obtained possession of the coveted site, allowed a large part of the Hall buildings to remain.

* This work was not executed until 1849. There was already an upper story over the old buttery at the corner of the quadrangle. The building here had originally been raised to a greater height than the hall, with which it had been erected, by Principal Rondell.

† In the calendar for 1846 it stands twelfth in the list, with 214 members.

It was not until 1845 that old Magdalen Hall was finally demolished, and not until nearly forty years after its demolition that its site was covered by buildings forming part of the College.* Indeed, at any time between 1822 and 1845 new buildings would have been a luxury, not a necessity, for Magdalen, since the College consisted exclusively of its foundationers, with the addition of a few gentlemen-commoners.

But the need of large additions to college buildings came only with the general opening of the University to all comers, which resulted from the action of the first University Commission. In the first half of the nineteenth century only those colleges could much increase in numbers which could, and did, throw open their foundations free from the usual local restrictions. The Halls at this time had the advantage of a wider field from which their members could be drawn, and such foundations as they had in the way of scholarships and exhibitions, however closely restricted they might be to certain schools and counties, were generally insignificant. At Magdalen Hall the close foundation of Dr. Lucy was more than balanced by the open scholarships founded in 1833, under the will of Henry Lusby, a former member of the Hall. These, three in number, and at first of the exceptional value of £100 a year,† were open to all, even to members of the University under two years' standing.

* St. Swithin's buildings. The western part of the old Hall had been occupied by the new buildings of the Grammar School, which had made use of the old Hall buildings as long as they remained. The seventeenth-century 'Grammar Hall,' with its turret, has alone survived all the changes that have taken place on the site.

† But tenable for three years only. The value of the property

A year before the foundation of the Lusby scholarships William Jacobson had become Vice-Principal. Like his predecessor, William James,* he was chosen from among the fellows of Exeter, the Principal's own College. Although Magdalen Hall was not lacking in numbers, its character seems at this time to have left something to be desired, since Jacobson only accepted the vice-principalship on the understanding that he should have a free hand in the management. His aim was to make the Hall something better than what it was in danger of becoming, a refuge, not, indeed, for men who were turned out of other colleges (for it had not sunk so low as that), but for men whom other colleges were not inclined to take. Of course Jacobson had his way, and for sixteen years Magdalen Hall had the good fortune to be practically governed by perhaps the best college tutor of his time. After his marriage in 1836 Jacobson lived in the red-brick house in New College Street, which corresponds more or less to that occupied by Thomas Neale in the sixteenth century. It was quite insufficient for his wants, but it was the only house from which the Vice-Principal could keep an eye on the quadrangle of his Hall.†

bequeathed by Mr. Lusby has of late years greatly declined. For many years the Lusby scholarships were kept up to the value of £60 a year; they are now worth £50 only. But the editor of Mark Pattison's *Memoirs* is mistaken in supposing that they were worth no more in 1833. Pattison wrote, there is no reason to doubt, correctly: 'I went in for the "Lusby" at Magdalen Hall, then a new foundation, with the tempting prize of £100' (p. 126). This the editor has altered to £50, which can hardly be called a 'tempting prize.'

* James had vacated his fellowship in 1815 on acceptance of the Principal's rectory of South Moreton, which he held until his death in 1855.

† Burgon, *Twelve Good Men*, ii. 261. The house stands exactly

In 1848, when Jacobson was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity, and quitted the Hall for the canonry in Christ Church annexed to his new office, he was succeeded as Vice-Principal by Richard Michell, who had made himself a brilliant reputation, first as an exceptionally successful private tutor, and since 1834 as tutor of Lincoln College, where he had for a time held a fellowship.* Since 1839 he had also occupied the revived University Chair of Logic.† No one could have been better qualified as a successor to Jacobson; yet there was some difference between the appointment of Jacobson, then a newly-elected fellow of Exeter at the beginning of his career, and the selection to succeed him of Michell, who had been engaged in the same routine of teaching for over twenty years. However, while at Lincoln he had been the making of a college which had fallen very low,‡ at Magdalen Hall he had only the easier task of continuing Jacobson's work. Michell also succeeded Jacobson in what was to him the very congenial position of Public Orator.

The University Commission of 1854 found but little to call for interference in Magdalen Hall. By the

opposite the old dining-hall, and as the upper story was not added to the Hall until 1849, it may be supposed that it then commanded a view of the quadrangle.

* He vacated it by marriage in 1842.

† Then called a prælectorship, and tenable for ten years; but at the first vacancy (in 1849) it was turned into a professorship for life.

‡ In the words of a by no means friendly witness: 'Richard Michell had come in as tutor, and had immediately raised, by force of character and a singular knack of teaching, the tone of the tuition. Every Lincoln man felt this. We were all proud of Michell, who by his genial, jovial sociability represented Lincoln before the world' (Pattison, *Memoirs*, p. 217).

ordinance which they eventually made* the Commissioners sanctioned the necessary reform of converting into a preference the absolute restriction to Hampton Lucy School of the scholarships founded by Dr. Lucy. The ten scholarships founded by John Meeke in 1665 for the benefit of Worcester Grammar School were likewise thrown open in default of qualified candidates, and at the same time were made more useful by the reduction of their numbers to four; and the benefactions of Dr. Whyte for five, and Dr. Brunsell for three, scholars were in each case consolidated into a single exhibition. But these reforms, which were now authorized by the Commission, had long been carried out by Dr. Macbride without authority. The impossibility of carrying out the provisions of Dr. Lucy's will had forced him to disregard it altogether. Hampton Lucy School, he told the Commissioners in his evidence, 'has ceased to exist'; in those circumstances, 'I give out the money in exhibitions at my own discretion.'† But the *Statuta Aularia* themselves had become a dead letter, although the University had taken the trouble to revise and reaffirm them as recently as 1835. 'The Hall is now governed by the Principal at his own discretion, with due submission to the statutes of the University, and no others seem to be required.'‡

* Dated April 15, 1858.

† University Commission, 1852. *Evidence*, p. 381. Notice of the examination, however, was still ordered to be given to the Master of Hampton Lucy School, which had not formally ceased to exist, though it no longer sent scholars to the University.

‡ *Evidence, loc. cit.* This statement of Dr. Macbride's was put forward by the Commissioners in their report as a proof of the uselessness of elaborate codes of discipline, such as that, for instance, of Dr. Newton.

It may be seen from his evidence before the Commission that Dr. Macbride was an active head, who had the credit and interests of his Hall very much at heart. Though the new constitution abolished the old Hebdomadal Board, where he had an *ex-officio* place, he was immediately elected to the new council, on which it might perhaps be thought that Magdalen Hall was over-represented, since both Principal and Vice-Principal were for many years members together. The tuition, as we have seen, Dr. Macbride delegated for the most part to others, but he himself regularly lectured in divinity,* considering that to be a duty inseparable from the principalship. As a memorial of his services to the Hall, the Macbride Scholarship was founded in 1856 by subscription among old members, few of whom could have remembered another Principal.†

In January, 1868, Dr. Macbride died in the ninetieth year of his age, after a principalship of over fifty-four years. In his latter days he had practically retired from the management of the Hall, which was left in the hands of the Vice-Principal. As was natural and expected, the Vice-Principal was appointed to succeed him.

It seems to have been a fixed idea with the first University Commission that it was the business of the

* The lectures on the 'Diatessaron' are still associated with his name.

† It is stated in the *Dictionary of National Biography* that this scholarship was founded in honour of his jubilee as Principal; but he became Principal in 1813, and the deed of foundation (Declaration of Trust) is dated December 17, 1856. The occasion of his golden wedding (1855) may perhaps have been the origin of the subscription.

Halls, as distinguished from the Colleges, to provide for the maintenance in the University of poor scholars, though it is difficult to see why the Halls, without endowment, should be thought better able to do so than Colleges which had endowments specially assigned for the purpose. But, in fact, the Commissioners seem to have had in their minds not so much the Halls as they then were, as an ideal Hall, which was yet to be instituted, formed, perhaps, by a combination of those actually existing. This shadowy scheme, the most definite feature of which was the name of the new institution, which was to have been *Aula Universitatis*, came to nothing, though, indeed, the design of an *Aula Universitatis* was subsequently carried out in a much better way by the institution of non-collegiate students. But it was evident that the Commissioners regarded Halls as institutions on their trial; to justify their continued existence they were required to show that they answered some definite purpose.

This could not be said of Magdalen Hall. Dr. Macbride, in his evidence before the Commission, had succeeded in showing that the Hall charges were as moderate as those of any of the Colleges; but the traditions of a Hall where there had always been a large number of gentlemen-commoners were not likely to make for economy. The effects of the action of the Commission in throwing open the hitherto close foundations of the Colleges were beginning to make themselves felt in the Hall by a decrease in the number of matriculations. The way out of the difficulty which commended itself to the new Principal was the conversion of the Hall into a College. Some such scheme

seems already to have been formed in Dr. Michell's mind when he was admitted Principal—the last Principal—of Magdalen Hall, and circumstances combined to develop it.

The institution of non-collegiate or, as they were then called, unattached students in the same year that Dr. Michell became Principal destroyed the chief reason, in the view of the recent Commission, for the existence of the Halls. It was time for a Hall which already in practice ranked among the Colleges to choose whether it would make an effort to become altogether a College, or remain a Hall with the certainty of declining and the probability of extinction. It would indeed have been matter for regret if an institution that could boast of such a distinguished past as Magdalen Hall had been forced to choose the second of these alternatives.

CHAPTER VIII

THE NEW FOUNDATION

By the end of 1873 Dr. Michell had proceeded so far with his design that he had a Bill before Parliament, with the approval of the University, for the conversion of Magdalen Hall into a College, which, it was already determined, should resume the ancient title of Hertford College. The Bill was a mere outline, perhaps intended only as a test of public and parliamentary opinion, or possibly the details were to be filled in during its passage through the Houses. Had it passed into an Act, its immediate practical effect would have been the incorporation of Dr. Michell as a College of the University of Oxford, very much as Dr. Newton had been practically incorporated as a College by the Charter of 1740, though his autocracy had been disguised under the style of 'the Principal and Fellows of Hertford College.'

Dr. Michell had provided for the Parliamentary expenses of his Bill by means of a subscription among members of the Hall, and he cherished hopes of providing eventually by the same means for the endowment of fellowships. But the scheme, after a temporary check to its Parliamentary progress caused by the

Dissolution and General Election at the beginning of 1874, appeared before the new Parliament reinforced by the promise of substantial support from another quarter. Mr. Thomas Charles Baring, then newly-elected to Parliament as member for South Essex, had recently offered to Brasenose College, of which he had been a fellow,* a munificent endowment for fellowships and scholarships. That College, however, did not see its way to accept the gift, on account of the conditions which accompanied it, which were, that the new foundation should be restricted to members of the Church of England, and that the founder should have the first nomination to the new fellowships.† This foundation, rejected by Brasenose, Mr. Baring now offered as an endowment for the proposed Hertford College.

It was felt that the Bill for the incorporation of Hertford would meet with great difficulty in its passage through Parliament, and would be very unlikely to obtain the necessary approval of Convocation if it purported to erect into a college, with the full rights of a college of the University, a foundation restricted, as Mr. Baring wished it to be restricted, to the Church of England. Mr. Baring, however, placed in the hands of the Marquis of Salisbury, as Chancellor of the University, the sum of £30,000, which was afterwards declared to be an endowment for five unrestricted

* Elected in 1852. He had originally been a member of Wadham College.

† The old foundation of Brasenose would have been swamped by the new, and the legality of the restriction to the Church of England, even of new fellowships, was at this time doubted. The University Tests Act, 1871, then recent, seemed to many to make such restriction impossible.

fellowships, while the College was empowered by a clause in the Bill, by which it was to be established, to accept future endowments accompanied by conditions. The names of certain fellows, who with the Principal and scholars of Magdalen Hall were to be incorporated with the title of 'the Principal, Fellows, and Scholars of Hertford College in the University of Oxford,' were then added to the Bill, which was introduced in the House of Lords by Lord Salisbury, and was read a first time March 29, 1874. It passed with tolerable ease through all its stages; it was in Committee of the House of Commons on July 3, having in the previous month received the sanction of Convocation. On July 7 it passed the third reading, and received the Royal Assent exactly one month later.

It remained only for the newly-constituted College to provide itself with a code of statutes. This was drawn up and approved as required by the Visitor,* and afterwards by the Queen in Council, early in the following year; but the members of Magdalen Hall, who had dispersed for the Long Vacation, came back to Oxford in October, 1874, as members of Hertford College. Thenceforward the College, as constituted by the Act, was free to receive the additional fellowships and scholarships founded by Mr. Baring, subject to the restrictions already mentioned.† The first examination

* The Chancellor of the University, who retained the visitatorial rights in Hertford College which he had possessed over Magdalen Hall, including the appointment of the Principal.

† The foundation was completed, by instalments, in 1881. Among the scholarships of Mr. Baring's foundation are some restricted (1) to persons born or educated in Essex (the founder's county); (2) to

for scholarships on the new foundation was held in December, 1874.

For many years past Dr. Michell, as Public Orator, had (alternately with the Professor of Poetry) struggled through the Creweian Oration at the Encænia amid the constantly increasing uproar of the undergraduates' gallery. In 1874 the disorder had reached a climax, and in order to break the tradition it was decided to hold the Encænia of the following year in the Divinity School.* It was Dr. Michell's turn to deliver the oration, and it might have been hoped that one of so many speeches, known to be excellent,† but wasted year after year in the tumult of the theatre, could at length be listened to in comfort. But whether the orator did not think it necessary to exert his voice in the comparatively small area, or whether the acoustic properties of the building were to blame, he was heard only by a few;‡ but he was understood to conclude with a eulogy of the benefactor of his College, 'whose name, out of respect to his own wishes, he would not pronounce.'§ It was an evident pleasure to him to appear at Commemoration as the head of a college,

Harrow (the founder's school); (3) to the kin of the founder; (4) to the sons of former fellows of the College (or of former fellows of Brasenose down to 1900).

* Where, of course, there is no room for undergraduates.

† The *Orationes Creweianæ* of Dr. Michell were edited and printed by his son, Mr. E. B. Michell, in 1878.

‡ The editor of the speech says that 'the whole of it could be heard.' It may be concluded that he was fortunate. The Divinity School is fertile in acoustic surprises.

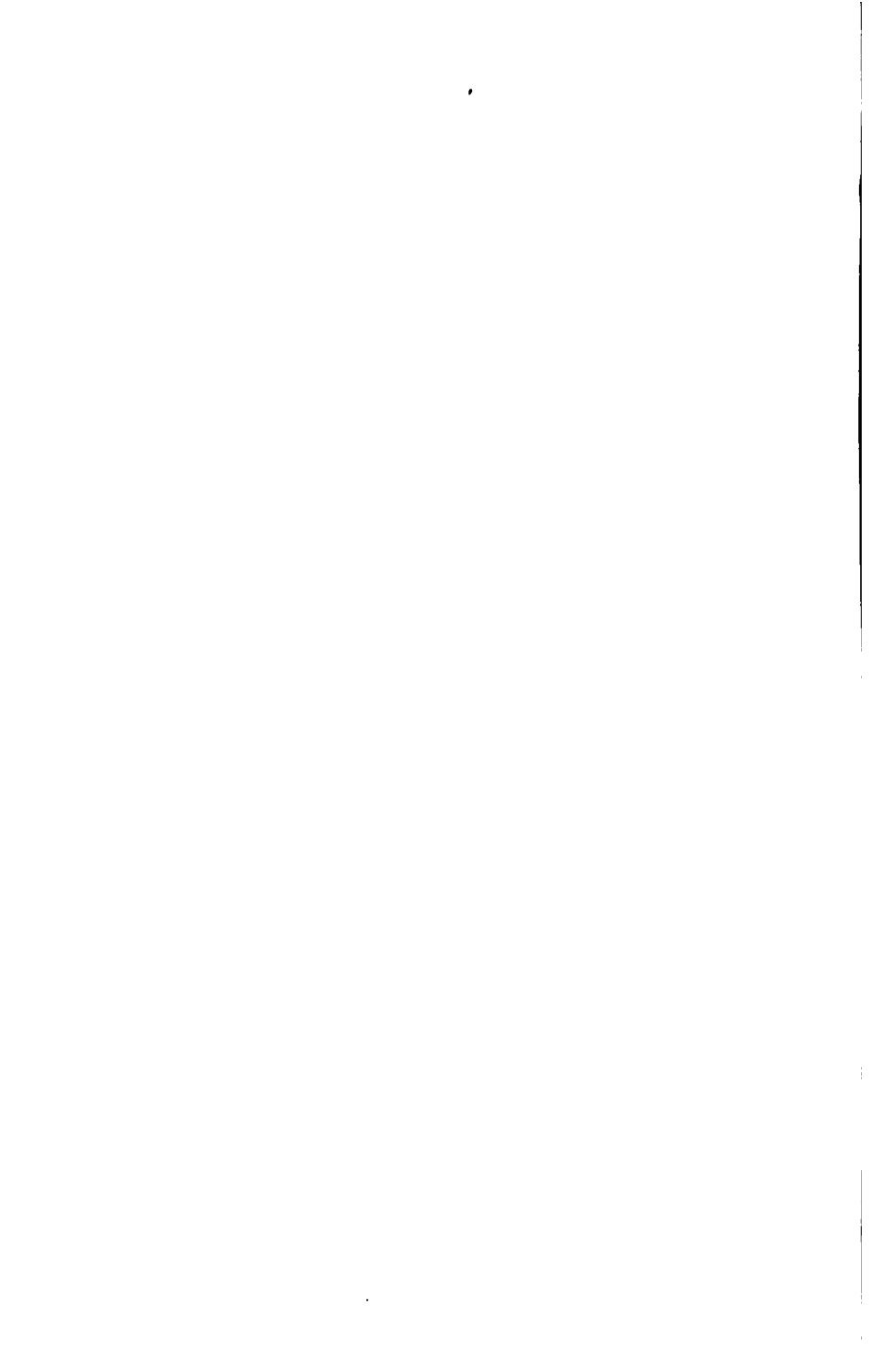
§ Mr. Baring would not allow his name to be *publicly* mentioned in connection with his benefaction as long as he lived, though, of course, his identity was an open secret. He did not appear in the University Calendar as a Founder until after his death in 1890.



From a photograph by the

INTERIOR OF THE HALL

[Oxford Camera Club



and perhaps he was the more inclined to regret that it was not held in the usual place, and even amid the usual hubbub.* It was the last Creweian Oration he ever delivered.

In December, 1875, was held the first examination for a fellowship on the new foundation, and it was determined in the Nonconformist interest to make use of the occasion to test the legality of the religious restriction. A candidate appeared who professed himself to be not a member of the Church of England. He was told that he might be admitted to the examination, but could not in any event be elected to the fellowship. He went away unexamined, and in due course a fellow was elected and admitted to the vacant place. Mr. Tillyard, the Nonconformist candidate, then applied to the Queen's Bench Division for a *mandamus* to the College to 'examine and elect' him.

Apart from the main question involved, which was whether the abolition of tests, which had been enacted by the Universities' Tests Act, 1871, applied to future as well as to existing foundations, there were obvious objections to Mr. Tillyard's claims, of which the most fatal was, that there was now no vacant fellowship to which he could be elected. Besides, he had not been in for the examination, and if he had, he could not possibly have been in a position to prove that he ought to have been elected on the merits of his papers. In the last resort, no College is bound to elect the candidate who does the best in the examination. All

* As he put it in the Oration (*Oratt. Creweiana*, p. 136): 'Theatrum cheu ! hodie quam desideratum.'

these considerations were put forward by the College in their 'Return' to the *mandamus*, which was in the end granted by a majority of the court.* The next stage in the proceedings was a 'Demurrer' to the 'Return' of the College, the result of which was that the *mandamus* was made peremptory. The judges who arrived at this decision did so confessedly on the main issue; but there was some difference in their agreement; since, while Mr. Justice Mellor considered that the Tests Act was prospective in its effects, Mr. Justice Lush thought that it applied in the present instance only through a clause in the Hertford College Act, which provided that nothing in that Act was to be deemed to repeal any part of the Tests Act. In the end, however, this decision was reversed by the judgment of the Court of Appeal, delivered by Lord Coleridge, in which it was clearly laid down that the Tests Act 'does not of itself prevent the erection in Universities of fresh colleges, of which the endowments may be confined to members of a particular religious community.' The position of Hertford College and its new foundation was thus firmly established. The process was long in proportion to the importance of the matter; the election to the fellowship, round which the battle had been fought, had taken place on December 21, 1875; the Court of Appeal had given judgment on May 2, 1878. In the meantime, on March 29, 1877, the first Principal of the reconstituted Hertford College had died; his successor is the present Principal.

Since its establishment the history of the College has

* Consisting of Mr. Justice Mellor and Mr. Justice Lush, Mr. Justice Blackburn dissenting.

been written largely in its buildings. The earliest plans that found favour were for a fresh migration to another site. At first there seemed the possibility of obtaining in exchange for the ground on which the College stands the site in the High Street, then known as the 'Angel' site, on which the University has since erected the sumptuous new Schools. But this and other schemes which involved migration came to nothing, and it remained to make the most of the ground which was actually in possession of the College. To meet the immediate wants of the College Mr. Baring acquired a lease of the house at the corner of New College Street, which he designed, and which was at first used, as a 'Fellows' Lodging.' There at first was the Common Room, and thither for some years a procession of fellows armed with napkins might be seen taking its way across the street every evening after dinner in hall. The Common Room removed to its present position, in the old lodgings of the Principals of Hart Hall, in 1886. There were then more of the fellows living in the old buildings, since the present Principal, after his appointment, retained his old rooms in the 'Fellows' Lodging,' and did not occupy his predecessor's house, which for a time was divided into sets of rooms. In 1887 the new hall was begun, and was finished by the end of the following year. By this building, which included the new College gate, now restored to its proper position opposite the Schools Tower, the only vacant ground actually belonging to the College was occupied. But the old hall now received the Library, for which a room had been built by Magdalen College, when they took over the old buildings of Hertford, on the north

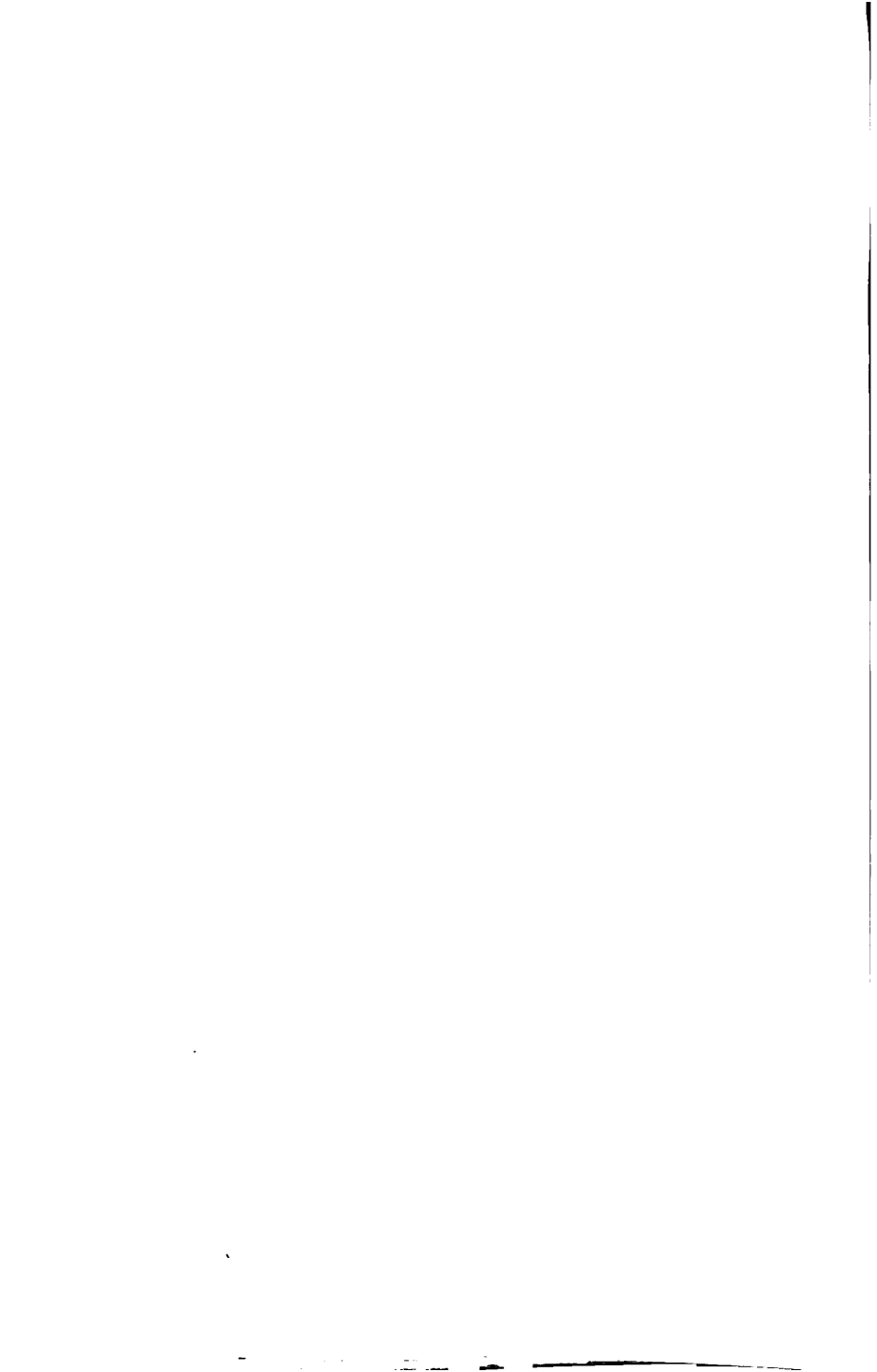
side of the quadrangle, extending over what was then made the entrance to Magdalen Hall, and over a part of the kitchen premises. This and the old kitchen itself, which dated from the time of Dr. Iles, had now become useless. Accordingly, in the next year (1889), the whole of the north side of the quadrangle, with the exception of the old hall, was demolished to make room for the new buildings, which now form the frontage upon New College Street. The kitchen and buttery in use are part of the new hall building, but the old buttery in the south-east angle of the College, though no longer serving its original purpose, still remains, perhaps the oldest untouched fragment of Hart Hall. Dr. Newton's Angle and his Chapel also remain as he left them. When the new hall was built, the ground-floor of the southern end of the new building was annexed to the Principal's house, which was further improved by the addition of a hall door opening on the street. In 1889 the Principal resumed possession, in view of his approaching vice-chancellorship; that office fell to him in 1890.

But the most important addition to the College is now in process of building. The 'Fellows' Lodging,' better known as Clarendon House, said to have been once the residence of Dr. Hayes,* more lately the *depôt* of the Clarendon Press, together with the houses adjoining—some of which had been long rented by the College and used for college rooms under the

* Professor of Music 1777-97. The house, which with the *ades* is now demolished, was such a flimsy structure that it might be doubted if it could have held together for so long. But very likely the old 'Paper Building' of Hertford, which stood longer, was not better constructed.

name of *ædes*—were acquired from the City in 1897; later a block at the back of these was purchased from Merton College. These acquisitions will eventually give the College a frontage upon Holywell, and they include the ancient Chapel of Our Lady at Smithgate, a precious fragment of medieval Oxford, the preservation of which is, it is to be hoped, assured, now that it has passed into the guardianship of Hertford College.

APPENDICES



APPENDICES

THE NAME AND ARMS OF THE COLLEGE

I HAVE already observed that Wood's statement that Hart Hall was first known as *Hertford's* is merely a conjecture of his own. I do not believe that a single instance can be found of the Hall being actually called by that name before Wood's time. It was from Wood that Dr. Newton took the name of his College, which specially commended itself to him by its 'Simplicity,' and it was settled by Dr. Michell that the restored College should bear the same name, on the ground that 'he didn't see what else you could call it.'

Whether the University of Oxford and the Colleges thereof are, or are not, outside the jurisdiction of the Heralds is a highly controversial question, on which I do not propose to enter. Though something very like a Herald's Visitation took place in 1574, it is certain that the University refused to be visited in 1634, and that no attempt was made to include it in the post-Restoration Visitations. Practically the University claims exemption, and it would, perhaps, be an act of treachery on the part of a college to apply to the Heralds for a grant of arms; Hertford College, at any rate, has never done so.

The arms adopted and used by the College are taken from the seal of Elias of Hertford, though the tinctures are presumably supplied from fancy. I am afraid that, if the truth is to be told, the cross between the horns of the hart's head was *intended* to be *patée-fitchée*, but the engraver of the College seal has turned it into a complete cross *patée*, with a spike projecting from the foot. The College is indebted to Mr. Perceval Landon, a former scholar, for the discovery of other instances of a cross of this shape (which he calls 'fitched in the foot'), saving us from the reproach of a solecism in heraldry.*

The seal of the College of Newton's foundation had upon it the drinking stag with the legend, *Sicut cervus anhelat ad fontes aquarum*, which then adorned, and now again adorns, the College gate. It seems to be agreed that this device is not to be regarded as armorial. I hardly see why; it is 'landscape heraldry,' no doubt, but far from being the most offensive example on record.

In an inventory of plate and other movable goods of Hart Hall, taken at the admission of Principal Smith (1707), there are recorded to have been hanging in the hall:

The Queenes Armes in a frame.

The University Armes in a frame.

The Hall Armes in a frame.

It would be interesting to know what were regarded

* Mr. Landon ingeniously finds the origin of a cross of this form in the arms commonly borne by archbishops—viz., an archiepiscopal staff surmounted by a pall. The head of the staff, cut off by the pall, forms a cross almost exactly of the shape in question.

as the 'Hall Armes' in 1707. The same coats of arms are mentioned in the inventory of 1710 (admission of Dr. Newton) with the addition of 'the Arms of the Person that wainscotted the Hall.'

Some coats of arms were painted in the glass of the hall windows. There are two thus described in the 'Gatherings of Richard Lee, Portcullis,' in 1574 :*

'1. Or, a saltire vert betw. 4 castles sa.

'2. Arg. on a chevron betw. 3 water-buckets sa., a crescent of the field' [Langman], impaling Arg. a crosier gu. headed or, surmounted by a doctor's cap; over all, on a chevron a rose or, betw. 2 bezants.

'Over is written [in Gothic characters] *Roger Langman* and *Mr. Rychard de Plymothe*.'

Wood describes the last coat only, but he attributes it not to Langman, but to 'Hill of Devonshire'; while the impaled coat, in which by his time the crosier was no longer visible, he attributes to 'Browe.' He also describes a quartered coat on 'a Table hanging at the upper end of the Hall,' of which he says, 'I think 'twas bor'n by Sir Lionel Ducket, Lord Mayor of London, an-1572.' Is it possible that this was supposed afterwards to be 'the Hall Armes'?

It will be observed that all these coats are of Devonshire origin, as was to be expected in a dependency of Exeter College. 'Mr. Rychard de Plymothe' I cannot identify; Roger Langman was doubtless the Roger Longman who supplicated for his degree in Canon Law, January, 1506 (Boase, *Reg. Univ.* p. 41). It is not easy to understand the arms impaled with his. Wood,

* Printed in the Harleian Society's fifth volume (1881), *Visitations of Oxford*, p. 100.

in whose day their ecclesiastical character was obliterated, thought they were those of a wife, but they have much more the appearance of belonging to a religious house. It is possible that Langman, who was probably in orders, became the head of such a house; in that case the arms are impaled on the wrong side, but this is a mistake of which other examples may be found.

The name of 'Hart College,' though even of greater 'simplicity' than 'Hertford,' would be certainly less euphonious; but it might be wished that the elegant and characteristic Latin name of 'Aula Cervina' had been allowed to develop into 'Collegium Cervinum' instead of the cumbrous 'Hertfordiense.'

The early change of the name of the 'Grammar Hall' into 'Magdalen Hall' has been mentioned. After the migration of the Hall to the Hertford site, an attempt was made, with the favour of Dr. Macbride, to change the spelling to *Magdalene*, for the sake, I suppose, of further distinction from the College. The change, however, was only very partially accepted; it was never recognised by the University Calendar.

Magdalen Hall never made use of any arms but those of the College, and a very occasional use only of those.

THE LIBRARY.

THE Library of Hertford College is formed by the union of the two collections, of the first Hertford College and of Magdalen Hall. The history of the latter library is easy to trace, since the register of it, started by the founder, Henry Wilkinson, in 1656, was kept with due care until about 1740. From that date until the beginning of the last century scarcely any books seem to have been added; at any rate, no additions were registered.

Strict rules were drawn up for the Library before it was opened, and approved by Gerard Langbaine, then pro-Vice-Chancellor, April 8, 1656. These rules show that the library was intended as a *place* of study; for anyone besides the Principal and the Librarian to take a book out was an offence punishable by expulsion from the Hall. It would, besides, have been a *violent* offence, since the books were at first *chained*. No one had a right to use the Library until he had completed 'three yeares standing *de die in diem*'; anyone could then be admitted on payment of ten shillings, 'Provided, if any give Twenty shillings, he may study in the Library presently.' But he would be expelled from it again if he presumed to temper his studies by introducing 'wine,

ale, beare, or tobacco.' A twelvepenny fine insured that every student should shut the windows and lock the door when he went out.

Periodical visitations were held by the seniors of the Hall, who looked into the Librarian's accounts and counted the books and chains. The number of chains was 441 in 1658; in 1662 it was 509. When the books were set at liberty does not appear; probably they remained in chains as long as Josiah Pullen had the charge of them (1657-1714), but it is likely that fresh chains were not bought for books added to the library during the whole of that period. The older books only show any trace of bondage.* The register, carefully kept by Pullen, which begins with long lists of books given by various benefactors, tails off into entries of five shillings given by so-and-so on taking his degree. In 1729 it seems to have been thought there were books enough; at any rate, there was no room for more, as is shown by the entry, '*Bibliotheca libris refertissima, in exstruenda capella insumpti sunt ordinarii bibliothecæ redditus*,' an indication of a fact of which there seems to be no other record, that the chapel of the Hall was rebuilt or enlarged at that date. A year or two later the chapel is finished, and the Library again receives its dues and a few gifts of books; but in 1739 the register ends.

At the outset Dr. Wilkinson pressed all members of the Hall to contribute: he himself gave nearly a hundred volumes; his successor, Dr. Hyde, also gave a

* As rents in the cover where the bosses were fixed, to which the chains were attached; and the titles written on the fore-edge. The leaves, not the back, of a chained book were exposed to view.

large number of books, chiefly medical, but including a Sarum Missal of 1556. Not many books of an earlier date than their own time were given by the first contributors; Dr. Wilkinson gave a 'Mathew's' Bible of 1549, and it is curious to find that 'Rogerus Fry obsonator,' the manciple of the time, contributed Peter Lombard's *Magister Sententiarum*, printed by Octavianus Scotus at Venice, 1489.

In 1818 the Hall came into possession of the old Hertford College Library, which had been enriched by the valuable collection bequeathed in 1777 by John Cale, of Barming in Kent. From this source come the large number of archæological works, eighteenth century political tracts, county histories, and the like, which are a feature of the library, together with a considerable number of early books. The excessive zeal of Dr. Macbride to propagate the spelling of Magdalene Hall with a final *e* has, unfortunately, resulted in the obliteration in many cases of the names both of Hertford College and of Cale. But the Library owes much to Dr. Macbride, who, on the occasion of the removal from the old Hall, rearranged the whole collection with a care that had not been bestowed upon it for some eighty years. He also gave several Oriental books. In 1855 the Library received a valuable bequest from Edward Phillips, a member of the Hall; and since the foundation of the new College it has been augmented by the gifts of the late Earl of Winchilsea (then the Hon. M. E. G. Finch-Hatton), one of the first fellows of the new foundation; of Lord Francis Hervey, fellow of the College, who gave a large portion of the library of the late Canon Pearson,

vicar of Sonning; of the Rev. T. M. Gorman, and others.

Originally the portraits belonging to the Hall were hung in the Library. That of Tyndale was given by Dr. Wilkinson with his gift of books. All but two had found their way into the dining-hall before 1820; those two, portraits of Bishop Andrewes and of John Meeke, the founder of the scholarships, were then in a study adjoining the Library, and perished in the fire.

THE COLLEGE PLATE.

WHEN, as Wood puts it, money was 'stirring from the new families' in the time of the Commonwealth, Magdalen Hall was greatly in favour with the ruling party. From that period date the elegant half-pint two-eared mugs, which are the oldest pieces of plate belonging to the College. There is nothing remarkable about the rest. The largest piece of plate that Magdalen Hall ever possessed was, unfortunately, destroyed, with some of the largest tankards, in the fire, after figuring for the last time at Mr. Broadley's feast. This was the great bowl of sixty-four ounces, called in the Inventories 'the Monteth' or 'Monteff',* and once 'The Punch-bowl.' This is probably the character in which it was last used.

The Hertford plate was sold at the dissolution of the College in 1818. There were some pieces in it which may have been of interest. For instance, one would like to know what the 'Principal's Horn' was like, and 'the Masters' Great Horn,' with its cover, whose existence we know of only from the inventories.

One tankard, dating according to the Hall-mark

* A Monteth, or rather Monteith, so called from the name of the inventor, was a bowl for washing glasses in.

from 1684, which was bought for the College some time since, was formerly the property of Dr. Bernard Hodgson, the last Principal ; but whether *as* Principal or not, is not known. The arms on it are those of the family of Poole, of Painswick in Gloucestershire.

THE CHAPEL OF OUR LADY AT SMITH GATE.

I HAVE uniformly spoken of the street leading between All Souls' and St. Mary's Church into the Radcliffe Square, and thence between the Old Schools and Hertford College into Broad Street, under the name of *Cat Street* because I believe this (and not *Catherine Street*) to be the original name; and no one can complain of it as an objectionable address, since there are no numbered houses in the whole length of the street. The regular Latin name for it in medieval documents is the quaint one of *Vicus murilegorum*, or *Mousetakers' Street*, and in like manner *Cat Hall* was called *Aula murilegorum*. At the same time the name *Catherine Street* is at least as old as Wood (*City of Oxford*, ed. Clarke, i. 92), and, as he gives us to understand, much older, though he himself always, I think, speaks of *Cat Street* and *Cat Hall* when he has occasion to mention either. But the modern official use of the name *Catherine Street* has given vogue to the erroneous idea that the octagonal chapel at Smith Gate was dedicated to St. Catherine, which no one ever supposed until quite recent times. There is no doubt that this building is the ancient Chapel of Our Lady, of which Wood says (*City of Oxford*, i. 259) that Smith Gate 'joyned to' it; that

(260) it was 'built as 'tis said by one Whobberdie (de Hybberdine)'; and that it 'always stood open for passengers to pray,' especially 'for candidates who took degrees to pray for the regents,' who granted or withheld degrees in the Schools hard by.

An account of the chapel itself, as it was then to be seen, by the Rev. G. E. Jeans, fellow of Hertford College, is printed in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* (December 8, 1898). He describes the doorway with its sculptures in relief, representing the Annunciation, and notices 'the shaft of an arch and a perpendicular window' visible from the garden of Clarendon House; besides 'one at least of the cornice bosses once under the wall plate' to be seen over the doorway. The demolition of the adjoining houses has since revealed the half of another window (which I should describe as rather earlier than perpendicular) in the eastern face, together with a considerable length of the cornice and two more of its bosses, one of which, carved in the form of a head, is in good preservation. The rest of the window and the north-eastern and northern sides of the octagon remain embedded in the houses still standing; but the octagonal form of the chapel is placed beyond dispute, and the angles are now seen to have been emphasized by stone shafts running up to the cornice. Down to Wood's time the building seems to have retained some features of a chapel in the interior, 'a fair wrought neech on the east side,' and some traces of mural paintings, which, he tells us, were destroyed in the excitement of the 'Popish Plot,' 1679. Mr. Jeans also quotes an entry in the accounts of the churchwardens of St. Peter in the East of a payment

for the removal 'of the table [picture] that was at Our Lady at Smyth Gate and for the carrying of other images, 2d.'

The City Wall at Smith Gate was demolished earlier than elsewhere, and the ditch filled up. Its exact line was unknown in 1584, when the Town Council ordered 'the foundation of the towne wall at Smythe Gate to be searched,* for the purpose of ascertaining the boundary of the Merton manor of Holywell. On the occasion of the visit of James I. 'from Woodstoke to see the new erected scoles' (Wood, *City of Oxford*, i. 259) the gate itself was destroyed in order to widen the roadway for his entrance. The wall, therefore, in which the chapel now seems to form a sort of bastion cannot well be the original City Wall, but is more probably a part of the wall of inferior strength which is known to have run along the further side of the city ditch. In 1898 was discovered the footing of the ancient wall running across the quadrangle to the south of the Clarendon building, and it was hoped, when Clarendon House and its neighbours were demolished, that a continuation of it would be exposed beneath them; not a trace of it however was found. It is still possible that the line of wall may be concealed under the pavement of New College Street,† or the whole of the materials may have been carried away. Be this as it may, the chapel appears to have stood *outside* the gate and beyond the city ditch. As for

* Quoted by Clarke to Wood, *City*, i. 243, from Turner's *Records*.

† It may have turned to the north at the entrance of St. Helen's Passage, and that passage may actually follow the line of the ancient wall.

Wood's statement that Smith Gate 'joyned to' it, the original gate had been destroyed before Wood's time ; but a new barrier had been erected at this unfortified point in the time of the Civil War, and it is probable enough that the chapel served as a bastion on one side of the new gate, which was perfectly familiar to Wood and his contemporaries, and would naturally be supposed to stand on the site of the older Smith Gate.

ATHLETICS

MAGDALEN HALL never distinguished itself on the river; it is the greater honour to the Hertford boat that it should have gone head of the river in the seventh year of the existence of the College. This in 1881, the University Fours in 1879, 1881, and 1882, and the Clinker Fours in 1898, are the successes to be reckoned to the College Boat Club.

The crew of 1881 was as follows :

R. H. Todd (bow).	5. W. Marsh.
2. G. Q. Roberts.	6. E. Buck.
3. G. S. Fort.	7. D. E. Brown.
4. T. S. Lea.	C. H. Sharpe (stroke).
E. H. Lyon (cox.).	

The winning crews in the University Fours were :

1879.	1881.
W. Marsh (bow).	G. Q. Roberts (bow).
2. E. Buck.	2. D. E. Brown (steerer).
3. H. W. Disney (steerer).	3. G. S. Fort.
D. E. Brown (stroke).	C. H. Sharpe (stroke).

1882.

J. Castle (bow).	3. G. S. Fort.
2. G. Q. Roberts (steerer).	C. H. Sharpe (stroke).

The crew for the Clinker Fours of 1898 was :

A. M. O'Sullivan (bow).

2. S. C. Hebard.

3. R. D. Warren.

A. Cavendish (stroke).

P. H. Warwick (cox.).

The following members of the College have rowed for Oxford against Cambridge: H. W. Disney (1879), D. E. Brown (1880-81-82), E. Buck (1881-82), G. S. Fort (1882-83), G. Q. Roberts (1883), H. Cross (1888), while E. H. Lyon was *Cox.* of the Oxford boat in the years 1881-82-83.

The University Sculls have been four times won: in 1878 and 1879 by J. Lowndes; in 1882 by G. Q. Roberts; in 1894 by F. H. Dutton. At Henley J. Lowndes was winner of the Diamond Sculls in the five successive years 1879-1883, and the Stewards' Cup was won by Hertford in 1881 and 1882 with this crew in both years :

G. Q. Roberts (bow).

2. E. Buck.

3. D. E. Brown.

J. Lowndes (stroke).

The Hertford College boat also beat that of Cornell University in 1881. Silver Goblets were won in 1882 by D. E. Brown and J. Lowndes; in 1883 by G. Q. Roberts and D. E. Brown; in 1884 by J. Lowndes and D. E. Brown. J. Lowndes was also winner of the Wingfield Sculls in 1881, and again in 1883; in the latter year he rowed over the course without a competitor.

In Cricket Hertford has contributed to the University eleven the following: M. C. Kemp (1881-82-83-84), A. H. J. Cochrane (1885-86-88), G. L. Wilson (1890-91), F. H. B. Champain (1897-98-99, 1900), and A. M. Hollins (1899): besides E. J. Cassan (Magdalen Hall, 1859).

In Football the College was the holder of the Association Inter-Collegiate Cup in the two years 1884-85 and 1885-86, and the following members have played against Cambridge: *Association*: E. H. Alington (1878), C. J. S. King (1881-82), R. S. King (1882-83-84-85), C. J. Cornish (1883), M. C. Kemp (1883-84), H. Guy (1885), A. N. C. Treadgold (1885-86), R. C. Guy (1886-87), T. W. Cook (1887), C. S. W. Barwell (1889), T. F. Cattley (1898), H. Morgan - Owen (1900-01). *Rugby Union*: H. Vassall (1880-81-82-83), H. B. Tristram (1883-84-85), W. J. Carey (1894-95-96-97), F. H. B. Champain (1898-99), C. E. L. Hammond (1899), R. C. Grellet (1899-1900-01-02), S. H. Osborne (1900-01-02), A. J. Hutchinson (1902).

Among Racquet players for the University the College has been represented by S. C. Snow (1879) and M. C. Kemp (1881-82).

In Athletics, particularly so called, the record goes back to the days of Magdalen Hall. The list of distinctions begins appropriately in 1865 with Mr. C. N. Jackson, now Tutor and Bursar of the College, who since 1869 has acted as Treasurer of the University Athletic Club, and for many years of the two University Football Clubs (Rugby and Association); while the finances of all the athletic clubs of the College have long been under his care as permanent Treasurer,

replacing separate undergraduate treasurers for each of the different clubs; a system inaugurated by him in Hertford, the success of which has caused its adoption in other colleges. The competitors in the Athletic Sports against Cambridge contributed by Magdalen Hall and Hertford College have been the following, the *winners* being distinguished by italics and an asterisk before the year of their successes:

120 yards *Hurdles*.—C. N. Jackson (1865-*67), D. Morgan (*1866), L. E. Newnham (1868), T. J. Scott (1894-95).

The *Mile*.—T. C. Bush (1872-73), C. V. Gorton (1879), J. M. Fremantle (1899); the *Three Miles*.—F. Bullock-Webster (1876-77), C. V. Gorton (1878), J. M. Fremantle (*1896-*97-*98), F. H. Jervis-Smith (1901). A. M. Hollins has been the only competitor for the *Quarter-mile* (in 1898-*99 and *1900) and for the *Hundred Yards* (in 1899, *1900).

The *Long Jump*.—F. W. Farrant (1886-88), C. S. W. Barwell (1889), H. G. Gerdes (1897-98-99).

Throwing the Hammer.—D. Morgan (1866); H. C. Formby (1886). *Putting the Weight*.—D. Morgan (1866); W. W. Coe (*1902).

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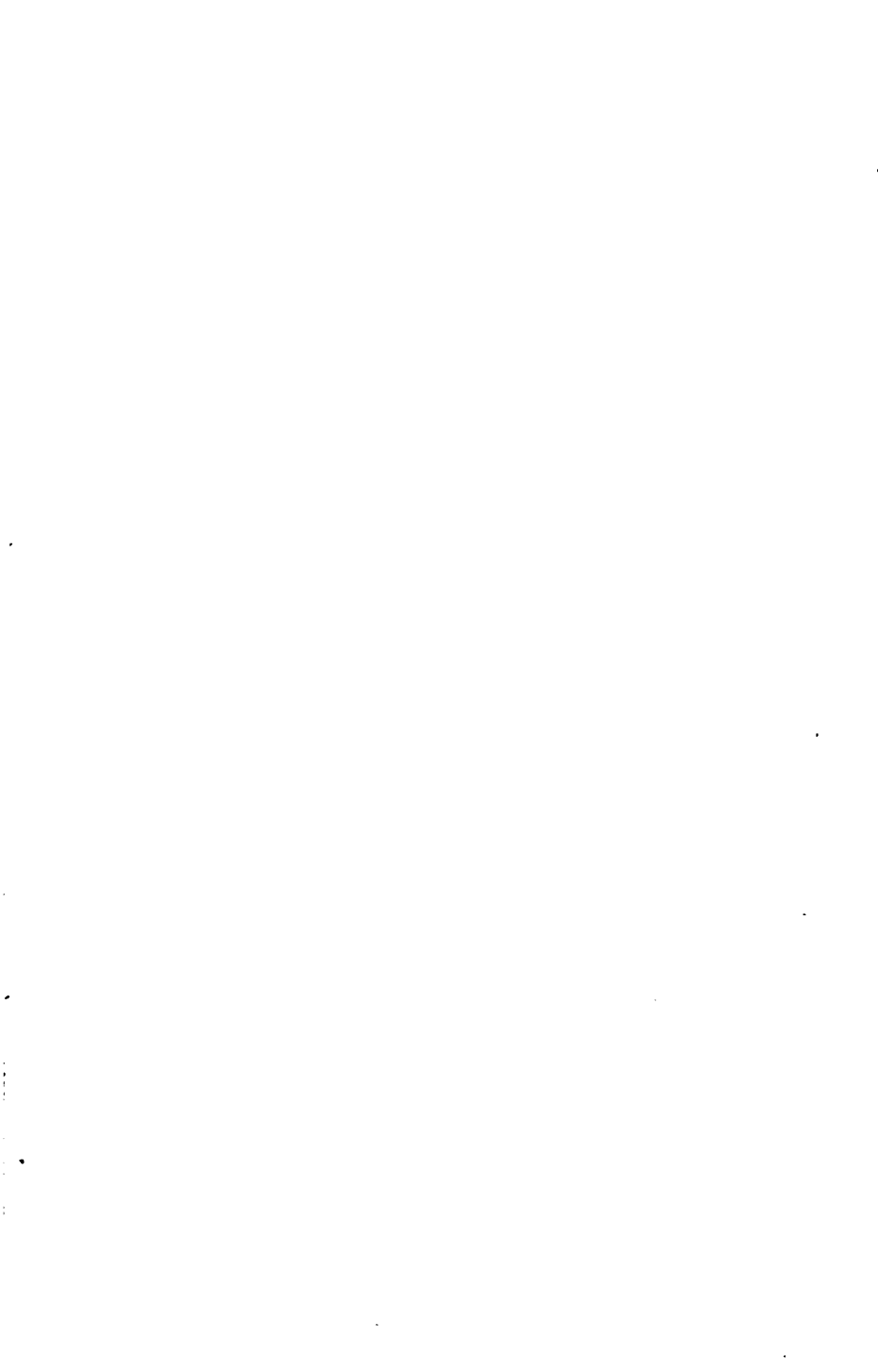
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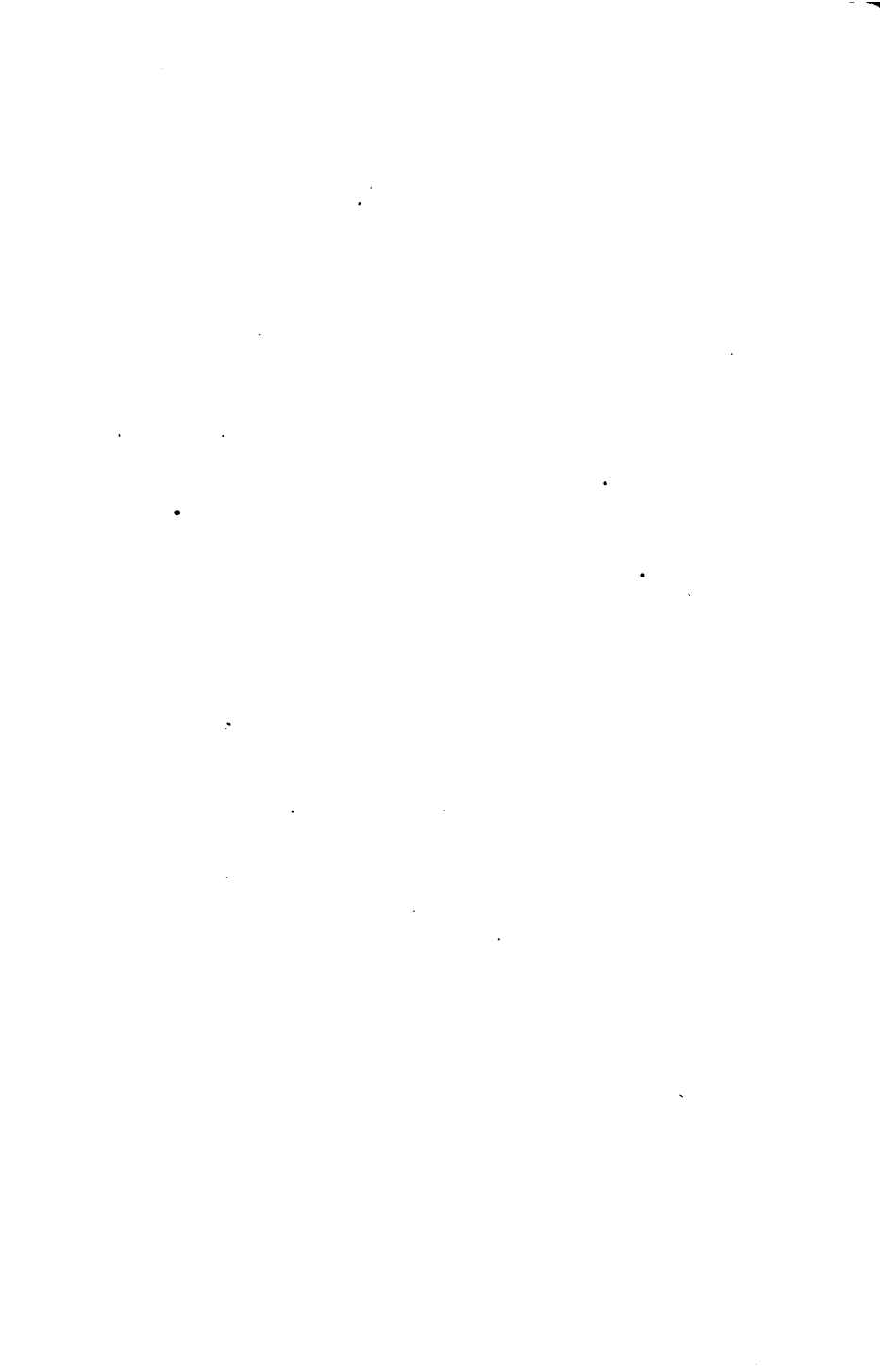
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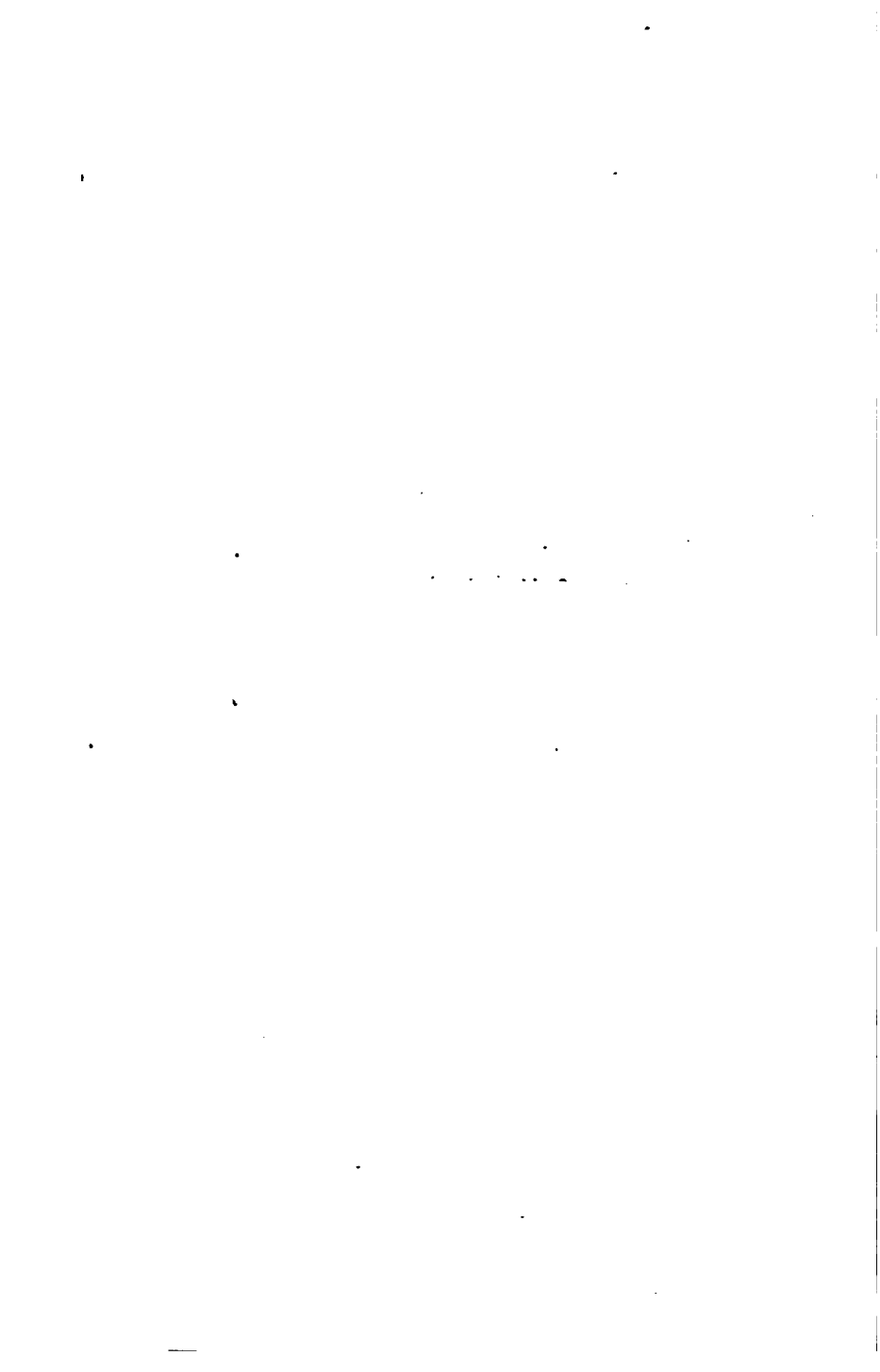
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