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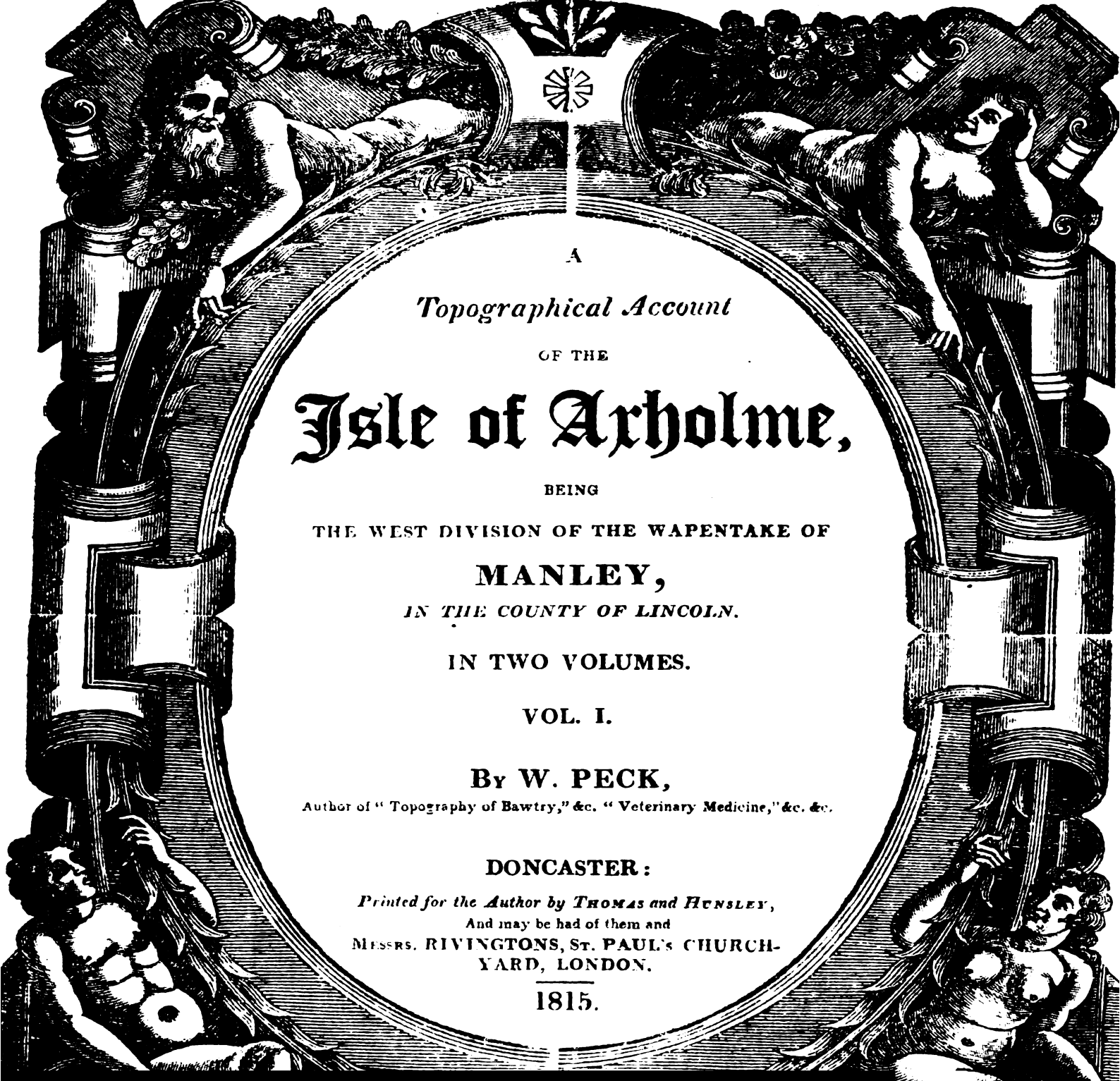

A

Topographical Account

OF THE

Isle of Axholme,

BEING

THE WEST DIVISION OF THE WAPENTAKE OF

MANLEY,

IN THE COUNTY OF LINCOLN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

By W. PECK,

Author of "Topography of Bawtry," &c. "Veterinary Medicine," &c. &c.

DONCASTER:

Printed for the Author by Thomas and Hunsley,

And may be had of them and

Messrs. RIVINGTONS, St. PAUL's CHURCH-YARD, LONDON.

1815.

A topographical account of the isle of Axholme

William R. Peck

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Lincoln

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ADVERTISEMENT.

I HAVE now brought the general account of the ISLE OF AXHOLME to a close, and the topography of the separate parishes will succeed as soon as possible, with a *general Index* and the remaining plates. I commenced making collections, five years ago, and was not then aware that it would be expedient to divide it into two volumes, conceiving, from the materials I had in view, that it would not exceed three hundred pages; but from a more extended research, and the communication of many friends, who have kindly lent me their aid, I have been enabled to make the work much more perfect.

On looking over this part I have perceived some inaccuracies, which will be corrected in *an errata* to the second volume.

W. Peck.

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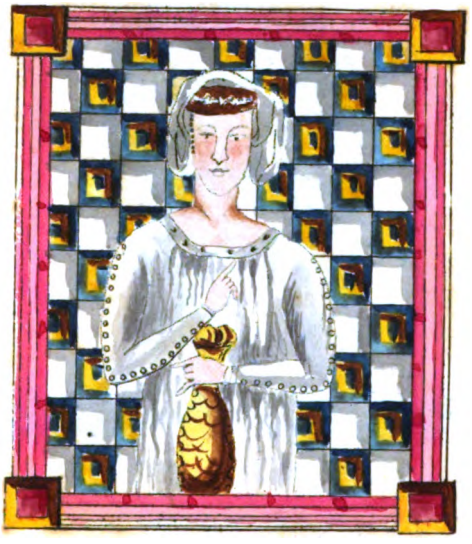

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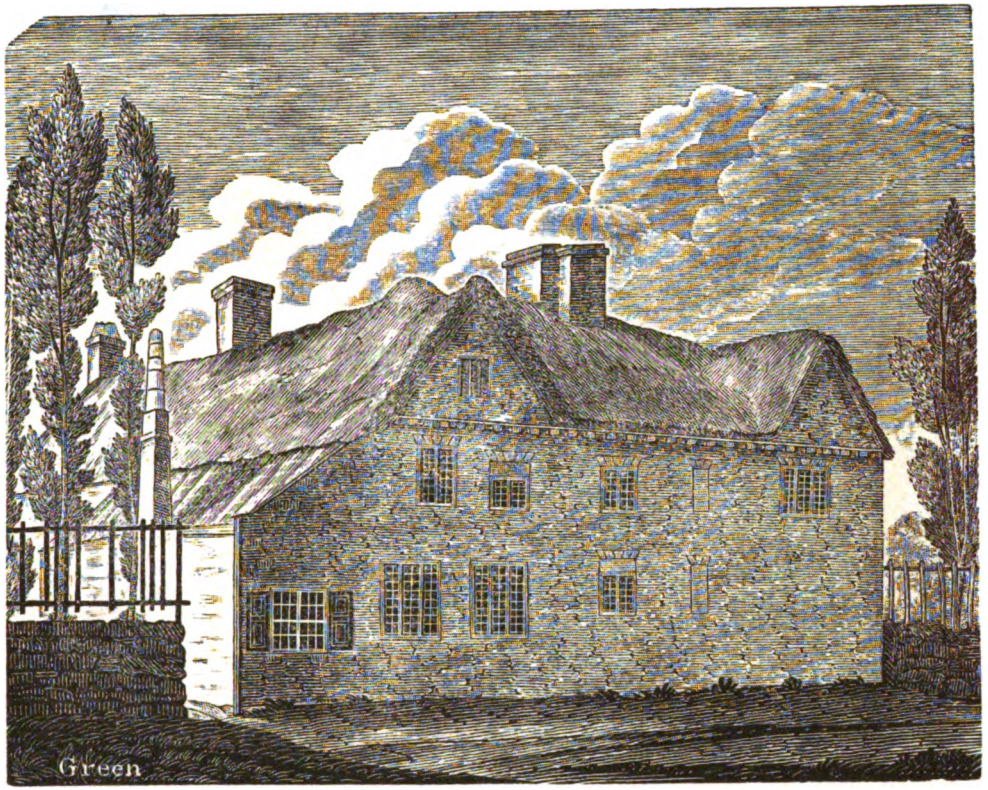

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CHAP. I.

§ 1. Manley Wapentake,

Is bounded on the north by the old river Dun, and Humber; on the west principally by the river Idle, which separates it from Yorkshire; the south by Bycarsdyke and the wapentake of Corringham; and on the east by the old river Ankam, which separates it from the wapentake of Yarbrough. Manley Wapentake. Boundry.

The wapentake of Manley is again subdivided into three divisions, viz. 1. The west, called the isle of Axholme. 2. The east. And 3. The north. Division.

In this volume I shall give an account of the west division called the isle of Axholme. West division called Isle of Axholme.

§ 2. Axholme, or Axelholme,

In Saxon Eaxelholme, from axel a town (Haxey) and holme, an island, being surrounded by the rivers Idle, Dun, Bycarsdyke, and Trent. It contains 37,800 acres of land, and comprises the parishes of Althorpe, Belton, Crowle, Epworth, Haxey, Luddington, and Owston, with their respective hamlets.* Etymology. Extent of acres.

* Carlisle's Topographical Dictionary.

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Leland. Leland, in his survey of England, (Henry VIII.) says, "From Wrangton to ..... wher I cam on land in the isle of *Axholm* about a mile: Idle. so that from *Wrangton* thither the water is caullid *Idille;* yet it is the very same water that *Bryer* ys. And of certente *Idille* is the auntient name.

Length and breadth. "The isle of *Axholm* is a x miles in length, by south and north: and in bredth a vj miles by west and east.

Soil. "From the west point of Bikers Dike up a long to the great mere, the soyle by the water be fenny, and morische, and ful of carres.

"The residue is meately high ground, fertile of pasture and corne.

Gale. "The fenny part of Axholm berith much galle, a low *frutex* swete in burning.

Alabaster. "The upper part of the isle hath plentiful quarres of alabaster communely there caullid *plaster:* but such stones as I saw of it were of no great thikness and sold for a vii$^{d.}$ the lode. They ly yn the ground lyke a smothe table: and be beddid one flake under another; and at the bottom of the bedde of them be roughe stones to build withal.

Woods. "The principal wood of the isle is at Bellegreve parke by Hepworth, and at Melwood parke, not far from Hepworth.

"There is also a praty wood at Croole, a lordship, a late longging to Sellehy monasterie."*

The woods named by Leland have now disappeared, like the great forest that formerly occupied the whole of the low country, and there are but a few small plantations of late growth.

§ 3. Subterraneous Forest.

Abraham de la Pryme † was the first person who successfully ascertained that a forest had once covered the country, he observes, "That round about by the skirts of the Lincolnshire woolds unto Gainsburg, Bautry, Doncaster, Baln, Snaith, and Holden, are found infinite millions of the roots and bodies of trees, great and little, of most of the sorts, that this island either formerly did, or at present does produce, as firs, oaks, birch, beech, yew, wirethorn, willow, ash, &c. the roots of all, or most of which stand in the soil in their natural postures, as

* Leland's Itinerary, Vol. I. 39, 40.

† He wrote a paper on trees found underground in Hatfield Chase, and published in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 275, page 980, or Jones's Abridgement, Vol. IV. page 212.

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thick as ever they could grow, as the bodies of most of them lie by their proper roots. Most of the great trees, by all their length about a yard from their great roots (unto which they did most evidently belong, both by their situation, and the sameness of the wood) with their tops commonly north-east, though the smaller trees lie almost every way cross those, some above, some under, a third part of all which are firs, some of which have been found of thirty yards length and above, and have been sold to make masts and keels for ships. Oaks have been found of 20, 30, and 35 yards long, yet wanting many yards at the small end. Some of which have been sold for 4, 8, 10, and 15*l.* a-piece; which are as black as ebony, and very lasting and durable. The ashes are as soft as earth, and are commonly cut in pieces by the workmens spades, which as soon as flung up into the open air, fall away into dust; but all the rest, even the willows themselves, which are softer than ashes, preserve their substance and texture to this day. I have seen some fir trees, that as they have laid all along, after that they were fallen, have struck up great branches from their sides, which have grown into the thickness and height of considerable trees."

"Hazel nuts and acorns have frequently been found at the bottom of the soil of those levels and moors, and fir tree apples, or cones, in great quantities by whole bushels together."

Mr. Edward Canby told Mr. Pryme that he "found an oak tree within his moors 40 yards long, 4 yards in diameter at the great end, 3 yards and a foot in the middle, and two yards over at the small end; so that the tree seems to have been as long again; for which he was proffer'd 20*l.* At another time he found a fir tree 36 yards long, besides the computed length thereof, which might well be 15 yards more."

"The Rev. Mr. Earat of Hatfield lately observ'd in the digging of a pit of a great decoy in these levels, the roots of the firrs always stood in the sand, and the oaks in the clay; and I have observed the same in multitudes of places of these commons."

In another paper by Pryme he observes, "I have received some farther informations about the fir-trees of Hatfield-Chase. I have been told by several gentlemen, that about 20 years ago one Sanderson of Hatfield died, aged near 80 years, whose father, much of the same age, did frequently assure him, and other gentlemen that were curious in the matter, that he could very well remember many hundreds of great fir-trees, standing one here and another there, in a languishing decaying condition, half as high as houses, and some higher, whose tops were all dead, yet their boughs and branches always green and flourishing, growing all of them in these levels: And John Hatfield,

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of Hatfield, Esq. who is not above 40 years of age, has by him a large twig that his father pluck'd off from the sprout of a green and flourishing shrub of fir, that grew from the great root of one of the same kind in these commons. And an old man of Croul tells me, that he has heard his father say, that he could remember multitudes of shrubs and small fir-trees growing here, while this country was a chase, and while the vert was preserved, before the drainage. And in many old charters, that I have seen, of Roger de Mowbray, lord of Axholm, who lived in the year 1100, relating to Hurst, Bellwood, Ross, Santoft, &c. it appears, that then all these places were covered with a great old decaying forest or wood; and not them only, but also all that low common between Croul Causey and Authorp upon Trent; and though there be not one stick of any such thing now to be seen; yet it is not only plainly manifest, that the same was true, from the roots there found, but also from the said roots, that most of the trees that then grew there were firs. All which were but the after growth, and relicts of the great forest, that was destroyed by the Romans."

This forest destroyed by the Romans.

"The common road of the Romans out of the south into the north, was formerly from Lindum (Lincoln) to Segelocum (Little-burrow upon Trent) and from thence to Danum (Doncaster, where they kept a standing garrison of Crispinian horse). A little off on the east and north-east of their road between the two last named towns, lay the borders of the great forest, which swarmed with wild Britains, who were continually making their sallies out of the same, and their retreats into it again, intercepting their provisions, taking and destroying their carriages, killing their allies and passengers, and disturbing their garrisons; which at length so inraged the Romans, that they were resolved to destroy it; and that they might do the same more effectually, they marched with a great army against the same, and encamped upon a great heath or moor, not far from Finningly, (as by their fortifications* there yet to be seen is apparent) where it is probable, that a great battel ensued, for hard by is a little town called Osterfield. Now as the latter part of the word is never us'd to be added to any other, but where there hath been a battel; so the former seems to tell us, what Roman general it was that fought, to wit, the famous Ostorius, whom all the Roman historians assure us was in those parts. But who got the victory is not so easy to be judged of, though no doubt it was the valiant Romans, who besides the multitudes of the Britains that they slew, drove the rest back into the great forest and wood, that covered all this low country: Whereupon the Romans, that they might both destroy it and the enemy the easier, took the

* The remains of this camp are yet to be seen between Finningley and Austerfield.

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opportunity of a strong south-west wind, and set great fires therein, which taking hold of the fir-trees, burnt like pitch, and consumed infinite numbers of them; then when the fir had done what mischief and execution it could, the Romans brought their army nearer, and with whole legions of captive Britains chop'd and cut down most of the trees, that were yet left standing, leaving only here and there some great ones untouch'd, as monuments of their fury, and unneedful of their labour; which being destitute of the support of the under-wood, and of their neighbouring trees were easily overthrown by the strong wind; all which trees falling cross the rivers that formerly ran through this low country, soon dam'd up the same, turned it into a great lake, and gave origin to the great turf moors that are here, by the gyrations and workings of the waters, the precipitation therefrom of terrestrial matter, the consumption and putrefaction of rotten boughs and branches, and the vast increase of thick water moss, which wonderfully flourishes, and grows upon such rotten grounds; which even now, since the drainage, and since that the country is laid dry for many miles round about, yet for all that, are so turgid with water, and so soft and rotten, that they will scarce bear men to walk upon them."

The author of an essay on the four great roads,* speaking of Erming-street observes: "Leaving Lincoln it takes northwest under the name of the Old-street thro' Asthorp and Stretton to the ruins of Agelocum which are on the same side of Trent, but the present town of Littleburrough on the other. Then after it has left Gainsborough a little on the left hand [a] it goes to Marton, near which town's end several pieces of the antique pavement show themselves; and here it crossed the Trent into Nottingham-shire, in which county I cannot discover any tracts of it. It were to be wished the gentleman [b] mention'd in the additions to Camden had been a little more particular, and mention'd some of the towns it passes by in it's way from Doncaster to Marton. However, it must have in all probability crossed this corner of Nottingham-shire from Marton to Bautry in Yorkshire, not far from which stands Osterfield or Austerfield, and near that a large square fortification, perhaps a Roman camp, with the remains of a *military way*, by it's pointing seeming to be part of that we are in search for between Marton and Doncaster."

From many inquiries respecting the Roman camp at Austerfield, I have been able to trace the site, which was part of Austerfield high common and Finningley Park. The Roman road named in the above essay, might probably come from Marton, pass over Gringley hills, through Scaftworth, and

* Leland's Itinerary, Vol. VI. page 134. [a] Camd. addit. p. 480. [b] Ibid.

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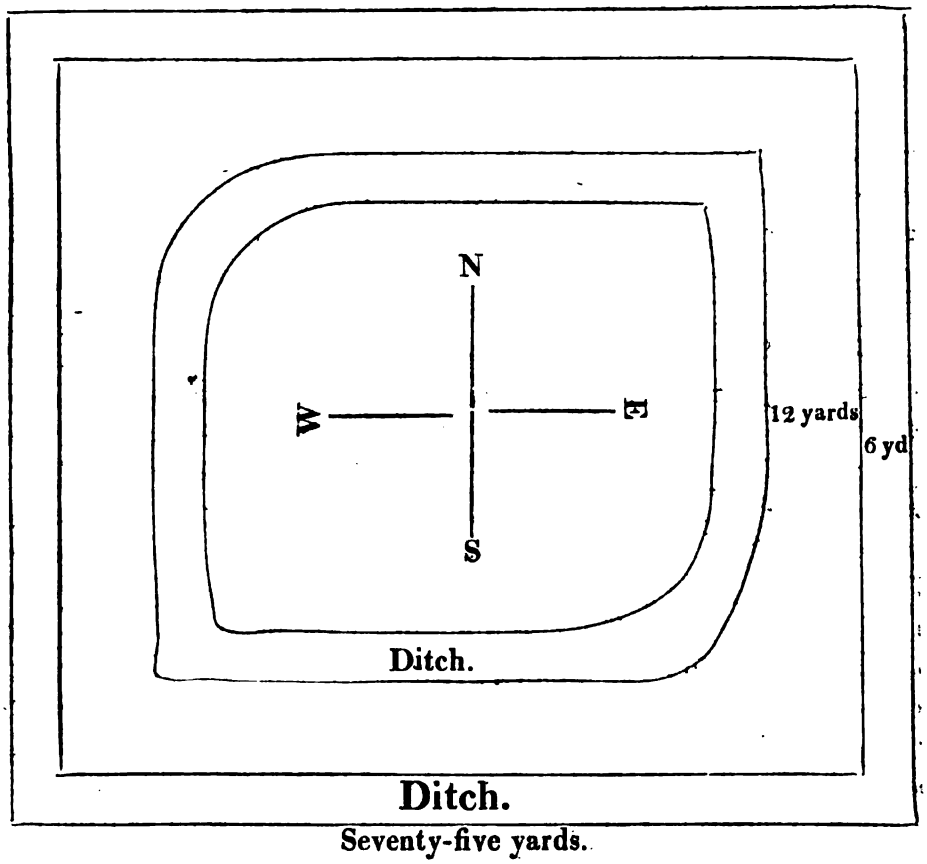
by Bawtry near the present bridge, through the Idle, and meet the Roman road that comes from Littleburrough-ferry to Doncaster; some remains of which are very visible on the side of Serlby wood, in a direct line to Doncaster. Near the latter road a camp is now to be seen about two hundred yards from Mr. Short's, of Martin. The following is the plan and dimentions.



This camp is now covered with trees and underwood, which have contributed to preserve it visible to the present time; the ditches are nearly grown up, though they evidently have been deep. This place most probably was a station to defend the Roman road that passed a little to the west; several smaller stations are adjoining, but of late years the ditches have been filled up. A little to the north-east are traces of a Roman pottery, many broken vessels of various forms are now found, several pieces I have seen, they are made of blue clay and slightly baked.

Roman Pottery at Martin.

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At the time of the Austerfield inclosure several curious remains of arms were found near the site of the great camp, such as parts of swords and heads of battle-axes. Through the polite attention of J. Harvey, Esq. I have been favoured with the drawings of a spear head and brass key that were found in the middle lawn. Fig. 1. Represents the brass key. Fig. 3. The front view of the ward. Fig. 2. Spear head; when found some of the shaft remained in the socket, which was larger than at present, but being extremely thin it crumbled off to its present form.

Ancient key and spear.

A great number of Roman reliques have, at various times, been found in the low grounds, which fully prove that these parts have been inhabited by the Romans, and corroborates the opinion that this forest was destroyed by them.

"It is very observable," says Pryme, "and manifestly evident, that many of those trees of all sorts have been burnt, but especially the fir trees, some quite through, and some all on a side; some have been found chopp'd and squared, some bored through, others half riven with great wooden wedges, and stones in them, and broken ax-heads, somewhat like sacrificing axes in shape; and all this in such places, and at such depths, as could never be opened from the destruction of this forest until the time of the drainage. Near a great root in the parish of Hatfield, were found 8 or 9 coins of some of the Roman emperors, but exceedingly consumed and defaced with time; and it is observable, that upon the confines of this low country, between Burningham and Brumby in Lincolnshire, are several great hills of loose sand, under which (as they are yearly worn and blown away with the sand) are discovered many roots of great firs, with the impresses of the ax as fresh upon them, as if they had but been cut down a few weeks; which I have several times taken notice of."

In cutting a new river or drain were "found old trees squared and cut, rails, stoups, bars, old links of chains, horse-heads; an old ax somewhat like a battle-ax, two or three coins of the emperor Vespasian; one of which I have seen, with the emperor's head on the one side, and a spread eagle on the other; but that which is more observable, is, that the very ground at the bottom of the river was found in some places to lye in rigg and fur, manifesting thereby that it had been plow'd and tilled in former days."

"About 50 years ago, at the bottom of a turf-pit, was found a man lying at his length, with his head upon his arm, as in a common posture of sleep, whose skin being as it were tan'd by the moor-water, preserved his shape intire, but within, his flesh, and most of his bones were consumed and gone; an arm of whom is now in the possession of Dr. Nat. Johnson."

The body of a man.

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An ancient female. In June, 1747, the body of a woman was discovered six feet deep in a peat moor; the antique sandles on her feet shewed that she had been buried for many ages. Her hair and nails were as fresh as any person's living; her skin was soft, of a tawney colour, and stretched like a piece of doe leather, and was as strong.*

Ancient Roman statue. In August, 1802, a statue of oak, black as ebony, about two yards high, and carved in the habit of a Roman warrior, was found several feet deep, between Misson and Haxey; one hand held an arrow, and a bow was slung over the shoulder. This account I received from a person who saw it exhibited; another informed me there was an inscription, which I have not been able to procure. The statue was claimed by a variety of workmen who were digging at the time, and in consequence of passing through many of their hands, is now become mutilated.

An ancient boat or canoe. In the year 1811, about a mile from East Ferry, in the moors, was found a canoe, cut from one tree of very large size: I was informed by a brother to the wheelwright who purchased it to break up for pails, that it was in length forty feet, four feet broad, and three feet deep; tapered at each end; and formed without nail or pin. Some human bones were found in the inside.

A stone hatchet. There is another curiosity that has been found in Austerfield high common, having never seen one of the like form I have given the figure: It is a stone hatchet of the Britons at an early period, commonly called a celt; is formed out of a solid piece of flint ground at each end, and was probably made use of in the manner represented in the drawing.

* Philosophical Transactions, 1747, Vol. XLIV. page 571.

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CHAP. II.

Mineralogy.

§ 1. Introductory remarks.

In writing the mineralogy* of any district, various methods have been followed; and it has not unfrequently happened that the profound mineralogist has, in this department, been less easily understood than he whose knowledge has been far less comprehensive. Merely recording the facts as they present themselves in the mineralogical tour, has been, by some, considered as the best and most simple method. It is, undoubtedly, simple in the execution, but, to the reader, is very much otherwise, and occasions repeated descriptions or

* All my readers cannot be supposed to be mineralogists; and, perhaps, some have never found themselves interested in learning the meaning of the term *mineralogy;* therefore the following explanation may be necessary:—There is a department of general science termed NATURAL HISTORY, which is divided into three great divisions, viz. *Zoology*, which treats of animals; *Botany*, which treats of plants; and *Mineralogy*, which treats of the inanimate matter forming the mass of this globe. Mineralogy, what.

Mineralogy naturally divides itself into two distinct, though nearly connected, branches; viz. *Lithology* or *Oryctognosy*, which treats of the method of distinguishing and arranging simple mineral substances; and *Geology* or *Geognosy*, which treats of the situation of mineral substances in their native masses, or repositories.

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notices of the same mineral bed or stratum; thus either involving much tautology and becoming tiresome, or else requiring continual reference.

The mineralogist must notice the facts and unite the observations made at different places, and from these attempt to discover the connection of the different mineral beds and strata; and in such attempts must avoid, as much as possible, forming any inferences but what may legitimately be drawn from facts, for in geological researches the imagination is very apt to be misled by hypothesis and conjecture.

In describing the mineralogy of the isle of Axholme, I shall first give the general boundaries and outline of surface, then describe the different beds or mineral masses, including the enumeration and uses of the minerals which compose them, and afterwards attempt to discover their comparative age and the source whence they may have been derived.

§ 2. General geographical and geological description.

There is a quadrangular tract of land having the Trent on the eastern side, the Ouse on its northern, the small river called Bykersdyke on its southern, and on part of its western side the Don and Air; the Don falling into the Air, and this, in its turn, becoming tributary to the Ouse. This tract is about five miles broad from east to west, and twenty miles long from north to south; it is divided into two triangular portions by the old river Dun, the traces of which are however all that at present remains, and can be with difficulty followed to the north-east angle, where it formerly united its stream with the Ouse and Trent at their confluence.

Boundaries of the isle.

The triangle on the south-east of the old Dun is what is now called the Isle of Axholme, that on the north-west Marshland; and as this latter will occasionally be mentioned, I have been particular in pointing out its locality.

No part of the isle rises to an elevation exceeding 200 feet above the level of the sea. High Burnham seems to be the most elevated point.* The central part of the isle is the elevated portion, and this does not occupy an extent equal to one fourth; the rest being so low that in general it may be considered as below the surface of the Trent at high-water and spring-tides.

Elevation.

* This must not be looked upon as a precise measurement, it being merely an approximation. Gringley hill, which is more elevated than any part of the isle, rises to 235 feet above the level of the sea, as measured by Lieut.-Col. Mudge, in the Trigonometrical Survey of the Kingdom, and it is from comparison with this height that the elevation of High Burnham is presumed.

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But by referring to the accompanying sections and plans the reader will form a better idea of the surface and elevation of the isle than any verbal description can convey.

In examining the geological or geognostic* structure of the isle, the surface is found in all places to be composed either of clay, sand, or gravel, or some one or more of these mixed, in variable proportions, with decayed vegetable matter, forming the soil, and with these may be enumerated the half-mineralized substance peat. Each of these will be treated of separately.

§ 3. Sand rock.

Sand is found in different places in the isle, yet differing in its characters, and the variation is of such a nature as to evince the existence of two varieties differing in geological situation, of which one will now be considered:

Sand rock at Misson and Wroot.

At Misson, the most southerly place in the isle, in digging wells, making pits for obtaining gravel, &c. the lowest mineral matter that has been discovered is sand; and when gravel is found at the same place, this gravel invariably rests upon the sand, and the line of separation is distinct. This sand does not, that I know of, present itself on the surface in any part of the isle except at Misson and Wroot, and even here it can only be so partially seen that but little can be learnt of its character; however it can be traced extending in a continuous bed towards the south, east, and west.

At Bawtry it is generally penetrated in sinking wells. The gravel pits on the great north road, between Doncaster and Retford, are all worked till they come to this sand, and afford good examples of the distinct line of separation of the sand and gravel.

The heights to the south of Misson, called Barrow hills, are composed

* *Geognosy* and *oryctognosy* are terms used by the celebrated Werner, Professor of Mineralogy, at Freyberg, and have, particularly with the pupils of Werner, almost entirely superseded the terms *geology* and *lithology*, words more pleasing to the English, and which, though introduced when the science of mineralogy was in its infancy, yet, if they ought to be rejected on this account alone, on the same principles might the names of almost every other department of science be changed. At present, however, other reasons concur to render the introduction of these or some equivalent terms necessary, for the meaning of the terms have become corrupted, and more especially the latter, *lithology*. A *lithologist* is now understood to be a fancier of stones, admiring their colours, shape, &c. yet destitute of the knowledge of mineralogy: he is in mineralogy what a florist is in botany.

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of this sand, which is partially covered by gravel; but, in many places, it appears on the surface, and is so hard that it requires a pickaxe to penetrate it: yet, in a few days, by exposure to the air and moisture, it becomes disintegrated. The Chesterfield canal at Drakeholes, about two miles east of Misson, runs through an archway or tunnel excavated in this sand bed; its grains being here so coherent that masonry is not required to support the roof; and here, over the bed of sand, lays a bed of stratified clay.

From numerous observations on the sand rock,* it is found to be a bed of variable thickness, but as there are no mines or shafts in this district, and as I am not acquainted with any place where its whole thickness is exposed, I can form no conjecture† as to the absolute thickness of any part of it; but that when its surface is exposed it is variable is evident, for in some places, as at Barrow hill, it forms a hill about 150 feet above the surface of the Idle, and at others, as at Bawtry bridge, its surface lies below the bed of the Idle.

The sand bed, a few feet below its junction with gravel, or below the surface when it is uncovered by other mineral beds, is of such an hardness as to resist the spade, and hence has obtained the name of *sand rock*, by which term I shall distinguish it.

It is stratified. The strata are horizontal, or slightly dipping to the east, and are from eight inches to four feet in thickness. The strata often present beautiful regularity, much resembling the courses of masonry in a stone wall.

The different elevations to which this bed of sand rock rises does not depend on the undulations or bending of the strata, but on the number of the superimposed strata; and may be easily conceived, by laying on a large book, a folio for instance, a number of smaller books, quartos, octavos, &c. diminishing the size as you increase the pile, and looking upon each book to form a stratum, and each stratum less in horizontal extent as the elevation increases. In this manner the structure of the hills of sand rock is presented to the eye of the geologist; but the sharp angles of the strata are destroyed by the disintegration of the rock, and, when not covered by other mineral beds, the surface of the ground generally presents many feet of loose sand.

Structure of the hills of sand rock.

* At Tickhill-Spittle this sand bed is cut through by the road, and exhibits a vertical section of between twenty and thirty feet.

† If the dip were precisely known, and also the dips of the beds above and below, and were all parallel, we should then have sufficient data for ascertaining its actual thickness.

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There are vertical divisions in the bed, seemingly passing through its whole thickness, and as distinct as if it had been sawed through, yet the strata on the opposite sides of these sections preserve their relative horizontal situations, and the two sides of the sections are nearly in contact. These divisions are seldom quite vertical, and rarely, if ever, deviate 25° from the perpendicular. Were the sand rock hard enough for building, these divisions would allow it to be easily quarried in large regular blocks.

The above description of the sand rock attaches to it as being one great and similar mass, but on more minute inspection, it is found to be composed of

1. *Fine angular grains of quartz,* the angles somewhat rounded, colour white; along with which are some granular particles resembling feldspar. Mixed with these is a variable proportion of red oxide of iron,* which, according to its quantity, occasions the sand rock to present various shades and mixtures of grey, yellow, brown, and red. This and clay, in very minute proportion, seem to form the cement which unites the particles of sand.

2. *Rolled pieces,* or *pebbles,* from the size of a pea to that of a man's fist, are found imbedded in the sand rock. These are not numerous, and are generally varieties of *common quartz.*

3. *Indurated lithomarge* is found in compressed spherical and compressed ovoidal masses, from the size of an almond to that of a man's head, and also sometimes in short beds an inch or two in thickness. The compressed or flat sides of the masses, are generally nearly parallel with the strata of the sand rock.

4. *Common potter's clay* is found in beds a few inches in thickness, the beds parallel with the strata of the sand rock. The colour of this clay is a shade of yellow or red, the same, or nearly so, as the rock in which it is imbedded. None of the beds are of a sufficient extent for working.

5. *Mica,* this is occasionally mixed with the sand, and sometimes in such a proportion as to give it a slaty structure; and when found in this quantity, I have several times seen the sand carefully collected by persons who thought it was mixed with grains of gold and silver.

I know of no organic remains, or petrifactions, being found in the sand rock.

* This is not pure red oxide of iron, but carbonate of iron mixed with red oxide of iron.

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§ 4. Clay bed.

In the former section a bed of stratified clay is mentioned as reposing on the sand rock. This bed of clay forms the elevated parts of the isle of Axholme, beginning near Crowle, its northern extremity, it can be traced to the new rivers Dun and Idle, which exhibit a section of its superior strata; thence to Epworth, forming the high ground near the church, to Low Burnham, which is situated at the commencement of a small valley, running and rising eastward and partially separating the high land of the isle, to Haxey; and thence to Westwood, where the road is cut through and exhibits a good view of some of the strata of the clay bed. At Westwood the elevated land of the isle declines almost to the level of the Idle, and the clay disappears, but not from the dipping of the strata. Though this is the southern extremity of the clay bed in the isle yet it does not here cease, but can be identified south of Bycarsdyke at Misterton, and again at Gringley, where it rises to the height of 235 feet, and commences a ridge of hills running southward as far as Newark, constituting the clay district of Nottinghamshire. The clay bed in the isle has no great breadth, not exceeding and seldom equalling three miles. Its western side rises somewhat abruptly, but its eastern gradually declines towards the shores of the Trent.

The clay bed is distinctly stratified; the strata have slight undulations but on the whole slightly incline or dip towards the east; the clay strata are very regular, and often so thin as to become almost slaty, and consist of *common potter's clay* and *slaty potter's clay*.* Both these varieties make excellent bricks and tiles, but the common potter's clay is chiefly employed; the slaty, though finer grained, is not so easily disintegrated. The workmen sometimes call it *dice*, probably from it breaking, on exposure to the air and moisture, into cubizoidal pieces.

Subordinate minerals in the clay bed are,

1. *Sandstone*, composed of sand, clay, and carbonate of lime, and sometimes mica, occasionally occurs in thin beds in the clay. Its colour depends on the clay which enters into the composition of the stone; the beds are seldom half a foot in thickness, and generally only one or two inches. It is provincially called *water stone*.

* Slaty clay is a variety of potter's clay, by no means identical with *slate clay* as the name may seem to imply.

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2. *Argillaceous marl* and *marlite* occur in these beds. Both the clay and sand stones are mechanical mixtures of two or more of the following ingredients, viz. silicious sand, alumina,* and carbonate of lime,† and present an example of what mineralogists call the transition of one mineral into another. The slaty potter's clay, by the addition of a little sand, passes into common potter's clay; this, by the addition of carbonate of lime, into marl§; this again, by the addition of silicious sand, into marlite‡; and this, by the sand being increased, into sandstone.

The sandstone and marlite are sometimes employed in building, when great durability is not required, as walls of farm-yards, &c.; and though almost friable when taken from their beds, yet harden on exposure to the air, and when in dry situations last longer than, from mere inspection of the stone, one would expect.

3. *Mica* sometimes occurs in small scales, as a component in the sandstone and marl, and the greater its proportion the more fissile the stone; so that a bed of four inches thick will sometimes split readily into five or six lamina, and between each, the scales of mica are often found accumulated almost a line in thickness.

4. *False crystals* are sometimes on the sandstone or marlite, between the layers, or where the surface of a bed of one of these is covered by the slaty potter's clay. These bodies are portions of regular cubes, their planes about a quarter of an inch diameter; and so much in shape and situation do they resemble the cubical crystals of pyrites, that often occur imbedded in clay slate, ‖ that one is immediately impressed with the idea that they are pyrites, but on breaking them find their composition precisely similar to the stone to which they are attached. These cubes have their planes at various angles with the stony stratum in which they are imbedded, as if they had been stuck in it by chance.

As to the origin of these cubes, I believe most mineralogists will agree

* Alumina, sometimes called argil, the earth that enters into the composition of alum.

† Carbonate of lime, or unburnt lime, composed of carbonic acid and lime.

§ This variety of marl is in Cheshire called blue slate marl, and is employed as a manure both on clayey and sandy soils; the fertilizing effects of it are great, and there justly appreciated, though in the isle it is scarcely known.

‡ This term is employed by Kirwan.

‖ The clay slate of Cumberland frequently abounds with pyrites in regular cubes; and the clay slate used for roofing in Edinburgh, is often so interspersed with pyrites, that after a shower of rain on a sunny day there is a general sparkling from the roofs of the houses.

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in considering them as casts of some pre-existing crystals, the species however of the crystalized mineral of which they are casts, is not so easily to be ascertained. The most common minerals which occur in cubical crystals are fluor spar and iron pyrites,* and both these are occasionally found among clay; but as the latter is more common in such situations, and as its crystals are often insulated, while the former are generally in groups, it is very probable that these sandstone cubes are casts of the crystals of iron pyrites.

5. *Gypsum* or *plaster* is of frequent occurence in beds among the clay, these beds are very irregular both in thickness and horizontal extent, and also in situation; for it is found both on the tops of the hills and at all depths in the clay bed. The *beds* of gypsum differ from what is usually understood by mineralogists as *beds;* for, instead of forming a continuous layer amongst the clay, dividing it parallel to its stratified structure, they form masses approaching to a lenticular form,† being thick in the centre of the mass and becoming thinner towards the edges: these masses are imbedded among the clay strata, and appear sometimes to have an extent of several acres, and at other times only a few yards or even inches.

Gypsum is dug in several places as at Epworth, Burnham, &c.; but so generally is the gypsum distributed, that when it is wanted, the proprietor or occupier of the soil digs where it is near the surface, and when a sufficient quantity for use is obtained fills the pit again; therefore though it is frequently obtained, there are no extensive or permanent quarries of it. Gypsum is used principally for making chamber floors; first burning it, then reducing it to powder by thrashing it with flails and afterwards sifting it; and then mixing the powder with water to a paste, and spreading it on reeds or laths nailed across the joists. The paste hardens perfectly in twenty-four hours, and forms a floor, as it were, of one continuous slab of stone, its colour depending on the purity of the gypsum. Three subspecies of gypsum are found in the isle.

Compact gypsum. This is rare and occurs along with the following:

Foliated gypsum. This is seldom pure, being generally penetrated with clay or argillaceous marl, and hence its colour is usually bluish or reddish grey.

* Neither of these minerals have been here found in the clay bed, though I am informed fluor spar is found in the clay bed at Newark.

† This is offered with diffidence, as the extent of surface in any of the plaster pits, &c. being but small, the developement of the structure of the beds of gypsum is very difficult, and it is easier to ascertain what the structure is not, than what it is.

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The folia of the gypsum are often interspersed in clay, so as to give it a glimmering appearance.

Fibrous gypsum, provincially called *hen chalk*, forming very irregular veins in the masses of the former subspecies, or amongst the clay. The fibres are always at right angles with the sides of the veins. This is not so abundant as the former.

6. *Selenite*, or *crystallized sulphate of lime*. When the foliated gypsum is long exposed to the weather, so as to become disintegrated, crystals of this substance are exposed. It is also found imbedded in the fibrous gypsum.

§ 5. Gravel.

The sand rock in the isle of Axholme is, when not covered by the clay bed, covered with gravel, and the clay bed itself is in some places covered by gravel, as at High Burnham. The gravel in the isle is in general composed of calcareous stones; but in some situations it is chiefly composed of quartz. As these two varieties of gravel differ very much in appearance, and something in their geological character: they, with advantage, may be described separately: viz.

1. *QUARTZ GRAVEL.*

Occurs under the peat and vegetable matter in the low parts of the isle, on the western side towards Thorne; and though its superficial extent in the isle is but small, yet it constitutes an extensive bed in the contiguous parts of Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire; stretching from near Snaith, its northern extremity, in the direction of the great north road, to beyond Newark. Its breadth seldom exceeds five miles. The eastern edge is bounded by the calcareous gravel of the isle and the clay district of Nottinghamshire; and its western edge joins the magnesian limestone of Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire. The bed of quartz gravel covers the sand rock, but where the sand rock has the clay bed incumbent on it, this gravel bed is not present; or, in other words, when it does occur I have always found it incumbent on the sand rock, and always the most superficial mineral bed, excepting that some small patches of common potter's clay, of an uniform grey colour occur upon it. This gravel bed is composed of parallel and horizontal or slightly flexuous strata of gravel, of various degrees of fineness; some of the strata being of pebbles as small as peas, and others as large as a man's fist. These strata seems to

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observe no general laws, as to the smaller gravel being more or less remote from the sand rock. All the gravel is mixed with quartz sand, and similar to what results from the disintegration of the sand rock.

The pebbles composing this gravel are two-thirds common quarts, and the remainder is composed of

Splintery Hornstone,
Woodstone,
Lydian Stone,
Agate,
Common Jasper,
Clay-Slate,
Basalt,
Red Hæmatites,
Kidneyform Clay Iron-Stone.

These are all the simple minerals that occur in pebbles, they are generally perfectly rounded; but sometimes the angles may be distinctly traced. Other simple minerals occur in rounded pieces of compound rocks, as mica, felspar, hornblende, olivine, &c. in pieces of

Sandstone and Gritstone,
Plum-Pudding-Stone,
Granite,
Clay Porphyry,
Hornstone Porphyry,
Greenstone, &c.

No organic remains are found imbedded in this gravel, but some of the pebbles exhibit remains of organic beings.

1. *Entrochi* and *screw stones,* or, as they are now known to be, casts of the vertebral column of the *enchrinite.* This mineral is composed of fine granular quartz, and rarely occurs among the gravel.

2. *Casts of a vegetable substance* in fine grained argillaceous sandstone, interspersed with some particles of mica, colour brownish yellow. This fossil is of a compressed cylindrical figure, the circumference impressed with depressions, near the centre of each of which is a slight elevation; in or near the axis of the cylinder is sometimes a canal or hollow; often this is filled but still the remains of it may generally be traced. The pieces found are seldom above four inches long, and about three inches diameter, the ends smooth and corners rounded. It is difficult to ascertain the original vegetable of which this is the remains.

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The first that I met with impressed me with the idea of its being the remains of some plant of the natural order *palmæ*. Brookes, in his Natural History, published in 1763, depicts and describes a stone of this sort under the name of *barbel stone*, it was found when working for coal. I have met with a similar fossil in the coal suit of rocks near Edinburgh, where the fossil apparently was imbedded in the sandstone rock, with which its mineralized state appeared to be cotemporaneous. The stone of which it is composed is an argillaceous sandstone of a redish grey colour. From the fossil being in situ, it may be obtained in more complete specimens, sometimes they are several feet long, taper towards one extremity, and the outside of a darker colour, which gives it the appearance of the bark of the tree.

In the argillaceous sandstone, which abounds in the neighbourhood of Rotherham, and which alternates with coal, iron-stone, bituminous shale, &c. I have found this fossil imbedded, but not in specimens so complete as to give any precise idea as to the nature of the original plant.

Specimens of this fossil are in the Hunterian Museum, at Glasgow, collected from the stone quarry at Dalkeith, and one of which is very complete, and "Its general outline," says Captain Laskey, "strongly marks it as a fruit bearing some resemblance to a cucumber."*

In Derbyshire a fossil plant exists in a bed of what Mr. White Watson calls organic grit: "The substance of the plant is intirely decomposed, and its place occupied by minute particles of quartz, argil, mica, &c. forming a compact grit; the impressions are covered with a slight coating of a black substance, probably the carbonization of the bark."†

This fossil is described by Mr. Martin, who names it *Phytolithus Plantites*, and mentions several varieties; one of which has been found in a vertical position, twelve feet long, with branches at the top resembling stags horns. The fossil fragments in the quartz gravel bed of the isle, and contiguous parts of Yorkshire, seem analogous to the *Phitolithus Plantites verrucosus* of Martin, and in their mineralogical characters resemble the organic grit of Mr. Watson, the grains composing them are finer than either the sandstone of Dalkeith or of Rotherham. What the original plant was it is difficult to ascertain, and this difficulty is increased by the existence of the central substance or canal, otherwise it might be referred to the genus euphorbia, or cactus, Mr. Whitehurst refers it to the former. I once shewed a piece of it to a gardener, telling

* An Account of the Hunterian Museum, by Captain J. Laskey, 1813.

† A Delineation of the Strata of Derbyshire, by White Watson, 1811.

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him it was part of a petrified plant, he immediately rejoined, "Then it is a piece of a cactus."

The specimen which Capt. Laskey describes as resembling a cucumber, must be either the fruit of the phitolithus plantites, or otherwise a specifically distinct fossil.

3. Casts of a vegetable seemingly with stalks about half an inch in diameter; from which proceed linear or ensiform leaves. This seems to have been a species of reed or flag; but, from the specimens being very incomplete, it is difficult to to form a correct idea of this fossil. It is composed of the same mineral as the former.

2. *CALCAREOUS GRAVEL.*

Where gravel is found in the isle it is chiefly of this kind. It is dug from pits at High Burnham, Wroot, and Misson. At High Burnham the gravel is on the top of the hill, and rather towards the eastern declivity.

It is stratified in the same manner as the quartz gravel, but the strata dip towards the southeast at an angle of about 40° and dip more abruptly than the southeast outline of the hill. I did not succeed in tracing its connection with the subjacent mineral bed, it appears to lay upon the clay bed; but at Wroot, Misson, and at other places where this gravel occurs, it rests upon the sand rock It is used for mending roads.

The gravel is composed of pebbles rounded in various degrees, and mixed with granular quartz; the size of the pebbles vary from small grains to pieces a foot in diameter. The mass of the gravel is magnesian limestone; but yet there are various other minerals which compose about one-fourth of it. The following minerals I have observed.

1. *Common Quartz* in pieces, the angles obliterated, and shape generally ovoidal. Colour, various shades of red, yellow, brown, and grey, often beautifully veined. Fracture sometimes splintery, sometimes granular.
2. *Splintery Hornstone.* The pieces are angular, but the angles rounded.
3. *Woodstone.* As the former.
4. *Lydian-Stone.* In trapezoidal rolled pieces; the internal lustre is 0, 1, and external 1, being less than what is described as proper to lydian-stone; but as the stone here met with approaches nearer to lydian-stone than to any other mineral, I have no hesitation in placing it here.
5. *Flint.* In angular pieces slightly rounded. Colour, shades of white and yellow; never smoke grey or greyish black. Evidently much altered by exposure to water, &c.

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6. *Calcedony.* Found only in veins, circles, &c. with quartz and jasper, forming pebbles resembling the Scotch agates. Rare.
7. *Common Jasper.* In angular pieces, the angles more rounded than the flints, less so than the pieces of lydian-stone. Colours, red and yellow, and sometimes variegated with these colours, forming the stone improperly called *Moss agate.* This jasper is found passing into indurated clay and chert.
8. *Felspar.* This occurs in rounded pieces of compound rocks, which will be enumerated at the conclusion of this catalogue.
9. *Marl, indurated.* This is in flat rounded pieces, and easily splits into layers. It is evidently the same as mentioned in the clay bed.
10. *Marlite.* Found the same as the former.
11. *Hornblende.* Only found imbedded in basalt, and as a component of greenstone.
12. *Basalt.* In rounded pieces, but rather rare.
13. *Lithomarge.* This is evidently the same variety as before noticed in the sand rock. It is not common, and I cannot be positive whether the pieces are fragments rounded, or the original concretions.
14. *Common Compact Lime-Stone.* Of a greyish black or bluish grey colour, and splintery fracture, imperfectly rounded. This is rare compared with the following.
15. *Dolomite or Magnesian Lime-stone.* In rounded pieces. This composes the mass of the gravel, and is undoubtedly the same as the lime-stone quarried at Warmsworth and other places about fifteen miles west of High Burnham. This is the stone first particularly noticed by Smithson Tennant. By careful inspection I find some specimens to be composed of granular foliated distinct concretions, others indistinctly granular, and others earthy. A slaty lime-stone is worked at Tickhill, Warmsworth, Knottingly, &c. pieces of this occur in the gravel, but they are very rare.
16. *Compact Red Iron-Stone.* In rounded pieces, seldom exceeding the size of a sparrow's egg.
17. *Red Hæmatites.* As the former.
18. *Kidneyformed Clay Iron-Stone, Oetites.* From the size of a hazle nut to that of a man's head.

COMPOUND ROCKS.

The compound rocks are all, except the sand-stone, toadstone, and quartz, in pieces perfectly rounded.

1. *Argillaceous Sand-Stone,* large and small grained.

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2. *Sand-Stone Breccia.*
3. *Pudding-Stone.* Composed of rounded quartz pebbles, united by a quartz cement.
4. *Breccia.* Composed of imperfectly rounded pieces of whitish quartz, about the size of almonds, imbedded in a quartz ground, nearly resembling lydian-stone.
5. *Red Granite.*
6. *Grey Granite.*
7. *Greenstone.*
8. *Hornstone Porphyry.*
9. *Clay Porphyry.*
10. *Claystone Amygdaloid.* Similar to the toadstone of Derbyshire.

ORGANIC REMAINS,

Have never, that I know of, been found imbedded in the gravel, but several of the individual stones bear marks of organic bodies.

1. *Bivalve shells, casts of,* with a smooth surface and about half an inch long and a quarter of an inch broad, may often be observed forming nearly the whole substance of pieces of magnesian lime-stone.
2. *Cockles, small impressions of,* are sometimes found in argillaceous sand-stone.
3. *Encrinite, entrochi, or casts of parts of the vertebral column of the encrinus,* are found in compact lime-stone, of a bluish grey colour.
4. *Orthoceratites, casts of,* are found in compact lime-stone, of a brownish black or grey colour. The specimens of this fossil are slightly bent, and the diameter of the broad end about one-third of the length.
5. *Echinus,* casts and impressions of the spines of a species of this genus, I have seen in two specimens. In one the spines are imbedded in quartz, with calcareous matter in some of the cells; the spines are quartz or rather calcedony, for by the help of a lens the spines seem to have a fracture conchoidal and a transparency resembling calcedony. In the other specimen, impressions of spines are distinct on a piece of magnesian lime-stone. In both specimens the spines are perfectly smooth, and taper uniformly to a point, their thickness rather less than the barrel of a crow quill, length about an inch.
6. *Madreporite,* rare, species unknown. In magnesian lime-stone the casts are composed of foliated lime-stone.

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§ 6. Sand.

The surface of the ground at the south and southwest sides of the high land of the isle is generally covered with loose yellowish quartz-sand, as may be seen at Crowle Common, Haxey, Westwood-Side, &c. This sand is easily distinguished from what results from the disintegration of the sand rock, mentioned in a preceding section, by containing angular pieces of whitish flint generally about the size of a pea. This sand must, at the first glance, give the idea of it having been driven by wind or water into its present situation, and the most careful examination strengthens this first impression. This sand in many places forms the sub-stratum to the peat.

§ 7. Warp.

All the low parts of the isle, north and east of the high land, are composed of warp; and beds of small extent sometimes occur covering the sand and gravel on the south and eastern sides of the high land, but in this situation is generally called clay. A bed of this description may be seen near Idlestop.

The warp along the shores of the Trent form a bed of uncertain thickness. At Althorpe, in sinking wells, eight or ten feet of warp have been dug through, then one or two feet of sand, and then again warp. At Garthorpe the warp is from one to fifteen feet thick, then a bed of peat from half to five feet deep, under the peat sometimes clay or warp, but more generally sand. Sometimes sand mixed with water occurs without peat being present, and this prevents any further digging. Sometimes the warp is so superficial that the plough penetrates through it to peat. This sort of land extends from the Trent westward, across Marshland to the Ouse.

§ 8. Peat.*

Peat is a substance composed of heath, moss, and various morassy plants which

* The term peat is used by Dr. Walker and Mr. Nasmith, in their elaborate papers in the II. and III. Vols. of the Highland Transactions; it is a more precise mode of expression than what Kirwan uses. Peat is here synonymous with the turf of Kirwan, and moss of some authors.

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have undergone but little disorganization, and are mixed with but a very small quantity of earthy matter. It is very combustible. The nature of this substance varies in colour, density, and structure, according to its being exposed to light, existing at a greater or less depth, and the individual vegetable substances of which it is composed. When first dug it is of a brownish orange colour, but becomes blacker by exposure to the air and light. The nearer the surface of the bed the peat lies the less dense, and more fibrous it is.

Peat is often so far disintegrated as to present an uniform earthy appearance, but is still inflammable, and does in reality contain but a very small portion of earthy matter. When changed in this manner it is here called *peat-earth*.*

Both peat and peat-earth prevail in the isle, the former occurs in perfection near Crowle, and the latter covers the south-west part of the isle. Both are dug, dried, and stored for fuel. The beds are from one to twenty feet deep, and repose on quartz-sand or clay.

In beds of peat, trunks and roots of trees are frequently found imbedded; this is particularly the case in the isle. The trees are found laying near the bottom of the bed, the roots sometimes attached to the trunks, sometimes broken off, and sometimes again the tree appears to have been burnt down to the root. The trunks often lay across each other promiscuously, but in general they lay nearly north and south. The trees here found are oak, pine, yew, and alder.† The oaks are blackened throughout; the pines retain their colour, but somewhat darkened, and when burnt the smell of turpentine can be perceived; the yew contains internally its original colour; and so also does the alder. These trunks often lay, as it were, imbedded in leaves and twigs, with pine cones, hazle nuts, &c.

How these trees came in their present situation, has given rise to much speculation. That the trees have grown in the situation which they now occupy, and prior to the formation of peat, seems generally acknowledged; but some attribute their falling to the operations of man, others to mere natural agents. When however it is considered that in whatever country peat occurs, trees also occur imbedded, it must be acknowledged that there seems some connection between the falling of trees and the formation of peat; at the same time it is very difficult, nay impossible, to trace the destruction of all the forests thus found imbedded in peat to the ravages of armies, hence a presumption may be ventured on, that natnral causes may have produced the falling of these trees. Every one may observe that in lands covered with timber and subject to floods, the vegetables of which

* This is the peat of Kirwan, and consumed peat of Dr. Walker.

† Other species are said to be found, these I have seen.

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peat is composed, most easily propagate, and also easily decay. Now the decaying of one crop of such vegetables produces a bed for the production of another, and the species of vegetables thus produced must vary according to the state of drought or moisture present; hence in a bed of peat successive strata of different vegetables often exist. This growth and decay of morassy vegetables will loosen the roots of the trees and occasion their fall; and, perhaps also, often occasion them to decay and break off a few feet from their roots. And again, the falling of trees from any cause, will occasion the water to stagnate and accelerate the formation of peat; so that, no matter whether the formation of peat first commences from casual floods, or whether the falling of trees first occasions the stagnation of moisture and growth of peat, the ultimate effect must be, that peat once having began to form, the destruction of the trees will be inevitable.

It is the opinion of some, that the trees here found have been levelled by the Romans; and I have been shown oaks supposed to exhibit traces of the action of fire: but these have, on nearer inspection, turned out to be the mere blackening which this tree undergoes in peat beds;* however, in the stumps of yews the effects of fire are very visible, they being sometimes charred to an inch or more in depth, and yet the roots not in the least blackened, nor yet the centre of the stumps, so that it seems undoubted from this and other proofs brought forward by Pryme, that the destruction of the trees in the isle have been effected by the legions of Rome; but, at the same time, there is no doubt that had not this taken place, the destruction of the trees and formation of peat, though protracted, would ultimately have been the same from natural causes.

Peat possesses two very peculiar properties besides its inflammability, viz. Its antiseptic quality, and power of resisting water. So great is its antiseptic quality that animal, as well as vegetable substances may remain for years in it without undergoing putrifaction. Anecdotes of the discovery of the remains of animals are related almost in every place where peat abounds; and even the water possesses this power. The existence of putrid water, however stagnant, is, I believe, unknown in peat districts; and the men who dig peat for fuel know this, and suppose that it is never injurious, even if they drink it cold when they are heated with labour and covered with sweat.

Peat fully formed absorbs water very slowly, for though sponge like in texture, yet it seems to be inclined to repel moisture, something in the manner of a greasy

* This blackening is no doubt owing to water containing a ferruginous impregnation, acting on the astringent principles of the oak. The colour of peat water seems always to mark the presence of iron, but experiment shows that iron does only occasionally exist.

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sponge. The inflammability, antiseptic quality, and power of repelling water, all seem to arise from the presence of bitumen formed in the operation which takes place in the change of recent vegetable matter into peat.

IRON ORE,

In cellular masses, from a few inches to two feet in diameter, is found imbedded or reposing on the peat; it frequently envelopes roots and pebbles.

Two varieties of *Bog Iron Ore* generally occur in the same specimen, viz. *Morass* and *Swamp Ore,* these however do seldom form the general mass. They usually occupy only the cells and cavities. The principal mass is composed of an iron ore which differs from any that I can find described by mineralogists. Its characters are

External colour, iron black and lustre 2. 3. Fracture uneven, sometimes foliated particles seem to be present; colour between steel grey and iron black, lustre 2. Streak rather lighter and lustre increased. Hardness 7 to 8. Brittle. In powder is slightly attracted by the magnet; before the blow-pipe per se the powder agglutinates and assumes a colour between lavender blue and smalt blue. With borax it forms a dark green glass. It is found in cellular and corroded masses in marshy grounds; the external surfaces uneven, but the individual elevations generally smooth. It sometimes envelopes pebbles, and the impression of woody fibres is often very evident.

This species of iron ore nearly resembles common magnetic iron-stone, but the external lustre of the latter is 3. Hardness 9 to 10. Specific gravity 4. 2. to 4. 9. and is, generally, positively magnetic, and before the blow-pipe becomes browner.

To compact black iron-stone it has also a considerable resemblance; but, compact black iron-stone has usually a conchoidal fracture. Specific gravity 4.076, and is exceedingly fusible.*

As no experiments on the composition of this iron ore have been published, its precise place in the arrangement of iron ores must be left in doubt.

§ 9. On the antiquity, &c. of the mineral beds.

Origin of mineral beds according to Werner,

Geologists of the school of Werner agree, that all minerals beds are depositions either chemical or mechanical, it is assumed that the older the rock, the lower or nearer the centre it is situated; and consequently that every rock is older than the rock above it.

* Kirwan, Vol. II. page 168.

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If the origin of mineral beds be from deposition, this assumption is, no doubt, perfectly allowable, and must be the case, unless by some force the beds are so much altered that they have been raised on edge and fallen over, when, of course, the beds thus inverted would have the older rocks at top and the newer below them. But though all geologists, ancient and modern, Wernerians and Huttonians, acknowledge that great catastrophes have taken place on the crust of this globe, yet none have supposed this overturning to have ever taken place.

According to Hutton.

Those geologists, on the contrary, who support the theory of Dr. Hutton, suppose that the present relative situation of the mineral beds speak a language which the Wernerian school has quite misinterpreted: for they conceive that central fires have burst the crust of the earth, and forced through these apertures melted matter, and it consolidating, has formed much of the present surface, so that the most superficial bed is the newest formed; and indeed they argue, that it is very difficult, and requires extreme labour and research, to discover the comparative antiquity of mineral beds, even where their relative situation is known, except in beds recently deposited and now forming at the mouths of rivers.

In the district, now under consideration, the two principal beds, the sand rock and clay bed, are parallel to each other, and each are in parallel strata; so that in whatever manner they have been formed, they must be considered as of cotemporaneous origin. They may have been deposited from some fluid, for the *angular*, but not fractured, grains of sand in the sand rock, seem to be such as may be conceived to be deposited from a state of solution and to have undergone a sort of approach to crystallization. Thus, a solution of saltpetre at rest, deposits regular crystals; but if agitated during its deposition it forms a mass of angular grains as different from a regular crystal of saltpetre, as these grains of sand are from a crystal of quartz. But these beds cannot have been melted by heat, for the clay would have been turned into an hard mass, at least it would have been brick.*

Having then found that the two principal mineral beds in the isle are of cotemporaneous origin, and deposited from some fluid, we may assume that the lower is the older.

The sand rock, though the oldest mineral bed in the isle, yet its antiquity might be proved to be undoubtedly posterior to the formation of some classes of

* Great atmospherical pressure, Sir James Hall has shewn, produces effects in some measure counteracting the effects of heat, but from the parallelsm of the strata in the isle, the effects of heat, however modified, cannot be admitted.

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animated beings; but the proofs of this would lead us from our subject—the comparative antiquity of the mineral beds of the isle.

In the sand rock, the rounded pebbles of quartz, which seem water worn, or rounded by rolling, claim an antiquity prior to the sand rock, as they must have undergone this process before being imbedded in their present situation, otherwise the grains of sand would also have become rounded.

It would occupy too much time to enquire into the formation of the individual minerals in the rocks under considerations, as the concretions of lithomarge in the sand rock, and the subordinate beds of gypsum and sand-stone in the clay bed.

Marine animals existed before the formation of the mineral beds.

However it may be briefly mentioned, that below the sand rock a series of rocks exist, abounding in the exuviæ of marine animals; and that the rock forming Aulkborough Hill, and running parallel with the hills of clay through Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, is formed of compact lime-stone, in which is imbedded *gryphites**, a mineralized bivalve shell; and *astroites*, the remains of the vertebral column of the *pentacrinite*. The geological situation of this calcareous rock is probably above the clay bed, and consequently of a newer formation. Now either the animals in this rock were living at the time the clay bed was deposited, or they were deprived of life anterior to this and afterwards brought hither and deposited along with the rock in which they now are found. However, at any rate, there must have been successive depositions, as beds different in nature succeed each other; some abounding in remains of marine animals, others composed of substances destitute of any marks of organized bodies.

There is one circumstance common to all the beds—they all dip easterly. Now it is presumed that they, following the laws of hydrostatics, would be deposited perfectly horizontally; therefore we must suppose some force to have acted either in elevating the western or depressing the eastern part of this series of rocks. When these beds were formed, and when they became inclined to the east, is almost beyond speculation. We know that it is before any historical

* This species is not found in the series mentioned, as existing below the sand rock.—Gryphites are provincially called *millers' thumbs;* and the astroites are called *pissles and possles.* What origin these seemingly unmeaning names have, afford room for conjecture. The entrochi found on the coasts of Northumberland and Durham, receive their provincial names from a celebrated saint of Holy Island: they are called St. Cuthbert's beads. The terms *pissles and possles* may also be derived from some popish superstition, the names having outlived the tradition. In the dark cloisters of a monastery the astroites might have been discovered to resemble a cross, and from this the transition to *disciples and apostles* would be easy; and time and ignorance would be quite efficient to the changing these to the words now used.

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records; nay, it has been presumed, by some philosophers, that the first of these events took place before the creation of man, because in no part of the world has a human bone in a fossil state, ever yet been found.

But our present enquiry will receive no benefit by pursuing this bewildering research any further. We have found that the sand rock and clay bed are the oldest mineral beds in the isle; we have found too, that, at some distant period, they have been altered from an horizontal to *an inclined position*. When this took place, masses the whole thickness of some of the beds must have been broken off and carried away, otherwise the surface would have been composed of the same rock, instead of the different* rocks forming successive ridges, as now exist; but this violent denudation is also beyond the reach of history, yet it probably may have been a joint effect of the cause which produced the inclination of the beds. Whether this denuding and transporting of the beds, be cotemporaneous with the inclining of the beds, or posterior to it, this seems extremely probable—that the origin of the isle of Axholme, if not of Britain, and even the general face of the earth, must be referred to this epoch.

Successive ridges of different rocks, how formed.

Suppose the strata recently inclined, fresh broken off and some parts carried away, leaving the subjacent beds and strata, to a certain extent, denuded, so that we see sharp ridges formed with their western side abruptly precipitous; their eastern sides gradually declining. Then what is now the high land of the isle would be a sharp ridge of the clay bed, towards the east declining gradually till it meets a precipice of the compact lime-stone ridge; and towards the west presenting a precipice from the foot of which the sand rock gradually rises.—But the surface of the earth would not long remain in this state, even the ordinary agents which are now acting, rain, frost, and wind, would alone be sufficient to produce very essential changes. The ridges would become softened in outline and the detritus carried down by rain, be spread between them. These effects would be most speedy on the softer rocks. Therefore now the sand rock and clay bed form elevations† very much inferior to the magnesian lime-stone on the west of the isle, and the compact lime-

The hardest rocks form the most elevated hills.

* In the latitude of Doncaster, beginning at the west of Doncaster and proceeding eastward across the Trent, magnesian lime-stone, sand rock covered with gravel, the clay bed, and compact lime-stone succeed each other.

† The sand rock does not form elevations exceeding 180 feet; Gringley Hill, one of the highest of the range of clay hills, is 235 feet above the level of the sea; and at Clifton, near Conisbrough, Yorkshire, the magnesian lime-stone rises to an elevation 417 feet above the sea.

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stone on the east; and, even now, the Trent and Humber have their waters always muddy with the detritus of the clay bed, which, ever since the epoch above mentioned, has been deposited along the banks of those rivers forming the warp district of the isle and Marshland; while rivers which flow among less destructable rocks have their waters limpid. Accidental circumstances, as variable winds, large pieces of rock detached by the expansion of freezing water, &c. would occasion irregularities in the deposition of the detritus, just as a wreck in the Humber now forms a nucleus for an island. It may be objected to what is above stated—that the rivers ought to have had a course between the ridges of the different rocks. To this I answer, that it is, in many instances, their course; the Trent, for upwards of thirty miles, flows between the clay hills and the hills of compact lime-stone; and the Idle flows between the clay bed and sand rock for near twenty miles. But even supposing it is not the case, the falling of masses from the western precipice might easily be conceived to obstruct and change their course; and the partial effects of thunder storms, &c. would also produce partial changes;* which along with the carrying away and denuding of the strata above noticed, will account for the forming of vallies or ravines, running east and west.

The Trent, &c. flows between ridges of different rocks.

The gravel beds mentioned in former sections have not yet been noticed in our speculations, though they form superficial beds in the isle.

The quartz gravel, from its composition, shows that it has been derived from various rocks, and rocks of various ages, but from the pebbles being regularly intermixed, it must have all been spread on the present extent of surface at a time posterior to the formation of the newest rock it contains, and this is also evident from the situation it now occupies. The pebbles composing the gravel are, as it were, rounded by rolling, a proof that they have been much agitated since being broken from their native rocks. Near Birmingham, and at the Malvern hills, in Worcestershire, are rocks of almost all the species which occur among the quartz gravel, as common quartz, granite, greenstone, porphyry, &c. These species are also component parts of the rocks of Charnwood Forest in Leicestershire.† Among the gravel, horn-stone, iron-stone, &c. are minerals found in situ in Derbyshire,‡ and also the

The gravel, whence derived.

* See in the account of Butterwick, where these effects are spiritedly poutrayed by Dr. Peart.

† The rocks of Charnwood Forest are described in Bakewell's Introduction to Geology, p. 284.

‡ Mr. Bakewell says, "No organic remains have been observed in any of the forest rocks."

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fossil entrochi; but these are in small proportions compared with the common quartz, and it seems strange that some Derbyshire minerals being present, others should be absent, at least those which most abound, as compact and magnesian lime-stone, &c. From some of these localities the quartz gravel may have been derived, and Charnwood Forest being the nearest, and, at the same time, contiguous to the southern termination of the Derbyshire lime-stone district, it most probably is the place whence the gravel has originated.

Were we even to suppose a torrent proceeding from the south-west following the course along which the quartz gravel is deposited,* and bringing the detritus of the rocks of Charnwood Forest and part of Derbyshire,§ we should expect the lightest would be carried the farthest, and consequently expect to find the calcareous gravel in the situation it now occupies, a situation the farthest distant from its native bed; but then we should not expect to find amongst it iron-stone. Indeed the finding the calcareous gravel in its present situation, mixed with some of the quartz gravel, and yet the quartz gravel bed laying between the calcareous gravel and its native lime-stone rock, with the concomitant circumstances, is a fact too puzzling to be explained in any satisfactory manner; though perhaps this difficulty may vanish when the mineralogy of England is better known.

The last and latest formed mineral bed in the isle, is undoubtedly the peat; but this, in some instances, is within historical record, and in others it has been cotemporaneous and alternate || with the deposition of warp. Both which processes, if the operations of civillized society were to be withdrawn, would soon materially alter the face of the whole of the isle and Marshland, and indeed even now, new matter is constantly washing from the heights, brought down by the rivers, and deposited in their channel and near their mouths, in quantities and at distances varying according to the proportion of the suspended matter and velocity of the stream. The effects of this process must be—raising the channel of the rivers, and the forming of islands‡ and shoals, so that the time will probably arrive when the Humber will be studded with islands or divided into two distinct rivers.

Shoals and islands still forming in the Trent and Humber.

* This torrent would be nearly parallel with the course of the Trent from Leicestershire.

§ The magnesian lime-stone occurs in situ in both Yorkshire and Derbyshire; and the orthoceratites are analagous to those of the compact lime-stone of Derbyshire.

|| The sand, being frequently the substratum of turf, must have been placed in its present situation before the latter. From the flints this sand contains, and the absence of rounded pebbles, it cannot be detritus from (see § 6,) the sand rock, probably it has been brought by some extraordinary influx of the sea.

‡ Trent island is a recent instance of this.

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Conclusion. This section is intitled speculations; therefore the sober conclusions of regular inductive reasoning cannot be expected; but yet it will perhaps be allowed that the facts in the former sections give more than mere plausibility to the inferences drawn, concerning the formation and comparative antiquity of the mineral beds of the isle, viz.

Prior to historical records

1. The sand rock,
2. The clay bed, and
3. The compact lime-stone of Aulkbrough hill, &c. were deposited in successive horizontal beds posterior to the formation of certain shell fish and zoophites.*
4. That the above rocks had the plain of their beds inclined.
5. That from agents now acting the angles of the precipices became rounded; the water washed and deposited the detritus of the rocks forming the beds of warp, an operation still going on; and that about the same time the gravel was spread as it now remains.
6. The sand on the western faces of the hills was driven to its present situation.
7. The formation of peat commences.

Before closing this subject it may be remarked that the isle presents an example of two of the Wernerian classes of rocks, the floetz and the alluvial. The sand rock and clay bed belong to the *floetz formation,* while the warp, gravel, and sand belong to the *alluvial.*

* The sceptic in religion may, from a superficial consideration of this, be tempted to doubt the truths of the Mosaic revelations; but, let it be remembered, that all geological theories have their very foundation on some speculative assumption, and therefore the reasonings, from such data, cannot be compared with the simple relation of facts by the sacred historian On geology, as connected with the cosmogony of the scriptures, I refer the reader to the Appendix to De Luc's Elementary Treatise on Geology, and Professor Playfair's Illustration of the Huttonian Theory.

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CHAP. III.

Agriculture.

MR. SECRETARY YOUNG, in his survey of Lincolnshire, has given so perfect a view of the agriculture of this district, that I shall merely extract his account from that work, and occasionally add a few observations.

"The soil of the isle of Axholm, is among the finest in England; they have black sandy loams; they have warp lands; they have brown sands; and they have rich loams, soapy and tenacious; the under stratum at Haxey, Belton, &c. is, in many places, an imperfect plaster stone. Soil.

"At Haxey the water is uncommonly hard, impossible to wash with it; mixed with milk, it turns it in boiling to a curd; the under-stratum an imperfect gypseous stone. They have here and there wells of better water." Water.

In all the high parts of the isle the water is uncommonly hard, but on the lower parts it is much softer.

"As to property, I know nothing more singular respecting it, than its great division in the isle of Axholm. In most of the towns there, for it is not quite general, there is much resemblance of some rich parts of France and Flanders. The inhabitants are collected in villages and hamlets; and almost every house you see, except very poor cottages on the borders of commons, is inhabited by a farmer, the proprietor of his farm, of from four or five, and even fewer, to twenty, forty, and more acres, scattered about the open fields, and cul- Property.

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tivated with all that minutiæ of care and anxiety, by the hands of the family, which are found abroad, in the countries mentioned. They are very poor, respecting money, but very happy respecting their mode of existence. Contrivance, mutual assistance, by barter and hire, enable them to manage these little farms, though they break all the rules of rural proportion. A man will keep a pair of horses that has but three or four acres, by means of vast commons, and working for hire.

"The enclosure of those commons will lessen their numbers, and vastly increase the quantity of products at market. Their cultivated land being of uncommon fertility, a farm of twenty acres supports a family very well, as they have, generally speaking, no fallows, but an endless succession of corn, potatoes, hemp, flax, beans, &c. They do nearly all their work themselves; and are passionately fond of buying a bit of land. Though I have said they are happy, yet I should note that it was remarked to me, that the *little* proprietors work like negroes, and do not live so well as the inhabitants of the poor-house; but all is made amends for by *possessing* land."

Since the commons were enclosed, little alteration has been made with respect to the domestic habits of the isle people, money is in greater abundance and they possess more land. Where, in consequence of open fields, an opportunity of purchasing a small portion of land presents itself, a spirit of emulation is caused even among the day labourers, who in the room of spending their hard-earned wages, lay them by till they have a sufficient sum to purchase one or two roods of land; this furnishes them with potatoes or bread corn, consequently augments their incomes; and as their incomes increase, their abilities and inclinations to purchase land increase likewise. I know a great many in this county who, a few years ago, possessed little or no property, have now small independencies, arising from their parsimony and laborious exertions.

Value of land. "At Haxey, 45*l*. to 50*l*. an acre, open field; but a close is worth 10*l*. an acre more than the same quality open." In this parish land will now sell for from 80*l*. to 140*l*. per acre, according to the quality or convenience to the purchaser.

"At Butterwick the land is very fine and fertile; the best letts from 30*s*. to 40*s*. and sells up to 80*l*. the chain acre." All the Trent side land is very valuable, it lets now from 100*s*. to 120*s*. per acre. I have known several pieces sell as high as 200*l*. per acre, near the villages.

Poor rates. "At Haxey, 2*s*. 6*d*. in the pound, 15 years ago 6*d*. to 8*d*."

Since the above was written, the poor rates are considerably increased, particularly at Epworth, in consequence of the numbers of manufactories of sack-

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ing, &c. in which a great many of both sexes are employed; the moral turpitude, a certain concomitant of all manufactories, has here rendered illegitimate offsprings very frequent, whose maintenance has occasioned a considerable augmentation of the poor rates.

"In the isle of Axholm, there is an immense enclosure on the point of beginning; the act and survey having been passed, of no less than 12,000 acres of commons, in the four parishes of Haxey, Hepworth, Belton, and Owston. I passed these commons in various quarters, and rode purposely to view some parts; they are in a wretched and unprofitable state; but valued, if enclosed, in the idea of the islanders, at 10*s.* or 11*s.* an acre. Enclosing.

			Acres.
"In Haxey, claims	305	on account of	3814
"Hepworth	236	——	2285
"Belton	251	——	3664
"Owston	229	——	4446

"Cottage rights are claims; but lands without a cottage have none. It was a most barbarous omission, that when this act was procured, they resisted a clause to divide the open arable fields, subject to rights of common. But they have here by a custom, a right of enclosure which is singular; every man that pleases may enclose his own open-fields, notwithstanding the rights of common upon it, while open; and accordingly many do it, when, by purchase, they get five or six acres together, of which I saw many instances; and could not but admire their beautiful quick hedges, which are very fine, and must have been well preserved while young; but there is no clearer proof of good land, than what is afforded by white-thorn hedges."

The act for this purpose was procured on the 22d of June, 1795, and has more than answered the expectation of the inhabitants. The land was pared and burnt, and brought considerable quantities of rye, oats, line, rape, &c. each of which will be considered under their respective articles.

Fallowing is very rare in this district; the usual way is to clear the land, lay on straw-yard manure, and set potatoes. Some fallow the moor land, but without any benefit; the nature of peat is so different from common earth, that this practice has a contrary effect from what it has on other soils. Peat, when broken up, is of a soft spongy nature, being composed of half decayed vegetable matter, consequently when reduced to powder, is unfit for vegetation until again made solid From a series of observations I can aver that the only method to obtain a fruitful production from *peat-earth, is to keep the soil* Fallowing.

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adhesive; plough as little as possible, and if any weeds appear, let them be eradicated by the hand.

Course of crops "At Haxey,

"1. Potatoes,
"2. Wheat,
"3. Barley,
"4. Clover,
5. Wheat; if plenty of manure, potatoes again; if not,
6. Barley,

"Another,

"1. Hemp or potatoes,
"2. Barley,
"3. Beans,
"4 Wheat,
5. Barley,
6. Clover,
7. Wheat.

"On clay land:

"1. Fallow; and if manured,
"2. Barley,
3. Beans,
4. Wheat.

"If not manured:

"1. Fallow,
"2. Wheat,
3. Clover,
4. Wheat.

"Mr. William Darrand, on good land, 30*s.* an acre:

"1. Potatoes,
"2. Wheat,
"3. Barley,
"4. Clover,
"5. Wheat,
"6. Flax,
"7. Wheat,
"8. Flax,
9. Barley,
10. Clover,
11. Wheat,
12. Flax,
13. Barley,
14. Clover,
15. Wheat.

"But though fallows in the open fields at Haxey are, in general, banished, they are not totally; for I observed some ploughing, which the farmer told me would sell at 40*l.* an acre.

"At Butterwick, in the isle, they have various courses, which deserve noting:

"1. Potatoes,
"2. Wheat,
3. Beans,
4. Wheat.

"Also, 1. Potatoes or hemp,
"2. Flax,
"3. Wheat, no clover,
4. Beans,
5. Wheat.

"At Garthorp, in the Marsh, new land broken up:

"1. Flax,
2. Rape,

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" 3. Potatoes, 6. Potatoes,
" 4. Flax, 7. Flax,
" 5. Rape, 8. Wheat.

" It will certainly bear this for ten years."

" At Haxey, in Axholm,

Corn, seed, and produce

" Wheat seed nine pecks, crop 24 bushels, 30 great.
" Barley seed four bushels, crop four quarters, up to six.
" Oats seed four bushels, crop from four quarters to eight; average five.
" Beans seed 14 pecks, 36 bushels, very good; average 30. Some drill beans.

" At Butterwick in the isle, their crops are,

" Wheat, five quarters, sometimes less.
" Beans, four quarters, never rise to seven.
" Flax, 50 stone.
" Hemp, 50 stone, and more.
" Potatoes, 100 sacks, but a very good crop.

" About Normanby, Burton, &c.

" Wheat seed two bushels and a half, crop three quarters average; but at Winterton four.
" Barley seed four bushels, crop four quarters.
" Bean seeds four bushels, crop three quarters.
" Rye seed two bushels and a half, crop three quarters and a half.

" The weaker the land the more the seed; rye very subject to blight, and winter sown most."

" At Garthorp, rape seed five quarters." Rape.

" At Haxey, in Axholm, plough between November and Christmas; Potatoes. at Candlemas or Lady-day again, and three or four more. Manure 9th or 10th May, 15 loads an acre; short muck for potatoes, but long reckoned good. Some set every other furrow, and some every third, eight sets in a yard; rake in dung upon the sets; eight sacks, or 24 strike, plant an acre. One strong eye, or two weak, to each cutting. When they first appear, harrow along or across the rows. In a week hoe, 3*s.* or 3*s.* 6*d.* an acre; when a foot high or less, hill by ploughing with common plough; but they have hilling double ploughs. Weeding is done by children. Take up by pulling up the tops, which they throw aside. Plough out, keeping the plough down under the potatoes; fixing hands in divisions, 20 yards to a gatherer. Harrow the new ridges, and pick again. Plough again in small furrows, when two or three pickers follow the ploughs, turning down the ridges; and harrow; then it is ready for wheat.—Crop: Mr.

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Durrand has had 80 sacks of ox nobles on two roods and a half, or 330 bushels an acre: but this was an extraordinary crop. A middling one 70 sacks, repeat them on the land every four or five years. Kidneys do not take from the soil so much as ox nobles.

" Fifty years ago, on Trent side, Mr. Durrand's father had hemp and flax every year; and as to barley and wheat, could not venture it, so rank and strong; but since potatoes, they have so much reduced the fertility, that corn is common, and often not good crops. The expression was, potatoes have quite killed the land.

" At Butterwick in the isle, wheat after potatoes on their inferior soils (but they have no bad land), does not succeed well; but on warp land it does well. They get to 100 sacks an acre.

" At Garthorp, in Axholm, potatoes on new land 80 sacks an acre.

" The crops there of every kind are almost universally good; I never yet saw any lands so well weeded, so carefully attended to, and kept so generally clean, as those fields; the whole country is quite a garden; the hemp and potatoe crops are *here* acknowledged to be abundant; the other crops I can assert, are generally equally good. It is worthy of remark, that the potatoes produced in this neighbourhood, though apparently equally good, are not in reality so valuable as those grown on the southern banks of the Ouse, in a district called Marshland; those are always preferred for the London market, and generally sell for 2*s.* per sack more than the Trent potatoes."

Hemp. " At Haxey, sow it after wheat: plough before Christmas; some at Candlemas. Manure after the first ploughing: some turn it in, but not so good; a middling dressing, the shorter the better. Pigeon dung best; (added to dung) a quarter or quarter and half per acre. Like to have it best after wheat that follows clover. Plough again between Candlemas and Lady-day. Plough three or four times; sometimes roll and harrow much more in the spring. Sow about the middle of May, ten pecks a chain acre. Weed out the largest weeds. Pull the femble or male hemp about the 20th of August, leave the female till Michaelmas. Bind the femble into sheaves or *beats*. Cart it to dykes, sod it; water it; lies in two or three weeks, according to weather. Running water very bad for it. Spread it on stubbles for three weeks or a month, till the *bast* clears easy from the bun; turn it once or twice; and when dry bind it in beats; carry home, and stack it, and work it; break and dressing it was 1*s.* a stone, now 1*s.* 4*d.* or 1*s.* 6*d.* then ready for market to sell it to hecklers; 40 stone a good crop, 50 very rare;—30 or 35 an average. Many sell it by the acre: in peace it was 3*l.* or 3*l.* 10*s.* per acre; last year 5*l.** Price per stone from breaker 6*s.* 6*d.* or 7*s.* of late; but

* The year before the survey by the Board of Agriculture.

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was in peace 4*s*. 6*d*. or 5*s*. It is heckled, spun, and woven into cloth, but the farmer has nothing to do with this. As to the hemp left in the field, it is pulled about Michaelmas; bind sheaves, and stooks on the land, and leave it ten days. Thrash it on a cloth in the field; seed twelve to sixteen strike an acre, worth 6*s*. on an average 5*s*. When thrashed, dyke it and sod it; when laid five or six weeks, or even ten if frosty weather; has known it the whole winter, and not a bit worse; but must be trodding down once or twice a day, and the femble the same. Do not spread it; but set it up in little stooks to dry, then stack it to be ready to break and dress in the spring. Not so good, but it sells as well as the other. This is yellow hemp; makes sacking and sail cloth; but the other linen. Sow wheat after it generally, but sometimes barley. Get generally too much wheat; but clover land gives a better standing crop, and healthier.

" *Expense of an Acre.*

" Five ploughings, 4*s*.	£.1	0	0
" Harrowing, 1*s*. a time	0	5	0
" Manuring, 3*s*. a load, 12 loads	1	16	0
" Seed $2\frac{1}{2}$ strike	0	15	0
" Sowing included in ploughing.			
" Weeding	0	1	6
" Pulling by women, fembling	0	5	0
" Carting, retting, sodding, unsodding, and taking out and treading	0	5	0
" Spreading and turning	0	1	6
" Gathering, binding, and leading home	0	2	6
" Breaking 35 stone, at 1*s*. 6*d*.	2	12	6
" Pulling the male hemp	0	5	0
" Thrashing and beating	0	6	0
" Dyking	0	7	6
" Drying and stacking	0	3	0
" Rent £.1 10 0			
" Tithes 0 8 0			
" Parish charges 0 5 0			
	2	3	0
	£.10	8	6

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Produce.

	£	s	d
" 35 stone, at 7s.	12	15	0
" 16 strike of seed	4	16	0
	£.17	11	0
	10	8	6
" Profit	£.7	2	6

" At Butterwick, in the isle, they generally manure for Hemp; and get 50 stone and upwards."

Line. " At Haxey, in Axholm, they often sow it upon sward land; but more common on clover ley or wheat stubble. Plough between Christmas and Candlemas; three or four harrowings, and rolling fine; if a fine mould harrow in the seed on this one earth; if not, skim it with plough very thin to make it fine. Sow two strike an acre; plough it; skim it half in, and half on top, both ways; as opinions leads. Weed it carefully on their knees. Pull it the beginning of August for white line;—sometimes leave it for seed, especially if a slender crop. Bind and dyke it: leave it in about ten days to a fortnight; if very warm, eight days; much treading twice a day in the pit. Grass it on barley stubble, or on eddish, for a month, and to six weeks; turn it once or twice. *Tuffle* it; that is, making it in a loose sheaf, open at bottom. When dry, bind it in bottles, two or three in one. Barn or stack it: after harvest, and in winter, break at 2s. a stone. Ready for sale to the hecklers, at 8s. 9s. and 10s. 6d. a stone; some 11s. last year; average 8s. Harrow off the rubbish, and plough it twice for wheat.

" *Account of an Acre.*

	£	s	d
" One ploughing	£.0	4	0
" Harrowing and rolling	0	4	0
" Seed and sowing	0	18	0
" Skimming	0	4	0
" Weeding	0	13	0
" Pulling	0	7	0
" Leading and retting, &c.	0	10	6
" Grassing, &c.	0	5	0
Carried forward	£.3	5	6

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Brought forward	£.3	6	0
" Leading, &c.	0	3	0
" Breaking 30 stone, at 2*s*.	3	0	0
" Rent, hired for it particularly	3	0	0
" Tithe	0	8	0
	£.9	17	0
" Produce, 30 stone, at 8*s*.	£.12	0	0
" Expenses	9	17	0
" Profit	£.2	3	0

" If on the sward, the rent will be 40*s*. more; and the crop will be from 40 to 60 stone; about 50 good."

" At Butterwick, in the isle, their best wheat follows flax: the crops of the latter 50 stone."

" At Garthorpe, on fresh land, flax produces 50 stone: they sell it as it stands, for 6*l*. or 7*l*. an acre."

" This is an article which I found was not uncommon at Haxey in Axholm. I saw some fields, the crops of which were good. The crop is valuable; and raises even 50*l*. an acre. They pay 5*l*. an acre for liberty to sow them, the farmer finding one ploughing." Onions.

Many were cultivated lately at Stockwith, Epworth, Butterwick, Kelfield, &c. on warp land in particular they answer well.

Since the enclosure in 1795, a great quantity of low moor land has been warped, particular on Epworth south moor, &c. The land that formerly was not worth above 5*l*. per acre, is now valued at 10*l*.; it brings most kinds of crops, and those very luxuriant. The courses pursued on warp land are, Warping.

1. Beans,	2. Wheat.
1. Potatoes,	4. Potatoes,
2. Wheat,	5. Wheat.
3. Beans,	
Also, 1. Beans,	3. Flax,
2. Wheat,	4. Wheat.

Clover and seed most abundant. Warping appears to be the greatest improve-

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ment that can be made. The expense is from 10*l.* to 18*l.* per acre. A full account of warping is given in Young's Survey of Lincolnshire.

Cultivation of Peat.

Peat. The cultivation of peat-earth is but little understood in this district, arising principally from an imperfect knowledge of its nature; I shall therefore give a laconic account of peat as a soil, with a list of those vegetable substances most proper to be cultivated on it.

As a Soil. Before peat can be used as a soil it is "requisite to destroy the natural firmness of peat, in order to render it fit for culture; when once broken and pulverised, it becomes no less necessary to render it as firm and solid as possible. The firmness it may then acquire is quite different from that which it had in its natural state. When once broken and pulverised, by the above means, though it may, and indeed, should be rendered more solid, yet it does not again coalesce, or return to its original firmness and cohesion. Its being too porous and pervious, becomes, then, its great defect as a soil. And, accordingly, we find, that wherever peat comes under cultivation, it is always improved *by being consolidated.* To make it more firm and compact, should then be the great object of the cultivator. The application of manures, the addition of clay, or any adhesive soil, the use of the roller, and the manner of cropping, may be all rendered conductive, to advance the solidity of a peat soil."

From observation it appears "that peat, in general, is best adapted for plants that have spreading and extensive roots: That it is in itself comparatively an improper soil for any grain or other annual plant: That it is in its texture too open and spongy to give that resistance to their roots which is necessary. But it is fortunate that this defect can be remedied, by communicating to peat-earth that degree of solidity and resistance requisite for the production of grain."

"In every soil it is of great moment, in the first place, to be well acquainted with the plants which naturally grow upon it; and in the next place, with those cultivated plants which it is capable to produce with the greatest profit."

Before I give a list of vegetables which are best adapted to a peat soil, I shall enumerate some of those plants that grow wild on this peat district:

Plants that are noxious.

Ranunculus *Flammula.* L. Spearwort.
Caltha *palustris.* L. Marsh Marygold.

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Myrica *Gale*. L. Gale.
Pinguicola *vulgaris*. L. White rot.
Hydrocotyle *vulgaris*. L. Marsh pennywort.
Pedicularis *sylvatica*. L. Lousewort.
———— *palustris*. L. Marsh Lousewort.

Plants of no known Use.

Schœnus *nigricans*. L. Black bog rush.
———— *albus*. L. White bog rush.
Scripus *palustris*. L. Club rush.
Juncus *campestris*. L. Field rush.
Lysimachia *tenella*. L. Purple moneywort.
Lycopodium *Selago*. L. Fir moss.
Sphagnum *palustre*. L. Bog moss.
Polytrichum *commune*. L. Goldilocks.
Mnium *palustre*. L.
———— *fontanum*. L.
Bryum *paludosum*. L.
———— *Scoparium*. L.
———— *cæspititium*. L.
Lichen *rangiferinus*. L. Rein deer moss.
With many lesser plants of the mossy tribes.

In Moss Water.

Potamogeton *natans*. L. Round leaved Pondweed.
Comarum *palustre*. L. Marsh Cinquefoil.
Carex *vesicaria*. L. Bladder grass.
—— *turgida*. L.

Plants of some Economical, Medical, or Mechanical use.

Vaccinium *Oxicoccus*. L. Cran-berry.
Menyanthes *trifoliata*. L. March Trefoil.
Scripus *lacustris*. L. Bullrush.
Arundo *Phragmites*. L. Common reed.
Juncus *conglomeratus*. L. Common rush.
—— *effusus*. L. Hard rush.
Tormentilla *erecta*. L. Tormentil.

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Gramineous Plants capable of affording Hay.

Aira *coerulea*. L. Fly Bent.
Agrostis *stolonifera*. L. Marsh bent grass.
Some of the Carex's grow here.
Holcus *lanatus*. L. Soft grass.
——— *mollis* L. Creeping soft grass.
Triglochin *palustre*. L. Arrow headed grass.

Plants which serve as Pasture.

Scirpus *cæspitosus*. L. Deer's hair.
One of the Eriophorum's.
Nardus *stricta*. L. Bent.
Agrostis *capillaris*. L. Fine Windstraw.
Aria *flexuosa*. L.
Erica *vulgaris*. L. Common heather.
—— *tetralix*. L. Bell heather.

Shrubby and Arboreous Plants.

Empetrum *nigrum*. L. Crowberry.
Salix *pentandra*. L. Sweet willow.
—— *glauca*. L. and many smaller species.
Betula *alba*. L. Birch.
——— *alnus*. L.

Plants to be cultivated on a Peat Soil.

The potatoe. This plant "forms one of the most useful and profitable crops that can be raised in pure peat earth. Though this was long known in Ireland, the first trial of the kind in this country, so far as is known, was made in the year 1750, at Newhall in Mid-Lothian. The experiment was made on an inclosure of about 4 acres, consisting of such soft wet peat soil, as to be incapable to bear a horse, and which had formerly been plouged by men. Having lain some years in grass, it was planted in lazy beds with potatoes, and chiefly indeed with a design to have it more perfectly drained, by means of the trenches. The crop turned out so abundant, both in the size and quantity of the roots, as to be a matter of surprise to all the neighbourhood. One gentleman, on seeing the crop raised, who had a small estate, but of great extent in mossy land, became persuaded that it was more valuable, by a hundred a year, than what he supposed. Soon after that, the success of potatoes on a peat soil came to be known and ex-

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perienced in many parts of the country, and especially in the Highlands. It is a practice now established and followed by the most skillful cultivators of peat moss, and it is certainly one of the most effectual means of reclaiming that infertile soil. Beside the profit of the crop, the trenches of the lazy beds form the most useful drains: and the spade labour in the soft peat earth, is comparatively very inconsiderable. But, though moss is capable of affording potatoes of the best quality, yet where there is a demand for the large coarse varieties of potatoe, improperly called Yams, they are very eligible. They are plants of a more vigorous growth, both in the root and in the stem, and though inferior in quality, are sometimes more profitable than the finer sorts of potatoe."

"The *Friesland Oat*, of which we have now several varieties; known by different names,* ought certainly in moss to be preferred to every other sort of oat. Its great usefulness is now well known in many of the high and late parts of the country. Peat is every where a late soil. It is so not only at a great height, but even where it is situated little above the level of the sea. Wherever it is to be sown with grain, the earliest sort of each kind ought therefore to be chosen."

"*Bear*, on a mossy soil, ought every where to be preferred to the two rowed barley. It is an earlier grain, has a stronger reed, can stand its ground better on a loose soil, and is not so easily lodged. The abundant crops of this grain raised in the Highlands by spade culture, upon a peat soil, is a matter of surprise to a stranger: and in a soil and climate where the two rowed barley would certainly not succeed."

Line has been very beneficially cultivated on an adhesive peat soil, and if the season is not too dry, large crops are sure to be procured. Line.

A great quantity of rape has been cultivated, and it will be always a valuable plant to the occupiers of peat land. Rape.

Soft Grass is a plant well calculated for peat soil. "It is a native of loose peat earth, and wherever that soil is in culture, this plant rises naturally, and with luxuriance. Having a vigorous repent root, it there forms an extensive turf, and affords a weighty hay crop, from year to year. In some of our wet meadow grounds, the heaviest crop of natural hay is chiefly composed of this grass: and its excellent quality as a provender, especially for black cattle and sheep, is well known. It is to be regretted that the seeds of this grass are not preserved pure, and brought commonly into sale like those of rye grass. It would greatly promote the views of those patriotic gentlemen who are at present so laudably employed in the cultivation of our peat mosses." Soft Grass. Holcus *lanatus.* L.

* Polish oat, Early seed corn, Barley corn, Churches Oat.

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Fly bent, Aira coerulea. Lin.

"Is another grass precisely adapted to afford a profitable and permanent crop of hay in peat-earth. It is a native of that soil, and in some of the highest parts of the country. On some sheep farms there are spots of this grass which afford the largest crop of natural hay, and of a better quality than any in the neighbourhood. This plant is not so generally disseminated, as the soft grass but confined to particular mossy tracts. In these, however, a large quantity of the seeds might be easily collected."

Timothy grass, or catstail grass. Phleum pratense. L.

Timothy Grass "naturally grows in a moist, and even wet soil, where it is often very luxuriant, rising to the height of four feet, with gross spikes, near half a foot long. It will grow also upon dry ground, but affords in such a situation, only an inconsiderable crop. As it is a strong and coarse grass, it should be cut for hay, soon after the appearance of its spike, and before it flowers; and when cut thus early, it affords a plentiful forage, of very good quality."

This grass has been found very productive and useful on peat soil, especially when fed down by sheep. It affords plenty of seed. John Cartwright, Esq. of Bawtry, was the first who introduced this grass into the isle commons, and by his example it is now commonly cultivated.

Fiorn grass.

This grass has been strongly recommended by Dr. Richardson, for the purpose of low lands; but how far it will answer I have not been able to ascertain, for I do not know that any person has made a trial of it here.

Manures proper for Peat.

Lime.

"All the calcareous manures have a most striking and beneficial effect on a mossy soil. Of these, quick-lime is most generally used, as it is more frequently to be met with than any other, and can afford a longer carriage. It promotes, indeed, the putrefaction of recent vegetable and animal substance, but seems to act chiefly on the acid principle contained in peat, by which means, the substance of peat is farther attenuated, and a considerable portion of neutralized and fertilising matter is formed. It not only fits the peat soil for bearing a better crop of cultivated plants, but introduces plants that are naturally strangers in such a soil. Many instances have now occurred, in which the peat soil, on being limed, has produced the white clover, the daisy, the annual Poa, and the way thistle, which never grew in it before. These plants are the inhabitants of our richest soils; and, wherever they appear, are accompanied with the other grasses and plants, which form our best pastures.

"Loamy and adhesive soils, are rendered more porous and spongy by quick-lime. But, on mossy soils, it has an opposite effect. It renders them more firm.

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and compact, and, by communicating that property, improves them greatly. In a garden, the loosest peat-earth has been found, on trial, to be much consolidated by a small proportion of quicklime, and even by lime water.

"In all soils, manures ought to be kept near the surface as long as possible. No manure is so liable to descend as quicklime, and in no soil sooner than in moss. In the management of quicklime, therefore, on this soil, the greatest care should be taken to prevent its descent, and to retain it near the surface."

"Lime sinks sooner, and to a greater depth in peat than in any other soil. It is therefore the more requisite to prevent its descent, and to keep it near the surface. For this purpose, it should never at first be either dug or ploughed into the soil. It should not be laid on the ground in shells, but in powder, immediately after it is slaked, and then harrowed in along with the seed of the first white crop."

Clay. Marles, &c. may be advantageously used to consolidate the peat. The addition of these to a peat soil, with a limited expense, must therefore be always advantageous. It has been long "understood in Lancashire, where their clay marles have been immemorially applied to a mossy soil, as appears by the following rhymes, which are repeated by the country people:

"*If you marle land, you may buy land;*
"*If you marle moss, you shall have no loss;*
"*But if you marle clay, you throw all away.*"

Dung. "There appear to be only two ways, by which manures can act. The first, by giving a proper texture to the soil. The second, by supplying it with vegetable nourishment. As moss stands more in need of the first than the last of these, dung, and all animal and vegetable feeding manures, are less requisite than the above fossile manures, which act chiefly in consolidating and improving the texture of peat soil."

Burning of moss. "It is commonly presumed, though a great mistake, that the ashes of peat, like those of wood, or of other fresh vegetables, contain a fixed alkaline and fertilizing salt. No such ingredient is to be found in them. They are small in quantity, and of little value in point of quality. If the peat is not thoroughly calcined, but only charred, which, in a great measure, is the case, in burning a soil, its remains are still less valuable. At best, the ashes of peat consist only of mere earth, chiefly of the calcareous and argillaceous kind. But, the quantity of these earths, which they contain, is inconsiderable, and dear bought, compared to what may be easily obtained by the calcination of limestone or clay.

"After the year 1730, the burning of mossy soils was long and extensively

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practised, in many parts of Scotland, while its ultimate effects were but imperfectly known. It is a practice, in some cases, beneficial under proper restraints. But, without these, it tends to enrich the tenant and impoverish the landlord. Where a peat soil, of no great depth, is burnt, and perhaps burnt again, which has sometimes been done, it may afford a few profitable crops, but, after these, it is left totally useless. The absolute sterility of these burnt lands, as they are called in some places, is but too well known.

"The mossy soil is always thinnest, sometimes even but a few inches thick, where it lies above sand or gravel. In this case, it is formed by the decay of heather and herbaceous plants, and consists of a black friable peat-earth, frequently from 3 to 9 inches deep. To burn any part of such a soil, bottomed by a subsoil, naturally barren, is surely very bad husbandry. The burning may be followed by a surprising growth of corn, for one or a few years. By this temporary profit, tenants, and even proprietors, have been deluded into the practice of cropping such a soil, till it has been reduced to a state of perfect barrenness.

"But, though this avaricious and injudicious management, must always be pernicious in the end, it should not be considered as a valid objection to the burning of a mossy soil in every situation. The burning of pure peat can never, indeed, be a profitable practice. But the case is different, where the peat earth happens to be mixed with a large proportion of clay; for it may then be burnt to great advantage. Where there is a sufficiency of moss, or of inflammable turf, thoroughly to burn and calcine the argillaceous part of the soil, the most effectual improvement of wild land has often been seen to proceed from this operation. It is a process precisely adapted for many of the extensive moorish grounds in Scotland, where the peat earth is intermixed and incorporated with clay. The ashes from the burning of such a soil, are like the ashes of those peats which contain a great quantity of clay, which are not only the most bulky, but the most valuable as a manure.

"On moorish ground of this kind, when burnt, five or six successive crops of oats have been taken, when it was left in a worse condition than at the beginning. This may be a matter of immediate profit to a tenant; but effectually frustrates the real improvement of the soil. Moss, whether burnt or not, like every other poor soil, requires rather to be fostered than scourged. Such burnt grounds may be completely exhausted by a few white crops; but, by temperate and judicious cropping, may not only be supported, but advanced in fertility."

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CHAP. IV.

Genealogy.

§ 1. A genealogical & biographical account of the Moubrays,* Lords of Axholme.

Arm.—*Gules, a lion rampant argent.*

THIS family came from Normandy with William the Conqueror. *Roger de Moubray,* and also his brother *Geffery,* bishop of Constance, created *Earl of Northumberland.* He greatly signalized himself at the battle of Hastings, and was rewarded with 280 lordships by the conqueror. He was more skilled in arms than divinity.

Roger de Moubray.

Geffery, bishop of Constance.

Roger de Moubray had a son, *Robert de Moubray,* nephew and heir to *Geffery Earl of Northumberland,* and a daughter, *Amicia,* married to *Robert de Albini;* of whose eldest son, *William,* descended the *Albinis,* earls of Arundel, and of whose second son, *Nigel,* came the *Moubrays,* barons of Axholme.

Robert de Moubray.

Robert de Moubray was of a large stature, black, bold, and subtle; of a stern countenance, and so reserved as seldom to be seen to smile. Brave, disdainful to his equals, and so haughty as to think it derogatory to obey his superiors.

Robert was governor of the northern parts of England when *Malcolm,* king of Scotland, invaded Northumberland: "*Moubray,* finding the king's forces too remote, took upon him speedily to remedy the evil his

Moubray defeats the Scots.

* The name in MSS. and Chronicles is variously spelt, as Moubray, Mowbray, Mulbry, &c. &c.

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government was inflicted with. He drew together a body of troops with such diligence, that he fell on the *Scots* when they thought themselves most secure. This unexpected attack throwing the *Scots* into disorder and confusion, they ran away without making scarce any resistance. *Malcolm*, and *Edward* his eldest son, vexed to see their flying troops, and endeavoured to rally them, were both slain on the spot."*

Moubray's conspiracy.

Robert de Moubray had done the king signal service, and expected to be rewarded, but William II. expressed so little satisfaction that *Moubray* devised methods to be revenged. He drew many powerful barons into his conspiracy, who were for dethroning the king and placing the crown on the head of Stephen, earl of *Albemarle*, nephew to William the Conqueror. William received notice of this conspiracy when he was marching into Wales, he then altered his course and proceeded to the castle of *Bamborough*, where Moubray was. The place was well supplied with necessaries, he resolved to change the siege into a blockade; for this purpose he built near the castle a fortress, which he called *mal-voisin* (or bad neighbour). Sometime after, Moubray going out on false information, had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the besiegers. The king hearing of it caused Moubray to be carried to the foot of Bamborough walls, and ordered that if the castle refused to surrender to put out his eyes. This had the desired effect: the castle surrendered upon terms, and Moubray was confined in *Windsor Castle* thirty years.†

Peter Langtoft‡ says,

"The kyng was in affray, he might not tend therto,
"With Roberd the Moubray, his croune he wild fordo,
"Roberd wild haf reft William alle his right,
"The coroune his kosyn left, and gif it him thorgh myght.
"William is war of this thorgh for, Roberd he thretis,
"And takes him maugre his, his kastelle doun betis
"Better were Roberd, in pes haf holden him stille
"Than layn in prison spered and at his fomen wille.
"In Wyndesouere is he leued sorow than is his pyne,
"That he wis ouer his heued, the chip falles in his ine."

He died the seventh of Henry I. (1106.)

In consequence of the rebellion of Robert, his estates were confiscated and bestowed on *Nigel de Albini*.§

* Rapin, Vol. I. 185. † Rapin. ‡ Chronicles, Vol. I. 91.

§ *Nigel's* father, *Roger*, married *Amicia de Moubray*, sister to *Robert de Moubray* before named, consequently a near relation.

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Hardyng, in his chronicles, observes:

" The[1] same Nygell, that hyght Albanye,
" A sonne had then, whome[2] the kyng Henry
" Roger Monbray[3] dyd call [euer after][4] ay,
" Thus Albany was chaunged morally
" Vnto Monbray[3] for the lyuelod onely;
" Whiche Monbray[3] had afore of herytage
" These [Monbrayes nowe][5] rose fyrst of hye corage."

Nigel de Albini changed to Nigel de Moubray.

Nigel de Albini, a younger brother to William de Albini, surnamed Pincerna, came into England with William the Conqueror, and was one of his eminent commanders; for his services was rewarded with divers manors.

In the time of William Rufus, he was bow bearer to that king, and was in great favour with Henry I., to whom he firmly adhered against his brother Curthose; and being present with him in the famous battle of Tenerchebray, he there slew Curthose's horse, and brought him prisoner to the king; for which he obtained all the lands of Robert, baron of Fronteboef, viz. Stutevile, in England, who had forfeited the same for his adherence to Curthose, together with what he had received of Robert de Moubray; he was possessed of a considerable estate, consisting of full 120 knights fees in Normandy, and as many in England. He became one of the most potent men of his time, though the monks say he was somewhat oppressive. He was twice married; first to *Maud*, daughter to *Richard de Aquila*, by whom he had no issue.* Secondly to *Gundred*, daughter of *Girald de Gornay*, by whom he had two sons, whereof *Roger* was his successor; and *Henry*, the other, having the lordship and barony of *Cainho* given to him, was the ancestor of the house of Albini Cainho. And dying very aged, he was buried with his ancestors in the Abbey of Bee, in Normandy.

Nigel de Albini gave the cell of black canons, at Hurst, in the isle of Axholme, to the abbey of *Nostell*, in Yorkshire, which was confirmed by pope Alexander III.†

(1) *Roger*, his son and heir, succeeded him; who possessed the lands of Moubray, did, by the command of the king, assume the sirname of *Moubray*, and may therefore be considered the first of the dynasty of the Moubray family.

[1] This. [2] whome so. [3] Moubray [4] for ay. [5] Moubrays newe.

* It seems she was the wife of Robert de Moubray, during whose imprisonment for rebellion the said Nigel married her; but was afterwards divorced, because she was his kinsman's wife.

† Burton and Tanner.

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Roger's donations. Roger de Moubray gave the hermitage of *Hode* to a convent of Cistertian monks, where they continued four or five years; it was afterwards granted to the monastery of *Newburgh*, which Roger de Moubray founded anno domini 1145, for black canons.

In the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, by Dugdale, Vol. II. page 190, are the "Cartam foundationis et cartam confirmationis donationum, per Will. de Mulbri." Page 192, "Cartas Rogeri de Mowbray, de eccl. de Massam, Malesart, etc. Samsonis de Albineio, de diversis ecclesiis scil Haxeia, Ouston, etc. infra insulam de Axholme. Progeniem Monbraiorum hujus abbatiae fundatorum, ex. Cotton MSS. Cleopatra, C. 3."*

Roger de Moubray gave two carucates of land, an house, mill, &c. at Barton, to the lepers of St. Lazarus, and laid the foundation of a well-endowed hospital called *Barton Lazars*, consisting of eight sound, as well as several poor leprous brethren; which was the chief of all the spittles or lazar houses in England, but dependent upon the great one at Hierusalem. In Dugdale's *Mon. Ang.* tom. II. page 397, &c. "Ex registro de Burton Lazers, in bibl. Hatton, A. D. 1640. Cartas sex, scil. Rogeri de Moubrai, de terris in Burton; Nigelli de Moubray, de decimis potus et cibi domus suæ; Rogeri fil. Rog. de Moubray, confirm dona antecessorum; R. Joan anno primo regni confirm, etc."*

Moubray taken prisoner. The seventh of Stephen (1141) adhering to the king against Maud, the empress, he was with him in the battle of Lincoln, and there taken prisoner. In the thirteenth of king Stephen, he was with Lewis, king of France, in the Holy Land, where he acquired no small renown. Some say he died in the Holy Land, and was buried at Sures; and others that he returned to England and died an aged man, and was buried in the abbey of Biland, near to the Lady Gundred, his mother.

Moubray supports the cause of young Henry. It is related, "That Roger Lord Moubray, an eminent baron of this realm, in Henry II.'s time, and then lord of Axholme, adhering to young Henry upon his rebellion in those days, repaired to Kinnard-Ferry in the isle, and fortified an old castle, which had been long ruinous; for reducing whereof the king's obediance, the Lincolnshiremen, having no other access thereto, transported themselves by shipping in the year 1174 (20th of Henry II.)"†

Roger de Moubray had issue, by Alice de Gant, his wife, two sons, Nigel and Robert.

* Tanner. † Matthew of Westminster's Flowers of History.

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(2) Nigel, like his father, had a great predilection for the holy warfare; and being signed with the cross for an expedition into those parts, died before his arrival there, third of Richard I. (1191), leaving issue by Mabel his wife, daughter to the Earl of Clare, four sons; William, Robert, Philip, and Roger; of which Robert marrying, as it is said, a countess in Scotland, had a fair inheritance there, from whom descended the Moubrays of that kingdom; and Roger, in the fifth of John, obtained a grant from the king, of the manors of *Swansham*, *Fuleburne*, and *Costesey*, which were the lands of Alan de Roan.

Nigel dies on his journey to the Holy Land.

(3) William, eldest son and heir, was his father's successor; and the sixth of Richard I. (1194), paying £100 for his relief, had livery of his lands. But in the time of King John, he was the most obstinate of the rebel barons, when they made that weak prince sign the *Magna Charta*, June 9th, 1215. His obstinancy did not retract with the death of that king, for he still persevered in his rebellion against Henry III., and was among those taken prisoners at the battle of Lincoln; it seems, however, that he at length made his peace. His wife was Agnes, daughter of the Earl of Arundel, by whom he had two sons, Nigel and Roger; of which

William joins with the barons against John

(4) Nigel, in the eight of Henry III., paying £500 for his relief, had livery of his lands; but soon after he died, S. P. the thirteenth Henry III. (1223). His wife was Maud, daughter and heir to Roger de Camvill.

Nigel.

(5) Roger, brother to Nigel, was his heir, but then in minority. Which Roger married Maud, daughter to William de Beauchamp, of Bedford; and being of full age, the twenty-fifth of Henry III. (1240,) doing his homage, had livery of his lands. He died in the fifty-first of Henry III. (1266,) having had issue Roger, Robert, Andrew, John, Edmund, and William, his sons; whereof the five* last died S. P. and also three daughters, whose names are not mentioned.

Roger.

* Beetham in his Baronetage, Vol. V. says, that "Sir Henry Vavasour Lord of Haselwood married Katherine, daughter of Sir William Mowbray," he died in 1349. It is also quoted by James York, p. 290, from Brook, p. 233; that *John Plantaginet*, *Earl of Warren and Surry*, "married *Joan* daughter of *William*, *Lord Moubray*, by whom he had issue;" has he died in 1304, we cannot suppose that she was the daughter of William, the third Lord Moubray, who died about the year 1222. It does not appear that there was any other *Lord William Mowbray* but the third lord before named; therefore, according to the dates, they must have been the daughters of William the son of Roger.

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(6) Roger, eldest son and heir, in the sixth of Edward I. (1277,) on proof of his age and doing his homage, had livery of his whole inheritance, and moreover had summons to the parliaments of the twenty-second, twenty-third, twenty-fourth, and twenty-fifth of Edward I., and died the year following (1297), leaving by *Rose*, his wife, sister to Gilbert, Earl of Clare,* and, according to Dugdale, daughter of Earl Richard, John de Moubray, and two brothers Philip and Alexander.

Roger, a benefactor to Richmond abbey.

Roger de Moubray was a benefactor to the abbey at Richmond, see Dugdale's *Mon. Ang.* Vol. II. page 650. "Cartas Rogeri de Moubray, confirm donationis terraum in Garcedale et Grisedale."

(7) John de Moubray, his son and heir, then in minority, whose wardship and marriage was given to William de Braose,† of Gower, to the end that he might marry *Aliva*, daughter of the said William, which marriage afterwards was consummated. The thirty-fourth of Edward I. (1305) this John, although not of full age, had livery of his lands, and attended the king in his expedition into Scotland; so also, the seventh of Edward II. he was in the wars of Scotland, in which year he had licence to send his brother Alexander, with horse and foot, to assist David, Earl of Athol, against Edward de Brus. He was governor ofthe city of York; and also, in the eleventh of Edward II., of Malton and Scarborough castles. In the tenth of Edward II. he had the lands of his father-in-law confirmed on him:

John in the Scotch wars, and made governor of York, &c.

John had the lands of Wm. Brewse confirred on him.

"Quod Willus de Brewosa possit concedere diversa maner' in Com' Sussex' Johni de Moubray et Aliciæ uxor' ejus: Anno 9° Quamplur maner' terr' feoda milit' ac alia hæreditamenta quæ fuerunt Willmi de Brewosa sen' in Com. Sussex talliantur Johni de Moubray et Aliciæ uxori ejus. Anno 10° Ed. II."§

He afterwards joined with Thomas Earl of Lancaster,‡ and other great

* Hornby, in his remarks on Dugdale's Errors, p. 67, says, she was not a daughter, but great grand daughter of Richard de Clare, Earl of Hertford.

† Jones, in his history of Brecknockshire, Vol. I. 95, observes that the last William de Breos, or Braose, was a most abandoned and dissipated spendthrift. Defrauded his son-in-law, John de Moubray, of the lands of Gower, &c. on whom he had settled them; and cheated his creditors by mortgaging the same three times over, and at last sold it to three different persons at the same time; neither of whom obtained possession, although all paid him the purchase money.

§ Calendarium Rotulorum Patentum, p. 80.

‡ Walsingham, p. 113, relates the occasion of this confederacy against the Spencers; "*William*

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nobles, in an insurrection against the Spencers; he participated in their ill-fortunes, being taken prisoner with the said earl and many others at Borough-bridge, and was afterwards hanged at York, the fifteenth of Edward II. Fabyan, in his Chronicles, has given the following account:

Enters into a confederacy against the Spencers

"In this. xii. yere, the kynge helde his great coũceyll at Yorke, where contrary the mynde of the lordys, syr Hugh Spencer the sone was made hyghe chaumberlayne of Englande; by reason whereof he bare hym so hawtely and so prowde, that no lorde of this lande myght gaynsaye hyn ī any thynge that he thought good, whereof grewe the occasyon of the barons warre, as after folowyth. In this passetyme, for asmoche as the fore sayd cardynallys myght no thynge doo concernynge the peace atwene Englande and Scotlande, the kyng purchasyd a curse of the. xxii. Iohñ then pope, to accurse Robert le Bruze, and all suche as with hym helde or maynteyned, and it to stande so in strength tyll the sayd Robert had recompensyd kyng Edwarde for all suche harmys as his lande had by hym resayued, and also tyll he had reedyfyed the monasteryes & churchys by hym & his caste downe in Englande, and retoryd to theym suche spirituell goodys as the Scottys had reued[1] and takyn from them. But all this auayled no thynge, but put the kynge & the realme to great coste and charge, so that the comons were vexyd and trowbled many maner of wayes, and theyr possessyons and moueable goodys takyn from them vpō surmysed and feyned causys, so that many were vtterly vndoon, and a fewe synguler and mysguydyd personys auauncyd. Whan the more partye of the baronys of Englande behelde this mysery of y^e^ people, howe they were punysshed by the hande of God, and also by the ignoraunce of the kynge, they in secrete maner assemblyd them to guyther at a towne callyd Shyrborne, in , and there condyssendyd for a reformacyon of this myschefe, to remoue from the kynge the sayde Spensers, bothe the father and the sone: & this to brynge aboute, syr Thomas erle of Lancastre, syr Humfrey

de Brews, a baron, proposing to sell part of his estate, called *Gowerland*, first agreed for it with the Earl of Hereford, who offered to be the purchaser. But *Hugh Spencer*, the younger, obtained the king's licence, it being holden of the king in *capite*, and bought it out of the Earl of Hereford's hands; who, being highly provoked at this affront, complained to the *Earl of Lancaster*, and they two engaging a great number of the barons in their interest, entered into a confederacy against the *Spencers*." The cause is differently related by another historian: "John de Moubray married the daughter of *William de Brouse*, lord of Gower, who settled his estate on *John de Moubray*, and in case of his failure of issue had appointed the *Earl of Hereford* to succeed to the barony of *Gower*. Moubray, on the death of his father-in-law, immediately took possession of the estates, without the formality of taking *livery* from the king; Spencer, longing for the barony, prevailed on the king to put the rigour of the fudal law in force, and seize it to the crown, and to confer it on him."

[1] receyved edit. 1559.

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Bohum erle of Hereforde, syr Iohñ Moūbray baron, syr Roger Clyfforde baron, syr Goselyn Danyell barō, syr Roger Toket, Roger Benefeelde, syr Roger Mortymer, syr Wyllyam Sullāde, syr Wyllyam Elmynbrydge, syr Iohñ Gyfford, and syr Iohñ Tiers, barons & knyghtes, with dyuerse other, sware eche of them to stande by other tyll they hadde amendyd the state of the realme: and soone after by theyr aduyce and agrement, syr Iohñ Mounbraye, syr Roger Clyfforde & syr Goselyn Danyell with a stronge companye, entryd vpon the manours and castellys of y^e^ sayde Spensers, standynge in the Marche of Walys, and thom spoyled and distroyed. Of the which ryot the Spensers cōplayned them to the kynge, in punysshement whereof the kynge callynge to hym dyuerse of his counceyll at Wyndesore, and there determyned that y^e^ sayde syr Iohñ Moūbraye, syr Roger Clyfforde & syr Goselyn Danyell, with other theyr assystētis, shulde appere before the kynges counceyll shortlye after, and there to make answere vpon that ryot, and if they refused that to doo, that then they shulde auoyde the lande shortlye after as banysshed men. But noo daye of apparence by them was kepte: wherefore proclamacyons were made in dyuerse placys of the realme and at London, the. xvi. daye of Marche, that the sayde syr Iohñ Mounbray, syr Roger Clyfforde and other, shulde auoyde the lande within. x. dayes folowynge vpō payne of deth. Whereof herynge the lordys and baronys before named, assemblyd them a more strenger powar, and vpon that sent a messynger vnto the kynge, besechynge hym humbely to remoue from his persone and counceyll y^e^ Spensers, the whiche daylye dyd vnto hym great dyshonoure, and to the comon weale of the realme great hynderaunce. The kynge herynge this humble requeste, nothynge with it beynge cōtent, but ferynge greatly the dystruccion of his owne persone, assemblyd his coūceyll for re- *Fol. lxxvi.* formaciō of this mater; where it was concludyd that the kynge shulde calle a parlyament at London, there to be holdyn in the[1] folowynge: and that conclusyon so there takyn by y^e^ sayde counceyll, the kynge sent his letters vnto the sayde baronys, cōmaundynge them to come vnto the sayd parlyament; the which at the daye aboue sayde, with a great hoost of men of armes, came vnto London in a sute of iakettys or cotys of demy partye of yolowe and grene, with a bande of whyte caste ouerthwarte. For this skyll y^e^ parlyament longe after of y^e^ cōmon people was callyd the parlyament of whyte bandys. Thā for to se y^e^ kynge pease were substancyally kepte within the cytie of London, the mayre causyd dayly a. M. men well harnessyd to watche in dyuerse wardys and at

[1] *The Museum* MS. *adds*, "the monyth of Aprill next."

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dyuerse gatis of the cytie, the whiche begun at. iiii. of the clocke in the mornynge, and so contynued tyll. vi. at nyght, at whiche season as many were ordeyned to take thā the charge of the nyght watche, and so to contynue tyll the howre of. v. in the mornynge. And for this nyght watche shulde be surelye kepte, two aldremen nyghtly were assygned to ryde aboute the cytie with certayne offycers of the towne to see the watchemen wele & discretly guydyd: & the gates were shyt at. ix. of the clocke, and opened agayne at. vii. on the morowe, and euery cytezyn warnyd to haue his harneys by hym, that he myght be redy with shorte warnynge, when so euer he were callid. Thus in the cytye the sayde watche cōtynued. The foresayd parlyamēt was holdyn at Westmynster; where, amonge other thynges for the weale of the lāde, as that counceyll than coulde thynke determynyd, one was that syr Hughe Spenser the father and syr Hughe the sone shulde be banysshed the realme of Englande for terme of lyfe: and soon after that banysshement was put in execucyon, so that they both were brought vnto Douyr, there to take shyppynge; where syr Hughe the father made wonderfull great moone when he shulde take his shyp, and cursyd his sone in presence of suche as had the guydynge of them, sayng, that by his meanys he was banysshed from the flowre of all landys cristened. Than the kynge dyssoluyd the parlyament, and euery man retournyd to his owne. But it was not longe after that worde was brought vnto y^e^ kyng that syr Hugh Spenser the sone houyd vpō the coaste of Englāde, and toke prayes of all marchaumtys y^e^ passed by his course; but the kynge let as he had knowen of noo suche thynge, and sufferyd that with many moo euyll dedys to go vnpunysshed, the whiche at lengthe he repentyd full soore, and tooke thereof great remors in concyens, as it aperyth in the ende of his reygne.

" IN this. xiii. yere the kynge reuoked the actis or withstoode them, whiche were made at Lōdon in the last parlyament, & callyd agayne into Englonde the Spensers, bothe father and the sone, contrary the wyll of the barons, and sette theym in lyke auctoryte as they before had been, to the great dyslourbaūce of all the realme: and soone after, vnder coloure of a tytle made by the quene vnto the castell of Ledys in Kent, which thē belongyd vnto syr Barthen de Bladysmore, knyght, thā beyng on the baronys partye, the kynge besyeged the sayde castell, and by helpe of the cytezyns of Lōdon lastly wanne it by strengthe, and spoylyd the mouables thercof, which was to a great value, after y^e^ saying of some wryters. In this passe tyme that the kynge had thus callyd agayne the Spēsers, and ruiyd many thynges after his sensuall apetyte & pleasure, no thynge regardynge the comon weale of y^e^ realme, y^e^ barons concyderynge wele y^t^ the Spencers shulde, in process, brynge the lande in great ruyne & the kynge to great

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dyshonoure, entendynge to refourme the myschefe y^t therof myght ensue, gadered vnto them great powar. And whyle syr Thomas, erle of Lancastre, was gatherynge of his people, the. ii. Mortymers, that is to saye, syr Roger Mortymer of Werke, & syr Roger of Wygmoore w^t other, yode into the Marche of Walys, and toke by strengthe certayne cyties and townys belongynge to the Spencers, and pursuyd also some of y^e kynges seruaũtys. Wherefore the kynge herynge of y^e rebellyon of his lordys, made hasty spede, and with a great hoost came aboute by Shroysburye, and was nere vnto them or they were ware; so that for fere, the sayde Mortymers yelded them vnto the kynges grace and mercy: the which forthwith were conueyed as prysoners vnto the towre of London.

" In this. xiiii. yere, whan y^e kynge hadde orderyd the countre of the Marchys foresayde after his mynde, and had to hym gathered more strengthe, about seynt Chaddys day or begyñynge of Marche, y^e kyng with his people came downe to Glowcetyr, where with hym mette the Spensers with theyr people, and from thense he yode vnto Lychefeelde: at which season the erlys of Lancaster and of Herforde ware at and the remenaũt of theyr hoost at Burton vpon Trent, & fortyfyed y^e brydge y^e the kyng myght not wynne ouer the sayd ryuer. Than y^e kynge was broughte vnto a foorde, & began to sette ouer his knyghtis: wherof herynge, the sayde erlys forsooke the sayde towne of and yode towarde the towne or cytie of But or they myght passe farre vpon theyr iournay they were encounteryd of syr Aymer de Valance, erle of Pembroke, with the Spensers and other of the kynges hoost, vpon the. xii. daye of Marche, and of them ouersette and constrayned to fle, and so yoode, in processe of tyme, to Poũtfret. In this meane season, y^e erle Thomas had sent a knyght of his, named syr Robert Holande, into Lancasshyre, for to arere his tenaũtys; but when y^e sayd syr Robert harde of y^e skyrmysshe, & howe his maister was fled, he thã drewe hym to y^e kynge, & presentyd hym with suche companye as he had *Fol. lxxxvii.* thẽ gathered: & thus the kynges powar dayly encreasyd, & the barons dyscreasyd. Than the baronys heryng of the goynge of syr Robert Holãde vnto the kynges partye, were with it sumdeale abasshyd, and tooke theyr coũceyll in y^e Freris of Pountfret, where, after many opynyons and reasons amonge theym debatyd and arguyd, it was fynallye by them concludyd that they shulde goo vnto the castell of Dunstanborough, and there to holde them tyll they myght purchase the kynges grace; and so spedynge theyr iournay theyderwarde w^t suche people as they than had, came in processe of tyme to a towne callyd Burghbrydge, where they were encoũtryd of syr Andrewe Harkeley, knyght, with other that were come out of the North with a stronge company, y^e which, there nere vnto the sayde towne, set vpon y^e baronys, and in the ende

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scōfyted them and chasyd theyr people. In the whiche fyght was slayne the erle of Herforde, syr Roger Benefelde, and syr Wyllyam Sullande and other; and there was taken y^e^ erle of Lācastre, syr Roger Clyfforde, syr Iohn̄ Moūbraye, syr Roger Tuckettys, syr Wyllyam Fizwyllyam, with dyuerse other, & ladde vnto Yorke. And this feelde was foughten, as wytnessyth Polycronycon, the. xv. daye of Marche, ī y^e^ ende of y^e^ yere of our Lord. M.CCC.xx. It was not longe after y^t^ syr Hugh Dandell, and syr Barthewe de Bladysmoore were takyn, and syr Thomas, erle of Lācastre, was broughte agayne to his owne towne of Pountfret, where he was brought in iugemēt before syr Aymer de Valaunce, erle of Penbroke, syr Iohn̄ Brytayne, erle of Rychemounde, syr Edmunde of Woodstoke, erle of Kent, syr Hughe Spencer y^e^ father, and syr Robert Malmestorp, iustyce, w^t^ other, & before them fynally adiugyd to haue his hede stryken of; whereof execucion was done y^e^. xii. daye of Aprell, in the begynnynge of the yere of grace, after y^e^ rekenyng of y^e^ Church of Englāde. M.CCC.xxi. [Of this erle Thomas are dyuerse opynyons, for some wryters shew of hym to be a seynt; but Polycronycon, in the. xii. Chaptyre of his. vii. Boke, shewith otherwyse. But what so euer erthlye man in suche tydynges deme, it is farre from y^e^ secret iugement of God; so that to hym & his sentence suche thynges are to be referryd.][1] From this tyme forthwarde, by y^e^ terme of. v. yeres ensuynge, the fortune of the Spēsers hugely encreasyd, & as faste y^e^ quenys discreasid, tyll she was releued by the kynge of Fraunce, than Charlys the. v. of y^t^ name, & brother vnto hir, as after shall be shewyd. Thā to retourne vnto our former mater, vpō y^e^ foresayd daye y^t^ erle Thomas was thus put in execuciō, syr Roger Tuckettis, syr Wyllyam Fizwyllyam, syr Waren of Iselde or Isell, syr Henry of Bradborne, & syr Wyllyam Cheyny, baronys and kynghtys, were drawyn & hangyd, & theyr hedes smytten of & sent vnto Lōdon, which all were put to deth at Pountfrete, foresayd, w^t^ an esquyre, callyd Iohn̄ Page. And at Yorke soone after, was drawyn & hedyd syr Roger Clyfforde, syr Iohn̄ Monbray, and syr Goselyne Danyell, barons; & at Brystowe syr Henry Womyngton, & syr Henry Monforde, banerettys; & at Glowcetyr syr Iohn̄ Giffarde, and syr Wyllyam Elmynbrydge, knyghtys; & at Lōdon syr Iohn̄ Tiers or Tryers, baron; and at Wynchelsee syr Thomas Culpepyr, knyght; and at Wyndesore syr Frauceys Waldenham, baron; and at Cauntorbury syr Barthew de Bladysmoore, & syr Bartholl de Asbornham, baronys; and at Cardeeffe in Walys, was put to lyke execucyon syr Wyllyam Flemynge, knyght; vpon whose sowlys and all Crystens, Iesus haue mercy. Whan the kyng had thus subduyd

[1] *Omitted in* edit. 1542. 1559.

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his barons, he soon after, about the feest of the Assencyon of our Lord, kept his parlyamēt at Yorke: duryng which parliyamēt syr Hugh Spēser, y^e^ father, was made erle of Wyncchester, & syr Andrew of Harkeley, erle of Carleyle, or after some wryters, Cardoyll, and dysherited all such as before hadde holdyn with the erlys of Lancastre & of Hereforde, excepte syr Hugh Dandell and fewe other; the which syr Hugh was receyued to grace, by reason that he had maryed a kynnyswoman of the kynges. There was also ordeyned, or soon after, that, master Robert Baldok, a man of euyll fame, shulde be chaunceler of Englonde. Then forfaytis and fynes were gathered into the kynges treasoury without sparynge of pryuylegyd placys or other; so that what myght be founde all was seasyd for the kynge. By reason whereof moche treasoure was broughte vnto the kynges coffers, besyde great thynges that were brybed and spoylyd by the offycers of dyuerse shyres."*

He had summons to parliament from the first to the fourteenth of Edward II. and left by the before named *Alva*, his wife, John, his eldest son and successor.

John in the wars in France

(8) John found much favour from Edward III.; for that king, in the first year of his reign, acknowledging the great sense he had of the eminent services of this John, accepted of his homage, and gave him livery of his lands before he came of full age. He attended king Edward III. in France, as related by Froissart, in 1339, &c. He was also in the memorable battle against David, king of Scotland, and was made governor of Berwick. He married *Joan*, one of the daughters of *Henry Earl of Lancaster;* and having had summons to parliament from the first to the thirty-fourth of Edward III., he died at York, of the pestilence, on the 4th of October in the thirty-fifth of Edwarde III., leaving issue John.

John grants the waste ground in the isle to his tenants.

John de Moubray granted, by deed, to his tenants and resiants in the isle of Axholme, free use of all the waste lands adjoining to the several parishes, for their common, bearing date the 1st of May, 1358. See the Appendix No. 1.

John slain in the Holy Land

(9) John, his heir, who soon after had livery of his lands, but does not appear to have enjoyed them long; for, in the forty-second of Edward III., he was slain near Constantinople, taking then a journey to the Holy Land. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter and heir to John Lord Segrave, (by Margaret his wife, daughter and heir of *Thomas of Brotherton*, Earl of Norfolk,

* Fabyan's Chronicles, page 422, &c.

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and Earl Marshall of England); whereby he acquired a great inheritance in lands and much addition of honour in blood. By this lady he had two sons, John and Thomas.

John Earl of Nottingham.

(10) John, the eldest son, at the coronation of Richard II., was created Earl of Nottingham, but died soon after unmarried, and in the flower of his age; Thomas, his brother, became his heir.

Thomas Earl of Nottingham & Earl Marshal.

(11) Thomas was created Earl of Nottingham in the sixth of Richard II., and three years after was constituted Earl Marshal of England for life; being, according to Sandford, the first earl marshal, for before his time they were only marshals, though Dugdale calls Thomas of Brotherton earl marshal.

In the sixteenth of Richard II. he was made governor of Calais, and in the twentieth of the same reign obtained the king's charter of confirmation of the office of Earl Marshal of England to the heirs male of his body; and that they, by reason of the said office, should bear a golden truncheon, enamelled with black at each end; having at the upper end the king's arms, and at the lower their own arms, engraven thereon.* On the twenty-first of Richard II. he was advanced to the title of Duke of Norfolk; his grandmother, Margaret, then living, being the same day created Duchess of Norfolk,† (1398) the year after which she died, and was buried at the Friars minors, in London.

Made duke of Norfolk.

Thomas accused of the murder of Thomas of Woodstock.

But this Thomas, the first Duke of Norfolk, having joined closely with those wicked minions who bore sway with that unfortunate and misguided prince, not only contributed to the destruction of his father-in-law, the Earl of Arundel, but was one of those who guarded him to his execution; and is even affirmed to have been the person who bound up his eyes, and actually cut off his head. Furthermore, he is stated to have had a principal hand in the execrable murder of the king's uncle, Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester.

The fall of all his greatness.

Such, however, is the instability of all human grandeur, especially when attained through the perpetration of crimes so odious, that this

* The patent of king Richard II. creating Thomas (Mowbray) Earl of Nottingham, Earl Marshal (Lat.). Westm. Jan. 12, 1386.—in the Cotton MSS. Titus C. 1. folio 532.

† The portrait of Margaret, Duchess of Norfolk, is taken from Strutt. She was daughter of Thomas of Brotherton, fifth son of Edward I.; she was twice married, and died the 24th of March in the first year of Henry IV.

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great duke, after having experienced the royal favour on so many occasions, fell at last, from all his honours, into disgrace.

" This aforenamed Henry erle of Darby beeyng created alitle before duke of Herfforde, aprudente and politike persone, but not more politike then welbeloued, and yet not so welbeloued of all as of some highly disdayned, began to consider with hymself how that kyng Richard his cosyn germaine was now brought to that trade of liuyng that be litle or nothyng regarded the counsaill of his vncles, nor of other graue and sadde persones, but did all thyng at his pleasure, settyng his will and appetite instede of lawe and reason. Wherefore on a daie beeyng in the compaigny of Thomas Mowbrey firste duke of Norffolke and erle Marshall, beganne to breake his mynde to hym more for dolour and lamentacion,* then

* " As a prelude to the main affair, on this last day of the parliament the Duke of *Hereford* took occasion to fall on his knees, in a very humble manner, before the king, in the presence of both the houses, and spoke thus to him; ' My Liege Lord, I know well that many riots, disturbances and evil deeds have been made and done within your kingdom, to the offence of you and your royal estate, in which I, myself, was, with others, present; not with an ill intent on purpose to offend you, for I knew not then it was any fault or offence against you. But, sir, since I am now better informed, I confess my offences, and, in so doing, I beg your mercy and pardon.' Upon which the king graciously accepted of the humble prayer and confession of the duke; granted him the pardon he asked, in full parliament, for whatever he had done in the things above-said, or deserved for them; promised to be his good lord, and declared openly to all the estates, that he had granted him full pardon for the matters aforesaid.

" After which, the said *Henry of Lancaster*, Duke of *Hereford*, came to the king, with a schedule in his hand, and said, ' That he had already by his majesty's command, been before him at *Haywode*, where he had informed him, that *Thomas Mowbray*, Duke of *Norfolk*, had spoken many dishonest words (*a*), in slander of his royal person, which were spoken to himself, and that then his majesty charged him, upon his allegiance, that he would truly repeat the words as they were spoken. That not out of malice, or any other cause, but, only, as he was bound to obey the king's command, he had now put down in writing the words which the Duke of *Norfolk* spake to him, to the best of his remembrance, as they were contained in this schedule, which he delivered to the king; with a protestation at the same time, to add or diminish when he pleased, or as it might be needful, saving always the substance of the present writing;' which was to this effect;

" ' That in the month of *December*, in the twenty-first year of our reign, the Duke of *Hereford* travelling between *Brainford* and *London*, met the Duke of *Norfolk* with a great train, and discoursed with him of divers matters, amongst which he told him, they were all ready to be undone; and the Duke of *Hereford* demanded why? He answer'd, for the Fact at *Radcot-Bridge*: The Duke of *Hereford* said, How can that be? for the king hath shewed us favour, and declared us in parliament to have been good and loyal towards him. The Duke of *Norfolk* answer'd, Notwith-

" (*a*) There is a strange mistake in Sir *John Froisart's* Chronicle, or in the Record, for the former says, expressly, " That it was the Duke of *Norfolk* who accused the Duke of *Hereford* for slanderous words spoken by him against the king;' and gives all the circumstances at large. Book IV. Cap. ccxxviii.

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for malice or displeasure, wherevyng howe that kyng Richarde litle estemed and lesse regarded the nobles and Princes of his realme, and as mauche as laie in hym sought occasions, inuented causes and practised prively howe to destroye the more part of theim: to some threteuyng death, to other manacyng exile and banishment, forgettyng and not remembryng what blotte it was to his honor, and what detrimente and damage it was to the publike wealthe, to suffre his realme to lose the auncient fame and pristinate renoume by his slouth and negligence, and that all thynges bothe in the tyme of peace, and also of warre, aswell in the realme as without, waxed worse and worse, and had neuer prosperous successe nor fortunate conclusion. And because noble menne murmured, and the comen people grudged, and all menne wondered at his unprincely doynges, he desired the duke of Norffolke, whiche was one of the kynges priuy counsaill and well heard with hym, to aduise the kyng to turne the leffe and to take a better lesson. When the Duke of Norffolke had heard fully his deuise, he toke it not in good

standing that, it will be done to us, as has been done to others before, for he will vacate this record. The Duke of *Hereford* reply'd, 'This would be a great wonder, since the king had said it before all the people, that he should afterwards make it be annulled. And further, the Duke of *Norfolk* said, This was a marvellous world, and unsafe, for I know well, said he, that if *

my Lord your father and you had been taken, or killed, when you came to *Windsor*, after the parliament was up; that the Dukes of *Albemarle* and *Exeter*, the Earl of *Worcester*, and himself, were agreed never to undo any lord without just and reasonable cause; and that the malice of this fact was in the Duke of *Surry*, with the Earls of *Wiltshire* and *Salisbury*, drawing to them the Earl of *Gloucester*, who had sworn to undo six other lords, that is to say, the Dukes of *Lancaster*, *Hereford*, *Albemarle*, and *Exeter*, with the Marquess of *Dorset*, and himself. He also said, they purposed to reverse the judgment of Earl *Thomas* of *Lancaster*, and hereby we and many others should be disinherited. The Duke of *Hereford* said, God forbid, for it would be a great wonder if the king should assent to this, for it was with a chearful countenance, that he promised to be a good lord to them and others, and also that he knew he had sworn it by *St. Edward*; and the Duke of *Norfolk* answer'd, He had done the same to him many times, and sworn by the *body of God*, and that for all this he was never the more to be trusted; and further said to the Duke of *Hereford*, that the king was about to draw the Earl of *Marsh* and others to the same agreement and purpose of the said four lords to destroy the rest aforesaid. The Duke of *Hereford* reply'd, if it be so, we can never trust them. The Duke of *Norfolk* returned, for certain not; for altho' they cannot accomplish their designs at present, yet they will be contriving ten years from this time to destroy us in our houses.'

"This complaint in writing having been read before the king and lords, it was then declared by him, with the assent of all the other estates, that the matters therein comprised, should be determined and ended by the good advice and discretion of the king, and the commissioners already assigned by authority of parliament." Parliamentary History, Vol. I. 482.

* Not legible in the Record.

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parte; but rekened y^{t} he had gotten a praie by the whiche he should obtayne greater fauor of the kyng then euer he had, and so he at that tyme dissimuled the matter (as he was in deede bothe a depe dissimuler and a pleasaunte flaterer.) And after when he had oportunite and sawe his tyme, was very glad (as tell tales and scicophantes bee, when thei haue any thyng to instill in to the eares and heddes of Princes) to declare to the kyng what he had heard, and to agrauate and make the offence the greater, he muche more added but nothyng diminished.

" This matter somewhat quickened and more tikeled the wauerynge mynd of kyng Richard and brought hym into a great fury. But when the water of fumitory was well disgested in his stomacke, he determined to here bothe the parties indifferently, and called to hym the duke of Lancastre and his counsaill, and also the dukes of Herfforde and Norffolk, & caused the accusor to report opēly the wordes to him declared, whiche rehersed theim again as he had before related to the kyng. When Duke Henry heard the tale otherwise reported then he ether thought or saied, somewhat vnquieted for the noueltie of the thyng, or troubled with anger for the vntruth of the matter, stode stil & paused a good while lokyng stedfastly vpō the king. And after y^{t} takyng a good corage to hym, makyng low obeisāce, besought his highnes to cōceiue no mistrust in hym til he had seen & herd more. Then turnyng hymself to his accuser, declared worde by worde what he had said shewyng the cause & occasion why he so spake, deniyng fiersly al the other new inuēcions alleged & proponed to his charge: affirmyng y^{t} if the kyng would permit & suffre hym he would proue his acusor vntrue, vniust & afalse forger of lies & sedicious tales by the stroke of a spere & dēt of a swerd. The duke of Norffolke affirmed constantly his saiyng to be true & refused not the cōbate. The kyng demaunded of them if thei would agre betwene themselfes, whiche thei both denied and threw doune their gages, by my truth q^{h} the kyng, if you of yourselfes will not agre I will not study how to agre you: and then he graūted thē the battaill & assigned the place to be at the citee of Couentree in the moneth of August next ensuyng, where he caused a sūpteous theatre and listes royal gorgeously to be prepared. At the day apointed the. ij. valiant dukes cā to Couentre, accōpanied with the nobles & gentiles of their linages whiche theim encoraged & hertened to the vtmoste. At the day of the cōbat and fight, the duke of Aumarle that daie high counstable, and the duke of Surrey that daie high Marshall of England entred into the listes with a great cōpany of men apareled in silke sendall embrodered with siluer both richely and curiously, euery man hauyng a tipped staffe to kepe the feld in order. About the tyme of prime came to the barriers of the listes, the duke of

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Herfforde mounted on a white corser barbed with blewe and grene veluet embrodered sumpteously with Swannes and Antelopes of goldsmithes worke, armed at all poinctes. The Constable and Marshall came to the barriers, demaundyng of hym what he was, he answered: I am Henry of Lancastre duke of Herfforde, whiche am come hether to doo my deuoyre against Thomas Mowbrey duke of Norffolke as a traytor vntrew to God, the kyng, his realme and me. Then incontinent he sware vpō the holy Euangelistes that his quarel was trewe and iust, and vpon that poyncte he desired to entre into the listes. Then he put vp his swearde whiche before he helde naked in his hande, and put doune his viser, made a crosse on his forhed, and with spere in hand entered into the listes, and discended from his horsse and set hym doune in a chayer of grene veluete whiche was set in a trauers of grene and blewe veluet at the one ende of the listes, and there reposed hymself expectyng and abydyng the commyng of his aduersye. Sone after hym entered into the felde with greate pompe Kyng Richard accompaignied with all the peeres of his realme, and in his compaignie was therle of sent Paule, which was come out of Fraūce in post to se this chalenge performed. The kyng had aboue ten thousand persones in harnesse, least some fraie or tumultie might spryng emongst his nobles by parttakyng or quarellyng. When the kyng was set on his stage whiche was richely hanged and pleasantly adorned. A Kyng at Armes made open proclamacion, prohibityng all menne in the name of the kyng and the high Constable and Marshall to enterprise or attempte to approche or touche any parte of the listes vpon payne of death, except such as were apoyncted to ordre and marshall the felde. The proclamacion ended, another Herald cried: behold here Henry of Lancastre duke of Herefford appellant, whiche is entered into the listes royall to dooe his deuoyre against Thomas Mowbray duke of Norffolke defendante, vpon payne to bee proued falce and recreant. The duke of Norffolke houered on horsebacke at the entery of the listes, his horse beyng barbed with crimosen veluet embrodered richely with Lions of siluer and Mulbery-trees, and when he had made his othe before the Constable and Marshall that his quarell was iust and trewe, he entered the felde manfully saiyng aloude, God aide hym that hath the righte, and then he departed from his horse & satte doune in his chayer whiche was crimosen Veluet, cortened aboute with white and redde Damaske. The lorde Marshall vewed their speres to see that thei were of egall length, and deliuered the one spere hymselfe to the duke of Herfforde, and sente the other spere to the duke of Norffolke by a knighte. Then the Heraulte proclaymed that the trauerses and chayers of the Champions should bee remoued, commaundyng theim on the Kynges behalfe to mounte on horssebacke and adresse themselfes to the battaill

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and combate. The duke of Herforde was quickely horssed and closed his bauier and caste his spere into the rest & when the trūpet soūded, set forward coragiously towards his enemy. vj. or. vij. paces. The duke of Norffolke was not fully set forward whē the kyng cast doune his warder & the heraultes cried ho, ho. Then the kyng caused their speres to be taken from them, and commaunded them to repaire again to their chayers, where thei remained two long houres, while the kyng and his counsaill deliberatly consulted what waie was best to bee taken in so waighty a cause. Then the Heraltes cried silence and sir Thon Borcy secretary to the kyng red the sentence and determinacion of the kyng and his counsaill in a long rolle, pronounsyng it after this maner. My lordes and masters I intimate and notify to you by the kyng & his counsail, that Hēry of Lancastre duke of Herforde appellante: and Thomas duke of Norffolke defendante, haue honorably and valiantly apered here within the listes royal this daie, & haue been redy to darraine the batteill like two valiant knightes and hardy chāpions, but because the matter is greate and weighty betwene these two greate princes, this is the ordre of the kyng and his counsaill, that Henry duke of Herford for diuerse consideracions and because he hath displeased the kyng, shall within. xv. daies departe out of the realme for terme of ten yeres, without returnyng excepte by the kyng he be repealed again and that vpon pain of death. When the people whiche hertely loued the duke of Herford heard this crie, thei wer not a litle amased, & marueled muche that he which had doen his deuor to the performance of his chalenge should be thus banished and exiled. Then the herault cried again oyes, & the secretary declared that Thomas Mowbrey duke of Norffolke by the ordināce of the kyng and his counsaill because that he had sowen sedicion in this realme by his wordes wherof he can make no proffe, shall a voide the realme of England and dwel in Hūgery, Beame, Pruce or where he list, & to neuer returne again into Englande nor approche the cōfines nor borders of the same vpon pain of death, and that the kyng would staie the profites and reuenewes of his landes in his handes till he had receiued such somes of money as the duke had taken vp of the kynges treasorer for the wages of the garison of Caleis whiche wer still vnpaied. When these iudgemētes wer thus deuulged the kyng called before him the two exiles and made thē swere that the one should neuer come into the place wher the other was (willyngly) nor kepe company together in any forren region, whiche oth thei receiued humbly and departed from the listes. It was supposed that the kyng mistrusted that if thei two should ioyne in one again, and conspire to be reuenged against him, that thei and their frendes might woorke hym greate trouble and calamitee, and for that cause to haue deuised this othe. The duke of Norffolke whiche supposed to

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haue been borne out by the kyng, was sore repentant of his enterprise, and departed sorowfully out of the realme into Almaine, and at the laste came to Uenice where he for thoughte and Melancoly deceassed. The duke of Herfforde tooke his leaue of y^e^ kyng, at Elthã, whiche there released foure yeres of his banishemente. And so he tooke his iourney & came to Caleies, & so into Fraunce, wher he continued a while."*

Godwin justly observes, "There is great obscurity in the whole of this story. It is almost impossible to guess at the motives of the contending parties, or to form any tolerable solution respecting the strange proceeding by which Richard thought proper to terminate the affair. In the Parliament Rolls, Bolingbroke is represented as the accuser, charging Mowbray with having sounded him respecting some project of sedition, with complaining of the tyrannical and sanguinary proceedings against the associates of Woodstock, and with asserting that no one could be confident of his safety under such a government as the present. Froissart, who appears to speak from minute information, reverses all this, makes Mowbray the accuser, and Bolingbroke the party charged with disaffection. In comparing these authorities, the records have undoubtedly the highest claim to belief, unless we could suppose that, in the lawless revolution which followed, even they were vitiated by the unscrupulous craft of the usurper. Add to which, it is sufficiently singular, that the exact words which the Parliament Rolls put into the mouth of Bolingbroke, Froissart puts into that of Mowbray; a coincidence which we should scarcely have expected, if his narrative had been founded upon rumour only.

"It is somewhat improbable, whichever way we take it, that any such private conversation, as we find each of these parties ready to lay to the charge of the other, ever took place. Mowbray was implicated in the reproach of the murder of Thomas of Woodstock: it is therefore very unlikely that he should have opened his lips to the nephew and brother-in-law[a] of Woodstock, in the way of complaint on that subject; nor is it a whit more probable that Bolingbroke would have selected him for his confident.

"Let us suppose then that the accusation, from whichever party it came, was altogether a forgery. Mowbray was a confidential minister and trusty agent of Richard II; Bolingbroke might be desirous of effecting his death or banishment: yet, judging according to our notions, a solemn public duel would seem a very

* Hall's Chronicle, page 3, 4, 5.

[a] Henry of Bolingbroke and Thomas of Woodstock had married sisters, coheiresses of the family of Bohun, earls of Hereford.

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inartificial method for accomplishing that purpose. There is somewhat more probability that the accusation and defiance should have come from Mowbray, who had more to fear from Bolingbroke than Bolingbroke could fear from him, and who, as possessing the royal ear, might suppose that he could turn the sequel of the transaction in any way he pleased."*

Dies an exile at Venice.

The Duke of Norfolk died in exile of the pestilence at Venice; but, according to Sandford and others, of grief, anno domino 1400, in the first of Henry IV. By Elizabeth his wife, daughter of John le Strange, of Blackmere, he had no issue; but by Elizabeth, his second wife, sister and coheir to Thomas Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel, he had two sons, Thomas and John; and also two daughters, Isabel and Margaret; the one married Sir Thomas Berkeley, Knt. and the other Sir Robert Howard, Knt.†

Thomas Moubray founded a monastery of the Carthusians, by Milwood park, near Epworth, in the nineteenth of Richard II. For the particulars of which see Milwood, in the parish of Owston.

(12) Thomas, the eldest son and heir, was in minority at his father's death, and never had the title of Duke; he was commonly called the earl marshal.

Thomas with other rebels against the king.

"*Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, was a chief instrument of King *Henry*'s exaltation; but not long after having lost his brother and son, slain at the battle of *Shrewsbury*‡, he confederated with the Archbishop of *York*, *Richard Scroop*, whose brother the king had beheaded, and *Thomas Mowbray*, Earl Marshal, whose father died an exile in *Venice*, all mortal enemies to *Henry*, and concerted his ruin. The Lords *Fauconberg*, *Bardolf*, *Hastings*, and many others joined them in this conspiracy. They had agreed to meet at *York*, at a time appointed, where the Earl of *Northumberland* was to take the supreme command of their united forces: But the archbishop's impatience frustrated the design; for being retired from court to his see, together with the earl marshal, he thought to facilitate the enterprize by giving the cause a sanction of religious justice. And having framed several articles against the king, and sent copies of them into other counties, he caused them to be fixed upon the church-doors of his own city and diocese. This was to invite the people to take arms, in order

* Godwin's Life of Chaucer, Vol. IV. 122, 123, 124.

† Dugdale thus places them: but Sandford affirms, Margaret, the eldest, to have married *Howard;* and Isabel, the youngest, to have been, first, the wife of Sir Henry Ferrers, Knt. by whom she had Elizabeth, her only child, who married Edward, second son of Reginald Lord Grey, of Ruthyn; and, secondly, the wife of James Lord Berkeley, ancestor to the present earl of that sirname.

‡ *Biondi.*

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to reform abuses introduced by the ill management of the present government. The archbishop was of an amiable countenance, of great learning and virtue, and having till this present led a blameless life, he was far from being suspected of any evil intentions; so that when he was pleased to declare his mind to the people in a sermon which he preached to them in his cathedral, full 20,000 men suddenly rose and came to his standard at *York*, which standard was painted with the five wounds of our Saviour.*

"This diligence was unseasonable both for the archbishop and his confederates†; for *Henry*, by this means, having early notice of their intentions, had levied thirty thousand fighting men, and sent them, under the conduct of the Earl of *Westmoreland*‡ and his own son *John*§, against these northern malecontents. At their coming to *York* the earl found the archbishop so advantageously encamped on the forest of *Galtrys*, just without the city, that he did not think fit to attack him, though much inferior in forces, but encamped his army right over against the other. And now the earl changing the lion's skin for the fox's, and following the French adage, *à defaut de la force il faut employer le ruse*, sent the archbishop word, *That he wondered a man of his profession should be found in such a posture, since he could not shew any reason why he should arm the king's people contrary to the king's peace.* To which the archbishop mildly answered, *That he was so far from infringing the king's peace, that all which he did tended to the preservation of it.* Upon this, entering into the merits of the cause on either side, a treaty was begun, and the articles of grievances shewn; which, for the earl's better satisfaction, the archbishop thought fit to send him by a gentleman of his own. The earl, though he was determined what to do in the case, seemed to rest satisfied with the justness of them; but said, *That a business of this high nature being in question, it was requisite they should meet together and treat thereof, which might easily be done, each of them bringing a like number of men betwixt the two camps*||. There is no net, says the polite *Italian***, so secure as that which is spread in commendation of him who is to be deceived. For the good archbishop, measuring other men's consciences by his own, hearing his actions applauded by one he thought his enemy, was confident he could bring the earl over to his interest,

* *T. Walsingham.* † *Hollingshead.* ‡ *Ralph Nevill* Earl of *Westmoreland.*

§ *John* Earl of *Lancaster*, afterwards Duke of *Bedford.*

|| This whole controversy is elegantly described in *Shakespear*'s historical play of *Henry* IV.

** Sir *Francis Biondi*, knight, an *Italian*, and gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to king *Charles* I. wrote an elegant history, as Bishop *Nicholson* justly calls it, in his own language, of the Civil Wars betwixt the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, translated into *English* by *Henry* Earl of *Monmouth.*

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and therefore made no difficulty to give him the meeting; and, which is more, brought the earl marshal, reluctant enough, along with him.

"At this meeting, with equal numbers betwixt the two camps, *Westmoreland*, after some short discourse, seemed perfectly satisfied, and professed, *That in so just a cause, he himself would fight to the last of his life.* The generals then shook hands in sight of both armies; Wine was called for, and drank about in token of friendship and mutual love. And now the earl said to the archbishop, *That their differences being ended in a joint consent, it was not expedient to detain any longer so many people, with so much inconvenience to themselves, from their houses and shops; but that being suddenly disbanded, it was but reason they should together with them enjoy the fruits of the established reconciliation.* The archbishop believed the earl, and his people him, who immediately broke up their camp and returned to the city, joyful enough no doubt to avoid a battle, and go back to their shops, from which they were most of them taken. The bowls of wine in the mean time went briskly round; while the earl's party, scattered at first, imperceptibly gathering one by one together, grew to such a multitude, that he arrested the archbishop for high treason upon the spot, as also the earl marshal; notwithstanding this he plighted his faith to them that they should not suffer in their lives: But meeting the king at *Pontefract* as he was hastening to *York*, he brought back with him the prisoners, who, says *Biondi*, much commiserated and bemoaned, were adjudged to die, and were forthwith beheaded."*

Thomas beheaded.

His wife was *Constance*, daughter of *John Holland*, Duke of Exeter, but having no issue,

John made duke of Norfolk.

(13) John, his brother, was his heir; who, in the third of Henry VI. (1425) was restored to the title of Duke of Norfolk, (using no other than earl marshal and Earl of Nottingham before, which, in the first of Henry V. had been allowed him). He died in 1432, and was buried in the chapter-house of the Carthusians at Milwood, in the tenth of Henry VI., leaving, by Catharine his wife, (daughter of Ralph Nevil, Earl of Westmoreland, by Joan his wife, natural daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster,) a son.

His death.

A letter of Catharine of Norfolk.

The following letter was written by Catharine, at Epworth, most probable in her widowhood, as it is dated from her late duke's seat. She afterwards married Thomas Strangeways, Esq. John Viscount Beaumont, and Sir John Widville, brother to Anthony, Earl Rivers.

* The History and Antiquities of the City of York, Vol. I. 185, 116, 187.

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"We here see a lady of the first rank going to London in the beginning of the winter, to the house of one of her dependents, for which she had agreed with him for the time of her stay in town, and by her stuff was meant most probably her beds, hangings, and other matters for the fitting up of her lodgings."

"*To our Right trusty*
and hertily Welbeloved
John Paston Squier.

{*Kat'yn Duchesse*
of Norff'.}

"RIGHT trusty and entierly Welbeloved We grete you wel hertily as we kan And for as moche as we p'pose w^t grace of ihu to be at london w'in bryff tyme We pray you y^t your place ther may be redy for us for we we wole sende our Stuff thedir to for our comyng and siche agrement as we toke w^t you for the same we shall duely p'forme y^t w^t y^e myght of ihu who haff you in his blissed keping Wretyn at Eppeworth the ij^de. day of Octobre.

11¼ by 4¼

Paper Mark,
A Bull's Head and Star."

Milles saith, as quoted by York, "There was also two daughters, first, Ann, married to William Barkley; second, Katherine, married to Thomas Grey, of Barwicke, (with the club foot or wry foot,) from whom descended the Greys of Heton, Warke, and barons of Powis."

In 1414 he was present at the siege of Harfleur with king Henry V., but being there taken ill, he was obliged to return to England before the famous battle of Agincourt in 1415. In 1416 he was at the siege of Caen, in Normandy, and continued in those parts till the death of Henry, by whom he had been made a knight of the garter. He was soon retained to serve Henry VI., being one of those valiant soldiers who had acquired renown in the armies of both his sovereigns in their French wars, where he had ever behaved with the greatest courage and fidelity. His portrait that accompanies this work, is taken from a painting on glass in St. Mary's hall, at Coventry*. The duke's head dress is of crimson velvet fringed with gold, that part of the under garment which appears below

* Fenn's Letters, Vol. III.

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his neck is blue, the sleeve crimson and both embroidered with gold; his gown, of purple velvet, is lined with ermine and bordered with gold lace.

John, third duke of Norfolk, obtains a seat in parliament, &c. next the duke of Exeter.

(14) John, the next and third Duke of Norfolk, who, in the twenty-third of Henry VI. (1445), upon confirmation of the title to him of Norfolk, (which had been conferred on Thomas his grandfather,) had a grant and seat in parliament and elsewhere next the Duke of Exeter.

Appointed ambassador.

This nobleman was sent into Picardy, in 1438, as ambassador, to make peace between the kings of England and France.

His pilgrimages, &c.

In 1446 he went on pilgrimage to Rome, and in 1456 he had permission to visit many other holy places, and to proceed to the blood of our Saviour at Windismark in Germany; as also to go a second time to Rome and Jerusalem, having vowed this pilgrimage for the recovery of the king's health.

He just lived to see his royal master dethroned, and to be appointed by his successor, Edward IV., justice itinerant of all the forests south of the Trent, and then dying, was buried in the abbey of Thetford, in Norfolk, in 1461.—In the annexed portrait of him, he has a ducal coronet on his head, the arms on his taberd or surcoat are those of England, with a lable of three points argent for Brotherton, and gules a lion rampant argent, armed, and langued azure, for Mowbray.

His death.

He married Ellenor, daughter of William Lord Bourchier and Earl of Ewe.

The following letters are taken from the originals, as published by Fenn, which is a curious specimen of the epistolary writing of that period.

" To ourc right trusti and welbelovid John Paston squier

" The Duc of Norff"

" TRUSTI and right welbelovid we grete you weel, lating you witte that for the trust that as weel we as the heires of Edmund Swathyng have unto you we have appointid you to be one of the makeres up indifferently of the evydences betwix us and the seide heires, wherfor we pray you hertily y^t^ ye wil yeve attendaunce at such day and place as ye and our right trusti and welbelovid frende William [1]Yelv.'ton with oure welbelovid s'vaunt

[1] William Yelverton was created a serjeant at law in 1440, appointed a justice of the King's Bench in 1444, and in 1460 made a Knight of the Bath.

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[1]Jenney shal mow attende to the making up of the seide evidencez, and we shal sende sūme of our s'vauntz to awayte upon you for yo' reward and costis y' ye shal be pleasid w' by the grace of God who have you eve' in his keping.

" Wreten undir our signet in oure Castel of fframlyngham the xviij. day of ———

11 by 5. John Mowbray, Norff.

" This short letter at first sight seems to convey nothing worthy notice, though, upon consideration, we are struck with the care and attention paid by the duke to the title deeds of those estates which he purchased.

" Three gentlemen, two of them afterwards eminent lawyers, were employed to settle the title and draw up the conveyance of an estate bought by the duke of the heirs of Swathing, who, we here see, were properly attended upon, and handsomely rewarded for their time and trouble.

" The title deeds of the age were concise and clear, unincumbered with that *seeming tautology,* which the practice of modern times has *perhaps* made necessary.

" The signature of his name is singular and curious, the monogram before the word Norff', containing all the letters of his christian and surname. JOHN MOWBRAY.

" The name of the month, being written near the edge of the paper on the original letter, is torn off.

" This letter was most probably written before Yelverton was made a judge, as the duke would, in case he had then been so, have called him justice, according to the custom of the time.

" The date of it will therefore be before 1444. 23 H. VI.

" The signature only is of the duke's hand writing."

" *The duc of Norff.*

" BE hit knowen to alle the kyngs trewe liege peple The Cause of our Comynge in to this Contre ys by the Comandemēt of y^e^ kynge our Sou'ayn lorde. For to enquer of suche gret riotts extorcyons oryble wrongis and hurts as his highnesse ys credybyly enformyd ben don in yis Contre And to know in

[1] William Jenney was made a serjeant at law in 1464, and in 1478 a justice of the King's Bench.

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serteyne by yow y^{t} knowe the trowthe. by what p'sone or personys the seyde gret riotts extorcions oryble wrongis and hurts be done Wherfor we charge yow alle on y^{e} kyngs behalve our sou'ayne lorde y^{t} ze spar neyy^{r} for love drede ne fer y^{t} ze haue to any persone of what estat degre or Condicion he be but y^{t} ze sey the soth by whome suche offences be done And y^{t} ze spar no man y^{t} ze knowe gilty. And be the feyth y^{t} we owe to our sou'ayn lorde yey schal be chastysid after ther desert. And hit reformyd as lawe requyrith. Also hit ys opunly puplysschid y^{t} serteyne s'unts of y^{e} lord Scales schulde in his name manasse and put men in feer and drede to Compleyne to us at y^{is} tyme of y^{e} seide hurts and greves seynge y^{t} we wolde abyde but a schort tyme her. And aftir our departynge he wolde haue the rewle and gour'na'nce as he hay had affore tyme. We lete yow wete y^{t} nexst the kyng our sou'ayn lord be his good g'ce and lycence we woll haue the p'ncypall rewle and gou'nance yrowh all yis Schir of whishe we ber our name whyls y^{t} we be lyvynge as ferre as reson and lawe requyriy. hoso eu'. will grutche or sey the contrary for we woll y^{t} the lord Scales S^{r} Thom's Tudenh'm S^{r} Mylis Stapylton and John Heydon haue in Knowleche yowh our persone be not dayly her. They schal fynde our power her at alle tymes to do the kynge our sou'ayn lord s'uyse And to support and mayntene yow alle in your right y^{t} ben the kyng's trewe lige men For hit may not ben seyde nay but y^{t} her hay ben the grettest Riotts orryble wrongs and offences done in thise partyes. by the seide lord Scales Thom's Tudenh'm Mylis Stapilton, Joh' Heydon And suche as ben Confedred on to theym y^{t} evir was seen in our dayes And most myschiffe yrowh ther maliciouse p'pose lyke to haue fallyn amonge the kyngs trewe liege peple now late at Norwiche ne had we bett^{r} p'vidid y'for. And also y^{t} god fortunyd us to w'stande ther seyde malicious and evill disposid purpose Wherfor maky billiz of your grevance And Come to us And we schal brynge yow to the kynges p'sence our selfe whos p'sence wyll be her in all y^{e} hast w^{t} the m'cy of god And see y^{e} reformacion yet of his owyn persone.

11½ by 8½.

Paper Mark,
A Bull."

" On the back of this letter is the following memorandum in an ancient hand, ' A Copie of the Duke of N. L're wh^{ch} sheweth y^{t} notable Injuries wer comytted ' by the L. Scales and his Adherents.'

" This letter was written at a time when the king was under the direction of the duke of York's party, about the year 1455, as it accuses the Friends of the House of Lancaster of being guilty of riots and outrageous offences. It fairly

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shews the behaviour of the victorious party to those in the opposite interest, and speaks the language of those who had the king in their power.

" From such orders as these, issued by the great men, we can judge better of the transactions of these turbulent times than from any regular history extant.

" The statute of wardship was destructive to many noble and ancient families in this kingdom, whose heirs were ruined by improper matches and neglected education, it was therefore wisely abolished by the 12 Ch. II.

" We are here informed that robberies on the road (at least towards London) were at this time frequent."

The following is a speech of this John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. His speech.

" *The Speech of John Mowbray Duke of Norfolk against Edmund Beaufort Duke of Somerset in the House of Lords.*

" MY lordes ye know well ynough the grete peynes labours and diligences that before thys tyme y have doon to thentent that the ove' greete dishonneurs and losses that ben come to thys full noble Royaume of England by the fals menes of som persones that have take on theym over grete autoritee in thys Royaume shulde be knowen. And that the persones lyvyng that have doon theym shulde be corrected aftyr the merites of her desertes And to that entent y have denounced and delyv'd to you in wrytyng certeyn articles ayenst the Duc of Som'set whych ys one of theym that ys gylty thereoff whertoo the Duc of Som'set hath aunsuerd And to that that he hath aunsuerd y have replyed yn such wyse that y trowe to be sure ynough that there shall no vayllable thyng be seyd to the contrarie of my seyd replicacon And asmoch as he woold sey shall be but falsnesse and lesyngs as be the probacons that shall be made thereuppon shall mow appiere how be it that to alle people of gode entendement knowyng how Justice owyth to be ministred. it ys full apparūnt that the denunciac'ons ayenst hym made ben sufficiently preved by the dedes that have folowed thereoff Whereuppon y have requyred to have ouv'ture of justice by yow whych ye have not yhyt doon to me Whereoff y am so hevy that y may no leng' beere it speciallie seth the mater by me pursued ys so worshipfull for all the Roy^{me}. and for you and so greable to god and to alle the subgettys of thys Roy^{me} that it may be no gretter And it ys such that for anye favo' of lignage ne for anye othyr cause there shulde be no dissimulacon for doubt lest that othyr yn tyme comyng take example thereoff And lest that the full noble vertue of Justice that of god ys so greetly recōmaunded be extinct or quenched by the fals oppinions of som that

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for the grete bribes that the seyd Duc of Som'set hath p'mysed and yoven theym have turned theyr hertys from the wey of trouth and of justice som seyeng that the cases by hym cõmitted ben but cases of trespasse And othyr takyng a colour to make an univ'sell peas. Whereoff ev'y man that ys trewe to the seyd coroune avyth gretely to m'veylle that anye man wold sey that the losse of ij so noble Duchees as Normandie and Guyen that ben well worth a greete Roy^me^. comyng by successions of fadres and modres to the seyd coroune ys but t'spasse Where as it hath be seen in manye Royaumes, and lordshyps, that for the losse of tounes or Castells wythoute Sege the Cap^nes^ that hav lost theym han be deede and beheded and her godes lost as in Fr'unce one that lost Chyrborough And also a knyght that fledd for dred of bataille shulde be byheded soo that alle these thyngs may be founden in the lawes wryten. And also yn the boke cleped l'arbre de bataille Wherfor, for to abbregge my langage y Requyre you that forasmech as the more partie of the dedes cõmitted by the seyd Duc of Som'set ben cõmitted yn the Roy^me^ of Fr'unce, that by the lawes of Fr'unce processe be made thereuppon And that all thyng that y have delyv'ed and shall delyv'e be seen and understand by people havyng knoulige theroff And that the dedes cõmitted by hym in thys Roy^me^ bee yn lyke wyse seen and understand by people lerned yn the lawes of thys land And for preffe thereoff to gr'unt cõmissions to inquere thereoff as by reason and of custom it owyth to be doon callyng god and you all my lordes to wytnesse of the devoirs by me doon in thys seyd mat'e. And requyeyng you that thys my bille and alle othyr my devoirs may be enacted before you. And that y may have it exemplified undre the kyngs grete seele for my discharge and acquytaille of my trouth makyng protestac'on that in case that ye make not to me ouv'ture of justice upon the seyd caas. y shall for my discharge do my peyn that my seyd devoirs and the seyd lak of justice shall be knowen through all the Roy^me^.

Einsi signe,

J. M. Norff."

12 by 8½.

"That the reader may the better understand the matters here refered to, it will be necessary just to mention the leading transactions which occasioned this accusation.

"The parliament met at Westminster in the latter end of the year 1450, when the Duke of Somerset returning from France, was so publickly censured for the loss of Normandy, that the commons petitioned the king to send him to the Tower; it might be therefore at this time that the Duke of Norfolk made this

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speech in the House of Lords; the Duke of Somerset however was released as soon as the parliament broke up. But as Guienne (which stands as part of the charge against him here) was not completely lost before the year 1453, when this duke was again committed to the Tower, and an accusation brought against him by the commons before the lords, it is, I think, most probable that it was then that the Duke of Norfolk stepped forward as his accuser.

"The exact time however is immaterial, as the force and energy of the speech remain the same whenever it was spoken, and that it was spoken is evident, from that sentence in which he says, 'Wherfor for to abbregge my langage, &c.' Though concise, it is nervous, full to the purpose, and artfully addressed to the passions both of the noble lords and the people in general, and in form and method would not disgrace a modern orator.

"Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, after the death of the Duke of Suffolk, became the queen's favourite, and prime minister, and was both a valiant soldier and an able statesman; he fell in the first battle of St. Alban's, where he commanded the royal army, in May 1455.

"On the top of the paper on which this speech is written, is the word cōp, meaning 'Copy,' which shews that this was copied from the original paper for the duke's own use, as the paper and hand writing are both of the time of Henry VI.

"And at the bottom is written 'Einsi signe M. Norff.'"

Fenn has likewise preserved two letters of Ellenor his wife, which may amuse the curious.

"*To oure right trusti and welbelovid John Paston esquier.*

"*The Duchesse of Norff.*

"RIGHT trusti and welbelovid we grete you hertili weel and for as muche as it is thought right necessarie for divers causes y^{t} my Lord have at this tyme in the p'lement suche p'sones as longe unto him and be of his menyall S'vaunts wherin we conceyve yo^{r} good will and diligence shal be right expedient. We hertili desire and pray you that at the contemplacion of thise oure L'res as our special trust is in you ye wil geve and applie yo^{r} voice unto our right welbelovid Cosin and S'vaunts John Howard and Syr Roger Chambirlayn to be Knyghts of the Shire exorting all suche othir as be your wisdom shal now be behovefull to the good exployte and conclusion of the same.

"And in yo^{r} faithful attenda"nce and trewe devoyre in this partie ye shal do unto my Lord and us a singler' pleasir and cause us herafter to thank you

therfore as ye shal holde you right weel content and agreid with the Grace of God who have you eve' in his keping.

" Wreten in Framlyngham Castel the viij day of Jun'."

11½ by 7.

" We have here a true picture of the dependency of the House of Commons on that of the lords."

" *To my right worshipfull and right entierly welbelovid Cousin the Viscount Beaumont.*

" RIGHT worshipfull and right entierly welbelovid Cousin. I comaunde me to you w^t alle my herte, desiring to here and verile to knowe of your worshipfull estate p'fite hele and good p'sp'ite, the whiche I beseche our Lord J'hu eu^r to mayntene and p'serve in alle worship to his plesaunce and to your herts ease.

" Please it you Cousin to witte, yat your welbelovid s^rvaunt Roger Hunt and a s^rvaunt of my moost dred Lord my husbond on William, [1]Yoman of his Ewry, have comend to gedre, and ben fully thorgh and agreed yat y^e said William shall have his [2]office if it may please your good Lordship.

" Wherfore Cousin I p'y you as my speciall truste is in you, yat y^e will at thinstaunce of my proier and writing, graunte by your L'res patents to y^e said William the forsaid office with suche wages and fees as Roger your said s^rvaunt hath it of you, trustyng verile yat ye shall fynde the said William a faithfull s^rvaunt to you, and can and may do you right good s^rvice in yat office.

" And Cousin in thacompleshment of my desire in yis mater ye may do me a right good pleaser as God knowith, whom I beseche for his m^rci to have you ev^r in his blessed gouv^rnaunce and send you good lyfe and long with muche worship.

" Writen at Framlynh'm the viijth day of Marche.

Elianore, the Duchess of Norfolk."

11¾ by 7.
Paper Mark,
A Pyramid.

[1] An officer who had the charge of the table linen, &c.

[2] It seems, by this representation of the matter, as if Roger Hunt, the officer of the Viscount Beaumont, had sold his office under his lordship to William, yeoman of the ewry to the duke, if, through the duchess's recommendation, Lord Beaumont should think proper to accept him.

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"This letter was dated from Framlingham castle, in Suffolk, their seat, and must have been written before 1460.

"It is all of the same hand writing, and that most probably of the duchess's secretary; the form of the letters not being like those of a female hand.

"The matter recorded shews the princely establishment of the households of the nobility in that age; and that they imitated the royal appointments by having the officers on their own establishments under their letters patent."

(15) John, the son of the last duke, succeeded his father, and who was the last duke of the Mowbray name. On the twenty-ninth of Henry VI. (1450) in the lifetime of his father, was created Earl of Nottingham, and in the twelfth of Edward IV. (1470) was one of those persons who subscribed their names to that recognition then made in parliament to Prince Edward the king's eldest son. He married Elizabeth, daughter of the renowned warrior John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury. He died in the fifteenth of Edward IV. leaving Ann his only daughter. John, last duke of that family. His death.

In November, 1462, he, by the king's command, was to keep his Christmas at his castle of Holt, in Denbighshire, when he appears to have been married, and was then, past his twenty-first year. The following letter, most probably, was written at that time.

"*To owr trusty and enterly beloved Servaunt Iohn Paston, Esquyr.*

"The deuke of Norff.

"RYGHT welbeloved Servaunt y grete yow hertly welle sertefyng that we shulle be at fulle age on Fryday nexst comyng wherfor wele Cōsayled be the lordes of owr Cōsayle and Oder of owr Cōsayle that ye on of owr Servaunts of howsholde w^t. Oder be w^t. us at London on Fryday or Saterday nexst comyng at the ffurdest too a cōpanye us thaun too owr Worshyp for we shull have thaun levery of owr landes and Offyces And that ye ffayle us not as ye woll have owr goodlordeshyp in tyme comyng And also that ye doo warne owr [1]ffeede men And

[1] Feedmen were those who held lands by an acknowledgment of any superiority to a higher lord.

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Servaunts suche as be nye too yow that they be ther thaun in owr leverey y wreton the xij day of October.

Norff."

12 by 4¼

This letter makes us "acquainted with the parade and attendance expected by the nobility from their retainers and vassals on the delivery of their lands, and on their taking possession of offices."

"*To oure right trusty and entierly welbelovid S'vaunt Iohn Paston th' elder.*

"The Duc of Norff.

"RIGHT trusty and entierly welbelovid s'vaunt We grete you hertily well And specially praying you that ye will be with us at Framlyngh'm on Sonday next comyng that we may comon w^t^ you there and have youre sadde advise in suche matiers as concernyth gretly to oure weel whiche shall be mynestred unto you at youre comyng prayng you that ye fayle not herof as our speciall trust is in you And our lord p's've you in his keping Written at Framlyngh'm the xxxj Day of August.

Norff."

11⅛ by 6¼.

"The seal on red wax, and very perfect. Impression a wheat sheaf, &c. The motto imperfect. The seal has a braid of twine round it.

"We here find that John Paston was one of the counsel to John Mowbray, the last Duke of Norfolk of that name; and that regular summonses were sent to those in this confidential station, when any matter of importance arose, on which their deliberations and advice became necessary; this summons appears to be on some very material business, which most probably required secrecy, as the purport of it was not communicated, but deferred till he should be arrived at Framlingham."

"*The Duc of Norff'.*

"WHERE John Paston esquier and other diu's p'sones have ageyn the peas kepte the Manoir of Caster with force ageyne the wille and entent of

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us the Duc of Norff' to oure grete displeaser whiche notw'standing at the comtēplacion of the writing of the moost worshipfull and reu'ent fader in God the Cardenall of England and our moost trusty and entierly beloved Unkel the Archbisshop of Canterbury the right noble Prince my Lord of Clarence and other Lords of oure blood And also at the grete labour and enstaunce of our moost dere and singler belovid Wiffe We be agreed that the seid John Paston and his seid ffellaship beyng in the seid Maneur shall depart and goo out of the seid Maneur without delay and make therof deliu'aunce to suche p'sones as we will assigne the seid ffellaship havyng their lyves and Goods horsse and harneys and other goods beyng in the kepyng of the seid John Paston except Gonnes Crossebows and Quarells and alle other hostelments to the seid Maneur annexed and belonginge And to have xv Dayes respyte aftir their seid departing out to goo in to what place shall like theim without any accions or quarell to be taken or made by us in our name to theim or any of theim within our ffraunchise or without durynng the seid tyme.

"Yoven under our signet at Yermouth the xxvj Day of Septembr the ix^te yere of King Edward the iiij^th.*

Norff."

11⅛ by 7⅛.

Ann, the daughter and heir of the last Duke of Norfolk, was contracted in marriage to Richard, second son of Edward IV., but being murdered by his uncle, Richard Duke of Gloucester, before consummation, the inheritance of her father was divided between the Howards and Berkeleys, descended from Margaret and Isabel, daughters of Thomas, first Duke of Norfolk.

The title of earl marshal, and honours of the family, is now held by Howard the present Duke of Norfolk, &c.†

* These letters are taken from the orignal collection of valuable letters published by Fenn in four volumes quarto.

† To Banks's Dormant and Extinct Baronage, Vol. III. 568, I am indebted in my account of this family.

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§ 2. A pedigree of the Sheffields, Barons of Butterwick, &c.

Arm.—*Argent, a Chevron between three Garbes Gules.*

From whom first descended. This family is descended from Sir Robert Sheffield, Knt. who lived in the reign of Henry III., and he having married Felicia, daughter and heir of ——— Terneby, by her had Robert Sheffield, Esq. whose wife was Ann, daughter and coheir to Sir Simon Goure, Knt. and by her he had Robert his heir and successor.

Robert, who succeeded, was knighted by king Edward I. and married Genette, daughter and coheir to Alexander Lownde, of Butterwick, with whom he had that manor, and by her a son named Robert, whose wife was Eleanor, daughter and heir to Thomas Burnham, and by her he had a fifth Robert Sheffield; he married Catharine, daughter and coheir to Sir Roger Beltoft, Knt. and by her had a sixth Robert Sheffield, who, in the time of Edward IV., married Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Staunton, of the county of York, Knt. and by her had a seventh Robert Sheffield; which Robert, marrying Isabel, daughter and heir to Sir Ulster Moyne, Knt. by her had the eighth Robert Sheffield.

Robert commands in the king's army. This Robert, in the second of Henry VII., was one of the commanders in that king's army against John Earl of Lincoln and his adherents, in the battle of Stork, near Newark, where he shared the honour of that victory, and afterwards speaker of the House of Commons and recorder of London, being then Sir Robert Sheffield.

He married Helen, daughter and heir to Sir John Delves, of Hilderston in the county of Stafford, Knt. and by her had the ninth Robert Sheffield, who was also a knight, and was seated at Butterwick in the isle of Axholme; and a younger son named John, who resided at Beltoft, who died the 6th November, 1526, leaving female issue, first, Jane, married to ——— Sleford; and, second, Ann, married William Ferne, father of Sir John Ferne; and he married Margaret, daughter to Sir John Zouche, of Codnor, by her he had Edmund Sheffield, his son and heir, who on the 16th of February, 1546–7,

First Lord Sheffield. in the first of Edward VI., two days preceding that king's coronation, was created Lord Sheffield of Butterwick; but the next year, upon the insurrection (by the commons) in Norfolk, he accompanied the Marquis of Northampton for the suppression thereof, and had the hard fate to lose his life; for his horse falling into a ditch near Norwich, and he pulling off his helmet to

His death. shew those rebels who he was, a butcher slew him with his club.

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Fuller says, "Great his skill in music, who wrote a book of sonnets according to the Italian fashion."

He married *Anne*, daughter of John Vere, the fifth Earl of Oxford of that name, and by her had John, his heir, and three daughters, Frances, Eleanor, and Elizabeth; whereof Frances was married to ——— Metham, Esq. and Eleanor to Denzil Hollis, second son to Sir William Hollis, of Houghton, in the county of Nottingham, Knt.; and the said John, the brother, who suceeded his father, dying in the eleventh of Elizabeth, (1569) left issue, by Douglas his wife, daughter to William Lord Howard, of Effingham, Edmund, his successor, and a daughter named Elizabeth, which daughter was married to Thomas Earl of Ormond.

Edmund, for his bravery, made a knight of the garter.

Edmund, who succeeded, was in 1583, the twenty-fifth of Elizabeth, one of the English lords that, by the express command of the queen, attended the Duke of Anjou to Antwerp; and in 1588 was in that notable sea-fight against the Spaniards who then threatened to invade England, and for his valiant deportment and memorable services therein, was knighted by the lord admiral, as also afterwards made governor of the Brill, a chief town in Zealand, and made a knight of the garter; a certain token of his merit, and the esteem he had obtained of the queen, who was not wont to confer such marks of honour upon any but the most conspicuously deserving.

Created Earl of Mulgrave.

In 1616, in the fourteenth of James I., he was constituted president of the council for the northern parts of the realm of England; and by Charles I. in 1625, the first year of his reign, created Earl of Mulgrave, in the county of York.*

His age, &c.

He lived to 1646, being then fourscore years old. By his first wife, Ursula, daughter of Sir Robert Tirwhit, of Ketilby, in com. Lincoln, he had nine daughters, and six sons; viz. Charles, who died a bachelor; Sir John Sheffield; Edmund-William, drowned in France; Philip (with Sir John, Edmund, and Philip, were drowned in the passage of Whitgift Ferry, over the river Humber, in December 1614, vi. pat.) and George, who broke his neck as he was exercising in a new riding house, said to have been made out of an old consecrated chapel. His second wife was Mariana, daughter to Sir William Urwyn, knight, who brought him three sons; James, Thomas, and Robert; and two daughters, Margaret and Sarah.

A portrait of this distinguished statesman was engraved by R. Elstracke, a copy of which has lately been sold for £14 : 10s.†

* Nichol's British Compendium, or Rudiments of Honour, Vol. I. 141.

† Dibdin's Bibliomana, page 678.

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Edmund, the next earl, was grandson of the last; viz. son of Sir John Sheffield, knight, his second son beforementioned, by Grissild his wife, daughter to Sir Edmund Anderson, some time chief justice of the common pleas. Which Edmund married Elizabeth, daughter to Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex; and died in 1658, leaving

John created Duke of Normanby and Buckinghamshire.

John, his son and heir, who became one of the most eminent noblemen of his day, appeared in various places of honour and trust, and was advanced to a degree of dignity above all his predecessors; being created Marquis of Normanby, in Lincolnshire, the sixth of William and Mary; and in 1703, the second of queen Anne, Duke of Normanby, and Duke of Buckinghamshire.*

The character of this great duke has been so often printed, and his works are so well known, that it may suffice here to recite briefly what Walpole, in his Catalogue of Noble Authors, has said of him; viz.

His character by Walpole.

"The life of this peer takes up fourteen pages and a half, in folio, in the General Dictionary, where it has little pretensions to occupy a couple. But his pious relict was always purchasing places for him, herself, and their son, in every suburb of the Temple of Fame: a tenure, against which, of all others, quo warranto's are sure to take place. The author of the article in the Dictionary, calls the duke one of the most beautiful prose writers, and greatest poets of this age; which is also, he says, proved by the finest writers his cotemporaries; certificates that have little weight, where the merit is not proved by the author's own works. It is certain, that his grace's compositions in prose have nothing extraordinary in them; his poetry is most indifferent; and the greatest part of both is already fallen into total neglect. It is said that he wrote, in hopes of being confounded with his predecessor in the title; but he would more easily have been mistaken with the other Buckingham, if he had never written at all. He had a great deal of bravery and understood a court. Queen Anne, who undoubtedly had no turn to gallantry, yet so far resembled her predecessor, Elizabeth, as not to dislike a little homage to her person. This duke was immediately rewarded on her accession, for having made love to her before her marriage. Though attached to the house of Stuart, and their principles, he maintained a dignity of honour, in some points, independent of all connections; for he ridiculed king James'† religion, though he attended him to his chapel; and warmly took the part of the Catalans against the Tory ministry, whom he had helped to introduce to the queen."

* Beatson's Polit. Index. † Burnet, Vol. I. p. 683.

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Dr. Johnson observes, "His character is not to be proposed as worthy of imitation. His religion he may be supposed to have learned from Hobbes, and his morality was such as naturally proceeds from loose opinions. His sentiments with respect to women he picked up in the court of Charles, and his principles concerning property were such as a gaming-table supplies. He was censured as covetous, and has been defended by an instance of inattention to his affairs, as if a man might not at once be corrupted by avarice and idleness. He is said, however, to have had much tenderness, and to have been very ready to apologise for his violences of passion. His character by Johnson.

"He is introduced into the late collection only as a poet; and, if we credit the testimonies of his contemporaries, he was a poet of no vulgar rank. But favour and flattery are now at an end; criticism is no longer softened by his bounties or awed by his splendour, and, being able to take a more steady view, discovers him to be a writer that sometimes glimmers, but rarely shines, feebly laborious, and at the best but pretty. His songs are upon common topics; he hopes, and grieves, and repents, and despairs, and rejoices, like any other maker of little stanzas; to be great, he hardly tries; to be gay, is hardly in his power.

"In the Essay on Satire he was always supposed to have had the help of Dryden. His Essay on Poetry is the great work, for which he was praised by Roscommon, Dryden, and Pope, and doubtless by many more whose eulogies have perished."*

His grace married, first, Ursula, daughter of Colonel Stawel, and widow of the Earl of Conway; but had no issue. His second wife was Catherine, daughter of Fulk Grevile, Lord Brooke, relict to Baptist Earl of Gainsborough, who died anno 1703–4, S.P. His third duchess was Catherine, natural daughter of James II. who had before married James Earl of Anglesea, from whom she was separated by consent of parliament, for his cruelty, and causeless ill-treatment. By this lady he had a daughter, Sophia, who died very young; a son, John, who lived but a few weeks; Robert, born 11th December, 1711; and another son, Edmund, born in 1716. And dying in 1720,[a] the said

Edmund, his only surviving son, became his successor, who died in 1735, in his minority; and with him ended the honours of the Edmund last duke of that family,

* Johnson's Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 258.

[a] He had by a Mrs. Lambert, a natural son, called Charles Herbert, who afterwards took the name of Sheffield, and was created a baronet, March 1, 1755; and also two daughters, Sophia and Charlotte. One of which married, first, Dr. Walker; and after, Jeremiah Griffith, esquire. The other married Joseph Hunt, D.D. master of Baliol College, Oxon; next a Mr. Cole; and afterwards a Mr. Cox, of Stanford, in Berkshire.

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Sheffield family. This noble youth was magnificently interred in Westminster Abbey, with these adulatory lines to his memory, from Mr. Pope:

If modest youth, with cool reflection crown'd,
And ev'ry op'ning virtue blooming round;
Cou'd save a parent's justest pride from fate,
Or add one patriot to a sinking state;
This weeping marble had not ask'd thy tear.
Or sadly told how many hopes lie here.
The living virtue now had shone approv'd;
The senate heard him, and his country lov'd:
Yet softer honours, and less noise of fame,
Attend the shade of gentle Buckingham;
In whom a race, for courage fam'd, and art,
Ends in the milder merit of the heart;
And chiefs, or sages, long to Britain giv'n,
Pays the last tribute of a saint to heav'n.

"It seems this promising young nobleman was of a martial disposition; and though at very tender years, yet, in 1734, went a volunteer under the command of his uncle, the Duke of Berwick, in Germany, whom he served as aid-de-camp at the siege of Fort Kiel and Philipsburgh; at which place the said duke was killed by a cannon ball. The next year, however, he died of a hasty consumption at Rome; and his body was sent over to England for interment."*

† Banks's Dormant and Extinct Baronage, Vol. III. p. 542, 543, 544.

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CHAP. V.

Drainage.

§ 1. An account of the Drainage of the Level of Hatfield Chase, in the counties of York, Lincoln, and Nottingham.

Original state of the isle.

FROM time immemorial this large tract of country had been overflowed with water. As early as the first of Edward III. the inhabitants of those parts commenced the drainage, to improve the land and general face of the country. It appears that "*Robert de Notingham*, and *Roger de Newmarch* were constituted commissioners[a] to view and repair those banks and ditches, as had been made to that purpose, which were then grown to some decay: So also were[b] *John Darcy* of the park, *Roger de Newmarch*, and *John de Crosholme*.

The commissioners appointed to different parts.

"Several other commissioners there were afterwards to the same purpose; *viz.* in 25 *E.* 3. to[c] *Will. Basset, Thomas de Swinford, Will. de Clive, Thomas Levclance, Will. Wascelyn*, and *Thomas Degmanton*, for all the banks and sewers within this isle. In 26 *E.* 3. to[d] *Ralpe de Wilughby, Will. Basset, Will. de Skipwith, Illard de Usflete, Robert de Haldanby, John de Lasingcroft*, and *John de Flete* of Bulwiche, for those upon the rivers of Trent and Done, within the hundred of Crulle. In 39 *E.* 3. to[e] *John Tours, Will.*

[a] Pat. 1 E. 3. p. 3. m. 10. in dorso. [b] Pat. 1 E. 3. p. 1. m. 18. in dorso. [c] Pat. 25 E. 3. p. 1. m. 5. in dorso. [d] Pat. 26 E. 3. p. 3. m. 22. in dorso. [e] Pat. 39 E. 3. p. 1 m. 12. in dorso.

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Wascelyn and *Raphe de Burnham*, for those upon the rivers of Done, Idel, and Bekersdik, in this isle: VVherein they were directed to proceed according to the law and customes of this realm. In 40 *E.* 3. to [a] *Thomas de Ingelby*, *Will. de Fyncheden*, *Will. de Galby*, parson of the church of Epworth, and others, for those in the parts of Balne and Mersland and lordship of Haitfield in the county of Yorke; as also within this isle and soke of Crulle, in this county. The like commission [b] had the said *Thomas* and *William*, with *Roger de Kirketon*, and others in 41 *E.* 3. So also in 43 *E.* 3. had [c] Master *John de Burnham*, *Will. de Galby* clerk, *Richard Poutrell*, and others, for those in this isle, betwixt Butterwyk and Gunthorpe.

" In 2 *R.* 2. to [d] *Henry Percy* Earl of Northumberland, *Will. de Skipwith*, *Roger de Fulthorpe*, *Henry Asty*, *John Poucher*, *Thomas de Burnham*, and *William de Topclyf*, for those betwixt Bykerdyke and Doneheved, throughout all this isle and the soke of Crulle, then in decay through the force of Trent. And in 7 *R.* 2. to [e] *Thomas de Moubray* Earl of Nottingham, *Sir VVill. de Willughby*, knight, *VVill. de Skipwith*, and others, for all those in this isle, as also betwixt Bykersdyke, on both sides, in Nottinghamshire, and the river of Done in Yorkeshire.

" In 1 *H.* 5. *VVill. Lodyngton*, *Thomas Egmanton*, and *Iohn Dowenay*, *Rob. VVaterton*, and *Edmund Fitzwilliam*, being constituted [f] commissioners for the view & repair of the banks and sewers in the soke of Crulle, and this isle of Axholme; and betwixt Bekerdyke, on each side; sate [g] at Crulle upon the Monday next after the Feast of the *Nativity* of the blessed Virgin, in the year abovesaid: before whom the jury then presented [h], that one *Geffrey Gaddesby* late abbot of Selby, did cause a strong sluse of wood, to be made upon the river of Trent, at the head of a certain sewer, called the Mare dyke, of a sufficient height and bredth, for the defence of the tides coming from the sea; and likewise against the fresh waters descending from the vvest part of the before-specified sluse to the said sewer, into the same river of Trent; and thence into Humbre: and performed the same upon his free good will and charity for the ease of the country. VVhich said sluse, certain unknown persons (inhabitants of the lordship of Haytfield) pulled down, in the time of *Iohn de Shireburne*, late abbot of that place, and next successor of the said *Geffrey*.

[a] Pat. 40 E. 3. p. 1. m. 30. in dorso. [b] Pat. 41 E. 3. p. 1. m. 19. in dorso. [c] Pat. 43 E. 3. p. 1. m. 33. in dorso. [d] Pat. 2 R. 2. p. 2. m. 32. in dorso. [e] Pat. 7 R. 2. p. 1. m. 17. in dorso. [f] Pat. 1 H. 5. p. 1. m. 21. in dorso. [g] Ex bund. de Brev. & Recordis, Wallias, &c. [h] Tangentibus, tem. H. 5. n. 15. *Lin.*

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" And whereas the said *John de Shireburne*, did new make the same sluces of stone, sufficient (as he thought) for defence of the sea tides, and likewise of the said fresh waters; the jurors said that they were not strong enough for that purpose, being both too high and too broad: And that it would be expedient, for the advantage of the country, that the then abbot, if he pleased, would in the place where those sluses of stone were made, cause certain sluses of strong timber to be set up, consisting of two floud-gates; each floud-gate containing in it self, four foot in bredth, and six foot in height; as also a certain bridge upon the said sluses, in length and bredth sufficient for carts and other carriages, which for the future might passe that way: And being so made, and having stood firm, for the space of one whole year, against the force of those tides, by the view of *Richard de Amcotes*, and *Robert Lyulf* of Waterton, elected and sworn by the before-specified commissioners, or some others, to be chosen by them; that thenceforth the said abbot of Selby, *Richard Amcotes*, and others of the freeholders of Crull, Amcotes, Waterton, Carlethorpe, Ludington, and Eltoft in this county of Lincolne; as also all the said towns in common, should, in respect of their lands and tenements, lying within that soke, be obliged, of right to keep them in repair. Measures adopted by the jurors.

" And they said further, that it would be very necessary, that the before-mentioned abbot, if he pleased, should cause to be there made, without the said sluse, towards the river of Trent, at the Feast of *Easter* then next ensuing, one demmyng, for that present. And they also said, that, for the future, the said freeholders, as also the said towns, and every of them, might cleanse and scour the said sewer called the Mare dyke, according to the proportion belonging to each of them therein, from the said sluse, to the bridge of Ludington, called Lane end brigg.

" Whereupon the shireeve was commanded to summon the said abbot, *Richard Amcotes* and the rest, to appear before the before-specified commissioners at Crull aforesaid, on the Tuesday next before the *Nativity* of the blessed Virgin, then next ensuing, to answer, &c. At which day they all came accordingly, and could not gainsay, what had been so presented by those jurors.

" And long after this, *scil.* in 5 *E.* 4. Sir *Thomas Burghe*, and Sir *Robert Constable*, knights, *John Nevill*, *Robert Sheffield junior*, *Thomas Moigne*, *Richard Haunserd* of Ouresby, and others, were constituted[a] commissioners for the view and repair of the banks and sewers throughout this isle; as also betwixt Bykersdyke, on each side, in the county of Notingham; and the river of

[a] Pat. 5 E. 4. p. 1. m. 23. in dorso.

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Done, on both sides, in the county of Yorke: and within the vvapentake of Manley, Yereburgh, Coryngham, Assakhowe, and Walshcrofte in this county of Lincolne: and to make statutes and ordinances therein, consonant to the laws of the realm, and custome of Romeney marsh: As also to impress so many labourers, as they should think necessary for that work, upon competent wages, in respect of the great necessity for hastening thereof.

"Having thus traced down the successive commissions for improvement of the marshes in this isle, by banking and drayning, untill after the statute * of 6 *H.* 6. VVhich statute prescribed a form for all that should be issued out after that time, throughout this whole realm; wherein direction and power is given to those who are to be imployed therein, to make and ordain necessary and convenable statutes and ordinances, for the salvation and conservation of the sea-banks and marshes, and the parts adjoyning thereto, according to the laws and customes of Romeney marsh: and likewise to hear and determine all and singular complaints, that shall come before them, touching that businesse, according to the laws and customes of this realm and the customes of the said Romeney marsh: appointed also, that upon great and urgent necessity, they should take and put into the said works and reparations, as many ditch-makers and other labourers, upon competent wages, as might be sufficient to perform that service; it will not be necessary (as I conceive) to give farther instances of this kind; I shall therefore descend to that great and no less commendable work, which was undertaken shortly after the beginning of the late king *Charles* his reign; not only for the drayning of all the surrounded marshes of this isle, but of the adjacent fenny grounds, lying in Yorkshire; *viz.* Hatfield chase and Dikesmersh: VVherin I may not omit to observe, [a] that the overflowings of the fresh waters over that whole level, was such, by reason that the before-specified rivers of Idel, Bickers-dyke, Turne, Done, and Ayre were obstructed in divers places, with so much silt and other impediments, chiefly contracted by the dayly tides, as I have before declared; that not only in winter, but even in the summer time, boats laden with plaister have passed over that part thereof called Hatfield chase, to a place called Holten brigge, near Hatfield Woodhouse, the water upon the drowned grounds being about three foot deep: and the fishers house, called *Steere's* lodge, standing on ground thrown up and raised three or four foot above the level, often drowned.

"Neither was Haxey carr less overwhelmed, large boats laden with *xx*

* Cap. 5.

[a] Ex diversis, depositionibus, in linguâ Brevium de term. *Pasch.* 24 *Caroli* penès Remem. Scacc.

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quarters of corn, usually passing over it, from the river of Idel to Trent bank; men rowing also with lesser boats, to look swans, over all parts of it, betwixt *Lammas* and *Michaelmasse:* And in like sort over Starr carr, and Axholme carr; insomuch as there was no lesse than sixty thousand acres of land thus overflowed by the said fresh waters.

The king's first contract with Sir Cornelius Vermuden.

" The said king therefore, being seized of this island, and of divers lands and waste grounds, belonging to the same; as also of and in the chase called Hatfield chase, with Dikes mersh, together with the lordships of Wroote and Finningley in the county of Yorke, all lying upon the same flat; out of his royal and princely care for the publick good, in regaining so great a proportion of surrounded land; which, at the best yielded little or no profit to the common wealth, but contrariwise nourished beggars and idle persons: and having a chase of red deer through a good part of this fen, which much annoyed and opprest the residue; resolving by the advice of his counsel; partly for the easing of his chardge, and increase of his revenue, and partly for the improvement and reducing of so great a quantity of drowned and boggy ground, to be made good meadow, arable, and pasture, for the general good; did under the great seal of England, contract with *Cornelius Vermuden*, then of the city of London esquire, by articles bearing date the twenty-fourth day of *May**, in the second year of his reign, the substance whereof was as followith. See Appendix No. 2.

" First, That the said *Cornelius* should, at his own chardge drain and lay the same dry; beginning the work within three months, after the said king should have agreed with those persons that had interest of common therein; and finish it with all possible expedition.

" Second, That he the said *Cornelius*, in consideration thereof, should have to him and his heirs, for ever, one full third part of the said surrounded grounds, to hold of the said king, his heirs and successors, as of his mannour of East Greenwiche, in free and common socage.

" Third, That he the said *Cornelius* should pay and satisfie to the owners of all lands, lying within the same level, and so surrounded, such summs of mony, as the said lands should be thought worth by four commissioners; whereof two to be named by the lord treasurer of England, for the time being; and the other two by him the said *Cornelius*.

" Fourth, That the work being finished, there should be, for the better preservation thereof, a corporation made, to make acts and ordinances to that end,

* Ann. 1626.

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as occasion should require; consisting of such persons as he the said *Cornelius* and his heirs did nominate.

"Fifth, That within three years after they should be finished, six commissioners to be appointed; *viz.* three by the lord treasurer of England, for the time being; and three by the same *Cornelius*, his heirs, *&c.* to view them, and estimate what the future yearly chardge might amount unto, for the perpetual maintaining of them: whereupon the said *Cornelius* to convey and assure the inheritance of lands to such a value, as might be thought sufficient to support that chardge.

"And that whereas divers did claim common of pasture in sundry of the said grounds, it was agreed that the king should issue out his commission under the great seal of England, to certain persons, to treat and conclude with those commoners, by way of composition, in land or mony, concerning the same.

Respecting claims to common rights.

"VVhereupon commissioners were accordingly directed* to several gentlemen of those counties, to treat and agree with all such as pretended right of common within any of the mannours above-mentioned: which took effect with each of them, except those of the mannour of Epworth, in this isle:* But Sir *Robert Heath*, being the then attorney general, exhibiting an information in the Exchequer chamber against them, three hundred and seventy (who were all that at that time could be discovered to have right of common there) came and submitted to such an award as Sir *John Banks*† (the then attorney general) should make therein: Who, upon several hearings of all

* The state of the case printed at *London*, an. 1656.

* Claiming under an old deed of John de Moubray, dated May 1, 1359. See Appendix No. 1.

† "The long and tedious decree in the Exchequer, of the participants within the level of Hatfield chase, made in the 12th year of the late king, upon the award of Sir John Banks, knt. then attorney general, against some of the tenants of Epworth in the isle of Axholm, with the recitals thereunto, contained in Mr. Gibbon's fourteen skins of parchment, and the means used by Sir Cornelius Vermenden, the Dutchman, with the help of Mr. Gibbon then secretary to the lord treasurer Weston to obtain the same; and the proceedings thereunto truly and briefly stated, whereupon several quæries are raised, and humbly submitted to the grave wisdom and judgement of this honourable parliament, whether the 370 persons therein named to have submitted, are, or ought by law or equity to be bound, and exempted from their ancient right of common in the 7400 acres of ground now in question by that decree, and why it ought not to be wholly reversed and of no force, having already little or no strength, as appears by the participant's own last decree or decretal order of the 10th of Feb. 1650. Published to inform the truth, and to prevent the misinformation of Mr. John Gibbons, and to rectifie his breviate formerly given in to the honourable committee, tending to the subversion of the truth. Lond. 1657." folio. Gough's British Topography, 4to. Vol. II, p. 457. I have not been able to procure this work.

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parties and their councell, made this award; *viz.* that of thirteen thousand and four hundred acres, belonging to that mannour (which was then to be drayned, with the rest of the levell) six thousand acres should be allotted to the commoners, as their part or portion, lying next to the towns; and so preserved for ever, at the chardge of the said *Cornelius Vermuyden;* and the remaining seven thousand and four hundred acres to be set out in the remotest parts of those wastes to Sir *C. Vermuyden* and his participants, for their third part, and for the said late king's part, in right of his interest as lord of the soill: which, by consent was decreed in the Exchequer chamber, and possession thereupon established with the said *Cornelius Vermuyden,* and his participants, and to their assigns.

"The agreement being therefore thus made, this great work was accordingly begun, and had so successful a progress; that, with the chardge of fifty-five thousand eight hundred twenty-five pounds,* or thereabouts, it became fully finished, within the space of five years; the waters which usually overflowed the whole levell being conveyed into the river of Tvent, through Snow sewer, and Althorpe river by a sluse; which issued out the drayned water at every ebb, and kept back the tides upon all comings in thereof."

The king sells Hatfield manor and other places to Sir Cornelius Vermuyden.

On the 5th of February, in the fourth year of his reign, the king granted, for the consideration of 10,000*l.* to be paid by Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, the manor of Hatfield: "All that demesne or manor of ours of Hatfield, in our county of York, with all its rights, members, and appurtenances, and all lands, tenements, rents, and hereditaments whatsoever in the said county of York, called or known by the name of the demesne or manor of Hatfield: and also all that third part of our manor of Brampton, called Graites, at Gate, in the said county of York, with the appurtenances: and also all that our park of Hatfield, at Hatfield aforesaid, with all its appurtenances, and all the lands and tenements inclosed, called or known by the name of the park of Hatfield, at Hatfield aforesaid: and all that our manor of Fishlake, in the said county of York, with all its rights, members, and appurtenances: and also all that our manor of Thorne, at Thorne, in the said county of York, with all its rights, members, and appurtenances: and also all that our manor of Stainford, in the said county of York, with all its rights, members, and appurtenances: and also all that our manor of Dowcethorpe, in the said county of York, with all its rights, members, and appurtenances: and also all that parcel of waste land, marsh lands, moorish lands, now and before that time

* Pryme's MSS. says, "At the expense of £300,000;" propably he takes in the account repairs of bank, losses, purchase of land, &c. which was very great.

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overflown or covered with water, parcel of the said demesne or manor of Hatfield, in the said county of York, called or known by the several names of Dishmarsh, Haines, Totlets, Nunmoore, Northtofts, Midlings, Smythy green, Bromwith marsh, Broadhill, Stawker's Rushhills, Dartness, Moorside, Rainbutts, Uggin carr and Uggin lings, Raugh carr, Alder's carr, and Thorne carr, with all their appurtenances, and all their waste lands, and lands overflowed and covered with water, parcel of the said demesne or manor, containing in all, by estimation, ten thousand two hundred and six acres, more or less; and divers other messuages, houses, rents, reversions, services, royalties, liberties, privileges, lands, tenements, hereditaments, particularly mentioned and expressed in the said letters patents, except as in the said letters patents are excepted for or under the annual rent of one hundred and fifty pounds of lawful money of England, as by the same letters patents more fully appears:

"And whereas we, by our indenture under our great seal of England, bearing date the Fourteenth day of June last past before the date of these presents, for the considerations in the same indenture expressed, we have given to farm and let to the said Cornelius Vermuyden and his assigns, for the term of the several lives of Cornelius Vermuyden, Sarah Vermuyden, Katharine Vermuyden, children of the said Cornelius Vermuyden, and for the term of the longer liver of them, for and under the yearly rent of one hundred and eighty pounds, the moiety or half part of the two thousand six hundred acres of waste lands, marsh lands, and lands surrounded, in Misson, in our county of Nottingham, commonly called Misson Waters and Commons, parcel of our Duchy of Cornwall, as by the said indenture of lease more fully appears."

And that the said Cornelius Vermuyden, or his heir, shall hold the "said demesne or manor of Hatfield, and the said manors of Fishlake, Thorne, Stainford, and Dowcethorpe, and the said park called Hatfield park, together with the said chase called Hatfield chase, and all those lands called the Severalls, and all other our demesne lands within the demesne and manor aforesaid, and all lands overflowde, and common lands and moors lying within the said demesne and manor aforesaid, together with our right of *turbary*, and the said demesne and manor of Hatfield and Thorne, under the annual rent of one hundred and ninety-five pounds three shillings and five pence halfpenny, and one red rose, being the ancient annual rent now in the charge and to us duly answered and paid, and under the yearly rent of four hundred and twenty-five pounds increase to hold of us, our heirs and successors, in free and common soccage as of our manor of East Greenwich, in our county of Kent, acquitted and discharged of and from all title and interest of common and other claims whatsoever, belong-

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ing and appertaining to the tenants and inhabitants of the said demesne or manor of Hatfield, or any or either of them, or to any other person or persons and freed and discharged of and from all rights, liberties, and privileges of the forest:

"And whereas the said Cornelius Vermuyden, out of a singular devotion of mind and piety, proposed and intended to erect and constitute one or more chapel or chapels, within the said limits of the said demesne or manor, in places more convenient, and in the same to maintain, at their own costs and charges, ministers able to celebrate divine things there to the glory of Almighty God, and humbly beseeched our royal licence or assent to the finishing of this work: We highly favouring the said pious and laudable institution of the said Cornelius Vermuyden, and being willing they should obtain a happy effect, of our especial favour, certain knowledge, and meer motion, have given and granted, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant to the said Cornelius Vermuyden, his heirs and assigns, or to any other person or persons by him named and appointed, and his heirs, full ability, licence, power, and authority, that he or they, or any or either of them, at any time hereafter, and in any convenient place or places within the said limits of the demesne or manor before granted, or any or either of them, where it shall seem most expedient to him or them, with the consent and approbation of the ordinary of that place, may be able and have power to found, erect, and build up one or more chapel or chapels, and in the said chapel or chapels from time to time for ever, to put in, allow, and maintain one or more minister or ministers to read and celebrate divine and sacramental things there, to the praise and honour of Almighty God, either in the English or Dutch language, according to the form of the established religion in this our kingdom of England: And this without any other warrant or commission to be procured and obtained from us, our heirs and successors, on that behalf, any thing, cause, or matter whatsoever to the contrary thereof in anywise notwithstanding."

The king's reserved rents granted in trust for the Duke of Buckingham.

The rents reserved by the king were afterwards granted, by letter patent, bearing date the 9th day of September, in the fifth year of his reign, to Katharine, late Duchess of Buckingham, and Sir George Manners, Knt., afterwards Earl of Rutland, in trust for George, Duke of Buckingham.

The king likewise granted, to John Gibbon and J. Corcillis, Esqrs. his third part of the drained lands, on paying the fee-farm rent of £ 1228 : 17s. to be paid to the crown for ever, which was afterwards granted to the Duke of Buckingham.

Inhabitants of Crowle claim right

In the fifth year of his reign, a decree was procured from the Exchequer by the inhabitants of Crowle, who claimed a right of common on

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of common in Hatfield manor.

the waste grounds in the manor of Hatfield, near Crowle, and it was decreed that land should be set out accordingly: See Appendix No. 3.

The great opposition with which Sir Cornelius meets in the execution of his drainage.

"But* while this great projector thought himself secure of his majesty's favour, and resting upon the authority of his inexhaustible treasure, he found himself mightily annoyed by the gnats and flies: that is, the common sort of the inhabitants that set upon him when he should rest; for they finding these mounds of earth, cast up for his ease and security, would prove their utter ruin, and dam that water upon their ancient lands above, which should lay upon his improvement below, they disturbed him in his works: and when that would not do, in great numbers they burnt his carts, and barrows, and working instruments, in great heaps by night: whereupon Mr. Cornelius was forced to purchase ground of the ancient owners to make such drains as might satisfy the common people, and give those people such extraordinary wages in his employment that they did not now foresee that ruin they were so apprehensive of before.

"The success of this, and finding many of his former chests of gold secure now without locking, Sir Cornelius Vermuyden began to cast about what he was doing, and what he should do; and now it is he begins to trick, therefore before all the parcels of commonable grounds were, as by his majesty's agreement, allotted to the freeholders, copyholders, and tenants, he applies himself to the king, and purchases of his majesty not only this third part of the said commonable grounds, but also the manor or lordship of Hatfield, and by colour of this he and his partners had possessed themselves of all or most of the surrounded grounds, and had inclosed, shared, and divided the same amongst themselves, without calling any of the said inhabitants and tenants thereunto; and had left unto the said tenants such part of the said commonable grounds as did lie in the flats and lowest places, and had stopped up the ancient and navigable river of Dun, running by Thorne, by which the surcharge of superfluous waters lying upon the grounds was conveyed away; and by a great bank or wall of earth, of an extraordinary height and breadth, turned the waters by violence out of the new improved grounds into the old inhabitants' ground and houses, and into the grounds and houses of the inhabitants of Sykehouse, Fishlake, Stainford, Baln,

* The following account of the transactions of the first ten years of the drainage, is taken from the production of a bitter enemy to these improvements, consequently of only partial authority; from the scarcity of materials for the early part of the drainage, we are unable to say how far this account is true. The whole pamphlet is printed in Appendix No. 5.

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and Pollington, and other places adjoining, to the utter decay and spoiling of their grounds: and to the utter impoverishing of so many of them as have no other lands in other places to live upon.

"And now the face of things begins to appear, Sir Cornelius is big with his undertakings, and the country begins to reassume the sense of their English liberty, so that they gave Sir Cornelius and his workmen such diversion that obstructed his work: so hereupon Mr. Attorney General, in his majesty's behalf, and Sir Cornelius on his own behalf, set forth before the counsel board, 10th April, 1629. the riotous and rebellious carriage of Robert Portington,* Esq. and others, in beating, wounding, and killing divers of their workmen employed in this undertaking, in the counties of York, Lincoln, and Nottingham, and for spoiling of the walls made for draining of their lands. This business was heard at the board, both parties present, fully debated by their counsel, in the presence of the king. Mr. Portington and others were bound to their behaviour, and left to Sir Cornelius his liberty to prosecute: and Sir Cornelius was to secure, at his own charge, the banks of Fishlake and Sykehouse, in what was requisite for their safety, more than the usual charge before the undertaking. And whereas it was moved against Robert Portington, Esq. (one of the persons complained of,) that

* "Robert Portington, whose heroic deeds I have mentioned in my MSS. was second brother to Roger Portington, of Tudworth, which Roger had originally but a small estate, until that there died one Sir Roger Portington, of or near Leeds, who left his whole estate, about £1,600 a year, to the disposal of his wife, they having no issue, she left it to this same Roger Portington, of Tudworth, because he was her husband's double namesake, though not at all related. After this he came to the manor hall of Hatfield, and lived there until the breaking out of the civil war, in which he took the king's part,—was a captain, raised and maintained a troop at his own cost,—till at last, having spent above £9000, he was taken prisoner and sent to London, where they made him pay £1890 more for composition for his estate, and kept him in prison eleven years until the king's return; after which he lived at Barnby-upon-Dun, and there died and was buried. As for his estate that was left, he bequeathed it to his wife, for her life, and after her decease to the Portingtons of Portington, to whom I think it went long ago, and is now almost spent.

"The aforesaid Robert Portington, was major in Sir W. Savil's regiment,—was a valiant soldier, plundered the isle of Axholme,—was in the fight at Willoughby, there taken prisoner and sent to Hull, where he lay till the king was restored; and then coming over Booth ferry, or, as others say, Whitgift, he there received in his hand the slite bite of an ape, that was then by chance in the boat, which gangrened and shortly after carried him to the grave.

"Henry Portington, the great royalist of whom I sent you the book, was the son of Robert Portington, Esq. of Staynford, and nephew to the aforesaid Roger and Robert, and dying without issue, left what he had to a brother named William, who had a son named Henry who spent all.

"All this I took in writing, some years ago, from Mr. ————, before he died." Extracted from Pryme's diary.

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he might be put out of commission of being a justice of the peace for the West-Riding of the county of York: it is ordered, that he shall continue in commission so long as he behaveth himself well.

12th May, 1630. "Sir Cornelius having thus shewed the way to Whitehall; the oppressed countrymen began to have a sense of the justice that lodged there. So that the inhabitants of Sykehouse, Fishlake, Stainford, Cowick, Snaith, Baln, Pollington, and divers others in the West-Riding of the county of York, exhibited their petition to the board, with a certificate of divers justices

7th April, 1630. of the peace of the said Riding, made at the sessions held at Pontefract. Representing that the said places, together with the country thereabouts, had lately sustained infinite loss by the INUNDATIONS* of water, caused by the

* I have extracted the following instances of the effects of these inundations from Pryme's MSS.

"Towards the end of this year (1687) there happened a great inundation in the Levels, by means of the much rains that fell, and the high tides; which increased the waters so, that they broke the banks and drowned the country for a vast many miles about. My father, and every one in general that dwelt there, lost very considerably in their winter corn, besides the great expense they were put to by boating their cattle to the hills, and firm lands, with the trouble of keeping them there two or three months. I have been several times upon these banks, (which are about three yards in height,) when the water has been full to the very tops, and nothing appeared on that side but a terrible tempestuous sea. The water remains about half a week, and sometimes a week, at its full height, whose motions some hundreds of people are watching night and day. But if it chance to be so strong as to drive away, as it often does, any quantity of any of the banks, then it drowns all before it, and makes a noise by its fall which is heard many miles before they perceive the water; and in the place where it precipitates itself down, makes a huge pond or pit, sometimes one hundred yards about, and a vast depth, so that in that place, it being impossible for the bank to be built again, they always build it half round, many of which pits and banks may be seen beyond Thorne."

"On the 17th December, 1697, we had a very great snow, which was on the level ground about two foot and a half thick, after a pretty hard frost, which froze over again for several days. On the 20th it thawed exceedingly fast, upon which there came down so great a flood that the like was never known; about forty-one years since there was the greatest flood that was then ever remembered, but that was much less than this: for this came roaring all of a sudden, about eleven o'clock at night, on to Bramwith, Fishlake, Thorne, and other towns, upon which the people rung all their bells backwards (as they commonly do in case of a great fire), but though this frightened all to the banks, and bid them all look about them, yet, nevertheless, the loss was very great. The people of Sykehouse and Fishlake they had banks to save them, yet it overtopt all; drowned the beast in their folds and destroyed their sheep; several men lost their lives; their houses in Sykehouse and many in Fishlake being drowned up to the very eves; so that they reckon no less than £3000 damage was done by the same in the parish of Fishlake. It came with such force against all the banks about Thorne, which keep the waters off the Levels, that every body gave them over, there being no hopes to save them, and ran over them all along, and the ground being so hard they could strike down stakes upon the tops of their banks, to hinder the water from running over. At last, it being impossible that

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participants' new works, which did not only enter into their dwelling houses, but their corn and hay, both in barns and stacks, were utterly spoiled; their corn sown upon the ground washed away; their cattle lost for want of food; and their lands tilled made unfit to be sown; and thereby the inhabitants much empoverished: which overflowings were occasioned by the banks raised by Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, and other undertakers, to drain the lands in Hatfield chase, and other places near adjoining, by turning the water of Dun and Air into channels not capable to receive and carry them away; whereby that part of the country would in a short time become uninhabitable, if some means of prevention were not speedily used. On the other side it was alledged and urged, that the losses were not such as were pretended, and that the decay and lowness of the old banks belonging to Sykehouse and Fishlake, and over against the new walls of the undertakers, were the true causes of the inconveniences complained of, and that the undertakers had cut a new channel of sufficient breadth and depth. That the substantial repairing and raising of the old banks April, 1629. to the height and breadth they anciently were of, according to a late order of the board, would both secure the country and prevent future danger and damages. These allegations on both sides were deliberately heard by their counsel, the king being present.

" It was therefore thought fit and ordered, for preventing all future questions, that the inhabitants of Sykehouse and Fishlake, and other places adjoining, chargeable with the making of the old wall, which ought to contribute thereto, should contribute two hundred pounds to be levied by rateable proportions upon all their several lands, and that to be paid to the said Sir Cornelius: and that thereupon the said Sir Cornelius, or the owners of those lands within the said

such vast waters should be contained in such short small bounds, it burst a huge gime close by Gore ..... near Thorne, where there had been a vast gime formerly, and so drowned all the whole Levels to an exceeding great depth, so that many people were kept so long in the upper part of their houses that they were almost pined, while all their beasts were drowned about them. It was indeed a very sad thing to hear the oxen bellowing and the sheep bleating, and the people crying out for help round about as they did, all over Bramwith, Sykehouse, Stanford, and Fishlake, and undoubtedly in other places, yet no one could get to save or help them, it being about midnight; and so many poor people were forced to remain, for several days together, some upon the tops of their houses, others in the highest rooms, without meat or fire, until they were almost starved." The sluice at Thorne was in great danger of being washed away; and, if so, it was thought it would not have been replaced, as the whole country would have petitioned against it, and the Levels returned to their ancient state. This Abraham de la Pryme thinks will probably be the case, on account of the still existing violent prejudices of the commoners, &c. Then follows an account of the breaking of other banks, and the loss to the whole country about is estimated at a million.

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new wall, or corporation, to be made for preserving of those new works, shall, at his and their own proper costs and charges, perfect the said work, by making of the banks of the old wall, over against the said new wall of the said undertakers, as high and as broad in all places as where they are now or anciently were highest and broadest, or otherwise as he and they shall think fit for the safety of the country. And the said banks being so raised and made as aforesaid, it was further thought fit and ordered, that they shall from henceforth be so continued and maintained by Sir Cornelius, or the owners of the lands which are newly gained and lie within the undertakers' new walls, or by the said corporation, upon and for such yearly allowance from the said inhabitants chargeable with the said banks, as by certain commissioners of sewers, to be indifferently chosen by both parties, shall be thought requisite and set down, provided nevertheless that Sir Cornelius be not charged with the reparations and making good of inevitable and unforeseen accidents not occasioned by the said new works; and that the country do not directly nor indirectly, cut, pull down, nor wilfully indamage the said banks so raised and repaired. Here is also for quietness provided, that all losses and damages on either side committed or sustained, should be remitted; in that their lordships looking forwards were desirous to avoid all contentions and unnecessary law suits, and to nourish all good correspondency betwixt Sir Cornelius and the country.

" This was the first general application and audit for redress of grievances; and therefore it highly concerned Sir Cornelius (knowing the accumulative grievances he had heaped upon the upland inhabitants and the weakness of his allegations) now to hedge as well as dike. And therefore, with the advise and assistance of Sir Robert Heath, his majesty's attorney general, and Sir Thomas Fanshaw, his majesty's surveyor general, (both Sir Cornelius's special friends upon record) he obtains the favour of this order, which was likely to be a standing rule to posterity; and is, at this very day, of such presumptive consequence, that, was it in the wit and power of this great and good man's assigns, they would turn the course of the Derbyshire springs into the western seas.

" For, says the order, that the inhabitants of Sykehouse and Fishlake, and other places adjoining, chargeable with the making of the old wall, which ought to contribute thereto, should contribute two hundred pounds, to be levied by rateable proportions upon all their several lands; and that to be paid to the said Sir Cornelius, &c. This excluded all the other towns who were at ease and in safety before this notable improvement, as Stainford, Cowick, Snaith, Baln, Pollington, and divers other towns in the West-Riding of the county of York, who, with Fishlake and Sykehouse, exhibited their petition, with the certificate

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from the honourable bench of justices at a general sessions for the whole West-Riding, the said towns also were willing and ready to contribute, had not Sir Cornelius thus evading it. And doubtless they would not have so sit down, but that they had daily experience how difficult it was for the two towns, Fishlake and Sykehouse, to get any thing confirmed, as shall be shewn in its place: and the troubles which soon after befell the nation was an hindrance too. The next favourable clause is, that Sir Cornelius, and his successors, shall, at his and their own proper costs and charges, make the old walls of Fishlake and Sykehouse, as high and broad in all places as anciently they were the highest and broadest, and so maintain the same for ever. This, at this day, would do them no manner of kindness; for the walls that were the highest then, were not so high as the foreshores of the river are in those places now: and the bottom of the river, at some times by reason of warp, not much lower then the sole of the ancient ground. But then the order follows: or otherwise, as he and they shall think fittest for the safety of the ancient country: which consideration swayed at that time, and quelled the murmuring of the adjacent country, expecting some great advantage from so sweet a clause. It also follows again, that Sir Cornelius shall not be charged with the reparations and making good of unevitable and unforeseen accidents, not occasioned by the said new work: a very proper and concluding clause, which shewed there was very little more to do, but cannot be of any force at this day; for they could not then foresee that ruin and desolation, waste of goods and destruction of cattle, danger of bodily health, and loss of lives; which, at this day, in some proportion, befals above twenty towns by this new work. Such dismal consequences the government would surely provide against, if they at least foresaw them: such is the business of the common inquests, and which the laws of all nations provide against.

" Besides, it was thought, at that time, that it never was the intent of the board to make such slender provision for the country; or admitting they say, he should make his banks as high as may be; yet they cannot secure the country any further than the old banks go: and it was very hard that so great a number of the petitioners should lose the benefit of the law in recovering their damages.

" But Sir Cornelius slily insinuated to the board, that he had made a river or channel of sufficient depth and breadth, which would give scope and liberty for the receiving and conveying away of the waters. This famous river, at that time, is the place that extended along his bank, called East bank; out of which he had taken earth to make his bank, and the same was then stopped at both ends; but could be wished it was open and as deep now as it hath been since. Which has been navigable for boats of fourteen tuns, but is now warped up.

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"He alledged also, that the repairing the old bank to the ancient height and breadth, would both secure the country and prevent all future damages and inundations. This too, by them that understood matters, was looked upon, at that time, to be a sham; for this new bank, as appeared then by the map, went from Ashfield, south-west, and so along north to Turnbridge, and the old bank upon the east of Sykehouse, and some part of Fishlake, and extended no further than some part of their lands: so suppose it higher than the ditch bank, yet it could secure no further then it went. So that great part of the country of necessity must be drowned; the main river Dun being shut up with lock-gates, and so continually kept, that it could not vent itself into the ancient level towards the Trent as it was used to do; and Air and Ouze, upon spring tides, so put in, that the country had just cause to set forth the distress they were in. And thus did Sir Cornelius and his agents abuse his majesty and the board.

"And then, also, did they basely abuse the country: for it was highly out of reason that they should dispense with more then twenty thousand pounds losses, as was certified by the honourable bench of justices at so general a meeting; and that Sir Cornelius should be left at liberty to proceed against them by lawsuits. For though the words argue to the contrary, yet Sir Cornelius and his agents, within two days after the order, proceeded against the country for pretended hurts done to him and his agents before the order: and took up subpoenas and writs out of all the king's courts, and served many upon the ancient freeholders: some answered, others appeared: some were remitted, others dispensed withal: this was at London. Divers were apprehended and lay in prison at York: and having dormant warrants to commit more, and unknown power, many of good quality durst not stay in their houses. And this monster of a man (whose natural qualities no one English epithet can answer,) threatened to hang divers of the petitioners, his majesty's native and freeborn subjects, and to get a commission for that purpose: and reported, that if he could but have staid in the country, he would have set up a pair of gallows to have terrified the people.

"Sir Cornelius, being elevated with the success of this fright, projected to have his improvement established by act of parliament: but you shall presently see he had other work to do. The same project was on foot soon after the glorious restoration; but obstructed by the late Lord Downe, which noble person, with Sir Thomas Yarburgh, the other worthy representative of the same ancient borough, satisfied the house by several weighty arguments to the contrary.

Members for Pontefract

"All this horror and amazement happened at the latter end of May and the beginning of June in the same year; whereupon his majesty and the council

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quickly thought fit to consider the insufferable condition of his distressed subjects, and the vexations and excessive charge that thousands of families (many whereof paid the king's subsidies) lay under, and by which they were brought to beg their bread. Therefore the petition was considered over again, and the whole matter in debate 'twixt the parties was referred, by order of council, to the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Viscount Wentworth, lord president of the north, John Lord Darcy, and Mr. Justice Hutton, or any two of them, whereof the Lord Viscount Wentworth to be one, praying and requiring them to call the said Sir Cornelius Vermuyden and such of the said inhabitants before them as they should think fit. *22d June in the same year*

"According to the direction of this order, Lord Viscount Wentworth and Lord Darcy met at Hatfield two several times, and viewed the works made by Sir Cornelius for draining the ground, and heard the allegations on both sides; and in the presence and with the assistance and consent of Sir Cornelius's two special friends to this new work, and by the consent of both parties present, and mutual advisement had of all circumstances, these two noble persons made an order or award, consisting of thirteen paragraphs, in which are plainly set forth such rogueries of Sir Cornelius, that was his intended gallows erected he had been the proper Haman to be hanged thereon. *26th August, 1630.*

"For though he prosecuted (which never was intended him to do) persons of good fashion, with such injustice, violence, and fury, but two months before; yet all suits depending in any court of justice were ordered to be remitted, and the attorney general to take notice of the same: he was likewise to confirm to the tenants and inhabitants their copyhold lands as anciently, without admeasurement, together with their customs and certainty of their fines, in which he would heavily have oppressed them by virtue of his purchase from the crown: he was also to restore their turf moores with admeasurement, which he then unjustly detained, with their allotments of several hundred acres of common, with a great many more particulars, needless now to repeat.

"But one act of this order of remaining consequence is this: that the tenants and inhabitants aforesaid shall pay to Sir Cornelius Vermuyden two hundred pounds, by equal contributions; and that the said Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, his heirs and assigns, shall repair and make up, all the banks and walls made for the defence of Fishlake and Sykehouse, and other grounds adjoining, which shall hereafter be kept in reparation by the said Sir Cornelius and his assigns, and his and their heirs, upon and for such yearly allowance from the said inhabitants chargeable with the said banks, as by certain commissioners or sewers to be indifferently chosen by both parties, shall be thought requisite and set down; and

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this is the first establishment of the commission of sewers for the famous Level of Hatfield chase, which has been so very indifferently chosen, and now is of such very hopeful consequence to the ancient estates.

" And if the tenants and inhabitants, which should contribute towards the said two hundred pounds, their heirs and assigns, should at any time or times hereafter be damnified by inundations caused by Sir Cornelius's new works: Sir Cornelius, his heirs and assigns, should make satisfaction to the party grieved, in such proportion as the president and council, established in the north parts for the time being, should tax the loss. And also the wall should forthwith be made for the defence of Fishlake and Sykehouse, and if those should be found not sufficient to secure the said tenants and inhabitants, the said Sir Cornelius, his heirs and assigns, should, in the year following, effect a new drain through the level, or some other works, to preserve the said tenants and inhabitants and the oppressed country; in regard it is the cause of all those stoppings and warpings of all the ancient passages: which in its proper places may be made appear.

" This is part of the award of these two great statesmen, which stars were brought out of the upper firmament of state to attend the eccentric motion of a thing called a new improvement; and you shall presently find that these two right honourable persons were as basely abused by this new sir of quality, as the king and his council and the numerous oppressed people were before.

" For, says the close of that award, it was advised and thought fit that this order and award be decreed, as well in his majesty's court of Exchequer as before the lord president and council in the north. But, to prevent this, the mirror of frauds and oppression (that the tenants and inhabitants should have no benefit of this award) secretly conveys his improvements unto trustees, as he himself was afterwards brought to acknowledge before authority.

" This made the lord president grievously complain from York to the council board above; in which he sets forth, that notwithstanding his agreement the banks and works were neglected, and the country miserably drowned and consumed in their estates, and that Sir Cornelius kept without the jurisdiction of his court, and so made all process ineffectual; and that he could no ways keep the country at quiet but by telling them of just and fitting satisfaction; and they might soon expect the work to be done. But yet he found it a work of some difficulty to contain the people from sudden violence, unless they find the state have some regard towards them. Therefore he humbly desires their lordships to direct Sir Cornelius to be sent down to him, and order him to make just satisfaction to the country. And he adds, that he is daily called upon by the miserable complaints of the ancient landholders.

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" But the country could no longer contain themselves: so that the considering part of them preferred a fresh petition to the council board, and, among other things, set forth, that Sir Cornelius refused to give way for the passing a decree according to order. And the board having called both parties before them, and seen their order, and heard, at large, their arguments and allegations, made on either side, and having also well weighed and considered the importance of their business, did unanimously order and declare, that the said Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, and his partners, shall suffer the said order to be decreed as well in the Exchequer chamber as before the lord president and council at York, according to the purpose and true meaning of the said order. And to that end they further ordered that the petitioners' bill, now depending in the Exchequer chamber, may be sufficiently answered by the said Sir Cornelius and his said partners, before the first day of the next term: as that a decree may be thereupon had by consent, without any suit or delay; and if the said Sir Cornelius shall make a default in performance of their lordships' order, the board will take notice thereof, and direct such further course for the performance of the same as shall be fit. And now Heath and Fanshaw, his worship's agents, had little to do for him, and his two supporters leave him to stand by himself. 25th May, 1631.

" This order one would think conclusive, and that no brow of brass could face this authority again; or that in modesty (if he had any humility in him) he might submit to that authority from whence he derived his patent, and had all the favours granted him that he could request. Yet see the wolf is a wolf still; for the succeeding term being over, there arises a just cause for such a complaint.

" For in July 1631 following, there was a petition read at the board, presented in behalf of the inhabitants and tenants of Fishlake and Sykehouse, Stainford, Bala, and Pollington, and others, in which they complained that Sir Cornelius refused to give way for the award to be decreed according to former orders; and, the term being past, he intended not to answer, as far as they perceived; therefore they prayed that some speedy course might be taken for the performance of the order concerning the Exchequer decree, and that a day might be prefixed by which the said Sir Cornelius, and his partners, might be enjoined to suffer a decree before the lord president and council at York; that they, whose estates were wasted by the said Sir Cornelius, was convented before their lordships, charged with his neglect and disobedience to the order of the board, and there did assent and agree fully to perform and fulfil the said award in every point, humbly then submitting the consideration, and ordering of the whole business, to the lord president aforesaid; who prayed to take some further pains therein, and the said award justly and duly performed, and to settle the

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cause finally and fully, in such manner as that the petitioners may have no new reason to trouble the board any more in this matter.

"So that upon the Twenty-Eighth day of November following, was the award decreed in the Exchequer: but still he shuffles off the decree at York, that place being near his start holes; and though he had passed the decree verbatim before the lord president of the north and his council, and had given it under his own hand by letter directed to Mr. Hampe, to pass the said decree; yet, contrary to his promise to the Lord Wentworth, he gave directions to Mr. Hampe not to pass the same: whereupon Lord Wentworth assured the inhabitants that justice should be done them. And, in the mean time, Sir Cornelius was ordered, the Friday following, to shew cause why he did not answer according to his former promise. Heartily could it be wished that the level had such a president set over it now. And to give you one taste of the justice of that glorious martyr, who was best acquainted with the rogueries of the Laplanders towards others and to one another, I have transcribed for you at large this following order, which is thus:

"*At WHITE HALL, the 26th of APRIL*, 1633.

PRESENT.

LORD PRIVY SEAL,	LORD COTTINGTON,
EARL OF DANBY,	LORD NEWBROUGH,
EARL OF DORSETT,	Mr.
LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH,	Mr. CONTROLLER,
LORD VISCOUNT VALKLAND,	Mr Secretary COOK,
LORD	Mr. Secretary WINDEBANK.

"WHEREAS a complaint was heretofore preferred to his majesty by Sir Philibert Vernatti, knight, Samuel Vanpan, his majesty's servants, Matthew Valkenburgh, esquire, and John Corselis, gentleman, which complaint his majesty was pleased to refer to the Lord Keeper, the Lord Wentworth, the Lord Cottington, and Mr. Secretary Windebank, who thereupon made report to his majesty touching the said complaint, which report his majesty having considered of, did command that the same should be read at the board, and order given them to the same effect, if their lordships should think fit, which was accordingly read as follows, *in his verbis:*

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" *May it please your Majesty,*

" According to your reference made unto us at White-Hall, the Seventeenth of December, 1632, under the hand of me Francis Windebank, knight, one of your majesty's principal secretaries, upon the petition of Sir Philibert Vernatti, knight, Samuel Vanpan, your majesty's servants, Matthew Valkenbrough, esquire, and John Corselis, gentleman, complaining against Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, knight: we have several times called the parties on both sides before us, and heard their allegations by their counsel, and we find the differences betwixt them to be so many and so intricate, and their allegations one against another so full of contradiction, as we hold them no way fit to be determined by a reference, but to be left to be decided by a judicial course in any of your majesty's ordinary courts of justice, by such suits or actions as either party shall think fit to pursue. But in regard we do find as well by the relation of me the lord president of your majesty's council established in the north, who have by direction in mine own person viewed all the works, and several parts of the drains of Hatfield chase in the presence of all the parties interested therein, as by our own view of the map of the said drain is, and by the testimony and complaints of divers others your majesty's subjects, and upon consideration of the reasons alledged by both the parties themselves, that the said drains are yet imperfect, and through their default have already drowned, and daily do drown, and are likely to drown hereafter, a great quantity of other lands belonging to divers others your majesty's subjects, except there be a good and sufficient drain made for carrying clear away the waters of the rivers of Dun and Trent, from Turnbridge to the river of Ouze; which drain is well and sufficiently begun and already to be made, as we are informed, by all the participants, who do alledge that they have already exceeded therein ten or twelve thousand pounds, and that it will cost four or five thousand pounds more to finish the same: which we do hold very requisite to be finished, together with the other works now in hand and lying within the banks of the Level, with all convenient speed. We do think fit to advise that the finishing, as well of the said great drain as of the inwork aforesaid, should be charged and imposed, provisionally, upon all the participants which have begun the same for the public good, and for the discharge of all parties interested in the said drains of Hatfield chase, and for that end, that the said Sir Cornelius, and all the participants pretended by the said Sir Cornelius to be liable thereunto, shall forthwith pay in their rates and scots for the charge already expended and to be expended in the making of the said great drain from Turnbridge, and the other inland works for the perfecting of the main work, together with all arrears due by the said Sir

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Cornelius Vermuyden and all the participants as the said Sir Cornelius pretends to make appear, according to every man's proportion of acres, and according to the order of the lord president and council of the north; and that particular commissioners of sewers, for that level requisite, may issue forth, as well for ordering and maintaining the said works as for apportioning and leading of the said scots and rates for which the parties have been earnest suitors; and as well to induce the said complainants to proceed in the finishing the said great drains and inworks, as in justice to proceed for their satisfaction in case a court of justice shall adjudge or decree unto them any great sum of monies against Sir Cornelius Vermuyden. We do think fit and advise, that all such assurance as is now to pass from your majesty to the said Sir Cornelius of any of the lands contracted for in Hatfield chase, or places adjacent within the level now drained, or to be drained, shall be conveyed and assured by your majesty to the four clerks of the council in ordinary, as fitting and indifferent feoffees, for security of performing whatsoever shall be adjudged or decreed, to the complaints, of them, from the said Sir Cornelius as aforesaid. And that in like manner the complainants shall give security by sufficient bond, of some reasonable sum, to pay unto the said Sir Cornelius whatsoever shall be adjudged or decreed to him against the said complainants as aforesaid. And we do further think fit and advise, that the said Sir Cornelius shall by or before the Feast of Ascension next, convey and assure unto the said indifferent and fitting feoffees, all such lands contracted for in Hatfield chase, or the places adjacent within that level now drained, or to be drained, which remain in his own hands unconveyed, or conveyed to any others to the use and behoof of the said Sir Cornelius, for further security as aforesaid, free and discharged from all incumbrances by the said Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, over and above such remedy as by virtue of any such judgement or decree the complainants might otherwise have.

23d August, 1632.

"And in case the said Sir Cornelius Vermuyden should fail or refuse to convey and assure the said lands for security as aforesaid, We do think fit and advise, that your majesty be pleased to cause the said Sir Cornelius to be sued in your own name, for breach and non-performance of his contract or contracts with your majesty concerning the said drainage: and that all advantages which may be recovered to your majesty thereby, may be transferred to the benefit of the complainants, over and above such remedy as by virtue of any such judgement and decree as aforesaid the complainants may otherwise have: provided that the complainants, before they receive the benefit aforesaid by breach of contract by the said Sir Cornelius with his majesty, do give security for the maintenance of the aforesaid works hereafter, and for the indemnity of the possessors of the said

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drained lands, and of the country adjacent, through their default in maintaining the said works in time to come.

" Forasmuch as their lordships, upon reading and consideration had of the report, did find cause well to like and approve thereof, they did ratify and confirm the same in all parts thereof, willing and requiring that it should be put in execution and fully performed accordingly.

(Signed) LORD KEEPER,
LORD VISCOUNT WENTWORTH,
LORD COTTINGTON,
Mr. Secretary WINDEBANK,
WILLIAM BEACHER.

" They being thus divided, and their grounds falling into disgrace, both at court and at home, the government began to look forward and make provision for the distressed ancientry: and seeing the inhabitants of Fishlake and Sykehouse had paid their two hundred pounds, as awarded and decreed, it was requisite something should be done.

" Therefore the board issued out another order for Lord Wentworth to tax the yearly payment that the inhabitants of Fishlake and Sykehouse were to give the participants for maintaining their banks: and due consideration being had thereto, and that it could never be made appear that the annual charge amounted to above eight pounds in any one year for twenty years past, it was set down, by that right honourable lord, that the inhabitants of Fishlake and Sykehouse should yearly pay unto Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, and his successors, the sum of ten pounds for ever, for the reparation of the same. And whereas Sir Cornelius had received two hundred pounds to secure them from future damages, therefore the lord president did not impeach the said inhabitants in recovery of their damages, which at any time happened since the award at Hatfield they have sustained by reason of the new works, but left the same to be recovered by them according as their cause should in justice require: notwithstanding no yearly allowance hath been set down or made by the said inhabitants.

" This consideration satisfied the poor sufferers for some time: but finding nothing but expectance, they were forced to present several complaints to the board, which were considered against Sir Philibert Vernatti, baronet, and Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, knight, and others, concerning the unsupportable loss and damages sustained by the complainants, in regard the works were not yet perfected, but shamefully neglected. Whereupon it was

8th May, 1635.

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ordered, that as many as were named in the several bills of complaint, should put in their respective answers thereunto, before the council at York, before the first day of the following term; and, in default thereof, a warrant shall be awarded to a messenger of his majesty's chamber, to take them or as many of them into custody as could be found, and carry them down to York, to make their answers according to the fore-granted order: and until the same be done they were not to be discharged.

"Complaint was then made of the stoppage of the river Dun running by Thorne, which was then alledged to be the cause of the great damages then sustained. So it was ordered, that the commissioners of sewers, not interested in the work of draining, should view the place where the said river was stopped, and direct and take such course as should prevent the future damages of the complainants, either by stoppage or otherwise as in their discretions they should think fit, according to the power given by their commission; or, if it cannot be otherwise avoided, by opening the said river again.

"This honourable court of sewers acted then with a due regard to the honour they derived from the fountain, and with an equal respect to the parties they stood between. So that the first part of this order, that is by stoppage, was performed by them, and a very noble sluice built at the end of the new cut at Goole, which answered the end it was built for. This was driven down, after some years, by the violence of the tides, in regard it was neglected to be repaired as it ought: for the proof of which, we have several copies of orders of sewers for the repair of it, which was never observed, for this reason amongst the rest:

"The participants being then parted, and most of their families and adherents in disdain and poverty, it made way for a new succession, upon easy terms, to come in: most of which were the successful English of that memorable age, which so managed the authority of the commissioners of the sewers for their own ends then, and the country not taking timely notice of the evil consequences of it, that what they then did for themselves is practicable now, and has come into good liking ever since. For although the juries have brought in their presentment several times, upon their views, and laid the defaults upon the participants: yet such presentments, not agreeable to the court, have been refused, and the jurors leave given them to go home, who, in such cases, have not been lawfully discharged to this day.

"Nay even the commissioners themselves, that are participants, have acknowledged the ancient country's grievance such as, they will tell you, they knew not how to help them: and that is because they will not, for they never yet redressed one petition of grievance since the restoration: though the country's losses grow

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every year more unsupportable than other. But in God's name, now that Goole sluice is so long since taken away, and by that means the ancient passages warped up, let them look back upon the order of the council board, which says, that if it cannot be otherwise avoided, by opening the said river Dun running by Thorne again. For though this commission of sewers be of very great authority, yet the order of the council board must needs be of no more, which gave them being at first.

" And observe further, that though the going away of Goole sluice has been of such dismal consequences to the country, that we can evidence more than twenty floods, many of which have been more destructive to the ancient lands than the burthen of all the taxes put together since the revolution to this day: (and all their repeated loses by water, of more computation than if all their towns had been once burnt by fire;) yet for all this the other part of the order, of opening the river again, not looked upon, but is kept up in such sort that often times the ancient land is overspread, in most places, three miles at least, with water; all which has not, in some parts below, the passage of, one hundred and ten yards, and not above four feet deep, and that too repelled frequently by the violent tides. So that by this you may measure the oppression the ancient country lies under, which has no manner of law for its support but prescription; which in this case is of no manner of authority, but with such tame fools as have known no better: for no man can conceive that the country can be bound up to suffer these unsupportable damages by any of these preceeding orders of council, or that Fishlake and Sykehouse should be concluded by that clause in the order, of inevitable and unforeseen accidents, when all our ancient passages for conveyance are now clearly warped up, and the river too in such manner, that the banks now made against Fishlake are higher then the chamber floors of many of their ancient houses, nay, than the eaves of some of them; and the sole of the church low windows, whose foundation is upon the highest ground, as usually all churches are. *12th May, 1690.*

" It was also complained at the same time against Sir Philibert Vernatti and Sir Cornelius Vermuyden and their partners, that above one hundred poor workmen and labourers and servants, who had been employed by them in their works, that they wanted a very large sum due to them for their labour: Whereupon it was ordered, that the wages due to those poor workmen, amounting to the sum of fifteen hundred pounds, for which a decree was made in the council at York, on the Second of October before, adjudged to be by them paid; which same was unperformed, and they stood out to a writ of rebellion; it was therefore expressly ordered that they should obey the said decree, and give full satisfaction before

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the first day of the next term, or otherwise they, or so many of them as shall be found, shall be committed to a messenger of his majesty's chamber to be by him carried down to York, and there to be proceeded withal according to justice.

"And here you have an account of nine years and six days, in which the country was miserably spoiled and wasted, the poor oppressed, to pleasure the vanity of a new nothing. Not long after did these chosen people forsake their intrenchments and fled; having the favour to borrow craftily and spoil most of their neighbours. Sir Cornelius Vermuyden dies miserably poor in the south; and all the rest, saving a very few, dispersed: leaving their adventure to a hopeful succession of managers; who would raise the very rainbow out of the firmament of heaven, were they but assured of an ark for their own safety: but this, with submission to all and every of the HONOURABLE PERSONS sharers in the improvement, not any of which were ever stained by any personally acting: and withal amongst the commoners there are many good men, who were not embarked in so bad a bottom."

A grant of land by king Charles I.

On the 24th of May in the eleventh year of Charles I., the king granted, at the nomination of Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, to Sir William Curteine, Knt. and Robert Cambell, Alderman, of the city of London, and our faithful and well-beloved servant Charles Harbord, Esq. our surveyor general, and Timothy Vanuleteren, clerk, their heirs or assigns, the following lands lying in Hatfield chase, &c. to wit. "All that portion or parcel of land called Haxey carr, or South carr, lying in Epworth, Haxey, and Stockwith aforesaid, or in either or any of them, in the said county of Lincoln, lately as aforesaid inclosed, abutting upon a water called *Bickersdike*, and certain inclosures of Misterton aforesaid, on the south part; and upon the waste or common called Stockwith common, Owston and Haxey commons, on the east and northern parts; and upon the old watercourse of Idle on the western part; and all those other parts or parcels of land called Holmes carr, Starr carr, Thornbush carr, and Belton plaines, lying and being in Epworth aforesaid, in our said county of Lincoln, lately also inclosed as aforesaid; on each part of the new way or trench leading from the lake aforesaid called Idlestopp, towards Crowle causeway, and abutting upon the said old watercourse of Idle towards the west; and upon the waste ground called Roll common, and other common lands and inclosures of Epworth aforesaid, towards the east and south; and upon the manor of Crowle aforesaid, and the old watercourse of Dun towards the north; to be inclosed within its bounds aforesaid, a certain late called Messey moor, and a place or close called Santoffe and Ben Intack. All and singular which premises in Epworth, Belton, Haxey, and Stockwith aforesaid, in the said county of Lincoln,

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certain in the whole seven thousand four hundred and seven acres of land or thereabouts. And all that other part or parcell of land called Starr carr, lying and being in Crowle and Belton aforesaid, in the said county of Lincoln, lately inclosed as aforesaid, abutting upon the said way or trench leading from Idlestop aforesaid to Crowle causeway towards the south; and upon the said old watercourse of Dun aforesaid towards the west; and upon the common and other lands and inclosures of Crowle aforesaid towards the north and east, containing in all seven hundred and eighteen acres of land, or thereabouts. And all those other parts or parcels of land lying and being in Missen aforesaid, in the said countys of York and Nottingham, or one of them, lately inclosed as aforesaid, on each part of the said new way leading from Idlestop aforesaid, and abutting upon the said old watercourse of Idle aforesaid, to a certain place called Parsons cross, towards the east; and upon parcel of the mannor of *Wroote* towards the north; and upon the common lands of Missen aforesaid, towards the west and south, containing one thousand five hundred and eighteen acres of land, or thereabouts. And a certain other part or parcel of land lying and being in Missen aforesaid, not as yet inclosed, but to be inclosed, severally to be reduced from the waste lands there next adjoining to the said last mentioned premises, and containing two hundred and eighty-two acres at the least, by measure thereof to be made. All which premises in Missen aforesaid, by particular thereof are mentioned, to be parcell of the possessions of the *Dutchy* of *Cornwall*.

"And also a certain other part or parcel of land lying and being in Misterton and Gringley aforesaid, in the said county of Nottingham, lately as aforesaid inclosed, abutting on a certain water called Bickersdike, and parcel of the mannor of *Everton* towards the north-west; and upon the common lands and inclosures of Misterton and Gringley aforesaid towards the south-east, containing two thousand one hundred thirty-three acres of land, or thereabouts. And all that part or parcel of land lying and being in *Snath*, *Cowick*, and Rawcliff aforesaid, or one of them, in the said county of York, abutting upon a great bank called *Dikesmarsh*, towards the west; and upon parcel of the mannor of Hatfield towards the south; and upon the common lands of Snath aforesaid, towards the east and north, containing four hundred and one acres of land, or thereabouts."

"To hold of us, our heirs and successors, as of our mannor of East Greenwich in our county of Kent, by fealty only, in free and common soccage, and not in chief, nor by knight service. And yielding to us, our heirs and successors, for the said lands in Epworth, Belton, Haxley, Gringley, Misterton, Snath, Cowick, Rawcliff, and Crowle, in the said countys of Lincoln, York, and Nottingham, four hundred sixty-two pounds and seventeen shillings: and for the said premisses in

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Missen aforesaid two hundred eighty-one pounds of lawfull money of England, at the receipt our Exchequer at Westminster, or at the hands of several bailiffs or receivers of the same premises for the time being, respectively at the Feast of the nativity of St. John Baptist, and the Birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, by equal portions to be paid yearly for all other rents, services, exactions, and demands whatsoever for the same, to us our heirs and successors, in any sort of manner to be rendred, paid, or made. And if it shall so happen that the said several annual rents of four hundred sixty-two pounds and seventeen shillings, and two hundred eighty-one pounds, above by these presents as aforesaid reserved, or any part of them, shall be in arrears and unpaid, in part or in the whole, by the space of thirty days after any feast of the said feasts in which as aforesaid they ought to be paid, that then and so often the said William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, their heirs and assigns, shall forfeit and pay, or cause to be paid, to us, our heirs and successors, twenty pounds of lawfull money of England (in the name of a penalty) beyond the said several rents above by these presents respectively reserved, for every month after each of the said feasts in which the said rents, or any parcell thereof, shall be in arrear and unpaid in manner and form aforesaid."

And on the 26th day of August, in the twelfth year of his reign, the king granted the said rents to Philip, late Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, and Sir Robert Pye, Knt. in trust for the Duke of Buckingham, and his heirs for ever.

Right of common claimed by the people of Epworth manor.

"The people of the manor of Epworth claimed right of common upon 13,400 acres; and at the division of lands between the drainers and the commoners, they had 6000 acres allotted them; but some of them not being content therewith, in the twelfth year of the reign of Charles I., their deficiencies was, by consent of the participants and commoners, referred to John Banks, who allotted the commoners 1000 acres more out of the participant' parts; also Epworth south moor, Butterwick moor, and considering that the poor within the parishes of Epworth, Haxey, Owston, and Belton, (all in Epworth manor) would be sufferers by the loss of fishing and following, awarded that the participants should pay £400 for a stock to employ their poor people in the making of sackcloth, cordage, &c."*

Sandtoft first founded.

In the fourteenth year of the reign of Charles I. they did "build and plant a town called Sandtoft, with a church therein; placing a minister there with a salary of eighty pounds a year; whereunto resorted above two hundred familes of the *French* and Walloon protestants (fled out of their native

* Pryme's MS. account of the drainage.

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country for fear of the inquisition, only to enjoy the free exercise of their religion here) who erected and planted above two hundred habitations for husbandry, and plowed and tilled much of the said twenty-four thousand and five hundred acres of land, to the great benefit of the common wealth. All which they enjoyed till about the month of *June*, in the year 1642, that some of the inhabitants thereabouts, pretending they had right of common, said they were not bound by the before-specified decree: and therefore taking advantage of the present distractions: for then it was that the parliament began to raise a powerful army *for the safety of the king's person, defence of both houses of parliament, and of those who had obeyed their orders and commands; and preserving the true religion, laws, liberties, and peace of the kingdome* (as their votes and remonstrances did set forth) a vast proportion of money and plate, being brought in, by the citizens of London, and others, for that purpose; the king being at that time at York, with some slender guards (which they voted to *be a levying of warr against his parliament*) they arose in tumults, brake down the fences and inclosures of four thousand acres, destroyed all the corn growing, and demolished the houses built thereon.

Desperate means resorted to by sundry persons to re-drown the land.

"And[a] about the beginning of *February* ensuing, they pulled up the floud-gates of Snow sewer, which by letting in the tides from the river of Trent, soon drowned a great part of Hatfield chase; divers persons standing there with muskets, and saying, that there they would stay till the whole levell were drowned, and the inhabitants forced to swim away like ducks: and so continued guarding the said sluse for the space of seven weeks together, letting in the tides at every full water, and keeping the sluse shut at an ebb. And about that time, likewise, some of the inhabitants of Misterton, pulled down another sluse, neer that town; which occasioned the river of Trent to break down the banks and overflow the whole levell, so that the barns and stacks of corn were drowned a yard high, at the least.

"And thinking this not to be mischief enough, the[b] inhabitants of the isle of Axholme, did about *Michaelmasse* in the year 1645 tumultuously throw down a great part of the banks, and filled up the ditches, putting in cattle into the corn, and pastures of those that had been adventurers for the drayning.

"Whereupon the said participants in this great and costly work, by their humble petition[c], exhibited to the parliament in *December* following; presented, that after the expence of at least two hundred thousand pounds in those works, the tenants of the mannour of Epworth, notwithstanding their consents to that

[a] Expræfatis depositionibus. [b] Ibid. [c] The state of the case *ut supra*.

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decree before-specified, which had been passed in the Exchequer for settlement of what had been agreed on, and set out of that mannour, for the said participants and their tenants; had in a tumultuous manner thrown and laid waste a proportion of at least 74000 acres of land, and destroyed a great quantity of rape, and corn growing, by forcible keeping and depasturing their cattel thereon; as also demolished very many houses, burnt others, cut and burned the plows, beat and wounded those that were plowing, or resisted them in any of those their outragious acts; and then threatned the drowning of the whole by cutting of the banks, and misusage of the sluses: and moreover, that they resisted the said participants, in levying taxes for the repair of the works, to the great damage of the common wealth in general, and scandal to the justice thereof, in case these things should not be restrained, and the offenders to be punished.

Means adopted by parliament to preserve peace.

" For preventing therefore of the like mischiefs, and preservation of the peace of the country, it was then ordered by the lords in parliament, that the shireeve of the said county of Lincolne, and justices of the peace there, should, upon complaint made to them therein, punctually pursue the statutes made in 13 *H. 4.* for suppressing of riots and routs, and call to their assistance, if need required, the trained bands of the said county, and the parliament forces next adjoyning, to be aiding and assisting to the said participants, in guarding and keeping these sluses and sewers; and in repairing what had been so demolished; and in levying the taxes legally imposed, tending to the preservation of so good and beneficial a work to the common wealth: And for the setling of this business, they further ordered, that the shireeve of the county of Lincolne, for the time being, should, upon request to him made by the said participants, appoint such a deputy, within the limits of the same levell, for the sudden aiding and assisting of them (when need should require) as they from time to time did desire.

" And that this order should be forthwith published, in the several parish-churches and market-towns of this county.

" Which course being thus taken for restraint of those their tumultuous and riotous practices; seven of the inhabitants of the said mannour of Epworth, brought their actions at law against the said participants, for recovering of what had been so formerly setled by the before-specified decree, with their own consents.

" Whereupon the said participants exhibiting their bill in the Exchequer chamber, for establishing their possession against those seven, obtained this order[a]; *viz.* that the kings solicitor general should proceed upon the same in

[a] Ibid.

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that court, with all convenient speed; and in the mean time the possession of the lands in question to be held in quiet by the plaintiffs, as it had been formerly setled by the said court, and enjoyed at any time since the said decree made: and likewise, that their suits at law should be stayed by the injunction of the same court, untill the hearing of the cause, or that the court gave further order therein.

"Upon which injunction the shireeve had a writ of assistance, and came with near a hundred persons to quiet the possession, and set up the banks of those 4000 acres first laid waste: But one *Daniell Noddel,* solicitor for the before mentioned inhabitants, hearing of the said shireeve's coming, got together about four hundred men, and forced him, with all his assistance, to flie; and having so done, demolished what he the said shireeve had before caused to be set up. The sheriff defeated.

"The participants therefore, being thus forcibly kept out of possession, brought their bill to hearing; which the said *Noddel* discerning, he drew in, to his aid, Lieutenant Colonell *John Lilburne,** (a person of a most turbutent spirit, and

* The following account of this singular character may, perhaps, be deemed not uninteresting:—

"*John Lilburne*, the English republican, was not inferior to Cato in firmness of resolution and unyielding intrepidity. Perhaps there was more of the restless and contentious mixed in his disposition; yet the differences between the two characters may be chiefly ascribed to the difference of their education and situation in life. John was an apprentice in London when he first exhibited his impatience of tyranny by a complaint before the chamberlain against his master for ill usage. He then began to study the divinity of the time, which was all turned to controversial disputation, and he became a zealous puritan, with all the austerity of the sect. The Book of Martyrs inspired him with an enthusiastic fervour for acting and suffering in what he deemed the righteous cause. He was soon called upon to suffer, and no one could go through his trials with a more unsubdued spirit. His stedfast appeals to the laws of his country and the privileges of Englishmen, procured him great popularity with the inferior classes, and the title of *Freeborn John*. Lilburne passed a life of contest against power in every hand in which it was placed, of dispute with all his superior in command, and of virulent controversy on civil and religious topics. He was a brave soldier, but never found an authority under which he could continue to act. He appears to have been fond of contention for its own sake; yet without doubt there was much of principle in his constant opposition to injustice and oppression, and the event often proved him to be in the right. That a kind of ridicule is attached to his memory, is perhaps chiefly owing to the contemptible nature of many of the disputes in which he was engaged, and the vulgarity of his style and manners."

Noddel and others who were in opposition to the participants, drew him into their disputes respecting the right of commons, &c. and he appears to have acted with spirit in their cause. He wrote, "The Case of the Tenants of the Mannour of Epworth, in the Isle of Axholme, in the County of Lincoln. Truly stated in brief by Lieut.-Col. John Lilburne, and others of the Freeholders there, on purpose to inform every man in the justice and equity of their case, and to prevent the many misinformations of Mr. J. Gibbon and the drainers, and their participants, 1651." quarto.

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who since died a quaker,) and Major *John Wildeman;* and, whilst the cause was hearing, joyned with the said inhabitants in a farther riot, on the remaining 3400 acres, which till then had been kept up; impounding the tenants cattel, and refusing to admit of replevins, and so forced them to what rates they pleased for their redemption.

"Whereupon the said participants, not knowing otherwise what to do, complained several times to *Michael Monkton,* a justice of peace in those parts: who

This singular man at last turned quaker; Sewel, the historian of that sect, has preserved two letters of his after his conversion.

They are dated, "From my innocent and every way causeless captivity, in Dover castle, the place of my soul's delightful and contentful abode." His restless spirit had now taken a harmless direction; protesting that he was "already dead, or crucified, to the very occasions and real grounds of all outward wars, and carnal sword fitings, and fleshly bustlings and contests, and should never thereafter be an user of a temporal sword more, nor a partner with those that do so.—"I now," said he, "can contentedly feed savourily upon bread and cheese and small beer alone, for saving of money; and for my liberty, I am ready really with Peter to say, it is good being here; for even in Dover castle, through the loving kindness of God, I have met with a more clear, plain, and evident knowledge of God and myself, and his gracious outgoing to my soul, than ever I had in all my life, not excepting my glorying and rejoicing condition under the bishops." Such was J. Lilburne after he had joined "the savourist of people called quakers."

In the Parliamentary History of England, Vol. XV. page 19 to 29, are the particulars of his trial in the House of Lords, for aspersing the Earl of Mansfield, which poutrays his character, but too long for insertion here.

In "Thorsby's Leeds," p. 375, is the following account of a medal struck in memory of his acquital of high treason: "This remarkable medal of John Lilburne, represents his effegies with this inscription: 'John Lilbourne, saved, by, the, power, of, the, Lord, and, the, integrity, of, his, jury, who, are, judges, of, law, as, well, as, fact, Oct. 26, 1649.' rev. a rose, with the names of his jury in four circles. 'Miles, Peft. Sto, Hes. Abr, Smith. John, King. Nic. Murin. Tho. Dainty. Edw. Keisar. Edw. Parkins. Ral. Pacman. Wil. Comnis. Ly. Meedon. Hen. Towsley. October 26, 1649.'"

In the Cromwelliana, p. 35, and 126 to 128, are preserved some letters of his to "His Excellency the Lord General Cromwell." And in the same work, p. 168, is an account of his funeral. He died at *Eltham*, and was removed to London, Aug. 31, 1657, "To the house called the *Mouth*, at Aldersgate, which is the usual meeting-place of the people called quakers. At this place, that afternoon, assembled a medley of people, among whom the quakers were most eminent for number; and in the house a controversy was, whether the ceremony of a herse-cloth should be cast over his coffin; but the major part being quakers, not assenting, the coffin was, about five o'clock in the evening, brought forth into the street. At its coming out, there stood a man on purpose to cast a velvet herse-cloth over the coffin, and he endeavoured to do it; but the crowd of quakers not permitting it, and having gotten the body upon their shoulders, they carried it away without further ceremony, and the whole company conducted it to Moorfields, and thence to the new church-yard adjoining *Bedlam*, where it lieth interred."

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not only refused to grant any warrants, or pursue any legal course for their preservation; but on the contrary gave encouragement to the riotors; and upon an indictment exhibited against some of them, in the sessions, for these outrages, which was found by the jury, some of the justices there sitting, thinking it fit to fine the delinquents at four or five marks a piece; the said *Monckton* moved openly that their fines might be but six pence a piece; and insisted so earnestly thereon, that the fine imposed on them was no more than twelve pence a man.

Several of the inhabitants refuse to abide by the Exchequer decree and holds parliament at defiance.

" Howbeit after this, *viz.* in *Februry* 1650, upon a full hearing in the Exchequer, a decree was made for establishing the possession with the participants; which being published on the place, in presence of divers of the said inhabitants; they having gotten the influence of the said *Lilburne, Wildeman,* and *Noddel;* declared, that they would not give any obedience thereto, nor to any order of the Exchequer or parliament; and said, that they could make as good a parliament themselves: some expressing that it was a parliament of clouts; and that if they sent any forces, they would raise men to resist them; and thereupon proceeded to the defacing of the church at Sandtoft; and within ten days time, did totally demolish the town itself, with other houses thereabouts, to the number of fourscore and two habitations, besides barns, stables, and out-houses; as also a windmill; and destroyed all the corn and rape then growing on the said 3400 acres; the damage of all which amounted to fourscore thousand pounds, as appeared by the testimonies of sundry witnesses.

Sandtoft destroyed.

Conduct of the ringleaders.

" All which waste and spoil being done; the said *Lilburne, Wildman, Monckton,* and *Noddel,* confederating together, made an agreement with several of the inhabitants of Epworth, that in consideration of 2000 acres of the said land, so wasted, to be given to *Lilburne* and *Wildman,* and 200 acres to *Noddel,* they the said *Lilburne, Wildman,* and *Noddel,* should defend them from all those riots past, and maintain them the said inhabitants, in possession of all the rest of the 7400 acres, before laid waste, and keep them drie; and in accomplishment of that agreement, sealed deeds accordingly. VVhich being done, the said *Lilburne* and *Noddel,* with some others came to Santoft church, on the Sunday, and forced the *French* congregation from thence, telling them that they should not come thither, except they were stronger than they.

" And after this, the said *Lilburne* and *Noddel* went to another lordship, called Crowle, where they agreed with some of the inhabitants thereof, to get their commons again, as Epworth had done; advising them to impound the tenants cattell; and that if any replevin were brought, they should impound them again,

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and break down their fences, and eat up their crops; and so tire them till they had attorned tenants to them; all which they did accordingly. The tenants therefore being thus terrified, and seeing their condition no better than their neighbours, took leases from *Jasper Margrave* and *George Stovin* (two of *Lilburnes* confederates) who gave bonds to save them harmlesse: by which practice and the former force, the petitioners became outed of their possessions in both these mannours. And at the making of those leases *Noddel* declared openly, in the presence of divers persons, that he would lay *xx*^{s}. with any man, that as soon as *Lilburne* came to London, there should be a new parliament; and that *Lilburne* should be one of them, and call that parliament to account: Farther adding, that they having now finished this of Lincolnshire (meaning gotten the land from the petitioners) they would go into Yorkshire (*id est* the rest of the levell) and do the like there; and then they would give the attorney general work enough to do.

The arrogant langunge of Noddel.

"And *Noddel* said at another time, that now they had drawn their case, they would print it, and nail it at the parliament dore; and if they would not do them justice, they would come up; and, making an out-cry, pull them out by the ears. And having thus possest themselves of the proportions above mentioned, they dimised several parts thereof to sundry persons; *Lilburne* himself repairing the house, which had been built for the minister, and almost pulled down by the rioters, put his servants to reside and keep possession in it, and imployed the church for a stable and barn.

Further proceedings of government.

"A narrative of all which barbarous outrages and high insolencies of the before-specified *Lilburne, Wildman,* and *Noddel,* with their confederates, were drawn up in writing by a committee of the said parliament to be represented to the house: but that parliament being dissolved by the power of the army, *April* 10th 1653. which was before this report could be made by that committee; the council of state (which was set up about ten days following) did send for it; and made reference thereof to a select committee of the same council; who also farther examining the business, and finding what had been so deposed and reported, to be true, signified as much to the said council of state; whereupon they did order, that the forces of the army, quartering in the levell of Hatfield chase, or within the counties of Yorke, Lincolne, and Notingham, or any of them; or any other that then were, or might be in those parts, should be aiding and assisting to the officers of justice, and the said participants, for setling and establishing the possession of the 7400 acres of those late improved lands, within the mannour of Epworth, in the said report mentioned, with the said participants; and also for executing the decrees and orders of the said court

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of Exchequer, or any courts of justice touching their possessions therein; and likewise for preventing such riots and outrages for the future. And in respect of the great damage suffered by the said participants and their tenants; they further ordered, that the commissioners of the great seal, for the time being, should award a special commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer* to the judges of assize for the said respective counties, to try the ryotors and to punish them according to law and justice; and to enquire of the damages suffered, as aforesaid, by the said participants and their tenants; to the end, that they might have just reparations for the same. VVhich order beareth date at *White Hall* the 31th of *August* 1653.

The preceding orders of parliament treated with contempt.

" But notwithstanding this, & the former orders and letters of the parliament & council, the said inhabitants still continued in their riotous & rebellious posture, not giving any obedience thereto, nor to the decrees and orders of the court of Exchequer, nor precepts of the court of sewers; standing in defiance and opposition to all authority."

N. Reading, Esq. undertakes to subdue the rioters.

In the year 1655 it was agreed by Sir Anthony Ingram, and other great participants, with Nathaniel Reading, Esq.* to undertake the subduing of these monsters; who was to have a salary of £200 per annum, and be indemnified of all charge.†

" Upon another petition, therefore, presented by the said participants and their tenants, together with a remonstrance of the commissioners of sewers unto the lord protector and his council; an order of reference was made upon the *xv*th of *April* 1656. to the Lord *Fienes* then one of the commissioners of the great seal, the Lord *Lambert*, Major General *Desborough*, the Lord *Lisle* and the Lord *Strickland* (for so they were then called) or any three of them, to consider of the said petition, and report their opinion therein to the council.

" The said lords therefore requested Major General *Whalley* to call both parties before him, and to examine the whole matter set forth in the before-specified petition, and make report thereof unto the said committee; which he

* This Mr. Reading was councel at law, and first sent into this county by the Earl of Autrim (who had married the Dowager Duchess of Buckingham, (to collect the fee-farm rents in arrears; and was also first councellor for the commoners when the crown and the participants divided their allotments. He married Arabella Churchhill, sister to Sir John Churchill and aunt to John Duke of Malbrough. In the year 1712 Mr. Reading died at Belton, amongst his inveterate enemies, aged above 100 years. He left two sons, Thomas, and Lieut.-Col. Reading; the latter behaved well in his military capacity at the battle of Dumblain, in Scotland, against the pretender's forces; and commanded in chief in the battle of Glenshill the year after, where he took 500 Spaniards prisoners. *Pryme's* MSS.

† Pryme's MSS.

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did accordingly; manifesting, from sufficient testimony, the guilt of those ryotors, in all the outrages before expressed.

"VVhereupon the council of state, by their letters dated at *Whitehall* 21° *Augusti* 1656. and directed to the said Major General *Whalley*, recommended the redresse thereof to his care; and to that end desired him to improve his endeavour upon all occasions, to prevent any farther ryots and misdemeanors in those places; and in order thereto, to punish such their scandalous disobedience, according to his instructions; and not to suffer the said inhabitants to keep by them any arms or other instruments for their future acting of the like; and moreover to appoint some of his regiment to be effectually aiding and assisting to the shireeves of the respective counties within his association, or the deputies and collectors of the court of sewers, for the putting in execution from time to time, the decrees, processe, and orders, of any the courts at Westminster, or of the commissioners of sewers; to the end that the improvers just rights might be restored according to law, and the said strangers have the peaceable exercise of their religion, in the place designed for the publick meetings to that purpose."

In consequence of the order of state he entered on this great and arduous undertaking; and after thirty-one set battles, wherein several of his men were killed, and many others wounded, he subdued these people for a time. Mr. Reading now repaired the church, settled another minister, restored the congregation, and made the levels, and parts adjacent, quiet, safe, and flourishing.

The participants first incorporated.

The participants were incorporated by a bill of parliament in the year 1661, which appointed a governor, three bailiffs, and twelve conservators, and a commonality; which were to manage the whole level of Hatfield chase, levy scots for the keeping up of the drains, and every other matter connected with the said drainage, according to the custom of Romney marsh. See Appendix No. 8.

"The isle people continued quiet for some years, only battleing the participants at law, till the year 1688; they still claiming more common, the affair was referred, by consent of parties, to Sir Thomas Hussey, Sir Wiloughby Hickman, Sir John Boynton, Col. Whichcot, &c. who made an award, but the isle people would not submit to this.

"In 1691 this cause came to an hearing in the Exchequer, the court recommended it to the parties to endeavour an accommodation amongst themselves. And that in May 1691, the participants' agents, and John Pinder, solicitor, and Robert Popplewell, agents for themselves and the commoners, came to an agreement in writing, viz. That the commoners of Epworth manor should have 1000

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acres to be set out in the first place, and that 664 acres should be set out for the commoners of Misterton, and that 5736 acres, the residue of the 7400 acres, should be surveyed and divided into two equal parts, one half to be enjoyed by the participants, and the other half by the commoners and their heirs, (see Appendix No. 7,) and the commoners were also to enjoy the 6000 acres on Epworth south moor and Butterwick moor as first allotted to them, free from any interruption of the participants; all which, by consent, was decreed accordingly.

Terms of agreement between the two parties.

" Now all these differences seemed to be at an end; the sheriff of Lincolnshire, by virtue of a writ of assistance, gave the several parties possession of their allotments, and the participants inclosed and let their allotments to tenants, who ploughed and sowed the same. But whilst the corn was growing, great number of men in disguise, women, and children, with Popplewell's wife at their head, came and pulled down, demolished, and burned the fences and destroyed the corn; and Mr. Reading wanting about £3000 the participants were indebted to him, he solicited them for the payment thereof, but they alledged that their expenditor had no money in the bank, that the rioters had again laid waste their lands, but if he would accept of a lease of their lands in Epworth manor, for six years, they would grant him that in full condition of his demands. He accepted this lease with great reluctance, foreseeing the ill consequences that would attend it, but necessity forced him to it, and on he pushed. He was now to fight with an hydra grown more formidable than ever. He made several miles of fences, and ploughed and sowed about 1000 acres of land, when, a consultation being held among the rioters, they assaulted him, his sons, and servants, night and day; shot at them desperately; they killed and destroyed his goods; fired his house at midnight, with a design to burn him, his wife, and family in their beds, but they fortunately made their escape by Col. Reading, (son of the above Nathaniel,) forcing a stancheon out of the window, the rioters having stopped up the keyhole with sand and dirt in order to prevent their escape.*

Further disturbances of a serious nature takes place.

" And afterwards a great number of them, being disguised and armed, destroyed all his outhouses, and tenants houses, cut down heads of fruit and other trees, plundered a new house that he was forced to build to lie in, carried off his goods, burnt his fences, turned their cattle into his corn, and gave him the diversion at all points of military execution. He complained of these insults,

* There was a paper (half folio sheet) published, intitled "A true account how Mr. Reading's House at Sandtoft, happened to be Burnt," mentioned by Gough, but I have not been able to procure it.

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and on discovery of the villians, had some of them in prison; but several of them being outlawed, they outbraved the laws, and detached some of their principals to go up with a public purse, and defy the parliament itself.

"Robert Popplewell being now their solicitor, though no lawyer, they inclosed several hundred acres of land belonging to the crown and the participants, which rents were paid to Popplewell, and with money they defied the government.

"But several of the rioters being indicted at Lincoln assizes, and bills found, Robert Popplewell applied to Col. Whichcroft and Col. Pawnal, to intercede with Mr. Reading to be favourable, and on the award of these two gentlemen Robert Popplewell paid to Mr. Reading £600, in order to save his wife and the rest of his friends and rioters.

"And his sons, Thomas Reading, and Lieut.-Col. Reading, leased these ilse lands of the participants at £420 per annum, and were at a very great expense in inclosing and keeping up the same. About the year 1714, they had part of Clayton's regiment of foot (of which regiment Mr. Reading was lieutenant-colonel) encamped at Ross, to defend their inclosures. But the act against riots passing in the first year of the reign of king George I. put a stop to their career. And in the year 1719, the commoners bill against the participants, was dismissed with costs, so that the levels has flourished ever since, and prodigiously improved by the care of the participants, the diligence of the officers, and good management of the farmers."*

Termination of the riots.

§ 2. An account of the Drainage from 1719 to the present time.

General observations.

In the preceding section I have endeavoured to give a particular account of the drainage, from its commencement to the end of the contention of the commoners against one of the greatest possible improvements,—a contention begun and continued by prejudice; and fanned by men of education and fortune, who ought rather, by their influence, to have promoted so desirable a work. In the room of having occasion to record the outrages and litigations that mark the preceding pages, a more pleasing task, in this section, will be to register the various plans of improvement which have been proposed by men eminent in their profession.

* Pryme's MSS.

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From the peace made between the commoners and participants to the year 1776, I find no memorial to direct me in this period of the drainage. It appears that in October 1776, the eminent Mr. Smeaton presented a report,* wherein he directed that the old river Torne should be widened and made deeper, and improvements were likewise advised to be made in other drains, so that the level afterwards wore a more pleasing aspect in the northern and western parts of the isle; he afterwards presented another report respecting Snow sewer, to effect a more general drainage in the southern parts also.

Mr. Smeaton's plan of improvement.

It appears that the participants wished to make the other landholders in the isle pay a contribution or tax, towards these expenses; but, from a paper dated November 8, 1776, at Epworth, (Appendix No. 9,) they effectually resisted the attempt.

From this period nothing particular was done till the inclosure of Epworth commons by an act of parliament procured in 1795; by the advice of the engineer employed, many new drains were dug, which has been of much service in the desired object, but still not effectual. Mr. Stone observes, in his "Review of the Agricultural Survey of Lincolnshire," that "the engineers were improperly limited by the act, to drain into the river Trent. The work was executed to the best of their jugdment, and as well as the situation of the country would admit. In the execution of the plan £20,000 were expended; and though now several years have expired since its completion, yet the desired effects have not followed. The floods of the upper, and the tides of the lower, part of the river have often overflowed the works, whereby the lowlands, comprising some thousands of acres, have, during the greater part of the year, been under water: and unless more effectual works shall be added, by means of steam engines or some other mode, to lift the water into the Trent, the most valuable part of the district will be absolutely useless for the purposes of grazing or agriculture.

Epworth commons inclosed.

"Mr. Stone is of opinion also, that upwards of fifty thousand acres in Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire, and Lincolnshire, which are now flooded, will ever continue to be overflown until the present plan of draining into the Trent shall be given up. And he further thinks, that an effectual drainage might have been accomplished by means of a new river, cut in a parallel direction with the course of the Trent, on the western banks of it; so that a certain competent outfal might have been obtained below Aldingfleet. And that the contribution

Mr. Stone's opinion.

* This report has been lately reprinted in the "Reports and Estimates of the late eminent Mr. Smeaton," three volumes, quarto.

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of the isle commoners, to the general expense of such an undertaking, would not have amounted to above a moiety of what they have already incurred in an ineffectual attempt."*

The plan proposed was, in some measure, thought necessary by some of the participants; so that in the year 1812 Mr Thackray was employed to take levels, and in January 1813, Mr. Rennie presented his report on the more effectual drainage of these levels. As this is the most recent statement, I shall give the substance of his report:

High and low water of the Trent at Keadby sluice.

"It appears, by Thackray's Levels, that the high water of spring tides in the Trent, at Keadby sluice, when the river is in its usual state, rises to the height of about eight feet above the general surface of the low lands in the chase; but when the river is flooded, the high water rises to the height of about eleven feet above the surface. Low water of a spring tide in the Trent, when the river is in its ordinary state, lies about five feet and a half under the general surface; but when the river is flooded, it is only about three feet under the surface. The ordinary neap tides in the Trent, when unaffected by the land freshes, rise about four feet above the surface of the low lands, and when the land freshes are in the Trent, they rise more than seven feet above such surface. The low water, in the former case, is about six feet and a half, and in the latter case, only about three feet, under the surface.

The tides in the Trent.

"The spring tides in the Trent, when the river is in its usual state, flow from two and a half to three hours, and ebb from nine hours to nine hours and a half. The neap tides flow from three hours and a half to four hours, and ebb from eight hours to eight hours and a half; but, notwithstanding the time of ebb so much exceeds that of flood, the surface of the lands in Hatfield chase is so very low, that the river doors of Keadby sluice, (which is the principal drain for the low lands,) even in the most favourable state of the river, seldom continue open for more than four hours and a half; and when there are land freshes in the Trent, the doors are often not more than two hours and a half open, and, indeed, at some times, they may be said to be scarcely open at all.

River Torne.

"The river Torne passes nearly through the middle of Hatfield chase, and discharges its water into the Trent by a sluice at Althorpe, of fourteen feet two inches water way, having the level of its cill about three feet above the cill of Keadby sluice. This river rises about fifteen miles inland above the chase, and is formed of several branches. The quantity of high land, therefore, which is drained by this river, is, I presume, greater than the whole extent of the chase

* "Beauties of England and Wales," Vol. IX. p. 579.

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itself. The river within the chase is banked on each side. These banks were formerly low, and the channel shallow; but, by the enlargement which took place in consequence of the judicious advice given by the late Mr. Smeaton, in his report, dated the 7th October, 1776, I have reason to believe, that this river seldom now overflows its banks. However, from the experience I have had in works of this sort, I have reason to believe the sluice is much too small, and its cill at least too feet too high; besides, the channel of the river is very crooked, consequently its banks are more oppressed by the floods than they otherwise would be; and it is probable that a good deal of water, in consequence, soaks through them, to the detriment of the levels. The low lands in Cantley, and other places, on the sides of this river, are greatly obstructed in their drainage when it is flooded, and it would be advantageous to the proprietors of these lands to join in the expense of a general system of drainage. The levels of Hatfield chase being thus separated from the Torne by the height of its banks, if these banks are kept in good repair, and the channel of the river is properly cleansed, no very serious injury need be feared from this quarter.

The three outfals of New Idle, Keadby drain, and the South side drain of the Stainforth and Keadby canal.

"The water from the low lands of the chase are now discharged into the Trent by three separate outfals, namely, the New Idle, which has a sluice at Althorpe, adjoining that of the Torne, of fifteen feet waterway, and whose cill lies at the height of two feet three inches above that of Keadby sewer sluice, which has a waterway of sixteen feet wide, and its cill lies two feet three inches under the ordinary low water of a neap tide; and the South back drain of the Stainforth and Keadby canal, which has a sluice of ten feet waterway, making in all a width of waterway of forty-one feet.

New Idle.

"The New Idle runs nearly parallel to the Torne as far as Tunnel Pit, a distance of about eight miles, and from thence it runs in a straight line to Idle Stop, a distance of about five miles. At Tunnel Pit there is an aqueduct, or trunk, under the river Torne, having a guage of two feet eight inches wide, and two feet three inches high, and from thence a drain, called the North Idle, continues in a straight line to Dirtness bridges, on the Keadby drain. The tunnel, or aqueduct, is opened two days per week; so that the water may either be discharged by the New Idle sluice, at Althorpe, during these two days, or by the Keadby sewer sluice; but the drainage by Keadby is much the best, not only on account of the depth of the cill of the sluice, but also from low water, being nine inches lower than at Althorpe. Whilst this aqueduct, therefore, is open, most of the water runs by Dirtness bridges. The New Idle drains a district of low lands of upwards of nine thousand acres, at present, and it is also the only drain which carries off the highland water discharged into this district of the

North Idle.

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chase; and so badly does it perform its service, that the greatest part of this district is very frequently flooded; and, therefore, the land is of little comparative value to what it would be if kept constantly dry.

Keadby drain.

" The Keadby sewer runs in a straight line from the sluice to Pilfrey, where it approaches near to the Torne; it then continues, parallel to the Torne, to Torne Nook, where it divides into two drains, and these drains are parallel to each other as far as Dirtness bridges, where they are joined by the North Idle, as formerly described. At Hirst it is joined by the drain which comes from Greenbank, and at Dirtness it is joined by the Old Dun and Anchor drains.

New cut, Woodhouse sewer, and Dicken dike.

" The New cut joins the North Idle between Dirtness and Sandtoft, and from the end of this New cut there is a drain, which runs, parallel to the road, to Stooper's gate, where it meets the Woodhouse sewer, which runs up to Hatfield Woodhouse, and meets Dutch dike, and afterwards goes into Dicken dike. This dike, in continuation, skirts the high lands of Armthorpe, and terminates about a mile north west of Cantley. The Woodhouse sewer, from these various sources, brings down a very large quantity of water into the levels.

" By these several drains there is discharged through the sluice, at Keadby, the water which falls on at least 20,000 acres of low lands, independently of high lands, which this drain is not able to carry off in proper time. The operations of husbandry are, therefore, often retarded, by the wetness of the land, past the proper season for sowing and reaping.

" * The South side drain of the Keadby canal runs parallel to the canal as far as Thorne, where it is joined by the several drains which pass through the commons, lying between Hatfield and Stainforth, and discharges the water from a district of not less than 5000 acres, which it does in a very imperfect manner, much to the injury of those lands, which depend on it for the discharge of their water.

" Something is, therefore, imperiously required for the improvement of the drainage of these levels, which, though bad in their present state, will become much worse when the waters of the commons are let down upon them, by the new drains, which must necessarily be made, when they are divided and allotted. The present inconvenience is but little comparatively felt, as the drains on the commons are small in size, and badly cleansed. The water, therefore, does not run so quickly off as it will do when they are made of a sufficient size, and kept

* The South side drain of the Stainforth and Keadby canal, *immediately joins on* Crowle common.

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in good order; and this speedy discharge of the water will greatly injure the low lands in the chase, as the commons lie upon a higher level than they do.

"The question then is, what plan can be devised for the general benefit of the whole, which, when carried into execution, will be effectual in all its parts, so as not only to afford a free discharge for the water from the commons and inclosures, but also from all the lands in the chase itself?

"Experience has long proved, that no drainage can be complete, unless a good and sufficient outfal for the waters can be provided, and unless the flood water from the high lands is entirely separated from that of the low lands. Without the former, the water cannot get off; and without the latter, it is evident that the water which comes from the highest level will force its way into the Trent the quickest, and, until it is carried off, the low land water must remain where it is.

Proposed improvements in the drainage.

"While the outfal sluices of the New Idle and Keadby sewer enter the Trent where they now do, the drainage cannot be made complete:—I am not aware that there is any deficiency of waterway, or that any material improvement could be made in the drains which convey the water to these sluices, farther than to increase their slopes, and scour out their channels; unless it may be the lowering the New Idle sluice, at Althorpe; but, if the high land waters are confined to separate outfals from the low land waters, as shall afterwards be described, I am of opinion that the drainage would be materially improved —To effect this object, I advise, first, that a catchwater drain be made from the Torne, near Fulsick Nook, and from thence be continued by the side of the road to the glebe lands, in Finningley, and from thence to skirt the high lands of that parish, and Austerfield, to the road at Newington.—Secondly, That another catchwater drain be made from the before described drain, in Finningley, to skirt the high lands of Misson; and that another branch be made from the same catchwater drain to skirt the north part of the high lands of Finningley, terminating at the turnpike road. By these catchwater drains, all the water, which falls on about 5000 acres of high lands, will be intercepted and carried into the Torne, without coming into the low lands at all, and thereby relieve them from the oppression of so much water. The first of these drains, I propose to be made with a six feet bottom at the Torne, and three feet at Newington, and it will have a fall of six inches in a mile. The second to have a two feet bottom at its extremity, and a three feet bottom when

Catchwater drain to Newington, & branches to Misson & Finningley*

* Opposed and thrown out by John Harvey, Esq. of Finningley park, and other proprietors, as they would have been extremely injurious to the country over which they were to pass, and would but little have aided the *main plan*.

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it joins the former. The third to have a two feet bottom at the turnpike road, and a two feet and a half bottom at its junction with the former. But, as the Torne will thus have an additional quantity of water thrown into it, the sluice at Althorpe should be enlarged, it being already too small. It ought to be increased to a twenty-four feet waterway, and it would be of great service if the river was to be straightened.

Dicken dike and Woodhouse sewer, and a new drain from thence to the South side drain of the canal, near Wike gate.

"I next propose that Dicken dike and Woodhouse sewer shall be straightened and enlarged, from the commencement north west of Cantley to the junction of Woodhouse sewer with Dutch dike, and that a new drain be made, as represented on the plan, from thence to the back drain of the Keadby canal, near Wike gate, and that the communication with the drain, at Stooper's gate, be cut off.—The commencement north west of Cantley, I propose to have a three feet bottom, and to be increased gradually to a seven feet bottom, at its junction with Dutch dike; from thence the New drain to have a bottom of twelve feet, to the Hatfield and Thorne bridle road, where it is joined by a drain from the Stainforth road; and from thence to the back drain of the Keadby canal to have a fifteen feet bottom. I then propose to enlarge the said back drain, to the place where the Old Dun crosses it, to a fifteen feet bottom, and of this size it should be continued to the Trent. The sluice in this drain is only ten feet wide, but it should be enlarged to fifteen feet wide, and the slopes in the present drain should be increased so as to be two horizontal to one perpendicular. This drain will have a rise of about eight inches in a mile, and will intercept the water falling on at least 7000 acres of high land, which now falls into the level.

Side drain and sluice to be enlarged.

"The drains for the low lands of the commons should pass underneath this drain, by Culverts, and from thence be extended into the drain at Stooper's gate.

"The expense of these respective new drains and works will be seen in the estimate, and amounts to £25,615.

The old drains to be enlarged and improved.

"I have thus given my opinion respecting the new works and arrangements which appears to me to be necessary to render the drainage of Hatfield chase the best that its present outfals will admit. It being understood that the present drains shall be properly cleansed and scoured out, the slopes of their sides increased, and the bridges over them enlarged and repaired, from time to time, as the usual funds arising from the taxes on the levels will allow. The expense of which, I am persuaded, will not fall short of £12,000. The interior drains in the commons, I consider ought to be made at the expense of the commoners; but, I am decidedly of opinion, that when the works I have mentioned are completed, although the drainage will be improved, it will not be

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improved to that extent, which so extensive and valuable a district of land ought to be. No land can be accounted effectually drained, unless the surface of the water, during the winter season and the spring, be kept at least two feet within the soil. Now, this cannot be the case with the present outfals, for during the time of freshes in the Trent, when the greatest quantity of water is in the levels, the low water in the Trent, at Althorpe, is only about two feet and a half under the surface of the low lands at Tunnel Pit, and many other places; and, as Tunnel Pit is about eight miles distant from Althorpe, if two feet are taken off, for the water being within soil, there will only be a fall in the drain of three quarters of an inch, in a mile. And, as the sluice is not above two and an half hours open during freshes in the Trent, and, indeed, sometimes scarcely at all, the water runs so languid with such a fall, that very little gets off, and thus it keeps accumulating, until the soil is greatly injured. The fall to Keadby sluice is double that of Althorpe sluice, and even this is far too little. The case in many places where the distance from the outfal is greater is much worse; and, therefore, whatever works of drainage may be executed in the levels, whilst there are only the outfals of New Idle and Keadby sluice to carry off the water, a complete drainage cannot be effected.

But if the improvements are executed, the drainage, by the present outfals, will still be incomplete.

"This being the case, the question then is, where can a better outfal be found? My answer is, at Waterton, about five miles below Keadby, where, in the ordinary state of low water, by Mr. Thackray's Levels, there is a fall of nearly two feet more than at Keadby; but, in freshes, there is about three feet and a half. In fact, the river at Waterton is so wide, that the freshes do not produce half the effect as at Keadby. If a drain was made from Torne end to Waterton, passing under the Keadby canal by an aqueduct, and a sluice established at Waterton, having a waterway of thirty-six feet, and all the downfal waters of the levels of Hatfield chase, and of the commons, were discharged by this outfal, the drainage would be perfect, and the lands increased in value much more than equal to the expense of this drain. In this case, the New Idle sluice might be joined to that of the Torne, which would save the enlargement of that sluice, and the sluice of Keadby sewer might be used for the discharge of the high lands water, proposed to be brought down the back drain of the Keadby canal.

New outfal at Waterton, and its advantages.

"There are upwards of 5000 acres of low lands, lying north of Thorne, which would then have an opportunity of an excellent drainage into this new drain, by the north back drain of the Keadby canal.

"The lands in Crowle, Eastoft, part of Luddington, and Garthorpe, would be

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Improvement to the lands in Crowle, Eastoft, and Luddington.

greatly improved by this new cut, and relieved of the expense of keeping their present outfals in repair. The warping of the lands would not be prevented by this drain, as its depth under soil will be sufficient to allow of temporary troughs being laid over it, to convey the water for warping the lands.

"The line of the drain would not be injurious to the lands through which it will pass, because the most of it, whilst within the inclosed lands, runs along the line of old drains. Very few fields will be cut asunder more than what is now done, and there will be convenient road bridges at the roads, and occupation bridges for the lands. In Crowle common, no inconvenience can possibly arise, as in the division of the commons, the commissioners will allot the lands to suit the drain.—Upon the whole, it appears to me, that, whilst this drain will be of the most essential advantage to the participants and freeholders of Hatfield chase, and to the proprietors of the commons and low lands adjoining, it cannot prove injurious to any lands through which it will pass to Waterton; but, on the contrary, will afford them an improved means of drainage, which they do not now possess, and, therefore, will be of essential advantage to them.

"With respect to the expense of this new drain, it appears, by my estimate, to amount to £80,719. This, no doubt, is a large sum; but, in my opinion, by no means adequate to the advantages that would be derived from it, both to the levels of Hatfield chase, and the commons and inclosed lands, which now drain through the said chase, all of which are materially interested in the obtaining of a good outfal.

A proportionate contribution towards the expense should be made by the persons benefitted by the new works of drainage.

"It is true that the commoners alledge that they have a right to be drained without any such expense; but this right, I presume, cannot extend beyond the present outfals, which have been found to be insufficient, though the works have been constructed according to the scheme of the late eminent Mr. Smeaton. A new and better outfal is, therefore, essential to all the interests connected with this drainage, and a proportionate contribution should be made by each party, so interested. Whether this should be an equal contribution, or not, I am not in possession of the necessary facts to enable me to determine; but, if an equal contribution were to be made by all the proprietors of the low lands, which, I suppose, may amount to about 34,000 acres, it would not exceed for this new drain, £2. 10*s*. 0*d*. per acre; a very moderate sum, indeed, and small must be the improvement, if it does not exceed twice the value of this sum, per acre. It cannot, therefore, in my mind, be reasonably objected to, by any person who duly weighs the circumstances of the case.

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"There is another mode by which money may be raised to effect the purpose of the new drain to Waterton. This is to put a value on all the lands in its present state, and when the work is completed, to make another valuation; by this means, the comparative improvement of the different lands will be ascertained, and may be rated to the new works, accordingly.—As the low lands, lying north of the Stainforth and Keadby canal, near Thorne, will reap full as much benefit by this new drain as most of the others will do, in my opinion, they ought to contribute their share of the expense; and this will reduce the expense, according to the increased quantity, which, on the whole, will render the rate, per acre, very moderate."

When this report was published a vigorous opposition was made to it by many persons through whose property the drains were to pass. I understand part of the plan is only acted upon, but to what extent I have not been informed.

Hatfield inclosure act obtained.

In the manor of Hatfield an act was procured on the 11th of April, 1811, to inclose and drain the commons and waste grounds; in consequence of which many small cuts were made to effect this purpose, which has done much service to that district of country. And in the year 1813 an act was procured to drain and inclose the commons and waste grounds in the manor of Crowle, and the commissioners are now making the intended works; so that we may expect to see, in a short time, an effectual drainage of the level of Hatfield chase after expending near a million of money, and the attention of the inhabitants of the country for nearly two centuries been engaged upon it.

Crowle inclosure act procured.

The annual expense of the drainage of the lands in the level of Hatfield chase, are defrayed by scotts levied on grounds according to the advantage each receives from the drainage. To form some idea of the expense, I have inserted, in the Appendix No. 10, an assessment for the year 1777, amounting in the whole to £1486. 13*s*.

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CHAP. VI.

Canal.

An account of the navigable canal from the river Dun navigable cut at Stainforth, to the river Trent at Keadby, &c.

IN June 1793, an act was procured to make a navigable cut which commences in the following preamble:

"Whereas the making and maintaining a navigable canal from the river Dunn navigable cut, at or near to Stainforth, in the West-Riding of the county of York, to join and communicate with the river Trent, at or near Keadby, in the county of Lincoln; and also a collateral cut from the said canal, on Thorne common, in the parish of Thorne, in the said West-Riding, to join and communicate with the river Dunn, at a place called Hangman hill, in the same parish, will open an easy communication between the valuable coal mines in the county of York, and the country with which the said canal will communicate, by means of the said rivers Dunn and Trent, and will facilitate the conveyance of coal, lime, lime-stone, corn, timber, iron, lead, and other kinds of goods and merchandize, for the accommodation of the counties of York, Lincoln, and Nottingham, and the countries with which the said canal will communicate, and will assist and promote the trade and commerce of several towns, and greatly improve the lands and estates within the said counties, and will be of public utility."

Preamble of the act.

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First proprietors. According to the act the following were the first proprietors, "Joseph Atkinson, Theodore Henry Broadhead, George Broadrick, Thomas Berriman, John Benson, John Benson junior, Elizabeth Brooke, George Beale, Henry Bingley, Francis Bell, Robert Berrier, Sir Lionel Copley, baronet, Robert Cowlam, Thomas Coulman, Robert Coulman, Thomas Cripps clerk, Robert Cutforthay, Francis Caley, George Cooke, John Cooke, Joseph Clay, the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of Doncaster for the time being, Joshua Dawson, Thomas Dickenson, Samuel Dunn, Sir Henry Etherington, baronet, Richard Ellison, Henry Ellison, John Ellison, Thomas Fenton, William Fenton, William Foreman, Elizabeth Fell, William Gossip, Robert Gilderdale, John Gell, Sarah Howson, John Hudson, Thomas Johnson, Thomas Johnson junior, John Johnson, William Johnson, Richard Jennings, Jonathan Ikin, Lady Viscountess Irwin, Richard Kitchin, Richard Kitchin junior, George Kitson, George Lister, George Lister junior, William Loxley, John Mitchell, William Morris, Sarah Morris, Gamaliel Milner, Samuel Marshall, William Marsden, Thomas Marsden, Edward Newsome, William Oates, Henry Overton, Thomas Oxley, Susannah Ogg, Cornelius Peacock, Thomas Peacock, Sir Richard Perryn knight, Joseph Roberts, John Roberts, Cornelius Stovin, Susannah Stovin, Elizabeth Seaton, Richard Ryther Popplewell Steer, Samuel Shore, Francis Sitwell, John Simpsom junior of Stainforth, Thomas Spooner, John Stork, Robert Taylor, Thomas Venney, Joseph Webster, James Wilkinson clerk, George Woodhead, Joseph Ward, Samuel Walker, Jonathan Walker, Ann Wordsworth, John Travers Young, and Edward Youle, and their respective successors, executors, administrators, and assigns, together with such other person or persons as shall at any time hereafter be possessed of one or more share or shares, as herein-after mentioned, of the said canal and collateral cut, are and shall be united into a company for the better carrying on, making, completing, and maintaining the said navigable canal and collateral cut, and all works relating and necessary thereto, according to the rules, orders, and directions herein-after expressed and laid down, and shall for that purpose be one body politick and corporate by the name of The Company of Proprietors of the Stainforth and Keadby Canal Navigation; and by that name shall have perpetual succession, and shall have a common seal, and by that name shall and may sue and be sued, and also shall have power and authority to purchase lands, tenements, and hereditaments for the use of the said navigation and works, without incurring any of the penalties or forfeitures of the statute of Mortmain; and the said company of proprietors are hereby authorized and impowered by themselves, their deputies, agents, officers, workmen, servants, and assistants,

Incorporated.

Company impowered to make the navigation.

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to make and complete a canal navigable and passable at all times for boats, barges, and other vessels, from the river Dunn navigable cut, at a piece of land adjoining thereto, at or near Stainforth aforesaid, within the distance of two hundred yards from the lock there erected, to or near Keadby aforesaid, there to join and communicate with the river Trent, in such course and direction as delineated and described in the map or plan herein-after mentioned, and so as that the said company do make such drains, sluices, arches, and banks for preserving the drainage of the adjacent lands and grounds, and in such manner as herein-after mentioned, and also to make and complete a collateral cut, navigable and passable for boats, barges, and other vessels, from the said canal on Thorne common to a place called Hangman hill, there to join and communicate with the said river Dunn, in such course and direction as is also delineated and described in the said map or plan, and to supply the said canal and collateral cut, whilst the same shall be making, and when made, with water from the said river Dunn, and from all such springs as shall be found in making the said canal and collateral cut, and also from all such rivers, brooks, streams, watercourses, and springs as are or shall be found within the distance of two hundred yards from any part of the said canal and collateral cut; and it shall be lawful for the said company of proprietors to enter upon any lands and grounds, and to bore, dig, cut, trench, sough, remove, and lay earth, stone, rubbish, trees, roots of trees, beds of gravel or sand, or any other matters and things which may be dug or got in the making the said canal and collateral cut and works, or which may hinder or obstruct the making, using, completing, and maintaining such trenches, passages, gutters, and watercourses as shall be necessary and proper to convey water to the said canal and collateral cut, according to the true intent and meaning of this act, and also to make, built, and set up, in or upon the said canal and collateral cut, or upon the respective lands adjoining or near the same, such and so many bridges, wharfs, quays, houses, warehouses, watch houses, landing places, weight beams, cranes, dry docks, and other works, ways, roads, and conveniences, as and where the said company of proprietors shall think requisite and convenient for the purposes of the said navigation, and also from time to time to turn, alter, repair, and amend the same, and to make, widen, and enlarge any bridges, ways, roads, passages, locks, sluices, and other works of convenience, as well for the carrying and conveying of all manner of materials necessary for the making and erecting, finishing, altering, repairing, amending, widening, or enlarging the said works of and belonging to the said navigation, and also to place, lay, work, and manufacture any materials on the grounds near to the place or places where the said works, or any of them, shall and are intended to be

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made, erected, repaired, or done, and to build and construct the several locks, bridges, works, and erections belonging thereto, and also to make, maintain, repair, and alter, or to turn any roads, fences or passages over or along the sides of the said canal and collateral cut, and also to make, set up, and appoint such towing paths, banks, roads, any ways convenient for towing, haling, or drawing of boats, barges, and other vessels, passing in, through, or upon the said canal and collateral cut, with men, horses, or otherwise, as they the said company of proprietors shall think convenient, and also to dig, take and carry away any soil, clay, gravel, or stone proper, requisite, or convenient for carrying on and continuing the said works, in or from any lands or grounds of any person or persons adjoining or lying contiguous thereto, and to construct, erect, and keep in repair any piers, arches, and other works, in, upon, and across the said canal or collateral cut, for the making, using, maintaining, and repairing such canal and collateral cut, and towing paths on the sides thereof, and also to construct, erect, make, and do all other matters and things which they shall think necessary and convenient for the making, erecting, preserving, improving, completing, and using of the said navigation, according to the true meaning of this act, they the said company of proprietors doing as little damage as may be in the premises, and making and preserving such drains, sluices, arches, and banks, for preserving the drainage of the adjacent lands and grounds as herein-after mentioned, and making satisfaction in manner herein-after mentioned to the owners and proprietors of such lands, tenements, or hereditaments respectively, as shall be taken, removed, diverted, or prejudiced, for all damages to be by them sustained in or by the execution of all or any of the powers of this act, and this act shall be sufficient to indemnify the said company of proprietors, their agents, officers, workmen, and servants, and all other persons whomsoever, for whom they, or any of them, shall do by virtue of the powers hereby granted.

Company to make satisfaction for tithes.

" And be it further enacted, That full recompence and satisfaction shall be made by the said company of proprietors for all the tithes, both great and small, of the lands which shall be taken or made use of by them for the purposes of this act, to the several persons who now are entitled or at any time hereafter might have become entitled to such tithes, according to their respective interests therein, such tithes to be estimated at the average value of the four years commencing at Michaelmas day One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty-eight, and ending at Michaelmas day One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety-two, such value to be ascertained (in case of any difference concerning the same) in like manner as the value of any other lands or hereditaments are herein-before directed to be ascertained: provided always,

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that such recompence and satisfaction shall be made to all spiritual persons by an annual rent.

Proprietors impowered to raise amongst themselves £24,200.

"And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said company of proprietors to raise and contribute amongst themselves, in such proportions as to them shall seem meet and convenient, a competent sum of money for making and completing the said canal and collateral cut, side drains, and all roads and other ways, works and conveniencies to the same belonging, or requisite thereto respectively, provided that the said sum do not exceed the sum of twenty-four thousand two hundred pounds in the whole, except as herein-after mentioned, and that the same be divided into such number of shares as herein-after directed; and that no person subscribing thereto, or becoming a proprietor in such navigation, do become a proprietor of less than one, or more than fifteen shares, in his own name, or in the name of any person or persons in trust for him, except the same shall come to him by will, devise, or act of law, upon pain of forfeiting to the said company of proprietors all such shares exceeding fifteen shares, except as herein-after mentioned; and the money so to be raised is hereby directed and appointed to be laid out and applied, in the first place, for and towards the payment, discharge, and satisfaction of all fees and disbursements for obtaining and passing this act of parliament, and all other necessary expences relating thereunto, and all the residue and remainder of such money for and towards the making, completing, and maintaining of the said canal and collateral cut, side drains, and other the purposes of this act, and to no other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever.

No proprietor to have less than one nor more than fifteen shares.

Money to be divided into 242 shares.

"And be it further enacted, That the said sum of twenty-four thousand two hundred pounds, or such part thereof as shall be raised as aforesaid, shall be divided and distinguised into two hundred and forty-two equal parts or shares, and that the said shares shall be and are hereby vested in the said several subscribers, and their several and respective executors, administrators, and assigns, to their and every of their proper use and behoof, proportionably to the sum they and each of them shall severally subscribe and pay thereunto: and all and every the said shares are hereby declared to be personal estate, and transmissible as such, and not of the nature of real property; and all bodies politick and corporate, person and persons, their several and respective successors, executors, administrators, and assigns, who shall severally subscribe and pay in the sum of one hundred pounds, or such sum or sums as shall be demanded in lieu thereof, towards carrying on and completing the said intended navigation and side drains, shall be entitled to and receive, after the said navigation and side drains shall be completed, the entire and net distribution of one two hundred

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and forty-second part of the profits and advantages that shall or may arise and accrue by virtue of the sum and sums of money to be raised, recovered, or received by the authority of this act, and so in proportion for any greater number of shares, not exceeding fifteen shares (except as herein mentioned) to any one person as aforesaid; and every body corporate or politick, or person or persons having such property of one two hundred and forty-second part or share in the said undertaking, and so in proportion as aforesaid, shall bear and pay an adequate proportionable sum of money towards carrying on the said undertaking in manner herein-after directed and appointed.

Shares to be numbered, and tickets delivered to proprietors.

"And, for the better security of the several proprietors of the said undertaking to their respective shares therein, be it further enacted, That the said company of proprietors shall, and they are hereby required, at their second general assembly, to cause the names and proper additions of the several persons who shall be entitled to shares in the said undertaking, with the number of shares to which they are respectively entitled, and also the proper number by which every such share shall be distinguished, to be fairly and distinctly entered in a book to be kept by the said company of proprietors, and after such entry to cause their common seal to be affixed thereto, and shall also cause as many tickets or instruments to be prepared as there are shares in the said undertaking, bearing respectively the correspondent numbers in the said book, with the common seal of the said company affixed to each ticket, and to cause to be delivered to every such subscriber, upon demand, a ticket or tickets specifying the share or shares to which he or she is entitled in the said undertaking, every such proprietor paying to the clerk two shillings and sixpence, and no more, for every such ticket or instrument; and such ticket or instrument shall be admitted in all courts whatever as evidence of the title of such subscriber, his or her executors, administrators, and assigns, to the shares therein specified, but the want of any such ticket or instrument shall not hinder or prevent the owner of any of the said shares from selling or disposing thereof, or from receiving annually his share of the profits of the said navigation in respect thereof.

If found insufficient, power to raise 12,100*l.* more amongst themselves;

"And be it further enacted, That in case the said sum of twenty-four thousand two hundred pounds herein-before authorized to be raised shall be found insufficient for the making, completing, and maintaining of the said canal and collateral cut, side drains, and other works hereby authorized to be made, and for defraying all necessary charges and expences relating thereunto, then, and in such case, it shall be lawful for the said company of proprietors to raise and contribute amongst themselves, in manner and form aforesaid, in proportion to their respective shares, any further sum or sums of

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money for completing and maintaining the said navigation and side drains, not exceeding the sum of twelve thousand one hundred pounds: provided always, that in case the said company of proprietors, or the committee for the time being, to be appointed by virtue of this act, shall be desirous of raising the said sum of twelve thousand one hundred pounds, herein-before authorized to be raised, or any part thereof, by mortgage of the said undertaking, it shall be lawful for the said company of proprietors, or the said committee, to borrow and take up at interest all or any part of the said sum of twelve thousand one hundred pounds, on the credit of the said navigation and undertaking, as to them shall seem meet and convenient, and to assign the property of the said navigation, and the rates arising or to arise to the said company by virtue of this act, or any part thereof (the costs and charges of assigning the same to be paid out of such rates), as a security for any such sum or sums of money to be borrowed as aforesaid, with interest, to such person or persons, or to his, her, or their trustees, who shall advance the same; all which assignments shall be made under the common seal of the said company of proprietors.

or by mortgage.

" Provided always, and be it further enacted, That the interest of the money which shall be so borrowed by mortgage as aforesaid shall be paid to the several persons entitled thereto, in preference of any interest or dividends due and payable by virtue of this act to the said company of proprietors, or any of them, and shall from time to time be fully paid and discharged, or provided for, before the yearly or other interest or dividends due to the said company of proprietors shall be paid, made, or divided.

Interest of money borrowed to be first paid.

" And be it further enacted, That every body or bodies politick or corporate, or person or persons who shall by virtue of this act have subscribed or undertaken for one two hundred and forty-second share of the said navigation, shall be deemed one of the said company of proprietors, and shall have a vote in every publick meeting or assembly to be held as herein-after appointed for carrying on the said undertaking, which may be given by him, her, or them, or his, her, or their proxy or proxies (such proxy or proxies being a proprietor or proprietors in the said navigation), duly constituted in manner herein-after mentioned, and such vote or votes by proxy shall be good and sufficient to all intents and purposes as if such principal or principals had voted in person; and any body or bodies corporate or politick, person or persons, who shall have more than one such share, and not exceeding three shares, except as herein-before excepted, shall have liberty by him, her, or themselves, or his, her, or their proxies (being proprietors and regularly constituted as aforesaid) to give one vote for

Subscribers having one share each, deemed proprietors;

and may vote personally or by proxy;

and having three shares entitled to three votes.

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each such share of the said two hundred and forty-two shares for which he, she, or they shall be a subscriber, or become one of the said company of proprietors as aforesaid; and whatever question, election of proper officers, or other matters or things shall be proposed, discussed, or considered at any general assembly to be held by virtue of this act, shall be finally determined by the majority of votes and proxies then present, computing one vote for every share, (provided that no person shall give or deliver more proxies than for five absent proprieters).

Proceedings of the committee, company, and commissioners, to be entered.

"And be it further enacted, That the clerk or clerks to be appointed as aforesaid shall, in a proper book or books to be provided for that purpose, regularly enter and keep a true and perfect account, from time to time, of the names and places of abode of all the proprietors of the said undertaking, and of all persons who shall become interested in, or entitled to, any share or shares therein, and all persons who shall become mortgagees thereof, or advance money thereon, and of all the acts, proceedings, and transactions of the said company of proprietors, and of the committee for the time being, and also make regular entries of all orders, proceedings, acts, and transactions of the commissioners hereby appointed, and such entries of the orders, proceedings, acts, and transactions of the commissioners shall be signed by the said commissioners, and shall then be deemed originals, and admitted in evidence in all cases whatsoever, and all and every proprietor and proprietors of and in the said undertaking shall and may at all convenient and seasonable times have recourse to and peruse all or any such book or books and entries gratis, and may demand and have copies thereof, or of any part thereof, paying sixpence for every one hundred words so to be copied; and if any such clerk or clerks shall refuse or hinder any proprietor or persons so interested as aforesaid to inspect or peruse such book or books, or refuse or neglect to make any such copy or copies when required, at the rate aforesaid, within a reasonable time, he shall pay the sum of forty shillings for every such offence.

Rates granted to proprietors.

"And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the said company of proprietors from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to ask, demand, take, receive, and recover to and for their own proper use and behoof, for the tonnage of the several kinds of goods, wares, merchandizes, commodities, and other things herein-after mentioned, which shall be navigated, carried, or conveyed in, upon, or along the said canal or collateral cut, or any part thereof, such rates as the said company of proprietors shall think proper to charge, not exceeding the several rates herein-after mentioned; (that is to say),

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" For every ton of fir timber, fifty feet to the ton, carried the whole length of the said canal, and in the same proportion for any greater or less weight, or any less distance than the whole length, per mile, one penny:

" For every ton of deals, twelve feet long and three inches thick being a ton, carried the whole length of the said canal, and in the same proportion for any greater or less weight, or any less distance than the whole length, per mile, one penny:

" For every ton of ash, elm, and other white wood of English growth, fifty feet to the ton, carried the whole length of the said canal, and in the same proportion for any greater or less weight, or any less distance than the whole length, per mile, one penny:

" For every ton of oak timber, forty cubic feet a ton, carried the whole length of the said canal, and in the same proportion for any greater or less weight, or any less distance than the whole length, per mile, one penny:

" For every ton of coals, sleck, cinders, culm, charcoals, and lime, carried the whole length of the said canal, and in the same proportion for any greater or less weight, or any less distance than the whole length, per mile, three farthings:

" For every ton of lime-stone, per mile, one halfpenny:

" For every ton of other sorts of stone, iron-stone, flags, paving stone, slate, iron, pig iron, bar iron, old iron, cast metal, bricks, and tiles, and in the same proportion, per mile, one penny:

" For every quarter, containing eight Winchester bushels, of wheat, skelling, beans, peas, vetches, and lintels; for every quarter of rape, line, cole, and mustard seed; and for every quarter of apples, pears, onions, and potatoes, carried the whole length of the said canal, and in the same proportion for any less distance than the whole length, four-pence:

" For every quarter, containing eight Winchester bushels, of barley, carried the whole length of the said canal, and in the same proportion for any less distance, three-pence:

" For every quarter, containing eight Winchester bushels, of malt or oats, carried the whole length of the said canal, and in the same proportion for any less distance, two-pence:

" For every ton of groceries, and of all kinds of linen and woollen yarn, cotton, flax, hemp, manufactured goods of all sorts, with every other kind of goods, wares, merchandize, commodities, and things whatsoever not before enumerated and rated, carried the whole length of the said canal, and in the same proportion for any greater or less weight, or any less distance, per mile, one penny halfpenny:

" For every boat and vessel that shall enter the said canal near Stainforth-lock,

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and turn down the collateral cut from Thorne common to the river Dunn, at Hangman hill, or shall navigate from Hangman hill on the said canal to the river Dunn cut at Stainforth, a cross tonnage of sixpence per ton for all goods and things herein-before enumerated, without being liable to any further payment for rates whatsoever on the said canal.

" Provided always, That ten superficial yards of flag paving stones from one to two and three quarters inches in thickness, or sixteen cubical feet of stone in blocks, shall be deemed and rated as one ton; and that one hundred and twelve pounds avoirdupois shall be taken as one hundred weight, and twenty such hundred weights shall be deemed and rated as one ton.

Fractions of weights and distance regulated.

" Provided always, and be it further enacted, That in all cases where there shall be a fraction of a mile in the distance which any boat or vessel shall be navigated or pass upon the said intended canal, such fraction shall, in ascertaining the said rates, be deemed and considered as a whole mile; and that in all cases where there shall be a fraction of a ton in the weight of lading in any boat or vessel so to be navigated on the said intended canal, a proportion of the said rates shall be demanded and taken by the said proprietors for such fraction, according to the number of quarters of a ton contained therein; and in all cases where there shall be a fraction of a quarter of a ton in any such weight of lading as aforesaid, such fraction shall be deemed and considered as a whole quarter of a ton.

Recovery of rates.

" And be it further enacted, That the rates herein-before authorized to be demanded and taken shall be paid to such person or persons, and at such place or places at or near the said intended canal and collateral cut, or either of them, and in such manner, and under such regulations as the said company of proprietors shall from time to time direct or appoint, and in case of refusal or neglect of payment of any such rates, or any part thereof, on demand, to such person or persons as aforesaid, the said company of proprietors may sue for the same by action of debt, or upon the case, in any court of record at Westminster, or the person or persons to whom the said rates ought to be paid, may and he and they is and are hereby impowered to seize and distrain the goods or other things for or in respect whereof such rates ought to be paid, or any part thereof, and the boat or other vessel laden therewith, and detain the same till payment thereof, and of all arrears of the said rates which may be due from the owner of such boat or vessel to the said company of proprietors, together with such reasonable charges for such seizure and distress, and if such distress shall not be redeemed within five days after the taking thereof, the same may be appraised and sold as the law directs in cases of distress for rent.

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" And be it further enacted, That all persons shall have free liberty, with horses, cattle, and carriages, to use the private roads and ways belonging to the said company of proprietors, (except the towing paths,) and with boats, barges, and other vessels capable of passing through the locks to be made by virtue of this act, to use the said intended canal and collateral cut for the purpose of conveying coals, and all other goods and things whatsoever, and to use the said wharfs and quays for loading and unloading coals, and other goods and things, and the said towing paths for haling and drawing such boats, barges, and other vessels, upon payment of such rates as shall be demanded by the said company of proprietors, not exceeding the respective sums herein-before mentioned, and subject always to the rules, bye laws, and regulations which shall be from time to time made by the said company of proprietors by virtue of the powers herein granted.

Navigation to be free on payment of rates.

" Provided always, That nothing in this act contained shall impower the said company of proprietors to charge any rates of tonnage upon any kind of dung or other manure, (except lime,) that shall arise or be produced in any township or parish through which the said canal and collateral cut shall pass, for being carried in any boat or vessel upon the said canal or collateral cut, to be used and employed in any other township or parish through which the said canal and collateral cut shall be made, but the same shall be free and exempt from the payment of any of the rates herein-before granted.

Exemptions from rates.

" Provided always, and be it enacted, That nothing in this act contained shall authorize or impower the said company of proprietors, or any of their agents or workmen, to take and receive any tolls, rates, or dues for any turves or peats that shall hereafter be cut or digged upon certain moors, in the said parish of Thorne, commonly called Thorne peat moors, and also certain peat moors within the manors of Crowle and Keadby, and carried in boats or vessels therefrom upon the said canal to the river Dunn, or to any other place or places in the said parish of Thorne, but that all such turves and peats shall, and the same are hereby impowered to be navigated upon the said canal freed and exempt from the payment of any tolls, rates, or dues whatsoever; but in case such turves or peats shall be carried and navigated in boats or vessels upon the said canal to the said river Trent, then, and in such case, the same shall be liable to pay the sum of one penny per mile for each ton of such turves or peats so carried upon the said canal to the said river Trent.

Turves and peats exempt from rates to the river Dunn.

" And in order to make compensation to the said company of proprietors for the expense they will necessarily be put to in providing proper wharfs, staiths, warehouses, and granaries for the landing and

Payment of craneage and porterage.

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receiving goods and other things carried and conveyed upon the said intended navigation, be it further enacted, That for every ton of goods, wares, merchandizes, commodities, and other things, (save and except corn, coals, stone, lime, lime-stone, flint, clay, English timber, bricks, tiles, plaister, soapers waste or ashes, and sandfall, which excepted articles it is supposed will not require the use of a crane, and which will be loaded and delivered by the crew of each respective boat or other vessel, to the driver or drivers of some waggon, cart, or other carriage, or such other person as they will call to their assistance), which shall be loaded from or landed upon any of the said wharfs or staiths, or into or from any of the said warehouses or granaries so to be made and erected, there shall be paid by the owners of such goods, wares, merchandizes, commodities, and other things to the said company of proprietors, or to their agent, servant, or wharfinger, at each of the said wharfs, staiths, warehouses, or granaries respectively, in recompence for such craneage and porterage, any such sum as they shall from time to time appoint and direct, not exceeding sixpence.

Payment of wharfage.

" And be it further enacted, That the said company of proprietors, or their agents, servants, or wharfingers, at any of the said intended wharfs, staiths, warehouses, or granaries, may ask, demand, and receive such sum or sums of money for wharfage and warehouse room, except at such private wharfs, warehouses, or granaries as herein-after mentioned, over and above what is directed to be paid for craneage and porterage, as they shall think fit, not exceeding the sums in the following table; that is to say:

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	More than 24 hours, not more than six days.			Six days, but less than one month.			One month, but less than six weeks.			Six weeks, but less than two months.			Two months, but less than ten weeks.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
For every ton of goods, wares, merchandizes, commodities, and other things (except as is excepted in the rates of charges for cranage and porterage).....	0	0	6	0	0	9	0	1	0	0	1	3	0	1	6
For every ton of English timber of all kinds, and pig and bar iron	0	0	3	0	0	6	0	0	9	0	1	0	0	1	3
For every ton of coals, stone, iron-stone, lime-stone, flint, clay, and sand.....	0	0	$0\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	1	0	0	$1\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	2	0	0	$2\frac{1}{2}$
For every ton of lime, bricks, tiles, plaister, and soaper's ashes.....	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	4	0	0	5
For every quarter of corn of all kinds, cole, rape, line and mustard seed, apples, pears, onions, and potatoes	0	0	$0\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	1	0	0	$1\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	2	0	0	$2\frac{1}{2}$

And so in the like proportion for any longer time than ten weeks.

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" Provided always, That if any such goods, wares, merchandizes, commodities, and other things be removed and taken away within the space of twenty-four hours, the same shall not be charged any thing either for wharfage or warehouse room.

Goods not to be removed from warehouses till dues are paid.

" And, for the better securing the sums to be paid for such craneage, porterage, wharfage, and warehouse room as aforesaid, be it further enacted, That in case any person or persons whomsoever shall remove or take away any goods, wares, merchandizes, commodities, or other things, for which any money for craneage or porterage, wharfage or warehouse room shall be due at any of the said intended wharfs, staiths, warehouses, or granaries, without the consent of the said company of proprietors, or their agents, servants, or wharfingers attending at such wharfs, staiths, warehouses, and granaries respectively, without the payment of such sum as shall be then due for the same, then, and in every such case, the person or persons so offending shall, for every such offence, forfeit and pay the sum of five pounds, together with all such further sum or sums of money as shall be due from him, her, or them, for craneage and porterage, wharfage and warehouse room, on all and every part of such goods, wares, merchandizes, commodities, and other things so removed and taken away.

Masters of boats to give account of loading.

" And be it further enacted, That the master, owner, and manager of every boat, barge, and other vessel navigating upon the said canal and collateral cut, or any part thereof, shall give a just account in writing, signed by the master, owner, or person having the rule or command of every such boat, barge, or other vessel, to the collectors of the said rates, at the place or places where they shall attend for that purpose, of what quantities of goods shall be in or belonging to each boat, barge, or vessel, from whence brought, and where they intend to land the same; but if the goods contained in such boat, barge, or other vessel shall be liable to the payment of different rates, then such master, owner, or person shall specify the quantities liable to the payment of each distinct rate; and in case he or they shall neglect or refuse to give such account, or shall give a false account, or shall deliver any part of their loading or goods at any other place or places than what is or are mentioned in that account, they shall forfeit and pay to the said company of proprietors the several sums following (that is to say); if the said master, owner, manager, or person having the rule or command of any such boat, barge, or other vessel navigating on the said canal or collateral cut, shall refuse to give such account as herein-before directed, he or they shall forfeit and pay to the said company of proprietors the sum of forty shillings for every ton of goods which shall be in

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such boat or vessel respectively, of which such account shall have been refused to be given; and in case such master, owner, manager, or person having the rule or command of any such boat, barge, or vessel, shall give a false account, that then, and in such case, he and they shall forfeit and pay to the said company of proprietors the sum of forty shillings for each and every ton exceeding the number of tons mentioned and contained in such account, and also the like sum of forty shillings for every ton (and so in proportion for more or less than a ton), which shall be delivered at any other place or places than mentioned in the said account, in writing, so to be delivered in as aforesaid, over and above the respective rates they are obliged to pay for the same; and in case of neglect, refusal, or denial of payment, on demand made, of such forfeiture or forfeitures beforementioned, or any part thereof, then, and in every such case, the same shall be recovered in such manner and by such methods as the said rates hereby granted are herein-before directed and appointed to be recovered.

Vessels may be weighed or measured in case of difference respecting rates.

" And be it further enacted, That if any difference shall arise between any collector of the said rates and the master or person having the charge of any boat, barge, or vessel, or the owner of any goods, wares, and merchandizes, concerning the weight and quantity of the same, it shall he lawful for any such collector to stop and detain any such boat, barge, or vessel, and to weigh, measure, or gauge, or cause to be weighed, measured, or gauged all such goods, wares, and merchandizes as shall be therein contained; and in case the same shall, upon such weighing, measuring, or gauging, appear to be of a greater weight or quantity than such master, owner, or person having the care of the said boat, barge, or vessel affirmed the same to be, then such master, owner, or person so affirming, shall pay the costs and charges of such weighing, measuring, and gauging, all which said costs and charges, upon refusal of payment thereof upon demand, shall and may be recovered as the said rates are hereby appointed to be recovered, but if such goods, wares, and merchandizes shall appear to be of the same, or of less weight or quantity than the master, owner, or person so declared the same to be, then the said collector or collectors shall pay the costs and charges of such weighing, measuring, and gauging, and shall also pay to such master or person, or to the owner or owners of such goods, wares, and merchandizes, such damage as shall appear to the said commissioners, on the oath of one or more credible witness or witnesses, to have arisen from such detention, and in default of immediate payment thereof by the collector or collectors, the same shall be recovered from the company of proprietors by action of debt in any of his majesty's courts of record.

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No partiality to be used in boats passing locks.

"And be it further enacted, That if any lock-keeper, wharfinger, or other person belonging to the said company of proprietors, shall give any preference, or shew any partiality to any boat, barge, or other vessel, in passing through any lock or locks upon the said navigation, or in loading or unloading any goods, wares, or merchandizes at any of the wharfs, warehouses, weigh beams, cranes, and other machines belonging to the said company of proprietors, and shall be thereof convicted before any one of his majesty's justices of the peace for the West-Riding of the county of York, or the division of Lindsey in the county of Lincoln, every person so offending shall forfeit and pay the sum of ten shillings to the informer.

Small vessels not to pass locks without consent of proprietors, &c.

"And be it further enacted, That no boat, barge, or other vessel, shall pass through any of the locks to be made by virtue of this act, without the consent of the said company of proprietors, or their clerk for the time being, in writing first had and obtained, unless such boat, barge, or other vessel shall pay a rate equal to what would be paid for a vessel loaded with a burthen of twenty-five tons.

Side drains to be made parallel with certain parts of the canal.

"And whereas the said intended canal will in several parts intersect the drains made for the draining the lands and grounds within the level of Hatfield chase and parts adjacent, by means whereof such drainage will be considerably interrupted, and in regard that the surface of the water in the said intended canal will in many parts be upon a level with, and in other parts above the level of the adjoining lands and grounds, such adjacent lands and grounds will in consequence thereof be subject to leakage and oozings from the said canal; for the remedy whereof, be it enacted, and it is hereby further enacted, That the said company of proprietors shall and may, and they are hereby authorized and required, by themselves, their deputies, agents, officers, workmen, servants, and assistants, at the proper costs, charges, and expenses of the said company of proprietors, to make or cause to be made a soak or side drain on the south side of the said intended canal, extending from a certain place or barrier bank, called Ashfield bank, in the parishes of Thorne, Hatfield, and Fishlake, or some of them, to the river Trent, at Keadby aforesaid, in such course and direction as is delineated and described in the plan or map herein-after mentioned or referred to, which said soak or side drain shall not deviate more than the distance of twenty yards, nor less than the distance of ten yards, from the south side of the said intended canal, without the consent in writing of the said participants, or their surveyor or engineer for the time being, and that the said soak or side drain from the said barrier bank called Ashfield

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bank to the end of a certain drain called Meer drain (also delineated or described in the same map or plan), shall be six feet wide at the least at the bottom, and from the same Meer drain to the south-west corner of Crowle common, in the parish of Crowle aforesaid, where the said canal will intersect the course of the old river Dunn, shall be ten feet wide at the least at the bottom, and from thence to its intended outfal into the river Trent, at Keadby aforesaid, shall be fifteen feet wide at the least at the bottom, and that the said soak or side drain shall be made with sufficient banks, or raised abutments, where it shall be thought necessary, and shall be required by the said participants, or their surveyor or engineer for the time being, and shall have a batter or slope of one foot on each side for every foot in depth, and that the bottom of such drain at the said barrier bank shall be as deep as the dike or drain described or mentioned in the said last mentioned map or plan called The Boating dike, where the said intended canal will intersect or cross it, or as much deeper as shall be thought necessary or requisite by the participants of the level of Hatfield chase, or their surveyor or engineer for the time being, and shall be carried on a regular declivity to the outfal at Keadby aforesaid, and shall at all times after be used as a drain or sewer to take off all or any of the waters from the lands or grounds lying on the south side of the said canal, and now draining into the said boating dike, and so that the waters of the said Meer drain may communicate freely with the said south side drain, and have the same passage and course down the said boating dike at or near the White gate, as the same now have, and also shall and will, at their own like costs, charges, and expenses, make or cause to be made a soak or side drain on the north side of the said intended canal, extending from the boating dike near Thorne, where the same will be intersected by the said intended canal, to the river Trent at Keadby aforesaid, in such line and direction as is delineated and described in the said last mentioned map or plan, which said last mentioned soak or side drain shall not deviate more than the distance of twenty yards, nor less than the distance of ten yards, from the north side of the said intended canal, without the consent in writing of the said participants, or their surveyor or engineer for the time being, and that the said last mentioned soak or side drain shall be ten feet wide at the least at the bottom, from the said junction with the said boating dike to the said south-west corner of Crowle common, where the said canal will intersect the course of the old river Dunn, and from thence to the outfal fifteen feet wide at the least at the bottom, and shall be made with sufficient banks or raised abutments, where it shall be thought necessary, and shall be required by the said participants, or their surveyor or engineer

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for the time being, and shall have a like batter or slope of one foot on each side for every foot in depth as above mentioned, and that the bottom of such drain shall be as deep as the aforesaid boating dike at the said junction, or as much deeper as shall be thought necessary or requisite by the said participants, or their surveyor or engineer for the time being, and shall be carried on a regular declivity to the outfal at Keadby aforesaid.

Saving the jurisdiction of the commissioners of sewers of Hatfield chase.

"Provided always, and it is hereby enacted and declared, That nothing in this act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to lessen, prejudice, alter, or affect the jurisdiction, or any of the rights, privileges, powers, or authorities of or belonging to the commissioners of sewers for the level of Hatfield chase and parts adjacent, in the counties of York, Lincoln, and Nottingham, but that the same and every of them shall remain and continue in the said commissioners of sewers as fully and amply, to all intents and purposes, as if this act had not been made.

Right of fishery reserved.

"Provided always, and it is hereby enacted and declared, That the owner or owners of any lordship and manor, through which the said intended canal and collateral cuts shall be made, shall have and be entitled to the sole, separate, and exclusive right of fishery of and in so much of the said canal and collateral cuts, or towing paths, trenches and sluices, and reservoirs and watercourses, as shall be made over or through the lands within his, her, or their lordship or manor, so as in the use and exercise of the said right of fishery in the said navigable canal and collateral cuts, trenches and sluices, reservoirs and watercourses, or the towing paths, banks, or other works or conveniencies, and the navigation hereby authorized to be made, shall not be prejudiced or obstructed, or any water drained or exhausted from or out of the said canal and collateral cuts, or trenches and sluices, reservoirs and watercourses, and so as the said company of proprietors, their successors or assigns, or their agents, servants, or workmen, or any of them, shall not be liable to any penalty, action, or prosecution for or by reason of the taking or destroying any fish in the said canal and collateral cuts, trenches or sluices, reservoirs or watercourses, which shall be taken, killed, or destroyed through or by means of letting the water out of the said canal and collateral cuts, trenches or sluices, reservoirs or watercourses, or for or on account of any repairs or works to be done in or about the same; and also that it shall and may be lawful for such lord or lords, lady or ladies, and their lawfully appointed game keeper, to take and kill game upon so much of the said canal and collateral cuts, trenches, sluices, towing paths, and other lands and grounds to be set out for the use of the said navigation as shall be made through their

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respective lands or grounds as aforesaid, any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

"And be it further enacted, That this act shall be deemed and taken to be a public act; and all judges, justices, and other persons, are hereby required to take notice of it as such, without specially pleading the same." Public act.

This canal is now completed, and of great convenience to the country.

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CHAP. VII.

Biography.

An account of authors that were born, or lived in the isle of Axholme.

EDMUND SHEFFIELD.

THIS nobleman is the first author that I can find who was born in the isle of Axholme. The particulars of his life is related in page 82, in the account of his family. Fuller says, "Great his skill in musick, he wrote sonnets according to the Italian fashion. He may seem, swain like, to have sung his own funeral, being soon after slaine." Vol II. page 21. Edit. nov. Bale say'd he wrote other things besides the sonnets.

SIR JOHN FERNE.

He was the son of William Ferne, of Temple Bellwood, in the isle of Axholme, Esq. by Anne his wife, daughter and heir of John Sheffield, of Beltoft, brother of Sir Robert Sheffield, of Butterwick, in the same county, Knt. (ancestor of the Lords Sheffield, &c.) was sent to Oxford about seventeen years of age, and placed, as Wood conceives, either in St. Mary's hall, or University college; but leaving the university without a degree, he went to the

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Inner Temple, studied for some time the municipal law, and in 1578, mostly wrote "*The Blazon of Gentrie: divided into two parts. The first named the Glory of Generositie. The second Lacyes nobilitie. Comprehending discourses of Arms and of Gentry. Wherein is treated of, the beginning parts and degrees of Gentlenesse, with her Lawes: Of the Bearing and Blazon of Cote Armors: Of the Lawes of Armes and of Combats. Compiled by John Ferne, Gentleman, for the Instruction of all Gentlemen bearing of Armes, whom and none other this work concerneth. At London, Printed by John Windet, for Toby Cooke,* 1586." Page 341 and 130.

Dedicated to Edmund Lord Sheffield, from the Inner Temple, 13th Sept. 1586; followed by an address to the inns of court, and commendatory Latin and English verses.

This book is written in dialogue, and though in a language uncommonly quaint and tedious, contains critical accounts of arms, principles of precedence, remarks upon the times, &c. which are altogether curious. The nobility of the Lacys was written upon occasion of Albertus, a Lasca, a noble person from the northern parts of Germany, coming into England 1583, and claiming affinity to this family of Lacy; in consequence of which, as Ferne says, he was induced to open their descents, their arms, marriages and lives. The discourse is really curious, and during the century that elapsed after its publication, before the appearance of Dugdale's Baronage, must have been peculiarly valuable.

In the beginning of the reign of James I. he received the honour of knighthood, being, about that time, secretary and keeper of the king's signet of the council established at York for the north parts of England. He probably died about 1610, leaving several sons behind him, of whom Henry, the youngest, was afterwards bishop of Chester. See Wood's Ath. I. p. 365.

JAMES GREEN.

He was parish clerk of Althorpe, where he wrote a "Book of Psalmody; containing Chanting Tunes and the Reading Psalms, with Eighteen Anthems, and a variety of Psalm Tunes. In four parts. Eighth edition. London, Printed by W. Pearson, and Sold by A. Butterworth, &c. 1734." 8vo. 144 pages, a work well received by the public.

DR. MATTHEW HORBERY.

He was a learned and able divine, born at Haxey about 1707, and died at

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Stanlake, in Oxfordshire, 22d June, 1773. His father, who was vicar of Haxey, died when he was very young, and left him with so small a provision, as with difficulty to conduct his education to Lincoln college, Oxford, where he obtained a slender exhibition, and in due time was admitted into orders. About the period of his becoming A.M. he was elected fellow of Magdalen college. He next obtained the vicarage of Eccleshall, and curacy of Gnosall, from Dr. Smalbrook, bishop of Litchfield; and then a canonry of Litchfield and the vicarage of Hanbury. He afterwards married Miss Sarah Taylor, and was promoted by his college to the rectory of Stanlake, in Oxfordshire. He chose this situation for its retirement, in which he might indulge his favourite propensity to study and meditation. In 1744 came forth his treatise on the "Eternity of Hell Torments;" and in 1745, 1747, and 1749, he published three single sermons, and after his death a few more sermons were selected from his MSS. and published by his wife's nephew, which were highly praised by Dr. Johnson. Two hundred of his MS. sermons were also sold for one hundred guineas. He died at about the age of sixty-six, with the character of a truly amiable and excellent person, and an uncommonly able and sound divine: but such was his invincible diffidence, that nothing could draw him out into public life. He proceeded A.M. 26th June, 1733; B.D. 22d April, 1743; D.D. 4th July, 1745. Brydge's Cen. Lit. Vol. III. p. 98.

GEORGE STOVIN, ESQ.

This gentleman lived at Hurst, near Crowle, he wrote a letter on "The Hermitage at Lindholme," printed in the Gentleman's Magazine, January 1747, page 23, dated August 31, 1727. "An account of the body of a woman and an ancient shoe found in the isle," printed in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 484, page 571; and also in the Gentleman's Magazine for May, 1749, with a cut.

REV. SAMUEL WESLEY, A.M.

Mr. Samuel Wesley was son to John Wesley, M.A. a dessenter from the church of England. His mother was niece to Dr. Thomas Fuller, author of "The Worthies of England," &c. He was born about the year 1662 or 1663. "The first thing that shook his attachment to the dissenters was, a defence of the death of king Charles I., and the proceedings of the Calve's Head Club. These things shocked him; and though it is certain that the dissenters in general

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disapproved of the king's death, and that the proceedings of a club ought not to be attributed to a large body of men, who had no connection with the members of it, and differed greatly in opinion from them; yet they had such an effect on his mind that he separated himself from the dissenting interest *while yet a boy*, as appears from the following lines in his son's elegy upon him:

> " ' With op'ning life his early worth began,
> The BOY misleads not, but foreshews the man.
> Directed wrong, though first he miss'd his way,
> Train'd to mistake, and disciplin'd to stray:
> Not long—for reason gilded error's night,
> And doubts well founded shot a gleam of light.'

" He spent some time at a private academy before he went to the university, but where it is not said. About the age of sixteen he walked to Oxford, and entered himself of Exeter college. He had now only two pounds sixteen shillings; and no prospect of future supplies, but from his own exertions. By industry, I suppose by assisting the younger students, and instructing any who chose to employ him, he supported himself till he took his batchelor's degree; without any preferment or assistance from his friends, except five shillings. This circumstance does him great honour, and shews him to have been a young man of wonderful diligence and resolution. Many feel his difficulties, but few are capable of his vigorous and continued exertions to overcome them in so honourable a way, and with such success. He now came to London, having increased his little stock to ten pounds fifteen shillings. He was ordained deacon, and obtained a curacy, which he held one year, when he was appointed chaplain on board the fleet. This situation he held one year only, and then returned to London, and served a cure for two years. During this time he married, and his wife brought him a son. In this period he wrote several pieces, which brought him into notice and esteem, and a small living was given him in the country. We are not certain whether it was during his residence here, or while he was chaplain on board the fleet, that the following circumstance happened, but I suppose the latter. He was strongly solicited by the friends of king James II. to support the measures of the court in favour of popery, with promises of preferment if he would comply with the king's desire. But he absolutely refused to read the king's declaration; and though surrounded with courtiers, soldiers, and informers, he preached a bold and pointed discourse against it, from Daniel iii. 17, 18. *If it be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us*

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from the burning fiery furnace, and he will deliver us out of thy hand, O king. But if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up. His son Samuel describes this circumstance in the following lines:*

" 'When zealous James unhappy sought the way
T' establish Rome by arbitrary sway;
In vain were bribes shower'd by the guilty crown,
He sought no favour, as he fear'd no frown,
Secure in faith, exempt from worldly views,
He dar'd the declaration to refuse:
Then from the sacred pulpit boldly shew'd
The dauntless Hebrews, true to Israel's God,
Who spake regardless of their king's commands,
" The God we serve can save us from thy hands;
" If not, O monarch, know we chuse to die,
" Thy gods alike, and threatnings we defy;
" No power on earth our faith has e'er controll'd,
" We scorn to worship idols, tho' of gold."
Resistless truth damp'd all the audience round,
The base informer sicken'd at the sound;
Attentive courtiers conscious stood amaz'd,
And soldiers silent trembled as they gaz'd.
No smallest murmur of distaste arose,
Abash'd and vanquish'd seem'd the church's foes.
So when like zeal their bosoms did inspire,
The Jewish martyrs walk'd unhurt in fire.'

" In this noble instance of integrity and firmness of mind, Mr. Wesley has given us an unequivocal proof that a person of high-church principles may be a true friend to the protestant cause, and the liberty of the subject. It is evident that he as much disliked the arbitrary proceedings of king James, as the religion which he endeavoured to introduce. When the glorious revolution took place in 1688, Mr. Wesley most cordially approved of it, and was the first who wrote in defence of it. This work he dedicated to queen Mary,† who, in consequence

* " In the poem entitled the Parish Priest, intended as a description of his father's character."
† " MSS. Papers."

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of it, gave him the living of Epworth in Lincolnshire, about the year 1693; and in 1723 he was presented to the living of Wroote in the same county, in addition to Epworth. Mr. Wesley held the living of Epworth upwards of forty years. His abilities would have done him credit in a more conspicuous situation; and had queen Mary lived much longer, it is probable that he would not have spent so great a part of his life in such an obscure corner of the kingdom."

Previous to this time he published a collection of juvenile compositions, entitled "Maggots: or, Poems on Several Subjects never before Handled," 8vo. 1685. The frontispiece is an anonymous portrait; to the knees of a man crowned with laurel, writing at a table; on his forehead is a maggot, underneath are these verses,

"In's own defence the author writes;
Because, when this foul maggot bites,
He ne'er can rest in quiet;
Which makes him make so sad a face,
He'd beg your worship, or your grace,
Unsight, unseen, to buy it."

The above print represents the Author.

"In the beginning of the year 1705, he printed a poem on the battle of Blenheim, which happened the year before, with which the Duke of Marlborough was so well pleased, that he made him chaplain to Colonel Lepelle's regiment, which was to stay in England some time." In this situation he did not continue long; for being, at that time, in a controversy with the dissenters, (which the court at that time was crowded,) they had interest enough to remove him from his situation, and prevent his future preferment.

He published "The Life of Our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ," an heroic poem, 1693, folio, with cuts by Fairthorn. A new edition was published in two vols. 18mo. 1813, by C. Whittingham. This poem was written in imitation of Vida's *Christiad*; of this poem his son Samuel passes this impartial judgment:

"Whate'er his strains, still glorious was his end,
Faith to assert, and virtue to defend.
He sung how God the Saviour deign'd t' expire,
With Vida's piety though not his fire;
Deduc'd his Maker's praise from age to age,
Through the long annals of the sacred page."

In the year 1714 was published, "The History of the Old and New Testa-

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ments, in Verse," containing 330 engravings by Sturt, three vols. A new edition was published by C. Whittingham, 1813, three vols 18mo. with the same number of wood engravings. This is a very useful work for young people. It is preceded with a poetical dedication to queen Mary, consort of William III. which I shall here insert, as it exhibits a fair specimen of his verse.

" O! of the royal martyr's sacred race!—
Long may the royal martyr's race remain!—
Equal to fill our great Eliza's place,
And empire's ponderous orb unmov'd sustain.

" This humble tribute, not unpleas'd, receive,
Which at the footstool of your throne I lay:
'Tis all a grateful royal heart can give,
'Tis all that I for more than life can pay.

" Not but the sacred truths these leaves contain,
Are treasures for the greatest prince's breast:
The gems are bright, though I their lustre stain,
The gold, though rudely stamp'd, will bear the test.

" I sing the loves of the first happy pair,
While Paradise their smiling hours employ'd;
Remov'd from want, remov'd from jealous care,
A state the virtuous few have since enjoy'd.

" How sin and men increas'd, what fate surpris'd,
What worlds of water wash'd their crimes away;
While righteous Noah, whom they once despis'd,
Secure within his floating castle lay.

" By wonders rescued, and by wonders fed,
How Israel trac'd the sandy deserts o'er;
What laws their Saviour fix'd, when them he led
To promis'd seats, and Canaan's happy shore.

" What force and fraud, oppos'd their rising state,
What angels on their side embattled stood:

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While hovering death did for its quarry wait,
And ancient Kishon drew a purple flood.

" But, who the foremost stands in glory's race!—
The great in arms, Abinoam's godlike son!
Though great in arms, he thought it no disgrace
At Deborah's feet to throw the spoils he won.

" What joyous triumphs, and what songs of praise,
From neighbouring Tabor's verdant tops resound!
Tabor, which higher seem'd its head to raise,
With native garlands, and with laurels crown'd.

" Such trophies oft, nor is the presage vain,
I see your happy rising years shall meet;
Till every haughty Sisera is slain,
And Jabin's self shall tumble at your feet.

" So fall thy foes, just Heaven! thy power confess'd,
By those thy injur'd goodness dare withstand;
While Israel's with thy strong salvation bless'd,
And peace and plenty crown thy favourite land."

His favourite studies seem to have been the original scriptures, as appears from the following extracts from his letters to his son John Wesley:

" *January* 26, 1725.

" I have some time since designed an edition of the Holy Bible in octavo, in the Hebrew, Chaldee, Septuagint, and the Vulgate; and have made some progress in it. What I desire of you on this article is, 1. That you would immediately fall to work, and read diligently the Hebrew text in the Polyglott, and collate it exactly with the Vulgate, writing all, even the least variations or differences between them. 2. To these I would have you add the Samaritan text in the last column but one; which is the very same with the Hebrew, except in some very few places, differing only in the Samaritan character, which I think is the true old Hebrew. In twelve months' time, you will get through the Pentateuch; for I have done it four times the last year, and am going over it

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the fifth, and collating the two Greek versions, the Alexandrian and the Vatican, with what I can get of Symachus and Theodotion," &c.

Mr. John Wesley was in the twenty-second year of his age, not yet ordained, nor had he obtained any preferment in the university, when he received this letter from his father. It gives a pleasing view of his progress in biblical learning at this early period of life, and shews his father's confidence in his critical knowledge of the Hebrew scriptures. The following letter was written in 1731, and very clearly states the old gentleman's opinion of the translation of the Seventy after a most laborious examination of it.

"I find in your letter an account of a learned friend you have, who has a great veneration for the Septuagint, and thinks that in some instances it corrects the present Hebrew. I do not wonder that he is of that mind; as it is likely he has read *Vossius* and other learned men, who magnify this translation so as to depreciate the original. When I first began to study the scriptures in earnest, and had read it over several time, I was inclined to the same opinion. What then increased my respect for it was, 1. That I thought I found many texts in the scriptures more happily explained than in our own or other version. 2. That many words and phrases in the New Testament, can hardly be so well understood without having recourse to this translation. 3. That both our Saviour and his apostles so frequently quote it. These considerations held me in a blind admiration of the Septuagint; and though I did not esteem them absolutely infallible, yet I hardly dared to trust my own eyes, or think they were frequently mistaken. But upon reading this translation over very often, and comparing it verbatim with the Hebrew, I was forced by plain evidence of fact to be of another mind. That which led me to it was, some mistakes (I think not less than a thousand) in places indifferent, either occasioned by the ambiguous sense of some Hebrew words, or by the mistake of some letters, as *daleth* for *resh*, and vice versa; which every one knows are very much alike in the old Hebrew character. But what fully determined my judgment was, that I found, or thought I found, very many places which appeared purposely altered for no very justifiable reason. These at last came so thick upon me, in my daily reading, that I began to note them down; not a few instances of which you will see in the dissertation I shall send you in my next packet. I would have you communicate it to your learned friend, with my compliments, earnestly desiring him, as well as you, to peruse it with the greatest prejudice you can: and after you have thoroughly weighed the whole, as I think the subject deserves, to make the strongest objections you are able against any article of it, where you are not convinced by my observations. For I should not deserve a friend if I did not esteem those my best friends who

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do their endeavours to set me right, where I may possibly be mistaken, especially in a matter of so great moment."

In the year 1730 he published proposals for a Latin comment on the book of Job, as appears by the following extract from one of Pope's letters to Swift.

"*April* 14, 1730.

"This is a letter extraordinary, to do and say nothing but recommend to you (as a clergyman, and a charitable one,) a pious and a good work, and for a good and honest man: Moreover he is about seventy, and poor, which you might think included in the word *honest*. I shall think it a kindness done myself, if you can propagate Mr. Wesley's subscription for his Commentary on Job* among your divines (bishops excepted, of whom there is no hope) and among such as are believers or readers of scripture. Even the curious may find something to please them, if they scorn to be edified. It has been the labour of eight years of this learned man's life; I call him what he is, a learned man, and I engage you will approve his prose more than you formerly could his poetry. Lord Bolingbroke is a favourer of it, and allows you to do your best to serve an old tory, and a sufferer for the church of England, though you are a whig, as I am."

This work appeared in 1736, under the following title: "Dissertationes et Conjecturæ in Librum Jobi; Tabulis Geographicis et Figuris æneis illustratæ." Auctore Samuele Wesley, Rectore de Epworth, in Diœcesi Lincoln. In quibus, Textus Hebræus confertur precipuè cum LXX, etiamque cum Paraphrasi Chaldaicâ, et Versionibus plurimis tam Græcis quàm Latinis, et Vernaculis nostris. Quæritur inter alia, an Historia sit vera, necne? quo Auctore, Tempore, Fine, Liber scriptus sit? quo seculo res gestæ? &c. &c. Londini, Typis Gulielmi Bowyer in White Fryars: Prostant venales apud C. Rivington, et S. Birt, Londinenses: R. Clements, et M. Fletcher, Oxonienses; C. Crownfield, et W. Thurlbourn, Cantabrigienses; Bibliopolas; 1736." This is a very handsome folio volume, printed with a beautiful type, and supported by a respect-

* "Poor Job! It was his eternal fate to be persecuted by his friends. His three comforters passed sentence of condemnation upon him; and he has been executing *in effigie* ever since. He was first bound to the stake by a long *catena* of Greek fathers; then tortured by Pineda; then strangled by Caryl; and afterwards cut up by Wesley, and anatomized by Garnet. Pray don't reckon me among his hangmen: I only acted the tender part of his wife, and was for making short work with him. But he was ordained, I think, by a fate like that of Prometheus, to lie still upon his dunghill, and have his brains sucked out by owls. One Hodges, a head of Oxford, now threatens us with a new *auto de fe*." Mr. Waterton to Mr. Hurd, Dec. 23, 1749.

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able list of subscribers; and appears to have been the most laboured of its authors numerous works."

To this volume was prefixed an emblematical portrait; thus described by a correspondent in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1874, page 758. "A print in my collection represents Job in a chair of state, dressed in a robe bordered with fur, sitting beneath a gateway, on the arch of which is written 'JOB PATRIARCHA.' He bears a sceptre in his hand, and in the back ground are seen two of the pyramids of Ægypt. His position exactly corresponds with the idea given us by the scriptures in the book of Job, chap. xxix. ver. 7: '*When I went out to the gate through the city, when I prepared my seat in the street:*' according to the customs of those times, of great men sitting at the gate of the city to decide causes. The subscription on a tablet beneath his feet, '*An. ætat. circiter LXX. Quis mihi tribuat?*' marks it out as the quaint device of a man in years who thought himself neglected. 'G. Vertue delin. & sculpt.' is followed by no date of year. A former owner has written underneath with a pencil, 'Wesley,' Mr. Walpole, in his 'Catalogue of Engravers,' 4to. 1763, seems unacquainted with the allusion intended by this print, as, upon referring to his list of Virtue's works, I find 'Job Patriarcha' in class 12, among the foreigners. LL."

In the compiling of this work "Mr. Wesley had collated all the copies he could meet with of the original, and the Greek and other versions and editions; and after his labours and his library had been burnt with his house (which it seems had suffered the like fate once before, about the year 1707) he resumed the task in the decline of life, oppressed with gout and palsy through long habit of study. Among other assistances, he particularly acknowledges that of his three sons, and his friend Maurice Johnson."

Most of his smaller pieces are excellent. I shall insert the following, both for its intrinsic beauty, and as a specimen of his poetical talents.

EUPOLIS'S HYMN TO THE CREATOR.

THE OCCASION.

Part of a (new) dialogue between *Plato* and *Eupolis* the Poet*——The rest not extant.

Eupolis. But is it not a little hard, that you should banish all our fraternity

* EUPOLIS was an Athenian. He is mentioned several times by *Horace*, and once by *Persius*; and was in high estimation at Athens for his poetical compositions, though he severely lashed the

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from your new common-wealth? What hurt has father *Homer* done that you dismiss him among the rest?

Plato. Certainly the blind old gentleman *lies* with the best grace in the world. But a *lie* handsomely told, debauches the taste and morals of a people. Besides, his tales of the *gods* are intolerable, and derogate in the highest degree from the dignity of the Divine Nature.

Eupolis. But do you really think that those faults are inseparable from poetry? May not the ONE SUPREME be sung, without any intermixture of them?

Plato. I must own I hardly ever saw any thing of that nature. But I shall be glad to see you, or any other, attempt and succeed in it. On that condition, I will gladly exempt you from the fate of your brother poets.

Eupolis. I am far from pretending to be a standard. But I will do the best I can.

THE HYMN.

AUTHOR of Being, Source of light,
With unfading beauties bright,
Fulness, goodness, rolling round
Thy own fair orb without a bound:
Whether thee thy suppliants call
Truth, or good, or one, or all,
Ei, or *Jao;* thee we hail
Essence that can never fail,
Grecian or *Barbaric* name,
Thy stedfast being still the same.

Thee, when morning greets the skies
With rosy cheeks and humid eyes;
Thee, when sweet declining day
Sinks in purple waves away;
Thee will I sing, O parent *Jove,*
And teach the world to praise and love.

Yonder azure vault on high,
Yonder blue low liquid sky,

vices of the age he lived in. He was killed in an engagement at sea between the Athenians and Lacedemonians, and his death was so much lamented at Athens, that they made a law, that no poet should go to battle. He lived about 400 years before Christ.

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Earth, on its firm basis plac'd,
And with circling waves embrac'd,
All creating pow'r confess,
All their mighty Maker bless.
Thou shak'st all nature with thy nod,
Sea, earth, and air confess thee God;
Yet does thy pow'rful hand sustain
Both earth and heav'n, both firm and main.
Scarce can our daring thought arise
To thy pavillion in the skies;
Nor can *Plato's* self declare
The bliss, the joy, the rapture there.
Barren above thou dost not reign,
But circled with a glorious train:
The sons of God, the sons of light,
Ever joying in thy sight:
(For thee their silver harps are strung)
Ever beauteous, ever young,
Angelic forms their voices raise,
And through heav'n's arch resound thy praise.

The feather'd fowls that swim the air,
And bathe in liquid ether there,
The lark, precentor of the choir,
Leading them higher still and higher,
Listen and learn; th' angelic notes
Repeating in their warbling throats:
And ere to soft repose they go,
Teach them to their lords below:
On the green turf their mossy nest,
The ev'ning anthem swells their breast;
Thus like thy golden chain from high
Thy praise unites the earth and sky.

Source of light, thou bidst the sun
On his burning axles run;
The stars like dust around him fly,
And strew the area of the sky.

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He drives so swift his race above
Mortals can't perceive him move,
So smooth his course, oblique or straight,
Olympus shakes not with his weight.
As the queen of solemn night
Fills at his vase her orbs of light,
Imparted lustre; thus we see
The solar virtue shines by thee.

*Eiresione,** we'll no more
Imaginary pow'r adore;
Since oil, and wool, and cheerful wine,
And life-sustaining bread are thine.

Thy herbage, O great *Pan*, sustains
The flocks that graze our *attic* plains;
The olive with fresh verdure crown'd,
Rises pregnant from the ground;
At thy command it shoots and springs,
And a thousand blessings brings.
Minerva only is thy mind,
Wisdom and bounty to mankind.
The fragrant thyme, the bloomy rose,
Herb and flow'r, and shrub that grows
On *Thessalian Tempe's* plain
Or where the rich *Sabeans* reign,
That treat the taste or smell or sight,
For food or med'cine, or delight;
Planted by thy parent care,
Spring and smile and flourish there.

O ye nurses of soft dreams,
Reedy brooks and winding streams,

* This word signifies a kind of garland composed of a branch of olive, wrapt about with wool, and loaded with all kinds of fruits of the earth, as a token of peace and plenty. The poet says he will no more worship the *imaginary* power, supposed to be the giver of these things; but the great *Pan*, the creator from whom they all proceed.

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Or murmuring o'er the pebbles sheen
Or sliding through the meadows green,
Or where through matted sedge you creep,
Trav'lling to your parent deep!
Sound his praise by whom you rose,
That sea which neither ebbs nor flows.

O ye immortal woods and groves,
Which th' enamour'd student loves;
Beneath whose venerable shade,
For thought and friendly converse made,
Fam'd *Hecadem*, old hero lies,
Whose shrine is shaded from the skies,
And through the gloom of silent night
Projects from far its trembling light;
You, whose roots descend as low,
As high in air your branches grow;
Your leafy arms to heav'n extend,
Bend your heads, in homage bend:
Cedars and pines that wave above,
And the oak belov'd of *Jove*.

Omen, monster, prodigy,
Or nothing are, or *Jove* from thee!
Whether varied nature play,
Or re-invers'd thy will obey,
And to rebel man declare
Famine, plague, or wasteful war.
Laugh ye prophane, who dare despise
The threatning vengeance of the skies,
Whilst the pious on his guard,
Undismay'd is still prepar'd:
Life or death, his mind's at rest,
Since what thou send'st must needs be best.

No evil can from thee proceed:
'Tis only suffer'd, not decreed.

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Darkness is not from the sun,
Nor mounts the shades till he is gone:
Then does night obscure arise
From *Erebus*, and fill the skies,
Fantastic forms the air invade,
Daughters of nothing, and of shade.

Can we forget thy guardian care,
Slow to punish, prone to spare;
Thou brak'st the haughty *Persian's* pride,
That dar'd old ocean's pow'r deride;
Their shipwrecks strew'd with *Eubean* wave,
At *Marathon* they found a grave.
O ye blest Greeks who there expir'd,
For *Greece* with pious ardour fir'd.
What shrines or alters shall we raise
To secure your endless praise?
Or need we monuments supply,
To rescue what can never die!

And yet a greater hero far
(Unless great *Socrates* could err)
Shall rise to bless some future day,
And teach to live, and teach to pray.
Come, unknown instructor come!
Our leaping hearts shall make thee room:
Thou with *Jove* our vows shalt share,
Of *Jove* and thee we are the care.

O Father, King, whose heav'nly face
Shines serene on all thy race,
We thy magnificence adore,
And thy well-known aid implore;
Nor vainly for thy help we call;
Nor can we want—for thou art all.

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"Every good judge, we apprehend, will readily allow that the author of these verses did not want talents for poetry. But wherever we fix his standing in the scale of learning and abilities, he still rises higher in our view of genuine piety, and a firm attachment to justice, mercy, and truth, in various trying situations in life. His integrity was conspicuous, and his conduct uniform. As he had chosen God and his service for his own portion, he chose the same for his children also. When two of his sons were pursuing a course of piety at Oxford, which threw their future prospects of preferment into a cloud not likely to be dissipated, he encouraged them in it, choosing rather that he and his children should suffer affliction with the people of God, than enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season. Few men have been so diligent in the pastoral office as he was; none perhaps more so. Though his income may be called small, and his family large, he had always something to give to those in distress. In conversation he was grave, yet instructive, lively, and full of anecdote; and this talent the late Mr. Wesley possessed in a high degree. His last moments were as conspicuous for resignation and christian fortitude, as his life had been for zeal and diligence. His two sons, Mr. John and Charles Wesley, were both with him when he died, and Mr. Charles has given the following interesting account of his death, in a letter to his brother Samuel, dated April 30, 1735.

"*Dear Brother,*

"After all your desire of seeing my father alive, you are at last assured you must see his face no more till he is raised in incorruption. You have reason to envy us who could attend him in the last stage of his illness. The few words he could utter I saved, and hope never to forget. Some of them were, 'Nothing is too much to suffer for heaven. The weaker I am in body, the stronger and more sensible support I feel from God. There is but a step between me and death; to-morrow I would see you all with me round this table, that we may once more drink of the cup of blessing, before we drink it new in the kingdom of God. With desire have I desired to eat this passover with you before I die.' The morning he was to communicate, he was so exceeding weak and full of pain, that he could not without the utmost difficulty receive the elements, often repeating, 'Thou shakest me, thou shakest me;' but immediately after receiving, there followed the most visible alteration. He appeared full of faith and peace, which extended even to his body; for he was so much better, that we almost hoped he would have recovered. The fear of death he entirely conquered, and at last gave up his latest human desires of finishing Job, paying his debts, and seeing you. He often laid his hand upon my head, and said, 'Be steady! The christian faith

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will surely revive in this kingdom; you shall see it, though I shall not.' To my sister Emily he said, 'Do not be concerned at my death, God will then begin to manifest himself to my family.' When we were met about him, his usual expression was, 'Now let me hear you talk of heaven.' On my asking him whether he did not find himself worse, he replied, 'O my Charles, I feel a great deal; God chastens me with a strong pain, but I praise him for it, I thank him for it, I love him for it.' On the 25th his voice failed him, and nature seemed entirely spent, when, on my brother's asking, whether he was not near heaven, he answered distinctly, and with the utmost of hope and triumph that could be expressed in sounds, 'Yes I am.' He spoke once more, just after my brother had used the commendatory prayer; his last words were, 'Now you have done all.' This was about half an hour after six, from which time till sun-set, he made signs of offering up himself, till my brother again having used the commendatory prayer, the very moment it was finished he expired. His passage was so smooth and insensible, that notwithstanding the stopping of his pulse, and ceasing of all sign of life and motion, we continued over him a considerable time, in doubt whether the soul was departed or no. My mother, who for several days before he died, hardly ever went into his chamber but she was carried out again in a fit, was far less shocked at the news than we expected, and told us that now she was heard, in his having so easy a death, and her being strengthened so to bear it."*

The following titles of some of Mr. Wesley's works may be added to those already named: "A Treatise on the Sacrament;" "Elegies on Queen Mary and Archbishop Tillotson, 1695," folio; "A Sermon preached before the Society for Reformation of Manners, 1698," 8vo; "A Letter concerning the Education of the Dissenters in their private Academies, 1703," and "A Defence of it," 12mo; &c. &c. &c.

"John Dunton, who was nearly related to Mr. Wesley by marriage, and who in other parts of his multifarious writings enters deeply into their family squabbles, gives him the following character:

"Mr. Wesley had an early inclination to poetry; but he usually writ too fast to write well. Two hundred couplets a day are too many by two-thirds, to be well-furnished with all the beauties and the graces of that art. He writ very much for me both in verse and prose, though I shall not name over the titles, in regard I am altogether as unwilling to see my name at the bottom of them, as Mr. Wesley would be to subscribe his own. Mr. Wesley had read much, and is

* Whitehead's Life of the Wesleys, Vol. I.

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well-skilled in the languages. He is generous and good-humoured, and caresses his friend with a great deal of passion, so long as his circumstances are any thing in order, and then he drops him; and I challenge the rector of Epworth (for he is not yet *my Lord* nor *his Grace*) to prove I injure him in this character; for that he was once glad of my friendship, none can question that reads the following letter (of which I have the original still by me):

"'*Dear Brother,* *Epworth, July the 24th, 97.*

"'It has been neither unkindness to you, with whom I have traded and been justly used for many years, much less unthankfulness to Mr. Rogers, for I shall own my obligations to that good man while I live, which has made me so long neglect answering your several letters; but the hurry of a remove, and my extraordinary business, being obliged to preach the Visitation Sermon at Gainsborough, at the bishop's coming thither, which is but just over.—Besides, I would fain have sent you an *elegy*, as well as an *epitaph*, but cannot get one to my mind, and therefore you must be content with half your desire; and if you please to accept this epitaph it is at your service, and I hope it will come before you need another *epithalamium**. I am

'Your obliged friend and brother, S. Wesley.'

"I could be very maggotty in the character of this conforming dissenter (for so this letter shews him to be); but, except he farther provokes me, I bid him farewell till we meet in heaven, and there I hope we shall renew our friendship, for (human frailties excepted) I believe Sam Wesley a pious man. I shall only add that the giving this true character of Parson Wesley is all the satisfaction I ever desire for his dropping an old friend. I shall leave him to struggle through life, and to make the best of it. But, alas!

He loves too much the Heliconian strand,
Whose stream's unfurnish'd with the golden sand.

"I do not speak this out of prejudice to Mr. Wesley; for to forgive a slight (or undeserved slander, invented by S——t, to revenge the discovery I made of his wh—m, and whispered about by a reverend brother) is so easy to me, it is scarce a virtue. But this rhyming circumstance of Mr. Wesley, is what I learn from the poem called 'The Reformation of Manners,' where are these words:

"Wesley with pen and poverty beset,
And Blackmore vers'd in physick as in wit;

* These were articles in which Dunton traded, and regularly sold them *ready made*.

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Tho' this of Jesus, that of Job may sing,
One bawdy play will twice their profits bring:
And had not both caress'd the flatter'd crown,
This had no knighthood seen, nor that no gown."*

His remains rest in the church-yard at Epworth, with the following inscription on a stone tablet:—

"Here lyeth all that was mortal of S. Wesley, A.M. who was rector of Epworth 39 years; and departed this life the 25th April, 1735, aged 72.

"As he lived so he died, in the true catholic faith of the Holy Trinity in Unity, and that Jesus Christ, a God incarnate and the only Saviour of mankind.

"Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord: yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; if their works do so allow them."

* Nichols's Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century, Vol. V. p. 212, 214.

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REV. SAMUEL WESLEY, JUNIOR, M.A.

"Samuel Wesley, M.A. son of Samuel and Susannah Wesley, was born about 1692,* a year or two before his parents removed to Epworth; being nearly eleven years older than his brother Mr. John Wesley, and sixteen older than Mr. Charles. He was sent to Westminster school about the beginning of the year 1704, and admitted a king's scholar in 1707.† Before he left home, his mother, by judicious and constant instruction, had formed his mind to a knowledge and serious sense of religion; but she knew the danger of his situation at Westminster, and how exceedingly apt young persons are to be drawn aside from religion and virtue, by improper companions, and bad examples constantly before their eyes. On this account she was anxious for the preservation of his morals, as he grew up and became more exposed to the temptations of evil. After she had recovered from the shock of the fire, which destroyed all they had, and from the fury of which they saved themselves with great difficulty, she wrote to him a long letter, dated October 1709; which, for the importance of the matter, and the energy with which it is written, is highly deserving of preservation; but on account of its length we can insert only a part of it. This part of it, however, will bring forward to the view of parents an example of attention to the best interest of a child, which it will be their happiness and glory to follow.

"'I hope, says she, that you retain the impressions of your education, nor have forgot that the vows of God are upon you. You know that the first fruits are heaven's by an unalienable right; and that, as your parents devoted you to the service of the alter, so you yourself made it your choice when your father was offered another way of life for you. But have you duly considered what such a choice, and such a dedication imports? Consider well, what separation from the world! what purity! what devotion! what exemplary virtue! is required in those who are to guide others to glory. I say exemplary, for low common degrees of piety are not sufficient for those of the sacred function. You must not think to live like the rest of the world; your light must so shine among men, that they may see your good works, and thereby be led to glorify your father which is in heaven. For my part, I cannot see with what face clergymen can reprove sinners, or exhort men to lead a good life, when they themselves indulge their own cor-

* "This date of his birth is taken from a memorandum, which Mr. John Wesley wrote on the back of one of his brother's letters.

† "Welch's List of Scholars of St. Peter's College, Westminster, as they were elected to Christ Church, Oxford, and to Trinity College, Cambridge, page 91.

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rupt inclinations, and by their practice contradict their doctrine. If the *holy Jesus* be in truth their master, and they are really his *embassadors*, surely it becomes them to live like his *disciples:* and if they do not, what a sad account must they give of their stewardship.

"'I would advise you,' as much as possible in your present circumstances, to throw you business into a certain method; by which means you will learn to improve every precious moment, and find an unspeakable facility in the performance of your respective duties. Begin and end the day with him who is the *alpha* and *omega;* and if you really experience what it is to love God, you will redeem all the time you can for his more immediate service. I will tell you what rule I used to observe when I was in my father's house, and had as little, if not less liberty than you have now: I used to allow myself as much time for recreation as I spent in private devotion; not that I always spent so much, but I gave myself leave to go so far, but no farther. So in all things else, appoint so much time for sleep, eating, company, &c. But above all things, my dear Sammy, I command you, I beg, I beseech you, to be very strict in observing the Lord's day.—In all things endeavour to act upon principle, and do not live like the rest of mankind, who pass through the world like straws upon a river, which are carried which way the stream or wind drives them. Often put this question to yourself, Why do I this or that? Why do I pray, read, study, use devotion, &c.—by which means you will come to such a steadiness and consistency in your words and actions, as becomes a reasonable creature and a good christian.'—These observations were worthy of the mother, and they were properly regarded and followed by the son.

"When senior scholar at Westminster, the Bishop of Rochester* took him to his seat at Bromley in Kent, to read to him in the evenings. He was at this time eagerly pursuing his studies, and this circumstance, which for several reasons would have been highly gratifying to many, was to him no small mortification. From this place he wrote a Latin letter to his father, in August 1710, in which he complains heavily of the bishop for the interruption he gave him in his learning. An extract from this letter we shall insert below,† and give the general

* "The predecessor of Atterbury, who was not advanced to the see of Rochester till 1713.

† "Speaking of the bishop, he says, 'Ille mihi, et in sacris et in profanis rebus semper erit infestissimus; studia enim intermitti cogit, quibus pro virili incubueram. Ultimo anno in Collegio agendo, ubi non mihi seniori opus est amicorum hospitio, a studiis et a schola me detraxit; non modo nullam ad utilitatem, sed ne ad minimam quidem vel utilitatis vel voluptatis speciem me vocavit. Ipse hodie foras est, aliter vix otium foret quo has scriberem. Me ex omnibus discipulis elegit, ut perlegerm ei

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purport of it in English. Speaking of the bishop, he observes, 'He will always be exceedingly troublesome to me both in sacred and profane learning; for he interrupts the studies to which I had applied with all my might. Last year, in the midst of our business in the college, he took me off both from study and from school, not only without any benefit, but without calling me to any thing which had even the appearance of either utility or pleasure. To-day he is from home, or I should scarcely have leisure to write this lstter. He chose me from all the scholars; me, who am hoarse and short-sighted, to read to him at night. I am glad you enjoy good health. I beg your's and my mother's blessing. I saw my grandmother* in the last holidays; in those which are approaching I cannot, because I am detained by an *unfriendly* friend.'

"He was about eighteen years old when he wrote this letter, and not yet removed from school. We may observe in it marks of a strong mind, wholly devoted to the pursuit of classical knowledge; and considering his age and situation at the time, it shews a progress in learning which does him credit.

"His mother's advices had a proper effect on his mind, and were the means of preserving him from vices too common to the youth of the place. He retained his sobriety, his reverence for God, and regard for religiou. In December this year he wrote to his mother, and the following extract from his letter gives a pleasing view of his simplicity, and serious attention to the state of his own heart, and the first motions of evil. 'I received the sacrament, (says he) the first Sunday of this month—I am as unstable as water—I frequently make good resolutions, and keep them for a time, and then grow weary of the restraint. I have one grand failing, which is, that having done my duty, I undervalue others, and think what wretches the rest of the college are compared with me. Sometimes in my relapses I cry out, "*Can the Æthiopian change his skin, and the leopard his spots, then may you also do good who are accustomed to do evil:* but I answer again, *with men this is impossible, but with God all things are possible. Amen.*"

"The next year, 1711, he was elected to Christ Church, Oxford;† and here, as well as at Westminster, he acquired the character of an excellent *classic* scholar. But his mind was too large, and his zeal for religion and the established

noctu libros; me raucum, me μυωπα. Gaudeo vos valetudine bona frui. Tuam et maternam benedictionem oro—Episcopus jussit me illius in literis mentionem facere. Da veniam subitis—Aviam ultimis festis vidi; his venientibus non possum, quia ab inimico amico detineor."

* "The widow of Mr. John Wesley, of New-Inn Hall, Oxford, and niece of Dr. Thomas Fuller. She had now been a widow near forty years.

† "Welch's List, &c. page 95.

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church too ardent, to be confined within the bounds prescribed by the common exercises of the place.

"The following letter shews that he took an active part in some of the principal questions agitated among the literati of that time. It is dated June 3, 1713, when he had been about two years at Oxford; and is addressed to the Honourable Robert Nelson, Esq. He says, 'I hoped long ere this to have perfected, as well as I could, my dissertation on *Ignatius*, and gotten it ready for the press, when I came to town this year. But I found myself disappointed, at first, for some months, by my affairs in the *E. India* House, and since by my charity hymns and other matters. I think I told you some time since that I had laid materials together for a second discourse on that subject, directly against Mr. Whiston's objections to the shorter and genuine copy of *Ignatius*; whereas my former was chiefly against the larger; because I then sought, if that were proved interpolated, it would be readily granted that the other was the genuine. But having found, when Mr. Whiston's four volumes came out, that he had in the first of them laid together many objections against the shorter epistles, I set myself to consider them; and having now got Archbishop Usher, Bishop Pearson, and Dr. Smyth, on that subject, and as carefully as I could perused them, I found that many of Mr. Whiston's objections were taken from *Daille*, a few from the writings of the Socinians and modern Arians, though most of them from his own observations. These latter being new, and having not appeared when Bishop Pearson or the others wrote, could not be taken notice of by them, and being now published in the English language, may seduce some well-meaning persons, and persuade them that the true *Ignatius* was of the same opinion with the Arians (whereas I am sure he was as far from it as light is from darkness) and that the rather because there has been as yet no answer, that I know of, published to them, though they were printed in the year 1711.—I know many are of opinion it is best still to slight him and take no notice of it. This I confess is the most easy way, but cannot tell whether it will be safe in respect to the common people, or will tend so much to the honour of our church and nation. Of this, however, I am pretty confident, that I can prove all his main objections, whether general or particular, against the shorter copy, to be notoriously false, Such as that p. 86, 87. "That the smaller so frequently called Christ God," which he says was done to serve the turn of the Athenasians, and cannot in reason be supposed to be an omission in the larger, but must be an interpolation in the smaller; whereas I find that the smaller call him God but fifteen times, the larger eighteen, and if we take in those to Antioch and Tarsus, twenty-two times, for an obvious reason.

"'Again, he says, p. 64, that serious exhortations to practical, especially

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domestic duties, are in the larger only, being to a surprising degree omitted in the smaller. But I have collected above one hundred instances wherein these duties are most pressingly recommended in the smaller.

" ' But what he labours most, is to prove that the first quotations in *Eusebius* and others of the ancients are agreeable to the larger, not the smaller—whereas, on my tracing and comparing them all, as far as I have had opportunity, I have found this assertion to be a palpable mistake, unless in one quotation from the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, or *Paschale*—I would gladly see *Montfaucon de causa Marcelli, St. Basil contra Marcellum*, observations on *Pearson's Vindiciæ;* and some good account of the Jewish *Sephiroth;* because I think the *Gnostics, Basilidians*, and *Valentinians*, borrowed many of their *Æons* from them, since they have the same names: and this might perhaps give further light to the famous ΣΙΓΗ of *Ignatius;* for the clearing whereof Bishop Pearson, Dr. Bull, and Grotius have so well laboured.'

" This letter shews the spirit and zeal of Mr. Wesley for sound doctrine, and does credit to so young a student. When he had taken his master's degree, or perhaps before he took it, he was sent for to officiate as usher at Westminster school; and soon afterwards he took orders, under the patronage of Dr. Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, and Dean of Westminster. He became an able judicious divine: his conduct in discharging the various duties of life, was exemplary, and did honour to his profession as a christian and a minister of the gospel. He was a man who had the nicest sense of honour and integrity; and the utmost abhorrence of duplicity and falsehood. He was humane and charitable; not only administering to the wants of the poor and afflicted, as far as his income would permit, but also using his influence with others to procure them relief. In filial affection and duty to parents, he was remarkable; no man in the same circumstances ever shone brighter than he, in this branch of christian duty, through the whole course of his life.

Mr. Samuel Wesley was highly esteemed by Lord Oxford, Bishop Atterbury, Mr. Pope, and several other persons among the first characters in the kingdom, for rank and literary talents. With Lord Orford and Mr. Pope he held a friendly correspondence; with Bishop Atterbury he was in close habits of friendship. Atterbury was a man of first-rate abilities: he had a fine genius improved by study, and a spirit to exert his talents. His notions of church government were very high, and on this subject there was perfect harmony between them. The bishop had made himself an object of hatred to Walpole and the rest of the king's ministers, by the opposition which he gave, in the House of Lords, to their measures; being generally among the protestors, and drawing up the reasons of

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the protests with his own hand. On the 24th of August, 1722,* he was apprehended under a suspicion of being concerned in a plot to subvert the government,

* March 23d, 1723, a bill was brought into the House of Commons, for "inflicting certain pains and penalties on Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester." The bill passed the Commons on the 9th of April, and on the 6th of May the bishop was brought to Westminster to make his defence before the House of Lords. In the course of his defence he observes, "Here is a plot of a year or two standing, to subvert the government with an armed force; an invasion from abroad, an insurrection at home: just when ripe for execution it is discovered; and twelve months after the contrivance of this scheme, no consultation appears, no men corresponding together, no provision made, no arms, no officers provided, not a man in arms; and yet the poor bishop has done all this. What could tempt me to step thus out of my way? Was it ambition, and a desire of climbing into a higher station in the church? There is not a man in my office farther removed from this than I am. Was money my aim? I always despised it too much, considering what occasion I am now like to have for it: for out of a poor bishopric of £500 per annum, I have laid out no less than £1000 towards the repairs of the church and episcopal palace; nor did I take one shilling for dilapidations.—Was I influenced by any dislike of the established religion, and secretly inclined to a church of greater pomp and power? I have, my lords, ever since I knew what popery was, opposed it; and the better I knew it the more I opposed it. You will pardon me, my lords, if I mention one thing: thirty years ago I writ in defence of Martin Luther; and have preached, expressed, and wrote to that purpose from my infancy; and whatever happens to me, I will suffer any thing, and by God's grace, burn at the stake, rather than depart from any material point of the protestant religion, as professed in the church of England. Once more: can I be supposed to favour arbitrary power? The whole tenor of my life has been otherwise: I was always a friend to the liberty of the subject; and to the best of my power, constantly maintained it."—Afterwards, speaking of the proceeding against him as unconstitutional, he says, "My ruin is not of that moment to any number of men, to make it worth their while to violate, or even to seem to violate, the constitution in any degree, which they ought to preserve against any attempts whatsoever—This is a proceeding with which the constitution is acquainted; which, under the pretence of supporting it, will at last effectually destroy it. For God's sake, lay aside these extraordinary proceedings; set not up these new and dangerous precedents. I, for my part, will voluntarily and cheerfully go into perpetual banishment, and please myself that I am in some measure the occasion of putting a stop to such precedents, and doing some good to my country: I will live wherever I am, praying for its prosperity; and do, in the words of Father Paul to the State of Venice, say, *Esto perpetua*—Let me depart, and let my country be fixed upon the immoveable foundation of law and justice, and stand for ever."

"It has been said that Atterbury's wishes reached to the bishopric of London, or even to York or Canterbury. But those who were better acquainted with his views, knew that Winchester would have been much more desirable to him than either of the others. And there are those now living, who have been told from respectable authority, that this bishopric was offered to him, whenever it should became vacant (and till that event should happen, a pension of £5000 a-year; beside an ample provision for Mr. Morrice) if he would cease to give the opposition he did to Sir Robert Walpole's administration, by his speeches and protests in the House of Lords. When that offer was rejected by the bishop, then the contrivance for his ruin was determined on."—*Encyclopædia Britain. art. Atterbury.*

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and bring in the Pretender. Mr. Wesley, by his intimacy with him, became an object of dislike to Walpole; and on this ground, only, we believe, has of late years been accused of jacobitism. But from the note above it does not appear probable, that Atterbury was guilty of the things alleged against him; and Mr. John Wesley vehemently affirmed that his brother Samuel was not disaffected to the present reigning family. If we consider, that his father was the first who wrote in defence of the *revolution*, and that he mentions this circumstances, apparently with pleasure, it will not appear probable that he was a *jacobite*. As Mr. Wesley acted on principle in every part of his conduct, so the banishment of Atterbury made no change in his friendship for him. If he had full conviction of the bishop's innocence, which is probable, it must have given him great pain, to see his friend persecuted, oppressed, and banished by the manœuvres of a minister of the state. It is no wonder this treatment of his friend should raise his indignation to the highest pitch; which seems to have been the case, and will be some apology for the severity of his satire in the following verses, which he wrote on this occasion.

When patriots sent a bishop cross the seas,
They met, to fix the pains and penalties:
While true blue blood-hounds on his death were bent,
Thy mercy, *Walpole*, voted banishment!
Or forc'd thy sov'reign's orders to perform,
Or proud to govern as to raise the storm.
Thy goodness shewn in such a dang'rous day,
He only, who receiv'd it, can repay,
Thou never justly recompens'd can be,
'Till banish'd *Francis* do the same for thee.

Though some would give Sir *Bob* no quarter,
But long to hang him in his Garter;
Yet sure he well deserves to have,
Such mercy as in power he gave.
Send him abroad to take his ease,
By act of pains and penalties:
But if he e'er comes here again,
Law takes its course, and hang him then.

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Four shilling in the pound we see,
And well may rest contented,
Since war (*Bob* swore 't should never be)
Is happily prevented.

But he, now absolute become,
May plunder ev'ry penny;
Then blame him not for taking some,
But thank for leaving any.

Let *H*—— his treasures now confess,
Display'd to ev'ry eye:
'Twas base in *H*—— to sell a peace,
But great in *Bob* to buy.

Which most promotes Great Britain's gain
To all mankind is clear:
One sends our treasure cross the main,
One brings the foreign here.

But if 'tis fit to give rewards
Or punishments to either,
Why, make them both together Lords,
Or, hang them both together.

At scribblers poor, who rail to eat,
Ye wags give over jeering;
Since gall'd by *Harry*, *Bob* the great
Has stoop'd to pamphleteering.

Would not one champion on his side,
For love or money venture;
Must king Wood's mirror, spite of pride,
So mean a combat enter.

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To take the field his weakness shews,
Though well he could maintain it:
Since *H*—— no honour has to lose,
Pray how can *Robin* gain it?

Worthy each other are the two,
Halloo! Boys fairly start ye:
Let those be hated worse than you,
Who ever strives to part ye.

A STEWARD once, the scripture says
When ordered his accounts to pass,
To gain his master's debtors o'er,
Cried, for a hundred write fourscore.

Now as he could, *Sir Robert*, bent
To follow gospel precedent,
When told a hundred late would do,
Cried I beseech you, sir, take two.

In merit which would we prefer,
The steward or the treasurer?
Neither for justice car'd a fig,
Too proud to beg, too old to dig;
Both bountiful themselves have shewn,
In things that never were their own:
But here a difference we must grant,
One robb'd the rich, to keep off want;
T'other, vast treasures to secure,
Stole from the public and the poor.

" His known attachment to Atterbury, and opposition to Walpole, blocked up his way to preferment at Westminster; he therefore left his situation at this place about the year 1732, for the free grammar school at Tiverton, in Devon, over which he presided till his death. In 1736 he published a quarto volume of poems, for which he obtained a numerous and respectable list of subscribers. Many of these poems possess a considerable share of excellence; the tales are admirably

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well told, and highly entertaining; the satire is pointed, and the moral instructive.—The following beautiful verses are a paraphrase on these words in the fortieth chapter of Isaiah: *All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field. The grass withereth, and the flower fadeth, but the word of our God shall stand for ever.* They were occasioned by the death of a young lady.

THE morning flow'rs display their sweets,
And gay their silken leaves unfold;
As careless of the noon-day heats,
And fearless of the evening cold.

Nipp'd by the wind's unkindly blast,
Parch'd by the sun's directer ray,
The momentary glories waste,
The short-liv'd beauties die away.

So blooms the human face divine,
When youth its pride of beauty shows;
Fairer than spring its colours shine,
And sweeter than the virgin rose.

Or worn by slowly rolling years,
Or broke by sickness in a day;
The fading glory disappears,
The short-liv'd beauties die away.

Yet these new rising from the tomb,
With lustre brighter far shall shine,
Revive with ever-during bloom,
Safe from diseases and decline.

Let sickness blast and death devour,
If heav'n must recompense our pains;
Perish the grass, and fade the flow'r,
If firm the word of God remains.

"Mr. Samuel Wesley was a very high-churchman; and it must be owned,

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that he was extremely rigid in his principles, which is perhaps the greatest blemish in his character. It has lately been said, that he was prejudiced against some of the highest truths of the gospel, because many of the dissenters insisted upon them. This is a heavy charge, and if true, would shew him to have been a man almost void of principle; but happily it is wholly without foundation: ignorance and prejudice have given it existence.

"As a high-churchman, Mr. Wesley had objections to *extempore* prayer. In the *duodecimo* edition of his poems are the following lines on *forms* of prayer, which, for the sprightly turn of thought they contain, I shall insert.

"FORM stints the spirit," *Watts* has said,
"And therefore oft is wrong;
"At best a crutch the weak to aid,
"A cumbrance to the strong."

Old *David*, both in prayer and praise,
A form for crutches brings;
But *Watts* has dignifi'd his lays,
And furnish'd him with wings.

Ev'n *Watts* a form for praise can choose,
For prayer, who throws it by;
Crutches to walk he can refuse,
But uses them to fly.

"Mr. Samuel Wesley's principles led him to disapprove of the conduct of his brothers, Mr. John and Charles Wesley, when they became itinerant preachers; being afraid they would make a separation from the church of *England*. Several letters passed between him and his brother John Wesley, both on the doctrine which he taught, and on his manner of teaching it. We shall have an opportunity of considering some of these letters when we come to that period of Mr. John Wesley's Life in which he and Mr. Charles became itinerants.

"Mr. Wesley had a bad state of health some time before he left Westminster, and his removal to Tiverton did not much mend it. On the night of the 5th of November, 1739, he went to bed, seemingly as well as usual; was taken ill about three in the morning, and died at seven, after about four hours illness. But the following letter, written to the late Mr. Charles Wesley, will state the circumstances more minutely.

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Tiverton, Nov. 14, 1739.

" ' *Rev. and dear Sir,*

" ' Your brother and my dear friend (for so you are sensible he was to me) on Monday the 5th of November went to bed, as he thought, as well as he had been for some time before; was seized about three o'clock in the morning very ill, *when* your sister immediately sent for Mr. Norman, and ordered the servant to call me. Mr. Norman came as quick as he possibly could, but said, as soon as he saw him, that he could not get over it, but would die in a few hours. He was not able to take any thing, nor able to speak to us, only yes, or no, to a question asked him, and that did not last half an hour. I never went from his bedside till he expired, which was about seven the same morning. With a great deal of difficulty we persuaded your dear sister to leave the room before he died—I trembled to think how she would bear it, knowing the sincere affection and love she had for him—But blessed be God, he hath heard and answered prayer on her behalf, and in a great measure calmed her spirit, though she has not yet been out of her chamber. Your brother was buried on Monday last in the afternoon—and is gone to reap the fruit of his labours—I pray God we may imitate him in all his virtues, and be prepared to follow. I should enlarge much more, but have not time; for which reason I hope you will excuse him who is under the greatest obligations to be, and really is, with the greatest sincerity, yours in all things,

Amos Matthews.'

" In the second edition of his poems in *duodecimo*, printed at Cambridge in 1743, there is, *some account of the author, by a friend*, prefixed to it. We know not who the writer of this account was, but as it was written soon after his death, and by a person who seems to have been well acquainted with him, we shall give a short extract from it.

" ' The author of these poems, the Rev. Mr. Samuel Wesley, frankly declares in his preface to the edition published by himself, that *it was not any opinion of excellence in the verses themselves, that occasioned their present collection and publication, but merely the profit proposed by the subscription.* If his modesty had permitted him to have been sensible of his own merit, he might, without this, or any other apology, have safely trusted them to speak for themselves; and perhaps the candid reader, upon an impartial perusal, will hardly think them inferior to the most favoured and celebrated collections of this kind.

" ' For though it must be owned, that a certain roughness may be observed to run through them, the vehemence and surprising vivacity of his temper not

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suffering him to revise, or, as he used to call it, to *tinker* what he had once finished—yet strong, just, manly sentiments every where occur, set off with all the advantage which a most luxuriant fancy, and a very uncommon compass of knowledge could adorn them with; together with a flowing and unaffected pleasantness in the more humoursome parts, beyond what could proceed from, even the happiest talent of wit, unless also accompanied with that innocence and cheerfulness of heart, which to him made life delightful in his laborious station, and endeared his conversation to all, especially his learned and ingenious friends; and many such he had, of all ranks and degrees.

" ' He was the son of a clergyman in Lincolnshire, from whence he was brought to Westminster-school; where having passed through the college as a king's scholar, he was elected student of Christ-church in Oxford. In both these places, by the sprightliness of his compositions, and his remarkable industry, he gained a reputation beyond most of his cotemporaries, being thoroughly and critically skilful in the learned languages, and master of the *classics* to a degree of perfection, perhaps not very common in this last mentioned society, so justly famous for polite learning.

" ' It must be observed, in justice to his memory, that his wit and learning were the least part of this worthy man's praise. An open benevolent temper, which he had from nature, he so cultivated upon principle, that the number and the continual success of his good offices was astonishing even to his friends. He was an instance how exceedingly serviceable in life, a person of a very inferior station may be, who sets his heart upon it. His own little income was liberally made use of, and as his acquaintance whom he applied to, were always confident of his care and integrity, he never wanted means to carry on his good purposes. One particular must not be omitted: he was one of the first projectors, and a very careful and active promotor, of the first Infirmary set up at Westminster, for the relief of the sick and needy, in 1719, and he had the satisfaction to see it flourish, and propagate by its example, under the prudent management of other good persons, many pious establishments of the same kind in distant parts of the nation.

" ' The following extracts of letters from his patron, Bishop Atterbury, are too much to his honour not to be mentioned here; they were occasioned by that fine poem on the death of Mrs. Morice, his lordship's daughter.

April 24, 1730.

" I have received a poem from Mr. Morice, which I must be insensible not to " thank you for, your Elegy on the death of Mrs. Morice—I cannot help an

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" impulse upon me, to tell you under my own hand, the satisfaction I feel, the " approbation I give, the envy I bear you, for this good work; as a poet and as " a man, I thank you, I esteem you."

Paris, May 27, 1730.

" I am obliged to W. for what he has written on my dear child; and take it " the more kindly because he could not hope for my being ever in a condition to " reward him—though if ever I am, I will; for he has shewn an invariable " regard for me all along in all circumstances; and much more than some of his " acquaintance, who had ten times greater obligations."

Paris, June 30, 1730.

" The verses you sent me touched me very nearly, and the Latin in the front " of them as much as the English that followed. There are a great many good " lines in them, and they are writ with as much affection as poetry—They came " from the heart of the author, and he has a share of mine in return; and if ever " I come back to my country with honour, he shall find it." '

" These extracts do honour to the feelings of Atterbury as a man; and they give a noble testimony to the disinterested and unchangeable friendship of Mr. Wesley for a person whom he esteemed, and whom he thought deeply injured."*

Before I close this memoir of the Life of Mr. Samuel Wesley, junior, I shall insert the following extracts from " Nichols's Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century," being principally written by Mr. Badcock, who was the first that imputed to him *jacobitism*. The Rev. Mr. John Wesley ably defended his character in two letters, published in the Gentleman's Magazine, from which all that relates to the subject of this memoir is subjoined.

" He was author of two excellent poems, called ' The Battle of the Sexes,' and ' The Prisons opened;' and of another called ' The Parish Priest,' a poem upon a clergyman lately deceased, a very dutiful and striking eulogy on his father; which are all printed among his poems, and several humourous tales, in 4to, 1736, and after his death in 12mo, 1743. He was a member of the Philosophical Society at Spalding; and gave to their museum an amulet that had touched the heads of the three kings of Cologne, whose names were in black letters within. He died Nov. 6, 1739, aged 49, being at that time head-master

* Whitehead's Life of the Wesleys, Vol. I.

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of Tiverton-school; but never presented to any ecclesiastical benefice. He was buried in the church-yard at Tiverton; and his epitaph may be seen at the end of his life, prefixed to his poems, 1743.

"Samuel was a man of wit and learning: a high-churchman and a noted jacobite. Sir Robert Walpole was the principal object of his political satires*; many of which remain unpublished, on account of their treasonable tendency; for, in the rage of jacobitism, he was not scrupulous in the selection of characters, but poured out the very dregs of it on royalty itself. He, however, published enough to render himself obnoxious to the ministry; so that little was left him but that penitance which, arising from mortification, only vents itself in abuse. Time, however, had so far gotten the better of his fury against Sir Robert, as to change the satirist into the suppliant. I have seen a copy of verses addressed to the great minister in behalf of his poor and aged parent. But I have seen something much better. I have in my possession a letter of this *poor and aged parent* addressed to his son Samuel, in which he gratefully acknowledges his filial duty in terms so affecting, that I am at a loss which to admire most, the gratitude of the parent, or the affection and generosity of the child. It was written when the good old man was nearly fourscore, and so weakened by a palsy as to be incapable of directing a pen, unless with his left hand. I preserve it as a curious memorial of what will make Wesley applauded when his wit is forgotten.

"Samuel Wesley married a woman of the name of Berry. Her father was a clergyman of the established church, and rector of Watton in Norfolk. Her grandfather was a nonconformist minister; and after his ejectment from East Down in the north of Devonshire, resided at Barnstaple, where some of his descendants continue to live in reputation.—Samuel Wesley left an only daughter, who married a Mr. Earle, an apothecary at the last mentioned place. They had an only daughter, who married a gentleman of the name of Mansel. She died in travail for her first child."

Mr. John Wesley, on seeing the above in Mr. Maty's New Review, he made the following reply: "'Samuel, his eldest son, was a noted jacobite.' Nay he was no more a jacobite than he was a Turk. And what amends can Mr. Badcock, or Mr. Maty, make, for publishing this egregious falsehood?—'Many of his political satires remain unpublished, on account of their treasonable tendency.' Here is a double mistake. For, 1. He never published any thing political, whether satirical or not. 2. He never wrote any thing of a treasonable tendency;

* See one severe poem by Mr. Wesley in Bishop Atterbury's Epistolary Correspondence, 1790, Vol. III. p. 301; and two complimentary poems to the Bishop, pp. 310, 312.

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he sacredly avoided it.—'In his rage of jacobitism, he poured out the very dregs of it on royalty itself.' No never. He never wrote, much less published, one line against the king. I speak it from personal knowledge, having often heard him say, 'If it reflects on the king, it is none of mine.' His constant practice may be learnt from those lines, in "The Battle of the Sexes,"

'Forgive the voice that useful fiction sings,
Not impious tales of deities impure;
Not faults of breathless queens, or living kings,
In open treason, or in veil obscure.'

'Time, however, changed the satirist against Sir Robert, into an humble suppliant.' Nay, I do not believe, he ever wrote a line to Sir Robert, either in verse or prose*."

To the above, Mr. Babcock made the following reply, in the Gentleman's Magazine, May 10, 1785.

"I have already informed the public by what means I became acquainted with some papers which relate to the more secret history of his family. Had they been papers of a *merely* family or personal concern, I would never have communicated any account of them to the public. Had they tended to fix any reproach on the private characters of individuals, I would have suppressed them: and I was not conscious of doing an injury to the memory of Mr. Samuel Wesley when I called him a *jacobite*. I called him, indeed, by a title which in politicks I abhor: but I have learnt to separate *political* from *moral* character; and have no doubt but a jacobite may be as good a man, and as perfect a christian, as even a whig or presbyterian. I judge of no man merely by his opinions or prejudices; nor at all times would I judge of him by any improper bias, or influence, that they may give to his conduct. If I know the cause, I can account for the effect; and if I can excuse the former, surely I cannot want an apology for the latter.

"There are certain fundamental principles of conduct, in which all good men, with all their prejudices and partialities, are united. They are the common bands of society: the universal laws, which are independent of custom or country, sects and parties; and may be said to know no distinction between 'Greek or Jew; Scythian, barbarian, bond or free.'

"I have now given my *creed of charity*; which, for a *Calvinist* †, as I have

* See last note, the reference to Bishop Atterbury's works; also, in the Gentleman's Magazine for July 1809, p. 609, a Poetical Epistle from Mr. Pope to the Earl of Oxford.

† "A denomination I should not blush to acknowledge, if I thought myself fairly entitled to it;

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been denominated, is somewhat free: and I would risk the credit of my orthodoxy rather than recal it.

"I esteem Mr. Wesley for the zeal he hath discovered in vindicating his brother from the imputation of jacobitism; but, till I am convinced, I cannot retract: and my conviction of Mr. Samuel Wesley's antipathy to the House of Brunswick is founded on evidence too strong to be overcome by mere general assertions to the contrary.

"However, if there be an error in my account, let *me* be wholly answerable for it. Mr. Wesley should not have coupled Mr. Maty's name with mine; especially in such uncivil language. If I cannot prove what I have advanced, let the blame rest on my own head alone: he is guiltless.

"And, were I convinced that I had been guilty of a false accusation, no man would be more ready to acknowledge it. But as I cannot, in justice to my own persuasions, revoke what I have written, it is certainly due, both to the public and to myself, to give some reason for what I have asserted.

"I would first, in general, observe, that when I called Mr. Samuel Wesley 'a *noted* jacobite,' I only echoed back the voice of popular fame. His brother cannot be ignorant that he always bore this character; and his greatest friends, the most intimate associates in this part of the kingdom, made no scruple of applying to him a title, to which, I really believe, he had no dislike.

"His daughter often assured me, that he was strongly attached to the exiled family; and she once shewed me a small print of the Pretender, which, *she said*, had been presented to her father, and which he esteemed as a sort of a precious memorial. A late excellent and ever-honoured friend of mine, who was the pupil of Mr. Samuel Wesley, and who in his earlier days had imbibed a tincture from politicks of the same colour and quality (though his maturer wisdom dictated far different sentiments), frequently call his old master a jacobite; and appeared to entertain no conception, that any one would question his right to an appellation, to which that good man affixed no moral turpitude or infamy, though a genuine '*whig of the revolution.*'

"Other pupils of Mr. Wesley have confirmed to me this account of his political principles; but my conviction hath not arisen from general or vague report, even though backed by the authority I have mentioned; but from evidence more particular and more decisive.

though a very silly writer, following at an immense distance the great leader of a late controversy, hath brought it forward in the shape of an accusation; as if to be a Calvinist were as disgraceful as to be a *mumper*, or as infamous as to be a *cheat*."

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" Mr. Wesley says, in his Remarks on my paper, that 'he [*viz.* Samuel Wesley] never published any thing political, whether satirical or not.'—'He never wrote any thing of a treasonable tendency; he sacredly avoided it.'—'He never *wrote*, much less published, *one line against the king*.'

" Had Mr. Wesley read the poems which Mrs. Earle, his brother's only child, put into my hands, he never could have expressed himself in such unqualified language. Amid a number which I once possessed, I can at present only lay my hands on one, entitled 'The Regency.' It was written by Mr. Samuel Wesley, purposely with a view to raise a laugh at the expence of the king [George the First] in the choice which he made of the persons who were entrusted with the prerogative while he visited Hanover.—I will transcribe a few verses of this witty and sarcastic poem; and let our readers judge how far the author '*sacredly* avoided' what had a 'treasonable *tendency*.'

'As soon as the wind it came fairly about,
That kept the king in, and his enemies out;
He determined no longer his confinement to bear,
And thus to the duchess his mind did declare.

Quoth he 'My dear *Kenny**, I've been tir'd a long while,
With living obscure in this poor little isle;
And, now Spain and Pretender have no mines to spring,
I'm resolv'd to go home, and live like a king.'

Quoth Kenny 'Great sir! I approve your design,' &c.

And so Kenny ludicrously runs over the list of the regents; estimates their several qualifications; and, by exposing them obliquely, laughs at the king himself.

" Of the Duke of Argyle she is made to say:

'And had not the stars been equally strong,
To keep him in the right, and you in the wrong,
It might have induc'd him such schemes to pursue,
As had made him belov'd—full as little as you.'

" After lashing the Lords of the Regency all round, the duchess says, in the conclusion,

* The Duchess of Kendal, the king's favourite mistress.

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'On the whole, I'll be hang'd, if all over the realm,
There are thirteen such fools to be put at the helm:
So for this time be easy, nor have jealous thought,
They ha' n't sense to sell you, nor are worth being bought.'

'Tis for that (quoth the king in very bad French)
I chose them for my Regents, and you for my wench:
And neither, I'm sure, will my trust e'er betray;
For the devil won't take you, if I turn you away.'

"Let these lines be glossed over by any art or refinement whatever, yet they can never be accommodated to that reverence which Mr. Wesley would acknowledge to be due to *the Lord's anointed*, let him be who he may.

"I cannot produce the poem Mr. Samuel Wesley addressed to Sir Robert Walpole in behalf of his father. I have only a general recollection of it; but a recollection sufficient to make me assert with confidence, that such a poem did really exist: and I particularly remember, that he intreated the great statesman not to permit any prejudices, that he might have imbibed against himself, to stand in the way of his beneficence to his father.

"But I will not any further urge a circumstance, of which I am utterly incapable of producing the proof that may be required to establish it."

To which Mr. John Wesley thus rejoined:

"*Mr. Urban,* *City Road, Dec. 24,* 1785.

"This morning a friend sent me the Gentleman's Magazine for last May, wherein I find another letter concerning my eldest brother. I am obliged to Mr. Badcock for the candid manner wherein he writes; and wish to follow his pattern, in considering the reasons which he urges in defence of what he wrote before.—1. Mr. Badcock says, 'His brother cannot be ignorant, that he always bore the character of a jacobite; a title to which I really believe he had no dislike.' Most of those who gave him this title did not distinguish between a *jacobite* and a *tory;* whereby I mean, 'one that believes God, not the people, to be the origin of all civil power.' In this sense he was a *tory;* so was my father; so am I. But I am no more a *jacobite* than I am a Turk; neither was my brother. I have heard him over and over disclaim that character.

"2. 'But his own daughter affirmed it.' Very likely she might; and doubtless she thought him such. Nor is this any wonder, considering how young she was

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when her father died, especially if she did not know the difference between a tory and a jacobite; which may likewise have been the case with Mr. Badcock's friends, if not with Mr. Badcock himself.

"3. 'Mr. Wesley says, He never published any thing political.' This is strictly true.—'He never wrote, much less published, *one line* against the king.' He never *published one*. But I believe he did write those verses, intituled, '*The Regency;* and therein, 'by obliquely exposing the regents, exposed the king himself.' In this my brother and I differed in our judgments; I thought, exposing the king's ministers was one way of exposing the king himself. My brother thought otherwise; and therefore, without scruple, exposed Sir Robert Walpole, and all other evil ministers. Of his writing to Sir Robert I never heard before, and cannot easily believe it now."

The author of, *Some account of Mr. Samuel Wesley*, prefixed to his poems, informs us that the following inscription was put upon his grave-stone, in the church-yard at Tiverton.

"Here lie interr'd the remains of the Rev. Samuel Wesley, A. M. some time student of Christ Church, Oxon: A man, for his uncommon wit and learning, for the benevolence of his temper, and simplicity of manners, deservedly beloved and esteemed by all. An excellent preacher: but whose best sermon was, the constant example of an edifying life, so continually and zealously employed in acts of beneficence and charity, that he truly followed his blessed master's example in going about doing good. Of such scrupulous integrity, that he declined occasions of advancement in the world through fear of being involved in dangerous compliances, and avoided the usual ways to preferment as studiously as many other seek them. Therefore after a life spent in the laborious employment of teaching youth, first, for near twenty years as one of the ushers in Westminster School; afterwards for seven years as head master of the Free School at Tiverton, he resigned his soul to God, Nov. 6, 1739, in the 49th year of his age."

MRS. MEHETABLE WRIGHT.

Mrs Wright was the tenth or eleventh child of Mr. Samuel and Mrs. Susannah Wesley, daughter of Dr. Samuel Annesley. It has been said, that when Mrs. Wright was "eight years old she could read the Greek Testament. From her infancy she was gay and sprightly, and extremely addicted to wit and humour. As she grew up, she indulged herself in these dispositions so far as to give great

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uneasiness to her parents, and was often betrayed into little inadvertencies, which contributed, at least, to her future unhappiness in life. About the year 1724, or the beginning of 1725, a gentleman, respectable so far as we can find, both for his abilities and situation in life, paid his addresses to her, and she had a sincere regard for him. But from some circumstance or other, he and her father disagreed, and the affair was broken off. From a concurrence of circumstances in the end of the year 1725, she was induced to marry a person no way adapted to make her happy; being low and rude in address, and much inferior to her in understanding; and he proved unkind to her. Her situation prayed upon her mind, her health and strength gradually wasted away, and at length she sunk into a degree of melancholy that made her truly wretched. Most of her verses which have been preserved, though beautiful, and written in the true spirit of poetry, are saddened with an air of deep distress, which strongly marks this state of body and mind. The following address to her husband will give us some notion of his character, and shew us the true cause of her wretchedness.

"*Mrs. Mehetable Wright to her Husband.*

"'The ardent lover cannot find
A coldness in his fair unkind,
But blaming what he cannot hate
He mildly chides the dear ingrate;
And though despairing of relief,
In soft complaining vents his grief.

"Then what should hinder but that I,
Impatient of my wrongs, may try,
By saddest, softest strains, to move
My wedded latest dearest love?
To throw his cold neglect aside,
And cheer once more his injured bride.

"'O! thou, who sacred rites design'd,
My guide and husband ever kind;
My sov'reign master, best of friends,
On whom my earthly bliss depends;

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If e'er thou didst in Hetty see
Ought fair, or good, or dear to thee;
If gentle speech can ever move
The cold remains of former love,
Turn thee at last—my bosom ease,
Or tell me why I cease to please.

" ' Is it because revolving years,
Heart-breaking sighs, and fruitless tears,
Have quite depriv'd this form of mine
Of all that once thou fanci'dst thine?
Ah no! what once allur'd thy sight,
Is still in its meridian height:
These eyes their usual lustre shew,
When un-eclips'd by flowing woe.
Old age and wrinkles in this face
As yet could never find a place;
A youthful grace adorns the lines,
Where still the purple current shines;
Unless by thy ungentle art,
It flies to aid my wretched heart:
Nor does this slighted bosom shew
The thousand hours it spends in woe.

" ' Or is it that oppressed with care
I stun with loud complaints thine ear,
And make thy home, for quiet meant,
A seat of noise and discontent?
Oh no! those ears were ever free
From matrimonial melody.
For though thine absence I lament,
When half the lonely night is spent;
Yet when the watch or early morn,
Has brought me hopes of thy return,
I oft have wip'd these watchful eyes,
Conceal'd my cares, and curb'd my sighs,
In spite of grief, to let thee see
I wore an endless smile for thee.

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" ' Had I not practised every art
T' oblige, divert, and cheer thy heart,
To make me pleasing in thine eyes,
And turn thy home to paradise,
I had not ask'd, why dost thou shun
These faithful arms, and eager run
To some obscure, unclean retreat,
With fiends incarnate glad to meet,
The vile companions of thy mirth,
The scum and refuse of the earth?
Who when inspir'd with beer can grin
At witless oaths, and jests obscene;
Till the most learned of the throng
Begin a tale of ten hours long,
Whilst thou in raptures, with stretched jaws,
Crownest each joke with loud applause.

" ' Deprived of freedom, health, and ease,
And rival'd by such *things* as these,
This latest effort will I try,
Or to regain thine heart, or die:
Soft as I am, I'll make thee see
I will not brook contempt from thee.
Then quit the shuffling doubtful sense,
Nor hold me longer in suspense.
Unkind, ungrateful as thou art,
Say must I ne'er regain thy heart?
Must all attempts to please thee prove
Unable to regain thy love?
If so by truth itself I swear,
The sad reverse I cannot bear;
No rest, no pleasure will I see,
My whole of bliss is lost with thee.
I'll give all thought of patience o'er,
(A gift I never lost before)
Indulge at once my rage and grief,
Mourn obstinate, disdain relief;

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And call that wretch my mortal foe,
Who tries to mitigate my woe;
Till life, on terms severe as these,
Shall ebbing leave my heart at ease;
To thee thy liberty restore,
To laugh when Hetty is no more.'

"The following beautiful lines seem to have been a mere extempore effusion poured out from the fulness of her heart on the occasion, and sharpened with the keen distress of her hopeless situation.

"*Address to her dying Infant,** *September* 1728.

"'TENDER softness! infant mild!
Perfect, sweetest, loveliest child!
Transient lustre! beauteous clay!
Smiling wonder of a day!
Ere the last convulsive start
Rend thy unresisting heart,
Ere the long-enduring swoon
Weigh thy precious eye-lids down;
Ah, regard a mother's moan;
Anguish deeper than thy own.

"'Fairest eyes, whose dawning light
Late with rapture bless'd my sight;
Ere your orbs extinguish'd be,
Bend their trembling beams on me!
Drooping sweetness! verdant flower
Blooming, with'ring in an hour!
Ere thy gentle breast sustains
Latest, fiercest, mortal pains,
Hear a suppliant! let me be
Partner in thy destiny!

* The child died the third day after it was born. *Private papers.*

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" ' That whene'er the fatal cloud
Must thy radiant temples shroud;
When deadly damps (impending now)
Shall hover round thy destin'd brow;
Diffusive may their influence be,
And with the blossom blast the tree.'

" In this state of mind and declining fast in health she wrote the following epitaph for herself:

" ' Destin'd while living, to sustain
An equal share of grief and pain!
All various ills of human race
Within this breast had once a place,
Without complaint she learn'd to bear
A living death, a long despair;
Till hard oppress'd by adverse fate
O'ercharg'd, she sunk beneath the weight,
And to this peaceful tomb retir'd,
So much esteem'd, so long desir'd!
The painful, mortal conflict's: o'er
A broken heart can bleed no more.'

" Mrs. Wright however lived many years after this; and at length religion coming to her aid, it soothed the anguish of her mind, and gave her peace, though she never recovered her health.

" The first religious letter she wrote to Mr. Wesley was in 1743; she says, 'Some years ago I told my brother Charles, I could not be of his way of thinking then, but that if ever I was, I would as freely own it. After I was convinced of sin—and of your opinion as far as I had examined your principles, I still forbore declaring my sentiments so openly as I had inclination to do, fearing I should relapse into my former state. When I was delivered from this fear, and had a blessed hope, that he who had begun, would finish his work, I never confessed, so fully as I ought, how intirely I was of your mind; because I was taxed with insincerity and hypocrisy whenever I opened my mouth in favour of religion, or owned how great things God had done for me. This discouraged me utterly, and prevented me from making my change as public as my folly and vanity had formerly been. But now my health is gone, I cannot be easy without declaring

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that I have long desired to know but one thing; that is Jesus Christ, and him crucified; and this desire prevails above all others. And though I am cut off from all human help or ministry, I am not without assistance; though I have no spiritual friend, nor ever had one yet, except perhaps once in a year or two, when I have seen one of my brothers, or some other religious person, by stealth; yet (no thanks to me) I am enabled to seek him still, and to be satisfied with nothing less than God, in whose presence I affirm this truth.—I dare not desire health, only patience, resignation, and the spirit of an healthful mind—I have been so long weak, that I know not how long my trial may last; but I have a firm persuasion and blessed hope (though no full assurance) that in the country I am going to, I shall not sing Hallelujah, and Holy, holy, holy, without company, as I have done in this. Dear brother, I am unused to speak or write on these things—I only speak my plain thoughts as they occur. Adieu. If you have time from better business, to send a line to Stanmore, so great a comfort would be as welcome as it is wanted.'

"In July 1744, she wrote to her brother from Bristol, where it seems she then resided, at least for some time. She speaks of herself in the most humiliating terms. She highly commends the christian friendship of Mrs. Vigor, Miss Stafford, and some others. She now enjoyed the means of grace, and the benefit of conversation with the people of the society, and continued to grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

"Mrs. Wright persevered in a religious course of life, patient in her sufferings, resigned to her weakness, and waiting for full salvation in a deliverance from this mortal state, till 1751. In March this year, Mr. Charles Wesley speaks thus of her—'Prayed by my sister Wright, a gracious tender trembling soul; a bruised reed, which the Lord will not break.' She died on the 21st of the same month, and Mr. Charles preached her funeral sermon. He observes that he had sweet fellowship with her in explaining those words, '*Thy sun shall no more go down, neither shall thy moon withdraw itself; for the Lord shall be thine everlasting light, and the days of thy mourning shall be ended.*' He adds, 'All present seemed partakers both of my sorrow and my joy.'

"From this authentic account of Mrs. Wright, taken from original letters, we may correct an error of Mr. Duncombe concerning her. This gentleman has insinuated in his *Feminead*, that her pungent distress and gloomy despair, originated from mistaken and superstitious views of religion: it appears, on the contrary, that they arose from a very different cause, and that religion was the thing that restored her to peace and happiness; and indeed the only thing that could do it. Mr. Duncombe's words are,

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" ' But ah! why heaves my breast this pensive sigh?
Why starts this tear unbidden from my eye?
What breast from sighs, what eye from tears refrain,
When sweetly, mournful hapless *Wright* complains?
And who but grieves to see her gen'rous mind,
For nobler views, and worthier guests design'd,
Amidst the hateful form of black despair,
Wan with the gloom of superstitious care?
In pity-moving lays, with earnest cries,
She call'd on heaven to close her weary eyes,
And long on earth by heart-felt woes opprest,
Was borne by friendly death to welcome rest!' *

" It is grievous to see authors, whose works are likely to be read, take every opportunity to dress out religion in the most ugly forms they can invent, to deter young people from embracing it, and attributing to it the calamities of life which religion alone is able to alleviate and redress."†

In one of Mr. Duncombe's letter to Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, Nov. 20, 1752, he observes, I am informed by " Mr. Highmore, who knew her when she was young, that she was very handsome. When I saw her, she was in a languishing way, and had no remains of beauty, except a lively piercing eye. She was very unfortunate, as you will find by her poems; which are written with great delicacy; but so tender and affecting, they can scarce be read without tears. She had an uncle a physician, and a man midwife, with whom she was a favourite. In her bloom he used to take her with him to Bath and Tunbridge, &c. And she has done justice to his memory in an excellent poem.

" Mr. Wright, her husband, is my plumber, and lives in this street; an honest laborious man, but by no means a fit husband for such a woman. He was but a journeyman, when she married him; but set up with the fortune left her by her uncle. She has been dead two or three years. On my asking, if she had any child living, she replied, ' I have had several; but the white lead killed them all.' She was then just come from Bristol, and was very weak. ' How, madam,' said I, ' could you bear the fatigue of so long a journey?' ' We had a coach of our own,' said she, ' and took short stages; besides, I had the king with me!— ' The king! I suppose you mean a person whose name is king!'—' No; I mean

* See Christian Magazine, Vol. III. p. 523. † Whitehead's Lives of the Wesleys, Vol. I.

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my brother Charles, the king of the Methodists!'—This looked like a spice of lunacy.

"She told me, that she had long ardently wished for death; 'and the rather,' said she, 'because we, (the Methodists) always die in transports of joy!' I am told, that she wrote hymns for the Methodists, but have not seen any of them.

"It affected me too much to view the ruin of so fine a frame; so I made her only three or four visits. Mr. Wright told me, she had burned many poems, and given some to a beloved sister, which he could never recover. As many as he could procure, he gave me. I will send them to you speedily."*

The following, among other poetical compositions, were written by Mrs. Wright; but at what period of her life is not known.

To the Memory of her Uncle, a Physician.† He died in 1737.‡

"How can the muse attempt the string,
Forsaken by her guardian power:
Ah me! that she survives to sing,
Her friend and patron now no more!
Yet private grief she might suppress,
Since *Clio* bears no selfish mind;
But ho! she mourns to wild excess
The Friend and patron of mankind.

"Alas! the sovereign healing art,
Which rescu'd thousands from the grave
Unaided left the gentlest heart,
Nor could its skilful master save,
Who shall the helpless sex sustain,
Now *Varo's* lenient hand is gone?
Which knew so well to soften pain,
And ward all dangers but his own.

"His darling muse, his *Clio* dear,
Whom first his favour rais'd to fame,
His gentle voice vouchsaf'd to cheer,
His heart upheld her tender frame.

* Censura Literaria, Vol. III. p. 324. † Christian Magazine, Vol. III. p. 284.
‡ Mr. Charles Wesley's Journal.

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Pale envy durst not shew her teeth,
Above contempt she gaily shone
Chief favourite? till the hand of death
Endanger'd both by striking one.

" Perceiving well, devoid of fear,
His latest fatal conflict nigh,
Reclin'd on her he held most dear,
Whose breast receiv'd his parting sigh;
With ev'ry art and grace adorn'd,
By man admir'd, by heaven approv'd,
Good *Varo* died—applauded, mourn'd,
And honour'd by the muse he lov'd."

To the Memory of her Sister.

" If happy spirits are allow'd to know,
And hover round what once they lov'd below,
Maria, gentlest excellence, attend,
To one who glories to have call'd thee friend!
Remote in merit, though ally'd in blood,
Though worthless I, and thou divinely good;
Accept, dear shade, from me these artless lays,
Who never durst unjustly blame or praise.

" With bus'ness and devotion never cloy'd,
No moment of thy life pass'd unemploy'd:
Well-natur'd mirth, matur'd discretion join'd,
Constant attendants on the virtuous mind:
Ah me! that heaven has from this bosom torn
The dearest friend who I must ever mourn,
Ere *Stella* could discharge the smallest part
Of what she ow'd to such immense desert.

" Pleasing thy face and form, tho' heav'n confin'd
To scanty limits thy extensive mind:

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Witness the taintless lustre of thy skin,
Bright emblem of the brighter soul within;
That soul which easy, unaffected, mild,
Through jetty eyes with pleasing sweetness smil'd.

" To soundest prudence, life's unerring guide,
To love sincere, religion void of pride;
To friendship, perfect in a female mind,
Which I can never hope again to find:
To mirth, the balm of care, from lightness free,
To stedfast truth, unwearied industry,
To every charm and grace, compriz'd in you,
Sister and friend, a long and last adieu!"

A Farewell to the World.

" While sickness rends this tenement of clay,
Th' approaching change with pleasure I survey.
O'erjoy'd to reach the gaol with eager pace,
Ere my slow life has measur'd half its race.
No longer shall I bear, my friends to please,
The hard constraint of seeming much at ease,
Wearing an outward smile, a look serene,
While piercing racks and tortures lurk within.
Yet let me not, ungrateful to my God,
Record the evil, and forget the good,
For both I humble adoration pay,
And bless the power who gives and takes away:
Long shall my faithful memory retain,
And oft recall each interval of pain.
Nay to high heav'n for greater gifts I bend,
Health I've enjoy'd, and I had once a friend.
Our labour sweet, if labour it may seem,
Allow'd the sportive and instructive scene:
Yet here no lewd or useless wit was found,
We poiz'd the wav'ring sail with ballast sound.

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Learning here plac'd her richer stores in view,
Or, wing'd with love, the minutes gaily flew.

" Nay, yet sublimer joys our bosoms prov'd,
Divine benevolence, by heav'n belov'd:
Wan meagre forms, torn from impeding death,
Exulting, bless'd us with reviving breath.
The shiv'ring wretch we cloath'd, the mourner cheer'd,
And sickness ceas'd to groan when we appear'd,
Unask'd, our care assists with tender art
Their bodies, nor neglects th' immortal part.

" Sometimes, in shades impierc'd by Cynthia's beam,
Whose lustre glimmer'd on the dimpled stream;
We led the sprightly dance thro' sylvan scenes,
Or trip'd like fairies o'er the level greens;
In every breast a gen'rous fervour glows,
Soft bliss, which innocence alone bestows!
From fragrant herbage, deck'd with pearly dews,
And flow'rets of a thousand various hues,
By wafting gales the mingling odours fly,
And round our heads in whisp'ring breezes sigh.
Whole nature seems to heighten and improve
The holier hours of innocence and love.
Youth, wit, good nature, candour, sense, combin'd,
To serve, delight, and civilize mankind,
In wisdom's lore we ev'ry heart engage,
And triumph to restore the golden age!

" Now close the blissful scene, exhausted muse,
The latest blissful scene, which thou shalt choose;
Satiate with life, what joys for me remain,
Save one dear wish to balance every pain;
To bow my head, with grief and toil opprest,
Till borne by angel-bands to everlasting rest."

Many of her poetical productions may be found in the sixth volume of the " Poetical Calendar."

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REV. JOHN WESLEY, M.A.

John Wesley was the second son of Samuel and Susannah Wesley, and born at Epworth, on the 17th of June, 1703, O. S. "When he was nearly six years old, a calamity happened, which threatened the whole family with destruction, and him in particular; his parents for a short time believing, that he was actually consuming in the flames of their house. But his mother's letter to the Rev. Mr. Hoole, will be the best account of this matter. It is dated August 24, 1709, and is as follows:

"'Rev. Sir,

"'My master is much concerned that he was so unhappy as to miss of seeing you at Epworth; that he is not a little troubled that the great hurry of business about building his house will not afford him leisure to write. He has therefore ordered me to satisfy your desire as well as I can, which I shall do by a simple relation of matters of fact, though I cannot at this distance of time recollect every calamitous circumstance that attended our strange reverse of fortune. On Wednesday night, February the 9th, between the hours of eleven and twelve, our house took fire, by what accident God only knows. It was discovered by some sparks falling from the roof upon a bed where one of the children (Hetty) lay, and burnt her feet. She immediately ran to our chamber and called us; but I believe no one heard her, for Mr. Wesley was alarmed by a cry of fire in the street, upon which he rose, little imagining that his own house was on fire; but, on opening his door, he found it was full of smoke, and that the roof was already burnt through. He immediately came to my room (as I was very ill he lay in a separate room from me) and bid me and my two eldest daughters rise quickly and shift for our lives, the house being all on fire. Then he ran and burst open the nursery door, and called to the maid to bring out the children. The two little ones lay in the bed with her; the three others in another bed. She snatched up the youngest, and bid the rest follow, which they did, except *Jacky*. When we were got into the hall, and saw ourselves surrounded with flames, and that the roof was on the point of falling, we concluded ourselves inevitably lost, as Mr. Wesley in his fright had forgot the keys of the doors above stairs. But he ventured up stairs once more, and recovered them a minute before the stair-case took fire. When we opened the street door, the strong north-east wind drove the flames in with such violence, that none could stand against them: Mr. Wesley, only, had such presence of mind as to think of the garden-door, out of which he helped some of the children; the rest got through the windows. I was

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not in a condition to climb up to the windows: nor could I get to the garden-door. I endeavoured three times to force my passage through the street door, but was as often beat back by the fury of the flames. In this distress I besought our blessed Saviour to preserve me, if it were his will, from that death, and then waded through the fire, naked as I was, which did me no farther harm than a little scorching my hands and face.

"'While Mr. Wesley was carrying the children into the garden, he heard the child in the nursery cry out miserably for help, which extremely affected him; but his affliction was much increased, when he had several times attempted the stairs then on fire, and found they would not bear his weight. Finding it was impossible to get near him, he gave him up for lost, and kneeling down, he commended his soul to God, and left him, as he thought, perishing in the flames. But the boy seeing none come to his help, and being frightened, the chamber and bed being on fire, he climbed up to the casement, where he was soon perceived by the men in the yard, who immediately got up and pulled him out, just in the article of time that the roof fell in, and beat the chamber to the ground. Thus, by the infinite mercy of Almighty God, our lives were all preserved by little less than miracle, for there passed but a few minutes between the first alarm of fire, and the falling of the house.'

"Mr. John Wesley's account of what happened to himself, varies a little from this relation given by his mother. 'I believe (says he) it was just at that time (when they thought they heard him cry) I waked: for I did not cry, as they imagined, unless it was afterwards. I remember all the circumstances as distinctly, as though it were but yesterday. Seeing the room was very light, I called to the maid to take me up. But none answering, I put my head out of the curtains, and saw streaks of fire on the top of the room. I got up and ran to the door, but could get no further, all the floor beyond it being in a blaze. I then climbed upon a chest which stood near the window: one in the yard saw me, and proposed running to fetch a ladder. Another answered, there will not be time; but I have thought of another expedient. Here, I will fix myself against the wall: lift a light man, and set him on my shoulders. They did so, and he took me out of the window. Just then the roof fell: but it fell inward, or we had all been crushed at once. When they brought me into the house where my father was, he cried out, 'Come, neighbours! let us kneel down! let us give thanks to God! He has given me all my eight children: let the house go, I am rich enough!' The next day, as he was walking in the garden, and surveying the ruins of the house, he picked up part of a leaf of his Polyglot Bible, on which just these words were legible. *Vade; vende omnia quæ habes,*

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*et tollle crucem, et sequere me. Go; sell all that thou hast; and take up thy cross and follow me.'**

"All the children received the first rudiments of learning from their mother, who was admirably qualified for this office in her own family. We can find no evidence that the boys were ever put to any school in the country, their mother having a very bad opinion of the common methods of instructing and governing children. But she was not only attentive to their progress in learning, she likewise endeavoured to give them, as early as possible, just and useful notions of religion.

"In 1714, he was placed at the Charter-house, and became distinguished for his diligence and progress in learning; so that, in 1719, when his father was hesitating in what situation he should place Charles, his brother Samuel writes thus of him: 'My brother Jack, I can faithfully assure you, gives you no manner of discouragement from breeding your third son a scholar.' Two or three months afterwards he mentions him again, in a letter to his father: 'Jack is with me, and a brave boy, learning Hebrew as fast as he can.'

"He was now sixteen, and the next year was elected to Christ church, Oxford. Here he pursued his studies with great advantage, under the direction of Doctor Wigan, a gentleman eminent for his classical knowledge. Mr. Wesley's natural temper in his youth was gay and sprightly, with a turn for wit and humour. When he was about twenty-one years of age, 'he appeared (as Mr. Badcock has observed) the very sensible and acute collegian—a young fellow of the finest classical taste, of the most liberal and manly sentiments.'† His perfect knowledge of the *classics* gave a smooth polish to his wit, and an air of superior elegance to all his compositions. He had already begun to amuse himself occasionally with writing verses, though most of his poetical pieces at this period, were, we believe, either imitations or translations of the Latin. Some time in this year (1724), however, he wrote an imitation of the 65th Psalm, which he sent to his father, who says, 'I like your verses on the 65th Psalm, and would not have you bury your talent.'

"Towards the close of this year, Mr. Wesley began to think of entering into deacons' orders; and this led him to reflect on the importance of the ministerial office, the motives of entering into it, and the necessary qualifications for it. On examining the step he intended to take, through all its consequences to himself and others, it appeared of the greatest magnitude, and made so deep an impression on his mind, that he became more serious than usual, and applied himself

* Arminian Magazine, Vol. I. page 32. † Westminster Magazine.

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with more attention to subjects of divinity. Some doubts arising in his mind on the motives which ought to influence a man in taking holy orders, he proposed them to his father, with a frankness that does great credit to the integrity of his heart." His father and mother replied to his doubts with candour and with fervent piety; and their advices and exhortations had a proper effect. He began to study divinity at his leisure hours, and the books he read had a great influence on his mind, but particularly *Thomas à Kempis* and *Taylor's Rules of Holy Living and Dying*. He wrote many letters to his parents for their opinion on the tendency of these works; who advised him not to consider them as infallible guides. These studies continued some time, in the course of which he adopted his opinion of *universal redemption*, which he uniformly held, and so ably defended in the subsequent part of his life.

He was ordained deacon, on Sunday the 19th of September, 1725, by Dr. Potter, Bishop of Oxford.

" It was however but a small portion of his time that Mr. Wesley employed in these studies. His private diary shews how diligent he was in the study of the classics, and other books in different branches of science, and in the performance of his academical exercises. The time also drew near when it was expected that the election of a fellow of Lincoln College would take place; with a view to which his friends had been exerting themselves in his favour all the summer.* When Dr. Morley, the rector, was spoke to on the subject, he said, 'I will inquire into Mr. Wesley's character.' He did so, and gave him leave to stand a candidate. He afterwards became his friend in that business, and used all the influence he had in his favour. His father in a letter of July says, 'I waited on Dr. Morley, and found him more civil than ever. I will write to the Bishop of Lincoln again, and to your brother Samuel the next post. Study hard least your *opponents* beat you.' In another letter, speaking of Dr. Morley, he says, 'You are infinitely obliged to that generous man.'

" But notwithstanding the warm opposition which his opponents made against him, Mr. Wesley's general good character for learning and diligence, gave such firmness and zeal to his friends, that on Thursday, March 17, 1726, he was elected Fellow of Lincoln-College.†

" His parents now invited him to spend some time with them in the country. Accordingly he left Oxford in April, and staid the whole summer at Epworth and Wroote. During this time he usually read prayers and preached twice on the Lord's day, and otherwise assisted his father as occasion required. His time

* His father mentions it in his letter of the 26th of January, 1725. † Private diary.

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here was by no means wasted; he still pursued his studies, had frequent opportunities of conversing with his parents on subjects highly interesting and instructive, and kept a regular diary of what passed.

" Mr. Wesley returned to Oxford on the 21st of September, and resumed his usual course of studies. His literary character was now established in the university: he was acknowledged by all parties to be a man of talents, and an excellent critic in the learned languages. His compositions were distinguished by an elegant simplicity of style, and justness of thought, that strongly marked the excellence of his classical taste. His skill in logic, or the art of reasoning, was universally known and admired. The high opinion that was entertained of him, in these respects, was soon publicly expressed, by choosing him Greek Lecturer and Moderator of the Classics, on the 7th of November; though he had only been elected Fellow of the College in March, was little more than twenty-three years of age, and had not yet proceeded Master of Arts.

" We have been the more exact in bringing forward all the particulars concerning him, from the latter end of the year 1724, to the present time, because they have been very imperfectly known, and some of them very erroneously stated by all his biographers, who have hitherto attempted to give any account of him. It is also evident, that an accurate knowledge of these particulars, does him credit: the correspondence relative to his Ordination, gives the reader a view of the simplicity and integrity of his heart, in the most artless and undisguised manner, and does infinite honour to the rational affection and pious care of his parents: it likewise points out to us the kind of advice which had the chief influence in forming his religious character: and the circumstances of his preferment at Lincoln College, give the most unequivocal proof of his merit, and of the high reputation he had acquired in the university for learning, diligence, and attention to discipline, at this early period of life."

Mr. Wesley proceeded Master of Arts on the 15th of February 1727; and acquired considerable reputation in his disputation for his degree.

In the course of Mr. Wesley's studies he saw, " that a loose and desultory way of reading and studying, was not the way to accurate knowledge; and to avoid falling into this error, he had, some time before he took his master's degree, laid down a plan of study which he now closely pursued. Certain hours, in the morning and afternoon, of each day in the week, were appropriated to the study of certain branches of knowledge: and he never suffered himself to deviate from the rule he had laid down. Thus, his hours of study, on Mondays and Tuesdays, were devoted to the Greek and Roman Classics, Historians and Poets.—Wednesdays, to Logic and Ethics.—Thursdays to Hebrew and Arabic.—

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Fridays, to Metaphysics and Natural Philosophy.—Saturdays, to Oratory and Poetry, chiefly composing.—Sundays, to Divinity.—In the intermediate hours between these more fixed studies, he perfected himself in the French language, which he had begun to learn two or three years before; he also read a great variety of modern authors in almost every department of science. His method was this: he first read an author regularly through; then, in the second reading, transcribed into his collections, such passages as he thought important, either for the information they contained, or the beauty of expression. This method not only inured him to industry and accuracy, but it considerably increased his stock of knowledge, and gave him a familiar acquaintance with the authors he had read.

"It has been doubted by some persons, whether the mathematics entered into Mr. Wesley's plan of studies at the university. But among the authors mentioned in his diary are found, EUCLID, KEIL, S'GRAVESANDE, Sir ISAAC NEWTON, &c. and he seems to have studied them with great attention.—He sometimes amused himself with experiments in optics.

"It has been before observed, that his father had two livings. He now became less able to attend to the duties of his station, than formerly; especially as it was difficult, and sometimes dangerous in the winter, to pass between Epworth and Wroote: and it was not easy to procure an assistant to his mind, in this remote corner of the kingdom. He was therefore desirous, that his son, Mr. John Wesley, should come into the country, and reside chiefly at Wroote, as his curate. Mr. Wesley complied with his father's request, who thus expresses himself in a letter of June,—'I do not think that I have thanked you enough for your kind and dutiful letter of the 14th instant.—When you come hither, your head-quarters will, I believe, for the most part be at Wroote, and mine at Epworth; though sometimes making a change.'—Accordingly, he left Oxford, on the 4th of August; and coming to London, spent some days with his brother Samuel, and then proceeded on his journey, to take upon him his appointed charge.—In this part of Lincolnshire, the ague is epidemic, and in October he was seized with it; at the same time he was called to Oxford, probably to oblige Dr. Morley, the rector of Lincoln College, on some election business. This gentleman had rendered such services to Mr. Wesley, in his election to Lincoln, that he used to say, 'I can refuse Dr. Morley nothing.' In the present instance, his gratitude overcame all objections against travelling on horseback, through wet and cold, with an ague upon him. He reached Oxford on the 16th, and left it again on the 25th, travelling in the same manner back to Wroote, though often very ill on the road. He now continued in the country for some time,

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still pursuing the same plan of study, as far as the nature of his situation would permit.

"Mr. Wesley continued in the country till July 1728, when he returned by way of London, to Oxford, where he arrived on the 27th of this month, with a view to obtain Priests' Orders. No reason is assigned, why he was not ordained priest sooner: it is evident however, that he had never applied for it, probably on account of his age.—On Sunday, the 22d of September, he was ordained priest by Dr. Potter, Bishop of Oxford, who had ordained him deacon in 1725."

In 1729, in consequence of a letter he received from Dr. Morley, rector of his college, he quitted his father's curacy at Wroote on the 22d of November, and went to reside at Oxford, to perform the duties of his fellowship.

He now entered into a new scene of action: he obtained pupils, became a tutor in the college, and presided in the hall as moderator in the disputations held six times a week, and had the chief direction of a religious society, which had lately commenced by his brother Charles and others, before he arrived at the college. As tutor he was singularly diligent and careful of his pupils, considering himself responsible for them, not only to their parents and the community, but to God; and therefore laboured to make them both scholars and christians. "As moderator in the disputations, he acquired a facility and expertness in arguing; especially, as he himself observes, 'In discerning and pointing out well covered and plausible fallacies,' which afterwards gave him a great superiority over most of his numerous adversaries. But his endeavours to become religious, will be our next consideration. We call all that he did mere endeavours, because he did not attain the end which he aimed at, peace of mind, comfort in God, and a command over all his passions: He was a long time before he was fully convinced that his own endeavours were insufficient to give him the mind that was in Christ. He clearly saw in 1725, what the gospel was intended to do for him, and for all mankind; to be the means of reconciling him to God, and giving him a title to the heavenly inheritance; of cleansing him from sin, and preparing him for the enjoyment of heaven: and he retained this view of the general design of the gospel, from that period to the end of his life, without the least variation. But he did not yet understand the *method* proposed in the gospel, of putting a sinner in possession of these blessings, nor the order in which the mind is capable of acquiring them. It is true, he read the scriptures daily, at this time, and in his religious researches was *homo unius libri*, a man of one book. But his pre-conceived opinions were as a blind before his mind, and completely hid from his view, the gospel method of attaining present salvation. This is no reproach to Mr. Wesley, nor any objections against the doctrines he afterwards embraced.

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It is the common lot of all men, to imbibe in their youth, notions which afterwards hinder them from perceiving the most obvious truths. It is well known that the systems of natural philosophy, which ingenious men have formed and taught to young students, have been the chief hinderances to the progress of knowledge. What kept his mind in a state of perplexity, was, a confused notion of justification; which he either confounded with sanctification, or thought a man must be sanctified before he can be justified. This notion hindered him from perceiving, that to justify, in the language of Paul, is to pardon a repenting believing sinner, as an act of grace; not for the sake of any previous holiness in him, but through Jesus Christ alone. As soon as he was convinced of this, he was no longer embarrassed and perplexed; he saw immediately the plan which the gospel proposes of reconciling sinners to God, of making them holy in heart and life, and of giving them a sure hope, full of immortality.

"It appears from the account given of Mr. Charles Wesley, that for more than two years before this time he had studied very hard, and through his brother's advice and influence was become deeply serious; that during the last summer he had received the sacrament weekly, and had prevailed on two or three young men to do the same: and that these gentlemen had occasionally met together for the purpose of assisting and encouraging each other in their duty, and of regulating their employments by certain rules. The regular method of arranging their studies and other employments procured them the distinguishing epithet of *Methodists*, which, according to Mr. Charles, was given them before his brother came to Oxford in November. This is probably the most accurate account; for when Mr. Wesley speaks of this appellation, he mentions it only in very general terms, without attempting to state, at what period of the society it was first given. 'The exact regularity of their lives as well as studies, (says he) occasioned a young gentleman of Christ Church to say, 'Here is a new set of *Methodists* sprung up;' alluding to some ancient physicians who were so called.*

* *Themison* was the founder of this sect, about thirty or forty years before the christian era; and it flourished, according to *Alpinus*, about three hundred years. *Le Clerc*, informs us, that the physicians of this sect were called *Methodists*, because they took it into their head, to find out a more easy *method* of teaching and practising the art of physic. However this may be, it is certain that some of the greatest physicians of the time in which the sect flourished, were *Methodists*. That *Themison*, was a man of the most extensive practice, is evidently implied in the words of *Juvenal*, if he speaks of the same person, which is generally supposed. He is describing the infirmities of an old man and observes,

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The name was new as quaint; so it took immediately, and the *Methodists* were known all over the university.'

"It does not appear, however, that these gentlemen met together at any fixed or stated times, or that they had made any regulations for this purpose before Mr. John Wesley joined them. When he came amongst them, they gladly committed the direction of the whole to him; and from this time the society began to assume a more regular form; it is from this period therefore, that he commences his history of it, in the following words:

"'In November 1729, four young gentlemen of Oxford, Mr. John Wesley, Fellow of Lincoln College; Mr. Charles Wesley, Student of Christ Church; Mr. Morgan, Commoner of Christ Church; and Mr. Kirkman, of Merton College; began to spend some evenings in a week together, in reading chiefly the Greek Testament. The next year two or three of Mr. John Wesley's pupils desired the liberty of meeting with them: and afterwards one of Mr. Charles Wesley's pupils. It was in 1732, that Mr. Ingham, of Queen's College, and Mr. Broughton, of Exeter, were added to their number. To these in April, was joined Mr. Clayton, of Brazen-Nose, with two or three of his pupils. About the same time Mr. James Harvey was permitted to meet with them, and afterwards Mr. Whitefield.'*

"These four young gentlemen continued their meetings for some time, without any other views than their own benefit. But in the summer of 1730, Mr. Morgan called at the gaol to see a man who was condemned for killing his wife, and told them, that, from the conversation he had with one of the debtors, he verily believed it would do much good if any one would be at the pains of now and then speaking with them. Having mentioned this several times, Mr. Wesley and his brother Charles, went with him on the 24th of August to the castle, and

——— *Circumsilit agmine facto*
Morborum omne genus, quorum si nomina quæras
Promptius expediam———
Quot Themison ægros autumno occiderit uno.

"A whole troop of all kinds of diseases rush upon him on all sides; if you ask their names, I could as soon reckon up how many patients *Themison* killed in one autumn."—Had his practice, however, been very unsuccessful, it is not probable it would have been so extensive as to become almost proverbial.

* Wesley's Works, Vol. XV. page 375.

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were so well satisfied with their visit, that they determined to go thither once or twice a week. They had not done this long, before Mr. Morgan, who seems to have led the way in acts of charity and benevolence to others, desired Mr. Wesley to go with him to see a poor woman in the town who was sick. When they began to reflect on the benefit this might be of to the poor, they thought it would be well worth while to spend two or three hours in the week in this species of charity, especially if the minister of the parish in which such person was, did not object to it. But as this practice was quite *new*, and had an appearance of irregularity, on which account it might give offence, Mr. Wesley did not choose to proceed any further without advice. He wrote to his father, who was remarkably attached to regularity and church-order, stating what they had hitherto done, and what their design was; begging to have his opinion whether they had already gone too far? Whether they should stand still where they were, or go forward?

"His father's answer is dated September 21st, in which he says, 'As to your own designs and employments, what can I say less of them than *valde probo*; and that I have the highest reason to bless God, that he has given me two sons together at Oxford, to whom he has given grace and courage to turn the war against the world and the Devil, which is the best way to conquer them. They have but one enemy more to combat with, the flesh; which if they take care to subdue by fasting and prayer, there will be no more for them to do, but to proceed steadily in the same course, and expect the crown which fadeth not away. You have reason to bless God, as I do, that you have so fast a friend as Mr. Morgan, who I see in the most difficult service, is ready to break the ice for you.

"'I am afraid lest the main objection you make against your going on in the business of the prisoners, may secretly proceed from flesh and blood. For *who can harm you if you are followers of that which is so good?* And which will be one of the marks by which the Shepherd of Israel will know his sheep at the last day. Though, if it were possible for you to suffer a little in the cause, you would have a confessor's reward. You own that none but such as are out of their senses would be prejudiced against you for acting in this manner.—Go on then in God's name, in the path to which your Saviour has directed you, and that track wherein your father has gone before you? For when I was an undergraduate, I visited those in the castle there, and reflect on it with great satisfaction to this day. Walk as prudently as you can, though not fearfully, and my heart and prayers are with you.

"'Your first regular step is to consult with him, if any such there be, who has a jurisdiction over the prisoners; and the next is to obtain direction and appro-

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bation of your bishop. This is Monday morning, at which time I shall never forget you.—Accordingly, to him who is every where, I now heartily commit you.'

"This advice, from a person on whose judgment, experience, and orthodoxy they could depend, gave them courage; it confirmed them in their benevolent purposes, and animated them with zeal in the execution of them. They carefully attended, however, to the prudential directions; and Mr. Wesley immediately consulted Mr. Gerard, the Bishop of Oxford's chaplain, who likewise attended the prisoners when any were condemned to die, for at other times they were left to their own care. He proposed to him their design of serving the prisoners as far as they could, and his own intention of preaching there once a month, if the bishop should approve of it. Mr. Gerard commended the design, and said he would answer for the bishop's approbation, to whom he would take the first opportunity of mentioning it. The bishop being consulted, not only gave his permission, but was highly pleased with the undertaking, and hoped it would have the desired success.

"Sheltered by such respectable authority, they thought themselves secure, and prosecuted their design with diligence. But no human authority is sufficient to restrain the overflowings of a mind at enmity with God. The old drones in religion, who retain little of Christianity but the name, think themselves insulted by any extraordinary piety and zeal in young men; and the gay and thoughtless are irritated, because they think their peculiar pleasures and whole manner of life are thereby condemned. Thus the case seems to have stood between these young men and their opponents at Oxford. The opposition increased. The men of wit in Christ church entered the lists against them, and between mirth and anger, made a pretty many reflections upon the *Sacramentarians*, as they were pleased to call them. Their allies of Merton, thought both this and the title of *Methodists*, too decent, as implying something commendable; they therefore changed it, and honoured them with the title of the *Holy Club*. But most of these being persons of well-known characters, they made no proselytes from the *sacrament*, till a gentleman eminent for learning, and well esteemed for piety, joining them, told his nephew, that if he dared to go to the weekly communion any longer, he would turn him out of doors. This argument had no success; the young gentleman communicated next week. The uncle now became more violent, and shook his nephew by the throat, to convince him more effectually, that receiving the sacrament every week was founded in error: but this argument appearing to the young gentleman to have no weight in it, he continued his usual practice. This eminent person, so well esteemed for piety, was however indefatigable in his endeavours to suppress it. He now changed the mode of attack,

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and, like a true agent of Satan, kept close to the letter of the apostle's advice, but grossly perverted the spirit of it. By a soft obliging manner towards him, he melted down the young gentleman's resolution of being so strictly religious, and from this time he began to absent himself, five Sundays out of six, from the sacrament. This success gave the opposition new strength, and one of the Seniors of the college consulting with the doctor, they prevailed with two other young gentlemen to promise they would only communicate three times a year."

The opposition now became serious, by persons of influence taking so decided a part against them; the two Wesleys wrote to their father to ask advice in this trying situation. His answer is dated December the 1st, which encourages them in the course of piety in which they were engaged; towards the conclusion of his letter he observes, "I hear my son John has the honour of being styled the *Father of the Holy Club:* if it be so, I am sure I must be the grandfather of it; and I need not say, that I had rather any of my sons should be so dignified and distinguished, than to have the title of His Holiness."

"Under the encouragement of his father's letter they still continued to meet together as usual, and to confirm one another in their pious resolutions. They communicated once a week. They visited the prisoners, and some poor families in the town when they were sick; and that they might have wherewith to relieve their distress, they abridged themselves of all the superfluities and of many of the conveniencies of life. They took every opportunity of conversing with their acquaintance in the most useful manner, to awaken in them a sense of religion. But the outcry daily increasing, they thought it proper, by way of self-defence, to propose to their friends or opponents as opportunity offered, these or the like questions:

"'1. Whether it does not concern all men of all conditions, to imitate him as much as they can, *who went about doing good?*

"'Whether all christians are not concerned in that command, '*While we have time, let us do good to all men.*'

"'Whether we shall not be more happy hereafter, the more good we do now?

"'2. Whether we may not try to do good to our acquaintance among the young gentleman of the university. Particularly, whether we may not endeavour to convince them of the necessity of being christians, and of being scholars?

"'Whether we may not try to convince them of the necessity of method and industry, in order to either learning or virtue?

"'Whether we may not try to persuade them to confirm and increase their industry, by communicating as often as they can?

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"'Whether we may not mention to them the authors whom we conceive to have written best on those subjects?

"'Whether we may not assist them as we are able, from time to time, to form resolutions upon what they read in those authors, and to execute them with steadiness and perseverance?

"'3. May we not try to do good to those who are hungry, naked, or sick? If we know any necessitious family, may we not give them a little food, clothes, or physic, as they want?

"'If they can read, may we not give them a Bible, a Common-Prayer Book, or a Whole Duty of Man? May we not inquire, now and then, how they have used them; explain what they do not understand, and enforce what they do?

"'May we not enforce upon them the necessity of private prayer, and of frequenting the church and sacrament?

"'May we not contribute what we are able, towards having their children clothed, and taught to read?

"'4. May we not try to do good to those who are in prison? May we not release such well-disposed persons as remain in prison for small debts?

"'May we not lend small sums to those who are of any trade, that they may procure themselves tools and materials to work with?

"'May we not give to them who appear to want it most, a little money, or clothes, or physic?'

"It was impossible for any person, who had a grain of either humanity or religion left, to answer these questions in the negative, however averse he might be to practise the duties proposed in them. No one attempted it; but several, when they understood the plan of their design, increased their little stock of money for the prisoners and the poor, by subscribing something quarterly to it; so that the more persons they proposed their designs to, the more they were confirmed in the belief that they were acting right, and more determined to pursue their plan, notwithstanding the ridicule which increased fast upon them during the winter.

"It appears from the questions here proposed, which relate to the students, that Mr. Wesley was not inattentive to their progress in learning, though he endeavoured to make them religious. His regular method of study, his diligence, and great care to make his pupils thoroughly understand every thing they read, were admirably adapted to make them scholars. It is indeed universally allowed, that he was an excellent tutor, and his pupils have in general acknowledged themselves under infinite obligations to him on this account.

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"This year, 1730, Mr. Wesley and his brother Charles, began the practice of conversing together in Latin, whenever they were alone; chiefly with a view of acquiring a facility in expressing themselves in this language, on all occasions, with perspicuity, energy, and elegance. This practice they continued for near sixty years; and with such success, that if their style did not equal, it certainly, on some subjects, approached nearer to the best models of conversation in the *Augustan* age, than many of the learned have thought it possible to attain.

"In the beginning of the year 1731, a meeting was held by several of the Seniors of the college, to consult on the speediest way to stop the progress of enthusiasm in it. Mr. Wesley and his friends did not learn what was the result of this very pious consultation; but it was soon publicly reported, that Dr. —— and the Censors were going to blow up the *Godly Club*. This was now their common title; though they were sometimes dignified with that of the *Enthusiasts*, or the *Reforming Club*.—It is curious to observe, the different modes of attack sometimes made use of, both against persons and doctrines. When the opposers can derive no advantage, either from scripture or reason, they give bad names to the best things; in order to prejudice the minds of those, who never think for themselves.

"As new difficulties arose Mr. Wesley lost no opportunity of consulting his friends. He now wrote to his brother Samuel at Westminster; whose answer is dated April—"I designed (says he) to have written by Mr. Bateman, to whom I read part of your last letter, concerning the execrable consultation in order to stop the progress of religion, by giving it a false name. He lifted up his eyes and hands, and protested he could not have believed such a thing. He gave Mr. Morgan a very good character, and said he should always think himself obliged to him, for the pains he took in reclaiming a young pupil of his, who was just got into ill company, and upon the brink of destruction.—I do not like your being called *a club*, that name is really calculated to do mischief. But the other charge of enthusiasm can weigh with none, but such as drink away their senses, or never had any; for surely activity in social duties, and a strict attendance on the ordained means of grace, are the strongest guards imaginable against it. I called on Dr. Terry, to desire him to subscribe to Job, but did not meet with him at home; in two or three days, *O rem ridiculam et jocosam!* he did me the favour to call upon me. I said, I hope my two brothers have still good characters at Oxford,—he answered he believed they were studious and sober. When he was got down stairs he turned about, and said, I think I have heard your brothers are exemplary and take great pains to instil good principles into young people. I told him, and you may guess I told him the truth, I was very

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glad to hear such a character of them, *especially from him.*'—From the last words, it is pretty plain, that Dr. Terry was an avowed opposer of Mr. Wesley and his friends, though he was constrained to bear testimony to the goodness of their characters: but whether he was the grave gentleman who so piously took his nephew by the throat to convert him to his own way of thinking and acting; and who consulted with the censors how to stop the progress of religion among them, is not certain.

"In the midst of such opposition, Mr. Wesley thought it prudent to take every method in his power, to prevent the good that was in them from being evil spoken of; and with this view, and to obtain further advice, he wrote in May, to the Rev. Mr. Hoole,* an aged clergyman in his father's neighbourhood, of known wisdom and integrity. Part of his answer runs thus:† 'As to my own sense of the matter, I confess I cannot but heartily approve of that serious and religious turn of mind that prompts you and your associates to those pious and charitable offices; and can have no notion of that man's religion, or concern for the honour of the university, that opposes you, as far as your design respects the colleges. I should be loth to send a son of mine to any seminary, where his conversation with virtuous young men, whose profest design of meeting together at proper times, was to assist each other in forming good resolutions, and encouraging one another to execute them with constancy and steadiness, was inconsistent with any received maxims or rules of life among the members.'

"On the 18th of April Mr. Wesley, in company with his brother, set out on foot for Epworth; for they now saved every penny they could, to give it to the poor. They returned to Oxford on the 12th of May."

On their return to Oxford he writes to his father and says, "Since our return, our little company that used to meet us on a Sunday evening, is shrunk into almost none at all. Mr. Morgan is sick at Holt; Mr. Boyce is at his father's house at Barton; Mr. Kirkman must very shortly leave Oxford, to be his uncle's curate, and a young gentleman of Christ church, who used to make a fourth, either afraid or ashamed or both, is returned to the ways of the world, and studiously shuns our company. However, the poor at the castle have still the gospel preached to them, and some of their temporal wants supplied, our little fund rather increasing than diminishing. Nor have we yet been forced to discharge any of the children which Mr. Morgan left to our care: though I wish they too, do not find the want of him; I am sure some of their parents will."

In April 1732, "Mr. Clayton joined their little society, and about the same

* Private diary.

† Wesley's Works, Vol. XXVI. page 99.

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time Mr. Ingham, Mr. Broughton, Mr. Harvey, and one or two of Mr. John and Mr. Charles Wesley's pupils. They were all zealous members of the church of England; not only tenacious of all her doctrines, as far as they yet understood them, but of all her discipline, to the minutest circumstance. By the advice of Mr. Clayton, they now added to their former practices, a regular observance of the fasts of the church; the general neglect of which, they thought, was by no means a sufficient excuse for neglecting them.

"For some years before this, Mr. Wesley had frequently read over, with great attention, *Law's Christian Perfection*, and his *Serious Call to a Holy Life*; and, as his practice was, had made extracts from them. He had conceived a high opinion of the author from his writings, having often been instructed by them. Being in London, in the month of July, he went down to Putney, to pay Mr. Law a visit, which was the introduction to a personal acquaintance with each other. Mr. Wesley occasionally repeated his visits, and a friendly correspondence followed, which lasted several years. From this time, he began to read the *Theologia Germanica*, and other mystic writers.

"Mr. Wesley, and those associated with him, now suffered the entire loss of Mr. Morgan, who had been the foremost in promoting their pious endeavours to do good. He left Oxford on the 5th of June, and died in Dublin on the 26th of August.

"During the two last years (1732 and 1733,) Mr. Wesley made frequent excursions to London, and different parts of the country, besides his journies to Epworth, and the places he visited in his way thither and back, all of which he performed on foot. He observes in his diary, that he had walked about 1050 miles; we suppose he means within the year he is speaking of. In these excursions he constantly preached on the Lord's day, if he had an opportunity; so that he might now be called, in some sort, an itinerant preacher, though on a plan very different from that which he afterwards adopted, and of which he could not at this time have the most distant conception."

His father's health had been on the decline for several years, and he now seemed fast approaching towards the close of life. The old gentleman, conscious of his situation, and desirous that the living of Epworth should remain in the family, wrote to his son John, requesting him to apply for the next presentation: but this he refused, alledging that he should not be sufficiently useful, in that situation, to the community. His father died in April 1735, and the living was giving away in May following. Soon after this a new scene of action was proposed to him: the trustees of the new colony of Georgia were greatly in want of proper persons to

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instruct the inhabitants in christian knowledge. They fixed their eyes on Mr. John Wesley and some of his friends as the most likely to send there, on account of their strict piety. Mr. Wesley accepted the proposal, conceiving it a fit opportunity of being useful to mankind. Dr. Burton, a man of great piety, wrote to Mr. Wesley previous to his setting out on his journey, giving him advice respecting his future conduct. Among other things he observes, "Under the influence of Mr. Oglethorpe, giving weight to your endeavours, much may be effected under the present circumstances. The apostolical manner of preaching, from house to house, will, through God's grace, be effectual to turn many to righteousness. The people are babes in the progress of their christian life, to be fed with milk instead of strong meat; and the wise householder will bring out of his stores, food proportioned to the necessities of his family. The circumstances of your present christian pilgrimage will furnish the most affecting subjects of discourse; and what arises *pro re nata*, will have greater influence than a laboured discourse on a subject, in which men think themselves not so immediately concerned. With regard to your behaviour and manner of address, that must be determined according to the different circumstances of persons, &c. But you will always, in the use of means, consider the great end, and therefore your applications will of course vary. You will keep in view the pattern of that gospel preacher St. Paul, who became all things to all men, that he might gain some. Here is a nice trial of christian prudence: accordingly, in every case you would distinguish between what is essential, and what is merely circumstantial to christianity; between what is indispensable and what is variable; between what is of divine, and what is of human authority. I mention this, because men are apt to deceive themselves in such cases, and we see the traditions and ordinances of men frequently insisted on, with more rigour than the commandments of God, to which they are subordinate. Singularities of less importance, are often espoused with more zeal, than the weighty matters of God's law. As in all points we love ourselves, so especially in our hypothesis. Where a man has, as it were, a property in a notion, he is most industrious to improve it, and that in proportion to the labour of thought he has bestowed upon it; and as its value rises in imagination, we are in proportion more unwilling to give it up, and dwell upon it more pertinaciously, than upon considerations of general necessity and use. This is a flattering mistake, against which we should guard ourselves. I hope to see you at Gravesend if possible. I write in haste what occur to my thoughts—*disce docendus adhuc, quæ censet amiculus.* May God prosper your endeavours for the propagation of his gospel."

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On Tuesday the 14th of October Mr. Wesley set out to Gravesend in order to embark for Georgia, accompanied by his brother Charles, Mr. Ingram, and Mr. Delamotte; in the afternoon they went on board the Simmonds, were they found twenty-six Germans, members of the Moravian church. Mr. John Wesley immediately began to learn the language, in order to converse with them, and David Nitchman, their bishop, and two others, began to learn English, that they might enjoy the benefit of mutual conversation.

The wind being contrary, they did not sail from Cowes till the 10th of December. On the 6th of February, 1736, after a somewhat stormy passage, they set foot on land, on a small island over against Tybee, in America. The house at Savannah, where they were to reside, not being ready, Mr. Wesley and Mr. Delamotte took up their lodgings with the Germans. On Sunday, March 7, he entered on the ministry at Savannah, by preaching on the epistle of the day, which gave great pleasure to the people. Mr. Wesley engaged in the service of God with zeal, and in promoting the improvement of the inhabitants of Savannah; occasionally visiting Frederica, both before and after his brother's departure for England. In the beginning of August he joined with the Germans in one of their love-feasts: this is probably the first time he ever saw one. He afterwards adopted them in the economy of the methodists.

At the commencement of his residence in this country, he became acquainted with Miss Sophy Causton, and after a year's acquaintance their connection was broke off; and she afterwards married a Mr. Williamson: he felt much hurt at her loss, and probably was not much pleased with her presence afterwards. In August 1737 he repelled her from the Holy Communion, which laid a series of troubles on himself, and was the cause of his abrupt departure from America. "If we candidly review all the circumstances of this affair," says Dr. Whitehead, "some will perhaps be led to conclude, that Mr. Wesley might have acted with more caution, and more regard to his own ease and character than he did, when he first saw the storm gathering and likely to burst with violence upon him. But his constant rule was, to ascertain to the satisfaction of his own mind, that particular line of conduct which duty required him to pursue as a christian and a minister of the gospel, and then steadily to walk in it regardless of consequences. And there is every evidence which the case will admit, that he acted in this conscientious manner towards Mrs. Williamson. It does not appear that any one ever charged him with repelling her from the Holy Communion out of revenge because she would not marry him, except her relations, who now thought it necessary to injure his reputation as much as possible, to cover themselves from reproach. This charge not only wants positive proof, but is even destitute of probability. It was

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about five months after her marriage when this circumstance happened, during the former part of which time he had frequently administered the sacrament to her, without shewing any symptoms of revenge: and about three months after her marriage, he saw such things in her conduct, as, in his private journal *which was never printed,* induced him to bless God for his deliverance in not marrying her. Now let us ask any candid man, if it is possible, that Mr. Wesley could be actuated by a spirit of revenge for a disappointment at the end of five months, which had no influence on his conduct at the end of three months; and even after he had been convinced that the disappointment itself was a mercy, for which he secretly thanked God? In his pastoral character, Mr. Wesley acted by one rule towards all the communicants. If any one had discontinued his attendance at the Lord's table, he required him to signify his name some time the day before he intended to communicate again: and if any one had done wrong to his neighbour, so that the congregation was thereby offended, he required him openly to declare that he had repented. This rule the order of the church of England required him to observe, and he acted by it invariably in all cases, whether the persons were rich or poor, friends or enemies. Mrs. Williamson did not conform to this established order, which must have been well known to all the communicants in so small a place. Mr. Wesley was therefore reduced to this alternative, either to break an order he held sacred, in her favour, and thereby incur the censure of a blamable partiality for her, after being married to another; or to repel her from the Holy Communion, and incur the censure of having done it out of revenge, because she would not marry him. Censure was inevitable, which ever way he had acted; and having well considered the matter, he determined to follow the rule he had always observed, and to leave the consequences to God."

After a fatiguing voyage Mr. Wesley arrived in England Feb. 5, 1738. On a review of his mission to America, he made the following reflections: "It is now, says he, two years and almost four months, since I left my native country, in order to teach the *Georgian Indians,* the nature of christianity: but what have I learned myself in the mean time? Why, what I the least of all suspected, that I, who went to America to convert others, was never myself converted to God. *I am not mad,* though I thus speak; but I speak the words of truth and soberness: if haply some of those who still *dream,* may *awake* and see, that as I am, so are they," &c.—He observes however, "Many reasons have I to bless God—for my having been carried into that strange land, contrary to all my preceding resolutions. Hereby I trust he hath in some measure, *humbled me, and proved me, and shewn me what was in my heart.* Hereby I have been taught to *beware of men.*—Hereby God hath given me to know many of his

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servants, particularly those of the church of Hernhuth. Hereby my passage is open to the writings of holy men, in the German, Spanish, and Italian tongues. All in Georgia have heard the word of God: some have believed and began to run well. A few steps have been taken towards publishing the glad-tidings both to the African and American heathens. Many children have learned *how they ought to serve God*, and to be useful to their neighbour. And those whom it most concerns, have an opportunity of knowing the state of their infant colony, and laying a firmer foundation of peace and happiness to many generations."

After Mr. Wesley arrived in London, he waited on the trustees for Georgia, and gave them an account of the colony; but his account was so different from what others had flattered them with, that he supposes they did not soon forgive him. Time however convinced them of Mr. Wesley's fidelity, when complaints pouring in upon them from all sides, they thought it best to resign their charter into the hands of the king.

In February he took coach for Salisbury, to see his mother; and intended to visit his brother Samuel at Tiverton. At Oxford he met with Peter Bohler, who convinced him that he wanted "*that faith whereby alone we are saved.*" After which it immediately occurred to his mind, "Leave off preaching; how can you preach to others, who have not faith yourself?" Which he communicated unto Bohler, who replied, "Preach faith *till* you have it, and then *because* you have it, you *will* preach faith."

About this time he began to preach and pray extempore, and to hold *instantanious* conversion, which is a leading tenet of the methodists. In May Mr. Wesley and about forty more, with Bohler at their head, formed a society in Fetter-Lane, London: and had the rules of the order printed. After a time the Moravians introduced innovations in the society, in consequence of which Mr. Wesley and some of his friends withdrew from them, and laid the foundation of the present sect of the methodists. He now preached in churches in various parts of the kingdom, when he boldly offered to all, *free salvation* through faith in the blood of Christ. At most of these, he was soon told, "Sir, you must preach here no more."

In June he determined to retire to Germany; and having taken leave of his mother, he embarked on Tuesday the 13th, accompanied by Mr. Ingram and three others, English, and three Germans. July 6th they arrived at Maricnborn, where he found Count Zinzendorf, and others of the brethren, whose christian conversation greatly refreshed his mind. July 19th, he left this place and arrived at Hernhuth. Here he staid a fortnight, and returned to London on the 16th of September.

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On his return to Oxford, he wrote to various religious friends in Germany many letters on the state of his mind in spiritual things. December the 11th he went to London to meet Mr. Whitefield, who had returned from Georgia, and they took "sweet counsel together."

"The steps of Mr. Wesley, already traced, from his infancy to the present period, forms an important era of his life. He now commenced a *Field Preacher*, and itinerancy naturally followed, which, under God, laid the foundation of the present system of *methodism*. It has often been suggested by his opponents, that the plan of *methodism* was the result of a long premeditated design: but on a careful examination into the very *minutiæ* of his life till this time, no such design appears. He positively asserts the contrary; and every circumstance collected from his private papers, confirms the truth of his assertion. It is indeed true, that by a strange chain of providences, he was admirably fitted without any design of his own, to prosecute the plan he now entered upon through all its consequences. After many years of painful labour and exercise of mind, he had obtained clear and distinct views of the gospel; and what was especially necessary to his success, well understood the order observable in the gradations of christian experience, from the first commencement of a work of grace on the mind, to its consummation. He had long been inured to fatigue and hardship; a qualification highly necessary for the success of his present plan of proceedings. He had experienced great opposition, contempt, reproach, and even persecution, both in England and America; which made them appear in the prospect of his new undertaking less formidable to him, than they would have done to others. Most of the churches in London had been shut against him, so that his opportunities of preaching became very limited, and, as he durst not be silent, he was reduced to a kind of necessity to preach in the open air, in opposition to his former notions and habits. But he observes, 'I have since seen abundant reason to adore the wise providence of God herein, making a way for myriads of people, who never troubled any church, nor were likely so to do, to hear that word which they soon found to be the power of God unto salvation.'"

During the summer Mr. Wesley preached at Bristol with considerable success. He expounded the scriptures not only in the fields but in the highways, frequently to more than three thousand people. After a short time a small society of them met together, to strengthen and edify one another, as the people already did in London.

"Methodism now began to make a rapid progress: societies were formed, not only in London, and Bristol, but in many adjacent places; and some even at a considerable distance. The labourers as yet were few, but, believing they were

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engaged in the cause of God against ignorance and profaneness which overspread the land, they were indefatigable, scarcely giving themselves any rest day or night. The effects of their preaching made much noise, which at length roused some of the sleeping watchmen of Israel; not indeed to inquire after the truth, and amend their ways, but to crush these irregular proceedings, that they might quietly sleep again. These opponents, however, had more zeal against methodism, than knowledge of it. They attacked it with nothing but idle stories, misrepresentations of facts, and gross falsehoods. They retailed these from pulpits, and published them from the press, with little regard to *moderation*, *charity*, or even *decency*. This brought more disgrace upon themselves, than on the methodists; who finding they were assailed only with such kind of weapons, conceived a higher opinion of the cause in which they were engaged, and profited by the attack."

In October 1739 he set out for Wales, from whence he had received a pressing invitation to visit. He there found the churches shut against him as well as in England, and he preached in private houses, or in the open air, to a willing people. "The word did not fall to the ground. Many *repented and believed the gospel*."

Nov. 2d. Mr. Wesley came to London, where he found the society in Fetter-Lane greatly divided, in consequence of some new notions the Moravian preachers had introduced. On the eleventh of the same month, he preached at eight o'clock, to five or six thousand people, in the place which had been the king's foundery for cannon; this was the prepatory step to a final separation from his Moravian brethren. On the 12th he left London for Wycombe, where there was a little society; here he met Mr. Robson and Gambold, with whom, after much prayer and consultation, they agreed, "'1. To meet yearly at London, if God permit, on the Eve of Ascension-day. 2. To fix then, the business to be done the ensuing year: where, when, and by whom? 3. To meet quarterly there, as many as can; viz. on the second Tuesday in July, October, and January. 4. To send a monthly account to one another, of what God hath done in each of our stations. 5. To enquire whether Mr. Hall, Sympson, Rogers, Ingham, Hutchins, Kinchin, Stonehouse, Cenick, Oxlee, and Brown, will join with us herein. 6. To consider, whether there be any others of our spiritual friends, who are able and willing so to do.'—Here we have the first outlines of a plan to unite the ministers together, and to extend their labours to different parts of the kingdom, under such regulations as might give them a mutual dependence on one another. In this sketch, no one assumes an authority over the rest of his brethren: all appear equal. But this plan was never put into execution. When

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Mr. Wesley separated from the Moravian brethren, Mr. Gambold, and some others gradually withdrew themselves from him."

Nov. 6, 1739. Mr. Samuel Wesley died at Tiverton, and on the 15th John and Charles set out on a visit to their sister in her distress.—A Mr. D——— having requested a short acccount of what had been done in Kingswood, and of the building intended for a school; Mr. Wesley, on his return from Exeter, wrote to him as follows:

"'Few persons have lived long in the West of England, who have not heard of the Colliers of Kingswood, a people famous from the beginning hitherto, for neither fearing God nor regarding man: so ignorant of the things of God, that they seemed but one remove from the beast that perish; and therefore utterly without the desire of instruction, as well as without the means of it.

"'Many last winter used tauntingly to say of Mr. Whitefield, *If he will convert heathens, why does he not go to the Colliers of Kingswood?* In the spring he did so. And as there were thousands who resorted to no place of public worship; he went after them into their own *wilderness, to seek and save that which was lost.* When he was called away, others went into *the highways and hedges, to compel them to come in.* And by the grace of God, their labour was not in vain. The scene is already changed. Kingswood does not now, as a year ago, resound with cursing and blasphemy. It is no more filled with drunkenness and uncleanness, and the idle diversions that naturally lead thereto. It is no longer full of wars and fightings, of clamour and bitterness, of wrath and envying. Peace and love are there. Great numbers of the people are mild, gentle, and easy to be entreated. They *do not cry, neither strive,* and hardly is *their voice heard in the streets;* or indeed in their own wood; unless when they are at their usual evening diversions, singing praise unto God their Saviour.

"'That their children too might know the things which make for their peace, it was some time since proposed to build a house in Kingswood; and after many foreseen and unforeseen difficulties, in June last, the foundation was laid. The ground made choice of was in the middle of the wood, between the London and Bath roads, not far from that called Two-Mile-Hill, about three measured miles from Bristol.

"'Here a large room was begun for the school, having four small rooms at either end, for the schoolmasters (and perhaps, if it should please God, some poor children) to lodge in.' Two persons are ready to teach, as soon as the house is ready to receive them, the shell of which is nearly finished; so that it is hoped the whole will be completed in spring, or early in the summer.

"'It is true, although the masters require no pay, yet this undertaking is

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attended with great expense. But let him that *feedeth the young ravens* see to that. He hath the hearts of all men in his hand. If he put it into your heart, or into that of any of your friends, to assist in bringing this work to perfection, in this world look for no recompence; but it shall be remembered in that day when our Lord shall say, *Inasmuch as ye did it unto the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me.*'

"Before the methodists began to preach in Kingswood, the Colliers were a terror to the whole country round. But the change produced by their preaching, was so great and sudden, as to excite universal attention and admiration. And such was the state of religion and morality at this time throughout the nation, that, among avast majority of the people, a similar change in their tempers and principles of action, was not less necessary to make them christians, though the necessity of it might be less apparent. And what was done in Kingswood shews what might have been done every where, had the ministers of the gospel been such men as their office required them to be, and applied themselves to the duties of it with the same diligence, that men are obliged to use in following their temporal affairs; which certainly is the least that is required of a minister of the gospel. How will they meet Jesus Christ without shame, confusion, and conscious guilt, who have filled the sacred office of instructing the people in the way of salvation, and have suffered them to *perish for lack of knowledge?* The time will come when such men, of whatever denomination among christians, will be fully convinced, it had been better for them to have been common porters, than to have occupied the highest pastoral offices in the church of God!"

In 1740, Mr. Wesley finally left the society in Fetter-Lane, with about twenty-five others: they now met at the Foundery.

"Hitherto Mr. Whitefield had laboured in union and harmony with Mr. Wesley, and his brother Charles. They preached in the same pulpits, and had only one common design, to promote christian knowledge, and a holy conversation among the people, without entering into the discussion of particular opinions. But about this time Mr. Wesley printed a sermon against the *calvinistic* notion of predestination, and sent a copy to Commissary Garden, at Charlestown, where Mr. Whitefield met with it. He had already embraced that opinion; and though the subject was treated in that sermon, in a general way, without naming, or pointing at any individual, yet he found himself hurt, that Mr. Wesley should bring forward the controversy, and publicly oppose an opinion which he believed to be agreeable to the word of God. On his passage to England, he wrote to Mr. Charles Wesley, Feb. 1, 1741, expostulating with him and his brother on the subject. He says, 'My dear, dear brethren, why did you throw out the bone of

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contention? Why did you print that sermon against predestination? Why did you in particular, my dear brother Charles, affix you hymn, and join in putting out your late hymn-book? How can you say, you will not dispute with me about election, and yet print such hymns, and your brother send his sermon over against election, to Mr. Garden, and others in America?—Do not you think, my dear brethren, I must be as much concerned for truth, or what I think truth, as you? God is my judge, I always was, and hope I always shall be desirous that you may be preferred before me. But I must preach the gospel *of Christ*, and that I cannot *now* do, without speaking of election.'—He then tells Mr. Charles, that in Christmas week he had written an answer to his brother's sermon, 'Which, (says he) is now printing at Charlestown; another copy I have sent to Boston, and another I now bring with me, to print in London. If it occasion a strangeness between us, it shall not be my fault. There is nothing in my answer exciting to it, that I know of. O my dear brethren, my heart almost bleeds within me! Methinks I could be willing to tarry here on the waters for ever, rather than come to England to oppose you.'

"Controversy between good men is commonly on some speculative opinion, while they are perfectly at unison on the essential *points* of religion, and the duties of morality. And the controversy almost always injures the christian temper, much more than it promotes the interest of speculative truth. On this occasion a separation took place between Mr. Wesley and Mr. Whitefield, so far as to have different places of worship: and some warm and tart expressions dropped from each. But their good opinion of each other's integrity and usefulness, founded on long and intimate acquaintance, could not be injured by such a difference of sentiment; and their mutual affection was only obscured by a cloud, for a season.

"Mr. Whitefield was the first who visited the Colliers of Kingswood, and formed the design of building the school there; and began to make collections for the purpose. But his calls to America, would not permit him to prosecute the design, which he therefore transferred to Mr. Wesley. Being now less friendly than before, he was more disposed to find fault with little things, and to misconstrue the bare appearances of others. He wrote a list of things he thought improperly managed. In April Mr. Wesley returned him a long answer, part of which is as follows.

"'Would you have me deal plainly with you, my brother? I believe you would: then by the grace of God I will.

"'Of many things I find you are not rightly informed; of others you speak what you have not well weighed.

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" ' The society room at Bristol, you say is adorned. How? Why with a piece of green cloth nailed to the desk; two sconces for eight candles each in the middle; and——nay I know no more. Now which of these can be spared, I know not: nor would I desire either more adorning or less.

" ' But lodgings are made for me or my brother. That is, in plain English, there is a little room by the school, where I speak to the persons who come to me; and a garret, in which a bed is placed for me. And do you grudge me this? Is this the voice of my brother, my son Whitefield?

" ' You say further, that the children at Bristol, are clothed as well as taught. I am sorry for it; for the cloth is not paid for yet, and was bought without my consent or knowledge.

" ' But those of Kingswood have been neglected.—This is not so, notwithstanding the heavy debt which lay upon it. One master, and one mistress have been in the house, ever since it was capable of receiving them. A second master has been placed there some months since: and I have long been seeking for two proper mistresses; so that as much has been done, as matters stand, if not more, than I can answer to God or man.

" ' Hitherto then, there is no ground for the heavy charge of perverting your design for the poor Colliers. Two years since your design was to build them a school, that their children also might be taught to fear the Lord. To this end you collected some money, more than once: how much I cannot say, till I have my papers. But this I know, it was not near one half of what has been expended on the work. This design you then recommended to me, and I pursued it with all my might, through such a train of difficulties as, I will be bold to say, you have not yet met with in your life. For many months I collected money wherever I was—and began building, though I had not then a quarter of the money requisite to finish. However, taking all the debt upon myself, the creditors were willing to stay: and then it was that I took possession of it in my own name; that is when the foundation was laid; and I immediately made my will, fixing my brother and you to succeed me therein.

" ' But it is a poor case, that you and I should be talking thus. Indeed these things ought not to be. It lay in your power to have prevented all; and yet to have born testimony to what you call the truth. If you had disliked my sermon, you might have printed another on the same text, and have answered my proofs, without mentioning my name: This had been fair and friendly.

" ' You rank all the maintainers of *universal Redemption*, with *Socinians* themselves. Alas, my brother, do you not know even this, that the *Socinians* allow no redemption at all? That *Socinus* himself speaks thus, *Tota Redemptio*

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nostra por Christum, metaphora? And says expressly, *Christ* did not die as a ransom for any, but only as an example for all mankind? How easy were it for me to hit many other palpable blots, in that which you call an answer to my sermon? And how above measure contemptible would you then appear to all impartial men, either of sense or learning? But I spare you, mine hand shall not be upon you: the Lord be judge between me and thee!—The general tenor both of my public and private exhortations, when I touch thereon at all, as even my enemies know if they would testify, is, spare the young man, even Absalom, for my sake.'"

Notwithstanding the controversy, Mr. Whitefield entertained the most lively friendship for Mr. Wesley till his death. In his will, written with his own hand six months before his death, he says, "I leave a mourning-ring to my honoured and dear friends, and disinterested fellow-labourers, the Rev. Messrs. John and Charles Wesley, in token of my indissoluble union with them, in heart and christian affection, notwithstanding our difference in judgment about some particular points of doctrine."

About this time Mr. Wesley employed laymen as teachers of the word of God, which contributed to spread his doctrine where regular clergymen could not be procured.

"Feb. 15, 1742. Many met together at Bristol, to consult with Mr. Wesley concerning a proper method of paying the public debt, contracted by building. Nearly three years before this period, a house had been built here, called the *New Room;* and notwithstanding the subscriptions and public collections made at the time to defray the expense, a large debt remained upon it. And it was now agreed, 1. That every member of the society who was able should contribute a penny a week. 2. That the whole society should be divided into little companies or *classes*, about twelve in each class: and, 3. That one person in each class, should receive the contribution of the rest, and bring it to the stewards weekly.

"As the people increased and societies were multiplied, Mr. Wesley found it necessary to add some further regulations, to ascertain who belonged to the society, and to prevent improper persons from imposing upon him. To every person therefore, of whose seriousness, and good conversation he had no doubt, he gave a *ticket*, on which was printed a short portion of scripture, and on which he wrote the date and the person's name. He who received a *ticket* was by that made a member of the society, and immediately appointed to meet in some one of the classes; and this method of admitting members was adopted throughout the whole *methodist* connexion."

In 1742 he took a journey in the north, where he met with John Nelson, a

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layman, who had done much good in his neighbourhood. He then proceeded to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, but being unacquainted with any person there, he put up at an inn and took a walk round the town. The next morning at seven o'clock he went to the worst part of the town, and began to sing the hundredth psalm. On which some people came out to ascertain the noise, which increased to twelve or fifteen hundred. At the conclusion he told them his name, and that he intended to preach there again at five in the afternoon: at the appointed time, he observes, he never saw so many together, and that the poor people were ready to tread him under foot out of pure love and kindness: they importuned him to stop a few days among them, which he refused, having engaged to be back to Birstal on Tuesday following. He then left Newcastle, preaching at various places on his journey till he arrived at Epworth, where he was refused the use of the pulpit by the curate; in the afternoon he preached on his father's gravestone, to a large concourse of people.

On the 13th of June he left Epworth for Sheffield, preaching at various places in the way; from thence he went into Wales, and from thence to London, Bristol, &c. till November, at which time he revisited Newcastle, where he found a society had been formed by his brother Charles.

Before the conclusion of this year many societies were formed in Somersetshire, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Leicestershire, Warwickshire, and Nottinghamshire, as well as the southern parts of Yorkshire.

In the beginning of the year 1743 the Messrs. Wesleys finding the societies increase, thought it expedient to draw up a set of rules for their government, which was to unite them in one body. They were printed under the title of "*The Nature, Design, and* GENERAL RULES, *of the United Societies, in London, Bristol, Newcastle upon Tyne, &c.*"

In June 1744, in London was held the first "Methodist conference." Their transactions were printed under the title of "Minutes of several conversations between the Reverend Mr. Wesley and others:" commonly called *Minutes of Conference.*

"The plan on which Mr. Wesley had hitherto governed the societies and the preachers, was imperfect; and as the number increased must soon have become insupportably laborious. When the preachers at first, went out to exhort and preach, it was by Mr. Wesley's permission and authority; some from one part of the kingdom, some from another: and though strangers, yet on his credit and sanction alone, they were received and provided for as friends, by the societies wherever they came. But, having little or no communication or intercourse with one another, nor any subordination among themselves, they must have been

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under a continual necessity of recurring to Mr. Wesley for direction, *how* and *where* each one was to labour. By calling them together to a *conference*, he brought them into closer union with each other, and made them sensible of the utility of acting in concert and harmony under his direction and appointment. He soon found it necessary, however, to bring their itinerancy under certain regulations, and reduce it to some fixed order; both to prevent confusion, and for his own ease. He therefore took fifteen or twenty societies, more or less, which lay round some principal society in those parts, and which were so situated, that the greatest distance from one to the other was not much more than twenty miles, and united them into what was called a *circuit*. At the yearly conference, he appointed two, three, or four preachers to one of these circuits, according to its extent, which at first was often very considerable, sometimes taking in a part of three or four counties. Here, and here only, they were to labour for one year, that is, until the next conference. One of these preachers on every circuit, was called the *assistant*, for the reason before mentioned. He took charge of all the societies within the limits assigned him; he enforced the rules every where; and superintended and directed the labours of the preachers associated with him. Having received a list of the societies forming his circuit, he took his own station in it, gave to the other preachers a plan of it, and pointed out the day when each should be at the place fixed for him, to begin a progressive motion round it, in such order as the plan directed. They now followed one another through all the societies belonging to that circuit at stated distances of time: all being governed by the same rule, and undergoing the same labour. By this plan, every preacher's daily work was appointed beforehand, each knew every day where the others were, and each society when to expect the preacher, and how long he would stay with them."

In 1747 Mr. Wesley went over to Ireland, where he was well received, a society had previously been formed at Dublin by one of his lay preachers: shortly after he returned to England, and after travelling over most part of it, he visited Wales in 1748, and from thence embarked a second time for Ireland, where he met his brother Charles. After preaching round the neighbourhood of Dublin for about two months, he returned to England.

Mr. Wesley now formed the design of printing a Collection of Religious Tracts, selected from the writings of eminent pious men, under the title of "A Christian Library." He purchased a press and types, and procured a printer. The design was executed in fifty duodecimo volumes, for the use of his people.

In June 1748 Mr. Wesley and his brother opened the school at Kingswood for boarders, and Mr. Wesley published "An Account of the School," which

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gives the plan of study pursued by the students. From this time a public collection has been made through all the societies once every year towards its support.

Towards the end of the year 1749, Mr. Wesley and his preachers made frequent excursions into Lancashire and various other places where they had not previously been. After considerable opposition and abuse from the mob, they added many to the society.

In 1750, Mr. Wesley spent about five months in Ireland, much to his satisfaction, having added many to his flock in various counties.

About the year 1751, he formed the resolution to marry. "But the affair coming to the knowledge of Mr. Charles Wesley, before marriage took place, he found means to prevent it, for reasons which appeared to him of sufficient importance to authorize him to interfere in the business. Mr. John Wesley, however, thought otherwise, and this was the first breach of that union and harmony which had now subsisted between the two brothers, without interruption, for more than twenty years. Notwithstanding this disappointment, Mr. Wesley still continued in the resolution to marry; and having fixed his choice of a partner, he proposed the matter to the Reverend Mr. Perronet, of Shoreham. February 2, he received Mr. Perronet's answer, who wrote as a christian minister ought to write, in favour of marriage. In a few days after, he married Mrs. Vizelle, a widow lady of independent fortune. But before the marriage, he took care that her fortune should be wholly settled upon herself, refusing to have the command of one shilling of her property. Mr. Wesley's constant habit of travelling from place to place, through Great-Britain and Ireland, the number of persons who came to visit him wherever he was, and his extensive correspondence with the members of the society, were circumstances apparently unfavourable to that social intercourse, mutual openness and confidence, which some think form the basis of happiness in the married state." These circumstances, indeed, would not have been so very unfavourable, had he married a woman who could have entered into his views, and have accommodated herself to his situation. But this was not the case. Had he searched the whole kingdom on purpose, he would hardly have found a woman more unsuitable in these respects, than she whom he married.

"Some years before his marriage, Mr. Wesley had written a small *Tract* in favour of celibacy. Not that he condemned, or even disapproved of prudent marriages, but he thought celibacy, to those who could live comfortably in it, more favourable to religious improvement than a state of matrimony. He considered Paul's advice to the church at Corinth, as a standing rule in all circumstances of christians. It is really wonderful how he could fall into this

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error, as the apostle expressly says, that he gave that advice *on account of the impending distress:* that is, on account of the persecutions both from Jews and Gentiles, which already threatened the churches; when men and women being dragged to prison, or to death, it would be more easy and convenient not to be entangled with the cares of a family. It does not appear however, that Mr. Wesley, in writing that *Tract*, had any reference to his own situation in particular; or, that he had formed a resolution never to marry."

Soon after his marriage he took a journey into the north, and in about three months after he resigned his fellowship.

In August this year Messrs. John and Charles Wesley came to an agreement in writing, respecting the unity of their endeavour for the better government of their preachers. After which Mr. Charles retired from that active part which he had hitherto taken, reserving to himself the right of speaking freely, when the case required, through the remainder of his life.

In October 1753, Mr. Wesley returned from the Isle of Wight to London, very indisposed, brought on by cold and over fatigue, which was likely to terminate in a rapid consumption; he removed from London by the advice of Dr. Fothergill, and, by great attention, was in some measure restored, so as to be able to go to the Hot Wells, near Bristol. In January 1754 he here commenced his "Notes on the New Testament," to relieve the tediousness of confinement, which was printed in three vols. 12mo.

In August 1756, Mr. Wesley came to Bristol, where he found about fifty preachers, who had come from various parts of the country to hold a *conference*, which was opened the next day. The rules of the society, the band rules, and the rules of Kingswood school, were severally read and re-considered, and it was agreed to observe and enforce them.

"The first and leading principle in the economy of *methodism*, from its commencement to the present time, was not to form the people into a separate party; but to leave every individual member of the society at full liberty to continue in his former religious connexion: nay, leaving every one under a kind of necessity of doing so, for the ordinance of baptism and the Lords supper. Having established their societies on this principle, the *methodists* became a kind of middle link between all the religious parties in the nation, gently drawing them nearer together by uniting them all in the interests of experimental religion and scriptural holiness. They formed a kind of central point, from which the rays of gospel light issued forth, not in one direction alone, to irradiate only one point of their circumference, but in all directions, equally enlightening every part of their periphery. But two or three of the preachers, who had acquired

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some influence with the people, had for some time been dissatisfied with this middle situation; the being no party, but standing in an equal relation to all, as *fellow-helpers to the truth.* We may observe (says Dr. Whitehead) that this dissatisfaction originated with a few preachers, and from them spread, like a contagious disease, to the people. This was the case at first, and has always been the case since, wherever the people have desired any alteration in the original constitution of the *methodist* societies. The method of proceeding, to effect their purpose, is rather curious, and shews to what means men will sometimes resort, to support a particular cause. For as soon as these preachers had by various methods, influenced a few persons in any society to desire to receive the Lord's supper from them, they pleaded this circumstance as a reason why the innovation should take place. As a vast majority in these societies were members of the church of England, so the forming of the *methodists* into a separate party, was called a separating them from the church; though it evidently implied a change in their relative situation to all denominations of dissenters, as much as to the church. The clamour, however, for a separation from the church, had been raised so high by a few of the preachers, that the subject was fully discussed for two or three days together, at this conference; and Mr. Wesley observes, 'My brother and I closed the conference by *a solemn declaration of our purpose never to separate from the church.*'"

Many friends to Mr. Wesley objected to the itinerant plan; in answer he vindicates travelling preachers, observing, that when a person is stationed to one place, "Be their talents ever so great, they will ere long, grow dead themselves, and so will most of those who hear them. I know, were I myself to preach one whole year in one place, I should preach both myself and most of my congregation asleep. Nor can I believe, it was ever the will of our Lord, that any congregation should have only one teacher. We have found by long and constant experience, that a frequent change of teachers is best. This preacher has one talent, that another. No one whom I ever yet knew, has all the talents which are needful for beginning, continuing, and perfecting the work of grace in a whole congregation.

"Mr. Wesley's travels and labours of love, in preaching the gospel of peace through most parts of the three kingdoms, were continued with the same unremitting diligence, while the duties of his situation in some other respects, increased every year upon him. New societies were frequently formed in various places; which naturally called for an increase of preachers: these, however, were more easily procured, than a stranger would imagine. The class and band meetings were a fruitful nursery, where the most zealous and pious young men

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soon grew up to the requisite standard, to be transplanted into a higher situation, among the local or itinerant preachers. But as the body increased, it became a more difficult task to regulate its economy, so as to preserve an equilibrium through all its parts, on which the health and vigour of the whole depended. The body became like a large machine, whose movements were exceedingly complex: and it depended on Mr. Wesley, not only to give the necessary impulse to put the whole in motion, but also every where to govern and direct its motions to the purposes intended. This required great and continual attention, and a very extensive correspondence both with preachers and people through the whole connexion. All this, however, he performed, by allotting to every hour of the day, wherever he was, its due proportion of labour.—From the present year, there is to be found little more than a recurrence of circumstances similar to those already related, till we come to the year 1775, when on a visit to Ireland, he was attacked with a high fever, brought on by fatigue; after some days he recovered, and returned to Dublin.

About this time he published his "Calm Address to the American Colonies," then at war with England. This tract made a great noise and raised him many adversaries.

"Notwithstanding Mr. Wesley's itinerancy, his daily labour of preaching, visiting the societies, and extensive correspondence; yet he still found time to read many books. And, what is rather singular, he often met with books that are very scarce, which many men of literature, with good libraries have never seen; an instance of which will be given in speaking of the enlarged edition of his Philosophy.—He read, not only books of divinity, of natural history, and moral philosophy, which came more immediately within the province of his profession, but books which treated of the most remote antiquity. Here investigation is difficult, the highest degree of evidence to be attained, a bare probability, and the subjects discussed are rather curious than useful in the conduct of life. Yet even these books Mr. Wesley read, with uncommon diligence and care, often collecting the substance of them into a small compass."

In June 1783, Mr. Wesley went over to Holland, and spent his birth-day, completing his eightieth year in that country.

In February 1784, Mr. Wesley executed the *Deed of Declaration*, constituting one hundred of the travelling preachers, "The Conference of the People called Methodists."—The design of this was to give a legal specification of that phrase "The Conference of the People called Methodists," which is inserted in all the deeds of the chapels. By virtue of this deed, the conference claims the power of appointing preachers to preach in those chapels.

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"Mr. Wesley, notwithstanding his advanced age, continued his journies and labours with the same punctuality, though not perhaps with the same vigour as usual. He still rose at four in the morning, and apportioned his employments to the different parts of the day. It was a fixed practical rule with him, which he observed to the very end of life, that a man who wishes to avoid temptations, and all foolish and hurtful habits, should be constantly employed; and *generally*, have a certain portion of work to do within a limited time. This, doubtless, is a good practical rule, and will save those whose time is at their own disposal, if they have resolution to follow it, from innumerable inconveniences."

In May 1788, Mr. Wesley, taking a review of the work in which he had spent his life, observes, "There is no other Religious Society under heaven, which requires nothing of men in order to their admission into it, but a *desire to save their souls*. Look all around you, you cannot be admitted into the church or society of the *Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers,* or any other, unless you hold the same opinions with them, and adhere to the same mode of worship. The *Methodists* alone do not insist on your holding this or that opinion, but they *think* and *let think*. Neither do they impose any particular mode of worship, but you may continue to worship in your former manner, be it what it may. Now I do not know any other religious society either ancient or modern, wherein such liberty of conscience is now allowed, or has been allowed since the age of the apostles! Here is our glorying, and a glorying peculiar to us! What society shares it with us?" Blessed be God we still enjoy this liberty; and even with encrease!

From this time nothing particular occured till Mr. Wesley's death.

"On Thursday the 17th of February, 1791, Mr. Wesley preached at Lambeth: but on his returned home, seemed much indisposed, and supposed he had taken cold.—The next day, he read and wrote as usual; and in the evening preached at Chelsea, with some difficulty, having a high degree of fever. Saturday he still persevered in his usual employments, though to those about him, his complaints seemed evidently increasing. He dined at Islington, and desired a friend to read to him from the fourth to the seventh chapter of Job, inclusive. On Sunday he rose early, according to custom, but quite unfit for the exercises of the day. He was obliged to lie down about seven o'clock in the morning, and slept several hours. In the course of the day two of his own discourses on the sermon on the mount, were read to him; and in the evening he came down to supper. Monday the 21st, he seemed much better, and visited a friend at Twickenham. Tuesday, he went on with his usual work, preached at the City-Road, and seemed better than he had been for some days. Wednesday he went

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to Leatherhead, where he delivered his last sermon, from *Seek ye the Lord while he may be found; call ye upon him while he is near.*—Thursday he paid a visit to Mr. Wolff's lovely family at Balaam, from whence he returned, on Friday the 25th, extremely ill. His friends were struck with the manner of his getting out of the carriage, and still more when he went up stairs, and set down in his chair. He sent every one out of the room, and desired not to be interrupted for half an hour. When that time was expired, some mulled wine was brought him, of which he drank a little. In a few minutes he threw it up and said, 'I must lie down.' His friends were now alarmed, and Dr. Whitehead was immediately sent for. On entering the room, he said in a cheerful voice, 'Doctor, they are more afraid than hurt.' Most of this day he lay in bed, had a quick pulse, with a considerable degree of fever and stupor. Saturday, the 26th, he continued much in the same state; taking very little, either of medicine or nourishment. Sunday morning, he seemed better, got up, and took a cup of tea. Sitting in his chair he looked quite cheerful, and repeated these words of his brother Charles:

'Till glad I lay this body down,
Thy servant, Lord, attend;
And, O! my life of mercy crown
With a triumphant end!'

Soon after he emphatically said, 'Our friend Lazarus sleepeth.' Exerting himself to converse with some friends he was soon fatigued, and obliged to lie down. After lying some time quiet, he looked up, and said, 'Speak to me, I cannot speak.' The persons present kneeled down to pray with him, and his hearty *Amen*, shewed he was perfectly sensible of what was said. Some time after he said, 'There is no need of more; when at Bristol my words were,

'I the chief of sinners am,
But Jesus died for me.*'

* "At the Bristol Conference, in 1783, Mr. Wesley was taken very ill: neither he nor his friends thought he could recover. From the nature of his complaint, he supposed a spasm would seize his stomach and probably occasion sudden death. Under these views of his situation, he said to Mr. Bradford, 'I have been reflecting on my past life: I have been wandering up and down, between fifty and sixty years, endeavouring in my poor way, to do a little good to my fellow creatures: and now it is probable, that there are but a few steps between me and death; and what have I to trust to for salvation? I can see nothing which I have done or suffered, that will bear looking at. I have no other plea than this, 'I the chief of sinners am, but Jesus died for me.' The sentiment here expressed and his reference to it in his last sickness, plainly shews how steadily he had persevered in the same views of the gospel with which he set out to preach it."

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"Monday, the 28th, his weakness increased. He slept most of the day, and spoke but little; yet that little testified how much his whole heart was taken up in the care of the societies, the glory of God, and the promotion of the things pertaining to that kingdom, to which he was hastening. Once he said, in a low but distinct manner, 'There is no way into the holiest, but by the blood of Jesus.' He asked what the words were, from which he had preached a little before at Hampstead. Being told they were these; *Brethren, ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, though he was rich, yet for your sakes became poor, that ye through his poverty might become rich.* He replied, 'That is the foundation, the only foundation, and there is no other.'—This day Dr. Whitehead desired he might be asked, if he would have any other physician called in to attend him? but this he absolutely refused.—It is remarkable, that he suffered so little pain, never complaining of any during his illness, but once of a pain in his breast. This was a restless night.—Tuesday morning, he sang two verses of a hymn: then lying still, as if to recover strength, he called for pen and ink; but when it was brought he could not write. A person said, 'Let me write for you, sir: tell me what you would say.' He replied, 'Nothing, but that God is with us.' In the forenoon he said, 'I will get up.' While they were preparing his clothes, he broke out in a manner that astonished all who were about him, in singing,

'Ill praise my Maker while I've breath,
And when my voice is lost in death,
Praise shall employ my nobler powers:
My days of praise shall ne'er be past,
While life, and thought, and being last,
Or immortality endures!'

Having got him into his chair, they observed him change for death. But he, regardless of his dying body, said with a weak voice, 'Lord, Thou givest strength to those who can speak, and to those who cannot. Speak, Lord, to all our hearts, and let them know that thou loosest tongues.' He then sung,

'To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
Who sweetly all agree'—

Here his voice failed. After gasping for breath he said, 'Now we have done all.' He was then laid on the bed, from whence he rose no more. After resting a little, he called to those who were with him, 'To pray and praise.' Soon after he said, 'Let me be buried in nothing but what is woollen, and let my corpse be carried in my coffin, into the chapel.' And again called upon them to, 'Pray and praise,' and taking each by the hand, and affectionately saluting

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them, bade them farewell. Attempting afterwards to say something which they could not understand, he paused a little, and then with all the remaining strength he had, said, 'The best of all is, God is with us.' And again, lifting his hands, he repeated the same words in holy triumph, 'The best of all is, God is with us.' Something being given him to moisten his lips, he said, 'It will not do; we must take the consequence. Never mind the poor carcase.' Being told that his brother's widow was come, he said, 'He giveth his servants rest;' thanked her as she pressed his hand, and affectionately endeavoured to kiss her. His lips being again wet, he repeated his usual grace after a meal; 'We thank Thee, O Lord, for these and all thy mercies: bless the church and king, grant us truth and peace, through *Jesus Christ* our Lord.' After some pause, he said, 'The clouds drop fatness. The Lord is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge.' He again called them to prayer, and appeared fervently to join in their petitions.

"Most of the following night, he often attempted to repeat the psalm before mentioned; but could only get out, 'I'll praise, I'll praise.' On Wednesday morning, his end drew near. Mr. Bradford, his old and faithful friend, who, with the affection of a son, had attended him for many years, now prayed with him; and the last word he was heard to articulate, was 'Farewel.'—A few minutes before ten, on the Second day of March, while a number of friends were kneeling around his bed,

Died Mr. John Wesley, without a groan!

He was in the eighty-eighth year of his age, had been sixty-five years in the Ministry; and the preceding pages will be a lasting memorial of his uncommon zeal, diligence, and usefulness in his Master's work, for more than half a century.—His death was an admirable close of so laborious and useful a life.

"March the 9th, was the day appointed for his interment. The Preachers then in London, requested that Dr. Whitehead should deliver the Funeral Discourse; and the executors afterwards approved of the appointment. The intention was, to carry the corpse into the chapel, and place it in a raised situation before the pulpit during the service. But the crowds which came to see the body while it lay in the coffin, both in the private house, and especially in the chapel the day before the funeral, were so great, that his friends were apprehensive of a tumult, if they should proceed on the plan first intended. It was therefore resolved, the evening before, to bury him between five and six in the morning. Though the time of notice to his friends was short, and the design itself was spoken of with great caution, yet a considerable number of persons

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attended at that early hour. The late Rev. Mr. Richardson, who now lies with him in the same vault, read the funeral service in a manner that made it peculiarly affecting: when he came to that part of it, 'Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God to take unto himself the soul of our dear *Brother*,' &c. he substituted, with the most tender emphasis, the epithet *Father* instead of Brother; which had so powerful an effect on the congregation, that from silent tears, they seemed universally to burst out into loud weeping.

"Inscription on his coffin: 'JOHANNES WESLEY, A. M. Olim. Soc. Coll. Lin. Oxon. Ob. 2do. die Martii, 1791. An. Æt. 88.'

"The Discourse by Dr. Whitehead was delivered in the chapel at the hour appointed in the forenoon, to an astonishing multitude of people; among whom were many Ministers of the Gospel, both of the Establishment and *Dissenters*. The audience was still and solemn as night; and all seemed to carry away with them, enlarged views of Mr. Wesley's character, and serious impressions of the importance of religion, and the utility of *methodism*.

"The death of Mr. Wesley, attracted the public notice beyond any former example, perhaps, of a clergyman however dignified. It being generally known, that he died as he had lived; and evinced in death, the uprightness and integrity of his life, the impression on the public mind in favour of his character and of *methodism*, was almost universal; so that some persons said, Mr. Wesley will do more good by his death, than he did in his whole life. This, however, is certain, that a door of usefulness was *now* opened to the *Methodist* preachers, unknown at any former period.

"The following inscription, though in the judgment of many not at all worthy of Mr. Wesley, has since his interment been put on his tomb.

"'To the memory of the Venerable John Wesley, A. M. late Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. This great Light arose (by the singular Providence of God) to enlighten these Nations, and to *revive, enforce,* and *defend,* the pure, apostolical Doctrines and Practices of the Primitive Church: which he continued to do, by his Writings and his Labours, for more than Half a Century: and, to his expressible Joy, *not only* beheld their Influence extending, and their Efficacy witnessed, in the hearts and lives of many Thousands, as well in the Western World, as in these Kingdoms: *but also,* far above all human Power or Expectation, lived to see Provision made, by the singular Grace of God, for their Continuance and Establishment, to the Joy of future Generations.—Reader, If thou art constrained to bless the Instrument, give God the Glory! *After having languished a few days, He at length finished his* Course *and his* Life

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together: gloriously triumphing over Death, *March* 2, *An. Dom.* 1791, *in the Eighty-eight year of his Age.'*

"The following epitaph, written by Dr. Whitehead, has been inscribed on a marble tablet, and placed in the New Chapel, City-Road, by order of the trustees:

"'Sacred to the memory of the Rev. John Wesley, M. A. sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. A man, in learning and sincere piety, scarcely inferior to any: in Zeal, Ministerial Labours, and extensive Usefulness, superior (perhaps) to all Men, since the days of *St. Paul*. Regardless of Fatigue, personal Danger, and Disgrace, he went out into the Highways and Hedges, calling Sinners to repentance, and preaching the *Gospel* of Peace. He was the Founder of the *Methodist* Societies; the Patron and *Friend* of the Lay-Preachers, by whose aid he extended the Plan of Itinerant Preaching through Great Britain and Ireland, the West-Indies and America, with unexampled success. He was born June 17th, 1703, and died March 2d, 1791; in sure and certain Hope of Eternal Life, through the Atonement and Mediation of a Crucified Saviour. He was sixty-five years in the *Ministry*, and fifty-two an Itinerant Preacher: He lived to see, in these kingdoms only, about three hundred Itinerant and a thousand *Local* Preachers, raised up from the midst of his own people; and eighty-thousand Persons in the Societies under his care. His *name* will ever be had in grateful remembrance by all who rejoice in the universal spread of the Gospel of *Christ*.—*Soli Deo Gloria.*'"

Mr. Wesley's character was ably drawn by Dr. Whitehead, from which I shall make a few selections.

"'As a writer, he certainly possessed talents, both from nature and education, sufficient to procure him considerable reputation.' But Mr. Wesley did not write for fame; his object was to instruct and benefit that numerous class of people, who have a plain understanding with plain common sense, little learning, little money, and but little time to spare for reading. In all his writings he constantly kept these circumstances in view. Content with doing good, he used no trappings merely to please, or to gain applause. The distinguishing character of his style is, brevity and perspicuity. He never lost sight of the rule which Horace gives,

Est brevitate opus, ut currat sententia, neu se
Impediat verbis lassas onerantibus aures.

'Concise your diction, let your sense be clear,
Nor, with a weight of words fatigue the ear.'

In his works we may observe, his words are well chosen, being *pure, proper* to

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his subject, and *precise* in their meaning. His sentences commonly have clearness, unity, and strength; and whenever he took time, and gave the necessary attention to his subject, both his manner of treating it, and his style, shew the hand of a master.

"The following is a just character of Mr. Wesley as a preacher. 'His attitude in the pulpit was graceful and easy; his action calm and natural, yet pleasing and expressive: his voice not loud, but clear and manly; his style neat, simple, and perspicuous; and admirably adapted to the capacity of his hearers. His discourses, in point of composition, were extremely different on different occasions. When he gave himself sufficient time for study, he succeeded; but when he did not he frequently failed.'—It was indeed manifest to his friends for many years before he died, that his employments were too many, and he preached too often, to appear with the same advantage at all times in the pulpit. His sermons were always short: he was seldom more than half an hour in delivering a discourse, sometimes not so long. His subjects were judiciously chosen; instructive and interesting to the audience, and well adapted to gain attention and warm the heart.

"The travels of Mr. Wesley in the work of the ministry, for fifty years together, are, I apprehend, without precedent. During this period, he travelled about four thousand five hundred miles every year, one year with another; which gave two hundred and twenty-five thousand miles, that he travelled after he become an itinerant preacher! It had been impossible for him to perform, this almost incredible degree of labour, without great punctuality and care in the management of his time. He had stated hours for every purpose: and his only relaxation was a change of employment. His rules were like the laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, absolute and irrevocable. He had a peculiar pleasure in reading and study; and every literary man knows the force of this passion, how apt it is to make him encroach on the time which ought to be employed in other duties; he had a high relish for polite conversation, especially with pious, learned, and sensible men; but whenever the hour came he was to set out on a journey, he instantly quitted any subject or any company in which he might be engaged, without any apparent reluctance.—For fifty-two years, or upwards, he generally delivered two, frequently three or four sermons in a day. But calculating at two sermons a day, and allowing, as a writer of his life has done, fifty annually for extraordinary occasions, the whole number during this period will be, forty thousand five hundred and sixty. To these might be added, an infinite number of exhortations to the societies after preaching, and in other occasional meetings at which he assisted.

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"'In social life, Mr. Wesley was lively and conversible.' He had most exquisite talents to make himself agreeable in company: and having been much accustomed to society, the rules of good breeding were habitual to him. The abstraction of a scholar did not appear in his behaviour; he was attentive and polite. He spoke a good deal where he saw it was expected, which was almost always the case wherever he visited: his invitations to the best families being generally given to shew him respect, and to hear him converse on the different subjects proposed. Having seen much of the world in his travels, and read more, his mind was well stored with an infinite number of anecdotes and observations; and the manner in which he related them, was no inconsiderable addition to the entertainment they afforded. And in private life among his friends, his manner was equally sprightly and pleasant. It was impossible to be long in his company, either in public or private, without partaking of his placid cheerfulness; which was not abated by the infirmities of age, or the approach of death; but was as conspicuous at fourscore and seven, as at one and twenty.

"'A remarkable feature in Mr. Wesley's character, was his placability.'—Having an active penetrating mind, his temper was naturally quick, and even tending to sharpness. The influence of religion, and the constant habit of close thinking, had in a great measure corrected this disposition. 'In general he preserved an air of sedateness and tranquility, which formed a striking contrast to the liveliness conspicuous in all his actions.' Persecution, abuse, or injury, he bore from strangers, not only without anger, but without any apparent emotion, and what he said of himself was strictly true: that he had a great facility in forgiving injuries. 'Submission on the part of the offender, presently disarmed his resentment, and he would treat him with great kindness and cordiality.'—No man was ever more free from jealousy or suspicion than Mr. Wesley, or laid himself more open to the impositions of others. Though his confidence was often abused, and circumstances sometimes took place, which would have made almost any other man suspect every body about him, yet he suspected no one; nor was it easy to convince him, that any one had intentionally deceived him. And when facts had demonstrated that this was actually the case, he would allow no more, than that it was so in that single instance. And if the person acknowledged his fault, he believed him sincere, and would trust him again. If we view this temper of his mind in connexion with a circumstance before mentioned, that his most private concerns lay open to the inspection of those constantly about him, it will afford as strong a proof as can well be given, of the integrity of his own mind; and that he was at the furthest distance from any intention to deceive, or impose upon others.

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"'The temperance of Mr. Wesley was extraordinary.' When at college he carried it so far, that his friends thought him blamable. But he never imposed upon others, the same degree of rigour he exercised upon himself. He only said, I must be the best judge of what is hurtful, or beneficial to me. Among other things, he was remarkable in the article of sleep; and his notion of it cannot be better explained than in his own words. "Healthy men (says he) require above six hours sleep; healthy women, a little above seven, in four and twenty. If any one desires to know exactly what quantity of sleep his own constitution requires, he may very easily make the experiment, which I made about sixty years ago. I then waked every night about twelve or one, and lay awake for some time. I readily concluded, that this arose from my being in bed longer than nature required. To be satisfied, I procured an *alarum*, which waked me the next morning at seven (near an hour earlier than I rose the day before) yet I lay awake again at night. The second morning I rose at six; but notwithstanding this, I lay awake the second night. The third morning I rose at five; but nevertheless I lay awake the third night. The fourth morning I rose at four,* as, by the grace of God, I have done ever since: and I lay awake no more. And I do not now lie awake, taking the year round, a quarter of an hour together in a month. By the same experiment, rising earlier and earlier every morning, may any one find how much sleep he wants.'

"It must, however, be observed, that for many years before his death, Mr. Wesley slept more or less every day. And his great readiness to fall asleep at any time when fatigued, was a considerable means of keeping up his strength, and enabling him to go through so much labour. I have known him, near thirty years ago, come to a place where he had to preach at noon after a long wearisome ride in a hot day, and without any refreshment lie down and immediately fall fast asleep. After sleeping ten minutes or a quarter of an hour, he would get up refreshed and fit for his work—He never could endure to sleep on a soft bed. I have seen him at night, when he thought the bed too soft to sleep upon, lay himself across it, and roll two or three times backward and forward, till it was sufficiently flattened, and then get into it. Even in the latter part of life, when the infirmities of age pressed upon him, his whole conduct was at the greatest distance from softness or effeminacy.

"The following description of Mr. Wesley's person, will be agreeable to most

* "Mr. Wesley may be said to have lived in the course of sixty years, five years more than those who spend eight hours out of twenty-four in sleep, and seven years and a half more than those who sleep nine hours in the twenty-four."

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readers *now*; and certainly will be more so, when those who personally knew him are removed to their eternal habitations.

"'The figure of Mr. Wesley was remarkable. His stature was low: his habit of body in every period of life, the reverse of corpulent, and expressive of strict temperance, and continual exercise: and notwithstanding his small size, his step was firm, and his appearance, till within a few years of his death, vigorous and muscular. His face, for an old man, was one of the finest we have seen. A clear, smooth forehead, an aquiline nose, an eye the brightest and most piercing that can be conceived, and a freshness of complexion scarcely ever to be found at his years, and impressive of the most perfect health, conspired to render him a venerable and interesting figure. Few have seen him without being struck with his appearance: and many, who had been greatly prejudiced against him, have been known to change their opinion, the moment they were introduced into his presence. In his countenance and demeanour, there was a cheerfulness mingled with gravity; a sprightliness, which was the natural result of an unusual flow of spirits, and yet was accompanied with every mark of the most serene tranquility. His aspect, particularly in profile, had a strong character of acuteness and penetration.

"'In dress, he was a pattern of neatness and simplicity. A narrow plaited stock, a coat with a small upright collar, no buckles at his knees, no silk or velvet in any part of his apparel, and a head as white as snow gave an idea of something primitive and apostolic: while an air of neatness and cleanliness was diffused over his whole person.'"

Dr. Alexander Knox gives the following character of this extraordinary man: "Very lately, I had an opportunity, for many days together, of observing Mr. Wesley with attention. I endeavoured to consider him, not so much with the eye of a friend, as with the impartiality of a philosopher: and I must declare, every hour I spent in his company, afforded me fresh reasons for esteem and veneration. So fine an old man I never saw. The happiness of his mind, beamed forth in his countenance. Every look shewed how fully he enjoyed 'The gay remembrance of a life well spent:' and wherever he went; he diffused a portion of his own felicity. Easy and affable in his demeanour, he accommodated himself to every sort of company, and shewed how happily the most finished courtesy may be blended with the most perfect piety. In his conversation, we might be at a loss whether to admire most, his fine classical taste, his extensive knowledge of men and things, or his overflowing goodness of heart. While the grave and serious were charmed with his wisdom, his sportive sallies of innocent mirth delighted even the young and thoughtless; and both saw in his uninterrupted cheerfulness,

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the excellency of true religion. No cynical remarks on the levity of youth, embittered his discourse: no applausive retrospect to past times, marked his present discontent. In him, even old age appeared delightful, like an evening without a cloud; and it was impossible to observe him without wishing fervently, 'May my latter end be like his!'

"But I find myself unequal to the task of delineating such a character. What I have said, may to some appear as panegyric; but there are numbers, and those of taste and discernment too, who can bear witness to the truth, though by no means to the perfectness of the sketch I have attempted. With such I have been frequently in his company; and every one of them, I am persuaded, would subscribe to all I have said. For my own part, I never was so happy as while with him, and scarcely every felt more poignant regret than at parting from him; for well I knew, 'I ne'er should look upon his like again.'"

The author of the "Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century," has given a long account of the Wesley family; the liberal criticism on the labours of the subject of this memoir, is worthy of so candid an observer of mankind. At the conclusion, Mr. Nichols observes, "Where much good is done, we should not mark every little excess. The great point in which Mr. Wesley's name and mission will be honoured is this: he directed his labours towards those who had no instructor; to the highways and hedges; to the miners in Cornwall, and to the colliers in Kingswood. These unhappy creatures married and buried among themselves, and often committed murders with impunity, before the Methodists sprang up. By the humane and active endeavours of him and his brother Charles, a sense of decency, morals, and religion, was introduced into the lowest classes of mankind; the ignorant were instructed, the wretched relieved; and the abandoned reclaimed. He met with great opposition from many of the clergy; and unhandsome treatment from the magistrates, who frequently would refuse to check or punish a lawless mob, that often assembled to insult or abuse him. He was, however, one of the few characters who outlived enmity and prejudice; and received, in his latter years, every mark of respect from every denomination.—The political sentiments of popular men are of importance to the state. John Wesley was a strenuous advocate for monarchy; and all his followers in America were firmly royal. Those of Mr. Whitefield declared in favour of independence. His personal influence was greater than, perhaps, that of any other private gentleman in any country. It was computed that in 1791 there were in the three kingdoms 80,000 members* of this societies. He visited

* There are now (1809) at least 200,000.

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them alternately; travelled 8000 miles every year; preached three or four times constantly in one day; rose at four, and employed all his time in reading, writing, attending the sick, and arranging the various parts of this numerous body of people.—Amongst his virtues, forgiveness to his enemies, and liberality to the poor, were most remarkable: he has been known to receive into even his confidence those who have basely injured him; they have not only subsisted again on his bounty, but shared in his affection.—All the profit of his literary labours, all that he received, or could collect (and it amounted to an immense sum, for he was his own printer and bookseller), was devoted to charitable purposes. Yet, with such opportunities of enriching himself, it was doubtful whether the sale of the books would pay all his debts. His travelling expenses were defrayed by the societies which he visited.

"The superintendency of his various chapels and societies he committed, about the year 1784, by a deed enrolled in Chancery (in trust for support of his preachers and their poor families), to an hundred travelling preachers, then in various parts of these kingdoms; and among the number was the Rev. Dr. Coke*, at that time in America, whose mission was supposed to have increased the converts in the West India Islands, and other parts of America, to near 50,000, after the conclusion of the war, and founder, in 1789, of a college in South Carolina, called Wesley college.

"On a review of the character of this extraordinary man, it appears that, though he was endowed with eminent talents, he was more distinguished by their use than even by their possession. Though his taste was classic, and his manners elegant, he sacrificed that society in which he was particularly calculated to shine; gave up those preferments which his abilities must have obtained, and devoted a long life in practising and enforcing the plainest duties. Instead of being 'an ornament to literature,' he was a blessing to his fellow creatures; instead of 'the genius of the age,' he was the servant of God!"

Dr. Whitehead gives the following review of Mr. Wesley's writings:

"Mr. Wesley's writings, like his other labours, in the design and execution correspond with the general review of his character before given. He never wrote merely to please, or to get money. His object constantly was, to inform the understanding, and mend the heart: to discourage vice and promote virtue. He never published any thing with a view to promote a party-spirit. A great degree of candour and liberality runs through all his publications; and in matters

* Who is now (1809) the *Arch-Præsul* of the very numerous sect of Methodists in Mr. Wesley's connexion.

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of mere speculation, he endeavoured to shew the necessity of *christian* love, and mutual forbearance among those who differ in opinion. In his controversies, he combated opinions, not men. And this he did, in general, with great moderation. He maintained, that even right opinions, make but a small part of religion: that, a man may *hold the truth in unrighteousness*, and therefore perish with the greater condemnation. But, a man whose heart, from a living faith in *Christ* operating as a practical principle, is influenced to the love of God and man, and whose life is correspondent to it, cannot err dangerously, though he may hold some erroneous opinions. And he thought, that we ought to contend for this christian temper and practice, much more earnestly, than for any speculative notions, not *essentially* necessary to obtain them. This made him earnest to contend for *practical* truth; and had a happy influence on all his writings.

"I do not mean to enter into a critical review of Mr. Wesley's writings. I intend only to point out the chief of his own works, shew his design in publishing them, and how far the execution corresponds with the design. For if an author well and duly accomplishes all he undertakes, it is the utmost that ought to be expected from him.

"The following is an abridgement of his own words, in explaining the general design he had in publishing his Notes on the New Testament. 'It will be easily discerned—from the Notes themselves, that they were not principally designed for men of learning, who are provided with many other helps: but I write chiefly for plain unlettered men, who understand only their mother-tongue, and yet reverence and love the word of God, and have a desire to save their souls.

"'I have endeavoured to make the Notes as short as possible, that the Comment may not obscure or swallow up the Text: and as plain as possible in pursuance of my main design, to assist unlearned readers. For this reason I have studiously avoided not only all curious and critical inquiries, and all use of the learned languages, but all such methods of reasoning and modes of expression, as people in common life are unacquainted with. For the same reason, as I rather endeavour to obviate than to propose and answer objections, so I purposely decline going deep into many difficulties, lest I should leave the ordinary reader behind me.

"'I once designed to write down, barely what occured to my own mind—But no sooner was I acquainted with that great light of the *christian* world, Bengelius, than I entirely changed my design, being thoroughly convinced, it might be of more service to the cause of religion, were I barely to translate his *Gnomon Novi Testamenti*, than to write many volumes upon it. Many of his excellent Notes

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I have therefore translated: many more I have abridged. Those various readings which he has shewn to have a vast majority of ancient copies and translations on their side, I have without scruple incorporated with the text; which after *his* manner, I have divided (though not omitting the common division into chapters and verses) according to the matter it contains, making a larger or smaller pause, just as the sense requires. And even this, is such a help in many places, as one who has not tried it can scarcely conceive.—I am likewise indebted for some useful observations to *Doctor Heylin's Theological Lectures:* and for many more to *Dr. Guyse,* and to the *Family Expositor,* of the late pious and learned *Dr. Doddridge.*—I cannot flatter myself so far as to imagine that I have fallen into no mistakes, in a work of so great difficulty. But my own conscience acquits me of having designedly misrepresented any single passage of Scripture, or of having written one line with the purpose of inflaming the hearts of christians against each other. Would to God, that all party names, and unscriptural phrases and forms, which have divided the christian world, were forgot: and that we might all agree to sit down together, as humble, loving disciples, at the feet of our common Master, to hear his word, to imbibe his Spirit, and to transcribe his life in our own.'

" After such a declaration as this in the Preface, the reader ought not to feel himself disappointed, if he find no deep and learned discussions of abstruse subjects in Mr. Wesley's Notes on the New Testaments. They are what he intended they should be, briefly explanatory and practical: but, at the same time, judicious and pertinent. I have sometimes thought, that if most of the very short Notes were inserted in the text by some judicious hand so as to form a paraphrase, and the rest to be retained, the work would be more useful to common readers than in its present form.—Mr. Wesley's Notes on the Old Testament, taken chiefly from Henry, and Poole, are not held in the same degree of estimation as those on the New Testament.

" Mr. Wesley's sermons in eight volumes, were written in the same spirit, and with the same benevolent design as the Notes just mentioned. He tells us in the Preface, 'I design plain truth for plain people. Therefore, of set purpose I abstain from all nice and philosophical speculations, from all perplexed and intricate reasonings; and, as far as possible, from even the shew of learning, unless in sometimes citing the original Scripture. Nothing appear here in an elaborate, elegant, or rhetorical dress. I mention this, that curious readers may spare themselves the labour of seeking for what they will not find.' The first four volumes were written in the earlier part of Methodism; several of the

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sermons being preached before the University of Oxford, while he held his Fellowship. The subjects are important, and the discourses written with great animation and strength of language.

"The last four volumes were written chiefly for the *Arminian Magazine*, and collected and re-published in 1788. These are generally more practical than the others; and have been admired for their composition, and for the simplicity, accuracy, and ease of the style in which they are written.

"His 'Appeals to Men of Reason and Religion,' have great merit. The pious and learned Dr. Doddridge intimates, that he read them with great emotion; and tells us, that having gone through them, he wrote on the back, 'How forcible are RIGHT words.' Mr. Wesley wrote them in the fulness of his heart, viewing and lamenting the wretched state of the world with regard to religion and morality. It is almost impossible for any well disposed unprejudiced person to read them, without strongly feeling the force and justness of the observations they contain: and they have been the means of convincing some, even men of learning, who before were utterly opposed to the methodists.

"Mr. Wesley's Treatise on 'Original Sin,' is, perhaps, the most laboured performance that he published. He knew, and respected the abilities and character of *Dr. Taylor*, his opponent. He bestowed much time and attention in a careful investigation of the subject; but avoided entering into minute metaphisical disquisitions. He knew that nothing could be affirmed in this way of reasoning, however true, but what another might deny with some degree of plausibility. His Treatise therefore is, an animated defence of the orthodox doctrine, in a deduction from the actual state of morality in all ages, and under every kind of restraint from evil that has been imposed on mankind; or as he expresses it, 'From scripture, reason, and experience.' And if we may be allowed the same mode of reasoning in morals, which the most approved philosophers have adopted in explaining the system of the world; if, from an uniform series of facts, we may deduce a certain *principle* sufficient to account for them, then Mr. Wesley has proved his point beyond contradiction. It seems as if Dr. Taylor had felt the full force of this way of reasoning, as he never would answer Mr. Wesley, and always spoke of him with respect.

"In none of his publications, are instruction and entertainment more happily combined, than in the work entitled, 'A Survey of the Wisdom and Goodness of God in the Creation.' This was first published in two volumes; and a gentleman, then a student at Oxford, informed me, that taking a few copies with him, as presents to some of the principal persons in the university, they expressed a high degree of satisfaction in the work: and Mr. Wesley received letters from

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them to the same purpose. This work was afterwards enlarged, and published in five volumes, in 1777. In the fourth volume is a translation of a considerable part of *Bonnet's 'Contemplations de la Nature,'* a work highly elegant and instructive. Mr. Wesley could not have made a better choice, as it perfectly corresponds with the general design of his own publication. In the fifth volume, Mr. Wesley has given an extract of *Mr. Deuten's 'Enquiry into the origin of the Discoveries attributed to the Moderns.'* This work was scarcely known in England, even to the learned, when Mr. Wesley published this extract from it: and is but little known at present. It is certainly ingenious, and contains a great deal of curious matter.

"Mr. Wesley's Survey of the Wisdom of God in the Creation, was not intended as a history of the present state of philosophy; nor an introduction to the philosophical systems that have prevailed, or do now prevail, though he gives a little sketch of them; but as a general view of the most useful and remarkable things in natural history, and an illustration, for common use, of the wisdom and goodness of the Creator. 'Considered in this light, it is well entitled to public approbation: and the moral reflections it contains, are as much distinguished by their justness and elegance, as by their utility.' Upon the whole, it is the most useful *christian* compendium of philosophy in the English language.

"He wrote a very great number of pamphlets on various subjects: among the rest was one entitled, 'Thoughts on Slavery.' He was one of the earliest writers on this subject, which has since undergone so complete an investigation; without, as yet, obtaining for the slaves that redress which justice and mercy demand. He has treated it, as might be expected from his general character, in a moral and religious view; but with great spirit and impartiality, and the pamphlet does him great credit. It has been supposed, that this tract had a powerful influence on some of the American States, in their late regulations concerning the trade to Africa.

"In controversy, Mr. Wesley did certainly excel. Few have equalled him, either in skill, freedom from logomachy, or in the moderation and christian temper which every where appeared on these occasions. It does not seem, that he was fond of controversy, at least for more than thirty years before his death. He calls it in one place, if I rightly recollect, 'Heavy work, yet sometimes necessary to be done.' Among his controversial pieces, his 'Predestination calmly considered,' is of distinguished excellence. 'It is a model of controversy, clear and cogent; concise and argumentative; and the more convincing, because the spirit in which it is written, is as amiable as the reasoning is unanswerable. Perhaps there is not in the English language, a treatise which contains in so

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small a compass, so full and masterly a refutation of the principle it opposes. It does great credit to his judgment, that he so eagerly espoused, and so ably defended the mild and moderate system of *Arminius.*'

" Mr. Wesley entered the list of controversy against *Dr. Lavington,* Bishop of Exeter; *Dr. Warburton,* Bishop of Gloucester; *Dr. Middleton, Dr. Free, Dr. Taylor,* of Norwich; and several others: in all of which he acquitted himself with honour, and gained credit to his cause. But the most virulent, vulgar, and abusive of his opponents, were some of the defenders of Calvinism; at the head of whom stood *Mr. Toplady:* a man, not wholly destitute of abilities, but, in his opposition to Mr. Wesley, greatly deficient in the christian temper, and the manners of a gentleman.

" Mr. Wesley, as an author, has been blamed for his numerous extracts from the writings of others. The fact is true; but the blame supposed, does not, I apprehend, attach to it. He supposed that the works from which he made extracts were the property of the public; and that the extracts he made might be useful to the Methodists, who probably would never see the originals. And further, he did not make his extracts in any clandestine way, or for the sake of lucre. All the profits of his books, only passed through his hands to the relief of the poor.

" Mr. Wesley's works were printed together in 1774, in thirty-two volumes, in London, (not including the Philosophy, or Notes on the Old and New Testament) but very incorrectly. He was a laborious and very useful writer; and his name will descend to posterity, with no small share of respectability and applause. I shall conclude this section in the words of a writer of his life; ' If usefulness be excellence; if public good is the chief object of attention in public characters; and if the greatest benefactors to mankind are most estimable, Mr. John Wesley will long be remembered as one of the best of men, as he was for more than fifty years, the most diligent and indefatigable.' "

Those men whose names have obtained, whether justly or unjustly, any degree of superiority over their cotemporaries, are generally transmitted to posterity with *two* characters. The party inimical to the individual whose life they are depicting, viewing his actions through the distorted medium of prejudice, present, for the reflection of future ages, a character with shades far darker than the original. That which is of opposite sentiments taking a too indulgent, and, frequently, a culpable partiality for their guide, anxiously convert even the most glaring imperfections into virtues. In the one, that which should be applauded is condemned;—in the other, what should be censured is admired.

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Disclaiming that narrow minded illiberality which actuates the former, and totally uninfluenced by feelings which desire to inscribe a panegyric where an execration ought to have been engraved, I have compiled the Life of the Rev. John Wesley, governed by that principle of integrity which should ever be the unerring conducter of the biographer.

Many lives of him have been written; Dr. Whitehead was amongst the foremost of his friends, whose valuable work deserves the commendation it has received. A new edition was published at Dublin, by Jones, with additions, 1805, two vols. 8vo. Dr. Coke and Mr. Moore jointly compiled a life of him for the use of the society, in one vol. 8vo.—Of the productions of his enemies may be ranked Mr. John Hampson, who, in 1791, published in Sunderland, three vols. 12mo. "Memoirs of the late Rev. John Wesley, M.A. with a Review of his Life and Writings, and a History of Methodism, from its commencement in 1729 to the time of Publication." The most prominent feature of this work is the rancour and virulent invective of its author; which was justly condemned by the reviewers at the time of publication. The most rational and most free from partiality, is the memoir given of this great man in "Nichols's Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century."

REV. CHARLES WESLEY, M.A.

The natal day of the Rev. Charles Wesley was at Epworth, December 18th, 1708, O. S. Had nature, however, followed her accustomed course, it would have been some weeks later; in consequence of which premature exertion he appeared at his birth with scarcely any symptoms of animation: his eyes were closed, and the cry of a new-born infant was unheard; secluded from external cold by being closely wrapped up in soft wool until the period which should have witnessed his accouchment, he then exhibited the usual marks of life.

In 1716 he was sent as a pupil to Westminster school, and there enjoyed the advantage of tuition under the care of his elder brother, Samuel. His disposition was sprightly and active, but he appears to have been rather mischievous, though not ill-natured.

When at Westminster "Mr. R. Wesley, a gentleman of large fortune in Ireland, wrote to his father and asked if he had any son named Charles, if so he would make him his heir. Accordingly a gentleman in London brought money for his education several years. But one year another gentleman called, probably Mr. Wesley himself, talked largely with him, and asked if he was willing to go

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with him to Ireland. Mr. Charles desired to write to his father, who answered immediately, and left him to his own choice. He chose to stay in England. Mr. W. then found and adopted another Charles Wesley, who was the late Earl of M--n--g--n. 'A fair escape,' says Mr. John Wesley, from whose short account of his brother we have taken this anecdote."

In 1721 he was admitted a scholar of St. Peter's College, Westminster; acted dramas, and in time became the captain of the school. In 1726 he was elected to Christ College, Oxford. His freshman's year was consumed in diversions, but afterwards in a letter to Dr. Chandler he writes, "I set myself to study. Diligence led me into serious thinking: I went to the weekly sacrament, and persuaded two or three young students to accompany me, and to observe the method of study prescribed by the statutes of the university. This gained me the harmless name of *methodist*."

On his arrival at Oxford his brother John, fellow of Lincoln, would frequently exhort him to leave the facinating amusements of the world, when he would warmly reply, "What, would you have me to be a saint all at once?" In his twentieth year, anno 1728, his application to study increased, his conduct assumed a greater degree of gravity, and he wished to commence a diary, in which his actions and thoughts might be inscribed.

In 1729, he used every exertion to restrain those who had any serious impressions, from falling into the allurements with which they were constantly surrounded. From the above account we may deduce the following particulars: "1. He was awakened to a most serious and earnest desire of being truly religious and devoted to God, while his brother was at Epworth, as his father's curate. 2. That he observed an exact *method* in his studies, and in his attendance on the duties of religion; receiving the sacrament once a week. 3. That he persuaded two or three young gentlemen to join him in these things, among whom I believe Morgan was one. 4. That the exact method and order which he observed in spending his time, and regulating his conduct, gained him the name of *methodist*. Hence it appears that Mr. Charles Wesley was the first methodist, and laid the foundation of that little society at Oxford, which afterwards made so much noise in the world: but it does not appear that any regular meetings were held, or that the members had extended their views beyond their own improvement in knowledge and virtue, until Mr. John Wesley left his curacy, and came to reside wholly at Oxford in November 1729. The beginning of this society was small, and it appeared contemptible to those around; but events have shewn, that it was big with consequences of the utmost importance to the

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happiness of thousands. So little do men know before-hand of the designs of Providence.

"Man was made for social intercourse with man. A well-regulated society of a few well chosen persons, improves the understanding, invigorates the powers of the mind, strengthens our resolutions of, and animates us to perseverance in the execution of our designs. These were the happy effects of the union of the two brothers in November this year, when Mr. John Wesley left Epworth, and came to reside at Oxford. They now formed a regular society, and quickened the diligence and zeal of each other in the execution of their pious purposes. About this time Mr. Charles began to take pupils. On this occasion his father wrote to him as follows, in a letter dated January 1730, when Charles had just passed the twenty-first year of his age. 'I had your last, and you may easily guess whether I were not pleased with it, both on your account and my own. You have a double advantage by your pupils, which will soon bring you more, if you will improve it, as I firmly hope you will, by taking the utmost care to form their minds to piety as well as learning. As for yourself, between *Logic*, *Grammar*, and *Mathematics*, be idle if you can. I give my blessing to the bishop for having tied you a little faster, by obliging you to rub up your *Arabic*: and a fixed and constant method will make the whole both pleasing and delightful to you. But for all that, you must find time every day for walking, which you know you may do with advantage to your pupils; and a little more robust exercise, now and then, will do you no harm. You are now launched fairly Charles; hold up your head, and swim like a man; and when you cuff the wave beneath you, say to it, much as another hero did,

CAROLUM *vehis, et* CAROLI *fortunam.**

But always keep your eye fixed above the pole-star, and so God send you a good voyage through the troublesome sea of life, which is the hearty prayer of your loving father.' "

After Mr. John Wesley arrived at Oxford in 1730, he, in conjunction with Charles, formed a society where they met regularly, and earnestly endeavoured to inculcate those ideas of religion which they conceived to be founded on the word of truth. Notwithstanding the greatest opposition, they stood unmoved by the united attacks of infidelity and ignorance. That glow of indignation which, generally in youth, kindles a zeal that bids defiance to the bounds

* Thou carriest Charles, and Charles's fortune.

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of reason, appeared in them to be nearly subservient to a cautious and wary prudence.

"Mr. Charles Wesley proceeded Master of Arts in the usual course, and thought only of spending all his days at Oxford as a tutor; for he 'exceedingly dreaded entering into holy orders.'* In 1735, Mr. John Wesley yielded to the pressing solicitations of Mr. Oglethorpe, Dr. Burton, and some others, to go to Georgia as a missionary, to preach to the Indians, and he prevailed on his brother Charles to accompany him. Their brother Samuel consented that Mr. John Wesley should go, but vehemently opposed the design of Charles to accompany him. But his opposition had no effect, for Mr. Charles engaged himself as secretary to Mr. Oglethorpe, and also as secretary to Indian affairs, and in this character he went to Georgia. A little before they left England, Dr. Burton suggested that it might be well if Mr. Charles Wesley was ordained before he left this country. His brother John over-ruled his inclination in this thing also, and he was ordained deacon by Dr. Potter, Bishop of Oxford; and the Sunday following, priest, by Dr. Gibson, Bishop of London.†"

The Messrs. Wesley set sail from Gravesend on the 22d of October 1735, and arrived at Savannah the 5th of Feb. 1736. Mr. Charles then proceeded to Frederica, where he arrived March 9th, on Simon's Island; the first person that saluted him on landing was his friend Mr. Ingham, on which he "rejoiced greatly." After experiencing a great many hardships, through the jealousy and depravity of the inhabitants, he returned to England. July 26th he set out for Charles-Town, which place he reached July 31. Many difficulties and dangers opposed him in his voyage, but at last he arrived safe at Deal on the 3d of December. On his arrival in London he waited on the trustees of Georgia, to whom he gave an account of the colony. The year 1737 was merely spent in attending on the trustees and Board of Trade. After his brother John returned from Savannah, they both had frequent conversations with the Moravians, but more particularly with *Peter Bohler*, their bishop.

The joint proceedings of the Messrs. Wesley in the cause of methodism, in which they afterwards engaged, has been fully given in the life of John Wesley, therefore it is not necessary to relate any further particulars of it, but only attend to the subject of this memoir. I find nothing particular occurs in his life till April 9th 1749, when he married at Garth, in Wales, Miss Sarah Gwynne, a young lady of good sense, piety, and agreeable accomplishments, with whom he continued to live in the most agreeable manner. His usefulness was

* His letter to Dr. Chandler. † Ibid.

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not lessened by the union, for he continued to preach to the people in various parts of the kingdom, and corresponded with his brother till his death.

"Mr. Charles Wesley had a weak body, and a poor state of health, during the greatest part of his life. He laid the foundation of both, at Oxford, by too close application to study, and abstinence from food. He rode much on horseback, which probably contributed to lengthen out life to a good old age. In his last sickness, his body was indeed reduced to the most extreme state of weakness. He possessed that state of mind which he had been always pleased to see in others—unaffected humility, and holy resignation to the will of God. He had no transports of joy, but solid hope and unshaken confidence in Christ, which kept his mind in perfect peace. A few days before his death he composed the following lines. Having been silent and quiet for some time, he called Mrs. Wesley to him, and bid her write as he dictated;

'In age and feebleness extreme,
Who shall a sinful worm redeem?
Jesus, my only hope thou art,
Strength of my failing flesh and heart;
O! could I catch a smile from Thee,
And drop into eternity!'

"He died March 29th, 1788, aged seventy-nine years and three months; and was buried April 5th, in *Marybone* church-yard, at his own desire. The pall was supported by eight clergymen of the church of England. On his tombstone are the following lines, written by himself on the death of one of his friends: they could not be more aptly applied to any person, than to Mr. Charles Wesley.

'With poverty of spirit bless'd,
Rest, happy Saint, in Jesus rest;
A sinner sav'd, through grace forgiv'n,
Redeem'd from earth to reign in heav'n!
Thy labours of unwearied love,
By thee forgot, are crown'd above;
Crown'd, through the mercy of thy Lord,
With a free, full, immence reward!'

"Mr. Wesley (observes Dr. Whitehead) was of a lively disposition; of great frankness and integrity, and generous and steady in his friendships. His love of simplicity, and utter abhorrence of hypocrisy, and even of affectation in the professors of religion, made him sometimes appear severe on those who assumed

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a consequence, on account of their experience, or, were pert and forward in talking of themselves and others. These persons were sure of meeting with a reproof from him, which some perhaps, might call precipitate and imprudent, though it was evidently founded on a knowledge of the human heart. In conversation he was pleasing, instructive, and cheerful; and his observations were often seasoned with wit and humour. His religion was genuine and unaffected. As a minister, he was familiarly acquainted with every part of divinity; and his mind was furnished with an uncommon knowledge of the scriptures. His discourses from the pulpit were not dry and systematic, but flowed from the present views and feelings of his own mind. He had a remarkable talent of expressing the most important truths with simplicity and energy; and his discourses were sometimes truly apostolic, forcing conviction on the hearers in spite of the most determined opposition. As a husband, a father, and a friend, his character was amiable. Mrs. Wesley brought him five children, of whom two sons and a daughter are still living. The sons discovered a taste for music, and a fine musical ear, at an early period of infancy, which excited general amazement; and are now justly admired by the best judges for their talents in that pleasing art.

"From a review of the life of Mr. Charles Wesley, as delineated in the preceding sheets, it will appear evident, that the methodists are greatly indebted to him for his unwearied labours and great usefulness at the first formation of the societies, when every step was attended with difficulty and danger. And being dead he yet speaketh, by his numerous and excellent hymns, written for the use of the societies, which still continue to be the means of daily edification and comfort to thousands.

"His lively turn of thought did not leave him in his old age, as the following lines will testify.

THE MAN OF FASHION.

Written in 1784.

What is a modern Man of Fashion?
A man of taste and dissipation:
A busy man, without employment,
A happy man, without enjoyment.
Who squanders all his time and treasures,
On empty joys and tasteless pleasures;
Visits, attendance, and attention,
And courtly arts too low to mention.

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In sleep, and dress, and sport and play,
He throws his worthless life away;
Has no opinion of his own,
But takes from leading Beaux the ton;
With a disdainful smile or frown,
He on the rif-raf crowd looks down:
The world polite, his friends and he,
And all the rest are——Nobody!

Taught by the Great his smiles to sell,
And how to write, and how to spell;
The Great his oracles he makes,
Copies their vices and mistakes;
Custom pursues, his only rule,
And lives an ape, and dies a fool!

"Had Mr. Charles Wesley engaged in the higher walks of verse, there is no doubt but he would have been esteemed a considerable poet, even by those who now despise his hymns. He chose the most excellent way—the writing of hymns for the instruction and edification of the many, rather than devote all his life in attempts to please the fancy of the few. Some of his hymns are certainly among the best pieces in that species of composition."

REV. ALEXANDER KILHAM.

In the year 1799 a life of Mr. Alexander Kilham was published, under the care of Mr. John Grundell, and Mr. Robert Hall, with a Preface illustrative of the controversy between him and the Methodists, previous to the establishment of a separate society with Kilham at their head. The life which is here given is extracted from the above memoir. It is not my intention to give an account of his conversion, and the various workings of his mind in the exercise of his professional calling; but briefly to state the outlines of his life and works.

He was born at Epworth, on the 10th of July 1762, of honest and industrious parents, who were members of the methodist society. He says, "As soon as I was capable of instruction, they taught me to read, and were at much pains to instil into my infant mind the principles of christianity. As early as possible they endeavoured to point out to me, the consequences of a holy or a wicked

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life, both as they relate to this life and to eternity. I am often filled with thankfulness, when I reflect on their tender regard for my welfare at that early period, and shall ever recommend to parents the closest attention to their infant children. As soon as the first bud of reason appears it should be immediately assisted and directed to its proper objects, and the young idea be instructed how to shoot. I cannot but recommend this attention to children in the most earnest manner, when I remember that at four years of age, I was often deeply affected with the excellent instructions I received. My parents took me with them to the preaching, and what I heard often made such impressions on me, that I have ever since remembered it.—These impressions indeed, were often of short continuance with regard to their effect on my mind, but from that time I never could totally forget them, nor live in any kind of known sin, without feeling that unhappiness and condemnation which are the consequence of an informed judgment and enlightned mind, led by the strength of temptation into the paths of sin and disobedience."

Nothing particular occurred till he was about eighteen years old, when he was "Converted from the ways of wickedness to walk in peace with his God." Soon after his conversion he joined the society, and afterwards had an earnest desire to preach; he mentioned this to several friends, who encouraged him to labour in the "Lord's vineyard." His first attempt was at Luddington, "The Lord opened my mouth, and gave me favour in the sight of his people." About this time Mr. Brackenbury preached at Epworth, where he made enquiries for a young man to travel with him: Mr. Kilham gladly embraced the opportunity, and observed, "Blessed be the Lord for ever, for appointing me to travel with Mr. Brackenbury. I now became more acquainted with myself, and began to see my own ignorance, it appeared to me that I knew nothing when compared to my master, which made me endeavour to improve my time as much as possible."

About the end of May they met Mr. Wesley at Nottingham, and Mr. Brackenbury went to London, and from thence to Holland with Mr. Wesley, leaving Kilham at Gainsbro' till their return; he afterwards met them both in London. Mr. Brackenbury and Kilham left London for Jersey, where they were kindly received by a pious few, though they were outrageously insulted by the greater part of the people and the soldiers: after being there sometime and receiving all manner of injuries, they added a few to the "List of the faithful." In June 1784 they left the island. Mr. Kilham continued to travel with Mr. Brackenbury: about a year after he entered as a regular preacher into Mr. Wesley's connexion. He continued travelling in various circuits till he was appointed, in 1788, to Scarborough, where he became acquainted with Miss S. Grey, with

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whom he was soon joined in marriage; in his journal he enters into many pious reflections on the occasion. It appears that about this period he formed an acquaintance with Dixon and Percival, with whom he conversed on the "Redeemer's cause, and the best steps to forward the work of God." The first commencement of the attempted reform (which was the whole business of Mr. Kilham's future life) began about this time; his two friends "Thought of petitioning the conference to let them have the liberty of Englishmen, *and to give the Lord's Supper to their societies.*"

In July 1789 he was appointed to Pocklington circuit. At this place he received the melancholy news of Mr. Wesley's death; and was one of the first to commence the alteration likely to take place in the society. He wrote an "Anonymous letter, which was published at Newcastle, with amendments and a postscript, by a friend." About this time Mr. Kilham wrote two or three anonymous letters on the disagreeable contest which took place between Dr. Whitehead and others respecting the publication of Mr. Wesley's life.

In 1792 he published a pamphlet respecting the administration of the Lord's Supper in the methodist society, for which he was ordered to the conference in London; Mr. Bradburn and others vindicated his steps, but Dr. Coke moved for his expulsion. After much altercation they passed on him a censure for imprudence.—In October he went to Aberdeen, when he preached at various places in the neighbourhood. On one of his northern journies he wrote a pamphlet against cards, horse-races, theatrical entertainments, &c. which he printed at Aberdeen on his return; it met with much opposition from the theatrical performers, and one of them printed an answer to it; which Kilham replied to by publishing a sermon he had preached.

At the conference at Bristol, the heads of the methodists still persisted in not administering the sacrament to their congregations, and soon after Kilham's return to Aberdeen he wrote a circular letter to the society on that subject, which was printed and sent to London. Soon after Messrs. Thompson, Mather, and Benson produced a long circular letter in answer. Being about to leave the circuit and country of Aberdeen, he printed a farewell address to the society. He was afterwards appointed for the circuit of Alnwick. The subject of the sacrament still occupied his attention, and soon after his appointment there, he wrote another pamphlet on the subject; on which he received many letters from friends who thought it very likely to bring about the desired reform; in consequence of this the ruling party took great offence, and convened a meeting at Newcastle to try him, when it was agreed, "Not for fear of consequences, but as being, as we believe, our duty to God, and in brotherly love to Mr. Kilham, to

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put off our passing judgment on him till the next meeting, appointed the 29th of June." After his return to Alnwick, he found himself so deeply engaged in the controversy, that he wrote another pamphlet, intitled "A Free Enquiry, &c." It contained a variety of extracts from pamphlets and printed letters that had been circulated for two preceding years, being a retrospect of the case. He afterwards wrote an answer to Mr. Benson's pamphlet. In a note which the editors of his life have added, on Mr. Kilham's multifarious pamphlets, they observe, "The persons who have espoused Mr. Kilham's cause, who approve of his general conduct, and think highly of him as a man, as a christian, and as a minister of the gospel, do however, by no means undertake in their vindication, to follow him through every particular that he has written; they assert that Mr. Kilham's general complaints are well grounded; that the Methodistical government, from the very nature of its formation, as naturally leads to a corrupt ministry as that the sun shall produce heat, its absence cold, or as any other cause produces its natural effects. They also assert, that what might be expected from such a government, is fully established by recent facts. The attempt to seize on half a million of landed property; the London law-suit, the attempts to establish bishops against the consent of the people or of the junior preachers, the Litchfield and other curious conventions, &c. &c. all prove that Mr. Kilham's sentiments were founded in truth, and cannot be invalidated by any single imprudence, that may be found in his various writings."

The time appointed for passing judgment arrived, when he went to London. The charges were selected from his writings, and various debates took place; at length they determined to expel him the society, and every one of the preachers, to the number of one hundred and fifty, signed his expulsion. The committee immediately issued a circular letter to inform the society of it.

He now had to enter into a fresh scene of action: a large class of the preachers and people looked upon him as their head; he had separate societies to organize in the principal towns of the kingdom. He thus continued to labour with diligence in the cause which he had undertaken until about the year 1796, when he lost his first wife, and in April 1798 he married a Miss Spurr, at Sheffield. In November 1798 he took a journey into Wales, from which he returned the latter end of the month: he soon after took an illness and died, principally from fatigue. His character is thus summed up by the editors of his life.

"Thus lived and died Mr. Alexander Killham, who though not without evident marks of human frailty, was certainly a most excellent character. Thousands of the methodists since his expulsion, and tens of thousands before that

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period, have borne their testimony of his exemplary piety, and his indefatigable labours in the work of the ministry. His diligence and industry were almost unparalleled, and with some degree of propriety he might adopt the apostle's assertion, 'I have laboured more abundantly than they all.' It has been remarked, that the attention to the poor sick members of his flock, and indeed to the afflicted in general, he ever considered as one of the first and most necessary of his employments, and he always attended them with the most rigid punctuality. He was remarkable for that temperance and moderation, in respect to himself, which we generally find in those persons who have much feeling for others. Mr. Kilham was one of those very few characters in life, that are loved and esteemed in proportion to the knowledge obtained of them. Length of acquaintance only endeared him more fully to his friends, and his character would suffer no injury from investigation. He was a person of good, but not of splendid abilities, and was highly calculated for the sphere of life in which Providence had placed him, being well qualified to *preach the gospel to the poor*. He was what the methodists considered as a good preacher, but not such an one as would be laid under temptations from his popularity; nor had he in any degree the affectation of the *gentleman*.

"In all the afflictions and persecutions he experienced, the constant application to the throne of grace was his asylum, and never failing source of comfort and consolation; and he seemed to have improved by the apostle's advice, 'Praying always with all prayer and watching thereunto with all perseverance and supplication in the spirit.'

"There are indeed some traits in his character, that laid him under many inconveniences: he was certainly, in many respects, too precipitate; and acted with too great a degree of promptness from his own views, without properly considering what judgment others would form of the same subject. Convinced of any essential truth, he acted immediately from that conviction; he supposed that every one would adopt his own ideas, and did not make proper allowance for the sentiments of others less informed than himself.

"With respect to Mr. Kilham's controversy, he did every thing that industry could effect, but he did not act with the prudence that the case necessarily required: had he written much less, and strictly confined himself to the essential points of his controversy, he would have maintained his ground against all opposition. His general positions were true, and his complaints were so obvious, that it is a question whether the conference would have dared to have expelled him? But he became bewildered in the multiplicity and inaccuracy of his writings. Some of his complaints had the appearance of personal abuse; others

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as if produced only for the purpose of defamation; some of his individual charges were not properly supported; and, in some cases, general conclusions were made from particular premises, which is certainly a false and unfair mode of reasoning. Thus he put arguments into the hands of his opponents, who did not fail to use them against him with all possible address.

"He was certainly very ill used by the conference; the leading preachers had no constitutional right to expel him according to their *first attempts* at the district meetings; and when he was expelled, it was for asserting what was generally true, however he might be perplexed in the support of his particular charges. The sincerity of his own heart led him to have too high an opinion of others.—Incapable of duplicity himself, he supposed the professions of his brethren were equally sincere. He relied on their promises for support, and was deceived. Hundreds of letters (now in the hands of Mrs. Kilham,) shew the high opinion the preachers formerly held of him: some went so far as to say, that Providence had raised him up to reform the methodists: but they forsook him in the hour of trial; and his expulsion is a proof that when men in power are opposed, '*truth is a libel, and the more so for being true!*'

"In gratitude to his memory, a handsome marble monument, with the following inscription, has been erected by the Connexion, in the chapel at Nottingham, where his REMAINS are deposited.

"To the memory of Alexander Kilham, Minister of the Gospel, a faithful servant in the vineyard of Christ, a zealous defender of the rights of the people, against attempts to force on them a priestly denomination. Deserted by many of his friends, he lived to see the cause flourish in which he died a martyr. In promoting the glory of God and the happiness of his brethren, he counted nothing too dear a sacrifice: in this pursuit, ease and indulgence were despised by him. His last hours were peaceful and triumphant, unimbittered by a moment's repentance for having opposed the corruption in the church: he blessed God that he had made him instrumental in doing it, and only regretted that he had not done it more faithfully. Committing his soul to his Redeemer, he took his flight to a better world, December 20th, 1798, aged 36."

JOSEPH SEATON.

Although Mr. Seaton was no author, at least that I know of, I am induced to insert the following short memorial of him, from a respectable periodical journal.

Mr. Seaton was born at West-Butterwick, in the Isle of Axholme, June 10th

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1742, O. S. When young he had a turn for seriousness, and embracing the general baptist persuasion, he was baptized, and united himself to a society meeting at Epworth and Butterwick, about 1760. Soon after he was called to preach at Smeaton, in the said county. In the year 1765, he had an invitation to preach to the general baptist society at Smarden, in Kent; which call he accepted, and was afterwards ordained their pastor.

In the year 1781 he removed to Chatham, at which place he remained as long as he lived. In his first engagements in religion he was trained up under dark views of christianity; and he then looked with astonishment at the sentiments which he afterwards embraced, under feelings similar to those of Hazael, who exclaimed, "Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing?"—But it being a maxim with the general baptists, to bring sentiments to the text of scripture, by investigation, he began to think his former opinions were not to be reconciled to the character of God, as the moral governor of the world, nor to that *rich, exuberant free grace of God*, so much extolled in the gospel. He doubted whether, on the principles of reputed oxthodoxy, God could be considered as either just or generous.

On the person of Christ, also, his sentiments underwent a material change: to believe that Jesus Christ was God, and yet the Son of that God, was such an absurdity and contradiction, that *both* of them could not possibly be admitted. If he was God himself, the gospel truth, that Jesus was the Son of God, must of course be totally relinquished; as Christ also had taught us, that prayer ought to be directed to God his father, as our father; and that this God was a Spirit, and that the true worshippers should worship the Father, he therefore concluded, that to worship any other Being as Supreme, was a species both of superstition and idolatry.

During his last illness (and no doubt with the most friendly intentions) a Wesleyan professor, of considerable respectability, wished to see him, the object of whose visit seemed to be *a conversion to the truth so called;* but Mr. Seaton, who, notwithstanding his extreme bodily debility, retained, until the last, the full use of his mental powers, clearly stated the ground of his opposite sentiments with the most perfect firmness and candour; and though his friend retired, seemingly with much doubt whether *with such sentiments he could be saved*, it did not produce, in the dying christian, the least discomposure of mind.

As a minister of the gospel, he was so much esteemed by the society of Smarden, that, although he removed many miles from them, they required that he might continue his connexion with them, which he did, exercising the duties of his pastoral office amongst them, as opportunity occurred, so long as he lived.

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He also laboured in the ministry at Chatham; and although he had not what is called a popular address, yet his sermons were methodical, and his aim was that they might be founded on, and congenial to, the language of scripture. He was an ornament to his profession. His conduct in life gave additional force to the rules which he recommended from the pulpit: he studied to adorn the doctrine of his Saviour. He was esteemed for his humble and modest deportment, and his praise is in all the churches in the connexion. As a husband, he was faithful and affectionate, ever aware of the blessings he enjoyed; a most active and indefatigable companion; his survivor, whose exertions in his numerous family, whilst it lightened the load of his secular concerns, greatly increased his domestic comforts;—as a parent he was kind and tender;—as a friend, honest, disinterested, and sincere;—as a companion, intelligent and cheerful, so as to render his company particularly acceptable to young people;—as a member of society, he was just and upright, mild in his temper and unoffending in his manners:—In a word, such was his general character, that busy envy and illnature have scarcely formed a weapon against him.

His last moments resemble the summer evening without a cloud. On the belief of one God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, he enjoyed the christian's brightest hope; he was frequently heard to exult in the language of the apostle, 2 *Tim.* i. 12. "For I know whom I have believed; and I am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him, against that day." On his death-bed he was visited by numerous friends of different connexions, both ministers and others, who were desirous of shewing him every token of their esteem; and amongst the number, by several respectable clergymen of the establishment, whose kind attentions were particularly gratifying both to himself and family. He bore a long and painful illness, with great patience and fortitude; his pain, which at interval was acute, never produced a murmur; his mind was perfectly serene until the last, and he sunk, without a groan, into the arms of death, October 13th, 1811.

He was interred in the general baptist burying-ground at Chatham, on Sunday, November 3d. All his children, together with several relations and friends, at his own request, followed him to the ground. Previous to the interment, an appropriate and impressive sermon was preached by Mr. Sampson Kingsford, to an attentive and crowded audience, from Psalm xxxvii. 37. "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright; for the end of that man is peace." And it is scarcely necessary to add, that the mingled sentiments of esteem and regret were visibly depicted on every countenance.—*Monthly Repository*, vol. VI. 726.

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GEORGE COGGON,

Was born at Belton, about the middle of the last century, he afterwards lived at Hull, where he wrote "A Testimony of Richard Brothers, with some Letters to the Queen, Mr. Pitt, &c. &c. by George Coggon, of Hull." He afterwards removed to Nottingham, to superintend a school, where I understand he remains.

EDWARD PEART, M.D.

Was born at Butterwick: he was educated for the medical profession, and at a proper period obtained a doctor's degree in Scotland, his thesis was "*De Dyspepsia Idiopathica.*" After he had obtained his degree, he settled as a physician at Gainsborough, where he resided till the death of his father in 1795; he then removed to his paternal residence. He is past the meridian of life and in extensive practice. In the course of his professional career he has published numerous philosophic and medical works, the following are a list:

1. The Inefficacy of a Strict Attendance at Church, or upon any Religious Ceremonies, simply in itself, to Insure our Future Happiness, pointed out; and True Religion shewn to consist alone in a Virtuous and Benevolent Heart, governing and directing all our Actions; being the Subject of a Discourse on Matthew vii. 21. Gainsbro', printed 1785, 12mo. 22 pages.

2. The Generation of Animal Heat Investigated. With an Introduction, in which is an Attempt to point out, and ascertain, the Elementary Principles and Fundamental Laws of Nature, and apply them to the Explanation of some of the most interesting Operations and striking Appearances of Chemistry. Gainsborough: printed by H. Mozley, 1788. pref. xxix. and 114. 8vo.

3. On the Elementary Principles of Nature, and the Simple Laws by which they are governed. Being an Attempt to demonstrate their Existence, and to explain their modes of Actions; particularly in those States in which they produce the Attractions of Cohesion, Gravitation, Magnetism, and Electricity: and also Fire, Light, and Water. Gainsborough: printed by H. Mozley, 1789, pref. vii. and 304. 8vo.

4. On Electricity; with occasional Observations on Magnetism. Pointing out the Inconsistency and Fallacy of the Doctrine of Positive and Negative Electricity; and investigating and explaining the true Principles, Composition, and Properties of Electric Atmospheres. Gainsborough: printed by H. Mozley, 1791, 91 pages 8vo.

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5. On the Properties of Matter, the Principles of Chemistry, and the Nature and Construction of Aeriform Fluids, or Gases. In which the Absurdities of the Theories hitherto advanced, and generally received, respecting those Subjects, are fully exposed; and such an Explanation of them given, as Reason naturally points out; and every Observation fully confirms. Gainsborough: printed by H. Mozley, 1792, 114 pages 8vo.

6. On Electric Atmospheres. In which the Absurdity of the Doctrine of Positive and Negative Electricity is incontestably proved: and the real Nature, Production, Mode of Existence, and Properties of Atmospheres in an Electric State, are clearly demonstrated and fully explained. To which is prefixed, a Letter, addressed to Mr. Read, of Knightsbridge; in Reply to his Remarks on the Author's former Tract on Electricity, &c. Gainsborough: printed by H. Mozley, 1793, pref. xliv. and 81. 8vo.

7. The Anti-Phlogistic Doctrine of M. Lavoisier critically examined, and demonstratively confuted. In which its Absurdities are exposed, and clearly proved to arise from a Deficiency in its Principles; and that Defect is supplied, and an Explanation given, upon such Principles as Nature evidently employs and Reason proves to be indispensably necessary. To which is added An Appendix, consisting of Strictures on Dr. Priestley's Experiments on the Generation of Air from Water; and of Criticisms on the Remarks made by the Reviewers on the Author's former Writings. London: printed for Miller, 1795, 151 8vo.

8. On the Composition and Properties of Water: with an Explanation of the Manners in which it acts or is acted upon in various Chemical Operations: particularly, when assisted by Fire, by Acids, and by inflammable Substances. To which is prefixed, A Review of Mrs. Fulhame's Essay on Combustion; and Remarks on the Opinions delivered by the different Reviewers on the Author's preceding Tract. London: printed for Miller, &c. 1796, 150 pages, 8vo.

9. Physiology; or an Attempt to explain the Functions and Laws of the Nervous System; the Constraction of Muscular Fibres; and the constant and involuntary Actions of the Heart, the Stomach, and Organs of Respiration, by means of simple, universal, and unvarying Principles. To which are added, Observations on the intelectual Operations of the Brain, and on the Diversity of Sensations; with Remarks on the Effect of Poisons; and an Explanation of the Experiments of Galvani and others, on Animal Electricity. London: printed for Miller, 1798, 327 pages, 8vo.

10. The Sceptic. Retford: printed by E. Peart, 1800, 70 pages 8vo. A Satire on Philosophical Empericism.

In the introduction to the tract on the Anti-Phlogistic Doctrine of Lavoisier,

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Dr. Peart observes, that "Truth is, at all times, consistent with itself: whatever, therefore, is not consistent with itself cannot be true. As truth is the great object of my pursuit, I make it an invariable rule never to admit of any principle, or opinion, which is, in any respect, evidently inconsistent with itself: such inconsistency is, with me, an indubitable mark of error; and that mark is a certain criterion by which I infallibly judge that truth is not there.

"Such being my rule of conduct, no wonder if I have been dissatisfied with the philosophical opinions both of my predecessors and co-temporaries, and have ventured to think for myself; for no system of philosophy which hath been hitherto offered to the world, is free from the most glaring inconsistencies; they cannot therefore be true; and are not, therefore, by any means capable of giving satisfaction to a truly philosophical mind. Indeed, not one of them attempts to give that kind of satisfaction which an inquisitive mind requires; for, although the beauties and wonders of creation are produced by means of the peculiar arrangements of its component parts; those peculiar arrangements and their laws have never been attended to. Some few instances of peculiar arrangements, or their effects, too striking to be overlooked, have been passed over by learnedly referring them to incomprehensible, immaterial powers: whatever was inexplicable by the fabricator of a theory on account of his imperfect views of the principles of nature, was a mysterious hidden power; immaterial, but yet capable of doing every thing with matter; and possessed of that very property which suited the hypothesis at that time and in that place. In fact, to save trouble, and to have properties of all kinds, at all times in readiness, it was determined upon that every particle of matter should have a property of attraction and repulsion—sphere beyond sphere; and if one sphere of each was not sufficient to explain the matter, half a score of these immaterial spheres of contrary powers, alternating with each other, was allowed of: as to their extent it is always just equal to what is necessary to explain the matter in question. To complete the system, however, it was found most convenient to make the same immaterial sphere, or power possessed of both attraction and repulsion; two similar spheres, sometimes attracting, at others repelling, and sometimes doing both together, as best suits the case; which happy improvement was made in France a few years ago, and is now for its beauty and simplicity eagerly embraced by the generality of modern philosophers, among whom I am sorry to see my countrymen.

"That the systems of philosophy, hitherto proposed, are founded upon error and lead to absurdity, is abundantly evident: the two leading theories are the phlogistic doctrine of Stahl and the anti-phlogistic system of Lavoisier; and it is not a little singular, that numbers of the first philosophers in the world should

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have been many years anxiously engaged in attempting to ascertain, and as yet it is not decided, whether there be such a principle as phlogiston, or not. Surely the difference between right and wrong, between truth and error, between existence and non-existence, is not so small as to be imperceptible! But, neither the favourers of Stahl, nor the believers in M. Lavoisier's doctrine, have been able to prove that their theory is true; consequently, it is a presumptive proof that neither of those theories are true. In fact, they are both imperfect; Stahl was right in adopting phlogiston, but his theory was left lame by over-looking the anti-phlogistic principle; and M. Lavoisier's hypothesis is still more defective by overlooking both.

"That the phlogistic theory of Stahl is imperfect, must be evident to every one who is acquainted with it; for though it hath been many years under the protection and improvement of the most eminent philosophers, it still is inconsistent with itself and confessedly absurd; for Dr. Priestley, than whom none deserves more of philosophers, since, perhaps, none hath done so much in support of science, after all his experiments and observations, gives no better an explanation of the calcination of iron with water, and of its reduction with inflammable air, than this, that in the former case, iron will part with its phlogiston to combine with water; and in the later, that iron will part with water to combine with phlogiston; but, as I am fully convinced of the existence of phlogiston, it is not my present intention to combat against the theory which supports it. What I have just now advanced proves its imperfection. I hasten therefore, to consider the anti-phlogistic doctrine, and to prove that it is insufficient, absurb, and consequently is neither worth the attention of philosophers, nor capable of being maintained by their ingenuity.

"M. Lavoisier I esteem as an excellent chemist, but not a sound reasoner; and think that the world is much indebted to him for his very valuable labours in chemistry; and for his theory, which is captivating by its simplicity; but unfortunately too simple. I esteem the man who diligently seeks after knowledge, and as freely imparts the result of his researches, and even his conjectures, when plausible; as they may lead, if imperfect themselves, to others immediately connected with the truth. Such a mind needs only to see the truth, to abandon every thing for it. When the search is unfortunately after fame, the fabricator of a theory which meets opposition, generally suffers a defection in several senses; he cannot *see* any results which militates against his own opinions; he is *deaf* to every argument in support of a contrary theory, and *feels* extremely sore when any one touches the imperfections of his own. As for my own part, I honestly confess that truth hath been, and still is, the grand object of my

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pursuit; I wish to bring forward the theory which nature hath taught me, as a reward for the constancy of my attention to her, and her alone, from a full conviction of its veracity; but, were it proved to be erroneous, I should give it up without hesitation, because it is not a theory which I seek, but truth; and to that alone I wish, inseparably, to attach myself.

"It is wonderful to me that philosophers should pay so little attention to the materials with which they build their theories, after having seen the number of hypothesis which have been proposed, adopted, confuted, and forgotten in all ages; merely because they were founded upon uncertainties, and formed of visionary ideas, or rather of terms, without ideas, cemented together by the mystic powers of incomprehensible immaterialities: yet such are the principles still employed, and such will be the fate of the theories formed with them; for when a modern chemist talks of air being formed of oxygen and caloric, what is that but making use of terms without ideas? for what ideas can he form of the manner in which oxygen and caloric combine and exist together, so as to form a particle of air? What idea, presented by nature, when she more immediately adapts herself to our senses, can help us, by analogy, to see it possible that fire can thus be changed and tamed in its nature, so as to exist, not in immediate connection with matter, but yet deprived of all its active and essential properties as fire? For it is impossible, if the atmospheric state of oxygen depends upon caloric, that more than a very small portion of that caloric can be in actual contact with the particles of oxygen. In short, the whole system of modern philosophy is so made up of words without ideas, is so dependent upon the incomprehensible powers of attraction and repulsion, formed of spheres of attraction and repulsive, though immaterial properties, extended around particles of matter, and alternating with each other, that it may truly and justly be called the 'baseless fabric of a vision,' which will, ere long, be dissolved, and 'leave not a wreck behind.'

"As fire, or caloric, is the grand agent of nature, and as it is connected, more, or less, with every operation of the chemist, I shall, at present, confine myself chiefly to the consideration of fire, and the simpler forms of matter exposed to its influence; for the operations of nature may be sooner seen and comprehended, by attending to her in her simplest, than in her more complicated states; and as she is always consistent with herself, I shall prove that the anti-phlogistic doctrine is neither conformable to her, nor consistent with itself, in these her less complicated operations; and is, therefore, erroneous *in toto*: and shall then offer such principles and explanations as are consistent both with nature and themselves."

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In the year 1802 Dr. Peart commenced the publication of a series of medical pamphlets, which was abruptly terminated after he had published the following, in consequence of the uncivil treatment he received from the reviewers in the Medical and Physical Journal.

11. Practical Information on the Malignant Scarlet Fever and Sore-Throat. In which a New Mode of Treatment is freely communicated. 1802, 64 pages 8vo.

12. Practical Information on Inflammation of the Bowels and Strangulated Rupture. In which a New Mode of treating those Disorders is faithfully communicated. 1802, 38 pages, 8vo.

13. Practical Information on St. Anthony's Fire, or Erysipelas; and on Erythematous Affections in general: As also on the Measles. In which New Modes of Treatment are communicated. 1802, 33 pages, 8vo.

14. Practical Information on Rheumatism, Inflammation of the Eyes, and Disorders in general proceeding from Inflammation of a similar Nature: also on the Gout. In which New Modes of Treatment are communicated. 40 pages 8vo.

15. On Consumption of the Lungs. In which a New Mode of Treatment is laid down, and recommended to Public Attention; as having been found powerfully Efficacious, particularly in the First Stage of Tuberculous Consumption, before Purulent Expectoration commences. With a few necessary Directions in respect to Regimen. 1803, 61 pages, 8vo.

In the preface to the last tract, Dr. Peart makes a spirited reply to the Reviewers' remarks, towards the conclusion he observes, "Though I despise the illiberality of my reviewer, I acknowledge his *power*. He governs the public opinion of the faculty with absolute sway—his voice breaks forth like thunder from *thick darkness! Nothing* is *visible! Imagination* dresses him out in *gigantic powers*, and as *humbly* submits to his decisions as though those powers were in reality *more than imaginary*. So long as this farce is kept up by artifice on one side, and credulity on the other, his *veto* is decisive, and it would be madness to persist."

About this time Dr. Peart published An Address on the Threatened Invasion; and a tract on the Cause of Scarcity, &c.

Besides the above, Dr. Peart is author of many papers in Nicholson's Chemical Journal, Reviews, Gentleman's, and Monthly Magazines, &c. &c.

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W. PECK.

To the reader it will, probably, appear presumptuous in me to speak of myself; but as I am a native of Epworth, I shall add, that I have published "Topography of Bawtry and Thorne," "Veterinary Medicine and Therapeutics," &c. and this humble attempt to illustrate the history of my native county.

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CHAP. VIII.

Sports and Pastimes.

OF the sports and pastimes of our forefathers, some remains are peculiar to this district; which I shall endeavour to describe. It is in vain to attempt to trace any of them to their origin, they having, long ago, outlived the remembrance of the causes that gave them birth.

Throwing the Hood.

The old twelfth-day is devoted to *throwing the hood:* an amusement, tradition reports, to have been instituted by one of the Mowbrays. A roll of canvas, tight corded together, weighing from four to six pounds, is taken to an open field and contended for by the rustics, who assemble together to the number of many hundreds; an individual appointed, casts it from him, and the first person that can convey it into the cellar of any public house receives a reward of one shilling, paid by the plough-bullocks or boggins. A new hood being furnished when the others are carried off, the contest usually continues till dark.

Many of the candidates for athletic fame, receives great injuries by falls, bruises, &c. The evening is usually commenced with mirth and glee, at the place where the victor has deposited his prize, and concluded, in general, with quarreling and drunkenness.

This rustic amusement is only observed at Epworth and Haxey: at the latter place, the day is kept as a feast by the inhabitants, who have their friends and acquaintance to visit them.

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Plough-bullocks. The next day the *plough-bullocks*, or *boggins*, go round the town to receive alms at each house, where they cry "*Largus.*" They are habited similar to the morris-dancers, are yoked to, and drag, a small plough; they have their farmer and a fool, called *Billy Buck*, dressed like a harlequin, with whom the boys make sport. The day is concluded by the *bullocks* running with the plough round the cross in the market-place, and the man that can throw the others down, and convey their plough into the cellar of a public house, receives one shilling for his agility.

Morris Dancing. The ceremony of *dancing the morris*, has but recently been discontinued; and as the subject has engaged the attention of many of our learned antiquaries, I shall refer the reader to their elegant and instructive publications: Bourne's and Brand's Antiquitates Vulgares, 8vo. 1810.: Brand's Popular Antiquities, by Ellis, 2 vols. 4to. 1813; Strutt's Sports and Pastimes of the English, 4to, and his Queen-hoo-hall, 4 vols. 12mo. will give much information and amuse the reader. Mr. Douce, in his Illustration of Shakespeare and of Ancient Manners, has a dissertation on the morris-dance, which marks the erudition of its author.

Riding the Stange. Amongst the many customs that have been transmitted to us from our remote ancestors, there are, perhaps, but few of more use than *riding the stange;* a wholesome correction, by the villagers, upon a man or woman beating each other. This custom has been but imperfectly noticed by writers, except in the ponderous tomes of Brand,* which contains some account

* There used formerly (and I believe it is still now and then retained) to be a kind of ignominious procession in the North of England, called "Riding the Stang," when, as the Glossary to Douglas's Virgil informs us, one is made to ride on a pole for his neighbour's wife's fault.

"Staung Eboracensibus est Lignum ablongum. Contus bajulorum." Hickes.

This custom bids fair not to be of much longer continuance in the North, for I find, by the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Courant for August 3d, 1793, that at the Assizes at Durham, in the preceding week, "Thomas Jameson, Matthew Marrington, Geo. Ball. Jos. Rowntree, Simon Emmerson, Robert Parkin, and Francis Wardell, for *violently assaulting* Nicholas Lowes, of Bishop Wearmouth, *and carrying him on a Stang*, were sentenced to be imprisoned two years in Durham Gaol, and find sureties for their good behaviour for three years." The law taking such cognizance of the practice, it must of course terminate very shortly.

The word Stang, says Ray, is still used in some colleges in Cambridge: to stang scholars in Christmas-time being to cause them to ride on a colt-staff, or pole, for missing chapel. It is derived from the Islandic *Staung*, hasta.

It appears from Allan Ramsay's Poems, 4to. Edinb. 1721, p. 128, that Riding the Stang was used in Scotland. A Note says: "The riding of the Stang upon a woman that hath beat her husband is, as I have described it, by ones riding upon a sting, or a long piece of wood, carried by two

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of its being practised in the north of England, and that he supposes it was likely to be soon abolished, by the law taking cognizance of it, and punishing the actors. It appears to me, that providing it be *peaceably* performed, it is out of the cognizance of the law. Its remote origin is evident, as the word *stange* is Anglo-Saxon, meaning a ladder, on which, in this ceremony, a person is carried by two men. Our early penal laws were many of them oral, and this amongst the rest, may have come into our country with the Saxons, and have been transmitted from generation to generation, till the present hour.

I am sorry to find this most salutary custom is on the decline, as it is of more utility in punishing offenders than any interference of the legal magistrate, and fixes a lasting stigma upon their characters.

others on their shoulders, where, like a herauld, he proclaims the woman's name, and the manner of her unnatural action:

"They frae a barn a kaber raught,
Ane mounted wi' a bang,
Betwisht twa's shoulders, and sat straught
Upon't, and *rade the Stang*
On her that day."

[Callender observes, says Dr. Jamieson in his Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language, that, in the North, riding the Stang, "is a mark of the highest infamy." "The person," he subjoins, "who has been thus treated, seldom recovers his honour in the opinion of his neighbours. When they cannot lay hold of the culprit himself, they put some young fellow on the Stang, or pole, who proclaims that it is not on his own account that he is thus treated, but on that of another person, whom he names." Anc. Scot. Poems, p. 154, 155.

"I am informed," Dr. Jamieson adds, "that in Lothian, and perhaps in other counties, the man who had debauched his neighbour's wife was formerly forced to ride the Stang."

So, in R. Galloway's Poems, p. 12:

—— "*On you I'll ride the Stang.*"

"Here," says Dr. Jamieson, "we have evidently the remains of a very ancient custom. The Goths were wont to erect what they called *Nidstaeng*, or the pole of Infamy, with the most dire imprecations against the person who was thought to deserve this punishment; Isl. *Nidstong*. He who was subjected to this dishonour was called *Niding*, to which the English word infamous most nearly corresponds; for he could not make oath in any cause. The celebrated Islandic bard, Egill Skallagrim, having performed this tremendous ceremony at the expence of Eric Bloddox, King of Norway, who, as he supposed, had highly injured him, Eric soon after became hated by all, and was obliged to fly from his dominions. v. Ol. Lex. Run. *vo.* NIJD. The form of imprecation is quoted by Callender, ut supra.

"It may be added, that the custom of 'riding the Stang,' seems also to have been known in Scandinavia: for Seren gives *stong-hesten* as signifying the rod, or roddle-horse; *vo.* ROD."]

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The ceremony of riding the *stange* varies in different places, the following is the outline of it as practised in the Isle of Axholme: The actors in the procession procures old kettles, pans, and horns, with which they make a most hideous noise, preceding the person who is carried on the ladder, they then proceed to the house of the offender, and the man who rides the *stange*, after silence is called, repeats the following doggerel rhymes:

With a ran a dan-dan, at the sign of the old tin can
For neither your case nor my case do I ride the stange,
Soft Billy Charcoal has been banging his wife Ann;
He bang'd her, he bang'd her, he bang'd her indeed,
He bang'd her, poor creature, before she stood need, &c.

The conclusion is too indelicate for insertion here. They afterwards proceed round the town, reciting the above at the corners of the streets. This ceremony is usually repeated on three successive days.

Other old customs.

Burning the *yule-clog* on Christmas Eve, giving *Christmas boxes* to children and to tradesmen's apprentices, &c. adorning the windows with *holly* and *evergreens*, and many other old customs, are still practised here, but as they are more generally known, I shall take leave of the subject in the words of Brand in his preface to Bourne's Antiquitates Vulgares:

"With regard to the rites, sports, &c. of the common people, I am aware, that the morose and bigotted part of mankind*, without distinguishing between the right use and the abuse of such entertainments, cavil at and malign them. Yet must such be told, that shows and sports have been countenanced by the best and wisest of states; and though it cannot be denied, that they have been sometimes prostituted to the purposes of riot and debauchery, yet were we to reprobate every thing that has been thus abused, *religion* itself could not be retained; perhaps we should be able to keep nothing.

* I shall quote here the subsequent *curious thoughts* on this subject: The puritans are ridiculed in them.

These teach that *dancing* is a Jezabel,
And *barely break* the ready way to hell:
The *Morris idols*, *Whitsun-ales* can be
But profane relicts of a jubilee:
These, in a zeal t' express how much they do,
The *organs* hate, have silenc'd *bagpipes* too;
And harmless *maypoles* all are rail'd upon,
As if they were the *tow'rs* of *Babylon*.

Randolph's Poems, 1646.

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"The common people, confined by daily labour, seem to require their proper intervals of relaxation; perhaps it is of the highest political utility to encourage innocent sports and games among them. The revival of many of these would, I think, be highly pertinent at this particular season, when the general spread of luxury and dissipation threatens more than at any preceding period to extinguish the character of our boasted national bravery. For the observation of an honest old writer, Stow, (who tells us, speaking of the May-games, Midsummer-eve* rejoicings, &c. anciently used in the streets of London, 'which *open* pastimes in my youth being now supprest, worse practices *within doors* are to be feared),' may be with singular propriety adopted on the most transient survey of our present popular manners."

* I call to mind here the pleasing account Mr. Sterne has left us in his Sentimental Journey, of the *grace-dance* after supper.—I agree with that amiable writer, in thinking that *religion* may mix herself in the dance, and that innocent cheerfulness is no inconsiderable part of devotion; such indeed as cannot fail of being grateful to the *Good Being*,—it is a *silent* but *eloquent* mode of praising him!

END OF VOL. I.

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APPENDIX

No.

A true copy of the ancient deed of JOHN DE MOWBRAY, some time Lord of the ISLE of AXHOLME, and the Honour of BREMBER, made to the Freeholders there, after he had made an approvement to himself of some of the Wastes within the Manor of EPWORTH in the said Isle; and is now translated out of French into English by WILLIAM RYLEY, keeper of the records, in the Tower of LONDON. The said MOWBRAY and his predecessors, and also successors, Dukes of NORFOLK, were a long time lords of the said manor.

THIS INDENTURE, between their thrice honoured lord SIR JOHN MOWBRAY, lord of the Isle of Axholme and of the honour of Brember, of the one part; RAWLYN of BRUMHAM, WILLIAM of BRUMBAM, ROGER of BRUMHAM, JOHN of THETILTHORP, THOMAS MELTON, JEOFFERY LUNDELS, VINCENT BAVANT, JOHN GARDNER, JOHN CUTWULF, RICHARD of BELWOOD, and JOHN at HAGH, his tenants of the Isle of Axholme, and all the tenants and resiants within the said isle, on the other part, Witnesseth that all the said tenants and resiants, have supplicated their said lord, Sir John Mowbray, to remedy divers claims touching their right, and divers debates and grievances to them made by the ministers of the said lord Sir John Mowbray, upon which supplication it is agreed, that the said Sir John, lord aforesaid, hath granted for him and for his heirs, to the said Rawlyn, William, Roger, John, Thomas, Jeoffery, Vincent, John, John, Richard, and John, tenants aforesaid, and to their, and to all having their estate, or parcel of their estate, and to all the other tenants and resiants, within the Isle of Axholme, and to their heirs, and to all that hereafter shall have their estate, all the things underwritten that is to say: That the said Sir John, not his heirs, shall not approve any waste, moors, woods, waters, nor make or shall make any other manner of approvement of any part within the said Isle of Axholme. And that the said Rawlyn, William, Roger, John, Thomas, Jeoffery, Vincent, John, John, Richard, and John, and their heirs, and those that shall have their estate, or parcel of their estate, and all other tenants and resiants within the Isle of Axholme, shall have their common which is appendent to their free tenements, according to that which they have had and used time out of mind.

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And also that the aforesaid Rawlyn, William, Roger, John, Thomas, Jeoffery, Vincent, John, John, Richard, and John, and their heirs, and all those which their estate, or parcel of their estate, shall have, and all other the tenants and resiants within the aforesaid Isle, may dig in the moors and marshes, turfs, trees and roots found within the soil of the said moors and marshes. And that one pound, containing one half acre, be made at the cost of the said tenants, and maintained hereafter by the said lord and his heirs, in Belton Carr, and one other in Haxey Carr, containing as much, and that they be made in places for the most ease of the said tenants. And that no chase of beasts of commoners be made but once a year, and the said beasts be not otherwise driven but to the pound of the pasture where they shall be taken, and there the beasts of the said tenants to be delivered by the tenants aforesaid, or by their servants; and saving always to the said tenants, and to their heirs, and to their servants, that they may take their beasts and receive them in the drift, or before the drift, so that the drift of beasts of strangers be not thereby disturbed.

And that in the severalities of the said lord adjoining to the places in which they have common, which are open and not inclosed, no beasts of the said tenants and commoners be taken nor impounded, but easily driven out. And that the said tenants and resiants and their heirs, and all those which their estate, or parcel of their estate, shall have, may dig, and take turf, or other earth, for the walls of their houses, and for all other necessaries of the said houses, and for to inclose the walls of their messuages or mansions. And to dry flags in all the said wastes, for to cover the ridges of their houses and walls, and for bringing the trees to repair the river of Trent, when cause of repairing is, and to make them new.

And that the said Rawlyn, William, Roger, John, Thomas, Jeoffery, Vincent, John, John, Richard, and John aforesaid, and all other the tenants and resiants, their heirs, and all those which shall have their estate, or parcel of their estate, hereafter, be not for the future amerced or grieved for default of not appearing to ring their swine. And that they may put hemp to be rated in all the waters of the isle, (except the *skires* which are severed to the said lord, Sir Jonn Mowbray,) and that the said lord, nor his heirs, nor his ministers make no molestation nor grievance to the dogs of the fore-named tenants and resiants aforesaid, nor to their heirs, not to those which have their estate, or parcel of their estate, and if they do, the tenants shall have their recovery at the common law.

And that the aforesaid Rawlyn, William, Roger, John, Thomas, Jeoffery, Vincent, John, John, Richard, and John, tenants aforesaid, and all the tenants and resiants, their heirs, and all those which hereafter shall have their estate, or parcel of their estate, may fish through all the waters and wastes of the said isle, without impediment of the minister of the said lord Sir John Mowbray, except the skires aforesaid; and also that they may dig turf, and all other manner of earth, in all the wastes aforesaid, to carry and improve their land at pleasure. And that none of the tenants aforesaid, or of their heirs, or of those having their estate, impeached or trespass by the ministers of the said lord, be amerced for trespass without answer given in court, and then by their peers to be fined and taxed if they be amerciable.

And the said John granteth, that all the tenants, and their heirs, and all those which shall

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have their estate, which are bound to inclose the woods of the lord, may take underwood to make them new hedges, or to repair them, as much as shall be necessary, that is to say——the places of the said woods——of the said tenants, their heirs, and of those which shall have their estate, without being impeached or grieved by the ministers of the said lord Sir John Mowbray. And the said John granteth, for him and his heirs, that all the things and articles aforesaid be of effect and force in the law, as well to those which are generally named tenants, and their heirs, as those which shall have their estate, or parcel of their estate, as to those which are named by proper names, and their heirs, and those which shall have their estate or parcel of their estate. And if in the articles aforesaid there be any point which may have divers interpretations on intendments, that it shall be taken to the best advantage of the names, or of the tenants aforesaid, and of their heirs, or of those which shall have their estate, and not otherwise.

In witness whereof the parties aforesaid have interchangeably put their seals. Given at our Manor of Epworth, the First day of May, in the year of the reign of EDWARD the Third (after the conquest) Thirty-Three.

This copy agrees with the original French deed, translated and examined by William Ryley, clerk of the records, in the Tower of London, 1652.

The freeholders and commoners had a trial, verdict, judgement, and execution upon it, at the Exchequer Bar, in Michaelmas Term last, in the name of Thomas Vavasour, a gentleman of an ancient family, son of Henry Vavasour, son of Thomas Vavasour, the grandfather; son of Henry Vavasour the great-grandfather, who married Joanne, one of the daughters of Robert At-Hall; to whom, by partition made between her and Elizabeth and Mary her sisters, the same place called Belwood, did come. Robert At-Hall was son and heir to Oliver At-Hall, who was son and heir of Margery, one of the daughters and heirs of Thomas Beltoft, and Emmot, his wife; to whom, by partition with Elizabeth her sister, the said place called Belwood came. Emmot was daughter and heir to Richard de Belwood, who is one of the eleven specially named in the deed of Mowbray, and layeth entombed in the parish church of Belton, in a tombe called Belwood tombe; and Thomas Vavasour, the grandfather, desiring upon his death-bed to be buried near the said tombe, was, after his death, laid in the tombe, (the tombe being broken open for that purpose) where a pair of slippers was found at the feet of Richard de Belwood, whose bones are there yet in lead.

All things have ever since passed according to this deed, till now of late that the projectors came in against law.

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APPENDIX

No.

VICESIMA TERTIA PARS PATEN DE ANNO REGNI REGIS CAROLI SECUNDO.

De articul inte Dum Regem et Cornelii Vermuyden, ar.

ARTICLES of agreement indented, made, and concluded upon the Four and Twentieth day of May, in the second year of the reign of our most gracious sovereign Lord CHARLES, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. Between our said sovereign Lord the KING'S MAJESTY, of the one part, and CORNELIUS VERMUYDEN, of London, esquire, of the other part.

WHEREAS the king's most excellent Majesty now is and standeth seized in his demeasne as of fee, as in the right of his crown of England, duchy of Cornwall, or duchy of Lancaster, of and in the chase called Hatfield Chase, and ditch marsh, and of and in the manors and lordships of Wroote and Finningley, in the county of York, and of the Isle of Exholme, in the county of Lincoln, and of divers other lands, tenements, and hereditaments, and of divers wastes, waste grounds, and commons to the same belonging thereto, near, adjoining, situate, lying, and being in the counties of York and Lincoln aforesaid. And whereas, also divers other persons are seized of and in divers other lands, tenements, and hereditaments lying and being within the counties aforesaid, and in the county of Nottingham, or some of them, next or near adjoining to his Majesty's said lands, wastes, commons, and waste grounds situate, lying, and being upon each side of the river of Idle and abutting upon the rivers of Dunn and Ayre to the north, and the river of Trent towards the south, belonging to or being parcel of the said premises, containing, by estimation, threescore thousand acres, or thereabouts, are subject to be surrounded and drowned with water in such manner that little or no benefit is or can be made thereof, unless especial care be taken for inging and draining the same. And whereas our said sovereign lord the King, having regard as well to his own benefit as the good and welfare of his subjects inhabiting near or about the places aforesaid, is desirous that the said drowned and surrounded grounds may, by the good endeavours of those who shall undertake the same, be laid dry and made useful. Now the said

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Cornelius Vermuyden, doth hereby promise and undertake that he will do his best endeavour, both by himself and such others as he shall employ in the said work, to drain and lay dry the said drowned and surrounded grounds in such manner as to make the same fit for tillage or pasture, and the same being so gained shall for ever maintain fit for tillage or pasture in manner aforesaid. And the said Cornelius Vermuyden doth hereby further promise covenant, and grant to and with our said sovereign lord the King, that he the said Cornelius Vermuyden shall and will set on workman and begin the said work within three months next after our sovereign lord the King's Majesty shall have agreed and concluded with such person or persons as have or claim to drain any estate, interest, or common of or in the said grounds, or of or in any parcel thereof. And that he the said Cornelius Vermuyden, shall finish the same with as much convenient expedition as possible may be, and according as the season of the weather and time of the year shall permit and give leave in that behalf. In consideration whereof our said sovereign lord the King, for himself, his heirs and successors, doth, by these presents, promise and grant that the said Cornelius Vermuyden, his heirs and assigns, or such other person or persons as he shall nominate and appoint in that behalf, and their heirs and assigns, shall have, hold, and for ever enjoy one full third part in three parts, to be divided of all and singular the said surrounded and waste grounds; which said third part shall be of equal value with each of the said other two parts. And that his Majesty, his heirs and successors, upon the gaining thereof, shall and will grant and procure the said third part to be granted and lawfully conveyed and assured unto the said Cornelius Vermuyden and his heirs, or to the parties by him to be nominated as aforesaid and their heirs, to be holden of his highness, his heirs and successors, as of his manor of East Greenwich, in the county of Kent, in free and common soccage. And it is agreed, that the division of the said grounds, so to be laid dry and free from water as aforesaid, shall be made and done by an exact survey thereof, to be made by his Majesty's surveyor general, or such as his Majesty, his heirs or successors, shall nominate or appoint. And if no such nomination or appointment shall be made, or if any division shall be made by such person or persons as shall be so nominated within three months next after the said grounds shall be so drained or dried, that then it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Cornelius Vermuyden, his heirs, to divide and set out the same lands into three equal parts; and that his Majesty, his heirs and successors, shall within three months next after such division, elect and choose two parts of the said three parts, and the other third part shall remain and be to the said Cornelius Vermuyden and his heirs. And if his Majesty, his heirs or successors, shall make no such election within such time as aforesaid, then the said Cornelius Vermuyden shall elect and choose one of the said three parts for his third part. And such person or persons as shall divide the said lands, shall also make and set forth convenient ways and passages into and through the said grounds.

And it is agreed, that the said Cornelius Vermuyden, and other the parties by him to be employed as aforesaid, in all such places as he or they shall think fit, necessary, and expedient, shall and may leave without the said work and grounds so to be by him and them gained as aforesaid, some small parcels of land on each or either sides of the said several rivers, for receptacles of the sudden downfals of waters, so as the said lands, so to be left out of the said work, do not exceed the quantity of three thousand acres in the whole at the most.

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And it is further agreed, and his Majesty doth hereby declare, that he the said Cornelius Vermuyden, and other the parties aforesaid, shall and may at their wills and pleasures, and as to him shall be thought most necessary and expedient, cut, dig, and make, or cause to be made, such and so many channels, watercourses, banks, highways, sasses, sluces, and other receptacles for water, have, for himself and his servants and workmen, with carts and carriages fit and convenient free ingress and regress for the perfecting and performance of the said works and draining the lands and grounds aforesaid, without the let, denial, hindrance or interruption of any person or persons whatsoever, and shall and also have and take such quantity and proportion of earth, reed and other things and materials within the said grounds for perfecting the said work as by him or them shall be thought necessary and useful. And shall also have for his and their use and uses, freely without interruption, the benefit of all and singular channels, watercourses, and sluces, which are now already made or digged within the said lands or grounds, and the same to turn, change, or alter for the most necessary draining of the said grounds, and perfecting of the said work, as he or they shall think fit.

And it is hereby further concluded and agreed, that if the said Cornelius Vermuyden, and other the parties and undertakers by him to be employed as aforesaid, shall have cause at any time or times to use any lands or grounds lying or being within the compass of the grounds hereby intended to be drained and laid dry as aforesaid, and not subject to surrounding for any passage of water or otherwise, that then it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Cornelius Vermuyden, and other the parties aforesaid, to use the same so far as shall be necessary in and for the performance of the said works. In consideration whereof, the said Cornelius Vermuyden, for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, doth covenant, promise, and grant to, and with our said sovereign lord the King, his heirs and successors, by these presents, that he the said Cornelius Vermuyden, his heirs, executors, and administrators, shall and will from time to time pay and satisfy to the owners of the said lands, such sum and sums of money as the said lands shall be thought to be worth by four commissioners to be named and appointed; two of which commissioners shall be named and appointed by the Lord High Treasurer of England, for the time being, on his Majesty's behalf, and the other two by the said Cornelius Vermuyden, his heirs or assigns.

And whereas, after the said works shall be perfected and the said grounds laid dry, especial care must, from time to time, be had and taken for the maintenance and preservation thereof, our said sovereign lord the King, doth hereby promise and declare that immediately upon the finishing and perfecting of the said work, there shall be a corporation elected and made to consist of such persons to be nominated by the said Cornelius Vermuyden, his heirs or assigns, who shall have power and authority to make orders, constitutions, and acts, and give directions for the maintaining and preserving of the said work, so to be perfected as aforesaid, and for the making and directing of new and other works as occasion shall hereafter require. And that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Cornelius Vermuyden, his heirs and assigns, and to and for such other person or persons as he or they shall name or appoint, to maintain all and every the said works, and to take earth and turf of and out of the said lands and premises, in fit and convenient places, for making and maintaining of the same works according to the said orders and constitutions to be made as aforesaid.

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And it is above further declared and agreed, that within three years after the said works shall be perfected, six sufficient and understanding commissioners shall be appointed; three whereof shall be named by the lord treasurer for the time being, and the other three by the said Cornelius Vermuyden, his heirs or assigns, to view the said works, and to make a true estimate, as well as they can, what the maintenance of the same work will yearly cost, according to such estimate so to be made, the said Cornelius Vermuyden doth by these presents covenant and agree to assure and convey to the said corporation or six persons aforesaid, and their heirs and successors, such and so many lands as shall be of the yearly value sufficient to uphold and maintain the said works, the said conveyance to be made and devised in such manner that the inheritance of the said lands and premises so to be assured and conveyed as aforesaid, and the revenue thereof, shall be and remain unto the said Cornelius Vermuyden, his heirs or assigns, or unto such other person or persons who shall be estated therein in trust for him or his use or by his nomination, until default of reparation shall be made for any thing belonging or appertaining to the said works undertaken as aforesaid. And it is also covenanted and concluded by these presents, that all person and persons who shall be so appointed to have any of the said lands conveyed unto them, their heirs and assigns, shall be enabled by his Majesty to hold and enjoy the same without let or interruption of any person or persons whatsoever, according to the intent, purport, and true meaning of these presents.

And further, his Majesty for himself, his heirs, and successors, doth hereby promise and agree, that all materials needful and necessary to be brought out of the low countries, or from any the parts beyond the seas, for the furtherance of the said work, until the same be brought to perfection, shall be brought in freely without paying any custom or import for the same. And further, his Majesty is contented and doth hereby declare, that the said work and premises shall be made, done, and perfected in his own, and that he will from time to time direct that assistance shall be given to the said Cornelius Vermuyden and his partners, their workmen and servants, as need shall require, for the due execution and perfecting of the said work. And for that divers persons do claim common of pasture in some part of the said lands so to be drained and dried as aforesaid, it is agreed, and his Majesty is pleased to grant and agree, that his Majesty's commission shall go forth under the great seal of England, to certain persons to be named and appointed to treat and deal, agree and conclude with the said persons concerning the said common and claim to the same: And his Majesty is further pleased, and his highness, his heirs and successors, will be pleased to give their royal assent to any act of parliament to be made and passed for the conveying and assuring the same third part of the said lands and premises to the said Cornelius Vermuyden and his heirs, or to such other person or persons and their heirs, as he or they shall name and appoint according to the intent and true meaning of these presents. In witness whereof to the one part of these articles, our said sovereign lord the King hath caused the great seal of England to be put, and to the other part thereof the said Cornelius Vermuyden hath set his hand and seal, the day and year abovesaid.

Pipm Regem.

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APPENDIX

No.

THE DECREE OUT OF THE EXCHEQUER CHAMBER, FOR THE COMMONS OF CROWLE AND THE FISHING GROUNDS.

CAROLUS, dei Gra-Ang. Scotiae, Hiberniae Rex, fidei defensor, &c. Omnibus ad quos presentes litterae pervenuint, ab, ut scientes quod inspeximus, quodd record hic et aundor in Morsicy ostri, apud Westminster, de anno regni nostri quinto viz. inter record de Termino sancti Michaelis Raulis, exparte remematoris nostri ibid Eujus quindrid record teuor sequitor in haec verba, scilicet Lincoln, ebor scilicet comp est in quoda libro, in ordinar, sive dieret hujus Sicey de anno quinto regis nostri Caroli (viz) Ordinaeoes sive decret de hoc termino sol exte remmatoris hujus in haec verba, scilicet Lincoln ebor scilic. Luno tricessimo die Novembry scilicet.

TRANSLATION.

CHARLES, by the Grace of God, King, of England, Scotland, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all whom these Deeds may concern. Taken from a record made in our Court of Exchequer, and enrolled the Fifth year of our reign at Michaelmas Term, concerning the commons of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire; and copied from thence the Thirtieth day of November, to wit, 1630.

WHEREAS, SIR ROBERT HEATH, knight, his majesty's attorney-general, did heretofore exhibit his English bill into this court, against Thomas Whatkinson Clark, Richard Brewer, Robert Stephenson, Henry Butler, Jermin Berrier, and divers other tenants within the manor and parish of Crowle, in the county of Lincoln, defendants: Touching a great quantity of waste grounds and lands heretofore subject to be surrounded with water, lying in the county of York, and being parcel of the lordship of Hatfield; in which said grounds and lands the defendants, and other tenants and inhabitants of Crowle aforesaid, did claim free common of pasture and turbary, and liberty of fishing and other properties in the waste and surrounded grounds; and which said waste and surrounded grounds and lands, his Majesty being lord of the said manor and waste surrounded grounds, thought fit to improve the said waste and surrounded grounds, and to that purpose certain articles and agreements were made between his

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Majesty, and Cornelius Vermuden, Esq. And now, first for the draining and laying dry the said waste surrounded grounds, unto which said bill the defendants before named put in their answer in Easter Term last: and for that affidavit was made by Thomas Leavens, John Drax, and others, touching the usuage of common by the said tenants of Crowle in the said lands: It was thereupon ordered by the court, the Twenty-Eighth day of June, in Trinity Term last, amongst other things, for so much as concerned the tenants and inhabitants of the said Crowle, that a commission should be awarded, with articles of instructions annexed, unto Sir John Wray, knight, Sir William Nathan, the younger, knight, and William Anderson, esquire, commissioners elected and named by and on the behalf of the said defendants and tenants of Crowle, Mr. Sergeant Callis, John Eastoft, esquire, and John Smith, gentleman, or to any four or more of them, being all persons approved by the court, and trusted indifferently and equally to execute the said commission; and the Right Honourable William Viscount Ayre, and Thomas Viscount Castlebar, were desired by the court, that one of them would be pleased to be present for his Majesty at the examination of the said commission, which the said commissioners, or any four of them, were to take into their consideration, what right of common, or other interest, the defendants and other the tenants and inhabitants of the said manor of Crowle had, and what lands, and what recompences fit to be given for and in lieu of their said common and other claim of profits in the said waste, and where and in what manner to be laid out, and to certify their doing therein to the court the first return of this present term; and if the said commissioners shall make any agreement between the said parties (as the court hoped they would) then it was ordered that each of the said parties might, from henceforth, have and enjoy the respective parts so allotted and assigned before the certificate of the commissioners were returned into the court, which said commission was to be excited the second Wednesday in August then next following the date of the said order, as by the said recited order (amongst other things) more at large appeareth, according to which said order a commission was awarded and directed to the aforesaid commissioners, who have executed and returned the same into this court, together with a certificate thereunto annexed, under the hands of the said Lord Viscount Ayre and Lord Viscount Castlebar, and of the said Sir John Wray, Sir William Netham, Mr. Sergeant Callis, Mr. Eastoft, and Mr. Anderson, whereby it appears that the said commission was executed by the said commissioners the Twelfth day of August last past, in the presence and with the allowance and approbation of the said Viscount Ayre and Lord Viscount Castlebar, and thereby they do certify that they have viewed the said waste surrounded grounds belonging to the lordship of Hatfield, in the county of York, in which the said defendants and tenants and inhabitants of Crowle did claim common as aforesaid, and did inform themselves, as well by the testimony of good and lawful men produced and sworn as witnesses in the said cause, as also by the view of them the said commissioners and divers and sundry words and deeds, peramble and by other evidences touching the said wastes and commons, with the quantity and number of acres, and of the true, ancient, and known metts and boundaries thereof, and of the new rivers, dikes, and streams lately cast and made for the draining thereof, wherein the said commissioners do certify that the undertakers of the draining of these grounds had, (to their great excessive costs, charges, and labours) made and cast many large drains and streams, (and since) the erecting of many sluices, large drains, rivers, and streams, and other instruments, whereby they have drained and saved from the violence of surrounding of waters, great quantities of the said grounds of which

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small profit was made of before, but since the casting of drains and streams, and since the erecting of many sluices, the said grounds are not only beneficial for the commoners, and owners in particular, but the said work and the good wrought thereby tendeth (as the said commissioners conceive) to the profit and good of the common wealth in general: And the said commissioners do further certify, that they did find by the testimony and depositions of divers witnesses read unto them, that so far and in those parts where the precincts of the wastes and terr of the lordship of Hatfield, and of the said manor of Crowle, do abutt and join one upon the other, the same bounded out by the Old River Dunn, which runneth betwixt the same, and which, in those parts also, are the very true boundary of the counties of Lincoln and York, and that there be three great wastes and common grounds situate and lying in the lordship of Hatfield, beyond on the west side of the said river called Old Dunn called and known by the several names of Northtofts, Haynes, and the ground lying betwixt the said Haynes and Duckling Ledge, called Haynes Plains, which said three parcels of ground are of those several quantities, as the said commissioners were creditably informed, that is to say, the said Northtofts doth contain about three hundred and seventeen acres, the Haynes one thousand two hundred acres, the grounds lying betwixt the Moorhouse and Duckling Ledge acres; and because the lords and owners of the said manor of Crowle, that is to say, Sir Jervis Elwis, knight, Jeremiah Elwis, and Nicholas Hamerton, esquires, who, since the said contract and undertaking of draining and improving of these said wastes, purchased the said manor of Crowle from the City of London, to whom his Majesty had lately before conveyed and assigned the same, did claim some pretended title to the freehold of the grounds called the Haynes, Northtofts, &c. And because the tenants, as well as copyholders, of the said manor of Crowle, did challenge and claim common of pasture, and other liberties and profits as aforesaid, in the said three parcels of ground lying within the lordship of Hatfield. The said commissioners did therefore hear the claims and evidences at large of the several persons interested, in the presence also of the said lords, by which the said lords, tenants and parties interested made their several claims, and after long hearing and debating of the said claims and differences touching rights of common and other liberties and profits as aforesaid, an agreement and composition was made in manner and form following, that is to say, his Majesty and the said Cornelius Vermuden, his highness's grantee of the lordship of Hatfield, should for ever hereafter be free and exonerated and discharged of common and all manner of interest which the said tenants of the said manor of Crowle could or might have, or challenge to have, in the said Northtofts, Haynes, and the grounds lying betwixt the Moorhouses and the Duckling Ledge, and in consideration thereof the commissioners did agree and order (if it should please this court to accept thereof) that the free tenants and copyhold tenants of the said manor of Crowle should have the possession, freehold, and inheritance of six hundred and fifty acres of ground to be set out from the Black Water and southward in the county of York, and the four hundred acres residue thereof, to be likewise surveyed, measured, and laid out for conveniency and adjoining to the said six hundred and fifty acres, to be conveniently laid out of the turf moors in the said county also, of which six hundred and fifty acres the commissioners agreed that the said defendants, tenants and commoners, and inhabitants of Crowle, might take conveyance in the name of feeoffers or grantees in trust, for the use and benefit of themselves and all the tenants and owners of the said manor of Crowle, or otherwise the said certificate to be of non effect: And it was further certified, that every acre of the

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messenger of his majesty's chamber, to take them or as many of them into custody as could be found, and carry them down to York, to make their answers according to the fore-granted order: and until the same be done they were not to be discharged.

XXX. Complaint was then made of the stoppage of the river Dun running by Thorne, which was then alledged to be the cause of the great damages then sustained. So it was ordered, that the commissioners of sewers, not interested in the work of draining, should view the place where the said river was stopped, and direct and take such course as should prevent the future damages of the complainants, either by stoppage or otherwise as in their discretions they should think fit, according to the power given by their commission; or, if it cannot be otherwise avoided, by opening the said river again.

XXXI. This honourable court of sewers acted then with a due regard to the honour they derived from the fountain, and with an equal respect to the parties they stood between. So that the first part of this order, that is by stoppage, was performed by them, and a very noble sluice built at the end of the new cut at Goole, which answered the end it was built for. This was driven down, after some years, by the violence of the tides, in regard it was neglected to be repaired as it ought: for the proof of which, we have several copies of orders of sewers for the repair of it, which were never observed, for this reason amongst the rest:

XXXII. The participants being then parted, and most of their families and adherents in disdain and poverty, it made way for a new succession, upon easy terms, to come in: most of which were the successful English of that memorable age, which so managed the authority of the commissioners of the sewers for their own ends then, and the country not taking timely notice of the evil consequences of it, that what then did for themselves is practicable now, and has come into good liking ever since. For although the juries have brought in their presentment several times, upon their views, and laid the defaults upon the participants: yet such presentments, not agreeable to the court, have been refused, and the jurors leave given them to go home, who, in such cases, have not been lawfully discharged to this day.

Nay even the commissioners themselves, that are participants, have acknowledged the ancient country's grievance such, as they will tell you, they knew not how to help them: and that is because they will not, for they never yet redressed one petition of grievance since the restoration: though the country's losses grow every year more unsupportable than other. But in God's name, now that Goole sluice is so long since taken away, and by that means the ancient passages warped up, let them look back upon the order of the council board, which says, that if it cannot be otherwise avoided, by opening the said river Dun running by Thorne again. For though this commission of sewers be of very great authority, yet the order of the council board must needs be of no more, which gave them being at first.

XXXIII. And observe further, that though the going away of Goole sluice has been of such dismal consequences to the country, that we can evidence more than twenty floods, many of which have been more destructive to the ancient lands than the burthen of all

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the taxes put together since the revolution to this day: (and all their repeated losses by water, of more computation than if all their towns had been once burnt by fire:) yet for all this the other part of the order, of opening the river again not looked upon, but is kept up in such sort that often times the ancient land is overspread, in most places, three miles at least, with water; all which has not, in some parts below, the passage of one hundred and ten yards, and not above four feet deep, and that too repelled frequently by the violent tides. So that by this you may measure the oppression the ancient country lies under, which has no manner of law for its support but prescription; which in this case is of no manner of authority, but with such tame fools as have known no better: for no man can conceive that the country can be bound up to suffer these unsupportable damages by any of these proceeding orders of council, or that Fishlake and Sykehouse should be concluded by that clause in the order, of inevitable and unforeseen accidents, when all our ancient passages for conveyance are now clearly warped up, and the river too in such manner, that the banks now made against Fishlake are higher then the chamber floors of many of their ancient houses, nay than the eaves of some of them; and the soles of the church low windows, whose foundation is upon the highest ground, as usually all churches are. *12th May*, 1630.

XXXIV. It was also complained at the same time against Sir Philibert Vernatti and Sir Cornelius Vermuyden and their partners, that above one hundred poor workmen and labourers and servants, who had been employed by them in their works, that they wanted a very large sum due to them for their labour: Whereupon it was ordered, that the wages due to those poor workmen, amounting to the sum of fifteen hundred pounds, for which a decree was made in the council at York, on the Second of October before, adjudged to be by them paid; which same was unperformed, and they stood out to a writ of rebellion; it was therefore expressly ordered that they should obey the said decree, and give full satisfaction before the first day of the next term, or otherwise, they, or so many of them as shall be found, shall be committed to a messenger of his majesty's chamber, to be by him carried down to York, and there to be proceeded withal according to justice.

XXXV. And here you have an account of nine years and six days, in which the country was miserably spoiled and wasted, the poor oppressed, to pleasure the vanity of a new nothing. Not long after did these chosen people forsake their intrenchments and fled; having the favour to borrow craftily and spoil most of their neighbours. Sir Cornelius Vermuyden dies miserably poor in the south; and all the rest, saving a very few, dispersed: leaving their adventure to a hopeful succession of managers; who would raise the very rainbow out of the firmament of heaven, were they but assured of an ark for their own safety: but this, with submission to all and every of the HONOURABLE PERSONS sharers in the improvement, not any of which were ever stained by any personally acting: and withal amongst the commoners there are many good men, who were not embarked in so bad a bottom.

XXXVI. This is but the dwarf age of this notable improvement; and yet has strangely

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supported monsters, which have grown in bulk by continuance of time: Wherein the unsupportable grievances of the ancient country grew more and more unsufferable. What is the cause of all this, and the reason it ought not so to be; and by tricks and artifices it is carried on, may be as truly represented as what you have now here, which the author of this paper will undertake to set forth.

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APPENDIX

No.

THE ROYAL GRANT OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST, MADE IN THE SECOND YEAR OF HIS REIGN.

CHARLES, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, defender of the faith, &c. To all whom these presents shall come GREETING,

WHEREAS we by our letters patents under the great seal of England, dated at Cambury the Sixteenth day of July last past before the date of these presents, in performance of a certain covenant and agreement on our part, contained in a certain indenture of articles under the great seal of England bearing date the Twenty-Fourth day of May in the Second year of our reign.

And also, for in consideration of the sum of ten thousand pounds, of lawful money of England, at the receipt of our Exchequer, at Westminster, to our use, by Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, by the name of Cornelius Vermuyden, Esq. of London, and for other considerations expressed and contained in the same letters patents, We have given and granted to the said Cornelius Vermuyden, his heirs and assigns for ever, all that demesne or manor of ours of Hatfield, in our county of York, with all its rights, members, and appurtenances, and all lands, tenements, rents, and hereditaments whatsoever in the said county of York, called or known by the name of the demesne or manor of Hatfield: and also all that third part of our manor of Brampton, called Graites, at Gate, in the said county of York, with the appurtenances: and also all that our park of Hatfield, at Hatfield aforesaid, with all its appurtenances, and all the lands and tenements inclosed called or known by the name of the Park of Hatfield, at Hatfield aforesaid; and all that our manor of Fishlake, in the said county of York, with all its rights, members, and appurtenances: and also all that our manor of Thorne, at Thorne, in the said county of York, with all its rights, members, and appurtenances: and also all that our manor of Stainford, in the said county of York, with all its rights, members, and appurtenances: and also all that our manor of Dowcethorpe, in the said county of York, with all its rights, members, and appurtenances: and also all that parcel of waste land, marsh lands, moorish lands, now and before that time overflown

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and concerning the delivery and provement of the said chase and levell, (To wit.) ALL that portion or parcel of land called HAXEY CARR, or SOUTH CARR, lying in Epworth, Haxey, and Stockwith aforesaid, or in either or any of them, in the said county of Lincoln, lately as aforesaid inclosed, abutting upon a water called *Bickersdike*, and certain inclosures of Misterton aforesaid, on the south part; and upon the wast or common called STOCKWITH COMMON, OWSTON and HAXEY COMMONS, on the east and northern parts; and upon the old watercourse of IDLE on the western part; and all those other parts or parcells of land called HOLMES CARR, STARR CARR, THORNBUSH CARR, and BELTON PLAINES, lying and being in Epworth aforesaid, in our said county of Lincoln, lately also inclosed as aforesaid; on each part of the new way or trench leading from the lake aforesaid called IDLESTOPP, towards Crowle Causeway, and abutting upon the said old watercourse of Idle towards the west; and upon the wast ground called ROLL COMMON, and other common lands and inclosures of Epworth aforesaid, towards the east and south; and upon the mannor of Crowle aforesaid, and the old watercourse of D towards the north; to be inclosed within its bounds aforesaid, a certain late called MESSEY MOOR, and a place or close called SANTOFTE and BEN INTACK. All and singular which premises in Epworth, Belton, Haxey, and Stockwith aforesaid, in the said county of Lincoln, certain in the whole seven thousand four hundred and seven acres of land or thereabouts. AND all that other part or parcell of land called STAR CARR, lying and being in Crowle and Belton aforesaid, in the said county of Lincoln, lately inclosed as aforesaid, abutting upon the said way or trench leading from Idlestop aforesaid to Crowle Causeway towards the south; and upon the said old watercourse of D aforesaid towards the west; and upon the common and other lands and inclosures of Crowle aforesaid towards the north and east, containing in all seven hundred and eighteen acres of land, or thereabouts. AND all those other parts or parcels of land lying and being in Missen aforesaid, in the said countys of York and Nottingham, or one of them, lately inclosed as aforesaid, on each part of the said new way leading from Idlestop aforesaid, and abutting upon the said old watercourse of Idle aforesaid, to a certain place called PARSONS CROSS, towards the east; and upon prell of the mannor of *Wroote* towards the north; and upon the common lands of Missen aforesaid, towards the west and south, containing one thousand five hundred and eighteen acres of land, or thereabouts. AND a certain other part or parcell of land lying and being in Missen aforesaid, not as yet inclosed, but to be inclosed, severally to be reduced from the wast lands there next adjoining to the said last mentioned premises, and containing two hundred and eighty-two acres at the least, by measure thereof to be made. All which premises in Missen aforesaid, by particular thereof are mentioned, to be parcell of the possessions of the *Dutchy* of *Cornwall*.

AND also a certain other part or prell of land lying and being in Misterton and Gringley aforesaid, in the said county of Nottingham, lately as aforesaid inclosed, abutting on a certain water called Bickersdike, and parcell of the mannor of *Everton* towards the north-west; and upon the common lands and inclosures of Misterton and Gringley aforesaid towards the south-east, containing two thousand one hundred thirty-three acres of land, or thereabouts. AND all that part or pcell of land lying and being in *Snath*, *Cowick*, and Rawcliff aforesaid, or one of them, in the said county of York, abutting upon a great bank called *Dickesmarsh*, towards the west; and upon pcell of the mannor of Hatfield towards the south; and upon the common lands of Snath aforesaid, towards the east and north, contain-

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ing four hundred and one acres of land, or thereabouts. ALL and singular which premisses by these presents granted, or mentioned to be granted, by a particular thereof are mentioned to be pcell of the lands lately delivered and improved, or to be delivered and improved, within or near Hatfield Chase, in the said countys of Lincoln, York, and Nottingham, or within the level of the same chase, in the said countys or any of them.

Whe have also given, granted, released, and confirmed, and ratifyed, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, for the considerations aforesaid, Do give, grant, release, confirm, and ratify to the said Sir William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, their heirs and assigns, all and singular the messuages, houses, edifices, structures, barns, stables, dove-houses, orchards, gardens, lands, meadows, pastures, feedings, commons, wasts, heaths, and furze, moors, marshes, waters, watercourses, mines, quarryes, goods and chattles, waise goods and chattels of self-murtherers, and other fellows and fugitives, persons outlawed, attainted, condemned, deodends, bondsmen and bondswomen, and villains with their followers, estrays, and common of estovers, priviledges, royaltyes, fruits, profits, commoditys, ways, wast grounds, easments, emoluments, and hereditaments whatsoever to the said waste lands, tenements, and all other and singular the premises abovesaid, by these presents before granted, or mentioned to be granted, or either or any, or either pcell thereof, in any wise belonging, appertaining, incident, appendant or incumbent, or as members, parts, or pcell of those premisses, or any or either of them, before now had, known, accepted, occupied, used, or reputed. AND also, and singular, woods, underwoods, woodlands, and trees whatsoever; and all the land, ground, and soil of the same woods, underwoods, and trees of, in, and upon all and singular the pmeses before granted by these presents, or mentioned to be granted, or, of, in, and upon each or any part or pcell thereof growing and being. AND also the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders wtsoever the said lands, wasts, tenements, and hereditaments; and all and singular other the prmisses as above by these presents before granted, or mentioned to be granted; and every parcel thereof dependant or expectant of, in, or upon any gifts, or gifts in fee tayle, or any lease or grant, leases or grants for term or terms of life, lives, years, or otherwise, of the premisses by these presents before granted, or mentioned to be granted; or of any pcell thereof being of record or not of record. AND also all and singular rents, increase of rents, and yearly profits wtsoever, of, in, or upon any leases or grant, leases or grants of, in, and upon the premisses by these presents granted, or mentioned to be granted, or, of, in, or upon any pcell thereof, being made of record, or not of record. AND the rents and anual profits of all and singular the said pmisses and every pcell thereof. AND further, of our more gracious and especial favor. certain knowledge, and meer motion, Wee will and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, DO grant to the said Sir William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, their heirs and assigns, the said lands, tenements, and other the pmisses before granted, or any pcell thereof, may impark, inclose, and reduce into severalty, and the same so imparked and reduced into severalty and inclosed, to retaine, and to use, and enjoy them to them the said Sir William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, their heirs and assigns. AND also that they, their heirs and assigns, may have free warren in the prmisses before granted by these presents, and in every pcell thereof, and all that which belongs to

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free warren, any statute, leet, ordinances, or provision to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. WHEREFORE our will is, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, DO grant to the said Sir William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, their heirs and assigns, that they, their heirs and assigns, may freely, lawfully, and quietly have and hold the said free warren and beadle, and have power to have, hold, use, and enjoy the same for ever, together with all and singular libertys, privēs and commoditys which in any manner of ways belonging, or may belong to the warren. ALSO our will is, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, DO charge and command that no one enter, or presume to enter, the said warren, to chase, hunt, hawk, or take, chase, or disturb the deer, or wild beasts there, or do any thing there which belongs, or may or ought to belong, to the warren; nor do or commit any thing which may or can be to the damage, hurt, or prejudice of the said warren, without the consent and licence of the said Sir William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, their heirs and assigns, under the penalty in the said statute and ordinaces, for preserving the free warren, made and provided, and also under the penalty of the forfeiture of ten pounds. WE further by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, Do give, grant, release, confirm, and ratify to the said Sir William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, their heirs and assigns, all and singular the premisses by these presents before granted, or mentioned to be granted, and every pcell thereof, with all their appurtenances so fully, freely, and intirely, and in such ample manner and form as all and singular those premisses came, or ought to come to our hands, or now are or ought to be in our hands by means or prtence of the agreements or covenants aforesaid, or ought to be by any other means whatsoever. AND further of our more gracious especial favour and certain knowledge, and meer moion, We will and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, Do grant to the said Sir William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, their heirs and assigns, that they, their heirs and assigns, may have, hold, and enjoy, and every of them may have, hold, and enjoy the said wast lands, hereditaments, and all and singular other the premisses by these presents before granted, or mentioned to be granted, lawfully, freely, and quietly of and from all and all manner of common claimed or to be claimed by us, our heirs or successors, of and from all libertys, officers, and ministers of ye forest and custody of deer, by us or any other person or psons claiming any estate, title, intrest, or demand by us, our heirs and successors of, in, or to the pmisses, of, in, or, to ye prses or, of, in, and to any part or parcell thereof. AND further, know ye, that we, out of our more gracious favour, certain knowledge, and meer motion, all and singular, ye premisess, by these prsents before granted, or mentioned to be granted, with all their appurtenances, for us, our heirs and successors, We do, by this our present charter, disforest and diswarren of vendane and hunting deer and wild beasts by the swiftness of dogs, and of all things wth belong to a fforest chase a warren and of their attchments, so that the tustices, fforesters, venderers, or other officers and servants of us, our heirs and successors, do not concern themselves in the premisses, or any of them in any thing which belongs to a fforest, chase, or warren, yet always excepted and altogether reserved to us, our heirs and successors, out of this present grant, all advowsons, donacons, free disposicons, and right of patronage of all and singular rectorys, churches, vicarages, chappels, and other ecclesiastical benifices whatsoever, in anywise belonging,

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appertaining, incident, appendant, or incumbent on the premisses above by these presents before granted, or any or either of them, or any prcell thereof. AND also excepted, all royal mines, and lead mines, and the estate being or to be found within or upon the pmisses, and all prerogatives belonging to the same mines, together with all and singular knights, fees wards, marriages, to have, hold, and enjoy the said several parts, porcons, or pcell of land before mentioned, and every pcell thereof; and the said free warren and all and singular other the premisses by these presents before granted, or mentioned to be granted, with all and singular their rights, members, libertys, and all appurtenances; (except before excepted) to the said Sir William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, their heirs and assigns, for ever, to the only proper use and behoof of them the said Sir William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, their heirs and assigns for ever; to hold of us, our heirs and successors, as of our mannor of East Greenwich in our county of Kent, by fealty only, in free and common soccage, and not in chief, nor by knight service. AND yielding to us, our heirs and successors, for the said lands in Epworth, Belton, Haxley, Gringley, Misterton, Snath, Cowick, Rawcliff, and Crowle in the s d countys of Lincoln, York, and Nottingham, four hundred sixty-two pounds and seventeen shillings; and for the s d premisses in Missen aforesd two hundred eighty-one pounds of lawfull money of England, at the receipt our exchequr at Westminster, or at the hands of several baliffs or receivers of the same premisses for the time being, respectively at the feats of the nativity of St. John Baptist, and the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, by equal portions to be paid yearly for all other rents, services, exactions, and demands whatsoever for the same, to us our heirs and successors, in any sort of manner to be rendred, paid, or made. And if it shall so happen that the said several annual rents of four hundred sixty-two pounds and seventeen shillings, and two hundred eighty-one pounds, above by these presents as aforesaid reserved, or any part of them, shall be in arrears and unpaid, in part or in the whole, by the space of thirty days after any feast of the said feasts in which as aforesaid they ought to be p d, that then and so often the said William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, their heirs and assigns, shall forfeit and pay, or cause to be paid, to us, our heirs and successors, twenty pounds of lawfull money of England (in the name of a penalty) beyond the said several rents above by these presents respectively reserved, for every month after each of the said feasts in which the said rents, or any prell thereof, shall be in arrear and unpaid in manner and form aforesd. Or if the said Sir William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, their heirs or assigns, shall not inroll, or cause to be inrolled, these our letters patents before one of the auditors of us, our heirs and successors, for our said several countys for the time being as aforesaid respectively, between the space of six months next ensuing the date of these presents; That then the sd Sir William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, their heirs and assigns, shall forfeit and pay to us, our heirs and successors, twenty pounds of like lawful money of England (noie panæ) and so downwards for ever; six months to begin from the date of these presents, untill these lres patents be inrolled in manner and form aforesaid; and from and after that time, from time to time, as often as the case shall so happen, it shall and may be lawfull for us, our heirs and successors, by our receiver general, or of our heirs and successors, of our several

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countys aforesd for the time being, or their sufficent deputy, into the said premisses, or any part or parcell thereof, to enter and distrain and to take, carry away, and retain the distress and distresses there found, or to be found, untill we, our heirs and successors, shall be fully satisfyed and payd for ye sd rents and sumes of money, together wth the arrears and forfeitures, in the name of the several penaltys aforesd as well for not payment of the rent aforesd as for not inrolling these our letters patents, any thing in these presents to the contrary thereof notwithstanding. AND further, out of our more gracious favour, certain knowledge, and meer motion, We will and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, Do grant to the said Sir William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, their heirs and assigns, that we, our heirs and successors, for the future we shall yearly, from time to time, acquit, dischage, and indemnify, as well the said Sir William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, their heirs and assigns, as the said parts, pells, and porcons of the waste lands, marshes, tenements, and hereditamts and all and singular other the premisses by these presents before granted, or mentioned to be granted, and every parcell thereof, wth all their appurtenances, towards us, our heirs and successors, of and from all and all manner of corrodarys ffrees, rents, services and annuitys, pencons, porcons, sums of money, and charges whatsoever, of the premisses, or any pcell thereof, going out, or to be paid in any manner to us, our heirs or successors, or there upon charged or to be charged agt us, our heirs or successors, besides of the rents, services, and tenures above by these presents reserved; and besides of the arrears of rents of all and singular the premisses, if there be any due or payable to us. AND besides, of the lease and grant of the premisses, or any pcell thereof, before this time made; and the covenants and conditions being in the same, and covents and charges which any formers of the prmisses by reason of any of their indentures of lease is or are bound to do and discharge. AND moreover, of the covents above in these presents made and by the sd Sir William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, and their heirs and assigns, to be made and pformed, Wherefore we will and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, We strictly enjoy and command, as well the trear chance and barrens of our exchequr and of our heirs and successors, for the time being, as all and singular our auditors, receivers, and other officers and servt whatsoever of us, our heirs and successors, for the time being, that they, and every of them, upon the sole demonstracon of these our letters patents, or the inrollment thereof, without any other writ or warren from us, our heirs or successors, to be obtained or prosecuted, full intine and due allowance and manifest discharge of and from all and such like corrodys, rents, ffees, services, amitys, pencons, pencons of sumes of money and charges wtsoever, of the said several rents, services, tenures, arrears of rents, covenants, and other the premisses above in these presentss reserved, and by the sd Sir William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, their heirs and assigns, so as aforesd to be payd and pformed to the said Sir William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, their heirs and assigns, shall do, and from time to time shall cause to be done. AND these our letters patents, or the inrollment thereof, shall yearly, and from time to time, as well to the trear chancr and barons of our exchequr and of our heirs and successors, as to the sd auditors, recrs and other officrs and ministers of us, our heirs and successors wtsoever for the time

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being, a sufficent warrant and discharge on his behalf. AND our further will is, and by these presents for us, our heirs and succrs We command and also give and grant absolute power and authority to our trear chancr and barons of our exqr aforesaid for the time being, that they, and every of them, from time to time, at the request of the said Sir William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, their heirs and assigns, shall do and execute, or cause to be done and executed, according to the course and custom of our said court of exchequr all and every reasonable act and acts, thing and things, which to them shall seem to be requisite for the better establishment and confirmacon of the premisses, according to the true intent and meaning of these our letters patents of and in the premisses, and every pcell thereof, and their quite and peaceable possession in the same. AND that they the said Sir William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, their heirs and assigns, may have and take the full and intire profit and benefit of these our letters patents, according to the true meaning and pressed and declared in the same. And these our letters patents, or the inrollment thereof, shall be a sufficent warrant and discharge in this behalf to the sd trear chancr and barons of our exchqr aforesaid for the time being, and to every of them. AND further, of our more gracious and especial favour and certain knowledge, and meer motion, for ye considerations aforesaid, We have agreed and granted for us, our heirs and successors, to and with the said Sir William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, their heirs and assigns, that at the next parlimt or session of parliment, of us, our heirs and successors, to be held within this our kingdom of England, we, our heirs and successors, upon the humble request to be made to us, our heirs or successors, we will give and grant, or we are willing to give and grant, and we will vowchsafe our royal and free assent and our consent to any act of parliment or peticon or bill in the same parlimt or session of parliment, to be exhibited or brought in for the better conformacon, assurance, security and safe granting of all and singular the sd wast lands, mors, marshes, and other the pmisses above by these presents before granted, or mentioned to be granted, and every part or parcell thereof, according to the true intent, effect, and meaning of these our letters patents and contract before mentioned. AND further, We will and by these prsents for us, our heirs and succrs Do grant unto the said Sir William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, their heirs or assigns, that if and as often as any doubts or questions shall happen, do arise about the validity of these our letters patents in any clause, matter, or thing wtsoever, or of the estate, title, or intrest of the said Sir William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, their heirs or assigns of, in, or to the sd premisses before granted, or mentioned to be granted, or any pcell thereof; that then, and as often as upon the humble peticon of them the said Sir William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, their heirs or assigns respectively, to be exhibited to us, our heirs and succrs and upon notice and upon certificate to us by our attorney general, and of us, our heirs and succrs for the time being, of any defect that ought to be mended, we, our heirs and succrs will graciously vouchsafe to grant others letters patents to the same Sir William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, their heirs and assigns, with such and such like amendmt explanacon, amplification, and addition

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as to the attorney general for the time being, in that behalf, shall seem adviseable and convenient to be done. AND whereas the said Sir William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, out of their singular devotion and piety, have pposed and intended to erect and build one or more chappell or chappells within the limits of the said lands and other the pmisses, in places most convenient, and therein to maintain ministers sufficent to perform divine worship there, at their own expences, to the glory of Almighty God, and have humbly implored our licence and royal assent to the compleating of this their work. We give great incouragement to the said pious and laudable design of them the said Sir William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, and willing that it should attain a happy effect, of our especial favour, certain knowledge, and meer motion, have given and granted, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, Do give and grant to the sd Sir William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, their heirs and assigns, full licence, power, and authority, that they, or any or either of them, at any time hereafter, and in any convenient place or places within the bounds of the said lands and other the premisses before granted, or any or either of them, where it shall seem most expedient to them, with the consent and approbation of the ordinary of that place, may and have power to found, erect, and build one or more chappel or chappels. And in the said chappel or chappels, from time for ever, to keep and maintain one or more minister or ministers to read and celebrate holy things there, to the honour and praise of Almighty God, in the English or Dutch tongue, according to the form of religion established in this our kingdom of England. And this without any other warrant or commission to be procured or obtained from us, our heirs or succesors, in that behalf, any cause, matter, or thing wt soever to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

AND further, Our will and pleasure is, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, Do grant to the said Sir William Curteine, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanuleteren, their heirs and assigns, that these our letters patents, or the inrollment thereof, shall be in and thro' all things firm, valid, good, sufficent, and effectual in the law, for and against us, our heirs and succrs as well in all our courts as elsewhere, within this our kingdom of England, without any confirmacons, licences or tollerations to be pcured or obtained from us, our heirs or succrs Notwithstanding the wrong named or not naming wrong renting or the said wast lands, moors, marshes, lands, tenemts hereditamts and other the pmisses as above by these prsents before granted, or mentioned to be granted, or any part or pcell thereof. And notwithstanding the not finding or wrong finding the office or offices, or inquisition or inquisitions of the pmisses or any pcell thereof, by which our title ought to be found before making of these our letters patents. And notwithstanding any defect or defects in not reciting or wrong reciting any lease or grant, leases or grants, gift or gifts, of or concerning the pmisses, or of or concerning pcell thereof, or of any thereof before this time made of record or not of record. And notwithstanding the wrong naming or ill naming or not naming any town, hamblet, place, parish, or county in which the prmisses, or any pte or pcell thereof is or are. And notwithstanding any defect or defects in wrong naming any tenant, farmer, or occupier of the prmisses, or any pcell thereof. And notwithstanding any variation, incongruity, or difference in any thing, matter, name, or forme before this

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time made between these our letters patents, or any particular or survey of the premisses or any pts or pcell thereof, or between these our letters patents or any record or records, account or accounts of the said premisses, or any pcell thereof, in any wise belonging, touching, or concerning. And notwithstanding any defect or defects in not mentioning, or not rightfully menconing, or wrong or ill mentioning the true yearly value of the prmisses, or any pcell thereof, or the true annual rent reserved of, in, or upon the prmisses, or any pcell thereof, specified in any particular or survey or account before this time made or hereafter to be made of the prmisses or either of them. And notwithanding that the same prmisses, or any profits thereof, were ever of a better or greater value yearly than is specifyed in these letters patents or any particular of the premisses. And notwithstanding the statute in parliment made and published in the Eighteenth year of the late king HENRY the SIXTH of England, our predecessor. And notwithstanding the statute in parliment of HENRY the FOURTH, late king of England, made and published in the First year of his reign. And notwithstanding any other defects in not naming, or not rightly naming ye natures, kinds, species, quantities and qualities of the premisses, or any pcell thereof, or any pson or psons who before this time was or were seized of the premisses or any or either of them, or any estate before this time intailed to us or to any of our progenitors or ancestors, or any indenture or annexation by our most dear late father of blessed memory, or any other of our progenitors or ancestors late kings or queens of England, or any covenant, agreement, or grant concerning the same, or any pcell thereof, before this time made to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. Our will is also, &c. without fine in the hannaper, &t so that express mention, &c. In witness, &c T. R. at Westminster, the Twenty-Fourth day of March.

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APPENDIX

No.

Lincoln Complum est in quod in Libro Ordinacōnum sive decret hujus Sūi de anno regni Due Regis Due Regine nunc Gulielmi & Marie Quarto finien & Quinto incipien (viz.) Inter Ordin sive decret de Termino Sti Hillarii fol: exple hujus Rememator in he't Verba Still.

Termino Pasthe Anno 5to R R's & R.ne Willi & Marie Rolto–84–rii Lune ⋈⋈ᵒ dei Februa

Inter pl Honorabil Johem Comit Mulgrave, Georgii Duum Carteret, Robtum Ryther Sena & ad Quers et Willum Harwood armeger Marcum Vanvalkenburgh & ab Def. etc. Contra Psepal Bill Anglican

LINCOLN. These Causes standing in the paper and coming to be heard in the Exchequer Chamber, on Thursday, the Fourteenth day of May, in Easter Term, in the Third year of his now Majesty's reign, it was, among other things, ordered, adjudged, and decreed by the court, that the agreement set forth in the said order of the Fourteenth day of May should be and was thereby decreed and confirmed, and that a commission should be awarded under the seal of this court directed to Thomas Dawson, John Richmond, James Dalby, William Fulbeck, and Henry Caister, for the plaintiffs the Earl of Mulgrave, Robert Ryther, and the rest of them. And to William Laughton, William Skiers, Samuel Swinden, Thomas Crosby, and John Dunklyn, for the participants William Marwood, Esq. and the rest of them. Impowering them, or any four or more of them, whereof two to be of the commoners' commissioners and two of them to be of the participants' commissioners, to make an allotment and division of the premises in question, according to the orders and decrees of the Fourteenth day of May, and the Eighth day of December therein mentioned. In pursuance of which order, and of a subsequent order of the Eighth of December, directing two or more of the commissioners for the commoners, to set out the one thousand acres in two several places most convenient for the inhabitants, and afterwards to join with the commissioners for the

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participants in dividing the residue. A commission awarded under the seal of this court, directed to the commissioners for the commoners, or any two of them, to execute the same as to the one thousand acres: And afterwards it was directed to all the said commissioners or any four of them, whereof two were to be of the commissioners for the commoners and two were to be of the commissioners for the participants. And that, pursuant to the said order and commission, two of them, viz. James Dalbie and William Fulbecke, being commissioners for the said commoners of Epworth manor, did execute the same as to the one thousand acres, and made a certificate thereof to this court in these words (that is to say):

To the Right Honourable Sir Robert Atkyns, Lord Chief Baron, of their Majesties Court of Exchequer, at Westminster, and the rest of the Barons there,

May it please your Honours,—We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, in order to the execution of that part of the commission hereunto annexed, to us and others directed, whereby power and authority is given us to allot and appoint one thousand acres, parcel of the seven thousand four hundred acres, in the order or decree to the said commission annexed in two places, for the use and benefit of the commoners, tenants and inhabitants of the manor of Epworth, according to the tenor and true intent of the several orders or decree to the same commission annexed. We have well considered of the said orders or decree, and have consulted with the inhabitants of the said manor: And by virtue of the said commission and power thereby given us, we do hereby set forth and allot for the said commoners, tenants, and inhabitants of the said manor, the aforesaid one thousand acres, parcel of the said seven thousand four hundred acres, in two places most convenient for all the inhabitants of the several towns in the said orders mentioned. S'tilt. Belton, Epworth, Haxey, and Owston, according to the true intent of the said orders or decree, in such manner as is hereafter mentioned; (that is to say,) five hundred acres thereof lying in Belton parish, at the north-west point of the said seven thousand four hundred acres. S'tilt. All that piece of ground called by the name of Thornebush Carr; except forty acres thereof, lying at the far corner of that carr, Old Idle lying west of it, and is near Peter Liew House; and also all that part of the ground called Belton Plains, next adjoining to the said Thornebush Carr upon the south-east part thereof towards Santoft, and north-west thereof towards Old Idle and the Furr Bank down to Dortness Bank eastward, leaving out fifty acres on the north-east side of the same plain next Dortness Bridge. The which aforesaid part or piece of ground, so by us as aforesaid set out in Belton Plains, contains all the plains on the west side New Idle Bank, except fifty acres thereof lying next Dortness Bridge, the which aforesaid places s'tilt the said part of Thornebush Carr, and the said part of the plains, we have, by admeasurement and survey made thereof, computed to contain five hundred acres. And as to the residue of the said one thousand acres s'tilt five hundred acres more, we do set forth and allot for the use aforesaid, other parts of the aforesaid seven thousand four hundred acres lying at the south-west points thereof, in manner following; (that is to say) to begin at west end of Misterton, six hundred sixty-four acres mentioned in the said decree, which, at the south-west corner by Vicarsdike Bank, is directly over against the middle of the far Burnson, the far side of Vicarsdike, and is from thence leading in a direct and straight line to the Double Bank, to the bott or hole there now made on that bank, then leaving out in breadth four chains length (each chain being two and twenty yards long) all along by the north side of Vicarsdike Bank, from

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Idlestop eastward, and another small piece at the east end of the same four chains length by Vicarsdike Bank, extending to the said part allotted to Misterton, all the ground between the north side of them four chains length and the said small piece left out by Vicarsdike Bank into Double Bank, and so to proceed from the said westward of Misterton on forward westward as far as the first Rushy Close Dike on the west side the Slout Dike, and then all along by that dike side southward to the corner of Upper Rushy Close marked out by a bott or hole there made, then westward along by the dike leading by that close side towards Dockhill and so turning up the Cross Dike, which is cut through Dockhill unto the bott or hole there made at the corner of the dike which turns westward a little beyond Dockhill, and so along by that cross dike side westward to the first Cavel dike on the east side New Idle Bank, and from that Cavel dike the whole compass and circuit of ground between the north, outside of the said four chains length by Vicarsdike Bank and the said Double Bank and New Idle Bank: All which several parcels of ground before mentioned do extend in length from the said west end of Misterton six hundred sixty-four acres unto New Idle Bank westward, and lies between the said Double Bank north, and the north outside of the said four chains length, and the said other small piece by Vicarsdike Bank on the south, except only out of the same the ground called the Rushy Closes which do contain one hundred and nineteen acres, or thereabouts, which we leave out to be divided between the participants and the commoners of the said manor of Epworth. And also, all them pieces of ground called the Gelfs, and likewise all that first Cavel on the north side of the said Double Bank on Broomsom's, Old Idle lying on the west side thereof, and the first Cavel Dike on the east side thereof, and abuts on Snow Sewer north, and the said Double Bank south, except only out of same Cavel two and twenty acres parcel thereof, which we have admeasured out of the same and leave it out at the north-east end of the same Cavel, between that Cavel dike and the middle dike of that Cavel and between Snow Sewer and the first cross dike on the north side of all Broomsoms Hills, on that east side of that Cavel, all which said several parcels of ground which we have last mentioned to be lying at the south-west points of the said seven thousand four hundred acres, and hereby as aforesaid allotted out, we have, by admeasurement and survey thereof made, computed to be and contain in the whole five hundred acres, which makes up the other five hundred acres in Belton parish above before by us allotted and set forth, to be the full one thousand acres directed by the said commission for us to allot and set forth for the uses aforesaid. All which we humbly certify to your honours this Seventeenth day of October in the Fourth year of our sovereign Lord and Lady King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, over England, &c. Anno Domi 1692.

JAMES DALBYE.
WILLIAM FULBECK.

And afterwards four of the commissioners, (viz.) James Dalbye and William Fulbecke commissioners for the commoners, and William Skiers and Thomas Crosby commissioners for the participants, did proceed to execute the rest of the commission, and executed the same accordingly, and made a certificate thereof accordingly, which certificate follows in these words, (viz.)

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To the Right Honourable Sir Robert Atkyns, Lord Chief Baron, of their Majesties Court of Exchequer, at Westminster, and the rest of the Barons there,

May it please your Honours,—We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, being some of the persons appointed commissioners for the execution of some part of the commission hereunto annexed, whereby, in the first place, power and authority is given unto certain persons therein named, to set for the use and benefit of the commoners, tenants, and inhabitants of the manor of Epworth, one thousand acres, parcel of the seven thousand four hundred acres, in the order or decree to the said commission annexed mentioned, according to the intent of the several orders or decree to the same annexed: then, in the next place, by the same commission, power and authority is thereby given to us, to do and execute all other things mentioned and expressed in the said orders or decree, according to the tenor, form, and effect thereof, and upon perusal of the order or decree mentioned in the said commission, to be made the Fourteenth day of May in the Third year of their new majesties reign, and to the same commission annexed, we find that after the said one thousand acres are set out as aforesaid for the said commoners of the manor of Epworth, and also six hundred sixty-four acres, another parcel of the said seven thousand four hundred acres, are set out for the commoners of Misterton, according to the said agreement in the said order or decree mentioned, that then we should survey and divide the residue of the said seven thousand four hundred acres, pursuant to the said decree, into two equal shares and parts in point of value, and the one share and part thereof to appoint to the said commoners of the manor of Epworth, and the other part and share thereof to the participants, pursuant to the said decree: Now in as much the one thousand acres are already set forth for the use of the commoners of the manor of Epworth, and, as we are informed, the said six hundred sixty-four acres are also set out for the said commoners of Misterton, according to the intent of the said agreement, order, and decree, we have proceeded to the execution of the aforesaid other part of the said commission, as we are thereby commanded, for the dividing of the aforesaid remainder of the said seven thousand four hundred acres into two equal shares and parts, according to our best judgements, which, according to the intent of the said decree, we appoint and set forth in manner following: (that is to say) We appoint and set forth, for the participants, all that piece or parcel of ground containing three hundred and four acres, or thereabouts, lying between Snow Sewer and the Double Bank, next the first Cavel dike, on Broomsoms on the west, and a bott hole now made on Snow Sewer Bank towards the north, and another bott hole on the said Double Bank towards the south: one other piece or parcel of ground three hundred and four acres, or thereabouts, lying over against Craislound between Snow Sewer and Double Bank, as the same is now plotted and marked out, with bott holes on either side, east and west, on Snow Sewer Bank and the said Double Bank, being parcel of the places called the Owsoms, Old Lead, and Through Hill: also the moiety or half part of the place called Rushy Closes, which in the whole are computed to contain one hundred and nineteen acres, or thereabouts, to be equally measured off at the east end thereof: also two and twenty acres lying at the north-east end of Broomsom's first Cavel between that Cavel Dike and the middle dike, and between Snow Sewer and the first Cross Dike on the north side of Broomsom's Hills. There is also four chains length, containing eighty-eight yards in breadth, lying along by the side of Vicarsdike Bank from Idlestop eastward, and another small piece left out at the east end

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of the said four chains lengths by Vicarsdike Bank, extending to the said part allotted to Misterton, both which ought to have been divided, but we leave them open to the common by consent of parties of both sides, to be eaten by the commoners, and the participants are to dig and take earth there, what they should have occasion for, for the repairing of Vicarsdike Bank: and also one fourth part being the north side of a place called Haxey North Carr, containing two hundred twenty-five acres, or thereabouts, whereof the north fourth part of Kelsey Closes, lying at the west end of the said fourth part of that carr and abutting on Old Idle, is part as the same is now botted out: and also another fourth part of the said carr, being the south side thereof, and contains two hundred twenty-five acres, or thereabouts, as the same is now botted out on the north side, and adjoins on the south side to a piece of common called Park Dike Bank, only to be left out on the same fourth part one acre for a passage to the said piece of common at the west corner of Thrumrawhole: and whereof also the south side of the said closes called Kelsey's Closes, is part as the same is also botted out on the north side, and lies next Coffee Close south butts on New Idle Bank, under bank, leading northward from Thrumrow Nooke on the east participants', leaving passage from Coffee Close to the commoners' part in Haxey North Carr, which said two parcels of the said carr, and the said two parts of Kelsey Closes, contains the moiety and half part of the said North Carr and Kelsey Closes, and also the south part of Epworth Carrs, called Holms Carr, Starr Carr, and Aukland Closes, next adjoining to Haxey North Carr, containing three hundred ninety-seven acres, or thereabouts, as the same is now botted out, and Thrumrow Bank lying west thereof in part, and a bank leading from Langham Hill to Tunnill Pitt by Old Torne side, lying on the north side of the said Starr Carr and Holmes Carr: And also all that parcel of ground containing three hundred forty-one acres, or thereabouts, called Samuel Closes, and part of Jordan Illion, adjoining to the common called Rosse North, now Torne East, and bott holes on the south, and New Idle Bank on the west; but, by consent of parties on both sides, for the convenience of the inhabitants of Epworth, the participants are to make and maintain a horse bridge over New Idle, at Crook Nooking, for commoners' passage into West Carr. And also a parcel of ground in Belton, lying six cavels together, containing in the whole, six hundred acres, or thereabouts, abutting on Rosse towards the south, New Idle Bank towards the west, the bank leading from Dortness Bridge to Crowle Causeway towards the north, and the Fourteen Foot Dike towards the east; and also the next cavel on the east side of the said Fourteen Foot Dike, running north and south, which contains, in the whole, one hundred fifty-eight acres, or thereabouts, except only out of the same cavel fifteen acres, parcel thereof, to be measured and cut off by the participants at the north end of that cavel, with sufficient fences: And also forty acres, parcel of a place called Thornbush Carr, to be measured and fenced off by the participants at the far corner of the same carr, Old Idle lying west thereof, near Peter Liew House: And also one parcel of ground in Belton, called the Heaps, containing one hundred and thirteen acres, or thereabouts, next the River Dunn on the north, Old Idle on the west, and the High Bank leading to Dortness Bridge south, and Dortness Nook east: And also one parcel of ground containing six acres and three roods, being parcel of a ground known by the name of Smack Farm: And likewise one hundred acres in the West Carr, as is adjoining to Sandtoft Bank and Sandtoft Farm towards the north, Old Idle west, the residue of the West Carr

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south, and New Idle Bank east: All the which aforesaid several parcels of ground are lying and being within the several parishes of Belton, Epworth, Haxey, and Owston, within the said manor of Epworth, in the county of Lincoln, and in the parish of Misterton in the county of Nottingham, or in all or some of them, and are part and parcel of the said seven thousand four hundred acres, and the share and part we hereby allot and set out of the same for the said participants: And all the rest and residue of the said seven thousand four hundred acres, or which are accounted as any part or parcel thereof, we here allot, appoint, and set forth to and for the freeholders, copyholders, commoners, tenants, and inhabitants of the said manor of Epworth, as their share and part thereof, according to the intent of the said decree, which we do compute amounts to as many acres thereof as those before by us appointed for the participants; and in case it do not, but be any thing short thereof, then we further assign and appoint to the said inhabitants, out of the said seven thousand four hundred acres in the participants' said allotments, to be set off and taken out in such places where it shall so fall short, as many acres as will make it equal in number to theirs.

And whereas, by the said order or decree of the said Fourteenth day of May, in the said Third year of their new Majesties reign, annexed to the said commission, We further find that the said commoners of the manor of Epworth, are left at liberty to improve all the grounds now and formerly allotted to them for their better ordering thereof by such ways and means as they should think fit: And we also finding, by the commoners there, that they are very desirous the same should be done, in regard of the great disorders and ill husbandry thereof used and practised by divers amongst them, but we being not satisfied that the said commission extends so far as to impower us to do any thing therein, at their request we do humbly recommend it to your honours to make such order or award such commissions to such other gentlemen as they may nominate, impowering them thereby to appoint and direct such ways and methods as may be most effectual for the best ordering and improving their aforesaid allotments, to be confirmed by the decree of this honourable court, or otherwise as to your honours' great wisdom may therein seem most expedient. All which we humbly certify your honours this Eighteenth day of October in the Fourth year of the reign of our sovereign Lord and Lady King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, over England, &c. Anno Domi 1692.

JAMES DALBYE.
WILLIAM FULBECK.
WILLIAM SKIERS.
THOMAS CROSBY.

Which commission being returned and filed, and the said causes standing in the paper of causes for this day, came to be further heard. Now upon hearing Mr. Sergeant Lovinz, Mr. Ward, Mr. Dod, and Mr. Browne, for the said participants, praying the said certificates of the commissioners, so returned as aforesaid, may be decreed: and upon reading of the said certificates, and upon hearing of Mr. Molynes for the Earl of Mulgrave, and of Mr. Ryther for the other plaintiffs, (Robert Ryther and others plaintiffs in the original cause,)

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and of Mr. Phipps for the Duchess of Buckingham, and upon hearing Mr. Bridges on the behalf of the inhabitants of the parish of Misterton, all consenting that the said certificates may be decreed: And upon hearing of Sir Thomas Powys, knight, Mr. Newport, and Mr. Bernard, against the return of the commissioners, and on debate of the matter, It is therefore this day finally ordered, adjudged, and decreed by the court, that the said return of the said commission and certificates above set forth, and the divisions and allotments thereby made, shall be and are hereby decreed, ratified, and confirmed in all points, and for ever established by the power and authority of this court: And it is further ordered and decreed, that the participants, or their assigns, shall forthwith be put into the actual possession of the such parts of the said seven thousand four hundred acres as are so allotted and appointed to them, and set out by the said commissioners, and specified in the said certificate dated the Eighteenth day of October last, and the possession of the same lands are hereby decreed to them: And that an injunction under the seal of this court shall be awarded and do issue to put the said participants into the possession thereof; and also to quiet them, their heirs and assigns, and all persons claiming under them for ever hereafter therein.

And it is further ordered and decreed, by the consent of all the said parties, that the order of this court, made the Fifth day of December last, touching the inhabitants of the said parish of Misterton, shall be and is hereby made absolute: And that the said inhabitants of the said parish of Misterton shall have, in all respects, the benefit of the said decree and as is therein mentioned: And that they, the said inhabitants of the said parish of Misterton, shall for the future hold and enjoy the six hundred sixty-four acres allotted to them, free from and discharged of any intercommoning by the court: That the participants' said part and share, and the inheritance thereof, (except the Lord Erwin's one hundred acres) shall be and is hereby vested in and decreed to Matthew Bointon, John Ramsden, and William Sympson, esquires, Michael Wharton, John Arthur, and Henry Wood, gentlemen, and their heirs: And accordiugly they are, by the injunction of this court, to put into possession thereof, and quietted therein in trust, for the purposes following (that is to say): That the said Matthew Boynton, John Ramsden, William Simpson, Michael Wharton, John Arthur, and Henry Wood, and their heirs, or any three or more of them, may be thereby enabled, and they the said Matthew Boynton, John Ramsden, William Simpson, Michael Wharton, John Arthur, and Henry Wood, and their heirs, or any three or more of them, are hereby enabled to execute and perform all and every such agreement and agreements as are or have been heretofore made with her Grace the Duchess of Buckingham, or any other person or persons on her behalf, or with any other person or persons for or concerning any share or interest of or in the said participants' part or allotment by the said Matthew Boynton, John Ramsden, William Sympson, Michael Wharton, John Arthur, and Henry Wood, or by or with any of them, or by or with any other person or persons on the behalf of the said participants, concerning or in anywise relating to the premises.

And it is further ordered and decreed, by this court, that they the said Matthew Boynton, John Ramsden, William Simpson, Michael Wharton, John Arthur, and Henry Wood, and their heirs, shall stand and be seized, possessed, and interested of all the residue and remainder of the participants' said part and share (except the said one hundred acres at

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Sandtoft, of the Lord Erwyn) from and after the performance of such agreements as aforesaid, for the use, benefit, and advantage of all the participants and their heirs, according to their respective interests, to be divided and apportioned as they the said Matthew Boynton, John Ramsden, William Sympson, Michael Wharton, John Arthur, and Henry Wood, and their heirs, or any three or more of them, shall think fit.

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APPENDIX

No.

A Bill put in Parliament on Behalf of CORNELIUS VERMUYDEN, respecting the Incorporating the Participants of the Level of Hatfield Chase, and their Privileges.

WHEREAS his late majesty being owner of about three score thousand acres of waste bogs and surrounded grounds, belonging to his several manors of Hatfield, and one third part of the manor of Brampton, at Gate, and his manor of Epworth, and fourteen other contiguous manors within the several counties of York, Lincoln, and Nottingham, or some or one of them, did by articles under the great seal of England, bearing date the Four and Twentieth day of May, in the Second year of his reign, contract with Cornelius Vermuyden esquire, now knight, for draining of the same: and thereby agreed to allow him one third part of the said wastes for his pains and charges: And whereas the said Cornelius Vermuyden did, at the expence of two hundred thousand pounds, perfect the said work:

And whereas, upon another contract under the great seal of England, made by advice of his late majesty's most honourable privy council, bearing date the Seven and Twentieth day of December, in the Fourth year of his reign, his said majesty reserved sixteen thousand and eight hundred pounds fine, and was to have reserved to him the yearly fee-farm rent of twelve hundred twenty-eight pounds and seventeen shillings per annum for ever for his majesty's proportion therein: And did agree well and sufficiently to convey to the said Cornelius Vermuyden, and his heirs and assigns for ever, the said several proportions freed and discharged from all claims of common and pretences whatsoever: And his said majesty did also agree with the said Cornelius Vermuyden, that his said late majesty, his heirs and successors, should and would give his royal assent to a bill in parliament for settling and comfirming the same: And would incorporate the said Cornelius Vermuyden, his participants and assigns, for the better order and government of the said drained grounds: And his said late majesty did further grant several other privileges and advantages in encouragement of the said notwithstanding:

And whereas, in pursuance of the said contracts, his said majesty did by letters patents, bearing date the Fifth day of February in the Fourth year of his reign: and by other

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letters patents bearing date the Four and Twentieth day of March, in the Twentieth year of his reign, grant and convey to the said Cornelius Vermuyden and his heirs, or to others by his nomination for trust for him and his participants and their heirs, the said several proportions accordingly: And whereas the respective commoners did freely submit to the several proportions which were set out and allotted to his said majesty and the said Cornelius Vermuyden, (those only within the Isle of Axholme excepted,) who would not submit till a decree in the court of exchequer was, in the Twentieth year of his said late majesty's reign, obtained for the establishment of the proportions lying within the said isle: and the said decreed proportions being seven thousand and four hundred acres, or thereabouts, were peaceably enjoyed till the beginning of the late wars; at which time some of the said commoners, under pretence of not being bound by the said decree, did therefore invade the same and destroyed great quantities of corn, and damaged above one hundred and fifty habitations and a church erected by the said participants for the French and Dutch protestant strangers their tenants, and maliciously drowned the same: so that the whole improvement was in great danger to be lost thereby:

Now, to the end that the said contracts and letters patents may be confirmed and made good in every part for ever, and that works of the like nature, being of so public use and benefit, may receive all full encouragement, Be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said several letters patents and the estates and interests thereby granted or intended to be granted, and all conveying estates, trusts, and interests decreed under the same, or either of them, shall from their respective dates be for ever taken and held for valid and firm in law to all intents and purposes: and are hereby adjudged and shall be deemed and taken sufficient in law to vest, sell, and convey the lands thereby respectively granted unto and in the several patentees, and their heirs, and all persons claiming in law or equity from, by, or under them or any of them, or by or under such awards, conveyances, and assurances, or any of them, notwithstanding the said letters patents were passed under the great seal of England only, and not under the seal of the Duchy of Lancaster, or that due examination was not thereupon had: And notwithstanding the said lands, or any of them, now parcel of the possessions of the dukedoms of Lancaster and Cornwall, or of either of them, or mentioned to lie in one or more towns, parishes, or counties, and in truth do lie in some other town, parish, or county; and are mentioned to be parcel of one manor, and in truth are parcel of some other manor, and notwithstanding any misrecital or defect in the same or any other matter or things whatsoever: And that the several patentees, and their heirs and assigns, and all persons claiming or deriving any estate, right, or title, in law or equity, by, from, or under them or any of them, shall hold and enjoy the lands by the said letters patents granted, or intended to be granted, freed and discharged from all title of common or other claim, pretence, or title whatsoever:

And be it further enacted, That all the lands lying within or adjacent to the late chase called Hatfield Chase, which have been drained and improved by the said Cornelius Vermuyden, or his assigns and participants, shall be from henceforth taken and esteemed to be the Level of Hatfield Chase: And the respective owners of the said improved lands shall

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be and are hereby incorporated, and shall be a body politic and corporate in deed and name, and have succession for ever by the name of the governor, bailiffs, conservators, and commonalty of the Level of Hatfield Chase: which corporation shall consist of one governor, three bailiffs, and twelve conservators and commonalties, and shall have and use a common seal, to be appointed by themselves, and shall and may assemble when and where they please, and shall and may as well demand, reserve, and levy all arrears of taxes by the commissioners of sewers since the Four and Twentieth day of June, One Thousand Six Hundred Fifty and Six, imposed by any laws of sewers now in force, on the participants' lands in the said level, (except those lands in the Isle of Axholme,) and call all receivers, collectors, and other officers to account for the same: as also assess and tax all the improved lands within the said level (the commoners' part excepted) for support and preservation of the said level, and works concerning the same, and for defraying all other charges tending to or depending upon the same: and for non-payment of the said taxes or arrears, to levy and recover the same by all such ways and means as taxes imposed by commissioners of sewers may be levied or recovered by virtue of any statute or statutes now in force: And shall and may appoint a treasurer, clerk, serjeant at mace, and other officers, and allow them such salaries as they shall think meet, and remove them at pleasure, and upon death or removal appoint new ones in any of their places: And Sir George Savile, baronet, shall be the first governor: and Edward Waldron, John Gibbon, and Jonn Bradbourne, shall be the three first bailiffs: and Sir Thomas Abdye and John Anthony Vanvalkenburgh, baronets, Sir Charles Harbord, Sir John Ogle, knights, William Ramsden, Walter Rea, Mark Vanvalkenburgh, Robert Hampson, John Hattfeild, George Johnson, John Hanbliett, and Alexander Broom, shall be the first twelve conservators: and the said governor bailiffs, and conservators to continue until the Sixteenth day of February, One Thousand Six Hundred Sixty-Two, and until new election by the said corporation or the major part then present shall be made: And that the governor, conservators, and commonalty of the Level of Hatfield Chase, shall be capable to sue and be sued by that name, and without licence to purchase manors, lands, and tenements, not exceeding the value of two hundred pounds per annum, and goods and chattles, and to dispose thereof, in the name and to the use of the said corporation: And the said governor, bailiffs, and conservators, or any four of them, whereof the said governor and bailiffs, or any of them, to be one, shall and forever hereafter be and are hereby made and constituted commissioners of sewers of, for, and concerning the said level and all the works belonging thereunto, wherein no other commissioners of sewers whatsoever shall in any wise intermeddle: And shall in all cases have and exercise within and concerning the said level and the works thereto belonging, all and every such powers and authorities which any other commissioners of sewers, by the laws and statutes of this kingdom, may or can exercise: And shall and may make new works for preservation of the said level, and assess and tax all the lands within the same (except the commoners' part) to the doing thereof, and levy the said tax or taxes by all or any such ways or means as any tax imposed by commissioners of sewers may be levied or recovered by virtue of any statute or statutes now in force, and may proceed by one or more juries to be summoned by the said serjeant at mace, the good and lawful men inhabiting within the said level, though in several counties, and if the said level lies in one county only, and the jurors were sufficient freeholders and were returned by the sheriff, and as if the the said commissioners were six in number, and six of the quorum, and shall

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and may make bye-laws and ordinances for government and preservation of the said level, according to the laws and customs of Romney Marsh, or otherwise according to their good discretion: And if any person shall cut, throw down, or destroy any works made or to be made within or concerning the said level, the party offending shall answer treble damages to the said corporation, besides costs of suits: and if such cutting, throwing down, or destroying shall be maliciously done, the same shall be punished as for cutting the podike in marsh lands: Saving, notwithstanding, to all power of this realm, that upon any act by them, or any of them, to be done against the tenor of this act, they shall have their trial by their peers and not otherwise, any thing in this act to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding:

And be it further enacted, That the said governor, and every other into that office chosen, shall, before he execute the same, take an oath that he will well and truly execute the office of governor of the said level, which oath may be administered by the Lord Chancellor of England, or by any one of the judges of either bench, or justices of the assizes within the said counties of York, Lincoln, and Nottingham: And the said bailiffs and conservators, and every of them into those offices chosen, shall, before they execute the same offices, take the like oath for the true executing of the said respective offices, which oath shall and may be administered by the governor, or in his absence by any one of the bailiffs, and conservators to any other of them respectively: And the said governor, bailiffs, conservators, and commonalty, upon the Sixteenth day of February, which shall be in the year of our Lord One Thousand Six Hundred Sixty-Two, and from henceforth upon the Sixteenth day of February yearly for ever, unless the same shall happen to be on the Sunday, and then upon the next day following, and at any other time upon death of any the said governor, bailiffs, and conservators, may at a public meeting to be holden for the said corporation by the greater number then present, whereof the governor or one of the bailiffs to be one, elect a new governor, bailiffs, and conservators: Provided that none be capable to be or continue governor or bailiffs, that hath not three hundred acres or more of the said drained lands in freehold: nor to be a conservator that hath not the quantity of one hundred and fifty acres or more of the said lands in freehold: nor to have a voice in any such election, that hath not one hundred acres or more of the said lands in freehold:

And be it further enacted, That the said governor, bailiffs, conservators, and commonalty, and their successors, shall and may hold and keep one weekly market, to be holden at Santofte within the said level, on every Friday in every week for ever: And also shall and may hold and keep at Santofte aforesaid, two public fairs, that is to say, one of them upon the Tenth day of April One Thousand Six Hundred Sixty-Two, and the other upon the Tenth day of September then next following: and so from henceforth two fairs yearly, upon every Tenth day of April and Tenth day of September yearly for ever, unless either of the said days happen to be on the Sunday, and then upon the next day following: And shall and may have, demand, and take to the use of the said corporation, all tolls and duties for stallage, pinage, and other duties, and use and exercise all privileges and jurisdictions in the said markets and fairs, or in respect of the same as to markets or fairs are any ways incident or belonging:

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And whereas the yearly rents reserved upon the before recited letters patents, made by his said late majesty to the said Sir Cornelius Vermuyden as aforesaid, bearing date the Fifth day of February, in the Fourth year of his reign, amounting together unto four hundred eighty and five pounds per annum, were, by other letters patents dated the Ninth day of September in the Fifth year of his reign, granted unto Katharine late Duchess of Buckingham and Sir George Manners, knight, afterwards Earl of Rutland, and to their heirs, in trust for George now Duke of Buckingham, his heirs and assigns for ever, as by the same letters patents particularly doth appear:

Be it therefore enacted and declared, That it shall and may be lawful to and for the said duke, his heirs or assigns, or his or their trustee or trustees, their heirs and assigns for ever, to demand and collect the several proportions of the rents aforesaid, and all arrearages thereof, upon all or any of the lands granted to the said Sir Cornelius Vermuyden by the said letters patents, bearing date the Fifth day of February in the Fourth year of the said late king's reign, belonging to the said Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, his heirs and assigns, or to the respective participants of the said lands, claiming, from, by, or under the said Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, his heirs or assigns, according to the respective proportions which they have been formerly charged withal, by two several decrees made in the court of the exchequer concerning the same, the one in the Term of St. Michael in the Thirteenth year of the reign of the said late King CHARLES: the other in the Term of the Holy Trinity, in the Fifteenth year of the reign of the said late King CHARLES: And if it shall happen the said yearly rents, or either of them, or the several proportions of the said rents, or any part or parcel of them or either of them, shall be in arrears for the space of twenty days next after the usual days of payment thereof in the said letters patents to that purpose mentioned and appointed: that then it shall and may be lawful to and for the said duke, his heirs and assigns, or his or their trustee or trustees, and his and their heirs and assigns, and his their any or either of their agent or agents, collector or collectors, receiver or receivers, into any part of the said proportions of the lands aforesaid, belonging to any of the said participants, their heirs or assigns, who shall so happen to be in arrear, to enter and distrain, and the distress or distresses by him or them taken, to load, drive, take, carry away and impound, and in pound to detain and keep until the said rents due for and upon such proportions of lands, with all arrearages thereof, shall be fully satisfied and paid:

And whereas also the yearly rents reserved upon the before recited letters patents, made by his said late majesty to the trustees or partners of the said Sir Cornelius Vermuyden as aforesaid, bearing date the Four and Twentieth day of March in the Eleventh year of his reign, amounting together unto seven hundred forty-three pounds and seventeen shillings per annum, were, by other letters patents bearing date the Twenty-Sixth day of August in the Twelfth year of his said late majesty's reign, granted unto Philip late Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, and Sir Robert Pye, knight, and to their heirs, in trust for the said Duke of Buckingham and his heirs for ever, as by the same letters patents particularly doth appear:

Be it therefore enacted and declared by this present parliament and the authority thereof, and it is hereby enacted and declared, That the said several letters patents last herein

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mentioned, and every clause, article, and sentence herein contained, are hereby confirmed and made good: and that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said duke, his heirs and assigns, his and their trustee and trustees, and his and their heirs and assigns, to take and use all ways and means, remedies and advantages, for the demanding, collecting, and receiving the said yearly rents of seven hundred forty-three pounds seventeen shillings, and every part and parcel thereof, as are particularly and at large mentioned and expressed in the said several letters patents, or in either of them, as fully and amply to all intents and purposes as are herein mentioned and expressed:

And whereas Ruth Rogers, now the wife of Anthony Gilbye, esquire, did in or about the years of our Lord One Thousand Six Hundred Thirty-Seven and One Thousand Six Hundred Thirty and Eight, upon default of payment made by some of the participants of their several shares and scots assessed upon them, purchase of the commissioners of sewers (for the sum of six hundred ninety-three pounds, or thereabouts,) three hundred acres of land, or thereabouts, parcel of the said level, and late belonging to some of the said participants: which money was expended for the necessary preservation of the said level: And by reason of some disturbances happening in the said level, and the wars shortly after coming on, the royal assent could not be then obtained thereunto: And several great sums of money have since been expended in scots within the said level for the said lands by the said Anthony Gilbye and Ruth his wife, who are, nevertheless, kept from the possession thereof, and no satisfaction given for the same: And forasmuch as the money so expended did redound to the benefit and preservation of the whole level:

Be it therefore provided and enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the said governor, bailiffs, conservators, and commonalty incorporated by virtue of this act, and their successors, shall be and are hereby declared to be charged and chargeable for their respective shares in the said level, with the payment of the said sum of six hundred ninety-three pounds to the said Anthony Gilbye, his executors, administrators, or assigns: and also with the payment of all such sum and sums of money as have been expended by the said Anthony Gilbye and Ruth his wife, or either of them, for scotts taxed or imposed on the said lands: And the said governor, bailiffs, conservators, and commonalty, or any four of them for the time being, whereof the said governor and bailiffs, or any of them, to be one, are hereby authorised and required forthwith to impose such rates or scots upon the several improved lands within the said level, by the acre or otherwise will suffice to satisfy the same, according to such proportionable ways and means as they are hereby impowered to do, for the raising of any other monies by virtue of this act within the said level: And the said monies so imposed to levy, collect, and pay into the hands of the said Anthony Gilbye, his executors or assigns, within three months next after the day on which the king's majesty shall actually give his royal assent to the passing of this act: And the receipt of the said Anthony Gilbye, his executors or assigns, for the same, shall be to them or any of them a sufficient discharge: And in default of payment of the said monies, at the time aforesaid, or of such sufficient security to be then given for payment of the same, within six months then next ensuing, by the said governor, bailiffs, conservators, and commonalty, to the said Anthony Gilbye, his executors or administrators, as the said Anthony Gilbye, his executors or administrators shall be satisfied with, together with interest for the said six

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months forbearance thereof: That then, in such default, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Anthony Gilbye, his executors and administrators, to commence and maintain an action of debt in any of his majesty's courts of record at Westminster, against the said governor, bailiffs, conservators, and commonalty, and their successors, as well for the said sum of six hundred ninety-three pounds and scots aforesaid, as for the recovery of all interests and damages incurred for the same since the respective time or times that the same was so paid and expended by the said Anthony Gilbye and Ruth his wife, or either of them, for the purchase of the said lands or scots so laid out as aforesaid, unto which said interest and damages the said governor, bailiffs, conservators, and commonalty are hereby in such default as aforesaid enacted and declared to be liable: And in which action or actions, so to be commenced as aforesaid, no essoine, protection, or wager of law shall be admitted or allowed, any thing in this act mentioned to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding:

And whereas Isaac Bedloe, merchant, deceased, in pursuance of an agreement with Sir Matthew Valkenburgh, baronet, John Lyens, esquire, and several others, the participants of the said level, did, in the fourteenth year of the reign of his late majesty of blessed memory, erect and build a church within the said level, for the celebration of divine service in the French and Dutch language: And whereas the said Isaac did afterwards obtain several judgements against the said Sir Matthew Valkenburgh and John Lyens, for the monies he had expended in the same: And they the said Sir Matthew Valkenburgh and John Lyens obtained an order from the commissioners of sewers for the said level, that forasmuch as the charge of building the said church concerned the participants in general, the burthen thereof should not lie upon particular men: and thereupon a tax of six pence per acre was imposed on all the lands within the said level, but by reason of the late wars the said Isaac could not receive the same: And whereas the participants of the said level, by writing under several of their hands, bearing date the Nineteenth day of December One Thousand Six Hundred and Sixty, did desire the commissioners of sewers for the said level, that a tax of sixpence per acre should be laid on all the lands as aforesaid, in order to the satisfaction of the said debt, promising withall to pay what monies upon account should appear to be further due:

Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the said governor, bailiffs, conservators, and commonalty incorporated by virtue of this act, and their successors, shall be and are hereby declared to be charged and chargeable with the payment of all such sums of money unto Leticia Bedloe, widow, as administratrix of the said Isaac Bedloe, her executors, administrators, or assigns, together with interest for the same, at the rate of eight pounds per cent. per annum, for three years ending in One Thousand Six Hundred Forty-One: and at the rate of four pounds per cent. per annum for the said debt for nine years next ensuing, the said nine years interest to be charged on such lands, parcel of the said seven thousand four hundred acres, as were last invaded by the commoners within the said isle, as shall upon full account remain unsatisfied for building the church aforesaid, as also for building the minister's house, and stone bridge leading and belonging thereunto: The several sums formerly paid to the said Isaac Bedloe, and likewise those monies raised by the said tax and paid to the said Leticia Bedloe, or her assigns, being

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first computed and deducted: And in default of payment of the same, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Leticia Bedloe, her executors or administrators, to commence and maintain an action of debt, in any of his majesty's courts of record, against the said governor, bailiffs, conservators, and commonalty, and their successors, wherein no essoine, protection, or wager of law shall be admitted or allowed, any thing in this act contained to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

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APPENDIX

No.

A copy of the agreement and resolution of the principal Land Owners in the Parishes of Epworth, Owston, Haxey, Belton, and Crowle, at a Meeting held at Epworth, November 8, 1776.

EPWORTH, Nov. 8, 1776.

AT a meeting here this day of several of the land owners in the parishes of Haxey, Owston, Epworth, Belton, and Crowle, pursuant to notice in the York Currant, to take into consideration an advertisement of the participants, published in the said paper, purporting their intention of applying to this session of parliament, for an act for the more effectual draining and improving certain lands and grounds both within and without the level of Hatfield Chase. It was unanimously agreed and resolved, at the said meeting, to oppose any attempt which shall or may be made, by the said participants, to tax any lands within the Isle of Axholme, or the owners or occupiers thereof, for the purpose aforesaid, or any other purposes other than such lands, or the owners or occupiers thereof, as are now charged or chargeable with the drainage of the said isle and level, or either of them, or of any lands therein or in either of them. And that for raising money to carry on the said opposition, it should be recommended, to the several parishes aforesaid, and the rest of the parishes within the said isle, forthwith to call vestry or meetings of the land owners within the same, and to order the parish officers to pay, from time to time, into the hands of Mr. JOHN HUTTON, of Gainsbrough, (in case such attempt shall be made) such sum and sums of money as he shall require, not exceeding two pounds ten shillings for every thousand pounds (and after that rate for any greater or lesser sum) of the yearly value of the lands, tenements, tythes, and hereditaments within such parishes respectively, according to the rental valuation and rule observed in the said several parishes in laying the poor rates within the same. And it was further agreed and resolved, that in case the said participants shall not within twelve months, after this date, make an effectual drainage of the lands within the said isle, at their own expence, according to their contract for that purpose, and according to the tenure of the great estate, which was granted to them as a

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consideration for their making, and for ever maintaining, an effectual drainage of the said isle and level. That then a meeting of the land owners within the limits of the said drainage, shall be had here again on this day twelve months, to agree upon proper steps to be taken, such as counsel shall advise, for compelling the said participants to compleat and for ever after to support the said drainage in an effectual manner. And for that purpose to apply for an act of parliament (if it should be thought necessary) to raise by sale or mortgage of the said participants' estate, or so much thereof as shall be sufficient, the sum of fifteen thousand pounds, or such other sums of money as shall appear to be necessary, for making the said drainage effectual, and for making satisfaction for all losses and damages occasioned, and to be occasioned, by the insufficiency of the said drainage, and to have an account and proper application of the rents and profits of the said participants' estate, according to the said contract, and the terms upon which the same was granted to them.

By order of the meeting,

ROBERT PASHLEY.

There was present, Mr. ALAN JOHNSON, of Temple Bellwood; Mr. STOVIN, Hurst; Mr. ROBERT MAN, East Lound; Mr. GERVASE WOODHOUSE, Owston.

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APPENDIX

No.

An account of the Owners of Lands in the LEVEL OF HATFIELD CHASE, *and what each Person pays at Four Scotts, with the number of Acres of each sort. July* 31, 1777.

Acres	Scotts.		£.	s.	d.
		Acklam, Wiston,			
214½	2	Misson Carr and Deeps	7	3	0
		Jon. Bradford, Blaxton,			
171	2	God's Cross	5	14	0
		Peter Brodbury, Blaxton,			
21	2	Rand Carr	0	14	0
		Geo. Barnot, Epworth,			
49	2	Wrotjort Carr	1	12	8
		Matt. Boynton, Esq.			
200	12	Midlings £40 0 0			
100	12	Bries Hills 20 0 0	66	0	0
30	12	Severalls.. 6 0 0			
40	8	Wroe Carr	5	6	8
210	2	Wrotjort Carr	7	0	0
		Isack Bedford, Old Samford, Ex. and John Lawrance, Manchester,			
158	12	Ditch March	31	12	0
		Wm. Chester, Levels,			
20	12	Dirtness	4	0	0
		Humphrey Chester, Basicar,			
50	2	Wrotjort Carr	1	13	4
		Mord. Cutts, Esq. Thorne,			
158	2	Torn Carr	5	5	4

Acres	Scotts.		£.	s.	d.
		Marquis Carnarvon,			
21	12	Dirtness	4	4	0
30	12	Brier Hills	6	6	0
10	2	West More	0	6	8
50	2	Wrotjort Carr	1	13	4
		Robert Dawson, Hatfield,			
50	12	Brier Hills	10	0	0
		John Dobson, Hatfield,			
29	12	Ditch March	5	16	0
		Benjamin Eyre, Blaxton,			
76	2	God's Cross	2	10	8
		Mrs. Ellicar,			
21	2	Rand Carr	0	14	0
		Robert Earrat, Thorne,			
8½	12	Severalls	1	14	0
80	12	Dirtness	16	0	0
		Mr. Eglin, Hull,			
50	12	Brier Hills	10	0	0
		Messrs. Pigot & Eglin, Stiling-fleet, late Cowper's,			
90	12	Severalls	18	0	0
66	2	West More	2	4	0

††

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Acres	Scotts.	Ed. Foster, Esq. Thorne,	£.	s.	d.
112⅓	12	Ditch March	22	10	8
161	12	Heaine	32	4	0
120	12	Midlings	24	0	0
226½	12	Brier Hills	45	6	0
130	2	Wrotjat Carr	4	6	8
17	2	West More	0	11	4
		Mr. Hawksley, Epworth,			
32	8	Binatack	4	5	4
		Richard Heainly, Missen,			
85	2	Missen Deeps	2	16	8
50	12	Brier Hills	10	0	0
65	2	Uggan Carr	2	3	4
		Jon. Heanly, — S— Foster, who is the owner,			
66	2	Missen Deeps	2	4	0
		Tho. Hickson, Misterton,			
136	8	Parson's Cross	18	2	8
		John Harvey, Esq.			
778	12	Land	*115	12	0
281	8	Land	37	9	4
936	2	Ditto	31	4	0
		Lord Irwin,			
451¾	12	Land	†90	7	0
		Barron Idle,			
200	2	Missen Carr and Deeps	6	13	4
		Thomas Johnson, Crowle,			
18	8	Binatack	2	8	0
		Wm. Johnson, Crowle,			
27½		Dirtness	5	10	0
		Mrs. Jackson,			
10	2	Rand Carr	0	6	8
		Mrs. Jenings, Levels,			
121	12	Midlings	24	4	0
		Wm. Lenard, Bradholm,			
26¼		Ditch March	5	6	0
		John Maw, Epworth,			
58	12	Midlings	11	12	0
32	8	Wroe Carr	4	5	4

Acres	Scotts.	Robert Maw, Owston,	£.	s.	d.
56		Binatack	7	9	4
		Jentill Moriss, Belton,			
30	8	Binatack	4	0	0
		Richard Newsom, Armthorp,			
21	2	West More	0	14	0
		Lord Portmore,			
130	2	Uggan Carr	4	6	8
		Mr. Perrin,			
55½	2	West More	1	17	0
		William Right,			
58	2	Missen Deeps	1	18	8
		Robert Saint Paul,			
85	2	Missen Deeps	2	16	8
		George Stovin Tetley,			
65	12	Under Crowle	13	0	0
		Mr. Steer, Sandtoft,			
30	12	Severalls	6	0	0
		Henry Smithson, Leeds,			
104	8	Bullhasaks	13	17	4
		S— Steele, Levels,			
51	12	Brier Hills	10	4	0
		Rev. Jon. Simpson, Stoke,			
277¼	12	Land	55	12	0
40	8	Wroe Carr	5	6	8
436	2	Land	14	10	0
		Mrs. Simpson,			
32	8	Binatack	4	5	4
		Mr. Tuke, Wath,			
113	2	Missen Deeps	3	15	4
		Mr. Turbat,			
50	2	Missen Deeps	1	13	4
		John Venney, Levels,			
80	12	Dirtness	16	0	0
		Trustees for Travis Charity,			
179	12	Severalls	35	16	0
200	2	Wrotjort Carr	6	13	4

* Middlebrook, in his account, says it is £155 12 0 † Ibib £85 7 0

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Acres	Scotts	Rev. Tho. Willson,	£.	s.	d.
848	12	Land	169	12	0
100	8	Ditto	13	6	8
590	2	Ditto	19	13	4
		Josh. Wharton, Esq. Frickly,			
989½	12	Land	197	18	0
30	8	Ditto	4	0	0
646	2	Ditto	21	10	8
		Jon. Wood,			
29	2	Missen Deeps	0	19	4
		Mrs. Whitaker,			
22	2	West More	0	15	0

Acres	Scotts.	John Masden, Missen,	£.	s.	d.
15½	2	Wrotjort Carr	0	10	4
		Rev. D. Wood, &c.			
530½	12	Land	106	0	0
122	8	Ditto	16	5	4
394½	2	Ditto	46	9	8
		Land in Court,			
123½	12	Brurhills			
124	12	Triangles			
92	2	Thack Carr			

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