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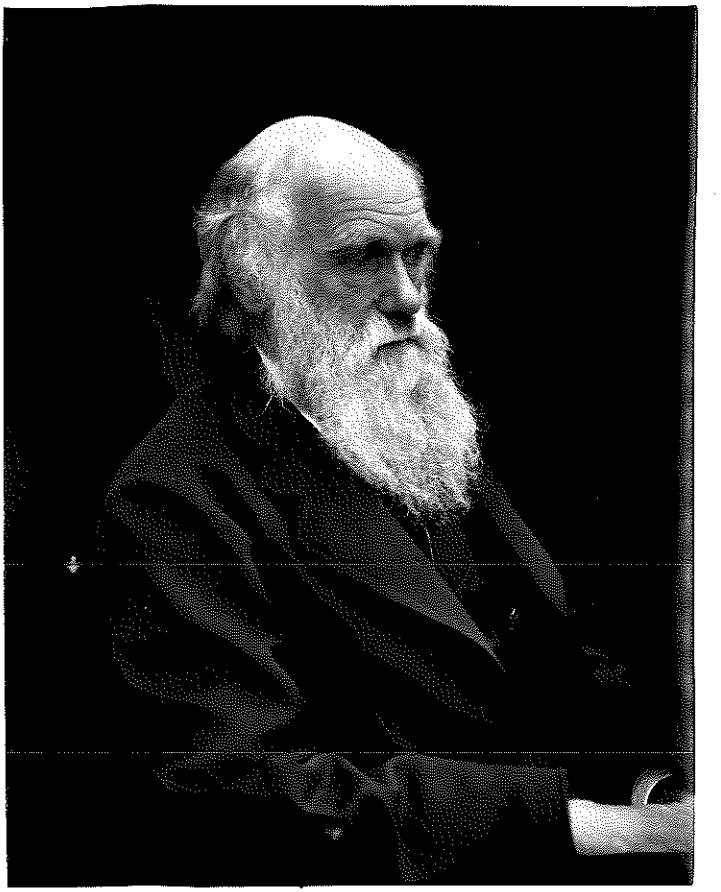


Ch. Darwin

CHARLES DARWIN.

By EDWARD WOODALL, Oswestry.

NEARLY a hundred years ago, Erasmus Darwin, who was then living at Derby, brought his third son, Robert Waring, to Shrewsbury, and left him there with twenty pounds in his pocket. Another twenty pounds was afterwards sent to the young doctor by his uncle, the Rector of Elston, and with this capital he established the large and lucrative practice which for more than half a century made his portly figure and his yellow chaise familiar to the inhabitants of three or four counties.[1] It was in 1786, when he was twenty years of age, that Robert Darwin settled at Shrewsbury. His success was so rapid that he soon bought a piece of land adjoining the Holyhead road, to the north-west of the town, where he built himself a house in a charming situation high above the Severn; and to "The Mount," in 1796, he brought his wife, Susannah, the eldest daughter of Josiah Wedgwood of Etruria. There, on the 12th of February, 1809, Charles Robert Darwin was born, the descendant of two families which show a remarkable succession of talent in several generations. Mr. Francis Galton, another grandson of Erasmus Darwin's, in his work on *Hereditary Genius*, mentions seven of the doctor's descendants who have distinguished themselves. He does not include himself, but Charles

[1] I am indebted to Charles Darwin's "Preliminary Notice" to *Erasmus Darwin* by Ernst Krause for several of the facts mentioned in this paper; to the late Miss Meteyard's *Life of Josiah Wedgwood*; and to the same lady's *Group of Englishmen*, an Account of the Younger Wedgwoods. Miss Meteyard was the daughter of Mr. Meteyard, surgeon to the Shropshire Militia, and spent her early days in Shrewsbury.

Darwin says of him—"I feel sure that Mr. Francis Galton will be willing to attribute the remarkable originality of his mind in large part to inheritance from his maternal grandfather."[1]

In an archæological publication no excuse is needed for beginning a paper on Darwin with some account of his ancestry, but it is particularly interesting to observe the circumstances and tendencies in both his father's and mother's families which certainly had something to do with the evolution of his genius and character. The first of the Darwins of whom anything is known was William, yeoman of the armoury of Greenwich in the time of James I. and Charles I., and the owner of a small estate at Cleatham in Lincolnshire. His son William, a cavalry officer who suffered heavy loss as a royalist, married the daughter of Erasmus Earle, serjeant-at-law; and the wife of their eldest son, another William, was heiress of Robert Waring of Wilsford, Nottinghamshire; from which unions Charles's father and grandfather derived their Christian names.

It was one of the two sons of William Darwin and Miss Waring, Robert Darwin of Elston, father of Erasmus, who, first of the family, as far as we know, showed those scientific tastes which have made the name illustrious. He was an early member of the Spalding Club, and Stukeley, the antiquary, writing in the *Philosophical Transactions* of April and May, 1719,

[1] If Mr. Galton had devoted a chapter to "Inventors" he must have included the Wedgwoods. Thomas, Josiah Wedgwood's youngest son, the generous friend of Coleridge, was a man of rare intelligence, and Miss Meteyard collects a good deal of evidence to show that he was the inventor of the photograph. Amongst the writers of our own day the name of Wedgwood survives; and another descendant was Sir Henry Holland, the author and physician. His grandmother was sister of Josiah Wedgwood, of whom he says—"This admirable man was endeared to all around him in domestic and social life. Even as a child I received kindnesses from him, which I gladly keep in remembrance. Through him I came into family connection with his eminent grandson, Charles Darwin, a long and intimate friendship with whom I have more pleasure in recording than any family tie."—*Recollections of Past Life.*

says he has an account from his friend Robert Darwin, "a person of curiosity," of "a human Sceleton impressed in Stone, found lately by the Rector of Elston . . the like whereof has not been observed before in this island, to my knowledge." Robert Darwin had four sons, of whom both the eldest and the youngest were authors and botanical students. The former, Robert Waring of Elston, published *Principia Botanica*, which reached the honour of at least a third edition; of the yougest, Erasmus, who was born at Elston Hall, near Newark, in Nottinghamshire, in December, 1731, Dr. Krause says that "equally eminent as philanthropist, physician, naturalist, philosopher, and poet, he is far less known and valued by posterity than he deserves." An English critic of the present day would not write in this way of Erasmus Darwin's poetry, but the price given for the second instalment of the *Botanic Garden*, a thousand guineas, is sufficient proof of its remarkable popularity at the time, and Horace Walpole declares that the "Triumph of Flora" contains "the most sublime passage in any author, or in any of the few languages with which I am acquainted"! Canning's parody shattered Erasmus Darwin's poetic reputation, and now the "happier lays" which almost excited Cowper's envy would be completely forgotten if the writer had not won a more enduring fame as a student of nature, an original thinker, and a vigorous friend of humanity. Yet, so unsuccessful was he in convincing his contemporaries, that a writer in the second volume of the *Edinburgh Review* says his "reveries in science have probably no other chance of being saved from oblivion" than that which they derive from their poetic form. In some points he and his grandson, who has converted these reveries in science into accepted truths, differed greatly; but it is impossible to study the lives of Erasmus and Charles without being struck by the likeness between Dr. Darwin of Lichfield and his more illustrious descendant. Erasmus, indeed, was the intellectual father of Charles, and was in many ways an

excellent man, but in the life of the grandson virtue as well as genius seemed to reach almost their ripest development.

Dr. Darwin's first wife, Mary Howard, a charming woman, with whom he lived in great happiness, died in 1770, leaving Robert Waring, then a child of four, and two elder sons. In 1781 the doctor married the widow of Colonel Chandos Pole, and in 1802 he died at Breadsall Priory, near Derby.[1] It was near the close of his life, in 1794, that he published *Zoonomia*, which was at once translated into German, French, and Italian, and which excites fresh interest now, because, amidst much that is fanciful and extravagant, it suggests the theory of Evolution established by the researches and experiments of his grandson. In 1800 the *Zoonomia* was followed by *Phytologia*, or "The Philosophy of Agriculture and Gardening;" and the *Temple of Nature*, a didactic poem, appeared the year after the writer's death. In all these works, as well as in the *Botanic Garden*, the curious student finds many observations shadowing forth the conclusions which have been reached in a more scientific way by the author of the *Descent of Man*. The "expression of the emotions," the "variation of animals under domestication," the "fertilization of plants," the "origin of species," the "struggle for existence," identified as they now are with the name of Charles Darwin, all come within the range of his grandfather's speculations; and, summing up his observations, he asks whether we may "conjecture that one and the same kind of living filaments is and has been the cause of all organic life."

"A fool, Mr. Edgeworth, you know, is a man who

[1] Of Dr. Darwin's sons, Charles (by his first wife) was a medical student of great promise, who died young; and Francis (by his second wife), a physician, shared the family taste for natural history. He "travelled far in countries rarely visited, and kept a number of wild and curious animals." One of his sons, Captain Darwin, has published the *Gamekeeper's Manual*, which (says Charles Darwin) "shows keen observation and knowledge of the habits of various animals."

never tried an experiment in his life." Erasmus Darwin, who gave this definition of a fool, made many experiments. He took a keen interest in mechanics, as his grandson did, and one of his inventions, a horizontal windmill, was used by Wedgwood for grinding flints; but in most cases he scarcely went beyond sketches and suggestions. So it is with his studies in biology and natural history. Here, also, what he gives us is a sketch or a suggestion, instead of facts built up on many converging proofs. That was the work reserved for his grandson, who could never have apologized, as Erasmus did, "for many conjectures not supported by accurate investigation or conclusive experiments." For Charles Darwin was so far removed from his grandfather's definition of a fool, that he could spend thirty years over a single experiment, and he waited to present his theories to the world until they seemed to be established by the accumulated results of observation and experience. The grandson fell upon happier times, when men's minds were more open to receive new theories, but it required Charles Darwin's peculiar genius to convert the speculations of Erasmus, and of still earlier thinkers, into the foundations of scientific knowledge.

Darwin speaks of his grandfather's "prophetic sagacity," and the phrase is well applied. In many domains of human activity he foresaw what has been since accomplished. It was years before the first locomotive was constructed when he wrote—

> Soon shall thy arm, Unconquered Steam, afar,
> Drag the slow barge or drive the rapid car;

and in other fields besides that of science he was before his time: which has been characteristic of the Darwins. For many years he was a teetotaller, before teetotalism was heard of in this country, and he is credited with having diminished to a sensible extent the practice of drinking amongst the gentry of the county. He advocated a more humane treatment of the insane; he denounced slavery fifty years before it was abolished;

and his views on education and sanitary reform have waited almost until our own time to be carried into practice. He was distinguished, not only by his general benevolence, but by his considerate kindness to his dependents, and on this subject Charles Darwin tells a story which may be introduced here because it has some local interest. Writing to his son at Shrewsbury, with reference to a small debt, Erasmus asks him to use the money in buying a goose pie, for which, it seems, Shrewsbury was then famous, and to send it at Christmas to an old woman at Birmingham; "for she, as you may remember, was your nurse, which is the greatest obligation, if well performed, that can be received from an inferior."

In Josiah Wedgwood (Charles Darwin's maternal grandfather), says Miss Meteyard, "the ability of generations culminated in genius;" and it is a very attractive picture which she draws of the great potter, and his family, and friends, amongst the most intimate of whom were the Darwins. The Wedgwoods, coming from Weggewode, near Newcastle-under-Lyne, appear to have settled in the neighbourhood of Burslem early in the middle ages, and one of the family, named John, "resided at Dunwood, near Leek, towards the close of the fifteenth century." In course of time the Wedgwoods married and intermarried with the Burslems of Burslem, and had many children; and the landed property, at first considerable, was much divided, so that, towards the end of the seventeenth century, several members of the family took up the trade of the district and handed it down to their descendants. Thomas Wedgwood the potter, born in 1687, married the daughter of Mr. Stringer, a Dissenting minister, who is supposed to have been connected with Shropshire by birth or descent. He was "a man of superior attainments and high moral worth," and his noble character, as Miss Meteyard justly says, certainly did not die with him. The youngest child of this marriage, Josiah Wedgwood, was born at the Churchyard House,

Burslem, in 1730, and became the grandfather of one who only passed from amongst us a little more than two years ago.

The large family of which Josiah Wedgwood was the youngest were brought up by a mother of "unusual quickness, sensibility, and kindness of heart," and a father who is described as "acute, kindly, independent, patriotic." While he was still young Josiah began to learn the potter's handicraft, and soon showed signs of the talent that made his name famous. His patience was the patience of genius, afterwards so conspicuous in his grandson; to whom indeed the words which Miss Meteyard uses of Josiah Wedgwood could be applied exactly as they stand—"Patient, steadfast, humble, simple, unconscious of half his own greatness, and yet by this very simplicity, patience, and steadfastness, displaying the high quality of his moral and intellectual characteristics, even whilst insuring that each step was in the right direction and firmly planted." Experiment after experiment would fail, but Wedgwood persevered until his end was accomplished, and a fresh process of manufacture was discovered, or some new thing of beauty was produced. In January, 1764, he married his distant cousin, Sarah Wedgwood, of Spen Green in Cheshire, a woman beautiful both in character and in outward form; and at their happy home, the Brick House, Burslem, their eldest daughter, Susannah, the mother of Charles Darwin, was born at the end of the year.

Six years afterwards Mr. Wedgwood removed to Etruria Hall, where most of his eldest daughter's life was spent until she came to her new home at Shrewsbury. Her father was brought into friendly relations with persons of all ranks, and was still more fortunate in enjoying the intimacy of men of genius, who often visited Etruria. The hall, we are told, must have borne the appearance of an hotel; "guests were coming and going, foreigners from every country were occasionally there, and distinguished Englishmen formed

a large proportion" of the company. "Each day the dinner-table was laid for unexpected as well as expected guests, for it was never known who might arrive before or after the meal was served." In the midst of the most generous hospitality there was great simplicity of life. Writing to his partner Bentley in 1778 Wedgwood says—"Sukey is now very well and is pretty strong, which I attribute to riding on horseback. We sally forth, half-a-dozen of us, by five or six o'clock in the morning, and return with appetites scarcely to be appeased. Then we are very busy in our hay, and have just made a new garden. Sometimes we try experiments, then read and draw a little, that altogether we are very busy folks, and the holidays will be over much sooner than we could expect them to be." Gardening was a favourite occupation of Mr. Wedgwood's, with his daughters as his constant companions, and Susannah, as we shall see, carried her love for it into her new life at Shrewsbury. Mr. Wedgwood's high and honourable character must have influenced all his family; and in the fireside talk at Etruria Hall the children often heard of other things besides literature and art; of the efforts that were being made to abolish the slave trade, for example, and the part which was played in the movement by Wedgwood's well-known intaglio, a kneeling slave in chains, surrounded by the now famous motto, "Am I not a man and a brother."

Early in Wedgwood's life he was friendly with the Darwins, and the friendship grew as time went on. How intimate it became at last we learn from the correspondence between Wedgwood and Erasmus Darwin, who in one of his letters writes—"Mrs. Darwin says she hears your whole family are going to town in a body, like a caravan going to Mecca; and we therefore hope you will make Derby a resting-place, and recruit yourselves and your camels for a few days, after having travell'd over the burning sands of Cheadle and Uttoxeter." The sons and daughters of the two

families were much together from their childhood. At one time Robert Darwin was staying with the Wedgwoods to study chemistry; Susannah was often at Derby; and so the intimacy grew between two of the young playmates which ended at last in marriage. Miss Wedgwood spent part of her early life in London with the Bentleys, and went to school there, laying "the foundation of that excellent scholarship which was so useful to her busy husband in after years," and was also employed, we believe, in directing Charles Darwin's earliest studies. In 1777 we hear of her spending the Christmas holidays as the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Edgeworth, who formed a high opinion of her character, and wherever she went Miss Wedgwood seemed to win a new store of affection. Dr. Darwin, with whom she was a great favourite, lived to see her his daughter-in-law, but her own father died in 1795, the year before she was married.

Charles Darwin says of his father, that "he did not inherit any aptitude for poetry or mechanics, nor did he possess, as I think, a scientific mind. I cannot tell why my father's mind did not appear to me fitted for advancing science; for he was fond of theorizing, and was incomparably the most acute observer whom I ever knew. But his powers in this direction were exercised almost wholly in the practice of medicine, and in the observation of human character." His memory for the dates of certain events was so extraordinary, that "he knew the day of the birth, marriage, and death of most of the gentlemen of Shropshire"; but this remarkable power distressed him, because it brought back painful occurrences and prolonged his grief for the loss of friends. A golden rule of Dr. Darwin's was "never to become the friend of anyone whom you could not thoroughly respect, and I think (says Charles Darwin), he always acted on it. But of all his characteristic qualities, his sympathy was pre-eminent, and I believe it was this which made him for a time hate his profession, as it constantly brought suffering before his eyes. Sym-

pathy with the joy of others is a much rarer endowment than sympathy with their pains, and it is no exaggeration to say that to give pleasure to others was to my father an intense pleasure." There is something peculiarly interesting in this picture of the father's character drawn by his son, who inherited so abundantly the habit of observation as well as the sympathetic nature which he describes.

Dr. Darwin had studied at Edinburgh, where he took high honours, and at Leyden, and travelled in Germany, before he settled down to his life-long practice in 1786. The young doctor had many rivals at Shrewsbury, but his learning and his talents soon won for him a leading position. Amongst the Shrewsbury apothecaries was William Clement (father of the late member for the borough), whose career was coincident with Darwin's.[1] The county town "was still in a great measure what it had long been, the metropolis of the adjacent country," and the resort of the county

[1] Miss Meteyard gives an interesting description of some of the Shrewsbury doctors:—"Nowhere was Dr. Darwin seen to such advantage as in the invariable yellow chaise. This, and his burly form and countenance within, were known to every man, woman, and child over a wide extent of country. Like old Samuel Butler, the mighty schoolmaster who always receipted his bills 'with thanks,' Dr. Darwin was as much a feature of the town as the river, the abbey, and the schools; and many was the stranger who lingered to see them both. At length, when that long day's work was done—and it was a very long and hard one—his portly form vanished from the streets, and he, too, departed to that quiet resting-place beside his favourite Severn. He died on the 13th day of November, 1848, aged 82 years. Dr. Darwin survived two of his more eminent medical contemporaries in the town, Mr. Sutton and Dr. Dugard. The latter, a pale, portly little man, unlike farmer-looking Dr. Darwin, had the air and appearance of a court physician. He wore powder, orthodox black, highly polished Hessian boots with big tassels, ponderous seals, an important frill of snowy lawn, and he carried the professional cane. The elder Clement, who had been the pupil and friend of the great Jenner, known Coleridge, Wordsworth, Southey, Hazlitt, Thelwall, and Horne Tooke, and stood forth as the unflinching advocate for Parliamentary Reform and civil and religious liberty in this most aristocratic borough in the kingdom, died at the age of 90, in January, 1853. He had the countenance of a philosopher."

families, with many of whom it was not yet the custom to spend the season in London. "Balls, suppers, oyster-feasts, meets of hounds, and an occasional visit from a party of strolling players," made up the winter's festivities, in which the Darwins soon began to take their part; for in June, 1807, we find the doctor's wife, in a letter to her brother Josiah Wedgwood (who was to become Charles Darwin's father-in-law), saying that they can wait for their new dinner-service, because "it is not the custom in this town to give dinners in summer." Shrewsbury "still wore much of its middle-age aspect." Most of the houses of the better sort differed little in style from what they were in the days of the Tudors; many of the shops "displayed their wares on baulks and hanging shutters;" the streets were badly paved and scarcely lighted at all. Coming to this quaint old town, Robert Darwin took up his residence on St. John's Hill, but in a short time the property at The Mount was bought, and the house built in which he settled down, after his marriage, for fifty years more of prosperous life. This was in 1796,[1] a little less than two years before Coleridge visited Shrewsbury, and preached, at the Unitarian Chapel, still standing in High-street, the famous sermon which Hazlitt heard after his comfortless walk in the mud from his home at Wem, and "could not have been more delighted if he had heard the music of the spheres." The Darwins were most likely present when the poet's voice "rose like a steam of rich-distilled perfumes," as he gave out the text, "And He went up into the Mountain to pray, Himself, Alone." Coleridge staid with the Tayleurs, who were old friends of the Wedgwoods, at their house on St. John's Hill, near the Quarry; and the poet was inclined to become the minister of High-street Chapel, when Mrs. Darwin's brothers intervened, with their offer of £150 a year, in

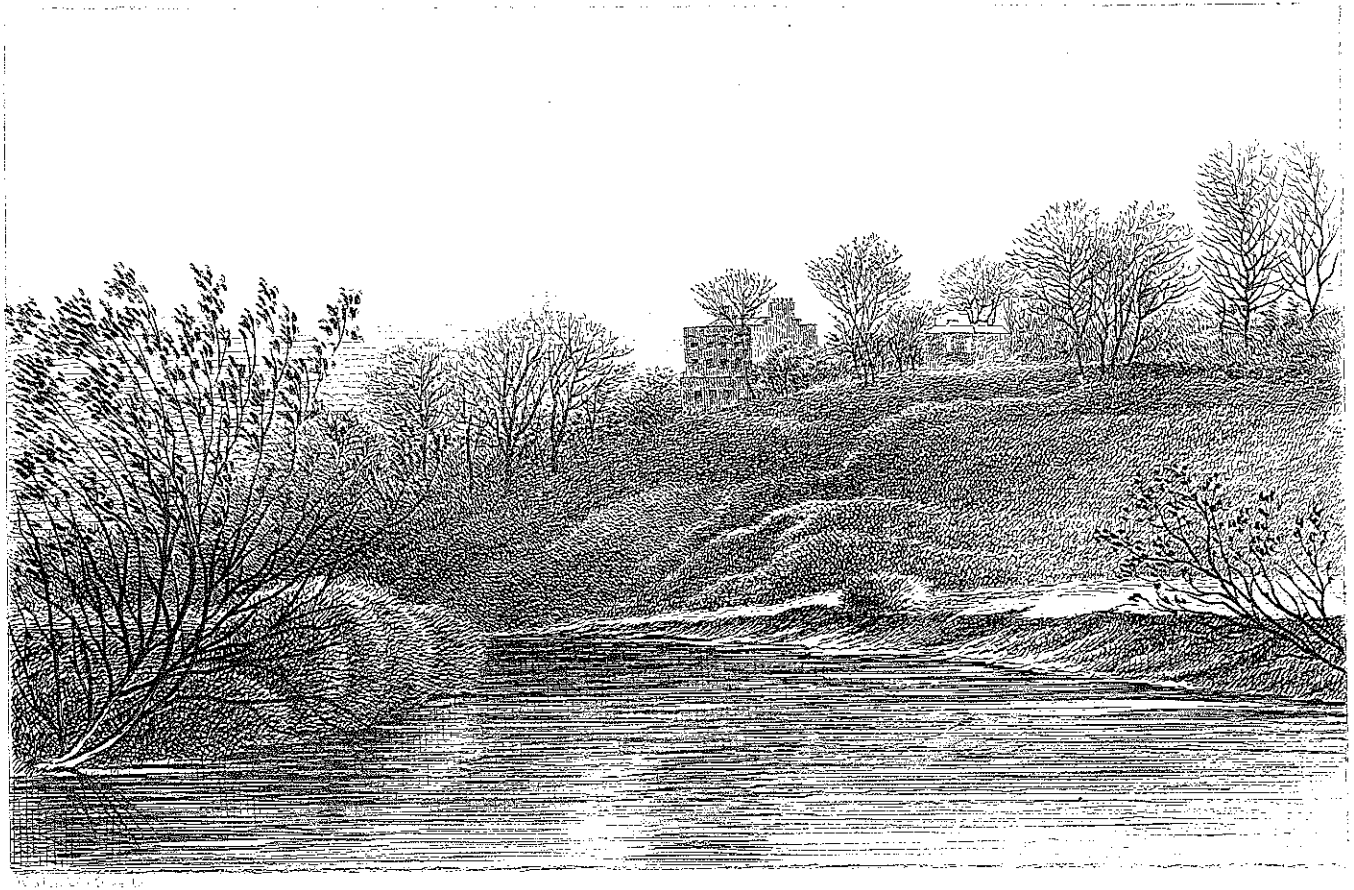
[1] "April 18, 1796, married at St. Marylebone Church, Dr. Darwin of Shrewsbury, to Miss Wedgwood, eldest daughter of the late Josiah Wedgwood of Etruria, Staffordshire." *Gent. Mag.*, Vol. LXVI., p. 351.

order that he might devote himself to literature. At that place of worship, a few years afterwards, Charles Darwin attended with the family from The Mount; and thus High-street Chapel is associated with two of the greatest names of the nineteenth century.

Charles Darwin was born at The Mount on the 12th of February, 1809.[1] The house (of which we give an engraving from a sketch taken for this paper) lies above the steep banks of the Severn, on the outskirts of the town, and is a conspicuous object from the Great Western Railway, on the left, as the train leaves Shrewsbury Station for Chester.[2] At the time of Charles Darwin's birth, his mother was in declining health. Two years earlier, when she had already several children round her, she wrote to a friend—"Everyone seems young but me;" and in July, 1817, when Charles was between eight and nine, she died. Young as he was, she seems to have impressed his mind by her teaching, for one of his schoolfellows, the Rev. W. A. Leighton, remembers him plucking a plant, and recalling one of her elementary lessons in botany; but in later life Charles retained only the

[1] "1809, November 17, Darwin, Charles Robert, son of Robert and Mrs. Susannah his wife, born February 12th, } C [hristened]. *From the Parish Register of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury.*

[2] The house is seen from the line immediately beyond the low tower of St. George's Church. Visitors who make a pilgrimage there, after crossing the Welsh Bridge, follow the main street until St. George's Church is passed, and the continuous line of houses ceases. The next carriage drive, on the right, cutting in two a lofty side-walk, is the entrance to The Mount. A short street of new houses near St. George's Church has been called "Darwin Street"; as yet the only public recognition in the town of the greatest of Salopians. A memorial of a more private character has been placed in the Unitarian Chapel, in the form of a tablet bearing the following inscription:—"To the memory of Charles Robert Darwin, author of the 'Origin of Species,' born in Shrewsbury, February 12th, 1809. In early life a member of and constant worshipper in this Church. Died April 19th, 1882." Mrs. Darwin, we believe, was not strict in her adhesion to the communion in which she had been brought up, but often attended St. Chad's Church, where Charles and his brother were baptized.



THE MOUNT, SHREWSBURY.

vaguest recollections of his mother. Besides Charles, the family consisted of an elder son, Erasmus, and four daughters, one of whom married Dr. Parker of Shrewsbury (where his son, the Rev. Charles Parker, still resides), while another became the wife of her cousin, Mr. Wedgwood. It is a singular fact that Miss Darwin, her brother Charles, their father, and their grandfather, himself a Wedgwood, all married Wedgwoods. Erasmus Darwin, who died September 2nd, 1881, will be remembered as the friend of the Carlyles. "Erasmus Darwin, a most diverse kind of mortal, came to seek us out very soon, and continues ever since to be a quiet house-friend, honestly attached. He had something of original and sarcastically ingenious in him, one of the sincerest, naturally truest, and most modest of men. . . . E. Darwin it was who named the late Whewell, seeing him sit, all ear (not all assent) at some of my lectures, 'the Harmonious Blacksmith;' a really descriptive title. My dear one had a great favour for this honest Darwin always; many a road, to shops and the like, he drove her in his cab ('Darwingium Cabbum,' comparable to Georgium Sidus), in those early days when even the charge of omnibuses was a consideration, and his sparse utterances, sardonic often, were a great amusement to her. 'A perfect gentleman,' she at once discerned him to be, and of sound worth and kindliness, in the most unaffected form. 'Take me now to Oxygen-street, a dyer's shop there!' Darwin, without a wrinkle or remark, made for Oxenden-street, and drew up at the required door. Amusingly admirable to us both, when she came home."[1] The graphic sketch of Erasmus is worth giving here, throwing another gleam of light for us on the family of the Darwins. Erasmus, in his modesty, and kindness of heart, and quiet humour, must have resembled Charles, to whom Carlyle "rather preferred him for intellect"!

[1] *Reminiscences*, by Thomas Carlyle. Vol. II., pp. 207-9.

There could hardly have been a better home than Charles Darwin's for the training of a young naturalist; the "acute observer" at the head of it, and the mother, adding to her gentle, sympathizing nature, a cultivated intelligence and a keen delight in her husband's pursuits. Together they took an interest in botany and zoology, and the gardens of The Mount, by the time Charles was old enough to play in them, were filled with rare shrubs and trees, and beautiful flowers.[1] They petted and reared birds and other animals, and it is particularly interesting, remembering the important position which pigeons afterwards occupied in Charles Darwin's investigations, to read that "the beauty, variety, and tameness of The Mount pigeons were well known in the town and far beyond." After Mrs. Darwin's death the doctor's daughters helped him in his many acts of kindness to the poor. Together they established one of the first Infant Schools in Shrewsbury (close to Millington's Hospital in Frankwell, on land leased by the trustees of that charity), and, with characteristic readiness to welcome every improvement, furnished it with the appliances which had lately been introduced by Pestalozzi and other educational reformers. In his late years, Dr. Darwin was called the "Father of Frankwell," the suburb of Shrewsbury in which the Mount is situated. He died on the 13th of November, 1848, and at his funeral the poor, who lost in him a wise and life-long friend, and even the children, whom he always noticed with kindly affection, publicly shewed their grief at his departure.[2]

[1] "The Dr. sends you by tomorrow's Coach some suckers of the white Poplar, and, as they have good roots, he has no doubt of their growing. If you want more, say so, and they shall be sent. It is the common white Poplar. It is become so fashionable a tree that Lady Bromley has sent for some cuttings for Baroness Howe to decorate Pope's Villa at Twickenham, as all his favourite trees have been cut down."—*Mrs. Darwin to Josiah Wedgwood*, February 8, 1808.

[2] "That, like his son, he was benevolently inclined, may be inferred from a little anecdote which we once heard Mr. Darwin tell of him while speaking of the curious kinds of pride which are sometimes

He was buried by the side of his wife at Montford Church, near the banks of the Severn, a few miles from Shrewsbury. Dr. Darwin had passed his four score years, but it is hard to realise that one who is still remembered by many of the inhabitants of Shrewsbury married the granddaughter of a man born before the Revolution of 1688.

Of Charles Darwin's boyhood we know little. A few of his schoolfellows are still living in his native town; the Rev. W. A. Leighton, the esteemed editor of these Papers, and the venerable Vicar of St. Chad's, the Rev. John Yardley, amongst them; but sixty years have passed, and blurred the memory of his early days. We believe a short account of them, written by Mr. Darwin himself, is to be published by one of his sons. It was in the Spring of 1817, soon after completing his eighth year, that Charles entered the school kept by the Rev. George Case, minister of the Unitarian Church. In the midsummer of 1818, he was removed to the Shrewsbury Grammar School,[1] where the Rev. Dr. Kennedy (who

shown by the poor. For the benefit of the district in which he lived Dr. Darwin offered to dispense medicine gratis to any one who applied and was not able to pay. He was surprised to find that very few of the sick poor availed themselves of his offer, and guessing that the reason must have been a dislike to becoming the recipients of charity, he devised a plan to neutralise this feeling. Whenever any poor persons applied for medical aid, he told them that he would supply the medicine, but that they must pay for the bottles. This little distinction made all the difference, and ever afterwards the poor used to flock to the doctor's house for relief as a matter of right.—*G. J. Romanes in "Nature."*

[1] For the engraving we are indebted to the editor of the *Leisure Hour*, in which an interesting account of Shrewsbury School appeared in September, 1878. The School is now removed to Kingsland, outside the town, and the old building has been purchased for a Free Library and Museum, in which the many objects of interest belonging to our Society will be deposited. Some of Mr. Darwin's admirers regret that advantage was not taken of this opportunity of doing honour to his memory in an appropriate way, by converting his old school into the "Darwin Institute and Museum," where the studies to which his life was devoted might be pursued by the youth of his native town.

succeeded Dr. Butler as head master) was also one of his schoolfellows. Shrewsbury had gained a considerable reputation under the rule of Dr. Butler ;[1] but Dr. Butler's most illustrious pupil looked back upon much of the time spent there as little better than wasted ; and although it is for classics that the school is distinguished, he used to say that Euclid, done as an extra subject, was the only bit of real education which he got there! He patched together his verses with "scraps and endings," of which he had what was considered a fine collection ; and he often regretted the time given to classics, saying that, as far as he was concerned, he considered them of little or no advantage. In this he reminds us of his uncle Charles, who had similar tastes, and of his grandfather Erasmus, both of whom believed that "the vigour of the mind languished in the pursuit of classical elegance."

It is not surprising, therefore, that Charles made no mark at school, for, while he disliked the studies through which distinction could be won, he seems to have taken little part in the games of his schoolfellows. Mr. Leighton, who, as an older boy, sometimes heard Charles his lessons, speaks of him as reserved; and it is certain that he was fond of long, solitary rambles, and had a habit of losing himself in thought, which is not favourable to athletics. Amongst the few events remembered of his early days, is a fall that he had, while walking on the old walls of the town, in a "brown study." Mr. Yardley's recollections differ somewhat from Mr. Leighton's. The Vicar of St. Chad's speaks of Charles Darwin as "cheerful, good-tempered, and communicative," qualities which certainly distinguished him in after life, and it is probable that, holding aloof from the ordinary amusements of his classmates, he was sociable with those who entered into his own pursuits. As early as

[1] Appointed head master in 1798 ; became Bishop of Lichfield in 1836.

1817 he had a passion for collecting; shells, seals, franks, coins, minerals, were amongst the miscellaneous objects of his search; but there is no clear sign during his boyhood at Shrewsbury of any strong devotion to the studies that afterwards absorbed his attention, though he was only a youth of eighteen when his first discovery was made. As a boy, he had the keen delight in understanding a piece of mechanism which afterwards showed itself in many ways, and he remembered vividly the pleasure his uncle Josiah Wedgwood gave him, when he was young, by explaining the principle of the vernier.

In 1825 he left Shrewsbury for Edinburgh University, where his father and grandfather had studied; and we have no record of his connection with his native place after that date, though he doubtless often came there to visit Dr. Darwin, who lived for twenty three years longer, and had the satisfaction of seeing his son already taking high rank in the world of science.[1] In fact, Charles Darwin's career as author and discoverer extended over more than half a century, beginning when he was eighteen, and ending with the publication of his book on *Earth Worms* not long before he died. He joined the Plinian Society at Edinburgh, and his first recorded contribution to Science was a communication on the Ova of the Flustra, on the 27th of March, 1827, stating that he had discovered organs of motion. Thus early in life his powers of observation were exercised in the field in which he afterwards distinguished himself.

[1] Mr. Darwin occasionally corresponded with his old schoolfellow, the Rev. W. A. Leighton, who also devoted himself to the study of botany; and one of the letters which passed between them will be found further on in these pages. In another, Mr. Darwin says—"How many years have rolled over our heads since we were at school together, and how little we then thought that we should correspond on scientific subjects." Mr. Leighton and Mr. Darwin met again, after leaving school, as fellow students at Cambridge, and both took part in Professor Henslow's field excursions, which are mentioned further on, and attended the evening parties at his house.

Of his life at Edinburgh we have one or two glimpses. In his sketch of Erasmus Darwin, he refers to it himself, saying that when he was a young medical student there, forty seven years after the death of his uncle Charles, Professor Andrew Duncan, who knew him, was still at Edinburgh, and spoke of him with the warmest affection; and Mr. W. F. Ainsworth, writing in the *Athenæum* in May, 1882, says—"Mr. Darwin and myself made frequent excursions on the shores of the Firth of Forth in pursuit of objects of natural history, sometimes to the coast of Fifeshire, and sometimes to the islands. On one occasion we went, accompanied by Dr. Greville, the botanist, to the Isle of May, and we were both exceedingly amused at the effect produced upon the eminent cryptogamist by the screeching of the kittiwakes and other waterfowl. He had actually to lie down on the greensward to enjoy his prolonged cachinnation. Another time we were benighted on Inch Keith, but found refuge in the lighthouse. Mr. Darwin also carried on his researches with Dr., afterwards Professor, Grant, and it was the same year, I believe, the doctor first found silica in sponges." All this helps to show that Darwin had begun to study natural history before he enjoyed the great advantage of Professor Henslow's friendship at Cambridge, though he himself speaks of Henslow's influence as if it had almost given the bent to his pursuits. He went to Edinburgh to enter the medical profession, but this was probably decided by the traditions of the family, not by his own inclinations, which speedily carried him into a different career.

Mr. Darwin spent part of two years at Edinburgh, and entered Christ's College, Cambridge, early in 1828; his father hoping, it is said, that he might exchange the profession of medicine for that of Holy Orders. His University career was not a distinguished one. He took the ordinary degrees, B.A. in 1831, as tenth in the οι πολλοι, and M.A. in 1837; but the field of knowledge in which he was already a successful explorer was not likely in

those days to bring him much distinction as a student. It was his good fortune, however, to become acquainted with Professor Henslow, and that was more to him than all the academic honours of Cambridge could be.[1] It is not true, as we have seen, that Henslow started Darwin on his career as a naturalist, though the statement derived some show of truth from the student's ardent expressions of gratitude to his master.[2] Apart from the fact that Darwin had made discoveries in natural history at Edinburgh, and wandered on the Firth of Forth in search of specimens, it was through his "brother entomologists," mentioned in the letter given below, that he became acquainted with Henslow; which disproves the remark of one writer, that Henslow "aroused the first love and the early study of natural science in the mind of Darwin." At the same time there can be no doubt that Professor Henslow exercised a great influence over his pupil, and fostered, not only his intellectual tastes, but those great moral qualities in which there was so striking a resemblance between them, that, as Dr. Romanes has said, Darwin, in an account which he wrote of his teacher's character, "unconsciously gives a most accurate description of his own." The letter containing this description appears in the *Memoirs of the late Professor Henslow*, by the Rev. L. Jenyns, and it affords a pleasant insight into Darwin's life at Cambridge.

I went to Cambridge early in the year 1828, and soon became acquainted, through some of my brother entomologists, with Professor Henslow, for all who cared for any branch of natural history were equally encouraged by him . . . When I reflect how immediately we felt at perfect ease with a man

[1] It is interesting to note that thirty years afterwards, when the *Origin of Species* had appeared, Henslow, then a parish clergyman, accepted Mr. Darwin's conclusions as highly probable, and, in the face of some obloquy, publicly avowed his belief.

[2] "I must be here allowed to return my most sincere thanks to the Reverend Professor Henslow, who, when I was an undergraduate at Cambridge, was one chief means of giving me a taste for Natural History."—Preface to "*Journal of Researches.*"

older and in every way so immensely our superior, I think it was as much owing to the transparent sincerity of his character, as to his kindness of heart; and perhaps even still more to a highly remarkable absence in him of all self-consciousness. One perceived at once that he never thought of his own varied knowledge or clear intellect, but solely on the subject in hand. Another charm, which must have struck every one, was that his manner to old and distinguished persons and to the youngest student was exactly the same: to all he showed the same winning courtesy. He would receive with interest the most trifling observation in any branch of natural history; and however absurd a blunder one might make, he pointed it out so clearly and kindly, that one left him no way disheartened, but only determined to be more accurate the next time . . Once every week he kept open house in the evening, and all who cared for natural history attended these parties. . . When only a few were present, I have listened to the great men of those days, conversing on all sorts of subjects, with the most varied and brilliant powers. This was no small advantage to some of the younger men, as it stimulated their mental activity and ambition. Two or three times in each session he took excursions with his botanical class; either a long walk to the habitat of some rare plant, or in a barge down the river to the fens, or in coaches to some more distant place, as to Gamlingay, to see the wild lily of the valley, and to catch on the heath the rare natter-jack. These excursions have left a delightful impression on my mind. He was, on such occasions, in as good spirits as a boy, and laughed as heartily as a boy at the misadventures of those who chased the splendid swallow-tail butterflies across the broken and treacherous fens. He used to pause every now and then and lecture on some plant or other object; and something he could tell us on every insect, shell, or fossil collected, for he had attended to every branch of natural history. After our day's work we used to dine at some inn or house, and most jovial we then were. I believe all who joined these excursions will agree with me that they have left an enduring impression of delight on our minds. As time passed on at Cambridge I became very intimate with Professor Henslow, and his kindness was unbounded; he continually asked me to his house, and allowed me to accompany him in his walks. He talked on all subjects, including his deep sense of religion, and was entirely open. I owe more than I can express to this excellent man. His kindness was steady; when Captain Fitzroy offered to give up part of his own cabin to any naturalist who would

join the expedition in H. M. S. Beagle, Professor Henslow recommended me, as one who knew very little, but who, he thought, would work. I was strongly attached to natural history, and this attachment I owed, in large part, to him. During the five years' voyage, he regularly corresponded with me and guided my efforts; he received, opened, and took care of all the specimens sent home in many large boxes; but I firmly believe that, during these five years, it never once crossed his mind that he was acting towards me with unusual and generous kindness. During the years when I associated so much with Professor Henslow, I never once saw his temper even ruffled. He never took an ill-natured view of anyone's character, though very far from blind to the foibles of others. It always struck me that his mind could not be even touched by any paltry feeling of vanity, envy, or jealousy. With all this equability of temper and remarkable benevolence, there was no insipidity of character. A man must have been blind not to have perceived that beneath this placid exterior there was a vigorous and determined will. When principle came into play, no power on earth could have turned him one hair's breadth. . . . In intellect, as far as I could judge, accurate powers of observation, sound sense, and cautious judgment seemed predominant. Nothing seemed to give him so much enjoyment as drawing conclusions from minute observations. But his admirable memoir on the geology of Anglesey shows his capacity for extended observations and broad views. Reflecting over his character with gratitude and reverence, his moral attributes rise, as they should do, in the highest character, in pre-eminence over his intellect.

Darwin was as apt to learn the lesson of modesty and sincerity, kindliness and magnanimity, as anything that Professor Henslow could teach him, and with perfect truth we can now apply to the admiring and grateful pupil the words which he wrote of his friend and teacher at Cambridge.

Mr. Darwin spent between three and four years at Cambridge, where he met with Sedgwick, Airy, Ramsay, and other men of science; and it was in 1831 that he accepted the offer mentioned above, to accompany Captain Fitzroy in H. M. S. Beagle, which was commissioned to complete the survey of Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego, begun by Captain King, to survey the shores of Chile, Peru, and some

islands of the Pacific, and to carry a chain of chronometrical measurements round the world. We have given Mr. Darwin's account of how he came to join the expedition. Captain Fitzroy, in his description of the voyage, published in 1839, says that, at his suggestion, the hydrographer of the Admiralty, Captain Beaufort, consented to the appointment "of some scientific person" to collect useful information during the voyage, and "wrote to Professor Peacock of Cambridge, who consulted with a friend, Professor Henslow, and he named Mr. Charles Darwin, grandson of the poet, as a young man of promising ability, extremely fond of geology, and indeed all branches of natural history. In consequence, an offer was made to Mr. Darwin to be my guest on board, which he accepted conditionally; permission was obtained for his embarkation, and an order given by the Admiralty that he should be borne on the ship's books for provisions. The conditions asked by Mr. Darwin were, that he should be at liberty to leave the Beagle and retire from the expedition when he thought proper, and that he should pay a fair share of the expenses of my table."[1] Captain Fitzroy, in proposing the appointment of a scientific man, and Professor Henslow, in fixing upon Darwin for the post, did good service to the world, for, during the voyage of the Beagle seeds were sown in Darwin's fertile mind which bore fruit in his greatest works, and indeed in nearly all the work of his life. He told us long afterwards how the facts learnt in South America, after being pondered for many years, led to the publication of the *Origin of Species* in 1859.

When on board H. M. S. Beagle, as naturalist, I was much struck with certain facts in the distribution of the organic beings inhabiting South America, and in the geological relations of the present to the past inhabitants of that continent. These facts seemed to throw some light on the origin of species—that mystery of mysteries, as it has been called by one

[1] *A Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of H. M. S. Adventure and Beagle*, Vol, II., pp. 18, 19.

of our greatest philosophers. On my return home it occurred to me, in 1837, that something might perhaps be made out on this question by patiently accumulating and reflecting on all sorts of facts which could possibly have any bearing on it. After five years' work I allowed myself to speculate on the subject, and drew up some short notes; these I enlarged in 1844 into a sketch of the conclusions which then seemed to me probable; from that period to the present day I have steadily pursued the same object.[1]

From these words we learn a good deal of Darwin's method of work; his patience, his industry, his conscientiousness. It was more than twenty years before he allowed himself to give to the world the results of the studies which he resolved upon in 1837; and even then it was by the persuasion of friends that he published what he calls "this abstract" of his researches and conclusions.

The memorable voyage of the Beagle, which will always be associated with the dawn of a new scientific epoch, began on the 27th of December, 1831, and lasted for nearly five years, ending on the 2nd of October, 1836. Mr. Darwin has told the story of his adventures and experiences in the *Journal of Researches*, a book which is now familiarly known as "A Naturalist's Voyage Round the World."[2] It was published in 1839, the first of a succession of works which for forty years surprised and charmed the scientific world; and before the second edition appeared in 1845 the book had been translated into German, the Germans having thus early shown their appreciation of Mr. Darwin's genius. It is impossible to give even an

[1] Introduction to the *Origin of Species*, 1859.

[2] In 1839 Mr. Colburn published an account of the Voyages of the Beagle and the Adventure (which had previously been engaged on a similar survey), in two volumes, by Captain King and Captain Fitzroy; and, as a third volume, but complete in itself and sold separately, "*Journal of Researches into the Geology and Natural History of the Various Countries visited by H. M. S. Beagle, under the command of Captain Fitzroy, R.N., from* 1832 *to* 1836. By Charles Darwin, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., Secretary to the Geological Society." A second edition of the *Journal of Researches* appeared in 1845.

outline of the voyage, but, for the purpose of this paper, which is to produce something like a picture of the man, and not a scientific estimate of his work, nothing can be better than a liberal use of the *Journal of Researches*, where he marshals facts with the same masterly hand that compels our admiration in his maturer writings, while we come across one passage after another showing his great powers of mind, and his noble and kindly nature.

Soon after Mr. Darwin arrived at Rio de Janeiro he accepted the invitation of an Englishman to visit his estate, a hundred miles from the capital. If we could give the complete account of this expedition, it would exemplify in a striking way Mr. Darwin's remarkable habits of observation, the sympathy with his fellow-creatures, however lowly they might be, and the delight in nature, which characterize the whole book.

As it was growing dark (he says, of the evening of the first day) we passed under one of the massive, bare, and steep hills of granite, which are so common in this country. This spot is notorious from having been, for a long time, the residence of some run-away slaves, who, by cultivating a little ground near the top, contrived to eke out a subsistence. At length they were discovered, and a party of soldiers being sent, the whole were seized with the exception of one old woman, who, sooner than again be led into slavery, dashed herself to pieces from the summit of the mountain. In a Roman matron this would have been called the noble love of freedom; in a poor negress it is mere brutal obstinacy. We continued riding for some hours. For the few last miles the road was intricate, and it passed through a desert waste of marshes and lagoons. The scene by the dimmed light of the moon was most desolate. A few fireflies flittered by us; and the solitary snipe, as it rose, uttered its plaintive cry. The distant and sullen roar of the sea scarcely broke the stillness of the night.

The journey was not without its hardships, though they were willingly borne for the sake of the fresh experience and knowledge which it brought. At the vênda (or inn), the travellers would ask the senhôr to do them the favour of giving them something to eat. "'Anything you choose, sir,' was his usual answer.

For the first few times, vainly I thanked providence for having guided us to so good a man. The conversation proceeding, the case universally became deplorable. 'Any fish can you do us the favour of giving?'—'Oh! no, Sir.'—'Any soup?'—'No, Sir.'—'Any bread?'—'Oh! no, Sir.'—'Any dried meat?'—'Oh, no, Sir.' If we were lucky, by waiting a couple of hours we obtained fowls, rice, and farinha." The hosts were ungracious and disagreeable in their manners; the houses filthy; in many places, forks, knives, and spoons, were unknown. At the end of the third day, the troubles of the adventurers assumed a different shape. They reached the house of a friend, where the dishes were many, and every guest was expected to eat of each; and Mr. Darwin describes how, one day, having nicely calculated, as he thought, so that nothing should go away untasted, to his utter dismay "a roast turkey and a pig appeared in all their substantial reality." But the life here was pleasant and even fascinating in its patriarchal simplicity, "as long as the idea of slavery could be banished;" and on this estate the slaves seemed to be happy enough. "One morning I walked out an hour before daylight to admire the solemn stillness of the scene; at last the silence was broken by the morning hymn, raised on high by the whole body of the blacks; and in this manner their daily work is generally begun."

On the estate where he stopped next Mr. Darwin "was very nearly being an eye-witness to one of those atrocious acts which can only take place in a slave country." The owner, though a man of more than average humanity and kind feeling, was about to sell all the women and children away from the men, and was only prevented by self-interest. In connection with this incident, Mr. Darwin "mentions one very trifling anecdote which at the time struck him more forcibly than any story of cruelty." He was crossing a ferry with an uncommonly stupid negro. "In endeavouring to make him understand, I talked loud, and made

signs, in doing which I passed my hand near his face. He, I suppose, thought I was in a passion, and was going to strike him, for instantly, with frightened look and half-shut eyes, he dropped his hands. I shall never forget my feelings of surprise, disgust, and shame, at seeing a great, powerful man afraid even to ward off a blow directed, as he thought, at his face. This man had been trained to a degradation lower than the slavery of the most helpless animals." His feelings were always strong on the subject of slavery. Towards the close of the *Journal*, describing his last departure from Brazil, he writes—"I thank God that I shall never again visit a slave country. To this day, if I hear a distant scream, it recalls with painful vividness my feelings when, passing a house near Pernambuco, I heard the most pitiable moans, and could not but suspect that some poor slave was being tortured, yet knew that I was as powerless as a child even to remonstrate"; and he adds, "it makes one's blood boil, yet heart tremble," to think what Englishmen and Americans have been guilty of in this matter.

In contrast to the dark picture of human cruelty, we have Mr. Darwin's description of the beauty of nature in the forest, as he saw it during the excursion from Rio. The palm trees, growing among the common branching kinds, gave the scene an intertropical character. "The woods were ornamented by the Cabbage Palm—one of the most beautiful of its family. With a stem so narrow that it might be clasped with the two hands, it waves its elegant head at the height of forty or fifty feet from the ground. . . . If the eye was turned from the world of foliage above to the ground beneath, it was attracted by the extreme elegance of the leaves of the ferns and mimosæ. The latter in some parts covered the surface with a brushwood only a few inches high. In walking across these thick beds of mimosæ, a broad track was marked by the change of shade produced by the drooping of their sensitive petioles. It is easy to

specify the individual objects of admiration in these grand scenes; but it is not possible to give an adequate idea of the higher feelings of wonder, astonishment, and devotion, which fill and elevate the mind."

Nearly four years were passed in coasting round South America, but Mr. Darwin spent much of his time in journeying inland; and almost every day seems to have brought fresh stores of knowledge for future use, and fresh occasion to scrutinize very closely the scientific theories of the time. The discovery of the remains of gigantic quadrupeds at Bahia Blanca leads him to examine the assumption that large animals require luxuriant vegetation, and, with abundant proof, he declares it to be false. Side by side with this, we may place the curious and instructive facts mentioned by Mr. Darwin in connection with a remarkable drought in Buenos Ayres and St. Fé between 1827 and 1830. So great was the drought that in some parts cattle, which abounded before, completely perished, and meat had to be imported to feed the inhabitants. The animals rushed in hundreds of thousands into the rivers, and, weakened by hunger, were drowned. "What would be the opinion of a geologist, viewing such an enormous collection of bones, of all kinds of animals, and of all ages, embedded in one thick, earthy mass? Would he not attribute it to a flood having swept over the surface of the land, rather than to the common order of things?" Again, in Banda Oriental, oxen of a very curious breed are found, with lips which do not join. The consequence of this peculiarity is that, during a drought, the niata cattle, as they are called, cannot easily browse on the twigs of trees, and reeds, and hence they perish before the common breed; "which affords a good illustration of our inability to judge, from the ordinary habits of life, by what circumstances the rarity or extinction of a species may be determined." And in another place the similarity of the extinct to the living animals calls forth this pregnant remark—"The wonderful relationship in the

same continent between the dead and the living will, I do not doubt, hereafter throw more light on the appearance of organic beings on the earth, and their disappearance from it, than any other class of facts." We have here the germ of "the great law of the long-enduring, but not immutable, succession of the same types within the same areas," which is set forth in the *Origin of Species*.

When the Beagle reached Tierra del Fuego, and the natives advanced to the shore, Mr. Darwin saw, "without exception, the most curious and interesting spectacle" he ever beheld. "I could not have believed," he says, "how wide was the difference between savage and civilized man; it is greater than between a wild and domesticated animal, inasmuch as in man there is greater power of improvement." In Tierra del Fuego Mr. Darwin had many opportunities of studying man in his most uncivilized condition; beings of whom he says, "one can hardly make oneself believe that they are fellow creatures and inhabitants of the same world"; and he gives us an interesting account of what seems to Europeans their unutterably wretched life, but comes to the conclusion that, as there is no reason to believe they decrease in number, "we must suppose they enjoy a sufficient share of happiness to make life worth having." Their language scarcely deserved to be called articulate; in winter, when pressed by hunger, they killed and devoured their old women before they killed their dogs; they were almost like the wild beasts in their apparent incapacity to reason on some simple subjects.

Within the last few years, a Christian Church has been established amongst the Fuegians, with its schools and orphanage, and all the machinery of an English parish, and the change is wonderful. The natives live in cottages, cultivate their gardens, and follow the various occupations of civilized life; and part of the Scriptures is translated into their barbarous tongue. When Mr. Darwin heard what had taken place he was amazed,

and writing to Admiral Sullivan (who accompanied Captain Fitzroy in the Beagle), he said—"I had always thought the civilization of the Japanese the most wonderful thing in history, but I am now convinced that what the missionaries have done in Tierra del Fuego, in civilizing the natives, is at least as wonderful." Not content with expressing his admiration, Mr. Darwin sent a donation to the South American Missionary Society by which the work was accomplished; and amongst the tributes paid to his memory when he died was a paragraph in the Society's annual report, recording that his death had been "the cause of deep regret throughout the world," and paying "a sincere tribute of respect to the memory of a man of unblemished character, of the highest intellectual capacity, and of rare attainments." The incident is honourable both to Mr. Darwin and to the Society which recognized his worth.

From Tierra del Fuego the Beagle passed into the Pacific, and cruised slowly up the western coast of South America, when Mr. Darwin felt the shock of a great earthquake and examined its effects in connection with volcanic action; and in September, 1835, the voyagers reached the Galapagos Archipelago, in some respects the most interesting to a naturalist of all the countries which they visited. The Archipelago is a group of islands formed of volcanic rocks, containing probably two thousand craters; but the chief peculiarity of the group lies in the novelty of the flora and the fauna, which differ even on the various islands.

It was most striking to be surrounded by new birds, new reptiles, new shells, new insects, new plants, and yet by innumerable trifling details of structure, and, even by the tones of voice and plumage of the birds, to have the temperate plains of Patagonia, or the hot dry deserts of Northern Chile, vividly brought before my eyes. Why, on these small points of land, which within a late geological period must have been covered by the ocean, which are formed of basaltic lava, and therefore differ in geological character from the American continent, and which are placed under a peculiar climate,—

why were their aboriginal inhabitants, associated, I may add in different proportions both in kind and number from those on the continent, and therefore acting on each other in a different manner—why were they created on American types of organization? It is probable that the islands of the Cape de Verd group resemble, in all their physical conditions, far more closely the Galapagos Islands than these latter physically resemble the coast of America; yet the aboriginal inhabitants of the two groups are totally unlike; those of the Cape de Verd Islands bearing the impress of Africa, as the inhabitants of the Galapagos Archipelago are stamped with that of America.

The facts which he observed in the Galapagos Archipelago furnished Mr. Darwin with valuable material for his remarks in the *Origin of Species* on "the relations of the inhabitants of islands to those of the nearest mainland."

In the Galapagos Islands, which have not long been regularly inhabited by man, Mr. Darwin was struck by the curious tameness of the birds. He pushed a hawk from the branch of a tree with the muzzle of his gun; a mocking-thrush alighted on a pitcher in his hand, and sipped out of it; and he saw a boy standing by a well, with a switch, killing for his dinner a number of doves and finches which came to drink. After giving examples of similar tameness in other parts of the world little frequented by man, Mr. Darwin says—"In regard to the wildness of birds towards man, there is no way of accounting for it, except as an inherited habit. Comparatively few young birds, in any one year, have been injured by man in England, yet almost all, even nestlings, are afraid of him; many individuals, on the other hand, both at Galapagos and at the Falklands, have been pursued and injured by man, but yet have not learned a salutary dread of him. We may infer from these facts, what havoc the introduction of any new beast of prey must cause in a country, before the instincts of the indigenous inhabitants have become adapted to the stranger's craft or power."

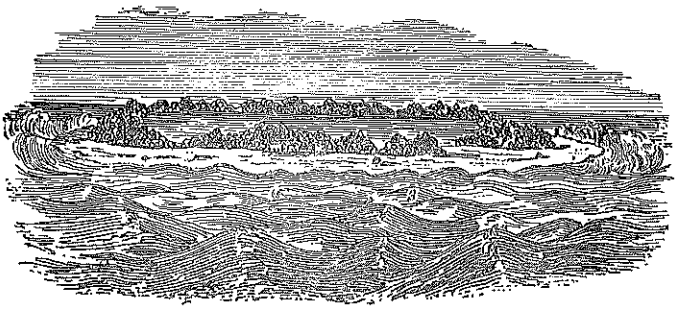
From the Galapagos Archipelago the vessel steered for Tahiti. In that island Mr. Darwin saw a good deal of the missionaries, and his remarks upon their work are worth quoting, because they show with what an observant and impartial mind, far removed above the ordinary prejudices of the traveller, he regarded his fellow men.

On the whole, it appears to me that the morality and religion of the inhabitants are highly creditable. There are many who attack, even more acrimoniously than Kotzebue, the missionaries, their system, and the effects produced by it. Such reasoners never compare the present state with that of the island only twenty years ago; nor even with that of Europe at this day; but they compare it with the high standard of Gospel perfection. They expect the missionaries to effect that which the Apostles themselves failed to do. Inasmuch as the condition of the people falls short of this high standard, blame is attached to the missionary, instead of credit for that which he has effected. They forget, or will not remember, that human sacrifices, and the power of an idolatrous priesthood—a system of profligacy unparalleled in any other part of the world—infanticide a consequence of that system—bloody wars, where the conquerors spared neither women nor children—that all these have been abolished; and that dishonesty, intemperance, and licentiousness, have been greatly reduced by the introduction of Christianity. In a voyager to forget these things is base ingratitude; for should he chance to be at the point of shipwreck on some unknown coast, he will most devoutly pray that the lesson of the missionary may have extended thus far.

A curious illustration of the truth of this remark is supplied by the experience of a number of sailors amongst the natives of Tierra del Fuego, whose degraded condition had made so deep an impression on Darwin's mind. In former days, we are told by Admiral Sullivan, no shipwrecked crew ever escaped from that inhospitable shore with their lives, except by force of arms. Some time after the Mission was established, a Liverpool barque and a schooner were driven upon the coast, a few miles from the site of a stockade built by a number of sailors, years before, to defend themselves against the natives. In the present

case, the castaways were treated by the Fuegians with the greatest kindness, and guided many hundreds of miles to a spot where passing vessels might be signalled.

New Zealand and Australia were visited next, and then the Keeling Islands in the Indian Ocean, where Mr. Darwin examined the coral formation, and discovered the secret of the curious lagoon-islands, or atolls, which had excited the wonder and admiration of every traveller who saw them. He devotes several pages to a lucid description of these marvellous structures, and it was afterwards enlarged into the well-known work on the *Structure and Distribution of Coral Reefs*. Thousands of voyagers had seen these atolls, and many had tried to explain their construction; but the secret was kept until Mr. Darwin revealed it. His explanation is as simple as it is ingenious. The oceanic islands, round which the corals build their reefs, gradually subside. As they sink the coral-reefs are built higher and higher, until, when the original island disappears, what we may call a lake in the midst of the ocean remains, such as is represented in the accompanying sketch. We can only sum up in a few words the



conclusion that was reached, but it is supported by an array of facts and arguments which leave no room for doubt, and, as we shall see further on, it commended itself at once as true to men of science in every country. Some of the atolls are forty or fifty miles across, and Mr. Darwin says "the immensity of the

ocean, the fury of the breakers, contrasted with the lowness of the land, and the bright green water within the lagoon, can hardly be imagined without having been seen."

Brazil was reached again, by way of the Mauritius, the Cape, and St. Helena, to complete the circuit of the globe, and then the Beagle returned home. The effect of a long voyage, says Mr. Darwin, "ought to be to teach the traveller good-humoured patience, freedom from selfishness, the habit of acting for himself, and of making the best of every occurrence." The writer had ample opportunity of putting his philosophy to the test! He suffered much from sea-sickness; so much, indeed, that it is supposed to have affected him for the rest of his life; though, with characteristic self-forgetfulness, he makes only a passing reference to it. But he speaks of the deep enjoyment he derived; nor is this wonderful when we know the spirit in which the voyage was undertaken, and the interest in other men and other things that made his own sufferings a mere trifle in the balance.

The Beagle brought home an abundant crop of literature. The firstfruits were given to the world in an account of the Zoology of the Voyage, and while this was appearing in parts, the volumes by Captain Fitzroy and Mr. Darwin, already mentioned, were published. The *Journal of Researches* was received with great favour. The *Quarterly Review* described it as "one of the most interesting narratives of voyaging that it has fallen to our lot to take up, and one which must always occupy a distinguished space in the history of scientific navigation"; and the President of the Geological Society said that "looking at the general mass of Mr. Darwin's results he could not help considering the voyage as one of the most important events for geology which had occurred for many years."

The Zoology of the Voyage, which was published with the aid of a grant of £1000 from the national Exchequer, included an account of the Fossil Mammalia by Pro-

fessor Owen, the Living Mammalia by Mr. Waterhouse, the Birds by Mr. Gould, the Fish by the Rev. L. Jenyns, and the Reptiles by Mr. Bell. It was through Mr. Darwin's labours in collecting specimens and making observations that all these works were produced, and he added to the description of each species an account of its habits and range. The Insects which he collected were the subject of papers by Mr. Waterhouse and others; the Plants from South America were described by Dr. Hooker, who also wrote a memoir for the Linnæan Society on the Flora of the Galapagos Archipelago; Professor Henslow published a list of Plants from the Keeling Islands, and the Cryptogamic Plants were described by Mr. Berkeley. When we add to these the works from Mr. Darwin's own hand, we can form some notion of the "capacity for taking pains" which distinguished the young naturalist.

Several short papers founded upon observations made during the voyage appeared within a few years of his return, and some of them were embodied in the larger works afterwards published. One, on the habits of the South American Ostrich, was read at a meeting of the Zoological Society in March, 1839, when Mr. Gould described the Rhea Darwinii, so called in honour of its discoverer, and spoke of Mr. Darwin's important contributions to science; two others, on the Planarian Worms of South America and on Sagitta and its Development, appeared in 1844; but most of Mr. Darwin's attention was directed at this time to geology. In May, 1837, he communicated to the Geological Society his views on Coral Reefs which were afterwards published in the volume mentioned further on;[1] and he contributed two papers to the same society, on the Volcanic Phenomena and the Erratic Boulders of South America. In a

[1] "I am very full of Darwin's new theory of Coral Islands, and have urged Whewell to make him read it at our next meeting. I must give up my volcanic crater theory for ever, though it costs me a pang at first."—*Lyell to Sir John Herschell*, May 24, 1837.

letter dated December, 1836, only a few weeks after the Beagle returned, Lyell, writing to tell Darwin of the great pleasure which he had derived from a paper of his, and offering to go through it with him before it was read in public, says—"The idea of the Pampas going up at the rate of an inch in a century, while the western coast and the Andes rise many feet, and unequally, has long been a dream of mine. What a splendid field you have to write upon." In another letter, in March, 1838, Lyell returns to the subject, and gives an account of the meeting of the Geological Society at which Darwin read his paper on the Connection of Volcanic Phenomena and the Elevation of Mountain Chains. "He opened upon De la Bêche, Phillips, and others his whole battery of the earthquakes and volcanoes of the Andes, and argued that spaces of a thousand miles long were simultaneously subject to earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, and that the elevation of the Pampas, Patagonia, &c., all depended on a common cause." So early had Mr. Darwin, then a young man of twenty-nine, taken his place among the leading geologists of his time.

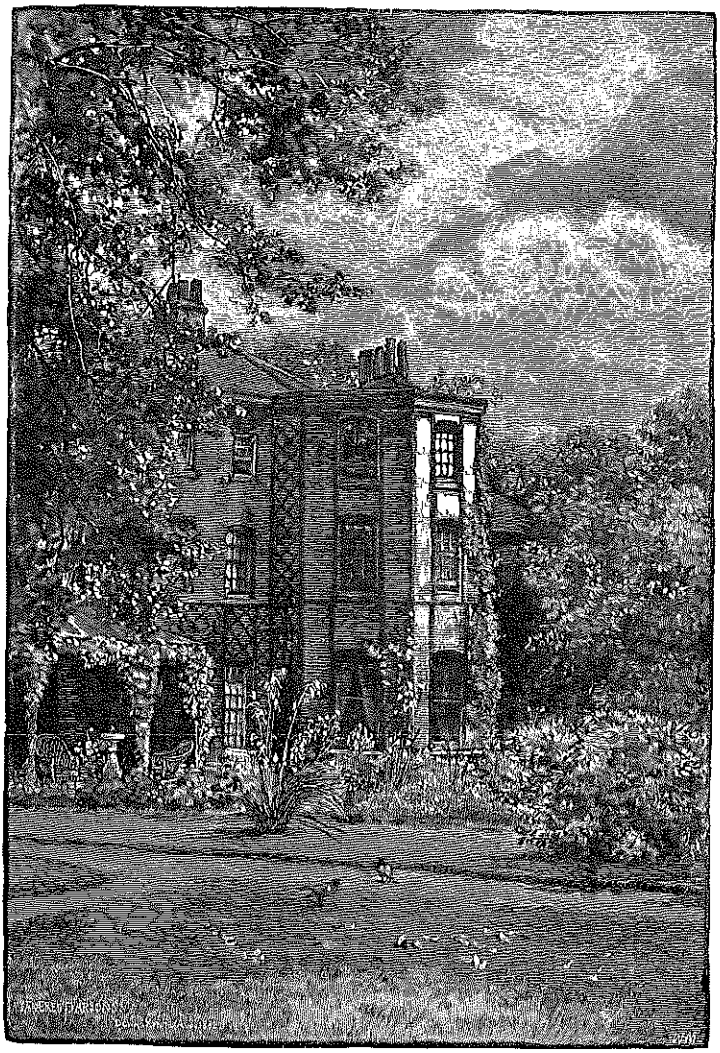
In 1842 the first of three volumes by Mr. Darwin on the Geology of the Beagle was published under the title of the *Structure and Distribution of Coral Reefs;* in 1844 appeared *Geological Observations on the Volcanic Islands visited during the Voyage of H. M. S. Beagle,* "together with some Brief Notices on the Geology of Australia and the Cape of Good Hope"; and in 1846 the work was completed by "*Geological Observations on South America.*" Each of these volumes was enough to make a considerable reputation for the writer, but the first was the most important. So close was Mr. Darwin's observation, and so cogent was his reasoning, that in four or five years the theory which he set forth was "in progress of adoption by men of science in every country."[1] "This theory (says

[1] *Quarterly Review*, LXXXI. (1847), p. 492.

the Director General of the Geological Survey[1]) for simplicity and grandeur strikes every reader with astonishment. It is pleasant after the lapse of many years to recall the delight with which one first read the *Coral Reefs*, how one watched the facts being marshalled into their places, nothing being ignored or passed lightly over, and how step by step one was led up to the grand conclusion of wide oceanic subsidences. No more admirable example of scientific method was ever given to the world, and even if he had written nothing else, this treatise alone would have placed Darwin in the very front of investigators of nature." We have mentioned the direct results of the voyage of the Beagle; the indirect results can neither be mentioned nor measured. They are to be seen, as we have said, in almost every work which Mr. Darwin wrote; and the sum of them is a revolution in scientific belief. For this reason it has seemed well to occupy so much of this paper with the early years of Mr. Darwin as a student and a discoverer.

Mr. Darwin, as we have seen, had not been long at home before his valuable services were recognized by men of science, and he was soon elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. In the letter from which we have already quoted, Lyell advises him to accept no official appointment if he can avoid it; but not long afterwards we find him Secretary to the Geological Society, an office which he filled when the *Journal of Researches* was published in 1839. Two years later he retired, and it was fortunate for the world that thenceforth he acted upon Lyell's advice, and "worked exclusively for science." It was before the Geological Society, on the 1st of November, 1837, that Mr. Darwin read a short paper on the "Formation of Mould"; and forty four years passed before he gave to the public the mature results of his investigations, in the interesting

[1] Paper in *Nature* on "Mr. Darwin's work in Geology" by Archibald Geikie, LL.D., F.R.S., 1882.



DOWN HOUSE.

(Where Darwin lived for forty years).

book on the same subject published not many months before he died.

His uncle, Mr. Josiah Wedgwood of Maer Hall in Staffordshire, had suggested to him that the apparent sinking of superficial bodies was due to the action of earth-worms; and this suggestion started Mr. Darwin on the line of enquiry and experiment described in the latest work of his life. For the purposes of that enquiry a quantity of broken chalk was spread over part of a field at Down, in December, 1842, and after an interval of twenty nine years, at the end of November, 1871, a trench was dug to test the results. The book on *Earth Worms* will be mentioned again in order of date; but it is worth while recording here a fact which gives so vivid an illustration of Mr. Darwin's patient devotion to scientific truth. He seemed never to take a step forward until his footing was perfectly secure; and that is the reason, probably, why his writings have made so profound an impression and so quickly won the assent of his contemporaries.

In the early part of 1839 Mr. Darwin married his cousin, Miss Emma Wedgwood, daughter of Mr. Josiah Wedgwood of Maer Hall, and after a short residence in London he settled in 1842 at Down House,[1] near Down, in Kent, for the rest of his days. Down is a quiet little village near the borders of Surrey, three or four miles from the Orpington Station on the South Eastern Railway, between London and Hastings. There, on the pleasant Kentish hills, in the seclusion which was necessary for his work, but near the metropolis, he spent his fruitful days; and, except the record of his published works, there is little to tell of the forty years passed in this quiet retreat. Happy in his home, with children growing up about him, with

[1] For the engraving of Down House, and the Greenhouse (given further on), we are indebted to the publishers of *The Century*, in which they appeared (Vol. XXV., No. 3), to illustrate an interesting paper by Mr. Wallace.

means sufficient to live the life of an English country gentleman, and endowed "with a sweet and gentle nature which blossomed into perfection" (as a writer in the *Saturday Review* said at the time of his death), no better lot could be desired for the student of nature, except that it was marred for years by continued ill-health. The days were many on which he could not work at all, and on many others two or three hours was the compulsory limit of his task; so that the mere bulk of his writings, considering their supreme quality, and the enormous labour of preparing the material, is a lasting tribute to his genius.

Of course, to accomplish all this, he worked systematically. "In preparing his books he had a special set of shelves for each, standing on or near his writing-table, a shelf being devoted to the material destined to form each chapter"; and his days, as far as the state of his health would permit, were carefully parcelled out between work and recreation, to make the best of his time. Retiring to bed at ten, he was an early riser, and often in his library at eight, after breakfast and his first morning walk. Later in the day he generally walked again, often in his own grounds, but sometimes further afield, and then generally by quiet footpaths rather than frequented roads. The walks at one time were varied by rides along the lanes on a favourite black cob; but, some years before Mr. Darwin's death, his four-footed friend fell, and died by the roadside, and from that day the habit of riding was given up. Part of the evening was devoted to his family and his friends, who delighted to gather round him, to enjoy the charm of his bright intelligence and his unrivalled stores of knowledge. To Down, occasionally, came distinguished men from many lands; and there in later years would sometimes be found the younger generation of scientific students, looking up to the great Naturalist with the reverence of disciples, who had experienced his singular modesty, his patient readiness to listen to all opinions, and the winning grace with which he

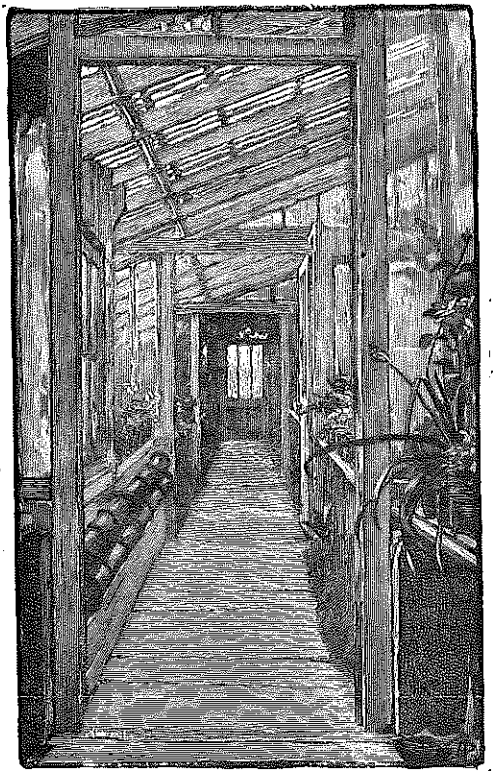
informed their ignorance and corrected their mistakes. At other times, there was novel-reading, perhaps by Mrs. Darwin; and so the quiet days followed one another, while works were preparing which were to astonish the civilised world.

In the midst of all the delights of home and the demands of study, Mr. Darwin kept an open mind for public affairs. He united the earnest politician with the patient student: a rare combination, which supplies another proof of his largeness of heart and sympathy with his fellow men. In the village of Down he was liked by everybody, old and young; and in his own household the same servants lived year after year under his roof. One of them, Margaret Evans, who assisted in nursing him in his last illness, had come to Down, nearly forty years before, from Shrewsbury, where her uncle and aunt were in Dr. Darwin's service.

The story of Mr. Darwin's life must be read chiefly in his writings. Down House will always be associated with the pigeons of which we read so much in some of his books; with that most unexpected of all guests, the earthworm; with his keen and amusing observations of the habits of his own infants. Such was the simplicity of the man, that all his experiments seem to have been conducted with a singular absence of ostentation. The botanist, Alphonse de Candolle, whose observations are often quoted in the *Origin of Species*, says:—

It was on a beautiful autumn morning, in 1880, that I arrived at the Orpington Station, where my illustrious friend had a break waiting for me. The drive to Down takes an hour; it presents nothing remarkable, unless it be the residence, surrounded by beautiful trees, of Sir John Lubbock. I will not here speak of the kind reception that was given me at Down, nor of the pleasure which I felt in chatting familiarly with Mr. and Mrs. Darwin, and their son Francis. I will only remark that Darwin at seventy was more animated and seemed happier than when I had seen him forty-one years before. His eye was bright, and his expression cheerful, his conversation varied, free and pleasing, his English easy for a foreigner to understand. Around the house there were no signs of his

researches. Darwin used simple means. I looked for the greenhouse, in which those beautiful researches on vegetable hybrids had been made; it contained nothing but a vine. One thing struck me, although it was nothing uncommon in England, where animals are petted. A heifer and a colt were feeding close to us, with a familiarity which told of kind masters, and I heard the joyful barking of dogs. "Here," said I, "the history of the variations of animals has been written; and, no doubt, the observations are still carried on, for Darwin is never idle." I did not expect that the earthworms—those meanest of animals—over whose habitations I was walking, were to be the subject of a new memoir, in which Darwin was to show once more what great effects may spring from small causes often repeated. He had been busy with them for thirty years, had I known it. On our return to the house, Darwin showed me his study—a large room, lighted on both sides, with one table for writing and another for experimental apparatus. An experiment on the movements of stems and roots was then in progress. I should have liked to see the registers of experiments, but the hours slipped away like minutes.[1]



THE GREENHOUSE AT DOWN.
(In which Mr. Darwin made experiments.)

[1] I have taken this from a condensed translation of the original given in a lecture by Professor L. C. Miall, before the Leeds Philosophical Society, February, 1883.

The quiet life at Down was varied occasionally by journeys in England and Wales, but Mr. Darwin never travelled much after his long voyage in the Beagle. He visited Snowdonia, attracted there by Buckland's account of ice-action, and the result appeared in a paper of great value (1843) on British Glaciers. Years after, we believe, he delivered a lecture before the members of the Literary Institute at Tenby, where some of Mrs. Darwin's relations were then living; but he was little seen in public at any time, though his face became familiar by means of portraits long before he died.[1] In 1847 Mr. Darwin was one of the speakers at the Oxford meeting of the British Association, where Robert Chambers, even then mentioned by Lyell as "the author of the Vestiges," read a paper, and Ruskin officiated as Secretary of the Geological Section. It was thirteen years after when the British Association, again at Oxford, discussed with much vehemence the *Origin of Species*, of which, in 1847, Mr. Darwin had already sketched the outline. The preparation of that book, minute and elaborate as it was, still left time for other laborious work, of which his great monograph on the *Cirripedia*, published by the Ray Society in two volumes, in 1851 and 1854, was the most remarkable example. It established his fame as a zoologist, and he drew from his observations of the structure and habits of the remarkable family of Barnacles conclusions of the greatest value to comparative anatomists.

In 1853 Mr. Darwin received the medal of the Royal Society; and it happened to be a year of considerable interest in connection with the work of his life. The theory which he was to establish seemed to be "in the air." In 1852 Mr. Herbert Spencer had written an essay in the *Leader*, arguing that species were modified

[1] The portrait of Mr. Darwin which is given with this paper is reproduced by the Woodbury process from a photograph taken by Captain Darwin, for which I have to thank Mr. Francis Darwin, whose kindness in supplying me with particulars of his father's boyhood I also take this opportunity of acknowledging.

by circumstances; in 1853 appeared the tenth and much improved edition of the *Vestiges*, of which Mr. Darwin says—"It has done excellent service in this country in calling attention to the subject, in removing prejudice, and in thus preparing the ground for the reception of analogous views." In the same year Count Keyserling and Dr. Schaaffhausen, in different countries, argued in favour of the modification of species; and similar views were propounded by other writers in 1854 and 1855.[1] How Mr. Darwin's attention was directed to the subject during the voyage of the Beagle has already been stated, but anything which throws light upon the history of his principal work is interesting, and the following extract from a letter to Haeckel, published in his *History of Creation*, will be welcome.

Having reflected much on the foregoing facts, it seemed to me probable that allied species were descended from a common ancestor. But during several years I could not conceive how each form could have been modified so as to become admirably adapted to its place in nature. I began, therefore, to study domesticated animals and cultivated plants, and after a time perceived that man's power of selecting and breeding from certain individuals was the most powerful of all means in the production of new races. Having attended to the habits of animals and their relations to the surrounding conditions, I was able to realize the severe struggle for existence to which all organisms are subjected; and my geological observations had allowed me to appreciate to a certain extent the duration of past geological periods. With my mind thus prepared I fortunately happened to read Malthus's *Essay on Population*; and the idea of natural selection through the struggle for existence at once occurred to me. Of all the subordinate points in the theory, the last which I understood was the cause of the tendency in the descendants from a common progenitor to diverge in character.[2]

In 1858 Mr. Wallace, who was studying the Natural History of the Malay Archipelago, sent a memoir to

[1] See "Historical Sketch" prefixed to the *Origin of Species*, and the Introduction to that work.

[2] Rewritten from the German text by Mr. Darwin for *The Doctrine of Descent and Darwinism* by Oscar Schmidt.

Mr. Darwin, from which it appeared that these distinguished observers had "arrived at almost exactly the same general conclusions on the Origin of Species." We quote Mr. Darwin's own words, and he adds—"Sir C. Lyell and Dr. Hooker, who both knew of my work, the latter having read my sketch of 1844, honoured me by thinking it advisable to publish, with Mr. Wallace's excellent memoir, some brief extracts from my manuscripts." Mr. Darwin's recognition of Mr. Wallace's claims found a worthy response in Mr. Wallace's expressions of veneration for the "lofty pre-eminence" of his friend; and the story of their generous rivalry is one of the brightest in the annals of science. When Mr. Darwin died Mr. Wallace wrote a tribute to his memory in which his own share in establishing the doctrine of evolution is ignored, and Mr. Darwin is pronounced to be far above other names in natural science, not only of our own but of all times.

However much our knowledge of nature may advance in the future (says Mr. Wallace), it will certainly be by following in the pathways he has made clear for us, and for long years to come the name of Darwin will stand for the typical example of what the student of nature ought to be. And if we glance back over the whole domain of science we shall find none to stand beside him as equals; for in him we find a patient observation and collection of facts, as in Tycho Brahe; the power of using those facts in the determination of laws, as in Kepler; combined with the inspirational genius of a Newton, through which he was enabled to grasp fundamental principles, and so apply them as to bring order out of chaos, and illuminate the world of life as Newton illuminated the material universe. Paraphrasing the eulogistic words of the poet, we may say with perhaps a greater approximation to truth—

> Nature and nature's laws lay hid in night;
> God said, 'Let Darwin be,' and all was light.[1]

It was on the 1st of July, 1858, that the papers by Mr. Darwin and Mr. Wallace were read before the Linnæan Society; and the *Origin of Species*[2] was pub-

[1] From the paper in *The Century* already mentioned.

[2] The full title of the work is *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life.*

lished on the 24th of November, 1859, a date never to be forgotten in the history of science. The first edition quickly disappeared, and within six weeks a second was in the hands of the public. The work was translated into almost every continental language, and when the sixth English edition was published in January, 1872, a fifth German edition was in course of preparation, there were four in France, three in Russia, and one in Italy, Holland, and Sweden, as well as three in America. Of vehement denunciation Mr. Darwin's theory came in for its full share. The *Quarterly Review* received it with mingled denunciation and derision. The reviewer was charmed indeed with Mr. Darwin's revelations of Nature's secrets. "We feel as we walk abroad with Mr. Darwin very much as the favoured object of the attention of the dervise must have felt when he had rubbed the ointment around his eye, and had it opened to see all the jewels, and diamonds, and emeralds, and topazes, and rubies, which were sparkling unregarded beneath the earth, hidden as yet from all eyes save those which the dervise had enlightened."[1] Such a confession as this might well have made the critic doubt whether he was as capable as the dervise of interpreting the secrets which he revealed; but to Mr. Darwin's doctrine no quarter is given. "Under such influences a man soon goes back to the marvelling stare of childhood at the centaurs and hippogriffs of fancy, or, if he is of a philosophic turn, he comes, like Oken, to write a scheme of creation under a 'sort of inspiration,' but it is the frenzied inspiration of the inhaler of mephitic gas. The whole world of nature is laid for such a man under a fantastic law of glamour, and he becomes capable of believing anything; and he is able with a continually growing neglect of all the facts around him, with equal confidence and equal delusion, to look back to any past and to look on to any future." It may be doubted whether a more ingenious perversion of truth was ever devised than that of charg-

[1] *Quarterly Review*, Vol. CVIII., p. 230.

ing Mr. Darwin with a "continually growing neglect of all the facts around him"! The *Edinburgh Review* was not so extravagant in its condemnation, but solemnly warned the members of the Royal Institution, who had listened to a favourable lecture from Professor Huxley on the subject, that such speculations "more truly paralleled the abuse of science to which a neighbouring nation, some seventy years since, owed its temporary degradation."

At the Oxford meeting of the British Association in 1860 the book was discussed in a very lively way, in the section of Zoology and Botany, over which Mr. Darwin's old friend, Professor Henslow, presided for the last time. "A large audience," says the writer of Henslow's Life, "was drawn together to hear it;" numbers could not get in; and "those who were present speak of the admirable tact and judgment with which he regulated the discussion, showing complete impartiality, allowing everyone fairly to state his opinions, but checking all irrelevant remarks, and trying to keep down as much as possible any acrimonious feelings that appeared to mix themselves up with the arguments of the contending parties." It was Huxley who bore the brunt of the attack, and being asked by one of the disputants whether he was related, on his grandfather's or his grandmother's side, to an ape, replied that if he had his choice of an ancestor, whether it should be an ape, or one who, having received a scholastic education, should use his logic to mislead an untutored public, he should not hesitate for a moment to prefer the ape. The debates lasted a considerable time, and before they were over, "young Lubbock and Joseph Hooker declared their adhesion to Darwin's theory," as Lyell, who was at Oxford, but not able to attend the meetings of this section, writes in a letter to Sir Charles Bunbury. In the same letter he says that the crowded assembly, where Darwin's opponents had been loudly cheered, was at last "quite turned the other way, especially by Hooker."

For awhile Mr. Darwin was the butt of the comic papers and the shallow wits of the age; a thousand pulpits thundered against him with all the force of intense conviction; one of the two great political leaders of the day declared himself "on the side of the angels," against the author of the *Origin of Species*. Even the Royal Society hesitated to give him its highest reward, the Copley medal, and he only received it in 1864. Happy in the possession of a serene and unselfish spirit, Darwin watched the controversy without sharing in it, except to profit by any useful criticism, and take advantage of any correction for a fresh edition of his work. It was not his own reputation he was careful of, but the interests of truth, and as far as these were served by controversy, Mr. Darwin was glad to have all the light that could be gathered from every quarter shed upon the enquiry in which he was engaged. In a few years the storm abated. Many of the most distinguished leaders of science threw in their lot with Mr. Darwin, including Dr. Hooker amongst botanists, as we have already seen, and Lyell amongst geologists, though he expressed a certain degree of reserve.[1] Herbert Spencer carried the battle into the field of psychology; while Professor Huxley, at the head of the biologists, acted, as he himself modestly says, "for some time in the capacity of under-nurse" to the new offspring of science. Gradually, in the periodical press, derision gave place to respect and admiration; and after a

[1] Lyell welcomed the book, however, with great cordiality. "I have just finished your volume (he says) and right glad I am that I did my best with Hooker to persuade you to publish it without waiting for a time which probably could never have arrived, though you lived to the age of a hundred, when you had prepared all your facts on which you ground so many grand generalizations. It is a splendid case of close reasoning and long-sustained arguments throughout so many pages, the condensation immense, too great, perhaps, for the uninitiated, but an effective and important preliminary statement which will admit, even before your detailed proofs appear, of some occasional useful exemplifications, such as your pigeons and cirripides, of which you make such excellent use."—*Life of Sir Charles Lyell*, Vol. II., p. 325.

decent interval of nine or ten years the *Quarterly Review* recanted, when an article by Mr. Wallace was admitted to its pages.[1] In April, 1880, Professor Huxley delivered an Evening Lecture at the Royal Institution, on the "Coming-of-age of the Origin of Species,"[2] in which he was able to say that "the foremost men of science in every country are either avowed champions of its leading doctrines, or at any rate abstain from opposing them;" and when the pulpits of England once more resounded with Mr. Darwin's name, it was to bear testimony to his noble character and his ardent pursuit of truth.

As Professor Huxley shows in the lecture already mentioned, successive discoveries have helped in a remarkable way to prove the soundness of Mr. Darwin's conclusions. In 1862 the archæopteryx was discovered, "an animal which in its feathers and the greater part of its organization is a veritable bird, while in other parts it is as distinctly reptilian." In 1875 toothed birds were found in the cretaceous formation in North America, completing the transitional forms between birds and reptiles; and as these pages are passing through the press we hear of a discovery at Oxford in another department of natural history which Mr. Darwin has examined and illuminated. The Utricularia, or bladderwort, growing in ditches, consumes, not only insects, but young fish![3] Investigation in embryology has shown that "the first beginnings of all the higher forms

[1] *Geological Time and the Origin of Species.*

[2] Published in *Science and Culture and Other Essays*, 1881.

[3] "A very interesting scientific fact has been recently discovered by an enthusiastic Oxford Naturalist. It has been well known for many years that certain plants, some of which are found in England, are carnivorous, and that they catch small insects and crustaceans by means of leaves modified to act as traps, and are nourished by the juices of the animals so caught. Mr. Sims has observed that one of these, by name *Utricularia*, which he has found growing in the brook in Christ Church meadow, not only consumes crustacea and insects, but also devours newly hatched fish. This is the first time on record that a carnivorous plant has been found to attack a vertebrate animal.

of animal life are similar; the geological record has introduced to us a multitude of extinct animals, the existence of which was previously hardly suspected"; and "evidence of the gradation and mutation of the forms of life," which Mr. Darwin in 1859 acknowledged to be lacking, has been so far supplied, that "if the doctrine of evolution had not existed, palæontologists (says Mr. Huxley) must have invented it." The marvellous success of the *Origin of Species* depended in the main, of course, upon the conclusiveness of its reasoning; but something must be allowed for the charm of the narrative, and more particularly for the admirable spirit in which it is written. Much of it is as interesting as a novel, even to the unscientific reader, and if the experience of the present writer is shared by others, the impression produced by the candour and modesty shown throughout the work is one of profound admiration for the author.

The *Origin of Species* is so well known that we are spared the necessity of saying much about Mr. Darwin's greatest work, and perhaps the greatest work of the present century. A single extract will furnish a sample of the many interesting facts which give so great a charm to this masterpiece of scientific reasoning. The passage in which Mr. Darwin shews that the abundance of a certain kind of clover may depend upon the number of cats has been quoted so often, that we will select another, showing the extraordinary adaptation of the Coryanthes to the purpose of fertilization.

This orchid has part of its labellum or lower lip hollowed out into a great bucket, into which drops of almost pure water continually fall from two secreting horns which stand above it; and when the bucket is half full, the water overflows by a spout on one side. The basal part of the labellum stands over the

The *Utricularia*, commonly known as the bladder-wort, belongs to the natural order *Lentibulariaceæ*; it grows generally in very foul ditches, its leaves are divided into a number of finger-like processes, and at the bases of the leaves are found the curious little oblong bladders provided with tentacles. It is by means of these bladders that the young fish are caught and devoured."—*The Oxford Magazine*, May 28th, 1884.

bucket, and is itself hollowed out into a sort of chamber with two lateral entrances; within this chamber there are curious fleshy ridges. The most ingenious man, if he had not witnessed what takes place, could never have imagined what purpose all these parts serve. But Dr. Crüger saw crowds of large humble-bees visiting the gigantic flowers of this orchid, not in order to suck nectar, but to gnaw off the ridges within the chamber above the bucket; in doing this they frequently pushed each other into the bucket, and their wings being thus wetted they could not fly away, but were compelled to crawl out through the passage formed by the spout or overflow. Dr. Crüger saw a "continual procession" of bees thus crawling out of their involuntary bath. The passage is narrow, and is roofed over by the column, so that a bee, in forcing its way out, first rubs its back against the viscid stigma and then against the viscid glands of the pollen-masses. The pollen-masses are thus glued to the back of the bee which first happens to crawl out through the passage of a lately expanded flower, and are thus carried away. Dr. Crüger sent me a flower in spirits of wine, with a bee which he had killed before it had quite crawled out with a pollen-mass still fastened to its back. When the bee, thus provided, flies to another flower, or to the same flower a second time, and is pushed by its comrades into the bucket and then crawls out by the passage, the pollen-mass necessarily comes first into contact with the viscid stigma, and adheres to it, and the flower is fertilised. Now at last we see the full use of every part of the flower, of the water-secreting horns, of the bucket half full of water, which prevents the bees from flying away, and forces them to crawl out through the spout, and rub against the properly placed viscid pollen-masses and the viscid stigma.

Mr. Wallace, in the paper already quoted, remarks upon the living interest which Mr. Darwin has imparted to the study of nature. He has been "enabled to bring to light innumerable hidden adaptations, and to prove that the most insignificant parts of the meanest living beings have a use and a purpose, are worthy of our earnest study, and fitted to excite our highest and most intelligent admiration." Everyone who reads the *Origin of Species* will feel the truth of this observation, and of Mr. Darwin's concluding words—

It is interesting to contemplate a tangled bank, clothed with many plants of many kinds, with birds singing on the bushes,

with various insects flitting about, and with worms crawling through the damp earth, and to reflect that these elaborately constructed forms, so different from each other, and dependent upon each other in so complex a manner, have all been produced by laws acting around us. These laws, taken in the largest sense, being Growth with Reproduction; Inheritance which is almost implied by Reproduction; Variability from the indirect and direct action of the conditions of life, and from use and disuse: a Ratio of Increase so high as to lead to a Struggle for Life, and as a consequence to Natural Selection, entailing Divergence of Character and the Extinction of less-improved forms. Thus, from the war of nature, from famine and death, the most exalted object which we are capable of conceiving, namely, the production of the higher animals, directly follows. There is grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one; and that, whilst this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been, and are being evolved.

So successful was the work that Mr. Darwin did not find it necessary to publish all the volumes of accumulated facts which he had intended to supply by way of evidence; but a series of books of great interest and value appeared at intervals up to the time of his death, most of them bearing upon the Doctrine of Evolution. The first was the well-known book on *Orchids*[1] issued in 1862, and during the next six years he contributed to the Linnæan Society a number of papers, collected in the volume mentioned further on, and published in 1877. It was while he was engaged upon this investigation that he wrote the letter to the Rev. W. A. Leighton which, through that gentleman's kindness, we are able to reproduce in facsimile. The *Movements and Habits of Climbing Plants*, in 1865, was followed

[1] *On the Various Contrivances by which Orchids are Fertilized by Insects.* Many of these contrivances are adapted in a marvellous way to their purpose, and the reader will share the interest which Mr. Darwin felt in writing the book. "The study of these wonderful and often beautiful productions (he says) with all their many adaptations, with parts capable of movement, and other parts endowed with something so like, though no doubt different from, sensibility, has been to me most interesting."

in 1868 by one of the most laborious of Mr. Darwin's works, the *Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication*, for which it is scarcely too much to say that the whole world was ransacked for materials. Amongst the many names mentioned, we find that of Mr. Eyton of Eyton several times; the breeds of wild turkeys in the parks of Lord Powis and Lord Hill are referred to; and to illustrate the power of transmitting peculiarities in plants Mr. Darwin quotes from the Rev. W. A. Leighton's *Flora of Shropshire* an interesting fact concerning a prostrate yew. "A weeping or rather a prostrate yew *(Taxus baccata)* was found in a hedge in Shropshire; it was a male, but one branch bore female flowers, and produced berries; these, being sown, produced seventeen trees, all of which had exactly the same peculiar habit with the parent tree." Some parts of the book were completed in 1858, and its publication was delayed by continued ill-health, though, in its array of facts and arguments it bears no trace of any want of vigour.

The book (Mr. Thiselton Dyer says in *Nature*), "apart from its primary purpose produced a profound impression, especially on botanists. This was partly due to the undeniable force of the argument from analogy stated in a sentence in the introduction: 'Man may be said to have been trying an experiment on a gigantic scale; and it is an experiment which nature, during the long lapse of time, has incessantly tried.' . . Like Molière's Monsieur Jourdain, who was delighted to find that he had been unwittingly talking prose all his life, horticulturists who had unconsciously moulded plants almost at their will at the impulse of taste or profit were at once amazed and charmed to find that they had been doing scientific work and helping to establish a great theory. The criticism of practical men, at once most tenacious and difficult to meet, was disarmed; these found themselves hoist with their own petard. Nor was this all. The exclusive province of science was in biological phenomena for ever broken

down; every one whose avocations in life had to do with the rearing or use of living things found himself a party to the 'experiment on a gigantic scale,' which had been going on ever since the human race withdrew for their own ends plants or animals from the feral and brought them into the domesticated state." Anyone who, having read Mr. Darwin, has visited, for instance, the show of the Royal Agricultural Society, must have been continually reminded of his observations on "Selection by Man." Indeed the work on the Variation of Animals would be an excellent text book for the show! Mr. Darwin chiefly deals with the minute variations which have been patiently developed by the breeder and the fancier, but in some cases, as he shows in one remarkable passage, new breeds have suddenly appeared. Thus in 1791 a ram lamb was born in Massachusetts, having short crooked legs and a long back, like a turnspit dog, and so was raised the Ancon breed, which, it was supposed, would be valuable because the animals were not able to leap the fences; but they have been supplanted by Merinos. Again, in 1828, a Merino lamb, born on the Mauchamp farm in France, was the parent of the Mauchamp Merinos, with peculiarly valuable fleece; and Mr. Darwin adds—"If these breeds had originated a century or two ago we should have had no record of their birth; and many a naturalist would no doubt have insisted, especially in the case of the Mauchamp race, that they had descended from or been crossed with some unknown aboriginal form."

Round the next work, the *Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex* (1871), the storms of controversy raged for a time with renewed violence, but only to die away again as they had died before; and in the following year a book on the *Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* must have helped to put the sternest opponent in good humour with a writer who could instruct him in so pleasant a fashion. *Insectivorous Plants* in 1875, the *Effects of Cross and Self-*

Nov. 26th 1862.

Down.
Bromley.
Kent. S. E.

My dear Sir

Will you forgive me troubling you. — Prof. Oliver has called my attention to some papers published 10 long ago in 1862 on Epilobium hybridization. — He suggests in his letter that these forms may be reciprocally crossed like the two forms of Primula. I read both this fact; but as I am working on Dimorphism, I

shd very much like to grow
the two forms to experiment
on. — If there is any chance
of your being able to
anyhow procure & send me
seed of the two forms; it would
the
be a great kindness if
you could. — Anyhow
pray excuse me venturing
to trouble you. — With
my hopes that your health
is good, I beg leave
to remain, my dear Sir
Yours very faithfully
Ch. Darwin

Fertilization in the Vegetable Kingdom in 1876, and the *Different Forms of Flowers on Plants of the Same Species* in 1877, supplied more astonishing evidence than ever of the fertility of resource and the rapidity of production which Mr. Darwin associated with his unsurpassed accuracy and attention to detail. To give any description of these works is impossible; Mr. Wallace says they revolutionized the science of botany. In the next work, the *Power of Movement in Plants* (1880), sometimes called the "Circumnutation of Plants," it is interesting to find the name of Francis Darwin associated with his father's on the title page, while Mr. George Darwin assisted in illustrating it; and assistance received from the same source, as well as from his sons William and Horace, is mentioned in Mr. Darwin's last volume, the *Formation of Vegetable Mould,*[1] published in 1881, the year before his death. Indeed Mr. Darwin was fortunate in the help he received, not from his own family alone, but from many observers in different parts of the world; nor can we wonder at this, for every small service received a generous acknowledgment; and, as a writer in the *Athenæum* says, "many persons, in conducting their researches, have had, at the bottom of their hearts, the hope to please Mr. Darwin, and to gain his approbation."

For the unscientific reader the book on *Earth Worms* is perhaps one of the most interesting of Mr. Darwin's works. It is full of curious facts. We learn that worms have no sense of hearing, but they seem to be sensitive in some degree to light and heat; they have a feeble sense of smell, and a decided preference for certain kinds of food over others. For example, they are fond of the leaves of the wild cherry and carrots, preferring them to those of cabbages and turnips, and although horse-raddish leaves are a favourite food, they neglect them when they can get those of onions. After reading what Mr. Darwin says about the way in which

[1] The full title is the *Formation of Vegetable Mould through the Action of Worms, with Observations on their Habits.*

worms draw various objects into their holes, generally seizing leaves by the thinner end, and even doing the same with paper triangles, it is almost impossible to doubt that they possess some degree of intelligence. Their burrows "are not mere excavations, but may rather be compared with tunnels lined with cement," and they appear to take elaborate precautions to protect themselves against the cold. The most surprising part of Mr. Darwin's book, however, is that in which he describes the work of the earth-worms in ploughing the soil and gradually changing much of the surface of the globe. In many parts of England a weight of more than ten tons per acre passes annually through their bodies; and the experiments at Down, which have been already mentioned, show that the mould was thrown up at an average rate of 22 inches in a hundred years. In December, 1842, part of a field near Down House was covered with broken chalk, and when a trench was dug in November, 1871, a line of white nodules could be traced seven inches below the surface. Another field, which was converted into pasture in 1841, was called the "stony field," and Mr. Darwin wondered whether he should live to see the larger flints covered, but, thirty years after, a horse could galop over the compact turf from one end to the other and not strike a single stone with his shoes. Farmers can understand now how lime, cinders, and heavy stone, "work downwards;" and why some of their fields, when they are ploughed up, are so full of stones.

One of the chapters is devoted to the part which worms have played in the burial of ancient buildings; and this chapter has a local interest, for two of its illustrations are drawn from the neighbourhood of Shrewsbury.

Archæologists are probably not aware how much they owe to worms for the preservation of many ancient objects. Coins, gold ornaments, stone implements, &c., if dropped on the surface of the ground, will infallibly be buried by the castings of worms in a few years, and will thus be safely preserved, until the land at some future time is turned up. For instance,

many years ago a grass-field was ploughed on the northern side of the Severn, not far from Shrewsbury; and a surprising number of iron arrow-heads were found at the bottom of the furrows, which, as Mr. Blakeway, a local antiquary, believed, were relics of the battle of Shrewsbury in the year 1403, and no doubt had been originally left strewed on the battle-field. In the present chapter I shall show that not only implements, &c., are thus preserved, but that the floors and the remains of many ancient buildings in England have been buried so effectually in large part through the action of worms, that they have been discovered in recent times solely through various accidents.[1]

Amongst the ancient remains examined for Mr. Darwin was the old Roman city of Uriconium, and the work was undertaken by the late Dr. Henry Johnson of Shrewsbury, one of the members of our Society. Dr. Johnson had trenches dug in four fields, and supplied Mr. Darwin with a table of measurements showing the thickness of the vegetable mould over the ruins. It varied from nine inches to forty, a remarkable depth, greater than had been elsewhere observed.

In many places where streets ran beneath the surface, or where old buildings stood, the mould was only eight inches in thickness; and Dr. Johnson was surprised that in ploughing the land, the ruins had never been struck by the plough as far as he had heard. He thinks that when the land was first cultivated the old walls were perhaps intentionally pulled down, and that hollow places were filled up. This may have been the case; but if after the desertion of the city the land was left for many centuries uncultivated, worms would have brought up enough fine earth to have covered the ruins completely; that is if they had subsided from having been undermined. The foundations of some of the walls, for instance those of the portion still standing about twenty feet above the ground, and those of the market-place, lie at the extraordinary depth of fourteen feet; but it is highly improbable that the foundations were generally so deep. The mortar employed in the buildings must have been excellent, for it is still in parts extremely hard. Wherever walls of any height have been exposed to view, they are, as Dr. Johnson believes, still perpendicular. The walls with such deep foundations cannot have been undermined by worms, and

[1] Pp. 176-7.

therefore cannot have subsided, as appears to have occurred at Abinger and Silchester. Hence it is very difficult to account for their being now completely covered with earth; but how much of this covering consists of vegetable mould and how much of rubble I do not know. The market-place, with the foundations at a depth of fourteen feet, was covered up, as Dr. Johnson believes, by between six and twenty-four inches of earth. The tops of the broken-down walls of a caldarium or bath, nine feet in depth, were likewise covered up with nearly two feet of earth. The summit of an arch, leading into an ash-pit seven feet in depth, was covered up with not more than eight inches of earth. Whenever a building which has not subsided is covered with earth, we must suppose, either that the upper layers of stone have been at some time carried away by man, or that earth has since been washed down during heavy rain, or blown down during storms, from the adjoining land; and this would be especially apt to occur where the land has long been cultivated. In the above cases the adjoining land is somewhat higher than the three specified sites, as far as I can judge by maps, and from information given me by Dr. Johnson. If, however, a great pile of broken stones, mortar, plaster, timber, and ashes, fell over the remains of any building, their disintegration in the course of time, and the sifting action of worms, would ultimately conceal the whole beneath fine earth.[1]

The book was a fitting close to his career as an author. In writing it he says "the maxim 'de minimis lex non curat' does not apply to science;" and we may say that Darwin achieved success by the degree in which he rejected it. Of the splendid results of caring for trifles, his last work is a conspicuous example; and he sums up the wonderful facts gleaned from nearly half a century of experiment and reflection in the final passage—

When we behold a wide, turf-covered expanse, we should remember that its smoothness, on which so much of its beauty depends, is mainly due to all the inequalities having been slowly levelled by worms. It is a marvellous reflection that the whole of the superficial mould over any such expanse has passed, and will again pass, every few years, through the bodies of worms. The plough is one of the most ancient and most

[1] Pp. 226-8.

valuable of man's inventions; but long before he existed the land was in fact regularly ploughed, and it still continues to be thus ploughed, by earth-worms. It may be doubted whether there are many other animals which have played so important a part in the history of the world, as have these lowly organized creatures.

Though the book on *Earth Worms* closed the long series of his great works, it was not Mr. Darwin's last word to the public. Amongst other short papers, he afterwards wrote a letter to *Nature* on the means of transport of bivalve mollusca; and this brief account of his writings may be completed by mentioning a contribution to *Mind* on the "Psychogenesis of a Child," to show how wide was the range of Mr. Darwin's observations, and how untiring his endeavour to understand the secrets of Nature. In December, 1883, Mr. Romanes read an Essay by Mr. Darwin on "Instinct," to the Linnæan Society, but Professor Huxley, in the discussion which followed, said he thought it was not a mature work of Mr. Darwin's; and Mr. Wallace was convinced that the manuscript had been written before the publication of the *Origin of Species*, and remained untouched ever since. In this summary we have included all Mr. Darwin's independent works, but he contributed from time to time to the scientific periodicals of the day, and a complete bibliography has yet to be published. If to his own books were added the volumes which have been written to condemn, to defend, or to explain them, at home and abroad, the list would indeed be a long one!

He continued working to the last, happy in this as in so many of the circumstances of his life. On the 17th of April, 1882, he wrote with characteristic courtesy to a correspondent who had challenged a statement in one of his books. "You have misunderstood my meaning; but the mistake was a very natural one, and your criticism good." On Tuesday, the 18th, a notice from his pen, prefixed to a paper on the "Modification of Syrian Street Dogs," was read to the Zoological Society;

and he was able on the evening of that day to examine a plant in his study. But weakness of the heart had troubled him, and he had been in the doctors' hands for some time. After being carried to his bedroom he read for a little while; at midnight serious pains alarmed his family; and at four o'clock on Wednesday afternoon the end came. He retained full consciousness almost to the moment when, sitting by the bedside supported by one of his sons, with his wife and several of his children around, he peacefully closed the life he had lived so well.

A week after, on Wednesday, the 26th of April, in the presence of a vast throng of mourners, his remains were laid in Westminster Abbey, close to the grave of Sir Isaac Newton. The pall-bearers were the Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Argyll, Mr. Russell Lowell, Lord Derby, Mr. William Spottiswoode, Sir Joseph Hooker, Mr. A. R. Wallace, Professor Huxley, Sir John Lubbock, and Canon Farrar, and about the tomb were gathered most of the other distinguished contemporaries of Mr. Darwin in science, and learning, and statesmanship. The anthem, composed for the occasion by Dr. Bridge, was singularly appropriate—"Happy is the man that findeth wisdom;" and equally appropriate, remembering all the storms which once raged around his name, though they never disturbed the serenity of his lofty spirit, were the words sung at the grave, "His body is buried in peace."

On the following Sunday, Mr. Darwin's death was mentioned in many of the pulpits of the land. At St. Paul's Cathedral, the greatest living preacher, Canon Liddon, said the event was one "of universal importance, since Mr. Darwin's works, besides producing something like a revolution in the modern way of regarding a large district of thought, had shed confessedly so much distinction upon English science." In Westminster Abbey, Canon Prothero spoke of "Mr. Darwin's pure and earnest love of truth and his patient industry in its pursuit;" and the afternoon preacher, the Bishop of

Carlisle, said "he had produced a greater change in the current of thought on certain subjects than any other man, and he had done it by perfectly legitimate means. He observed Nature with a strength of purpose, pertinacity, honesty, and ingenuity, never surpassed;" and, "a brave, simple, hearty, true, loving man, he had presented points of character and conduct which other men might well admire and imitate." In Mr. Darwin's native town, his old schoolfellow, the Rev. J. Yardley, at St. Chad's, the Rev. W. H. Draper, at St. Mary's, and the Rev. E. Myers, at the Unitarian Church, helped to swell the tribute to his greatness as a naturalist and his goodness as a man.

In all civilized lands the news of Mr. Darwin's death was received with profound regret; and it is a singular proof of the unique regard in which he was held, that in a country like Sweden the proposal to provide a memorial of his fame was taken up so eagerly by all classes that in a comparatively short time a sum of nearly £400 was subscribed. In Germany, where during his life he had been made a Knight of the Prussian Order of Merit, it was not surprising that his name should be mentioned with veneration when he died; but Russia has established scholarships in his honour, the municipality of Paris has called one of the streets of the city by his name, and the publication of works on Darwin and Darwinism, in various tongues, bears witness to the interest which is felt, wherever men read and think, in the life and work of our distinguished countryman. A writer in the *Gaulois*, at the time of his death, said that Darwin would remain one of the greatest glories of science. "No one else has so much honoured science by the nobility of his character, by the primitive simplicity of his life, and by his deep and sincere love of truth." *La France* ranked him with Homer and Virgil. The *Neue Freie Presse* said his death "caused lamentation as far as truth had penetrated, and wherever civilization had made any impression." The *New York Herald* described his life as "that of Socrates except its close."

But the most eloquent and touching tribute of all was paid in the pages of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of Vienna—"We must apologize," it said, "for mentioning political matters on a day when humanity has suffered so great a loss. It seems to us that the world has become gloomier and grown greyer since this star ceased to shine. Our century is Darwin's century. We can now suffer no greater loss, since we do not possess a second Darwin to lose."

Of Mr. Darwin's children, five sons and two daughters, several have inherited their father's love of scientific investigation; and the rare intelligence which has distinguished the family for successive generations continues to bear fruit in the researches of Mr. George Darwin, Plumian Professor at Cambridge, and his brother Francis. Two others, William and Horace, as we have said, assisted in making observations for the work on *Earth Worms*; the fifth, Mr. Leonard Darwin, is an officer in the Royal Engineers. From Mr. Francis Darwin, we are glad to learn, we may expect a biography of his father, which will surely be one of the most interesting books of the age.

Neither of the influence of Mr. Darwin's writings upon modern thought, nor of his religious opinions, is this the place to speak at any length. Another writer, let us hope, versed as the present writer does not pretend to be in the questions which Mr. Darwin discussed and illuminated, will contribute to the *Transactions* of the Shropshire Archæological Society an estimate of his scientific work. In the ultimate results of Mr. Darwin's theory no one can help feeling a profound interest, and, without entering further into the subject, we may quote the following interesting passage from the *Origin of Species*:—"I see no good reason why the views given in this volume should shock the religious feelings of any one. It is satisfactory, as showing how transient such impressions are, to remember that the greatest discovery ever made by man, namely, the law of the attraction of gravity, was also attacked by

Leibnitz, 'as subversive of natural, and inferentially of revealed, religion.' A celebrated author and divine has written to me that 'he has gradually learnt to see that it is just as noble a conception of the Deity to believe that He created a few original forms capable of self-development into other and needful forms, as to believe that He required a fresh act of creation to supply the voids caused by the action of His laws.'" In a letter recently published, Darwin writes—"It seems absurd to me to doubt that a man can be an ardent Theist and Evolutionist;" and a few words in the *Descent of Man* may help still further to clear away some of the mists of prejudice that have gathered about his views of human life and destiny:—"For my own part, I would as soon be descended from that heroic little monkey who braved his dreaded enemy to save the life of his keeper, or from that old baboon who, descending from the mountains, carried away in triumph his young comrade from a crowd of astonished dogs, as from a savage who delights to torture his enemies, offers up bloody sacrifices, practises infanticide without remorse, treats his wives like slaves, knows no decency, and is haunted by the grossest superstition. Man may be excused for feeling some pride at having risen, though not through his own exertions, to the very summit of the organic scale; and the fact of his having thus risen, instead of having been aboriginally placed there, may give him hope for a still higher destiny in the distant future."

Mr. Darwin's name is associated almost exclusively in the minds of many persons with the doctrine of Evolution, and there is some danger of overlooking the general influence of his writings on the study of natural history. Other men have taken the lead, from time to time, in geology, or botany, or zoology; he writes of each as if he had made it his peculiar study, and each owes more to him than to any other writer of the day. "He seemed (to use Mr. Thiselton Dyer's words) by gentle persuasion to have penetrated that reserve of nature which baffles smaller men. In other words his

long experience had given him a kind of instinctive insight into the method of attack of any biological problem, however unfamiliar to him, while he rigidly controlled the fertility of his mind in hypothetical explanations by the equal fertility of ingeniously devised experiment. Whatever he touched, he was sure to draw from it something that it had never before yielded, and he was wholly free from that familiarity which comes to the professed student in every branch of science, and blinds the mental eye to the significance of things which are overlooked because always in view."[1] The same writer, dealing with Mr. Darwin's influence on the study of botany, says that a sentence from the *Origin of Species* "may almost be said to be the key-note of Sachs's well-known text-book, which is the most authoritative modern exposition of the facts and principles of plant-structure and function; and there is probably not a botanical class-room or work-room in the civilized world where they are not the animating principle of both instruction and research." Mr. Archibald Geikie writes that "no man of his time has exercised upon the science of Geology a profounder influence than Charles Darwin;" and Mr. Romanes uses even stronger language in dealing with Zoology. "The influence which our great naturalist has exerted upon Zoology (he says) is unquestionably greater than that which has been exerted by any other individual." In other departments of thought and investigation Mr. Darwin was equally great. "The effects of his writings upon Psychology have been immense;" and it is not too much to say that there is scarcely a subject of the highest moment upon which the human mind is engaged, that is not looked at from a new standpoint, and in a different way, because of Mr. Darwin's works.

Of Mr. Darwin's character it is difficult to write truthfully without appearing to indulge in the language of

[1] From papers on Darwin by various writers, contributed to *Nature* and republished in a collected form.

extravagant eulogy. It was acknowledged with universal consent at the time of his death that one of the best as well as one of the greatest of Englishmen had passed away; and persons who may be troubled by Mr. Darwin's theories cannot fail to observe that, whatever else his career has done for us, it has not diminished in the smallest degree the reverence for what is morally and spiritually beautiful. He shared none of the feeling of those persons who seem to suppose that to acknowledge relationship with an ape is something like a surrender of the finer attributes of humanity; but, on the contrary, set an example of a great and beautiful life, which only the best of his contemporaries, whatever their beliefs might be, could hope to imitate. Professor Huxley writes of "the fascination of personal contact with an intellect which had no superior, and with a character which was even nobler than the intellect;" and he says that very few, even of those who had studied Darwin's influence most deeply, "could have been prepared for the extraordinay manifestation of affectionate regard for the man and profound reverence for the philosopher" which followed the announcement of his death. Another of his friends, Dr. William Carpenter, after speaking of the "unsurpassed nobility of his character," observes that "in him there was no 'other side;'" and a finer or juster estimate could scarcely be written! Everybody agrees that devotion to truth was the master-passion of his soul; that he was "the genuine lover, not alone of his fellow-man, but of every creature;" that his genius was only equalled by his modesty. Up to the last he would send a letter to some periodical for publication "with more than the modesty of a tyro;" and a story is told, that six or seven years ago "one of the two most powerful statesmen of the day," Mr. Gladstone, we believe, "was taken to call upon him one Sunday afternoon. Mr. Darwin accompanied his visitor to the gate, and, with cheerful complacency, watched his departing figure through the fields. 'It is a wonderful honour to me,' he said in his

bright and hearty way, to one of the younger of the company, 'to have a visit from such a great man.'" Yet, who can doubt that in the long records of time the man who felt himself so greatly honoured will take the higher place, however high the statesman's rank may be?

For who before had brought to light so many of the secrets of Nature, or worked with so much grace and such a winning courtesy so great a revolution in human thought? He conquered by his methods as well as by his facts. Of the "strife for triumph more than truth" he was simply incapable; and nothing could stand before a controversialist, armed at every point, who yet welcomed criticism, as he hailed a new discovery, because each in its different way helped to bring him near his goal. More than once the name of Socrates has been associated with that of Darwin. "There was the same desire to find some one wiser than himself (says Huxley), the same belief in the sovereignty of reason; the same ready humour; the same sympathetic interest in all the ways and works of men." Another picture rises in the mind, and that is the picture of a good man, as it is drawn for us by Marcus Aurelius. "For the man who no longer delays being among the number of the best is like a priest and minister of the gods, using too the deity which is planted within him, which makes the man uncontaminated by pleasure, unharmed by any pain, untouched by any insult, feeling no wrong, a fighter in the noblest fight, one who cannot be overpowered by any passion, dyed deep with justice." Of such a man it is little to say that he is the greatest of Shropshire Worthies; when, of all his illustrious countrymen, so few can be reckoned as his peers, and it is not impossible that future ages will give him the same pre-eminence in Science which is given to Shakespeare in Poetry. As his fame increases with the lapse of time, men will come from far to visit the birthplace of Darwin; and some day, we may be sure, though not yet, they will find in Shrewsbury a fair memorial of his renown.

THE SWEATING SICKNESS OF 1551.

By S. CLEMENT SOUTHAM.

ENGLAND had been visited by this terrible and malignant scourge no fewer than four times when it broke out once again in Shrewsbury during the reign of Edward the 6th. The town had probably not escaped the previous visitations, and it has been stated, though with very little apparent authority, that the disease showed itself, though it did not originate in Shrewsbury, in 1485, the first recorded appearance in England. There does not, however, appear to be any record of its appearance in Shrewsbury in the years 1506, 1517, and 1528, when death was busy in the land, and the "great mortality," spoken of by the old Historians, made homes desolate and plunged the country into the greatest consternation and grief.

"The fifth tyme of this fearful *Ephemera* of Englande & pestilent sweat," says Dr. John Caius, Doctour in Phisicke, "is this in the yeare MDLI. of oure Lord GOD, and the fifth yeare of oure Soueraigne Lorde King Edwarde the sixth, beginning at Shrewesbury in the middest of April, proceadinge with greate mortalitie to Ludlowe, Prestene, and other places in Wales, then to Westchestre, Couentre, Drenfoorde,[1] and other townes in the Southe, & suche as were in & aboute the way to London, whether it came notablie the seuenth of July, & then continuing sore, with the loss of vii. c. lxi. from the ix day vntil the xvi daye, besides those that died in the vii & viii dayes, of whō no registre was kept, frō that it abated vntil the xxx day of the

[1] *Sic.* Probably a misprint for Oxenfoorde.

same, with the losse of cxlii more. Then ceasing it wente from thence throughe al the east partes of England into the Northe vntill the ende of Auguste at whiche tyme it diminished, & in the ende of Septembre fully ceassed."

Local tradition, as mentioned by Owen and Blakeway, states that the Sweating Sickness broke out first in the White Horse Shut, Frankwell, and, if so, it must have been on this occasion. In whatever part of Shrewsbury it originated,[1] the disease was a most malignant one, and the time that elapsed from the moment of seizure to the almost certain arrival of death, extremely short. It was so rapidly fatal that Dr. Caius, who published his book "against the Disease commonly called the Sweate, or Sweatyng Sicknesse" in 1552, the year following the Shrewsbury outbreak, states that it "immediately killed some in opening theire windowes, some in plaieng with children in their strete dores, some in one hour, many in two it destroyed, and at the longest to them that merilye dined, it gaue a sorrowful supper."[2] Indeed it appears, frequently, to have been as rapidly fatal as the London Plague of a century later, so graphically described by Defoe. "Many people that had the Plague upon them knew nothing of it till the inward gangrene had affected their vitals, and they died in a few moments; this caused that many died frequently in that manner in the streets suddenly, without any warning; others, perhaps, had time to go to the next bulk or stall, or to any door or porch, and just sit down and die."

Although Owen and Blakeway deny that there is any proof that Dr. Caius (Kaye or Keys), ever practised

[1] See "Early Chronicles of Shrewsbury" in Shropshire Archæological Society's *Transactions*, Vol. III., p. 260, and the authors there quoted in the note.

[2] As in the description by Josephus of the Pestilence in the reign of David, "Some there were, who, as they were burying a relation, fell down dead without finishing the rites of the funeral." *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book VII., Chap. XIII.

in Shrewsbury itself, Professor Hecker asserts most positively that "after being admitted as a doctor of medicine at Cambridge, he practised with great distinction at Shrewsbury and Norwich"[1] He appears to have made the epidemic a subject of special study, and to him we are indebted for the principal knowledge we can obtain of the peculiarities of this singular and dreadful scourge.

The winter of 1550-51 appears to have been dry and warm in England, the spring dry and cold, when on the 15th of April broke out the disease that was to spread dismay and death through Shrewsbury. The "Early Chronicles of Shrewsbury" give the 22nd of March as the day on which the "Swetinge sycknes" appeared in "thys towne of Shrowsbery," but most writers agree in giving the April date. In spite of the recorded dryness of the atmosphere in the spring, there arose dense and malodorous fogs from the banks of the Severn, to which the old physician partly attributes the outbreak; though, with a touch of quaint superstition at which we may now smile, he also speaks of the "evel disposition by *constellation*, which hath a great power and dominion in al erthly thinges." The very suddenness of the outbreak struck all with consternation, for three and twenty years had elapsed since its appearance in any part of England. The visitation swept like a blight through Shrewsbury and the neighbourhood, no precautions availed, no closed doors and windows kept out the angel of death, every house, says Stow, was a hospital, the aged and the young alone escaping with comparative immunity from the pestilence.[2] The townspeople fled to the country the peasants seemed to feel safer in companionship and sought the towns, while many who could afford it fled from their fever-stricken country and flocked to Ireland, Scotland, France, and the Netherlands. All business

[1] Epidemics of the Middle Ages.
[2] Stow, p. 1023. Godwyn, p. 142.

according to the observant eyewitness of these terrible times, was at a stand; no one thought of his daily occupations, and the funeral bells tolled day and night, as if all the living ought to be reminded of their near and inevitable end.[1] That the gross living and intemperate habits of the English nation made them peculiarly susceptible of this disease there can be no doubt, and the singular immunity which, in many instances, foreigners seemed to possess, gave rise to the name by which it was known, "the English Sweat." Caius states "neither the auoidyng of this countrie nor fleyng into others wyll preserve vs Englishe men, as in this laste sweate is by experience well proued in Cales, Antuuerpe, and other places of Brabant, wher only our countrymen ware sicke & none others,"[2] and also points to this significant fact, "y^{t} they which had thys sweat sore with perille or death were either men of welthe, ease, & welfare, or of the poorer sorte such as wer idle persones, good ale drinkers & Tavern haunters: . . . the laborouse & thinne dieted people either had it not, because they did eate but litle to make the matter, or with no greater griefe & danger, because they laboured out moche thereof." The quaint old physician gives a list of what he considers healthful meats, in which we find minnows and millers' thumbs, but the list is too long to be transcribed here, even if it were of sufficient local interest. Although imbued with many of the absurd notions of the medicos of that time, Caius seems to have been a keen observer, and to have had much natural common sense. While ignoring the filthy nostrums of the numerous Quacks which a Plague immediately brought to the front, and separating himself from the violent remedies prescribed by

[1] Caius says that "if the haulfe in every Towne escaped, it was thoughte great fauvour."

[2] See "Early Chronicles of Shrewsbury" before quoted. "The sayd Swatt fell uppon non but Englyshmen and followyd Englyshe men not onely wth in the realme but in forayne countreys beyond the sease w^{ch} was a greate example to England of God's gentyll correction."

many reckless practitioners, he gave few of the favorite fantastic medicines of the time and endeavoured to assist nature to throw off the poison by inducing, instead of attempting to check, the profuse perspiration, even giving mulled wine and greater warmth. When once induced he did not urge it to extremes, as seems to have been the case with others of his fraternity.

The mist previously mentioned is stated to have been carried by the wind from place to place, and wherever it appeared the infection broke out. Its evil smell was always perceptible, and was worse in the mornings and evenings. It may be remarked that, in the preceding outbreak of the pestilence, more people sickened at sunrise than at any other time.

The symptoms of the disease, as described by various writers of the time, may be briefly noted. Premonitory symptoms chiefly wanting or (according to Bayer) commencing with rheumatic pains or a feeling of general debility. A short shivering fit heralded the attack, and this was rapidly followed by delirium and great pain in the head, succeeded by lethargy. A profuse and fetid perspiration bathed the unfortunate victim from head to foot. It is curious that among the many foreign writers on the pestilence, such as Schiller, Damian, &c., no mention is made of the state of the pulse; Caius alone stating "pulsus concitatior, frequentior." This writer also describes those affected as having a "sighing, whining, voice." The symptoms notably resemble, in many points, the Cardiac disease (Morbus cardiacus) which existed from 300 B.C. to 200 A.D., and of which Aurelian gives a full description, chapters 30 to 40.

The slowness with which the plague of 1551 travelled is remarkable as it did not reach London until the 9th of July, three months after its first appearance in Shrewsbury. It finally passed away from England in the end of September, and has never since re-appeared. Of the exact losses in Shrewsbury it is impossible to form an estimate. Caius gives 960 as the loss of one

city in a few days, but, though this has often been taken to refer to Shrewsbury, it cannot be accepted with certainty. That the town was desolated, however, there can be no doubt, and never, before or since, was there such a time of mourning, "ubique lugubris erat lamentatio, fletus mœrens, acerbus luctus."

EXTRACTS FROM THE PARISH REGISTERS OF LOPPINGTON, Co. SALOP.

BAPTISMS.

1654 Henry s. of Thomas Nonneley & Mary his wife bap. 10 Aug.
1654 Margt. d. of Wm. & Ann Vaughan bap. Nov. 9.
John s. of Hugh Barclay of Burlton bur. Jan. 9.
Ann d. of Richd. & Mary Wicherley bap. Oct. 4.
John s. of Thos. Noneley & Dorothy bap. Oct. 16.
Beatrice d. of Arthur Hatchett & Catharine bap. March 15.
Eleanor d. of George & Jane Wicherley bap. Dec. 8.
1655 John s. of Nicolas Dickin & Ann bap. Sep. 6.
John s. of John & Dorothy Wood bap. Sep. 5.
1655 James s. of Richd. & Mary Bostock bap. Jan. 24.
John s. of Joseph & Susan Bennion bap. Feb. 7.
John s. of Fras. & Susan Burleton bap. Apr. 30.
Anne d. of John Gough of Burlton bap. Aug. 24.
1655-6 Anne d. of Thos. Chellwood of Northwood bap. Feb. 10.
1656 Jane d. of Roger & Mary Wicherley bap. Mar. 30.
Thos. s. of John Barnes of Loppington & Jane n. Jan. 25.
Henry s. of Thos. & Mary Nuneley bap. Aug. 10.
Thos. s. of John & Ann Ward n. Oct. 17.
Mary d. of Vaughan Edwards vicar & parson n. Oct. 21.
Wm. s. of Arthur & Kath. Hatchett n. Jan. 1.
1657 Martha d. of Nicholas & Ann Dickin born 4 Aug.
Elizth. d. of John Gough of Burlton & Kath. n. Sep. 13.
Elizabeth d. of Mr. Arthur & Jane Chambre of Burlton born 15 Oct.
James s. of George & Jane Wicherley n. Oct. 4.
Martha d. of William & Anne Vaughan born 13 Nov.
1658 Elenor d. of Thomas & Dorothy Nonneley of Nonneley born 16 May.
1658 Antony s. of Rich. & Mary Bostock n. July 27.
Netheway s. of George & Jane Wicherley n. Mar. 2.
Elizth. d. of Joseph & Susannah Benion n. Feb. 26.
1659 Wm. s. of John & Jane Barnes n. May 18.
1659 John s. of Nicholas & Anne Dicken born 14 Nov.
Katharine d. of Arthur & Katharine Hatchett born 8 Dec.
1660 Arthur Chambre s. of Mr. Arthur & Jane Chambre born 5 May.

Charles s. of John and Ann Ward n. May 10.
Dorothy d. of Wm. & Anne Vaughan born July 27.
1661 Mary d. of Thos. & Dorothy Nonneley bap. 21 July.
John s. of John & Jane Barnes n. Apr. 9.
Jerram s. of Arthur & Katharine Hatchett bap 15 Feb.
John, s. of Geo. & Jane Wicherley bap. Oct. 1.
Debora d. of Mr. John & Jane Tristram born 5 Feb. bap. 13.
Matthew s. of Wm. & Eliz. Gough bap. Feb. 11.
1662 Thomas s. of Mr. Thos. & Frances Hinckes bap. 17 Nov.
Mary d. of Joseph & Susanna Benion bap. Aug. 20.
Charles s. of Mr, Arthur & Jane Chambre bap. 15 Jan.
1663 Catharine d. of George Chambre of Loppington gent. & Dorothy bap. 22 Aug.
Edward s. of John & Jane Barnes of Loppington bap. Oct. 30.
1664 Dorothy d. of Nicholas & Sarah Dicken of Loppington bap. 11 June.
Anna d. of Arthur Chambre of Burlton gent & Jane bap. 14 Aug.
1664 Thos. s. of George & Doro. Wicherley of Loppington bap. Apr. 5.
Richd. s. of Wm. & Eliz. Gough of Noneley bap. May 27.
Elizth. d. of John & Ann Ward bap. Jan. 8.
1666 Baptismus Georgii fllii Georgi' Chambre de Loppington generosi et Dorothe' uxoris ejus fuit vigesimo septimo die Septembr' annoq' dom' illo (more predictionis formidabilis) millessimo sexcentissimo sexagesimo sexto.
Barth. s. of Geo. & Jane Witcherley bap. Aug. 2.
Sarah d. of Thos. & Frances Hinckes of Nonneley bap. Dec, 25.
Elizth. d. of Wm. & Mary Egerton vel Egerley bap. Oct. 11.
1666 Saml. s. of John & Jane Barnes bap. Nov. 16.
John s. of Joseph & Susan Benion bap. Jan. 31.
George s. of Geo. & Eliz. Milward bap. Feb. 26.
1667 Mary d. of Thos. & Anne Gittins n. Apr. 28. bap. May 12.
Beterich al's Beatrice d. of Mr. Richd. Pova & Elizth. bap. July 3.
1667 Mary d. of George Chambre gen. & Dorothy bap. Oct. 16.
Eliz. d. of Geo. & Eliz. Milward bap. Oct. 29.
1668 George s. of Nicholas & Sarah Dicken bap. Oct. 3.
1669 Richard, s. of Thomas Gittins vicar & Sarah bap. Aug. 12.
Ellen d. of Wm. & Eliz. Gough bap. Mar. 11.
1671 Dorothy d. of Mr. George Chambre & Dorothy bap. 16 June.
John s. of Geo. & Eliz. Millward, bap. June 18.
1672 Mary d. of John Dicken & . . . . of Burlton bap. Jan. 4.
Margaret d. of Nicholas & Sarah Dicken bap. Mar. 6.
John s. of Wm. & Elizth. Gough of Noneley bap. Feb. 4.
1673 Edward Kynaston s. of Edwd. (? Thos.) Kynaston & Mary bap. June 4.
1673 Francis s. of Fras. & Eliz. Bayley bap. Dec. 26.
Thos. s. of Geo. & Eliz. Millward bap. Jan. 1.
1674 Richard s. of John Nonneley junr. & Elizabeth bap. July 28.

Thomas s. of Mr. Thos. Gittins and Sarah bap. 18 Aug.
Thomas s. of Edward Kynaston bap. Aug. 12.
Wm. s. of Wm. Gough of Noneley bap. Dec. 26.
Ermine d. of Mr. George Chambre & Dorothy bap. 15 March.
Wm. s. of John & Sarah Menlove bap. Mar. 9.
1676 Sarah d. of William Vaughan junr. & Sarah bap. May 5.
Margaret d. of John Nonneley & Elizabeth bap. Aug. 4.
Mary d. of Geo. & Eliz. Millward bap. Nov. 24.
Jane d. of George Vaughan & Jane bap. Aug. 20.
Richard s. of Edward Kynaston & Mary bap. Oct. 5.
Martha d. of Wm. & Margt. Gregory bap. Feb. 28.
1677 Jane d. of George Vaughan & Jane bap. Oct. 16.
John s. of John & Sara Menlove bap. June 8.
John s. of Wm. & Eliz. Gough bap. Nov. 16.
Richd. s. of Geo. & Eliz. Milward bap. Nov. 28.
1678 Arthur s. of Henry Hatchett & Margaret bap. Apr. 5.
Jane d. of Mr. Thos. Hinckes & Elizth. bap. Nov. 7.
Roger s. of Roger & Mary Wicherley bap. Jan. 9.
Ermine d. of William Vaughan junr. & Jane bap. Nov. 28.
1679 Anne d. of Edward Kynaston & Mary bap. June 12.
Wm. s. of Wm. & Margt. Gregory bap. May 14.
Frances d. of Mr. George Chambre & Dorothy bap. Dec. 17.
John s. of John & Sara Menlove bap. Dec. 31.
Catharine d. of Henry Hatchett bap. Dec. 26.
George s. of Edward Kynaston & Elinor France bap. Jan. 23.
Ann d. of Mr. John Manwaring & Ann bap. Jan. 6.
1680 John s. of Arthur Nonneley & Elizth. bap. Nov. 6 and bur. Nov. 7.
John s. of Wm. & Anne Barnes bap. Dec. 30.
Wm. s. of Roger & Mary Wicherley bap. March 9.
1681 John s. of Thomas Dicken bap. May 1.
Elizabeth d. of Mr. George Chambre & Dorothy bap. June 17.
John s. of Edward Kynaston & Mary bap. Aug. 18.
Jane d. of John & Sara Menlove bap. Oct. 19.
William s. of William Vaughan & Sarah bap. Oct. 28.
John s. of Arthur Noneley & Elizabeth bap. Jan. 19.
Margaret d. of Henry Hatchett & Margaret bap. Feb. 7.
1682 Mary d. of Mr. John Legh & Katharine bap. Aug. 8.
Jane d. of Richd. & Anne Watters bap. Sep. 11.
Richard s. of Benjamin Gouldsburrow & Ann bap. Aug 30.
Edwd. s. of Wm. & Anne Barnes bap. Aug. 29.
1683 Edward s. of William Vaughan & Sarah bap. Mar. 20.
Geo. s. of Geo. & Anne Witcherley bap. Apr. 5.
Richd. s. of Roger & Mary Witcherley bap. Aug. 10.
Ann d. of John & Mary Benion bap. Oct. 16.
Eleanor d. of John & Sarah Menlove bap. Mar 10.
1684 Margery d. of Henry Hatchett & Margaret bap. Apr. 15.
Jane d. of Arthur Noneley & Martha bap. June 8.
Mary d. of Charles & Mary Warde bap. Aug. 29.

Francis d. of Benjm. Goulsborough & Anne bap. Aug. 20.
Humphy. s. of Geo. Witcherley junr. & Anne bap. Oct. 24.
Prudence d. of John & Mary Benion bap. Sep. 7.
1685 William s. of Edward Kynaston & Mary bap. Apr. 20.
Wm. s. of Wm. & Mary Gregory bap. May 29.
Francis s. of Fras. & Anne Lloyd bap. June 10.
George. s. of Mr. Philip Edwardes & Martha bap. Aug. 23.
Mary d. of John & Mary Benion bap. Jan. 8.
1686 Martha d. of Arthur Noneley & Martha bap. July 30.
John s. of Chas. & Mary Warde bap. Nov. 1.
Martha d. of Thos. & Sara Chetwood bap. Nov. 19.
Richd. s. of Roger & Mary Witcherley bap. Feb. 4.
1687 Elizabeth d. of Benjm. Goulsborough & Ann bap. Apr. 8.
Mary d. of Mr. Roger Kynaston & Mary bap 9 Nov.
Cath. d. of Richd. & Anne Waters bap. Apr. 17.
Anne d. of Matthew & Mary Winne bap. Sep. 31.
Arthur s. of Jerram Hatchett & Ann bap. 16 Mar.
1688 Mary d. of Roger Vaughan of Burlton & Dorothy bap. July 15.
Mary d. of Roger & Mary Witcherley bap. Aug. 16.
John s. of Mr. William Vaughan & Sarah, bap. Dec. 27.
Dorothy d. of Arthur & Martha Nunniley bap. Dec. 4.
Richard s. of Mr. Benjm. Goulesbury & Ann bap. Jan. 24.
1689 Wm. s. of Thos. & Sara Chetwood bap. June 24.
Eliz. d. of Chas. & Mary Warde bap. Aug. 11.
1690 Jane d. of Mr. Roger Kinaston & Mary bap. Sep. 19.
William s. of Francis & Anne Lloyd bap. June 15.
Catherine d. of Jerram & Anne Hatchet bap. Feb. 14.
1691 Arthur s. of William Vaughan & Sarah bap. Oct. 14.
Margt. d. of Arthur & Martha Nunniley bap. May 1.
Elizabeth d. of Benjm. Goulsbury & Ann bap. Dec. 31.
Mary d. of Wm. & Mary Botfield bap. Sep. 20.
Martha d. of Mr. Roger Kinaston & Mary bap. Jan. 29.
Elizth. d. of Roger & Mary Witcherley bap. Oct. 18.
1692 Anne d. of Chas. & Mary Warde bap. Nov. 15.
Elizth. d. of Robt. & Mary Hesketh bap. Nov. 23.
1693 Elizabeth d. of Arthur Noneley of Burlton & Martha bap. Feb. 2.
Anne d. of John & Jane Gregory bap. Oct. 10.
Anny d. of Wm. & Mary Botfield bap. Mar. 26.
1694 Richard s. of Mr. Richard Boukler & Mrs. Anne his wife bap. Apr. 13.
Mary d. of Thos. Chetwood bap. May 20.
Mary d. of Benjn. Goulsbury & Anne bap. Nov. 27.
Joseph s. of Francis & Annie Lloyd bap. Nov. 30.
Jane d. of Jerram & Anne Hatchet bap. Dec. 27.
1695 Jane d. of Roger Bolas & Catherine bap.
Brene al's Braine s. of Chas. & Eliz. Mountague bap. Aug. 21.
1696 Thomas Gittins signs as Vicar.
Arthur s. of Arthur Nonnully of Burlton & Martha bap. June 26.

Martha bap. June 26.
Mary d. of Richard Nonnully & Mary bap. Nov. 4.
1697 Richard s. of Edward Kinaston & Elizabeth bap. Dec. 2.
1698 Beale al's Bale s. of John & Joanna Gregory bap. May 7 (so called for his grandmother's sake of the mother's side.)
John s. of Richard Nonelley & Mary bap. Jan 29.
John s. of Francis & Anne Lloyd bap. Feb. 19.
Richd. s. of Richd. Gough of Noneley and Elenor bap. Sep. 9.
1699 John s. of Arthur Nonulley & Martha bap. Mar. 28.
Mary d. of Wm. Gough junr. & Mary bap. Mar. 10.
Mr. Ottewell Vicar of Elesmere.
1700 John s. of Thos. Dicken yeom. & Sarah bap. Apr. 30.
John s. of Saml. & Ellinor Billingsley bap. Sep. 13.
William s. of Richd. Vaughan & Jane bap. Mar. 9.
1701 Edward s. of Edwd. Kinaston & Elizabeth bap. June 27.
Richard s. of Richard Nonulley yeoman & Mary bap. July 16.
Elizth. d. of Geo. and Eliz. Jebb bap. Sep. 7.
John s. of Francis & Anne Lloyd bap. Aug. 10.
Thomas s. of Thos. Dicken Yeoman & Sarah bap. Dec. 6.
Wm. s. of Richd. & Ellenor Gough bap. July 2.
Eliz. d. of Geo. & Eliz. Botfield bap. Feb. 28.
1702 Joan d. of John & Jane Gregory bap. Aug. 16.
Ann d. of Sam. & Elinor Bellingsley bap. Feb. 18.
John s. of Wm. & Mary Gough bap. Sep. 25.
1703 Sarah d. of John Dicken & Elizabeth bap. Aug. 25.
Elizth. d. of Richd. Gough & Ellen bap. Jan. 1.
1704 Sara d. of Richard Nonnulley yeoman & Mary bap. Apr. 12.
John s. of Edwd. Kinaston & Elizabeth bap. May 28.
Elinor d. of Arthur Nonnulley & Martha bap. Sep. 18.
1705 John s. of Rowland & Elizabeth Walford bap. Aug. 25.
Arthur s. of Roger Bolas & Catherine bap. Jan. 22.
Eliz. d. of Wm. Gough, Junr. & Mary bap. April 4.
William s. of Edward Kinaston & Elizabeth bap. Feb. 17.
Wm. s. of Wm. & Hannah Bickerton n. Aug. 31.
Ales d. of Thos. & Mary Hanmer bap. March 10.
Thos. s. of Richd. & Ellen Gough bap. Feb. 14.
1706 Jane d. of John Dicken & Elizabeth bap. May. 3.
Thomas s. of Mr. Thomas Vaughan & Margaret bap. May. 5.
Richard s. of Wm. & Eliz. Witcherley bap. June 14.
1707 Mary d. of Thos. Dicken yeom. & Sarah bap. Oct. 1.
Eliz. d. of Rowland & Eliz. Walford bap. Oct. 22.
Daniel s. of Mr. Thos. Paine & Frances bap. Dec. 11.
Jane d. of Wm. & Eliz. Wicherley bap. Feb. 15.
1708 Hatchet 2nd s. of Mr. Thos. Vaughan & Margaret bap. May 20.
Thomas s. of Thomas Hanmer bap. Nov. 18.
Roger s. of Roger Bolas & Catharine bap. Nov. 18.
Jon. s. of Laurence & Mary Powell bap. Nov. 27.
Thomas s. of Mr. Thos. Paine & Frances bap. Mar. 19.

Sara d. of Richd. & Ellen Gough bap. Nov. 26.
1709 Roger s. of Edwd. Kinaston & Elizth. bap. June 5.
1710 Ales d. of Mr. Thos. Pain & Frances bap. Apr. 17.
John s. of John & Jane Gough bap. Dec. 10.
Febe d. of John Dickin & Elizth. bap. July 9.
Francis s. of Wm. & Hannah Gregory bap. May 13.
Eliz. d. of Wm. & Mary Botwood bap. July 29.
Jane Nunulley bap. Dec. 2.
George s. of Rowland & Eliz. Walford bap. Mar. 19.
1710 Wm. s. of Wm. & Eliz. Wicherley bap. Mar. 26.
Wm. s. of Laurence & Mary Powell bap. July 4.
Elner d. of Saml. & Elner Billingsley bap. Feb. 2.
1711 Mary d. of Thos. & Mary Hanmer bap. Jan. 15.
1712 Eliz. d. of John & Eliz. Gott bap. Jan. 1.
Frances d. of Mr. Thos. Payn & Frances bap. Apr. 26.
1713 Thos. s. of Geo. & Martha Wicherley bap. June 14.
John s. of Wm. & Eliz. Wicherley bap. Mar. 21.
1714 Jane d. of Mr. Thos. Payne & Frances bap. May 2.
Ann d. of Laurence & Mary Powell bap. Aug. 24.
John s. of John Dickin & Elizabeth bap. Sep. 12.
Thos. s. of Wm. Gregory of Burlton & Hannah bap. Sep. 12.
Mary d. of Mr. Thos. Kynaston & Alice bap. Mar. 6.
Elizth. d. of Thos. & Mary Hanmer bap. March 7.
1715 Elizabeth d. of Mr. Thos. Payne & Frances bap. Oct. 15.
George s. of Geo. & Martha Wicherley bap. Sep. 18.
Katharine d. of Rowland & Eliz. Walford bap. March 3.
1716 Roger s. of Mr. Thos. Kynaston of Holliwell Moor & Alice bap. June 10.
Mary d of Wm. & Hannah Gregory bap. June 24.
Mary d. of Laurence & Mary Powell bap. Aug. 19.
John s. of James Payne & Mary bap. Dec. 7.
Roger s. of Wm. & Eliz. Wicherley bap. Dec. 16.
1717 Richard s. of Mr. Thos. Payne & Frances bap. May 26.
Eliz. d. of Richd. & Eleanor Gough bap. Nov. 3.
Arthur s. of Mr. Phillip Vaughan & Jane bap. Dec. 15.
Eleanor d. of John & Alice Winn bap. July 24.
Edward s. of Mr. Thos. Kynaston & Alice bap. Feb. 2.
Daniel s. of Thos. & Mary Hanmer bap. Mar. 2.
1718 Margaret d. of Mr. Thos. Payne of Noneley & Frances bap. Aug. 17.
John s. of Geo. & Martha Wicherley bap. Aug. 24.
Wm. s. of Rowland & Eliz. Walford of Noneley bap. Nov. 12.
Eliz. d. of Laurence Powell bap. Feb. 22.
Hezekiah s. of Hezekiah & Amy Heatley of Frankton bap. July 8 1718.
1719 Martha d. of Mr. Thos. Kynaston & Alice bap. July 9.
Anne d. of Mr. Thos. Payne & Francis bap. Sep. 18.
John s. of Wm. & Eliz. Wicherley bap. Dec. 26.

1720 Mary d. of Mr. Thos. Payne of Noneley & Frances bap. Feb. 17.
Richd. s. of James & Mary Payne of Loppington bap. Oct. 16.
Abraham s. of Thos. & Mary Haumer bap. June 18.
Thomas & Peter s. of Mr. Philip Vaughan & Jane bap. Feb. 24.
Robert s. of Geo. & Martha Wicherley bap. March 5.
1721 Mary d. of Rowld. & Eliz. Walford of Noneley bap. Apr. 7.
Mary d. of Xtofer & Cath. Ward of Whitchurch bap. May 23.
1722 Martha d. of Mr. Thos. Payne of Noneley & Francis bap. May 18.
Thomas s. of Roger & Mary Wicherley bap. Apr. 15.
Charles s. of Mr. Philip Vaughan of Loppington & Jane bap. Sep. 3.
1723 John s. of John Roberts of Burlton yeoman & Sarah bap. Jan. 31.
Wm. s. of Wm. & Ann Jefferies of Burlton Wood bap. Ap. 16.
Mary d. of Geo. & Martha Wicherley of Loppington bap. May 19.
Mary d. of James & Mary Payne of Loppington bap. July 7.
Roger s. of Roger & Martha Wicherley of Loppington bap. Dec. 8.
1724 Elizabeth d. of Mr. Philip Vaughan of Burlton & Jane bap. May 4.
Richd. s. of Wm. & Ann Jefferies bap. Apr. 25.
Jane d. of Mr. Thos. Kynaston of Holliwell Moor & Alice bap. July 3.
Benjn. s. of Geo. & Martha Wicherley bap. May 10.
Rowland s. of Rowld. & Eliz. Walford of Noneley bap. Dec. 28.
1725 Jane d. of Mr. Philip Vaughan of Burlton & Jane bap. Oct. 7.
Mary d. of Wm. Wicherley of Loppington labourer & Eliz. bap. Oct. 3.
Ann d. of Wm. Jeffries labourer & Ann bap. Nov. 7.
Thos. s. of Thos. Botwood of Noneley yeoman & Mary bap. Dec. 21.
1726 John s. of Mr. Philip Vaughan & Jane bap. Nov. 11.
Edwd. s. of Mr. Richd. Kynaston of Loppington yeoman & Susannah bap. Feb. 2.
Eliz. d. of Mr. Thos. Acherley of Loppington & Dorothy bap. June 3.
Mary d. of Richard Nonelley of Nonelley yeoman & Mary bap. Feb. 17.
Wm. s. of Wm. Bickerton yeoman & Ann bap. Nov. 15.
Ann d. of George Wicherley yeoman & Martha bap. Dec. 26.
1727 Dorothy d. of Mr. Thos. Acherley of Loppington & Dorothy bap. Sep. 16.
Amy d. of Laurane Powell yeoman & Mary bap. May 7.
John s. of John Bickerton yeoman & Ann bap. Dec. 3.
1728 Katharine d. of Mr. Philip Vaughan of Burlton & Jane bap. Dec. 19.
Edwd. s. of Wm. Jefferies of Noneley yeoman & Ann bap. May 26.
Richard s. of Richd. Noneley of Noneley yeoman & Elizabeth bap. Feb. 9.

Sarah d. of Rowld. Walford weaver & Eliz. bap. Mar. 16.
Anne d. of Arthur Noneley of Burlton yeoman & Elizabeth bap.
Martha d. of George Wicherley yeoman & Martha bap. May 14.
Wm. s. of Richard & Susanna Kynaston bap. May 11.
1729 Sarah d. of Richd. Noneley of Noneley yeoman & Mary bap.
Jane d. of John Winn of Burlton yeoman & Alice bap. July 13.
Richd. s. of Mr. Thos. Acherley & Dorothy bap. Aug. 28.
Peter s. of Philip Vaughan & Jane bap. Nov. 11.
1730 John s. of Edwd. & Eliz. Kynaston bap. Mar. 30.
Henry s. of Mr. Philip Vaughan & Jane bap. Dec. 27.
James s. of George Wicherley yeoman & Martha bap. July 12.
Robert s. of Mr. Thos. Acherley & Dorothy bap. Jan. 8.
Philip s. of Wm. Groom yeoman & Mary bap. Jan. 25.
Anne d. of Wm. & Ann Kynaston bap. Oct. 18.
Edwd. s. of Wm. & Anne Wicherley bap. March 21.
1731 John s. of Laurence & Mary Powell bap. May 30.
Anne d. of Mr. Thos. Chambre of Whettall & Elizabeth bap. Apr. 22.
Thos. s. of Rowland & Eliz. Walford bap. May 15.
Sarah d. of Richd. Noneley & Mary bap. Aug. 18.
Richard s. of Richd. & Susanna Kynaston bap. Oct. 18.
Arthur s. of Arthur Noneley of Burlton yeoman & Elizabeth bap. Nov. 9.
Thomas s. of Wm. & Anne Kynaston bap. Jan. 16.
Richard s. of Mr. Thos. Acherley & Dorothy bap. Feb. 24.
Mary d. of Roger & Mary Wicherley bap. Mar. 7.
John s. of Mr. Thos. & Dorothy Acherley bap. Mar. 15.
1732 Philip s. of Mr. Philip Vaughan & Jane bap. Apr. 6.
Richard s. of Richard & Mary Gough bap. Apr. 30.
Corbett s. of John Kynaston & Jane bap. June 14.
Thomas s. of John & Anne Bickerton bap. Oct. 21.
Elizabeth d. of Edw. Kynaston & Elizabeth bap. Nov. 1.
Mary d. of Geo. & Martha Wicherley bap. Mar. 2.
Thos. s. of Thos. & Mary Wynn bap. March 16.
1733 Diana d. of Mr. Thos. Manwaring of Noneley & Frances bap. July 26.
Wm. s. of Wm. & Mary Groom bap. June 22.
Hugh s. of Mr. Thos. Acherley of Noneley & Dorothy bap. Sept. 14.
Mary d. of Thos. & Kath. Watson bap. June 17.
Margaret d. of Richd. Kynaston & Susannah bap. Jan. 14.
Charles s. of John Kynaston & Jane bap. Mar. 1
1734 Samuel s. of John and Ann Bickerton bap. May 13.
Elizabeth d. of Richard Noneley & Mary bap. Sep. 1.
Sarah d. of Richd. & Mary Gough bap. Aug. 16.
John s. of John Dickin & Hannah bap. Oct. 3.
Joseph s. of Laurence & Mary Powell bap. Nov. 30.

Richard s. of Mr. Philip Vaughan & Jane bap. Jan. 10.
Wm. s. of Thos. & Kath. Watson bap. Feb. 1.
Jane d. of Francis & Mary Lloyd bap. Feb. 28.
John s. of Mr. Thos. Acherley & Dorothy bap. Mar. 15.
1735 Sarah d. of Wm. & Anne Lloyd bap. Mar. 5.
Ann d. of Edward Kynaston & Elizabeth bap. June 1.
Edward s. of Wm. & Mary Groom bap. July 6.
Thos. s. of John Dickin of Brown Heath & Ann bap. June 29.
Thomas s. of Mr. Thos. Manwaring & Frances bap. July 27.
Edward s. of John Kynaston (carpenter) & Jane bap. Feb. 15.
1736 Peter s. of Mr. Philip Vaughan & Jane bap. July 9.
Thos. s. of Richd. & Mary Gough bap. Oct. 31.
Sarah d. of George Kynaston schoolmaster of Loppington & Sarah bap. Jan. 30.
John s. of John & Eliz. Heatley bap. Nov. 14.
Thos. s. of Joseph & Martha Edows bap. Feb. 13.
1737 Elizabeth d. of Wm. & Eliz. Lloyd bap. Apr. 11.
Mary d. of Francis & Mary Lloyd bap. Aug. 9.
Hannah d. of William Kynaston & Ann bap. Dec. 18.
Edward & William s. of Edwd. Kynaston & Elizth. bap. Mar. 24.
Kath. d. of Thos. & Kath. Watson bap. Apr. 11.
1738 John s. of John Kynaston & Jane bap. July 2.
Wm. s. of Thos. & Margt. Lee bap. May 12.
Martha d. of Mr. Philip Vaughan & Jane bap. Aug. 29.
Sarah d. of Richd. & Mary Gough bap. July 16.
1739 Edward s. of Edwd. Kynaston of Hollywell Moor & Jane bap. Sep. 27.
Joseph s. of Joseph & Martha Eddowes bap. Nov. 4.
Thos. s. of Thos. & Kath. Watson bap. Oct. 7.
Fanny d. of John Dickin & Hannah bap. Nov. 18.
Mary d. of Wm. & Eliz. Lloyd bap. Feb. 20.
1740 William s. of Wm. Kynaston & Ann bap. June 5.
Ann d. of Edwd. Kynaston & Elizabeth bap. June 24.
Richard s. of Richd. Noneley & Mary bap. Sep. 11.
1741 Thos. s. of Mr. Edwd. Kynaston & Jane bap. Oct. 21.
Wm. s. of Richd. & Mary Gough bap. Apr. 26.
1742 Ann d. of Wm. Kynaston & Ann bap. Mar. 28.
William s. of Wm. & Eliz. Lloyd bap. Apr. 20.
Sarah d. of Richd. & Mary Gough bap. May 23.
1743 Elizabeth d. of John Kynaston & Jane bap. Apr. 4.
Martha d. of Thos. & Cath. Watson bap. Apr. 4.
Jane d. of Mr. Edwd. Kynaston & Jane bap. May 10.
Thos. s. of Joseph & Martha Eddowes bap. Dec. 26.
1745 Richard s. of Mr. Edwd. Kynaston & Jane bap. Apr. 5.
Edward s. of Richd. & Mary Gough bap. Aug. 24.
John s. of John Kynaston & Jane bap. Mar. 5.
Richard s. of Thos. & Cath. Watson bap. Oct. 27.
1746 John s. of Wm. & Margt. Dodd of Welsh Frankton bap. Oct. 3.
Hannah d. of Wm. & Elizth. Lloyd bap. March 20.

WEDDINGS.

1607 Edwd. Kynaston & Elizth. Milward by licence Sep. 3.

1654 John Bockley, Ellerdine, par. High Ercall & Jane d. of John Nuneley of Loppington Aug. 4.

1656 Francis Ashe par. High Ercall & Anne d. of John Noneley of Loppington 21 June.

1659 William Noneley of Bagley, par. Baschurch and Elizabeth Gough of Noneley Feb. 2.

1660 George Chambre gent. of Loppington & Mrs. Dovitie Eddowes of par. Hanmer May 25.

John Manley of the Roewood par. Loppington and Elizabeth Dicken of same par. Feb. 25.

1661 Peter Brayne of par. Baschurch & Beatrice Nonelley of Loppington Oct. 1.

Thomas Wells of par. Prees & Mary Nunnelley of Loppington Dec. 27.

Mr. Thomas Hinckes of Loppington & Frances Newnes of Loppington Feb. 9.

1670 Edward Vaughan & Anna Maurice of Wem June 8.

1673 Thomas Moyle of par. Hanmer & Maria Vaughan of Loppington June 7.

1679 Arthur Nonnelley & Elizabeth Gough Nov. 3.

1681 John Legh of city of Chester gent. & Mrs. Catharine Chambre eldest d. of George Chambre of Loppington gent. March 29.

1686 Margt. Gough & Richd. Lith mar. Jan. 30.

1687 Rice Jones of Allchurch co. Worcester Esq. 2nd s. of Mr. Thos. Jones late of Prees co. Salop & Dorothy 2nd d. of Mr. William Phillips late of Gwernhaylot par. Overton co. Flint—by licence from city of Canterbury Feb. 17.

1689 Amy Gough & John Jones of Bagley mar. May 20.

Samuel Edge & Elizth. Nonniley widow Apr. 28.

1692 Mr. Wm Heath & Mrs. Mary Chambre Oct. 23.

1698 Saml. Billingsley of this & Elenor Winne of Ellesmere par. mar. Apr. 27.

1699 Elizth. Billingsley & Adam Pue mar. Nov. 18.

1702 John Dicken & Elizth. Smith Aug. 30.

1704 Mr. Thos. Vaughan & Margaret Hatchett Jan. 5.

Wm. Gregory jun. of this & Hannah Heatley of Whitchurch par. mar. Sep. 29.

1707 Thos. Cotton of Baschurch par. & Dorothy Smout of Wem par. mar. Jan. 27.

1708 Ales Bookeley & Rob. Lewis mar. Sep. 19.

1719 Christopher Basnett of par. Baschurch & Margaret Noniley of Loppington Dec. 15.

Mary Groom & Thos. Phillips mar. Nov. 14.

1720 George Reynolds clerk of par. Llansanfraid co. Montgomery & Jane Jones Nov. 9.

1723 Richard Kynaston of Loppington and Susannah Jones of Noneley Dec. 26.
1725 John Noneley & Anne Billingsley Jan. 6.
1726 Roger Davies & Mary Kinaston Jan. 22.
1727 Wm. Vaughan & Anne Guest July 6.
1728 Eliz. Botwood of this & Nath. Borroughs of Prees par. mar. Jan. 26.
Wm. Lee of Ellesmere par. & Mary Heatley of this mar. Jan. 6.
1731 John Kynaston & Jane Dicken Sep. 6.
1732 Richd. Payne of Baschurch & Mary Povey mar. May 3.
1736 Thomas Kynaston & Mary Pool of Wem by licence May 6.
1741 Mr. Thomas Husband of Middle widower & Mrs. Mary Matthews of Malpas widow by licence Jan. 12,
1742 Thos. Gregory of Audlem par. & Mary Basnet of this mar. 24 Oct. by licence,

BURIALS.

1650 John s. of Nicholas Dicken & Ann bur. 31 Aug.
1654 John s. of Hugh Barclay of Burlton burd. Jan. 9.
1655 Robert s. of Edwd. Scholfield clerk bur. 16 Nov.
Eliz. d. of Geo. Mason of English Frankton burd. Mar. 13.
Ann Wicherley widow burd. Feb. 4.
Ermine d. of Eliz. Inglefield of English Frankton burd. Feb. 29.
Geo. s. of Roger & Mary Wicherley burd. Mar. 25.
1656 Anna d. of Thos. Noneley of Burlton & Ellenor burd. 11 Dec.
Mary wife of Andrew Watkins burd. May 31.
Elinor child of Geo. & Jane Wicherley burd. Aug. 7.
John s. of Nicholas & Anne Dicken burd. Aug. 31.
Margt. Heatley of Frankton an old single woman burd. Jan. 20.
Ales wife of John Heatley of Frankton burd. Jan 21.
Wm. s. of Arthur & Cath. Hatchet burd. Dec. 2.
1657 Eliz. d. of John & Kath. Gough of Burlton burd. Sep. 16.
John Heatley of English Frankton burd. Dec. 31.
James s. of Geo. & Jane Wicherley burd. Oct. 14.
1658 Anne w. of Roger Payne of Horton near Wem burd. Sep. 8.
Martha d. of Nicholas Dicken & Ann bur. 25 Mar.
Roger Wicherley of Loppington burd. Apr. 9.
Richard s. of Richd. Barker of Noneley burd. May 28.
1659 Edwd. s. of Jane Powell widow of Frankton bur. Sep. 20.
Andrew Bostock of Loppington bur. Nov. 18.
Anne Atcherley widow of Wolverley bur. Nov. 27.
1660 Hoc in anno intravit Tho. Gittins Vic.
1661 Eliz. Brayne of Loppington widow burd. Apr. 15.
Jane w. of Wm. Menlove burd. July 16.
Thos. Nunelley of Burlton burd. 20 Dec.
Wm. Menlove of Loppington burd. Sep. 5.
Wm. s. of Arthur Hatchett burd. Nov. 3.

1662 Ann w. of Nicholas Dicken of Loppington burd. 1 Dec.
Eliz. d. of Joseph Benion burd. Apr. 8.
Eliz. Gough of Nonuley widow burd. June 19.
Joane Dicken of Frankton burd. 8 Dec.
John Nonelley of Nonelley burd. 18 Dec.
1664 Sarah d. of Thos. Nonelley of Burlton burd. Dec. 16.
Eliz. w. of Robt. Hill of Northwood burd. Mar. 31.
Jane Corbett of English Frankton burd. May 14.
John s. of Thos. Nonelley senior & Elinor burd. 10 Jan.
Henry Mainwaring of Rowood gent. burd. Dec. 5.
1665 Jane Dicken of English Frankton burd. Nov. 17.
1666 Thos. Savage a gent burd. Dec. 17.
Humphrey Witcherley of Loppington burd. Jan. 22.
1667 William Dicken of English Frankton burd. Apr. 16.
1669 Elinor d. of John Nonelley of Nonelley & Margaret bur. Apr. 12.
Beatrice w. to Mr. Wm. Hatchett burd. Nov. 16.
Richard s. of Thos. Gittins & Sarah bur. Aug. 27.
Margaret Nonelley of Nonelley widow sometime wife of John Nonelley burd. Dec. 12.
1670 Ellen Wicherley widow burd. Feb. 13.
Ann Vaughan burd. Feb. 10.
1671 John Groom burd. Dec. 22.
1672 George s. of Nicholas Dicken burd. Apr. 4.
Geo. Tyler of Sleap bur. Nov. 13.
Mary d. of Nicholas Dicken bur. Mar. 18.
Child of Fras. & Eliz. Baylitt al's Bayley bur. Sep. 30.
1673 Kath. w. of Arthur Hatchet burd. Feb. 17.
1674 Fras. s. of Fras. & Eliz. Bayley burd. June 1.
Jane widow of Mr. Thos. Downes late parson of Lee Brockhurst bur. Dec. 2.
1675 Eleanor Barnes of Loppington bur. June 5.
John Barnes of Loppington bur. June 7.
Thos. Barnes eld'r s. of John Barnes of Loppington burd. June 12.
1676 Dorothy w. of Thos. Nonelley bur. July 12.
Widow Bayley burd. Apr. 28.
Jane d. of George Vaughan bur. Apr. 23.
Humphy. Barker burd. Nov. 23.
1677 Sara d. of Thos. Gittins vicar & Sara bur. May 10.
Jane d. of Arthur Chambre & Jane bur. June 14.
Elinor Nonelley of Burlton widow burd. Dec. 10.
1678 Richd. s. of Geo. Milward burd. Jan. 8.
Richd. Milward senior bur. Jan. 17.
Francis Chambre of Wolverley gent. bur. May 9.
Widow Ward burd. March 20.
1679 John Noneley of Noneley bur. May 26.
1680 Mary d. of Thos. Noneley & Dorothy bur. Sep. 15.
John s. of Arthur Noneley & Elizabeth bur. Nov. 7.
1681 Jane late wife of Thos. Dicken bur. May 1.
Mrs. Dorothy Chambre wife of Mr. George Chambre bur. Nov. 17.

Deborah d. of Thos. & Jane Griffith bur. Aug. 29.
Jane w. of Geo. Wicherley bur. Feb. 14.
Erm. d. of Wm. & Sara Vaughan bur. Mar. 3.
1682 Arthur eld. s. of Mr. Arthur Chambre of Burlton bur. Easter Sunday 16 April.
John s. of Arthur Noneley & Elizabeth bur. 30 Apr.
Jane w. of Thos. Griffiths burd. Oct. 3.
Elizabeth w. of Arthur Noneley burd. May 4.
Thos. Griffies of Ellesmere par. bur. Mar. 8.
Mr. John Chambre of Frankton bur. 23 July.
Ezabel Dickin widow bur. Aug. 8.
John s. of Matthew & Mary Winne burd. Sep. 12.
Anne Kinaston widow bur. 28 Oct.
Cath. w. of John Gough burd. Feb. 16.
1683 Thomas Dickin Shewmaker of Loppington bur. 19 Apr.
Henry s. of Thos. Noneley & Mary bur. 16 May.
1684 Thomas Noneley of Burlton bur. Jan. 22.
Wm. Gough burd. Nov. 8.
Geo. Wicherley burd. Mar. 22.
William s. of George Vaughan & Jane bur. Mar. 21.
Margery d. of Henry Hatchet burd. Jan. 20.
1685 Sara d. of George Vaughan bur. June 14.
Humfrey s. of Geo. & Ann Wicherley burd. Mar. 28.
Nicholas Dickin bur. Sep. 27.
Geo. Wicherley burd. May 3.
Anne d. of Wm. Vaughan & Sara bur. Nov. 7.
John s. of Roger & Mary Wicherley burd. June 11.
Mr. Thos. Hinckes bur. Jan. 25.
Hondrey Hatchet burd. July 2.
Ermine d. of Thos. & Sara Chetwode burd. July 13.
Beatrice d. of Joseph & Susan Benion burd. Sep. 30.
Mrs. Dorothy w. of Mr. George Chambre burd. Nov. 17.
Mary d. of John & Mary Benion burd. Jan. 28.
John Gough of Burlton burd. Mar. 14.
1686 Susan Benion burd. Aug. 11.
Mary w. of Wm. Gregory burd. Dec. 7.
Martha d. of Wm. & Margt. Benion burd. Mar. 20.
Richd. s. of Roger & Mary Wicherley bur. Feb. 4.
Cath. d. of Hondrey & Margt. Hatchett bur. Mar. 5.
George s. of Mr. Philip Edwards & Martha bur. June 14.
Thomas Noneley of Noneley bur. Aug. 10.
1687 Mrs. Elizabeth Hinckes w. of Mr. Thomas Hinckes of Petton bur. May 23.
Eliz. d. of Benjn. & Anne Goulsbury bur. Aug. 11.
Anne w. of William Vaughan bur. Feb. 10.
Joseph Benion of Burlton burd. Feb. 1.
1688 Thomas & Sara two children of Mr. Charles Chambre & Mary bur. 7 April.
Bartholomew Wicherley burd. Nov. 15.

1689 John Dickin of Burlton bur. Nov. 23.
Mary widow w. of Rich. Hinckes bur. May 19.
Richd. Englefield of English Frankton burd. Aug. 9.
1690 Arthur s of Mr. Thos. Hinckes of Petton bur. Dec. 2.
John s. of Mr. John Wicherley of the Clive gent. burd. Apr. 16.
1691 Eliz. Ward burd. Jan. 26.
George Chambre gent. died Nov. 8 bur. 11 aged 53 years.
Thomas s. of Mr. Charles Chambre & Mary of Marton bur. Dec. 10.
Andrew Chambre bur. Mar. 25.
1692 Mrs. Mary Chambre widow of Loppington bur. 18 June.
1693 Robt. Gregory of Petton bur. Feb 14.
George Nuneley bur. May 2.
Geo. Milward the elder burd. June 17.
William Vaughan senr. bur. 10 Aug.
Blanche Hinckes widow of Cockshutt bur. Feb. 21.
1694 Mr. John Kinaston bur. 4 June.
John Dickin of Bolton Milne bur. 12 Feb.
1695 Arthur s. of William Vochan & Sara bur. 16 Mar.
Wm. s. of John Gregory of Rowood & Joane burd. June 20.
Dorothy d. of Arthur Nonelley & Martha bur. Oct. 12.
Jane d. of Jerram & Anne Hatchett burd. Sep. 7.
Mary d. of Mr. Roger Kynaston & Mary bur. Oct. 24.
Joan Englefield of English Frankton widow bur. Dec. 12.
Susanna Milward widow bur. Mar. 19.d
1696 Child of Roger & Cath. Bolas bur. Mar. 9.
Elinor d. of Arthur Hatchett bur. Dec. 16.
1697 Mary Channer bur. Dec. 18.
Mary Wicherley widow bur. Mar. 7.
1698 John s. of Nicholas Dickin bur. Apr. 15.
John Billingsley bur. May 14.
Jane d. of William Vaughan senr. & Ann bur. Nov. 11.
Wm. Later of Wem bur. Jan. 8.
Elizabeth d. of Arthur Nonelley & Martha bur. Nov. 28.
John s. of Francis & Ann Lloyd bur. May 8.
1700 William s. of Edwd. Kynaston & Mary bur. Jan. 31.
Richard s. of Mr. Roger Kynaston & Mary bur. Feb. 2.
1701 Mrs. Mary Chambre w. of Mr. Charles Chambre bur. Mar. 11.
1702 Mr. Arthur Chambre of Burlton bur. Mar. 15.
1703 Mary d. of Richard Nonelley & Mary bur. May 1.
Arthur Hatchett bur. Mar. 6.
William Vaughan junr. bur. Jan. 24.
1704 Cath. d. of Jerram & Ann Hatchett bur. June 10.
1705 Margaret sister to Mary Kynaston widow & stranger bur. Jan. 17.
Geo. Botwood bur. Jan. 22.
Wm. Gregory senr. bur. Jan. 9.
Mary w. of Wm. Gough junr. bur. Aug. 7.
1707 Mr. George Chambre junr. bur. Apr. 8.
Widow Gregory bur. Apr. 12.

Margt. w. of Wm. Gregory bur. Jan. 5.
1708 Arthur s. of Mr. Charles Chambre & Mary bur. May 29.
Eliz. Billingsley widow bur. Mar. 24.
1709 Sarah Dickin widow bur. Apr. 2.
Roger s. of Edwd. Kynaston & Elizth. bur. Aug. 5.
Mary d. of Thos. Gittins vicar & Sarah died Sep. 3 bur. 6.
Mr. Thos. Gittins vicar died Dec. 18 bur. Dec. 21.
1710 Margaret w. of Mr. Thomas Vaughan of the Wood bur. March 25, whose name before marriage was Hatchet.
Hatchet Vaughan s. of Mr. Thos. Vaughan of the Wood bur. Aug. 19.
Patience d. of Mr. Charles Heskie of Kenwick bur. Mar. 2.
Mrs. Mary Franklin died at Croesmere and bur. at Loppington Mar. 21.
Jane w. of John Goff bur. Jan. 16.
1711 Mr. William Nash died at Crosmere and burd. at Loppington Dec. 31.
Wm. Goff burd. Ap. 16.
1712 Sara d. of John Dickin & Elizabeth bur. Dec. 25.
Eliz. d. of Roger Wicherley bur. Mar. 5.
1713 Mrs. Jane Chambre of Burlton widow bur. Feb. 13.
1714 Rachel Dickin of Elson widow bur. May 25.
Kath. d. of Rowld. & Eliz. Walford of Noneley bur. Oct. 3.
Mrs. Mary Chambre of Burlton bur. Nov. 20.
Wm. Gregory of Noneley township bur. July 16.
Geo. s. of Wm. & Hannah Bickerton of Frankton bur. Jan. 28.
1715 Mr. Richard Nash of Burlton bur. Sep. 19.
1716 John s. of Richd. & Mary Noneley bur. Jan. 24.
Jane w. of Timothy Dickin bur. Sep. 22.
John s. of Richard Nash & Mary bur. Jan. 24.
Mrs. Ann Goldisborough bur. Feb. 2.
Eliz. Gough widow burd. Jan. 5.
1717 Richard s. of Mr. Thos. Payne of Noneley & Frances bur. Oct. 10.
1718 Arthur Hatchett of Frankton bur. Apr. 22.
John s. of Wm. Witcherley bur. May 6.
1719 Thos. Vaughan senr. of the Wood gent. died Mar. 24 bur. 27 aged 35.
Mr. David Pugh of Burlton bur. Oct. 14.
1720 Mary Noneley of Burlton widow bur. Jan. 18.
Eliz. Walford bur. June 18.
Arthur s. of Mr. Philip Vaughan of Burlton bur. Jan. 20.
Eliz. Gregory of Burlton widow bur. Jan. 18.
1723 Mr. Richard Acherley of Loppington bur. Aug. 16.
Ann Jebb of Loppington widow bur. May 15.
Robt. s. of Geo. Wicherley bur. May 13.
Mary d. of Geo. Wicherley bur. June 10.
1724 Thos. s. of Roger Witcherley bur. June 26.

1725 Mr. Thomas Menlove of Loppington bur. June 20.
Thos. Spencer of Burlton yeoman bur. Aug. 3.
Peter s. of Mr. Philip Vaughan bur. Dec. 11.
Mary Spencer of Burlton widow bur. Sep. 5.
Eliz. Spencer of Burlton bur. Sep. 4.
1726 Richd Gough of Noneley yeoman bur. Mar. 18.
1727 Wm. s. of Wm. Bickerton of Loppington yeoman bur. May 21.
1728 James Lloyd of Loppington yeoman bur. Mar. 22.
1729 Sarah d. of Richard Noneley of Noneley yeoman bur. Apr. 20.
Mr. George Beacall of Burlton bur. April 22.
Thomas Dicken of Loppington yeoman bur. Apr. 27.
Mr. Thomas Payne of Nonelley bur. May 22.
Margaret d. of Mr. Thos. Vaughan of the Wood & Sarah bur. July 10.
John s. of Wm. Wicherley labourer bur. Oct. 23.
Edward Kynaston of Loppington bur. Aug. 30.
Anne d. of George Wicherley yeoman bur. Nov. 7.
Richard s. of Mr. Thos. Acherley & Dorothy bur. Sep. 17.
Eleanor Gough of Bagley widow bur. Dec. 4.
Benjamin Gouldesborough of Ryebank par. Wem gent. bur. Feb. 6.
1730 Thomas s. of Mr. Thos. Chambre of Whettall par. of Ellesmere & Elizabeth bur. April 23.
Wm. Gregory of Burlton yeoman bur. May 17.
Phebe Dickin bur. July 21.
Mary Botwood of Noneley burd. Aug 15.
Richard Nonelley of Nonelley yeoman & Mary his wife bur. Oct. 4.
Margaret Hatchett of the Wood widow bur. Feb. 13.
Mr. Thos. Kynaston of Hollywell Moor bur. Jan. 6.
Sarah Walford d. of Rowland Walford bur. Feb. 18.
1731 Mr. John Wootton of Burlton bur. Mar. 27.
Eliz. Gough burd. May 1.
Henry s. of Mr. Philip Vaughan & Jane bur. Apr. 6.
Mrs. Elizabeth Chambre of Whettall par. Wem bur. Apr. 20.
Peter s. of Mr. Philip Vaughan & Jane bur. Apr. 21.
Charles Chambre of Burleton gent. bur. Apr. 22.
Ann d. of Thomas Chambre of Whettall Wem gent. & Eliz. burd. Apr. 23.
Ann d. of William Kynaston bur. June 31.
Edward s. of Wm. Wicherley burd. June 10.
Mrs. Mary Kynaston of Hollywell Moor widow bur. July 26.
1732 John Wicherley infant bur. Apr. 18.
Thomas s. of William Kynaston bur. Nov. 16.
Arthur Noneley of Burlton bur. Mar. 14.
1733 Hugh s. of Mr. Thos. Acherley bur. Mar. 5.
1734 Roger Wycherley of Loppington pauper bur. May 6.
Ann wife of Wm. Jefferies burd. Dec. 4.

Martha Gregory unfortunately killed by the throw of a stick burd. Feb. 20.

1735 John s. of Mr. Thos. Acherley bur. Mar. 25.
Roger Wycherley junr. pauper bur. March 29.
Richard s. of Mr. Philip Vaughan & Jane burd. June 14.
Mr. Thos. Kynaston late of Lee par. Ellesmere bur. Nov. 11.

1736 Thos. s. of Mr. Thos. Manwaring bur. Apr. 28.
Wm. Spencer of Burlton bur. July 19.

1737 Mr. Thos. Vaughan of the Wood bur. May 7.
Thomas s. of Mr. Thos. Kynaston bur. June 10.
Mary wife of Francis Lloyd bur. Aug. 11.
Martha Noneley late of Burlton widow bur. Jan 30.
Mary Wynn of the Pate wood bur. Nov. 6.

1738 William s. of Edwd. Kynaston bur. Mar. 31.
Edward s. of ditto bur. Apr. 16.
Mrs. Jane Beacall widow bur. Aug. 15.

1739 Ann Dicken of Brown Heath par. Ellesmere bur. Mar. 28.
Sarah d. of Richd. Gough bur. Apr. 1.
Sarah w. of John Dicken of Brown Heath bur. Apr. 29.
Thos. s. of John Dicken of Brown Heath bur. May 13.
Richard s. of Richard Noneley of Noneley bur. Sep. 12.
Alice d. of Edward Kynaston bur. Feb. 5.

1740 William Kynaston an infant bur. June 9.
Thos. s. of Thos. Bickerton of Berwick bur. Aug. 23.
John s. of John Kynaston & Jane bur. Sep. 7.
Arthur Bolas late of Ruyton bur. Dec. 29.
Elizabeth Kynaston widow bur. Jan. 10.

1742 Ann d. of Wm. Kynaston bur. Dec. 19.
Ann d. of Wm. Jefferies burd. Sep. 25.

1743 Ann w. of Wm. Kynaston of Loppington pauper burd. May 8.

1744 John Kynaston of Whitchurch Dyer bur. Apr. 11.
Thomas Chambre of Whettall gent. bur. May 9.

1745 Wm. Bickerton of Loppington bur. June 7.

1748 John s. of Mr. Philip Vaughan bur. July 13.

1686 May 31 Collected for French Protestants 46s. 4d.

1699 May 1 Collected for the French Protestants 5s. 11d.

1704 May 14 Collected for Seamens' widows and children 8s. 4¼d.

1708 Collected for the Inhabitants of Ineskellin 3s. 6d.

DIRECTIONS TO BELL RINGERS IN TONG CHURCH.

In the lower chamber of the Tower of Tong Church a board is preserved, on which are painted the following directions to Bell Ringers :—

If that to ring you doe come here
You must ring well with hand and eare;
keep stroak of time and goe not out
or else you forfeit out of doubt.
Our law is soe concluded here;
For every fault a jugg of beer.
if that you ring with Spurr or Hat,
a jugg of beer must pay for that.
If that you take a rope in hand
these forfeits you must not withstand
or if a bell you ov'rthrow
it must cost sixpence e're you goe.
If in this place you sweare or curse
Sixpence you pay out with your purse;
come pay the Clerk it is his fee
for one (that swears) shall not goe free
These laws are old and are not new
therefore the Clerk must have his due.

George Harison. 1694.

Another and shorter version of these directions, dated twenty-nine years earlier, is preserved at Culmington, Salop.

A.R.

THE OBSOLETE PUNISHMENTS OF SHROPSHIRE.

By S. MEESON MORRIS.

The fact that in all ages and in every country offences of some kind have been committed must be indisputable.

The absolute necessity for checking the increase of crime was, fortunately for the present and past generations, recognized in England at a very early period, and numerous methods of punishment, differing in many important details from those of all other civilized nations, and varying in severity according to the gravity of the particular offence, were imposed by our forefathers, upon those who, in the exercise of what has undoubtedly proved to be a very wise and far-seeing discretion, they deemed it expedient to correct. With the rapid advancement of civilization and education these methods of punishment have been materially altered and modified from time to time.

The increased spirit of humanity which abolished some of these frightful and degrading customs soon extended itself to other usages equally barbarous; usages which had not even the plea of utility in their defence, as every year's experience proved them to be more and more inefficacious.

The savage *lex talionis* (the law of retaliation), which constituted the principle of all early criminal codes, has, theoretically at least, been gradually abandoned, and the infliction of punishment is now generally advocated as a means of deterring from the commission of crime,

and preventing, through the medium of example, the spread of criminality among the people. The result of this has been, that, during the present century, many of the ingenious but cruel contrivances formerly invented, and used for the chastisement of offenders, have happily been superseded by punishments more in accordance with the inclinations and necessities of the age in which we live. Cruel punishments, as the pillory and ducking stool; and cruel sports, as cock-fighting, dog-fighting, and bull-baiting, once went hand in hand, and so closely allied do they appear to have been, that the extinction of the former proved to be the signal for the almost immediate abandonment of the latter.

A remarkable, and somewhat striking illustration of the prevalent desire to stamp out traces of barbarity in every shape and form, may be found in the amendment of the law relating to the burial of suicides, whereby the last vestige of savagery, associated with the verdict of *felo de se*, has been abolished, and the corpse thus permitted to be decently interred, instead of being carted through the streets, pitched into a hole where highways cross, and driven through the heart with a stake; the course which had formerly to be adopted with the bodies of these unfortunate creatures.

A number of the dangerous instruments of punishment at one time in constant employment have now fallen into disuse from their incompatibility with modern refinement. The pillory, the ducking stool, and the stocks the latter, familiar to many a person yet living, no longer occupy their accustomed prominent positions. The thrill of terror produced upon scolding women by the mere threatened application of the brank, or scold's bridle, a most effectual remedy for female loquacity, will never be repeated.

The whipping post too, the dread of many an offender, and more especially the vagrant, has mercifully been permitted to fall into desuetude, and with it the ancient custom of administering a severe flogging to persons detected in the act of soliciting alms.

The sentences for many other offences, for which a sound flagellation was formerly inflicted, have also been amended, and, with one or two exceptions, flogging does not now form part of our system of punishments. Nevertheless :—

> Time was—before the philanthropic trash—
> When jails resounded with the hearty lash,
> When any morning some known rogue you'd meet
> At the cart's tail sent yelling through the street ;
> While the delighted crowd with jovial cries
> Urged on the hangman's boisterous exercise.

Some of our English histories and national records incidentally refer to these obsolete punishments, but little more than a passing notice is given, and were it not for the interesting notes upon the subject, appearing in various local works, and the retentive memories of a few of our aged brethren, whose veracity cannot be doubted, scanty indeed would be the information procurable, even at this short distance of time. Fortunately for those interested in the peculiar methods of punishment, now things of the past, Shropshire historians have accurately placed upon record many facts connected with the sentences awarded in days of yore to offenders against the public peace of Shrewsbury, and many other places in the county of Salop. In addition to this evidence, a small number of the contrivances used in some instances within the recollection of persons now living, have been preserved, and from these facts it may readily, and with much truth, be inferred, that in Shropshire, as in other counties throughout England, the popular means of correcting offenders were those most frequently employed by the authorities in their endeavours to administer adequate punishment for those infractions of the laws, which must necessarily have occurred again and again.

The scope of this paper will not admit of a description of all these modes of punishment. It is intended, however, to notice the most interesting and important ones ; the pillory, the ducking stool, the brank or scold's bridle, the whipping post, the stocks,

and a few others, and to give a short general account of each of these punishments, with a quantity of local notes collected from various authentic sources.

The pillory, the whipping post, and the stocks, were generally, but not by any means exclusively, used for male offenders. On the other hand, the vices of the gentler sex appear to have engaged the particular and careful attention of the authorities (whether rightly or wrongly, it is not deemed well to mention), and two inventions, the ducking stool, and the brank, or scold's bridle, were principally, and with a few slight exceptions, employed for the punishment of women only; the one to cool their rage by the process of dipping or ducking in water in a summary way; and the other to perform the more necessary operation of checking their garrulity in a most ready and effectual manner. The ducking stool was a recognized and duly authorized instrument of punishment, but the brank, or scold's bridle, although perhaps more frequently used, does not appear at any time to have received legal sanction. The legislature, observing the efficacy of this invention for correcting the virago, must have silently acquiesced in its application, for almost every town, and even villages of importance, possessed, and freely and openly used, at least one of these contrivances, and in some cases two or more. It is an example of the fact, that the police *minutiæ* of our forefathers were regulated to a large extent by the local guardians of the peace, whose extensive powers in this respect have only been curtailed and clearly defined during the present century.

The pillory and ducking stool were regarded as severe punishments; in fact so great was the public aversion to persons who had expiated their crimes in these inventions, that they were not permitted to be longer received as jurors or witnesses, a degradation of a serious nature, *per se*, to an Englishman.

The substitution of imprisonment, fines, and similar punishments now in vogue, for the curious contrivances formerly used, has rendered the pillory, ducking stool,

and other instruments before referred to, things of the past, but the modes of correction employed by our forefathers, in what are familiarly termed "the good old days," must always prove of considerable interest, serving, as they undoubtedly do, to remind us of the comparative improvement effected in the infliction of punishments during the present age of progress and advancement. Many alterations and amendments remain to be made before perfection can be nearly attained, but anyone looking back at what our system of punishment once was cannot fail to observe the many steps in this direction that have already been taken.

The obvious necessity for alterations in the methods of punishment has to struggle long against the stubborn prejudices which incite men to stand in the old ways, and hold fast by institutions and laws, consecrated and vouched for by the wisdom of our ancestors, in preference to any of the new-fangled theories of modern times.

The enunciation of truth is always far in advance of its realization. It is even its fate to be very generally recognized and approved in theory, while the timid fear of meddling with existing customs, which have no better warrant than their antiquity, permits these customs grossly to outrage the common sense and universal feelings of the people among whom they obtain. The history of all human progress is but a record of the slow and successive conquests of reason over error. The strongest resistance which the latter makes is always derived from a similar appeal to the authority of venerable antiquity. All civilizations have had their birth in barbarism, and hence the long and obstinate retention by the former of many of the habits and ideas which were a disgrace even to the latter.

The successive ameliorations of our penal law have been attended with such good effect, that no proposition has ever been advanced to retrace any one of these steps. What reason can there be to doubt that the completion

of this reform, by abolishing the few remaining barbarous customs, will be attended with equally satisfactory results? Let the same progressive reform be carried out to its legitimate consummation, and the last vestiges of a policy, worthy only of the barbarism in which it had its origin, be erased from our statute-book.

Ample has now been said to give a general idea of the several matters upon which it is intended to treat, and without further comment, the various modes of punishment, to which allusion has already been made, will be fully considered.

THE PILLORY.

In years past the pillory was one of the most popular and common punishments throughout the length and breadth of England.

The county of Salop was not an exception to this rule, and at the present time there are in existence in Shropshire more traces of the pillory than any of the other ingenious contrivances for the correction of offenders which were contemporaneous with it.

Its recognized popularity may be seen from the fact that every person entitled to the privilege of a leet, or market, was supposed to have a pillory for the due punishment of malefactors; indeed, to so great an extent does this invention appear to have been regarded as one of the indispensable appurtenances to the former, that the right to the leet itself was formerly liable to forfeiture for negligence in not providing a pillory.

The etymology of the word has been variously assigned by different writers. Spelman derives it from the French *pilleur*, a thief; Cowel from πύλη, a door, and ὁράω, I look through; and Du Cange from *pila*, a pillar. The derivation of Cowel seems to be most worthy of acceptation.

It was a very ancient punishment in this country, and for many years after its introduction was called by

the descriptive name of the "stretch-neck," the neck being the portion of the body most affected by its application.

To give greater publicity to the offence committed, and to the consequent punishment of the unfortunate culprit, therefore it was invariably fixed in some prominent position upon a platform raised a convenient distance from the ground.

It consisted of a frame of wood, erected on posts, with movable boards, and holes, through which were put the head and hands of the criminal, who, in this defenceless situation, was exposed to the outrages of the mob for a stated time, in a manner quite inconsistent with any rational notions of punishment. During the period of confinement those looking on were allowed, by well established usage, to pelt the sufferer with missiles of whatever sizes and substances were deemed to be most suitable to the occasion, a permission which was in many instances exercised by the rabble to such an alarming extent that the premature death of the delinquent followed, as a necessary result of the blows inflicted upon his head and body by the volleys of well-aimed stones and similar articles hurled at his person by the infuriated mob.

Frequently the ear or ears of the offender were nailed to the boards, and branding with a hot iron, slitting the nose, or cutting off one or both ears, was occasionally added to the punishment.

One privilege, and only one, was allowed the unfortunate person, namely that of haranguing the assembled crowd, an opportunity of which some of the courageous and outspoken thinkers who suffered this ignominious punishment, at a time in the history of this country when freedom of speech was not tolerated, were not slow to avail themselves.

In addition to the instances of the application of the pillory to persons of notoriety mentioned in our national records, there are numerous references to its use in a large number of our local histories and works.

Every reader of English history will call to mind the name of Titus Oates, the noted and once popular informer; of Daniel Defoe, the author of the inimitable "Robinson Crusoe;" and of Edward Floyde, a Salopian by birth, all of whom, with many other less important personages, were severely punished in the pillory for so-called crimes of various descriptions.

The offences for the punishment of which this mode of correction was employed were numerous. The historian Rushworth states that the pillory was invented for the special benefit of mountebanks and quacks, "who having gotten upon banks and forms to amuse the people were exalted in the same kind;" but it appears to have been freely used for cheats of all descriptions.

According to Fabian, in the year 1287, Robert Bassett, Mayor of London, "did sharpe correction upon bakers for making bread of light weight; he caused divers of them to be put in the pillory, as also one Agnes Daintie, for selling of mingled butter." So also were punished thieves, perjurers, and a variety of other offenders too numerous to relate.

From various sources a quantity of information referring to the use of the pillory in Shropshire has been obtained. The most reliable of the local works have also been consulted, and from these have been extracted a variety of notes upon the subject under consideration. There were at one time many of these inventions to be seen in the market towns and other places in the county of Salop, but they have all long since been taken down and probably destroyed. It will doubtless be correct to say that not a vestige of any one of the pillories, by means of which the numerous crimes and offences formerly committed within this county were punished, is now to be seen, neither are there any ancient plans or views from which an authentic sketch of one or more of them can be taken.

A plan of Shrewsbury, made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, contains a rough drawing of the pillory belonging to the county town at that period. The

position then occupied by this pillory is plainly shown, but its exact shape and construction cannot very readily be seen, on account of the exceeding rough manner in which it has been delineated; it seems, however, to have been of a very common kind, and to have possessed no appliances beyond those pointed out in the general description of the contrivance already given.

It stood in the Market Square, near to the front of the present old Market Hall, the portion of the town where the greater part of the public business of Shrewsbury was formerly transacted, and consequently a most appropriate spot for the due execution of this punishment, carried out, as it invariably was, in the most frequented thoroughfares, in order that the attention of the populace might thereby be the more readily attracted to the nature of the offence for the commission of which the culprit was compelled to suffer.

There is an early reference to the existence of a pillory in Shrewsbury at the commencement of the fifteenth century, when the body of Hotspur, who, it will be remembered, was killed at the memorable battle of Shrewsbury, in the year 1403, was ordered by King Henry IV. to be taken from the tomb in which it had been first buried by Lord Furnival, and placed between two mill-stones in the public street of Shrewsbury, near the pillory.[1]

Many recorded instances of the use of the Shrewsbury pillory may be found, and from them the following have been selected as being the most authentic and interesting cases.

In the reign of King Henry VIII. the accounts of the bailiffs of Shrewsbury contain an entry[2] apparently relating, although not in express words, to the application of the pillory to a batch of offending Salopians. A

[1] "Corpus de tumulo exhumari precepit & inter duas molas assinarias in quodam vico in Shrewsbury juxta collistrigium reponi fecit."—*Anglia Sacra*, vol. II., p. 366.

[2] Owen and Blakeway's *History of Shrewsbury*, vol. I., p. 285.

charge of one penny is made for money expended in the purchase of pins used for the purpose of affixing papers to the heads of eleven perjured persons corrected in the Shrewsbury market-place by the command of the King.

The offence for which these eleven persons suffered was almost always punished with the pillory, and in some way or other it was no doubt used upon the occasion referred to in the entry. The papers mentioned were fastened to the prisoners for the purpose of drawing public attention to the nature of the crime for which the bearers of them were undergoing exemplary punishment. It was a common practice to advertise the offence in the manner described.

The chastisement of eleven perjurers must have been a great treat to the rabble, notwithstanding the fact that these unsightly exhibitions were events of every day occurrence in the sixteenth century.

Years ago evidence was seldom clothed with even that degree of purity which it now possesses. It partook more of the nature of a marketable commodity, and, like ordinary merchandise, testimony to suit the immediate requirements of a purchaser was in the habit of being bought and sold quite openly, and for a light or heavy fee, according as the risk of detection was small or great. What wonder, then, that such a course of action should occasionally result in the conviction and punishment of a large number of perjurers?

In the same reign, the Bailiffs' accounts, under date 1519-1520, have another curious entry.[1] Expenses were incurred by the Bailiffs touching the correction of a thief, named Robert Wright, who was a servant of one Thomas Lech. He was found guilty of petty larceny in stealing threepence in silver from the gown of the image of the virgin Mary, near the font in Saint Chad's Church, and was punished for the offence by being set upon the pillory, and then driven out of the

[1] Owen and Blakeway, vol. 1., p. 287.

town, the sum of fourteen pence being spent in the due execution of the sentence. The entry is a peculiar one, but the period in which the event happened must be remembered.

The words in the original entry referring to the theft may be literally rendered :—"For stealing 3d. in silver from the gown of the image," and this translation may be open to two constructions, either that silver money to the extent named was stolen, or that silver ornaments or trimmings to the value of a like sum were taken from the gown of the image. The preponderance of authority is certainly in favour of the former view, and if this be the correct construction the offence consisted in a theft of money placed in or upon the gown as an offering of some description, perhaps for the poor, or, it may be, a contribution towards providing candles for lighting up the image. The sum paid was small, even after making fair allowance for the difference in value of a similar amount at the present time, but it must not be forgotten that punishment was formerly inflicted in a rough and ready manner, with few formalities, with greater expedition, and at far less expense than under the now existing system.

In the month of March, and in the year 1580, a woman, resident in the Castle Foregate, Shrewsbury, and commonly known by the sobriquet of "Mother Gawe," was punished in the corn market for witchcraft.[1] The Shrewsbury corn market, prior to the erection of the present new Market Hall and Corn Exchange, was held at the Market Square, in which place, it has already been pointed out, the town pillory stood. It is not expressly stated in the last mentioned record that the witch was placed in the pillory, but from the fact that witchcraft was another of the offences for which this punishment was as a general rule administered, and that the place of correction upon the

[1] *Transactions* Sh. Arch. Society, vol. III., p. 283.

occasion was the corn market, there can be little doubt that this apparently notorious female was compelled to meditate upon the powers of sorcery in the close confinement of the Shrewsbury pillory. The case is mentioned for the purpose of showing that females were occasionally punished by this means.

On the 20th April, in the year 1583, James Lloyd, a servant to Sir Henry Sidney, Lord President of Wales and the Marches, was put upon the pillory in the Shrewsbury market place for forging the name and handwriting of his master.[1] One of his ears was nailed to the boards, and he was also whipped. The punishment of the pillory, with the nailing of the ear, followed by the flogging, inflicted upon this man, was unusually severe, but the crime of which he was convicted has always been regarded as a serious offence, and even now is visited with a heavy sentence.

In the year 1588, Richard Reynolds, of Bagley, near Cockshutt, in the county of Salop, was on the 19th July, the second day of the assizes, placed in the Shrewsbury pillory, by order of the Privy Council, for wilfully setting fire to a sheep-cote, the property of his brother-in-law, a person named Gammer, and thereby burning a number of sheep.[2] Both the ears of this incendiary were cut off by Richard Stubbs, the executioner appointed by the bailiffs for the purpose. The offence of which this prisoner was found guilty was a serious one, and the punishment awarded to him affords a fit example of the manner in which these criminals were formerly corrected, not only by a painful confinement in the pillory, but also by a lifelong and ignominious disfigurement.

Without doubt the aggravated nature of the crime of arson was sufficiently marked in days gone by.

In December, 1590, another convicted perjurer, whose name is not mentioned, was set upon the Shrewsbury

[1] *Transactions* Sh. Arch. Society, vol. III., p. 293.
[2] Phillips's *History of Shrewsbury*, p. 209.

pillory, as a warning to others to abstain from false swearing.[1]

An attempt by a servant of Thomas Onslow of Boreatton, near Baschurch, to effect the death of his employer by poisoning was followed by the detection of the offence, and the punishment of the servant in the Shrewsbury pillory, on the 12th April, 1600, with a paper affixed to his dress, declaring and notifying to the public the crime for which he suffered.[2]

There is a curious and remarkable allusion to the use of this pillory for the execution of a felon by hanging. On the 28th November, 1613, the Exchequer, a portion of the old Shrewsbury Town Hall, in which the Mayor held his courts, and where the town records and archives were deposited for safety, was broken into, and the large sum of £229 7s. 6d. stolen from the school chest there. Two men were apprehended, tried, and in due form convicted of the offence before the Bailiffs and Recorder at the town sessions. The one culprit expiated his crime by being hanged to death on the pillory in the Market Square, while his accomplice, John Davies, a miller, fared better, and received a free pardon at the hands of the king.[3] At this time the town, as represented by its Bailiffs and Recorder, was invested with an extensive criminal jurisdiction, far more comprehensive and important than that now entrusted to the administration of the Recorder or Magistrates of any borough. The conviction furnishes a good instance of the passing and execution of the sentence of death by the local authorities, a power they have long since ceased to enjoy.

A still more recent case may be mentioned. On the 13th April, 1795, a woman, named Mary Evans, better known as "Mistress Cakes," for keeping a disorderly house in the borough was ordered to undergo imprison-

[1] *Transactions* Sh. Arch. Society, vol. III., p. 319.
[2] Owen and Blakeway, vol. I., p. 567.
[3] Phillips's *History of Shrewsbury*, p. 133.

ment for three weeks, and to be exposed on the pillory for the space of one hour.[1]

This is another instance of the punishment of a female in this manner.

One of our local papers[2] records that on the 13th September, 1803, a Shrewsbury publican appeared before the magistrates, charged with having short measures in his possession, and this being a second offence, a penalty of 13s. 4d. was imposed upon him. It was incidentally mentioned at the same time that a third conviction rendered the offender liable to a fine of 20s. and confinement in the pillory. This latter statement by the justices seems to have been thrown out by the court as a warning to the offender to abandon the malpractices for which he had upon two occasions been mulcted. The pillory was at this date apparently still in existence, and ready for application, had necessity demanded its use.

The foregoing, with another instance mentioned hereafter, are the only references to the Shrewsbury pillory, it is thought necessary to name. The precise date of its destruction, cannot with any degree of certainty be fixed, nearer than the early part of the present century, at which time it had fallen into disuse, and was consequently removed, and thus terminated these frequent but demoralizing spectacles, of which the inhabitants of our county town were once the eager witnesses, and staunch supporters. Several of the Shropshire pillories, have been the subject of comment by one of our local historians.[3]

Speaking of the commencement of the reign of King James II., it is related, that at that time, a limner was employed to decorate the Ellesmere parish church. During the progress of the work, a man named Clarke went to see it, and addressing the limner said "You do well to leave the Church in good repair for us; for

[1] *Salopian Journal* for 15th April, 1795.
[2] *Salopian Journal* for 14th September, 1803.
[3] Gough's *History of Myddle*, p. 108.

you had it from us in good order." The limner, knowing Clarke to be a papist, replied, "What, do you think the papists must have the Church?" "Yes, I do," said Clarke, and "What do you think shall become of us Protestants," asked the limner. Clark replied, "I hope to see all the Protestants fry in their own grease before Michaelmas next." The conversation subsequently became the subject of a magisterial investigation before Mr. Kynaston of Otley, and Clarke was committed to prison for the seditious words used by him.

An indictment was preferred against him at the assizes next ensuing, and he was convicted and sentenced to stand on the pillory at three market towns in the county; namely, Shrewsbury, Ellesmere, and Oswestry, on three several market days. He was first put in the Shrewsbury pillory, where the undersheriff, anticipating the harsh treatment his prisoner would receive at the hands of the people, permitted the use of the penance board to be discarded, and the head thus to be free. The crowd pelted the culprit with eggs, turnips, carrots, stones, and dirt, and caused him such injuries, that the undersheriff fearing that he would be killed, took him down; but all the way to the gaol door he was followed by the mob and pelted. The effects of this rough usage were serious, but after a time he recovered, and was taken to Ellesmere to undergo the second portion of the sentence. There again he was placed in the pillory, and, despite the favour again shown to him by the undersheriff, subjected to treatment at the hands of the populace of a worse description even than at Shrewsbury. The high sheriff here interceded with the judge of assize, and in a letter informed him of the hard usage his prisoner had received at Shrewsbury and Ellesmere, and added that he could promise to put him upon the pillory at Oswestry, but could not undertake to bring him alive from among the enraged Welshmen. Upon this representation, the remainder of the punishment was wisely remitted. For

some time afterwards Clarke remained in gaol, but only survived his release a few years, and then died.

This is a most descriptive example of the part taken by the people in the execution of this punishment, which was made light or heavy, according as public opinion was influenced in favour of or against the offender. If in favour, then simple confinement in the pillory could be borne with comparative ease and comfort by a strong and robust person, but if adverse, the expression of the popular mind conveyed to the defenceless delinquent in the shape of showers of stones, and similar missiles, was almost beyond human endurance. Notwithstanding the action of the undersheriff in allowing freedom to the head of this man, and thus affording him opportunities for avoiding some of the blows, it is almost difficult to conceive how he was enabled to outlive his sufferings.

Two other town pillories are mentioned in the foregoing case, namely, Oswestry and Ellesmere.

The Oswestry pillory was an object of great antiquity, for in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (24 Oct. 1600. 42 Eliz.,) we find the Attorney General, Thomas Egerton, availing himself of the powers afforded by a proceeding formerly adopted by the Crown, for the purpose of trying and determining the right to some liberty or privilege, and enquiring by means of a *quo warranto*, by what warrant, or authority (among other things), the punishment of the pillory for malefactors is enjoyed by the bailiffs and burgesses of Oswestry.[1]

To this *quo warranto*, raising the question of the title of the inhabitants of Oswestry to the use of the pillory, an appearance was entered on their behalf by John Harborne, attorney, and in reply to the enquiry, the bailiffs and burgesses averred that they had possessed and exercised the privilege and office referred to from a time immemorial, to which the memory of man did not

[1] The greater part of the information relating to the Oswestry pillory is extracted from the Records of that borough contributed to the *Transactions* Shrop. Arch. Society by Mr. Stanley Leighton.

extend This plea of immemorial usage was too strong for the Crown, and it was accepted, allowed, and recorded in due form.

In 1682, the erection of a new pillory appears to have become necessary, and in that year 11s. 7d. was expended by the town in making one.

The Mayor's accounts contain the following entries referring to its construction :—

1682	For 9 yards of plaine board to make the pillory at 8d. per yard	0	6	0
	For 2 yards of sparr at 3d. per yard ...	0	0	6
	For 5 yards of board at 5d. per yard ...	0	2	1
	To Roger Cheshire for making the pillory	0	3	0

Any further particulars relating to this pillory have not been ascertained, neither has the date of its destruction, nor its position when standing, been discovered. The probability is, however, that it stood at the Cross, but this statement must only be taken as a mere probability. Not a single instance of its use as a pillory has been traced, but in the Quarter Sessions book of the borough, which commences in the year 1737, there are numerous and frequent entries of the punishment of whipping having been inflicted in it. The existence of an Ellesmere pillory is involved in great obscurity, but following up the clue contained in the amusing instance in the reign of King James II., previously related, some little information has with considerable difficulty been procured. It seems that many years ago it stood at the end of the old Market House, which formerly occupied the centre of the present Market Square.

Tradition has it that a formidable combination of instruments of punishment at one time existed, and that the pillory, the stocks, and the whipping post, were for a number of years, joined together, the stocks being at the bottom, the pillory at the top, while one of the upright posts of the pillory performed double duty, and was used as a whipping post.

Evidence, corroborative of this statement, is furnished

by a local poet, who lived in the latter part of the eighteenth century. In some lines, addressed to an intoxicated inhabitant of the town, when sitting in the stocks for having imbibed too freely, he says :—

The pillory it hung o'er his head,
The whipping post so near — a —.

This plan of uniting these three contrivances was frequently adopted for the sake of convenience.

Further information of this pillory has not been obtained, although diligent enquiries have been made.

The use of the pillory was not confined to towns. In the reign of King Edward I. Philip Burnel claimed at the assizes, the correction of the assize of bread, and beer, and the pillory, and a market, to be held on every Lord's day in each week, at the Manor of Acton Burnell.[1]

The important and ancient manor of Prees was, in former years, the subject of episcopal rule, very naturally of a somewhat lenient character; in fact, so great was the lenity of this rule, that it was used as a strong argument against its validity. To a *quo warranto*, issued in the year 1292, against the Bishop of Lichfield, as to his having gallows, holding assize of bread, and beer, and other privileges, it was set up in support of the King's suit, that the Bishop had no pillory, one of the most customary accompaniments of a free court and gallows.[2]

The result of this ingenious argument unfortunately does not appear. The cause was adjourned to Lichfield, where the justiciars proposed to be on January 27, 1293, but the prosecution seems to have been altogether abandoned before the day appointed for resuming the hearing was reached.

Worthen appears to have enjoyed its pillory. At the assizes of 1292, the jurors representing the manor, in answer to a question *de libertatibus*, said, that Peter

[1] Dukes' *Antiquities of Shropshire*, p. 285.
[2] Eyton's *Antiquities of Shropshire*, Vol. IX., p. 246.

Corbet claimed view of frank-pledge in Worthen, and had a market on Wednesdays, and a fair on the feast of St. Peter (and St. Paul), at Worthen, also a market on Fridays, and a fair on the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross, at Shelve. And in the said manors, he had *emends* of the assize of bread, and beer, and pillory.[1]

The Much Wenlock pillory, like those of the other towns in Shropshire, was erected in one of the most public places in the borough, against the upper part of the south end of the Guildhall, over the entrance into the Churchyard, where the present magistrates' retiring-room now stands.

A curious letter referring to this pillory was published in one of the local papers, in the year 1774.[2]

To the Printer of the *Shrewsbury Chronicle* :—Mr. Wood,—As Richard Phillips, of Wellington, the famous Horse taker, has begun his old practice again in different Parts of this County, it will be very proper at this time again to publish his sentence at the Assizes, holden at Shrewsbury, in and for the County of Salop, on the 10th day of August, 1773, which was as follows :—"To stand in and upon the pillory, for two hours, at Much Wenlock, on Monday, the Twenty-third day of August instant, in the open Market Time; that he be for ever hereafter Disabled to Pursue or be Plaintiff Informer in any suit or Information upon any Statute Popular or Penal; and that he forfeit the sum of Ten Pounds pursuant to the Statute, to Remain till he with Two good and sufficient Sureties, enter into Two Recognizances, before One or more of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said County, himself to be Bound in each Recognizance in Forty Pounds, and his Sureties in Twenty Pounds each, on condition that he shall personally appear and be at the next Assizes and General Sessions of Oyer and Terminer, to be holden for this County, and then and there Answer Two Indictments found against him at the Assizes, for Two similar Misdemeanors." He paid the Fine and gave security as directed. Afterwards his Majesty was pleased to remit that Part of the Sentence of the Pillory only.

This pillory was taken down soon after the year 1825.

[1] Eyton's *Antiquities of Shropshire*, Vol. XI., p. 98.
[2] *The Shrewsbury Chronicle.*

There was a pillory at Ludlow. A list of the bailiffs of that town from the year of the grant of the charter of Edward IV., in 1461, to the year 1783, contains a number of chronological notes, and among others, a quaint one referring to the pillory under date 1556. It is as follows :—

A ffalse accuser burnt in both the cheeks, and put upon the pillery. Would God all such were so used.

Many historical events are mentioned in the list, and it may be that this entry of the use of the pillory does not in truth relate to a Ludlow pillory, but bearing in mind the fact that this punishment was, in the sixteenth century, an event of almost every day occurrence, throughout England, it is difficult to know why the entry of so common a thing should have been made in a Ludlow document, unless it was deemed worthy of insertion by reason simply of its local interest. It is mentioned as being the only direct instance of the actual use of a pillory at Ludlow which has been traced.

A new set of instructions, addressed to Sir Henry Sidney, Lord President of the Marches of Wales, at Ludlow, in June 1574, contains a direction for the punishment of the pillory.[1] In these instructions, the extent of the jurisdiction of the court of the Marches, and the causes which it was to try, are more carefully defined, as well as the attendance expected from the officers and council, and the duties which they were to fulfil. After treating of various matters, the instructions continue :—"And whereas divers lewd and malicious persons have heretofore, and of late days, more and more spread abroad many false and seditious tales, which amongst the people have wrought great inconveniences, breeding to the danger of uproars," the court is directed to make search after the authors of such reports, and "whensoever any such slanderous tales shall be reported, that the reporter shall be forth-

[1] *Documents connected with the History of Ludlow and the Lord Marchers*, p. 320.

with stayed, and all means used to attach them from one to another, until the first author may be apprehended, and duly and openly published, and if the report extend to treason, then to cause the law to proceed, and execution to be done accordingly. And if it be of less moment, yet such as may work some inconvenience to the dishonour of her Majesty and of the state publick, or otherwise of the government, then they shall punish the party so offending by the pillory, cutting off their ears, whipping, or otherwise by their discretions, as in such like cases hath been used, or which shall accord with the laws provided for like causes."

Another of the old boroughs of the county, Bishop's Castle, if an opinion may be hazarded, must at some period in the history of crime have repressed the offences committed in the locality, with its pillory, but definite proof in support of this statement has not been found. It can be positively said, from entries in the borough records, that several of the other instruments of punishment, used contemporaneously with, and for many years after the pillory, were favourite modes of correction with the inhabitants of this ancient town, who were evidently far too well aware of their duties and privileges in this direction to neglect to provide the invention, which for many years maintained such an unfluctuating popularity in nearly every town in England.

A remarkable and notorious instance of the great severity attending this punishment, is recorded[1] in the year 1621, when Edward Floyde, or Lloyde, described as of Clannemayne in the county of Salop, Esquire, a Roman Catholic barrister, then lying in the Fleet prison by order of the Council, was accused of having rejoiced at the news of the battle of Prague. He denied the charge, but witnesses were called who proved to the House that the charge was correct. So heinous was

[1] *Londiana*, by E. W. Brayley, Vol. III., p. 189.

this offence in the eyes of members of the House of Commons, that there was great difference of opinion as to what punishment ought to be awarded, each member proposing a more barbarous expedient than another. It was objected that the Lords might resent any interference with their prisoner, but that objection was laughed at. One proposed that Floyde should ride with his face to a horse's tail from Westminster to the Tower, bearing on his hat a paper with the inscription, "A Popish Wretch, that hath maliciously scandalized his Majesty's children," and that he should be lodged in the cell called, appropriately enough, "Little Ease," as long as he was able to stand it. The majority, however, were in favour of making whipping an essential part of the punishment. "Let him be flogged to the place from whence he came, and then let him be left to the Lords," said one. "Let his beads be hung about his neck, and let him have as many lashes as he has beads," said another. A whipping in the pillory at Westminster, was the third suggestion. But these proposals were not severe enough for some. Let him be twice pilloried, and twice whipped; cut out his tongue, chop off his ears, and slit his nose; make him then swallow his beads, and afterwards brand him in the forehead; whip him twice as far as those who offended against the ambassador. These were among the chief proposals. Only one or two members were on the side of mercy, and it may be of interest to mention, that in Sir Francis Kynaston, one of the members for the county of Salop in that parliament, Floyde found a friend, who made a suggestion in his favour, which was however of no avail with the many members who have been fitly described as "sapient ministers of prerogatorial vengeance." They finally sentenced Floyde to be pilloried three times, to ride from station to station on a bare-backed horse, with his face to the tail, and an inscription on his hat explaining the nature of his offence. Lastly he was to pay a fine of £1,000. The king was asked to confirm the sentence,

but he declined to interfere, and left the matter to the Lords. This did not mend the unfortunate gentleman's position, for they, after discussing the question of jurisdiction, whether the House of Commons had a right to proceed, shewed their good will to the Papists by raising the fine from £1,000 to £5,000. They further declared him an infamous person, whose testimony was never to be received in any court of justice, ordered him to be imprisoned for life, and to be whipped at the cart's tail from London Bridge to Westminster Hall, but the king, at the urgent request of the Prince of Wales, remitted the whipping.

Another Salopian, Richard Baxter, the eminent Nonconformist divine, was threatened with the pillory,[1] by the brutal Judge Jeffreys, before whom he was tried in 1684, the charge against him really being for having expounded some passages of the New Testament in his paraphrase rather too strongly against the Roman religion, for which a prosecution was instituted against him as a seditious libeller of the Church of England bishops.

He asked for time :—Jeffreys. "I will not give him a minute's more time to save his life. Yonder stands Oates in the pillory, and says he suffers for the truth; and so says Baxter, but if Baxter did but stand on the other side of the pillory with him, I would say two of the greatest rogues and rascals in the kingdom stood there." He escaped the punishment of the pillory, but was found guilty, and fined £500, and bound to be of good behaviour for the space of seven years.

In the early part of the present century, the punishment of the pillory was rapidly decreasing in public favour, and it is therefore not surprising to find the legislature passing an Act of Parliament intituled "An act to abolish the punishment of the pillory except in certain cases." This Act (56 George III., cap. 138), after reciting that the punishment of the

[1] *Memoirs of Judge Jeffreys*, by H. W. Woolrych, p. 179.

pillory had in many cases been found inexpedient, and not fully to answer the purpose for which it was intended, enacted in effect, that from and after that date, namely, July 2, 1816, judgment of the pillory should not be given against any person except for perjury, or subornation of perjury, and that in lieu thereof, it should be lawful to pass sentence of fine or imprisonment or both.

A punishment which had maintained the greatest popularity for hundreds of years, would naturally not become quite extinct without a severe struggle, but it was not long before the total abolition of the once favourite pillory became an accomplished fact.

On the 30th June, 1837, a short Act of Parliament (7 William IV., and 1 Vic., cap 23), was passed, whereby, in a few words, the punishment, the subject of this paper, was made illegal, any law, statute, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

That this wise step had not been taken before is a matter for regret.

The foregoing sketch is admittedly incomplete and imperfect, but it is hoped that the efforts of the writer to rescue from oblivion information relating to one of the most interesting of the obsolete methods of punishment have not been entirely in vain.

ON A LIBRARY OF CHAINED BOOKS AT CHIRBURY.

By WILLIAM WILDING, Montgomery.

[Reprinted by permission from *The Journal* of the British Archæological Association, 1883.]

We purpose to give a short account of a library now in the school-house of the parish of Chirbury, Shropshire, consisting of books which bear dates on their title-pages ranging from 1530 to about 1684, with a few words as to the man who is believed to be the founder of it. The books are 207 in number, and not only do they bear evident marks of having been "chained" (*i.e.*, fastened by means of an iron chain attached to the upper and outer corner of the binding of each book), but some of such chains are found with them.

We purpose, first, to mention a few of the most curious and interesting of the books, and to call attention to the names and notes in manuscript which some of them contain, and which may possibly give a clue to their former owners; then to state what is known of the existence of a chained library within a short distance of Chirbury; and this more especially with a view to consider whether these books, or any of them, formed part of such library; then to describe the chains; and, lastly, to say a few words as to the man (once vicar of the parish) who is believed to have founded the Chirbury Library.

I. First, as to the books. They are for the most part theological, but some are of a secular character.

1. A black-letter folio copy of Chaucer, "printed by Adam Islip at the charges of Thomas Wight. Anno 1598." It has two prefaces: one addressed to the

readers, and the other, by Francis Beaumont, "to his friend, T. S.", with a poetical dialogue between the author and the reader. It is dedicated to Sir Robert Cecil. Then follow the poet's life, "The Canterbury Tales", "The Romaunt of the Rose", the prose translation of "Boëthius de Consolatione", "The Bookes of Troilus", "Certaine Ballades"; and it ends with (what is to very many the most useful part of the book) "the hard words of Chaucer explained." It bears evidence not only of the chains which secured it, but a name, "Ed. Herbert", in manuscript (possibly the autograph of its former owner), and numerous manuscript marginal notes, evidently those of a reader who appreciated his author.

2. The next worth notice is a folio copy of Bishop Jewel's "Defense of his Apology." The title-page runs thus: "A Defense of the Apologie of the Churche of England, by John Jewel, Bishop of Salisburie. Imprinted at London, in the Fleete Street, at the sign of the Elephante, by Henry VVykes, anno 1570, 16 Junii, cum gratiâ," etc. The title-page bears the name, in manuscript, but nearly erased "George Herbert."

3. Another curious book is a volume of Lent sermons by a Spanish monk. It is without date, but dedicated thus: "To the two noble Knights, John Strangeways and Lewis Dive, in acknowledgment of his own true love and respect, Don Diego Prede dedicateth these his Indeavoures."

4. A book that bears not only names, but numerous manuscript notes, is an edition of Pliny's Natural History, of 1532. The names are, "Thos. Corbett. Libris Ed. Lewis." It is of this Edward Lewis of whom we shall have occasion to speak as the founder of the Library.

5. We then have a copy of Usher's Annals, "Annales Veteris Testamenti a primâ mundi origine deducti" (1650), with the name and a date in manuscript, "Henry Herbert, 1657, April y^{e} 28"; and again, "Ex libris Hen. Herbert."

6. Among the theological, or quasi-theological, books, is one containing a series of sermons preached—some before the Lords, and some before the Commons—by Dr. Samuel Torshell and others.

There are several other volumes of sermons, preached before one or other of the Houses of Parliament. The only other book we would mention is a copy of Plutarch's *Lives*, in parallel Latin and Greek columns.

II. We will now speak of the chained library which is known to have existed at Montgomery Castle (from which Chirbury is three miles distant), and of a record of its having been placed there by a member of the family of Herbert; and of that family, by him who is best known, both by his character and writings, George Herbert, the poet and divine. In doing so, however, we may have occasion to question the entire accuracy of his biographer, Isaac Walton, when he speaks of the library in Montgomery Castle as having been "burnt by the late Rebels and so lost to posterity".

In almost the last paragraph of Walton's *Life of Herbert*, after mentioning the marriage of Herbert's widow to Sir Robert Cooke, of Highnam, he concludes: "This Lady Cooke had preserved many of Mr. Herbert's private writings, but they and Highnam House were burnt together by the late Rebels, and so lost to posterity; and by them was also burnt or destroyed a choice library which Mr. Herbert had fastened with chains in a fit room in Montgomery Castle, being by him dedicated to the succeeding Herberts, who should become the owners of it."

It may not appear generous to doubt the entire accuracy of a statement such as this, made by one whose admiration of the character and works of George Herbert would, it may be thought, lead him to more than ordinary care when speaking of an incident such as this, although it involves mention of those towards whom he entertained very different feelings. But, to say the least, it is a singular fact that a collection of books, which had once been secured by chains, still exists

within a short distance of the ruins of the building in which there is a distinct record that such a library was placed by George Herbert; and that one of them, *Jewel's Defense*, is the work of his own bishop (Bemerton, as we know, being but a short distance from and in the diocese of Salisbury). The date on this title-page is 1570 (Herbert was born in 1593, and died in 1632); but it is probable that the half-erased MS. name on the title-page is not his, but that of his uncle, George Herbert, of New Coll., Oxford.

We have previously mentioned that the Chaucer bears in MS. the name of its former owner, "Liber Ed. Herbert"; but it is questionable whether this "Edward Herbert" is Lord Herbert of Chirbury, the poet's eldest brother; and it is suggested that it is more probable that the signature is that of his cousin, Sir Edward Herbert, some time attorney-general and afterwards Lord Keeper of the Great Seal,[1] to whom the book may have belonged.

Some of the books bear the name, in MS., of Henry Herbert. The only one of the name about that time was a younger brother of Lord Herbert of Chirbury, and of George Herbert—of whom Lord H. thus speaks in his autobiography:—"Henry, after he had been brought up in learning, was sent by his friends to France, where he attained the language of that country in much perfection; after which he came to court, and was made Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber and Master of the Revels."

The doubt as to the MS. names of George and Edward Herbert being those of the poet and of his elder brother respectively, does not lessen the probability that the books which we have attempted to describe were some of those which Walton says George Herbert placed in Montgomery Castle, although we doubt whether they were, as he says, "destroyed by the late Rebels."

We will now say a word as to the chains by which the books were secured. Each chain seems to have con-

[1] Clarendon iii, 688.

sisted of a series of about sixteen iron links, each about two inches long, one end of the chain being attached by an oval link to the book, and the other by a round link to a horizontal bar of iron, which was placed across the cabinet (if so it may be called) in which the books were placed. About the middle of each chain is a swivel, obviously to enable the reader to turn and otherwise handle the book.

Many members of the Association will doubtless know of other and similar chained libraries; but we will only mention one, and that in the same diocese as Chirbury, viz., in the cathedral of Hereford, the chains being similar to those at Chirbury.

III. We conclude with a short notice of the Rev. Edward Lewis, vicar of Chirbury, by whom this library was placed there. He was inducted into the vicarage in 1629, the year in which the earliest existing register of the parish commences, and was buried there on the 31st October, 1677, thus holding the living for forty-eight years, during one of the most trying periods of the Church's history. He seems to have been a man of exemplary charity and piety, but his pronounced Puritan opinions exposed him to persecution from his Royalist neighbours. In those days Captain Pelham Corbet held Caurse and Lee Castles in the name of the king, and hearing that Mr. Edward Lewis, vicar of the parish of Chirbury, a very godly man, did preach twice a day, he sent a party of horse out of his garrison and commanded them to Chirbury, who chose a time when the people were at church on the Lord's Day, October 11th, and placed some of the horse for guards about the churchyard, for fear of Montgomery Castle and garrison, about two miles off, and the rest rid into the church, to the great fright and amazement of the people, men, women, and children, and with their pistols charged and cocked went up into the pulpit, and pulled down Mr. Lewis, pulling and tugging him in a most unworthy manner. They also went to Mr. John Newton, of Heightley, a justice of the peace, his pew, pulled out

him and his eldest son, and some other godly people, which they carried away prisoners to Corbet, their governor; and so left the people without their pastor, because they would not be content with one sermon a day; *now* to be without any at all. [This from Nathaniel Wallington's of St. Leonards, Eastcheap, "Notices of Events in the Reign of Charles I," quoted in the *Sheriffs of Montgomeryshire*.]

How long Mr. Lewis was detained prisoner by Captain Corbet we do not know, but his sufferings did not quench his charity, for we find that by deed bearing date the 14th of April, 27 Charles II (1675), he founded a free school for the children of Chirbury and Forden, and conveyed certain lands to trustees for its support. The school house he built on the churchyard, which was very extensive, being the burial ground attached to the old monastery, the monks of which had retained the rights of burial from the adjoining parishes of Forden, Montgomery, and Churchstoke.

Probably no one much cared about trespass on the churchyard, or interfered to prevent the rights of the parishioners being invaded; at any rate the school house was built, and a right of way to it in course of being established, before anyone awoke to the fact that a serious trespass had been committed. The Rev. John Harding preferred a suit, at the instance of the Mayor and School of Shrewsbury, for waste committed on the churchyard, against the Rev. John Farmer, the schoolmaster. This suit was met by a curious compromise, at the mediation of Henry, Lord Herbert of Chirbury, a memorandum of which is preserved at Powis Castle.

Puritan as he was, the fast days of the Church seem to have been duly observed under the rule of Mr. Lewis, and indulgence duly granted for good and sufficient cause, as will appear from an interesting extract with which we conclude a notice of his life.

"4 Julii, 1641. Leave granted to Mr. Peter Middleton to eate flesh, forasmuch as it doth manifestly appear

that the gentleman is visited with a dangerous sickness and of long continuance.....due nourishment without eating of flesh, which by authority is.....Vicar of Chirbury doe by virtue of a statute made 5 Elizabeth grant unto the said Peter Middleton to eate flesh during the time of.....the condicion of the aforesaid statute mentioned. In witness whereof.... ...presente.

"EDWD. LEWIS, Vicar."

(We are indebted to the Rev. John Burd, the present Vicar of Chirbury, for the notice of Mr. Lewis, the founder both of the library and of the school.)

CATALOGUE OF BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY AT CHIRBURY SCHOOL.

TAKEN FEB. 10, 1859.

Augustine's Works, v. 1 (1569), 4 (1569), 6 (1569), 10 (1569)
Annotations on New Test., 1 v. (imperfect)
Assersol on Philemon, 1 v.
——— on Numbers, 1 v.
Aresius' Problems, 1 v., 1583
——— on Four Gospels, 1 v., 1580
——— on the Epistles. 1 v., 1596
Adams on 1st and 2nd Peter. 1 v., 1633
——— on 2nd Peter, 1 v., 1633
——— Works, 1 v., 1630
Andrew Hyperius on St. Paul's Epistles, 1 v. T. W.
Andrews' Pattern, 1 v.
——— Sermons, 1 v., 1629
Acts of Synod of Dort, 1 v.
Ainsworth's Annotations on Genesis, 1 v., 1616
——— on New Test.
Arminius' Works, 1629
Arrowsmith's Sermons, 1643
Annotations on Old Test. (imperfect)
Beza's Works, 1 v., 1576
——— 1 v., 1582
Beza on New Test., 1 v., 1582
Bellarmine, 3rd v.
——— Disputations, 1 v., 1608
Barlom on 2nd Timothy, 1st and 2nd Chapters, 1 v., 1632
Bayne on Ephesians, 1 v., 1645
Byfield on 1st Peter, 1 v., 1623
Burroughs on Hosea, 1 v.
——— on Moses' Choice, 1 v., 1641
Bernard on the Psalms, 1 v., (Bernard Guateri)
Burgess' Sermons, 1 v., 1641
——— on 17th Psalm (missing)
Babington on Numbers and Deuteronomy, 1 v., 1615
Boys' (Dean) Works, 1 v., no date. In MS. 1613
Burgess' Sermons, 1 v. (title-page torn, date gone)
Bernard's Works, 1 v., 1566
Browning's Sermons (published by Martyn)
Calvin's Institutes, 1 v., 1568
——— duplicate of ditto, 1 v., 1658, "Ex Libris Jacobi Peace, Wentworth"
——— on the Twelve Minor Prophets, 1 v., 1567
——— on Psalms, 1 v., 1564
——— on Romans. 1 v. T. W.
——— on Pentateuch, 1 v., 1563
——— on Jeremiah, 1 v., 1563
Chrysostom, v. 2, 3, 4, 5, 1558
Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants, 1 v., 1638
Cœsius on Mineralogy, 1 v., 1636
Cowper's (Bp.) Works, 1 v., (late Bishop of Galloway), 1629

Chaucer, 1 v., 1598
Cameron's Myrothecium, 1 v.
Caudrey's Sermons, 1 v., 1643
Censure of Confession of Remonstrance, by Leyden Professors, 1 v., 1626
Chumradus Pellicanus, Index Bibliorum, 1 v., 1537
Chrysostom's Indices
Downam's Christian Warfare, 1 v. T. W.
——— Antichrist, 1 v., 1620. "Liber Ed, Lewis"
Dictionarium Historicum et Poeticum 1 v., 1581
Dedacus (Stella) on Luke, 1 v., 1612
Daynal's History of England, 1 v. (title-page wanting)
Davanant on Colossians, 1 v., 1627
Estius on the Epistles, 1 v., 1640
Ezekiel, by W. G., 1 v. [date.
Erasmus on the New Test., 1 v., no
——— Paraphrase, 1 v. T. W.
Elton on Romans, 1 v., 1622
——— on 7th Colossians, 1 v., 1620
Emmanuel on Bible, 1 v., 1601
Fitzherbert, Office of Justice (title wanting)
Fox on the Revelation, 1 v., 1587
Fuller's Rheims Testament of Reputation, 1 v., 1601
Featley and Day's Funeral Sermons, 1 v., 1640
Farendon's Sermons, 1 v., 1647
Field's Church, 1 v., 1606
Greesham on various subjects (missing)
Gough's Concordance, 1 v.
——— on Hebrews, 1 v. T. W.
——————— 1 v., 1655
Gerard's Harmonica Evangelica, 1 v., 1628. "Liber Ed. Lewis"
Greenhill's Exposition of Ezekiel, vi., vii., viii., ix.
Gurnal's Christian Armour, 1 v., 1653
Guicardine, 1 v.
Gatacre's Sermons, 1 v., 1637
Gassendie's Works, 1 v.
——— Ethics on Plutarch, 1 v.
Gandin's and others' Sermons, 1 v., preached before the House of Commons
Gill's Sacred Philosophy. 1 v., 1635
Greenham's Counsel, 1 v.
Huron's Sermons, 1 v.
Hilderson on 51st Psalm, 1 v., 1635
Hall's (Bp.) Works, 1 v., 1628
Harris' Way to Happiness, 1 v., 1632
Hederic's Lexicon, 1 v., 1739, in MS. "In Libris Samuelis Hendri."
Hardy on 1st Epistle of John, 1 v., 1656
Heylyn's Theology, 1 v., 1654
Holdershaw's Lectures on St. John 4th, 1629
Jeronym Inquisitor on Pentateuch, 1 v., 1589
John de Peneda on Job, 1 v., no date. T. W.
——— duplicate of ditto, 1 v., 1605
Jermen on Proverbs, 1 v. T. W.
Junius and Tremellius on Old Test., 1 v., 1596
Jewel's (Bp.) Defence of Apology, 1 v., 1570
Lallol and Fisher, 1 v., Relation of Conference (title-page wanting)
Lightfoot's Sermons, 1 v., 1645
Lake's (Bp.) Sermons, 1 v., 1629
Leviasi (Jesuit) on Acts, 1 v., no date
Lent Sermons by a Spanish Monk, 1 v.
Maxmin's Concordantia Vulgate, 1 v. T. W.
Merandulus' Works, 1 v., no date
Maldonati Commentarium, 1 v. T. W.
Martyr (Peter) on Judges, 1 v.
——————— Romans, 1 v., 1558
Mivior's Lives of Roman Emperors, 1 v., 1623. In MS. William Morgan Ed. Higgins.
Martyr on 1st Corinthians, 1 v., 1551, 4to.
Martyn's Sermons, 1 v.
Mellor on Isaiah, 1 v.
——— on Psalms, 1 v.
Musculus on Genesis, 1 v., 1554
——— on St. Matthew, 1 v., 1556
Musculus on the Psalms, 1 v., no date
——— on St. John, 1 v., 1580.
——— on Romans (no date on title-page), In MS., 1562, February 26th.
Mayer on New Test., 1 v., 1631. In MS., on fp., 1657. "Ex Libris Hen. Herbert.
Marshall's Sermons, 1 v.
Manton on St. James, 1 v.
Martoratus' Exposition, 1 v., 1561
——————— 1 v., no date
Nicholson on the Creed, 1 v., 1661
Otes on St. Jude, 1 v.
Polyanthia Nova, 1 v. (imperfect). T. W.
Plutarch's Morals
——— Lives. Greek and Latin parallel pages. 1624
Perkins' Works, v. 2, 1617
——————— (T. W. ?) 1612
——— on Tradition. T. W.

Parens on Genesis
——— on Mathew
——— on Revelation
——— on Hosea
Purchas' Pilgrims, v. 1, 1625
——————— v. 2, 1625
——————— v. 3, 1625
Presson's Saint's Qualification, 1663
——— New Covenant, 1634
Phillips on first four chapters of St. Matthew, 1607
Pemble's Vindiciæ, 1629
Pliny's Natural History, 1582. In MS., Tho. Corbett, 1624
Primanday's French Academy, no date. T. W.
Parecbola. Oxford Statutes, Oct. 1740
Rogers' Naaman
——— Sermons, 1644
Royard's Homilies
Revetus on Genesis
——— on Hosea
Reynolds' Three Treatises
Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum
Smith on the Creed
——— on Leviticus. T. W.
Sympson on 2nd Peter, 1632
Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ, 1663
Stock and Torshall on Malachi
Septuagint (imperfect)
Saunderson's Sermons, 1656
Szegedonis Loci Communes
Saint's Cordial. Sermons by many authors, 1629
Stephens' (Henry) Concordance, 1600
Summary of Axioms Ecclesiastical. T. W.
Shute's Sermons on 16th Genesis, 1649
Spanheim Dubia Evangelica
Seaman's Sermons, 1647
Torshall's and others' Sermons
Taylor's (Bp. Jeremy) Ductor Dubitantium, 1660
Tiviss' Vindiciæ, Amsterdam, 1632
Usher's Annals, 1650. In MS., No. 1657, "Ex Libris Hen. Herbert"; also on previous page, "Hen. Herbert, 1657, April ye 20."
Wilson on Romans
Walton on Isaiah, 1533
——— on Galatians, 1576
——— on St. Luke, 1588
——— on Romans, 1590
Willey's Synopsis of Popery, 1614
Willet on Romans, 1620
——— on 1st Samuel, 1624. In MS., "Edw. Froysell"
——— on Genesis, 1632. In MS., "Nil rectum qd. non a deo directum," Johs. Ailmer (below), 1633; Hen. Herbert, 1677
——— on Genesis, 1605
——— on Exodus, 1608
——— on Leviticus, 1631. In MS. on fp. 1657, "Ex Libris Hen. Herbert"
——— on Daniel
Williams' True Church, 1629
——— (Bp.) Antichrist Revealed, 1661
Walker's Homilies, 1670
Weemse on Ceremonial Law
——— Exercitationes, 1632
Walter on Acts, 1569
——— on the Twelve Minor Prophets, 1566
Whitacre on the Sacraments, 1624
Ward on Matthew, 1640
Wolfe on Esdras, 1684
Whitaker's Sermons, 1646, 4to
Young's Latin Dictionary, 1774
Zanchius' Tracts, 1603
——— on Ephesians 1600
——— Attributes, 1598
——— Creation, 1602
——— on the Trinity, 1573
——— Miscellanies

CONFIRMATION OF GRANT FROM WILLIAM SON OF WILLIAM FITZALAN TO RICHARD DE LECTONA OF THE VILL OF LECTONA & THE ADVOWSON OF THE CHURCH. *Circa* 1200.

Om'ib' X'ri fidelib' ad quos p'sens sc'ptu' p'ven'it Will's fil' Will'i filii Alani sal't' Novit' universitas v'ra me concessisse & hac p'senti ch'ta mea confirmasse Ricardo de Lectona & he'dib' suis totam villa' de Lectona cum o'ib' p'tinentiis suis i' bosco & plano in viis & semitis aq's & molendinis & i' o'ib' locis ad p'd'cam villam p'tinentib' cum Advocat'one eccle' ejdem ville tenenda de me & he'dib' meis sibi & he'dib' suis in feudo & he'ditate libe' & q'ete & honorifice p' ide' servicium q' ip'e & an'cessores sui m^i & ancessorib' meis inde fac'e solebant. Et q'm volo hanc concessionem firmam & i'concussam p'mane' eam sigilli n'ri imp'ssione confirmavi. Hiis testib' Rob.' Corbet John ex'neo Warino d' Burewardell' Reinio de Le Rob' de Wudescota Bartholomo filio pet^i Ham' filio Marescot & multis aliis.

The original of this fine old deed is in the possession of Robert Gardner, Esq., of Sansaw and Leighton, and has appended by twisted silk cord a large round seal, two-and-a-half inches in diameter, of dark-coloured wax, on which is a knight in armour, with shield and sword and conical helmet, on a caparisoned war-steed. Around the margin was an inscription, of which only one word now remains : + SIGILL

MEMORIALS OF THE FAMILY OF PITCHFORD, OF THE COUNTY OF SALOP.

By J. BROOMHALL, Esq., J.P.

"Pycheford (now Pitchford) in Shropshire, which gave name to the family of Pitchford, was itself so named from a well there, the surface of which is frequently covered with the oily substance called *petroleum*, and at a very early period was one of the possessions of the 'de Pychefords.' The family was founded by Ranulph de Pycheford, who, as Camden says, was for his valiant conduct at Bridgenorth Castle, temp. Hen. I., enfeoffed by that king, of Littlebrug, co. Salop, to be held by the tenure of finding dry wood (*i.e.*, fuel) for the chamber in the castle when the king came thither; and in consequence of this service, the fundamental bearing of the early de Pychefords seems clearly to have been adopted; it being 'a blue *lion* passant, on a golden field.' This was borne on a chief by Englefield, who married one of their heiresses; and the Surrey Pychefords, who branched from the Shropshire stock, temp. Hen. III., were evidently those of the name who placed the same charge, in a fess, on a field chequy *or* and *az.*; derived probably from Warren. These early Pychefords were a distinguished and knightly family, and of large landed possessions during the two centuries immediately succeeding the exploit which raised them, viz., from Henry the First's time; and a branch which had moved to Blimenhull, in the adjoining county of Stafford, did not expire till the fifteenth century: but all trace of their name disappears, at least in public records, about the Wars of the Roses; and if their blood was not lost during those commotions, there can be little doubt their possessions were."

Eyton's *Antiquities of Shropshire* contain an exhaustive account of the family of Pitchford, and their various possessions in the county of Salop—vol. i., p. 354, treats of Littlebrug and Bridgenorth ; vol. ii., p. 81, of Ryton ; vol. ii., p. 149, of Albrighton ; vol. vi., p. 267, of Pitchford Manor, with pedigree of family ; and vol. ix., p. 361, of Lee Brockhurst. Pitchford Manor is fully described in *Doomsday*, and Eyton in his *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vol. vi, pp. 267-284, describes Ralph de Pitchford as the heir of Norman Venator, living 1085-1093. He states that Pitchford Church was built by Ralph de Pitchford, and he is of opinion that the celebrated oak monument preserved in that church represents Sir John de Pitchford.[1] The Manor House, at which the Princess Victoria, now Queen Victoria, slept (in 1831), is one of the finest timber houses remaining in the kingdom,[2] built since the time of the first Pitchfords ; but the Pitchford Lime, which still stands, dates, I believe, many years anterior to the building of the house. Eyton is of opinion that the early Pitchford line closed by the selling of their estates (1301-1316), to the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and others.

These facts are also confirmed in vol. ii., pp. 55, 56, 189, 190 & 506-11 of the *Topographer and Genealogist*, which, together with Eyton's *Antiquities*, are to be found in the British Museum and the City of London Library.[3] On the accession of Henry VII., and the settlement of the kingdom, a second family of the

[1] This monument stood for many years within the altar rails, east and west, but recently it has been removed outside the rails, and stands north and south, face to the north, legs crossed, and in as fine a state of preservation as when carved. A.D., 1282-1300.

[2] I saw this house for the first time in 1838, and lastly in 1882 ; it is a noble building, and shows no outward sign of decay.

[3] Thomas Otteley, one of the first Aldermen of Shrewsbury, purchased the manor of Pitchford, in A.D., 1444, where his family continued for ten generations. *Vide Transactions* Shropshire Archæological Society, vol. iii., page 249. In the early part of the present century (1800), the estate was purchased by Mr. Jenkinson, afterwards Earl of Liverpool, by whose descendants it is now held.

name appeared, resident at Lee Brockhurst, in Shropshire, of which manor Sir John de Pycheford, of the former race, had died seized in 13th Edw. I. (1284-5); and hence owing at least their name to the original stock. This second family, however, seems to have just emerged from yeomen, when Robert Cooke, Clarenceux, who visited Shropshire in 1584, allowed John Pitchford (II.) a coat-of-arms, totally different from the previous family's, with a crest, the former being "*Az.*, a cinquefoil between six martlets *or*;" the latter, "An ostrich *arg.*, beaked and ducally gorged *or*." This house, first recorded as Pycheford, afterwards as Pichford, and finally Pitchford, like most yeoman families, kept its chiefs on its lands (the Lee Brockhurst estate), and sent its younger sons into the trades of London.

One of these—William Pitchford (I.), of London, grocer—married Elizabeth Aldersey, niece of Randle Aldersey, of Aldersey, in Cheshire, and died in 1608-9, when his widow married Thomas, first Lord Baron Coventry.

Another son, also a grocer, of London—Robert Pitchford, Esq., of St. Albans in Herts—recorded his pedigree at the Hertfordshire Visitation, in 1634, from his grandfather, John Pycheford (I.), Esq., of Lee Brockhurst. He also recorded the arms of the family (which had been allowed to be legally and rightfully borne by them by Robert Cooke, Clarenceux, at the Shropshire Visitation, 1584) "*Az.*, a cinquefoil between six martlets *or*," and which ancient house of Pycheford, or de Pycheford, was lineally descended from Sir John de Pycheford, who died seized of the manor of Lee Brockhurst, 13th Edw. I. (1284-5), whose progenitor, Ranulph de Pycheford, was for his valiant conduct at Bridgenorth Castle, in the reign of Henry I., enfeoffed by that monarch of Littlebrug, in that neighbourhood.

William Pycheford, or Pitchford (II.), baptized 23rd January, 1597, at Lee Brockhurst, co. Salop, and of St. Mary's Colechurch, London, citizen and haberdasher, was the son of Thomas Pycheford (I.), of Lee Brock-

hurst, in Salop, by Jane his second wife, nephew of William and Robert Pitchford, grocers, of London, and uncle of Thomas Pycheford Esq., (II.), of Lee Brockhurst, who married Jane, daughter of Rowland Hill, Esq., of Hawkestone, co. Salop, ancestor of the Lord Berwick and of the Viscount Hill. *Vide Topographer and Genealogist*, vol. ii., p. 55.

William Pitchford (II.) died in 1659, leaving three daughters, co-heiresses. 1st, Elizabeth Pitchford, married to Thomas Steane or Stayne, of London, citizen and wax-chandler; 2nd, Susanna, married to Richard Hodilow, goldsmith, by licence granted 16th January, 1650-1, at the Faculty Office, Doctors Commons; and, 3rd, Rebeccah Pitchford, married to Isaac Honywood, of Hampstead, in Middlesex (son of Edward Honywood, of Islington, who was son of Sir Thomas Honywood, of Evington, in the co. of Kent, and brother of Sir John, the father of Sir Edward Honywood, Bart.), and each of the three daughters had issue.

Richard Hodilow, who married Susanna, second daughter of William Pitchford (II.), acquired a considerable real estate, both in possession and remainder, situate in London and Hampstead, as well as a larger amount of personal property in the lifetime of her father, being married nine years before that gentleman's decease, who, however, at his death, in 1659, left the mass of his property undisposed of to the youngest and favourite of his three daughters (Rebeccah), who was then in her minority, but afterwards married Mr. Honywood; remainder, however, to his daughters Steane and Hodilow, and their heirs. Part of this property consisted of houses in Coleman Street, London, which were burnt down by the Great Fire, in September, 1666, as appears from No. 5,079 of the Add. MSS. in the Brit. Mus., Decree No. 69; the said Rebeccah Pitchford being then wife of Isaac Honywood, and possessed of the property, which, in "default of issue was to descend, pursuant to Wm. Pitchford's will, dated 4th Feb., 1658-9, to the said Elizabeth Steane and Susanna

Hodilow." Rebecca Pitchford had several children by Mr. Honywood; she died 1697, and he died 1720. Isaac, their son, succeeded them, and was married to Mary Frazer, an heiress; he died 8th November, 1740, aged 71. Frazer, their son, succeeded them, and married Jane, daughter of Abram Atkins, of Clapham, who predeceased her husband; he died in 1764, leaving no children, devising the Malling Abbey and Hampstead estates to his fourth cousin, the Baronet Honywood; also a legacy of £20,000, to be divided among his other relatives. After his death, in 1764, more than 400 persons put in claims for a share of this bequest (*vide* Ambler's *Reports*), but the majority were set aside; by, however, an interlocutory decree in Chancery (1769), a portion of it was assigned to the testator's second cousins, Anne and Margaretta Burren (the former of whom notices it in her will, 1770). He had no relations nearer than second cousins, viz.: the descendants of brothers or sisters of his maternal grandparents Frazer; the descendants of the sisters of his grandfather Honywood; and the descendants of the sisters of his grandmother Honywood (previously Pitchford), with which last relatives (the Burrens) his uncle, Ed. Honywood[1] had lived in intimate friendship, as his last will proves. That the great banker had Frazer relations is also certain, for he mentions them in his will; but the Burrens, &c., were quite as near, and were descended from that common ancestor with him, whence his family obtained the foundation of all their wealth, viz., William Pitchford (II.).

In 1831, the question arose in Shropshire that the remaining portion of Frazer Honywood's bequest was unclaimed, that the amount had accumulated, and was £68,000, invested in New River Shares, and various descendants of the Pitchford family, on the male and

[1] Frazer Honywood in 1738 was a member of the firm of Atkins, Honywood, and Fuller, bankers, which firm in 1746 became Honywood and Fuller, and which in 1881 is Fuller, Bunbury, Nix, and Matheson, 77, Lombard Street, London.

female sides, resident in Shropshire, united to obtain the unappropriated portion of the bequest, each family subscribing according to its means. They claim through Thomas Pitchford (III.), of Astley, son of William Pitchford (III.), born at Lee Brockhurst, 26th December, 1621, and younger son of John Pitchford (III.), and grandson of Thomas (I.), by Alise, his first wife.

William Pitchford (III.) lived at Preston Brockhurst, and was, I believe, buried at Moreton Corbet, 22nd February, 1668. In the register he is described "of Preston" only, and not of Preston Brockhurst. The manuscript relating to him is dated 1650, and I think pertains to his marriage, but I find no trace of his wife's name. Moreton Corbet was the scene of great conflict between the Royal and Parliamentary forces, and no entry was made in the register of the church from 1650 to 1661; hence, she may have been buried there and her burial not recorded.

Astley, Moreton Corbet, Hadnal, Lee Brockhurst and Preston Brockhurst, are all adjoining parishes, and would all be comprised in a circle of 13 or 14 miles.

The various claimants appeared to think that they had only to claim to obtain the bequest, and one of their men of business, named Digman, complained that "some are so hasty in their pursuits, that I believe they think one can take possession of a share without the knowledge of the other."

I believe the suit was not carried on for want of funds with which to prosecute it; but of this I am not certain. One provision of the will is, that those members of the family who possess £2,000 shall not share in the bequest. The result of this limitation has been to prevent those who could carry on the suit from so doing, and those who are not possessed of £2,000 are unable to prosecute it.

On the 16th May, 1831, Mr. F. W. Chamberlain, of 42, Grafton Street East, Fitzroy Square, London, wrote:

"HONYWOOD, deceased."

"On searching at Doctors Commons was found the

will of Frazer Honywood, proved with a codicil 28th February, 1764, whereof—

Sir John Honywood, of Edmington, Kent, Bart., Abraham Atkins, of Clapham, Surrey, Esq., Clerk Wilshaw, M.D., of Hemel Hemstead, Herts, Edwin Martin, of Reading, Berks,	Were appointed executors and trustees.

And by the codicil, the testator gave to his executors and trustees £20,000 upon trust, to divide the same among such of his relations by consanguinity, but not by marriage, as should not be worth £2,000 each, in such proportions as the executors might think fit, without respect to the nearness or remoteness of the degree of relationship; claimants to apply within two years from testator's death; advertisements to be inserted once a month for two years in the *London Gazette*."

Abraham Atkins, by his will, proved in March, 1792, states that he was the surviving executor and trustee under Frazer Honywood's will, and after stating all the moneys comprehended under the said trusts, except the sum of £ (a blank is left in the will as to the amount), and referring for proof of his assertion to the proceedings in a suit in Chancery, "Bennet *v.* Honywood," directs that the said trusts, if not then already executed, should devolve upon his nephew, Atkins Edwin Martin, whom he appointed executor of his will, and whom he directed to assume the name of Atkins. Mr. Atkins Edwin Martin Atkins, by his will, proved in June, 1825, appointed John Cook, Esq., of Chidlingworth, in the county of Leicester, and the Rev. Joseph George Cook, of the same place, Clerk, his brothers-in-law, executors, and in the year 1826, administration of the property left unadministered by A. Atkins was granted to the said J. Cook and J. G. Cook.[1]

[1] The representative of these gentlemen is Henry Everett, Esq., of Biddesden House, Andover, Hants. I find no trace of the Atkins

On searching at the Report Office in Chancery, there was found the decree made on the hearing of this cause on the 21st February, 1769, whereby it appears that the funds had accumulated, that the testator's directions as to the advertisements had been complied with, and that 466 claims had been made. It was ordered and decreed by the Court that the bequest was good, that it should be referred to the trustee to inquire into the claims, and a scheme for dividing the fund was to be laid before the Master, who was to make separate report thereon. That

By an order, dated 28th July, 1770, the Master was ordered to fix a presenting day for persons to come in and make their claims, and that all persons not claiming within the time so to be fixed should be excluded from all benefit under the will.

It is not known whether the Master made a report under the last order, nor, if he did, whether it was confirmed and acted upon; but it is known that Margaretta Burren, with her sister Anne, of Clerkenwell, co. Middlesex, on the decease of Frazer Honywood, who was their maternal cousin, twice removed, put in claims for a share of the legacy left by him to be divided amongst his relatives, and, proving their kinship, obtained a part of the bequest. The subject was long agitated in Chancery, and by many was never considered to be equitably settled. The two Miss Burrens, however, obtained their share of the legacy under an interlocutory decree dated 1769, and Anne Burren notices it in her will, dated 1770 (*vide* Ambler's *Reports*). These ladies were maternal aunts of William Barnet, previously Barry, who it is said eventually became heir-general of the Burrens, Hodilows, and Pitchfords He was born 13th August, 1729, and baptized 27th August, 1729, at St. Dunstan's in-the-West, London.

family claiming any beneficial interest in the legacy of £20,000. Mr. Atkins Edwin Martin Atkins on his death left a large family, and he is now represented by his great grandson, a child who is the head of the family, and owner of the family estates at Kingston Lisle, Berkshire. The limitation of £2,000 would probably have caused them to ignore the legacy.

The register of Lee Brockhurst is one of the earliest in the kingdom, as it dates from 1560—the order to keep registers having been issued by Henry VIII., in 1538 ; but neither the baptism of John (I.), who died in 1580, nor of his son John (II.), who died in 1590, nor of his grandson Thomas (I.), who died in 1615-16, are to be found therein ; the first baptismal entry of the name of Pitchford being that of Elizabeth, baptized 28th November, 1585, she being the daughter of Thomas (I.), grand-daughter of John (II.) and great-grand-daughter of John (I.), who was buried at Lee Brockhurst, 16th March, 1580 ; hence it is reasonable to suppose that John I., John II., and Thomas I., were all baptized before 1560, and that John I. may have been born in 1500, or earlier, and 80 years old when he died.

The Shropshire Directory of 1879 states that the register of Lee Brockhurst church does not commence until 1645 ; but as the death of John I. stands as early as 1580, I resolved to prove whether it was correct or not. For this purpose I went to Wem on 16th April, 1881, and, jointly with the Rev. F. G. Burder, Vicar of Lee Brockhurst, who lives at Wem, I examined the register of his church, which I found to contain this early entry, and many others relating to the family.

William Pitchford (II.), in his will, states that he was born at Lee Brockhurst, and he professes to leave something for the repair of the church there ; but it is a singular fact, that no amount of money is stated in the will, though the churchwardens of Lee for the time being were to receive it ; this I ascertained on inspecting both the copy of the will and also the original on the 20th April, 1881, at Somerset House.

It would seem that several of the family held commissions in the Parliamentary army, not uncommon in families recorded as yeomen under James and Elizabeth. On the other hand it is evident, from *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica,* vol. vii., p. 315, in City of London Library, that Andrew Pitchford was ensign to

Captain Richard Corbet, in Sir John Harper's Royalist Regiment; and the same book records that John Broomhall was cornet of horse in the Lord Digby's Royalist Regiment, under command of Sir Thomas Hanmer, about 1645-50.

Frazer Honywood was born 1694, and Martha Pitchford was born in 1704, consequently they were contemporaries. He died in 1764, and she died in 1785, and the point appears to me to be whether she or George Birch (I.), her husband, put in a claim within two years of the death of Frazer Honywood, and if he did not, I fail to see the *locus standi* of the descendants of Martha Pitchford to claim in 1831.

The *London Gazette* is seldom seen now-a-days except by professional men, and it is very unlikely that G. Birch (I.) saw it in Shropshire, he having been buried at Astley, 8th January, 1774; the *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, the earliest local means of advertising, was not establised until 1772, and there is no evidence that news of the death of Frazer Honywood reached Shropshire for many years, the only duty of the executors being to advertise it in the *London Gazette*, and such newspapers as they thought proper.

That George Birch (II.), who died in 1827, aged 88 years, heard of the bequest before his death is certain, but that he heard of it in 1764, four years before he was married to Jane Royston, is improbable. I think it equally improbable that he ever heard of the decree of the Court made 21st February, 1769, or of the order of 28th July, 1770; and if such be the fact, I fail to see that any of his descendants have any legal claim.

The nearest common ancestor of the claimants of 1831, with Rebecca Pitchford, the grandmother of Frazer Honywood, was Thomas Pitchford (I.), who was married twice, and buried at Lee Brockhurst, 2nd February, 1615-16—the Shropshire claimants descend from him by Alise, his first wife, and the Honywoods descend from him by Jane, his second wife. It will thus be seen that 150 years elapsed between the death of the common

ancestor, in 1615, and between the death of Frazer Honywood in 1764.

Thirty-three entries of births and deaths, preserved by the claimants of 1831, commencing in 1685 and ending in 1781, bear no entry of the name of the church where they are recorded—I searched the registers of Shawbury, Moreton Corbet, and other churches, to no purpose; but on the 18th April, 1881, I went to Astley, near Hadnal, which is or was a chapelry of that part of St. Mary's parish within the limits of Shrewsbury, and jointly with the Rev. John R. Legh, M.A., Vicar of Astley (now Rector of Moreton Corbet), I examined the registers, in which I found 32 of the 33 original registers, the exception being that of the burial of Jane, wife of Thomas Pitchford (III.). From the register it appears that John Pitchford was clerk of Astley Church from 1731 to his death and burial there, 18th June, 1778. The register of Astley Church commences in 1695, and is in two volumns.

The entries in Vol. II. commence in 1834, and have been transcribed from the last nine leaves of Vol. I., which is in a very worn condition.

It is clear that these last nine leaves of Vol. I. were part and parcel of the nine first leaves of that Vol., but no trace of these first nine leaves is to be found, and hence the record of Jane Pitchford's burial on the 31st March, 1685, is not found in the register; but as it stands in the family roll, which has been preserved from generation to generation, I have no doubt of its correctness.

Thomas Pitchford (III), Born about 1650. Buried at Astley, 27th August, 1706.	Married Jane, * * * About 1672. She Was buried 31st March, 1685.

Thomas (III.) and Jane Pitchford had two sons, William (IV.), born about 1672, who married Sarah * * *, and Thomas (IV.), born about 1674, who married Jane* * *. Thomas (IV.) was a tailor by trade. Apprenticed on the 31st March, 1688, as "son of Thomas Pitchford, of Astley,

to John Evans, of Battlefield" (the adjoining parish to Astley); he appears to have served an apprenticeship of seven years, and to have taken up his freedom at Shrewsbury, 1698, which was the general law and custom of the trade previously to the Municipal Reform Act of 1835.

William Pitchford (IV.) (elder son of Thomas and Jane Pitchford) and Sarah, his wife, had seven children, all baptized at Astley. He was buried at Astley, 21st March, 1720. She was buried at Astley, 8th November, 1741; and she is described in the register—"widow, of Hadnal"; having, on the death of her husband, resided there with her daughter Martha, the wife of George Birch (I.). The records of baptisms, as they have come down to me, stand as follows, and in this order they stand in the register of Astley Church:—Thomas, baptized 16th April, 1697; Sarah, baptized 17th October, 1698; Mary, baptized 4th April, 1701; William, baptized 26th November, 1702; Martha, baptized 29th December, 1704; Jane, baptized 10th June, 1710; Ann, baptized 11th January, 1714.

Thomas Pitchford (IV.), tailor, and Jane his wife (he being the younger son of Thomas (III.) and Jane Pitchford), had five children, all baptized at Astley. She was buried 23rd March, 1735, and he was buried 15th October, 1745, and both at Astley. Sarah, baptized 3rd August, 1702; John, baptized 7th May, 1705 (clerk of Astley Church, 1731 to 1778); Elizabeth, baptized 29th December, 1709; Thomas, baptized 7th June, 1713; William, baptized 24th September, 1717, buried 21st July, 1718.

Martha Pitchford, fifth child of William (IV.) and Sarah Pitchford, was baptized at Astley, 29th December, 1704, and married George Birch (I.) at St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, 28th April, 1731. He leased lands at Hadnal, from the Hills of Hawkstone, for a period of three lives, which lease expired on the death of George Birch (III.), 21st April, 1843, he being the grandson of George and Martha Birch (she born Pitchford).

George Birch (I.) was buried at Astley, 8th January, 1774; and his widow, Martha Birch (born Pitchford) was buried at Astley, 27th March, 1785.

On the 30th January, 1790, Sir Richard Hill entered into possession of the land at Hadnal, and the same day granted a fresh lease for the two remaining lives—George Birch (II.), who is described therein aged about 51 years, and George Birch (III.), who is described therein aged about nine years. Captain Rowland Hill, son of Sir Richard Hill, afterwards Lord Hill, second in command at Waterloo, induced G. Birch (III.) to enter the army. He served in the Peninsula, and afterwards at Waterloo, and died and was buried at Hadnal.

George Birch (II.), son of George and Martha Birch, was born at Hadnal, 17th May, 1739, and married Jane Roystons, of Donnington, at Lilleshall, in 1768. She died 20th April, 1808; he died 28th February, 1827, and they were both buried at Hadnal.

The register of Hadnal Church does not contain the baptism of George Birch (II). But the Vicar of Hadnal, the Rev. E. Evans, certified on the 17th April, 1831 (which certificate I have before me), that the register "is ript and torn and many entries omitted." He further certifies, from an old family Bible, the following among other entries:

"George Birch, born May 17th, 1739, baptized at Hadnol, May 26."

The lease granted by the Hills of Hawkstone, on the 30th January, 1790, is conclusive on this point, as it declares George Birch (II.) about 51 years of age, and his son George Birch (III.) to be about nine years old.

George Birch (II.) left four children: Elizabeth, eldest daughter, baptized at Lilleshall, 26th March, 1769, and married to George, son of Geerge Hold, of Bishop's Castle, at New St. Chads, Shrewsbury, 3rd June, 1793; Sarah, baptized at Hadnal, 21st November, 1771, married to John Lewis, at Middle, 17th July, 1792; George, baptized at Hadnal, 23rd January, 1782, served at Waterloo in the Oxford Blues, died 21st April, 1843, and was buried

at Hadnal; Hannah, baptized at Hadnal, 18th March, 1784, married John Preston, of Middle, 12th June, 1815, died 30th July, 1852, and was buried at Hadnal. George Hold died 1849, his wife Elizabeth died 1844, and they were both buried at Old St. Chads, Shrewsbury, having had nine children, all born in Shrewsbury: Ann, first child, born 12th February, 1794, married at St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, to James (born 25th May, 1796), younger son of William Broomhall, of Shrewsbury, 6th November, 1820; Mary, married G. Neesham, with issue; Martha, married three times, with issue; Elizabeth, died unmarried, 1840; Tryphena, married G. Wilkes, with issue; George, died unmarried, 1836; William, drowned in the Severn, 1832, unmarried; Jane, married R. Williams, with issue; and Thomas, married Mary Farmer, with issue. Ann Broomhall died 28th December, 1844; James Broomhall died 4th February, 1846, and they were both buried at Trinity Church, Shrewsbury, having had five children, all born in Shrewsbury, and all baptized at Swan Hill Chapel in that town: John, James George, William, Tryphena, and Charles.

The last publicly recorded match of the Pitchford family seems to have been, according to Burke's *Commoners*, vol. iii., p. 527, that with Edward Gatacre, of Gatacre, Salop, who, born 11th September, 1735, married Mary Pitchford, in 1767.

The three pedigrees subjoined are, first, taken from Eyton's *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vol. iii., p. 267; the second is from the *Topographer, and Genealogist*, vol. ii., pp. 508-10, and the third from the *Shropshire Visitation* of 1584, the *Hertfordshire Visitation* of 1634, and the *Topographer* and sundry family records, and are respectively a collection and arrangement of the records respecting the former house, and an elaboration of the visitation entries of the latter, in which last table the matter contained in the visitations is printed in italics to distinguish it from the additional details.

The parish registry of Lee Brockhurst, Moreton Corbet, and Astley, show the family to have been very much

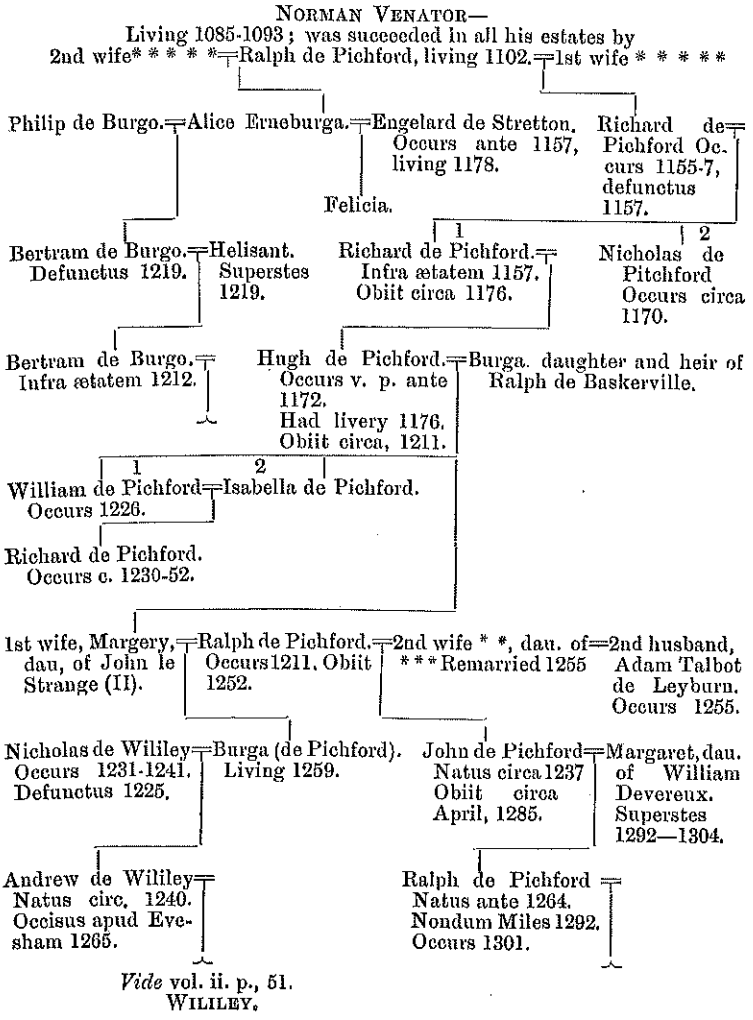
more numerous than the contents of the tables, though without in the least interfering with them, which, so far as they go, may be considered certain, and to embrace all the family's principal matches. All these, excepting that with Crofte, are acknowledged in the current pedigrees of the families matched with; and probably the omission in the Baronet Crofte (for Robert Crofte was doubtless of the Crofte Castle family) is referable only to deficiency of information.

It will be noted that Thomas (I.) and Jane Pitchford had two sons, each bearing the name of Thomas. The second Thomas appears to have been born seven months after the death of the first; also two daughters, each named Katherine, the first baptized 6th October, 1587, the second 12th August, 1596. No doubt the first Katherine died before the birth of the second.

The lion coat of the early Pychefords is not here quartered with the cinquefoil and martlets of the second race; but most genealogists of experienced judgment would consider the circumstances of property and location sufficient evidence of the right, to say nothing of the claims of descent made in 1584 and in 1634. The second family must have been a considerable time resident in the parish of Lee Brockhurst prior to the commencement of this pedigree. So early as 1581, "John Pycheford was married there to Katherine Pycheford," who could, therefore, scarcely descend more nearly than from a common grandfather. The same rules of proof seldom apply to two cases of this description; but at the period in question, and under the circumstances of this case, the identity of derivation or name-origin (if not the successionary descent) is unquestionable, though the connecting links may be irrecoverable. *Vide Topographer*, vol. ii.

PEDIGREE I.

PEDIGREE OF PICHFORD, OF ALBRIGHTON, PITCHFORD, LEE BROCKHURST, ETC.



Vide vol. ii. p., 51. WILILEY.

PEDIGREE II.

Arms: *Or* a lion passant *az.* armed and langued *gu.*

Ranulph de Pycheford, of Pycheford, co. Salop, enfeoffed by Henry I. of Littlebrug, co. Salop, for his valiant conduct at Bridgenorth Castle, to be held by the tenure of finding firewood for the Castle when the King came thither. (Vide Camden Brit. iii. p. 4).

Ranulph de Pycheford had licence 16 Hen. III. (Cal. Rot. Chart. p. 48.), for market and fair at Albrighton, co. Salop, inq. p. mort 37 Hen. III. seised of Lynne and Dunethe manors in Ireland, and Pycheford and Albrighton, co. Salop, with lands in Littlebrug.

William de Pycheford "had a grant from the King" of Eleton manor, co. York. (Plac. Abb. p. 130.)

Richard de Pycheford held land in Blimenhull, co. Staff. 39 Hen. III.

Burgia de Pycheford, dau. and heir, wife of John de Inghelfield or Englefield, 37 Hen. III., when they had a suit with one Thornton for Eleton; decree in their favour.

Sir William Englefield a quo, Englefield, co. Berks, Bart.

?John called de Pycheford M.P. for Scarborough, co. York, 1300-1, inq. p. mort. 30 Edw. I.

Robert Pycheford, of Clifton, co. Staff., 7 Edw. I.

Roger Pychford of Blimenhull.

Roger de Pycheford, of Blimenhull; lev. a fine of lands in Blimenhull with his wife Alianor, 5 Edw. III.

John Pycheford

Roger de Pycheford of Blimenhull, living 5 Edw. III. Inq. p. mort. 5 & 7 Hen. IV., seised of Blimenhull, and tenements in Bruynton, co. Staff.

Sir John de Pycheford, knt., held Lee Brockhurst, co. Salop, in chief 39 Hen. III.; served Edw. I. against Llewellyn, 1277; defaults through infirmity, 1282; died soon after, Inq. p. mort. 13 Edw. I., seised of Albrighton manor and advowson, Pycheford manor, Routon church, tenements in Cantelowe, Oswaldestre and Lee-under-Brockhurst.

a

Geoffry de Pycheford, of Wenlock, co. Salop, (where he held lands, 2 Edw. I. 1273), Constable of Windsor Castle (Rot. Hund. I. 18); had a grant from Griffin de Wenoneyme of Scheladen in Esseford, co. Derby, temp. Hen. III,; held lands in Chichester Rape, Sussex, 1296; returned a Sussex and Surrey landholder, 1297; died seised of tenements, co. Camb, Inq. p. mort. 17 Edw. I. He was assessor of the Berks and Oxon 15th, granted 1275.

b

a |

Ranulph de Pycheford returned 1297 as a Salop land or rent owner of £20 per ann., and summoned as such to perform military service beyond seas. Inq p. mort. 31 Edw. I. = b | John de Pycheford, Lord of Wimpole, co. Camb., 1315.

Ralph de Pycheford, of Littlebrug. Inq. p. mort. 16 Edw. III., seised of lands at Bridgenorth, &c.

Nicholas de Picheford, lord of Cantelow, 1316; living 1341 (Inq. Nonarum); dead 1349. = Joan . . . , dead, a widow, 23 Edw. III., when her executors had license to appropriate five marks rent in Bridgnorth in mortmain. (Rot. Orig. II. 198).

William de Pycheford, 16 Edw. III. enfeoffed of La More, juxta Oldebury, co. Sal. (Cal. Esc. & Rot. Orig).

PEDIGREE III.

Arms : *Az.*, a cinquefoil between six martlets *or*. Crest : An ostrich *arg.*, beaked and ducally gorged *or*.

John Pycheford (I.), of Lee Brockhurst, co Salop, born about A.D. 1500, buried at Lee Brockhurst, 16 March, 1580. =

John Pichford (II.) of Lee Brockhurst, Co. Salop, to whom Robert Cooke, Clarenceux, allowed the arms and crest circa 1584, at the visitation (entered in Harl. M.S. 1396); buried at Lee, 2 Aug. 1590. = *Jone dau. of .....Besford, co. Salop.* Buried at Lee, 13 Nov. 1593.

3 *John Pitchford*, mar. to Katherine Pitchford, 1581. She was buried 17 Feb., 1622

4 *Andrew Pitchford.*

5 *Robert Pitchford*, of London, grocer, 1608, of St. Alban's Herts., 1634, when he entered his arms and pedigree at the Visit. Herts. Will proved in C.P.C., 1636. = *Jane* dau. of .... North of Coventry, co. Warw.

6 Arthur Pitchford marr. with issue 1608 =

.... wife of .... Binnell, co. Salop, 1608.

.... wife of .... Donne, of Preston Brocas. =

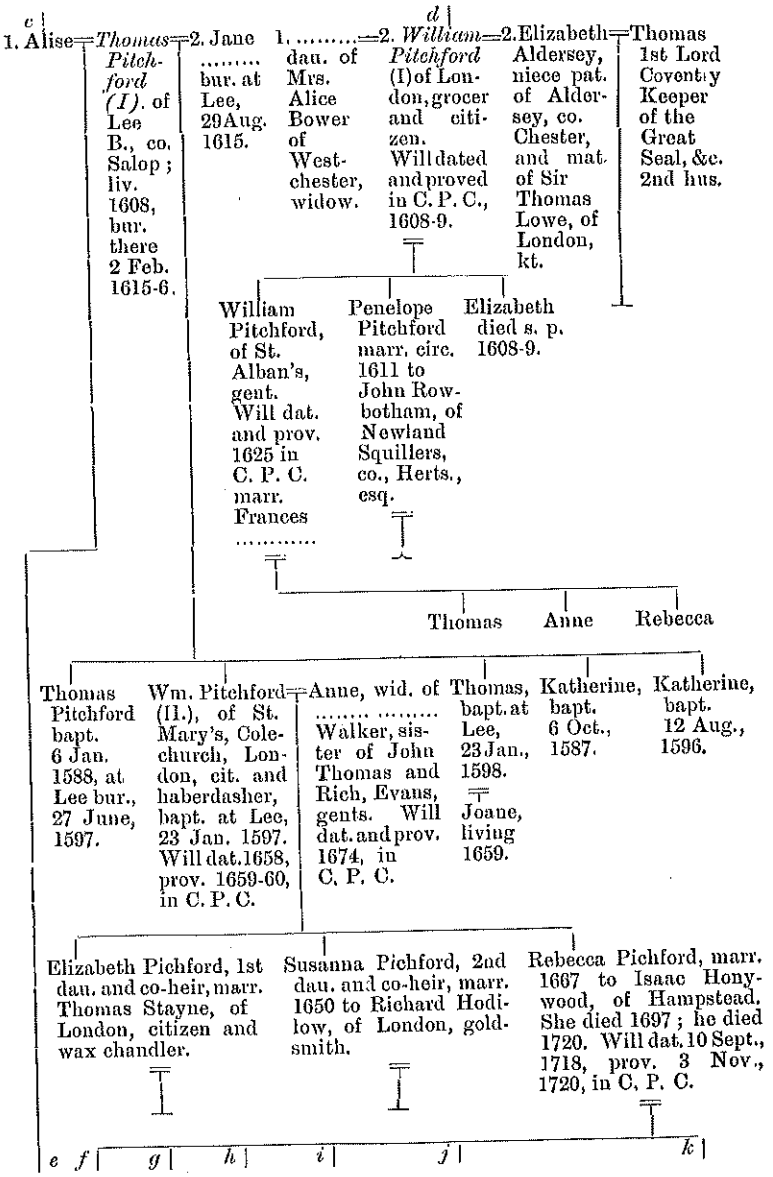
.... wife of .... Groom, 1608. = Sarah Groom, 1659.

Robert Pitchford, living 1608.

Elizabeth, wife of John Howland, esquire, of St. Alban's

Mary, wife of John Redwood of London gent.

c | d |


c
1. Alise
Thomas Pitchford (I). of Lee B., co. Salop; liv. 1608, bur. there 2 Feb. 1615-6.
2. Jane ..... bur. at Lee, 29 Aug. 1615.
d
1. ..... dau. of Mrs. Alice Bower of Westchester, widow.
2. William Pitchford (I) of London, grocer and citizen. Will dated and proved in C. P. C., 1608-9.
2. Elizabeth Aldersey, niece pat. of Aldersey, co. Chester, and mat. of Sir Thomas Lowe, of London, kt.
Thomas 1st Lord Coventry Keeper of the Great Seal, &c. 2nd hus.
William Pitchford, of St. Alban's, gent. Will dat. and prov. 1625 in C. P. C. marr. Frances .....
Penelope Pitchford marr. circ. 1611 to John Rowbotham, of Newland Squillers, co., Herts., esq.
Elizabeth died s. p. 1608-9.
Thomas
Anne
Rebecca
Thomas Pitchford bapt. 6 Jan. 1588, at Lee bur., 27 June, 1597.
Wm. Pitchford (II.), of St. Mary's, Colechurch, London, cit. and haberdasher, bapt. at Lee, 23 Jan. 1597. Will dat. 1658, prov. 1659-60, in C. P. C.
Anne, wid. of .... Walker, sister of John Thomas and Rich. Evans, gents. Will dat. and prov. 1674, in C. P. C.
Thomas, bapt. at Lee, 23 Jan., 1598.
Joane, living 1659.
Katherine, bapt. 6 Oct., 1587.
Katherine, bapt. 12 Aug., 1596.
Elizabeth Pichford, 1st dau. and co-heir, marr. Thomas Stayne, of London, citizen and wax chandler.
Susanna Pichford, 2nd dau. and co-heir, marr. 1650 to Richard Hodilow, of London, goldsmith.
Rebecca Pichford, marr. 1667 to Isaac Honywood, of Hampstead. She died 1697; he died 1720. Will dat. 10 Sept., 1718, prov. 3 Nov., 1720, in C. P. C.
e
f
g
h
i
j
k

e | Rebecca, wife of Rev. Zachariah Merrell.

f | *g* | Mary, a minor, 1674.

h | Anna, a minor, 1674; unmarr. 1718.

i | 3 William, a minor, 1674.

j | 2 Isaac Honeywood, suc. to his bro.; born 1669, died 8 Nov. 1740, aged 71. Will dat. 20 Feb, 1737, proved 2 Dec., 1740, in C.P.C.

= Mary Frazer, an heiress.

k | Edward Honeywood, of Hampstead, Will dat. 1723; codicils 1725 and 1726; proved 21 Feb., 1726-7 in C.P.C. Died s. p.

Rebecca.

Mary.

Frazer Honeywood, born 1694, died s. p. s. 1764. Will in C. P. C. Buried with arms.

= Jane dau. of Abraham Atkins, of Clapham, London, merchant.

Isaac Honeywood, living 1737, died before his father.

Frazer Honywood, devised his real estate to the baronet Honywood, and £20,000 to be divided among his other relations not being worth £2,000 each; claims to be made within two years after testator's death.
In 1764 more than 400 persons claimed.
In 1769 decree of the Court of Chancery issued, and portions paid out of court.
In 1770 Master of the Court called for proofs of other claims, and declared all claims excluded not made within fixed time.
In 1792 the last surviving executor, Abraham Atkins, died.
In 1825 the successor of Abraham Atkins, Atkins Edward Martin Adkins, died.
In 1826 John Cooke and J. G. Cooke appointed executors.
In 1831 sundry claimants, residents in Shropshire, put in claims, the fund amounting with interest, to £68,000.
In 1881 these memorials were compiled and arranged.

John Pitchford (III.), of Lee Brockhurst, of man's estate 1608-9, bur. at Lee, 24 May, 1642.

= Alice

Elizabeth Pitchford bapt. 28 Nov., 1585, marr. at Lee, 4 July, 1610, to Robert Crofte, Esq., of Moreton Corbet.

Thomas Pitchford (II.), of Lee Brockhurst, Esq. bapt. 29 Dec., 1616, at Lee

= Jane, eldest dau. of Rowland Hill, Esq. of Hawkestone, co. Salop.

William Pitchford (III.), bapt. at Lee Brockhurst, 26 Dec., 1621, married about 1650, bur. at Moreton Corbet, 22 Feb. 1668,

= * * * * *

Entries not made in Moreton Corbet Register, 1650 to 1661, on account of Civil War.

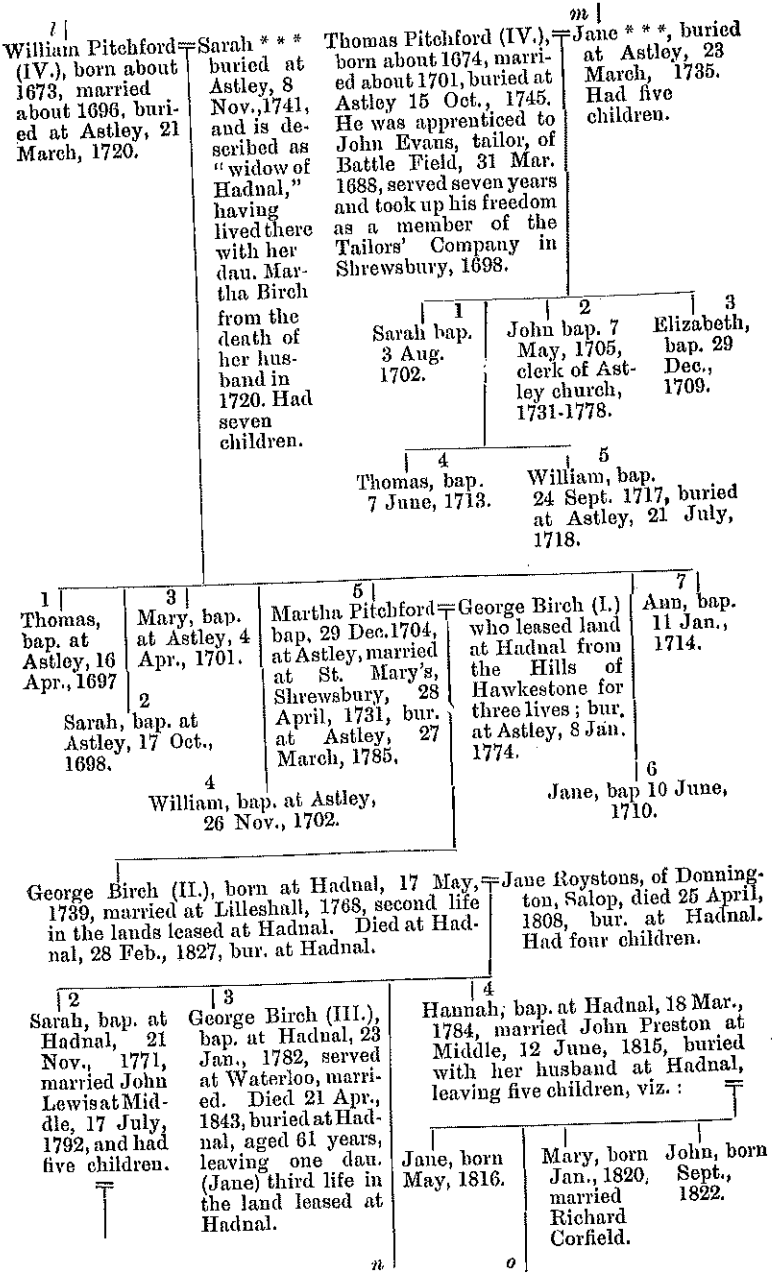
Jane Pitchford bapt. at Lee, 25 May, 1618. William II. leaves her in his will.

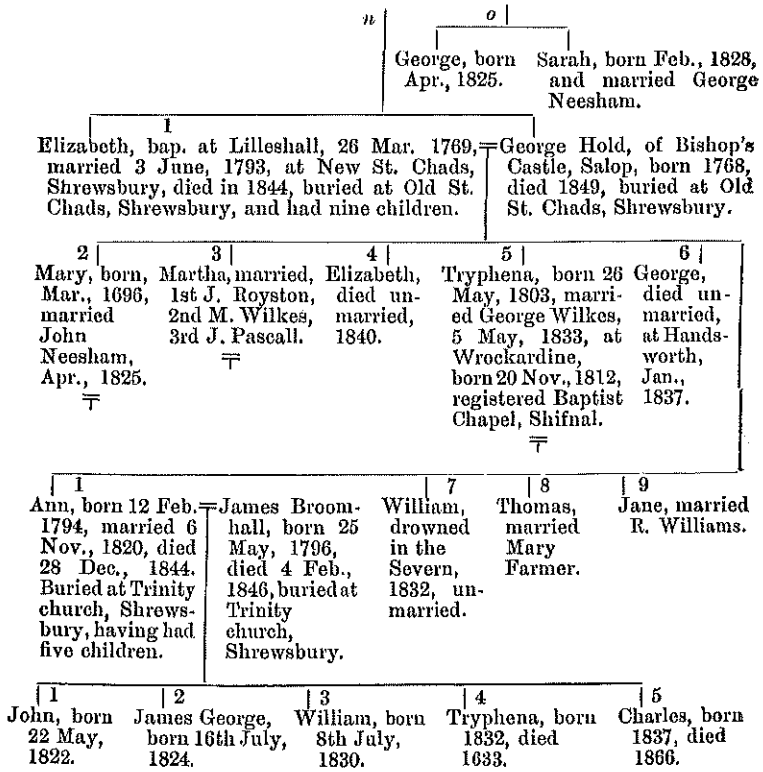
Elizabeth, born 15 Nov., 1647. Rowland, born 27 May, 1649. "Lee Brockhurst Register."

Thomas Pitchford (III), born about 1650, married about 1672, buried at Astley, 27th Aug., 1706.

= Jane * * *, buried 31st March, 1685; but her burial is not found in the register of Astley church, which does not commence (nine of the first leaves being lost) until 1695.

l | *m* |


l
William Pitchford (IV.), born about 1673, married about 1696, buried at Astley, 21 March, 1720.
Sarah * * * buried at Astley, 8 Nov., 1741, and is described as "widow of Hadnal," having lived there with her dau. Martha Birch from the death of her husband in 1720. Had seven children.
m
Thomas Pitchford (IV.), born about 1674, married about 1701, buried at Astley 15 Oct., 1745. He was apprenticed to John Evans, tailor, of Battle Field, 31 Mar. 1688, served seven years and took up his freedom as a member of the Tailors' Company in Shrewsbury, 1698.
Jane * * *, buried at Astley, 23 March, 1735. Had five children.
1 Sarah bap. 3 Aug. 1702.
2 John bap. 7 May, 1705, clerk of Astley church, 1731-1778.
3 Elizabeth, bap. 29 Dec., 1709.
4 Thomas, bap. 7 June, 1713.
5 William, bap. 24 Sept. 1717, buried at Astley, 21 July, 1718.
1 Thomas, bap. at Astley, 16 Apr., 1697
3 Mary, bap. at Astley, 4 Apr., 1701.
2 Sarah, bap. at Astley, 17 Oct., 1698.
5 Martha Pitchford bap. 29 Dec. 1704, at Astley, married at St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, 28 April, 1731, bur. at Astley, 27 March, 1785.
George Birch (I.) who leased land at Hadnal from the Hills of Hawkestone for three lives; bur. at Astley, 8 Jan. 1774.
7 Ann, bap. 11 Jan., 1714.
4 William, bap. at Astley, 26 Nov., 1702.
6 Jane, bap 10 June, 1710.
George Birch (II.), born at Hadnal, 17 May, 1739, married at Lilleshall, 1768, second life in the lands leased at Hadnal. Died at Hadnal, 28 Feb., 1827, bur. at Hadnal.
Jane Roystons, of Donnington, Salop, died 25 April, 1808, bur. at Hadnal. Had four children.
2 Sarah, bap. at Hadnal, 21 Nov., 1771, married John Lewis at Middle, 17 July, 1792, and had five children.
3 George Birch (III.), bap. at Hadnal, 23 Jan., 1782, served at Waterloo, married. Died 21 Apr., 1843, buried at Hadnal, aged 61 years, leaving one dau. (Jane) third life in the land leased at Hadnal.
4 Hannah, bap. at Hadnal, 18 Mar., 1784, married John Preston at Middle, 12 June, 1815, buried with her husband at Hadnal, leaving five children, viz.:
Jane, born May, 1816.
Mary, born Jan., 1820, married Richard Corfield.
John, born Sept., 1822.
n
o


n
o
George, born Apr., 1825.
Sarah, born Feb., 1828, and married George Neesham.
1
Elizabeth, bap. at Lilleshall, 26 Mar. 1769, married 3 June, 1793, at New St. Chads, Shrewsbury, died in 1844, buried at Old St. Chads, Shrewsbury, and had nine children.
George Hold, of Bishop's Castle, Salop, born 1768, died 1849, buried at Old St. Chads, Shrewsbury.
2
Mary, born, Mar., 1696, married John Neesham, Apr., 1825.
3
Martha, married, 1st J. Royston, 2nd M. Wilkes, 3rd J. Pascall.
4
Elizabeth, died unmarried, 1840.
5
Tryphena, born 26 May, 1803, married George Wilkes, 5 May, 1833, at Wrockardine, born 20 Nov., 1812, registered Baptist Chapel, Shifnal.
6
George, died unmarried, at Handsworth, Jan., 1837.
1
Ann, born 12 Feb. 1794, married 6 Nov., 1820, died 28 Dec., 1844. Buried at Trinity church, Shrewsbury, having had five children.
James Broomhall, born 25 May, 1796, died 4 Feb., 1846, buried at Trinity church, Shrewsbury.
7
William, drowned in the Severn, 1832, unmarried.
8
Thomas, married Mary Farmer.
9
Jane, married R. Williams.
1
John, born 22 May, 1822.
2
James George, born 16th July, 1824.
3
William, born 8th July, 1830.
4
Tryphena, born 1832, died 1633.
5
Charles, born 1837, died 1866.

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ILLUSTRATIONS.

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Subscriptions for the present year are requested to be paid to Mr. F. GOYNE, Dogpole, Shrewsbury, as early as possible.

Ladies and Gentlemen desirous of becoming Members are requested to make early application, the number of copies printed of the Transactions being limited to 350, and only a few copies remain for future subscribers.

October, 1884.

OLD SHREWSBURY SCHOOL.

(Where Darwin was educated).