

**London Ringers and Ringing in the
Seventeenth and Eighteenth
Centuries**

Volume II

Trollope, J. Armiger

London
Ringers and Ringing
in the
Seventeenth and Eighteenth
Centuries.

Volume Two.
Chapters II and III.

By J. Armiger Trollope.

1933-1937.

Copyright.

All these were honoured in their
generations
And were the glory of their times.

Contents of Volume Two.

	Page
1. <u>Authorities and Books Quoted,</u>	2.
2. <u>Chapter Two</u> , — <u>Ringers and Ringing</u> in the Seventeenth Century, before the rise of Fabian Hedman,	32.
3. <u>Appendix to Chapter Two.</u>	
1. <u>The Origin and Name of the</u> <u>Society of College Youths,</u>	250.
2. <u>Bece Founding during the time</u> <u>of the Commonwealth,</u>	299.
3. <u>Exciacts from the registers of</u> <u>the Archbishops of Canterbury</u>	311.
4. <u>Chapter Three</u> , — <u>Fabian Hedman,</u> <u>and his Contemporaries</u>	318.
5. <u>Appendix to Chapter Three.</u>	
1. <u>Tradate of Fabian Hedman's birth,</u>	526.
2. <u>Richard Duckworth,</u>	534.
3. <u>The College Youths' MS.,</u>	537.
6. <u>Notes to Chapters II and III,</u>	550.
7. <u>Index of Names,</u>	611.
8. <u>General Index,</u>	627.

2

Authorities and Books Quoted
in Chapters II and III.

Those marked * are not quoted from the originals but at second hand.

The Press Marks are those of the British Museum unless otherwise stated.

Alumni Cantabrigenses.

LR 10

Alumni Oxonienses.

Archaeologia, or Miscellaneous Tracts
relating to Antiquity

Ancient Society of College Youths, The
Copy Seal Book No 1.

do. do. Rules and Regulations, 1894

do. do. * do. another edition.

do. do. History of the Society, etc. 1928

Aston, Anthony, vulgo Toney (fl. 1752-1731)

A Brief Supplement to Colley Cibber,
His Lives of the Late famous actors.

Ed. Watson Nicholson, 1920. O 10855 aas 23

Austin, Samuel Letter to C. H. Lukis, 1861.

Baker, David Erskine, (1730-1767)

Biographia Dramatica, 1812. 2094d

Ball, William

A Brief Treatise Concerning the
Regulating of Printing, 1651.

Kings Library.

Barker, G. F. Russell, and Spinning
Alan H.

The Records of Old Westminster,
a biographical list of all those
who are known to have been educated
at Westminster School from the earliest
time to 1927. 1928 2096c.

Barker, George,

The History and Antiquities of
Northampton, 1822-1830.

Baring-Gould, I.

Family Names and their Story. 1913.

Barrow, H.

* Diary quoted by Morris.

Beresford, William

Lichfield.

Besant, Sir Walter.

The City of London.

Betterton, Thomas. (1635? - 1710)

4

A History of the English Stage, 1741.
641 h 6 1-2.

Blackham, Robert J.

*Wig and Gown, The Story of the Temple,
Gray's and Lincoln's Inns*

Blomfield, Francis. (1705-1752)

*An Essay towards a Topographical
History of the County of Norfolk, 1806.*
2064 C.

Blow, Thomas. (1764-1818)

*A History of the Antiquities of the County
of Rutland, 1811.*

* Bowtell MSS. Downing Coll. Cambridge

Bridges, John, (1666-1724)

*A History of the Antiquities of }
Northamptonshire, 1791 } 2063 f.*

British Museum, General Catalogue.

Burke, Sir Bernard,

*Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited, and
Extinct Peerages of the British Empire*
1883. 2012 d.

Burke's Landed Gentry.

Burke's, Peerage and Baronetage.

5

Burnet, Gilbert Bishop of Salisbury (1643-1715)
History of His Own Time 1723, 1724
Oxford Edition 1823

Burney, Dr. Charles.
A General History of Music, 1789.

Burnows, Monique
The Register of the Visitors of the
University of Oxford, from A.D. 1647
to 1658. 1881. Camden Society RAC 8113.

Cambridge History of English Literature, 1909.

Campbell, Lord
The Lives of the Lord Chancellors.

Chauncy, Sir Henry, (1632-1719).
The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire,
1700.

Cheapside, Schollers of
Orders Conceivd and agreed upon by
the Company exercising the Art of
Ringing, known and called by the
name of the Schollers of Cheapside
Continuing from the Second Day of
February, Anno Domini, 1608.

Johannes Owen me scripsit 6
Anno 1636. Bibliotheca Hoanciana 3463

do. do. 17th Cent Copy in Library of All Souls
College, Oxon cxix.

Chidley, Samuel

To His Highness the Lord Protector &c
a pamphlet against sleepers, 1656. E896(9)

* do. do Bell Founders Confounder, or Sabirianus
Confounder with his Damnable Lett,
by a Lover of Ministers, especially in
Churches n.d. ? 1652.

Cibber, Colley, (1671-1757)

An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley
Cibber, written by himself 1740. 841 m 9.

Clarendon, Earl of (1609-1674)

History of the Rebellion and Civil
Wars in England, 1704.

Clifton, A. B.

The Cathedral Church of Lichfield.

Clutterbuck, Robert, (1772-1831)

The History and Antiquities of
Hereford, 1821.

C. G. E. C. Complete Baronetage, 2101c 7

Cobbett's Complete Collection of State Trials, 1811

Cocks, A. H.

The Bells of Buckinghamshire

Cokayne, Geo. E.

The Complete Peerage Edited by the
Hon. Vicary Gibbs, 1912. 2101c

Committee for Advance of Money

Calendar of Proceedings

Cooler, William, (1825-1912)

Letters to The Builders

Corcoran, Bryan.

St. Olave's Hart Street and All
Hallows, Wainig.

Cosin, John, Bishop of Durham, (1594-1672)

Notes and Collections on the Prayer
Book. Included in Cosin's Collected
works.

Covent Garden Journal, 1752.

Davies, Charles, D.P. (18

8

Hedman, The Historic Seals and
General History, by the late Jasper
Whitfield Snowden. 1903. 1

Davies, Thomas. (1712? - 1785)

Dramatic Miscellanies, 1784, 840, C, 41.

Daniell, Robert A.

Remarks on the Secular Nature
of the origin and development of
Change Ringing, historically Considered.
Bell News May 27 1899 et seq.

do. do. Fabian Hedman B.N. Nov 7. 1903.

do. do. Two Old Oxford Manuscripts, Bell
News Jan 23, 1904, et seq.

do. do. On the position of Change Ringing
as an athletic exercise historically
Considered. B.N. Jan 27 1906 et seq.

do. do. John Bunyan, B.N. Mar 1, 1910.

do. do. Sir Matthew Hale, B.N. Mar 10, 1910.

do. do. John Bunyan, His Love of Bells
and ringing. Ringing World Aug. 24,
1934.

Dictionary of National Biography.

9

Doble C. C.

Thomas Hearn, Remarks and
Collections S.A.C. 8126/2

Doleman, J. J. D. and C. M.

Campanalogia Improved, or the
Art of Ringing made Easie, 1702. 14006.

Loran, John (1807-1878)

Their Majesties Servants, 1888. 203664.

Duckworth Richard

Tintinnalogia, or the Art of Ringing;
wherein is laid down plain and
easie Rules for Ringing all sorts
of Plain Changes, together with Directions
for Pricking and Ringing all Cross
Seals; with a full Discovery of the
Mystery and Grounds of each Seal
as also Instructions for Hanging of
Bells with all things belonging thereto
By a Lover of that Art. 1668.

* do. do. Second Edition, Bodleian Library
do. do. Reprint of First Edition, 1895.

Dugdale, Sir William. (1605-1686).

10

Diary.

614.18(1)

do. do. *The Antiquities of Warwickshire*
King Library.

Dunton, John, (1659-1733).

Dunton's Whipping Post or a Satyr
upon Every Body, etc. S.13722.

Ellacombe, Henry Thomas, (1790-1885).

The Bells of the Church, 1872. 3477c24

do. do. *The Church Bells of Somerset*, 1875

3477c2.

do. do. *Manuscripts.* Add MSS. 33205-6.

Encyclopaedia Britannica.

Esquire Youths, Society of,

Original name and rule book.

Add MSS. 28.504.

Evelyn, John (1620-1706)

Diary. Globe Edition, 1908.

Foss, Edward. (1787-1870)

Biographia Juridica, 1870. 2095f.

Fosbrooke, Thomas Dudley F.S.A. (1770-1842) 11

Abstract of Records and Manuscripts
respecting the County of Gloucestershire
formed into a History correcting the
very erroneous account and supplying
numerous deficiencies in Sir Robert
Atkins and subsequent authors.

1807.

Fosse John, (1516-1587).

Actes and Monuments of these
latter and perillous dayes, touching
matters of the Church wherein
are Comprehended and described
the great persecutions and horrible
troubles that have been wrought
and practised by the Romish
prelates, etc. 1563. C 37 b2.

Another edition 1842-49 4707 d d 2.

Freeman, Edward A

Methods of Historical Study, 1886.

Froude, James Anthony (1818-1894)

12

History of England.

Gentleman's Magazine

Gerochow, Frederic

Diary of the Journey of Philip Julius
Duke of Sletten-Pomerania through
England in the year 1602. 1605.

Printed and translated from copy in
Library of Count Von der Osten y Rathe
in Pomerania, in Vol VI (new series) of
Royal Historical Society's Transactions
Edited by Dr. Gottfried Von Pülow.

Gillet and Johnston

Bow Bells.

Goldsmith, John I.

Fabian Hedman of Cambridge

Souvenir of Tercentenary Commemoration
1931.

Gordon, William.

The Lives of Edward and John
Phillips, 1815.

134 & 5.

Gray's Inn Admissions Register

13

Green, John Richard (1837-1883)

A Short History of the English People.

Groves Dictionary of Music and

Musicians Third Edition 1927

Hampden, William (1776-1831)

The Life Diary and Correspondence
of Sir William Dugdale, Knight,
1827 614 G. 8.

Harwood, Rev Thomas, (1767-1842).

The History and Antiquities of the
Church and City of Lichfield,
1806. 2367 C 12.

Harrison, Captain John.

The Tragical Life and death of
Munley Abdala Meleke, the Calie
King of Barbarie, written by a
Gentleman employed in those parts
Printed at Delft Anno 1633. 1198 C 22

do. do. The Sheeah already come. Written
in Barbary 1610. 1619. 482 G 3 (2)

Hadley, Edward, (1732-1812)

The History of the County of Kent, 1778.

Hawkins, Sir John.

General History of the Science and
Practice of Music, 1776. 1307 12.16.

Hawkins, Sir John and others.

A Dictionary of Musicians 1827
1042. b. 16.

Heame, Thomas. (1678-1735)

Diary see Doble, C.E.

Hentzer, Paulus. (1558-1623)

Itinerarium Germaniae, etc. 12208 C2 1-5.

Hewitt, John.

Handbook of Lichfield Cathedral,
1886. 4705. bbb. 22.

Hopkins, E. Thurston

This London, its Taverns, Haunts,
and Memoires, 1927.

Hopkins, John (1800-1862)

Letters to H. T. Ellacombe

Add MSS. 33,206.

Hopkins was a well known Birmingham
ringer and collector of information relating
to bells and the history of ringing.

Howlett, R.

15

The School of Recreation or Gentleman's
Tutor to those most Ingenious Exercises
of Hunting Racing etc by R.H. 1684

C. 31c 47.

another edition, 1710. 785 b 30.

do. , 1710. 1040 c 11.

do. , 1732. 1040 a 3.

do. , 1736. 785 b 31.

The General Catalogue of the British Museum
gives R.H.'s name as Howlett.

Hume, David (1711-1776)

History of England, Ed 1818.

Humphrey, William H.

Lives of Eminent Serjeants-at-Law
of the English Bar. 1869 2095-d.

Hutchinson, John.

Notable Middle Templars 1902, 2102f.

Inghen, A R.

Middle Temple Bench Books, 1912.
2102g.

Inner Temple, Students Admitted to

1547-1660.

2102f.

Ireland, Calendar of State Papers 1509-1570

Jessopp, D. Augustus, D.D.

Autobiography of Roger North, 1887.

10825 e 23.

Kelly's Directory of Cheshire.

Kimber, E. and Johnson, R.

Baronage of England,

2101C

King, Arthur T.

The Bells of St. Sepulchres Snow Hill

Bell News Feb 22 1908, reprinted from
annual report of Middlesex County Assn.

Lincoln's Inn, Records of the Honbl. Society

Admissions 1420-1799. 1896 2102g.

Lingard, John. (1771-1851)

History of England.

Lodge, Edmund, (1756-1839).

The Genealogy of the British Peerage
and Baronage, 1859.

Lodge, Richard.

Political History of England, 1910.

Lowndes, William Thomas.

The Bibliographer's Manual of English
Literature, 1857.

Lewis, Rev. William C.

17

An Account of Church Bells, with
some notices of Wiltshire Bells and
Bell-founders. 1857. 1400 l. 33.

Reprinted from the Magazine of the
Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural
History Society, 1854.

Luttrell, Narcissus, (1657-1732)

Relations of State Affairs from 1678
to 1714. 1857. 2094 c.

Macaulay Lord, (1800-1859)

History of England.

Magius, Guolamo.

H. Magii de Firmamentis, Liber
postumus, F. Sverius notis illustrabit
Hanoviae, 1608. 1042 d 50.

Mason, Charles D.D.

* manuscripts in Library of Downing
College, Cambridge

Manley Mrs (1663-1724)

New Atlantis

Melchior, Thomas

Advertisement in Norwich Gazette, 1731.

Mersenne, F. Marin

Harmonie Universelle, contenant
la theorie et la pratique de la
musique. Paris, 1636. 558 c 11.

* Middle Temple, Minutes of Parliaments
edited by C.F. Martin

Millon, John.

* Areopagitica

Morant, Philip, (1700-1770)

History and Antiquities of Essex,
1768. 2064c.

Morris, Ernest.

The History and Art of Change
Ringing, 1931. 3475 L 41.

Muddiman, Joseph George.

The Bloody Strife, 1929. 6496 d 1/30.

Musgrave, William. (1655? - 1721)

Obituaries.

Nash, T.

19

The History and Antiquities of
Worcestershire, 1781. 20637.

Newcombe

Nicoll, Alandyce

A History of the Restoration Drama
1660-1700 1928 2nd ed.

do. do. A History of the Early Eighteenth
Century Drama, 1700-1750. 1929. 20396.

Nichols, John, F.S.A. (1745-1826).

Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, 599 c 3

Noble, Rev. Mark. (1754-1827)

The Lives of the English Regicides
1798. 5. 1895.

Noles and Queries.

North, Roger. (1653-1734)

Essays, 1740 9212 L 10.

do. do. Autobiography ed. 1887. 10825 c 23.

North, Thomas 1830-1884

The Church Bells of Pulland, 1880.

3478 g 3.

North, Thomas. (contd)

20

The Church Bells of Northamptonshire
1878.

Ormerod, George LL.D. (1785-1873)

History of the County Palatine, and
City of Chester, 1882.

Osborn, Edward John

Collections and Manuscripts

add MSS. 19368-19372.

Note Book with drafts of letters to
various persons. In possession of
author.

Parliamentary Committee for Compounding
1643-1660. Calendar of the Proceedings
2073-126.

Parnell, John Alfred

* manuscripts These are largely printed
by Morris.

Parry, Sir Edward.

The Bloody Strife.

Pearson, Rev William Carter

Some Particulars of the Principal Rings
of Bells in the Eastern Counties, 1910.

Icelys, Samuel. (1633-1703)

Diary Edited by Lord Braybrooke
do Complete Edition H. B. Wheatley.

Pinkes, W. J.

History of Clerkenwell.

Plume, Thomas, D.D. (1630-1704)

A Century of Sermons by the Rev. Father in God, John Hackett, Lord Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. 1675.
(Contains a life of the bishop) 698 m 14

do. do. An Account of the life and death of John Hackett. Edited by Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, 1865. 4906. aa 59.

Public Adviser, The. 1658.

Quarterly Review, 1854.

An Article on Church Bells

Raven, J. J. D.D., F.S.A.

The Church Bells of Cambridgeshire
1869. 7896 aaa 1

do. do. The Church Bells of Suffolk.

do. do. The Bells of England

Reliquary, The.

Rembrancia, Analytical Index of
1579-1664. 1878.

Ringing World, The.

Royal Commission on Historical Monuments.

Inventory Essex, 1921.

do. Hertfordshire, 1911.

Royal Historical Society.

Transactions of the Historical Society
of Great Britain Vol VI new series.

Rudder, Samuel (17 - 1801)

A New History of Gloucestershire
1779.

St. Peter's College, Westminster.

List of Queen's Scholars, 1855.

St. Stephen's Bristol Guild of Ringers.

Rules printed by E. Lacombe, Fulmin
Smith, The Ringing World, H. B.
Wallers, etc.

Scattergood, Samuel, (1646-1696)

Fifty-two Sermons, 1725. 4453 C.5.

Seymour, Robert.

A Survey of the Cities of London and
Westminster, Borough of Southwark, and
parts adjoining, 1734. 60657.

Shaw, W. St.

The Knights of England, 1906.

Sharpe, Frederick

Letters in The Ringing World.

Shepherd, E. C.

* History of Solihull Parish Church.

Shipway, William

The Campanalogia, or Universal
Instruction in the Art of Ringing

1814, 1816.

1400 C 14.

do. do Reprint, Bell News. 1886.

Slater, Theodore E.

Letter in The Ringing World.

Smith, Rev J. J.

The Cambridge Portifolio, 1840. 732 R1.

Smith, J. Foulmin. (1816-1869)

English Guilds, 1870 RAC 9925/33.

Snowdon, Jasper Whitfield.

Grandsire 1st ed. 1888

do 2nd ed. 1905

Double Norwich Court Bob Major, 1884.

Standard Methods.

Rope Light

Snowden, Jasper Whitfield (cont.)

24

The History of Shedman's Principle
included in "Shedman" by C. D. P. Davies
1903. and (revised) in "Shedman" 1938

do. do. many articles on the history of ringing
in Church Bells and The Bell News.

Soden, Rev Alfred J

The History of Plockley, 1875. printed
for private circulation only. 10369 v. 14.

Slaveley, Thomas. (1626-1684)

The History of Churches in England.
1712.

State Papers, Domestic, Calendar of,

Shedman, Fabian, 1642? - 1713.

Campanalogia or the Art of Ringing
Improved, with plain and easy
Rules to guide the Practitioner in
the Ringing all kinds of Changes. To
which is added a great variety of New
Peals. London. Printed by W. Bodley
for W.S. and are to be sold by Langley
Curtis in Coat Court on Ludgate-hill 1677
1400611.

Stephen, H. L.

State Trials, Political and Social, 1902.

Stevens, Henry N.

Book Auction Records, 1929-1932.

Stahlochmidt, J. C. L.

Surrey Bells and London Bellfounders
1884 3478 L7.

Stow, John, (1525? - 1605)

A Survey of London, Containing the
originall, Antiquity, Increase, Moderne
Estate, and Description of that Citie
written in the year 1598.

Stiff, William Phillimore H.

Notes on Nottingham Campanology
The Reliquary, Vol XIII, p 81.

Steele, Sir Richard.

* The Tatler.

Stirpe, John.

Survey of London.

Thoroton, R. (1623-1678)

History of Nottingham, Edited by
John Throsby, 1797. 2064 C.

Times, The

26

Trevelyan, George Macaulay

England under the Stuarts, 1904.

Trinity College Cambridge Admissions

Trollope J. Armiger

Bibliographia Campanarum, MS.
Central Council Library.

do. do. A Short Account of the Society of
College Youths. MS.

do. do. Spedman, 1938.

do do Articles in Ringing World.

Tyack, Rev. G. I.

A Book about Bells, 1898 2202 C 10.

Tysse, Ambrose D. D.C.L., M.A.

The Church Bells of Sussex, 1915.

3475 L 11.

Veron, Jean (- 1563)

The Hunting of Purgatory to Death.

Waller, H. B. and Deedes Cecil

The Church Bells of Essex, 1909

3478 C 12.

Wallers, H. B.

27

The Church Bells of England, 1912
31477 ecc 3.

do. do. Church Bells, 1908.

do. do. Letters in Notes and Queries.

do. do. London Bells and Bellfounders.

Westminster Abbey Registers.

Harleian Society's Publication

Wheatley H. B.

London Past and Present, 1891. 2065a

White J.

A Rich Cabinet with Variety of
Inventions unlock'd and open'd for
the Recreation of Ingenious Spirits
at their vacant Hours &c

Fifth Edition, 1677.

White J. (Sont.)

The Art of Ringing giving exact Rules
for Ringing all Sorts of Plain Changes
and Cross Peals with Directions for
Tricking. Also how to hang Bells, &c.

undated but said to be 1698.

Williamson, Dr George E.

Curious Survivals, 1924.

Willis, Browne.

A Survey of Cathedrals, 1742., 471598

Wood, Anthony a

Athenae Oxonienses. An Exact
History of all the Writers and Bishops
who have had their Education in the
most Ancient and Famous University
of Oxford, etc. The Second Edition
very much Corrected and enlarged
with the addition of above 500 new
Lives from the Author's original manuscripts

1721.

685 & 11.

do. do. Edition by Philip Bliss, 1820. 20919.

do. do. Fasti Oxonienses.

do. do. Life and Times. 1891. R.A.C. 8126/11.

Worcestershire Archaeological Society

The Church Bells of Worcestershire

1901.

3476 f 13.

Wright, Thomas, (1810-1877)

The History and Topography of the
County of Essex. 1836. 2065c.

Dennis, G. Ravenscroft

The House of Cecil, 1914.

Mailland, William.

History and Survey of London, 1756.
2065f.

de Sales, Rachael.

Hillingdon through Eleven Centuries,
1926.

Marshall, Francis

An Epitome of the Art of Ringing.
Compiled from unimpeachable sources,
1849. MS. College Junks' Copy
Deal Book, No 1.

Cooper, Charles Henry, Annals of
Cambridge, 1842. 010349 i 42

do. do. Memorials of Cambridge,
greatly enlarged from the work of
J. C. Kerish. 2nd Ed. 1880 2367 av 1

Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum

1642-1660

1911

2082 C.

Trollope, J. Armiger, The College Juniors,

a History of the Society, 1937.

2474 CC4.

Calendar of Treasury Books.

Chapter II.

32

Bungers and Ringing in the Seventeenth
Century before the rise of Fabian
Stedman.

Only a few years ago it would have been literally correct to say that everything which was known about London ringers and ringing in the seventeenth century could be written, if not on half a sheet of note paper, at any rate on half a sheet of foolscap. It was contained in one paragraph in Shipway's Campanalogia^①, and another in the rule book of the Ancient Society of College Juniors^②, the first having the authority of John Alfred Parnell, the second that of George Searl^③, and

neither is particularly accurate. One
 name only had remained in the memory
 of the Exercise, the great name of
 Fabian Hedman, and familiar as
 that was to all ringers, it is remarkable
 how little was known either of the man
 himself or of what he did. The two
 books associated with him were called
 the Campanalogia in a few copies in
 the hands of ringers here and there,
 and not very accessible to the average
 person; ⁽⁴⁾ the Tintinnalogia fairly well
 known through the excellent reprint
 issued by Harvey Reeves in 1895. But
 these books were looked on as interesting
 survivals from an archaic age, dealing
 with matters long since obsolete and

of no practical value; and what they have to tell us, either of the history, or of the fundamentals of the art, was almost entirely missed.

Today we know much more about the matter. We know what methods were used. We can trace the rise and the slow, steady, and logical growth of the art. There is a good deal to be told of the pingers themselves. But there are still great gaps in our knowledge and most of what we should like to know is lost for ever. Records, whether in writing or in the form of peal boards, such as abound in the next century, do not exist, and we have but one contemporary account of any particular

ringing. Where, and when, and by whom the first Six-score of Grandiose Doubles, or the first Seven hundred and twenty of Bob Minor was rung we do not know, nor do we know who were the people that first attempted to ring a Five-thousand. Of seven men only can we say definitely that they helped in the development of the science—Robert Roan, John Tending, Richard Duckworth, Fabian Hedman, Samuel Scattergood, John Patrick, and John Doleman. Three of them were authors whose books still survive; six of them were Composers, and five produced "peals" which are still regularly practised by

ringers. Of six of these men we know something, where they lived, what was their station in life, and of one or two we can guess what manner of men they were. But of Dolman we know absolutely nothing, we do not even know what his Christian name was, for though I have called him John, that is only a guess and it may have been Joseph or Joshua.

There is a fairly long list of men who took a more or less prominent part in the public life of their time and whom we know to have been ringers; but to what extent, - whether their connection with the Exercise was transitory or life long - we do not

know. I propose to give a short account ³⁷
of these men, and if in so doing I have
to write on other matters than ringing,
my excuse must be that this is an
attempt at a history of ringers as well
as of ringing

Long before the close of the Elizabethan
period ringing in England had become
a popular pastime. It had grown
out of the very souls and genius of the
English people. The bells were a part
of their life and being, and represented
not only the deep things of religion, but
also the ordinary events and emotions
of common life. Even today there is
nothing which can so well in some
part recapture the spirit of old times,

and, as James Anthony Froude so
finely says, "the sound of church bells,
that peculiar creation of mediæval
age, falls on the ear like the echo of
a vanished world." (4A) Two main
influences had created the modern
ringing Exercise; one the age long use
of bells in the service of Church and
state, the other the love of sport which
is ingrained in the English character -
two influences which today seem quite
incongruous and contradictory, but
which in the Middle Ages could be
reconciled without much difficulty.
Then, as we have seen, the changes
following the Reformation had largely
secularized the use of bells, and

While in earlier times men learnt
to enjoy the ringing done for other purposes,
now they often rang because they
enjoyed ringing and for no other
reason. We have no evidence as to

how soon the first societies were founded,
for the mediæval guilds, like the
Brethren of Westminster in the reign
of Henry III, ⁽¹⁴⁰⁵⁾ belonged to conditions which
had entirely passed away. We may
perhaps assume that by the middle
of the sixteenth century young men
of good social standing were forming
societies for the purpose of practicing
ringing as a sport, and at the same
time the ordinary ringers who were
paid for their services when the bells

were rung for national or civic purposes, would, as often as they could, meet in the belfry to practise the art they had learnt to love. 40

Things which belong to ordinary life are taken for granted, and naturally there are but comparatively few references to ringing in contemporary literature. It is only by chance allusions and by the testimony of foreign visitors that we know how popular ringing was in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. To the stranger accustomed as he was to the regular use of bells on the Continent, the constant ringing of bells in England was striking. Paul Hentzner's assertion that it was common for Englishmen when they had got a

glass in their heads to go up into the
 belfry and ring for hours, need not
 be taken too literally. ⁽⁴⁰⁶⁾ Probably he could
 account in no other way for men ringing
 for no other reason than that they enjoyed
 ringing. Frederick Gerschow in his Diary
 of the journey through England in 1602,
 of Philip Julius the Duke of Stettin -
 Pomerania says that on arriving in
 London we heard a great ringing of
 bells in almost all churches going on
 very late in the evening. We were
 informed that the young people do that
 for the sake of exercise and amusement
 and sometimes they pay considerable sums
 as a wager who will pull a bell the
 longest and ring it in the most approved

fashion. Parishes spend much money ⁴²
in harmoniously sounding bells, that
one being preferred which has the
best bells. ^(4B) Elizabeth boasted and
with reason that she knew and understood
her people. What they felt she felt,
and she was at one with them in her
love of bells and ringing. In her sister's
reign she had been sent to the Tower
and narrowly escaped with her life.
On her release she returned thanks at
St. Olave's Hart Street, and is said to
have presented the church with a set
of silken bell ropes. ^(4C) The vane in the
form of a crown which surmounts the
steeple is supposed to commemorate
this visit. When as queen she visited
town or village on one of her numerous

43

progresses she listened for the bells
and their silence was sure to provoke
her displeasure and censure ⁽²¹⁾ In that
she was not singular, for Foxe relates
that Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of
Canterbury passing by the high street
of London did not only look and wait
for the ringing of bells for a triumph
of his coming, but took great snuff
and did suspend all such churches
in London, (not only with the steeples
and bells but also with the organs)
so many as did not receive his coming
with the noise of bells, as out of his own
Registes may appear. ^(4D)

Gerschow bears witness that the
"old Queen is said to have been

pleas'd very much by this exercise 44
Considering it as a sign of the health
of the people." Towards the end of her
reign an injunction was issued
forbidding Churchwardens to sell bells
as an easy way to raise money for
the repair of the fabric of the church.
Elizabeth greatly admired the old ring
of five at Shoreditch. As she pass'd
on her way to Hatfield the bells which
were much esteem'd for their melody
used to strike up in honour of her
approach, and she seldom fail'd to
stop at a small distance from the
church and amid the prayers and
acclamations of the people would listen
attentively and commend the music. ⑤

45

Bells were for the most part in rings of three and occasionally five. They were hung with a half wheel, or perhaps with a lever; they could hardly be swung more than frame high, there were no pulleys to the ropes, all the pulling had to be done from backs like and there was little control from hand. In the conditions ringing was a sport for strong and lusty men. It consisted of raising in peal, ringing rounds, and ceasing, and in doing these a good deal of skill was shown. The merely promiscuous clashing of several bells together which was, and still is, general on the Continent had long since ceased to find favour in England.

46

That the outside public could in those early days appreciate good striking may be inferred from the familiar reference in "Hamlet" to "sweet bells jangled, out of tune and harsh." ⁽⁴¹⁵⁾

The rule was that at the first pull all the bells should be "swayed" but not struck, and at the second pull all of them should strike. Failure to do this was reckoned a great fault and sometimes punished by a fine. On a light ring at the third pull the bells had to strike both at back and hand. With heavier rings the bells might be swayed for two pulls without striking and it was usual to strike them

double at the fourth pull. But ⁴⁷
the rule that "all the notes should
strike round at one pull" still
held whatever the weight of the
penon. If a bell was too heavy or
went too badly for one man to
manage as many more were put to
it as the case required and it was
not unusual to have a dozen or
fourteen or even sixteen men to
a weighty ring of six. Here we
may probably see the origin of the
Custom which still exists of having
boxes to stand on for by that means
three or four men can much more
easily pull on one rope. The aim
was to raise the bells as quick as

may be, ⁽⁶⁾ and the sport closely 48
resembled rowing, for it was the
output of the utmost strength and
exertion but conditioned by the
necessity of perfect timing and Concord
with the rest of the band.

This style of ringing - raising, rounds
at three quarters height, and ceasing -
continued unaltered in parts of the
Country for a long time though
with improvements in bell hanging
it gradually lost its more strenuously
athletic character, and in Cornwall
and parts of Devonshire has survived
to the present day; ⁽¹³⁾ but in London
and some of the large towns soon
after the ^{early days of the} seventeenth Century it began to
be neglected in favour of change-ringing

and we have the rather curious fact ⁴⁹ that throughout the history of the Exercise the best raising, falling, and round ringing has always been done by the least intelligent and skilful of ringers.

Change-ringing appeared in London and the University towns in the early days of the Seventeenth Century and about 1610 the "Sices" were invented, which event, Steedman ^(6A) correctly marked as the real birth of the art, for in the Sices, as they were rung, you have in embryo almost the whole of change ringing. The idea that produced change-ringing was not just the desire to have some variety in the music by altering the order in which the bells struck, it was to get fresh orders by moving the bells among themselves. Ringing was like a ~~dance~~ set dance in which the dancers were continually

altering their positions, or drill
 evolutions in which soldiers were continually
 altering their formation. This movement
 (though it is abstract movement of
 abstract things) is the essential idea
 at the base of ~~the~~ change ringing, and
 we can hardly understand the birth
 and development of the art if we miss
 that fact. It is note worthy that
 the majority of the terms used in
 practical ringing imply the idea
 of movement; - hunting, dodging,
 leading, lying, place, bob, up, down,
 snapping, whole-turn, half-turn,
 course, change - they all suggest
 movement and very little else besides
 movement. Most of the fundamental
 rules of the art depend upon this
 idea. For instance the rule that
 a bell which strikes in (say) fourths
 may at the next change strike in thirds

or fifths' but not in seconds or sixths is not an arbitrary enactment, but is due to the fact that movement implies a connected path and that you cannot get from fourths to sixths without going through fifths. Stedman tried to mark the distinction between the abstract bell which hunts and dodges, and the material bell which swings in the chamber above, by using the term "note" for the former; but ordinary ringers did not bother about the difference, nor do they now.

The first development was to move one bell, called the Hunt, among the others which, except when they had to give the first round, remained stationary. Thus in the Lutes as first rung, the treble was hunted up and

down. Experience shewed that when the Horni was leading or lying, a change had to be made on the two other bells, which change was called an Escream. The Sces, rung in this manner, produce exactly the same changes as if all the bells hunted, but Stedman points out the essential difference between the two methods, ⁽⁸⁾ and it is at once apparent when they are extended to four, five, or more bells.

The first changes on five bells were experimental, and consisted in varying the Horni's. In the "Twenty all over" each bell in turn was hunted from front to back until the bells came round, a method which already obsolete in Stedman's time survived in places until living

memory. ⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ In the Eight and Forty the ⁵³
fifth and fourth were alternately the
Hunts. This also Hedman included
merely "for Antiquity's sake." The real
line of development was found in the
Plain Changes, which (although in
them only one pair of bells changed
at a time) were constructed on
a thoroughly scientific and mathematical
plan, and indeed foreshadowed more
of the composition of the next two
centuries.

But before these changes could be
rung, improvements had to be made
in bell hanging, and especially in
increasing the arc of the wheel, so
that the bells could be rung higher,
or as the phrase went at a greater
compass. Like all improvements, this
was adopted gradually. We have

seen that it was adopted at St Edmund's Salisbury in 1620⁽⁴⁰⁷⁾, and we may assume that some bells were hung with three quarters wheels years before that date and some still had the half wheels years after.

As yet there was nothing like our modern half pull ringing. With a three quarters wheel the bells could be rung up to a "set pull" at hand, and the changes from hand would be made by varying the amount of pulling from back; but the bells could not be rung high enough at back to make it possible to change there. The more skilled ringers rang in whole pulls. The less skilful and "young practisers" "walked" the changes, that is they rang each change

four, six, eight, or more whole pulls before going on to the next, which gave them plenty of time to see what to do. It was not until the full wheel was adopted and sails put to the ropes that half pull ringing was really possible, and we may put those improvements, or at any rate the former, somewhere about 1670. as an average date for the whole Country and perhaps ten years earlier for London. ⁽⁴²¹⁾ Long before that, "Cross Seals" had been introduced, and Plain Changes were becoming obsolete. Abandoned by the more advanced ^{Companies} ~~Boats~~ in favour of the newer methods, the latter rapidly deteriorated in quality character; they ceased

to be rung in whole pulls; they love their scientific construction; a conductor was introduced to call the changes; and regard ceased to be paid to truth. Then appeared stoney, which is a degenerate form of the oldest kind of change ringing. Ringers have found it useful as a means of getting approximately the outside effect of change ringing with the minimum amount of technical skill. As such it probably will always be rung, but it is a stagnant backwater entirely outside the main stream of the development of the art. To argue backwards, as is so often done, from this degraded stuff to the Plain Changes from which it descended, and to speak contemptuously of them as "Call Changes" ⁽⁹⁾ is to show an ignorance

of the real nature and construction
 of one of the most interesting methods
 of ringing. Honey has reproduced
 merely its limitations and defects.
 Its good qualities have survived
 through other channels.

The first London society of which we have any record was the Schollers of Cheapside which was founded in 1603 and lasted with varying fortune for just sixty years. It evidently was composed of a number of young men of good social class who were citizens of London, and who met at some tavern in or near Cheapside and practised at the various towers in the City. Bow Church was then as now the only tower with bells in Cheapside (418) and had these been the ringers specially attached to that Church the rules no doubt would have said so. The original rule and name book is now in the British Museum among the Sloane MSS. (10) It is a small volume of

about one hundred pages, finely bound ⁵⁹
and written on vellum. Like most old
documents written in cursive script, it
is very difficult to read, many letters
being made quite differently from the
present fashion.

The book is headed, "Orders conceived
and agreed upon by the Company exercising
the Art of Ringing known and called
by the name of the Schollers of Cheapside
continued from the second day of
February, Anno Domini 1603." The
rules are thirty seven in number. After
stating by way of preamble that "no
Society either of profit or pleasure can
well stand and continue without form
and order" it is laid down that the
government of the Company should be

60
Committed to five persons the Chief of
Whom was to be the General who had
the Custody of the book of rules, and
the other four to be the Wardens These
Officers were elected annually. On
Michaelmas Day in each year the
General for the time being was to present
to the Company the names of four of the
Ancientest or sufficientest of the members
and out of them the General for the
ensuing year was elected. Then the
presiding General and the assistants of
this Company" (i.e. those who had
already passed through the chain) were
to nominate and appoint four persons
of the said Company being freemen for
Wardens of the Company for the year
ensuing.

61

During his term of office the General had to arrange for four quarterly feasts on the second of February (the society's anniversary), the first of May, the first of August, and the first of November. The Wardens had to arrange twelve monthly feasts on the last Monday in each month, the senior Warden in November, December, and January, and the three other Wardens for three months each in the order of his seniority. The observance of the anniversary day is interesting because it lends credence to the tradition that the Society of College Youths was founded on the day which has all along been observed as its anniversary.

The General with the consent of the Assistants, appointed yearly a Warden

whose duties were to give proper notice of meetings and to collect subscriptions. The General and the Assistants in the November of each year made a rate to be paid quarterly, and not to exceed eightpence per quarter for each member. Out of the money so raised the Warner was to pay "at every quarterly and monthly peal by the appointment of the General, to the session where every such peal shall be rung, 12d." The balance of the money together with sixpence levied on every new member he was to have as his wages. If a member was elected to the office of General and refused to serve he was fined ten shillings, and if he were elected to the office of Warden and refused to serve

he was fined half a crown.

63

The annual feast was held on All Saints Day, November the first on which occasion the newly elected General and Wardens were admitted into their offices. The new General provided the dinner at such place within the liberties of the City of London, as he might deem most convenient. To defray the cost he was to charge each married man two shillings and six pence, each unmarried man if a freeman two shillings and each apprentice twelve pence. Every member who introduced a guest was to pay one shilling for him, and all members alike, whether present or not, were liable for for the dinner contribution unless absence was caused by illness. If the feast

Cost more than the amount contributed the General had to pay the balance out of his own pocket. This or a similar rule seems to have been customary in all the old societies. The differentiation between married men, and bachelors and apprentices was evidently in order that the older and presumably better off should pay more than the younger and less well to do. The references to "freemen" and "apprentices" are not to freemen and apprentices of the City, but to the full members and probationers of the society. They were terms taken from the guilds.

One of the rules forbade any member to make or accept any challenge to or with any other company without

allowance or Consent of the General,
 which seems to show that Competition
 between Bands was not unusual,
 and it was further enacted that
 if any member shall by any idle or
 untimely report give just occasion of
 offence to any other Company whereby
 any Contention or quarrel may arise
 he so offending shall pay such fine
 as the General and the Assistants
 shall think fit.

On the death of any member, the
 Company attended the funeral, and
 for a further token of their love,
 rang one knell peal either at the
 parish church where the burial
 took place, or else at the next parish

66

Church at which the Company could conveniently be got together; and the eldest assistant was responsible for this ringing upon notice given him by any member of the Company.

In this the Society was following the tradition of the gilds whose rules always ordered the attendance of members at a brother's funeral. Compare the following rule of the Gild of St. Katherine, Stamford in the year 1494: "Also it is ordeyned that the same daye when the generall feste is holden att offier noon in the seid church of Seynt Poules shalbe done and saide a placebo and dirige for all the soules of the Brethren and Sisters that ben parte in this Gilde, and their to ryng

iii) peels." (11)

67

The last rule of the Schollers of Cheapside provided that if any person should wilfully and stubbornly break or refuse the performance of the orders which were made for the maintenance of good order in an honest recreation he was to be expelled the Society as unfitting to use his recreation in honest company. (12)

The first General of the Society was John Silverton with Thomas Bescfield as senior Warden. Bescfield became the second General, and for some years the General was the man who in the previous year had been senior Warden. The arrangement however seems to have broken down probably due to the unwillingness of some members to face

the responsibilities of the chair. In a bad year the General might easily be involved in financial loss over the year. In 1617 William Chepe who had been a junior Warden as far back as 1608 was "fined" for refusing to serve after being elected, and the same thing happened to other men in 1629, 1630, 1632, and 1635.

In addition to the names of the officers there are numerous signatures of new members though the list evidently is not a complete one. Some of the men make their marks instead of signing, which does not mean that they were socially of a low class. An attempt to trace the Cheape Scholars

69

in other spheres of life has met
with little or no success. Markham
Bilcliff who joined in ¹⁶¹² 1612 and was
warden in 1617 and 1618 may have been
the son of Francis Bilcliff on behalf of
whom the King wrote to the Lord Mayor
and Aldermen on July 8th 1612, requesting
that he might be admitted to the
office of Chief Clerk to the Secondary of
the Complex in Wood Street, if there (323)
should be no just exception against him.
In the same year the King wrote on
behalf of John Owen, (324) and Symon Owen
was one of the junior Wardens. The older
men evidently were lawyers, and most
likely the younger were students at one
of the Inns of Court where ringing was
a popular sport.

On the 28th of November 1631, the 70
six heavy bells at St. Sepulchre's Hollow
were rung by a band of men all of
whom had held the office of General.
The treble was rung single handed, two
men were put to each of the second
and third, four men to each of the fourth
and fifth, and five men to the tenor.
Two other men "stood by." This is the
only record we have of any ringing
in the seventeenth Century in which
the names of the ringers are given.
What they rang is not stated, but
we may assume from what we know
about the development of the art at
the time, that the bells were pulled
up in peal, rung in rounds, with
possibly some Plain Changes, and

71

ceased in fact, the whole of course
without stopping for there were no
stays and slides and the bells could
not be set.

After 1638 the fortunes of the society
seem to have declined; at any rate
the entries in the book are haphazard
and intermittent, several years being
blank. The last entry is in the year
1662, after which apparently the society
lapsed. The names of three of the later
members reappear in the College youths'
list. Thomas Postlock, who held office
in 1656, joined the younger company
in 1668, and was steward in 1681, and
Master in 1686. He is described as an
Esquire a very unusual title in these
lists. The other two names are John

Jenkins and Fabian Hedman.

A copy of the Cheapside Scholars manuscript is in the library of All Souls, College, Oxford. It was for long thought to have been the original and is certainly not later than the middle of the seventeenth century.

It is quite likely was made by or for Narcissus Luttrell who was a diligent collector of manuscripts, and probably he tried to secure the original but failed, and so had to be content with a copy.

As the Scholars of Cheapside were in existence, when the Lincas were invented, and as they probably were the leading London Company, it is not unlikely that they were the first or among the first, to practise Change ringing. Doubtless they did their part in the development of the art which was taking place, but not much improvement had been made before the leading position fell to another society which was formed out of a very different class of men.

It was a usual thing at the time for the sons of Country gentlemen, after they had spent two or three years at Oxoford or Cambridge, (whither they were sent at a much earlier age than at present) to be entered as students

at one of the Inns of Court, the full term
 being seven years. ⁽³⁰⁴⁾ Among these young
 men there was, naturally, a good deal
 of spirit, which included ringing, and
 it was from them that in 1637 the Society
 of College Youths was formed. ⁽³²⁾ Unfortunately
 we have not got the full list of the
 original members, and the first few
 names entries in the name book are
 the names of the first few masters. ⁽³³⁾ But
 it is reasonable to suppose that most
 of them were foundation members, and
 that the others were of the same class.
 Of the documents in the possession of
 the present Ancient Society of College
 Youths, none is older than 1754, and
 the mutilated M.S. in the British
 Museum dates probably from about
 1746. But the list of members,
 though not fully complete, was, obviously,

75

Copied from older M.S.S and is authentic, though the titles which are given to some of the members were not borne by them until many years after they had become members and ^{when they} may have ceased to take an interest in singing. No copy of the original rules is extant, but there can be no doubt that they were similar to those of the Soidars of Chesapeake and the Esquire Fraternity, about which we shall have something to say presently. Nothing is known, or can be known, as to what times the Society practiced at, or where they met for their social gatherings. When we do get some glimpse of these particulars in after years the character of the Society had changed. One thing at least is certain that later traditions concerning the Society's

76

origin and name are pure guess work, based on insufficient data, and quite worthless, and void of truth.

The Society was founded on Nov. 5
1637
~~1737~~. The leading member and first
Master was William Percein, Lord
Percein of Leighlin, Co. Carlow in
the peerage of Ireland. The Perceins
were a very old family which had
been settled in Cheshire from before
the reign of Henry I. The eldest stock
lived at Percein a village a few
miles from Crewe, and there were branches
in other parts of Cheshire, in Ireland,
and in Norfolk. ⁽⁴⁰⁴⁾ Many members of the
family served the State in the army,
the Court, the Church, and the Law.
From very early times it was the
Custom to call the eldest son William,
and the second son John; and as this
was so in the junior branches of the

Family as well as in the elder, there
 were a great many William Perreins,
 many of whom had the honour of
 knighthood conferred on them, and
 several John Perreins ⁽¹⁴⁾ In the reign
 of Henry VIII, Sir William Perrein
 was second in Command to Sir William
 Skeffington, the Lord Deputy of Ireland,
 and was afterwards Lord Justice. ⁽¹⁵⁾ His
 sons Captain (afterwards Sir) John and
 Andrew were active in the Irish wars,
 and other members of the family are
 mentioned in the State Papers of the time. ⁽¹⁶⁾
 Another Sir William Perrein held
 an office in the royal household. He
 was involved in the disgrace of Anne
 Boleyn, was charged with having
 committed adultery with that
 unfortunate queen, and was beheaded
 for treason on May 17 1534. ⁽¹⁷⁾ Another

78

Sir William, son of Captain John and
grandson and heir of the Lord Justice, was
Sheriff of Cheshire. He died in 1559 and
was succeeded by his son a boy of nine
years old, who was baptised at Breton
Feb. 6th 1550. ⁽¹⁸⁾ This William served in
the Low Countries and was knighted at
Flushing by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.
About 1586 he built the Hall at Breton,
a building of stone and brick, which is
usually considered one of the finest
examples of Elizabethan architecture
existing. The tale is told, but on very
doubtful authority, that the great queen
laid the foundation stone and afterwards
visited the completed house. ⁽¹⁹⁾ On May 11th
1624 Sir William was created Baron
Breton of Leighlin in the Peerage
of Ireland, ⁽⁴²⁰⁾ and in 1630 he died, aged
80 years. He had four sons, William
born 1579, who was entered as a student
at Lincoln's Inn on Feb 8th 1586, ⁽²⁰⁾ Robert

born 1584, William born 1586, and 79
John, afterwards Sir John, born Feby 25
1591. As these all predeceased the
old Lord, the title and estates fell
on his death to his grandson, John's
son, William, who was born on Feby.
28th 1611 and baptised on March 8th
at Sawsworth. Of his boyhood and
early manhood nothing is known. I
have not been able to trace his name
among the alumni of Oxford or Cambridge
or as a student of one of the Inns of Court
though the names of several of his family
appear. ⁽³⁴⁾ In after years he applied for
a legal post which seems to show
that he did have some training in the
Law. His student days were over,
and he was twenty six years old
when he and his friends founded
the Society of College Juniors. He
married Elizabeth daughter of Sir

George Young afterwards Earl of
Storwich ~~and that~~ who held a
position of great importance at the
royal Court and managed to secure
a very large income by getting hold
of monopolies. ⁽²¹⁾ Through the influence
of his father-in-law and his own social
position, Breton was brought into
close contact with the king and all
the leading men of the time. His
active connection with the College
Youths did not last many years, for
~~clouds~~ ^{clouds} were gathering on the
political horizon and in 1642 the
Civil War broke out. Breton
threw himself warmly into the cause
of the king, went down to his own
County, gathered arms, raised
forces, and garrisoned his house. ⁽²²⁾
On the other side was his distant

Cousin, and namesake, Sir William
 Brereton of Handforth, "a gentleman
 of competent fortune in that County
 and Knight for the Shire in Parliament
 but most notorious for a known aversion
 to the government of the Church" ⁽²³⁾. Sir
 William came down from London with
 a troop of horse and dragoons, inflicted
 a sharp defeat on the Royalists and
 fortified Nantwich. Charles City through
 the influence of the Cathedral, was for
 the king; his adherents made it their
 head quarters; and from the two camps
 the opposing forces strove for the control
 of the County. ⁽²⁴⁾ The issue was decided
 in 1644, when Thomas Fairfax the
 best general the Parliament had
 (save only Oliver Cromwell), marched
 from Yorkshire joined Sir William
 Brereton and routed the Kings army
 at Nantwich, after which the Royalist

Came never revived again in Cheshire.
 Lord Breton fought at Marston
 and after the defeat escaped southward
 but he was surrounded and taken
 prisoner with his son and wife at
 Biddulph Hall in Staffordshire. He
 petitioned the Parliament to be exchanged
 but his request was refused, and he
 was told he must first give satisfaction
 for killing several of the Parliamentary
 side in cold blood at Marston, but
 A^a year later he was exchanged for
 Sir John Harcourt, ⁽²⁵⁾ and after that
 he retired to his own house and
 took no further active part in the
 war.

But his troubles were by no
 means over. The Parliament had
 fought the war partly on the grounds
 of the illegal raising of money by
 the King, and now, faced by the

necessity of providing the sinews of war, they themselves adopted much the same plan. A Committee for the Advance of Money was appointed, who assessed the value of the estates of County gentlemen and then levied a rate accordingly. Breton was assessed at £2,500, appealed against it, had it altered, and finally settled the demand by paying £240⁽²⁶⁾. When the Parliament finally triumphed, the estates of those gentlemen who had been guilty of delinquency (i.e. of bearing arms for the king or supporting his cause) were sequestered, and among a list of those seized in Cheshire appears Lord Breton's.⁽²⁷⁾

The delinquents were allowed to redeem their estates by paying a fine, variously fixed from one third to one tenth of the

84
value of the ~~estate~~ Lord Breton
was assessed at £4605-5-10 and
ordered to pay one sixth. ⁽²⁸⁾ He paid
half what was demanded, appealed
for a reduction of the balance, and
finally received his discharge at
Goldsmiths Hall May 6th 1648. The
estate was stated to be worth
£1400 a year. ⁽²⁹⁾ His brother John,
who as a boy of sixteen had ridden
forth to serve the king, was also
punished by sequestration, and
Lord Breton compounded for the
claims on him by paying £150. ⁽³⁰⁾
Thomas Sidway the estate bailiff had
to pay £120. ⁽³¹⁾

Mr Robinson, the vicar of Breton
was ejected for delinquency, and in
his place Lord Breton appointed a
John Holm whose doings and opinions
were not to the liking of the puritans

of the district. He refused to keep the
 fasts and thanksgiving days appointed
 by Parliament, or to subscribe to the
 Covenant (35). He would not do it, he
 said for ten times the value of the living.
 Some fanatic complained of all this to
 the Parliament, and laid the blame
 on Lord Breton. "This pads", he wrote
 "the heart of the honest party in the
 parish" (36). The puritans of Churchhulm
 and Middlewark also complain that
 Lord Breton had hindered their ministers
 and pray that they might be paid out
 of his estates (37) (427)

In 1660 came the Restoration of the
 Monarchy and Lord Breton like
 many another country gentleman, looked
 for restitution and compensation for the
 losses he had borne. He petitioned
 the King for a grant to himself and
 his son after him of the office of Custos
 Brevis in the Court of Common Pleas. (38)

Whether his request was granted does not appear, but on May 31st 1661 a warrant was issued to pay Lord Breton £500 as the King's free gift. ⁽⁴³³⁾ ⁽³⁹⁾ He was made Lord Lieutenant of Cheshire in conjunction with Edward Stanley, Earl of Derby, who was also Lord Lieutenant of Lancashire and Lord of the Isle of Man. This division of the office was unusual, and done in this case because while Breton represented the Cavalier gentry of the County, Derby's territorial and personal influence in the district was so great that he could not be passed by. The arrangement was not satisfactory. There was a good deal of ill feeling between the Bretons and the Stanleys. The latter were suspected of being lukewarm in the Royal Cause, and "ten loyal subjects" headed by Lord Breton sent a petition

to the king against ~~ag~~ Thomas Stanley
 of Alderley who wished to obtain the
 honour of a baronet. They protest that
 their action was not malicious, and
 point out that Stanley had made
 some persons "take bonds never to
 acknowledge a king" and (this no doubt
 was a sore point) his son Felix had
 brought part of the Marquis of Winchester's
 estate from the Commissioners of Delinquents
 Lands. (40)

Derby ignored Perceton, and tried
 to govern the county as if he did
 not exist, and this offended and
 irritated Perceton. There was confusion,
 and complaints sent up to Whitehall.
 Secretary Nicholas wrote to Derby
 that ^{the King hears} the militia ~~was~~ ^{is} in no good
 position because the earl will not
 consult with Lord Perceton about the
 appointments of deputy lieutenants. All

diligence must be used in settling the matter (141) In reply Derby excused himself by blaming Perreton for not signing the commissions, and brought down upon himself a sharp rebuke His Majesty is much dissatisfied, begs him to use expedition, and let his next letter report his diligence. The reason why Lord Perreton refused to sign the deputations was that the commission and instructions had not been sent to him, nor his advice taken about Cheshire, which the King expects to be done as he is joined in the Commission (142) Matters did not much improve, and later on Richard Leigh writes to the Secretary at Whitehall that having two Lord Lieutenants he finds it hard to please both. Lord Derby now seeks to oblige all he can and Lord Perreton is so wedded to

89
his own humour that nothing else
can please ⁽⁴³⁾ Some of the County
gentlemen sent a request that both
Prerelin and Derly should be dismissed
and Lord Gerard appointed Lord
Lieutenant, but this was not done.
A hint seems to have been given to
Derly to devote himself to his other
lieutenancy of Lancashire and his Lordship
of Man, and to leave Cheshire to Prerelin.

There was a good deal of dissatisfaction
in the County, and Prerelin reports
that he was keeping a strict watch.

Several of the suspects he arrested and
imprisoned in Chester Castle, for the
Habeas Corpus Act was not yet passed. ⁽⁴⁴⁾

One man ~~of~~ John Griffiths was especially
obnoxious to him. He had been a
captain in the Parliamentary army
and a dependent of the Stanleys. Lord
Derly made him Collector of excise in

the County although disqualified under
 the Act of Indemnity from holding government
 employment. Him, Lord Breckin Clapped
 into prison together with other persons
 Connected with the government of Charles
 under the old regime, and naturally
 they and their friends did their best to
 make trouble for him. Petitions were
 sent to Whitehall that Griffiths might
 be released so that he could attend
 to the Kings business (45) but Breckin
 Countered this by saying that Griffiths
 was a seditious person who tried to
 prejudice the King and Council against
 those who opposed his wicked attempts,
 as most of the gentry of the County would
 testify. It was not the Excise business
 that troubled him, for he had offered
 never to act again if he might have
 his liberty. He tried to escape from
 the castle, and therefore the writer

suspected him of greater matter than 91
had yet been found out. (46) In another
letter Lord Breton complains that
he serves the King in a place where he
can please no party (47) One Gachay
Croffon had left preaching, turned
cheese-factor and rode up and down the
County sowing sedition. After he was
arrested he boasted that he had written
one bishop silent who could not speak (48)
and another dumb who could not write.
Part of Lord Breton's duties was to
enforce the laws against Nonconformists.
He reports that he took some persons at
a Presbyterian Conventicle, but let
them go this being their first fault,
on promise not to do the same again,
and on paying the soldiers who secured
them; but others, taken at an Anabaptist
meeting, were sent to goal, obstinately

refusing to give bonds or to take the oaths, but saying they must obey the spirits (49)

Having got all these people into prison and the expected trouble having been averted, the Lord Lieutenant was at a loss what to do with them. He therefore applied to London for instructions and an order in Council was issued directing him to release them all on good security and after they had taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. Only Griffiths and another were to be kept, and his Lordship was to gain proofs against Griffiths. (50)

A month later, Feb 20 1664, in reply to some government communication, George Brevelon (121) writes that his father was laid up with an excessive cold but will attend to the King's business

93
as soon as he can come abroad, but
he never did come abroad again. His
illness worsened, and in April ~~to~~
1664 he died and was buried on the
21st at Brereton. There is no memorial
at present to him in the church. During
the last three years of his life he was
M. P. for Cheshire, ⁽⁵¹⁾ but he took ^{active} no part
in the proceedings, and indeed his other
duties must have prevented any long
stay at Westminster. Two months
later Lord Derby showed his relief at
being rid of his troublesome colleague
by writing to Secretary Bennet and
thanking him for obtaining the Licentiency
of Cheshire without a companion. ⁽⁵²⁾

There was a John Brereton who joined
the College youths in 1657 and was
Master in 1660. Him I have not
been able to identify. As he is termed
an esquire it is ~~extremely probable that~~

a very unusual appellation in the list of members, it is extremely probable that he was a member of the Chesire family. I should like to think that he was Lord Preerton's younger brother, the boy Cavalier of 1642, only he is said to have died in 1656. (53) (259)

Lord Preerton was succeeded by his son William, an amiable and accomplished man who was one of the founders of the Royal Society. He was educated at Preeda at the expense of his grandfather the earl of Norwich, and was a poet, algebrist and musician. (54) Owing to the losses and expenses incurred by his father in the Civil War he was compelled to dispose of the Chesire estate and when he died administration was granted to two creditors. He was buried at Precharlin in the Fields. His son John died in 1718 and was succeeded by his brother Francis

who died childless in 1722 when the
peerage became extinct.

95

The second Master of the College
Youths was the equal of Lord Breton
in birth and social position except that
he was the cadet of his family not the
head. Clifford Clifton came of an old
Nottinghamshire family which was settled
at Clifton. His father Gervase Clifton
was a remarkable man, who was only
four months old when his grandfather
died and left him owner of very large
estates. In Elizabeth's reign he was
one of the young men attached to the
Earl of Essex; ⁽⁵⁶⁾ at James's coronation he
was created Knight of the Bath; and
when the order of baronets was instituted
he was among the first given that

rank. ⁽⁵⁷⁾ He was a graduate of Cambridge the M.A. degree being conferred on him on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1612. ⁽⁵⁸⁾ He sat in nine Parliaments and was reckoned among the wealthiest landowners of the time. His income was said to be more than £3,000 a year. ⁽⁵⁹⁾ In the Civil War he was a royalist, lent the King money, and had as security Sherwood Forest. ⁽⁶⁰⁾ He married no fewer than seven times, which is probably a record for an English gentleman. Henry VIII managed to get six wives but he divorced two and beheaded two others. Clifford was the son of Gervase's second wife

and was born about 1615. He derived his Christian name from his maternal grandfather George Clifford Third Earl of Cumberland, K.G., an adventurous man who took part in several foreign expeditions, commanded a ship at the defeat of the Spanish Armada, and was one of the founders of the East India Company. Clifford Clifton was twenty-five years old when the Society of College Youths was founded. He was, we may assume, one of the young men attached to the royal court and when the Civil War broke out no doubt he served in the King's army. When the royal cause was finally lost and Charles'

head had fallen on the scaffold
 He returned to London intending to
 make a career as a lawyer. He
 entered Grays Inn as a student on
 March 1st 1647, ⁽⁶²⁾ and no doubt
 renewed his connection with the
 College Jurists. After the Restoration
 he became an important man in
 the royal court. On December 27th
 1661 he was knighted by Charles II
 at Whitehall, ⁽⁶³⁾ and that he was a
 man of considerably intellectual
 attainments is shown by the fact
 that he was elected one of the
 earliest Fellows of the Royal Society. ^(61A)
 He married into a family which
 supplied many lawyers at the

end of the seventeenth Century.
 His wife was the daughter of Sir
 Heneage Finch, the Recorder of London,
 his brother-in-law, Sir Heneage Finch,
 was Attorney General, and afterwards
 Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and
 Earl of Nottingham. Griffiths Finch,
 a singer and a member of the
 Society of Esquire Jurists, was probably
 his nephew. He died in 1669 and
 was buried on June 22nd leaving
 one son William who, on the death
 of his uncle, old Sir Gervase's
 eldest son, succeeded to the
 baronetcy and estates.

I have not been able to find out anything definite about Edward Flower the third Master of the College Youths. As he followed Breton and Clifton evidently he was a man of good social position and family, and it is quite likely that he may have been the same as an Edward Flower who was a King's Messenger in the early days of Charles II. Part of his duty was to arrest and keep in custody people who were suspected of treasonable intentions but against whom no definite charges were formulated. In 1663 he apprehended a Captain Francis Urey on a warrant of the Council. It was the humorous custom of the time that when a man

was detained on suspicion he had to
 pay his custodian for the trouble and
 expense of keeping him. That was the
 way many public servants got their
 salaries. They paid a fee to the
 crown for their appointment and then
 made what they could out of other
 people. Urrey sent a petition to
 Bennet, the Secretary of State. He had
 been, he said, twelve days in custody,
 and no crime had been alleged
 against him, he had to pawn his
 wife's clothes for support, his fees
 come to £5-6-8 and he has only 3^d.
 A warrant was issued to Flower
 to discharge him. ⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ This was the time
 of the disaffection in the north which
 had caused anxiety to Lord Breton.
 There was a man named Daniel Carey
 who had been a cornet of horse in

the Parliamentary army, who was going about the country, preaching at secret open-air meetings of nonconformists, and stirring up sedition. He was suspected of being actively engaged in promoting an insurrection in Yorkshire, and was arrested, brought before Secretary Pennel, and committed to the charge of Edward Flower. Flower turned him over to Richard Carter another Kings Messenger, and between them they let the prisoner escape. For this they were clapped into the Gatehouse, the prison at Westminster where such political prisoners were confined, and a warrant was sent to Sir Edward Broughton to keep them in close custody. From thence they wrote to Pennel protesting their innocence and

begging for leave to show their fidelity
 by searching for the escaped man. Their
 houses they said are ill fortified
 for resistance, and though they are
 prepared to run hazards in apprehending
 persons, they cannot promise security
 afterwards unless they are conveyed
 to strongholds. This letter having
 no effect they wrote again petitioning
 for release on bail, "being innocent
 of any connivance in the escape of
 Carey" Still receiving no satisfaction
 they wrote to Joseph Williamson who
 was secretary to Lord Stirlington
 asking for his help. They had endeavored
 all imaginable means for recovering
 of their fugitive but in vain. Thus
 their immaculate innocence is
 calumniated as no connivance can
 be proved against them. They beg

104
him to use his mediation to mitigate
their sufferings. It was not, however,
until two months later that a warrant
was sent to Sir Edward Broughton
authorising him to release the prisoners.
Flower was reinstated as Kings messenger
and later on he had other men in
his custody; ⁽³⁸¹⁾ but Carter was dismissed
and his post filled. He petitioned
the king for the reversion of the next
messengers place, and says that
when Flower handed Carey over to
him, he was not told that he was
a dangerous person, and in a letter
to Secretary Bennet asking for his
interest he says that he had spent
much money by employing people to
search for Carey, that he was ruined
by the loss of his employment, and
that it was Mr. Flower who persuaded

105
him not to speak the truth about the
matter. (180)

It will be noticed that in all these cases there was no question about bringing the prisoners to a trial, or even in most cases of formulating definite charges against them. It was this sort of thing that a few years later led to the passing of the Habeas Corpus act which is rightly considered one of the main bulwarks of English liberty.

The mastership of the College youths in 1643² and 1644³ was held by two brothers Henry and Robert Shackworth the sons of Sir Henry Shackworth, Baronet of Normanton in Rutland.

The Shackworths were a Derbyshire family living at the village of Shackworth. George Shackworth settled at Empingham Rutland in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign and his wife and son Thomas gave the tenor to the ring of five at that church in 1611. It was inscribed

Omnia fiunt ad gloriam Dei Ann Shackworth and Thomas Shackworth Armiger 1611. ⁽⁶⁵⁾ Ann died in 1612.

Thomas her son was sheriff of the County in and was created a baronet by James I in 1619. He died in 1626 and was succeeded by his son Henry who matriculated ⁽⁶⁶⁾ at St Johns College Cambridge 1615

was admitted to Grey's Inn 1618 was ¹⁰⁷
sheriff of Rutland 1627, and died
and was buried at Empingham, 1640. (67)

His third son Henry was born in
1627 and so was only a boy when
he presided over the College Juntho.

The Civil War had just begun and
the older men like Lord Breton
and Clifford Clifton were either
with the king at Oxford or in the
Country on their fathers' estates.

Henry Mackworth was the youngest
master in the long history of the
College Juntho. He died in 1681.

His brother two years older was
baptised at North Luffenham
on the 10th April 1625. He was
admitted a student of the Inner
Temple in Nov^r 1640, (70) and died on
Feb 1st 1717 at the good old age of
ninety seven. He was buried at

108

Empingham⁽⁶⁸⁾. He probably retained his love of bells and ringing throughout his long life, for his son Thomas⁽⁶⁹⁾ who was born in 1662 joined the College youths in 1684 and was steward in 1693.

Thomas Joyce the Master in 1641 was most likely the son of Nicholas Joyce of Sturminster Dorset, gentleman. He matriculated at ~~the~~ Exeter College Oxford on June 21st 1633 at the age of 17.⁽⁹⁶⁾

Captain John Harrison who in 1644 succeeded Robert Shackworth as Master was an entirely different kind of man to any of his predecessors. Soldier, Courtier, envoy, administrator, author and divine he played many parts during an adventurous life spent in three continents. Of his birth and parentage nothing is known, but he was a man of some education and probably sprang from a good middle class family. We first hear of him in Ireland where he spent three years in the wars of Elizabeth's later days. ⁽⁷¹⁾ In James's reign he held the appointment of groom of the privy chamber to Henry Prince of Wales with a salary of £13-6-8 per annum. ⁽⁷²⁾ After the prince's death he was in the suite of the Princess Elizabeth

wife of the Elector Palatine. He was engaged in the wars by which that prince endeavoured to obtain the crown of Bohemia and ultimately lost his own throne. After ten years on the Continent he returned to England and it was then made sheriff of the Somers Islands or Bermudas. ⁽⁷³⁾ He said himself that he was governor, but probably only only acted for a while when that post was vacant. In 1625 he was sent on a mission to the States of Barbary and the town of Sallee, and during the next few years paid seven visits to Morocco as the envoy of the English Government. ⁽⁷⁴⁾ The Coast towns of Morocco were then nests of pirates who captured and plundered the ships of Christian

Countries and enslaved their crews. The merchants who traded with them staked their lives and liberty against the hope of gain. They went there at their own risk, and none of the European powers would, or perhaps could, be at the expense and trouble of rooting out the pirates by force of arms. Instead envoys were sent who by flattery or bargaining endeavoured to obtain toleration for the traders and if possible freedom for the captives. That was Harrison's mission, and he was not unsuccessful, although there were many people who thought that it was both wrong and futile to ~~talk~~ ^{talk} try and make any agreement with a Company of pirates with whom there is no treating or Confederacy." (75) In reply to that Harrison wrote to the king and defended his mission. He had it

was claimed secured the release of 250 slaves and established a peace which lasted until ~~at~~ an English ship, adopted the Moors' tactics, seized a ship from Saltee and sold the crew as slaves to the Spaniards whereupon the Englishmen in Morocco were imprisoned and their goods confiscated as a reprisal. Mary Farr and other women whose husbands were among the prisoners sent a petition to the King that the Captain of the English ship might be punished and that Captain Harrison might be sent again to Morocco to put matters right.

Harrison was always more or less in financial difficulties. He was granted forty shillings a day during his service, but complained that he was not paid. He borrowed money from a William Wheeler goldsmith to

113

The Council on security of household goods and Wheeler not receiving payment petitioned that he might keep the goods and when Harrison was away seized them. The matter being referred to the Council and the King having directed the Lord President Conway to enquire into it the latter found that Harrison owed Wheeler £20 and asked a Sir William Blake to advance advance the sum on security. Harrison on his return wrote to Secretary Coke complaining of not having been paid. He had been back almost five months to his great charges and now was at the end of his means. He finds himself neglected as never was poor gentleman who had done such service as he for the state. The King had promised him a prize ship and it had gone to

114.
another; and he asks to be sent
back again to Barbary so that he
may redeem the remainder of the king's
subjects there in captivity and bring
a present of Barbary horses for the king.
Getting no satisfactory reply he wrote
again enclosing another and shorter
petition. He was ashamed to make
known his ~~distressed~~ ^{distressed} estate, but is
compelled by necessity now come to
extremity. If there was to be no further
employment for him he begs leave
to seek it elsewhere. He had been
employed seven times and twice
recommended to the Lord Treasurer,
from whom he yet never received a
penny. There never was a poor gentleman
that did service to a state so slighted
and neglected. In the end he was
paid £100 to settle his claim of £200

115

due on his allowance of 40^s a day. That was in 1627³⁵, and afterwards he appears to have remained in London, where he made the acquaintance of the College Youths. He died some time before 1656.

Like many of the adventurers of his time, Captain Harrison had a strong vein of religious feeling in his nature, and during his sojourn in Barbary he wrote a treatise entitled "The Messiah already come", with the object of converting the Jews to Christianity. Although unreadable now, it was then sufficiently well thought of to go through three editions. On the title page of the last, issued in 1656, the author is described as "that Learned and Late Eminent Divine", which probably accounts for his being styled

the Rev. John Harrison in the Catalogue of the British Museum Library. He was not in orders nor is there any reason to suppose that he belonged to one of the sects. Another of his books The Tragical Life and death of Muley Abdala Melek is an interesting account of a Sultan of Morocco, a bloodthirsty tyrant of the stamp of Ivan the Terrible, who made himself drunk, and then went about torturing and killing people for the mere lust of cruelty until he was shot down as men shoot a mad dog that has broken loose. It may be only a coincidence that he notices in this book that the Moors have no bells. Harrison also published two other books dealing with the affairs of the Elector Palatine. They were all printed on the Continent at Amsterdam Dord and Delft. (76)

The first man mentioned in the list¹¹⁷
of members who was never master, was
Timothy Lane. Who or what he was
is not known, but among the state
papers is a letter from Timothy Lane
to a certain William Hunt of Taunton.
It is dated March 18th 1661, and in
it he says that there had just been
elected for the next Parliament the
best members, both for honesty and
moderate spirit, that are in memory.
and he hopes that good may be
brought forth thereby. But Zachary
Crofton a subtle, ~~and~~ witty man
is bitter against the bishops and
is a great vexation to them." (176)

About the same time John Nicolls
petitioned for the place of Groom of
the Privy Chamber which he said

had been promised to him at the
Louvre in Paris in 1647. ⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ Apparently
he got the post for sometime after
the king borrowed £100 from him,
and it was not until three
years later that a warrant was
issued for its repayment. ⁽¹⁷⁸⁾

119

John Houghton, Master of the College
Youths in 17th 16 was probably the same
as a man of that name who was at
one time a student of Corpus Christi
College Cambridge. Afterwards he
went to London and became an
apothecary and dealer in coffee, chocolate,
and other luxuries first "against
the Ship Tavern in Bartholomew
Lane", and afterwards at the Golden
Fleece at the corner of Little Eastcheap
in Gracechurch Street". He was a
writer and authority on trade and
agriculture and a sort of agent for
advertising. He was elected a Fellow
of the Royal Society on January 29
1680 and died in 1705 (77)

It is very likely that punting was 120
popular among the undergraduates of
Christ College at Cambridge and that
some of them afterwards joined the College
Youths. It is then perhaps the John
Miter who was elected to the Society in
1645 may have been the same as John
Miter a clergyman who suffered for
his royalist opinions during the Civil
War and afterwards was one of the
Non-jurors; ⁽⁹¹⁾ ⁽⁴⁰⁵⁾ ⁽³⁰⁵⁾ and the John Lightfoot
who was elected in 1649 may have
been the same as another clergyman
who had a distinguished career partly
in London and partly at Cambridge
and elsewhere and in 1654 was Vice
Chancellor of the University; ⁽⁹²⁾ but there
is nothing really to identify them.
There may be some evidence in the
fact that John Lightfoot and John
Hackett joined the Society at the same time.

John Hackett was a Londoner by birth the son of a prosperous tailor who was senior Burgess of Westminster. As a boy he showed so much promise that he received a nomination for Westminster School where he came under the notice of the famous Lancelot Andrewes at that time Dean. George Herbert the poet was his fellow schoolboy and together they went up to Trinity College Cambridge. In view of the tradition that the College youths got their name because so many of them had been educated at St. Peter's College the connection of Hackett with Westminster School so interesting. More than one Westminster boy did in after years join the College youths but Hackett seems to have been the earliest and the name was taken before he joined. None of the names

of the first Masters is to be found in
 the list of ~~St. Peter's~~ Scholars of St. Peter's
 Westminster. ⁽²⁰⁸⁾ After Hasket had
 taken his degree he was elected to a
 fellowship of his College. He then
 returned to London and was ordained
 and held several preferments in the
 Church. Bishop Williams of Lincoln
 who was also Lord Keeper and a great
 man in Church and State, made him
 his Chaplain and gave him a prebend
 in Lincoln Cathedral and in 1624
 by the Bishop's influence he was made
 Rector of St. Andrews Holborn and of
 Cheam in Surrey. He was also Stedwarden
 of Bedford. At Holborn he proved
 himself an active and diligent
 parish priest and gained a great
 reputation as a preacher. St. Andrews
 had a ring of eight bells, one of the

earliest complete octaves ever hung, and ¹²³
that may have brought him into contact
with the College youths.

The Presbyterian party had now the
control of the Parliament and drastic
changes were made in the Church. Among
others the Book of Common Prayer was
suppressed and a new directory of
worship introduced, but Hasket
still continued to read the old familiar
prayers. One day as he was conducting
service a soldier entered the church
strove up to the priest, clapped a
pistol to his breast and sternly
ordered him to desist. Hasket
simply said that he would do his duty
as a minister; the other could do his
duty as a soldier; and the man abashed
by the firm attitude turned round
and left the church. But the living
was sequestered, money that Hasket

Had collected to rebuild the Church ¹²⁴
was confiscated, and he was compelled
to retire to Cheam where he remained
till the Restoration. When Charles II
came to the throne Hackett was offered
the bishopric of Gloucester which he refused
but in 1661 he accepted that of Coventry
and Lichfield and he set himself at
once energetically to restore Church
life there. Lichfield had suffered
severely during the Civil Wars; the
cathedral was almost in ruins, the
central spire beaten down, the church
almost roofless, and the monuments
windows, organ, bells smashed and
ruined. ⁽³²²⁾ The bishop collected £20,000
(of which he himself gave £3,500) to
restore and rebuild the church and
on Christmas Eve 1669 it was rededicated.
The thing nearest his heart and the

125

Last thing he was able to do, was to provide a ring of bells worthy of the Cathedral. He aimed at having a peal of eight and as a preliminary, ordered six from some very able founders, but subscriptions for the cost came in slowly, and the work was delayed. "I am now" he wrote in September 1670 to Gilbert Sheldon the Archbishop of Canterbury, "I am now upon the casting of six fair bells for the steeple at £1300 for which sum I am likely to be left in the Church extremely for I am behindhand with the workmen £400. The great bell of 4500 lbs weight is already cast but not yet hung for it attends the carpenters' work. The second bell of 3410 lbs weight will be despatched in a month, the rest in time as money shall be brought in for

the material, but I pay for all the ¹²⁶
supply in the mean time. (84)

The Bishop's health began to fail and he feared he would not live long enough to hear the bells. Three had been delivered and at his urgent request the tenor was hung. When the ~~time~~^{day} came for it to be rung for the first time, the Bishop though very weak, he managed to get from his chamber to the next room, so that he could listen. He was very well pleased with the sound, and thanked God for letting him live long enough to hear it, but added solemnly that it was his passing bell; and so it proved, for he returned to his chamber and never came out again until he was carried to his grave. He died in 1670. His funeral sermon was preached by his ~~own~~ Chaplain, Dr. Anthony Scattergood,

whose son Samuel was then at Cambridge and one of Fabian Stedman's Companions.

Hackett was a small, alert, man; generous and lovable, quick tempered and irascible, but easily mollified. He had a fierce quarrel with the Dean of his Cathedral which culminated ⁱⁿ by the Bishop publicly excommunicating the Dean, "which", as Pepys wrote in his diary, "is a very pretty story." ⁽⁸⁵⁾ In justice to Hackett it should be said that the Dean appears to have been a very undesirable person, who did all he could to hinder the Bishop's good work. ⁽⁸⁶⁾

After Hackett's death his son and executor completed the ring of six bells. Who the "very able founders" were who cast them I do not know; but fifteen years later they were

said to be six bad and useless bells. ¹²⁸

It is quite likely that the founders had some difficulty in getting in time six bells cast and sent away separately.

There were also influential men in Lichfield who were fond of ringing and a ring of six with a two tenor can easily be "useless" for the purposes of change ringing. So a proposal was made to recast them into a lighter ring of ten, and Dean

⁽⁸⁷⁾ Addison raised a subscription of £243. In addition six gentlemen gave each a free to make the frame, "as good a free as any he hath", "the best free we can find in his estate", "a very good free" and so on. Henry Bagley cast the old six into a ring of eight with a twenty four hundred weight tenor and £80 more was raised for

the two prebles. A society of ringers
 was formed which was called the Loyal
 Youths, and consisted of some of the
 principal inhabitants of the city. Among
 them were the Rev. W. Baker, Sir
 Thomas Lawley, and Leslie Hackett, whom
 we may suppose to be a son or grandson
 of the bishop; but how long this society
 lasted I cannot say.

Henry Bagley was a member of a
 famous family of bell-founders who
 lived and worked at Chacombe in
 Northampton. The earliest known of their
 bells is dated 1632, the latest 1779. Many
 of the family bore the name of Henry
 and the patient investigations of men
 like Thomas North, and A. H. Cocks, has

130

not availed to distinguish one from another. This Henry seems to have been a nephew of the first Henry (who started the foundry). He cast bells at Ecton, and there the Lichfield ring was made. He was elected a member of the Society of College Youths in 1686 and died in August, 1705. Seven of his bells still remain at Lichfield; the other three were recast by Rudhall and Mears at various times.

131

In 1647 John Newton was elected a member and in 1650 he became Master. I should like to think that he was the same as a man of that name who made a name as a clergyman and author of books on arithmetic and astronomy. He was born in 1622, was a Commoner of St Edmund's Hall, Oxford, in 1637 B.A. in 1641 and M.A. in 1642. Anthony Wood describes him as "learned but capricious and humorous" ⁽⁹³⁾ During the Civil Wars he was a strong royalist, at the Restoration he was made Doctor of Divinity, Kings Chaplain, and rector of Ross in Herefordshire. He was also rector of Upminster in Essex from 1662. He died on Christmas day 1678. ⁽⁹⁴⁾ He had a son whose name was Thomas and a Thomas Newton became a College youth in 1685. That may

evidence of identity but it is very small. The name is a fairly common one and there was another John Newton, of Crabtree, Devon, who was a law student and admitted to the Inner Temple in 1640⁽⁹⁵⁾, and so had plenty of opportunity of coming into contact with the College youths of the time.

That some of these men spent most of their time away from London is not in itself an insuperable objection to their having been College youths; for there are several instances of men whose whole life was spent in the country, and whom we know definitely to have held office in the Society.

133
During the first half of the century there was a steady development of the art of change ringing, but it was very slow. The appeal to ringers was primarily that of an athletic sport. It was only when men began to realise the latent mathematical possibilities, and when improved hanging had rendered the physical act of pulling the rope less laborious, that the more intellectual side of the art was appreciated. Progress naturally was most rapid among the ringers at the Universities, the College Juniors and some of the larger towns. Plain Changes had shown that ringing was based on an exact mathematical science, but they had scarcely been brought to perfection before they gave way to another invention which definitely settled the general character

of change ringing for all time This 134
was the introduction of Cross Deals.

The difference between the two was
that, whereas in Plain Changes only
one bell moved at a time (save of
course that the others had to make
way for it), in Cross Deals all the
bells were always moving. But the
Cross Deals borrowed from the Plain
Changes almost all their construction.

There still were Humis and Exstream
Bells, and just as in the older system
the changes on six bells were developed
from those on five, and the changes
on five bells from those on four, with
the Trebles on three as the ultimate
basis, so it was at first with Cross
Deals. A treble added to the Trebles
gave the ~~Four and Twenty~~ Lead Heads
and Ends of the Four and Twenty on
four bells. A treble added to the

NOTES BY THE WAY.

Fame after death is a curious thing. It seems to depend entirely on the caprice of fate, and no one can ensure that his memory will last. You may be (as I trust you are) a wealthy person, and spend your money for the good of your fellow men—posterity will take your gift and forget your name, while another, not so worthy as you, somehow sticks in the popular remembrance. Even if you resort to less laudable means you are no better off. Palmer, the Rugeley poisoner, is an immortal, but you or I could bump off our mothers-in-law, or maiden aunts with every conceivable accompaniment of horror and brutality, and, save for a few lines in the *Standard* or the *Evening News*, be no nearer gaining lasting fame. It does not seem quite fair.

But so it is, and we are not surprised that the same thing happens in the history of the Exercise. Some ringers of old time have been remembered and they have deserved it; but others equally deserving have clean passed out of mind. Everyone knows of Fabian Stedman, but not because he was our greatest writer, but because of the chance connection of his name with a popular method (with which, in its modern fully developed form, he had little to do), and because of a legend invented by later men that he was the Father of Change Ringing and the first person to arrange changes with regular methods. But there were clever composers before Stedman's time, only they have been forgotten, and it seems worth while to try and rescue the name of the greatest of them from the oblivion under which it has lain hidden for nigh three centuries.

Robert Roane, as a young man, was attached to the household of King Charles the First. He was sworn Clerk of the Pantry under the Board of the Greencloth, which means that he held a responsible position in what is now the Lord Chamberlain's office. At the time, the College Youths consisted of a similar sort of men and of law students, and Roane joined the society in 1647. He became one of the leading members, being Steward in 1657 and Master in 1659. These were the days of the Commonwealth. Bob Doubles was the most advanced method then practised, and it was not thought possible that double changes on five bells could be made to extend further than ten, or triple and double changes on six further than sixty. Roane 'dissipated those mists of ignorance,' and composed first the six-score of Grandsire Doubles, and then, from it, the standard extent of Bob Minor. If popularity is any test, these are the two most important compositions in the whole of ringing. In 1660 came the Restoration and Charles the Second returned to Whitehall. In the changes that were made Roane lost his job. It was given to another man and he was granted £50 a year board wages as compensation. This, however, fell into arrears, and in 1662 Roane petitioned the king for its restoration. He had served, he says, under the Board of the Greencloth for 44 years, and last quarter he was reduced £25 per annum. Whether the petition was granted, or whether it was merely put among the state papers, where it now is, I cannot say. Roane also thought he was a poet and added his quota to that mass of doggerel wherewith ringers in all ages have grieved the hearts of the Muses. But he was one of the greatest of our composers and did not deserve to be utterly forgotten as he has been for over two and a half centuries.

J. A. TROLLOPE.

135

Four and Twenty gave the Lead Heads
and Ends of the Lisc Core on five
bells. Thus was produced Old Doubles
which is the same as Plain Bob Doubles
except that the evolution of the method
had given it a different bob from
that adopted later. (79) Tradition gave
1642 as the date when the College
Youths first rang this peal (78) and we
may take it as being approximately
correct for in 1667 it was already
"old" Doubles which points to its
having been produced by an earlier
generation. Who the composer was
and where it was first rung we can
never know, but we do know who
was the man to produce the first
method which agreed with every one
of the modern standards. Robert
Roane broke away from the strict
construction derived from the Plain

Changes and set himself the task
 of producing an extent on five bells
 with double changes throughout. He
 did not quite succeed, for the task
 was an impossible one, but he did
 compose Grandire Doubles, "the best
 and most ingenious peal that ever
 was composed to be rung on five
 bells", ⁽⁸⁰⁾ and, using it as a basis, he
 produced Grandire Bob on six bells,
 which is what we now call the
 Standard 720 of Bob Minor. These
 five peals have probably been more
 rung than any others on any number
 of bells, and whether we consider that,
 or the vast development that has
 come out of them, we must admit
 that Roane has earned a prominent
 place among the leading composers of all
 time. Yet his name was clean

137
forgotten. It is characteristic of
Hiedman and his age that though he
refers to Roane as a worthy and
knowing member of the Society of College
Youths who when the art of cross-fucking
lay enveloped in such obscurity that
it was thought impossible that
double changes on five bells could be
made to extend further than ten, and
triple and double changes on six
further than sixty, dissipated those
mists of ignorance, yet he does not
mention his name. No doubt his
readers knew well enough who was
referred to, and probably it did not
occur to any one that there might
be people two hundred and fifty
years later who were interested in
the matter. The only means of
identification is that Hiedman printed
the lines Roane wrote when he presented

Grandrue Bob to the College youths 138
and added the initials R.R. These
lines, thirty three in number, show
Roane to be a far better composer
of changes than he was a poet; but
he did achieve one rather different
feat; throughout the rhyme is the
same and only three words are used
twice. (82)

Roane held the office of sworn
clerk of the pantry in the household
of Charles I. He lost it in the break
up of the royal establishment, and
at the Restoration it was given to
another man, Roane being granted
£50 a year board wages as compensation.
This however fell into arrears and
in 1662 Roane petitioned the king
for its restoration with what result
does not appear. He states that he
was daily employed by the officers of

the Greencloth ⁽⁹⁷⁾ about the accounts
 of the house (i.e. the palace at Whitehall)
 and that he had served for 44 years
 but the last quarter he was reduced
 £25 per annum, board wages ⁽⁸³⁾ It
 seems he was a clerk used to dealing
 with figures in other ways than ringing.
 He joined the College Juniors in 1647
 and was Master in 1652. ⁽⁴³¹⁾ Thomas
 Roan who was elected in 16 , was
 steward in the year that Hedman
 was Master, and occupied the chair
 seven years later, was probably
 Robert Roane's son. ⁽⁴³²⁾

The only other man previous to
 Fabian Hedman that we know to
 have been a composer was John
 Tending, who joined in 1657, and
 was Master in 1659. He developed
 five-bell methods using Grandine
 as his basis. His methods are very

elaborate in construction. They are perfectly symmetrical and show quite as much skill in their working out as any modern Surprise Major method, only, as was inevitable from the restricted scope afforded by five bells, in all of them bells strike more than two consecutive blows in the same position.

The Tendrings were originally, as the name indicates, an Essex family. In the time of Henry VIII a branch was living in Suffolk, for just before the dissolution of the monasteries, Thomas Tending of Bosford obtained from the Priory of Lees a lease of the Old Hall at Boreham near Chelmsford. In course of years the estate and manor came into the possession of his descendants, and in Charles I. reign the head of the

family was Thomas Tending. Two or three miles away was the village of Much Waltham where lived Sir Richard Everard, whose son, young Richard, was a very keen bellringer. A close friendship grew up between the Tendings and the Everards which was either caused or cemented by a mutual love of bells, and when in 1653 John Hodson made Bercham bells into a ring of six and cast a new treble and tenor Thomas Tending and Richard Everard's names were inscribed on the biggest bell. Tending's eldest son was John, who seems to have had a great aptitude for the art. He was born in 1630, and was six years younger than Everard. The latter joined the College Juniors in 1656 and it was probably by his influence

That Tending became a member in the following year. He appears to have been simply a Country gentleman; he was never a student at Oxford or Cambridge or one of the Inns of Court, but though his visits to the College Courts were intermittent, he was elected Master only two years after joining and without having previously been steward. John Breton joined in the same year that he did and followed him in the Chair.

The Porcham bells are interesting because they were one of the very few rings which were increased during the time of the Commonwealth ⁽³²⁸⁾ The present fifth which dates from 1626 is the only survivor of the older ring. Hodson cast the present third and tenor in partnership with William

Whitmore, the others are later - fourth by Lesier 1746, sixth by Thomas Gardner of Sudbury 1759, and seventh by J. Bartlett 1688. (229)

In due time John Tending succeeded to his fathers estates, and after the Restoration he was justice of the peace for Essex. He left five children William, and Mary, but as they died without issue the family became extinct.

At that time five bell ringing was relatively more important and more widely practiced than at any other time in the history of the Exercise. This bell ringing was confined to Plain Changes, Trebles and Doubles, and Grandine Bob; changes on seven and eight had not yet been introduced, and in the few towers where there was a complete octave, Doubles and Minor were rung with covers. Bell hanging had not improved sufficiently for

heavy bells to be turned in readily. But five-bell ringing had already almost reached its limit of development. Except for Stedman's Principle all the methods now practised were then rung, and many more besides; as well as Plain Changes. Grandeur was the most popular, and next Old Doubles; and about this time, in addition to Tending's methods, New Doubles and Reading Doubles were composed, both excellent; and up to the most modern standards.

It has often been supposed that the Civil War and the ecclesiastical and political changes from 1640 to 1660 very much curtailed ringing where they did not stop it altogether. But that was not so. Towns and villages were then very much more

145

self sufficient and self centered than
at present. So long as the war was
not actually within their ~~own~~ gates
they carried on their business, lived
their life, and played their sports
much as they had done. The Church
liturgy was suppressed, and great
numbers of her ministers ejected;
but the buildings were still there,
the lay officers remained as before,
the worship of God still went on, and
the bells continued to be rung, though
the ringing was ~~and~~ entirely for secular
purposes and emptied of all religious
significance. In London it was
much the same. The change of
government did not materially affect
the business of the City or the Law
Courts. The College youths, royalists
and churchmen to a man, still met

146

to ring in the belfry and still held
their annual feasts. In fact they
were never more prosperous than
during the time of the Commonwealth.
The average annual number of new
members was greater than, than at
any time during the Society's first
hundred years, and their social
status was never higher throughout
its history. The legal element was
still maintained, and some of these
men after the Restoration filled
important posts. They included
Christopher Skelton and Francis Withers
who were made judges, Richard Everard
Henry Chauncy, William Austin,
Richard Atkins, Martin DeX Lumley
and others.

Besides the doubtful case of Sir Matthew Hale, ⁽⁴⁰⁸⁾ at least three members of the Exercise became judges in the seventeenth century. Two of them are notable, not so much for what they were themselves, ^{as} but for their relationship to other and greater men; the third because he much more than any otheringer took a share in events of national importance.

Christopher Millon was the younger brother of John Millon the immortal author of Paradise Lost. The family had been yeomen of Oxfordshire and were Roman Catholic in religion; but John Millon (the elder) was sent to Christ Church, Oxford where he conformed to the Church of England and, as a reward, was disinherited by his father. He then settled in London as a scrivener, and married, and had three children

John born 1608, Christopher 1615, and Anne 16. Like John, Christopher was sent first to St. Pauls School and then to Christi's College, Cambridge; but in almost everything else the two brothers were entirely unlike. John adopted puritan and republican opinions, and became a bitter and industrious controversial writer, as well as a sublime poet, and perhaps the greatest master of the music of the English tongue. Christopher became a royalist, a supporter of the tyrannical government of the later Stuart's, and a Roman Catholic. John's political and religious opinions at first brought him influence and later on obscurity and poverty. Christopher had to suffer early loss and fine for his opinions, and died persecuted and honoured.

Christopher was admitted ~~to~~ to

Christ's College in 1631. But he did ¹⁴⁹
not stay there long. He left Cambridge
without a degree and in the year 1632 he
was admitted as a student of the Inner
Temple and was called to the bar on
January 26 1640. ⁽⁹⁹⁾ When the Civil war
broke out he was at Reading; he joined
the king but afterwards returned to
London where he lived at the Cross
Keys Ludgate, and it was while living
there that he joined the College Juniors.
He may have interested himself in
ringing while he was at Christ's College.
For his "delinquency" he was fined £200,
nor was his brother's influence sufficient
to get the fine remitted. Probably the
two brothers saw very little of each
other, though they appear to have been
on good terms till the end. With
the Restoration, which was the ruin of

of nearly everything in Church and 150
State that John valued, Christopher's
fortune improved. He became benches
of his Inn in 1660, and reader in 1667.
In 1674 he was made Deputy Recorder
of Ipswich, and in 1687, when James II
in his determination to have a bench
of judges who would give a decision
in favour of his right to dispense with
statute law, dismissed four judges,
Mullin was one of those who filled the
vacancies. ⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ He was knighted and
became a Baron of Exchequer and
next year was transferred to the Common
Pleas. He did not escape notice that
he, a papist, had presumed to take
his place without passing the Test. ⁽¹⁰¹⁾
But he was getting old, and the
purpose for which he was appointed
having been achieved, he was allowed

to retire with a pension which was equal to full pay. He went and lived at Rushmore in Suffolk, a village between Ipswich and Woodbridge, where he died in March 1692. He was buried in St Nicholas Ipswich. ⁽¹⁰²⁾ Christopher Milton seems to have been an easy tempered man without any marked abilities either legal or literary. ⁽¹⁰³⁾

To understand the position of these ^{152.}
Laymen College Grants we must know
something of the general political situation
at the time. Throughout the century
there was a continual struggle between
the Crown and the Parliament for
the right to impose taxes and to
make or dispense with laws, ^{and in} ~~the~~
its development, the struggle went
through several phases. Charles I
appealed to force, ^{and} drew the sword,
with the result that both Church and
Throne went down for a time in one
common ruin. Charles II was a far
astuter man than his father. He
carefully avoided any armed conflict
with his people, and the letter and
the forms of law were not violated,
but he was as much set on creating
a despotism as was any of the Stuarts.

The Constitutional struggle was just as fierce in his reign as in his father's, but it was fought out in other ways, and the men that fell, fell on the scaffold and not on the battle field.

The political question was complicated by a religious question - in fact the two were one. For years English people had looked on Popery with fear and dread, and now they began to believe in a deep and widespread plot to overthrow the religion and the liberties of the country and to substitute Roman Catholicism. There was some reason for this belief. Charles was secretly a Papist; he had made an agreement with the French king by which he bound himself in return for money to ~~re~~ establish the Roman Church in

154

England; his brother and heir presumptive was an ~~at~~ avowed Roman; and more than one of the Crown ministers were only waiting for a favourable opportunity to declare themselves papists. And then it began to be noised abroad that a deep laid and wide spread plot had been discovered to kill Charles, put his brother on the throne, and hand over the Church and people of England to the Jesuits. The papists were to burn London as they had burnt it a few years before, and Protestants were to be massacred. A man named Titus Oates went and swore this information before a Justice of the Peace, and when a few days later the body of the magistrate was discovered in a lonely field fully done to death, the whole country went mad with anger and excitement. Oates was an infamous wretch who had been

155
a Baptist minister, a Church of England
priest, and a Roman convert; and had
been ejected from every position he had
held on account of his scandalous
character. In ordinary times no one
would have believed his tale for a
minute; but there were not ordinary
times. There were unscrupulous men
in high places who professed to
believe him in order to gain their ends;
^{many} ~~many~~ Roman Catholics were put to
death by the forms of law; and in
Parliament a determined attempt was
made to exclude James from the
succession to the crown. The king
dissolved Parliament, ~~and~~ carried on
the government by means of French
subsides, and waited till the excitement
should die down before summoning
another Parliament. That was not

156

What the Country Party wanted, and they promoted petitions from all over the Country praying that the two Houses might speedily be called together. To petition the King was an old, jealously guarded, and much used right, and could not be forbidden, though a proclamation against petitions was issued in December 1679. The Court Party thought of a more astute move, and began on their side to organize addresses to the King in which disagreement was expressed with the petitions. The cities of London and Westminster were the two most important in the Country and it was from them that the first two addresses were presented. It was this that first brought Francis Withens into notice. He was then Chief Steward of the Franchise Court

157.

of Westminster ⁽⁴¹¹⁾ ⁽³¹¹⁾ and was selected to present
the address from that city, while the
one from London was entrusted to Sir
George Jeffreys, the Recorder, who afterwards
made such an infamous name in
English history. The addresses declared
"this way of petitioning to be the method
of Tory-ism and intended to bring
His Majesty to the Block as his Father
was brought, all which things they
abhorred." ⁽⁴¹⁰⁾ ⁽³¹⁰⁾

Similar addresses were presented
from many other places, and the
Country was divided into "petitioners"
and "abhorers", names which shortly
afterwards gave way to those of "Whig"
and "Tory", the titles by which the
two great political parties of England
were known for centuries.

As a reward for his action Withins
received the honour of knighthood.

Francis Withins ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ was born at Etcham
 about 1634. ⁽¹²²⁾ He was educated at Oxford
 at St. Johns College where he matriculated
 in 1650. He joined the Society of College
 youths in 1655, and was called to the
 bar from the Middle Temple in 1660. ⁽¹⁰⁶⁾
 By 1680 he was on the high road to
 prosperity. He became benches of his
 Inn, gained the favour of the King,
 was knighted, and when at last
 Parliament was summoned to meet,
 he was chosen to represent Westminster.
 And then the storm broke. The Country
 Party had a large majority in the
 new House of Commons. They were in
 an ugly temper; they determined to
 assert the right of the people to petition
 for a Parliament, and to punish those
 who had promoted the addresses of
 abhorrence; and Withins as the presenter

of the first address was one of those selected
 to be made an example of. There were
 some cunning persons who made
 up their minds that he should not
 only be punished but brought into
 Contempt and his party with him. They
 knew the man. He was weak and
 timid, self indulgent, and like many
 another lawyer of the time, a slave to
 the bottle. They told him that the
 Commons were resolved to punish most
 severely all those who had provided
 the addresses, and he would be lucky
 if he escaped being hanged as the
 ringleader of all the business. His
 only chance was to submit himself
 without question; he must by no
 means justify what he had done; no,
 that would be but to irritate, and
 the House would make their examples

160

of those who disputed upon the right
which they were resolved to ~~maintain~~
vindicate to the last degree. They
had no distike to his person, and
if he would do the same right, though
a ringleader, he might come off. Else - ⁽¹⁰⁷⁾
Withins was a lawyer and he knew
quite well that in presenting an address
to the King, he had broken no law,
and he had as much right to petition
the throne in favour of his views as
his opponents had in favour of theirs.
But he knew also quite well the real
value of such a plea in the political
trials of the time. The lives of dozens
of men were then being sworn away
by perjured witnesses, and the Parliament
had always the power to put a person
to death by Act of ~~Att~~ Attainder,
a power which they were quite ready

to use. Withins real safety lay in 161
his comparative insignificance, for
he was no Stafford or Land, and
what his enemies desired was his
disgrace not his death. So when
Parliament met and the Commons
proceeded to take ^{his} Withins' case into
consideration, ~~and~~ after "a few wimpers
and a wipe", he admitted that he
did promote and carry up that abhorrence
and he knew at the time he was
doing wrong, but he did it to please
the King; and so owning the thing
was against the Law, begged pardon.

All the members were not of the
Country Party. There were many
gallant gentlemen who had come
prepared to back him up and make
a fight of it, but this sneaking come-off
so disguised even his friends that they

joined with the Country Party and with one consent, nemine contradicente, kicked him out of the house as not fit for gentlemen's Company. (108)

His sentence was that he should ~~be~~ on his knees be reprimanded by the Speaker, and be expelled the House. "You being a Lawyer," said Williams the Speaker, "have offended against your own profession, you have offended against yourself, your own right, your own liberty as an Englishman. This is not only a crime against the living but a crime against those unborn. You are dismembered from this body."

Wither's' fortunes were not seriously affected by this disgrace. He was employed as a Counselor in several Crown cases and shewed himself if

not a great lawyer at least a confident
 one. ⁽¹¹⁸⁾ One of his cases was a murder
 trial which made a great stir at
 the time. A man named Thomas
 Thyrne ⁽¹¹⁴⁾ a wealthy rake had married
 Lady Ogley a girl of fifteen years, and
 heiress of the Percies, Earls of Northumber-
 land. She quickly repented of her
 bargain, and before they were bedded
 left him and fled to Holland where
 she met a Count Coringomark, one
 of a noble Brandenburg family.
 The Count shortly afterwards came
 to London and was followed by
 three of his dependents, and about
 eight o'clock in the evening of one
 Sunday in February 1682, when
 Thyrne was driving in his coach
 in Pall Mall, the three rode alongside
 and shot him with a blunderbuss

164

whereof he died next day. All four men were arrested and charged with murder, Coningomark as an accessory before the fact. The trial was before the Lord Chief Justice and two other judges. Withens led for the Crown and one of the Counsel with him was William Williams who as Speaker had a few years before pronounced the sentence on Withens. As there were no politics involved, the trial was a perfectly fair one. The three servants were found guilty and hanged, but the Count managed to escape. I imagine that a modern jury on the evidence would not have let him off so easily. (109)

The excitement over the Popish Plot died down, and as soon as the tide turned Charles and his adherents

165

set themselves to have their revenge on the leaders of the Country Party. There followed a number of trials for treason which are a blot on the history of the English judicature. There was no intention and little pretence at impartiality. Judges and jury were met not to acquit, but to condemn. But the forms of justice had to be observed, and to do that both the bench and the jury had to be packed. There was little trouble in getting judges who would do what the government told them, for they were appointed by the king and could be dismissed at a moment's notice. In the Country where the Crown appointed the sheriffs and the sheriffs named the juries, there was

not much trouble in getting any 166
verdict that was wanted. But in
London the sheriffs were elected and
the City had been a stronghold of the
Whig party. Partly as a punishment
and partly to secure the nomination
of the sheriffs, the Government served
the City with a writ of quo warrantis
calling on its officers to show cause
why the Charter should not be
annulled on account of alleged
illegalities. It was a legal question
to be settled by the judges. One of them
Dolben, was not well affected, so
he was dismissed, and the man
selected to take his place was Francis
Withens. ⁽¹¹⁰⁾ He at any rate could be
depended on to do what he was told.
Withens was one of the judges in

167

almost all the political trials of the
next few years, including those of
Lord William Russell and Algernon
Sidney, but he does not appear to
have taken any very active part
in them. Jeffreys in 1683 was made
Lord Chief Justice, and when he
presided at a trial for treason there
was little for the prosecuting Counsel
or for the other judges to do. Withers
is said not to have shown the
harshness and violence of language
that marked the usual demeanour
of judges, but had not enough
courage to differ from his colleagues
and especially ^{from} the bullying and
overbearing Lord Chief Justice.
Burnet says that when Sidney was
brought to Court to receive sentence

168

He went over the objections to the evidence against him, when judge Withens, interrupting him, by a strange indecency gave him the lie in open Court. (111) Paul Pannel did not like Withens (119)

It is one of the junior judges, Withens pronounced the sentence in most of these celebrated trials, (112) a fact which brought him a good deal of popular odium. It was he that pronounced the savage sentence on Titus Bates, when that wretch had been brought to book for his manifold wickednesses. It was the ~~the~~ intention of the judges that he should be whipped to death, but though he suffered horribly, he lived to see something like revenge

in the end. (113)

169

Like the redoubtable Lord Chief Justice, whose career was in some ways parallel to his own, and in many others widely divergent, Withens was no debitor to the bottle. John Evelyn records how he was at a wedding where were the Lord Mayor, the Sheriff, several Aldermen, and persons of quality. "Above all Sir George Jeffries and Mr Justice Withens danced with the bride and were exceeding merry. These great men spent the rest of the afternoon till eleven at night, drinking healths, taking tobacco, and talking much beneath the gravity of judges." (114)

Charles II died in 16. and a few months later an insurrection

170

broke out in the West with the object
of dethroning James and making
the Duke of Monmouth, Charles' illegitimate
son, king in his stead. The rebels were
defeated at Sedgemoor, the last
battle fought on English soil, and
having now, as he thought, his
enemies at his mercy, James and
his advisers determined on such a
revenge as should strike terror
into the hearts of people, and teach
such a lesson that rebellion should
not raise its head again, at least
not for a long time. Many of the
rebels were put to death by martial
law after the battle, but something
more than that was needed, the
forms of law had to be observed, and
a special Commission was sent down

17!
to the West headed by the redoubtable
Lord Jeffries. Four judges were
~~sent~~ joined with him - Chief Baron
Montague and Mr Justice Levingz
of the Common Pleas, and Mr Justice
Withens, and Mr Justice Wright.
The first two are said to have been
men of reputation and respected by
the public and the profession; the
other two were mere time servers
and born companions of the Lord
Chief Justice. But whatever they
were made little difference, for Jeffries
and the King had settled beforehand
what they called their plan of
Campaign, and did not intend to
have any interference with their
designs. The assize that followed
is known in history as the Bloody

172

strife, a name which sufficiently indicates its character. The guilt of the proceedings must be shared by Jeffries and the king; but Withens and the other judges who sat on the bench, and, so far as the reports go, said nothing, cannot escape some responsibility.

When it was all over, the five judges returned to London, and on Saturday October 3rd 1685 the king received them publicly at St James's and they kissed his majesty's hand and received his thanks. Jeffries was rewarded with the Lord Chancellorship and went to a post where there was no more trying and hanging of prisoners to be done. But the others had

173

more work before them. The government, carrying on the policy of terrorism, determined to make an example of some Londoners who were supposed to be sympathizers with the late rebellion, and they chose their victims so as to create, as they thought, the greatest impression. In two of the most notable of these trials Withens was on the bench. ⁽¹²⁰⁾ One was that of Henry Cornish, an alderman and representative of the London Citizens who detested the attempts then being made to betray the English Church and people to popery. He was condemned on the evidence of a wretch named Goodenough, and

executed

174

The other trial was that of Elizabeth Sauni, a woman who belonged to the sect of the Anabaptists, and whose whole life had been spent in acts of charity and relieving distress. She constantly visited Newgate and other prisons and ministered to the poor women confined there. It was an act of mercy that was her undoing, for some years before she had befriended a man name James Perion one of the conspirators of the Rye House plot, and had assisted him to escape to Holland. He had returned during the late rebellion and after Scagemoor escaped to London and then to save his worthless life, betrayed the people that had helped him. Withens did not sit still

175

and say nothing during these trials; rather he tried to imitate the style of his master Jeffries, but he had neither the strength nor the badness to do so effectively. In those days and for long after a person on trial for his life for treason or murder was not allowed the assistance of counsel except when a point of law arose. The prisoner had to present his own defence, to call his own witnesses, and to cross examine those brought against him; if indeed he were allowed to do so, which was not always. When as usually happened in the treason case the judges threw their whole weight into the scale to secure a conviction the chances of acquittal were small.

176

There was indeed a tradition of English justice "that the court ought to be counsel for the prisoner", ⁽¹¹⁵⁾ but that was clean forgotten in the state trials at the end of the seventeenth century. James had determined that Elizabeth Saurin should be condemned, and condemned she was. At the end of the trial, having remembered something, she wanted to call further evidence; the Recorder would have allowed it, but Withens ⁽¹¹⁶⁾ at once said it could not be done, and the other judges were out of court. Four days later Elizabeth Saurin was burnt alive at Tyburn. She was not allowed ~~the~~ ~~poor~~ even the poor mercy (then usual in such cases) of being strangled before the fire

was lighted. The night before she ^{'77}
died she wrote that she forgave her
enemies "but he that sheweth no mercy
shall find none" "I did but relieve a
poor family and so, I must die for
it. I desire to say Lord lay it not
to their charge. But I fear and
believe that when he comes to
make inquisition for blood, mine
will be found at the door of the
furious judge who would not hear
me, and though he granted some
things of the same nature to another
yet he granted it not to me." (17)

There is so little recorded to the
credit of Sir Francis Withens as a
judge, that it is pleasant to know
that his last judicial act does him
honour. A man had deserted from
the army and the government were

178

anxious that he should suffer death. But the Law of England knew nothing of standing armies and martial law in peace time; a soldier had the same rights as a civilian; and when Withens was required to condemn him he refused. For this he was dismissed from the bench and returned to the bar and practised as a Serjeant at Law. ⁽¹⁷⁴⁾

After the Revolution which placed William and Mary on the throne, the Commons had the late disbanded judges before them - Dolben, Fowle, Jones, Leving, Pemberton, Withens, etc - who all declared the several reasons why they had been turned out from being judges, ⁽¹⁷³⁾ and the House further considered some of the judgements which these judges had given in the

political trials of the previous few years. Jeffries died in the Tower and so escaped punishment, the other judges were treated leniently. Withens was called to the bar of the House to give ~~give~~ an explanation of his conduct in the trial of Titus Bates, some of his decisions were pronounced arbitrary and illegal, he was deprived of the recordership of King's Bench which he had held since 1686, and with thirty other persons was exempted from the Act of Indemnity. But no further punishment was inflicted on him. In December 1689 some of the Citizens of London to show their opinion made effigies of Jeffries, Withens, and one or two men who had

acted as foremen of grand juries. These effigies were carried ~~it~~ in procession through the City with a picture of Justice before them, to the Temple. At the Temple gate gallows were erected the images solemnly hung, and then cut down and burned. (123)

Sir Francis Withens married in Westminster Abbey, Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Thomas Taylor. She was a clever witty woman, but brought little comfort or happiness to her husband. She involved him in debts and law suits through her extravagance and she acted the wife's part in the comedies of the Restoration dramatists with Sir Thomas ~~Ed~~ Colepeper of Stylesford as her gallant. (137) There is a significant entry in Lutt diary for Nov 24th 1696. — "Sir Francis

Withins' information against Sir Thomas Colepeper for assaulting him was tried on Saturday at Westminsters and the defendant acquitted." (198)

Withens died in May 1704 at Eatham and was buried in the Church there. His widow afterwards married Colepeper.

At the church of St. Magnus' London Bridge there is preserved a drinking cup, formerly at the famous Boar's Head in Eastcheap, and probably used at the vestry meetings of St. Michaels, Crooked Lane. It bears an inscription saying that it was the gift of Sir Francis Withens.

William Auden who like Withens joined the College youths in 1655, was a classical scholar, a writer of verse, and a barrister of Grays Inn. He was buried at St Saviour's, Southwark. ⁽¹²⁵⁾ Thomas Denton, who was elected steward in 1665 and master in 1670, was in 1666 a justice of the peace. ⁽¹²⁶⁾ And Martyn Lumley was the son of Sir Martin Lumley, Knight of the Shire for Essex in the Long Parliament, who was created a baronet by Charles I in 1641. It yet earlier Sir Martin was sheriff of London in 1614 and Lord Mayor in 1632. ⁽¹²⁷⁾

Martyn Lumley whose home was at Great Bardfield, Essex, succeeded to the baronetcy in 1651, he was sheriff of Essex in 1662-3, ⁽¹²⁸⁾ and died in August 1702 aged 74. The title is now extinct. ⁽¹²⁸⁾

183
Sir Henry Tulse ⁽⁴³⁰⁾ who was elected
a College Youth in 1659 was an alderman
and the earliest member of the City
Corporation who is known to have
been connected with the Society. He
was sheriff in 1673, steward of the
College Youths in 1674, Lord Mayor in
1683 ⁽¹⁴²⁾, and Master of the College Youths
in 1684. That a man holding the
highest civic offices should have
accepted office in the Society is proof
of the importance and high social
standing of the College Youths of the
time. Tulse was knighted in 1674. ⁽¹⁴³⁾
He was a benefactor of St Dionis, Backchurch
and gave the marble font, with the ⁽³²⁹⁾
pavement and the steps leading to it.
He died in 1689, and was buried in
St Dionis' churchyard, where his

Tomestone sadly defaced by time ¹⁸⁴
and weather can still be seen. (419)

Sir Richard Atkins was the grandson
of James I's physician. He was an
Oxford graduate from Balliol College,
was Sheriff of Buckinghamshire, 1649-50,
was created a baronet by Charles II
in 1660, died in 1689, and was buried
at Clapham. (144)

185

Sir Richard Everard was a very important person. He came of an Essex family who lived at Much Waltham. His father also Richard ⁽¹²⁹⁾ was created a baronet by Charles 1 in 1629. The son was born in 1624 and was made ⁽¹³⁰⁾ sheriff of Essex at the early age of 21. He was an active member of the Society of College Youths, holding the office of steward in 1661, and master in the following year. He was Member of Parliament for Westminster from 1661 to 1678. After the Restoration he was made a justice of the peace for Westminster and proved himself a diligent and active magistrate. In fact his active for some people. In 1662 he seized certain goods at the Weaver's Hall belonging to a certain Henry

King, on the grounds that they were prohibited under a statute of Queen Elizabeth from coming into the country. Henry King appealed to the Council and there is a letter from the King to Everard directing him to restore some rapier blades that he had seized, "as it appears that sword and rapier blades were never prohibited, there not being in England workmen enough to carry on the manufacture in proportion to the use." (131)

Everard had a man named John Allard arrested, and issued a warrant to the Keeper of the Gatehouse, the Westminster Lockup, to receive him into custody as a dangerous person who was lurking about near the palace contrary to proclamation. (132) But Allard had friends and they went to

187

Mr Jagon another magistrate who promptly let him out on bail, whereupon Everard wrote indignantly to the Secretary of State, Nicholas. He had often, he said complained of being ~~and~~ unequally yoked with persons not qualified to be justices of the peace. He had apprehended a villain, and at once a brother magistrate had discharged him. He prays that the bench may be either all knaves and fools, or all loyal and diligent. Without speedy ~~and~~ course the proclamation will soon signify little. (133)

Two years later Everard sent to the Keeper of the Gatehouse another man named John Alcock of St Giles-in-the-Fields, with instructions that he was to be kept in close custody for scandalous and treasonable words

against the government tending to the
destruction of the Kings person (134)

In 1678 at the time of the Popish Plot
Sir Joseph Williamson then Secretary
of State notes that he had consulted
with Everard and sought his advice
about Titus Gates who had tried to
escape because he said that his life
was in danger; (135) and in June 1680
secretary Jenkins wrote to Everard
asking him to make enquiries about
two letters that had been sent to
Chelmsford having in them a most
seditious libel. He was to examine
the people who received them and
try and find out who were the people
behind it all. (136)

There are other references to Everard
in the State Papers and a long and
interesting letter to him about the

foreign affairs of the day.

Everard succeeded to the baronetcy in 1680, and died in August 1694 in his seventieth year. He was buried in the south aisle of Great Waltham Church where a floor slab covers his grave ⁽¹⁴⁴⁰⁾ His title is now extinct.

At Waltham there is a very interesting ring of bells. Three of them date from before Everard's time, the sixth by William Revel (circa 1350) being one of the oldest bells in Essex ⁽¹³⁹⁾ The tenor, 25 cwt, by John Hodson was cast ⁽¹³⁰⁾ in Everard's time and bears his initials.

Besides these people who we know definitely were ringers and members of the Society of College Youths in Cromwells time there are some others who can be identified with greater or less degree of probability or possibility. There was John Barker who joined the society in 1659, and after the Restoration was a lawyer - barrister or attorney ⁽¹²⁴⁾ - living in the Temple. He seems to have been involved in some business which brought him within the terms of a proclamation for in 1664 he petitioned the Council for leave to stay in London although forbidden. His plea was that he had been subpoenaed in a cause in the Exchequer and had several cases in the Arches and other courts

the neglect of which threatened his
 utter ruin. ⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ Later on he was acting
 in the interests of Lord Arlington, one
 of the Crown ministers and in
 September 1666 when the great fire
 was raging he wrote to Joseph
 Williamson, Arlington's secretary ⁽¹⁴⁶⁾
 to tell him of his plight and to ask
 his ~~by~~ help. He had escaped from
 the Temple with little more than
 the skin of his teeth and had
 taken refuge at Lord Hyonberg the
 Swedish Resident's house whether
 a great part of his books ^{were} ~~was~~ to be
 brought until he ^{could} ~~can~~ get a cart to
 proceed. At the Temple, neither
 coach, barge, boat, or ^{cart} ~~coach~~, was
 to be had. All the streets were full
 of goods, and the fire flaming into

the very Temple He asks for a ¹⁹²
warrant from Lord Arlington to press
four waggons for himself and Lord
Lyonberg. He will come in person
as soon as he has lodged his little
concern and meanwhile who wants
to know the address of the Post
office that by Sticks being destroyed
by this unparalleled fire. ⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ He
appears to have had some official
connection with the Post office, for
there is a letter to him from the
Bishop of Limerick enquiring about
the posting of a packet, and the
temporary address of the office. ⁽¹⁴⁸⁾
There are other letters of his to
Williamson relating to Arlington's
business. In one he says that his
Lordship has desired him to obtain

193

a licence for William Dutton, the
high sheriff of Gloucestershire to be
sometimes out of the County. He is
infirm and his physician resides in
Oxford; and part of his estate being
in Kent his attendance may sometimes
be required there. ⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ There are also
warrants to pay Parker large sums
of money on behalf of noblemen for
whom apparently he was acting. ⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ Two
years later in 1669 however he got
into serious trouble. He was holding
a large sum of money belonging to
Strlington and he used it, perhaps
for his own purposes, certainly in a
way that neither Strlington nor his
family knew of. When the matter
came to light the minister was furious.
He applied for a warrant for the
arrest of Parker. The Lord Keeper

194

Pridgeman, wrote to him that he had signed the warrant, but wished its execution to be postponed until he had told him some reasons against it. ⁽¹⁵¹⁾ Nevertheless Parker was arrested and lodged in the Gaolhouse where he began to feel very sorry for himself. Williamson who was his friend wrote and asked whatever had induced him to do as he did. Did he even have any encouragement from Lord Arlington or any members of his family to do so? Has it ever been to their advantage or did they even know about it? And he asks him as he kept his Lordships money what did he make for himself? ⁽¹⁵²⁾

Parker's answer was an ~~answer~~ ^{appeal} for help. "My confinement being so grievous on account of the conditions of this

195

place I beseech you advice as to
what is fit for me to do. I shall
not presume to petition Lord Arlington
for my liberty until you have
consulted with him and obtained
his leave." (153) Williamson did put
in a good word for him, and perhaps
after all he had not been guilty
of anything worse than error of
judgement. In another letter he
expresses his thanks for Williamson's
regard and charity in showing him
how to obtain his release from such
a sleepless and sorrowful place, and
he says that if permitted next Monday
he will present himself to his Lordship
and acknowledge his candour and
mercy.

(154)

That is the end of John Barker's story

as it has come down to us. No doubt
 he still continued a person of some
 importance. In 1672 he was Master
 of the College Junks; he had been
 steward in the year of the Fire.

I do not know whether John
 Goodyear who in 1663 got mixed
 up in a fracas at Westminster
 and with another man was arrested
 for an assault on one of the Kings
 guard, was the College Junk who
 joined in 1654, but it is just as
 likely as not. (155)

Between 1652 and 1662 four or ¹⁹⁷
five men of the name of Cooke joined
the Society. John Cooke was clerk
or secretary to Sir William Mordaunt
one of the Secretaries of State and
his name appears frequently in state
papers in Charles II's reign. Pepys
says he was a sober and pleasant
man, and records that he met
him and two others in February
1663 and took them home to his
house. "I made much of them and
had a pretty dinner for a sudden.
We talked pleasantly." ⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ Thomas
Cooke was appointed to the
receivership of first fruits and
tenths and other spiritual payments
for which he paid a fee of £20 and
gave satisfactory security to the
Lord Treasurer. ⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ He was an Acton

man and probably was the son of ¹⁹⁸
Thomas Coke of Melbourne Co. Derby.
He was entered as a student of
Gray's Inn in 1654 ⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ and was knighted
in 16 ⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ Edmund Coke lived
in the parish of St. Martin-in-the-
Fields. He had strong opinions
about church matters; and one
day he went out drinking with
a shoemaker and when his tongue
was loosened said a good many
more things than was safe to do.
Some busybody carried his words
to the Council and a messenger
was sent round to his home to
make enquires and ask questions
of his wife Winifred. She admitted
he had been drinking and talking.
It was the shoemaker who said
that an army was preparing to

199

cut the Popists throats. Cook did
rail against the king and said
that he wished all the papist rogues
were killed, but she never heard
him say he would kill his Majesty.
And then like a good wife she
sacrificed his reputation to save
his skin, and said he was only
a lunatic who was not responsible
for his actions. ⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ An Edmund Coke
the second son of Lambert Coke of
North Cray was admitted a student
of Lincoln's Inn in 1639, ⁽¹⁶¹⁾ but whether
he was the same man, or whether
the Edmund Coke who joined the
College youths in 1659, was steward
in 1663, and master in 1667 was
an entirely different person, there are
no certain means of knowing. George
Coke, steward in 1667 and master

in 1676 appears to have been an attorney

Richard Willshire petitioned the king to let him have £72-18-0 which had been in the hands of a person empowered to seize prohibited goods but which had been kept back by him. Willshire asked for it as a gift for his services and sufferings in the royal cause and he says that among the crowd of petitioners he had never asked for any relief before. ¹⁶² He had joined the society at the same time as Christopher Millon. There is a note that in 1660, £80 was paid to a Mr Willshire. (163)

After the Restoration James Carlisle entered into the service of the Duke of York. He was some relative of a man who was Clerk of the Passage at the port of Dover. He petitioned the King for a moiety of certain arrears of just fines and rents which had been received by Sir Henry Knollys before the Civil War and not accounted for by him. It looks as if he had paid the Crown a certain sum of money for the right to collect these arrears and now repented of his bargain. He says the recovery will be accompanied by much charge and difficulty. The Lord Treasurer, Southampton replied in favour of the petition because as the books had been embezzled in late times no light could be ~~thrown~~ thrown on the debt. Warrant was issued accordingly.

203

John Space, Master in 1651, was a wealthy London merchant. In 1666 France declared war and a proclamation was issued forbidding English subjects to trade with that Country after a certain date. Space with the idea of turning an honest penny chartered three ships and loaded them at Bordeaux with cargos of resin, turpentine, brine, and cork. But the winds were contrary and when the vessels appeared in the Thames the allotted time was passed. Space looked to have been undone but he applied to the government for relief and was fortunate enough to get an Order in Council permitting him to unload the goods. (220)

Thomas Warner in 1662 was a Sergeant-at-Law, ^{Arms} (221) Thomas Bakenwell

held some appointment in the Royal Household, ⁽²²²⁾ and Thomas Fisher was a sufficiently important person to correspond with the Secretary of State, Nicholas, who had asked his opinion ⁽²²³⁾ concerning a certain Sir Kenelm Digby.

William Bishop was the son of Richard Bishop who when Charles I was at Oxford had been granted by the king the office of Serjeant at Arms to the House of Commons. At the Restoration Richard petitioned for a confirmation of the grant to himself and his son. The Attorney General having replied in his favour he petitioned again because as he said a certain James Norfolk was trying to obtain the office. The petition was successful and later on in April 1661 a grant

was made to William Bishop in
reversion after Richard Bishop his
father of the office (231)

A letter among the State Papers from
J. Collins to William Godolphin is quite
likely the writing of the College Junks. (232)

The year 1660 - the year of the Restoration - is an important landmark in the history of England. It marks the fall of puritanism and a violent reaction against the tendencies which since the death of Elizabeth had been dominant in religious, social, and political opinion. For fifty years or so the Church of England had suffered from humiliation and disaster, her liturgy forbidden, her buildings defaced and many of her ministers ejected from their livings. She now returned triumphantly to power and her enemies were crushed by severe penal laws. For the next half century she enjoyed a greater amount of political power and influence than at any other time since the Reformation and probably a greater amount of

popularity among all classes of people. The restrictions of harmless and innocent amusement under the "reign of the saints" led naturally to a correspondingly increased laxity of manners, though the effect on the English character of the genuine elements of puritanism was permanent.

These things were bound to affect change ringing, and they did. But not quite in the way we should at first have expected. Puritan ~~de~~ opposition to bell ringing was, as we have seen, two fold. It was objected to as superstitious, and also because it was a sabbath breaking sport. On the first point the puritans won so completely that not only was all semi-liturgical

use of bells abolished in England, but change ringing was almost entirely divorced from the service of the Church, and only in comparatively recent times has been recovered as part of the ritual. But secular ringing and ringing as a sport, the puritans could not stop. It went on during the time of the Commonwealth much as it had done in previous years. In one way only and that indirectly did the troubles of the time affect the art. Owing mainly to the impoverishment of the country gentry from parliamentary fines and from contributions to the royal cause there was little bell founding. (319)

But as soon as the Restoration came there was a great expansion

of the art of ringing all over the
 Country, New bells were cast and
 hung, the fittings of the old bells were
 improved ~~so~~ ^{so} that they could be
 rung ~~so~~ ^{higher}, new methods were introduced,
 and new societies formed. "Whole-
 pulls was altogether practised in
 former times", wrote Stedman in
 1667, ⁽³³⁰⁾ but of late there is a more
 quick and ready way practised
 called Half-pulls, which is - only
 once round in a change, that is
 one change made at the Fore-stroke
 and another at the Back-stroke
 which way is now altogether in use
 (unless it be at some great bells,
 which are too weighty to be managed
 up so high a Compass at the Back-
 stroke as Half-pulls requires) it

being now a common thing in London to ring the 720 Changes, Trebles and Doubles and Grandire Bob, Half pulls (which is commonly rang with 80 pound and quick a Compass, that in the space of half an hour or little more the 720 Changes are rang out from the beginning to the end.) And also the Six-scores Doubles and Singles, Old Doubles, Grandire, and many other cross Peals on five Bells are commonly rang Half pulls." (165)

Indeed so far as London is concerned we may place the beginning of modern change ringing in the early days of Charles II's reign. Plain Changes had served their purpose and were practically obsolete; Cross peals in Half pulls were the usual methods

practised; and a modern ringer could take a rope in one of the then Companies would find little difference from the ringing in his own power.

English bell ringing was still a thing of the future. In 1667 the longest length on record was 1680 Plain Changes. The College Juniors rang Grandure Bob Minor with 4-8 as covers and Grandure and Tending's Doubles with three bells lying behind varying the three bells, and sometimes bringing the Tenor into the work. Another way of ringing was to ring Minor on the middle pie with the treble always leading and the Tenor as a cover. (166)

Between 1660 and the end of the century bell-ringing as a sport was

probably more widely popular among all classes of people, ringers and non-ringers, than at any other time during its history. It was still simple enough for ordinary men to know something about. Later on it became so highly technical, that none but the initiated could appreciate the things connected with it. We may judge the opinion of ordinary educated Church people about bells and ringing (as distinct from puritan opinion) from the words of a man who wrote a book some few years later. He has been describing the uses of bells in pre-reformation times and he goes on - "but the memory of these ceremonies being now almost exploded, the bells

themselves are still preserved as in their modern and proper use innocently servicable to ecclesiastical civil, and recreative ends and purposes.

And they are now esteemed part of the Church goods and furniture and manifest sacrilege to steal embezzle or alienate them." (167) The

significant word in this quotation is "recreative". Probably there is quite as much ringing to day for recreative purposes as there was then, but one would hardly expect it to be given in a learned book as one of the purposes for which bells are cast and hung.

The increased popularity of ringing led to the establishment of many new societies. Most of them have long since

disappeared and been forgotten. The names
 of one or two have survived, buried in
 the pages of rare books, like the Loyal
 Youths of Lichfield, or the Society of
 Western Greencaps; ⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ the important
 Society of London Scholars dates from
 soon after this time; and some
 particulars of another prominent
 company have lately come to light.
 It was founded in 1662 by Henry
 Chauncy who had joined the College
 Youths in 1660, but for some reason
 or other had seceded from that
 body. It consisted of mainly of
 members of the Middle Temple with
 some other people, some of whom probably
 held minor appointments connected
 with the royal household. They
 called themselves the Esquire Youths,
 and were an exclusive body who

apparently did not admit anybody beneath the rank of esquire which in those days was a real rank, and not a merely polite form of address. The rules of the society and the list of original members are excellent, and the reason they have survived and come down to us is curious and rather romantic.

One of the early English poets was a man named John Skelton who lived between the years 1460 and 1529. He was a clergyman of somewhat dubious reputation who wrote a number of poems in a short vigorous ~~metre~~ metre. One of them was called *The Tunning of Elynour Rummyng*, a fantastic description of an old ale wife and the guests who visited her establishment.

215

near Leatherhead. ⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ It is rather
funny and very coarse. A manuscript
copy of this poem belonged to Charles
the Second. It is written in an
ornamental hand in a little book
handsomely bound in leather and
embossed with the royal crest -
a crown and C.R. II. The poem
fills up only part of the pages, and
when the Esquire youths wanted
something to write their rules in,
they took this book, turned it
upside down, and used the blank
leaves. How they got hold of it
I cannot tell. Perhaps the king
gave it them; or he may have
tossed it aside after reading it
and someone picked it up; or the
Esquire youths may have gone into

the royal library and helped themselves.

Anyhow they were using it only a few months after it had been bound for the king, which seems to show that some of them at any rate were fairly closely connected with the royal court. And what became

of it after the society expired I cannot say. Such a book, the property of the king and containing a rare poem, would naturally be valued by any body into whose hands it might fall. Most likely it got into the library of some country house and eventually came out the market when that library was sold and dispersed. Anyhow it was eventually in the possession of Messrs. Southey the booksellers

217
of Piccadilly and from them it was
purchased by the British Museum
on July 15th 1870. ⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ The chief value
to the Museum is of course in Skellion's
poem, but the history of this M.S. and
of the College youths name book
suggests the possibility that there are
still books buried in country
libraries which may yet throw
more light on old ringers and
ringing.

The rules of the society are in two
different handwritings and are partly
in English and partly in Latin,
with occasionally a sentence in
Greek. They are headed with the
aphorism, *Salus populi suprema
lex est* ⁽¹⁷¹⁾ and the statement *Omnium
societatum nulla prestantior est
nulla firmiter quam conjuri boni*

moribus e simul punit familiaritate
 conjuncti. ⁽¹⁷²⁾ The officers consisted of
 a Generall or Principall, whose
 title is given in Greek, Treasurer,
 Clericus or Clerke, senior and
 junior Stewards, and senior and
 junior Wardens. Under each officer
 is a description of his duties. The
 Treasurer was to gather steepage
 "at all ecclia ordinary feals and
 forfeitures for use of ye Company"
 The Stewards were to prepare for
 the yearly feasts and to Consult
 the Treasurer on what moneys
 he can spare and what can be
 gathered. Mention is made also
 of a Warner who among other duties
 had to give notice to the members
 on the marriage or death of any

members so that suitable feasts could be rung. Candidates for admission to the society were required to sign an Engagement for all those that are desirous to be Instituted members of the Society - I do declare and promise to keep and maintain all these orders to my full power and utmost endeavour as they are now established by the whole society and further engage to have not now or hereafter any interest in any company but this of the Esquires." The same form appears again further on with the names of the members written beneath. They are not however signatures, but all in the same handwriting.

Provision was made for monthly

and quarters (i.e. quarterly) yeals and
the following form was provided to
summon the members on these occasions -

" Form of a Warrant. Whereas it is
y^e pleasure of the generall and his
assistantis to approve the next monthly
yeale for the company at B. These
are therefore to will and require
you upon sight hereof to make yr.
personall appearance at the aforesaid
Church on Tuesday next the 12th day
of July between 4 and 5 of y^e clock
by the same Church Clocke in the
afternoon there to help and perform
the sd. Yeale to your best skill and
utmost Indeaour & hereof you are
not to fail on pain of forfeiture.

A. B. Generall "

Two of the rules are as follows -

" None shall find fault with another's

221

ringing, but the generall or whom he shall appoint. None shall prat or make any noise at peals."

"None shall engage the Company in a Challenge without the Generalls Consent on pain of being amerced 2s. 6d., and in case the Company shall be engaged, every man shall lend his best assistance if required and contribute his equal share to the rest of his fellow members."

It would be interesting to know what form ringing for Challenges took, but apart from the references to it in these and similar rules no trace of it remains. Quite evidently there was none in the eighteenth Century in London, and not even any of the prize ringing which was so popular in other parts of the Country especially

in the north and west.

One of the Esquires rules was unusual and perhaps significant. It may mean merely that politics was barred from the society's meetings, but it may mean that no one was to discuss anything he had heard or that had come to his knowledge in the course of his official duties. "None", so it ran, "shall offer to talke or occasion ye talke of his majestie or any state affairs or none concerning ye same among all ye Company to the disturbance of any, in paine to be amerced 8^d", and the thing was considered so important that the rule was repeated in different words.

The last entry in the book records a resolution altering the date of the annual feast. The day first chosen was St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24th

but that fell in the middle of the Long
 Vacation when many of the members
 wanted to be out of London on their
 estates or among their friends in the
 Country. It was therefore altered to
 All Souls Day November 2nd. It is
 interesting to note that in 1662 the
 Law Courts were still using as a date
 the title of a holy day which the Church
 had dropped since the Reformation
 and which did not appear in the
 newly revised Book of Common Prayer
 which had just been issued. The
 resolution is dated the "Feast of S.
 John Baptist in the year of our Lord
 1663." and reads as follows - "Whereas
 the generall feast of this Society,
 annually kept on Bartholomew
 day which falling in the midst of
 the long vacation proved very

inconvenient to the Company by reason of the Major part of them being at that time out Towne it is ordain^d and decreed this Present Day by a full vote of this Society, that the said generall feast for the future be kept on the feast of All Soules, at which time the officers of the Society shall be elected."

These rules are very reminiscent of those of the Scholars of Cheapside, so much so that it is evident either that the compilers had the older code before them, or that all the societies of the time framed their rules on the same model. The first supposition is probably the more likely but it must be remembered that we have no original rules of the

Society of College Youths, and it is not unlikely that the presiding officer of that body was ^{at first} called the general and not the master.

The list of members of the Society of Esquire Youths contains twenty six names, and among them are men who held positions of considerable importance at the time. The first general was Henry Chauncy. He was by birth a Londoner and came of an old Hertfordshire family, one of whom (so he claimed) was among the followers of William the Conqueror. He was born in 1632, ^{and} was educated at the High School, Bishop's Stortford and Caius College, Cambridge. He entered the Middle Temple in 1649 and was "called to the Degree of the Bar" in 1656. In 1661 he was made a Justice

of the Peace for Herefordshire, in 1673
 for Hereford town, and in 1688 for the
 Counties of Glamorgan, Brecknock, and
 Radnor. He was chief Burgess of
 Hereford, Steward of the Borough Court
 and when the town was granted a
 charter was the first recorder. He
 became successively Benchet (1675), Reader
 (1681), and Treasurer ⁽¹⁶⁸⁵⁾ of the Middle
 Temple, was Serjeant at Law (1688) and
 was knighted in 1681 at Windsor
 Castle by Charles II. ⁽¹⁸²⁾ Altogether he
 was a man in his time of weight
 and importance. On the death of
 his father in 1681 he succeeded to
 the rich family estates, and about
 the same time he was engaged in
 writing the book which for the non ringers
 is his title to remembrance - The
 Historical Antiquities of Herefordshire

one of the earliest of those ponderous
 folios, ponderous alike in bulk and
 style, which record county history,
 family pedigrees, and sepulchral
 inscriptions. Chauncy was a pioneer
 on his own ground and it required
 a vast amount of research to gather
 together the information in his book.
 Thomas Heame said he was a person
 of very little learning and his book
 was not very well done; but then
 Heame was an archaeological scholar
 and nothing much else, while Chauncy
 could only give to archaeology the
 leisure hours of a the busy life of
 a lawyer, magistrate and land
 owner. The professional man even
 in the serene atmosphere of Oxford is
 not infrequently scornful of the

amateur. Five hundred copies only were printed of Sir Henry Charnoy's book, and in consequence it became rare and very valuable. Before 1857 a single copy had fetched as much as £35-14-0 at an auction. ⁽¹⁸⁴⁴⁾ Tassie's is book collecting change and at present the book is worth about £5 more or less according to its binding and condition. ⁽¹⁸⁵⁾

The Antiquities of Hertfordshire contains a description of the various ^{and manors} parishes in the County, with an account of the churches and their monuments, pedigrees of country families, and such like information. As we should expect he gives the number of bells in all the churches, sometimes with a short comment on their

quality; but unfortunately he says nothing about their inscriptions or their founders, or history. The archaeology of bells was not as yet a recognized science. No reference, of course, is made to local ringing but for that would have been outside the scope of the book; but he does take an opportunity of inserting an account of the origin and general uses of bells. Part of it is worth quoting for it has been copied many times though not necessarily at first hand and the reader will probably recognize the source of much of what is said about bells in the pages of encyclopedias and such like learned or pseudo

learned books. (186)

"Bells were invented by Paulinus about the year of Christ 400; they were called Nolas from the City and Campanas from the Country

"Some through mistake do attribute this invention to Labinian a Bishop of Rome, that he might first distinguish the Canonical Hours by the sound of a Bell; but others ~~do~~ fetch it from the Heathens; for Ovid, Marcial, Tibullus, Statius, Manilius, and the ancient Greeks mention the Tintinnabula the Tinglango and the Teltes in their time; and also the noisie Brass that was used for the purpose we now use Bells." After ~~repeating~~ referring to the bells of Croyland Abbey he goes on - "In the Roman Church these Bells were anointed Olea Christimatis; they were Esorcised, the Bishop blessed them and gave

231 304

them the name of some Saint; and when these Ceremonies were performed it was verily believed that they had Power to drive the Devil out of the Air, to make him quake and tremble, to make him flie at the sound thereof, *Tanquam ante Crucis rescilliam*, that they had power to calm Storms and Tempests to make fair Weather to eslinguish sudden Fires, to recreate the Dead, to restrain the power of the Devil over the Crops. Whence they rung, which was the reason of the Custom of Ringing Bells at Funerals.

“ But since the time of the Reformation, it has been the usual course in the Church of England, and it is a very laudable one, that when any sick person lay drawing

on, a Bell tolled to give notice to the Neighbours that they might pray for the dying Party, which was commonly called a Passing Bell because the sick person was passing hence to another World; and when his Breath was expired the Bell rung out that the Neighbours might cease their Prayers for that the Party was dead" (189)

Among the engravings in the book is a portrait of the author by J. Savage. It is entitled Sr Henry Chauncey of Yardleybury in the County of Hereford Esq; Sergeant at Law. He is seated in a chair, vested in his Lawyers robes and wearing the full wig which was part of an ordinary gentleman's dress of the period. The face is rather fleshy with a full upper lip and large

mouth which shows good nature.

The eyes and upper part of the face are better than the lower. Chauncy clearly was no ascetic, but a man who took the good things of life as they came (See facing page 318)

One of Chauncy's judicial acts as a magistrate is of some historical interest. It was under his warrant that the last arrest in England for witchcraft was made. An old woman named Jane Wenham was accused of bewitching cattle and servant girls; she was tried at Hertford convicted and sentenced to death in 1712; but a free pardon was granted by Queen Anne through the exertions of the judge who conducted the trial. Chauncy's act in ^{issuing} granting the warrant

is of course no indication of his personal opinion on the matter. Witchcraft was a crime against the Law of the Land and if Jane Wenham's accusers had made out a *prima facie* case against her as no doubt they had, he had no option but to send her to take her trial before a judge and jury. At the time belief in witchcraft was dying among the educated classes but it was only a few years before that so great and humane a judge as Sir Matthew Hale had tried two women for witchcraft and when they had been found guilty expressed himself satisfied with the justice of the verdict and condemned them to death. ⁽²¹⁾ He and all the men of his

time believed in the verbal inspiration
 of the bible and they took the injunction
 "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to
 live", ⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ to be as much binding on them
 as it was on the Israelites of old.

Jane Wenham's case attracted a vast
 amount of attention, and did perhaps
 more than any one other thing to
 enlighten public opinion on the
 subject of witchcraft. Ignorant
 country people still believed in it
 for many years after and in 1752
 the inhabitants of Stonham Aspal were
 "still so full of ignorance and
 superstition" that they imagined they
 were plagued by witches and wizards.
 They proceeded to tie up several
 old women and threw them into a
 river, and when they refused to

236
drown, that being a clear proof
of guilt, a trial was demanded.
But the clergy would have nothing
to do with the matter, and no
magistrate would commit the
accused for trial. (191)

Sir Henry Chauncy died at
Jardleybury (now called Ardley)
and was buried in the church there.
His eldest son having predeceased
him he was succeeded by his
grandson who quickly dissipated
the estate by riotous living. Chauncy
in the preface to his book says he
was prevented from carrying out his
original design by having to spend
money in resisting the ruinous
machinations of a degenerate member
of his family and his malicious
accomplices. The Chauncy arms

are among the shields which ornament
the roof of St Alban's Abbey showing
that he contributed to the repair
of the church in 1681. (192) There are
six bells at Studley all of which
date from Chauncy's time or earlier. (193)

Another member of the Esquire Youth was Christopher Turner. He was the son and heir of Sir Christopher Turner, or Turnor, of Millin ~~Essex~~ Essex who was a prominent member of the Middle Temple and was made a judge at the Restoration. ⁽¹⁹⁴⁾ The

younger Christopher was entered as a student of the Middle Temple on February 20th 1658, and was "called to the degree of the utter bar" on November 27th 1663. ⁴⁰⁹ He had two

brothers Charles, and Edmund who also were law students. The young men of the Inn rebelled against the puritanical restrictions imposed by authority and determined to have an old fashioned Christmas.

They broke open the doors of the Hall the Parliament Chamber and the

kitchen and proceeded to enjoy themselves.
 They carried on their revelries until
 Twelfth-night, and then authority
 came down on them with a heavy
 hand. At a Parliament ⁽¹⁹⁵⁾ held on
 Jan'y 26, 1671, Charles and Edmund
 were each fined £20 for "setting up
 a gaming Christmas", and Charles
 was expelled the Inn but was
 afterwards reinstated on due petition.
 Christopher managed to escape that
 time, no doubt through his father's
 influence, but in 1674 a Parliament
 holden on 19 June decreed that
 Messrs Christopher, Edmund,
 and Charles Turner are expelled
 for their scandalous and shameless
 behaviour late at night in several
 Courts, unless they can show good

cause to the contrary on Friday next,
 and a copy of the order left at their
 chambers was to be sufficient notice.
 No doubt they made an edifying
 submission and were let off, for
 ten years later Christopher handed
 in a petition relating to his and
 his brothers' chambers the rent of
 which was in arrear. (196)

William Cooper was the son and
 heir of John Cooper of Rathling,
 Court, Wye, Kent. He was admitted
 a student of Gray's Inn in 1659 (198)
 and called to the degree of the
 "Utter Bar", on May 20th 1653 from
 the Middle Temple (197)

241

The Chief Crier at the Middle Temple at the time was John Chapman. I do not whether the office was held by a person of social standing. If so then the John Chapman who was an Esquire Youth was pretty certainly the same man, but there was a John Chapman an esquire of Cheine in Surrey. ⁽²⁴³⁾ After the Esquire Youth broke up John Chapman in 1684 joined the College Youth and was successively steward (1691) and master (1698).

Thomas Hancock was the son and heir of John Hancock of Acton Burnell Salop. He was admitted a student of the Inner Temple in 1645. ⁽²⁴²⁾

242

John Griffiths was the son and heir
of William Griffiths of Llanwaythley
in Anglesea. He entered Gray's
Inn in 1654 ⁽²⁰¹⁾ In June 1661 he
petitioned the king for a grant in
writing of the place promised him
of Clerk Comptroller. ⁽²⁰²⁾ He was granted
the office of Clerk of the Billets in
the Court of the Marches of Wales
when it should be reestablished, and
he petitioned the king to add another
life that of Charles Coling to his grant.
His profits he said were about £50
a year and arose solely from a
fee of sixpence a billet paid by
the subject ⁽²⁰³⁾

Thomas Fowler of Staple Inn, the son ²⁴³
of Robert Fowler of Fowler Hall Garstang
Co. Lancashire, gentleman, was admitted
to Gray's Inn in 1641; and Samuel
Sanders son and heir of Thomas Sanders
of Little Inceston, Co Derby, Esquire, was
admitted to the same Inn in 1663. ⁽²⁰⁴⁾

The name of the clericus of the Society
of Esquire Jurthes is not given but
it was probably William James. He
was the son of Henry James and was
born at Skahone in Northamptonshire.
He was educated by his uncle and
"being extraordinary path-ripe ⁽²⁰⁵⁾
of a prodigious memory was entered
into his accedence at five years of
age" ⁽²⁰⁶⁾ In 1646 he was elected a
King's Scholar of Westminster where
he became the favourite pupil of
the famous D. Busby. He was elected

244

a student of Christ's College Cambridge
in 1650 and returned to Westminster
first as usher and then as second
to his old master. He died on
July 3rd 1663 greatly regretted by
all who knew him and was buried
in the Abbey. ⁽²⁰⁷⁾ A brilliant scholar
he probably is responsible for the
Latin and Greek in the Society's
rules. ⁽²⁰⁶⁾

Griffiths Finch was probably a son
or nephew of Heneage Finch, and so
was a relative by marriage of Sir
Clifford Clifton, the second Master
of the College youths.

William Bassill the fifth son of
Martin Bassill late of Colchester,
gentleman was admitted to Lincoln's
Inn in 1628. The Esquire youth was
probably his son.

How long the Society of Esquire Foxhounds²⁴⁵ was in existence we do not know. Probably it disappeared after a comparatively short time, leaving no memory behind it. In the Tintinnalogia is given a method called the Twelve Score Long Hunt, or the Esquire's Twelve Score which was, no doubt, the composition of one of the members, and a favourite peal. It is practically an extension of the old Eight and Forty on five bells to six bells. The sixth and fifth are in turn the whole hunt; first the sixth hunts from back to front and then up again, the fifth meanwhile acting as cover; then the fifth hunts down and up, the sixth acting as cover; and when either is leading

The other four bells ring one change
of the twenty four Plain Changes,
or (in a variation of the method)
one of the changes of Bob Minimus. (233)

The original records of five other ²⁴⁷
societies founded about this time are
preserved in the Bodleian Library. One
was the Northerne Junthos, and the title
page of their book is as follows - Orders
conceived and agreed upon by the
company exercising the arte of ringing
knowne and called by the name of the
Northerne Junthos in London, beginning
and soe continued from the one and
thirtieth day of May Anno. Dom. 1669
The book contains the rules, list of
members and officers. The last entry
is of a resolution passed at a meeting
held at St. Sepulchres on 7th July 1676 307
condemning the negligence of the stewards.
Probably the members were socially of
a good class and they seem to have
had some connection with the town

of Nottingham, which may account for their title, for in 1672 they gave two bells to St. Peter's Church. They

were inscribed - IN PERPETUAM MEMORIAM SOCIETATIS IUVENVM BOREA LIVM 1672. a

century later both were recast by another society of ringers, and the inscriptions

now read. - I WAS GIVEN BY THE SOCIETY OF

NORTHERNE YOUTHS IN 1672 AND RECAST BY THE

SHERWOOD YOUTHS IN 1771. (318)

The other society was the Greenwich Youths. The rules are written on a single sheet of paper and are dated 25 March 1683. (307)

Appendix to Chapter 11

The Origin and Name of the Society of College Juniors.

The duty of an historian is to search out as far as he may the truth of bygone things, and then to set it forth as clearly as he can. He is not concerned primarily with the opinions and conclusions of other men who may have worked on the same ground as himself, he is not bound to take notice of any differences there may be between him and them, nor to introduce controversial matter to prove that the truth lies on his side and not on theirs. The judgement must be with the reader, and the verdict will

be decided by the general credibility of the writer and the cogency of the facts and arguments with which he supports his case. But for most rules there are exceptions, and not least for this. Where the historian finds an opinion or a statement of fact which has the sanction of some great authority, or which is generally and unquestionably accepted, but which he knows to be mistaken and untrue, then he is bound to treat it as an obstacle to the real truth, and must devote some time to clearing it away that he may put in its place a worthier structure.

And that is a duty which is especially

and frequently laid on the historian
of change-ringing. For almost without
exception the men who have assayed the
task of writing the story of ringers have
been destitute of a critical spirit, or
have had insufficient data to work
upon. As a result the hazy recollections
of ringers which pass for traditions,
have been embroidered and embellished
with conjecture and surmise, until a
quantity of myth and legend has arisen
which forms the stock in trade of those
writers who occasionally treat of the
historical side of ringing, and which
is seldom absent even from those who
write with accuracy and authority.
Of many things that men would have

liked to know, they in fact know nothing. One man hazarded a guess, a second copied him, and then a third, and presently a new "fact" is added to history; and especially is this so when the new fact has tended to the credit of some society. There are many companies all over England whose origins go back many years, perhaps to the eighteenth or seventeenth centuries. What more natural than that the present day members should seek to glorify their past? especially as in some indefinite way they appear to share the credit of the bygone men. Nothing definite is known, but one can always surmise. One man's conjecture is

to the next a possibility, to the next a probability, and to the next a certainty. It does not occur to anyone to test the creditability of the legend, especially if it be an attractive one, and usually there are no means available by which it can be tested.

Two of the most widely accepted of these legends concern the origin of the names of the two old metropolitan societies, the College Youths and the Cumberlands. You will find them repeated by a dozen or more authors and given in the official hand books of the two bodies; but there is a distinction between them, that while there is a germ of truth in the one which relates to the Cumberlands, that which relates to the College Youths is wholly false.

The Society of College Youths has a

romantic and picturesque name, and it is not surprising that men who have taken an interest in the historical and antiquarian side of ringing have tried to find out whence it came, and what it means. Their endeavours have not been successful, but many conjectures have been made, and a very pretty little myth has grown up which traces the foundation of the society back to the College which Richard Whittington founded in the reign of King Henry IV. In his *History and Art of Change Ringing*, Mr. Morris tells us that "this Society is one of the oldest and most important in the annals of change-ringing, having been founded on November 5, 1637,

in the reign of Charles I. It derives 256
its name from the College of the Holy Ghost
and Hospital of God's House, founded
by the famous "Dick" Whittington in 1224.

Although Shipway's account of it is not
altogether correct, we are safe in assuming
this Society to have been the offspring of
a still earlier one of either priests or
Carymen, who rang at the churches of St
Michael Paternoster Royal and St Martin
Vintry both of which adjoined this College.
"The church of St Michael possessed a
ring of six bells on which the young
gentlemen used to amuse themselves
by chiming in rounds." (332)

The legend is an attractive one, and
we should like to believe it, but

unfortunately it was founded entirely on a guess, and it has grown up almost before our eyes. It has no sort of corroboration and is contradicted by such facts as are known.

The basis of the legend is a statement by John Alfred Parnell which was reproduced by William Shipway in his *Campanalogia* as a short account of the origin of changes-

"According to Parnell the earliest artist and promoter of change-ringing we have any account of was Mr Fabian Stedman born in the town of Cambridge in 1631. He introduced various peals on five and six bells printing them on slips of paper (being by profession a printer). These being distributed about the country

258

were soon brought to London; but what progress had been made in the metropolis at this time does not appear. The Society of College Youths appears to be the most ancient society of ringers. They are said to have been established in the sixteenth Century [Shipway obviously means the seventeenth Century] and a book containing memorials of that society in the sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries [i.e. seventeenth and eighteenth] after escaping the ravages of the fire of London, has been unaccountably lost. The Society of College Youths in the summer of 1657, on a visit to Cambridge were presented by Mr. Stedman with his peculiar production on five bells, since

259

Called Sledman's Principle, which was rung for the first time at St. Benet's Cambridge, and afterwards at a church on College Hill, London, ^(L16) where the Society at that time usually practised, and from meeting at which place they obtained their name. It appears from this account that change-ringing must have been much earlier than 1657; as before those Curious and Cross peals were discovered single changes were universally practised, i.e. only changing two bells at one time; whereas the improved plan, of double and triple changes &c, i.e. every bell to change at one time appears to have taken place long before 1657 by Mr Sledman having produced such

a Complex method of ringing as his principle. In 1669 he published a book entitled "Campanalogia or the Art of Ringing" which before 1680, had gone through three editions." (333)

That part of this quotation which refers to Spedman I shall have to deal with later; what is important at the moment is to notice that if Tarnell was correct, the College youths had nothing directly to do with Whittington and his College, and the modern legend collapses at once. The society got its name from the street and not from the College. If a man were to maintain that the Oxford Union Hall got its name from Robert Harley, Queen Anne's Prime Minister, everyone would say that the

statement was much too far fetched. Yet the two are strictly parallel. Harley was created Earl of Oxford, the street was named after him, and the music hall after the street.

Parnell's statement that the College youths got their name because they practiced at a church on College Hill has seemed too prosaic to later writers, and they proceeded to embroider it with conjecture. Osborn was the first. He examined the evidence for the statement and came to the conclusion that it was not true, partly because College Hill did not receive its name until after the Fire, and partly because the church there never had more than one bell. He then proceeded

262

to make a suggestion of his own. There was a church at the corner of College Hill in Thames Street which was said to have had six small bells. Perhaps it was there that persons of Whittingtons College amused themselves by ringing, and possibly for the sake of giving themselves a name called themselves College youths. It was frankly only a guess, which he did not think a lot of, and his conclusion was that nobody knows where the name came from — "It appears that there was a Collegiate Church known as Paternoster Church in the Royal, a street so called leading into Thames Street in the City of London. This Church was new builded and made a Colledge of S. Spirit and

263

S. Mary and founded by Richard
Whittington. It appears also that there
was a Church which stood at the South
Corner of Royal Street call'd S. Martin
de Peremant in the Ward of Vintry which
Church and Colledge were destroyed in
the Fire of London A.D. 1666

"Shipway states that the Colledge youths
practised ringing at a Church on Colledge
Hill in 1657 where the Society at that
time usually practised and from meeting
at which place they obtained their
name. Previous to the Fire of London
there was no such place as Colledge Hill
or in fact anything like it; the Street
call'd Colledge Hill and the Church
therein was build in the year 1694 since
the fire of London, and the Church on

College Hill never had but one bell in it. Consequently Shipway's account of the College Youths practising ringing at College Hill and gaining their name there, is not true. There was a Church (before ment^d.) at the corner of Royal Street (the same street in which Whittington's College was built call'd St. Martins in the Ventry. This Church is said to have had 6 small Bells and the probability is that these persons of Whittington's College were the people who in the first instance amused themselves by ringing these bells and possibly for the sake of giving themselves a name call'd themselves College Youths. That of all accounts is the most likely as to the origin, practice, and name of the College Youths, but

as it is really unknown why the Society ²⁶⁵
was so named, this Title for a certainty ⁽³³⁴⁾
to this day remains a Complete mystery.

Osborn is I think in error in saying
that there was no street called College
Hill before the Fire. The lower part of
Royal Street had that name, perhaps as
an alternative to the other. And though
he is probably correct, I do not know what
his authority is for saying that there never
was more than one bell at St. Michael's.
Perhaps he would have been safer if he
had said that there is no evidence that
there ever was more than one. Neither
do I know his authority for saying that
there were six bells at St. Martin's. He
mentions How and Skaitland, but

neither says anything about the bells at either church, and Osborn himself seems doubtful about St. Martin's. For he has written the number in pencil evidently with the idea of getting further information, before he finally inked it in. ⁽⁴²²⁾ In any case his Conjecture cannot be a sound one, for Whittington's College had been dissolved eighty nine years before the Society of College Youths was founded and did not last, as he evidently thought, down to the great fire. The Conjecture however is the real parent of the modern myth.

Collacombe was the next to deal with the matter. "It is commonly said," he wrote, "that the society derived its name

from a College founded by the 267
celebrated Whittington on College Hill
and that the youths of this College used
to sing at the Church of St. Martin in
the Vintry hard by, whence the name
and origin of the society. This account
is romantic, but it cannot be true.

Whittington did found a College of the
Holy Ghost, and Hospital of God's House,
upon the site of the Church of St. Michael
Palernoster in a street called the "Royal"
leading out of Thames Street. The place
called College Hill did not exist before
the great fire of 1666. This College was
suppressed by the statute 2. Ed. VI. c. 14
and the site was sold in the year following
(1548) to one Armagill Trade. The
Church of St. Martin in the Vintry was

destroyed in the great fire of 1666, and 268
was not rebuilt. 335

Here are some other accounts in order
of publication - 336

William Coates then honorary secretary
of the society wrote to *The Builder* in 1852 -
"The Society of College Youths was established
in 1637 by Lord Breton, Sir Cliff
Clifton, &c, and derives its name from
the College of S. Spirit and S. Mary,
founded by Sir Richard Whittington 337
on College Hill, Upper Thames Street,
which was burnt down in the Fire of
London; its church had six bells, and
from ringing there the name of College
Youths was assumed. 429"

The Rev C. W. Lukis in *The Millstone
Magazine* of 1855, and in his book *An
Account of Church Bells*, 1857, referred

to "the College Youths (from their 269
practising at St Michaels on College Hill)
founded in 1637." (338)

The Rules and Regulations of the Ancient
Society of College Youths, 1894. - "This
Society was founded November 5th 1637,
in the reign of Charles 1; its name is
derived from the first members, Lord
Breton, Sir Cliff Clifton, kn^t., & meeting
at St Martins, College Hill, Upper Thames
Street, to practise ringing." (339)

Another edition of the rule book - "On
the 5th of November 1637, Lord Breton,
Sir Cliff Clifton, Marquis of Salisbury,
Lord Baco, some of the City Aldermen,
and many of the gentlemen in the vicinity
of the College founded the Society of College
Youths for the purpose of practising and
promoting the art of ringing." (340)

270

The Rev. G. S. Fryack in A Book about Bells, 1898 - "In 1637 the far more famous Ancient Society of College Youths was established, taking its name from St. Martin's Vintury on College Hill, London, where the youths practised." (341)

In the Bell News of January 6, 1900, R. A. Daniell published a very interesting article on the old London societies, and in it he discussed the College Youths' name. His argument is rather too long and too diffuse to reproduce in full, but it amounts to this. The society must have got its name from somewhere and "this tradition explains it." True Whittington's College was destroyed eighty nine years before, but the name might still cling to the church just as we still speak of Westminster Abbey though

271

That Church has not been an abbey for
nigh four hundred years. "As the College
Youths must have got their name from
some source, as the tradition preserved
by Shipway accounts for it, as the
criticisms of Osborn and Mr. Ellacombe
seem to me to altogether fail, and as
I do not know of any other objection,
there seems no reason why the tradition
should not be true. Therefore though
we have no positive evidence that the
College Youths did meet at the Church
of the old College, not even, so far as I
know, whether there was a ring of bells
there before the Fire of London, I think
under all the circumstances, we may
take it that they did meet there, unless

and until some good reason to the
contrary is shown." (342) 272

D. Raven in *The Bells of England*, 1906.
"Three years after the last entry in the
Chepeyde list there commences that of
the "College youths", now in the British
Museum, part of a present from the
widow of Thomas Coborn who bought it
from a Bristol bookseller. Its history
may be read at length in Ellacombe's
supplement. The name seems fortuitously
derived from Whittington's College of
the Holy Ghost, and Hospital of God's
House founded in 1424, though Shipway's
account of it is not altogether correct;
and in substance it is a resuscitation
of the Chepeyde Society." (343)

Mr H. P. Waller's in Church Bells 1908. -
 " In 1637 was founded a famous London
 Society that of the "College Youths" probably
 a revival of the one just named [the
 Scholars of Cheapside]; its name is derived
 from some connection with Sir Richard
 Whittington's College of the Holy Ghost
 near Cannon Street." (337) (344)

Canon Papillon in the Encyclopedia
 Britannica - In 1637 began the
 Ancient Society of College Youths, so called
 from their meeting to practise on the
 ring bells of St Martin's, College Hill,
 a church destroyed in the Great Fire of
 1666." (345)

Messrs Gillett and Johnston in Bow
 Bells 1933, - The Society was founded
 in 1637 by Lord Brenton, Sir Cliff Clifton,
 the Marquis of Salisbury, Lord Dacre,

274

and some of the City Aldermen, and
its title was inspired, by the name of St
Michael's College Hill where the members
used to practise on the ring of 6 bells." (346)

Dr George C. Williamson, in *Curious Survivals*
1924 "The oldest society of bell ringers
which still remains in London was
established in 1637, and was the immediate
successor of a far older guild. When
first established the Society used to ring
the bells at St Martin's Ventry, and on
that being burnt down it transferred
its work to the neighbouring church of
St Michael Paternoster Royal situate
upon College Hill and from the
Church of St Michael the Society of
Bellringers took the name of the College
Youths." (347)

275

The 1928 edition of the Rules and Regulations of the Society contains a history of which the following are the opening paragraphs.

"This Society was founded November 5th 1637 in the reign of Charles 1. Its name is derived from "The College of the Holy Ghost, and Hospital of God's House", founded by the famous "Dick" Whittington in 1424.. This College was situated upon the east side of College Hill Upper Thames Street, in the City of London.

The Society may indeed have been the offspring of a still earlier Society of either priests or laymen who sang at the Churches of St. Michael Paternoster Royal and St. Martin Vintry, both of which adjoined this College.

The former Church was rebuilt and endowed by Whittington and in it he was buried.

"Whatever any earlier origin may have been, we are on firm historical ground

in ascribing the genesis of the Society, as we know it, to the efforts of Lord Breeton, of Breeton, in Cheshire, an Irish Peer, Sir Cliffe Clifton, Knt., and others, who met to practise Change Ringing at the before-mentioned Church of St. Martin. This was in 1637, and Lord Breeton was the first Master.

"The Church of St. Martin, and its six bells were destroyed in the Great Fire of London, 1666 as were probably most of the earlier records of the Society." (347a)

The first part of this is based on the passage from Dr. Raven's book given above but the two patient words "seems" and "fortuitously", are omitted, and a doubtful Conjecture is turned into a statement of ascertained fact. The next part is pure

277

fancy, and not very happily inspired
fancy either. It is easy to see that the
writer had in his mind the College and
some recollection of mediaeval guilds of
ringers, such as the Brethren of Westminster;
but between the suppression of Whittington's
College and the founding of the Society of
College Youths, there is a gap which consists
of much more than the mere passage of
years; and it needs but a nodding
acquaintance with the ecclesiastical
history of the reigns of Elizabeth and
James I to know that a society of priests
for ringing purposes was an impossibility.
We are somewhat surprised therefore to
find Mr Morris accepting this guess,
rounding off the legend, and telling us

we are "safe" in assuming its truth. 278

We have then a very formidable body of opinion of men, most of whom are deservedly recognised as authorities on the history and archaeology of bells, but when we examine it we find that though they frequently make conjectures, none of them, save Osborn and Ellacombe, profess to have undertaken any research or to have discovered any new evidence; and Osborn and Ellacombe's evidence is entirely negative. Osborn shows Shipway to have been mistaken; Ellacombe shows Osborn to have been mistaken. The writers contradict each other, too, on important points. They do not seem to be able to make up their minds whether

to follow Shipway, or whether to follow
 Osborn; whether the first practice tower
 with its six bells was St. Michaels, or St.
 Martin's; or whether the original College
 youths were peers, aristocrats, and aldermen,
 (that is men of mature age,) or whether they
 were youths belonging to the College.

Osborn's Conjecture we can put aside
 almost at once. On his own confession
 it was only a guess, and it was based
 on a misunderstanding. He thought that
 Whittington's College survived down to
 1666, and was destroyed in the fire, and
 evidently that it was an educational
 College with young persons attached to
 it. I am inclined to doubt very much
 his statement that there were six bells

Since writing that I
have discovered from
the Inventory in
the Public Record
Office that there
were five bills and
a pounce bill at
St. Martin in 1553.

This is probably the
ultimate source of
Osborn's information

No further account of
St. Martin's bills and

none at all of St.
Michael's per se
exist. See Chaplin
on London bills.

at St. Martins. ^(L27) There seems to be no other evidence for it. He was a patient and painstaking collector of facts, but we must remember that he lived nearly two hundred years after the Fire, and I do not think that he had any sources of information which are not open to us. Like the rest of us he depended for his knowledge of London in pre-fire days on Stow and the later editions of his book. His account of the College is taken almost verbatim from Stow. ⁽³⁴⁸⁾

Probably he had some recollection of reading somewhere that there were pisc bells at St. Martins, but could not check the reference, and so set it down in

now-Committal terms. But his memory had played him false. There is a lot of difference between putting a statement in a printed book, and a statement in a manuscript which was never intended to be published, ⁽³⁹³⁾ and which could be revised from time to time as opportunity offered.

It is rather a pity that he set his guess down in words. It has brought into the story of the College Youths a sentiment of spurious romance and antiquity for which it has no need.

The legend, then, is reduced to the bare statement by Shipway that the College Youths got their name because they practised at a church on College

Hill. and we must next examine
 and see how far that is credible. Except
 for St Martin's which, correctly speaking,
 was in Thames Street, the only church on
 College Hill was St Michael, Paternoster,
 Royal, "the fair parish," ^{church} which was new
 built" by Whittington. Was there ever a
 ring of bells there? If we could answer
 that question it would help us on our way.
 Coborn says definitely that there was not, but
 it is difficult to say. All we know about
 London bells before the Fire, comes either
 from Stow's Survey of London including
 the Latin editions and continuations by
 Strype and others (especially the edition
 of 16 printed just after the Fire,) or
 from the wardens' books of the various
 churches. These latter were not burnt

in 1666 as is usually supposed,
 and as was the case with the archives of
 St Paul's Cathedral. They were supposed
 to have been safe within the crypt, but the
 fire spread steadily and gave plenty of time
 to remove the parish records to places of
 safety. ^{(417) 417} Most of those which still survive
 are now in the Guildhall Library. ⁽³⁴⁹⁾ Unfortunately
 from neither source can we find out ⁽³⁵⁰⁾
 anything about any bells at St Michael's.
 The engineer will react to this according
 to his predisposition. If he already believes
 in the legend he will say that absence
 of notice is no proof that there were no
 bells, "I do not see why an important
 Church like St Michael's should not have

Had several bells, enough for some kind of ringing, between Whittington's time and that of the Fire. (350) A man with a more critical and unbiased mind would perhaps conclude that none are mentioned because there were none. How many bells were destroyed in the Fire we cannot say, but we should be wrong if we thought that all, or perhaps even the majority of the parishes had ringing peals. Though there were exceptions, it seems that those parishes which had bells, poorer or later replaced them in the new steeples. (423)

Stepway's statement is not his own, neither is it based on any tradition which had survived in London or among the College youths themselves. It came

from John Alfred Parnell, a
somewhat eccentric man who lived at
Sheffield and spent a great deal of
time travelling about the country on
foot visiting churches and cathedrals
and gathering together scraps of
archaeological information relating to
bells and ringing. He called himself
the Gothic Traveller. ⁽³⁵¹⁾ So far as I know
he was not himself a ringer, ⁽⁴³⁵⁾ but when
Shipway wrote his Campanalogia in
1816 he supplied him with the materials
for a chapter on the bells in England
and the origin of change ringing. Shipway
calls him "that celebrated antiquary",
but he does not appear to have been
generally recognised as any authority

on archaeology, his name is not 286
to be found in any of the archaeological
journals and publications of the time,
he wrote no books, and he left behind
nothing but a few scraps of manuscript. (352)
Of his good faith and competence up to
a point there is no question. He gave
Shipway such information as he had
picked up. He did not invent the
tradition. But the information did
not amount to very much and is all
in the passage I quoted above.

Now we must remember that Parnell
was not contemporary with the events
he related. He did not even belong to
the first or second generation following.
For all practical purposes he was as
far away from them as we are today;

The tradition must have reached him
 through several hands, and how far it had
 been glossed and altered in the process, we
 do not know. We can only test it by such
 outside facts as we know, and by its own inherent
 probability. Stedman, says Parnell, (for his
 account is mainly about Stedman), "Stedman
 was born at Cambridge in 1631, and was
 a printer by trade. He composed the Principles
 and gave it to the College youths who sang
 it at St. Benet's in 1657." ⁽³⁵³⁾ Whether Stedman
 was born at Cambridge or not we do not
 know, but we do know that he lived for
 many years in the town. We know that
 he was a printer, for we have contemporary
 evidence. ⁽³⁵⁴⁾ We know that he composed the
 Principles, as well as other methods, for

The College youths - the Campanalogia 288

tells us that. We can believe that the Society visited Cambridge and rang the method at St. Peter's, for that is inherently probable. But the dates are wrong, and dates are just the things that are likely to be confused in the course of the years.

Again Parnell tells us that in 1669 Hedman published the Campanalogia which, before 1680, had gone through three editions, a statement fine enough generally, but inaccurate in every one of its details.

The reference to the College youths name and origin was clearly a Comment and an appendix to the tale about Hedman. And here our difficulty is that we do not know what Parnell really said; we

Have only Shipway's paraphrase of it. ²⁸⁹
Like Osborn and so many other people,
Parnell may have wondered where so
striking a name came from, and casting
about, could find no other place in London
save College Hill that could have
suggested it. He might have mentioned
it to Shipway, and Shipway taken for fact
what was only conjecture.

But this too is conjecture, and the
only means we have of testing the tradition
is to put it alongside the facts we know
to be true. After all, let people say what
they like, circumstantial evidence is the
best sort of evidence if it is used properly.
We know, (what Parnell and Shipway did
not know), a lot about the early College
Youths and the conditions under which

The Society was founded. They were a
 number of young men of good social
 standing, neither youths nor aldermen,
 who joined together for the purposes of
 practising ringing as a peculiar sport.
 They were connected mainly with the royal
 Household and the Inns of Court. Their
 ordinary life centred round Whitehall
 and Westminster, and they had no interests
 in the City of London. It was quite
 contrary to the custom of the time for a
 ringing society to confine themselves to
 one church; they went from tower to tower
 as fancy and ^{convenience} dictated. (355) Is it likely
 that the College youths were an exception
 to the rule, and that they attached themselves
 exclusively, or almost exclusively, to a

Churches where, if there were any bells 291
at all, they were small and few in number
and could not compare with the rings
at St. Sepulchre's, St. Michael's Cornhill
and Bow?

This argument will not appeal to those
who have made up their minds to accept
the full legend. "After all," they say, "you
cannot prove that there never were any
bells at College Hill and you cannot
prove that the College youths did not
meet there. Shipway's explanation of the
name is a reasonable one. What have
you to put in its place?" It is true
that the legend cannot be disproved
in that way, but history would be a
very easy (and a very poor) thing, if

one could take for truth anything 292
which cannot be shown to be false. And
Here some words of E. A. Freeman, the
historian, are very much to the point.
"Many people seem to think," he says,
that a proposition is proved if it cannot
be disproved. It is a deep saying of
Grotius that if a man chooses to say that
rain fell on the site of New York on the
day of the battle of Placidia, no one
can prove that it did not. Nothing is
more common, but nothing is more
unreasonable, than when a man has
shown a favourite legend is a mere
legend without a scrap of evidence for
it, to ask him what he puts in its place.
If he has nothing to put in its place
many people will think that his case

has broken down. Yet he has done all 293
that he undertook to do. All that he
undertook to do was to show that the Legend
was a mere legend resting on no evidence (356)"

The College Hill legend is not the only
tradition respecting the origin of the
Society's name. It was believed in
Cambridge that the members called
themselves College youths because so many
of them had been educated at St. Peter's
College, Westminster. (357) This is probably
the older tradition of the two, and may
have come from Dr. Charles Mason. In
its case it is easy to apply a decisive
test, for we have the names of the early
College youths (at any rate many of them)
and there is no difficulty in getting the
names of the scholars at Westminster. (358)

If there were names which appeared ²⁹⁴
in both lists there might be something
in the tradition, but there are not and
the thing falls to the ground. (359)

Where then did the name come from?
To that question there can be no other answer
than the one Osborn gave a century ago.
Nobody knows. But this much at least
can be said. It was the custom of the
singing societies to give themselves fancy
names. They called themselves "youths"
and "scholars", but not because they
were literally either one or the other. People
seem to think that there must have been
some actual college, and they do not
realize that Whittington's College was
not an educational college, like those
at Oxford or Cambridge or Eton, but

a Collegiate Church like St. Saviour's 295
Southwark, or St. George's Windsor, and
there were no youths belonging to it.

Perhaps the true explanation is that the
word "College" implies an association
of people, under rule, joined together for
a common purpose; and whatever its
origin it is an exceedingly fine title.

In one of the quotations from the
Society's Rules and Regulations it is
stated that among the early members
of the College Youths were the Marquis
of Salisbury and Lord Dacre. Many
members of the Cecil family have been
interested in bells and ringing but
not so early as 1637. There was then no
Marquis of Salisbury. There was an

296
Earl of Salisbury, William Cecil,
son of Robert Cecil the first earl, and
grandson of William Cecil, Lord Burleigh.
Both the father and grandfather were
famous statesmen and both held a
position which roughly corresponds to a
modern Prime Minister. The younger
William was born in 1591, and so was
forty-six years old when the Society of
College Youths was founded. Lord
Clarendon in his History gives the
following caustic account of his character
"The earl of Salisbury had been born
and bred in Court and had the advantage
of a descent from a father and a grandfather
who were very wise men and great ministers
of state in the eyes of Christendom; whose

297

wisdom and virtues died with them,
and their children only inherited their
titles. He had been admitted of the
Council to King James from which time
he continued so obsequious to the
Couni that he never failed in overacting
all that he was required to do. No act
of power was ever proposed which he did
not advance and exercise his part
with the utmost rigour. No man so
great a tyrant to his country, or was
less swayed by any motives of justice
and Honour. In a word he became
despicable to all men. " (360)

The name of the second Earl of Salisbury
is not on the College Youths' list, and
there is not the slightest reason to suppose
that he ever had anything to do with

ringing. This part of the legend is
pure invention.

There was a Lord Bacon in 1637, of
whom all I can trace is that he
succeeded to the title in 1630, and
died in 1662; ⁽³⁶¹⁾ and that he took the
side of the Parliament in the Civil War.
He was not a College Youth, and so
far as we know had nothing to do
with ringing.

36 Oppidano Road

London N.W.3

17 November 1934

Dear Sir

Many thanks for your letter. I am sorry I have not been able to answer it sooner, as I have had to wait for an opportunity of looking up my notes on London City church bells, which are now at the Society of Antiquaries. I fear however that I have not been able to find anything to throw light on your problem.

There are of course very few records of the City Churches before the Fire, and beyond what little we learn from Stow there is even less about their bells. The parish accounts are indeed our only source of information, and not many of these date back to pre-Fire times. So far as I can make out, there are no old accounts preserved of St. Michael Paternoster Royal or of St. Martin Vintry - so we can get no help from that source.

On the other hand I do not see why an important church like St. Michael should not have had several bells, enough for some kind of ringing, between Whittington's time and that of the Fire. Drury in his book says there were six, but I don't know whether his statement rests on any sound evidence. As Ellecombe says (Bells of the Church p. 229), all is pure conjecture down to the time of the founding of the Society of College Youths in 1637. And we must leave it at that.

It would however be interesting to know how the College Youths came to give themselves that name, as there must have been some reason for it, and it does look as if in 1637 some sort of ringing could have been possible on College Hill.

I fear these rambling remarks will not be of much use to you. I had copied out all the entries relating to bells in the Parish Accounts which are now at the Guildhall Library, and if there is nothing under the heading of St. Michael's, it can only mean either that the accounts of that parish are not preserved, or that they begin too late to contain anything of interest. I have definitely noted that those of St. Martin Vintry are not preserved.

Yours very truly
H.B. Walter

See Article in Ringing World Aug. 20th 1937,
at the end of this volume.

11. Bell Founding,
during the time of the Commonwealth.

299

It has generally been assumed that during the time of the Commonwealth and the rule of the Puritans, there was little bell-founding in England, but the opinion requires some qualification. From 1642 to 1647 owing to the unsettlement caused by the Civil War and still more, we may assume, to the heavy taxation, there were few bells cast, and bell founders fell on an evil time. Miles Graye the famous East Anglian founder was especially a sufferer. In addition to loss of trade, his "Capital message of penement" at Colchester was burnt down during military operations, and he died not long after "weak in body and crazed with age." Put as

soon as the country had settled down in order and prosperity under the strong rule of the Protector, the trade began to revive. The following letter which appeared from Mrs H. P. Wallers in *Notes and Queries* of March 1, 1924 shows the number of bells known to have been cast between 1641 and 1660.

"It has sometimes been stated by writers on the history of church bells that little bell founding was done in this country under the Commonwealth. This a recent study of the question proves to be incorrect. The Puritans had no special prejudices against church bells. In 1641 the number of church bells which still exist, or of which we have record, is over 100. In 1642 the number drops

to 36; in 1643 there is only one bell (in ³⁰¹ Huntingdonshire), and in 1644 only five (in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire). In 1645 the number rises to seven, and in 1646 to eight. In 1647 there is a surprising jump to 40, while 30 is the total for 1648, and 27 for 1649. In 1650 there are 64, but in 1651 the number drops again to 28. Afterwards there is a steady upwards tendency, only falling as low as fifty in 1659, while in 1654, 1656, 1658, and 1660 the normal yearly average of 100 is reached or exceeded. In 1656 there are as many as 151 bells, Kent, Yorkshire, Norfolk, and Wilt all reaching double figures. In fact under the Commonwealth, most of the founders, seem to have reached their ordinary rate of work. It is only during

the four disturbed years, 1643-1646,
 that the industry practically ceased. It
 is especially worth noting that Norfolk,
 where Puritan influence was strongest
 and where Dowding and his gang were
 most active 48 bells were cast in the
 seven years 1652-1658, a number equalled
 by no other County at the time. ⁽³⁶³⁾ The
 effect of political and external events
 on this industry have been discussed on
 more general lines by D. A. D. Fyssen
 in his Sussex Bells, 2nd Ed, 1914, p. 86.
 He points out that domestic events
 affected the industry to a far greater
 extent than was or any other complications.

We should, however, I think, be
 wrong in concluding with Mr Wallis
 that these figures showed that the

Puritans had no special prejudices against church bells. Their opinions can sufficiently be gathered from the many quotations I have given in this History at different places. ⁽³⁶⁴⁾ They varied considerably. The Puritans generally had no objection to the use of a single bell to call the people together whether for religious or civic purposes, for at the time that was as natural a thing as fixing a notice on the church door would be now. But they did object, and strongly, to bells used for sport, and especially for sport on the Sabbath; and to what they thought was superstitious ringing. Those of them who were largely influenced by the Continental Reformers

Could find no place for bells in divine service, "We have no need of belles for too represent unto us, ye preachinge of Goodes Wordes", one of them wrote; and Bishop Cosin records that Martin Bucer, one of the most influential of the Reformers, "will allow no ringing at all, but to call people to Church, or to pray for the sick, or to come to public meeting for the affairs of the Commonwealth." (365)

These opinions were negative, rather than actively hostile; but there was a section, violent though not large, who were full of zeal for the purity and simplicity of worship. As far as they had the power they stripped the Churches bare of all fittings and ornaments and such

305
like "rags of popery." About 1652
a man named Samuel Chidley,
published a pamphlet entitled Bell
Founder Confounded or Sabirianus
Confounded with his Damnable Lett.
Written by a Lover of Shrewsbury, especially
in Churches. It was a petition to
Parliament in favour of destroying
Cathedral bells. In 1652 a motion
was put to the House "that the bells
of such Cathedrals as Parliament shall
think fit to be pulled down, shall be
applied to publick use for making
ordnance for shipping," (364) and was lost
by only five votes - twenty three against
twenty one. (L. 114)

In 1656 Chidley published another
pamphlet addressed to His Highness

the Lord Protector, &c, and to the
 Parliament of England. The writer's theme
 is that "Idols, Temples, Steeples and
 Bells are evil things", and should be
 destroyed. He reminds Cromwell that
 the Long Parliament abolished the
 Kingly Office as useless and unprofitable.
 How much more ought these Steeples to
 be demolished for the uselessness and
 unprofitableness thereof. And therefore
 you ought to root them out, lest the
 great God of Heaven root you out, as
 he did your predecessors. They took
 away the crosses from the tops of the
 Steeples as idolatrous, but gave no
 order to demolish the Steeples, for their
 judgement was not informed and
 they saw not that the Steeples were

idolatrous as the Crosses thereupon.
 But it is no new thing for better and
 wiser than they to be mistaken like
 the Scribes and Pharisees " " " " So it
 may be said Contraversive of these;
 which is greater the Crosses, ^{or} the Steeples
 the pillars and foundation thereof?
 Therefore when they pulled down the Crosses
 from the Steeples, they should have
 pulled down the Steeples also, the
 Steeples being as idolatrous and pollens
 as the others. Therefore down with these
 old Chyming Chimneys of the drunken
 Whore of Babelon, that so the fire and
 smoke of abomination which maketh
 desolation, may be utterly extinguished
 with the names of the idols out of these
 places. And what are these Steeples?

Are they not Popish Pillars?

for they were erected by the Catholics
Papists in honour of their Popish gods.
Therefore although these towers of Babel are
builded to reach up to heaven and some
of them have as many steps as there are days
in the year, down with them and their
Babylonish bells to the very ground, and
let not one stone of them remain upon
another.

Chedley belonged to the extreme section
of the Puritans, and this wild tirade
against bells and bell towers by no means
represents the opinions of the men who were
in power during the Commonwealth, but
it shows the spirit of those fanatics who
did so much at that time to deface the
Cathedrals and Churches of England.
of actual destruction of bells there seems
to have been little. It was easy

enough for gangs of fanatics, like
 the notorious Will. Dowsing to go into
 a church and break down all the carved
 work thereof with axes and hammers.
 It was easy enough to smash painted
 glass and to burn vestments. But
 the bells were far more inaccessible
 and harder to destroy. When ye faire
 Bell called Jesus Bell at Lichfield
 was knockt in pieces by a Presbiterian
 Pelwiler who was ye chiefe Officer in
 demolishing of ye Cathedrall, "322" he may
 have had other motives than zeal for
 purity of worship, for he was a worker
 in metals and knew the value of the
 bell as scrap metal.

The Puritans were only a minority of

Englishmen. For a time they had power and could repress the use of the liturgy in the services of the Church. But it was a harder thing to change the feelings and customs of the people. The bells were part of the communal life of the country, and ringing as a pastime was never more popular. It is to that we may attribute such bell-founding as was done under the Commonwealth, and quite certainly that was the reason why Richard Everard and Thomas Tending added bells to Waltham and Boreham towers.

III. A Commission

directed to the Somner to suspend certain Churches of London, because they rung not their Bells at the presence of my Lord the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Thomas by the permission of God, etc.
 To our well-beloved Thomas Hilton, our
 Somner sworn, health, grace, and blessing.
 The Comeliness of our Holy Church of Canterbury
 over which we bear rule, deserveth and
 requireth that while we pass through the
 provence of the same our Church, having
 our cross carried before us every parish
 Church in their times ought and are bounden
 in token of special reverence that they
 bear to us to rung their Bells; which
 notwithstanding, yea, on Tuesday last
 past when we betwixt eight and nine
 of the clock before dinner passed openly

on foot as it were through the midst
of the City of London, with our cross carried
before us, divers churches whose names
are here beneath noted, showed towards
us willingly, though they certainly knew
of our coming reverence rather than
reverence and the duty that they owe to
our Church of Canterbury, ringing not
at all at our coming. Wherefore we
being very willing to revenge this injury
for the honour of our spouse as we are
bounden, command you by our authority
to put all these churches under our
indictment, suspending God's holy organs
and instruments of the same, which we
also suspend by the tenor of these presents,
till the ministers of the aforesaid churches

be able hereafter to attain of us the 313
benefit of more plentiful grace
Given etc.

Variance between the Bishop and Prior
for not ringing the bells at the Bishops
coming At settlement by the Archbishop
of Canterbury (Thomas Strundel)

Thomas etc. Whereas there happened
certainly variance lately between our
reverend brother the bishop of Worcester
on the one part, and the religious and
discreet men the prior and convent of
the same church, on the other part, for
not ringing of bells at the coming of
our said brother to his aforesaid church
at length the parties considering the
great inconvenience that might come
thereof, at our instance and request

ded agree on this manner; that as
often as it shall happen our reverend
brother to go to his aforesaid church, either
to celebrate orders, or to visit his church
in the head or the inferiors, or to make
cream and oil at the said church, also
in the feast of the Assumption of the
Blessed Virgin Mary, which is the
chiefest feast in the abbey aforesaid,
then the prior and the convent and their
successors for the time being, shall
ring solemnly against his coming, without
all contradiction or any reclaiming
hereafter to be made against the same;
which agreement that it may be more
firmly kept we let you all understand
by these presents sealed with our seal.

315

Given at our palace of Canterbury
July 12, the tenth year of our government.

Letter of Henry Chichele, Archbishop
of Canterbury to the Abbot of S. Albans
respecting the ringing of bells and processions.

Henry etc. to the religious men the
abbot and convent of the monastery of S.
Albans in the diocese of Lincoln, heath etc.
When as of late there happened a matter
of variance between us and you the
abbot and convent by reason of not giving
reverence to us being due to our province
of Canterbury that is for not ringing the
bells and meeting us with procession
when we passed by divers places of our
province as well due of Common Custom
as of old use and for the prerogative

316

of the Church of Canterbury as also
being due of everyone being within
the compass of our said province
when and as often as we shall pass
by their places, at length your lord
abbott coming personally to us did
grant both for you and the convent
aforesaid to do and to give of your
gentleness all reverence and honour
with such reverence both to us and
our Church of Canterbury as often
as we pass by your monastery, or the
places nigh or adjoining thereto, or
shall hereafter go by, so that it
might not be prejudiced to your
exemptions and nothing be attempted
to the violating of your ~~privilege~~ privilege

and that it might not be challenged
for duty hereafter

Dated the 28 day of January 1825
at S. Albans the fiveeth year of our
government.



St. Anne's
of Yardley Bury in the County of Hertford, Kin.

Photo. by the British Museum.

By courtesy of the Trustees.

See page 232.

Chapter III.

Fabian Hedman, and his Contemporaries

It is one of the ironies of fate and fame that, though of all the seventeenth Century ringers, only one was remembered by succeeding generations, that one should be the man whose name, throughout the long history of the Exercise, has been better and more widely known than any other. Every ringer has heard of Fabian Hedman; when we think of the great ones of the past, his is the first name that leaps to the memory, and the Per centenary of his birth has been commemorated by a memorial erected by the subscriptions of ringers of all parts of the Country. ⁽²⁰⁸⁾ And

yet it is surprising upon how little real knowledge, whether of his life or of his work, the man's reputation rests. Ringers think of him vaguely as a great composer, the author of one of their favourite and most widely practised methods. They call him the Father of Change Ringing and in some sort of indefinite way imagine that he was the earliest ringer of any account and the real inventor of the art and science. ⁽²⁰⁹⁾ It is perhaps the greatest tribute to the personality of the man and the way he must have impressed his contemporaries, that his shadow should thus have fallen athwart the whole history of ringing, but as is usual in such cases, the reality is not quite the same as the legend. There were great men before Agamemnon, and

320
There were good ringers and skilful
Composers before Stedman. He was in no
sense the inventor of Change ringing;
he did not influence in any definite
way the course of its development; and
no one would have been more astonished
or amused, than himself, had he known
that future generations would call
him the father of change ringing. Great
he was - in some respects as great as any
other member of the Exercise - and he
thoroughly earned his fame; but we
should not give him the praise that
rightly belongs to others, nor should
we withhold from him the praise that
is rightly his.

Very few details of Stedman's life
and career have been preserved. In the

generation after his death the Norwich
 Scholars thought "he was Master of a
 College in the University and a Learned
 Mathematician", ⁽²¹⁰⁾ and when Osborn ⁽³⁹⁰⁾ was
 writing the account of seventeenth Century
 ringing as it was known in his time,
 after penning an eulogy on Stedman
 and saying that in his day he had
 no superior, he stopped, and with the
 love of accuracy and care for truth
 which characterized him, he asked
 himself what he really knew about it.
 The answer is the question mark which
 he usually added when he recorded some
 vague tradition of which he could
 find no definite corroboration. ⁽²¹¹⁾ All
 we know about Stedman apart from
 his writings is contained in an entry

322
in the Cheapside Scholars' name book,
another in the College Youths' name book,
some traditions collected by Tarnell and
preserved by Shipway, and the results
of some investigations made in recent
time by R. A. Daniell, Mr Ernest Morris,
and others. It does not amount to
much, and though in course of time
other details may come to light, the
Campanalogia, impersonal though it be,
will always be the best means for judging
what manner of man Stedman was.

According to tradition Stedman
was born in Cambridge, and though
up to the present his name has not
been found in any of the parish registers
in the town, it very well may have
been so. The name, though not very

Common, is not particularly rare. 323

From its etymology ⁽²¹²⁾ we should expect it to be much more common in Country districts in older times than in the larger towns, and we should expect it to be borne by many people who were not related in blood. ⁽³⁶⁹⁾ A Walter Spedman was living at Haslingfield a village about five miles from Cambridge before 1563, as in that year the Bishop's Court granted letters of administration of his estate, and it appears that his family were living in the same place at least down to the time of Fabian. On April 14th 1629 John Spedman married at Holy Trinity Church in Cambridge, Isabel Middleton. John was a townsman of some position,

and in 1649 he served in the office
of warden of Holy Trinity Church. ⁽²¹³⁾ There
is nothing to connect him with Fabian,
but he well may have been his father.
Fabian Hedman is usually said to
have been born in 1631, and it was
in 1931 that the per centenary of his
birth was celebrated. The date depends
entirely on the statement made by
Parnell, but Parnell wrote nearly two
hundred years after the event, at a
time when probably less was known
about the history of the Exercise than
at any period since the beginning of
ringing, and though there was faith
in the tradition, the dates given are
unreliable. Hedman he says was
born in 1631; he met the College youths

in the summer of 1657 when they were
 on a visit to Cambridge, and presented
 them with his Principle, and he published
 the Campanalogia in 1669. Now five
 of these dates are demonstrably wrong.
 The Campanalogia was published in
 1677, and the Tintinnalogia in 1668.
 Hedman's Principle could not have been
 composed so early as 1657, as it does
 not appear in the Tintinnalogia, and
 most certainly belongs to a later
 stage in the development of ringing.
 Two of the dates being wrong, a good
 deal of doubt is thrown on the third
 and when we take into consideration
 all the known facts of Hedman's
 life we shall come to the conclusion
 that he was born about 1640 or 1641.

Some day perhaps the record of his 326
birth will be found in some parish
register, and then we shall have the
key to several problems of seventeenth
Century printing which at present
remain obscure.

Whoever Stedman's father was, or
whatever was the date of his birth, he
quite obviously came of a middle
class family, and he received a good
education; good that is for one not
intended for one of the learned professions.
After leaving school he was apprenticed
to a printer. If he remained in
Cambridge it must have been to John
Field, at the time printer to the
University, who was also Printer to
the Parliament of England, and "one

of his Highness's (i.e. Cromwell) 327
Printers. ⁽²¹⁵⁾ But in those days printing
was almost a monopoly of the Stationers'
Company, the only presses allowed outside
London being those at the Universities
of Oxford and Cambridge, and so it
is likely that Stedman was sent up
to town to be apprenticed, and it may
be to W. Godbid in Saint Dunstan's
Churchyard in Fleet Street, the man
who afterwards printed both the *Tintinnalogia*
and the *Campanalogia*.

Whether Stedman had learned Latin
to sing as a boy at Cambridge we
do not know, but in London he practised
the art ^{and} when still an apprentice, he
joined the Cheapside Schollers. That
Company had lost most of its old

dequity and importance and was on the point of dissolution. In its last year, 1662, Hedman filled the office of treasurer. It was an office which did not exist in the early days of the Society, and its holder was a sort of junior steward whose duty, probably, was to collect steepage and such like dues. ⁽³⁷⁰⁾ When the Society broke up, John Jenkins the musical composer, who had been one of the wardens, joined the College youths, but Fabian Hedman, who of course was then a much less important person, had to wait for two years before he was admitted by that exclusive body. That he was admitted at all is proof that already he was becoming known as a skilful

ringer and also a desirable man
 personally. In the College Junth's name
 book he is described as of Cambridge.
 The present list is a copy, and how far
 it is an exact copy of the original MSS.
 cannot be said. In some instances
 titles have been added to members'
 names which they did not bear when
 they joined, and in this case the word
 Cambridge may have been a later
 addition. However some time after
 his seven years were up, but probably
 not till after 1664, Hedman returned
 to Cambridge. ⁽⁴²⁸⁾ He never forgot that
 he was a member of the premier ringing
 society; he kept in touch with his old
 associates; and twelve years later, when
 he was writing the Campanalogia, he

seems to have looked upon himself not as a Cambridge ringer, but as a London ringer who happened to be living in Cambridge. The peals that Samuel Scattergood and others composed were "Cambridge peals", but the peals that Fabian Stedman composed were "London peals", though they were worked out not many yards from the banks of the Cam. On their side the College youths, though for the most part they were greatly his superiors socially, regarded him with affection and esteem; and there is little wonder that he longed to be back again among them and took the first opportunity that offered itself.

From the earliest times Cambridge had been a home of change ringing. It

shares with Oxford and London the distinction of being the places at which we know the art was developed, and the men who invented and first practised it were probably to be found among the students at the two Universities and the Inns of Court. Compared with Oxford, Cambridge never had many bells. Great St. Mary's for long had been the principal tower, the University church, and the place where most of the ringing was done. In 1478 the present building was begun on the site of an older church, and finished in 1519; but the tower was not completed until 1608. In 1595 there were four bells which were increased to five in 1611, and to eight in 1667, the year in which the *Tintinnalogia*

was written. Holy Trinity had four 332
pre-reformation bells, St. Andrews had
five, St. Edward the Confessor were made
use in 1669, and St. Benedict's had a
mixed lot which were increased from
five to six in 1663. ⁽³⁷¹⁾ St. Benet's ⁽⁴⁷⁵⁾ is the
church which traditionally has been
most associated with Fabian Hedman.
It was there that, according to Garnell,
the College Youths first rang the Principles
and the tale is likely enough except
for the date. It would have been
easy enough for the figures to have
got somewhat mixed in the course
of a century and a half, and perhaps
the true explanation of the matter is
that the Principles was rung in 1675
not in 1657. In any case the first

333

date must be somewhere about
the right one. It was at St. Peter's
that the memorial to Stedman was
erected in 1931, but we should
probably be wrong if we supposed that
as a ringer Stedman was more connected
with that tower than any other in the
town. It was contrary to the custom
of the time for any band to confine
themselves to one belfry if there were
others within easy reach. At Cambridge
no doubt there were town ringers who
did the paid ringing at all five towers,
and there were University ringers,
(probably more than one band) who
rang entirely for sport, and among
them, ^{Stedman} a member of the Society of

334

College Youths and a master of
the art, would be welcomed. It
seems he still practised the profession
of a printer, and if so he must have
been employed by John Field, for the
University press was the only one in
the town. In 1670 he was Parish
Clerk of St. Peter's, ⁽⁴²⁶⁾ but when he was
appointed, and for how long he held
the office are at present unknown.
In this connection it must be
remembered that a parish clerk
was not merely the equivalent of a
present day verges or sexton. The
office was a freehold, the clerk was
the descendant of those men who in
pre-reformation were in minor

Ecclesiastical orders, and he

335

took a prominent and important part in the performance of divine worship. In London the Parish Clerks were sufficiently important to form one of the City Companies.

In 1668 Stedman published the *Tintinnalogia*. For many years past it has been assumed that there was no question that he was the author of that book, and it comes as something of a shock to those who, like myself, have based their opinion of Stedman very largely on the *Tintinnalogia*, to find that it actually was written by another man. Yet there can be no doubt that such was the case. On the

title page it is said to have been written by a Lover of that Art, and to have been printed by W. G. for Fabian Steedman at his shop in St Dunstons Churchyard in Fleet Street. That does not mean that Steedman was the author.

The man for whom a book was printed was the person responsible under the licensing laws ⁽³⁷²⁾, the owner of the Copyright, and the nearest equivalent to the modern publisher. He might be the author, but usually was another man. The 1677 Campanalogia, which we know was written by Steedman, was printed for W. G. The 1702 Campanalogia, which was written by Doleman and another, was printed for George Sawbridge.

The second edition of Anthony Wood's Athenae Oxonienses which was published in 1721 after the author's death contained

a number of additional lives, taken ³³⁷
from the original manuscripts, of men
who were still alive when the first edition
appeared. Among them and included
with the lives of writers belonging to St
Albans Hall, is a short account of
Richard Duckworth, and the reason
given for his inclusion is that "he
hath written *Tintinnalogia*; or the
Art of Ringing, London 1671, oct.,
*Instructions for hanging of Bells with
all Things belonging therunto.* (373)

Wood is the recognised authority on
the Oxford men of his day, he was a
contemporary of Duckworth, in his young
days he had been a ringer, and all
through his life he was keenly interested
in bells and ringing. (374) His testimony

Therefore, even if uncorroborated, is 338
conclusive. In the next generation,
Thomas Hearne, who, though so far as we
know he did not practise the art himself,
was passionately fond of bell ringing,
and missed no opportunity of finding
out matters connected with it, repeated
the statement, and added that Duckworth
was a great ringer and had very
great skill in it. Hearne records in
his diary that he talked with a Mr
Whitende who as a young student of
Prasenore College used to be visited
by Duckworth.

Richard Duckworth was born some
time about 1630, in Lancashire according
to Whitende, in Leicestershire according
to Wood. He was an undergraduate
at New Hall Inn in 1647 and was one

one of those who made submission to the ³³⁹
visitors appointed by the Long Parliament
during the changes which followed the
execution of Charles I, and by them he
was made a Fellow of Brasenose College ⁽³⁸⁰⁾
According to Alumni Oxonienses he
matriculated at University College in
1648, but men in those days frequently
changed their colleges. He graduated
B.A. in 1651 and proceeded M.A. in 1653
He took orders and was Rector of
Harlest-with-Booted, Suffolk in 1660;
of Tolland in Somerset in 1671; and of
Steeple Aston in 1670. ⁽³⁷⁵⁾ In 1671 he gave
£10 to the new Chapel which was being
built at Brasenose College. ⁽³⁷⁶⁾ He was then
a Bachelor of Divinity and apparently
still retained his fellowship, for Wood
records that on October 22 in that

year a child was left in B.C quadrangle
 the child cried Mr Richard Duckworth
 heard it and went to the luttery to fetch
 a candle to see for it. In the meanwhile
 a Pack. Str. carried it away under
 his gown. ⁽³⁷⁷⁾ As a fellow Duckworth would
 be an unmarried man. He came says
 that when he was Rector of Steeple Aston
 "He made the place much better than
 it had been by recovering and settling
 many tithes that were refused, in
 order to which he went to law with
 the Parashioners and over threw them,
 after which he left the place and
 became Vice Principal of Alban Hall
 under old D. Boucher, but what he
 did there I know not. This is certain
 that he had been a schoolmaster also
 at Steeple Aston and was severe to

his scholars, some of whom were boys ³⁴¹
of good birth." (378)

He seems to have been a man of
tolerant disposition who took little
interest in the fierce religious controversies
of the time. He had no difficulty in
submitting to the Presbyterian system
under the Parliament; when the Restoration
came he took episcopalian orders and
a rectory; and when James II in his
endeavour to further the cause of Roman
Catholicism, ordered the clergy to read
the Declaration of Indulgence he was
was one of the only half dozen in
Oxfordshire who consented to do so. (379)

When in 1670 the Prince of Orange (afterwards
William III) visited Oxford he paid a
round of visits to the colleges and at
Brasenose, Duckworth as Vice Principal

"speckle it" (381)

342

Richard Duckworth, no doubt, learnt his ringing as an undergraduate and practised it during the time he was up at Oxford.

He was little more than thirty years old and in the prime of life when he went to Hartismas as rector. There were four bells in the tower, and one of his first cares was to have them recast and increased to five.

In 1661 John Darbie, the Ipswich bell-founder put up the ring which is still there. (382) The

tenor weighs about 11 cwt, and the bells are rather curiously tuned, being like a peal of six with the fifth left out. (383) Whether this was intentional and in accordance with some idea of Duckworth's; or whether it was intended to have six and one was not supplied, or has since disappeared

343
does not seem to be known. The only
inscription on the bells is the name of the
founder with those of the Churchwardens
on the tenor only. We might have expected
that of the rector, but he was not a man
to advertise himself either on his bells or
on the title page of his book.

Harlest is in West Suffolk, about six
miles north-west of Long Streeford, and
so no great distance from Cambridge.
An active and intellectual man like
Buckworth would be sure to make
frequent visits to that town and there
he would come in contact with some
of the leading ringers of the day. In 1662
Samuel Scattergood and Isaac Newton
were admitted to Trinity College. (384)
Scattergood certainly found his way to

the belfry, and if Newton ever practised the art, this was the time. Shortly afterwards Fabian Stedman returned from London bringing with him all the improvements that the College Youth had introduced into ringing, and himself ready to help on further improvement. It is not surprising that among such a company the idea should have arisen of writing a book on ringing, and it was a happy chance that brought Duckworth and Stedman together, for the cooperation of those two resulted in a book which, taken on the whole, is still the best ~~book~~ that has ever been written on ringing. Stedman's part is evident. He supplied information about the peals

345
which were being rung in London, the
Compositions of Row and Tending, the
Esquire Youths' method, and the allusions
here and there to what the College Youths
were doing. But if ~~it~~ much of the matter
was Spedman's, the manner was wholly
Duckworth's, and it is there that the
supreme excellence of the book lies. The
author attempted and achieved what
no subsequent writer has succeeded in
doing. He wrote of ringing and explained
it as an abstract science and art which
takes place in the belfry and in the
minds of the ringers. Other writers always
explain ringing through the medium
of figures, and it is left to the reader
to supply the connection between the
figures and what happens in the belfry.
So much so that ~~it~~ ~~is~~ only by a mental

effort can we realize that figures have nothing to do with the essential part of ringing, and are only more or less imperfect conventional signs by which the abstract is expressed in concrete form. A man who knew nothing about ringing and who studied the writings on the subject would imagine that it is the science of the permutation of figures; he would scarcely realize that the one essential thing, the only thing which concerns the majority of ringers, is the connected path by which one bell moves among the others.

Dickworth's handling of his subject is masterly. He knows thoroughly what he is going to write about, and he knows how to write about it. His

style is direct, simple and clear; he always uses the right word, and every word tells. There is no florid writing, no striving after literary effect. The book is the work of a clean cut logical brain, and is a supreme example of the truth that clear writing can only result from clear thinking. How good the book is can perhaps only be realized by those who have themselves tried to write on the same or a similar subject, or when it is compared with other books of like nature. The first book on ringing, so far as style goes it has never been surpassed, and it difficult even now to point to one that can be said to equal it, except it be Heywood's

Duffield. Jasper Snowden was an 348
exceedingly clear writer and always
conveys his meaning, but he had not
a very keen ear for words and the
rhythm of sentences, and his writing
can hardly be said to have any distinction
in style.

Duckworth sets out to give "a full
discovery of the mystery and grounds
of each Peal," and he really does succeed
in doing so. He attempted to give a
complete verbal description of how the
methods practiced in his time should
be rung. He treats a method as an
abstract mathematical entity. For
example Grandeur Peal Junior is not
just a particular 720 which may or
may not have variations; there is only
one peal of Grandeur Peal but it can

349

be rung in many hundred ways
according as you choose different bells
to be the whole-hunt, half-hunt, quarter
hunt, and stream bells. The
description covers all these ways alike,
and it only when he has finished it
that he comes to the concrete and gives
figures to illustrate a particular 720.
It is the method of Euclid, and is
used with a skill not unworthy of
Euclid.

But this way of explaining ringing
is not only very difficult to write, but
it demands the closest attention on
the part of the reader. Few people are
mentally capable of appreciating
abstract things, and so ringers very
quickly found out a way of giving
the rules for ringing a particular

350

method by means of a formula. a dozen or so rows of figures representing a lead of a method was sufficient to enable a man, who knew how to use them, to find out what to do in the belfry; and later on the addition of a few rows of figures representing course ends was sufficient to give all that was needed to ring a true peal of practically any length. These formulae did not give "a full discovery" of the mystery and grounds of each peal, but they did supply all that the practical ringer wanted to know. Later authors do indeed make a pretence of giving some rules for ringing the different methods but actually all their value lies in the figures. You

351
might omit all the Letterpress from
the Clavis, Shipway, Hubbard, Parnisles
Thackrah, and Lottanstill without
seriously lessening their value as ringing
text books. In more recent years
the Central Council Collections of peals
and methods have been issued without
any Letterpress at all. Jasper Snowden
in Roperight, Double Norwich, and
Standard Methods did attempt, and
successfully, to give verbal rules for
ringing methods, but he deals with
the subject in the concrete and on
less ambitious lines than Duckworth.
A non-ringer who had sufficient
patience and intelligence could
follow without difficulty the explanation
of ringing given in the *Tintinnalogia*,

but Calver books would be entirely 352

cryptic and incomprehensible to him.

We might illustrate the difference between

the Tintinnalogia and Calver books

in this way - Suppose you were asked

to direct a man across Country.

You might give him a full description

of his journey; he must go so far

along a road until he came to a

gate; he must then follow a field path

passing a stack here, and a barn

there; he would reach a Church at this

point, and an inn at that; and so

on until he came to his journey's end.

And suppose you did this so well

that your friend had a clear mental

vision of his itinerary before he set

out, - that would be the method of

the Tintinnalogia. But the latter 353
method would be to give him a sheet of
an ordnance survey map, and say to him,
"There you are. Find out for yourself."

There can be no question that provided a
man can read a map, he would find
it a better guide than any verbal
description, and provided a man
knows what the figures mean, he can
better learn how to ring a method from
a lead than from any verbal instructions.

That does not lessen the merit of the
Tintinnalogia, and by adopting the
other plan, while the Exercise has gained
much it has lost something. If we
could look at the problems of composition
and method construction through the
eyes of Duckworth we should be spared

the many disputes as to originality,
authorship, and the like.

Good as is the *Tintinnalogia* and
excellent as is its author, in one very
important respect his vision is restricted.
What he saw, he saw clearly and
wholly, but he is always looking at
what has already been done, never
forward to the possibilities that lie
ahead. He does not dream that he
is only standing on the threshold of
the art, he thinks that "the very depths
of its intricacy is already found out."
And that is because neither he nor
~~the~~ Fabian Hedman had as yet
turned their attention towards Composition.
He had set himself to explain ringing
as it existed in his day and every

355
one of the peals in the *Tintinnalogia*
is the work of some other and older
man. To Duckworth and Hedman
in 1667 the climax of the science of
change ringing was Grandire Bob,
and Grandire was already ten or a
dozen years old.

And so the *Tintinnalogia* marks
the close of a period in the development
of ringing rather than the beginning
of a new one. Nine years later Hedman
published the *Campanalogia* and the
difference between the two books is
enormous. The later is not superior to
the earlier, — in many ways it is not
so good; but though the literary style
and the handling of the matter is ^{now}
inferior, time had given a vastly

356

greater experience of methods and the details of composition.. There is a greater amount of development between the Campanalogia of 1677 and the Tintinnalogia of 1688, than between the J. D. and C. M. book of 1702 and the Campanalogia; or than between the Shipway of 1816 and the Clavis of 1788; very much more than between the Hubbard of 1876 and the Shipway; and nearly as much as between the Clavis and the J. D. and C. M. And that confirms the opinion that Hedman was a comparatively young man when the Tintinnalogia was written.

Duckworth tells us that what first suggested the book to his mind

357
was a treatise written in Latin by
a Dutchman (i.e. a German) entitled
de Tintinnabulis being a discourse
on striking pines on little bells
and he considered that if that was
worth doing it was worth a days labour
to write something on this Art of
Science, that the Rules thereof might
not be lost and obscured to some, as
the Chronicles before William the Conqueror,
being given only by Tradition from father
to son.

The book consists of 112 pages ⁽²¹⁸⁾ of which
about forty deal with Plain Changes
and the rest with Cross Deals. There
is as yet no distinction between plain
Courses and Touches produced by Cops
and singles; and each round block

is a peal whether it be long or short. 358

The term bob is used but somewhat indefinitely, In Grandire Doubles what is now called a plain lead is then called a single bob, and what is now called a bob is then called a double bob. But in Bob Minor the term is used in the ordinary modern sense

The Tintinnalogia is a very rare book. For many years it was believed that only one copy of the first edition had survived. This at one time belonged to C. H. Lukis an early writer on bells and I believe had previously belonged to John Hopkins of Birmingham. (219)

Jasper Snowden used it in writing his "Grandire", and a reprint of it was

published by Harvey Reeves in 1895. It ³⁵⁹
is now in the possession of the Rev. H. C. Pearson
who has also a second copy. A third
copy belongs to Mr. Edwin H. Lewis, the
President of the Central Council. There
is no copy in the British Museum. A
copy of the second edition was owned
by a Mr. Tite a member of Parliament,
after his death Lady Tite gave it to
Ellacombe, and it is now in the Bodleian
Library at Oxford.

After he had written the book, Dickens
entrusted the publication to Fabian
Fedorman. ⁽³⁸⁵⁾ It is not difficult to see
why he should have done that. At
Harriet he was out of touch with printers
and booksellers and though no doubt

he was regularly at Oxford in connection with his fellowship, this was hardly the sort of book that was handled by the printers at either University.

Stedman was a printer, and if I am right in my supposition that he had served his apprenticeship in London.

he would know who was the most likely ^{man} to print and sell the book. As

I have said, Godbid may have been his old master, but in any case it was necessary to secure the full support of the College youths to whom the book was dedicated and Godbid's shop was in St. Dunstan's Churchyard Lane by the Temple and Lincoln's Inn to which so many of them belonged, and not

far from St. Prides and Salisbury 361
Court where it is reasonable to suppose
they held their meetings.

The book which Duckworth says
inspired him to write the *Tintinnalogia*
is a little volume written in Latin
by Guolamo Maggus and published
in Hanover after his death. The
title page reads - Hieronymi Magii,
de Tintinnabulis, Liber postumus,
Franciscus Sweertius F. Antwerp. Adis
Illustrabat Hanoviae Typis Nechelianiis
apud Claudium Mannum & heredes
Johannis Stuberii Clō 10 CVIII. A second
edition was published in 1664, at
Amsterdam which may have been
the one that Duckworth saw, and
others in 1689, 1716, and 1735. It is

is probably the most widely known 362
of all the books that have been written
on bells. Though the book was published
in Hanover the author was not a
Dutchman or German as Duckworth
supposed, but an Italian who was
a civil judge in the Venetian service
in Crete. In 1571 Candia was besieged
by the Turks and Aquino was taken
prisoner. During his captivity he wrote
the treatise which has preserved his
name and ultimately he was beheaded
by the order of a pasha. 386

Richard Duckworth left Harlast, not
long after the publication of the *Tintinnalogia*
and went to Tolland in Somersetshire.
His church there had no ring of bells, 387

363
but we know from Whiteade that he
had at the time in Oxford the reputation
of being a very skilful ringer, and no
doubt he practised the art when he
was in residence at Brasenose College.
There were then clever ringers in Oxford
and men who gave to the Exercise some
of the standard methods which are still
rung. Who composed Oxford Treble Bob,
and Single and Double Oxford Bob,
we do not know. It quite easily may
have been Duckworth, and since, ~~then~~
a few years later when the Campanologia
was written, Shedman was well acquainted
with what was done at Oxford, it seems
likely that Duckworth kept in touch
with him and supplied him with
the information.

364

In his History of Music Dr. Burney refers to the Tintinnalogia and makes it the occasion of some general remarks on ringing and music. He had been giving an account of John Jenkins, a Composer of light music, one of whose pieces called The Five Bell Consortie was very popular. "What gave rise to this Trio, or Consortie as it was called", he writes, "seems to have been a book called Tintinnalogia, or the Art of Ringing, published in 1668, a work not beneath the notice of musicians who wish to explore all the regions of natural melody: as in this little book they will see every possible change in the arrangement of Diatonic sounds from 2 to 12, which being reduced to musical notes would

point out innumerable passages, that in spite of all that has ~~been~~ hitherto been written would be new in melody and musical composition. The reader will be able to form some judgement of the wonderful variety which the changes in bells afford to melody by the annexed calculations whence it appears that even in the plain and simple arrangements of natural sounds according to the species of the octave without the intervention of either flat or sharp, eight notes will produce 40.320 different passages and twelve 479 million 1600! Mersennus in his *Harmonie Universelle* published 1636 has enumerated these changes and reduced to musical notation those of the heptachord as an illustration

of the amazing variety which may be given to the arrangement of only six sounds in melody. ⁽²³⁸⁾ It must not however be imagined that all the changes in the table would be equally agreeable or even practicable if introduced in an air; yet in the almost infinite number offered to a musician's choice many would doubtless frequently occur which would not only be pleasing but new. Out of the great number of peals which are given on five six and eight bells in the *Tintinnalogia* it is extraordinary that melody has not been consulted in the choice of changes; there seems a mechanical order and succession in them without the least idea of selecting such as are most melodious

and agreeable. Even the clams or
the collision of two bells together
in counterpoint has been settled by
ringers without the least knowledge
of Harmony." (223)

Coming from such an authority as
Dr. Burney this criticism is interesting,
but of course it is all wide of the
mark. To select changes and to
consult melody in the construction
of peals was entirely outside Hedman's
purpose. (224) His peals are abstract rules
for producing all the possible changes
whatever their musical value, and
the order and ~~the~~ succession of the
changes is not mechanical but
strictly mathematical. And that is
equally true of all change ringing
from the beginning till now. It may

(388)

produce music - it does in fact produce music - but in its essentials either as a science or an art, music has neither part nor lot. A peal of Double Norwich rung on bells out of tune is just as much a peal of Double Norwich as if it were rung on the best ring in the land; but the simplest air played on an instrument with one false note ceases to be that air. Burney was judging ringing simply as music; he had no knowledge of the appeal of ringing to a ringer.

Dr. Burney's reference to "clams" is rather curious because there is no mention of such a thing in the *Tintinnalogia*. There is in the *Campanalogia* and it marks what was probably an attempt made about this time to develop ringing

on different lines. For some reason
 or other it seems that changes on seven
 and eight bells were slow to come,
 and where ringers had a full octave
 to practise on (and it was but rarely)
 they either rang Doubles and Minor
 with covering bells, or they rang Setts
 Changes or Colledge Grounds. In
 the latter the bells were first hunted
 into Quens (13572468) or Tittums (15263748)
 and then Singles were rung on them
 each pair of bells being treated as if
 it were one bell. Each pair or Concord
 as it was called could be dodged
 together or struck simultaneously.
 The latter was called Clamming.
 "Tis pleasant music to Clam them
 that is the two notes of the Concord
 to strike together. If they are Clam'd

True, the eight bells will strike as ³⁷⁰
if they were but four, but with far
greater harmony. They may clam
two or three bowls and then strike
them open as many and so alternately
or else they may clam one full,
open the next, and so on." (225)

This ringing was recommended for
the less skilful bands, but to do it
well would require quite a good
company, and it is not likely that
it ever was much practised.

D. Bruney was in error in thinking
that the Tintinnalogia suggested
The Five Bell Consort to John Jenkins.
That piece was published in 1662, six
years before Duckworth's book appeared,
and indeed Jenkins got his knowledge
of ringing at first hand. He was

371
one of the last to hold office in the
Society of Cheapside Scholars, and
when that Company broke up in 1662,
he joined the College Youths and held
the office of steward in 1669. Ten
years later he was elected Master, but
could not have served for he was
now an old man and had retired
to Norfolk where he died.

John Jenkins was born at Maidstone
in 1592 and is said to have been the
earliest English composer of instrumental
music. He was attached to the Court
of Charles I. and during the Commonwealth
lived in the houses of some country
gentlemen, chiefly with Sir Hamon
L'Estrange at Hunstanton, where
he taught Roger L'Estrange music,
and with Lord North at Kirtling.

Roger North says of him - "I was 372
instructed by that eminent master
of his time Mr Jenkins. He was a
person of much easier temper than
any of his faculty. He was neither
conceited nor morose but much of
a gentleman and had a good sort of
wit; ⁽²³⁴⁾ and in another place he calls
him "a little man with a great soul." ⁽²³⁵⁾

Anthony Wood who also studied
with him says he was "the mirror
and wonder of his age for music."

After the Restoration John Jenkins
and John Lilly were appointed musicians
in ordinary to Charles II, at a salary
of £40 a year. ⁽²³⁹⁾ Jenkins was a prolific
composer chiefly of light music. All
his earliest and most lively works

were lost and forgotten and he ³⁷³
lived so long that he saw himself
outworn and antiquated, but some
of his catches and the Five Bell Concert
the full title of which is The Lady
Katherine Audley's Bells were printed.

Dr. Burney thought enough of it to
give it in his History and it has
been reproduced by Dr. Raven in his
Bells of England, and by Mr. Lewis in
his History and Art of Change Ringing.

In his old age Jenkins returned
to Norfolk and lived in the household
of Sir Philip Woodhouse at Kimberley,
and there he died at the age of eighty
six. He was buried in the parish
Church where a stone with the
following inscription still marks his
grave —

374

" Under this stone Rare Jenkins lie,
The Master of the Murrets art,
Whom from ye earth the God on high
Call'd unto Him to bear his part.

Aged eighty-six October twenty seven
In Anno seventy eight he went to Heaven. ⁽²³⁷⁾"

Probably Jenkins had been a practical
ringer in his younger days, but his
connection with the College youths was
obviously more or less an honorary one
and confined to their social side;
and his election to the chair was due
either to the fact that his was the next
name on the rota, or was intended as
an honour to a distinguished and esteemed
member. But he died about the same
time as the election took place.

375

The *Tintinnalogia*, though small, was not a cheap book. It was leather bound and a considerable number of copies would have to be sold to make it a financial success. For the bulk of his customers Stedman would rely upon his friends among the College youths and the Esquire youths, and as soon as the book came out he wrote to the leading provincial bands and in some cases made personal visits to sell it and incidentally to promote the spread of change ringing. On Whit Monday, May 11th 1668 he wrote to the bell ringers of Leicester introducing the book and explaining to them the desirability of establishing a society of scholars for setting forth the arts and mysteries of change ringing, not only

376
for the edifying of their minds but also
for their enjoyment and the healthful
exercise of their bodies, and he expressed
his desire with Almighty God permitting
to visit their city at a time appointed
when he hoped for the pleasure of their
good will and company. It was not
until the September of the following year
that he actually visited the town, but
when he did theingers received him
right royally. It was fair time and
there were many strangers in the town.
First the gentlemeningers entertained
their guest to "sweete musick" at the
different churches, especially at St.
Margaret's where a heavy ring of six
had lately been hung. Then on the
Saturday, the youngingers entertained

him at St Mary's; and that same evening there was a supper and a social meeting at Master Baker's ye Angell, where both the gentlemen and the young ringers entertained him sumptuously.

£ 1-16-8 was spent for meales, wines, beere, tobacco, and pipes, etc as appears by bill. On Sunday after morning service at St Martin's church, Mr. Stedman entertained them all at his inn near the High Cross and afterwards he gave in the great chamber or gallery a lecture on change ringing. His audience consisted of the gentlemen and young ringers, with many others clergy and gentlemen, who were mightily pleased with it, and it was near seven o'clock in the evening

before they departed to their homes. 378

At ten o'clock the next day he left the town, and his hosts, gentlemen and youths accompanied him a mile "beyond ye Conduite spring hill, and so gave him their farewell in his journey towards Harborow." (241)

No doubt these pleasant scenes were repeated at other large towns though no record has come down to us. Most likely at Nottingham an early centre of the art, and whence Nedman drew material for his second book; probably at Norwich and Ipswich the two chief towns of the Eastern Counties, and where change ringing flourished long before the close of the century. But no visit

379

seems to have been paid to Oxford
which is rather a pity, because if
Spedman had gone there he would ~~have~~
almost certainly have met Anthony
Wood, and there might have been an
interesting account of the man and
his work in the Diary. But no doubt
Drickworth's influence was sufficient
to push the sale of the *Tintinnalogia*
among Oxford ringers, and it is not
likely that they needed a Cambridge
man to tell them how to ring.

Apparently the *Tintinnalogia* sold
well for in 1671 a second edition was
called for. This was the edition that
Anthony Wood knew of. It was a
replica of the first edition except that

it was "printed for F.S. and are to
be sold by Thomas Archerl at his shop
under the Dial of S. Dunstons Church,
Fleet Street." 1671" (257) 380

In 1677 an edition was published
of a book called A Rich Cabinet, with
Variety of Inventions, unlocked and
opened for the Recreation of Ingenious
Spirits at their vacant Hours. The
original author was J. White "a Lover
of artificial Conclusions". The book
has no literary value and its nature
is sufficiently indicated by its title.
It evidently was popular among a
certain class of people, for no fewer
than seven editions were published
between 1651 and 1715. (226) The 1677 edition
is interesting to us because it contains

a chapter on ringing. The title page is similar to that of the earlier editions, and then is added - "Likewise directions for ringing the most useful peals that belong to that Art. Collected by J. W. a lover of artificial conclusions. The Fifth Edition, with many additions London. Printed for William Whitwood at the sign of the Golden Bell in Duck Lane near Smithfield, 1677." Who White was, I do not know. Probably after the first edition he had nothing more to do with the book. Whitwood to whom he sold the copyright issued reprints as they were required and the chapter on ringing is the work of a hack writer who knew nothing about

382

the art. For it is a most unblushing piece
of piracy. The writer heads his Chapter -
Exact Rules for Ringing all sorts of Plain
Changes and Cross Seals, with exact
Directions for every thing which necessarily
belongs to the Compleat Art of Ringing.
He then proceeds to Copy out some of the
first part of the *Tintinnalogia*. Duckworth
is followed closely, but an attempt is
made to disguise the theft by slightly
altering the wording. Duckworth wrote -
On six Bells there are Seven-hundred
and twenty Changes to be made; but
there are Seals of Six-score and Twelve
score Changes to be Rang on them. The
Six-score Changes are to be made by
observing a whole hunt and half hunt
which are to be hunted in the same Course

as in the Six-score on five Bells, and the
 Extream Changes to be made by the same
 Rule as they were on five Bells." "White"
 Copied it as follows - "Now let us come
 to the Changes on Six Bells which are
 found by Ringing Artists to be seven
 hundred and twenty, and there are
 Yeals of Six-score and Twelve-score
 Changes to be Rung on them. The Six-score
 Changes are to be Rung by observing a
 Whole Hunt and a half Hunt which
 you must hunt after the same manner
 as you hunt the six-score Changes on
 five Bells. And the Extream Changes
 to be made by the same Rule as is
 afore expresed."

Slight as is the verbal alteration,
 it is enough to spoil the passage.

The substitution of the word "and" for Duckworth's "but" shows that the writer did not understand what he was copying; to talk of hunting the changes is nonsense; and the clean cut economical style of the *Tintinnalogia* is lost in unmeaning verbosity. Throughout the language of the *Tintinnalogia* is altered in the same way, and the result has a value because it shows by contrast how excellent Duckworth's style really is.

After having copied about forty pages of the *Tintinnalogia* which included all that by 1677 had become obsolete and of no practical value, "White" gets

fired of his job, or perhaps he had
 filled up as many pages as Whitwood
 had paid him for. He then goes on -
 Having given you these short yet easy
 Directions for all sorts of plain and
 single Changes, I should proceed to
 Cross Seals as Doubles and Singles on
 four Bells, the Twelve score Long Hunts
 or the Esquires Twelve score, Doubles and
 Singles on five Bells, Tending's Six
 score on five Bells, Paradox on five
 Bells, Phoenix on five Bells, London
 Pleasure on five Bells, What you please,
 Doubles and Singles on five Bells, New
 Doubles, Old Doubles, Grandeur Bob
 and several other Seals which will
 take up too much time, wherefore I

shall refer the Reader to his own and 386
others practise for further information."

The thing is a fraud, for having professed
to give directions for everything which
necessarily belongs to ringing and also
how to hang bells, he tries to job off
his reader with some out of date stuff
and a list of the methods in the *Tintinnalogia*.
As for the hanging of bells he never
gets further than Duckworth's title page.

The Chapter appears only in the edition
of 1677, but in 1698 a book was published
by G. Conyers which apparently was
pirated from this pirated book. It
is practically a reprint of White's chapter
on ringing and has also directions
for making artificial fireworks and

for gardening. There is added "an 387
excellent receipt to make a valuable
Liquor, agreeable to all Constitutions."
The worthlessness of this book as a first
book on ringing is shown not only by
the fact that when it was published
it was long since quite out of date
but also by the claim made that
"perhaps the like had never been done
before", which was a pretty cool claim
for a book which was a barefaced
copy of a book which was itself a
barefaced copy. It is said to have
been written by J. W. and other members
of that Society, but of course there was
no such person. The original J. White
had long since disappeared, and

so far as there was any author at all, he was one of the hack writers employed by the printer, and it is not at all likely that he knew anything about ringing. The reference to "that Society" is only a meaningless echo of the dedication of the *Tintinnalogia* (389)

It is sad to think that for many years "White" was generally believed to be the author of the *Tintinnalogia* and the writer of the earliest book on ringing. (256)

The *Tintinnalogia* as I have said marked the close of a period in the development of change ringing and it was followed by a great expansion of the art. Five bell ringing had already almost reached its zenith,

and there was little room for further 389
improvement. Seven and eight bell ringing
was not practicable, except rarely because
there were as yet few complete octaves.

But on six bells there was a very
great development of method ringing.

In many of the large towns men
were composing and bands were practising
methods of a style which a few years
before would have been thought impossible
and indeed it would have been impossible
to ring them had not great improvements
been made in bell hanging. It was
now that the full wheel became common (421)
and (though of this there is no direct
evidence) that pallies were put to ropes.
of these new methods and the names

390
of their Composers most have been forgotten, but we know that at Nottingham what we now call Single Court Junior was produced and rung, as well as other methods, and that at Oxford the third of the Standard Methods was composed and practised. Plain Bob was the logical development of the Sixes through the Singles and Doubles on four bells and Old Doubles. Grandmere was the original work of Robert Rowan. Oxford Treble Bob was a further important development, opening up vast possibilities which even today have not nearly been exhausted. At Oxford too were composed at this time Single and Double Oxford Bob

methods which have taken permanent places in the ringers' repertoire, as well as some others which are now obsolete. Curiously enough there were no composers among the London ringers, no one to carry on the work of Robert Roane and John Tending, and though the College youths were foremost in practising new methods they had to go for their material to Fabian Spedman who was now generally recognised as the leading authority on the science of ringing. There were other composers at Cambridge among the University men, and the most important of them was Samuel Scattergood.

We have seen that at this time the

392

Chaplain to Bishop Hackett at Lichfield
was Antony Scattergood. He was a notable
man among the divines of the late seventeenth
Century, a Cambridge graduate, and a
friend of Sancroft afterwards the
non-juring Archbishop of Canterbury.
He was rector of Wymondley in Northampton
shire and a prebendary of Lincoln
and also of Lichfield. He was entrusted
with the task of seeing the revised
Book of Common Prayer through the
press in 1662, and in the following year
the University at the King's request
conferred on him the degree of Doctor
of Divinity in "Consideration of his
great abilities and sufficiency in

(244) " Learning." His eldest son Samuel was 393
born at the rectory in 1646. There are
still three bells at Minnick which were
then already old, and on them quite
(245)
likely the boy first learnt to ring.
He was designed for the Church, and
on April 29th 1664 he was admitted a
student of Trinity College, at the same
time that Isaac Newton joined. He
graduated B.A. in 1665 and M.A. in 1669,
and in the previous year was elected a
fellow of his college. (246)
His compositions in
ringing are all interesting though none
has proved of permanent value. Minnick's
Doubles which he called after his birth
place is a bobbed lead of Grandine
with two kinds of singles. In My Honey
the treble hunts in whole pulls; and

one or two Disc-scores are constructed by joining together different kinds of Leads, thus anticipating by two and a half centuries modern spliced ringing. He also tried to break fresh ground by introducing what he called jumping Doubles in which bells, instead of having an unbroken connected path, moved up or down two positions at one blow. Although the idea of movement is supposed to be retained this really broke the fundamental laws of the art, and was never adopted by the Exercise. The notion was not altogether new, for Roane had suggested the use of jumps in Grandeur and Plain Bob to get rid of singles. In 1672

Scattergood joined the Society of College Youths. As he never was resident in London this may have happened on a visit to the metropolis, but perhaps more likely when the Society visited Cambridge. If there is any truth in Parnell's statement that Hedman's Principle was first sung by the College Youths at St. Benet's, Cambridge, this was about the time.

In 1669 on the occasion of the opening of the Sheldonian Theatre, Samuel Scattergood and his father were incorporated members of the University of Oxford. In 1676 he took orders. From 1678 to 1681 he was vicar of St. Mary's Lichfield, where as we have seen a society of ringers, the Loyal Youths was formed in 1685. By that time he had been appointed rector of Blockley

396

after holding the vicarage of Ware
for less than a year, but he still was
intimately connected with Lichfield, for
in 1682 he was collated to the prebend
of *Sapa Minor*, alias *Trees*, in the
cathedral which had been held by his
father. In the next year he succeeded
his father in his other prebend that of
Northon Episcopi in Lincoln Cathedral. (248)

It is therefore likely that Scattergood
was instrumental in putting the ring
of ten bells in Lichfield Cathedral. For
he retained his love of ringing throughout
his life. He was steward of the College
Youths in 1676, and master in 1685. At
Blockley he added a pebble to make a
ring of nine, (249) and he visited other
belfries in the Midlands. In 1686

When Henry Bagley, cast a new octave
 for Solihull. Scattergood was asked to
 give a report on them - 27th day of
 August 1686. These are to certify whom
 it may concern; that I, Samuel
 Scattergood, Minister of Blockley in the
 County of Worcester, having several times
 viewed and tryed ye sound of ye 8
 new Bells lately cast by Mr Henry
 Bagley Bellfounder of ye Parish Church
 of Solihull in ye County of Warw., and
 now hung in ye sd. Church: especially
 at ye ringing thereof ye day and yeare
 above said by myself and about 20 other
 skillful persons accompanying me from
 Leicesters to that purpose, doe with ye
 generall approbation & Consent of ye said
 Persons, judg all ye sd 8 Bells to be

well and workmanlike made, every way
 right for stone and metall ye chearfullest
 + best Ring of Bells for their weight that
 I ever heard. And also that ye clappers
 and other iron work + tackle with which
 ye aforesaid 8 Bells are hung, are now
 made quite good, so as to need no further
 alteration that I know of. In witness
 whereof I have hereunto sett my hand
 this aforesd. 27th day of August anno dni 1686.

I am Scattergood. (260)

Scattergood wrote and published a
 Greek poem, and in his lifetime had a
 great reputation as a preacher. One of
 his sermons was printed by order of
 Charles II, and some years after his death
 fifty two of his sermons were collected
 and published. They are excellent discourses

such as with very little verbal alteration might be delivered to an educated congregation of the present day. A short quotation from one of them will give a very good idea of the preacher's character and outlook on the religious opinions of his time. He had drawn attention to a passage in the Gospel and said that it was a reproof of the too hard censors of our age whose religion consists chiefly in pow locks, demure carriage and a different garb from the rest of the world; who will needs have heaven peopled with none but morose and ill-natured persons, and think there is no way thither but from a cell

or a hermitage, that will not allow
a disciple of Christ to laugh." (251)

Samuel Scattergood died at Blockley
aged 50, and was buried there on
December 10th 1696. There is no memorial
to him in the Church save his name
on the present third bell. His daughter
gave £100 to the poor of the parish, a
charity which is still administered. (252)

The rapid development of method ringing very quickly made the *Tintinnalogia* out of date, and there was need for a new book. Stedman, obviously, was the proper person to write it, but this time it seems probable that the College Youths undertook the financial responsibility and the publication. In 1677 appeared the *Campanalogia*. Like the older book it was "printed by W. Godbid", but it was for H.S., and are to be sold by Langley Curtis in Goat Court on Ludgate Hill. Neither Stedman's name nor initials appears on the title page, but the dedication "to the Honoured and to his much esteemed Friends, the Members of the Society of COLLEDC YOUTHS", is by F.S., and so there is even less doubt about the authorship than in the case of the *Tintinnalogia*. H.S. is

is William Smith who joined the College
 Youths in 1659, and was steward in 1678.
 Stedman himself was steward in 1677,
 the year the book was published, and as
 he was still living at Cambridge, it is
 most likely that Smith carried out the
 duties for him except at the annual feast
 and was appointed by the Society to look
 after the publication of the book. Who
 William Smith was cannot be said, for
 it is almost impossible to identify a man
 with so common a name. There was a
 William Smith who in 1661 petitioned
 for a pension of £50 a year, as Kings
 Messenger. He had been, he said, sworn
 under the king as prince but now was
 left out of his place. (253)

As a festschrift book the Campanalogia is an enormous advance upon the Tintinnalogia, and covers a greatly extended range, but as Hedman necessarily was much influenced by the earlier work and modelled his own on it, a comparison of the two books is inevitable. And at once we are struck with a great difference both in the literary style and in the way the subject matter is handled, a difference so great that it amounts to a proof (if further proof is needed) that the two books are by different authors. At the time when Hedman was universally in the Exercise thought to have written the Tintinnalogia, I could only account for this difference by supposing that

404

He had developed his style and method of exposition to suit the expansion of his subject matter, and indeed some change was necessary. Ringing could no longer be explained as an abstract thing. That was possible, or at any rate it was possible to a critic like Duckworth, when he was treating of such comparatively simple things as Plain Changes and Grandure; but the critic must deal with the more complex methods in the Concrete if he was to be understood. There are signs that Duckworth realized that, and of London Pleasure on Five Bells he merely writes that "it being a confused peal, I shall say no more of it but expose it to the view." Besides, ringers had already

405

begun to adopt a number of Conventions which simplified matters from a practical point of view and rendered lengthy verbal explanations unnecessary. In theory, men would no doubt have agreed, as they have more or less all along agreed, that any bill can be the whole hint and one equally with another. In practice they found that the treble is the most suitable bill for the purpose and so ceased to bother about any other variations. It was far easier for them to understand a peal or a method as one concrete set of changes, rather than which might be varied in different ways, rather than a set of abstract ~~sets of~~ rules which might have different expressions

In the Campanalogia too, we have the Convention by which a lead and a bob stand for all that there is in the method. By them the practical ringer may learn all that he wants to know. He need not know anything of the mystery and grounds of the feat. To Duckworth it was so obvious that change ringing is an abstract science, that he assumes it all through and almost induces his reader to assume it too. Steadman knew enough of the matter to understand that it was so, but to him it was a thing which needed explaining, and so he tries to explain it; not, it must be admitted, very clearly or successfully. He points out in so

many words that the real things ⁴⁰⁷
in change ringing take place in the
minds of the ringers. The figures that
you write down are not the real things
of a method, they are but symbols which
more or less adequately represent the
method. The sound of the bells is not
the real thing, it is but the result of
the ringing. You talk of moving a
bell, or hunting a bell, it is not the
material bell that you move, but a
real though abstract bell which
exists in your mind and nowhere else.

"Although the art of changes," he
writes, "is in itself a real thing, yet
the notions by which they are reduced
to practice on bells are not so;" (254)

and again - "The practical part of the art is performed by imaginary, not real notions." That this is essentially true is shown by the fact that the practical singer habitually looks upon himself as the thing that is moving. "I was in 3-4", or "I went up behind", or "I followed the third down to the lead"; not, "I was striking my bell in 3-4"

In literary style the Campanalogia reaches a high level, but it is not the style of the Tintinnalogia. The remarkable thing about that book is the simplicity of the language. I open it at random. On the first page that I turn to, there are 296 words and all save 38 are of one syllable. The 38 are almost entirely inflections of

409

of one syllable words like 'lying', 'hunting',
mostly; or such simple words as 'behind',
'music', 'Consequently', 'instance', and the
like. An examination of other pages gives
a similar result. Compared with modern
prose Deekworth's sentences are not
particularly short, but they are short
compared with the long, rolling, involved,
sentences which are common in the writing
of his time and compared with the
sentences in the J. D and C. M book of 1702. (391)

It would of course be absurd to place
Deekworth as a writer alongside Swift -
the bulk and range of their work is so
different - but at any rate they share
this economy and simplicity in the choice
of words. Nor should we imagine that

410

It is easy to write like this. It is an instance of art which conceals art.

Fabian Steedman was more ambitious. In his dedication he uses an ornate style - Gentlemen, It is your Society even at origine hath deservedly acquired an eminency in many respects above all others of this kind, so more especially for the pregnancy of its members in the composing of peals; for when the art of cross-fucking lay enveloped in such obscurity that it was thought impossible that double changes on five bells could be made to extend further than ten, and double changes on six further than sixty, then it was that a worthy and knowing member of your Society to

disperse those mists of ignorance, and
to usher in the bright morn of knowledge
pluck those much applauded peals of
Grandeur and Grandeur Rob, which for
their excellency have for many years
together continued triumphant in
practice amidst all others whatsoever,
and which indeed have been a great
light on the production of that great
variety of new peals herein contained;
the greatest part of which being also the
offspring of your Society I therefore
thought fit to usher them into the
world under the wings of your protection
Gentlemen, as a member I hold myself
obliged to add my mite to your full
frank hearing of speculative and

412

practical knowledge of this kind; though
I confess your acquisition on this account
will be very mean, since my want of
ability sufficient to undertake a thing
of this nature, and also want of opportunity
by converse with others to supply my own
defects have rendered this book less
acceptable than it might have been done
by some more knowing head and acule
pen. And although I am conscious that
it meriteth not your acceptance, yet
I assume the confidence to believe that
you will favour it with a kind
entertainment among you; and the
rather that I know you are too judicious
to sentence it without first casting into
the balance of your indifferent judgement

some grains of allowance. The Countenance
 you shew it will silence detractors, and
 be armour of proof against the fools bolts
 which may happen to be soon shot at
 the author." (392)

That is not in the style of modern
 prose but it is good English and quite
 in place in an Epistle Dedicatory. In
 the body of his book Stedman could
 use a style which was straightforward
 clear and business like, and that he
 could modify his style to suit his purpose
 is proof of Stedmans skill as a writer.

"Since the ringing of changes requires
 the peal of bells on which the changes
 are to be rung to be first raised up
 to a sett full (which compass is most

proper for the ringing of them) therefore
 the learner's first practice must be to
 raise a bell true in peal, to ring it at
 a low compass and also to cease it true
 in peal; wherein consists the chief ground
 of this art which depends on the ear,
 and therefore much judgement is required
 therein. And to speak the truth most
 practitioners are in these days somewhat
 deficient herein, the ringing of changes
 having generally diverted the learner's
 fancy from the practice of raising, round
 ringing and ceasing, by which means
 we have in a manner lost one excellency
 in pursuit of another

" In raising a peal of bells all the
 notes ought to strike round at one pull;
 but mistake me not; I do not mean

415

at the first pull; for at small bells
'tis usual to sway them all round at
the first pull without striking, at the
second pull to strike them at the fore
stroke and at the third pull at the
back stroke. In raising a peal of
more weighty bells 'tis usual to strike
them double at the fourth pull."

"Before the young practitioner can
be capable of ~~the~~ ringing changes, he
must be extraordinarily well skilled
in the managing of a bell at a sett-pull
which is absolutely requisite for this
reason: in the ringing of changes his
mind will be so busied and wholly
taken up with the consideration of the
course and method of them and his

Eyes continually wandering about to direct his pull in the following of other bells that unless he has extraordinary skill in the managing his own bell and can see it in a manner hoodwinked, he will be apt either to drop or overturn it; or else on the other hand for want of skill his eye and mind will be so fixed on his own rope and bell that he cannot at the same time mind the course of the changes, and then no wonder if he is in a wood which consequently follows; and indeed hence partly is that the learners in their first practice do oftentimes toil and moil themselves to no little purpose."

To understand this quotation we must remember that the bells had no stays

417

and sliders. To ring the bell at a set-full was to ring it up to the balance and to set it was to hold it there on the rope. It was easy enough to overturn a bell.

Hedman's first chapter was devoted to what he calls the speculative part of his subject and deals at some length with permutations in general and their wonders. He gives what is a variant of the familiar story of the nails in a horse's shoe. "A man having twenty horses contracts with a brick maker to give him one hundred pounds sterling conditionally that the brickmaker will deliver him as many loads of bricks as there are several teams of six horses to be produced out of the aforesaid twenty to fetch them, and not one

Team or set of six horses to fetch two loads. The brickmaker might be thought to have made a very advantageous bargain but the contrary will appear. For there are thirty three thousand seven hundred and sixty several teams of six horses to be produced out of twenty. The author also remarks that some people wonder how so few as the twenty-six letters of the alphabet can serve for all the words that are needed, and proceeds to show how almost inconceivably enormous is the number of possible combinations of them. (260)

The subject matter of the *Tentinnalogia* is compressed into a small space and the rest of the *Campanalogia* is devoted to new methods. They include fifty three

LONDON peals upon five, six, seven, ⁴¹⁹
and eight bells composed by F.S."; some
Nottingham peals, some Oxford peals,
seventeen peals composed at Cambridge
by Mr. S.S., and a dozen peals composed
at Cambridge by unnamed authors.

The inclusion of the Nottingham and
Oxford peals, as well as the older
Reading Doubles, tells us what otherwise
we could only have guessed at; viz
that the development of the art was
going on steadily in other parts of
England besides London and Cambridge.
We should have expected composers at
Oxford because there were ringers
among the varsity men there, and indeed
the methods they produced were quite as
important in the development of ringing.

as any composed elsewhere; and we can hardly doubt that both at Bristol and Norwich there was a good deal of activity. Bristol the second city in the Country was full of churches and bells, and was the seat of one of the oldest ringing societies. Norwich was the third city in size and importance; and there, sometime during the seventeenth Century, was founded one of the most famous Companies in the history of the Exercise.

In a later Chapter I deal in some detail with the different methods given in the Campanalogia. It is sufficient at present to point out that they show that most of the modern rules and

standards were being accepted and ⁴²¹
stabilized. We have already the adoption
of the treble as the normal whole hunt;
the division of the method into courses,
each course consisting of equal and
similar leads; and bobs as special
calls to produce different lengths, and
made in the modern fashion. The
necessity for symmetry in the construction
of the leads is implicitly recognized,
and throughout there is an evident
attempt to break away from the rigid
forms of the old Plain Changes, and to
use the system of hunts in a freer
manner, or even to dispense with it
altogether. In a word we have modern
ringing in the making. The influence

422

of the older style is most strikingly shown by the fact that bells are still allowed to strike many more than five consecutive blows in a position.

Seven and eight bell methods now appear for the first time. Grandisle Triples is given with the correct bob under the title of College Bob Triples, from which we may perhaps assume that the College Youths were the first to practise the method. By making bobs we are told it will go 350 (this in modern language is bobbing a G Set) with five extremes it will go 700 and with four 1400. " But by making intervening bobs it will go 700 Complete

triples without any extremes. Any
 bell may be made half hunt. The
 most interesting of the eight bell
 methods are Bob Major, which is said
 to have been composed by F.S., and
 Imperial Bob. The latter is the
 modern Norfolk Surprise with
 seconds and sevenths added when
 the treble is leading and lying. Its
 genesis is pretty obvious. The treble was
 hunted through the other bells, but
 with a Treble Bob hunt instead of a
 plain one; and the extreme bells
 instead of lying still as in the Plain
 Changes, dodged as much as possible
 in pairs.

The question is sometimes asked why ⁴²⁴ Stedman went to London to get his books printed. He was a printer, why did he not produce them himself? The answer, and the really sufficient answer would probably be that he did what was most convenient at the time. But there are obvious reasons why he did not himself produce the book. He was not a master printer and there is no reason to suppose that he had at his disposal the apparatus necessary for making a book, the type the press, and the service of book-binders. And even if he had, he would not have been allowed by law to use them. Not only had every book to be licensed before being printed but the number of master printers was strictly limited, and as I have already said the trade was practically the monopoly of the

Stationers Company of London. Outside the metropolis the only printing presses were at the two Universities and they existed in face of the prolonged and bitter opposition of the London Company. In 1637 an order was issued by the Court of the Star Chamber which appointed various licensers for various classes of books and which limited the number of master printers to twenty and the number of type founders to four. (320) The triumph of the Parliament in the Civil War did not lead to the freedom of the press and although John Milton in his *Areopagitica* had given unanswerable arguments for liberty his words failed to move his puritan associates. In the King's Library at Bloomsbury there is a first edition of J. White's "Rich Cabinet", of

426

which I shall have to speak presently,
and bound up with it is a pamphlet
entitled A Brief Treatise Concerning
the regulating of printing, humbly
presented to the Parliament of England
by William Ball, Esq. It was published
in the year 1651 and advocated the
regulating ~~and~~ of Printing and Printers
not only for the welfare of the Publique
but even for the good of themselves
(if not eschobitant in their desires)
if the number of Printing Houses in
London were stinted and none of
them suffered to be without the Liberties
of the City of London. If the number
of printing presses were limited. If
the number of Apprentices were also
limited; part whereof I have
collected out of former Ordinances

and have partly proposed somewhat of mine own." After the Restoration the restrictions on printing were tightened up. An Act of Parliament was passed in 1662 which repeated most of the regulations of 1637. Sir Roger L'Estrange (1616-1704) was appointed licenser and given most ecclesiastic powers. All printing offices in England and sellers of books and pamphlets were under his control; he had authority to enter their houses and search; and he had the sole privilege of writing printing and publishing anything in the nature of a newspaper. In 1663 soon after assuming his duties he made a midnight raid on many printing offices. In one owned by John Trwyn in Clothfair he found a seditious book being printed

Twyn was arrested on a capital charge
 convicted and executed. The *Fortinologia*
 bears L'Estianges' imprimatur but the
Campanologia does not. That does not
 mean however that the second book
 was not licensed, for the licensing
 act did not expire until 1679 and
 therefore covered both works.

L'Estianges' activities brought him
 intense unpopularity and he was one
 persons exempted by name by the Act
 of Indemnity. He died in 1704 and
 was buried at St Giles in the Fields.

He was a younger son of a very ancient
 Norfolk family, for centuries settled
 at Hunstanton. ⁽²⁷⁷⁾ John L'Estiange the
 author of *The Church Bells of Norfolk* was
 a collateral descendant of his.

Spedman therefore had no choice in

the matter and he had also to face
 the financial problems involved. In
 the next century he probably would have
 issued the books by subscription. In
 the seventeenth it was more usual for
 the bookseller to pay the author a lump
 sum for the copyright and then make
 what he could by selling copies to the
 public. In the case of the *Tintinnalogia*
 it is likely that Duckworth, who was
 not a poor man, cared little what
 money or fame the book would bring
 him, and after he had written it
 he handed it over to Stedman to do
 what he could with it; and Stedman
 had enough influence among the College
 youths and the London ringers to make

the book a commercial success.

The law of Copyright was very vague. Once a man had parted with his manuscript he usually had no control of his book. The publishers issued reprints if they thought they could sell them, without referring to the author for any corrections or additions, and pirated editions were common and difficult to check.

431

Stedman suffered much at the hands
of pirates. As we have seen White
stole from the Tintinnalogia, and
spoiled the matter he took. The Campanalogia
fared as badly. Two books published
about this time contained chapters
on ringing, one the Husbandman's
Magazine, the other Lambert's
Countryman's Treasure. ⁽²⁶⁾ I have seen
neither of these nor been able to find
out if any copies are extant but it
pretty certain that they cribbed from
Stedman. In 1684 was published a
book called The School of Recreation
which was a miscellany book on various
sports and included a chapter on
ringing. The title page reads as follows—
The School of Recreation or the Gentleman's

Tutor to those most Ingenious Exercises
 of Hunting, Racing, Hawking, Riding,
 Cock-fighting, Fowling, Fishing, Shooting,
 Bowling, Tennis, Ringing and Billiards
 by R.H. London Printed for H. Rhodes
 next door to the Bear Tavern, near Bride
 Lane, in Fleet Street, 1684." R.H. was

a man named Howlett ⁽²⁶⁸⁾ of whom I know
 nothing. Rhodes was probably the same
 as a man who previously had had a
 bookseller's shop at the sign of the Bible
 at Charing Cross. He it was who started
 a Company of players which seems to
 have been the beginning of the famous
 Drury Lane Theatre. He was acquainted
 with some of the College youths and one
 of his leading actors, Cave Underhill,
 joined that society in the same year
 this book appeared. It therefore seems

likely that when he was producing ⁴³³
The School of Recreation, he told Howlett,
his hack writer, to include ringing;
and Howlett took the Campanalogia,
sat down, and copied out just as
much as he thought fit for his purpose.

In any case, whether Howlett had
ever been inside a belfry himself, or
not, there is nothing in his Chapter
that he did not steal from Stedman.

Like White, he tried to cover up his
thefts by altering the wording, and
by an assumption of knowledge and
superiority, which can hardly have
deceived any one who had only
glanced at the Campanalogia.

Stedman gave, besides the older
methods, fifty-three "London" peals,

his own Composition, and several
 Nottingham, Oxford, Cambridge and
 Reading peals. Howlett reproduced
 some of Spedman's methods and this
 is what he says, - "I shall never
 collect what London peals I think
 most harmonious and agreeable,
 without troubling myself to go to
 Oxford, or Nottingham or Reading
 to enquire after their different methods
 of peals, as indeed needles, and
 my reason is this because I think
 the same rules for peals that are
 suitable to our London genius, may
 challenge likewise an acceptance
 amongst the other cities provided
 their steeples are furnished with as
 many and as good bells, and their

435

helpies with as ingenious and elaborate rings as here in London. The chapter begins as follows - "Since this recreation of ringing is become so highly esteemed for its excellent harmony of music it affords the ear for its mathematical inventions delighting the mind and for the violence of its exercise bringing health to the body, causing it to transpire plentifully and by sweat dissipate and expel those fuliginous thick vapours which idleness effeminency and delicacy subject men to: I say for these and sundry other reasons I was induced to bring this of ringing into the company of exercises in this treatise." And the chapter ends with a sermon the burden of

which is that pingers should go to Church. "The saint's bell of the Church sounds in thy ears and calls thee to attend the priest, who now signifies his entrance into the Holy Place and invites thee to join him in prayer and praise." "Do not let Sunday morning's feal engage thy presence then, and the ale house have thy company afterwards."

One would like to take these things at their face value, only somehow or other they do not ring quite true. One cannot forget that the pious writer had stolen from Stedman just as much as if he had put his hand in his pocket. This quotation however has some value because it is evidence that the small

esclia bells which are so often found in our towers, and which are usually called sanctus bells, are not really sanctus bells at all, though they may be the successors of sanctus bells.

The great majority of them were cast after the Reformation and were priests' bells, rung as a warning to the clergyman that it was time for him to appear in the church to begin the service.

The incongruity of the sermon in such a book as *The School of Recreation* (which it will be remembered treated of such things as racing and cockfighting) would be noticed even by a seventeenth century reader. The author half apologised for it, and in the following

editions it disappeared.

Stedman, as I have pointed out, allowed himself in his opening sentences a much more ornate style than in the body of the book; but Howlett tried to go much further. Compare the two following. The first is Stedman's the other is Howlett's. "These clear days of knowledge that have ransacked the dark corners of most arts and sciences, and freed their hidden mysteries from the bonds of obscurity, have also registered this of ringing in the catalogue of their improvements; as well the speculative as the ~~practical~~ practical part, which of late years remained in embryos are now become perfect and worthy the knowledge

of the most ingenious." Not very good writing perhaps, certainly not up to the author's usual standard. But Spedman had something to say and he said it. He wanted to point out, (what was the point), that, at the time, great advances had been made in science, ⁽²⁶³⁾ and that ringing had shared in the progress and now was ~~worthily~~ worthy of any man's attention. Howlett's paraphrase is merely bombast - "Art being a curious searcher and enquirer into the hidden and abstruse arcana of difficulties, having found out that dark and remote corner of obscurity wherein the nature of those cross-peaks lay at first involved has exhibited by its proselytic the ensuing demonstration of that which before lay mantled

up in doubt. And to effect this these
favourites of art have, like ingenious
architects made order and method
the basis on which the whole super-
structure depends."

When Howlett comes to deal with
any technical part of ringing, his
ignorance is at once apparent. He
dare not trust himself far from
Hedmans words though he does what
he can to keep up the pretence of being
an original author; but every
deviation from the Campanalogia is
for the worse and usually alters or
obscures Hedman's meaning.

There is a fine copy of the first edition
of The School of Recreation in the King's
Library at Bloomsbury. Several other
editions were published. The sports

reated of varied ; Billiards is omitted ⁴⁴¹
but fire works, military discipline, the
science of defence and ringing are added.
An edition apparently was issued in 1701
In 1710 two separate editions were printed
one for A Bettesworth at the Red Lion
on London Bridge, the other for H.
Rhodes at the Star at the corner of
Bride Lane. Except for a few details
these are identical and it looks as if
Bettesworth's edition was a pirated
one and Rhodes who really owned
the copyright issued his as a Counter
Blast. Other editions were issued
in 1732 and 1736, by which time
the chapter on ringing which remained
unaltered was quite out of date.
Copies of all these editions except that
of 1701 are in the British Museum. ⁽²⁶²⁾
The British Museum has also a

perfect copy of the Campanalogia. It 442.
belonged at one time to Osborn, who in
1846 bought it from a Mr Kerslake,
bookseller of Bristol. Previously it had
been in the library of Sir Francis Evelyn
of Ford Abbey, Derbyshire.

In 1677 Hedman was still living at ⁴⁴³ Cambridge but shortly afterwards he accepted an appointment in the Audit of Excise and removed to London where he spent the remaining years of his life.

At least that is what is probable though any definite proof is still lacking. The evidence is as follows. In 1901 Mr. Ouden Hedman sent to the Ancient Society of College Youths an abstract of the will of a Fabian Hedman, who died in 1713 and was buried at St. Andrew's, Undershaff, with a request for any particulars of the testator's birth and life. The matter was put in the hands of Mr. R. A. Daniel who made extensive enquiries both in Cambridge and London. He had

The original document photographed and a copy was printed in the Bell News of Nov 7th 1903. He searched the parish registers of St. Benedicts, Cambridge, and other churches in the town, and the accounts of St. Andrew's Undershaft.

There were little results of his labours, but he was convinced that the two Fabian Stedmans were the same man. ⁽²⁶⁴⁾

Other people thought differently. Stedman, they pointed out, was born in 1631, and so would have been nearly fifty years old when he was supposed to have received an appointment in the Civil Service, and eight-five years old when he died; and apparently he was carrying out his duties up till the end. That a printer in a

445

provincial town should, at that time
of life, receive a government appointment
seemed to them to be most unlikely,
and indeed almost impossible. (265)

When they are examined there is not
much in these objections. I have
already given what I think sufficient
reasons for putting Stedman's birth
not in 1631, but ten or twelve years
later, and if those reasons are sound
then the chronological difficulty
disappears. And there is ^{not much} ~~nothing~~
in the other part of the objection.

There was then nothing like our modern
Civil Service. The Crown appointed
the heads of departments, and they
in turn employed whom they would
as clerks and subordinates. Anyone

Could have been made a clerk in the
 audit office, provided he were competent
 and had the necessary influence
 behind him. That Hedman was
 competent there is no doubt, his two
 books are ~~there to show~~ ^{show} that. And
 that he did not lack influence this
 chapter will show. He was highly
 esteemed by the College youths, and
 men like Sir Richard Everard, Sir
 Francis Withens, Sir Henry Tulse,
 and a dozen others could, if they
 would, speak a good word for him.
 And there is one other link in the
 chain of evidence which, if it is
 sound, would put the matter beyond
 doubt. The head of the Excise in
 London at the time was a man

Called John Cooke. Who he was I do not know. He was not Secretary Morice's clerk, Pepys's friend; but at the time there were two men called John Cooke who were members of the Society of College Youths; one of whom joined in 1654, and the other in 1655. Now, if one of these was the Controller of Excise (and there is no reason why he should not have been), the matter is clear. Piedman came up to London for the annual feast in 1677, for in that year he was steward, ⁽²⁶⁷⁾ the Campanalogia had just appeared, and his reputation was at its height. What more natural than that the College Youths should wish to keep him

448

in London so that they could have the benefit of his company and of his experience in the art of ringing? and who would be so likely to find him the necessary job as the head of the Esquire?

There remain the evidence from the name and from the will. The name Spedman is as I have already said not a particularly uncommon one, but judging from the parish registers in the seventeenth century it was rare in London. ⁽²⁶⁹⁾ Identity of name is, of course, no proof of identity of person, but we should hardly expect to find two men living at the same time, of similar character, and both called by the unusual

449
name of Fabian Hedman.

The will is dated October 17th 1713 and was written by the testator's own hand. It is also his own drafting for there is one touch which betrays the amateur. He left "to the poor of the parish where I was born ten pounds, and to the poor of the parish where I shall die five ~~£~~ pounds." No doubt it was all perfectly clear to his executor and all other persons concerned, but surely a lawyer would have put in the name of his native parish. The testator was a bachelor or childless widower and a man quite well-to-do. He left fifty pounds to Christ's Hospital, various sums to his sister and her

children and grandchildren, but specially excluding the husband of one of his nieces from any benefit. He remembered the clerks in his office, the porter and doorkeepers, the watchmen and yard keeper, everyone in fact that was connected with him, even the maid that cleaned his office. To Mrs Phoebe Wickens ⁽²⁷⁰⁾ a widow, and to her daughter he gave each one hundred pounds and we may suppose that he lodged with those two ladies. The balance of the estate went to his nephew the son of a sister who apparently was already dead.

The wording of the will follows the usual form of such documents

and there is little scope for the expression of any individuality; yet one cannot help feeling that this was the sort of will we should have expected the author of the Campanalogia to have made, and this was the way in which we should have expected him to have written it.

Spedman died in November 1713 and was buried at St Andrews Undercroft on the 16th of that month. His burial is duly recorded in the parish registers, and the receipt of the legacy for the poor. But no trace has yet been found of any parish receiving the other legacy. The original of the will is at Somerset House. No tombstone or other memorial exists in the church, but that of course is only what we should have expected. Very

452.

few of those who were buried in the City churches or graveyards had any memorials, and most of those that were erected were displaced to make room for others. So too were the bones of the dead. They were constantly being dug up to make space for new comers, and where what remains of Fabian Hedman now lies, no one can say.

With the publication of the Campanalogie Hedman's name passes from ringing history. He still continued active in the art for in 1682 he was master of the College Juntho. We should have expected that he would have continued his work as a Composer, but if he had did his productions have been lost. It is rather remarkable

That the same thing happened to almost every man who has written a book on ringing, at least until quite recent times. Three new editions of Doleman's book appeared but they contained nothing that was fresh. Reeves continued to be an active ringer for many years after the Clavis was published but except for his variation of Holt's Ten Parts, no peals of his are known ~~etc~~ other than those that are printed in the book. Shipways work as Composer would seem to have ended when he issued his Campanalogia, except for Stedman Triples. And so with other men.

It remains to say something about Stedman's Principle for it is on that more than anything else that his

454

game today depends. And yet if he had done no more than compose that method he would not have fairly earned the high position he holds in the Exercise. He produced it for five bells only. The method we have today with its many complex compositions on seven, nine, and eleven bells is the result of the labors of many generations of clever men. Steadman set himself the task of composing a five-bell method which should entirely dispense with Hunt's and he succeeded. It was a fine performance, but in its actual value to the Exercise it cannot compare with Roane's Grandfire Doubles. That was not only valuable

but showed the way to most of the improvements of later years. The other was a development on lines which have actually led no where particularly; and the later methods composed in imitation of the Principle, such as Shipway's, Duffield and Forward have proved of little use.

It is by his two books that ⁽³⁹⁴⁾ Stedman should be judged and through them his fame stands secure.

456

The unique position that Fabian Hedman holds in the regard and esteem of the Exercise was shown in a most remarkable way in 1931 the Tercentenary of the traditional date of his birth.

Following a suggestion made by Mrs J. P. Goldsmith the editor of the Ringing World in the columns of that journal more than five hundred pounds was raised entirely by the subscriptions of ringers belonging to all parts of the Country. The tower of St. Benedicts Cambridge and the ring of six bells were thoroughly restored the latest scientific methods being employed to preserve the old material. A memorial tablet was erected in the Church and the whole

457

dedicated at a service held under
the auspices of the Central Council
at which more than three hundred
ringers were present. (395) There have
been many memorials erected to
the memory of distinguished ringers
who have passed away in recent
years but nothing on the scale of
this memorial erected to the memory
of one whose active career was
spent so long ago as the reign
of Charles II. (285)

About the same time that Fabian
 Hedman was made a College youth
 two other Cambridge men joined the
 Society - Samuel Ball and John Warner.
 Ball was the son of Thomas Ball and
 was born at Northampton. He was
 admitted a pensioner at St. John's
 College at the age of 16, he matriculated
 in 1659, was B.A. in 1663 and M.A. in
 1666. He became Fellow of Peterhouse
 in 1667, was ordained priest in
 1673, and from 1673 to 1698 was
 rector of Ellon in Huntingdonshire
 He was incorporated at Oxford in
 1673, died in 1708, and was buried
 at Little St. Charles, Cambridge. (396)

John Warner was a Yorkshueman. He

was admitted as a sizar of Trinity ⁴⁵⁹
in 1657 and graduated B.A. in 1661. (272)

Ball was ~~the~~ steward of the College
Youths in 1669 and master in 1675.

Warner was steward in 1671.

The sister University also supplied
a proportion of the members of the
College Youths. John Gale who
joined a few months after Hedman
was the son of Thomas Gale of St. James'
Taunton a Commoner. He matriculated
at Baliol College at the age of 19
and graduated B.A. from Hart Hall
in 1666, and M.A. from Clare College
in 1668. He was vicar of Creech
St. Michaels Somerset in 1666. (274)

Among the members elected in
1668 appears the name of Joseph
Holland D.D. This presents a difficulty

460

For no man of that name seems to have been a Doctor of Divinity of either Oxford or Cambridge. Although the dates do not quite agree, it is quite likely that the entry refers to Dr. John Holland, at one time Warden of Merton, who was a "strong lusty man" and may in his youth have been a singer and a member of the Society of College Youths. He was a prominent man in Oxford and being a leader of the Whig party, was referred to frequently by Heame with characteristic contempt. "Dr. J. Holland being nominated by the Archbishop of C. Warden of Merton he came into Oxford on the 26th Inst. attended by several hundreds of People who rid up High Street and so through St. Marys Hall Lane at which time most of the bells in town rang.

461

No one remembers that ever any Head
of a House was brought in so great
Glare and Pomp. He was admitted
the next day and I believe will
make a better governor than his
predecessor. But as for Parts or
Learning he has very little, and upon
that account is commonly called Dull
John. But those qualifications are not
minded nowadays ²⁾ (186) - Memorandum
that Dr. John Tatter the sniveling
Pp. of Oxford's Curate at Exeter
is Dr. John Holland the dull heavy
Warden of Exeter to whom Dr. Tatter
gives fifty pounds per annum. But
tho' Holland be Curate, yet he does
not do the duty himself, but employs
another namely one Russell, a Master
of Arts and Fellow of that College, to whom
he gives only fifteen pounds per annum

462

This Russell is a sad blockhead and
one of the Constitution Club. The matter
gives very great offence to honest men (287)
" In the afternoon preached Dr. John
Holland, and made a dull sermon
of an hour" (288) " Last night called
upon me Mr. - Eyston of Grays Inn.
He assured me that the bells of East
Hundred rung backwards when Dr.
Holland (Warden of Merton Coll)
was made rector of that living, the
Dr. giving the ringers but a crown,
whereas the custom was a guinea." (289)

" Yesterday morning about 10 Clock
Merton College or S. John Baptist
great Bell in Oxford rang out for
the death of Dr. John Holland Warden
of Merton College, who died at
Worcester on Tuesday last. He became
Warden of that College in 1709 upon

The death of Dr. Edm. Martin. He 463
was also Rector of Great Hundred in
Perks and Prebendary of Worcester.
He took degree of M.A. June 25
1691 and that of B and D.D. July 14
1707. He spent his life in celibacy
He was a great and professed Whig
He was commonly called Dull John
from his stupidity. He was a
strong lusty man" (290)

Dr Holland signed himself with
an abbreviated Latinized form of his
name - Joh: Holland - and this
could quite easily be mistaken for
Joseph by the later writers who copied
out the list of the College youths.
Holland was steward of the society
in 1675.

464

Thomas Shepherd who joined the College youths in 1664, was steward in 1673 and succeeded Fabian Hedman as master in 1683 was a gentleman of Hutton, Hunts. He was admitted a student of Gray's Inn in 1655. ⁽²⁸⁰⁾ William Young, steward in 1671 and master in 1680, matriculated at Trinity College Oxford in 1668 at the age of 18 and was entered a student of the Inner Temple in 1667. ⁽²⁸¹⁾ Thomas Landon who joined in 1668 was the son of Sylvester Landon of London and matriculated at Oriel College on July 3rd 1663 at the age of 15. ⁽²⁸²⁾ John Walford, steward in 1673, was the son and heir of Sturck Walford of Wolverton, Warwickshire. He was admitted to Gray's Inn May 5th 1682. ⁽²⁸³⁾

465

Robert Milbourne was the son and heir of James Milbourne, gentleman of Great Drunow, Essex. He was admitted to Grays Inn in 1668⁽²⁸⁴⁾ and joined the College Youths in 1672. He is described as a Captain, but what he was captain of I do not know.

John Knight of Langold Yorkshire was admitted to Grays Inn in 1665, and called "of grace" from the Middle Temple in 1679 (279)

In the year that Hedman was Master of the College youths Sir Thomas Samuel, William Samuel and William Lenthall, Esq. joined the society. Thomas Samuel was a gentleman of Upton in Northamptonshire who had another estate at Gayton in the same County. He was the only son and heir of Richard Samuel, was born about 1645, succeeded his father in 1662 was created a baronet in 1675 and died in 1694. He was M.P. for Northamptonshire during 1689 and 1690 and for Northampton from 1690 till his death. (292) He was steward of the society in 1687. The title is now extinct. William Samuel was probably a relative, but apparently was neither brother nor son. (293)

William Lenthall was the grandson of William Lenthall, the famous Speaker of the House of Commons during the Long

469

Parliament, and son of Sir John Lenthall.
He was born in 1659 and had for godfather
General Monk afterwards the first Duke
of Albemarle. He died in September
1686 aged 27 (294)

Captain Pennington whose name
appears in 1683 was, I think a nephew
of Admiral Sir John Pennington (1568-
1646) who was admiral of the fleet
in the reign of Charles I

468

A very different kind of man from these last was Cave Underhill who joined the College youths in 1684 and was steward of the society in 1690. He was born in 1634 the son of Nicholas Underhill, a clothworker of St Andrews parish Holborn, and educated at the Merchant Taylors School. About that time John Rhodes (who as already mentioned was probably the man who afterwards published Howletts School of Recreation) ⁽²⁹⁹⁾ had a booksellers shop at the sign of the Bible at Charing Cross. He had been wardrobe keeper at the theatre at Blackfriars and at the Restoration he obtained a licence to set up a company of players at the Cockpit in Drury Lane. This seems to have been the beginning of the famous Drury Lane Theatre, though the first theatre

on the present site was not built ⁴⁶⁹
until 1663. Rhodes' Company included
Thomas Betterton an apprentice from the
Charing Cross shop and young Cave
Underhill. Betterton ranks as one
of the leading actors in the history of
the English stage, and Underhill,
though now forgotten, was for many
years one of the best known and most
popular actors. He sustained a
very large number of roles and
created many of the parts in the
Comedies of Devenant, Dryden, Congreve
Atterbury, D'Urfey, and other Restoration
dramatists. Sir William Devenant
considered him to be one of the finest
players for humour he ever saw. He
was a Comedian who cultivated the
parts of stiff leavy and stupid boobies;
his first grave digger in Hamlet and

470

his Sir Sampson Legend in Congreaves
Love for Love were famous. Colley
Cibber in his Apology gives a description
of Underhill as actor and man -
"Underhill was a correct and natural
Comedian; his particular excellence
was in characters that may be called
Still-life. I mean the stiff, the heavy
and the stupid. To those he gave the
exact and most expressive colours
and in some of them looked as if it
were not in the power of human passions
to alter a feature of him. A
Countenance of wood could not be
more fixed than his when the
blockhead of a character required
it. His face was full and long;
from his crown to the end of his nose
was the shorter half of it so that
the disproportion of his lower features

471
When soberly composed with an
unwandering eye hanging over them
threw him into the most lumpy,
moping, mortal that ever made
beholders merry. not but that at
other times he could be wakened
into spirit equally ridiculous." (292)

Tony Ashton a contemporary actor,
who wrote a supplement to Colley
Cibbers account of the leading actors,
gives a very much more unflattering
description of Cave Underhill. —
"Underhill though not the best
actor in the course of precedency
was more admired by the actors
than by the audience, there being
then no rivals then in his dry
heavy downright way of low
Comedy ----- when he aimed at any
archness he fell into downright

insignificance. He was about 50 ¹⁴⁷²
years of age the last end of King
William's reign, about six feet
high, long and broad faced and
corpulent; his face very like the
Homo Sylestis or Champanza; for
his nose was flatish and short and
his upper lip very long and thick
with a wide mouth and short chin
a churlish voice and awkward action
leaping often up with both legs
at a time when he conceived
anything waggish and afterwards
hugging himself at the thought.
He could not enter into any serious
character much more Tragedy, and
was the most confined actor I
ever saw In short Underhill
was far from being a good actor -
I know Mr. Underhill was much

473
cry up in his time; but I am so
stupid as not to know why." (296)

Steel said "he had not the merit
of some ingenious persons now on
the stage of adding to his author
for the actors in the last age were
so dull that many of them have
gone out of the world without ever
having spoken a word of their own
in the theatre" (297)

In his private life Underhill shared
to the full in the failings and good
qualities of the actors of the age. The
downfall of puritanism, and the
removal of the excessive restraint
which it had imposed on many
harmless amusements, was followed
by a period of equally excessive
license, which was mirrored by
the stage. It was one of the

474

most brilliant periods in the history
of the English theatre and one of the
most dissolute. Underhill was a
jolly and droll companion who divided
his gay hours between Bacchus and
Venus with no little ardour. He
was one of the gill drinkers of his
time who resorted to the tavern in
the middle of the day under the
pretence of drinking Bristol milk
(for so good sherry was then called)
to whet their appetite, where they
indulged themselves too often in
ebriety" (300) And he paid the penalty
in the long run, for he was so afflicted
with gout that he prayed one moment
and cursed the next. (301) off the stage
He had an admirable vein of pleasantry
and told lively stories with a
bewitching smile. In his old age

like many another actor he fell in ⁴⁷⁵
want and Sir Richard Spiel not
only not only put in a good word
for him in the Tables, but arranged
a benefit performance for him at
Drury Lane and allowed him a
pension till his death. ⁽³¹²⁾ He died
in 1710 upwards of eighty years old.

Underhill lived in Salisbury
Court off Fleet Street. ⁽³⁰³⁾ There was,
and still is, a tavern almost
under the tower of St. Prudes Church
called The Barley B. Now, and land
by his house. In later years it was
the headquarters of the Society of College
Youths, and it is extremely likely
that as early as the seventeenth Century
it was the place where they usually
held their meetings.

476

Colonel Samuel Shute whose name appears in 1685 was born in 1662 the son of Benjamin Shute of London. He served in Marlborough's Campaigns and was wounded, receiving the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. In 1716 he was appointed Governor of Massachusetts. There he had disputes with the leading residents and his Commission expiring on the death of King George I it was not renewed. ⁽¹⁹⁸⁾ He was steward of the Society of College Youths in the same year as Cave Underhill, and died in 1742. ⁽²¹⁷⁾ Benjamin Shute who joined in 1699 was probably a relative.

477

Almost the last place where we should look for ringers in Restoration times would be among the relatives and associates of John Mutton. In politics and religion he was a leading member of the party which had suppressed the ecclesiastical use of ringing and frowned on it as a sport. And his austere and solitary mode of ^{living} life was the very antithesis of the social life and conviviality of the ringers. Yet as we have seen his brother was a College Youth, and in 1686 another member of his family much more intimately connected with him joined the society.

John and Christopher Mutton had one sister named Anne, who married Edward Phillips, and to whom she bore two sons Edward and John. Phillips died before the birth of the younger child, and the infant was taken into

the poet's home and brought up as ⁴⁷⁸
one of his family. John Mullan had
very strong views about the governing
of families and the education of the
young, and he put them into full
operation so far as his nephew was
concerned. The boy was taught
Latin and Greek and became a good
classical scholar and a ready writer.
With ordinary abilities and such a
teacher he could hardly do less.

When the uncle was made Latin
secretary to Oliver Cromwell, the
Lord Protector of the Commonwealth,
the nephew was made his assistant.

But as often happens the rigid
training of his youth produced a
reaction. As he grew older he
revolted against the poet's moral
teaching and restrictions, and finally

479

Croke with him entirely. He published a Satyr against Hypocrites, a bitter and brilliant attack on the puritans and began to write books licentious in character. For one of these he was summoned before the Council of State and his book was publicly burnt. He was a professional author who frankly wrote for money, and during the time of the Popish Plot he was acquainted with the infamous Titus Oates, "who employed him to write many lies and villanies." He had great natural gifts, was a musician and the friend of musicians, and a born companion. In his writing he affected a rugged style. "He delighted in asperity, he never missed an occasion to have recourse to it and permitted himself

no moderation in its employment" (315)

One contemporary said of him that
"He is a gentleman of good learning
and well born, and will write you
a design off in a little time if the
gent and claret does not stop him." (316)

Anthony Wood is very caustic in
his short account of him and says
he was a man of very loose principles
and atheistical, who forsook his
wife and children and made no
provision for them. (317)

481

Henry Bret came of an old Warwickshire family who were settled at Bret's Hall in the parish of Anstley from the reign of Henry III to that of Henry IV. His father also named Henry was a wealthy Gloucestershire landowner who had taken the royal side in the Civil War and in consequence had had his property sequestered and been forced to redeem it by a fine of £873-13-8. His death in 1674 put his son in possession of several good estates. The manor of Cowley was held from Westminster Abbey by the family on lease and here the younger Henry built himself "a neat house near the Church" That was his favourite residence, but at Sandycote he had a "new built house with pleasant gardens, and a deer park, and at Down Hatherley a handsome house and good estate." He was

passionately fond of ringing. He gave five bells to Cowley Church and was often in London to meet the College Youths whose Society he joined in 1687, holding the office of steward in 1695, and of master in 1701. At home he got together a band of ringers and with them he used to go about the country visiting different towers to practise the art. It was said in after years that these journeys were conducted at vast expense, and in the end dissipated his plentiful fortune. This tale is told by both Rudder and Fosbrooke, but is hard to believe. How a man could have spent an excessive amount of money on country bell ringing in the seventeenth

and eighteenth centuries is not easy to see. In 1712 when Sir Robert Atkyns wrote his history, Bret was still living and is referred to as a prosperous and important landowner. It may be that when he died his estate was found to be embarrassed, and the cause attributed by his neighbours to what they thought was his eccentric hobby. Some years later the same thing was said about Theodore Eccleston, and with the same amount of truth, and one writer expanded the legend to cover a whole class of men. "Gentlemen" he wrote "have been known to expend their fortunes in this scientific amusement, and to the mania for it, probably many of our parish churches owe their bells." (313)

484

Brett's son, Colonel Henry Brett, was a well known man in London, in the next generation and was an associate of Addison, Steele, and other literary people. He was a graduate of Balliol College and a student at the Middle Temple.

Another Gloucestershire gentleman, William Tancefoot of Carswall, at this time was interested in bell ringing, but whether in practice or in theory only is not clear. "He studied the planets and the art of ringing changes on bells. He used to say that had they in Adam's time begun to ring the changes on 15 bells they would not have been rung out in his day." (397) Tancefoot was a

great benefactor to the poor.

Besides Henry Bagley there were two other famous seventeenth Century bell founders who were members of the Society of College Youths. Brian Eldridge was one of a family who were Casting bells at Nottingham as early as the sixteenth Century and probably were originally connected with the Reading foundry. The earliest according to Stahlshmidt was Thomas who was working at Nottingham about 1565. His son Richard cast many bells between 1592 and 1623, and was followed by Brian the elder who apparently just moved the business to Cherisey where it remained for about a century. The younger Brian joined the College Youths in 16 and died in 1661 (409)

John Windham, who joined the Society of College Youths in 1687, came of a very old Norfolk family. He was the second son of Thomas Windham of Felbrigg Hall, near Cromer, and was entered as a student of Lincoln Inn on June 5th 1671. (278)

The presence of three names together on the College Youths' roll in 1687 raises an interesting speculation. One of the names is Gilbert Sheldon, another is John Dolben. About that time Dr. Gilbert Sheldon was Archbishop of Canterbury and Dr. John Dolben was Archbishop of York, but it is so unlikely that the Primate of England and the Primate of All England would have joined such a body as the Society of College Youths; and so much more unlikely that if they had they would

have been entered by their bare Christian and sur. names that we should have passed it by as a rather remarkable coincidence, but for the presence of the third name which gives a clue. This name is Sir Gilbert Dolben.

Gilbert Dolben was the eldest son of the Archbishop. He was born in 1658, educated at Westminster School and Oxford, and called to the bar from the Inner Temple in 1681. He was Member of Parliament for Ripon in 1685 and for Peterborough in 1688 and until 1704. He was appointed to a junior judgeship in the Court of Common Pleas in Ireland in 1704; benches of his Inn in 1706, and Reader in 1708. He was Member of Parliament for Yarmouth Isle of Wight from 1710 to 1714, retired from the bench in 1720

and died in 1722. He had been
created a baronet in 1704 (399)

Gilbert Dolben and his brother John
married five sisters, daughters and co-
heiresses of Tanfield Mules, Lord of the
Manor of Finedon in Northamptonshire,
and Gilbert by right of his wife and by
purchase from his brother became the
Lord of the Manor and the estate has
since remained in the possession of his
descendants. In 1688 he added a new
pebble to the ring of bells at the parish
Church. It was recast in 1825 (398).

John Dolben was born at Cocford in
1662 and baptised at Christ Church.
He matriculated at Christ Church College
in 1678 and, being intended for a legal
career, was called to the bar at the Temple

489

but he fell into bad company, wasted the fortune left him by his father, and was forced to leave England for the West Indies. There he had the good luck to marry a rich woman. His uncle the judge brought him back to England, but he relapsed into his old habits and took to gaming. However by the influence of Bishop Trevelyan he was returned as Member of Parliament for Liskeard in Cornwall, and afterwards devoted himself assiduously to political work. He belonged to the Whig party and was one of the managers who arranged the impeachment of the famous Dr. Sacheverell, which caused him to be pretty badly hated by the Tories. He wrote in his diary

Calls him "vile Dolben ye manager", ⁴⁹⁰
and when he died said that the hangman
was spared a labour. He died March
29th 1710 and was buried at Finedon.

Leonard Lichfield who joined the Society
of College Youths in 16 was the third of
that name and like his father and
grandfather he was the printer to the
University of Oxford.

Although there is no truth in the
statement that the Earl of Salisbury was
among the early College Youths, several
members of the Cecil family (down to
recent times) have taken an interest
in change ringing. In 16 Robert, Charles
and George sons of the third earl joined
the College Youths. Their brother the fourth

(412) 491

Earl who was a contemptible character joined the Roman Church to please the king, James II, and sent Charles and another brother, William, to Paris to a popish seminary. For these things he was charged with high treason, and a writ was issued against him, to compel him to bring them home. Meanwhile the lads, who were sleeping together, quarrelled, "got up in their shirts, and fought desperately before they could be parted, both of them much wounded." So fierce and bitter was the fighting that William died of his injuries. Some years later, in 1702, Charles was in Rome where he won a great sum of money at play, for the sake of which his interpreter

robbed and murdered him. His body ⁴⁹²
was found stripped in a pond near the
City. The Pope ordered him an honourable
funeral and a reward for any who should
discover who did it. (410) Robert was
Member of Parliament for Wootton Bassett
in 1708, and died in February, 1716 (411)

In this and the preceding chapters, we have followed the development of change-ringing, out of the old athletic raising and ceasing, through the Plain Changes, up to a very high level so far as five and six bell ringing is concerned. The material which has come to light gives us a good deal of information about the men who were the leaders of the Exercise, about a few of the more important societies, and about the composition of the "peals" and methods which were rung. But we still have no information about any particular ringing, and in that respect our knowledge will probably always be a blank. Except in such an exceptional case as when the past Generals of the Society of Cheapside Scholars rang the bells.

of St. Sepulchres it was not the custom 494
to record any particular performances, and
even then what was rung and how long it
took are not stated. We can roughly
guess what methods were practised from
our knowledge of what methods were
composed, but here a little critical
judgement is needed. Throughout the history
of the Exercise Composition has always been
in advance of performance, and ~~the~~ it does
not follow that because a method is
printed in a book it has been rung in
the tower. There are methods in Steadman's
and Doleman's Campanalogias which we
feel can never have been at all popular,
even if they were rehearsed on one or two
occasions. And towards the close of the

Century the increase in the number
 of bells in the towers altered the style
 of method ringing. The possibilities on
 five bells had hardly been realized
 before the great increase in the number
 of six bell towers turned the attention
 of the more experienced ringers from
 Doubles to Minor, and as soon as they
 were in possession of a variety of good
 six-bell methods they began to find
 out the superior attractions of Triples
 and Caters. It seems likely that the
 greatest part of change ringing consisted
 at first of Plain Changes, then for several
 years of Plain Bob and Grandiose Doubles
 then of Plain Bob, Oxford Treble Bob,
 Court Bob and College Single Minors,

and then as the century was nearing ⁴⁹⁶
its close of Plain Bob and Grandsire Triples
and, in the few towers where it was possible,
Grandsire Caters. These were the standard
methods for the more advanced Companies
such as the College Youths, but lesser bands,
that is of course the bulk of the Exercise,
lagged behind and were ringing rounds
and Plain Changes (though not as may be
seen in their more elaborate forms) long
after the leaders had abandoned them as
obsolete.

In the days before the Fire there were
rings of eight in London at St. Saviour's
Southwark, St. Andrew Holborn and (Cater)
St. Margaret's Westminster, and two rings
of ten, at Bow and Cornhill ⁽⁴⁰⁰⁾. What changes
were rung on them we do not know. In

The middle of the Century the College 497
Youths were ringing Doubles and Minors in
eight bell towers using two or three bells
as Covers. Before 1667 the longest length
of Triples was 1680, rung with a whole
hunt, half hunt, quarter hunt, and half
quarter hunt, with three escream bells. (408)

This may have been Plain Changes, but
much more likely was the form of Plain
Bob Triples, called Restoration Triples,
which was a direct extension of the
Doubles and Triples on Six Bells. Where
it was rung and by whom we do not
know.

The Great Fire which laid waste
the Centre of London and destroyed so
many towers and bells, must have
seemed to ringers especially a disaster,
but it proved in the end rather a blessing

In a very short time new towers 498
were rising on the ashes of the old, and
there was a great activity in bell-founding.
Meanwhile the College youths did not
suffer any lessening of their activities,
for they had still several towers to
practise at, and sometime about 1680
they discovered the merits of Grandiose
Triples. Where they got it from we
cannot say. It was one of the fifty-three
peals composed for the Society by Stedman,
but he called it College Triples, and
it is at least likely that it was rung,
not only by the College youths, but by
other ringers as the natural extension
of Grandiose Doubles to seven bells. It
any rate some time before the century

ended it was being practised by ⁴⁹⁹
bands in different parts of the Country,
and presently was the only method rung
in eight bell towers, except for Plain
Bob Triples.

Just once the Curtain is lifted a
little and we get a glimpse of the
actual doings of the College youths. On
March 18th 1684 they rang on the back row
at St Lavinia's Southwark, a 720 of each
Oxford Treble Bob, College Bob, and
Single Oxford Bob, the first time that so
much was ever rung without standing.
The tenor weighed 47 Cwt, and therefore
it is certain that ten or a dozen men
were required to ring this length, for at
the time and long after, it was the

500
Custom to have five, three or even
four men to a heavy bell. Earlier in
the same year, we are told, they rang
two eighteen scores of Grandine Triples,
followed two days later by 700 changes
in the same method. These performances
were at St. Sepulchre's Holborn, and it
was at that church that the Society is
said to have rung on January 7th 1689-90
the whole peal of Plain Bob Triples in
three hours and three quarters. This
report has generally been discredited by
writers, but as the claim is to the first
five thousand ever accomplished, it
is necessary to examine it carefully
before we decide whether it is likely
to be sound or not.

The evidence, as we now have it, is 501
contained in a statement on the front page
of one of the Society's peal books and the
account is said to have been taken from
the Oxford Ringers Register Book and
to have been communicated by Mr George
Scarsbrook ⁽⁴⁰²⁾ in 1796. As it stands it
is a composite production. Part was
copied from a manuscript written in 1738,
part from Shipway and perhaps Osborn,
and part is editorial comment. Who
actually wrote it, apparently is not known,
but it is done so badly that it is quite
easy to see the joins between the parts
taken from different sources. The only
portion which need concern us here,
for it is the only portion which has any

502
Historical authority, is that copied
by Scarbrooke from the Oxford Rings
book. The original is lost, but it evidently
was written in the year 1738 by a man
who had, or professed to have, intimate
knowledge of the College youths, and who
was a University man not a townsman.
I come to the later conclusion from
the fact that ^{to} gives a date with the
double style - old and new. In 1738 the
Oxford rings used the old style as
did the College youths and the generality
of people, but the more educated people
such as University men, were either
using the new style, although the Law
had not yet been altered, or else were

503

using both. If we compare the dates
of some early Oxford peals given by
Hearne with the dates in the Oxford
peal book we shall find that they
differ by a year. The writer of the
manuscript, then whoever he was, clearly
was a man interested in ringing and
familiar with the doings of the College
Youths. It was not Hearne, for he
seems to have known nothing about
London ringers apart from Annable's
visit in 1733; but though ringing had
largely disappeared in Oxford as an
undergraduate sport, there were still
some University men who took a great
interest in the art. Such a one was
John Sacheverell, a gentleman who lived

at Lutterworth. As he was a member 504
of the Society of College Youths and had
been steward in 1702, he had come into
personal touch with the men who had
taken part in the peal if ever it were
rung. He had a great reputation in
Gosford as an authority on bells and ⁽⁴⁰³⁾
ringing and he may have been the
author of the manuscript, but in any
case it is clear that there were men in
Gosford in 1738 who might be supposed
to know something about the history
and doings of the College Youths.

The writer of the Gosford manuscript
gives a short sketch of early ringing
and is relying for the early part of it
on tradition. The College Youths he says

first rang a Lisc-score of Plain B♭ Doubles" about 96 years ago which was in 1642. Although that is the year in which the Civil War began and when as we know many of the leading College youths left London and ringing for sterner things, the statement is probably founded on a tradition or it may be on an entry in the Society's rule book, and it can be corroborated by circumstantial evidence.

The Lises were invented about 1610. They followed many years in which the art developed very slowly. Grandiose Doubles was composed about 1750. Plain B♭ Doubles was called "Old" Doubles in 1667 and so was some years earlier, and very well may have been rung first

in 1642. When dealing with Steadman the writer is generally correct, but inaccurate in details, as a man often is when he is recording something other people remember, which he has no means of checking. The later editor too has had a hand here, for it was he who added the comment after the reference to Grandson Bob on page - "which we call Plain Bob." As he gets nearer his own time the Oxford man writes with much greater certitude. He gives more details and evidently is recording performances which were within the personal knowledge of the people to whom he talked.

On the whole then we may consider that the Oxford manuscript did contain

a true account of performances being 507
in the late seventeenth Century by the
College Youths, and we might take it
as Conclusive if we could be sure that
the Latin account is a faithful copy. But
of that there is no proof.

We must next ask the question, Is the
record inherently probable? Are the College
Youths likely to have achieved such a
performance at so early a date? The only
possible answer is that judging from what
we know of the development of the art at
the time there is no reason to think such
a feat impossible or even improbable. If
the date had been few years earlier it
would have been a different matter but
the art was advancing rapidly and the

508

The Conditions we find in Stedman's Campanalogia were being left behind by the more expert Companies. Twenty years earlier, we must remember, a third of the peal had been rung, and very likely by the College Youths.

The time the peal is said to have taken - three hours and three quarters - will appear now-a-days as excessive and almost impossible, but actually is one of those small details which lend credence to the report, for it is too long to have been invented in 1738. The only other peal known to have been rung on those bells was Grandire Cater's in 1731 and that took three hours and a half. But in 1690 there would be two men to all the bigger bells and perhaps three to the tenor, and the bells would be

ring right up to the balance.

509

The evidence for the peal is good but not conclusive and the report is not inherently improbable, yet it has generally been disbelieved in the Exercise. And first on account of the early date. The first authentic peal is supposed to be the Grandine Bob Triples rung at Norwich in 1715. If the College youths, ^{rang} a five-thousand in 1690 would so long a time as twenty-five years have elapsed before the next one? This argument rests on a misunderstanding. Though it is usually said that the Norwich peal was the first rung no such claim was made for it at the time. What the Norwich Scholars claimed was that they were the first to ring a true peal. They

said that it was "the 3rd whole peal
 that they have Rung; but the first whole
 Peal that ever was Rung to the truth by
 any Ringers whatsoever; and on the board
 which records the Grand sire Triples rung
 in 1718 they say that the extent of this
 peal being 5040 changes, have ofentimes
 been rung with changes alike. That it
 was so is clear from the J. D. C. M. Campanologia.
 We know on the testimony of Doleman
 that one or more five thousands of Grand sire
 Triples had been accomplished before 1702.
 The 1690 peal is therefore not nearly so
 isolated as has been supposed and if it
 was rung it would be rung as a very
 special effort which was ^{not} likely to be
 repeated for some time. It stood in

relation to the ringing of the time much as a fifteen-thousand would do to modern peal ringing. It was not until the third decade of the eighteenth century that peal ringing became a normal event in a skilful and active ringer's life.

But the Norwich men did claim that their peals were the first true ones that were rung and so far as Grandure Triples is concerned their claim was a sound one. However good and accurate the ringing may be, a peal cannot stand if the composition is false, and there is plenty of evidence that before 1718 there was no true composition of Grandure Triples in existence. That brings us to

The second reason for disbelieving the 1690 performance. At that time, it is said no true peal of Bob Triples has as yet been composed and therefore none could have been rung.

That is quite true. If the method rung was Bob Triples with its ordinary bobbs and singles then almost without doubt the peal was false. The figures of a true peal had such existed would have appeared in the 1702 Campanalogia. But we do not know what the Composition was. We do not even know that it was called Bob Triples. All we know is that the method was the same as the one that ringers a few years later were calling Bob Triples. Now there was in existence

a time five thousand called Restoration Triples. Strictly speaking it is not Bob Triples for it is composed not with ordinary bob and singles but by a number of exclamations made at the course ends. It is not a development of Grandine Bob on Six as Bob Triples was but of the older Doubles and Triples on Six. In the next Chapter I give the composition and need not now go into further details. What we must notice here is that the feat is as old as the early part of the reign of Charles II (the name shows that), that it was fine, and that it was traditionally known among the College youths, for

Annable had it and copied it in 514
his note book. It does not appear
in either of the Campanalogias, but
that is explicable. Stedman is not
greatly interested in seven bell ringing
and a peal of Triples was no more than
a curiosity to him, and by the time of
Doelman the style of Restoration Triples
was obsolete. But it very well may
have been the peal rung at St. Sepulchres
and it is practically the same composition
of which a third had been rung twenty
years before.

All this is conjecture; but it shows
that a fine peal, fine in composition
as well as in performance, was not an
impossibility in 1690.

Perhaps the doubts thrown on the authenticity of the S. Sepulchre's feat are due as much as anything to the mistaken zeal of later men who revised and edited the College Youths' records. In their eagerness to round off matters they added details to the older account for which there was no justification, and these details being demonstrably false discredit is thrown on the whole record. In one of the books the feat is said to have been composed and conducted by Benjamin Armable and this statement is repeated in the 1928 edition of the Society's Handbook. People who knew something if only a little about the history of ringing asked the question

516

Whether it was likely that a man, who
in 1690 was old enough to be the Composer
and Conductor of such an important
society as the College Juntho should have
let the next thirty-five years of his life
go by without any peals, and then in
in his age start a peal-ringing career
which lasted another thirty years. The
thing was impossible, and there were
the further facts that Annable was born
in 170 and did not join the College
until 17 of course Annable had
nothing to do with the peal whether it
was rung or not. It is easy to see
what was in the mind of the man
who made the addition, and it is

... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..

Not too simple but two

My copy was in error.

see my article in Rev.
of Nov. 7. 1941

of
of
of
of
of

... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..

517
easy to see how these traditions
grow. Annable he knew, or he had
been told, composed and called the
first peal of Bob Triples; this was the
first peal of Bob Triples; therefore
Annable composed and called this.
The statement is also made that the
peal had 200 singles. ⁽⁴⁴⁴⁾ Where the
bricks got that from I do not know
but it is quite ^{far from} unconvincing, "A peal
of Bob Triples in 1690 is an improbability
which more than verges on an impossibility."

There ^{are} later glosses on the original
account, but they should not affect
our judgement on the record itself.

An important consideration is that
no contemporary record seems to have

518

Existed in the Society and no tradition
of the peal survived into the next
generation. Here perhaps is our greatest
difficulty in accepting the account.
There is no allusion to it in the 1702
Campanologia. That need not
signify much, but it is surprising
that if the peal were rung in 1690
Benjamin Arnable and the College
Youths of his time should have known
nothing about it especially as Peter
Bradshaw who was a leading man
in the Society and probably took
part in the peal, was Master in 1723
a year before Arnable and his band
rang their 5060 of Grandire Cinques.
When in 1731 Arnable called a peal

of Grand sire Calers at St. Sepulchres
it was looked as "the first that was
rung in that sleep". It may only
have meant that it was the first
feal of Grand sire Calers; but when in
1730 the Land rang 5040 Changes of
300 Triples at Southwark they definitely
claimed it as the first that was performed
in this method, which clearly shows
either that they knew nothing about
the 1690 feal or that they did not
believe in its truth. Annable was
generally credited with having composed
and called the first feal in the method
but John Barthon had done the same
fifteen years earlier and the College
Junks either knew nothing about his

520
fear or did not believe in its truth.

This ignorance of Annable is, as I have said, the greatest obstacle in the way of our accepting the S. Republic's fear, but perhaps we should not make too much of it. There are signs that shortly before 1720 the Society went through changes which may have interrupted a continuous tradition and from being a body of middle aged men suddenly almost became a band of young ringers most of them little more than boys. There was a change too in social status. Between young and old there is often imperfect sympathy, the eyes of Annable and his fellows were fixed on the future, not

on the part and probably they knew little, and cared less, about what the members of their Society had done in times past.

On the whole then we may conclude that there are very good reasons for accepting the account of the 1690 year, and the objections are not insurmountable. Compared with the evidence for the widely accepted tradition that the College youths first sang at St. Michael's, College Hill, the evidence for this year is far stronger; and if it does not amount to a proof, at least it amounts to a strong probability.

Whether or no the College Youths rang a true peal in 1690 at St. Sepulchres this was one of their favourite practice towers. The bells were the first in London after the Fire to be increased to ten and on them Grand sire Calers was first rung. They were a mixed lot by various founders, some of them had escaped the Fire, and some were cast from metal salvaged from the debris of the burnt church. Two or three founders had added Caler bells or recast some of the old and the parish was continually spending money on them. In 1695 the tenth was cracked, as it seemed the parish took no steps to put the matter right ^{in 1699} the College Youths offered to

do it at their own expence. The 523
two stewards for the year, Richard
Castleman, and Elisha Mason, with
Peter Bradshaw attended the vestry
on January 9th ¹⁷⁴⁰ and made a proposal
to take the bell down, recast it,
bring it home and set it up again
within six weeks time at their own
charges, promising that the bell should
be made musical and tunable. This
the parish agreed to and referred the
matter to the Churchwardens who were
required to take security for the due
performance. It was no unusual
thing at the time for men who desired
the use of bells for change-ringing to

offer to recast broken bells or to augment existing rings and the custom in such cases for the parish to require security against any defaulting, or any loss or damage that might be caused to any parish property. Having given the security the ringers made their own terms with the bellfounder and saw to the work themselves. (413)

In 1701 Elisha Mason undertook the recasting of the second bell, but this time the parish refunded the cost.

Appendix
to Chapter 11.

The Date of Fabian Hedman's Birth.

The date of Fabian Hedman's birth is a major problem for the historian of change ringing because upon it depends our understanding of many of the events and much of the development of the sixteenth Century.

If we accept the statement of Tarnell we are at once faced with several difficulties. If the Principle was composed, and rung by the College Youths in 1657 why does it not appear in the *Turbannalogia*? and how came it that so perfect a peal was born so early and so much out of its proper place in the development of

ringing? What was Stedman doing ⁵²⁷
in London when in 1662 at the age of 31
he held the office of treasurer in the
Society of Cheapside Schollers? or in
1664 at the age of 33 he was elected a
member of the Society of College Youths?
No doubt the College Youths sometimes
did elect distinguished provincial men
of their own social standing; but Stedman
was only a printer and, so far as we
know, had not yet made a name
among ringers. Why was it that he
waited until he was forty years old
before he turned his attention towards
composition although it was a time
of great advance and he had the
examples of Row and Tondring before
him? How was it that when about

528
77 years old at an age when
most men consider themselves settled
for life he uprooted himself from
Cambridge and accepted a new post
and unfamiliar duties in the audit
of the London exchequer? And does it
not seem rather remarkable that
in 1713 at the age of 82 he should
still be working at his office and in
full enjoyment of all his faculties?
To all these questions a special pleader
would find no difficulty in giving an
answer. Hedman might have been
lucky enough to hit on the Principles
as a young man and afterwards
thought little about it until twenty
years later he set himself to write
the Campanalogia. He may have

529
forgotten to mention it to Duckworth,
or Duckworth may have thought it not
worth putting in his book. Hedman
may not have realized that he had a
gap for Composition until the publication
of the Tintinnalogia aroused his interest.
He may have been in London for a short
time in 1662 on business, and he may
have joined the College Youths at the
time of some visit of theirs to Cambridge
in 1664. There is nothing impossible in
a man of fifty leaving one town for
another to take up a new post, nor are
octogenarians unknown whose intellectual
capacity is undiminished. And after all
there is no proof that Fabian Hedman, the
ringer and Fabian Hedman of the will

are one and the same person.

An historian must judge by probabilities not by more or less remote possibilities; if we assume that Shedman was born somewhere about 1642 all the difficulties disappear, and the facts of his life as we know them fall into intelligent order, and we can reconstruct the main outlines of his career on reasonable lines. But nothing is easier than to write "history" if we allow ourselves simply to deny any fact that may be inconsistent with some theory we have formed. If Garnell is a trustworthy ^{guide}, we must accept the dates he gives us and make the best of it. But is he trustworthy? He did not present the dates:—that we may

be sure of, and the tradition he preserved has some amount of truth in it, for the statement that Stedman was a printer has been confirmed by contemporary evidence. But we must remember that he wrote nearly two centuries after the event. He was as far removed from Stedman's time as we are from the time of George II. We do not know what was his authority nor through how many hands the tradition had passed. It is easy enough for men's memories to play them false in the matter of dates as is shown by the fact that it has been stated many times and by many writers that Stedman was steward

of the Society of College Youths in 1667,
 whereas the correct date is 1677. Two of
 the dates Parnell gives can be proved
 to be wrong why then should we accept
 the third which is contradicted by
 contemporary evidence though it is
 circumstantial?

My conjecture that Stedman was
 apprenticed in London is I think a
 sound one. We know that he was a
 printer and therefore he must have
 served an apprenticeship. It must
 have been either in Cambridge or in
 London, for Oxford obviously is ruled
 out; and the balance of probability
 is in favour of London, if only because
 nearly all the master printers were

There and the University printers were more or less specialists. It so it would account for Stedmans holding office in the Society of Cheapside Scholars, and also joining the College youths. It would also account for the affection and esteem which always seems to have existed between him and the latter, and could hardly have been the result of a chance visit or two of the Society to Cambridge.

Richard Duckworth.

The Life from Athenae Oxonienses, edition by Bliss 1820 Vol IV. Col. 794. —

Richard Duckworth a Leicestershire man born, put in fellow of Bagen-nose Coll. from New Inn by the visitors, took the degree in arts, holy orders, and preached for some time near Oxon. Afterwards he was created Bach. of divinity, and on the death of Dan. Greenwood became rector of Steeple Aston in Oxfordshire, an 1679, but the parishioners and he disagreeing he left that place, and in 1692, or thereabouts became vice principal of St. Alb. Hall. He hath written

Tintinnalogia; or the Art of Ringing &c
London, 1671 oct.

Instructions for hanging of Bells, with

all Things belonging therunto.

535

The editors of Woods' manuscript evidently thought that Duckworth had written two books, but of course the second sentence is part of the sub title of the *Tintinnalogia*.

Excerpt from Diary by Thomas Hearne
Vol. Cx1 Jan 27, 1726 - Mr Richard
Duckworth (who died many years ago)
is mentioned as a writer in the second
or spurious edition of the *Athenae Oxon*.
He being the author of the *Tintinnalogia*.
For indeed he was a great ringer and
had very great skill in it. He lived
to a great age. He is said in the
Athenae to be a Leicestershire man born,
but Mr Whiteside told me yesterday
he was of Lancashire by birth. He used

to call on Mr Whiteside when he (Whiteside) was a young student at Brasenore College of which College Mr Duckworth had been Fellow after which he was rector of Steple Aston.

My authority for saying he was rector of Hartest is Alumni Oxonienses Vol 1 page 428.

The Dictionary of National Biography has a short account of Duckworth mainly taken from Wood. He is described as a Campanologist and is the only man who was included in that great reference work because he was a ringer.

III. The College Youths' Manuscript

The following is a transcript of the front pages of one of the peel books belonging to the Ancient Society of College Youths;—

An Historical Account

The most authentic records extant prove that the College Youths are the oldest Society of Ringers in existence, they began to be a Company Nov. 5 1637, (in the Reign of Charles the 1st) and met to ring on a peel of six bells at St. Martin's Vintury on College Hill, London, and so took the name of College Youths.

For a short time they rang nothing but rounds and set changes but at length attained to ring a plain six score on five bells; and it is thought to be about 96 years ago since

Changes were first attempted to be rung
 which was in 1642 - About 1667 they began to
 practise Double Changes on five and six bells
 for in that year there was published a book
 by Fabian Stedman, which contained many
 five bell peals and Grandairs bob on six -
 which we call Plain Bob - In 1671, that
 book was again reprinted by Stedman,
 with many more peals added and we have
 an account that Stedman's principle was
 first rung at St Bennetts, in Cambridge by
 the College youths March 30th 1671.

Thus they went on for many years practising
 on five and six bells, and the first great
 performance we have any account of was at
 St Mary Overys on the six largest bells; as
 follows - Nov^r. 18th 1684 the College youths

rung three 720^s being the first time that ever
 so much was rung without standing; the
 peals were Oxford Triple Bob - College Single -
 and Oxford Single - the whole number of changes
 were 2160 - In those days when they rung
 8 bells they used to ring six bell peals and
 keep 4th and 8th behind, or sometimes dodge
 the 7th and tenor behind and when they rang
 10, they likewise rung six bell peals and
 kept 1, 2, 3, 10 behind - The first accounts
 we have of Triples being rung was at St
 Sepulchres without Newgate London -
 March 4th, 1684-5 The College further
 rung two eighteen scores of Grandire
 Triples, and five days after that 700
 Triples at the same place - On Jan. 7th
 1689-90, the whole peal of Plain Bob

Triples was rung out at St. Sepulchres without
 Newgate, London, in 3 hours and
 forty five minutes (and the first trials)
 being the first 5040 that ever was rung -
 Soon after the ringing of this peal they
 began to practise Grandiose Calors; but
 we have no account of any long peals of
 Calors till the London Scholars rang 5040
 at St. Brides' in Fleet Street on Jan 11th
 1716-17. (There was a frame for this peal
 containing the performers' names etc in St. Brides'
 steeple which was taken and destroyed
 when the Church and Pulpit was repaired
 in the year 1796 to the great regret of all
 lovers of the exercise) The first peal of
 5060 Cinques was rung by the College Juniors

at St. Bride's, Jan 19.th 1724-25.

541

The first 5,200 Rob Maximus or all 12 in -
in plain method was rung by the
College youths Feb 26 1725-6 in 4 hours
and 4 minutes at St. Bride's, there were
twelve bells at Bow in Cheapside before
the fire of London but they did not
use to ring above nine or eight and
chime the others - St. Bride's in Fleet
Street had five pebbles added to make
Twelve in 1719 and cast by Abraham
Ruddall who also cast the 10 Largest in
1710 - (These five pebbles were the gift
of the College youths and London Scholars
as appears by a board fixed in the church.

St Martins in the fields, London, was
made a peal of twelve in 1727, the two

bell cast by Abel Ruddall.

542.

The first time of ringing the 12 bells at St. Michael's Cornhill, cast by Richard Phelps in Whitechapel was on December 4th 1728, the same evening that Prince Frederick came to England to St. James's - The first time of ringing the 12 bells of St. Mary Overys, Southwark was August 2nd. 1735, cast by Samuel Knight and hung by Robert Carlin.

From internal evidence it is pretty clear that this account was compiled by joining together statements from different sources, the editor adding here and there a few words and comments of his own. The date is about the middle of the nineteenth, certainly not

before 1840 The writer is unknown
and I should not like to hazard a
guess at his identity without a
careful comparison of the documents
and manuscripts belonging to the
Ancient Society of College Youths; but
one name suggests itself as not unlikely.
Samuel Austin was a solicitor clerk
and presumably rather better educated
than his fellows. He was an excellent
penman and some of his work will
be found in the seal books of the
time. For some years he was secretary of
the Society. Some of his letters are
elegant and they show that he had
a very high idea of the dignity and

importance of the College Youths 544
but no great sense of historical
values.

The account preserves some genuine
traditions of the College Youths. The
statement that they became a company
on November 5th 1637 did not come from
any outside source. The Society had long
forgotten the names of its early members
and who they were, but this was remembered
and it was no doubt kept alive by the
annually recurring feast. The
references to College Hall and St
Martins Vintry come from Shipway
and Osborn. The account of the London
Scholars feast of Calers at St. Brides is
from Osborn, that writers words being

closely followed. The editor's Comments
 can easily be recognised - "in the reign
 of Charles I", "which we call Plain
 Bow", "to the great regret of all Lovers
 of the exercise", and the like. But
 the greater part of the account consists
 of the extracts from the Oxford Ringers'
 book made by George Scarbrook. These
 include not only the references to the
 first peals of Congus and Maximus
 by the College Youths, but also the
 accounts of the rings of twelve bells at
 St. Brides, St. Martins, St. Michaels and
 St. Savinus'. No mention is made either
 of peals or of bells after 1738. The
 statement that there were twelve bells
 at Bow in Cheapside before the fire

But they did not use to ring above
 six or eight and chime the others, shows
 some confusion in the mind either of
 the original writer or his Copyist. It
 reads as though the ringing and chiming
 were done at the same time, but actually
 there was a ringing peal of ten, and two
 other bells in the tower which could only
 be tolled and which probably were not
 tuned to the others. We have here most
 likely a misreading of Peter Sunday's
 manuscript (an Oxford manuscript
 he is noted), in which there is a
 reference to the 10 bells in St. Michaels in
 Cornhill - 2 were tolled the rest rung -
 and to the 12 bells of Bow where of 10 were
 rung and 2 tolled.

The statement that the College Junks ⁵⁴⁷
"at length attained to ring a plain
six score on five bells in 1642, is usually
taken to mean that in that year they
rang the first 120 of Plain Bob Doubles.
That is the view I have adopted in the
first because it has probability and
external confirmation; but that is not
what the words actually say. A plain
six score is not a hundred and twenty
of Plain Bob, but of Plain Changes
a very different thing; and whatever
the original tradition or authority was,
the Oxford writer meant Plain Changes.
He thought that double changes on
five and six bells, that is Cross Scals
were introduced by the publication of

the Tertinnalogia and there, as we ⁵⁴⁷
know, he was wrong. He also Confused
the second edition of the Tertinnalogia
with the Campanalogia, and he spells
Hiedman's name wrongly which shows
that he was not personally acquainted
with the books. Very interesting is
the statement that Hiedman's Principle
"was first rung at St Bennetts in
Cambridge by the College Youths March
30th 1671." Shipway, we remember, says
it was rung there "in the summer of
1657." Both dates cannot, of course,
be correct and of the two 1671 is
much the more likely; but even that
is probably too early, and we have here
another example and a very good one

of the futility of blindly accepting any data that may occur in old books and manuscripts.

This College Youths' manuscript, if properly understood and used, is a valuable and reliable source of information but it can be, and has been, very misleading.

Extract from Copy Book No 1
of the Society of College Youths

The following is interesting only as showing how legends grow up and how the "history" of ringing has been written in the past.

An Epitome of the Art of Ringing.
Compiled from unimpeachable sources of information, by Mr Francis Marshall, a member, in 1849.

The First Company established for the promotion of the Art of Ringing were the College Youths. They were instituted Nov. 5th 1637, by a number of wealthy and influential individuals, a fact fully corroborated by the books containing the names of the members and transactions of this society. Lord Brevelton was the first Master: he was succeeded by Sir

Cliff Clifton, Knight, who in his turn
 was succeeded by persons of the first distinction
 who the inventor of the Art of Ringing was
 can only be conjectured, but there is every
 reason to ascribe the honour to Mr Fabian
 Headman, who was born in the town of
 Cambridge in 1631, he afterwards became
 a member of this Society; he composed
 various peals on five and six bells; being
 a printer by profession he transferred his
 compositions to paper and distributed round
 the Country. It is but reasonable to infer
 that the company which he belonged to
 would be the first to avail themselves
 of his discoveries, and they must have
 made great progress, as they were enabled
 to ring (on the occasion of a visit paid
 to Mr Headman) on March 30th 1631 [?1661]

at St. Bennetts' Cambridge for the first time the beautiful production since known after its author. In 1662 Mr. Headman published a book styled *Campanalogia, or the Art of Ringing*; which went through three editions previous to 1680. Before the extension of the Art to 8 or 10 bells, the ringers placed the 4th and the 8th behind, on 10 bells 1, 2, 3, 10. behind or which others might be preferred, a plan even practised to the present day and styled *Knock, Triples, Caters, and Cinques*. On Jan 7. 7th, 1689, the whole peal of Plain Bob Triples, containing 5040 Changes, with two singles, was rung at St. Sepulchres' Snow Hill, in 3 hours and 45 minutes, Composed by Mr. Strable, who also Composed

the first peal of Grandeur Triples which
 though false, was held in great repute
 until Mr Hollis' peal was produced. At
 this time there were five other Companies
 established for the practice of the Art,
 viz The London Scholars, and the Union
 Scholars, of whom we cannot obtain any
 account; they do not appear to have
 existed long. On Saturday, Feby 26th
 1726, the first peal of Bob Maccimus
 containing 5280 Changes was rung at
 St Brides, in which a Young Gentleman
 (Mr Francis Geary) assisted, he was a
 Naval Officer and rose to the rank of
 Admiral, he commanded the Grand Fleet
 in 1780, and rang several other peals
 with the Company, frequently he met them
 in after life, to amuse himself with the

pastime of his early youth.

There was another distinguished member whom we must not forget, viz, Mr. Benjamin Stnable, to him we are indebted the improvements in Cators and Cinqes, by throwing them into the fitter position (He died in 1755, between 70 and 80 years of age)

The Company appear to have been in great repute up to 1800, being supported by the most wealthy and influential persons in the Kingdom, at one time they held their meetings at the Pauls Head Tavern in the City, and on the anniversary day the members walked in procession to Bow Church to hear Divine Service, on this occasion the Company were preceded by their Beadle, dressed in a Blue Great

Coat and cocked hat trimmed with broad gold lace, carrying a splendid staff surmounted by a silver bell, suspended in a massive frame of embossed silver, representing S. Brudes and S. Martin's Steeples. After divine service they returned in the same state to their Club House and dined together in company with the Aldermen and other civil authorities. There was also at this time a branch of the Company called the Hertford College Youths, the members of which met and dined at the Town Hall, Hertford annually, the Chair being usually taken by the Marquis of Salisbury (who was a great patron of the art of ringing) supported by the Nobility and Gentry of the County.

In the year 1787 the Company visited

the City of York and rung in the Cathedral
 on the ten bells, a peal of Grandire Catons
 and was the first peal ever rung in the North
 of England; on this occasion they were received
 with marked distinction and Hospitality,
 entertained by the Archbishop of York, the
 Bishops of Norwich, Exeter, Shrewsbury,
 and indeed most of the principal Clergy
 of the County. - This Company has been
 patronised by the most eminent men, among
 whom will be found Dean Aldrich, Sir
 Matthew Hale, S. Blackwell, M.A, Admiral
 Geary, Lord Dysart, the late Marquis of
 Salisbury, the late S. Whitbread and his
 son, T. Powell, Esq, Judge Park, Lord
 Breckin, Lord Fitzroy Somerset, &c. The
 Company have now a continuous record of
 all the peals rung by them from their first

foundations to the present time, and is well worth the perusal of the Campanologist.

The first three Teals of Minor were rung at St Saviour's, Southwark, on Nov^r 18th 1684. The methods were Oxford Treble Bob, College Single, and Oxford Single. Total 2,160 changes.

St Sepulchres, Snow Hill.

On January 7th 1689,

The Company rang the first Teal on eight bells; the method was Plain Bob Triples (containing 5040 changes) with two singles; it was accomplished in three hours and forty five minutes. Composed and conducted by Mr Benjamin Anable.

Notes to Chapters

II and III

1. Shipway, William; *Campanalogia*, Bell News reprint, p xxii. See page 257.
2. Ancient Society of College Youths; Rules and Regulations; Edition, 1894.
3. The following note is added to the manuscript account in the College Youths' records, - "This account was taken from the Oxford Pingers' Register Book, and was communicated by Mr. George Seabrook, 1796." See page 537.
4. It is difficult to estimate the number of the copies of the *Campanalogia* at present extant. It probably does not amount to more than eight or ten.
 - 4A. Frazer, James Anthony, *History of England* Vol. 1. page 39, "Everyman" Edition.
 - 4B. Royal Historical Society Transactions Vol. VI. New Series.
 - 4C. Corcoran, Bryan St. Olaves Hall Street, All Hallows, Staining, page, 225.

LD. Foxe Acts and Monuments, Ed 551
1843-49 Vol iij p 313-15. Thomas Arundel
was Archbishop 1396-1413. See appendix, p 311.

5. Hawkins Sir John; History of Music,
1776, Vol iij p 458. — "It may not be
improper to add a little anecdote, which
perhaps has never yet appeared in print
and may serve to shew either that she
had, or affected to have it thought she
had, a very nice ear. In her time
the bells of the Church of Shoreditch, a
parish in the northern suburb of London
were much admired for their melody
and in her journeys from Hatfield to
London, as soon as she approached the
town they constantly rang by way of
congratulation. Upon these occasions she
seldom failed to stop at a small
distance short of the church, and amid
the prayers and acclamations of the people
would listen attentively to and commend

the music of the bells." Also quoted
in Nichols' Progresses, Vol iii p 114.

552

6. Stedman, Fabian; Campanalogia p. 25.
See also rule 14 of the St. Stephen's, Bristol,
Guild - "Item, If any of the said
Company shall miss to strike his bell
at the second away ~~at~~ in the rising of
a peal, he shall for his offence, pay one
penny to the Company."
- 6A. Or rather the author of the Tintinnalogia
7. Campanalogia
8. It is the author of the Tintinnalogia (Duckworth)
who describes the Sixes as consisting of a
hunt and five extreme bells. Stedman
in the Campanalogia says that they all
hunt alike.
9. Ancient Society of College Youths - Rules
and Regulations, 1894, p. 7.
Dr. Raven, Bells of England p. 228.
10. Bibliotheca Sloaniana Manuscripti, 3463.
11. Foulmer Smith; - English Guilds, p. 190.
12. An account of the Scholars of Cheapside

and their rules, based on the Gexford MS.

was given by R. A. Daniell in an article in the Bell News of February, 1904.

13. In 1865 a writer in Notes and Queries says that "in Cornwall stays and sliders are entirely unknown. Kirkhampton is the only church at which bell ropes are furnished with pallsies." Parnell noted that at the beginning of the 19th century the old style of ringing still survived at Queen's Camel Somerset. It took sixteen men to raise the heavy ring of six there. "Changes here are out of question. Never can be rung on them, nor have they any piftings in their bell ropes. They do not make use of pallying their bells when ringing" - quoted by Morris, page 14.

14. The pedigree of the main branch as given by Ormerod contains 21 Williams of

whom 9 were knights; and 11 Johns.

15. Froude, James Anthony, History of England Everyman Edition; Vol. ii, pp. 36-7; iii, p. 164.
16. Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1507-1570.
17. Froude, J. A.; History, ii p. 147-8, 160-3.
167-8, 171, 177.
18. The pedigree of the Brerelons is given in Burke's Extinct Peerages, p. 74; and in Ormerod's History of Chester, Vol. iii, p. 88. The latter has also an account of some members of the family, p. 81.
19. Kelly's Directory of Cheshire; Ormerod, iii p. 85; but there is no notice of any visit to Brereton, or even to Cheshire in Nichols' Progresses of Queen Elizabeth.
20. Admissions to Lincoln's Inn, 1420-1799. There is some discrepancy here. If Ormerod's dates are correct, William Brereton was only seven years old when he was entered at Lincoln's Inn. The entry describes him as son and heir apparent of Wm Brereton, of Brereton.

21. Dictionary of National Biography
22. Committee for Compounding 1643-60
Calendar of Proceedings
23. Lord Clarendon, History ii, p 110-111.
24. Ibid
25. Noble, Marks Lives of the English Regents
p. 118.
26. Committee for Advance of Money 1642-56.
Calendar of Proceedings Part II. p 637.
27. Committee for Compounding,
Calendar, p 348.
28. Ibid. according to *Commod Le paid*
£1737.
29. Ibid, p. 1229.
30. Ibid, p. 1836.
31. Ibid, p. 1122.
32. There is no authority for saying (see
J. J. Raven Bells of England, p 246, Waller
Church Bells p 74, etc) that the College
Youths were a resuscitation of the
Scholars of Cheapside. The list were
composed of different classes of people.
33. With one exception
34. Full list of all the Inns of Court

admissions are not available

35. See Green's Short History of the English People Everyman Edition Vol II p 515.
36. Committee for Compounding, Calendar p. 605.
37. Ibid.
38. Calendar of State Papers, 1660, p. 243
39. Ibid 1661, p. 598.
40. Ibid 1660, p. 410.
41. Ibid 1662, p. 483.
42. Ibid p. 509
43. Ibid 1663-4, p. 306
44. It was passed a few years later expressly to forbid action like that of Lord Breckin.
45. Calendar of State Papers, 1663 p 407.
46. Ibid, p 453.
47. Ibid p. 335
48. Ibid p 315
49. Ibid p 436.
50. Ibid p 460.
51. Noble, M. Lives of the English Regicides 1798. p. 118.
52. Calendar of State Papers 1664 p 597.
53. Ormerod. p 88. The date may be incorrect as that of his great uncle evidently is.

54. "After dinner my Lord Breton 557.
very gently went to the Organ and
played a verse very handsomely."
P. Pepys Diary Jan. 1667-8 Edition by
H. B. Wheatley, Vol VIII, p 269.
55. Lord Braybrooke, Note to Pepys Diary
Dec 12, 1667.
56. G. E. C. The Complete Peerage, 1912.
Purkes' Extinct Peerages, 1883.
56. See trial of Captain Lee in 1600. State
Trials, H. L. Stephens, 1902, iii p. 95.
57. Lodge Edmund British Peerage
and Baronetage, 1859 p. 641.
G. E. C. Complete Baronetage, Vol. 1. p. 19.
Thoroton R. History of Nottingham, p 104
He was the physician who attended
Gervase Clifton in his last illness.
58. Alumni Cantabrigie, Vol 1. p 356.
59. Gervase Markham to the Sheriff of Co.
Nottingham, Calendar of State Papers
1635, p. 11.
60. Calendar of State Papers, 1661-2, p 321
61. Remembrance Analytical Index of.
- 61A. Inuogaves' Obituaries.

62. Grays Inn Admissions Register
63. Shaw, W. A. The Knights of England
1906. Vol II, p 236.
64. Alumni Cantabrigenses, Vol. II, p 151
65. North, Thomas, The Church Bells of
Rutland.
66. Alumni Cantabrigenses, Vol. III p. 124.
67. C. E. C. Complete Baronetage
68. Blore, A History of the Antiquities
of the County of Rutland, p. 128.
69. Ibid.
70. Students admitted to the Inner Temple
1547-1660. A note says, "This student
must have been in middle age when
admitted having married in 1635
Elizabeth daughter of John Hatcher
of Empringham." But this probably is
an error due to confusing the date
of his marriage with the date of his
baptism.
71. Harrison to Secretary Coke, Feby 15,
1631 Calendar of State Papers,
Domestic, p 508.

72. Calendar of State Papers, domestic, 539
1603-1610, p. 116.
73. Calendar of State Papers, Colonial,
1622, p. 32.
74. The state papers of the time have a
large number of references to these
visits.
75. Sir Henry Martin to Seth Nicholas
Nov 25 1626 Cal. State Papers. p. 480.
76. The account of Captain Harrison is
mainly based on state papers. There
is a short account of him in the Dic.
of Nat. Biog.
77. Dictionary of National Biography.
78. "For some time they E.I.C. the College Juntho
rang nothing but call changes but
at length attained to ring a plain
perc-score and is thought to be about
ninely perc years ago since changes
were first attempted to be rung, which
was in 1642. — "Information
said to have been communicated
by the courtesy of Mr George Scarborough

in 1796", his authority being the 560
Oxford Ringers Book. The College Juniors'
Copy Seal Book. See p. 537. See also the
account in the Society's Rule Book.

79. See Chapter

80. Duckworth, R. The Tintinnalogia,
reprint, page 72.

81. Hedman, J. Campanalogia, Epistle
Dedicatory. See page 410.

82. Tintinnalogia. Ellacombe thought
that R.R. might be Richard Rocks
who joined the Scholars of Cheapside in
1631, was steward in 1635, and general
in 1637. but the dates do not agree
and the identification of R.R. with Robert
Roane is as certain as anything of the

sort can be

83. Calendar of State Papers, 1662, p 627.

84. Tanner, MSS. quoted by Halcot, p 130.

85. Ichys Diary, Jan 31, 1668.

86. The account of John Hackett is based on
the Bishop's Life by D. Plume, N.E.
Halcot's Life of Hackett, Berozford's

"Lichfield", chap. xxi *Parkers Biographia Dramatica*, and the *Dictionary of Nat. Biography*.

- 87. Father of Joseph Addison the writer.
- 88. Sir Thomas Lawley, Baronet, of Canwell Priory, 1650-1729. Succeeded to the Baronetcy in 1696.
- 89. Harwood. Thos. *The History and Antiquities of the Church and City of Lichfield*, 1806. pp. 68-71.
- 90. See Chapter IV.
- 91. *Dictionary of National Biography*.
The Calendar of State Papers, 1661, contains several references to Milner.
- 92. *Dictionary of National Biography*.
- 93. Wood, Anthony's *Athenae Coconenses*.
- 94. *Dictionary of National Biography*.
- 95. Students admitted to the Inner Temple 1547-1660.
- 96. *Alumni Coconenses*
- 97. The Board of Greencloth were officers in the royal household in the Lord Steward's department. Among other things they had charge of the kitchens and dining rooms of the palaces.

Of Christopher Little is known except that in the time of the civil war he had been a Royalist, and that he in his old age leaned toward Popery. It does not appear that he was ever formally reconciled to the Church of Rome but he certainly had scruples about communicating with the Church of England, and therefore a strong interest in supporting the dispensing power — Lord Macaulay History of England.

99. *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Vol. iii, p. 193.

100. Macaulay.

101. "New judges here among which was Millon a Papist (brother to that Millon who wrote for the Regicides) who presumed to take his place without passing the Test" — John Evelyn, Diary. Globe Ed. p. 391.

102. Dictionary of National Biography.

103. Clifton A. B. The Cathedral Church of Lichfield. p. 52.

104. Foss, Edward. *The Judges of England* 563
105. The name is spell in no less than five different ways - Wythens, Withens, Withins, Wythins and Withings. The most usual is Wythens but I have followed the spelling of the College Juths' name book.
106. Foss, *The Judges of England Dictionary of National Biography.*
107. North, Roger, *Excamen.*
108. *Ibid.*, p 549. Jefferys was also reprimanded on his knees and turned out of the Recordership. See also Bishop Burnet's *History of His Own Times*, ii, 250, and Hume's *History of England* (Ed 1818 Vol viii p. 130) where Withens is incorrectly referred to as Sir Thomas Withens.
109. Stephen, H. L. *State Trials*, Vol iii. p 223 also in fuller detail Cobbett's *State Trials*. Withens' cases are reported in Vols. viii, viii, and ix of the latter.
110. Luttrell Narcissus *Relation of State Affairs*, Vol 1. p. 41.
111. Burnet, Gilbert, *History of His Own Time*, Vol 1. p 572.

112. Lord Campbell says that Jefferys himself pronounced the sentence on Sidney, instead of leaving it as usual to the senior presiding judge - *Lives of the Lord Chancellors*, Vol iii, p. 529.
113. Lord Macaulay, *History of England*, Everyman Ed., Vol 1. p. 370.
114. Evelyn, John. *Diary*, Globe Edition p 354.
115. See letter written by Alice Lisle (the first victim in the Bloody Strife) the day before her execution
116. Probably he was technically right.
117. A detailed account of the trials for treason which followed Monmouth's rebellion is given in *The Bloody Strife* by Sir Edward Garry. See also Macaulay's *History of England*.
118. "He was of moderate capacity in the law." - Roger North, *Escaimew*, p. 549.
"He was a weak, timid man. He appears to have been an able and intelligent advocate" - A. R. Ingpen.

119. See the very full account of the trial in Cobbetts State Trials, Vol ix p. 899 which scarcely bears out Burnet.
120. On Oct. 30, 1685, Withens charged the Grand Jury at Westminster. He said that there were 6000 rebels with the Duke of Monmouth and that not above 2800 had been disposed of. That the judges on their circuit had not found above two or three that had harboured them. They could not have escaped out of the Country. What then had become of them? Many most like were in London and Westminster, and it would be a proper thing for the Constables to go about and enquire about lodgers how long they had been in their lodgings and what they were doing at the time of the rebellion - News Letter preserved by Anthony Wood.

- 121 Georg. Breton of Du. Coll., son of William, Lord Breton was created M of A. by virtue of the King's Letter "xxx" never suffered anything for the King's Cause yet because he was a Lord's son got a fellowship of Alls. Coll. where speaking evilly of Sheldon, archbishop of Canterbury and Raef. Innes, they found means to eject him thence — Anthony à Wood Life and Times of A. W. 1891, Vol 1. p 348. George Breton took orders and was a Prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral.
122. Harlid, Ed. History of Kent p. 60.
123. Anthony à Wood. Life and Times iii p 317
124. At John Parker, son of John Parker of Cornhill London was admitted to Gray's Inn, Aug 14. 1640.
125. Dictionary of National Biography
126. Calendar of State Papers, 1666-7, p. 145.
127. Rembrancia Analytical Index of p.p. 105, 301, 318.
128. G. E. C. Complete Baronetage, Vol II p. 80, Parker J. B. Extinct and Dormant Baronetries.

129. Richard Everard, son and heir 567
 apparent of Hugh Everard of Great
 Waltham, arm. was entered as a student
 at Lincoln's Inn, June 10, 1619. - Lincoln's
 Inn Admissions, p. 182.
130. Burke J. B. Extinct Baronetries p. 189.
 Morant Philip; Knight; but perhaps
 he has been confused with his father.
131. Calendar of State Papers. 1661-2, p. 252.
132. Ibid p. 268.
133. Ibid p. 268.
134. Ibid 1663-1664. Ap. 27 1664 p. 570.
135. Ibid 1678 p. 595.
136. Ibid 1680. p. 504
137. Mrs Hanley - New Atlantis
138. Luttrell, Narcissus, Vol ix p. 144.
139. Pearson, T. C. Some Particulars of the
 Principal Rings of Bells in the Eastern
 Counties, p. 57.
140. Royal Commission on Historical
 Monuments, Essex, Vol ii p. 106.
141. John Evelyn, Diary Sep. 15 1681
 Globe Edition, p. 336.
142. Sir Walter Besant, The City of London.
143. Shaw, W. St. The Knights of England.

144. G. E. C. Complete Baronetage 568
 Vol. iii p. 39.
 Burke's Extinct Baronetries p. 27.
145. Calendar of State Papers, 1664-5. p. 54.
146. Afterwards Sir Joseph Williamson,
 Secretary of State.
147. Calendar of State Papers, 1666-7, p. 99.
148. Ibid, p. 105.
149. Ibid, p. 485
150. Ibid 1667. pp. 119, 200, 240, 328.
151. Ibid 1669. p. 378.
152. Ibid 1669 p. 382.
153. Ibid p. 378.
154. Ibid p. 382.
155. Ibid 1663, p. 400.
156. Pepys Diary, Ed. H. B. Wheatley, Vol. iv
 p. 54
157. Calendar of State Papers, 1664-5, pp. 97, 401
159. Shaw, H. A. The Knights of England.
158. Gray's Admissions Register
160. Calendar of State Papers, 1663-4 p. 302.
161. Lincoln's Inn, Records, Admissions p. 240
162. Calendar of State Papers, 1665-6, p. 167.
163. Ibid, 1660-1, p. 416.
164. Ibid, 1665-6, p. 418.
165. Tintinnalogia, reprint p. 40.
166. Ibid, p. 108.

167. Havelley Thomas The History of 569.
Churches in England, p. 131
168. Additional Manuscripts 28,504.
169. Founded in 1683. The rules are among
the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian
Library at Oxford.
170. Cambridge History of English Literature
1909, Vol iii, p. 73.
171. "Let the welfare of the Community be
the first rule."
172. "No Society is stronger or more
Excellent than when men of good nature
are joined together in friendship."
173. Luttrell, Narcissus, June 14, 1689.
174. Ibid, Vol i, p 401.
175. St. Fressingfield in Suffolk, see Dr.
Raven's Bells of England, p 233.
176. Calendar of State Papers, 1660-61, p 536
177. Ibid 1660-1661, p. 19.
178. Ibid 1663-1664, p. 73.
179. Ibid pp. 193, 214.
180. Ibid pp. 372, 375, 393, 496.
181. Ibid 1665-6 p. 113.
182. Clauency's History of Hertfordshire.
183. Heame, Thomas. Vol iv. p 267.

184. W. F. Lawnes. The Bibliographers' 570
Manual of English Literature, 1857,
p. 430. The following are different prices
given for the book. - £ 27-16-6, £ 24-3-0,
£ 26-15-6, £ 26-5-0, £ 20-9-6, £ 16-5-0, £ 35-14-0.
185. Stevens, Henry N. Book Auction
Records. Recent prices are - 1929-30, -
£ 4-10-0, £ 2-10-0, £ 2-15-0; 1930-31 -
£ 5-5-0, £ 2-2-0; 1932 - £ 5-15-0, £ 3-15-0.
186. Compare the article on Dells by the Rev.
H. R. Hawes in the earlier editions of
the Encyclopedia Britannica
187. See Chapter VII.
188. Sharni Philip, History of Essex p. 519.
Lumley's pedigree is given in this book.
189. Escodus, xx. 18.
190. Robert Clutterbuck The History and
Antiquities of Hereford, Vol II, p. 461.
Hearne, Thos. Dany, Vol III, p. 327.
191. Covent Garden Journal, Sep. 23, 1752.
192. Royal Commission on Historical
Monuments - Herefordshire
193. Ibid.

194. Foss, Edward *The Judges of England*, p. 176. Vol vii
Hutchins, John, *Notable Middle Templars*.
195. *A Parliament of the Inn that is, not the Parliament at Westminster.*
196. *Minutes of Parliaments of the Middle Temple.*
197. *Ibid*, Vol iii p 1048.
198. *Register of admissions to Gray's Inn.*
199. *Students admitted to Inner Temple 1547-1660.*
200. *Calendar of State Papers, 1668, p. 130.*
201. *Register of admissions to Gray's Inn.*
202. *Calendar of State Papers, 1661-1662, p. 30.*
203. *Ibid* p. 525.
204. *Register of admissions to Gray's Inn.*
205. *Rath-ripe = precocious*
206. *Wood, Anthony's, Athenae Oxonienses Vol ii p. 634.*
207. *Dictionary of National Biography*
208. *The Ringing World, Dec 11, 1931*
209. *The memorial tablet at St. Peter's Cambridge reads - "To the Glory of God and to commemorate the*

tercentenary of the birth of Fabian Hedman of Cambridge, a ringer of this church, who by his labour laid the foundation of the Art of Change ringing, the bells of this tower were restored by the ringers of Great Britain Ireland and Overseas, December 1931.

Among many other quotations are the following - "The first to reduce the Art to a system was Fabian Hedman, a printer resident in Cambridge, who is said to have printed his changes on slips of paper in his leisure hours, and taught them to his company in the tower of St. Benedict's" - Dr. J. J. Raven, Bells of Cambridgeshire, p. 37.

"Fabian Hedman who may be called the Father of the Art" - Ellacombe, Bells of the Church, p. 226. Copied by Shorris p. 27.

"Fabian Hedman is looked upon as the father of all modern bell ringers, for to him is due that complex system of changes which makes a peal - Rev. G. P.

Tyack, a Book about Bells, p 140.

"The method known as hunting the treble up and down was invented by Fabian Hedman - H. B. Wallis, Church Bells, p. 72.

"Fabian Hedman ... the father of Change Ringing - Ancient Society of College Youths, Rule Book, 1894.

"Fabian Hedman, the father of all fine Change ringing." Canon Coleridge, sermon at St. Benet's, Cambridge, Dec 5th 1931.

210. Advertisement by Thomas Shelton in Norwich Gazette see Notes by the way in the Ringing World.

211. Osborn, Edward John Add MSS. 19372.

212. Hedman means a farmer and derives from the Anglo Saxon word "stead", a house. Dr. Charles Mason suggested that Hedman was a corruption of St. Edmund.

213. Danell, R.A. Article in The Bell News, Nov. 7. 1903.

214. The Commencement of Change ringing

is uncertain; for according to Parnell the earliest artist and promoter of change ringing we have any account of, was Mr. Fabian Hedman, born in the town of Cambridge, 1631. He introduced various peals on five and six bells printing them on slips of paper (being by profession a printer), these being distributed about the country were soon brought to London, but what progress the art had made in the metropolis at this time does not appear - Shipway's Campanologia, p. xxiii. Shipway's comment is that if Hedman did give his principles to the College Juniors in 1657, then change ringing must have begun much earlier than that date. It is quite evident that neither Shipway nor Parnell had any first hand knowledge of the Trinitinalogia.

215. *The Times*. Article on Cambridge, and
its Books. Sep. 22, 1931, and letter in same
journal from Colonel H. M. Grant. 575
216. See Article in the *Ringier World* by
J. A. Trollope.
217. The trial took place at Parry S. Edmunds
when Chauncy was a man thirty-three
years old, (1665).
218. These are the figures of the reprint. The
original has, I think, about 136 pages.
219. I have seven different Printed Books on
Ringier The first ever came out was
published in 1668, five years after the
Great Fire of London - Letter from John
Hopkins (1800-1862) to H. F. Ellacombe
Brit. Mus. Add MSS. 33, 206. ap. 23. 1861.
220. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic,
1667. p 444.
221. *Ibid* 1661-2, p. 42.
222. *Ibid* 1661-2. p. 6.
223. Dr. Charles Burney, *The General*.
History of Music, Vol iii. pp 413-4.

- 224. In eight bell ringing which was performed with two or three bells rung as covers, Medman does select these covering bells for musical reasons, but, of course, they take no part in the peals.
- 225. Campanalogia.
- 226. There were probably more than seven editions for the 1677 issue is said to have been the fifth. There are seven in the British Museum.
- 227. Dictionary of National Biography.
- 228. Morant, Philip, History of Essex, Vol II, p 16. Wright, T. "Essex", p. 392.
- 229. Wallis H. B. and Deedes Cecil. The Church Bells of Essex, p. 184.
- 230. The inscription is JOHN HODSON MADE ME 1663 JOHN EVRIET R.E. W.B. W.H.
- 231. Calendar of State Papers 1660 pp. 114, 347, 577
- 232. Ibid, 1666. p. 416
- 233. Tintinnalogia p. 41 reprint.
- 234. North Roger Autobiography, p 79.
- 235. A Dictionary of Musicians, 1827, p. 391.

- 577
84
236. Life of Anthony a Wood, edited
by Ellis, p. 24.
237. North Roger, Autobiography. p. 80
For accounts of John Jenkins' life and
music see Sir John Hawkins' History
of Music. Vol iii, p. 61; D. C. Burney
History of Music, Vol iii, p. 413; a
Dictionary of Musicians, 1827, p. 391;
Groves Dictionary of Music and Musicians
3rd ed. Vol ii, p. 771 and Dictionary
of National Biography.
238. Harmonie Universelle. Contenant la
theorie et la pratique de la musique
Paris. F. Marin Mersenne M. DC XXXVI.
From Burney's words I rather expected
to find the seven hundred and fifty
changes on six notes put down in
musical notation but was disappointed
239. Calendar of State Papers, 1662.
p. 242. Jan'y 13. 1662.
240. North, Roger, Autobiography, p. 81
241. Barrow, W. Diary, May 11 1668, and
Sep. 30, 1669. Quoted by Morris p. 320.

- 242. Students admitted to the Inner Temple, 1547-1660.
- 243. Middle Temple Records.
- 244. Dictionary of National Biography.
- 245. North, Thomas, The Church Bells of Northamptonshire, p 449.
- 246. Samuel Scattergood. Pensioner May 20 1662. Tutor V. Dupoi. Matric 1662, Scholar, 1664. B.A. 1665-6, Fellow 1668. M.A. 1669. Trinity College Admissions 1546-1700. Vol II p. 460.
- 247. Browne Willis, A Survey of Cathedrals Vol I, p. 456.
- 248. Ibid, Vol II, p. 227.
- 249. Church Bells of Worcestershire I, p. 41. Toden, A. J. The History of Blockley.
- 250. Shepherd E. C. History of Solihull Parish Church, quoted by Morris.
- 251. Scattergood, Samuel, Sermon No 14 Vol I p 216.
- 252. Toden A. J. The History of Blockley. There is a short notice of Scattergood in the Dic. of Nat. Biography.
- 253. Calendar of State Papers, 1661 p. 229.
- 254. Campanalogia, p. 33.

255. Hoodwinked = blindfolded, a term 579
86
from falconry.
256. Osborn gives White as the author of the
Tintinnalogia but is referring to the
spurious Tintinnalogia of 1698. His knowledge
of the 1668 book was derived from letters
from John Hopkins, (see note 219) He
quotes from it, but incorrectly, ascribing
a statement by Duckworth to John
Tending. This error has been copied
by Elzevir (p. 231) and by Morris (p. 175)
Referring to Shipway's statement that
Hedman published in 1669 the Campanalogia
which before 1680 had gone through
three editions, he writes - "Now without
any discourteous feeling or want of
respect toward my departed friend
Shipway or his work, I am bound by
certain indisputable facts to say this
statement is not true. Mr Hedman

never published but one book on ringing and that was in 1677."

The two earliest ringing books according to Osborn were -

Tintinnalogia (with gardening and fireworks) 1668. J. White.

Campanalogia

do. with 8 other exercises,
1684

H. Rhodes.

Osborn had a copy of White's book.

257. Ellacombe, Bells of the Church, p. 296.

258. British Museum General Catalogue

259. A. John Perrett, graduated at
Oxford, B.A. 1646, M.A. 1649.
Alumni Oxonienses, Vol 1 p. 175.

260. In 1905 a book was published by
S. H. Lambert which professes to give
1,000,000,000,000 pronounceable words
of 10 letters. That seems enough to
go on with.

261. Ellacombe, The Bells of the Church.

262. A copy of the chapter on ringing from
the 1701 (?) edition was printed in Bell
News

263. It was the time of Newton, Locke, ⁵⁸¹₈₈
Wren and the foundation of the Royal Society
264. The Bell News.
265. Morris, Ernest. History and Art of Punting
266. Dic. of Natl. Biography
267. Osborn, Snowdon, Daniell, and Morris
give the date incorrectly as 1667.
268. British Museum General Catalogue
269. Pepys has a reference to a Mr Headman.
He was a boat builder of Lowestoft who
did work for the Admiralty. His name
is mentioned in state papers.
270. R. A. Daniell was disposed to identify
her with a certain Widow Higgins
who was the tenant of a house belonging
to the parish on the west side of St
Mary Stree.
271. Daniell, Robert A.
272. Alumni Cantabrigenses. Vol 1. p. 77
273. Ibid, iv p. 343.
274. Alumni Oxonienses. p. 542
275. Ibid Vol II, p 731.

- 276. Alumni Oxonienses
- 277. Gentlemans Magazine, Vol xii p 219.
- 278. Blomfield Francis viii p 115.
Purkes Landed Gentry, p 1947.
Lincolns Inn Admissions Register
- 279. Grays Inn Admissions Register, p. 299
Middle Temple Minutes of Parliaments
Vol iii p 1320.
- 280. Grays Inn Admissions Register p 272
- 281. Alumni Oxonienses, iv p 1706.
- 282. Ibid, iii, p. 874.
- 283. Grays Inn Admissions Register, p 331.
- 284. Ibid, p 305.
- 285. The Ringing World, Dec 11, 1931.
- 286. Heame Thomas Letter to D. T. Smith
July 30 1709 Rawlinson MSS, 38. 140.
Doble, C.E. Remarks & Collections, ii p 227
- 287. Heame T. Dec 24, 1717. Ibid ix p. 123.
- 288. Ibid, v. p. 125.
- 289. Ibid, viii p 72.
- 290. Ibid, (1734) xi p. 346. D. Holland
was one of the Heads of Houses who
condemned Heames' book.

- 583
90
292. G. E. C. Complete Baronage
 Notion Baronage of England by E
 Kimber and R Johnson, ii, p 392.
293. Bridges, John A History of the
 Antiquities of Northamptonshire.
294. Burkes Landed Gentry, p 1081.
295. Cibber Colley. Apology p. 92.
296. Aston Anthony, A Brief Supplement
 to Colley Cibber, his Lives of the late
 famous actors.
297. Nicoll, Alardyce, A History of the
 early 18th Century Drama, p. 42
298. Dic. of Nat. Biography.
299. But perhaps they were father and son,
 if one was named John and the
 initial of the other was H.
300. Browne Tom quoted by Thomas Davies.
301. I had
302. Cibber, Colley, Apology, p 92.
302. Wheatley, H. B. London Past and Present.
 The account of Cave Underhill is based
 on Nicoll's History of Restoration

Drama, Petterson's A History of
the English Stage, Davies Dram: Ant:
Colley Cibber's Apology, D: Doran's Annals
of English Stage, Toney Holton's Supplement
and the Dic. of Nat. Biog.

304. "The Inns of Court were excellent seminaries
and nurseries for the education of youth
some for the Bar, others for the seats of judicature
others for the Government, and others for affairs
of State" - Sir Henry Chauncey, quoted
by Col. Robt. J. Blackham in The Story
of the Temple, p. 34.

305. John Melner, pizar, aged 15, 1645.
Alumni Cantabrigenses.

306. 1663. July 21 Mr William James, Usher
of the College School in the South Aisle
of the Church - Westminster Abbey
registers, burials.

307. Sharpe Fredericks, R.W. Aug 2. 1935.

308. A Record of Old Westminster

309. Turney Christopher, son of Sir Christopher
Turney a Baron of the Exchequer, by

Joyce daughter of Sir Philip
Warwick, at school 1657. Sidney Sussex
Coll. Camb. (admitted pensioner Sep 15
1657) matric 1658, admitted Middle
Temple, Feb 20 1657/8. Called to the Bar
1663. Buried in the Temple Church 1690.
- The Records of Old Westminster

310. "1680 Ap 17. Francis Wythens, Esq.
(on whom his majestie then conferred
the Honour of Knighthood) presented
an address to his majestie from the
grand inquest for the City of Westminster
testifying their dislike and abhorrence
of the late petition for a parliament
that was carried on there - Luttrell
Vol. 1. p. 41.

311. This office was in the gift of the Dean and
Chapter of Westminster

312. Atkyns Sir Robert The Ancient and
Present State of Gloucestershire pp. 194, 209, 211.

313 Dugdale, William, The Antiquities of
Warwickshire. p. 748.

313. Compare the following - The first and second bells were added to the original peal in 1793, by the late Henry Smyth, Esq. of Charlton who was passionately fond of and practised bell ringing - History and Antiquities of Northampton by George Baker
314. Blomfield Francis History of Norfolk Vol VIII p. 115.
Purkes Landed Gentry, p. 1947.
Lincoln's Inn Admissions Register, Vol 1. p. 310.
315. Gordon William, Lives of Edward and John Phillips, 1815, p 320.
316. Denton, John, 1705.
317. Wood, Anthony in Ath. Ox. iv p 764.
318. Lupton C. W. An Account of Church Bells p. 88. - Stiff W. S. W. The Reliquary xiii p 81
319. See Appendix
320. Mary's charter to the Stationers Company ratified by Elizabeth in 1559, forbade

any books to be published by ⁵⁸⁷₉₄
any person not a member of the Stationers
Company. Star Chamber decree July
11, 1637 - "No one may print or import
a book, which the Company hath the sole
right to print."

321. Pray, Berkshire, "St. pay^t for not
ringing when the Queen dyed at Folly
John, iiij - iiiij - Accounts 1601-2.

322. "July 26 1652 This day was ye faire
Bell called Jesus Bell at Lichfield
knockt in pieces by a Presbiterian
Gentleman, who was ye. Chief Officer
for demolishing of ye. Cathedrall. About
ye. Bell was this Inscription, -

"I am ye Bell of Jesus and Edward is our King
St. Thomas Heywood first caused me to ring" -

Diary of Sir William Dugdale.

323. Rembrancia, 1579-1664, p 290.

324. Ibid.

325. "It appears from a letter to 588
95
the Dean from Elias Ashmole that
Bagley had so oversized the eight
bells he cast that he had exhausted
all the metal he proposed using for the
ten, and it was necessary to raise £80
more. The money was quickly raised."
The founders receipt is dated Nov 11th 1671 -
Notes and Queries, Dec 22, 1888.

326 For an account of the Bagleys see
North's Church Bells of Northamptonshire
page 41; A. H. Coates, Church Bells
of Bucks, page ; J. J. Raven,
The Bells of England, page 220; and
other archaeological books. North
thought that the Henry Bagley who
was a College youth was a son of the
first Henry, and therefore cousin of the
founder of the Lichfield bells; but
there is nothing to show which of the

five it was.

327. It is perhaps more probable that he held his job during the Commonwealth, but lost it during the rearrangements made when the Court returned to Whitehall.

328. See appendix, page

329. Seymour, Robert. A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster, Bk ii, p 416.

330. Not Hedman, but Duckworth the author of the Tintinnalogia. page 40 reprint.

331. The exception is Jasper Snowden. I have differed from him on several occasions but only in the light of evidence which was not available to him.

332. Morris, Ernest, History and Art of Change Ringing, page, 73.

333. Shipway, William, Campanologia p. 23.

334. Osborn, Edward John, Add MSS.

335. Ellacombe, Henry Thomas, The Bell of the Church, p

336. William Coote, (1825-1912) Born at St Georges-in-the-East, Feb 8, 1825, first peal

Grandson Triples with the St. James' ⁵⁹⁰
Society, Master 1852, joined the College ⁹⁷
Youths 1846, served in the offices of steward
master and secretary, member of St. Paul's
Cathedral band, rang 216 peals including
12 on handbells, - Grandson Triples, Sidman
Triples, Calens, and Cinques - rang in
the long peal of Treble Bob at Bethnal
Green.

337. It is a common mistake to call
Whittington "Sir Richard", but he never
was knighted.
338. Lukis, Rev. William C. An Account
of Church Bells. p. 40.
339. Ancient Society of College Youths, Rules
and Regulations, 1894
340. Ancient Society of College Youths Rules
and Regulations, quoted by Morris, p. 74.
341. Fryack, Rev. C. S. A Book about Bells,
p. 139.
342. Danell, Robert St. Bell News, Jan 6. 1900.

343. Raven, D. J. J. *The Bells of England* ⁵⁹¹₉₈
p. 245. There are several errors in
this account. Thomas Colborn was the
bell-founder. Edward John Colborn taught
the College youths' book in Bristol and
it now is in the possession of the Society.
It is not an original contemporary MS
The British Museum MS is a copy of this
copy. The Society of College Youths
was in no sense a resurrection of
of the Scholars of Cheapside.
344. Wallers, H. B. *Church Bells*, p. 74.
345. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Eleventh
Edition, 1910 Vol 3, p. 691.
346. Gillette and Johnston. "Baw Bells"
347. Williamson, D. George C. *Curious
Survivals*, p. 181.
- 347.a *The Ancient Society of College Youths,
History of the Society*, etc. p. 5.
348. Stow's account of Whittington's College
is follows - Then is the fair parish
church of St. Michaels, called Palemoster

Church in the Royal. This church ^{592.}₄₉
was new built and made a college of
St Spirit and St Mary, founded by
Richard Whittington, mercer, four times
mayor, for a master, four fellows, masters
of art, clerks, conductors, chorists, &c, and
an almshouse called God's House, or
Hospital for thirteen poor men, one of
them to be tutor and to have sixteen
pence the week, the other twelve each
of them to have fourteen pence the week
for ever." This foundation ***** was
suppressed by the statute of Edward VI.

The church and almshouses lasted
until the Fire after which they were
rebuilt. In more recent times the
almshouses were removed to Highgate.

349. Wallers, H.B. London Pells and
Pellfounders.

350 See letter in Appendix.

351.

"The Celebrated Antiquary. John Alfred Parnell, the Gothic Traveller as we used to call him, he got much information for Wm. Shipway respecting the weights of Bells &c for his Campanologia published in 1816. I have heard him say that he visited every Cathedral in England and walked on foot within Twelve Calendar Months. during his travels at one time he lost all his Manuscripts.

"I have enclosed a piece of Sugar paper written by him, the weights, keys and when they were founded of Shrewsbury and Coventry bells. This he wrote for me in 1825 in Aston Tavern (near the Church) while I sat by from his Manuscripts. The Sugar paper please return as it is a keepsake — John Hopkins of Birmingham to H. T. Ellacombe, April 23, 1862.

Brit. Mus. Add MSS.

593
6100

- 594
661
352. Most of these MSS. are printed by Morris in his History.
353. The College Junks' MS. Copying the Oxford Ringers Book, (1738) says the date was March 30th 1671. See page.
354. From Leicester.
355. Compare the rules of the Schollers of Cheapside, and the Esquire Junks, both Contemporary and similar societies to the College Junks.
356. Freeman, E.A. Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford - Methods of Historical Study, p. 141.
- 357 The Cambridge Portifolio edited by the Rev J. J. Smith
358. St Peter's College Westminster, List of Queens' Scholars.
Barker, G. F., Russell, and Henning,
Alan H. The Records of Old Westminster.
- 359 The following are two other conjectures as to the origin of the name - "I have no doubt that Lord Breinton and the other

founders of the Society were educated ⁵⁹⁵₈₀₂
at College and learnt to ring there, and
from that circumstance took the name of
College Youths" — Letter of Samuel Austin
to C. W. Lubbock, Add MSS. 33.206 June 17. 1861.

A reasonable suggestion but entirely without
confirmation.

"... the year 1637 when on the 5th of
November a body of young Gentlemen
with Lord Breinton at their head founded
a Society of Ringers and called themselves
the College Youths from the fact that they
were then College students and their
meetings for practice were held at a church
on College Hill, London — Draft of a
lecture delivered sometime about 1860.
The place and author unknown. It is
preserved among the Ellacombe MSS in
the British Museum, but is not in his
handwriting. Add MSS. 33.206²

360. Lord Clarendon, History of the Rebellion, vi p 403. 596
603
361. Lodge, Edmund, Genealogy of the British Peerage.
362. Raven, D. J. J. The Bells of England, p 206.
363. It should be remembered that Norfolk has more parish churches than any other county and during the 17th Century it was almost the most prosperous part of the Country.
364. See
365. Veron, Jean, The huntings of Purgatorie to death, made dialogue wise.
366. Cosin, John Notes and Collections on the Prayer Book, p. 417.
367. Pope Fabianus was supposed by some to be the inventor of Church bells. See page 230
368. In a similar spirit the people of Jarmouth in 1650 petitioned Parliament to be pleased to grant them part of the lead and other useful materials of that vast and altogether useless Cathedral in Norwich

towards the building of a workhouse 597
664
to employ their almost starved poor, and
repairing their piers:

369. Dr. Charles Mason suggested that Stedman
is a contraction of St. Edmunds. He probably
was thinking of such abbreviations as St. Benet's
from St. Benedict's, St. Audins from St. Augustine's
and St. Miles from St. Michael's. See History
of Stedman's Principle by J. W. Snowdon, and
Mason's MSS. in the Library of Downing
College, Cambridge.

370. See rules of the Society of Esquire Jurists p.
which were drawn up in the same year
that Stedman was treasurer to the Scholars
of Cheapside.

371. Dr. Raven, Bells of Cambridgeshire.

The inscriptions on St. Benet's bells are -

1. ROBARD CYRNEY MADE ME THOMAS GRAVES
THO FOX CHURVTCHYARDENS

2. 1588

3. OF AL THE BELS IN BENNET I AM BEST ⁵⁹⁸
 AND YET FOR MY CASTING THE PARISH PAIDE ⁶⁰⁵
 LEST 1607 TW WB CB NC NS TW RS MC TH.
4. HENRY MARSHALL JUNR & WILLIAM W. HAYWARD
 CHURCHWARDENS 1825
5. NON NOMEN FERRO FICTI SED NOMEN BENEDICTI
 1610 RS
6. IOHN DRAPER MADE ME IN 1618 AS PLAINLY
 DOTH APEARE THIS BELL WAS BROKE AND CAST
 AGAINE WITH Tyme CHVRCH WARDENS HERE
 EDWARDE DIXSON FOR THE ONE WHOE STODE
 CLOSE TO HIS TACKLIN AND HE THAT WAS HIS
 PARTNER THEN WAS ALEXANDER JACKLYN.

- J. S. Goldsmith, Souvenir of Stedman
 Tercentenary Commemoration, 1931, p. 13.

372. The Tintinnalogia was entered at
 Stationers' Hall on February 8th 1667 by
 Fabian Stedman and was licensed
 on November 1st 1667 by Roger L'Estrange.
373. See Appendix, page
374. See Chapter
375. Alumni Oxonienses
376. Wood, Anthony, Fashi

- 377. Wood, Anthony à Life and Times
- 378. Heame Thomas, Diary Vol. Cxi. Doble C.E.
Remarks and Collections Vol. ix p. 86.
- 379. Wood, Anthony à, Life and Times.
- 380. Register of Visitors of Oxford University
appointed by Parliament in 1647.
- 381. Wood, Anthony à, Life and Times Vol. ii. p 208
- 382. Raven O. J. J. Bells of Suffolk
- 383. Slater, T. E. Letter in the Ringing World.
- 384. Trinity College, Cambridge, Admissions
- 385. From the paraphrase of Spedman's letter
to the Leicester ringers by H. Barrow, it
would seem that he referred to the
Tintinnalogia as "his booke", which would
show that he was something more than
merely Duckworth's agent. Evidently he
owned the Copyright and had assisted
in the Compilation.
- 386. Quarterly Review, Vol xvi, 1854 p. 308.
- 387. Ellacombe, Henry Thomas, The Bells of
Somerset.

388. or rather Duckworth's.

600
87

389. White's *Tentinnalogia* is a very rare book. There is a copy in the British Museum. The Central Council Library possesses one, perfect except for the "excellent receipt". An imperfect copy is in Mrs. H. C. Pearson's collection. Osborn owned

a copy probably the one now in the B.M.

390. On May 27 1843 in a letter to Mr Knight of Cambridge, Osborn says "If you can favour me with any information about Stedman I shall be obliged. I read he was a native of Cambridge. I have seen a Book of his publish.^d dated 1686 or thereabouts."

391. See Chapter page

392. *Campanalogia*, Epistle Dedicatory.

393. I never had the least idea of publishing it myself but many others have thought so for me and have said as much - Osborn to John Hopkins, May 9. 1843.

394. The discovery that Duckworth and not ⁶⁰¹₈
Hedman wrote the *Tintinnalogia* has
displaced the latter from the position of
being the foremost writer in the Exercise,
but still a good deal of the credit for that
book still belongs to him.

395. Fabian Hedman of Cambridge. Souvenir
of Tercentenary Commemoration, 1931.
John S. Goldsmith.

396. *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.

397. Nourse MSS. quoted by Fosbrooke ii p. 221.

398. North Thomas Ch. Bells of Northamptonshire
page 270.

399. *Dictionary of National Biography*.

400. *Survey of the Cities of London + Westminster*
It is perhaps doubtful if all ten were hung
for ringing. see Peter Sunday MS. There
were rings of ten at Christ Church Oxford
(1680) and Lichfield (1685). York Minster
had twelve in 1681 the tenor according
to the Clavis, 63 cwt and the pebbles
hardly more than 3 cwt.

401. *Tintinnalogia*, reprint, p 108.
402. For an account of George Scarsbrook see Chapter XII.
403. Heame Thomas, Diary See Chapter
404. For an account of various branches of the Breton family see *Archaeologia* 1849, p 72.
405. See Chapter 1, page, 138.
406. See Chapter 1, page, 115.
407. See Note to Chapter 1, page 188.
408. See Note to Chapter 1, page 151.
409. Stahlshmidt J.C.L. Surrey Bells and London Bell founders, 1884. p. 109.
410. Luttrell v. 209. v 219. C.R. Dennis *The House of Cecil*, p 231.
411. *Purkes' Peerage*.
412. "Salisbury was foolish to a proverb. His figure was so bloated by sensual indulgence as to be almost incapable of moving" - Macaulay, *History of England*
413. Compare the following - Hillingdon, 1731, William Hannington yeoman and Richard Ashby, baker, offered to bear the entire cost of recasting the 6 bells

603
1c

and to make a peal of eight tunable
musical bells, and to have as much metal
returned in the eight as the six have now.
They gave security to the Churchwardens
to indemnify the parish from any public
charges in the Commission of the same
work in the sum of £500, and to hang
the said eight bells in the tower in
a workmanlike manner - Hillingdon
through Eleven Centuries by Rachael
de Sales, 1926.

414. The Ringing World But this may be
an error of a copyist. Apparently the 175.
reads "with five singles"; which however
in the circumstances is not very much
more probable.

415 "When every bell keeps due order and
time what a sweet and harmonious
sound they make, all who hear them
are charmed by that common music,

604
11

but when once they jar and clash
with each other, either jangling or striking
irregularly, how displeasing is that noise -
Bishop Joseph Hall, mid 17th Cent.

416. This part of the legend must be wrong.
Spedman's Principle was certainly not
composed until after 1667, and there
certainly has not been a ring of bells at
a church on College Hill since 1666, either
at St. Michaels, or St. Martins.

417. It cost the parish of St. Peter's, Grasschurch,
10/8 to move their plate, books, etc., from
place to place as the fire advanced.

418 Before the Fire there was a church of St.
Peter in Cheapside, but so far as we know
it had no bells. (There were four. See Chap VIII.)

419 Tulse was buried in his own vault within
the church; the stone which covered it
was removed to the churchyard

420 "We considering with mature deliberation ⁶⁰⁵
the fee and true services of Sir William Periton
and that he is sprung from an ancient, noble
and most renowned family inasmuch as he
is descended through many illustrious
ancestors from Aida sister of John surnamed
Scott seventh Earl of Chester and daughter
of David Earl of Angus and Huntingdon
Lord of Galloway within our Kingdom of
Scotland youngest brother of William, then
King of Scotland" &c - Grant of Creation
to Sir William Periton, quoted by P. H. Montague
Smith, N. and Q. May 29, 1937.

421 The ring of five at S. Bartholomew
Exchange were hung with pound wheels
in 1649.

422 I have since discovered from the Edwardian
inventories that there were five bells and
a pounce bell at S. Martins, See
Chapter VIII. page 668. Vol.

423. I have made fresh discoveries which ⁶⁰⁶
have caused me to alter this opinion. In
1552 there were in the City of London, 2
rings of six bells, of five, and of four
For the probable number of rings before
the fire of 1666 see Chapter VIII.

424. On Dec 12 1642 the House of Lords
ordered that the bells of Exeter Cathedral
should be melted into ordnance -
Report of Historical MSS. Commission,
vol. IV p 60. The order was not obeyed.

425. "1650. The Bells of St. Benedict's which the
University used to ring to acts and
Congregation being now much out of frame
and almost become useless the Heads
and President's contributed 30s towards
the repair, first taking an acknowledgment
under the hands of the Churchwardens
that they thankfully receive it as a

gift from the University - Annals ⁶⁰⁷
of Cambridge, C. H. Cooper, iii p 433

426. The authority for saying that Hedman was parish clerk of S. Benedict's seems to depend at present entirely on a statement by C. H. Cooper in Memorials of Cambridge - "Fabian Hedman, Clerk of this parish about 1650 invented the art of change ringing. Hedman Principle Hedman How Course, Hedman Triples and Hedman Caters are well known as also is the Cambridge Surprise. His Campanalogia or the Art of Ringing improved was published 12mo 1677."
"About 1650" is very vague. On any showing Hedman can hardly have been a parish clerk so early as 1650.

427 In the last year of the Commonwealth, 608¹⁵
12 May 1659-60 an act of Parliament was
passed for the settling the militia within
England and Wales. Among the
Commissioners appointed for Cheshire was
William Breerton of Breerton. This
probably was Lord Breerton, but it may
have been his son. — Acts and Ordinances
of the Interregnum 1642-1660 Vol. II. p 428.

428 The great plague occurred in 1665 and
that well may have been the reason
why Stidman returned to Cambridge.

429. "Those wellknown unknowns the College
youths, who have figured on Celfry labels
for these last two or three hundred years
and had their name it seems from meeting
to practice at St. Michaels on College Hill
London." — The Builder, Jan'y 31. 1852.

430 For a fuller account of Tulser see appendix
to Chapter VIII.

431. In the Treasury Book for Oct 15 it is 609
noted that Robert Roanes petition was read and
he was "to attend Mr George on Monday next."
Later a warrant was issued to pay him £100.
Calendar of Treasury Books. 1667. This probably
refers to a transaction other than that referred
to in the text.

432. "Dec 17 1672 Treasurer Cliffords paid for
letters patent to constitute Thomas Roane
Controller of Customs, Chichester port, loco
John Martin, Gent deceased" - Calendar of
Treasury Books, p. 14.

"Aug 25 1673 Paid by Treasurer Lalimer
for letters patent to appoint Thomas Roane, Esq.
Controller of Chichester port, loco John Martin
gent, deceased" - Ibid p 384.

"June 7, 1674. Treasurer Lalimer's paid for
royal letters patent to constitute Freeman
Hause, Controller of Customs of Chichester
port on the surrender of Thomas Roane, Esq. -
ibid p 539.

"Thomas Roane, Controller of Chichester
port contracted with Thomas Best of

London Genl, 1674 April 24 for the surrender 610
to Best of said office of Comptroller. It is therefore
prayed on behalf of Best that if any person else
shall appear for a grant of said office, Best may
be heard before it pass - Ibid p. 644.

433 Mar 12. 1660-1661. Report to the King from
Treasurer Southampton on Lord Breton's
petition for a lease in reversion after Sir
Willoughby Aston, ^{for a term of three years of Customs} on French wines in the ports
of Chester Carnarvon &c. Thinks it neither
fit to maintain Sir Willoughby Aston's grant
nor renew him any further time - Calendar
of Treasury Books.

434. 1667. Present all my Lords. Petition read
from Sir Thomas Williamson and Sir Clifford
Clifton. To be considered hereafter. No
further particulars, but called Sir T. Williamson
called with Lord Kensington. Moves for money
expended by him. My Lords say that unless
Parliament do help the King they cannot
pay the debts. - Calendar of Treasury Books.

435. Parnell evidently was a ringer He says he rang
Grandvie Calen at Bath in 1791.

Index of Names.

Addison Sean	128.
Annable, Benjamin	503, 515-520
Archel Thomas	380.
Arundel Thomas, Abp of Canterbury	43, 311, 313.
Aston, Anthony	2, 471.
Aikins, Richard	184.
Austin, Samuel	2, 543.
Austin, William	146, 182.
Bagley, Henry.	128, 129, 397, 588.
Baker, David Erskine	3.
Baker, W.	129.
Bakewell, Thomas	202.
Ball, Samuel	458.
Ball, William	3, 426.
Bannister, William	351
Baring-Gould, P.	3.
Barker, G. F. R	3.
Barker, George	3.
Barker, John	190-196.
Barrow, W.	3.
Barrett, James	143.
Bassill, William	244.

Bennet, Seely afterwards Lord Arlington	93, 101, 193.
Bettesworth, A	441.
Beresford, W.	3.
Besant, Sir Walter	3.
Betterton, Thomas	3, 469.
Bescfield, Thomas	67.
Bilcliff, Francis	69.
Bilcliff, Markham	69.
Bishop, Richard	203.
Bishop, William	204.
Blackham, R. J.	4.
Bless, Philip	
Blomfield, Francis	4.
Blow, Thomas	4.
Bozlock, Thomas	71.
Bradshaw, Peter	523.
Brereton, George	92, 566.
Brereton, John	84, 93.
Brereton, William, 1st Lord	78.
Brereton, William, 2nd Lord	76-94, 101, 107, 268, 269, 273, 276.
Brereton, William, 3rd Lord	94.
Brereton, Sir William	81.
Bret, Henry	481-484.
Bridges, John	4.

Bucer, Martin	304
Burke, Sir Bernard	4.
Burnet, Bishop Gilbert	5, 168.
Burney, Dr Charles	5, 364.
Burrows, Montague	5.
C. S. C. C.	7.
Campbell, Lord	5.
Carey, Daniell	101.
Carlisle, James	200
Cartier, Richard	102.
Castleman, Richard	102.
Catlin, Robert	542.
Cecil, Charles	490-492
Cecil, George	490.
Cecil, Robert	490, 492.
Cecil, William	491.
Chapman, John	241.
Charles, I	52.
Charles II	118, 52, 169, 215, 398
Chauncy, Sir Henry	5, 146, 213, 225-237.
Chepe William	68.
Chichele, Henry, Athbp of Canterbury	315.
Chidley, Samuel	6, 305.

Cobber, Colley	6, 470.	614 21
Clarendon, Lord	6, 296.	
Clifford, Geo. 3rd E. of Cumberland	97.	
Clifton A. B.	6.	
Clifton, Clifford	95-99, 107, 268, 269, 273	
Clifton, Gervase	95.	
Clutterbuck, Robert	6.	
Cocks, A. H.	7, 129.	
Cottayne, G. E.	7	
Colepeper, Sir Thomas	180.	
Coleridge, Canon G. F.	573.	
Collins, J.	204.	
Conyers, G.	386.	
Cooke, Edmund	198.	
Cooke, George	199.	
Cooke, John	197, 447.	
Cooke, John	447.	
Cooke, Thomas	197.	
Cooper, William	240.	
Cooler, William	7, 268, 589.	
Corcoran, Bryan	7.	
Cornish, Henry	173.	
Cosin, Bishop John	7, 304.	
Crofton, Zachary	91, 117.	
Curtis, Langley.	401.	

D. J.D. see Doleman.	
Dacre, Lord	269, 273, 295, 298.
Daniell, Robert A.	8, 270, 322, 443.
Darbie, John	342.
Davies, Charles D.P.	8.
Davies, Thomas	8.
Doble, C. E.	9.
Dolben, Gilbert	486-488
Dolben, John, Athp of York	486.
Dolben, John	486-490.
Dolben	166, 178.
Doleman, John	9, 35.
Doran, John	9.
Dowsing, Will.	302, 309.
Duckworth, Richard	9, 35, 49, 337-363 529, 534-536.
Dugdale, Sir William	10.
Duntion, John	10.
Eccleston, Theodore	483.
Eldridge, Brian	485.
Ellacombe, Henry Thomas	10, 266, 271, 278, 359.
Elizabeth, Queen	40, 42, 44, 531.
Evelyn, John	10.
Everard, Sir Richard	141, 185-189, 310, 446.

Field, John	326, 334.
Finch, Griffiths	99, 244.
Finch, Sir Heneage	99.
Finch, Sir Heneage, Earl of Nottingham	99.
Fisher, Thomas.	203.
Flower, Edward.	100-105.
Fosbrooke T. D.	11, 462.
Foss, E.	10.
Fowler, Thomas	243.
Fosse, John	11, 43.
Freeman, E. A.	11. 292.
Froude, J. A.	12. 38.
Gale, John	459.
Gardiner, Thomas	143.
Garthorn, John	579.
Gaunt, Elizabeth	174.
Gerschow, Frederic	12, 41, 43.
Gillett and Johnston	12, 273.
Godlid, W.	327, 336, 360, 401.
Goldsmith, John S.	12, 456
Goodyear, John	196.
Gordon, William	12.
Goring, George, Earl of Norwich	80.

Grayer, Miles	299
Green, J. R.	12.
Griffiths, John	89.
Griffiths, John	242.
H. R. H. Lee Howlett.	
Hackel, Bishop John	120-127, 292
Hackel, Leslie	129.
Hale, Sir Matthew	147.
Hampes, William	13.
Hancock, Thomas	241.
Harrison, Cap ^t . John	13, 109-116.
Harted, Edward	14.
Harwood, Thomas	13.
Haughlin, John	119.
Hawkins, Sir John	14.
Hearne, Thomas	14, 227, 338, 340, 460, 503, 505.
Hentzer, Paul	14, 40.
Hewitt, John	14.
Heywood, Sir Arthur	347.
Hellingdon, Bells at	602.
Hodson, John	142, 189.
Holland, John D.D.	459-463
Hoptkins, E. T.	14.
Hoptkins, John	14, 358, 575.

Houghton John	119
Howlett, R.	15, 432-440.
Hubbard, Henry	357.
Hume, David	15.
Humphrey, W. H.	15.
Hutchins, John	15.
Inghen, A. R.	15.
James II.	150, 170, 341
James, William	243.
Jefferies, Lord	157, 167.
Jenkins, John	72, 328, 370-374.
Jessopp, Augustus, D.D.	16.
Joyce, Thomas	108.
Kember, E.	16.
King, Arthur T.	16.
Knight, John	465
Knight, Samuel	522.
Lambert, C. H.	580.
Landon, Thomas	464.
Lane, Timothy	117.
Lawley, Sir Thomas	129.
Luttrell, Narcissus	17, 72.
Lenthall William	466.

Leslie, Thomas	
L'Esliange, Hamon	371.
L'Esliange, John	428.
L'Esliange, Roger	371, 427.
Lewis, Edwin H.	359.
Lickfeld, Leonard	490.
Leghfoot, John	120.
Lengard, John	16.
Liste, Alice	564.
Lodge, Edmund	16.
Lodge, Richard	16.
Lownes, W. F.	16.
Lukis, C. W.	17, 268, 358.
Lumley, Martin	146, 182.
Luttrell, Narcissus	17, 72.
Macaulay, Lord	17
Shackworth, Henry	106-108.
Shackworth, Robert	106-108.
Shackworth, Thomas	108.
Maguire, S.	17, 361
Maitland, William	265.
Manley, Mrs	17.
Mason, Charles D.D.	17, 293.
Mason, Elisha	523, 524.

Mears Thomas	130.	620 27
Melchior, Thomas	18.	
Mersenne, F. M.	18, 365.	
Millourne, Robert	465.	
Milner, John	120, 147.	
Millon, Christopher	146-151, 477, 562.	
Millon, John	18, 425, 477.	
Morant Philip	18.	
Morris, Ernest	18, 255, 277, 332.	
Muddiman, J. G.	18.	
Munday, Peter	526.	
Musgrave, Sir William	18.	
Nash, T.	19.	
Newcombe		
Newton, Sir Isaac	343, 393.	
Newton, John	131.	
Newlin, John	133.	
Newlin, Thomas	132.	
Nicoll, Alexander	19.	
Nicolls, John	117	
Nichols, John	19.	
Nicholas, Secretary of State	187.	
Noble, Mark	19.	
North, Roger	19, 372.	

North, Thomas

19, 20, 129.

621
28

Gales, Titus

154, 168, 188, 479.

Osborn, Edward John

20, 261-266, 271, 272

278, 294, 321, 442,

501, 544, 579, 600

Armerod, George

20.

Owen, John

69.

Owen, Seymour

69.

Papillon, Canon Thos. Leslie

273.

Parnell, John Alfred

20, 32, 257, 285-293,

322, 324, 326.

Parr, Sir Edward

20.

Patrick John

35.

Pancefoot, William

484.

Pearson, William Carter

20.

Pepys, Samuel

20, 127, 197, 447.

Pheeps, Richard

542.

Phillips John

477-480.

Pinks, W. J.

21.

Plume, Thomas

21.

Raven, J. J. D.D.

21, 272, 276.

Reeves, Harvey

33, 357.

Reeves, John.

453.

Revel, William	187.	622. 29.
Rhodes, H.	432.	
Rhodes, J.	468.	
Roane, Robert	35, 135-139, 370, 391, 394, 410, 454, 527.	
Roan, Thomas	139. 609.	
Rock, Richard	560.	
Rudall, Abraham	130, 541.	
Rudder, Samuel	22, 482	
de Sales, Rachael.	29, 603.	
Salisbury, William, 2 nd Earl	269, 273, 295	
Salisbury, James, 4 th Earl	490.	
Sacheverel, John	503.	
Samuell, Sir Thomas	466.	
Samuell, William	466.	
Sanders, Samuel	243.	
Sawbridge, George	336.	
Scarsbrook, George	32, 501, 525.	
Scattergood, Anthony, D.D.	126.	
Scattergood, Samuel	22, 35, 127, 330, 343, 391-400, 392, 419.	
Seymour, Robert	22.	
Sharpe, Frederick	23.	
Shaw, W.A.	23.	
Sheldon, Gilbert, Abp.	125. 486.	

Sheldon, Gilbert	486.
Shepherd, E. C.	23.
Shepherd, Thomas	464.
Shipway, William	23, 32, 256, 257, 271 281, 284-293, 322, 351, 501, 523, 527, 579.
Shuli, Benjamin	476.
Shuli, Col. Samuel	476.
Silvertown, John	67.
Skellon, John	214.
Slater, Theodore E.	23.
Smith, J. J.	23.
Smith, J. Toulmin	23.
Smith, William	336, 401.
Smyth, Henry	586.
Snowdon, Jasper W.	23, 24, 348, 358, 589.
Soden, A. J.	24.
Sottansiall, William	351.
Stace, John	202.
Stahlschmidt, John C. L.	25.
Stanley, Ed. 3rd. E. of Derby.	
Staveley, Thomas	24
Stedman, Fabian	33, 35, 51, 127, 139, 257, 287, 318-455, 498 514, 526-533, 538, 527 571, 577, 599.

Siedman, John	323.	624 31
Siedman, Gordon	443.	
Siedman, Walter	323	
Spill, Sir Richard	25.	
Stettin-Pomerania, Philip Julius, Duke of.	41.	
Stephen, H. L.	25.	
Stephen, Henry N.	25.	
Stow, John	25, 265, 282, 592	
Stiff, H. P. H.	25.	
Styrpe, John	25, 282.	
Tending, John	35, 139-143, 291.	
Tending, Thomas	141, 310, 527.	
Thackeray, Benjamin	352.	
Thornton, R	25.	
Thynne, Thos.	163.	
Tregelyan G. M.	25.	
Trollope, J. A.	25.	
Tulse, Sir Henry	183, 446, 602	
Turner, Christopher	238-240.	
Turyn, John	427.	
Tyacke, George S.	26, 270.	
Tyssen, A. D.	26, 302.	

Underhill, Gave	432, 468.
Urey, Cap ^l Favus	100.
Veron, Jean	26.
W. J. W. Lee White	
Wade, Armagill	267.
Walcoi, E. Mackenzie	560
Walford, John	464.
Wallis, H. B.	26, 27, 273, 300.
Warner, John.	458.
Warner, Thomas	202.
Wentham, Jane	233.
Wheatley, H. B.	27.
Windham, John	486.
White, J.	27, 380-388, 425, 433, 579.
Whitende In	338, 362, 535.
Whitmore, William	143, 381.
Whittington, Richard	255, 268-280.
Wickers, Phoebe	450
Williamson, Joseph	43, 190, 194.
Williamson, Dr G. E.	28, 274
Willis, Browne	28.
Willshie, Richard	200
Withers, Sri Francis	146, 156-181, 446, 563, 564, 565, 585.

Wood, Anthony a

28, 131, 336,
372, 379, 535.

626
33

Wright, Thomas

29.

Young, William

464.



General Index

"Abhorers" and "Petitioners"	157.
"Antiquities of Hertfordshire"	228
Barley Show, The	475
Bell founding at the times of the Commonwealth.	142, 207, 299-310
Bell hanging	45, 53, 143, 208, 389, 416, 553.
Bells rung backwards	462.
Bloekley	395, 400.
Bloody Assize, The	171, 565.
Bob	358.
Bob Doubles	135, 209, 537.
Bob Minor	136, 538.
Bob Triples, Seal of at St. Sepulchres'	500-521
Bob Major	423.
Boreham, Bells at	141, 142.
Bow Church	58.
Brereton Family, The	77.
Bristol	420.
Call Changes	56, 559.
Cambridge, Bells at	331.
Campanalogia The, 1677.	33, 260, 325, 355 401-442, 550.
Campanalogia, The, 1702.	336, 356.

Change-ringing, Nature of	407
Change-ringing, Origin of	49.
Chacombe, Bell foundry at	129
Cheapside, Scholars of	58-72, 75, 224, 272, 273, 327.
Churches suspended for not ringing	43, 313.
Civil War, The	80, 97, 144.
College Bob Triples	422.
College Grounds	369.
College Hill	262.
College Youths, Society of	32, and generally
College Youths, Society of Its Name	254-298, 594
College Youths' Manuscripts	32, 502-521, 537-548.
Composition	134, 139, 330, 420
Cross Seals	55, 134.
Cumberland Youths Society of	254.
Eclon, Bell foundry at	130.
Eight and Forty	53.
Eight-bell ringing	210.
Empingham, Bell at	106.
Esquires' Twelve Score	245.
Esquire Youths, Society of	95, 213-246.
Eslicam Bells	134.

Finedon, Bells at	488.	629 36
Fire of London, The	191, 282, 496	
Five Bell Consorts, The	364, 373.	
Five Bell Ringing	144.	
Four and Twenty	134.	
Funeral Ringing	65.	
Grandsire Bob	136, 209, 348, 411, 538.	
Grandsire Bob Triples	509.	
Grandsire Doubles	136, 139, 208, 411, 454	
Grandsire Triples	422, 498, 510, 539	
Grandsire Caters	496, 522.	
Grandsire Cinques	518, 540.	
Greenwich Youth, Society of	248.	
Half-pull ringing, Introduction of	208.	
Harleisi	339, 342.	
Hillingdon, Bells at	603.	
Historians of Ringing	253	
Hunts	51, 134	
Husbandman's Magazine, The	431.	
Imperial Bob	423.	
Jumping Doubles	394.	
Lambert's Countryman's Treasure	431.	
Legends	252.	

Leicester, Steadman's visit to	375.	630 37
Lichfield Cathedral and bells	124, 309, 587, 588.	
London Composers	391	
London Scholars, Society of	213, 540	
Loyal Youths, The Society of.	129, 213, 395.	
Movement: the fundamental idea in change-ringing.	50.	
Nottingham, St. Peter's Bells at	248.	
Norfolk Surprise	423.	
Northern Youths, The Society of	247.	
Norwich	420, 509.	
Norwich Scholars, The Society of	509.	
Officers of Ringing Societies	60, 218, 327	
Old Doubles	135, 209.	
Oxford Double B.B.	390.	
Oxford Single B.B.	390.	
Oxford Treble B.B.	390.	
Parish Registers in London	282	
Plain Changes	53, 55, 133, 209, 246, 357, 421, 423, 495, 547.	
Papish Priests, The	153.	
Priests' Bells	437.	

Printers and Printing Presses	424-428.	631
Turitanism and Bellringing	206, 302	35
2 Sets	422.	
Raising and Ceasing	445, 444	
Records, Ringing	32, 72, 74.	
Reading Doubles	419.	
Restoration Tre. Effect on Ringing	205.	
Restoration Triples	512.	
"Rich Cabinet of Inventions"	380.	
Ringing, Early	37, 45, 70, 135 473, 559.	
Ringing, Popularity of.	37, 212.	
Ringing as a Sport	39.	
Ringing Societies, Origin of	39.	
Rules of Ringing Societies	58, 214, 552.	
St. Andrews Holborn	122.	
St. Andrews Undershaft	444, 451	
St. Benet's, Cambridge	259, 287, 322, 456 538, 547, 597.	
St. Brude's Fleet Street	540.	
St. Martin, Vintry	256, 537	
St. Michael Paternoster Royal	256.	
St. Sepulchres' Snow Hill	70, 500, 522, 539.	
St. Saviour's Southwark	499, 538.	
Salisbury St. Edmunds'	54.	

Sanctus Bells	437	632
School of Recreation Tre	431-442.	37
Shoreditch Bells	44, 551.	
Sises, Tre	49, 51, 134, 552	
Solihull, Bells at	397.	
Stamford Guild of S. Katherine	66.	
Stedman's Commemoration	456, 571.	
Stedman's Principle	258, 287, 325, 332,	
	395, 454, 526, 538	
	547.	
Steeple Station	339, 340.	
Stoney	56.	
de Tintinnabulis	357, 361.	
Tintinnalogia	33, 325, 335-370,	
	403-410, 429, 526.	
Tintinnalogia by J. White	386, 600.	
Twenty all over	52.	
Universities and Ringing		
Walked Changes	54.	
Waltham, Great, Bells at	189.	
Western Green Caps, Society of	213.	
Westminster, Brethren of	39.	
Westminster School	121, 293.	
Whittingtons College	255, 591.	
Winwick	393.	
York Minster Bells	601.	

FABIAN STEDMAN.
ONCE TREASURER OF THE SCHOLLARS OF
CHEAPSIDE.

Another interesting fact in the life of Fabian Stedman has been brought to light by Mr. J. Armiger Trollope, in a search among manuscripts in the British Museum.

The library of All Souls' College at Oxford contains a manuscript giving the rules of the Schollars of Chepe-syde, which was founded on February 2nd, 1603. It has always been assumed that this is the original book belonging to the society, and that the company came to an end some time shortly after the date of the last entry in 1634, but I have found evidence that it is a copy, though a nearly contemporary one.

The original is in the British Museum, among the Sloane MSS., and the society was still in existence as late as 1662.

The book is a small one of about one hundred pages, finely bound and written on vellum. Like most old documents written in cursive script it is very difficult to read, many letters being made in an entirely different way to those at present.

The wording of the rules, so far as I could judge from memory, is exactly the same as in the Oxford MSS., except that there are 37 in this and only 30 in the other. For several years the book is carefully kept, the names of the Generall and the four Wardens being entered annually; afterwards the writing is by another hand and is much more haphazard. There are numerous signatures by new members, and one or two make their mark, which does not mean that they were socially of a low class.

On five occasions a man was elected as Generall and 'fyned' for refusing to serve. On the 28th November, 1631, a touch was rung on the six bells at St. Sepulchre's Church, by a band consisting entirely of men who had held the office of Generall. The treble was rung single-handed, two men were put to each of the second and third, four to each of the fourth and fifth, and five to the tenor. Two more men 'stood by.' What they rang is not stated, but we may conclude from the advance that the art had then made that it was raising and falling with perhaps some plain changes between. This is, I believe, the only record extant of any ringing in the 17th century in which the names of the ringers are given.

The suggestion that the Society of College Youths was a revival of this company is clearly inaccurate. One belonged to Westminster, the other to the City of London, and until the Cheapside Scholars finally broke up in 1662 none of them seems to have joined the other company.

A man named Thomas Bostock, who held office in 1656, went to the College Youths in 1668, and was successively steward (1681) and Master (1686). He is described as an esquire in the younger company's list, a very unusual title there.

In 1662 appear two very interesting names. One is John Jenkins, the composer of the Five Bell Consorte, who joined the College Youths in the same year. The other is Fabian Stedman, who held the office of treasurer. This is the earliest contemporary notice we have of Stedman, and the question arises, how could he have discharged the duties of treasurer to a London society if he were living at Cambridge? I begin to think that he

was really a London man, who accepted a post for a few years under John Field, the University printer, and then returned to London when he was offered a good job in the audit of Excise by John Cooke, who was a College Youth and head of the Exercise in London.

This is, I believe, the oldest manuscript in existence dealing with ringing. J. ARMIGER TROLLOPE.

THE RINGING WORLD.

May 15th, 1936.

August 20th, 1937.

LONDON BELLS BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE. HOW THEIR NUMBERS INCREASED.

By J. ARMIGER TROLLOPE.

One of my tasks in writing my 'History' was to find out, if I could, how many ringing peals there were in London before the Great Fire of 1666, and especially how many bells there were at St. Michael, Paternoster Royal, and St. Martin-in-the-Vintry, where, we are told, the College Youths first practised.

It is usually assumed that the only sources of information are Stow's 'Survey of London' and its various continuations, and such of the parish accounts as have survived, none of which tells us very much. But Mr. C. T. Flower, the secretary of the Public Record Office, very kindly made some investigations for me among State-papers and afterwards put me in the way of making others myself. As a result I have found out that there were in London in olden times very many more bells than is usually supposed.

In 1552 and 1553 inventories were made of the goods, ornaments and bells of all the parish churches throughout England and Wales. Many of these inventories still exist, those for some counties (Norfolk and Surrey, for example) being practically complete. In London at the time there were 105 parish churches and there are inventories for 95. But nine of them are mutilated and tell us nothing about the bells.

In the remaining 86 churches there were two rings of six, 34 of five, 26 of four and 21 of three. All of them had, in addition, a saunce or sanctus bell. St. Margaret, Pattens, is the only one that possessed a single bell, and that was because the steeple was being rebuilt when it was stopped by a dreadful fire which destroyed many of the houses in the parish and caused the death of nine persons. All Hallows, Lombard Street, had but two (one of them a saunce bell). A parishioner had bought the bells of the dissolved priory of St. John-at-Clerkenwell for the steeple, but he died and his son and heir refused to complete the gift. St. Pancras, Soper Lane, also had but two, but that was a tiny church.

In addition, there were rings of five at St. Paul's Cathedral and the Conventual Church of St. Martin-le-Grand. Soon after 1553, however, both these rings were destroyed. St. Martin's was broken up and sold, and St. Paul's perished by fire in 1561. The five at St. Anne and St. Agnes were also destroyed by fire. But all the

rest were not only preserved and well looked after between 1552 and 1666, but in many instances were augmented. All Hallows, Staining, four in 1552, were made five; St. Andrew, Holborn, were increased in 1578 from four to eight; St. Alphage, London Wall, from three to six; St. Andrew, Undershaft, from four to six; St. Botolph, Aldersgate, from three to five; St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, from three to six; St. Christopher, Stocks, from five to six; St. Giles, Cripplegate, from five to six; St. Mary-le-Bow, from five to ten; St. Michael, Cornhill, from six to eight; St. Olave, Hart Street, from four to six; and All Hallows, London Wall, from four to six.

Probably there were other rings which were augmented, for a man left money for the bells of All Hallows, Bread Street, to be rung on certain occasions, and they were only four in 1552. All Hallows, Barking, too, for which there is no inventory, were made six in 1659, and St. Bartholomew by the Exchange, of which the inventory is defective, were five at the end of the 16th century.

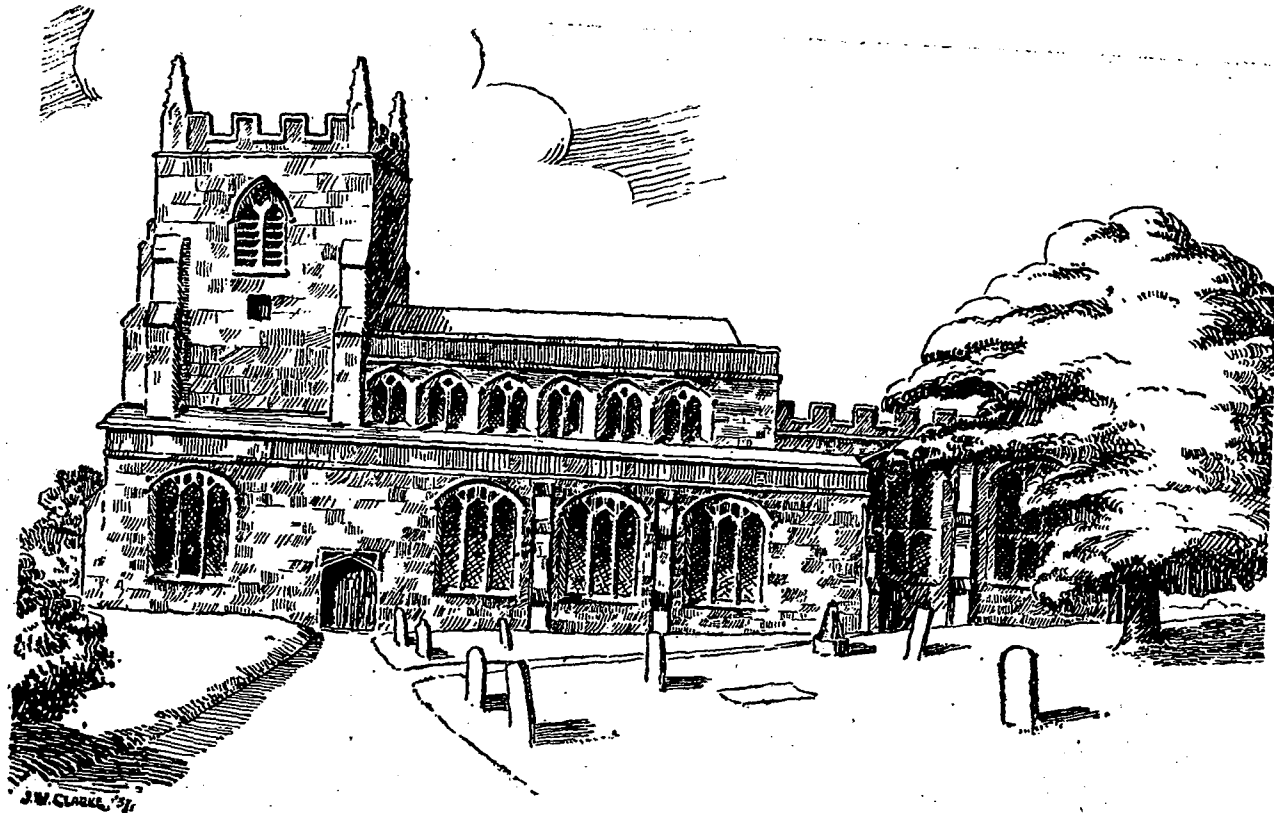
At St. Martin-in-the-Vintry there were 'V bells of an accord and a lesser bell.' Neither the inventory nor any parish accounts of St. Michael, Paternoster Royal, survive, and we shall never know what bells were there before the fire, but judging by comparison with other churches of a like importance, we may say that probably it had a ring of five.

The inventories for the Westminster churches have not survived, but we know from other sources that in the early 17th century St. Martin-in-the-Fields had five bells, the Abbey six, and St. Margaret's six. At St. Saviour's, Southwark, there was a heavy ring of six in 1552, increased to eight in the 17th century; St. Olave's had five; and Lambeth had five. St. Giles-in-the-Fields had three in 1552 and six in 1635.

All these bells were hung for ringing and were rung regularly, even the little threes in what were scarcely more than turrets.

The old societies rang on three and four bells as well as on fives and sixes, and we know from extant rules that it was their custom to go about from belfry to belfry, as fancy or convenience dictated; so that they had pretty nearly a hundred towers within walking distance to chose from.

The College Youths, in this respect, were not different from other societies. They were not specially connected with any one City church, and there is not a scrap of evidence to show that they had anything to do with any church on College Hill, even if there was a ringing peal there. In any case, the oft-quoted statement of Shipway that they rang Stedman's Principle at a church on College Hill cannot be true. The Principle was not composed until shortly before 1677 and all the bells at St. Michael, Paternoster Royal, and St. Martin-in-the-Vintry perished in the fire of 1666.



ST. OSWALD'S CHURCH, BRERETON, CHESHIRE.

[From a drawing by Mr. J. W. Clarke, Chester.]