

A consideration of the antiquarian and literary works of Joseph Strutt, with a transcript of a hitherto inedited manuscript novel

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A consideration of the antiquarian and
literary works of Joseph Strutt, with
a transcript of a hitherto inedited
manuscript novel.

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Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy of the University of
London.

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

The first part of this thesis considers Joseph Strutt's life, and his place in antiquarian studies. Strutt (1749-1802) was trained as an engraver. Some of his early commissions introduced him to the illuminated manuscripts of the British Museum, and led to the series of illustrated volumes on antiquarian subjects which he published between 1773 and 1778 (the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, the Manners and Customs, the Chronicle of England). The next fifteen years were devoted to engraving and related work, including an extensively-researched biographical dictionary of engravers: this aspect of Strutt's work is not covered by the present study. In the 1790's, Strutt published two more works of antiquarian research, the Dress and Habits and the Sports and Pastimes. A number of literary works were published posthumously: two plays (Ancient Times and The Test of Guilt); a mock-epic poem (The Bumpkins' Disaster); and a four-volume novel set in the fifteenth century (Queenhoo-Hall). A further prose work survives in manuscript. The literary works are studied in the second part of the thesis, and a transcript is given of the unpublished manuscript.

This study attempts to show how Strutt's interpretation of the early periods of English history and literature helped to form the pre-Romantic taste for the medieval. The plates of his antiquarian works, taken almost exclusively from manuscripts contemporary with the subjects described, familiarised his audience with what had formerly been strange to all but the specialist. His works of fiction are attempts to do the same thing by literary means. Walter Scott was employed to edit the incomplete manuscript of Queenhoo-Hall: he was encouraged by Strutt's example to take up his own writing of historical fiction.

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The quotations which form part of the chapter headings are taken from poems of the antiquaries and other writers of the later eighteenth century, as follows (the reference is to the number of the poem in the Oxford Book of Eighteenth Century Verse):

<u>Chapter One</u>	William Cowper, "The Statesman in Retirement" (350)
<u>Chapter Two</u>	William Mason, "Ode to a Friend" (307)
<u>Chapter Three</u>	Thomas Warton, "Sonnet, written in a blank leaf of Dugdale's Monasticon" (311)
<u>Chapter Four</u>	Thomas Warton, "Verses on Sir Joshua Reynolds's Painted Window at New College, Oxford" (314)
<u>Chapter Five</u>	John Langhorne, "Apology for Vagrants" (322)
<u>Chapter Six</u>	William Blake, "Night" (393)

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Symbols used for Joseph Strutt's works

(Here, and throughout the thesis including the bibliography, the place of publication is London unless otherwise indicated)

- AT Ancient Times, a drama (published in the fourth volume of Queenhoo-Hall, 1808).
- Biog. Dict. A Biographical Dictionary; containing an historical account of all the engravers (1785).
- Bumpkins' D. The Bumpkins' Disaster; or, The Journey to London (1808).
- Chron. The Chronicle of England (1777,78). 2 vols.
- "Chronicle (of a Revolution)" "A Chronicle of a Revolution in the Land of the Lilies" (n.d.). Unpublished manuscript in the possession of the Essex Archaeological Society.
- DH A Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England (1796,99). 2 vols.
- HAC see MC.
- MC Horda Angel-Cynnan; or, A Compleat view of the manners, customs, arms, habits, etc. of the inhabitants of England (1775, 76). 3 vols. The sub-title, in the form Manners and Customs, is used regularly in this thesis, as it has been since the work was published. Strutt's contemporaries occasionally used the main title in the abbreviated form "H.A.C."
- QHH Queenhoo-Hall, a romance (1808). 4 vols.
- REA The Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England (1773).
- SP Glig-Gamena Angel-Deod; or, The Sports and pastimes of the people of England (1801). As with MC, the sub-title is regularly used.
- Supp. A Supplement to the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, Manners, Customs, Habits, etc. of the English (1792).
- Test G. The Test of Guilt; or, Traits of Antient Superstition (1808).

Symbols for other sources and texts

Printed works are cited in full on first reference, and subsequently by symbol, unless there are very few references, in which case the full title is used throughout. Manuscripts other than those listed below are referred to in full by institution and number, except that British Library and Bodleian Library are shortened in citations to Brit. Lib. and Bodl. The frequently-cited Bodleian Library manuscript, Douce f.10, is occasionally referred to as "the Douce manuscript" or "Douce" when there is no possibility of confusion.

- Alumni Cant. see Venn
- Calamities Isaac D'Israeli, The Calamities and Quarrels of Authors (1812).
- The Carrington "Diary" The unpublished diary of John Carrington, Hertfordshire Record Office, D/EX 3/1-13.
- Christy Robert Miller Christy, "Joseph Strutt, a Biography" (1912). Unpublished typescript, Brit. Lib. 10824.k.15.
- The Crosier "Diary" The transcript of the unpublished diary of John Crosier, Essex Record Office, T/A 387.
- DNB The Dictionary of National Biography (1885-1900 repr. Oxford, 1973).
- Gent. Mag. The Gentleman's Magazine (periodical).
- L'Ant. Expl. Bernard de Montfaucon, L'Antiquité Expliquée et Représentée en Figures (Paris, 1719). 5 vols.
- Lit. Anecs. John Nichols, Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century (1812-15). 9 vols.
- Memoir William Strutt, A Memoir of the Life of Joseph Strutt (1896).
- Monthly Rev. The Monthly Review (periodical).
- Monumens Bernard de Montfaucon, Les Monumens de la Monarchie Française (Paris, 1729-33). 5 vols.
- Sep. Mons. Richard Gough, Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain (1786). 2 vols.
- Toynbee Corr. The Letters of Horace Walpole . . . edited by Mrs. Paget Toynbee (Oxford, 1903-25). 19 vols.
- Venn John and J.A. Venn, comp. Alumni Cantabrigienses (Cambridge 1922-1954).
- Yale Corr. The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence, ed. W.S. Lewis (1937-83).

The spelling and punctuation used in quotations in this thesis is that of the original.

The conventions followed in presentation of quotations, footnotes, etc. are those of the MLA Style Sheet, compiled by William Riley Parker (reprinted from the Proceedings of the Modern Language Association of America, LXVI, 3 [April 1951]).

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The Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia
The National Library of Scotland
The National Library of Wales

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A NOTE ON BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

Biographical accounts, printed and unpublished

No full-length biography of Joseph Strutt has been published, but an autobiographical passage was included in one of his works of fiction, and there are two short printed notices of some importance. An unpublished biography survives in two typescript copies.

In Strutt's novel, Queenhoo-Hall, occurs a narrative called the "Old Man's Tale".¹ An elderly traveller accidentally frightens away the hawk of an aristocratic hunting party, and is called into the Great Hall to explain himself. The life-story he tells is in fact Strutt's own. There is no doubt that the Old Man's Tale is autobiographical: the similarities between known events in Strutt's life and the "Old Man's" are far too frequent to be accidental. He is, for example, named "Ingold" (Strutt's mother's maiden name); and the story of the discovery of the Old Man's hiding place (II, 222-235) shares many phrases with Strutt's account of his own discovery when hiding from his debtors in Hertfordshire in 1791.² The Tale was from the beginning recognised as autobiography; indeed Joseph Strutt Junior recommended the passage to Francis Douce as early as 1803, as a "little artless narrative, which will convey an idea of the feelings and affections of my Father in a private capacity."³ The Tale was at that time to be found separately from the rest of the Queenhoo-Hall manuscript, "among the detached chapters ... in a marble-paper loose cover";⁴ so it may be that it was only an afterthought of Strutt's to add it to the text of his novel. It is never of course possible to be quite certain that any incident in the Tale is an actual event in Strutt's life: but the account tallies in every detail with what is known from other sources to have happened; and both William Strutt and Robert Miller Christy

1 Queenhoo-Hall (1808), II, 208-245.
2 As related in a letter to his sister-in-law, 10 March 1791; see below, p. 61.
3,4 Letter to Francis Douce, 5 August 1803 (Bodleian MS. Douce d.21 [Letters 1800-09], fol.28).

(see below) make extensive use of it.

The earlier of the two printed works, on which all later accounts depend, is the biographical notice of Strutt which John Nichols included in his Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century (V, 665-686). This notice is based on a biography of Strutt written by his elder son Joseph within a few years of his father's death. Joseph Strutt Junior mentioned his biography in letters to the publisher John Murray and the antiquary Francis Douce;¹ but it was not published, and the manuscript does not survive. It has been surmised (Christy, i, 4) that the manuscript may have been destroyed in the fire which burnt down Nichols' printing house on 8 February 1808. Joseph Strutt Junior (according to a note in the Strutt family papers) "expressed himself much dissatisfied" when Nichols' notice appeared, and regretted "the omission of many interesting circumstances in his father's life." This suggests that Nichols wrote the notice without much consultation; but certain of the details could only have come from family knowledge, and it may be that parts of the account are the words of Strutt Junior rather than Nichols. We have, of course, no way of knowing whether Nichols had made notes from the manuscript, or whether he relied only on his memory of it; but he clearly had access to some at least of Strutt's letters. Brief as it is, the account none the less remains, because of its date and the personal knowledge of its author(s), one of the most important sources of information on Strutt's life. The account is no eulogy, though it is generally sympathetic to one "whose whole life was devoted to convey instruction or afford gratification to his fellow-men" (Lit. Anecs., V, 667).

The second published work is A Memoir of Joseph Strutt, by William Strutt (Joseph's grandson), privately printed in 1896. The Memoir is not commonly met with, though copies are to be found

1 Letters dated 20 March 1807, Joseph Strutt Junior to John Murray (National Library of Scotland MS. 878, foll.134-136); and 24 November 1807, Joseph Strutt Junior to Francis Douce (Bodl. MS. Douce d.21 [Letters 1800-09], fol.113).

in major libraries. The work is a very useful supplement to Nichols. William Strutt draws on family papers which may not all have been available to Joseph Strutt Junior at the time of his biography; he is also able to write more freely of family relationships than could Joseph, so near to the date of his father's death (the stories of Strutt's tiresome sister-in-law, for example, are not included in the earlier account). The Memoir does not pretend to give a critical assessment of Strutt's antiquarian and literary work -- indeed William Strutt, an artist himself, was on the whole more interested in his grandfather's paintings and engravings than in his writing -- but it does preserve a number of poems and fragments which would otherwise have been lost.

The only full-length biography of Strutt which survives is a manuscript by the Essex antiquary Robert Miller Christy, completed in 1912. This work ("Joseph Strutt: a Biography") exists in two typescript copies, one at the British Library (10824.k.15), and the other in the possession of Lord Rayleigh. Though he writes at inordinate length on trivialities, Christy's is the first account to consider Strutt's significance as a scholar, and makes use of sources not consulted by his predecessors (such as the records of the Royal Academy Schools; rate books; the minute books of the Society of Antiquaries, etc.). He also had access to a group of letters which was not extensively used by Joseph or William Strutt, and which has since been lost.¹ Most of them are love-letters from Strutt to his future wife, and as such not of great importance for their subject-matter; but their frequency provides an incidental picture of Strutt's life more detailed than we have for any other period. The period in question is the early 1770's, when Strutt was beginning his antiquarian work and publishing his first books.

1 154 letters, arranged by Joseph Strutt Junior and bound in a quarto volume. The letters first appeared in an auction catalogue in 1856, when they were sold as Lot 286 by Sotheby's on 9 February, to the bookseller Pitcher. They became No.24329 in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps and were sold as Lot 744 in the third instalment of the sale of the Phillipps MSS., on 17 May 1897, passing into the collection of Sir Thomas Brooke (Christy, i, 5). After other changes of ownership the letters were, in 1932, presented to the Essex Archaeological Society.

The loss of the originals of these letters means that Christy's transcription of them has become a primary source. Unfortunately he has apparently corrected grammar, spelling, and occasionally sense in the letters; for this reason the few letters which survive in family copies, or are given by Nichols or William Strutt, are used in preference to Christy's.

A number of reference works include short biographical notices of Strutt, none with important additional information, though Isaac D'Israeli's account in The Calamities of Authors is a pleasing personal tribute (I, 263, 268-271).¹

Other sources of biographical information

A number of minor sources have also been consulted. The more important are as follows (for others, see footnotes passim):

1. The Strutt Family Papers

A box of miscellaneous papers in the possession of the family includes some forty references to Strutt. Many of the references duplicate information given in the printed sources, and most of the letters included in the collection are late copies; but there are a few originals, and items of additional information.

1 The short notices include those of Chalmers, Lowndes and Bryan (Alexander Chalmers, General Biographical Dictionary [1812-17], XXVIII, 466-468; William Lowndes, Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature [1863], p.2533; Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, ed. Williamson [1904-05], V, 138-139).

Foreign works of reference with biographical notices of Strutt include Nagler (Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon [München, 1835-52], XVII, 498-499); and Thieme-Becker (Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler [Leipzig, 1907 etc.], XXXII, 218-219).

Strutt was included in Vol.LV of the DNB, published in 1898. The reference in the 1973 reprint is XIX, 65-67.

A great deal of kindness has been shown by members of the Strutt family, in making available these papers and other material. Special gratitude is due to Mrs Margaret Strutt Davies and the Hon. Guy Strutt, both of whom have gone out of their way to lend rare items, and to provide information from their rich knowledge of family history.

2. The Diary of John Crosier

John Crosier, miller at Maldon, Essex, kept a journal which covers the years 1753-1788. The account of the years 1753-74 is from family tradition, the later years a first-hand report. The manuscript has recently been lost but a transcript of the unpublished diary, edited by C. Willett Cunnington, is kept at the Essex Record Office (T/A 387). Crosier's father had been apprenticed to Joseph Strutt's grandfather; and Strutt's mother, probably in the 1760's, became housekeeper to the Crosier family. Joseph Strutt and the diarist were therefore well acquainted, and Crosier records many details of the Strutt family history. According to the transcript of the diary, certain of Strutt's letters (now lost) made mention of Crosier: "The Essex Archaeological Society also possesses a collection of letters written by and to Joseph Strutt who speaks of the diarist always in friendly terms" (Introduction, p.7). Excerpts from the diary, though few referring to the Strutts, were published in 1972 in Essex People 1750-1900, by A.F.J. Brown.

3. Correspondence with William Roscoe

William Roscoe (1753-1831), of Liverpool, trained and practised as a lawyer, but found time for a wide range of other interests. As early as 1773 he helped to found a Liverpool Society for encouraging the arts of painting and design; and was a friend of Reynolds and Fuseli. He supported the campaign for the abolition of slavery, and was for a short time Whig MP for Liverpool. He became a banker, but the concern failed and led to the sale in 1816 of his valuable library and collection of prints and drawings. Roscoe is perhaps best remembered for his work on Italian history and literature: he acquired a European reputation for his lives of Lorenzo de' Medici (1795) and Leo X (1805).

The Roscoe papers in the Liverpool City Libraries include eleven letters from Strutt to Roscoe (Nos. 4731-4741, dated 1784-88). The correspondence relates mainly to Strutt's preparations for the Biographical Dictionary. The two men seem to have become good friends; there is talk of a stay by Roscoe in Strutt's house, and a draft letter from Roscoe in 1804 to Strutt's son Joseph (No.4742) conveys Mrs Roscoe's compliments, as though the two families knew each other well. Roscoe appears to have given Strutt considerable help with the Dictionary: he contributed an "excellent essay on the Art of Engraving ... which I shall certainly give to the Public [as it] cannot possibly, as I conceive, be altered for the better" (8 October 1784). Strutt also thanks Roscoe for his help with difficulties of palaeography: "Several of the Words in the Prayers are read differently, by those Friends of mine, to whom I have already shown it; I shall therefore esteem it a particular favor, if you will oblige me with the manner in which you read them" (14 March 1785); and for checking his Italian, "for I am by no means perfect in that language" (5 September 1785). Strutt is well aware that the Dictionary might become "exceedingly dry" and is therefore grateful for "every assistance from a Person of your taste and Judgments" (8 October 1784). The closeness of Roscoe's involvement is further indicated by Strutt's suggestion (13 December 1788) that Roscoe might well continue the work with further volumes "from your own hand."

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4. The Diary of John Carrington

John Carrington was Strutt's landlord and friend during his years in Hertfordshire (1790-c.1795). His diary covers the years 1797 to 1810, and contains a number of references to Strutt. Unfortunately an earlier part, for the years when Strutt was living at Carrington's farm, has been lost. The diary is now in the Hertfordshire Record Office (D/EX 3/1-13). There is also a memorandum book (D/EX 3/15), kept in the spare columns of Carrington's son's school arithmetic book, with references from the 1780's, including a number to Strutt. In 1956, W. Branch-Johnson published a short account of the author with the title The Carrington Diary.

Carrington's funeral instructions are characteristic of the man: "When it shall please God to Call me Home, Let me not be Laid out Imeadeatly on Cold Boards but Lye in the Bead; & James Lawrance or Geo. Hasler to make Coffin (Either as shall be thought of); no plate; no Nailles; But 6 or 8 Handles & Good Letters J.C. ag. 84th. Year; no Date; and not to be Buried under 8 Days ... no Hatbands nor Gloves for nobody, Except my Children Choose to provide for themselves; and nobody to be asked, but hope all friends and Neighbours will come and be made welcome " (Christy, xvi,2). Over 1000 friends and neighbours are said to have attended his funeral and were, no doubt, "made welcome."

5. The Letters of James Northcote

James Northcote (1746-1831), biographer of Reynolds and close friend of the diarist Joseph Farington, was a near-contemporary of Strutt at the Academy Schools: he began to attend classes a month or two after Strutt left. Although there is no indication that the two met (though it would be surprising if they did not), Northcote's details of the personalities and life of the Academy help to fill in the background to Strutt's time there. The letters were written to Northcote's brother and date from 1771. They are now in the Library of the Royal Academy (NOR/1-190).

6. The Douce Manuscripts

Three of the Douce manuscripts in the Bodleian Library are of Strutt interest. The first is MS. Douce f.10, Francis Douce's "Memoranda relating to Joseph Strutt the engraver, collected from his own papers & lent me by his son William, 1804," The manuscript is a small notebook in Douce's hand, with dated entries covering some thirty years of Strutt's life. It begins with a brief family tree, and the note that: "In 1764 he was bound apprentice to Ryland the engraver" (fol.1); and ends with a reference to an agreement of 13 February 1796 on the arrangements for a French edition of the Dress and Habits (fol.4). There are some thirty-five entries in all, most of a few lines in length; the majority give information which is known from other sources, but several new facts also appear (see passim).

The title given by Douce to the notebook suggests that most of the entries are copies of the son's notes, but others may be Douce's own additions: for instance "In 1773 he states himself to be 24. This makes him born 1749"; or "I find the 1. vol. of the H.A.C. is dated 1775. Q. then what work did he p. in 1773?" (both fol.2).

The second manuscript is Douce e.18, "Mr. Strutt's account of the MSS that have illuminations, as they occur in various English libraries (With corrections) and additions by F.D." Strutt listed some forty manuscripts from the Cotton Library, with brief notes on their contents -- apparently with the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities in mind, for example MS. Cott. Julius A.i: "A rude modern outline said to be intended as a representation of a French King is the only drawing in this MS." (fol.1); or MS. Nero C.ii: "Several portraits of English Kings particularly a small one of John" (fol.4). In many cases Douce added a comment or extra information to Strutt's notes; on the two entries above, for example: "It is an heraldical painting of one of the Bruce's receiving arms from the King of France"; and "John is the only English k. among them, the rest are foreigners with Cardinals &c, all rudely done & imaginary. Of no use to the artist."

The third manuscript is Douce d.21 (Letters 1800-09), which includes a number of letters written to Douce between 1803 and 1807 by Strutt's son Joseph. The letters mention work on the biography, but are chiefly concerned with Joseph Junior's preparation for publication of his father's literary manuscripts. The four manuscripts remaining in his hands (the fifth work, "The Chronicle of a Revolution in the Land of the Lilies", had already passed out of family keeping) were published in 1808 (see further below, p. 228).

CHAPTER ONE

"THE TIDE OF LIFE": A SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF JOSEPH STRUTT

1. Family Background and Early Years (1749-1763)

The Strutt family in Essex can be traced back to the thirteenth century. The branch to which Joseph Strutt belonged came from Springfield, near Chelmsford, where his ancestors had been millers since the middle of the seventeenth century. The family was distantly related to another old Essex family, the Gowers, and the Revd Foote Gower, antiquary and friend of Richard Gough, was one of the first men to encourage the young Strutt in his antiquarian researches.¹

Joseph Strutt's father, Thomas, born in 1722, was apprenticed in 1738 to John Ingold, the village miller at Woodham Walter in Essex. In 1743 he married his master's daughter Elizabeth (born 23 September 1727). Thomas Strutt Senior (Joseph's grandfather) had died in 1729, leaving Springfield Mill to his son, and there the young couple made their home. Of their four sons and one daughter, only two sons were to survive: John, born 30 November 1745; and Joseph, born at Springfield on 27 October 1749.²

By 1749 Thomas Strutt was a miller of some wealth. In addition to the mills at Springfield and Danbury, he became owner of mills at Chelmsford, Lanford and Moulsham,³ and (according to Morant) of the Manor of Woodham.⁴ Business was good, and the year after Joseph's birth he decided to take a trip to the Middle East. John Crosier suggests in his diary that it was a working trip: "Mr. Thos. Strutt of Springfield Mill... leaving a Wife and two small children

1 The Gough-Gower correspondence, with references to Strutt, is preserved in the British Library, Additional MS.22936.
2 Joseph's baptism is recorded in the Springfield parish register on 10 November 1749 (Christy, iii, 1; Strutt family papers).
3 See also deeds relating to mill at Great Canfield (Essex Record Office D/DU 243/5-7).
4 Philip Morant, The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex (1768), II, 32.

went as steward in a merchant man to Constantinople" ("Diary", p.16). Crosier was a close acquaintance of the family, and is not an authority to be put aside lightly, but this particular event took place three years before he was born and he must have heard a garbled story. There seems no possible reason why Thomas Strutt should have needed or wanted to act as a steward; much more probably he went for the adventure or -- by a twist of irony, as events turned out -- for the good of his health. This is the view taken by Nichols, who says Thomas Strutt was "probably recommended by the Faculty so to do for the benefit of his health" (Lit. Anecs., V, 666); and by Charles Strutt: "In 1750 he went on a voyage to the East for the sake of his health."¹ The letters Thomas Strutt sent home also mention an improvement in his physical well-being.

Neither explanation really accounts for the oddity of the trip. The Grand Tour was, indeed, a well-established part of a young man's education by the mid-eighteenth century; but only for gentlemen, not for industrious trademen with families to support. The Abbé Le Blanc had certainly found in 1745 that a love of travel was a characteristic of all Englishmen who could afford the activity: "The English travel more than any other people of Europe ... the sea, which surrounds them, is perhaps the principal cause. They look on their isle as a sort of prison ... I think one may safely say, that they would travel less, were they not inhabitants of an island."² But even he, one imagines, would have been a little surprised by the Essex miller, granting power of attorney to his wife during his absence, and buying up a quantity of cutlery to sell during his travels (Memoir, p.2).

1 Hon. Charles R. Strutt, The Strutt Family of Terling, 1650-1873 (1939), p.4.

2 Letters on the English and French Nations, English translation, 1747; quoted by Constantia Maxwell, The English Traveller in France, 1618-1815 (1932), pp.1-2.

The most ambitious of the young gentlemen making the Grand Tour seldom took in any countries beyond France and Italy; even Germany was only occasionally visited, and the biographer of the Earl of Sandwich notes his deviation from the normal course of travel as an indication of his early independence of spirit: at the age of twenty-two, he chartered a ship for himself and three or four friends, and "embarked on a voyage which was to last for a year and take him from Italy to Egypt, via Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, Greece, Turkey and Cyprus, and back by way of Malta, Gibraltar, Lisbon, Spain and Minorca."¹ The even stranger whim of Thomas Strutt can only be taken as an example of the determination and pioneering instinct which still characterises the family, and which had indeed its part to play in the career of Thomas Strutt's son Joseph.

Thomas Strutt set off during the third week of October and the five letters which he wrote home during the next six months tell the rest of the story.² On 24 October he was suffering from sea-sickness; by 7 November the ship had reached the Straits of Gibraltar, and he was feeling more cheerful. From Smyrna he wrote on 6 December to give news of the improvement in his health; and two days later to warn his wife that she must expect no more letters for a time, since he was leaving for Constantinople and this was "the last ship that goes home this season." The final letter was written from Smyrna on the homeward journey, on 1 March 1751. It seems that shortly after this, and against the captain's advice, Thomas Strutt decided to go ashore, caught smallpox, and died aboard the ship some six weeks later.³

The young widow (she was still only twenty-three) should have been in happier financial circumstances than many of her eighteenth-century counterparts, but for reasons which are not fully known her income seems to have been reduced little by little as the years

1 George Martelli, Jemmy Twitcher (1962), p.22.

2 The letters are now lost, but copies survive in the family papers, and quotations from the letters are also given by Nichols (Lit. Anecs., V, 666-667).

3 25 April 1751. The vessel was the Reynolds, a "Turkey Merchant Ship", commanded by Captain Munden (family papers).

went by. From Crosier's diary we learn that she eventually became housekeeper to the Crosier family at Beeleigh in Essex (probably on the death of Mrs Crosier, c.1764).¹ Despite her considerable fortune in the early days, she did not remarry; this was, in Crosier's view, "for the sakes of her two small children, John and Joseph, in whose education was centr'd all her care to instil good morals" ("Diary", 1771), though Christy suggests that the terms of her husband's will, leaving her with little provision in the event of a second marriage, were also a deterrent (Christy, iii, 7-8).

Very little is known of the years from 1750 to 1763, except that the elder son became a medical student, while Joseph was sent to King Edward's Grammar School in Chelmsford. The school records for the period are missing.²

2. Apprenticeship and Academy (1763-1770)

By December 1763, it was time for the fourteen-year-old Joseph to leave school and make choice of a profession. A University career was quite out of the question, because this was precisely the time when his mother was finding it most difficult to meet her expenses. It was decided that he should be apprenticed to a leading London engraver, William Wynne Ryland. It would be interesting to know whether this decision was a chance selection, or whether Joseph had perhaps seen and admired Ryland's work. It seems that Mrs Strutt knew Ryland of old, so probably this was the decisive factor.³

1 "Mrs Strutt is a woman of sense and has acted in the capacities of housekeeper and mother in the tenderest and most accomplish'd method" ("Diary", 1771).

2 See Robert Miller Christy in The Chelmsfordian, I, 3 (July 1896), 54-56.

3 Christy, iii, 9-10. Crosier too was acquainted with him: he wrote, after Ryland's disgrace, "I knew Mr. Ryland well and his family. He lived at Knightsbridge; an engraver eminent in his profession, a genteel, hospitable, pleasing man as ever I see in my life and had been a friend to hundreds. Everybody loved him; he had an amiable wife and 5 or 6 children, and as his property is forfeited to the Crown I am afraid are left in a poor situation" ("Diary", 1783).

Joseph travelled up to London sometime after 13 December, but his mother's poverty must have subdued his natural excitement. Her first letter to him, in January 1764, stresses how careful he must be: "Only Rem[em]ber to be frugal and not lay out your money for things you do not want" (Christy, iii, 11). An exchange of letters between Ryland and Mrs Strutt emphasises her distressed circumstances; apparently the terms were not to be decided until Ryland and Joseph had made trial of one another for a few weeks. In April 1764 Mrs Strutt wrote: "It is a great pleasure to me to hear that you like my child and are unwilling to part with him. Believe me most worthy sir, I am more unwilling to take him from you. What can I do if you wont take him for less?" (copy in Strutt family papers). She proposed to pay Ryland £50 when Joseph was bound, and £30 after three years, or £10 per annum for three years, even though "doing this will distress me much." Eventually it was agreed that she should pay £50 when he was bound and £10 per annum for five years.¹

The autobiographical passage in Queenhoo-Hall gives an account of this period of Strutt's life; and the hardship of the years of apprenticeship to Ryland was still fresh in his mind after forty years, even allowing due literary licence: "my dear mother almost beggared herself, to place me with an artist of eminence; not considering, dear soul! the impossibility of supplying me in the manner my situation required. I was ill clothed, and altogether unfurnished with most of the materials necessary for the prosecution of my profession: my patched clothing subjected me daily to the ridicule of my fellow-pupils; I had no means of joining them in any of their amusements; and, in fact, I was made the drudge of the household" (II, 211-212).

1 A receipt from Ryland to Mrs Strutt, dated 24 May 1765, is copied in the Strutt family papers. It notes the payment of the £50, and a further £10 as the first of five annual instalments. Cf. Memoir, p.7.

The years of poverty seem to have had an unusually powerful effect on Strutt. Ryland moved in high social circles; on the accession of George III he was appointed Engraver to the King, at a salary of £200 per annum. No doubt the contrast between the fashionable visitors to Ryland's studio and Strutt's own limited means combined with his naturally careful temperament to produce the slightly priggish seriousness which marks his early writing. In the following lines written to his mother Strutt describes himself as one who:

stands secure in his own innocence,
and sees the giddy whirls of wordly joys
Dancing like bubbles on the purling stream. ¹

Ryland's studio must none the less have been an invigorating place in which to work. Ryland, born in 1732, was the eldest of seven sons of the engraver Edward Ryland. Until 1760 he studied in France, latterly under Boucher, and paid many subsequent visits to Paris. In the 1760's he was the leading London exponent of the French "stipple" style of engraving, introduced in imitation of chalk drawings, and this was one of the methods which Joseph mastered during his apprenticeship, and which he later used in his reproductions from early English manuscripts.

As Strutt hints in the passage quoted from the "Old Man's Tale", he probably had to put up with a good deal from his fellow pupils; but for Ryland himself he had a deep and lasting affection. At the end of his six-year apprenticeship he wrote to his mother: "Mr. Ryland ... has, in all, acted like a generous, kind hearted, and good man; and I may truly say one of my best friends."² Ryland's

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- 1 December 1769. "I conclude this my long letter with a line or two of blank verse I have just composed to send you..." (Christy, iv, 7).
- 2 13 December 1770 (Christy, iv, 8).

fortune suffered many turns: in 1771, for instance, his print-shop in the Strand was declared bankrupt. Soon afterwards he was left an eleventh share in the Liverpool waterworks, worth some £10,000. In 1783 his career came to a sudden end when he was arrested for attempting to pass a forged bill of exchange against the East India Company; he was hanged some five months later, at Tyburn on 29 August.¹ Strutt was greatly distressed, chiding himself for not having offered Ryland a place of hiding. William Strutt notes "how bitterly the Antiquary lamented ... Such was the constancy of his friendship, and attachment to his old teacher" (Memoir, p.39).

Strutt became a student at the Royal Academy on 30 January 1769, working for Ryland during the day and attending the Academy classes in the evening.² This was the regular course; James Northcote wrote to his brother: "I am now drawing from Statues and shall attend the royal academy in the winter evenings" (23 August 1771). Though an engraver, Strutt followed a course of a general nature: all Academy students, whatever their discipline, received a thorough training in life and antique studies. Entry to the classes required the presentation of a satisfactory drawing or model after a plaster cast. Attendance at the School allowed the use of models and casts for up to six years, and instruction not only by leading painters of the day, but by men such as William Hunter (1718-83), lecturer on anatomy and pioneer of scientific surgery.

The Academy had been founded in 1768, and rapidly became the foremost of the three institutions formed after the 1760 exhibition at the Society for the Encouragement of the Arts.³ The exhibition,

1 DNB, repr. 1973, XVII, 547-548.

2 Christy, iv, 5, from royal Academy "Entry Book".

3 The Free Society of Artists of Great Britain, which survived only till 1779; the Society of Artists, which was incorporated by Royal Charter in 1765 and lived till 1791; and the Academy itself, founded in 1768 under the presidency of Reynolds.

attended by more than 6000 visitors, had given ample evidence of a new public interest; and the Academy's foundation, with its implicit raising of the status of the artist above that of the tradesman or craftsman, was of the greatest importance for the development of English art. The Academy's banquets were attended by members of the Royal family; and its annual exhibition meant that the artist no longer had to wait for commissions, but could work with some measure of freedom and some hope of selling to the wider market of buyers who attended the exhibition.

The role of the engraver, in particular, was changing. In 1747 Campbell, in his career guide for parents called The London Tradesman, had spoken of engraving as a respectable trade, though practised with less distinction in London than abroad.¹ A journeyman engraver, he explained, could command wages of thirty shillings a week, more than twice the wage of most skilled labourers. Probably this was how Mrs Strutt viewed the trade when she apprenticed Joseph to Ryland. But the patronage of a middle class enriched by years of Whig supremacy created a new demand for small paintings;² for Hogarth's "conversation pieces" and Gainsborough's "Fancy pictures"; and for engraved copies of paintings originally commissioned by the aristocracy. In the late seventies Woollett's engraving of West's Death of General Wolfe made him a fortune estimated at between £7,000 and £15,000. As Strutt was himself to observe, "almost every man of taste is in some degree a collector of prints."³ The engravers at the Academy may still have enjoyed no more than

1 R. Campbell, The London Tradesman (1747), p. 111.

2 Walpole noted with some surprise in 1770 that Benjamin West "gets three hundred pounds for a piece not too large to hang over a chimney" (Toynbee Corr., VII, 379).

3 Source not traced: quoted by Ralph Edwards and L.G.C. Ramey, The Late Georgian Period 1760-1810 (1961), p.54.

a rather secondary status, but the painters' prospects were, if anything, less secure.¹

Strutt was an apt pupil and at the end of his first year, at the first Academy prize-giving, was awarded one of seven silver medals, for a drawing of an Academy figure. The medal was presented by Sir Joshua Reynolds, who the same day delivered the first of his Discourses.² Reynolds was President of the Academy in much more than name. He did much of the teaching himself, and his "rules" were the inspiration of a whole generation of painters. James Northcote's letters indicate the high respect which Sir Joshua inspired in his students, and the high standards which he demanded of them. On 21 July 1771: "I am thoroughly convinced it requires the application of your whole time to study if you would be a great painter and not then without a great capacity, for Sir Joshua says him who would make a great painter must know no hours of dissipation." A more mature view scarcely lessened the regard; on 15 November 1779: "I still think and am very sure that the best of Sir Joshua's pictures deserve a place amongst the best pictures in the whole world as in some things he has never been surpassed."

Greater glory was to follow Strutt's first-year success, for at the end of his second year, in December 1770, he won one of the coveted three gold medals, for an oil painting of a subject from the Aeneid. It was the first oil painting he had attempted and he records gratefully that Ryland allowed him three months in which to paint it.³

1 Draper Hill's biography of James Gillray suggests just such a dilemma: "It is not difficult to understand Gillray's reluctance to enter a profession [i.e. engraving] that no serious artist had hitherto honoured with more than a flirtation. Quite probably he was attracted towards engraving as a fine art by the vast sums that Woollett, Bartalozzi and Ryland received for polished reproductions of paintings and for literary illustrations" (Mr Gillray the Caricaturist [1965], p.18).

2 10 December 1769 (Annual Register [1770], 170).

3 Chri ty, iv, 9. For more on the picture, see Appendix I to this chapter, p.77.

Douce comments: "He speaks very handsomely of Ryland's conduct to him " (f.10, fol.1). The success was well-deserved: Strutt's notebooks suggest that much of his holiday time during his Academy years had been spent on improving his work.

3. Early Antiquarian Work (1771-1773)

Strutt's apprenticeship came to an end at the turn of the year 1770/1771, and his letters were full of optimism for the future, and gratification at his Academy successes. He looked forward to solvency and security after the difficult years of training: "God has blessed me with a mind to undertake; and I hope, with His help, to persevere firmly, and to reap the pleasure of making a figure in the world."¹

The cultural mood generally was one of confidence; as Horace Walpole put it in his Preface to the Anecdotes of Painting:

"Our eloquence and the glory of our arms have been carried to the highest pitch. The more peaceful arts have in other countries generally attended national glory. If there are any talents among us, this seems the crisis for their appearance..."²

With Ryland earning many hundreds of pounds annually by his engraving, it is not surprising that Strutt's hopes were high. He was never quite to reach the heights of fame which he anticipated and deserved; and his words to his mother in December 1769 were prophetic: "I will strive to leave my name behind me in the world, if not in the splendour that some have, at least with some marks of assiduity and study " (Christy, iv, 7).

1 To his mother, n.d. (Lit. Anecs., V, 669). Quoted also by Isaac D'Israeli, Calamities, I, 269.

2 Anecdotes of Painting, ed. Wornum, (1888) Preface, p. xiii.

He took up lodging with Mrs Thane, a baker, in Union Street, near the Middlesex Hospital.¹ She was almost certainly the widowed mother of Strutt's friend, John Thane, print-seller and future publisher of a number of Strutt's works.²

Promising as Strutt's career had been to date, it was no easy matter to find suitable work, and he had no income to tide him over the first difficult months. He eagerly accepted the first commission which was given him; a commission which, though it launched him into his antiquarian researches, was in many ways a disaster for his career. His employer was demanding and slow to pay, which meant that Strutt had to leave London just as he most needed the contacts that only London could afford; and his prior commitment was one reason why he had to abandon any idea of taking up the travelling scholarship in Italy which was usually awarded by royal pension to recipients of an Academy Gold Medal.

Every Academy student, brought up on Reynolds' teaching, hoped for the chance to see Italian works, notably those of Michelangelo and Raphael: James Northcote was "determined to set off for Italy as soon as I have money enough to do it ... nothing but the greatest poverty or death shall prevent me from it" (Letters, 14 and 28 February 1776). Strutt himself could not "bear to hear the name of Raphael, Titian, Michael Angelo, and the most famous of the Italian masters, in the mouths of everyone, and not wish to be like them."³ Other artists were not so convinced: Hogarth advised the student to beware of Italy because it would seduce him from nature. Even the moderate George Stubbs observed that he went to Italy in 1754 only "to convince himself that nature was and always is superior to art, whether Greek or Roman -- and having received this conviction,

1 Letter to mother, 13 December 1770 (Christy, iv, 9).

2 The REA 1773; the first two volumes of the MC, 1774 and 1775; and, as co-publisher, the first edition of the DH in 1796-99.

3 Letter to mother, n.d. (M moir, p.10.)

immediately resolved upon returning."¹ But whether aesthetically suitable or not, the contacts afforded by an Italian tour stood any young artist in good stead. One of the aims of the Dilettanti Society, founded in 1734 by a group of enthusiasts for the Grand Tour, was to provide means for promising artists to travel abroad; and a patron would sometimes pay for a tour for a new protégé. But otherwise help was limited, and the Academy scholarships were eagerly sought. Strutt was invited to become a candidate for the scholarship on 20 November 1773 (Christy, xi, 8); but his promised work, and the publication of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, led him to turn down the offer, and the scholarship (of £60 per annum for three years) went instead to John Bacon, Strutt's fellow-medallist in 1769, later an eminent sculptor and collaborator with Strutt in research for the Biographical Dictionary (see further below, p. 54). William Strutt, writing in 1885 (notes in the Strutt family papers) probably records an accurate family tradition: "I believe had circumstances permitted Mr. S would gladly have embraced the opportunity of going abroad." Certainly Strutt was enthusiastically planning a trip to France at the time of his correspondence with William Roscoe.

Strutt's commission was to execute a number of drawings and engravings for his distant relative, the Revd Dr Foote Gower, to illustrate a projected history of Roman Essex. Some of the drawings were to be made from materials at the British Museum; and in the course of a few weeks Strutt was totally caught up in the new world he had discovered, and began to perceive ways in which he could use the Museum's holdings for work of his own. Gower, a Chelmsford physician, was also incumbent of two livings in the area. Strutt had first undertaken engraving work for Gower during his apprenticeship. In July, 1770, Gower wrote to his close friend Richard Gough, "some time this Winter I hope to put the Introduction [of his "Essexia Romana"] to Press with the History of Pleshy. Strutt has now the Plates to engrave for this Part of it."² Even before this, Gower had employed Strutt for single pieces of engraving; for

1 Quoted by Hugh Honour, "Early Georgian," Connoisseur New Guide to English Painting and Sculpture (1962), p.55.

2 Gough-Gower correspondence, 4 July 1770; fol.270. One of Strutt's notebooks (Brit. Lib. MS. Egerton 883.4) has sketches of Roman earthwork at Great Canfield, Essex drawn during the summer of 1770.

example in 1767, when he engraved a Roman "quietorium" (as Gower described it).¹

The work for Gower brought Strutt the support of Gough too: he it was who first introduced Strutt to the British Museum, since they both lived in London, whereas Gower paid only short visits to the city. "And now, my dear Friend, will you procure Leave for Strutt to make Draughts from the Drawings and Designs we agreed upon in the Museum? -- He has got my List and final Orders for this Purpose. And if you will favour him with a Penny Post Letter, where and when to meet you -- either at the Museum, or elsewhere, I know you may command him" (Gower to Gough, 17 May 1771, fol.302). Gough took his time, so that Gower had to write again, on 6 June, "about getting Strutt admitted into the Museum, for the Purposes of copying the Drawings, of which I have given him a List. The young man is impatient to be at Work" (fol.304). From this time on the two antiquaries took a common interest in encouraging the young engraver. Gough to Gower, 26 July 1771: "Strutt goes on gloriously! -- I wish I did as well" (fol.308). Gough introduced the young-man to a number of his circle, including John Nichols, that "friend of half the departed genius of our country", who was to publish one of the first biographical accounts of Strutt.² Gough also spoke of Strutt in glowing terms to the Revd Michael Tyson, of Cambridge: a particularly useful introduction in view

1 See correspondence 16 October 1767-9 December 1768; foll. 100-103, 105, 114, 123, 125, 127, 131, 148-149, 179. The "quietorium" (according to Christy) was by 1912 among the holdings of the British Museum, though the Museum cannot now identify it among the Chesterford discoveries. Cole described it, in a letter to Walpole, as "an old stone urn, if such it be, found at Chesterford, near us"; though he was wrong about its illustrator: "It was etched by a clergyman, a Dr Gower, who is a physician at Chelmsford in Essex" (Revd William Cole to Horace Walpole, 3 January 1771, Yale Corr., I, 210; Christy, v, 3).

2 Lit. Anecs., V, 665-686. The quotation is from Isaac D'Israeli, Calamities, I, 264.

of Strutt's developing interest in manuscripts, which could be found only in learned libraries or private collections.¹ Gough wrote: "One Joseph Strutt, who served his time with Ryland, has commenced a second Vertue as to design; and I wish to encourage so laudable an undertaking."²

For the first few months after Strutt left the Academy, Gower and Gough were his main, if meagre, source of income;³ and there is no doubt that their encouragement, self-interested as it may have been in part, was the influence which first guided Strutt to an interest in antiquarian studies. Neither was a great figure in his own right; Gower was full of schemes which never came to fruition, and wasted much of Strutt's time unpaid during 1771 and 1772, just when he most needed his energies for his own reseaches; Gough, a zealous and painstaking antiquary whose work has never been

- 1 The Revd Michael Tyson (1740-80), Fellow of Corpus Christi College from 1767; antiquary and himself "an excellent artist and engraver", which gave him much common ground with Strutt (Venn, Alumni Cant., Part II, Vol. VI, 263-264). One of the most generally-liked of the antiquaries, his early death was mourned by many; notably by Gough, in the Preface to Sepulchral Monuments, 1786 (see below, p. 203 *fn.* 3).
- 2 Gough to Tyson, 12 April 1772 (Lit. Anecs., VIII, 590).
- 3 The prospectus for Gower's "History of the County of Cheshire", for example (published late summer 1771) was illustrated with nineteen plates, one of them by Strutt (the sword of Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester; an item from the cabinet of Sir Robert Cotton). The prospectus is discussed in the Gough-Gower correspondence, fol. 319. The plates were re-used in 1838 in Charles Hulbert's Cheshire Antiquities: it is not known how the plates came into Hulbert's hands. Gower's "Essexia Romana" was never published, but Gough's History and Antiquities of Pleshy (1803) probably uses a number of Strutt's unsigned plates. Gough says (Preface, p. vii) that two plates, engraved by Basire, are from drawings by Strutt.

fully appreciated, was none the less not well thought of by his contemporaries. Cole wrote to Walpole, 3 May 1773: "I entirely agree with you in your notions of Mr Gough. Mr Farmer of Emmanuel, a most sensible, reasonable man, told me three or four months ago that he thought the worse of the Society for making him the Director, who, he said, was noways equal to such a task. I thought as he did, and assure you I never met with a poorer creature or duller mortal. How they came to pitch on such an animal is inconceivable, and yet his book is entertaining and useful " (Yale Corr., I, 311).

This last remark probably indicates the truth of the matter: that Gough, though of wealthy and cultured origin, lacked the sparkle of Walpole's social circle, and came to life only when working on his beloved antiquities. He was clearly much less at home in "society" than with the plodding Dr Gower and the earnest banker Edward Forster of Walthamstow, with whom he made an antiquarian tour during the summer of 1762; a tour which set the pattern for many future excursions of the kind. Gough, in fact, seems to have proved a useful Director of the Society of Antiquaries: in particular, he revitalised the Society's publications programme.¹ He held the post for twenty-six years, from 1771 till 1797, when he left the Society altogether.

Strutt had recently renewed his childhood acquaintance with the girl he was later to marry, his seventeen-year-old cousin Ann Blower, eldest daughter of Barwell Blower, dyer and wool-factor of Bocking, Essex. (Mrs Blower was Strutt's mother's sister, but the cousins seem to have met only infrequently before 1771.) His letters to Ann are the best insight we have into his ways of life and thought during the period of his early antiquarian work (see above, pp.11-12). In a letter of 27 June 1771 occurs his first reference to the Regal and

1 See Joan Evans, A History of the Society of Antiquaries (Oxford, 1956), p.137 ff.

Eccl'ia t'c l Antiquities: "I am ab ut a work at the Museum on my own account... I have consulted with some people who understand the nature of such works; and they all give me great hopes of making a tolerable further profit of it: be ides which, it will introduce me still further in the world; which is of some consequence to one in my situation" (Lit. Anecs., V, 670). The book was to present a set of portraits of the kings of England, taken from contemporary sources, together with a few portraits of other leading figures or illustrations of notable historical events.

There are further references to the Antiquities in the letters to Ann during the rest of 1771 and in 1772. On 9 August 1771: "I work night and day almost to compleat a work I am about" (Christy, vi, 11); and in a letter to his brother, dated 23 February 1772: "My time has been, with the greatest assiduity, apply'd to the work I do on my own account" (Christy, vii, 13). Other indications of progress on the book appear in correspondence between Gower, Gough and Tyson. Gough writes of the "honour" due to Strutt for his "noble design" and to Gower "for supporting and abetting it."¹ Gough wrote to Tyson, on 28 March 1772: "there is a Monarchie Angloise in agitation"; and on 3 April: "As you have probably seen the Specimen of the 'Monumens de la Monarchie Angloise', how do you like it? ... I hope Mr. Strutt will shew himself not unworthy the public patronage; nor Mr Tyson be backward to assist him" (Lit. Anecs., VIII, 588). The "Monarchie Angloise" was Gough's nickname for the Antiquities, clearly with reference to Montfaucon's Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise, to which Strutt acknowledges his debt (Specimen, fol.52). Gough and Tyson often called Joseph "Monsieur Strutt" for the same reason (for example, Lit. Anecs., VIII, 590,608).

1 Gough-Gower correspondence, 17 March 1772 (fol.328).

With a generosity which seems to have characterised them both, they saved him scraps of information which might be useful; Gough to Tyson, 12 April 1772: "If it is too much for you to etch, reserve it to grace the 'Monarchie Angloise', if it goes on" (Lit. Anecs., VIII, 590). The object under discussion was a carving in Bishop Alcock's chapel, in Ely Cathedral, which Tyson had drawn and sent to the Society of Antiquaries for possible publication. Tyson maintained that the carving represented Henry VII, though the Society disagreed, thinking it rather "some earlier King or Saint, perhaps Patron of the Chapel (for I forget to whom it was dedicated)."¹ Again, in the same month, Tyson to Gough: "If you can point out anything here, I will make the drawings for him" (Lit. Anecs., VIII, 590); and in November 1773: "Lort has discovered, in the Public Library, a most beautiful illumination of Henry VII. and other figures. I have not seen it yet. Strutt shall have it, if he pleases: if not, I will etch it myself" (Lit. Anecs., VIII, 609).²

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- 1 Gough to Tyson, 12 April 1772 (Lit. Anecs., VIII, 590). For a full account of the discovery see Gough-Tyson correspondence, April-September 1772 (Lit. Anecs., VIII, 588-595) and letters between Cole and Walpole, August-October 1772 (Yale Corr., I, 278-282). The figure was later deposited in the Deanery (William Stevenson's Supplement to Bentham's Ely, 1817, p.69); see also Evans, A History of the Society of Antiquaries, p.154.
- 2 The Revd Michael Lort (1725-90) was Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge 1759-71. In 1779 he became domestic chaplain to Archbishop Cornwallis at Lambeth; and succeeded Ducarel as Librarian there on Ducarel's death in 1785. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries, and friend and correspondent of Cole, Percy and Walpole. "He published little, but his reading was extensive, and his assistance of others was unstinted" (DNB, 1973, XII, 141). His material helped Chalmers with the Biographical Dictionary; Granger with his dictionary of portraits; and Nichols with the editing of the Gentleman's Magazine. The illumination is not mentioned in any of Lort's published correspondence, nor by Walpole.

In September 1773, when Strutt wanted to make use of the Cambridge libraries, Tyson went out of his way to help. Strutt recorded in the Antiquities his thanks to "the Reverend Mr Tyson ... for the trouble he took in shewing me whatever he thought might be curious or useful to my undertaking, during my stay at that University" (REA, 1773, p.28).¹

Strutt worked at the Museum throughout the summer of 1771, and his mood was buoyant; to Ann, on 9 August: "But, dear Nancy, I hope to be much sooner well settled than I at first expected ... I have at least 250 plates in hand to engrave, besides a great work on my own account of drawings" (Christy, vi, 11).

But by the autumn he was feeling less confident; to Ann's mother, 9 September 1771: "Good God, I cannot, cannot bear it! It quite unmans me. In heaviness of soul and [with] tears streaming down my eyes do I write this. What have I done more than others that every one should strive to torment me?" (Christy, vi, 14). This outburst was occasioned partly by a lovers' quarrel, partly by his brother's disinclination to lend him money to launch the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities. (John Strutt, Joseph's elder brother, became a fashionable physician in Derby Street, Westminster. A family tradition maintains that it was to his house that the elder Pitt was carried when he collapsed

1 Tyson received this accolade with characteristic modesty; to Gough, November 1773: "My Master Strutt has finely puffed me off in his third number. I could have wished he had only mentioned the Library" (Lit. Anecs., VIII, 609). Strutt, however, was sufficiently grateful to retain the tribute to Tyson, unlike others, in the 1777 edn. of the REA; and even in 1793, despite Tyson's death in 1780.

in the Lords on 7 April 1778.¹ But Strutt's main anxiety was the procrastination of Dr Gower, both in deciding what further work Strutt was to do and in paying for work already done. In November Strutt decided to go and live at Chelmsford for a time, in the hope that this would encourage Gower to keep him employed on a less spasmodic basis.

Relations with Gower remained difficult, but during the early part of 1772 Strutt's energies were in the main devoted to the work of preparing the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities for publication.²

The appearance of the Specimen for the work on 1 April 1772 (see further below, p. 96) was no doubt a testing experience for Strutt, since its purpose, of course, was to collect enough subscribers to guarantee the costs of publication. As he wrote to his brother (2 April 1772): "I intend publishing it myself, as it will save a great expence in the profits to the publishers" (Christy, vii, 16).

1 Charles Strutt, The Strutt Family, p.4.

2 There was also some talk of a new commission, possibly brought Strutt's way by Gough; Gough to Gower, 3 April 1772: "P. Wright talks of setting abt. the Archd^y & town of S.Albs with many curious engrs by Mr S. I wish him all deserv'd success & hope he will prod it by the promis'd time a 12th ' (fol.331).

Strutt remained in Chelmsford throughout the summer of 1772, living first in the house of Griffiths, the apothecary (Christy, vii, 1), then moving in June to lodgings with his old headmaster at King Edward's, the Revd John Heath.¹ Dr Gower's commissions were still not forthcoming: in all, Strutt engraved only some twenty plates for Gower during his thirteen months at Chelmsford (Christy, viii, 19). He seems to have whiled away his time learning to play the violin (Christy, viii, 12-13). By November Strutt was quite disillusioned: "I was very ill-used by the noble Doctor (but I despise him)."²

At the end of November Strutt moved back to London. He must have been in dire straits to move at such a time, because he was a life-long sufferer from asthma and found London winters, with the thick fogs of the eighteenth century, a very heavy burden. His grandson tells how in later years he had to walk the streets delivering the parts of his works as they were published to the houses of his subscribers, stopping at every street corner to get enough breath for the next dozen yards (Memoir, p.67). His letters of this period also shown that he suffered from what was probably migraine. For instance, on 13 November 1773, to Ann: "My old complaint, the head-ach, gave me for a day or two a severe attack, but I am better" (Christy, xi, 3).

He went to live with John Thane, at the corner of Gerrard Street and Princes Street, now Wardour Street. Thane had set up business there about 1770, and issued annual catalogues of prints, containing five thousand or more entries. In one he describes himself as dealer in "all sorts of curios, prints, drawings, coins, medals &c." (Christy, ix, 1). Later the business moved to Rupert Street, and between 1788 and 1793 Thane published a work of his own, the three-volume British Autography.

- 1 John Heath, Scholar and Fellow of New College, Oxford, was elected Master of the school in 1758, and held the post until his death on 7 March 1781. He was also Rector of St James's, Colchester, from 1777. (J.H. Johnson, "Chelmsford Grammar School," The Essex Review, LV [July 1946], 113.)
- 2 To Ann, 25 November 1772 (Christy, viii, 18).

These last months of 1772 were difficult ones for Strutt, as he was short of money, but could spare little time from his work on the Antiquities to earn any by engraving. He continued to beg loans from his none-too-eager brother: "as it does not come out before the beginning of next winter, till then, I cannot possibly receive any benefit from it ... the £18 you so kindly have promised me will be of most infinite service at this time; and, by the winter, I most surely will repay you the money and my sincere acknowledgements. It will, as my present plan is, entirely enable me to proceed, without troubling any of my friends any further."¹

His booksellers were to be John Thane and Thomas Snelling. The fact that Thane was so newly established had led Strutt's brother to criticise the choice of his shop as an outlet. Strutt defended his decision: Thane

yet may do very well as a publisher; for, in this case, 'tis a matter of the publication that recommends it, and not who the publisher is, or where he lives. As to Snelling, he is a man very much known, and one that has himself written and published several things with great success, and has a very general acquaintance among the antiquarians, who are the sort of people I mostly depend upon... Besides, to have published them by anybody else would have been so very expensive, and at present it would have been impossible for me to have done it. (Memoir, pp.16-17)

For help in acquiring subscribers, he adds, "I rather trust to Dr. Gower and Mr. Gough, who have promised to lay my plan before the Antiquarian Society" (Memoir, p.17). The introduction to

1 23 February 1772 (Christy, vii, 13).

the Society of Antiquaries did not, apparently, take place; there is no mention of Strutt's name in the Society's minutes.¹

Snelling, perhaps, was introduced to Strutt by Thane, since the two booksellers knew each other well; a portrait of Snelling was drawn and engraved by Thane in 1770, and Thane published a posthumous edition of Snelling's works (Lit. Anecs., III, 620). Snelling was well-known as a numismatist and published many treatises on coins from his shop in Fleet Street.² He died while publication of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities was under way (2 May 1773), but this proved only a slight setback to Strutt's work as the business was carried on by Thomas Snelling Junior.

When the first part was finally ready for publication, Strutt's comments expressed his relief: "I shall publish the first number, please God, the 12th of this month. I have already got near 50 subscribers, tho' I have not yet made my work publick, and have the hope of selling a vast many, as it meets with the universal approbation of all that have seen it, and is likely to prove a good foundation to build a firm settlement in the world upon ... In short, I never knew till lately what business and getting money was";³ and again, to Ann on 14 January: "I have begun to sell my work and have great hopes of it" (Christy, ix, 7). For more on the publication of the Antiquities, see below pp. 101 ff. The return to London seems already to have brought him new contacts; from the same letter: "I think, indeed, the greatest good that ever hapned to me (concerning my settlement in this world) was the quarelling with that mean-spirited fellow Dr. Gower -- but I have done with him, and hate the name. I have had the happiness of being introduced to several people of the first distinction, on account of my work; and I daily expect to be sent for by the

1 The minutes are kept at the Society's rooms in Burlington House. For further detail of Strutt's relationship with the Society of Antiquaries, see below, pp. 116-118.

2 DNB, 1973, XVIII, 615.

3 Letter to Ann, 2 January 1773 (Christy, ix, 5-6).

Dutchess of Northumberland and Horace Walpole Esqre, on the same head" (Christy, ix, 5-6). A few days later Strutt makes his first mention of another new acquaintance; on 14 January, to Ann: "I am to go with Dr Percy to the Museum" (Christy, ix, 7).

In April Strutt made what seems to have been his first visit to Oxford, where he stayed two weeks or more. There he was particularly helped by Thomas Bever, Fellow of All Souls, and by John Price, Bodley's Librarian, who was to become a close friend. Price was also a friend of Gough and it seems probable that here again Strutt was indebted to Gough for the introduction.¹

4. The Years of Establishment (1773-1778)

Strutt lived in London throughout 1773-74, making occasional trips to visit his family and fiancée in Essex. Part of his time was spent on work for his second book, the Manners and Customs of the People of England, and part in engraving coins for Louis Dutens, diplomat and man of letters, who published three numismatic volumes between 1773 and 1776, all with Strutt plates.²

1 The visit had been planned as early as February; when, he told Ann, he had promises "from the Principles at Oxford to be introduced at once, and shewn directly, to all the publick and private Librarys" (13 February 1773; Christy, ix, 8). For acknowledgements to Bever and Price, see REA 1773, p.31. Price visited Strutt in London in January 1774 (Letter to Ann, 29 January 1774; Christy xi, 15).

2 Explication de quelques Médailles du Peuples, de Villes, et de Rois, Grecques et Phéniciennes (1773, published by Thane and dedicated to the Duke of Northumberland); Explications de quelques Médailles Phéniciennes du Cabinet de M. Duane (1774, Thane); and a second and much enlarged edition of the latter work, published by Thane and Elmsley in 1776.

The work for Dutens is first mentioned in a letter to Ann of 5 June 1773 (see below, p. 129); and on 23 November of the same year, also to Ann: "Since I wrote you last, I have made 6 high-finished drawings for Mr Dutens, who has kindly shewn them (with a strong recommendation of me) to the Duke and Dutchess of Northumberland and the Duke of Marlborough, and Lord Bute, who all express their approbation of them" (Christy, xi, 5).

The Manners and Customs, in some ways Strutt's greatest work, and certainly the one most often quoted by his antiquarian successors, demanded reading and research through many months. Its aim was to provide a written description of the various aspects of the life of each era, together whenever possible with plates illustrating that way of life: both descriptions and illustrations were to be taken from sources contemporary with the subject.

In June 1773 Strutt took on a second apprentice, Billy Nutter of Braintree (John Ogborne, son of a Chelmsford artist of some note, had already been with Strutt for several months).¹ In September he visited Cambridge and Stourbridge Fair, returning by way of Bury St Edmunds and Bocking. Michael Tyson wrote in gently mocking vein to Gough after Strutt's departure: "One Strutt has been at the Old House;² and was two days in my room, found many things in the library to his purpose. -- O qualis Facies! Shade of Hogarth! Gamwell correcting his watch!" (Lit. Anecs., VIII, 608).³

- 1 On Strutt's apprentices, see below, Appendix II to this chapter.
- 2 Corpus Christi College, "frequently so called" (Lit. Anecs., I, 683).
- 3 "Oh what a presence!" Strutt apparently took himself and his work with much seriousness. Hogarth was renowned for his fussy meticulousness; and "Gamwell correcting his watch" was obviously a joke shared by Gough and Tyson -- Gamwell was their name for Dr John Green, Bishop of Lincoln and Master of Corpus Christi, a close friend of Michael Tyson's father (see, e.g., Lit. Anecs., VIII, 581).

In November Strutt was close to winning two important new commissions. To Ann on 23 November: "I am to be introduced very soon to the Duke of Marlborough, who is desirous of having his grand collection engraved, the chief part of which will be done by me and under my direction" (Christy, xi, 5); and a week later (1 December): "The Marquis of Rockingham (who has got the finest collection of coins in the world) is now determined to have his whole cabinet engraved, and I am engaged to do it. We have not yet concluded, but his lordship, I believe, will give me £200 a year on condition of producing him a certain number of plates within that period. This, let me tell you, is a thing well worth accepting, as I shall still be able to do others for Mr. Duane and continue my own work also" (Christy, xi, 6). (Douce notes: "At the end of 1773 he appears to have been in treaty with Lord Rockingham to engrave his medals at a salary of £200 a year, but it never took place. He had begun engraving L. Rockinghams coins in Jan. 1774 as appears from a letter to his mother acquainting her of his intention to marry" [MS. Douce f.10, fol.2] .)

These references indicate the kind of work Strutt was then able to command, though he did not in the end fully carry out either commission. He had more than enough to do already, as he perhaps came to realise before committing himself finally to Marlborough and Rockingham: Dutens had introduced him early in October to Matthew Duane, who gave Strutt "several commissions ... to engrave some medals for him."¹ Writing to Ann on 24 October, he had "just returned from Mr. Duane, the coin gentleman, who, with Mr. Dutens and another collector, have engaged to give me full employment for 3 years to come, so I hope to drive the world before me" (Christy, xi, 3). Douce (f.10, fol.2) notes that the medals were to be engraved by Strutt "instead of Bartalozzi, who, he states, had disappointed him." Nichols has it that: "Mr. Duane had employed Bartalozzi to engrave a fine series of Coins on XXIV Plates; which, after his death [1785], were purchased by Mr. Gough, who

1 Letter to Ann, 9 October, 1773 (Christy, xi,1).

communicated them to the publick, in 1805, under the title of 'Coins of the Seleucidae, Kings of Syria; from the Establishment of their Reign under Seleucus Nicator to the Determination of it under Antiochus Asiaticus, with Historical Memoirs of each Reign' " (Lit. Anecs., III, 498-499; cf. Christy, xi, 1).

In December Strutt selected a house ready for his impending marriage, in Duke Street, Portland Place, then on the very outskirts of town.¹ Much of his correspondence is taken up with details of furnishing and other domestic arrangements; he wishes Ann could be with him to offer her "opinion concerning the pattern of the papers, &c," though when she does put in a request for green hangings for the best bed, Strutt goes ahead and orders crimson anyway, as it is "more lively" and "stands so much better" (Christy, xi, 14).

The marriage eventually took place on 16 August, "with as little bustle as possible" (Christy, xi, 22), six weeks later than planned because Ann's mother had died suddenly on 24 June, four days before the original wedding day. The Crosier transcript quotes from a lost letter of Strutt's, written on the eve of his wedding, the following description of his wife-to-be: "tho' she neither has, nor can have, any pretensions to beauty, yet anyone will acknowledge she is agreeable." Douce adds only this to the picture: "His cousin affects surprise at his writing to her on the subject of love but appears by no means chagrined at it. She lived at Bocking & must have been quite uneducated" (fol.1). For a similar cameo of the bridegroom, we can get no nearer than the notes which survive in the Strutt family papers. They are late copies, but possibly based on part of the biography written by Strutt's elder son Joseph soon after his father's death.

Like most men of strongly marked genius he was eccentric

1 Strutt's house probably stood in what is now Hallam Street, but has been demolished. Of the nine houses which Strutt is known to have occupied in adult life, none survives in anything like the form he knew.

in his habits and uncouth in his person [a second hand deletes person and substitutes manners and slovenly in his dress. He was however strictly moral in his life] ...

There was some similarity of character between our Antiquary and Dr. Johnson -- he was fond of controversy, -- was positive, dogmatical, and could not brook contradiction. Like the doctor, too, he paid great deference to the Church Prayers. On one occasion, when he went to Tottenham Court Chapel, the service had begun. He immediately went off to another place of worship where they communed later because, he said, he should hear the whole of the Prayers.

Of Strutt's activities during his four years of married life, very little is known. Most of his surviving correspondence is that written to Ann during the three years of his courtship, and it gives a very full picture of those years; but of course the correspondence ceased at his marriage. A number of family letters for the period survive, but none of any consequence for a study of Strutt's literary or antiquarian work.

The rest of 1774 must have been mainly spent in preparing for publication the second volume of the Manners and Customs. In October Strutt paid a short visit to Great Yarmouth, to see the collection of manuscripts and drawings belonging to John Ives. One of the few letters to his wife describes the visit: "I am, at this present, in Mr. Ives's study, perfectly well, tho' not perfectly happy, for that is impossible absent from you. However, I am as happy as possible, surveying old MS. and other valuable remains of antiquities; and, with a lady and gentleman who do all they can to make me happy, I must (you well knowing my taste for antiquity) be well pleased."¹

1 2 October 1774 (Christy, xii, 3).

John Ives (1751-76), son of a Yarmouth merchant, in the course of his short life assembled one of the most important antiquarian collections of the day, and became friend and helper of many of the antiquaries. He was on close terms with Thomas Martin, and dedicated to Horace Walpole the first number of his Select Papers, published in 1773 from material in his collection.¹ Horace Walpole mentions Strutt's meeting with Ives in a letter to William Cole: "Mr Strut's second volume I suppose you have seen. He showed me two or three ... drawings from pictures in the possession of Mr Ives ... Mr Strut is going to engrave his drawings."²

According to Nichols, Gough in later years came across a note by Ives relating to Strutt's visit:

The following note was transcribed for me by Mr. Gough, from the original in Mr. Ives's hand in one of his printed books: "I leave this study with the greatest reluctance, because in it is contained so great a fund of curious and useful knowledge. I sincerely wish the Possessor all the happiness that he so truly doth deserve. My heart overflows with grateful acknowledgements for his kind communications to me as an Antiquary, and for the polite reception I met with, both from him and his amiable spouse, as a visitor. JOSEPH STRUTT." This note I found in my study the day after Mr. Strutt left me. He came upon a visit, in order to take some drawings, &c. Oct.1, 1774, and went to Norwich the 7th following. J.I. (Lit.Anecs. , III, 198-199)

Strutt also paid tribute in the Manners and Customs to Ives's hospitality, by writing of "the late worthy gentleman ... I take this opportunity of acknowledging the many obligations which he conferred on me; permitting me to see and make what use I would of his valuable collections, as well MSS. as other curious things" (III, 38, 185).

1 Lit. Anecs., III, 198-200; DNB, 1973, X, 517-518.
 2 9 January 1775 (Yale Corr., I, 351-352).

Strutt seems as the months passed to have devoted less time to commissioned work and more to his antiquarian researches. The Manners and Customs is a work of much greater scope and detail than the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, and though at first he could perhaps rely on notes already made, its completion demanded all his attention. "His time is so much taken up [wrote his wife to his mother in March 1775] with such a quantity of writeing, which is necessary for his work, that he can scarcely turn himself" (Christy, xii, 3). None the less the family did take time off for a month's holiday at Bocking in August, along with their first child, Joseph (born 28 May) and John Thane. The month in Essex became a regular feature of Strutt's family life until his wife's death. John Thane seems to have joined them as often as possible, at least until his marriage to a Miss Flack in January 1776, and even then kept up his friendship with the family.

Nothing more is known till July 1776, when Strutt paid a ten-day visit to Oxford, where he stayed at the Mitre Hotel with his publisher Walter Shropshire. (Shropshire, an established print-publisher and print-seller, lived at 158 New Bond Street, "from which address he issued annually large catalogues" [Christy, xii,7] .) Strutt took the opportunity to visit places of antiquarian interest in the area, and a number of sketches survive (Brit. Lib. MS. Egerton 888.2 includes sketches of St Peter's Church and the Chequer Inn at Oxford, and of Iffley Church and sites in the Thames Valley). He enjoyed the social life of Oxford: he boated to Godstow on Saturday evening; and on Sunday 7 July dined at Worcester College with Thomas Ebbutt. He also visited Wytham village for strawberries and cream, with Ebbutt and Griffin, "a fellow of that College, with his brother, a painter" (Christy, xii, 7; from a letter to his wife, 8 July 1776).

The third volume of the Manners and Customs was published during the autumn of 1776. The work was originally planned as two volumes, but the success of these first volumes had encouraged Strutt to approach his subscribers soliciting support for a third.

The volume contains only a few plates, but they are of a high standard; and Strutt includes an index to each of the three volumes. Meanwhile he was hard at work on the first volume of the Chronicle of England, his history of the nation, covering the period from the arrival of the Romans under Caesar to the end of the Saxon Heptarchy; the volume appeared at the end of April 1777. The same months also saw a re-written edition of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities; a large quarto, uniform with the Manners and Customs, the success of which had no doubt revived interest in the earlier work. The early months of 1778, when Strutt was busy with the publication of Volume II of the Chronicle, had more than the usual crop of domestic distractions: a child of a few months (William Thomas, born 7 March 1777) and another expected in the summer; a new apprentice¹ and a bad cold for Strutt in January, along with scarlet fever for the two-year-old boy.² All in all, as his wife wrote to her mother-in-law, "of late he has been so hurried in publishing the second volume of his 'Chronicle,' and delivering them out to his subscribers, that he has had scarcely a minute to himself."³

Strutt, at about this time, seems to have been suffering from bouts of depression. Ann wrote to her mother-in-law on 15 January:

Dear madam, I hope we shall soon have the pleasure of seeing you at London. Mr. Strutt, whenever he is a little inclined to be in low spirits, always wishes for your company; for (says he) "I cou'd talk about affairs past with

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- 1 In January 1778 Strutt, still only 28, was honoured by a request from his old master Ryland, asking him to accept his son William "to be instructed in the art of design" (Christy, xiii, 3). Unfortunately the boy died before his apprenticeship was completed (on Strutt's apprentices, see below, Appendix II to this chapter).
 - 2 Letter from Ann to Mrs Strutt Senior, 15 January 1778 (Christy, xiii, 3-4).
 - 3 Ann to Mrs Strutt Senior, 4 May 1778 (Christy, xiii, 5).

my mother, till I should be in excellent spirits." And then he runs on about his living in a hollow tree, and sometimes talks of such frightful things that I shudder again. "Oh," he says, "my mother would remember this." Really I cannot account for an observation I have made that talking of gloomy and horrid things should raise Mr. Strutt's spirits when he is inclined to be low, but certainly it does; and, as I know it amuses him, I never think of interrupting him.

(Christy, xiii, 4)

Pressure of literary work, and the approaching birth of their third child, meant that the family abandoned plans for their usual holiday in the country. The child, Ann Elizabeth, was born on 18 August. Strutt wrote to his mother to tell her the news; and eight days after the event, with all the hazards of eighteenth-century childbirth, all seemed to be well. He was to dine with his brother that evening, and the previous evening they had spent flying a kite in Marylebone Fields.¹ But Ann became ill; and on 15 September, some three weeks after the birth, she died.²

Ann Strutt seems to have been an ordinary enough girl, amiable and unexceptionable: according to Crosier ("Diary", p.95) a "meek, tender, good-hearted woman as could live"; but her death had considerable significance for the future pattern of Strutt's antiquarian and literary work. Douce's biographical notes (taken, he says, from Strutt's "own papers") record that "He was so much affected by the loss of his wife & so tenderly loved her that he vowed never to marry again for her sake" (fol.3); and a letter from Strutt's brother to their mother, dated 21 September, indicates how fearful the family had been about his reaction: "Hond. Mother, I do assure you my mind has been so much unsettled, on account of the present melancholy situation we are all in, that I hardly know what I write. My brother has been with us ever since his wife's death, and Miss

1 Christy, xiii, 8 (and family papers).

2 The child survived her mother by only eighteen months; see below, p.50 .

Blower also.¹ Upon the whole, I think he bears his loss much better than I expected, and is tolerably composed ... he certainly behaves with that manly resignation which does credit to his understanding as a man and a Christian" (Christy, xiii, 9). Strutt's own account of the period suggests that his composure was largely assumed for the sake of his relatives: "The loss of my wife, in whom my soul was wrapped up, made me nearly frantic; and nothing but the living for my children's benefit, made life endurable." (QHH, II, 214).

Even in the following May he wrote to his mother (26 May 1779); "my heavy misfortunes have made me dread being alone, even the time I could pen a letter" (Lit. Anecs., V, 676).

From the literary point of view, the most significant result of his wife's death was a poem in her memory which Strutt published in 1779. Though there is evidence that Strutt was a life-long writer of poems and other literary forms, this is the only known example of his early work that has survived (see further below, pp.286-290).

John Strutt could never resist an opportunity to meddle in his brother's affairs; the letter to his mother quoted above (p.47) included the following plans for Joseph's future: "I find my brother intends quitting his house at Xmas next, and going into lodgings, which, as he has furniture, he may get for abt. 20 guineas pr. ann.; and, as he means to do with one servt., that will also be a saving of near £20 a year; and, as he gives for his house -- taxes and all -- 40 guineas a year, that will save 20 gs. a year; and, being in a lodging, it will be a sufficient pretence for throwing off all superfluous acquaintance, wh. will also be a saving."

Dr Strutt had never approved of his brother's antiquarian writings, mainly because he felt that a better living could be

1 Ann's sister, who kept house for Strutt for a time after his wife's death.

earned by practising the trade of engraving. He hinted in the letter to his mother that he had persuaded Joseph to abandon his antiquarian research: "He has left off all his publications, and sticks to engraving" (Christy, xiii, 9). Strutt must have been particularly vulnerable at this time and more inclined to fall in with his family's wishes; but the relative failure of the Chronicle compared with his earlier books had also, no doubt, influenced his thinking.

It is clear from the preface to Volume II that Strutt had intended to extend the Chronicle to include the history of the nation after the Conquest: "It was at first intended to have brought this work down to the present time, but this resolution the author, upon mature consideration, has dropped."¹ It cannot have been the reviews alone which led him to change his mind, since they were pernicky rather than damning. Sales of the Chronicle, though no doubt fewer than Strutt and his publishers had hoped, did not bring complete disgrace: the work had to be re-issued in 1779. Strutt must have known that later works are never so charitably received as those from a beginner; and although another work published at about the same time as the Chronicle -- the latest volume of Robert Henry's History of Great Britain -- was hailed with greater enthusiasm, Strutt had not set himself up in competition: indeed he was so sure that their aims were different that he had without hesitation adapted Henry's plan for his own work (see further below, p. 190). What were the factors which, "upon mature consideration", brought about the change of direction in Strutt's work? For it was nothing less than a complete change of direction; whereas in each of the six preceding years (1772-78) Strutt had published at least one volume, after the Chronicle it was almost twenty years before he produced another work of the same kind. The change may have been in part a consequence of his work on the Biographical Dictionary of Engravers. Though the Dictionary did not begin to appear till 1785, it contains such a wealth of detail that research for it must have occupied a considerable part of the preceding years.

1 Chron., II, iii; cf. Memoir, p.25.

Strutt's depression, the shock of his wife's death, and the likelihood of additional housekeeping expense, may all have inclined him away from the drudgery of antiquarian research and back towards graphic work. Almost certainly, however, it was dissatisfaction with his own achievement in the Chronicle that was the final deciding factor.

5. The Return to Graphic Work (1778-1789)

In the spring of 1779 Strutt exhibited two chalk drawings at the eleventh Academy exhibition. These were the first major works he had exhibited at the Academy, or indeed, so far as it known, executed, since his student days. He continued to exhibit there almost every year until 1784, showing nine works in all (see Appendix I to this chapter).¹ Little else is known of the year 1779, except for the re-issue in the spring of the Chronicle of England, by the publishers Evans and Faulder (Christy, xiv, 5).

During 1780 Strutt suffered further bereavement with the deaths of his daughter Ann Elizabeth (14 February) and his mother (5 April). From her letters, Strutt's mother seems to have had little education. Her best epitaph is probably that in Nichols' Literary Anecdotes which describes her as "a good mother, a steady friend, and a firm Christian" (V, 676). She had been in poor health for some time: as early as 1772, Joseph Strutt mentioned

1 According to Algernon Graves, A Dictionary of Artists who have exhibited works in the principal London exhibitions from 1760-1893 (3rd, edn., 1895), Strutt never exhibited in the other recognised exhibitions of the period, i.e. those of the Society of Artists, the Free Society of Artists, the British Institution, or the Suffolk Street galleries.

(in a letter to his brother, 28 September, family papers) "a return of her old complaint in her stomach." Her life had been despaired of at least once during the autumn before her death, when John Strutt, of Terling Place, had written to Dr John Strutt: "I understood by Mr Crozier yesterday that your mother continues very ill and he apprehends very little hopes of recovery" (24 September 1779; Strutt family papers). Crozier records her death in these terms: "Mrs. Strutt who kept my Father's house died in April and was buried at Springfiled [sic]; as good an economist as ever was, and as tender to the sick as possible, of good abilities, and very pious in her life; she linger'd many months in a long kind of decay" ("Diary", 1780).

To add to his problems, Strutt seems to have been in financial difficulty. The earliest published biographer with access to all the Strutt family papers (Joseph's grandson William) makes much of the fact that Joseph's brother had taken his share of their father's money as well as his own (Memoir, pp.37-38), and the "Old Man's Tale" tells much the same story:

To my brother, who was four years older than I, he devised two-thirds of his possessions; the other third ought to have been mine; but this dear parent, not being well versed in the requisite diction for wording a will, and the legal forms of causing it to be executed, neglected a very material part, which rendered the instrument invalid, and left me altogether to the mercy of my brother: and, in justice to myself, I must say, he took the full advantage that the law held out to him, by depriving me of every penny of my patrimony! (QHH, II, 20)

William Strutt also maintains that the allowance which John Strutt was required to pay to his mother (the residue of which she specified should go to Joseph at her death as some compensation for the loss of the earlier legacy) was kept from him by his brother and sister-in-law. Perhaps the grandson could not be expected to be wholly impartial; but whatever the truth of the matter, it is certain that the two brothers quarrelled bitterly at about this time.

Strutt wrote in a letter to his brother (undated, but probably written during the first half of 1780):

... be assured that I see the drift of the whole of your behaviour, and rest thoroughly satisfied that, if ever I make application to you again, I must have first begged a bit of bread and have been refused everywhere. For two whole days (I think) I would tarry without food, rather than expose myself to obligations that I should be sure to have on all occasions cast into my teeth. On the third day, perhaps (thus reduced, thus naked, wretched, forsaken, and forlorn), I might (at last) stoop so low as to ask help of even you, the faithful executer of a Dead Father's WILL.¹

Nothing further is known of Strutt's relations with his brother, but when the latter died in 1784 (24 May) his widow Mary went to live with Joseph, remaining in his household for the six years that he spent in London before moving to the country. He wrote rather bitterly of her in later years: "I have often wondered, that a mind so well informed could be so totally absorbed in meanness and selfishness" (QHH, II, 219); but the fact that they spent so considerable a period together suggests that the cause was not altogether Strutt's magnanimity, as he would have us believe -- "putting far from me the injuries I had sustained, I took her to my own house; I shared my humble crust with her" (II, 216-217)-- but a sense of mutual advantage: "I will readily acknowledge that I have spent many an hour in her company, not only with amusement, but also with improvement" (II, 218). No doubt she was also a great help to Strutt in bringing up his two sons.

Mary Brettball had married Dr John Strutt in April 1772. They had a number of children but all died. After her first husband's death, and the years with Strutt, she married the Revd Dr John Eaton, of Fairstead, Essex, and lived for many more years.

1 Christy, xiv, 7. Christy points out that Dr John Strutt was himself in financial difficulties at the time.

A number of her letters survive in the Strutt family papers, revealing a woman of considerable energy and personality, not always tactful in dealing with those around her. She acquired a reputation for meanness, and Strutt tells a story of a present to him which turned out to be a pair of old socks, full of holes.

(QHH, II, 218-219). But she enjoyed her brother-in-law's fame, and the following (written to William Thomas Strutt, 26 May 1830) is not ungracious: "When I went to Rivingtons for the purchase of the Works Murray published for your Brother The gentleman who waited upon me with it ... asked me if that Mrs. Strutt was any Relation to the great Mr. Strutt? And the explanation he gave of your Fathers Works was sufficient proof that his meaning was your Father by the denomination of 'Great'."

Despite his plans immediately after his wife's death, Strutt did not in fact move from the house in Duke Street until 1782; and he did not move to lodgings, but took another house, in Charlton Street (now Hanson Street). He appears as tenant of No 21 (later 27) in the rate books from Michaelmas 1782 to Midsummer 1790. He moved in at the end of the Midsummer quarter: Thomas Tyrwhitt, writing to his printer Nichols on 21 July, with reference to a plate for his work A Vindication of the Appendix to the Poems called Rowley's: "The engraving, which is to face page 207, is finished by Mr. Strutt; and you may have it whenever you will send to him for it, in Charlton-Street, near Great Marybone-Street" (Lit. Anecs., VIII, 113).

Douce notes one commission from this period: "In 1781 he entered into an agreement with Sir Geo. Warren to engrave a print of John Earl of Warren refusing to pay the taxes levied by quo warranto temp. Edw.I. from a picture painted by Pike (or Pine), for which he was to receive £168" (MS. f.10, fol.3). In fact the painting was by James Lambert (Christy, Appdx. A), though Strutt did indeed engrave work by Robert Edge Pine (1730-88), portrait-painter and his fellow-exhibitor in the Academy Exhibitions of 1780 and 1784. Nichols lists a Strutt engraving of "A Grecian Lady playing on a lute ... From a painting by Mr. Pine" (Lit.

Anecs., V, 685); and Bryan's Dictionary refers to Strutt's plate "Allegory of America; after R.E. Pine."¹

In 1785 Strutt published the first volume of the Biographical Dictionary of Engravers. He must, as usual, have been short of cash, since Douce notes that "24 Aug. 1784 Faulder entered into an agreement with Strutt to pay him £85 for half the copy right in his work on the engravers" (fol.4). This was little enough for any work and extremely poor return for a major work like the Biographical Dictionary, even though unfinished. The second volume appeared in 1786. Strutt was indebted for help with the Dictionary to three friends in particular, William Roscoe (see above, pp. 13-14); Dr John Monro, of the Bethlehem Hospital, who gave Strutt free access to his fine collection of engravings (see below, p. 122); and John Bacon, his fellow-pupil at the Academy, who assisted with the research.² Bacon also apparently helped with the writing of the text: one of the notes which suffered such "snarling criticism" from Steevens (see below) is said by Nichols to have been from Bacon's pen (Lit. Anecs., V, 676-677).

The Biographical Dictionary is mentioned only in passing in this thesis, since it is not directly related to Strutt's antiquarian and literary work, and any study of it would require specialised knowledge. Its main interest for Strutt's other writing lies in the fact that it was the only non-graphic work of any substance which he published during the long lapse of time described above. It demonstrates Strutt's realisation, after the somewhat disappointing reception of the Chronicle, that any future scholarly work on his part must be specific and related to the subjects and crafts he knew from first-hand experience. The detailed research which the

1 Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, ed. Williamson (1904-05), V, 139).

2 John Bacon, R.A. (1740-99), sufficiently successful as a sculptor to be able to leave £60,000 between his five children. "The late Mr. Bacon, the Sculptor, was a great helper to Mr. Strutt in the compilation of his Dictionary of Engravers: to his opinion, to his experience, Mr. Strutt bowed with submission" (Lit. Anecs., V, 677).

Biographical Dictionary entailed was also an excellent discipline for his later antiquarian studies.

It is clear that research for the Dictionary occupied a considerable part of Strutt's time in the early and middle 1780's: "I have been prevented, by the multiplicity of materials I have met with, from going to press so soon as I intended" (24 January 1785), but "I am determined to omit no pains, nor spare any necessary cost, to make it as compleat as possible" (5 September 1785). The first volume was published in the summer of 1785; the second, early in 1786. A subscription list was opened; Roscoe added his name to it in August 1785, and part of a copy of the list survives as cover to the manuscript of Strutt's "Chronicle of a Revolution in the Land of the Lilies."

The Dictionary aimed to give an account of all known engravers from the earliest times to the present day, together with a list of their "most esteemed works", and the "cyphers, monograms, and particular marks used by each master" (Memoir, p.46). It was accompanied by a long essay in twelve chapters on the art of engraving on copper and wood, and each volume included ten plates of illustrations.

By the time the first volume was published, Strutt was telling Roscoe that "a third Volume must of necessity follow these two" (24 August 1785). Eight weeks later, he had come to realise that some more radical stratagem was required: "On a review of the multiplicity of materials, which I have before me, I find it totally impossible to comprise them all in two, or even three additional Volumes ... I have therefore in contemplation, an Idea, of making a Monthly publication for that purpose, upon a plan, something like the following ...". The plan was for three sections in each monthly issue, one of "historical and practical observations" on the arts in general; another listing the works of "some great Master", with a portrait; and a third listing new prints published during the month, with notes on the subjects. This useful plan was never put into practice

(nor indeed was the projected third volume published) because of "an Engagement I have entered into of a different nature" (as Strutt wrote to Roscoe in December 1788); his commitment extended "to nearly three years." The engagement is nowhere defined but may perhaps have been preliminary work towards the engravings for Stothard's Pilgrim's Progress, published 1792.

In addition to the help from other antiquaries already noted, Strutt says he made use of the catalogues of Gilpin and Heinecken (he approved the second, but not the first) and that he took the form of the Dictionary from Pilkington's Dictionary of Painters.¹ Walpole's and Basan's lists of engravers gave him information on some 160 and 1000 artists respectively.² Strutt's own list included some 3000 artists, and in those areas where he had first-hand knowledge (such as developments in English engraving during the mid-eighteenth century-- mezzotint, stipple engraving, etc.-- and indeed the establishment of the English engraver as a serious artist) his comments even now remain of value.

His judgement, however, suffered from a lack of knowledge of European engraving other than English; the work of a slightly later scholar such as Ottley shows how much Strutt missed by his lack of Continental travel. But when the dearth of earlier reference material is remembered, the cool reception given the

1 William Gilpin, Essay on Prints (1768); von Heinecken, A Chronological Series of Engravers (Leipzig, 1770); Matthew Pilkington, The Gentleman's and Connoisseur's Dictionary of Painters (1770).

2 Horace Walpole, A Catalogue of Engravers, who have been born, or resided in England (Strawberry Hill, 1763; from Vertue's notes: later incorporated in the Anecdotes of Painting); P.F. Basan, Dictionnaire des graveurs anciens et modernes depuis l'origine de la gravure (Paris, 1767).

Dictionary seems unduly harsh. The Monthly Review (reviewer Francis Grose) "expected a somewhat better performance", though after weighing the work's merits against its "many errors and omissions ... the balance preponderates in its favour" (LXXV [1786], 117). Still more severe, the Gentleman's Magazine declared the Dictionary "heavy and tedious" and "trite and common."¹ Its facts were "defective and unsatisfactory", revealing "negligence and want of information" (LVII, 1089). The Gentleman's Magazine reviews were by "Diligens" (George Steevens): Joseph Strutt Junior thought the reviews were Steevens' revenge because Strutt had been "urgent" with him for a debt (Lit. Anecs., V, 676). Whatever the truth of this, Steevens' attack was immoderate, notably in his remarks that the essay "might with ease, and certainly with better effect, have been compressed into two pages ... From book manufacturers may industrious criticism deliver us!" (LVI, 418, 421).

The view of posterity is more tolerant; Michael Bryan considered himself "indebted" to the Dictionary.² Perhaps the best summary is the comment by Francis Douce, written on the fly-leaf of his copy of the Dictionary, now in the Bodleian Library: "The task of collecting together genuine and accurate accounts of engravers is of no easy accomplishment, as they usually lived in retirement and obscurity, and were too frequently the victims of extreme poverty. Such was the fate of the very ingenious author of the present work, which, with all its defects, is still the best of its kind."

Very little is known of Strutt's activities during the years 1785-90, apart from the publication of the Biographical Dictionary. He exhibited no pictures and wrote nothing else which has survived. He seems to have been mainly occupied with engraving plates, mostly for John Thane, by then established as a

1 LVI (May 1786), 418; LVII (December 1787), 1090.

2 Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, ed. Williamson (1904-05), V, 138.

prosperous print-seller and print-publisher. Many of Strutt's engravings were made from the designs of Thomas Stothard (1755-1834), perhaps the best-known book illustrator of the day. The business relationship between the two men was to be life-long.¹ Douce also notes a Strutt commission of this period of which no other record survives: "In 1789 he appears to have been employed by Mr. Walford of Clare, who from his epistolary orthography appears to have been an illiterate man, to engrave private plates for him of Bathorne [i.e. Baythorne] house &c. In one of his letters W. asks him for two of his pamphlets of Danbury" (fol.3).²

The transactions with the French publisher Boulard for a Paris edition of the Manners and Customs, which took place during these years, are discussed below (pp.158-159).

6. Life in Hertfordshire (1790-1794)

The year 1790 was a particularly unfortunate one for Strutt. His asthma, always troublesome, grew very much worse; and his financial difficulties became acute. In his own words, from the "Old Man's Tale",

I sunk under a very heavy pressure of misfortunes, which, joined with ill health, fell upon me at once, and crushed me to the ground.

I was obliged to give up my all, to satisfy the demands upon me; and even in this act of justice, my evil genius pursued me. I reposed my trust in a man nearly related to me; I assigned over to him the power to dispose of my effects; and, shame upon me! I hid myself like a coward from those

1 Lit. Anecs., V, 678, 686, etc., and see below, p.61.

2 No copy of this pamphlet appears to have survived, but it was presumably part of Strutt's contribution to the "Danbury Knights" discussion (see below, p.156^{fn.1}). The commission must have been typical of Strutt's work during the 1780's.

who would not have hurt a hair of my head. Gracious heaven! The villain I entrusted sold my effects indeed, and satisfied some few trifling demands for colour sake, but converted the rest of the money to his own use, and then vilified my character with my creditors; and, lest I should have come forward to defend myself, he frightened me with threats they never made, and soon after left me to my total ruin, he himself becoming a bankrupt. (QHH, II, 221-222)

It seems odd to have entrusted so important a transaction to another person, but Strutt was no man of business, and knew that he would get little for his furniture by selling it himself. The relative was a man called Edwards, husband of one of Strutt's wife's sisters, but nothing else is known of him (Douce f.10, fol.3). The events left Strutt in a most difficult position: clearly his creditors were unlikely to accept the story he told them. He took the line of least resistance and, as his son put it, "finding the country-air highly beneficial", made his escape to the village of Bramfield in Hertfordshire.¹

Here he took lodgings, along with his two sons (now aged fifteen and thirteen) at Bacon's Farm, between Hertford and Welwyn.² The farm was occupied by John Carrington, who was destined to become the hero of Strutt's narrative poem, The Bumpkins' Disaster. Carrington was in reality very far from the yokel of the poem, being a well-to-do farmer, convivial, fond of good living, parish

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- 1 Lit. Anecs., V, 678. Strutt's name last appears in the St Marylebone parish rate books for the Midsummer Quarter in 1790; but John Carrington mentions a journey to London with Strutt as early as 31 May 1790, so he probably moved to Hertfordshire in April or early May.
- 2 Mary Eaton (Strutt's sister-in-law) claims in a letter to his son (13 May 1839, family papers) that she was instrumental in finding Strutt a home at the farm: "his obtaining, through my application, a retreat at Bacons." This may well be so, since Christy refers to another letter (since lost) which suggests that she was related to Carrington or his wife (Christy, xvi, 2).

churchwarden and overseer and High Constable for the Hundred of Cashio. Carrington seems to have been a most engaging man, and he and Strutt became friends for life. Though Strutt was probably the only antiquary whom Carrington ever knew at all well, he adopted Strutt's interests with enthusiasm. On one occasion he travelled with Strutt to London to see what he called the "British Mesuam"; and long after Strutt left Bacon's, Carrington (by then well on in his seventies) records time after time in his diary that he has been to view the latest discoveries, usually coffins or "skellitings". From 1795 to 1802 the two met several times a year, and Carrington unfailingly records the evenings spent together in one of their favourite inns. The following note (loose in the memorandum book) is representative of many similar entries:

Mr Strutt & MySelf When we went to Lord Grimstons
Gordarmbury [i.e. Gorhambury] Near St. Albans to take
off some pickters I Slept all Night ... at the Redhouse
St. Albans with Mr Thane from London.

Redhouse St. Albans	Mr Strutt & I and Mr Thane
3 Supers	3-0
Brandy	0-9
Brandy & Water	5-6
Ginn & Water	0-9
Beer	1-2
Bacco	0-3
Brandy & Tea for 3	2-0
Bedds	2-0
Tea for 1	0-8

16:1

our bill at the Redhouse Debr. 1 and 2d. 1790.

Despite the quantities of alcohol consumed (10s 2d as against 5s 11d for suppers, beds and tobacco!) Carrington records that the visit to Lord Grimston's was successfully completed the following morning. If this kind of evening was a regular feature of Strutt's life, it is perhaps not surprising that Nichols described Strutt in his later years as "exceedingly corpulent" (Lit. Anecs., V, 680).

The early part of Strutt's life at Bacon's Farm was marred by the discovery of his hiding-place. It seems unlikely that he had hoped to avoid his creditors for long, since he used his own name in Bramfield; in any case he could hardly have hoped to get future work to engrave without revealing his identity. But he probably hoped for a few months' respite to get together enough money to pay off the most pressing of his debts; and he was deeply hurt because his retreat was given away by his old friend and business associate, Stothard. "Who can you imagine acquainted Malpas [one of Strutt's creditors] where I was? Who, but my admirable bragging friend, Stothard! But he does not know that I am in the secret."¹ Stothard was generally well-liked: "As Leigh Hunt said of him in his last days, 'an angel dwelt in that tottering house amidst the wintry bowers of whitelocks, warming it to the last with summer fancies'."² The episode with Strutt, as well as the notorious squabble with Blake in 1806, suggests there may have been a less retiring side to his nature; but unlike the rift with Blake, his differences with Strutt seem to have been settled within a few months, since in 1792 an edition of the Pilgrim's Progress was published, with drawings by Stothard engraved by Strutt. In the circumstances, the 'betrayal' by Stothard may have been no more than a misunderstanding of Strutt's intentions.

Late on the night of 6 October, Strutt relates, he was amusing himself by writing verse (the poem survives: see below, p.291) when: "I heard a person on horseback come into the yard and call my name. It was Medcalf, from the 'Bull' at Hartford. He had overheard Malpas enquiring for the bailiff and mentioning my name and saying he would arrest me the next morning. He came immediately to acquaint me; and, early in the morning, I set

1 Letter to Mary Eaton, 10 March 1791 (Memoir, p. 56).

2 DNB, 1973, XVIII, 1323.

out for London, a way contrary to that of Hartford."¹ The flight may have lacked dignity but Strutt in later years saw no shame in it; as he summed up his attitude in the "Old Man's Tale": "On my soul, I have committed no felonious action! My misfortunes have made me debtor to those men; and my poverty is the only cause of their grievance" (QHH, II, 230).

All turned out well, because Strutt decided there was nothing for it but to meet his creditors; somehow he persuaded them of his good intentions and was allowed time to pay off his debts. He found his working arrangements at Bacon's very tedious, "having only one window (and that a small one) to work at, and not well placed for the light neither, and three -- for Townley [his apprentice] is now with me -- to work at it, and Joseph at a little table behind"; but in all, "I hope the furious part of the storm is overblown. What remains must be born with patience; and I doubt not, God granting health (and I never found myself better), some comfort is behind."²

It seems probable that Strutt's good friends and relatives at Terling once again came to his rescue: Strutt's letter to his sister-in-law (Christy, xvi, 5-9) records that Edwards "said he would write instantly to Terling, as he did not wish to proceed on so critical a point without the advice of Mr Strutt, to whom he had allways referred in any difficulty." Joseph Strutt's distant cousin (they shared great-grandparents), John Strutt of Terling (1727-1816, MP for Maldon 1774-90), had already helped Joseph out of his financial difficulties at least once:

1 Letter to Mary Eaton, 10 March 1791 (Christy, xvi, 6-7).

2 The two quotations are from the same letter of 10 March 1791 (Christy, xvi, 9). The break with Edwards was never mended. "Speaking of a payment to him of fll ... for a debt of £40, [Strutt] says 'and superabundantly' " (Douce, fol. 4).

the Strutt family papers record a gift of £60 in 1788 to help clear him of debt;¹ and another letter among the papers releases Mrs Strutt Senior from a number of debts.² The reredos painting in Terling Church was commissioned by John Strutt of Terling from Joseph for £21 (Strutt Family, p.5); and another member of the family, General W.G. Strutt, found Strutt's younger son his position in the Bank of England.

John Thane, too, helped his friend, if only as a guarantor -- he "backed one of the notes" -- and Strutt's father-in-law had also promised help, though it does not seem to have been very prompt in arriving: "Mr Blower promised to allow for the board &c of Joseph; not one farthing have I received."³ Joseph Junior at one time boarded with Mr and Mrs A. Johnson of Baddow (Mrs Johnson was Ann Strutt's sister). She, according to Douce's notes, in 1794 "demands a debt of £10 for his eldest son Joseph's board, & offers to take it out in prints" (fol.3).

The final years at Bacon's Farm seem to have been among the happiest of Strutt's later life. He had adequate engraving work to keep himself solvent;⁴ and his two sons grew up and found themselves trades. Joseph (1775-1833), educated at Christ's Hospital, was a printing apprentice with Nichols. In later years he too became an antiquary and was appointed Keeper of the Records to the Duke of Northumberland at Syon House, Isleworth. He arranged the posthumous publication of several of his father's literary works and also published books of his own, mostly on Scriptural themes.⁵

1 Charles Strutt, The Strutt Family, p.24.

2 John Strutt of Terling to Dr John Strutt, 25 August 1772.

3 Both quotations from letter of 10 March 1791 (Christy, xvi, 8).

4 A list of plates engraved by Strutt at Bacon's is given in Christy (xvi, 13-14).

5 See his obituary notice in the Gentleman's Magazine, CIII (November 1833), 474.

William Thomas (probably named after Strutt's former master Ryland) lived from 1777-1850. He took a post with the Bank of England but later practised as a painter of miniatures. He also, like his father, made anatomical drawings for Dr John Abernethy (1764-1831), surgeon at St Bartholomew's Hospital, and Dr Robert Willan (see below, p. 74^{f.2}).

Strutt took an active part in local antiquarian affairs: on 4 April 1791, he examined a pit containing lime and animal bones, discovered in a field behind the White Horse Inn at Watton. (His notes on the pit are still extant, in Brit. Lib. MS. Egerton 888.2. He supposed that the remains indicated the presence of a fell-monger some centuries previously). Even when he left Hertfordshire, he followed local events with interest. In March 1802, two Anglo-Saxon or Roman coffins were discovered at Ware, and Strutt had them transported to Bacon's. John Carrington's "Diary", 6 February 1802: "Mr Strutt came to me as had been to Ware to see the Stone Coffins." March 1802: "At Home fixing the stone Coffin, Molden, Son John and Dean and Hanken their, son and Dean staid and drank 10 Glasses of Ginn and Water and Supper 8 clock." By 1885, when Bacon's was visited by Strutt's grandson, the one coffin still remaining was in use as a cattle trough; it was later broken up and used to mend the road (Memoir, p.60).

Strutt had a continuing interest in scientific experiment; in his grandson's words:

Long after the family [the Carringtons] were at rest, he would sit up either writing or otherwise engaged. He cherished the idea of the possibility of inventing perpetual motion; and, in long vigils, he sat arranging his weights and counterweights, when suddenly there would be a downfall of the apparatus, waking up his landlady (sleeping in the room beneath), who, roused in anything but a pleasant mood, exclaimed, "Bless

the man. I wish he would give up those silly things and go to bed!"¹ At other times, he constructed little balloons to amuse his sons and delight the wondering rustics gathered to witness their aërial flight. (Memoir, p.58)

Hertfordshire had followed ballooning with interest ever since September 1784, when the first aeronaut over English soil, Vincenti Lunardi, made his landing there. Carrington wrote in his memorandum book: "[Lunardi] assended in a Boolone at the artillry ground London to a great Hithe over Barnat, North Hall, then went for St Albans, then took his course East over Codicut, Wellwin, Tewin, Bengeo & Landed himself in a Little Meadow at Standon Green End, he throwd his line out & was pulled Down by a young woman in the meadow, who was fritned at first & Run away, thought it the Devell, till he made her sencable & gave her 5 guineas ..."

Strutt also, no doubt, practised his favourite sport of fishing. Joseph Strutt Junior, in a letter of 29 August 1814 (to "Madam": possibly Mrs Ogborne, wife of his father's apprentice; letter amongst family papers), makes the following remark: "Also we have a look direct upon the Thames, which laves our garden-foundation: here, at high water, I can stand and fish: but my Father was the man for this sport: I never attempted it."

In addition, Strutt took an active part in village life. He helped to found a Debating Institute; and in 1791 hired a room in the village of Tewin where he started an evening and Sunday School, which seems to have been a resounding success: according to his

1 A "copy of one of his mechanical sketches for a self-moving machine" survives in the Douce MS.(fol.3). It is probably the same sketch as the "curious rocking-horse of Mr. S's invention" listed by Joseph Strutt Junior in a letter to Murray of 20 March 1807 (see below, p. 227). Douce also notes that Strutt used to make fireworks to amuse his cousin before their marriage (fol.1).

son Joseph, "great decorum was soon visible in the personal conduct and manners of the villagers. Squirrel-hunting and other disorderly sports were no longer practised on the Sunday; but sobriety and decency were manifest, and the church-duties attended to with evident delight" (Lit. Anecs, V, 679).¹ John Carrington was given to writing verse, of a kind, and in his obituary poem for Strutt he included several verses on the subject of the school (see below, Appendix III to this chapter).

The school seems to have been started at Tewin because of opposition to the scheme by the Rector of Bramfield, the Revd Thomas Lloyd. The disagreement developed into something of a feud, with Strutt's role not perhaps as dignified as it might have been: "Strutt made a fruitless effort to obtain the sanction and support of the Rector of Bramfield. This was flatly and indignantly refused, the school being considered by the reverend gentleman as an impertinent and unnecessary innovation. Strutt's resolve, however, was not to be thus summarily quashed. Howbeit, having been somewhat contemptuously snubbed, he composed some very humorous and stinging verses, which he chalked on the Rector's well or pump" (Memoir, pp.59-60).

7. The Return to London and Antiquarian Publications (1795-1802)

A first glance at the dates of the Dress and Habits and the Sports and Pastimes (1796-99 and 1801) suggests that the volumes

1 John Carrington, memorandum book: "Mr Strutt was the Person that begun the Sunday School with one Robrt. Gass at Tewin ... the school hes Continued but he was the first beginner of it at his own Expence." Robert Gass, who died in June 1804 aged about 90, "for Maney years past ... Worked at Tewin Mill, When a Glass mill in Pollershing Glass & making spectacles" (Carrington, "Diary", June 1804).

were an immediate result of Strutt's return to London in 1794-95. In fact, the dates are misleading; 1796 is indeed the publication date of the first volume of the Dress and Habits in its completed form, but the numbers had begun to appear on a monthly basis as early as the August or September of 1794 (see below, p.205f.1). And on reflection it is apparent that works of such considerable scholarship must have been the fruits of the labours of many years. It does not seem that Strutt was as isolated in Hertfordshire as might have been supposed: Welwyn, an easy ride from Bacon's, was on a stage coach route to London, and Strutt must have made many journeys to the city during his time at the farm. Some of them are mentioned by John Carrington. He was certainly able to produce, in 1792, a Supplement with twelve large plates taken from a London manuscript, Queen Mary's Psalter (Brit. Lib. MS. Royal 2 B.vii), which Strutt described as a source he had come across "not long since" (Supplement, p.1). When Strutt first published the Antiquities and the Manners and Customs, he had been unable to find any material to illustrate the period 1250-1400; the Supplement, filling this gap, was at first issued separately but in 1793 was incorporated in the third and finest edition of the Antiquities (see further below, pp.109-112).

No doubt, however, after four years at Bacon's Farm, Strutt was beginning to lose touch with the artists and print-publishers on whom he was dependent for a continuing flow of work. His interest in antiquarian research, too, had been revived by the success of the Supplement, and he had begun work for the Dress and Habits. His labours had probably reached the stage where he would find it a great convenience to be nearer to the British Museum. On 6 March 1794, he moved from Bacon's to a house in Welwyn. Carrington's memorandum book notes that: "Mr Strutt, and his son Wm Strutt, and his prentice Townley Left Bacons March 6, 1794 after being with us near 4 years." Nichols (Lit. Anecs., v, 679) says that Strutt had the idea of making his permanent home in Welwyn, and that the house was formerly occupied by the Revd Edward Young,

author of Night Thoughts. Christy (xvi, 15) thinks the house, which was still standing when he wrote, was too grand to have been taken by Strutt at a time of financial difficulty; but Nichols based his account on the first-hand knowledge of Joseph Strutt Junior, so there may be some truth in his contention. Perhaps Strutt lived in part of the house.

However, even this compromise proved inadequate, and sometime later in 1794 or during 1795 Strutt moved back to London. Douce notes that: "In 1794 he was living at No.9 Kirby Street Hatton garden" (fol.4). There is no other evidence of this, but Douce was working from Strutt's own papers so may have had evidence not available to the other biographers. By 1795 he occupied a house in Charles Street, Hatton Garden (now Greville Street, the part between Hatton Garden and Saffron Hill). He was then aged 46.

According to Douce, Strutt was, in 1795, "an unsuccessful candidate for an office in the B. Mus." (fol.4). The Museum records for the period are incomplete, but mention one new appointment for the year: that of the Revd Robert Nares as an Assistant Librarian in place of Mr Southgate.¹

For a time he seems to have followed the old routine of engraving plates for publishers who would pay nothing till the work was completed. On one particular occasion, as suggested in the "Old Man's Tale", he was reduced literally to his last shilling. He sent his son to beg a temporary loan from his sister-in-law, which was refused in a somewhat peremptory manner: "My aunt gives her love to you, and bids me assure you, that there is nobody to whom she would have sooner lent a noble; but she has made a vow never to

1 Minutes of the Trustees' Standing Committee, 1795 (information kindly supplied from confidential records by the British Library). Douce, at one time a Museum Keeper himself, is unlikely to be mistaken on a matter such as this.

borrow nor to lend, and, therefore, requests, you would not, in future, trouble her on so unpleasant a subject" (QHH, II, 238).

In despair, he writes that he walked the streets till he reached Spa Fields, when "some one tapped me gently upon the shoulder; and, on my turning towards him, I saw it was a person of opulence, who had formerly been an intimate acquaintance of mine; but we had not seen each other for a considerable length of time" (II, 241). A temporary provision was soon made, and a promise that "it shall go hard but we will consult upon some plan to set you forward once more in life" (II, 241). The identity of the friend is nowhere revealed. Christy suggests it may have been Richard Gough or Strutt's relative Colonel Strutt, but gives no evidence (xvii, 3). It could equally well, perhaps, have been John Thane, co-publisher of the Dress and Habits. The plan decided upon, however, was almost certainly the putting to press of that work. "The Old Man's Tale" says only: "being assisted by an opulent friend in the prosecution of a larger work, which I brought before the public, and which was favourably received ... I hope to complete a life of trouble with tranquillity, and to lay down my grey hairs in the grave with peace" (II, 242-243); but it seems certain that Strutt had been working towards the Dress and Habits, and would have found great difficulty in publishing the work without some financial assistance (Christy, xvii, 2-3). From this time onwards he abandoned the work of engraving, except to illustrate his own writings. The two volumes of the Dress and Habits (1796 and 1799) were followed in 1801 by Strutt's last work of scholarship, and his best-known book, the Sports and Pastimes of the People of England.

The fact that Strutt seems to have lived for the last few years of his life in greater comfort, even affluence, than at any earlier time (except perhaps for the few years of his marriage) may have had something to do with the unidentified benefactor. More probably it was a combination of other factors: the fact that his two sons were no longer dependent on him, that living in London gave him a much wider selection of engraving commissions, and, not least, that before long the Dress and Habits was bringing in handsome profits

which encouraged him to proceed with the Sports and Pastimes, and gave him leisure to indulge his taste for writing fiction and drama. Whatever the reason, his greater freedom is evidenced in all kinds of ways; not only the literary works referred to, but the active social life we glimpse in Carrington's diary, and perhaps most of all in the style of the antiquarian works he published. In the volumes of the seventies Strutt had been only too pleased to refer back to points made or figures illustrated in earlier parts of his work; whereas in the Dress and Habits there are claims such as this: "I have avoided, as much as possible, the introducing any figures that have been previously engraved for other works, and in no one instance given a copy from a copy; but always referred to the original itself, as the best voucher for my accuracy" (DH, I, "Address", iv).

It is interesting to note that Strutt was once again the owner of at least one manuscript, a sure sign of better economic circumstances. He gives the date for the beheading of Alban as 10 July 286, taken from "an old MS. which I have in my own possession" (Supplement, p. 2).¹ As early as 1776 Strutt had given a list of the Principal Officers at the Day of Coronation "from a curious old MS. in my own possession" (MC, III, 37); and from the correspondence with William Roscoe we know that he frequented sales, and occasionally came away with items he had been unable to resist. On 14 March 1785: "I send an Impression from a very Curious Copper Plate, which I accidentally met with at an Auction of Coins, last week" (Roscoe 4735). No doubt, with the ups and downs of his finances, he bought and sold again as circumstances dictated. There is no record of manuscripts left to his heirs.

1 S. Baring-Gould, The Lives of the Saints (1914), VI, 294-299, offers two dates for the martyrdom. A date c.304 is preferred by Bede, in the Martyrology; Gildas; Geoffrey of Monmouth; and Venantius Fortunatus in the Hymn. 286 is the date given by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; the Liber Landavensis; and a "book of the lives of the abbots of S. Albans to the time of Eadwar." Modern scholars, however, "prefer a date of c.254 under Decius, or even c.209 under Septimius Severus" (Oxford Dictionary of Saints [1978], p.8).

During these last years of his life Strutt continued to live in Charles Street, and formed a circle of friends which met nightly at the Hole in the Wall inn at Hatton Garden.¹ Quite often they were joined by John Carrington, when he came on a trip to town; from the diary: "1799. Sunday, Nov. 17th -- Set off for London ... Spent the evening with Mr Strutt at Vauns, the Hole in the Wall... 1801. Tuesday, 10th March -- Went to London. Spent the evening at the Whole Wall with Strutt. Next evening spent with Strutt at same place." From time to time Strutt paid return visits to Hertfordshire, staying at the Rose and Crown in Tewin, which was kept by Carrington's son Jack.²

Two pamphlets, published after Strutt's death but purporting to be from his manuscript, relate a curious adventure which was supposed to have befallen Strutt at about this time, the mid or late 1790's.³

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- 1 The Hole in the Wall opened about 1715, and closed in the 1860's. From the 1820's its address became No.2 Kirby Street. See Bryant Lillywhite, London Signs (1972). After Strutt's time it became the headquarters of the London republicans; see W.R. Hughes "The Gentleman at Bacon's," Blackwood's Magazine, MCCCII (August 1932), 279-288.
- 2 See, for example, Carrington's "Diary", 14 September 1801: "To Tewin afternoon Spent the evening with ^{Mr} Strutt at Jacks who Came from London 3 Days past & Lodged their."
- 3 "A singular History of a Murder, found out twenty-two Years after it was perpetrated, in the Town of Chelmsford, and discovered by the late Mr. Joseph Strutt, Author of the Dictionary of Engravers, [etc.] Printed from the Original in his own Handwriting, now in the Possession of the Publisher. London: printed for Edward Jeffery, 11, Pall-Mall. 1806." The second account appears in an undated broadside, printed by W. Stephenson of Gateshead: "A true and particular Account of a cruel and mysterious Murder ... discovered by Mr. Joseph Strutt ..." This version dates the events as Monday, ^{25 Nov.} which would mean they were assigned to either 1793 or 1799.

Though there is little reason to think there is any truth in the story, it is interesting to note that a broadly similar tale is told in Queenhoo-Hall (III, 65-69).

The story has it that Strutt was staying at the White Horse, in Chelmsford. In the morning he went to look at the church, and passed a few words with the sexton, who was digging a grave. The sexton's spade turned up a skull; Strutt picked it up and was surprised to hear it rattle. There was a rusty hole in the forehead and inside a four-inch nail. Strutt demanded of the sexton if he knew whose skull it was. "Yes, Sir, and well too; he was as hearty a cock as ever broke bread, and was the master of the White Horse, two-and-twenty years ago." The innkeeper had been drinking overnight with his friends, but was taken suddenly ill and buried the next day. Within two months his widow married the ostler. Strutt, so the story goes, wrapped the skull in his mantle and went straight to the local justice. The woman and the ostler were sent for and broke down under questioning. Strutt gave evidence at the annual County Assizes "and they, being justly condemned, suffered the condign punishment."

Much of this story seems highly impossible. There is no evidence to support it in Essex records; and the events it relates are suspiciously like those of a pamphlet of 1688, which relates the murder of a traveller, staying at the White Horse in 1654, by the landlord and his family.¹ The body was discovered nine years later with a hole in the skull.

1 Christy, xvii, 10; from the title-page: "A True Relation of a Horrid Murder committed upon the Person of Thomas Kidderminster, of Tupsley, in the County of Hereford, Gent., at the White Horse Inn, in Chelmsford, in the County of Essex, in the Month of April 1654 [etc.] London: H. Hills Junior, Blackfriars, 1688."

Strutt's brother's medical evidence had once helped to convict a notorious prisoner (Memoir, p.39), and possibly this encouraged Strutt to re-write the old pamphlet in the first person, to try his hand at narrative. When the "Original in his own Handwriting" was found after his death, it was taken as a factual account.

The pamphlets have a certain interest because they show Strutt taking pleasure in telling a good story; and it was to story-telling of one kind and another that he devoted most of his time after the publication of the Sports and Pastimes. The writing of poetry and plays, at least, was far from being an entirely new aspect of Strutt's talent: he had already written several poems, probably many more than survive, and one or more plays; and his quotations from early manuscripts often show a delight in the language as well as in the subject of his material.

Strutt's most important literary work was a four-volume prose romance or novel, interspersed with many songs and poems. The fifteenth-century setting of Queenhoo-Hall provided an excellent opportunity for Strutt to display his antiquarian knowledge, and to explore the use of older forms of language culled from his wide reading of medieval literature. The work is remembered by many because Strutt's unfinished manuscript was completed by a young editor working for the publisher Murray -- Walter Scott; but it has an interest of its own for literary studies. Ancient Times, a play, published at the end of the fourth volume of Queenhoo-Hall, also conveys a good deal of incidental antiquarian information on the Saxons. The two other literary works by Strutt which were published posthumously are more clearly works of entertainment, with little didactic intention: they are The Test of Guilt (another play) and the narrative poem The Bumpkins' Disaster.

Work on Queenhoo-Hall was brought to a halt at the beginning of 1802, when Strutt was approached with proposals for

a second edition of the Manners and Customs. In the course of the summer, Strutt re-engraved thirty plates, made several new drawings, and re-arranged his material.¹

Strutt was looking forward to a long rest, proposing to spend the winter at Bacon's Farm. Early in October, however, he was taken seriously ill in London. There is little doubt that he had not been in the best of health for some time. Nichols' description of his life as "chequered by misfortune, early embittered by the loss of an amiable partner, and long tending towards the grave through the pressure of bodily affliction" (Lit. Anecs., V, 665) is based on personal knowledge and on the evidence of Joseph Strutt Junior. Strutt grew very fat in middle age and, in addition to his asthma, according to Nichols suffered from "severe fits of the stone" (Lit. Anecs., V, 680).

Strutt was convinced that the London air was the cause of his trouble, and tried to make arrangements to have himself taken to Hertfordshire, but was dissuaded by his doctor. On Friday 15 October, he was thought by Dr Willan to be making good progress; but Strutt died at three o'clock on the morning of Saturday 16 October.²

1 Memoir, p.69. See further below, pp.157-158

2 Robert Willan (1757-1812) graduated from Edinburgh in 1780. He was appointed physician to the dispensary in Carey Street, and later admitted to the Royal College of Physicians. Willan was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, to which he contributed occasional papers, and probably met Strutt through this connection. His best-known published work is the Description and Treatment of Cutaneous Diseases (4 volumes, 1798-1808; later completed by Bateman) for which Strutt engraved some of the illustrations. See Dermatological Illustration, catalogue of an exhibition held in May 1979 at the Royal College of Physicians of London, p.1; Memoir, p.77; Lit. Anecs., V, 685.

The notice of his death given by the Gentleman's Magazine is as follows: "In Charles-street, Hatton-garden, aged 55 [he in fact died 10 days before his 53rd birthday] of an inflammation in his bowels, Mr. Joseph Strutt, a distinguished artist, well known for the assiduity with which he traced our national antiquities from illuminated MSS. in the various public libraries of this kingdom" (LXXII [October 1802], 982). The following rather confused note, among the Strutt family papers, suggests there was some disagreement with the account in the Gentleman's Magazine. The note is by William Strutt (Joseph's grandson), written c. 1885; but is presumably a copy of ^{a note by} one of the sons written near the time of the death: "It was asserted in the Gentleman's Magazine that Mr. Strutt died ... [sic]: but Doctor Willan whose kind attention to my Father merits my warmest acknowledgements, told me that he ... [sic] Saturday Oct^r. 16th 1802, about three O'Clock in the morning Mr. Strutt died; and when I quitted on the Friday night preceeding, he was apparently better in health than he had been on the preceding day" (Cf. Memoir, p.70).

On Wednesday, 20 October, Strutt was buried in the churchyard of St Andrew's, Holborn. His body was subsequently removed, along with 12,000 others, when the Holborn Viaduct was built, and now lies in the City of London Cemetery at Ilford.

X I

F S S S

The following pages list the nine works exhibited by Strutt at the Academy between 1779 and 1784, and the receipt of his other original drawings and paintings, as given by Robert Miller Christy. A few additional drawings and paintings, not traced by Christy, are listed by Nichols (Lit. Anecs., V, 686) or William Strutt (Merrill, p.76). All three biographers give select lists of Strutt's engravings, as do also Nagler and Bryan (see above, p.12).

The nine works exhibited at the Academy between 1779 and 1784

1. Niobe and her family. Coloured chalks. Exhibited 1779 (No.315)
2. The Deity separating light from darkness. 1779 (No.316)
(Joseph Strutt considered this the finest of his father's drawings [Lit. Anecs., V, 686]).
3. Orestes and Pylades discovered by Iphigenia at the altar. Pen and ink. 1781 (No.505)
4. The children in the wood. 1782 (No.527)
5. Cleone weeping over her murdered infant. 1782 (No.540)
6. Public ingratitude. 1783 (No.118)
7. Homer, Hesiod, and Sappho listening to the strains of Apollo. 1784 (No.351)
8. King Lear when he first remembers Cordelia (Act iv, Scene last). Circular water colour. 1784 (No.361)
9. The true origin of poetry: represented by Shakespeare, Spenser, and Milton, instructed by Nature. Circular water colour. 1784 (No.362)
(Joseph Strutt considered this the most finely-finished of his father's drawings [Lit. Anecs., V, 686]).

Other original drawings and paintings

- 1770 (c.) Many "Academy Figures" finely executed, mostly in red chalk.
- 1770 (c.) A small painting, in oils, representing the Holy Dove, surrounded by clouds. Preserved in Bocking Church, and used formerly as an altar-piece; size about 18 x 12 inches, painted on a panel.
- 1770 (c.) A large painting, in oils, representing a scene in the life of Christ. Preserved in Terling Church; used formerly as an altar-piece; size about 7 x 5 feet (see further, Charles R. Strutt, The Strutt Family, p.5).
- 1770 Virgil's Aeneid. Two pictures in oils (one the first sketch, the other the larger, finished picture). For the latter Strutt was awarded the Gold Medal of the Royal Academy in 1770. "The subject of his picture was taken from the second book of the Aeneid; where the Poet describes the lambent flame as descending on the head of Iulus; old Anchises, on his couch is invoking the gods; and Aeneas, in the foreground, is rushing out to the battle" (Lit. Anecs., V, 668). The medal was for the best historical picture (letter to his mother, 13 Dec 1770; Christy, iv, 8) and Strutt's title was Aeneas stopped on the Threshold of the Door by Creuza. The biographical note in the catalogue of the Carlisle exhibition (see Bibliography, p. 424 below) says the painting "was accompanied by a sketch Hercules and Anticus."
- 1772-76 (c.) Sixty-two small sketches, in pencil, pen and ink, and wash. Many of these are the first rough drawings for the plates appearing in his various works; a few are jottings of figures, portions of figures, and landscapes, belonging, probably, to his student days.
- 1775-1802 Nearly two hundred sketches in pencil and pen and ink. Mostly for the plates (representing costume, armour, &c.) appearing in his works.

- 1775 (c.) A silhouette portrait, in pen and ink, of his wife when aged about 21. An oval drawing; size about $3\frac{1}{2}$ x $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches.
- 1775 (c.) A sketch-portrait, in pencil, of his wife, when aged about 21. Size about 5 x 4 inches.
- 1779 Pandora & Epomitheus. An oval drawing, in coloured chalks, within a rectangle, measuring 10 x $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches; signed "J. Strutt inven. et delin."; represents Epomitheus seated and receiving the box from Pandora, with Mercury (?) in the background; clearly the original from which Strutt's engraving with the same title was done.

The first point of enquiry for any of Strutt's graphic work is the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, which now possesses many of the above. No catalogue or list of the works is available, even in the Print Room, except for the two which were included in Laurence Binyon's 1907 Catalogue of Drawings by British Artists . . . in the British Museum:

- (1) Academical Study. Pencil drawing of a nude woman. 8 x $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
- (2) The water-colour of King Lear (No. 8, p. 76 above). This study is discussed in more detail below (pp. 224-225).

PORTRAITS OF JOSEPH STRUTT

Five portraits of Strutt are known to have existed.

- (1) Self-portrait. A pen drawing, made during his years at the Academy (according to a family note; though Christy [Appendix A] says "when about 30" -- see copy of the portrait on p. 80 below).
- (2) Self-portrait, aged about 40. A photograph of the portrait survives in the family papers, captioned "My Father. painted by himself." The caption is in an elderly hand, probably that of Strutt's son William Thomas.

- (3) Self-portrait. The frontispiece to William Strutt's Memoir is "Joseph Strutt, aged about 50. From a pencil sketch by himself."
- (4) A pencil drawing, by John Jackson, is in the possession of a branch of the Strutt family. For details of this portrait I am grateful to Miss Heather Curnow, who has also been most helpful in supplying information from the William Strutt papers in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia (ML MS. 867, 1-97B). The Jackson drawing, according to Christy (Appendix A) is a copy of a drawing by W.R. Bigg, R.A., of Strutt aged about 30.
- (5) Portrait by Ozias Humphry, R.A., of Strutt aged about 50. After Strutt's death the portrait was engraved and published by his first pupil, John Ogborne. It is now owned by the National Portrait Gallery. This comment on the portrait is found in one of the Strutt family papers: "The portrait in crayons done by his friend Ozias Humphreys and engraved by Mr. John Ogborne for his eldest son. Jos. Strutt is a strong though flattering likeness. Mr O. had £20 for the plate, which was in consideration of the half of the premium paid for me as his apprentice." Another hand adds: "This Portrait the widow of his son Joseph now possesses, 1852." A note by Joseph Strutt Junior indicates that the engraved portrait was intended to illustrate his "Life" of his father. It is most easily seen as the frontispiece to Cox's 1903 edition of the Sports and Pastimes (see copy of the portrait on p. 80 below).



*Joseph Smith junior a
Member of the Academy*



*My Father.
Painted by himself.*

CHAPTER ONE

APPENDIX II

STRUTT'S APPRENTICES

Six of Strutt's apprentices are known by name.

John Ogborne (1755-1837), son of the Chelmsford artist David Ogborne. John married Elizabeth Jackson, daughter of the Prince of Wales's physician; together they wrote and illustrated a History of Essex, though only the first three parts were published. He went to work for Strutt during his year in Chelmsford; Strutt speaks of "my boy" in a letter to Ann of 25 April 1772 (Christy, viii, 5).

William Nutter (1759?-1802), of Braintree or Bocking, was apprenticed to Strutt in June 1773, a year later than Ogborne (letter to Ann, 5 June 1773; Christy, x, 5). In 1782-83 he exhibited "allegorical designs" at the Academy.

William Ryland, son of William Wynne Ryland, Strutt's former master, was apprenticed in January 1778 but died before the end of his term.

Robert Mitchell Meadows was apprenticed about 1780. In 1809 he gave a course of lectures on engraving at the Surrey Institution. According to Nichols he died in 1810 (Lit. Anecs., V, 681).

Of the other two apprentices, Thomas Hillier and Townley, little is known. Carrington (memorandum book) records that "Mr Townley the Prentis Came Octr 25. 1790."

CHAPTER ONE

APPENDIX III

JOHN CARRINGTON'S OBITUARY POEM FOR JOSEPH STRUTT

O allas alass we have lost Mr. Strutt
 as Worthay good Man as Ear was on foot
 For Drawing or Engraveing who Could him then Excell
 His Works then will praise him he hes Done them so well.

And for his Antiquarin Researches of things then of old
 His Writeings will Teach us what things are their told.
 Full five years at Bacons he then their did Live
 With his Sons and his Prentice and no offence did he give.

And the Evening to spend as he Constant took his walk
 How agreable as a friend and Delightfull his Talk.
 He was founder of the Sunday School at Tewin I Declair
 And on Wednesdays and Sundays he was Constantly Their.

And he Hired a Room for the same purpose I say
 And his sons and his prentice hope Teach them Each Day
 And old Gass at the Mill was his assistant as such
 And they was the first then that Brought the Children to Church.

Full four schoor and ten Girlls and boys then or Better
 He taught them to Reed and write then which scarce new a Letter
 And he found them in Books in the same for to Read
 At his own then Expence none to their parrants Indeed

But as all things Unsertain so it out Fell
 He was Cald then to London amongst his friends for to Dwell
 And at Kirby Street Hatton garden at the hole of the wall
 On an Evening you might find him if you then Did but Call

Conversing with his friends on good subjects I say
 For he never kept bad Company to Lead him astray
 He was true to his Church and in the pathes of virtue he Trod
 To his friends he was Just and walkd humley with his God.
 And on the 16th of October Eighttteen Hundred and Two
 God was pleased to Call him over to another World that is New.

(From a memorandum book of John Carrington, farmer, of
 Hertfordshire 1726-1810. Now in the Hertfordshire
 Record Office, D/EX 3/15).

CHAPTER TWO

"PAINTING'S GLOWING HAND": STRUTT AND THE USE OF MANUSCRIPT
ILLUMINATIONS. THE REGAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES, 1773

Introduction

The pattern of commissions which led to Strutt's introduction to illuminated manuscripts, and to the writing of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, has already been mentioned. Two of his notebooks of the early 1770's¹ indicate that he had studied more than 250 manuscripts, from nine major collections; the Antiquities also uses a few manuscripts not included in the notebooks.²

As was inevitable with a man of Strutt's background and training, it was the illuminations in the manuscripts which most interested him during the early years; and the sixty plates of the Antiquities are the book's most important contribution to antiquarian studies. A few of the largest plates are etched, but most are engravings. They include portraits of royalty, leading churchmen, and politicians, along with depictions of historical events.

1 Brit. Lib. MS. Egerton 888.1; Bodl. MS. Douce e.18 .

2 The collections are: British Museum -- Cottonian, Harleian, Royal, Sloanian. Oxford -- the Ashmolean^{collection} and Bodleian Library, and that of Jesus College. Cambridge -- Corpus Christi and Trinity College Libraries. Manuscripts not included in the surviving notebooks, but used in the REA, are Lambeth Palace MS. 265 (Plate XLVII) and the Westminster Abbey manuscript which Strutt calls Liber Regalis (Plates XVII, XVIII). Liber Regalis is not, in fact, the manuscript to which Strutt refers: he is using material from the book commonly known as Abbot Lytlington's Missal, also in the Abbey Library. Liber Regalis is a small Book of Hours presented to the Library by Richard II. Strutt's mistake seems to have gone undetected and is repeated in the MC (III, 22ff., 158). The two manuscripts, after all, carry illustrations of similar ceremonies. Planché drew attention to the confusion in his 1842 edition of the REA.

The letter-press accompanying the plates usually amounts to little more than a description of the plate, with details of the colouring of the original illumination and an occasional anecdote about its subject. In his "Address to the Reader" Strutt explains that his work is aimed primarily at "the artist" and only secondarily at "the curious". The "curious" may indeed, he hopes, find the work "pleasing", as an "exact representation of the customs and manners of the earlier aera of our ancestors"; but to the artists the "models, sufficiently authentic for their purpose ... will be thought capable of removing, in a considerable degree, the former obscurity, with respect to such circumstances as the dress, and personal appearance of our monarchs" (REA, 1773, iii-iv).

This statement of aim refers to a need which was beginning to find general expression. The whole question of accuracy in the representation of architecture, costume and social and domestic life, both present and past, was under discussion in a number of disciplines.

Among stage critics, there were murmurings of discontent at the wilder anachronisms of stage setting, and careless presentations of buildings and cities well known to all. The Town and Country Magazine's review of The Institution of the Garter, in October 1771, protested that the scene painter had shown the stalls of St George's Chapel as straw coloured, rather than the actual deep brown.¹ Horace Walpole saw Drury Lane's King Arthur of 13 December 1770, complete with a Gothic stained glass window lit from behind: "This scene, which should be a barbarous temple of Woden, is a perfect cathedral, and the devil officiates at a kind of high mass. I never saw greater absurdities" (Toynbee Corr., VII, 429).² Use of

1 Cited by Kalman A. Burnim, in David Garrick, Director (Pittsburgh, 1961), p.98.

2 *ibid.*, p.101.

stage costume, too, was notoriously haphazard; and, as will be seen in Chapter Five, the publications of Strutt and the other antiquaries were to provide a major impetus towards the provision of more appropriate and authentic dress in historical drama.

A similar tendency can be traced in the thinking of sculptors and painters of historical subjects. Roubiliac's statues often rejected the conventional use of classical costume to denote a warrior or statesman;¹ and at the Academy exhibition of 1771, Benjamin West exhibited The Death of General Wolfe, the first historical painting to show a battle in modern instead of classical dress. When West's intention became known, no less a delegation than Sir Joshua Reynolds and the Archbishop of York had called on him to try to dissuade him from so revolutionary a step. West, however, was adamant: "the same law which gives law to the historian should rule the painter" (DNB, 1973, XX, 1236). Reynolds was won over by the completed painting: "West has conquered; he has treated the subject as it ought to be treated. I retract my objections" (loc. cit.). Others remained unconvinced and James Barry, in protest, painted the same scene with the figures nude. But change was in the air; the desire for authentic costume was in line with the burgeoning of scholarly precision evident in other fields.

The newly-felt need for historical models coincided with a growing conviction amongst the antiquaries that many of the medieval sources available to them did indeed offer an accurate representation of the persons and artefacts of earlier ages. The possibilities had long been accepted in France: as early as 1647 Chapelain had declared that the romances, though "fabuleux pour

1 Basil Williams, The Whig Supremacy 1714-1760 (Oxford, 1962), p.409.

les événements", were "historique pour le reste";¹ and in England, too, the literary historians were beginning to perceive the value of the texts for their picture of medieval life in all its aspects: "important facts and curious illustrations of history [wrote Warton] may be drawn from ... obsolete but authentic resources."² The members of the Society of Antiquaries, with their great interest in matters archaeological and architectural, were realising for the first time the extent of the information to be culled from early paintings, including the manuscript illuminations which so often showed churches or buildings used by the royalty and the aristocracy, and objects in everyday monastic or court use. The pages of Archaeologia (the Society's journal) include at this period a number of articles on the likely authenticity of old paintings of contemporary events and personages. In January 1772, Michael Tyson read to the Society an account of a portrait of Henry V, recently found in the Library at Corpus Christi. With all due caution, he noted that "the generality of illuminated portraits, it is true, are not greatly to be depended upon; they are frequently only the imaginary creatures of the illuminator, drawn with little skill or truth"; but he proposed the portrait under discussion as a probable genuine resemblance, "for it cannot be supposed that the author would have presented the king with so laboured a miniature of his majesty, if he had not been able to procure a real likeness."³ The view that earlier artists had painted

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- 1 Jean Chapelain, De la lecture des Vieux Romans [c.1647]; quoted Arthur Johnston, Enchanted ground: The Study of Medieval Romance in the Eighteenth Century (1964), p.25.
- 2 Thomas Warton, The History of English Poetry (1774-1781), I, 64.
- 3 "An Account of an Illuminated Manuscript ...," Archaeologia, II (1773), 194-197. Quotations from p.194. The manuscript is now Corpus Christi 213, and was used by Strutt in the REA.

by whim rather than model continued to be widely held (see, for example Donaldson's comments in his reviews of Strutt's early works, pp.150-151 below); but amongst the antiquaries the newer theory was coming to hold sway, and Strutt's slim volume of portraits played its part in establishing the theory. Sir Joseph Ayloffe, one of the Society's vice-Presidents, had expounded the new view at some length in his detailed accounts of historical paintings at Windsor and elsewhere, even before Tyson's paper was read, though the Ayloffe addresses were not printed till some six years later:

HOWEVER intrinsic the merits of these performances might have been, the satisfaction they afforded at the time of their being compleated was much inferior to the advantages of which such as still remain have long since been productive. Their utility to antiquaries, and the light which they have thrown upon many subjects of historical enquiry, have been much greater than could have been originally apprehended. To this, the conduct of the artists employed on such occasions evidently contributed, and that in no small degree. Instead of loading their compositions with allegory, fiction, and emblems; instead of introducing a variety of imaginary and romantic figures and embellishments, that never existed but in the wildness of fancy; and instead of grouping together things which in fact were ever distant from each other; practices too much indulged by later painters; they confined themselves with the greatest attention to truth, reality, and accuracy. They represented persons and things exactly in the same mode, form, attitude, habit, colour, situation, and condition, as they actually saw them; and that without any disguise, diminution, addition, or other alteration; and, by drawing from the life every principal figure in the piece, exhibited exact portraits of the personages concerned in that particular transaction which they endeavoured to commemorate.¹

1 "An historical description of an ancient picture in Windor-castle, representing the interview between King Henry VIII. and the French King Francis I. between Guînes and Ardres, in the year 1520," *Archaeologia*, III (1776), 185-229; first read 29 March 1770. Quotation from pp. 188-189. Cf. III, 239-272, on paintings at Cowdry, Sussex.

Aylofffe gave little evidence to support his thesis, and some of his statements might well have been strongly challenged had they been available to a wider audience at the time they were made. There can be little doubt that Strutt knew Aylofffe; he may indeed have found, in the notes or scheme of one of Aylofffe's unpublished works, a direct source for the plan of the Antiquities (see below, pp. 95-96). Certainly he would have found Aylofffe's enthusiasm for the accuracy of the manuscript illuminations an encouragement for his own beliefs. But the lessons he learned from the debate amongst the Academicians, and from the caution of antiquaries such as Tyson, mean that Strutt's slightly more restrained summaries probably give a more accurate assessment than Aylofffe's of the value of the illustrations, and certainly a better justified one. The "unlearned illuminators of old MSS." (as he was to write in the Manners and Customs) naturally dressed their characters in the costumes they knew best; this "lucky circumstance" provided "the undoubted characteristics of the customs of that period in which each illuminator or designer lived" (MC, I, i). Strutt anticipated hostility to his theory: were the representations, he asked, not perhaps idealised by the artist, "agreeable rather to his own wild fancy, than to the real customs and habits of his own times?" (I, i-ii). No, Strutt argued: in "upwards of 30 MSS. of the Saxons with delineations" he had "not found any variation worth mentioning" in the costumes shown. Moreover the illuminations consistently agreed with the descriptions of dress given by "the old historians" (I, ii).¹ When it came to portraiture, he assumed, as Tyson had suggested, that the portraits were made as accurate as possible, since the patrons of the manuscripts were so often depicted; in addition a comparison could often be drawn between one portrait and another of the same period but from a different manuscript. Writing of the portrait of Edgar in Vespasian A. viii, he decided that the artist's "extraordinary pains", and the fact that the manuscript was written "in the very time of

1 A similar line of reasoning had been followed by Walpole in 1768, when comparing the portraits in John Rous's manuscript genealogies (see below, p. 200). Strutt's originality lay not so much in his perception of the authenticity of the illuminated costumes as in his ability to make the evidence publicly available.

Edgar", made it "more than barely probable, that this is not only an exact delineation of the habit of that monarch, but also (to the best of the illuminator's power) a true portrait of him" (REA, 1773, p.5).

By the time of the Manners and Customs, Strutt was beginning to perceive not only authenticity but a certain intrinsic artistic value in the early paintings (see further below, p.152). But apart from anything he said or thought, his provision of so strong a body of graphic evidence went far towards vindicating his belief in the merits of the manuscript illuminations. Here, for almost the first time, were readily available side by side copies of a number of medieval works. There was no argument as to the accuracy of Strutt's reproduction: every reader could now see for himself how two fifteenth-century artists treated the costumes of a certain social class, or how the illuminator of MS. Vitellius A. xiii saw King Henry II, compared with the artist of MS. Claudius D. ii. In Strutt not only had the stage managers and historical painters found a useful source of models for their purposes; but the antiquaries, a young enthusiast who understood their arguments, shared their diligence for minutiae, and had the technical skills to reproduce what he found so that it might be made the subject of general debate.

Sources of the Idea for the Work: Montfaucon, Bute, Ayloffe

Montfaucon

From the various correspondence which mentions the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, it is possible to identify a number of earlier, similar schemes, which may have influenced Strutt in his choice of subject. First and foremost came the writings of Bernard de Montfaucon, whose two major works, L'Antiquité Expliquée et Représentée en Figures (published 1719, 1724), and Les Monumens de la Monarchie Française (published 1729-33), were greatly admired in England from their first appearance. L'Antiquité Expliquée was published in an English translation, by David Humphreys, between 1721 and 1725. Of the Monumens no translation was made, but part was used by Andrew Ducarel in his Anglo-Norman Antiquities (1767).¹

Richard Gough, in his preface to Sepulchral Monuments (1786) outlines the debt of English writers to Montfaucon, and in particular to the Monumens:

His work contains, in five volumes folio, the History of France, with all the monuments relative to her sovereigns, princes of the blood, nobility, the king's household, and the great officers of the crown. He intended to add four more volumes: two of ecclesiastical monuments, and two of private life, coinage, military matters, and funerals, on the same plan; with a supplement at the end, of all that had escaped his observation, or been discovered since.

Such was the extent of this learned Antiquary's views. Whether his life or his encouragement proved unequal to the complete execution of them does not appear. His design has been

1 "A description of the Basso Relievos representing the interview of King Henry VIII with Francis I. of France between Guines and Ardres ... from Father Montfaucon's Monumens de la Monarchie Française" (Appendix No.I).

in part resumed by Mons. le Grand Aussy ...

The plan of these two writers includes the whole of what among us has been divided into different parts, and attempted by different persons. (I, 1)

(The author to whom Gough refers is Pierre-Jean-Baptiste le Grand d'Aussy [1737-1800], whose three-volume Fabliaux ou contes du douzième et du treizième siècle, traduits ou extraits d'après divers manuscrits du temps [1779], was sent to Horace Walpole as a gift by Madame du Deffand. Walpole wrote to Mason, 7 April 1780: "I have gotten three comfortably fat volumes in octavo of ancient French fabliaux, but they look more good humoured from their corpulency than from intrinsic gaiety, as many plump men do. The fables are trite as that of patient Grisel; and the notes, which are the best part, as full of antique usages, are mortally heavy and devoid of taste; but I think you will like to see them" [Yale Corr., XXIX, 18]. Gough's acceptance of Le Grand's "design" is more charitable than the Frenchman's unreliable, modernised texts warrant, though they did help to develop French interest in the medieval period.)

The frequency of the references to Montfaucon in Walpole's correspondence further indicates the extent of the French priest's influence in England.¹ Cole, especially, was for ever badgering Walpole to undertake a work on English antiquities akin to Montfaucon's; on 14 May 1768: "The prints you propose to give the public will be great curiosities: and really you have done more in the way of Father Montfaucon's Antiquitez de la Monarchie Françoise than all the English world beside. That is a work I long to see some wealthy, great and noble-spirited person set on foot" (Yale

1 For example, to Cole: Yale Corr., I, 138-139; I, 383; II, 307; to Zouch: XVI, 27; Lort to Walpole: XVI, 211; etc.

Corr., I, 138-139);¹ and as late as 24 February 1782, when Gough was about to publish the Sepulchral Monuments, "I am, and was before I sent it, totally of the opinion with you about Mr. Gough's plan, in respect to its deficiency relating to habits and dress: a work like Father Montfaucon's would be the thing. I remember you told me many years ago such a design was forming by Lord Bute and you, both of whom might amply contribute to enlarge and amend Mr Gough's plan, and I wish you would give him an hint of it when he calls again" (Yale Corr., II, 307) .²

Gough, having outlined Montfaucon's achievement, pays tribute to Strutt's pioneer work in the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities and in the Manners and Customs: "Mr STRUTT first among us attempted any thing like resuming Pere Montfaucon's plan, and, with little assistance, but his own application, gave us, from our ancient MSS. a curious selection of portraits, habits, manners and historic facts. He has succeeded best in his 'Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities'" (Preface, p.3).

1 The "prints" referred to are "portraits of Richard III, his Queen and son ... I have had these and seven other portraits copied, and shall sometime or other give plates of them -- but I wait for an excuse" (Walpole to Cole, 16 April 1768; Yale Corr., I, 133). The portraits were from "the original roll of the Earls of Warwick, as long as my gallery, and drawn by John Rous himself" (I, 133). The plates, as the editor of the Yale Correspondence observes in his note on this passage, were at length "included in Historic Doubts, Works ii. between pp 166 and 167, on two large folding plates" (I, 134).

2 Walpole evidently did speak to Gough, as the Sepulchral Monuments Preface comments: "It would not be altogether impossible to draw up a list of pictures, including those enumerated by Mr. Walpole, in his Anecdotes of Painting, relating to the History and Antiquities of England, in the manner of Montfaucon, from the Conquest to the present time" (I, 3).

In assessing Strutt's debt to Montfaucon, the first two works, at least, have to be considered together; since in the Antiquities Strutt set himself only the simplest of tasks, in terms of antiquarian research, whereas the Manners and Customs necessitated a much more detailed and scholarly survey of the material available, altogether closer to Montfaucon in approach and achievement. The influence of Montfaucon, therefore, will be considered in more detail in the chapter on the Manners and Customs.

Bute

Cole, in the letter of 24 February 1782 quoted above (p. 92), mentioned a second scheme which may have influenced Strutt in his choice of subject for the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities. This same scheme was remembered by Tyson when Strutt's work was first brought to his attention: to Gough, 7 April 1772, "Lord Bute, some years ago, did talk of such a business to Horace Walpole; and he was to be the director, and the whole under Royal Patronage. This dropped on Lord Bute's going out of power. Walpole mentioned it to me, and would have had me undertake it" (Lit. Anecs., VIII, 589).

The "design" or "business" to which Cole and Tyson refer had been mooted in a letter written by John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute, to Walpole, dated 13 February 1762, returning thanks for a copy of Walpole's Anecdotes:

Lord Bute presents his compliments to Mr. Walpole, and returns him a thousand thanks for the very agreeable present he has made him. In looking over it, Lord Bute observes Mr. Walpole has mixed several curious remarks on the customs, &c. of the times he treats of; a thing much wanted, and that has never yet been executed, except in parts by Peck, &c. Such a general work would be not only very agreeable but instructive -- the French have attempted it; the Russians are about it; and Lord Bute has been informed Mr. Walpole is well furnished with materials for such a noble work. (Toynbee Corr., V, 174)

This had put Walpole in something of a difficulty. Such a suggestion, from George III's "dearest Friend", then at the very zenith of his power, was not to be lightly disregarded. On the other hand, it was not an undertaking for which Walpole at that time had any real inclination; hence the attempt to pass on the task to Tyson, and the deferential yet guarded reply which he sent to Bute:

The hint that your Lordship is so good as to give me for a work like Montfaucon's Monumens de la Monarchie Française, has long been a subject that I have wished to see executed, nor, in point of materials, do I think it would be a very difficult one. The chief impediment was the expense, too great for a private fortune ... But, my Lord, if his Majesty was pleased to command such a work, on so laudable an idea as your Lordship's, nobody would be more ready than myself to give his assistance. I own I think I could be of use in it, in collecting or pointing out materials, and I would readily take any trouble in aiding, supervising or directing such a plan. Pardon me, my Lord, if I offer no more; I mean, that I do not undertake the part of composition. I have already trespassed too much upon the indulgence of the public; I wish not to disgust them with hearing of me, and reading me. It is time for me to have done; and when I shall have completed, as I almost have, the History of the Arts on which I am now engaged, I did not purpose to tempt again the patience of mankind. But the case is very different with regard to my trouble. My whole fortune is from the bounty of the crown, and from the public: it would ill become me to spare any pains for the King's glory, or for the honour and satisfaction of my country.¹

In the ten years that had passed the plan had been taken no further, though it is interesting that both Tyson and Cole should have remembered it independently, the one after ten, the other, twenty years. It seems quite possible that Gough, too, recalled the scheme, and that it was some remark of his which sowed the idea of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities in Strutt's mind during their

1 15 February 1762 (Toynbee Corr., V, 174-175).

discussions in the Museum.¹

In fact, of course, Bute was thinking of a project much more akin to the Manners and Customs than to the Antiquities. Many of Strutt's early supporters, too, were expecting a work of this kind; and there is some reason to suppose that Strutt himself originally planned a rather more ambitious work than the Antiquities finally turned out to be. As late as the publication of the Specimen, he gave this outline of the projected work (in a letter to his brother, dated 2 April 1772):

This then is the plan of the Work -- In the first number I shall give a regular series of Historical illuminations of the Kings, and other great Personages, under the several reigns, from Edgar to Richard the 2nd. -- and in the second complete that series from Richard 2nd to Henry 8th. In the third I shall give all the monuments of the Kings & Great Men represented in the series with whatever else may be found necessary to illustrate the several modes of architecture, and different taste of Sculpture, with the helmets, swords, crowns &c of the several periods, and in the 4th number will be a series of Antiquities with whatever I may find in the course of the work & may not be able to put in the former Numbers. Thus the work you see will be large and expensive, since it will consist of upwards of 100 large folio plates containing some 2, some 3 subjects. (Family papers)

The idea for his second book must have been in Strutt's mind almost as early as the plan for his first; and he was working on the two side by side for much of 1773. The earlier Bute project, however, was at the very least useful in disposing Bute and Horace Walpole in Strutt's favour, thus providing him with two patrons of the first importance.

Aylofffe

Gough mentions yet another such scheme, in a letter to Gower of

1 Gough was certainly aware of the planned work from the beginning, even before Gower knew of it; as Gower wrote to him in [March] 1772: "Strutt will present you with the drawings next Week in propria Persona; and I fancy with a Specimen of his own Child, the Antiquarian Scheme you once mention'd to me" (fol. 326).

17 March 1772, after he has read a preview of the Specimen: "Sr J A has frequ talkt of a work of this kind wch he had in contemplan but his plans are so myst. yt I shall not interfere with em" (fol.328).

"Sr J A" is, presumably, Sir Joseph Ayloffe, a close friend of Gough. The scheme did not come to fruition, but is a further indication of the widely-felt need for works on English antiquities.

Publication of the "Specimen"

The Specimen for the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities appeared in April 1772, price 2s.6d: "Published for the Author, and sold by JOHN THANE, Print and Bookseller, in Princes-Street, at the corner of Gerard-Street, Soho; and to be had of Mr. Snelling, No. 163, next the Horn Tavern, in Fleet-Street" (title-page).

The Gentleman's Magazine entered the Specimen in its Catalogue of New Publications for May 1772,¹ and it was also noted in the Daily Advertiser (Christy, vii, 14). The Monthly Review carried no notice of it.

The Specimen consists of an "Address to the Candid Reader" and five plates. The copy consulted (I have been unable to discover any other) appears to be the proof copy, corrected in Strutt's hand.² Both the title and the "Address" emphasise Strutt's debt to Montfaucon: "What this learned and curious Antiquary has thus executed to the immortal honour and illustration of the Monarchy of France; the Author of the present Attempt has long wished to have seen performed, for his native country of Great Britain" (fol.52).

1 Gent. Mag., XLII (May 1772), 237: "A Specimen of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England; attempted after the Model of Montfaucon's Antiquities of France. By Joseph Strutt. 4to. 2s.6d. Thane and Snelling."

2 Brit. Lib. Additional MS. 34652, foll. 51-57.

The "Address", apparently contributed by Gower,¹ gives a simple outline of what the work is to encompass: "the Author has selected a series of original Delineations, descriptive he hopes of the Manners, the Dresses, and Habits, of the Ages they relate to; and conveying, perhaps, the exact Features and Resemblance of our earliest Monarchs to the present evidence of Sense ... The present Publication is only a Specimen of this Series. But if the indulgent Public patronise this Attempt, a regular set of Engravings will follow this Specimen, from Edgar, down to the 16th Century" (fol.52). Four of the plates were taken from the Lindisfarne Gospels (Brit. Lib. MS. Cott. Nero D. iv); the fifth from an illuminated Genesis in the Cottonian Library (Otho B. vi). The Lindisfarne Gospel illustrations showed the four evangelists; the Genesis plate, "Abrahams Interposition with the God of Mercies, for the preservation of Sodom."²

Bearing in mind Strutt's ideas on the value of manuscripts for evidence of contemporary dress, the use of the Lindisfarne Gospels, at least, is understandable. Probably, too, the plates for the Specimen had to be made at such an early stage of his researches that he had no great knowledge of the range of manuscripts available; and in any case the newly-fledged art student could hardly have resisted the challenge of such fine illuminations. But it was an unfortunate

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- 1 The "Address" gives no indication of its authorship, but Gower told Gough that he "writ his Preface" (7 April 1772, see below, p. 98). This is confirmed by a letter from Strutt to his brother, 4 March 1772: "I expect soon to be in London, to publish the first speciman of my work with an address to the public, which Dr. Gower kindly drew up for me" (copy in family papers). Some remarks are clearly Gower's own (e.g. the claim to have "long wished" for such a work) but in general the style of the "Address" suggests that Gower was using material written by Strutt himself without making a great number of alterations.
- 2 Strutt's caption. Christy describes the plate as "two fragmentary designs ... from a manuscript of Greek or Roman origin, drawn some fifteen hundred years ago" (Christy, vii, 15).

selection of plates to herald a work primarily on the English monarchy. Strutt realised this himself; with "equal Truth and Diffidenc" [sic] he commented: "The present Plates it is true, strictly speaking, don't form any part, either of our regal or ecclesiastical Antiquities ... [but] as they were executed by the best Artist of the age he lived in, and so early as the eighth Century, they are a kind of standard, of the Arts, the Dresses, the Manners, and the Taste of that Saxon Aera. As such they become curious and interesting to us" (fol.52). This caution did not save him from the wrath of Gough. To Gower, on 3 April 1772: "Mr Strutts undertaking having now been submitted to the public judgment I cant forbear transmitting to him & to yo as his abettor the public sense of it W is yt he shd have begun with some subjects more strictly Eng. or Sax than monkish Evangs. wch [are] the produce of every Xn. nation. They wish therefore this 1st No may be consid. as a separate affair & the next prest em with some portrait or mont of a Br or Sax prince or worthy" (fol.331); to which Gower replied, anxious as always to placate his illustrious friend: "Our Thoughts are exactly the same abt. Strutts Scheme. And I only writ his Preface, to say the Best I cou'd for a Plan, which I did not approve" (7 April 1772; fol.332). Gough made the same point in a letter to Tyson, dated 3 April 1772: "Do you think, with the generality of men here, that Evangelists are not peculiar to the Saxons, but the produce of all Christian countries? I think so too; and hope the next Number (which then will be considered as the first) will contain Portraits of our Ancestors coeval with those in Montfaucon" (Lit. Anecs., VIII, 588).

The whole exchange betrays an interesting difference of emphasis by Strutt and by the older antiquaries. Whereas Gower and Gough (following Montfaucon) look primarily for portraiture, to Strutt as to Tyson in the Archaeologia article (p. 86 above) the incidentals were at least as significant as the portrait itself. Whether or not they were "monkish Evangs.", Strutt suspected that the subjects of the illuminations would be wearing the costumes known to the artist from the dress of eighth-century Northumbrians; and that his painting could not fail to reveal the "Arts, Manners and Taste of that Saxon Aera." Gower and Gough had, to some extent, missed the

point of what Strutt was about: he was probably only partly able to explain it himself at this stage. It was fourteen years before Gough, at least, came to a full appreciation of Strutt's success (see above, p. 92). His ready acceptance by 1786 of internal evidence as a guide to the age of an illumination indicates the extent to which attitudes had changed: "the style of the 8th or 9th centuries may be borrowed by the 13th or 14th, to give an air of antiquity for a particular purpose. But still the chance is that the copy betrays its originality, and discovers some internal marks of premeditation and fraud" (Sep. Mons., I, 8).

Strutt concludes the "Address" with a pledge which suggests that he already recognised in himself the qualities which would guarantee him his place in antiquarian studies: "He [the author] begs leave to add too... that what he wants of the Genius, and the real Abilities of a Montfaucon, he shall endeavour to make up, in the Diligence, the Exactness, and the Fidelity of an Englishman, who sincerely wishes to contribute the utmost of his imperfect Efforts, to illustrate the History, and the Antiquities of his native Country" (fol.52).

Despite the criticisms of the plates, the Specimen was on the whole well received. Gough worked busily in Strutt's interests; he wrote to Tyson on 12 April 1772 to recommend the work, and Tyson replied with his habitual courtesy, though he did not at that time know Strutt's work: "I am always ready and glad to assist any one; and should be pleased to forward the plan of Mons. Strutt. In the Museum are materials enough for 20 volumes" (Lit. Anecs., VIII, 590).

As early as 23 February 1772 Strutt had been able to tell his brother: "the scheme I have entered into is very far from being unlikely to succeed. It was at first, and still is, highly approved of by Dr. Gower and several others who are judges of the undertaking ... supposing it should not meet with that encouragement I have every right to expect it will? I am already sure of selling so many

as will clear me for my time at least; so I cannot possibly be a loser, tho' I have very just cause to expect something handsome" (Christy, vii, 12-13).

Support for a work on antiquarian matters, especially by an unknown author, was by no means automatic: Ayloffe himself, with all his advantages of rank and education, was three times forced to abandon a projected publication because of adverse criticism when the prospectus was advertised.¹ Strutt had, therefore, some justification for his pride in his own achievement. He must have made himself an amiable companion, since no assistance from Gough could have overcome the obstacles had he created a bad first impression. It is probably also true that a number of his early supporters saw a competent engraver, trained by no less a craftsman than Ryland, as an extremely useful acquaintance.²

1 In 1751, Ayloffe had published a prospectus inviting subscribers for a translation of Diderot's and D'Alembert's Encyclopédie, with additional or expanded articles on subjects of English interest; but the project was dropped after a hostile reception, notably by the Gentleman's Magazine (DNB, 1973, I, 756-757; Gent. Mag., XXII [January 1752], 46). Also in 1751, he proposed to print by subscription eight volumes of parliamentary debates up to the Restoration, but none was published. Similarly, lack of support for a 1764 prospectus for a Topographical and Historical Description of Suffolk meant that Ayloffe's collected notes remained in manuscript.

Ritson, in a letter to Robert Harrison of 14 Sep 1793, noted another such failure: "You will have perceived, I suppose, by your Magazine, that Herbert Croft has been obliged to relinquish the publication of his grand dictionary for want of subscribers" (The Letters of Joseph Ritson, ed. Nicolas [1833], II, 2).

2 See further on this subject, Appendix I to this chapter, esp. pp. 118-119.

Publication of the "Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities"

Whatever the reasons, the interest caused by the Specimen was sufficient to encourage Strutt to go ahead with publication, and for the next eight months the Antiquities occupied his full time and attention.

The Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities was published in four separate parts during the course of 1773; the first, as indicated above, on 12 January. The third number must have appeared during October or November, since Tyson mentions it to Gough in an undated letter of the latter month (Lit. Anecs., VIII, 609); and a letter to Ann, dated 13 November, promises that he will go to Bocking "as soon as I have published this No. I am now about" -- presumably the fourth and last part.¹

The fact that the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities is made up of four separate parts, subsequently bound into one volume (at least in all copies met with) means that each number can be identified with relative certainty. Each number was made to end somewhere near the bottom of a verso page, to give continuity when bound; and the gatherings confirm the likely division given below. The numbers are of roughly equal size, with 8-9 pages of letter-press and 9-16 plates (the final ten plates were a late addition). Number One includes the introductory matter, pages 5-12, and plates I-XV. Number Two covers pages 13-20 and Plates XVI-XXXI. Number Three is pages 21-30, Plates XXXII-XLI; and Number Four, pages 31-39 and Plates XLII-LX.

1 Christy, xi, 4. Christy says this refers to the third part but offers no evidence. The press and periodicals make no mention of the publication of the parts; indeed the Gentleman's Magazine only provided an account of the REA when it came to review the MC a year later.

All four parts show marks of Strutt's working to printers' deadlines; new discoveries are sometimes incorporated in a rather hasty and disjointed fashion. For example, the third number (published October or November) includes material from the Bodley MS. Digby 233, though Strutt saw this manuscript for the first time in September. Similarly, on p.24 he writes: "I here take the liberty to break into the regular series of monarchs and historical facts, to introduce some few interesting portraits of great personages, in some of the foregoing reigns." Most of these portraits are taken from one manuscript, Cott. Nero D. vii; it seems likely that Strutt came upon the manuscript too late to include the portraits in their chronological place in the sequence of plates, and was forced to add them later. This impression is borne out by the comment at the end of the book, that "since the beginning and continuation of this work, several curious matters, which unavoidably had escaped notice, have occurred, and are here given in chronological order" (p.35).

The plates of the first number were taken from five Cottonian manuscripts. Number Two uses manuscripts from the Cottonian, Royal and Harleian collections at the British Museum, and two illustrations from a Westminster Abbey manuscript. The third number has plates from the three British Museum collections, and one each from manuscripts in the Bodleian and in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. (These were clearly a result of Strutt's visits to Oxford and Cambridge in the immediately preceding April and September). The final number has plates from the British Museum collections, from the same Bodley manuscript, and from a manuscript at Lambeth Palace. For more on the manuscripts, see below, p. 389 ff.

The plates maintain a high standard of fidelity to their originals. Planché, in his edition of 1842, made great matter of isolated inaccuracies; such as Plate III, where what, in Strutt's plate, looks like a star embroidered on Harold's breast, is in the original a wound caused by a still-protruding lance. Strutt omits

the lance completely, probably as a result of haste in finishing the plate. Planché also claimed to have had the plates retouched so as to "soften down" and "remedy the defects" of Strutt's work (footnote to Plate XLVI). It is arguable that the retouching has ruined the vitality of line which Strutt had faithfully preserved when present in his original.¹

Strutt's description of the first plate may be taken as an example of his method of working. It is a portrait of Edgar taken from one of the Cottonian manuscripts, Vespasian A. viii, a tenth-century volume of Winchester material; the letter-press reads:

This curious and antient illumination is taken from a book of grants, given by king Edgar himself to Winchester Cathedral. -- (dated anno 966). It is written entirely in letters of gold, and in the old Saxon character. EDGAR is represented adoring Our Saviour, and as if astonished at his bright glory. Christ is seated on a globe, and holds a book in his hand; and a sort of box under his feet. -- Who the two attendant saints are, must be left to the judgment of the curious. On the opposite page is written in capital letters of gold,

Sic celso residet solio qui condidit astra
Rex venerans Eadgar pronus adorat eum.
 (REA, 1773, p.5)

(There follows an explanation of Strutt's belief that the portrait is a genuine likeness, already quoted on p. 89 above).

Strutt's footnotes give the catalogue number of the manuscript, and notes on the colours used in the illumination. Planché criticises the notes, "although the description of the present subject is more correct than many of those which follow." Strutt gives "his hose a dark brown"; Planché, with justice, corrects to "a dull pink, as is also the background of the whole painting." It is unfortunate that

1 "Later editions do not do him justice, especially as an illustrator" (W.L. Renwick, English Literature, 1789-1815 [Oxford, 1963], p.285).

the plate in Planché's own edition (at least in the copy consulted, Brit. Lib. L.R. 28. a.4) then gives both areas as a bright lilac. Planché also criticises Strutt's representation of the object held in the right hand of the female saint, saying that it looks nothing like the palm branch it is supposed to be. This is true enough, but the deficiency is in the original illumination, which Strutt's engraving, unlike Planché's, resembles exactly.

In this first book, Strutt makes only very occasional use of books of reference, and then only of firm favourites such as Stow and Holinshed. He is careful, as befits a young author, to acknowledge help received from established antiquaries; in addition to Michael Tyson, he records his thanks to Andrew Ducarel, Librarian at Lambeth Palace (p.34); to Dr Thomas, Dean of Westminster (p.14);¹ to Percy (p.16); and to "Mr Haley" (p.38; presumably William Hayley [1745-1820], poet and art historian).

Despite Strutt's admission to the British Museum, access to books may still have been a problem. John Wilkes, appealing on 28 April 1777 for further Government funds for the Museum, made clear the many gaps in its holdings:

This capital, after so many ages, remains without any considerable public library. Rome has the immense collection of the Vatican, and Paris scarcely yields to the mistress of the world by the greatness of the King's Library. They are both open at stated times, with every proper accommodation, to all strangers. London has no large public Library. The best here is the Royal Society's; but even that is inconsiderable, neither is it open to the public, nor are the necessary conveniences afforded strangers for reading or transcribing. The British Museum, Sir, is rich in Manuscripts, the Harleian collection, the Cottonian Library, the collection of Charles I. and many others, especially on our own history; but it is wretchedly poor in printed books.

1 "... who kindly gave me this concise account of the book."
 Dr Thomas may, indeed, have been responsible for Strutt's confusion between Liber Regalis and Abbot Lytlington's Missal (see above, p. 83r.2).

I wish, Sir, a sum was allowed by parliament for the purchase of the most valuable editions of the best authors, and an Act passed to oblige every printer, under a certain penalty, to send a copy bound of every publication he made to the British Museum.¹

No doubt one of the benefits enjoyed by Strutt as he became better known in antiquarian and literary circles was the opportunity to make use of the private libraries of his supporters. Certainly the greatly increased reading demonstrated by the Manners and Customs (some 185 authors as against the seven of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities)² points to some development of this kind.

Strutt's considerable dependence in his first book on information supplied by other antiquaries occasionally led him into difficulties, as in his description of Plate VI (Stephen, from Cott. Vitellius A. xiii): "This king is represented (not like the two foregoing, in his robes of state, but) in the common dress of the time. -In his Reign a parrot was brought into England, and presented to him; being the first ever seen here. [Footnote: In Claudius, D.2. there is another picture of this monarch, with his parrot]" (p.8). Whatever the deficiencies of draughtsmanship in the two manuscripts, literary London was less gullible than Strutt, and a detailed correction was included in the next number:

The kind reader is desired to correct the account of the 6th. plate, (Page 8) in the following manner ...

This king is here represented in the common robes, usually worn by the nobility; and not in the robes of state. On his finger he carries a hawk, an emblem of his being nobly born, tho' not the immediate son of a king ...

1 The Speeches of Mr. Wilkes in the House of Commons (1786), pp. 141-142.

2 Only 7 were certainly used in printed form (Granger, Holinshed, Speed, Stow and Vertue, together with Ames's Typographical Antiquities and Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors). Other authors, though published, were nonetheless used by Strutt in manuscript -- e.g. Froissart (MS. Royal 18 E. ii) and Rous (MS. Cott. Julius E.iv). See further below, pp. 388-392.

The story of the parrot, the author confesses only to have had from a friend's conjecture, (not well acquainted with history) but the oversight on his own side, (in so plain a case) is still more unpardonable; yet he hopes this error will be favourably overlooked, as such mistakes shall be avoided with the greatest care in any future work. (p.39)

At least the system of publishing by numbers meant that embarrassing errors could be speedily dealt with, instead of waiting years for a second edition!

In summary, it may be said that the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities succeeds well, within the limitations set by its author. He was all too conscious that his historical and literary knowledge was as yet too limited for an ambitious antiquarian exercise, though even while engaged in publishing the Antiquities, his work on the Manners and Customs had extended his understanding far beyond the scope of the first book. Strutt had sufficient judgement, or was well enough advised, to realise after the publication of the Specimen that it was far wiser to master a small project, and to get his name accepted so that he should have adequate support for his later work, than to take on the larger task at once. None the less, the Antiquities, as indicated in the Introduction to this chapter, had much that was new to offer; and Strutt's readers must have awaited his second book with interest.

The Editions: (1) 1773 and 1777 (2) 1793 (3) 1842

(1) 1773 and 1777

Popular acclaim seems to have agreed with Gough that the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities was the most successful of Strutt's books, since it is the only one of his works to have enjoyed three editions during his lifetime, and one during the nineteenth century.¹ In part, this was

1 For Gough's comment, see above, p. 92. Even the Sports and Pastimes only equals this number of editions (if the six Hone issues are counted as one). Clearly, though, the SP has reached a wider audience, and is one of the few Strutt works in a modern edition.

a result of the limited printing accorded to a first book with an unknown potential; and in part, a reflection of the small size of the book, which brought its purchase within the pocket of a wider readership. Certainly the third volume of the Manners and Customs was only just published (late summer 1776) when the second edition of the Antiquities began to appear from the presses of Walter Shropshire (printer of the first edition, though not of the Manners and Customs); the second edition was published "early in 1777" (Christy, xiii, 1).

The new edition carried the same plates, but a text almost twice as long, with the addition of a Catalogue of the Plates. The increased length of the letter-press is a result both of re-writing and of the inclusion of new material; in most cases Strutt re-writes the rather note-like text of the first edition in smoother English, and gives a little further biographical information at the beginning of his description (such as dates of birth and death, and name of marriage partner). Often, too, he adds a quotation from Holinshed, Speed or Stow. For example, the description of Plate XVII (Richard II, from Brit. Lib. MS. Harl. 1319) in the 1773 edition reads: "The coronation of Richard the Second; he was crowned by Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, who was assisted by abbot Lytlington; the earl of Derby (afterwards king Henry IV.) bears the curtana" (p.14); which becomes, in 1777: "This prince, at the death of his grandfather, king Edward (which happened in the month of June, 1377) was but eleven years of age, and on the 16th of July, in the same year, was solemnly crowned king of England, by Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by abbot Lytlington. The earl of Derby (afterwards king Henry IV.) bears the curtana" (p.33). A description of Richard II's coronation ceremony follows, taken from Speed. The 1777 edition also gives a translation of the various passages in Old French, a feature not provided in 1773.

A further addition to the 1777 edition was an Index for finding the Manuscripts &c. mentioned in this Book. Strutt notes: "This

INDEX, and the following,¹ were drawn up by JOHN FENN, Esq., F.A.S. of East Derham, in Norfolk, who was so kind as to permit the author to print them from his MS. He therefore takes this opportunity to return his sincere acknowledgments to that gentleman, not only for these, but several other special favours received from him." John Fenn (1739-94), first editor of the Paston letters, kept up a correspondence with many of the leading antiquaries. Some of these letters have recently come to light in the manuscript of his autobiography/diary, acquired in 1981 by the Norwich and Norfolk Record Office. He seems to have made something of a hobby of supplying indexes to other men's works, apparently unsolicited. As well as the Index to the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities (and, later, the Manners and Customs: see "Diary" fol.34), Fenn drew up and "presented to the author" the General and County indexes which appear in Grose's Antiquities of England and Wales, and a "Classed Index of the Prints and Books published by [the Society of Antiquaries]" ("Diary", foll.35,50). The diary's letters include one from Strutt, not otherwise known, which reads as follows:

Worthy Sir

I beg your acceptance of this Sett of the second Eddition of the Regal & Eccles: Antiq: Cutts & all which I should have caused to be bound but that I did not know in what manner you would prefer the placing of the Cutts -- at the same time I make my sincere acknowledgement for the favours I have received at your hands & wish I had a present more worthy of your acceptance. The Indexes you have so kindly favoured me with are justly esteemed a very valuable addition to the Book.

I am S^r. your much obedt. Humb. Sert.

Joseph Strutt

Duke Street
July 25. 1777

("Diary", fol.33)

1 This makes no sense in some copies, where it is the last page -- see, e.g., Brit.Lib. 7743.e.23 -- but clearly the Index was meant to make up a folding with the Catalogue of the Plates, as it does in Brit.Lib. G 2213.

The number of sources used in the 1777 Antiquities is still small compared with the Manners and Customs, largely because the nature of the book demanded little more than biographical outlines of the subjects. Holinshed, Speed and Stow are still employed far more than any other authors, though frequently they are quoted verbatim, which they never were in the 1773 edition; anecdotes from a few other authors are also used, for example one on William Rufus "by the old poetic historian Robert of Gloucester" (REA, 1773, p.7),¹ and others from Baker, Fabyan and Weever. Strutt is, moreover, noticeably more careful than in his first edition to identify the true sources of his information: "the story itself [of the poisoning of King John] is set down more at large in Grafton (copied from Caxton's book intituled Fructus Temporum, and the Poly-Chronicon, as follows)..." (pp.21-22).

(2) 1793

The 1793 edition is almost identical in content with that of 1777, but is a re-set and much finer edition.² The edition was published by Benjamin and John White, old friends and colleagues of Strutt.³ The Supplement, of twelve new plates with accompanying letter-press,

1 On 'Robert of Gloucester' see Anne Hudson, "Robert of Gloucester and the Antiquaries, 1550-1800," Notes and Queries, New Series XVI, 9 (September 1969), 322-333.

2 There are a few very minor alterations, in spelling or punctuation (usually the spelling alterations drop a form which was becoming archaic: e.g. 1777 antient (p.1), chuse (p.2), dress'd (p.2) become 1793 ancient, choose, dressed).

3 Benjamin White (1725-94), and his sons Benjamin Junior and John, were associated with Strutt in several of his publications, i.e. the MC, the 1793 edition of the REA, the DH (1796-99) and the SP (first and second editions, of 1801 and 1810). Benjamin Senior was brother of Gilbert, author of the Natural History of Selborne.

which Strutt published at about the same time, was intended to continue both the Antiquities and the Manners and Customs: it was "Printed for the Author, and sold by Messrs. WHITE, and SON, Fleet-Street; Mr. FAULDER, New-Bond-Street; and Mr. THANE, Rupert-Street, near the Haymarket" (title-page). Though most surviving copies of the 1793 Antiquities have a copy of the Supplement bound in, the Supplement was also available separately: a few copies of this kind are still extant.¹

Strutt's preface to the Supplement explains its origins:

The favourable reception which my two former publications of this kind met with, has encouraged me to proceed with this, which may properly be considered as a supplement to them both. In the second volume of the Manners and Customs of the English, there is a chasm, from the middle of the thirteenth century, to the end of the fourteenth; which all my diligence at that time, from the want of proper and authentic materials, was ineffectual to supply. Not long since I discovered the manuscript from which the present engravings are taken, and they are in every respect suited to remedy the deficiency I then laboured under. With this view I have laid them before the public, to whose candor and protection, I freely commit the work. (p.1)

The manuscript to which Strutt refers is Queen Mary's Psalter.²

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- 1 For example, Brit.Lib. 687.h.19; 144.c.22(2). "Scrutator" (possibly Charles Jerram) writing in the Gent.Mag. for May 1803 (LXXIII, 410), asks of the REA: "Was not a Supplement to this work published in 1792, with twelve additional plates? Can this Supplement be now procured separately?"
- 2 Brit.Lib. MS. Royal 2 B.VII. Besides the psalter proper, the manuscript includes a calendar, the litany, and canticles; and along with the drawings of saints and Old Testament subjects are Bestiary figures, tilting and hunting scenes, sports and pastimes, dancers, musicians, banquets, etc. Strutt notes that, "This superb manuscript formerly belonged to Queen Mary, and was presented to her in the year 1553, by Baldwin Smith, a citizen of London, as appears by an entry made in the last page" (Preface, p.2). For more on the history of the manuscript, see Sir George F. Warner and Julius Gilson, Catalogue of the Royal and King's Manuscripts in the British Museum (1921), I, 45.

The twelve plates of the Supplement, each divided into three parts, reproduce a few of the hundreds of exquisite drawings in the manuscript. As Strutt explains: "I have selected all that relate to the English History; but a great variety of other subjects are therein depicted; such as the miracles attributed to the Blessed Virgin; the martyrdom of several Saints mentioned in the golden legend; grotesque figures, and the like" (p.2).

The first five plates cover a wide range of subjects, from the story of Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins¹ to scenes from the lives of the Mercian kings Oswald and Cenelm. The third figure of the fifth plate, and all the figures of the remaining seven plates, depict events in the story of Becket.

The letter-press reveals Strutt as no admirer of Becket, speaking of his "unequaled pride and obstinacy", and "haughty and overbearing disposition"; he was one who "threw off all appearance of respect and compliance; and was afterwards as resolute in his opposition to the will of the king, as he had been obsequious in obeying it before" (all p.12); "seeking every opportunity he could to oppose the determinations of the king, and to stir up the minds of his subjects against him" (p.17). Strutt's attitude was no doubt in part a reaction to Joseph Berington's History of the Reign of Henry the Second, and of Richard and John, his Sons (Dublin, 1790). Berington, a Roman Catholic priest, defended Becket in somewhat extreme fashion against criticisms lodged by Lyttelton some years before in his History of the Life of King Henry the Second (1767-71). Among Berington's highly fanciful claims for Becket were the suggestions that he would have led the barons against John in 1215, and fought the papal ingressions of Innocent III: but he made many valid points (for example, he was the first to

1 "11,000" is a tenth-century misreading of the Latin abbreviation "XI MM VV", i.e. "11 martyred virgins": Casley first realised the mistake in his preface to the Catalogue of the Royal Manuscripts, though he too misread the abbreviation, making Ursula the eleventh child of her parents.

reject the legend that Becket was the son of a Saracen princess) and Strutt's stance, along with that of many of his contemporaries, had more to do with the author's Catholicism than with any studied criticism of his historical views.¹

Although the Supplement was intended to amplify both the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities and the Manners and Customs, it is written much more in the style of the Antiquities than of the later work. The letter-press amounts to little more than a relation of the events connected with the illustrations; for instance the text to Plate I (the martyrdom of St Alban) gives a plain account of the finding of the bones of Alban by Offa, king of Mercia. There is little in the way of commentary on the costumes, artefacts or social customs displayed in the illustrations, in contrast to Strutt's method in the Manners and Customs. The impression remains that the letter-press of the Supplement was written in some haste, or more probably without access to adequate reference material -- no doubt a constant problem during Strutt's years in Hertfordshire. The same is not true of the plates; they are particularly fine examples of Strutt's work and in themselves justify the publication of the Supplement.

(3) 1842

John Robinson Planché's edition of 1842 uses the text of 1793, with new footnotes by the editor and the addition of colour to the plates. Like most posthumous editions of Strutt's works, it adds little to the original. Planché, indeed (himself the author of a History of British Costume, 1834), felt that he was restoring to the public the quality of the original illumination: "Mr Strutt's engraving, uncoloured, can give the reader no idea of the exceeding delicacy and finish of the original illumination. Much has been done by our artist in colouring, to soften down, and remedy the defects of the plate: but it would be almost impossible, even with a fresh engraving to approach the beauty of the original" (note to Plate XLVI). This reveals some misunderstanding

1 See further, P.A. Browne, The Development of the Legend of Thomas Becket (Philadelphia, 1930).

of Strutt's purpose, which was not so much to reproduce the medieval illuminations per se, as to transmit the information they contained. Copies of the works with hand coloured plates had, in fact, been produced even during Strutt's lifetime; it was normal practice for the luxury market, as it gave the volumes an obviously greater visual appeal.¹ And Strutt knew better than Planché that great care was necessary if the colouring was not to compete with rather than supplement the line drawing. The danger was, of course, that the colouring did not always bear any resemblance to the original: as Cox points out in his preface to the 1903 Sports and Pastimes, "whoever was responsible for treating a large number of the copies ... never took the trouble to even glance at the originals, but simply dipped the brush into whatever colour caprice suggested, with a result that is sometimes comical in its extravagance and sometimes false in its facts. An ape painted brilliant green is an example of the one, whilst the same coat of arms appearing twice on the same plate in quite different tinctures is an example of the other" (pp. vi-vii). It is ironic that a number of copies of Planché's own edition have particularly garish colouring. On the whole, the addition of colour to the Strutt engravings is an unnecessary misconception of the nature of the originals, though it no doubt helped to make a handsome profit for the publishers.

Planché makes some useful corrections of errors in the text of the Antiquities, notably in Strutt's translations from Old French and from Latin. For example, Strutt gives "Ce fu en lan mil, quartre cens, un mains/Que de Paris, - chascun de joie plains" as, "It was in the year one thousand four hundred, that one morning we set out joyfully from Paris." Planché's note reads: "This is a great blunder, 'un mains' signifies, not 'one morning,' but 'save one,' which makes the date correct. 'It was in the year one thousand four hundred save one,' i.e. 1399" (Notes on Plate XX). Similarly, in the letter-press

1 Douce owned a copy of the Dress and Habits, "coloured expressly for him by its author" (quoted in The Recollections and Reflections of J.R. Planché [1872], in Planché's consideration of stage costume, I, 52-57; see further below, p. 217).

accompanying Plate X, Strutt translates "Christe, tui Calicis praedo fit praeda Calucis", as "Christ, thy cup is made the prey of the robbers." Planché points out: "Mr. Strutt has made a sad blunder here. The point of the line consists in the play upon the words Calicis and Calucis, and it should be translated thus: "Christ, the robber of thy chalice has become the prey of Chaluz."

Most of his strictures, however, seem somewhat pedantic and forgetful of the great strides made in antiquarian studies since Strutt wrote. In Plate I, for instance, the figures with King Edgar were tentatively identified by Strutt as Etheldrida and Cuthbert. Planché is highly critical of this suggestion: "Mr. Strutt has not given us his reasons for these suppositions, and Mr. Young Ottley in a letter to Mr. George Rokewood respecting the beautiful Benediction of St. Athelwold in the possession of his Grace the Duke of Devonshire, calls them St. Peter and the Virgin Mary." He omits to mention that Ottley, too, gives no reason for his identification.¹ Planché is equally unforgiving when Strutt makes mistakes as to authorship, forgetting half a century's subsequent research: "This book [notes Strutt of MS. Harl.1319] was written by Francis de la Marque" (sub Plate XX); which brings from Planché the stern rebuke that: "This is an egregious blunder, which has been corrected by the Rev. W. Webb, in his admirable description of this most interesting MS. in the 20th Vol. of the *Archaeologia*. The words of the original are 'un gentilhomme Francois de Marque,' that is a 'French gentleman of mark or note,' and the name of the author is now known to have been Jehan or John Croton." That even the hypercritical Planché could find no errors in the Supplement is an indication of how far Strutt's scholarship had developed in the twenty years between the first and third editions.

1 Ottley writes: "In the illuminated frontispiece to this manuscript, King Edgar is represented standing between the Madonna and St. Peter, and presenting or offering the book to Christ, who is seated above in a glory supported by four angels" ("A Dissertation on St. Aethelwold's Benedictional," Archaeologia, XXIV [1832], 33).

CHAPTER TWO

APPENDIX I

"A LIST OF THE KIND ENCOURAGERS OF THIS WORK"

In certain copies of Strutt's Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities is bound a single sheet headed "A List of the Kind Encouragers of this Work."¹ There follows a list of 104 names, in approximate alphabetical order (see below, pp. 126-128). These men and women were the 'subscribers' who paid in advance (often at a reduced rate) for copies of a work about to be published.

Subscription lists are, of course, by no means uncommon in eighteenth-century books, though only recently has any serious analysis of them been undertaken.² But the list is of particular interest in this case since Strutt was still only twenty-three (at the time of the publication of the first number, in January 1773), fresh from the Academy, and known only to a very small circle of supporters. This small circle must have worked actively in his interests, since amongst the Kind Encouragers are not only many of the leading antiquaries and book collectors of the day, but politicians, military figures and leaders of society. The list is, indeed, a microcosm of the reading public of the early 1770's; and an indication of the way in which the results of antiquarian research, previously of esoteric and limited concern, were beginning to appeal to a wider audience.

It is interesting to speculate as to why individual subscribers came to add their names to Strutt's list. Sometimes he gives a hint

1 For example, Brit.Lib. C.70.f.9; Bodl. PP.23.Th., Durham Cathedral Library N.11.10; Cambridge Univ.Lib. S404.5.b.7.I.

2 See, e.g., F.J.G. Robinson and P.J. Wallis, Book Subscription Lists: A Revised Guide (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1975). The only other known example of a subscription list for one of Strutt's works (though most of them were published by subscription) is a partial list for the Biographical Dictionary, preserved as the back cover of his manuscript work, "Chronicle of a Revolution in the Land of the Lilies."

in one of his letters, for instance on 23 November 1773, to Ann: "Lord Bute is become a subscriber to my present work, and has promised me to recommend it to several principal noblemen. Thus you find that I begin to be known to the great men, under whose protection I cannot fail of doing well" (Christy, xi,5). More often he mentions a new subscriber with no indication of how he might have come to hear of the venture: on 13 February 1773, "I have 2 more Lords and several great men added to my purchasers, among which is General Conway, a very great man, and likely to be very servisable to me" (Christy, ix, 8).

By 2 January 1773, when he wrote to tell Ann of the forthcoming publication of the first number, Strutt had already "got near 50 subscribers, tho' I have not yet made my work publick, and have the hope of selling a vast many" (Christy, ix, 5). Throughout 1773 he was collecting more support -- Bute, as indicated above, becoming a subscriber only a month before the final number was published. The purchase price was two guineas, which, with casual sales and sales of the Specimen at 2s.6d. each, must have brought Strutt and his printers a return of £300 or thereabouts; a very respectable figure for a first book. As early as February 1772 Strutt had told his brother that his subscription list would already cover his costs (p. 99 above), so all subscribers added after that date must have represented profit. This at a time when Strutt writes almost with disbelief that "I can set myself down and earn with ease five and twenty shillings a day."¹

Without doubt his association with the Society of Antiquaries provided Strutt with many of his subscribers. For some reason not known Strutt never became a member of the Society; as early as 1772 Gough had

1 Letter to Ann, 5 June 1773 (Christy, x, 5). If taken literally, an income of some £400 p.a. However, from Strutt's known financial problems a little later, it seems more likely that this figure indicates his earning capacity at best, not when averaged out with time spent on antiquarian research.

spoken of introducing him to the members,¹ and normally an invitation to membership would have followed within the course of a year or two -- after the publication of the Manners and Customs would have seemed a likely time. Certainly Strutt was still young; but youth was no bar to membership of the Society: Sir Joseph Ayloffe became a Fellow at the age of twenty-three; Marmaduke Tunstall at twenty-one; and John Ives at twenty (1732, 1764, 1771). Ayloffe, a close friend of Gough, was a vice-president of the Society throughout the 1770's, and Gough's own recommendation counted for a good deal; so the matter should not have been difficult to arrange. In the first place it may have been a social comment, in that Strutt had no University education, and came from a relatively humble background. This would no doubt have ceased to matter had he become wealthy; but his continuing poverty, and the coolness which developed in his relations with Gower, and to some extent with Gough, probably decided the issue against him.²

Tyson, in a letter to Gough dated 9 September 1772, gives us an idea of the kinds of consideration which awarded or withheld membership. He writes of "Mr. Cullum at Hardwick House [who] is very desirous of having the honour of being a Member of our Society. His family, his knowledge of Antiquities, I think, will easily procure him a place at the board, especially if you will second his wishes ... but I could wish to make his wait till I am admitted myself" (Lit. Anecs., VIII, 595). Perhaps, in the long run, Strutt did not miss so very much: Walpole's view of the society is well known. He wrote, for instance, in a letter to Cole of 8 January 1773: "For the Antiquarian Society, I shall leave them in peace with Whittington and his cat. As my contempt for them has not however made me disgusted with what

1 "As Mr S. gets on we may introd. him next winter to the Soc." (Gough to Gower, 17 March 1772; fol.328).

2 Though it should be noted that Valentine Green, the mezzotinter, was elected to the Society in 1775. His social position was very similar to Strutt's, and he was poor enough to need eventually to retire from the Society because he could no longer afford the annual subscription (see Evans, A History of the Society of Antiquaries, p.149).

they do not understand, antiquities, I have published two numbers of Miscellanies, and they are very welcome to mumble them with their toothless gums" (Yale Corr., I, 293). This was written eight years before the final break which followed the Society's attack on Walpole's Historic Doubts. Even Gough and Gower had reservations about the Society: see, for example, a letter from Gough, 3 April 1772, suggesting that Gower might introduce Strutt to the Society "any Thursday except next Th. fortnight on wch being St Geo' day we do nothing but eat & drink" (fol.331). Gower wrote to Gough, 4 January 1774, on hearing of the latter's proposed change of address: "I fear the Society will occasionally loose your Presence at their Meetings. And by what little I have seen of them, they can't well afford the Loss of any one Sensible and Spirited Member" (fol.347).

At this stage it must be said that many of the subscribers may have had mixed motives in their support of Strutt. Certainly they were glad to welcome a new labourer to the antiquarian vineyard, but the welcome may have been especially warm because the labourer on this occasion happened also to be a highly competent engraver. The illustration of antiquarian works, ever since Montfaucon's 40,000 drawings in L'Antiquité Expliquée, had become a prerequisite for success; engravers were hard to come by at a reasonable price, and it was known that Strutt had undertaken commissions not only for Gough and Gower, but for Duane, Dutens and Rockingham, among others. Two guineas, it may have occurred to some of the subscribers, was no bad investment if it assured the future goodwill of so useful an acquaintance.

The problem of finding engravers as cheaply as possible is a constant theme in the correspondence of antiquaries of the time. Gough wrote to Tyson, on 14 March 1780: "I had a high treat at Hearne's lately. His publication is delayed by the difficulty of getting Engravers" (Lit. Anecs., VIII, 664). Walpole often refers to his difficulties in this direction, as in the following note to Sir David Dalrymple, 8 November 1767: "Our engravers are so extravagant, though so indifferent, that I have almost given over the pleasure of having engravings" (Yale Corr., XV, 112). Gower and Gough complain of trouble and

expense, for example Gower, on 14 February 1772: "The Duke of Glo [lacuna] Pleshey Castle appears to me unconnected with Dorset, [lacuna] ally riding thro' Essex Forrest with his Royal Nephew. -- Strutt says you can't get the two ingrav'd under 8 Guine[as]" (fol.323). In 1766 Farmer told Warton: "You talk of being idle in the summer -- I wish I had been so too -- my business has been solely swearing at Engravers. Poor Shakspeare lies upon the table."¹ In the Preface to his Sepulchral Monuments, Gough added further comment: "Far am I from being insensible of the difficulty of procuring accurate drawings of monuments at a distance from the capital. This I have experienced too often when I have been obliged to borrow an inferior pencil, and have frequently been left without any help at all ... Emulous of excelling in History, Portrait, or Landscape, they overlook the unprofitable, though not less tasteful, walk of Antiquity ... The un-frequencey of the pursuit enhances the price" (p.9).

Strutt was clearly recognised from the start as a master engraver: Tyson, even though his own engraving skills were very considerable, accepted the younger man's advice without question. Writing to Gough about a map, 29 October 1773: "Following the example and instruction of Mons. Strutt, I have sent you the tracing only, which any Engraver can copy with more fidelity than from a second tracing on paper" (Lit.Anecs., VIII, 608).

The business of winning support involved a good deal of socialising, adding to the already considerable calls on Strutt's time; on 14 January 1773, in a letter to Ann: "I have been upon my legs all day and 'tis a tiresome task, I assure you, waiting on the Great Persons. I have been with the Duchess of Northumberland and am to go again tomorrow, and to the Earl of Hardwicke's and Horace Walpole's Esqre., if I can possibly find time. So you see my time is pretty much employ'd" (Christy, ix, 6-7). None the less the time allotted to the Great Persons was well spent, not only for their support of the book and its successors, but for the commissions which came Strutt's way.

1 Dr Richard Farmer to Thomas Warton, 29 December 1766
(Lit.Anecs., II, 622)

The support of the Northumberlands was of the first importance to Strutt. The Duke was a scholar skilled in Greek, Latin and Hebrew, a member of the Royal Society and a Trustee of the British Museum; the Duchess was an amateur numismatist with an important collection. Boswell's words reveal the social benefits that came the way of those they befriended: "In the evening I went to Northumberland House, to the rout, which was indeed magnificent. Three large rooms and the gallery (a prodigious one) were full of the best company, between three and four hundred of them ... This is indeed a noble family in every respect. They live in a most princely manner, perfectly suitable to their high rank. Yet they are easy and affable. They keep up the true figure of old English nobility."¹

Strutt's subscription list included the name of no less a hostess than the "bluestocking" Mrs Elizabeth Montagu (1720-1800), "handsome, fat and merry"² wife of Edward Montagu, M.P. Her home in Hill Street became from 1750 the meeting point "for all the intellect and fashion of the metropolis" (DNB, 1973, XIII, 688). Her regular visitors at the famous literary breakfast parties included Burke, Garrick, Johnson, Lord Lyttelton, Sir Joshua Reynolds and Horace Walpole. If Strutt shared any of the social life of his patrons (though this is far from certain, since his own background was more humble than that of a writer such as Boswell), he must have had an acceptable share of the required social graces.

Subscribers to the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, apart from those representing institutions or purchasing ex-officio,³ fall into

1 London Journal, 7 December 1762 (Boswell's London Journal, ed. Frederick A. Pottle [1950], p.118).

2 Delany, quoted DNB, 1973, XIII, 687.

3 All Souls, Oxford; Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; the Revd Mr Price, Bodley's Librarian; Westminster Abbey Library; the Archbishop of Canterbury (for Lambeth Palace Library). Henry Brooker (Receiver-General and Librarian to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, and Keeper of the Augmentation Office, 1764-87) seems to have been something of a personal friend of Strutt; this tribute is paid him in the Manners and Customs: "I had the permission to copy it from the Bishop of Rochester, by means of Mr. Brooker, keeper of the Record-Office, who also kindly assisted me in several other matters" (MC, II, 119; cf. Lit. Anecs., III, 619, 642).

three main categories: members of the Society of Antiquaries; patrons and book-collectors; family and personal friends. These categories naturally overlap a good deal: many of his friends and patrons were also members of the Society; and men like Bute, Duane, Hardwicke and Kaye bought both as patrons, book-collectors or Society members and as Trustees of the British Museum. At least twenty-eight subscriptions came his way from past, present or future members of the Society of Antiquaries.¹

A dozen or more names were primarily patrons or established book-collectors.² The number who must be classified primarily as "friends" demonstrates the kindness Strutt had met with during his researches: from Bever and Price at Oxford; Tyson at Cambridge; Ducarel, Percy and West in London. Many in this category are men whom he must have met in his ventures out of London in 1773: Beaufoy was possibly introduced by Ives at Yarmouth;³ at Cambridge, Strutt probably made the acquaintance of Chauncey, Cullum, Farmer and Glynn;⁴ and at

-
- 1 Aylofffe, Astle, Bartlett, Bindley, Blyke, Bowle, Cracherode, Cullum, Dacre, Ducarel, Farmer, Gulston, Haistwell, Hardwicke, Hunter, Ives, Kaye, Pegge, Southgate, Scott, Tunstall, Tutet, Vansittart, Wegg, Wenman, Wilmot, White, were all Fellows in 1773, or to be elected soon after (Pennant had resigned in 1760).
 - 2 Bute, Conway, Duane, Dutens, Hawkins, Herbert, Jones, Leake, Montagu, Northumberland, Portland, Walpole.
 - 3 Henry Beaufoy, died 1795. A dissenter and Whig politician; twice M.P. for Great Yarmouth.
 - 4 Dr Charles Chauncey (1706-77), physician and antiquary, of Corpus Christi; the Revd John Cullum (1735-85), Fellow of Catherine Hall, antiquary and friend of Gough and Tyson; Dr Richard Farmer (1735-97), of Emmanuel (Master from 1775, University Librarian from 1778), book-collector; Dr Robert Glynn (1719-1800), Fellow of King's, poet and book-collector. The "Rev. Dr. Marton, Great George Street" is probably Thomas Martin, Gough's Cambridge correspondent, friend of John Ives and one-time owner of the Paston Letters manuscript. Edward Parker Esq. (High Sheriff of Lincolnshire in 1770) was a former Peterhouse man, so again may have learned of Strutt's work through a Cambridge connection.

Oxford, of Cracherode, Vansittart, Wenman and Wilmot.¹

Monro and West were friends from Strutt's days at the Academy. John Monro (1715-91), member of a family distinguished for its work in both science and the arts, spent many years as physician to the Bethlehem Hospital, in succession to his father James. In the 1790's his son Thomas kept open house for promising young artists at his home in Adelphi Terrace; the Monro 'academy' became the "central clearing-house for innovations in technique and the main intermediary between the picturesque and romanticism."² John Monro himself "had acquired (probably on his travels) a taste for the fine arts, especially engravings, and assisted Strutt in the preparation of his 'History of Engravers.' He is also said to have communicated notes to Steevens for his edition of Shakespeare."³ Benjamin West (1738-1820), American-born artist, travelled in Italy and then settled in England in the 1760's. He was a favourite of George III and received many royal honours

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- 1 Revd Clayton Cracherode (1730-99), book-collector and from 1784 a Trustee of the British Museum; Robert Vansittart (1728-89), Fellow of All Souls and Regius Professor of Civil Law; Thomas Wenman (1745-96) and John (Eardley-)Wilmot (1750-1815), Fellows of All Souls. Vansittart, leading member of the Hellfire Club, seems an unlikely associate for the young Strutt; but one at least of their meetings was innocent enough, and indeed was shared by Strutt's future father-in-law: "Mr. Tho: Blower and your papa dined with my brother yesterday, together with Mr. Van Sittart (a gentleman you have heard him mention) and myself, [and then] adjourned ... to the Spread Eagle in the Strand, where we had some good porter and spent two or three hours very agreeably, parting with hearty good wishes to each other ..." (Letter to Ann, 11 September 1773); Christy, x, 11).
- 2 Joseph Burke, English Art 1714-1800 (Oxford, 1976), p.396.
- 3 DNB, 1973, XIII, 634. See further, R.E. Wright-St.Clair, Doctors Monro: A Medical Saga (1964); and the annual volumes of the Walpole Society, especially articles by C.F. Bell and Thomas Girtin (XXIII, 1935) and by C.F. Bell (XXVII, 1939).

(for instance 1772, Historical Painter to the King; 1790, Surveyor of the Royal Pictures). He was one of four men chosen by George III to draw up the plan for the Royal Academy; he became one of the original members and, on the death of Reynolds in 1792, President. For his innovations in the treatment of costume in Historical painting, see above, p. 85 .

Ozias Humphry would have been known to Strutt not only through the Society of Antiquaries, but as a protégé of Reynolds. Humphry (1742-1810), friend of Blake and Romney, executed a crayon portrait of Strutt which is now in the National Portrait Gallery (see above, p. 79 ; and DNB, 1973, X, 252). Bartlett and Bindley may have been introduced by Nichols, a close friend of both. Benjamin Bartlett (1714-87), was a numismatical and topographical writer; James Bindley (1737-1818), a book-collector, and the man to whom Nichols' Literary Anecdotes is dedicated.

Some of the names, from their addresses, may have been neighbours of Strutt or of his brother Dr John Strutt: Dr William Hunter, of Great Windmill Street (also, however, Professor of Anatomy at the Academy); James Connell of Gerrard Street, Soho; Major Pearson of Frith Street, Soho; and Mr Maskall of Dacre Street, Westminster.

The list includes a considerable number of Members of Parliament: some were bibliophiles or print-collectors;¹ others represented Essex constituencies or came from Essex families,² and may for this reason

1 Thomas Barret (1744-1803) had a fine library and was interested in all the arts; Sir William Musgrave (1735-1800) became a Fellow of the Royal Society and of the Society of Arts, and (in 1783) a Trustee of the British Museum.

2 Barret had estates in Essex; Richard Bull (1725-1805) came from Chipping Ongar, Essex: he was also "an important print collector and left a large collection of engraved portraits" (Alan Valentine, The British Establishment 1760-1784 [Oklahoma, 1970], p.116).

have taken an interest in the young author. Others, from all shades of the political spectrum, were possibly encouraged to buy the book by their leaders.¹

The churchmen were either antiquaries, or had presumably heard of Strutt's work when he visited the libraries of their ecclesiastical establishments: Cracherode, Dutens, Farmer and Ives are obvious examples of the former; whereas the Archbishop of Canterbury, Deans Thomas and Yorke, and Bishop Yonge, no doubt acquired Strutt's books because it included material from their libraries.²

The purchase of Strutt's book by General John Carnac causes some speculation. In 1773 Carnac was in India, where he was to spend the next quarter of a century; presumably he had a standing order with the booksellers for the purchase of certain kinds of new books. In the same way, Sir Brownlow Cust (later Baron Brownlow of Belton) was probably buying for social reasons rather than from personal interest. One wonders how the rather conservative Strutt took to Granville Sharp, campaigner against slavery and supporter of the American revolutionaries; they were probably introduced by William, brother of Granville, and a master engraver.

1 Bridgeman and Hewett were Rockingham supporters; Nuneham backed Bute in the crisis of 1762.

2 Strutt used one Lambeth manuscript in the REA (Lambeth Palace Library MS. 265). John Thomas (1712-93), later Bishop of Rochester, was Dean of Westminster at the time Strutt was visiting the Abbey Library. Strutt visited Norwich (where Philip Yonge was Bishop from 1761-83) on his way home from visiting John Ives at Yarmouth in October 1774. There is no record that he visited Lincoln (where Yorke, later Bishop of St David's, Gloucester, and Ely, was Dean from 1762); but Strutt may perhaps have used information from the Lincoln library through an antiquarian friend -- Percy, perhaps, from Easton Maudit, his living in Northamptonshire; or even Yorke himself.

There remain a good many uncertain identifications.¹ Mr Griffiths may be Ralph Griffiths, founder, proprietor and publisher of the Monthly Review, though by 1773 he was a Doctor of Laws. Mr Jones of Fetter Lane may be the printer and journalist Griffith Jones, an associate of Nichols and Dr Johnson. Mr White of Newgate Street is probably John White, son of Benjamin. He and Bartlet gave Strutt advice on problems of coinage.²

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- 1 Those as yet unidentified are: Butler, Brown, Hesse, Hawkes, Hazard, Hickson, Norman, Udney and Wingfield.
- 2 See, for example, note on Plate IX of Chronicle Vol.II: "To the kind assistance of Mr. Bartlet and Mr. John White of Newgate-street, the author is indebted for this compleat series of the Anglo-Saxon coins of the monarchy" (p.286).

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CHAPTER THREE

"THE WINDING WAYS OF HOAR ANTIQUITY": STRUTT'S
CONTRIBUTION TO ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCH. THE MANNERS
AND CUSTOMS OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, 1774-1776

Introduction

The four years which followed the publication of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities were the years of Strutt's most concentrated antiquarian work. These years (May 1774-April 1778) saw the publication of five major volumes, including the three volumes of the Manners and Customs, in which almost every page reflects detailed original study of artefacts or manuscripts. The five volumes reveal an increasing commitment to the text for its own sake rather than as an explanatory accompaniment to the plates. The Chronicle, indeed, relegates the plates to a more minor place than in any other of Strutt's works (except, of course, the literary works and, to a lesser extent, the Biographical Dictionary of Engravers). This in fact proved to be a mistake, and Strutt was to return in his final books to the pattern of fine illustration combined with scholarly text. The late flowering of Strutt's antiquarian work in the splendid Dress and Habits and Sports and Pastimes (1796-99, 1801) was, no doubt, a greater achievement than his early writing; but these volumes were a direct result of the self-imposed training of the mid-seventies, and the months of solid industry which went to produce the Manners and Customs and the Chronicle.

The Manners and Customs was taking shape some time before the publication of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities was completed. In letters to his family Strutt describes it as his "great work" to distinguish it from the Antiquities: for example to Ann, 5 June 1773, "I am now about a very pretty job that is for my leisure time. 'Tis engraving of some coins for an exceeding worthy gentleman [Louis Dutens] ... in this manner, I supply myself with running cash, while I carry on my own great work without interruption" (Christy, x, 5). The name stayed in use even after the first volume had been published: to his mother on 8 June 1774, "I have lately published the first vol. of my great work" (Christy, xi, 17).

The years during which Strutt was working on the Manners and Customs coincided with a particularly happy period in his personal life, which no doubt helped him to face the enormous amount of work which he encompassed before the publication of the work was completed. His marriage took place shortly after the publication of the first volume (May, and 16 August, 1774) and the appearance of the second volume was followed by the birth of his first son (January, and 28 May, 1775).

He claims in the Preface to have examined "a vast number of different MSS. (I believe all in the public libraries that are illuminated, or at least all that have come to my knowledge)" and also "with great care and diligence, every author that could be thought likely to afford me any useful intelligence" (MC, I, ii, iii). The truth of this very considerable claim is illustrated by the list of sources quoted (see below, pp.393-408). When it is remembered that Strutt was also preparing the 157 plates which illustrate the Manners and Customs (including over 700 separate drawings from manuscripts and artefacts), and at the same time carrying out engraving commissions for Dutens, Duane and others, it is not surprising to read, in his wife's phrase, "that he can scarcely turn himself."¹

The scheme had obviously grown much larger as Strutt became more deeply involved: "The design of compleating the letter press in so full a manner as it is now done, was owing to the early perusal of Camden, Verstegan, Speed, &c. in whose works I met with vast materials, and such information, as naturally led me to the study of those very authors, from whence they themselves had traced out so perfect a picture of our national antiquities" (MC, I, ii-iii). He was very conscious that he was breaking new ground with the Manners and Customs. "The following work (in its present dress) is quite new, and I believe the first attempt of this sort ever made in this kingdom" (MC, I, ii). He reveals in the Preface that when he began to write the book, he still thought of himself primarily as an artist: he had made a "collection" of manuscript illuminations, and it was only the

¹

Ann Strutt to Mrs Strutt Senior, March 1775 (Christy, xii, 3).

need for an explanatory text which drove him to his pen: "I should not have commenced author, had not my love for national antiquities, and the absolute necessity of a full description of this my collection constrained me" (MC, I, iii).

The Debt to Montfaucon

His inspiration to the ideal of a "full description" was the example of the French antiquary Montfaucon: "though this work is so very differently conducted, yet the original plan is the same with that of the celebrated Montfaucon's Monarchie Française" (MC, I, ii).

Bernard de Montfaucon, one of the great scholars of the Benedictine Congregation of St Maur at St Germain-des-Prés, had been called to Paris from his provincial abbey in 1687, to prepare a Latin edition of the Greek Church Fathers. The high standard of historical scholarship established at the abbey by Jean Mabillon (1632-1707) was maintained by later Maurists, men such as Dom Edmond Martène (1654-1739) and Dom Martin Bouquet (1685-1749), with their monumental collections of early writings (Martène; Thesaurus novus anecdotorum seu collectio, and Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum amplissima collectio; Bouquet: Rerum Gallicarum et Francicarum scriptores). The rest of Montfaucon's long life (1655-1741) was devoted to the study of antiquity as revealed in manuscript and archaeological sources, both ancient and modern, Christian and pagan: "Je m'apperçus d'abord que l'étude du profane étoit absolument nécessaire à ceux qui travaillent sur les Peres de l'Eglise" (L'Ant. Expl., I, Préface, i). His Palaeographia Graeca (1708) helped to found the science of palaeography; and his travels in Italy gave him a breadth of antiquarian knowledge and sympathy beyond the limitations of national or ecclesiastical boundaries.

His first major antiquarian work, L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures, was published in five volumes, together with a Supplement of five further volumes, in Paris between 1719 and 1724. The scope was very wide, the amount of research required enormous; as Montfaucon himself wrote: "Le Lecteur ne sera pas fâché d'apprendre

quelles routes j'ai tenues durant le cours de plusieurs années, pour me mettre en état d'exécuter ce vaste dessein ... Les ouvrages des Antiquaires étoient trop dispersez, la vie de l'homme suffisoit à peine pour les rassembler ... si j'aurois voulu mettre généralement tout ce que les monumens, les livres & les cabinets peuvent fournir, je n'aurois jamais fini" (L'Ant. Expl., I, Préface, i, v, x).

Volumes 1 and 2 describe Greek and Roman religion and culture, and the religion of the barbarous nations. Volume 3 covers a wide range of subjects: clothes, jewellery, furniture, food, cooking utensils, measures, money, buildings, symbols, the arts, theatres, games, hunting and fishing, etc. Volume 4 deals with war; with sections on arms, cavalry, heraldry, battles, victories, bridges, vehicles and ships. Volume 5 describes funeral rituals and trappings, ancient and modern. The text is in French and Latin, to make for ease of reading by both foreigners and the young (L'Ant. Expl., I, Préface, xiii-xiv). Facts are traced back to the source of information by means of exact references within the Latin text, though the French text, with its less scholarly readership in mind, has only references to authors, for instance: "sur quoi Herodote rapporte cette histoire ... qua de re Herodotus hanc historiam assert in Clio 172" (I, Part I, cxv); or "Diodore de Sicile donne plus au long & d'une manière bien différente l'histoire des Titans ... Titanum fabulam pluribus varioque modo narrat Diodorus Siculus p.334" (I, Part I, 21).

The type of reference used in the French text was the one adopted by Strutt in the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, though by the Manners and Customs he was using the more scholarly method of the Monumens, with marginal references and footnotes. "The authors from whose works the chief matters are taken, are always mentioned in the margin, opposite to the quotation, so that the reader may easily refer to the original books themselves, for his satisfaction or further information" (MC, I, iii) -- an echo of Montfaucon's "J'ai composé cette histoire sur les originaux mêmes, en citant toujours à la marge du Latin les Auteurs & les Cronologues desquels je me suis servi" (Monumens, I, Préface, iii). From L'Antiquité Expliquée Strutt

learned also the virtue of checking his facts: "Ma maxime est de ne dire sure chaque chose en particulier que ce qu'on en peut savoir de sûr ou de fort probable" (I, Préface, vii); and of the part which could be played by illustrations in an antiquarian work: "Tout l'ouvrage contient environ onze cens vingt planches, en comptant pour deux celles qui sont doubles, & qui font deux pages. Ces planches renferment environ trente ou quarante mille figures, comme nous avons dit dans le Programme" (I, Préface, xi).

L'Antiquité Expliquée was, in the words of the Nouvelle Biographie Générale, "un ouvrage d'une rare perfection ... toute l'Europe savante fut saisie d'une véritable émotion" (Paris, 1865, XXXVI, 225-228). But it was the work that followed which was to be Strutt's primary model for the Manners and Customs.

Les Monumens de la Monarchie Française, qui comprennent l'histoire de France, avec les figures de chaque règne que l'injure des temps a épargnées, was published in Paris in five volumes between 1729 and 1733. As in L'Antiquité Expliquée, the text was in French and Latin. The preface suggests a dilemma not unlike Strutt's own: Montfaucon had, at first, planned to present only the plates of the monuments, but the inevitable gaps had robbed the work of any cohesion: "On auroit passé de l'un à l'autre en sautant de grands voides qui se trouvent souvent entre eux ... J'ai donc jugé à propos de mettre avec les Monumens l'histoire entière de chaque Règne" (Monumens, I, Préface, i). Incidental benefits of the method had soon become apparent: "elle aura cet avantage sur les autres, qu'elle représentera un très-grand nombre de figures tirées des originaux des tems, qui apprendront bien des choses ci-devant inconnuës, tant sur l'Histoire que sur les habits, les armes & une infinité d'autres sujets" (Monumens, I, Préface, ii). These new facts could be pointed out and enlarged upon in the text accompanying the plates.

The Monumens is arranged quite simply, with a section on each ruler followed by illustrations of the surviving monuments.

Introductory chapters to each division of the work outline the history of the period, and the whole is carefully indexed. From the Monumens Strutt learned the necessity of careful dating: in Volume I, the text describing Plate LV (William the Conqueror) reads as follows: "L'autre figure de Roi Guillaume qui paróit ici en habit court, a passé dans l'Abbayie de S. Etienne de Caën pour être du tems du Roi Guillaume. Mais l'habit marque qu'il faut qu'elle ait été faite plus de trois cens ans après" (I, 402). Heeding the lesson of Montfaucon's cautionary tale, Strutt used all the external and internal evidence available to him to make his dating as accurate as possible. In his "Account of the principal MSS" we read: "The first is a MS. Psalter in the possession of John Ives, Esq., of Great Yarmouth ... This he kindly communicated to me. The date of this MS. both by the writing and stile of the figures, appears to be about the reign of Edward the Third" (MC, II, 119); and in the third volume: "The next is a beautiful MS. in the library of Benet (or Corpus Christi) college, Cambridge. The Rev. Mr. Tyson, fellow of that college, has favoured me with the following account of the MS. as drawn up by Mr. Nasmith [sic] in the catalogue of the MS. contained in that library, which is now printing for the public use ... To the foregoing account Mr. Tyson adds [a note on an inscription in the manuscript which] will nearly ascertain the age of the MS exactly" (III, 189-190).¹

Despite his awareness of the value of manuscript illuminations in providing incidental evidence on "[les] choses ci-devant inconnuës" (see above, p. 133), Montfaucon, unlike Strutt, regularly included monuments of all dates, not only those contemporaneous with his subject: "Quoique nous ayions principalement recherché les Monumens faits dan les tems mêmes de ces anciens Rois; nous n'avons pas cru devoir omettre ceux qui ont été faits dan des siecles posterieurs.

¹ Dr James Nasmith (1740-1808), Rector of Snailwell, and Fellow of Corpus Christi, published his "complete New Catalogue and Arrangement of the MSS." in 1777 (Lit. Anecs., I, 243; Yale Corr., I, 185). Nasmith's material was later incorporated in the James catalogue.

D'habiles gens que nous avons consultez, nous ont conseillé de les donner avec les autres" (I, Préface, ii). This underlines a significant difference of approach. Montfaucon was anxious to include any representation which might reveal some trace of a genuine historical tradition, however far removed from its original. Strutt (as suggested above, pp. 98-99) was searching as much for the incidentals in a portrait as for the portrait itself, for the details of costume, social custom and the like which the artist included almost without thinking, and represented in the guise of his own society, whatever the theme of his work. He was subjected to a good deal of criticism for this approach; as early as the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, Gough suggested that he ought to aim for a complete visual record, rather than limit himself to portraits and monuments known to be contemporary with their subject: "the liberty taken by Montf may be adopted & such inserted as have only past for originals in default of real ones as those of Alfred in Wise the only one known unless haply some might be rummagd out."¹ The fact that Gough takes a very different view by the time of the publication of Sepulchral Monuments (1786) is an indication of the new attitudes that had begun to prevail in the intervening fourteen years, attitudes that Strutt's work had helped to form: "The learned Montfaucon, though he has given the monuments, assigned them their dates, and detailed the history of their proprietors, has not made so material use of them for illustrating national manners or modes, as might have been expected, or as he probably would have done, had he completed his design: nor has he entered into any comparison of ... one age with those of another; nor laid down any rules for judging by" (Sep. Mons., I, 8).

It would be quite wrong, too, to suggest that Montfaucon, even if the main inspiration, was the only model for Strutt's work. Apart from the lessons learned from the older British antiquaries -- Camden, Stow, etc. -- he learned much of his method from his contemporaries, and to no small extent from Horace Walpole. That brilliant man of letters, however fey in his personal attitudes and relationships, was

¹ Gough to Gower, 3 April 1772 (fol. 331).

a true scholar; from his Anecdotes of Painting alone Strutt could have learned the virtues of neat, simple footnotes; of constant reference to sources to illustrate points made in the text; and the use of illustrations and digressions not merely to decorate but to emphasise the course of the narrative. To take one example only of the last point, how much less memorable would Walpole's account of Prince Rupert and the development of mezzotinting be without these lines (no doubt intended for the ears of the new king): "We can but oppose facts to wit, truth to satire. How unequal the pencils! Yet ... if the prince was defective in the transient varnish of a court he at least was adorned by the arts with that polish which alone can make a court attract the attention of subsequent ages."¹

English attempts to emulate Montfaucon

The task of producing for English antiquities anything akin to Montfaucon's great studies was indeed a daunting one. The elder statesmen of the English antiquarian world had long looked for a work in imitation of the French prototype (the attempts of Cole and others in this direction have already been mentioned, pp.91-92 above) but to a man they had been dissuaded by the demanding nature of the undertaking.

Gray wrote to Horace Walpole, as early as 28 February 1762, of the labour and difficulties involved in such a scheme. Walpole's part would be mainly "the superintendence, direction, and choice of materials. As to the expense, that must be the King's own entirely, and he must give the book to foreign ministers and people of note; for it is obvious no private man can undertake such a thing without a subscription, and no gentleman will care for such an expedient; and a gentleman it should be, because he must have easy access to archives, cabinets, and collections of all sorts" (Yale Corr., XIV, 123). Ducarel wrote to Walpole on the same occasion (the publication of the Anecdotes of Painting) and along similar lines: "it has occurred to me that it would not be altogether impossible, including what you

¹ Anecdotes, 1888 edn., III, 204-205.

mention in the Anecdotes, to draw up a list of Pictures, &c. relating to the History and Antiquities of England (in the manner of Montfaucon's 'Monumens de la Monarchie Française') from the Conquest to the present time" (23 February 1762; Lit. Anecs., IV, 701); but he implied that the completion of such a project required the work of many hands and many months: "Perhaps, Sir, upon a strict search of the Harleian and other MSS. public and private, farther discoveries might be made towards such a work [Lit. Anecs., IV, 701] ... I will with great pleasure send you from time to time such notes as I may have made, of customs, fashions, portraits, &c. relating to our history and manners; and I dare say your Anecdotes on Painting will occasion the Learned to look into these matters, and daily furnish you with new discoveries" (27 February 1762; Lit. Anecs., IV, 704).¹ Walpole himself favoured such an approach: to Ducarel, 24 February 1762: "Your thought of an English Montfaucon accords perfectly with a design I have long had of attempting something of that kind, in which too I have been lately encouraged"² (Lit. Anecs., IV, 703).

Three years before this, Walpole had outlined his plan for the Anecdotes in a letter to Zouch; and in those early days was thinking of a work with a wide scope, and an approach akin to Montfaucon's: again he emphasised the amount of work that would be required: "I have by no means digested the plan of my intended work; the materials I have ready in great quantities in Vertue's MSS. ... As our painters have been very indifferent, I must to make the work interesting, make it historical; I would mix it with anecdotes of patrons of the arts; and with dresses and customs from old pictures, something in the manner of Montfaucon's antiquities of France. I think it capable of being made a very amusing work, but I don't know whether I shall ever bestow the necessary time on it" (15 March 1759; Yale Corr., XVI, 27).

1 Ducarel had already sent Walpole notes on nine Harleian manuscripts which contained likely material (Lit. Anecs., IV, 702-703).

2 He means by Bute; see above, p. 93.

Though narrowing the scope of the Anecdotes from this extended plan, Walpole did not forget the scheme, and a week after he had received Bute's 1762 letter was hard at work outlining possible chapter headings. A memorandum book survives, with a title-page reading: "Collections for a History of the Manners, Customs, Habits, Fashions, Ceremonies &c. &c. &c. of England, begun February 21, 1762, by Mr. Horace Walpole. , Co'l tempo, Tutto."¹

"The heads of the subjects he meant to treat [comments Berry]² are there arranged alphabetically, and several pages of blank paper left between each, intended to have been filled up with matter relative to the objects in question, as it occurred to him. -- We have only to regret, that though a number of curious scattered notes remain among lord Orford's papers, evidently intended for this work, its further arrangement was never pursued; as in the hands of an antiquary, diligent, accurate and lively, as Mr. Walpole, it must have proved a most entertaining as well as a curious work."

Throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, antiquaries were to hail one another as the "English Montfaucon";³ usually, it seems, in hopes of inspiring the other to the drudgery necessary for any comparable piece of work. In fact, no English Montfaucon was destined to appear; what the French priest encompassed for his national antiquities was, in England, to be the subject of many volumes by a number of hands. Gough had spoken of "different parts ... attempted by different persons" (p. 91 , above); and Pegge, commenting on the Sepulchral Monuments, enlarged on the theme:

1,2 The Works of Horatio Walpole, Earl of Orford, ed. R. Berry (1798), V, 400. See also Yale Corr., XIV, 122.

3 Richard Gough, for instance, spoke of "the Montfaucon of England ... Sir JOSEPH AYLOFFE" (Sep. Mons., I, 10). Cole and Ducarel had implied that Walpole was the Frenchman's English equivalent (see above, pp. 91, 136). William Strutt noted in 1885 (in the Strutt family papers) "Lord Orford once paid Mr Strutt a compliment in pronouncing him the English Montfaucon."

The object of this splendid and costly work is, to fill up one of those voids in the study of our National Antiquities which P. Montfaucon accomplished, on a more extensive plan, for those of France -- the illustration of national manners, habits, arts, and taste, by those lighter records, subordinate, yet indispensable to national history; such as the arts of painting and sculpture affords. Such a design, it seems, was in contemplation among some very able Antiquaries of this country, and its failure must be regretted by all men of science. The author of the present work has undertaken that small part of it which respects the Sepulchral Monuments; which, Montfaucon observes, compose the principal subjects of the sculptor's art. (Lit. Anecs., VI, 288).

Gibbon, too, bewailed the lack of an outstanding scholar; in an Address of the 1790's,¹ designed to drum up support for a projected work of Pinkerton's (not, apparently, published) he regretted the neglect of our "MONKISH HISTORIANS", left "silently to moulder in the dust of our libraries" (II, 708); but "some were too poor, others too rich; some too busy, others too idle: and we knew not where to seek our English Muratori; in the tumult of the metropolis, or in the shade of the university. The age of Herculean diligence, which could devour and digest whole libraries, is passed away" (II, 713).

In a sense, the whole of Strutt's future antiquarian work, with the exception of the Biographical Dictionary of Engravers, was to be devoted to the task of reproducing Montfaucon for English antiquities. Certainly no small part of the painstaking research necessary for an equivalent English work was undertaken by Strutt; an achievement with which he has never been adequately credited. The conclusion to Volume II gives a further hint of just how much effort the necessary research had cost Strutt in the Manners and Customs alone: "Thus have I at last, with great pains and diligence, brought this laborious work to an end" (II, 117). But his "toilsome difficulty" was not what made the Manners and Customs valuable; the mere massing of detailed information, such as Strutt undertook in the

1 "An Address, &c." Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon, Esquire. With Memoirs ... by John Lord Sheffield (1796), II, 707-717.

Chronicle, did not lead to memorable work. It was Strutt's understanding of the part that antiquities and manuscripts had to play in bringing to life the everyday world of earlier generations that made his work important; and in particular his continual reference back to the illuminations for their interpretation of written information. From the beginning Strutt saw the dangers of the dry antiquarianism which Walpole, for one, so deplored; even as early as the Manners and Customs there was no doubt of his position: "The study of antiquities is in itself both amusing and useful" (MC, I, i).

Strutt's treatment of medieval source material

Many of the antiquaries of the second half of the eighteenth century were openly in revolt against the traditions of their predecessors, considering that the earlier work had been directed to political and theological ends (notably the defence of the reformed English church) which were no longer of great interest: and that the study of antiquities had been given a bad name by the anxiety to "grub up every petty fragment."¹ Warton thought that "the progress of human manners" and "the history of society" had been neglected (History, I, 209); and the careful work of an editor such as Hearne seemed to him a waste of time: "the antiquaries of former times" were to be condemned for employing "their industry in reviving obscure fragments of uninteresting morality or uninteresting history" (I, 209). Percy added personal criticism: "it has happened unluckily, that the antiquaries who have revived the works of our ancient writers have been for the most part men void of taste and genius."²

Their attitude was a gross misjudgement of the work of the earlier scholars. A body such as the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries, with its high standards and breadth of interest, put to shame many a member of the eighteenth-century revival of the Society; and Percy and Warton's own work on manuscript sources should have made them

1 Thomas Percy, Reliques of Ancient English Poetry (1765), III, ix.

2 Reliques, III, ix; quoted, together with other of the references above, by Arthur Johnston, Enchanted Ground, p.221 ff.

doubly appreciative of the meticulous method of a scholar like Hearne. The lack of understanding probably came about chiefly because the early antiquaries had concentrated their efforts on chronicles and other historical documents to the virtual exclusion of literary works; and had written only for the specialist. Almost without exception the eighteenth-century antiquaries were also men of letters, and often competent poets; for this reason they saw the emphasis on chronicles, charters, genealogies and the like as a slight on the literary texts. But the thorough researches of the historians had been necessary to establish the background of their own explorations. In addition, their audience was quite different: periodicals such as the Gentleman's Magazine had helped to provide a wide readership for the results of antiquarian study, and there was greater incentive for the scholar to present his work in a fashion which appealed to the man of general interests. Percy's own early inclination, indeed, was to a strict editing of the kind later favoured by Ritson, but it was not what the public wanted: "you talk of a faithful copy" commented Grainger, while the publisher "wants a pleasing romance" (Nichols, Lit. Anecs., VII, 249).

The scholar usually credited with the alternative point of view, that of an absolute insistence on the accurate use of medieval material, is Joseph Ritson. A notoriously precise editor himself, Ritson could not brook lower standards in other editors, even if they had a popular audience in mind. Percy, so he thought, had "taken such libertys in his publications ... that he might as well have had no MS at all."¹ He could "place no confidence whatever in one who secretly innovates in a single word ... he begins with letters & ends in volumes."² The practice of "improving" medieval texts "savours strongly ... of unfairness and dishonesty ... The purchasers of such a collection are deceived and imposed upon; the pleasure they receive is derived from the idea of antiquity, which, in fact, is perfect illusion" (Metrical Romanceës [1802], I, cxli).

1 Letter from Ritson to J.C. Walker, 22 June 1796; quoted by B.H. Bronson, Joseph Ritson, Scholar-at-Arms (Berkeley, 1938), II, 553.

2 Letter to Walker, 1 January 1790 (Bronson, II, 548).

Ritson's irritability and rudeness to other scholars, notably Percy and Warton, prevented him from gaining a sympathetic ear for his views. Scott regretted "that such labour and research should be rendered useless & ridiculous by the infirmity of his temper"; and that Ritson should so humourlessly treat "antiquarian trifles with the same seriousness which men of the world reserve for matters of importance."¹ This is in line with Scott's dismissiveness of his own work: but disguises an admiration and even liking for Ritson, though one which is remembered less often than Lockhart's dismissal of the "narrow-minded, sour, and dogmatical little word-catcher."² Scott could not fail to be amused by his "learned cabbage-eater"³ -- as in a letter^{to} Ellis, 29 November 1802: "I understand he is about a work in which the religion of the country is so handled as bids fair to promote the little Antiquary to the honors of the pillory which station will be the more acceptable to him as it can be proved to be of genuine Saxon origin" (Grierson, XII, 228). But Scott's appraisal of him, in his review of the posthumous publication of Ritson's Annals of the Caledonians, Picts and Scots (1828), goes far towards vindicating him in personal as well as critical terms:

we may say with justice, that allowing for a certain portion of irritability (a constitutional disease) he possessed in a degree surpassing his contemporaries the patience, the ardour, and the industry necessary for antiquarian researches. He was firm and somewhat obstinate in his opinions, as was natural in one who had adopted them after much thought. But he piqued himself on the most profound honesty in research and quotation, and if you brought him sufficient evidence to convince him of

- 1 H.J.C. Grierson, The Letters of Sir Walter Scott (1932-37), XII, 228; and Scott, Introductory Remarks on Popular Poetry, in the 1830 edition of Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border.
- 2 J.G. Lockhart, Narrative of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Everyman edition (1906), p.103.
- 3 Lockhart, p.109.

his error, he was the first to avow his conviction to the world. His violence, though often to be regretted, was always sincere and unaffected.¹

Ritson's insistence on a total accurate reproduction of manuscript source material is now so generally accepted that it is easy to forget its novelty in the later eighteenth century. Mason, writing of his own extremely free editing of Gray's letters, considered that "people of common sense will think the liberty he has used very venial";² and when Percy replied to Ritson's attacks on the Reliques, he still considered himself justified in his rejection of "a scrupulous adherence" to the "wretched readings" of the ballads, preferring "a few slight corrections or additions" which might "please both the judicious Antiquary, and the Reader of Taste" and "gratify both without offending either."³ John Pinkerton ridiculed what he saw as mere pedantry: "the editor has spared no pains to reject any improvement and to restore [the poems] to error."⁴ It seemed to men like Percy and Warton that the public image of the antiquary was unjustly severe, his studies being seen as no more than "a means of escape from the harsh present into the unresisting past."⁵ Their works,

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- 1 Quarterly Review, July 1829; quoted by W.P. Ker, in Joseph Ritson, the Presidential Address of the Modern Humanities Research Association, 1921-22 (Cambridge, 1922), p.7.
 - 2 Letter to Nicholls, 31 January 1775; quoted by John W. Draper, William Mason (New York, 1924), p.271.
 - 3 Reliques, 1794, I, xvi-xvii.
 - 4 Review of Ritson's Scottish Songs (1794), in the Critical Review, January 1795, 49ff. This from a man who could on another occasion condemn his countrymen for their slipshod treatment of source material: "inaccurate quotations are the grand defects of the literature of this century; if we except Germany and Scandinavia only, where, if an author were to quote falsely, he would go near to endure the character of a scoundrel and a liar" (A Dissertation on the ... Scythians or Goths [1787], Preface, xiv).
 - 5 Alan Richardson, History Sacred and Profane (1964), p.38.

with a more popular approach, would help a wider audience to understand the delights of their subject; whereas a pedant like Ritson sought only to put the clock back, and to keep as an esoteric technical study material which should be the heritage of every thoughtful reader.¹

Strutt's stance is an interesting one. As friend and protégé of the antiquaries of the Percy/Walton school, he might have been expected to share their attitudes; and indeed he was always anxious that his work should have as wide an appeal as possible: he hopes that the Chronicle will afford his readers "some amusement" (II, iv); he "would not only be a great Antiquary, but a refined Thinker; ... would not only discover antiquities, but would, by explaining their use, render them useful."² But the standards which he learned from his training as an engraver seem to have been an equally strong influence: from the beginning he "has done, and will always do, the utmost in his power to render the work a perfect copy of the valuable originals" (REA, 1773, p.iv); and though he was prepared to make adjustments in the composition of a plate for the sake of visual impact, he would alter nothing which he thought might have a significance for antiquarian study: "almost all the figures taken from the ancient MSS. are put into better proportion, and higher finished than the originals, though at the same time the position of the figure, the folds of the drapery, &c. are closely attended to; and some will be given exactly copied, to display the taste of the times in which they were done" (Chron., I, [ii]). This is not so different a compromise from Ritson's use of z for ʒ, which "might have been retained, after the example of respectable editors; but, with the Saxon characters, is sacrificed to public taste or prejudice" (Metrical Romanceës [1802], I, iii).

1 Percy, Shenstone, etc., though men of learning, "felt they were justified in dressing the work of a past age so as to appeal to modern sensibilities, arguing on the analogy of a sculptor who supplies an antique statue with a missing limb" (W.L. Renwick, English Literature, 1789-1815, p.108).

2 Letter to an unknown recipient, 21 August 1773 (Lit. Anecs., V, 670; cf. Memoir, p.21).

By the time of the first volume of the Dress and Habits (1796), the degree of licence which Strutt allowed himself was even more limited: "the engravings ... are faithfully copied from the originals, without an additional fold being made to the draperies, or the least deviation from the form of the garments ... the ornamental embellishments of every kind are not, in any instance, the work of my own imagination, but accurate specimens of ancient art, and extracted from the same manuscript that the figures, or some of them at least, are taken" (DH, I, iii).

Strutt, of course, was fortunate in that he did not have to grapple with the problems of a language unintelligible to the general reader; he could afford to maintain high standards of accuracy without losing the interest of his audience. The "particulars relative to the dress and particular customs of those our early ancestors" could be both "curious and authentic"; and since he was dealing with matters of everyday experience, they could not "fail of being pleasing, as well as highly interesting, to an English reader" (Chron., 1779, II, iii). But to Strutt, as to Ritson, "improved" manuscripts could have no lasting value. Ten years before Ritson's first work was published (the Observations on Warton's History of English Poetry, 1782), Strutt was working to bring before the public a similarly painstaking reconstruction of manuscript sources. It is probably only because Strutt's reproduction of medieval material was primarily graphic rather than textual that his originality in its treatment has not been more widely noted.

Plan of the Work

The Manners and Customs, in its final form, consists of three volumes. The first two volumes were planned as a whole; the third was added later, to include some of the considerable amount of material left over after the second volume had been completed.

Volume I has 112 pages of letter-press and 67 plates; Volume II, 132 pages and 60 plates. The Preface to the Reader (Volume I, pages i-iv) serves to introduce both volumes, the text of Volume II

continuing straight on from Volume I with only a Table of Contents by way of introduction. Volume I includes the British Era (pages 1-14), the Antient Saxon Era (pages 16-23), the Anglo-Saxon Era (pages 24-74), the Danish Era (pages 79-86) and the Norman Era (pages 88-104). Volume II continues the Norman Era (pages 1-25), and the whole of the rest of the volume (pages 27-118) is occupied with the English Era. Each era is then divided into a number of sections, covering subjects such as Fortifications, Weapons, Navigation, Husbandry, Musical Instruments, etc., etc. The text of Volume I is followed by an Account of the Principal Manuscripts from which the Materials for the Plates in this Volume are collected (pages 105-107), and a Description of the Plates (pages 107-112). Volume II has similar entries (page 119, and pages 120-129) and, in addition, a table giving approximate dates for the various eras; an errata section (both page 130: the errata slip is regularly pasted in at this point); an Index for finding the Illuminations and Manuscripts mentioned in the First Volume (page 131) and a similar Index for the second volume (page 132). Strutt acknowledges John Fenn's help with the indexing.

Each era is introduced by a short historical account of the period, in which Strutt is careful not to go beyond the scope of his subject. He introduces the Antient Britons with a flat statement that the material is sparse, frequently doubtful of interpretation, and biased in that we see the Britons only through Roman eyes, since "The Britons themselves ... held it unlawful to set down the acts of their kings, and heroes, in writing, or any other matters" (MC, I, 2). "Every one who is conversant in the early parts of the British History, must be acquainted with the doubtfulness and uncertainty of it: and with how little fairness, much less truth and justice, any of the peculiar customs of the Britons can be truly set forth before the landing of Julius Caesar" (MC, I, 1).

Similarly, the section introducing the Antient Saxons simply outlines the tribal structure as understood at the time: "to wit, the Saxons, the Angles and the Jutes, all branches of the same stock, exactly agreeing in their language, customs and religion ... They are

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generally called Saxons ... I shall pass in silence over the many fruitless and uncertain accounts of those authors who have endeavoured in vain to bring to light the true derivation of the names of these people, taking notice only of the opinion of Verstegan, who gives the Saxons their name from the swords worn by them" (MC, I, 16).¹

The eras do not, inevitably, have information on all the same subjects, nor do the headings always come in the same order. The "Antient Saxons", for example, proceed from "Arms and Warlike Customs" to the "Antient form of Government", whereas "Observations on the Government of the Danes" precedes "Observations on the Arms, &c. of the Danes". On the whole, though, Strutt begins with war and arms and goes on to government, religion, husbandry, dress, building and the arts.

The discrepancies, however unavoidable, led Strutt into difficulties, as readers were expecting a similar quantity and kind of information in each section; even so experienced an antiquary as Gough seems to have made little allowance for the inevitable dearth of material on some topics: "[Strutt] has succeeded best in his 'Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities;' but has not, in his 'Horda Angelcynnan,' sufficiently discriminated the subjects of the different periods, nor the correct and original one of each" (Sep. Mons., I, 3).

But the over-riding impression of the Manners and Customs, as Strutt had promised in his preface, is that "whatever I have asserted, my reasons and authority are fully explained" (I, iii). Every fact is related to either a quotation or a plate, for example: "They had crayers, or fishing boats, and various other boats, one of which from a MS. illuminated in the reign of Henry the Sixth, is exhibited plate 4, fig. 16, of this volume, this is very handsome, and has a rudder behind, but the places for the oars on the sides, do not appear ... "(II, 74); or, from the same section, "The hulkes were

1 See note on language theory of racial origin, pp.180-181, and on Strutt's knowledge of Old English, pp.188-189 below.

(as I take it) large heavy vessels of burthen, without masts; Grafton tells us that in the thirteenth year of Henry the Sixth, the French intending to destroy the haven at Calice, caused four great hulkes, which were loaded with large square stones cemented and joined together with lead, to be sunk in the harbour" (II, 74). Strutt, as one would expect, makes frequent reference to examples drawn from Essex antiquities. There is no suggestion of parochialism, because he makes it plain that he is using the particular only to illustrate more general truths, while understanding the merit of speaking from first-hand experience: writing of Colchester Castle, for example (which he thought not to be Roman): "I hope the following observations found on a strict examination of the castle itself, will be thought sufficient to prove it otherwise ..." (MC, I, 28).

In the Manners and Customs Strutt shows a much more critical use of his sources than he did in the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities. From the section of the Manners and Customs on "Carriages for Pleasure":

We have already seen the Saxon Cret or Chariot; the Normans used a horse barrow, or horse litter; Malmsbury speaking of the death of William Rufus, tells us that his dead body was placed upon a "rheda caballaria", a kind of horse chariot; or as Fabian translates it horse litter; Matthew of Westminster informs us, that John in his last sickness, was conveyed from the abbey of Swinshead, in "lectica equestri"; which is evidently the horse litter: and these being continued down in the succeeding reigns, were the only carriages for persons of distinction: thus says Froissart (speaking of the young Isabel, the second wife of King Richard the Second) ... [etc.] (II, 89-90).

His increasing confidence as an antiquary is seen in his occasional disagreement with an earlier authority, for instance: "I am sorry to find myself under the disagreeable necessity, of contradicting some other assertions of that learned and ingenious author, Mr. Borlase, to whose study and industry, we owe the History of Cornwall" (I, 91). Among the points in dispute is the

meaning of the word Burh, in relation to Trematon Castle, Cornwall; Borlase translated it hill or barrow but Strutt quotes Verstegan to suggest instead the meaning a fortified place.

Publication of the "Manners and Customs"

The first volume of the Manners and Customs was published at the beginning of June 1774,¹ only six months after the final number of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities. It was obviously a sensible move to publish while the memory of the first book was fresh in the public's mind, but the amount of work required during those six months must have been enormous. The second volume followed at the turn of the year;² both volumes were published by Strutt's old friend John Thane.

Strutt was well rewarded by the warm reception accorded the book. To his mother on 8 June 1774, "it affords the highest satisfaction to all who have seen it" (Christy, xi, 17). Walpole, writing to Cole about the second volume, appears not to think highly

1 Christy, xii, 2: "the first volume having appeared in the previous June." It may indeed have been published a little earlier, since by the 8th of the month (as noted above) Strutt was able to give his mother some account of the book's reception.

2 1775, according to the title-page and to Christy, xii, 10 (though cf. Christy, xii, 2: "published before the close of the year"). Again, the book may have appeared a week or two earlier than Christy supposed; Walpole's remark to Cole, quoted para. 2 above, suggests that the work had been published some little time, especially since Cole's ill-health kept him at home except for infrequent excursions into Cambridge. The remark was made on the 9 January 1775.

of some of the drawings, but clearly accepts Strutt as an authority: "Mr Strutt's second volume I suppose you have seen. He showed me two or three much better drawings from pictures in the possession of Mr Ives. One of them made me very happy: it is a genuine portrait of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester."¹

For the first time Strutt's work was awarded a full critical article, in the Monthly Review of August 1774.² The review is of considerable interest, since it demonstrates just how new some of Strutt's ideas were, and how easily he could be misunderstood. A belated criticism of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities was included in the review, both written by William Donaldson.³

On the whole, Donaldson's review must have been a considerable help to Strutt. The Review was by no means habitually complimentary to the works it considered, and some of Donaldson's remarks were high praise indeed: "Men of inquisitive minds, and indolent dispositions ... must consider themselves as obliged to Mr. Strutt for the information he has given them" (LI, 102). Strutt has worked "very methodically",

- 1 Walpole to Cole, 9 January 1775 (Yale Corr., I, 351-352). Horace Walpole later bought the portrait referred to (see Lewis' notes on this letter).
- 2 Vol. LI, 100-110.
- 3 For more on Donaldson, see Benjamin Christie Nangle, The Monthly Review ... Indexes of Contributors and Articles (Oxford, 1934). Much of the review of the REA consists of quotations from the "Address". Donaldson's personal comments are restricted to a comparison of the "taste" of antiquity and his own day, greatly to the disadvantage of the former; but on the whole he speaks kindly of the work: "Notwithstanding, however, the rudeness of these specimens of ancient erudition ... the Reader who has a taste for antiquities, may find ample amusement in this curious publication; and the Editor deserves our most grateful acknowledgments for setting us off to such advantage" (LI, 102).

selecting "a variety of passages from the best authors", and has "connected them with ingenuity and judgment. If the Reader will pay him that compliment to which the work has a claim, he may, by attention, so possess himself of the subject, as to furnish a fund of contemplative amusement for his hours of leisure" (all LI, 103).

The praise, however, concealed a considerable level of misconception. The critic spoke rather disparagingly of Strutt's suggestion that his plates might be of use to artists, and added, "Perhaps this arose from his being too little acquainted with the temper and genius of artists" (LI, 102) -- an unfortunate remark in view of Strutt's background, which was apparently unknown to him. Donaldson's view is that: "artists could never be satisfied with imitation; they seldom adhered slavishly to the fashion of the times in which they lived, but dressed and diversified their figures with fancies of their own ... An artist may pick up some hints, but he should be wary how he trusts to the correct propriety of dress in such rude representations, lest he should fall into those chronological mistakes which Mr. Strutt wishes to warn him against" (LI, 103). This remark demonstrates all too clearly the main feature of the review, the extent to which Donaldson had misunderstood the thesis of Strutt's two first books, namely that a careful comparison of manuscripts of the same period led him to believe that the artists could be trusted in matters of costume and social detail.

As in the review of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, Donaldson interprets the history of art as one of progress, with perceptible improvement from one age to the next: "from the first rudiments of the arts, when the imagination conceived only the human figure in embryo, progressively to the present hour, when portrait and historical painting are matured to great perfection" (LI, 102-103). The theme of "rudeness to refinement" was still the prevailing view of the history of art and letters, no less than in the history of social and political institutions.

Superficially, Strutt sometimes spoke a language indistinguishable from his contemporaries: for example in the Conclusion to the Manners

and Customs: "Having now at length travelled through the long tract of the ancient times, I am at length arrived again at my own home, amongst the moderns; and I sincerely congratulate them on their advancement of the arts, and the general improvements made in every branch of polite learning" (III, 187). But unlike the majority of his fellows, Strutt had the judgement to perceive some merit in the art and literature of earlier periods: "We (in this more improved age) are too apt to cast many valuable things aside, because they are written in a low and homely stile; we think that such plainness can never be accompanied with any thing elegant, or worth our trouble to examine into. But most certainly this is a very mistaken notion, for many of the old books contain both various and valuable treasures, that will amply reward the curious mind for the pains and trouble taken to search them over" (MC, II, 112). The illuminations and literary works were to be studied with care, not only for the accurate information they contained, but for their artistic qualities, however embryonic these might be.

Strutt's interest in, and developing admiration for, the early periods was part of a wider movement. As will be seen in the next chapter, the growth of "primitivism" was a significant feature in the changing thought of historians, as of literary critics, at this period. Whitaker, for example, considered the era before 1066 "the great seed plot of our national history", and "the most important and momentous in our annals."¹ But the interest was usually archaeological, historical or literary: Strutt's notable contribution was to bring to the discussion his skilled judgement in visual matters. Almost hesitantly, his taste was beginning to delight in the illuminations which he had previously used only for the information they contained: "In these rude and ancient delineations, we find no great idea of grace ... yet, on the whole, these designs are not absolutely devoid of merit" (MC, III, 181) ... the angels there represented [in the miniature of Edgar in MS. Cott. Vespasian A. viii] are extremely well done: the figure of Christ, together with that of the Saint on the right hand, are far from being inelegant or disproportionate, and the draperies throughout the whole are well disposed" (MC, II, 182).

1 John Whitaker, Principal Corrections made in the History of Manchester (1773), p.149.

As W.L. Renwick has it: "[Strutt] has never been given credit for his perception of the permanent intrinsic values of medieval art. He had little imagination, but if he did not make new spiritual emblems, as Blake did of the tombs in Westminster Abbey, it is something to have acclaimed the 'elegance and taste' of Gothic drawing in the 1770's."¹

The return to an appreciation of the Gothic, with all that implied for the growth of romanticism, began with the visual arts. As early as 1751, Horace Walpole admired the "charming irregularities" of its architecture.² Gray and Thomas Warton from their youth spent their free time in travelling, developing a love for Gothic buildings as their knowledge of them increased. In Germany, it was Goethe's 1772 essay Von deutscher Baukunst which was generally taken to have "roused the Gothic from the dead."³

Warton's taste for Gothic architecture was reflected in his literary perception and style. Like Strutt, he tended to visualise the information he found in medieval documents: isolated details were built up into "pictures of antient life". When he wished to describe the way of life of the characters in King Alisaunder, he summed it up by saying that "it must have formed a puppet-show equal to the most splendend pantomime" (History, III, xxxiii). Time and again his criticism was voiced in terms taken from the visual arts: the arming of Richard in Richard Coeur de Lyon was "a curious Gothic picture"; Ywain and Gawain included "some great outlines of Gothic painting"; Chaucer's Knight's Tale was "touched with the impetuous dashes of a savage and spirited pencil" (History, I, 166; III, 108; I, 360). Because of his personal interest in painting and architecture, Warton's writing is particularly rich in examples of this kind; but the same tendency to think in pictorial terms can be seen in other writers of the period -- and not least, of course, in the

1 W.L. Renwick, op. cit., p.236.

2 Letter to Sir Horace Mann, 25 February 1750/51 (Yale Corr., XX, 127).

3 Paul Frankl, The Gothic (Princeton, 1960), p.417.

'landscape poets'. The contribution which Strutt had to offer in a reappraisal of Gothic painting was part of an important trend in critical appreciation.¹

The second volume of the Manners and Customs was published in January 1775, and in May the Review carried Donaldson's assessment of it.² The review is very similar to the first, again including long quotations from Strutt's text. The critic indulges in much personal digression and, as before, the review is generally complimentary to the work: "We could dwell with pleasure upon many passages here extracted from ancient chronicles ... but the variety with which we wish to decorate our monthly entertainment, will not permit us to crowd the table with one dish, though a favourite one" (LII, 427). Indeed, Donaldson pays Strutt a compliment which must have been a considerable compensation for his months of labour: "We cannot dismiss Mr. Strutt without doing him the justice to say that he has avoided, throughout his whole work, obtruding any thing in his own praise: to say the truth, he had little occasion, as every candid Reader will take that task upon himself" (LII, 427).

The publication of a third volume of the Manners and Customs was a late thought. Strutt had planned the work in two volumes; and the second volume had been in the bookshops some eighteen months before the appearance of the third, in the summer of 1776. Strutt considered that some excuse to his readers was necessary, and a reminder that, "I did faithfully perform my first engagement" (III, [i]), which was to outline the history of English manners and customs to the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. As he explains in the

1 See further, Christopher Hussey, The Picturesque (1927), especially pp.4-5.

2 Monthly Rev., LII (May 1775), 421-427. The volume (published in January 1775) was listed in the Gentleman's Magazine's Catalogue of New Publications in November of the same year, but no review appeared (Gent. Mag., XLV, 540).

Preface to the third volume, he had found an abundance of materials for the reign of Henry VIII and later; and "a considerable number of the former purchasers" (III, [i]) had encouraged him to present this material in a third volume. His text included extra pages of letter-press, and though the number of plates was fewer, they were more highly finished. These considerations, and the opportunity to add an index (one section for each volume) had persuaded him to "once more claim the indulgence of a favouring public" (III, [i]).

The volume was published by Walter Shropshire, unlike the two earlier volumes from the house of John Thane.¹ Strutt and Thane were life-long friends, so presumably the change had nothing to do with personal relationships: probably Thane was too fully occupied to publish a third volume which he had not anticipated.

The third volume extended the Manners and Customs to 157 plates and close on 500 pages of letter-press. There is no attempt to divide the period covered in the third volume into reigns or other "eras"; instead, the text includes some twenty-two subject divisions, ranging from Armies, and the Arrangement thereof through Royal Processions, Coronations, Shipping, Trades, Banquets, Theatre, etc., to Religion and The progress of the Art of Design.

Donaldson was once more called upon to consider the work for the readers of the Review.² "We were agreeably surprised with a third volume, now before us, of this very entertaining work. Mr. Strutt excuses himself in a preface, for obtruding upon the Public more than he promised; but his defence, in our opinion, is unnecessary, as the most effectual apology he could offer, is the work itself" (LV, 184). The article ends with that suggestion dearest

1 A reissue of Volume I appeared about the same time (Christy, Appdx. C).

2 Vol. LV (September 1776), 184-189.

to the ear of any author under review, a recommendation to go and buy: the Manners and Customs, says Donaldson, "will add to the number of such valuable books at give credit to a gentleman's library" (LV, 189).

The Manners and Customs of the People of England was dedicated to the Dowager Duchess of Portland, known to Strutt as one of his near neighbours in the house at Duke Street. Margaret (1715-85), only surviving child and heir of Edward, 2nd and last Earl of Oxford (d.1741), married William Bentinck, 2nd Duke of Portland, who died in 1762. In Volume II of the Manners and Customs (p.89) Strutt refers to a specimen of English needlework which "her grace the dutchess dowager of Portland, has in her cabinet." He also includes in the Dress and Habits a plate taken from "a large folio volume" in the Duchess' possession (Plate CXLI, armour of the Earl of Essex temp. Elizabeth I).

The Editions

The Manners and Customs was widely quoted in antiquarian and literary circles. It was more frequently referred to during Strutt's lifetime, and in the early years of the nineteenth century, than any other of his works, though the Sports and Pastimes is probably more often quoted by present-day writers. As early as April 1778 the Gentleman's Magazine printed an extract from the Manners and Customs submitted by an anonymous contributor, with additional notes from Warton's History of English Poetry (Gent.Mag., XLVIII,168-169). Other examples of use of the work include an entry in September 1811: "We now know, from Strutt's Manners and Customs of the Normans, V.II. p.21, that such a circumstance might actually have taken place" (the introduction of foreign wild beasts into English parks; LXXXI, ii,224); or the lengthy discussions of coffin lids and cross-legged knights, both of which were begun by Strutt's description of examples at Baddow and Danbury in Essex.¹ Scott quoted the Manners and Customs in a

1 MC, II, 25, 109-110; cf. Cole to Walpole, 14 November 1779 (Yale Corr., II, 175); Lit.Anecs., VIII, 654,655,672; Sep.Mons., I, i, facing p.30, p.32; etc.

letter to George Ellis of 13 July 1801: "I knock under to your Interpretation of the mode of fleshing the hounds on the quarre which I find confirmd by a quotation from an ancient Ms in Struts Horda= Angel Cynnan ..." (Grierson, XII, 184).

In addition, the Manners and Customs was said (in the Gentleman's Magazine obituary of Strutt) to have been reprinted in 1796-97.¹ This seems to be an error, but suggests that the work was still widely read in the 1790's. A new edition might reasonably have been expected when Strutt returned to antiquarian work in the middle of that decade, and the evidence suggests that he was indeed preparing such an edition, but did not live to complete it. Nichols' account of Strutt in the Literary Anecdotes (written no doubt from the material supplied by Joseph Strutt Junior) gives the following details of the project: "great preparations were made for this new edition; the arrangements of the subjects delineated on the miscellaneous plates were altered; -- several new drawings were made; -- and thirty plates engraved anew, among which some never had appeared before; the expence of all this sustained by himself: when Death put an end to all his labours; and the bookseller afterwards declined taking any concern to get the work completed by a competent hand; and it yet remains in the same unfinished state" (Lit. Anecs., V, 680).

Of this work nothing has survived, unless some of the drafts in Strutt's notebooks are for this rather than the first edition. The chief

1 "Complete Views of the Manners, Customs, Arms, Habits, &c. of the Inhabitants of England, from the Arrival of the Saxons to the Time of Henry VIII. In Two Volumes. 1774. 4to; reprinted 1796-97" (Gent. Mag., LXXXII, ii [October 1802], 982). No evidence of such a reprint has been found, however, and the Gent. Mag. may well be in error, since it does not even get the number of MC volumes correct. If there is any truth in the story of Boulard's treatment of the plates (see below, pp. 158-159), such a reprint would have been impossible. Cf. Christy, Appdx. C: "The work has never been reprinted."

source of notes and drafts for the MC is the British Library's MS. Egerton 888.3. There is little to suggest that the material is not for the first edition, except perhaps two remarks on fol.18: "Part of the [?outer] wall standing at St. Albans I examine^d. AD. 1792"; "Page 15 concluding clause mistake. These walled stations do not appear to have been surrounded by a ditch." Both these comments could, of course, have been added to notes made earlier.

The full papers for the second edition may have been lost in the fire at Nichols' in 1808 which possibly claimed Joseph Junior's "Life" of his father and other Strutt material, though the son makes no mention of any such papers when working on his summary of the Manners and Customs in preparation for the "Life". To Francis Douce on 16 March 1807: "I must avail myself of your kind indulgence of detaining the books yet longer ..." ¹ This suggests that he was working primarily from the printed edition, of which he did not apparently have a copy of his own: he borrowed Douce's copies for his work on all his father's books, though it may be that he wanted also to incorporate material from Douce's careful annotations of the works. These annotated copies of Strutt's works are available in the Bodleian Library.

The need for new engravings of the existing plates was occasioned by an unfortunate incident that took place, according to the bibliographer William Lowndes, when the Parisian publisher Antoine Boulard undertook a French translation of part of the Manners and Customs. The translation (of the whole of Volume I and the first twenty-five pages of Volume II, up to the end of the Norman era) was published in two volumes in 1789.

"This French translation" (to continue the story in Lowndes' words) "contains the same plates as the English edition, the coppers having been lent to Mons. Boulard by Mr. Strutt. The third volume of this translation was never published, and the copper plates of the three volumes were not returned. They are described in Mr. Boulard's

1 Bodl. MS. Douce d.21 (Letters 1800-09), fol.82.

extensive Sale Catalogue, published in 1828-33, but were withdrawn from the sale, and said to be lost. Mr. Bohn would otherwise have republished the English work."¹

It is impossible at this distance to be sure of the truth of Lowndes' claim. Some of the plates in Volume I of the Manners and Customs were very sketchy, and Strutt might well have wished to improve them even if the originals were in existence. Neither Nichols nor William Strutt makes any mention of the loan, and Christy found no new evidence either way (Christy, xv,7). However, Lowndes' comment has a certain authenticity in that the Bohn family were publishers of his Manual and might have been expected to correct any false statement of their publishing intentions. Moreover, Boulard declared in the preface to his translation that he had bought the plates in England, adding the rather extraordinary statement that the author had died two years previously: "Cet Auteur, estimé en Angleterre, est mort en 1787, & a laissé plusieurs Ouvrages ... On peut compter sur l'exactitude des gravures, qui ont été faites avec les planches de l'Original Anglois, qui le Traducteur a fait acheter en Angleterre."²

The periodicals of the day carry no obituary of any Strutt whom Boulard might have confused with Joseph, and the statement therefore encourages some suspicion of Boulard's intentions. It is, however, perfectly possible that Strutt, with his usual lack of realism on financial matters, thought Boulard was making him a loan or present in return for the use of the Plates; whereas the Frenchman understood it to be a bona fide sale.

1 William Thomas Lowndes, The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature, new edn. by Henry G. Bohn (1863), p.2533.

2 Angleterre Ancienne, ou Tableau des Moeurs, Usages, Armes, Habillemens, &c. des anciens Habitans de l'Angleterre ... Ouvrage traduit de l'Anglois de M. JOSEPH STRUTT par M.B.*** (Paris, 1789), I, viii. There is no doubt that the plates used in the French edition are Strutt's own: they are identical in every detail with those in the English edition, and comments in Strutt's handwriting appear on many of them.

CHAPTER FOUR

"HEROIC ALBION'S ELDER DAY": STRUTT AS
 HISTORIAN OF THE BRITONS AND SAXONS.
THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND, 1777-1778

The Aim of the "Chronicle"

Christy described the Chronicle as "a more laborious and pretentious work than any [Strutt] had yet attempted -- nothing less than a complete history of England" (Christy, xiii, I). As published, the work is of two volumes only, and covers no more than the periods before the Norman Conquest; Nichols, however (presumably taking his information from Joseph Strutt Junior) stated that: "It was indeed his intention to have extended the Chronicle to six volumes; but the want of due encouragement compelled him to relinquish his design" (Lit. Anecs., V, 671).¹

No fewer than five major histories of England had appeared or begun to appear in the previous twenty or so years. The histories differed in merit, but all had something of interest or originality about them. The outstanding work was Hume's History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688 (1754-62). Hume's eminence as a philosopher has influenced posterity's view of him as a historian, but his work was the first real attempt to produce a 'national history', covering all periods and including some consideration of economic, social and intellectual history along with the political.

Smollett's Compleat History of England (1757-58) was primarily a commercial venture, written as a rival to Hume; but its Continuation (1760-65) gave one of the few Tory interpretations of history beyond 1688, and remained in use for many years.

1 There may also have been a Specimen of the Chronicle, since Donaldson (Monthly Review, LVII [August 1777], 99) speaks of "future volumes", as though he knew more than one was planned to follow the first -- which he could not have known from the text alone.

James Macpherson's Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland (1771) helped to familiarise English readers with the concept of the noble savage, and encouraged an interest in early societies. Macpherson's thesis was challenged a year later by John Whitaker's Genuine History of the Britons asserted, which, though disagreeing with most of Macpherson's interpretation, none the less took the study of primitivism a step further.

The work which had most in common with Strutt's own was Robert Henry's History of Great Britain ... on a New Plan (1771-93). The 'new plan' divided the history into ten periods, each beginning and ending with some "remarkable revolution", and each period was considered under the following headings: civil and military history; ecclesiastical; constitutional; government, laws and courts of justice; learning; the arts; commerce and shipping; and manners, customs, everyday life and amusements. The inflexibility of this plan meant that the History remained a compilation of facts rather than a new interpretation of the past; but Henry's main concern was to supply a want which he discovered in all earlier histories, even one such as Hume's: namely an adequate history of learning, arts, commerce and manners. This stated intention cannot but have influenced Strutt's own view of manners and customs, and encouraged him to believe that his knowledge of the arts and artefacts of the earlier periods had a part to play in historical understanding.

In addition to the general histories, there were a number of more specialised works: for example, histories of particular reigns or periods -- such as Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, 1681-92 (1771-88); Catharine Macaulay's History of England from the Accession of James I to that of the Brunswick Line (1763-83); Lord Lyttelton's History of the Life of King Henry the Second (1767-71). There were also a number of works on special aspects of history, such as Whitaker's History of Manchester (1771-75); Gilbert Stuart's Historical Dissertation concerning the Antiquity of the English Constitution (1768); or Ferguson's 1767 Essay on the History of Civil Society (an attempt to explain the pattern of social change from such factors as geography, climate, the advancement of commerce, or

corruption in political life). Nor should the work of William Robertson on Europe be forgotten, since it had considerable significance for the future writing of English history. His 1769 History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V included "A View of the State of Society in the Middle Ages", which slightly tempered the violent hostility of the earlier rationalists, notably Voltaire, to the medieval period in general and Roman Catholicism in particular. Robertson, under the influence of Adam Smith, began to give a certain respectability to the study of the early periods, by embracing the theory of "those general principles which ought to run through, and be the foundation of, the laws of all nations."¹

With all this recent wealth of historical writing, how did Strutt justify the appearance of yet another history, especially when his previous work had been concerned with the particular rather than the general, with example and illustration rather than with narrative and development? He was himself very conscious that there was "a duty due to the public, for the author of the present Chronicle to shew the reasons which induced him to engage in this task, and point out what he has new to offer" (Chron., I, [i]); even that he might "seem like a husbandman entering the field with his sickle after the harvest is over" (I, [i]).

To answer the question it is necessary to look briefly at the state of historical writing at the time. On the one hand, the rationalist view of history which had dominated the early and middle years of the century was still active: the first volume of Gibbon's Decline and Fall, indeed -- perhaps the greatest achievement of a rationalist historian -- was published only a few months before the first volume of Strutt's Chronicle. Man, to the rationalist, was primarily a social being. In his view history was justified by its teaching of private and public virtue: the classical and early modern periods were considered far more important than the intervening centuries, because their lessons could be applied more directly to present conditions. The Enlightened dread of 'enthusiasm', and respect for an ordered society, meant that the barbarous Dark Ages,

1 John Butt, The Mid-Eighteenth Century, ed. and compl. by Geoffrey Carnall (Oxford, 1979), p.204.

and the ignorant and superstitious medieval period, were not thought fit subjects of interest. "We contrast the naked Briton [wrote Gibbon in the Address already quoted] who might have mistaken the sphere of Archimedes for a rational creature, and the contemporary of Newton, in whose school Archimedes himself would have been an humble disciple."¹

On the other hand, the first manifestations of a new view of history were beginning to appear. Gibbon himself was wholly rationalistic in his judgement of past civilisations by the standards of his own day, and in his emphasis on the history of wars and public administration rather than the play of social and economic forces; but his interest in the Orient is a forerunner of the "romantic" fascination with other times and other places, and he shared the conviction of the younger generation of historians that historical writing should be based on original authorities. Use of contemporary sources inevitably led to a new acceptance of the significance of the individual and particular. Many of the manuscripts coming to light at this time were literary, or accounts of historical events written from one man's point of view, rather than in chronicle form. It was important to understand the influences which led the writer to take the stance he did. This attempt to fit the man into his background equally inevitably led to a growing interest in national history, "the neglect of which cannot be too much regretted."² As Bishop Gibson wrote in 1772, "no diversion can be more innocent or laudable, than the history and antiquities of our native country."³

Gradually the prevailing emphasis on political and military history was seen to give an unbalanced view of the past. As early as the previous century Bacon had put in a plea for historians to include

1 "Address," p.707. (See above, p.139).

2 The Literary Correspondence of John Pinkerton, Esq., ed. Dawson Turner (1830), I, 215.

3 Edmund Gibson's edition of Camden's Britannia (1772), I, vii.

the development of learning in their studies: "Without which the history of the world seemeth to me to be as the statua of Polyphemus with his eye out; that part being wanting which doth most shew the spirit and life of the person."¹ By the middle of the eighteenth century there began to develop a more common realisation of the interrelated nature of all aspects of a people's history.² When Gilbert White outlined his ideas for a parish history which should include "natural productions and occurrences as well as antiquities", he believed that his explorations into natural history might in their turn "have thrown some small light upon ancient customs and manners."³ It was seen to be necessary, too, for the historian to participate in imagination in the events and daily life of the period under consideration. Robert Lowth, in his Lectures on Hebrew Poetry (1753), suggested that readers should try to consider themselves "exactly situated as the persons for whom it was written, or even as the writers themselves ... hearing or delivering the same words, at the same time, and in the same country" (V, 114). Warton thought it necessary, when studying "a remote age ... that we should look back upon the customs and manners which prevailed in that age. We should endeavour to place ourselves in the writer's situation and circumstances. Hence we shall be better enabled to discover, how his turn of thinking and manner of composing, were influenced by familiar appearances and established objects, which are utterly different from those with which we are at present surrounded."⁴ The antiquaries began to claim that

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- 1 Advancement of Learning, Book II, I, 2 (Spedding, III, 329-330).
 - 2 The new thinking was much influenced by Voltaire, whose chapters on moeurs were "among his most brilliant" (J.B. Black, The Art of History [New York, 1926], p.115).
 - 3 "Advertisement" (1 January 1788), to The Natural History of Selborne (Penguin English Library edn., Harmondsworth, 1977, pp.3-4).
 - 4 Observations on the Faerie Queene (1762), II, 87.

their knowledge of buildings, dress, artefacts, of all the trappings of history, should be given a place of much greater importance in the study of the early periods. The painstaking observations of the new breed of researchers, often enough trivial in themselves, were adding up to a body of knowledge which could prove the basis for a new approach to history: "an acquaintance with ancient manners and customs [ventured Edward King in 1776] is essentially necessary in order to our well understanding the History of past ages, so ... unless we have recourse to a careful and exact survey and consideration of such kinds of Antiquities, our ideas are apt to be contracted by the constant contemplation of the manners of the age in which we ourselves live; and we are apt to consider them as the standard whereby to judge of, and to explain, the history of past times."¹

The new sense of interrelatedness brought a fresh impetus to the study of what had previously seemed minor aspects of a period's history: its literature and other arts, its social customs and archaeology. The antiquaries were beginning to understand very well the part that the specialist aspects of history had to play in building up a rounded picture: "Our enlightened age laughs at the rudeness of our ancestors, and overlooks the manners of that rank of men whose simplicity is the best guardian of antiquity. Innumerable lights may be drawn from ancient customs and usages, which are generally founded on some antient fact, and serve to guide us back to truth" wrote Gough in 1768.² Warton, too, recognised the new use to which their studies could be put: "In the present age ... the curiosity of the antiquarian is connected with taste and genius, and his researches tend to display the progress of human manners, and to illustrate the history of society" (History of English Poetry [1774], I, 209).³

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- 1 "Observations on Ancient Castles," read to the Society on 21 and 28 March, and 18 April 1776. Published in Archaeologia, IV (1786), pp.364-413. Quotation from p.365.
 - 2 Anecdotes of British Topography (1768), p.xviii.
 - 3 On the coming together of the historian and the antiquary, see further, Denys Hay, Annalists and Historians, pp.169-174.

It was into this new niche of historical writing that Strutt's Chronicle was intended to fit. "Amidst the great variety of Histories of this kingdom hitherto published, too little care has been taken in the delineation of the manners and genius of the people; a careful investigation of which important particulars, the author conceives will be pleasant to the readers in general, which, he hopes, is here in some measure supplied" (Chron., I, [i]). He did not plan a history to compete with Hume, Robertson and his other great predecessors. Gough's words in the preface to the Sepulchral Monuments might equally well stand as preface to the Chronicle: "It is not an HISTORY OF ENGLAND that is here presented to the public ... I have neither the object, the plan, nor the method of an Historian ... Great events, great personages, great characters, good or bad, are all that he brings upon his stage ... Mine are subjects rejected by the historian to the end of each reign, among the prodigies that distinguish it. Yet is this detail not uninteresting" (Sep. Mons., I, 4). "These two volumes", summarised Strutt, "are intended as a supplement to our best histories, which are all of them defective in that part of the annals of this kingdom which these volumes are meant to supply" (Chron., II, iii).

Strutt seems to have planned the Chronicle as a reference book, rather than for reading as a connected narrative; the reader "without the trouble of turning over a multitude of books, may at one view behold the history and manners of his countrymen, from their most early state, distinctly arranged under their proper heads" (Chron., I, [v]). The references to Erigena support this view: in Volume II of the Chronicle we read that, "Johannes Scotus Erigena ... came over into England at the invitation of king Aelfred, and taught in the schools of Oxford, and ... afterwards retiring thence to the abbey of Malmsbury, ... was murdered by the scholars with their penknives. But it has been justly observed by the modern authors, that the ancient historians have confounded this man with another John Scot a Saxon, who was a preceptor at Oxford, and slain by the monks of Ethelney of which he was abbot; Erigena probably ended his days in France" (pp.242-243); yet on the very next page: "John Scot, a native of Old Saxony, was another that received an invitation from the king, who came over into England, and taught in the public schools in Oxford. This man has been confounded by some of the ancient historians with Johannes Scotus Erigena; but it is evident that he was

a different person" (p.244). Such repetition is perfectly acceptable in a book where a subject might be looked up under different headings, but merely irritating in a book read straight through. It may, indeed, be one reason why the Chronicle was less popular than Strutt's earlier books: if the readers were expecting a narrative, the encyclopaedic style of the work would have failed to retain the interest of a good many of them.

Strutt must have been anxious lest his readers should think the Chronicle little more than the Manners and Customs written over again and served up with new illustrations. In fact the later work included a good deal of new information; as suggested earlier, it provided a useful reference book to the period covered, what Donaldson called, "an easy access to any particular operation, in this abridgment of the human mind."¹ But there still remained periods and subjects for which little or no information was available: this led Strutt into the sort of circumlocution demonstrated on pp.176 177 The danger of producing an inventory was ever-present; as Scott put it in later years, there was little merit in "the disgusting task of recording obscure and furious contests, fought by leaders with unpronounceable names."²

Strutt certainly intended to produce a different book from his earlier ones. He was careful to present his work as no more than a new marshalling of facts, some of them not previously recorded; but considered that the balanced picture he sought to provide justified his addition to the number of histories in circulation: "The history of the heptarchy the author hopes will be esteemed more regular, if not more complete, than any hitherto published" (Chron., I, [iv-v]). When he wrote on a subject already considered in the Manners and Customs, he almost always included new information, or used examples not previously cited, as in his treatment of Anglo-Saxon agriculture.³ The Manners

1 Monthly Review, LVII, 99 (see further below, p.189 ff.).

2 "History of Scotland", in Lardner, Cabinet Cyclopaedia [1829-30], I, 13,45.

3 MC, I, 43-45; Chron., I, 331-334 and II, 216-219.

and Customs begins by saying that the ancient Germans left the tilling of the soil to the old and the women; the Chronicle repeats this but adds a note on the men hunting to provide meat. The Manners and Customs describes the early agriculture of the Saxons in Britain: "more especially on the flourishing of christianity, their minds became more polished and improved; they then began industriously to manure and cultivate the ground, occupying of farms, sowing carefully their grain, and grazing and keeping of cattle" (I, 43). The Chronicle adds details of land-tenure; of laws regulating the price of cattle; and illuminating examples such as the fact that Wilfred, Archbishop of York, had to teach the South Saxons how to catch fish. The Manners and Customs used a Saxon Calendar to describe the routine of the year's work;¹ the Chronicle does not repeat this, but adds much new information on farm implements, and a brief history of gardening (not missing the opportunity to show how naturally superior the Britons were in the art!): "many of their gardens and orchards might be yet undestroyed when the Saxons took possession of the land, which would be sufficient hints to those conquerors to follow such provident examples" (I, 334). But it was impossible to avoid a good deal of repetition; however skilful Strutt might be, the readers could not fail to feel that they were being asked to pay out again for something they had already absorbed: Donaldson once more,

Mr. Strutt, in his Ecclesiastical Antiquities, and the Manners and Customs of the ancient English, presented to the Public a very ingenious and pleasing arrangement of historical anecdotes, which he had collected from manuscripts, &c. locked up in colleges, or hoarded in the cabinets of the antiquary. In these researches he must unavoidably have met with many rare incidents, which had lain unnoticed in the ancient memorials, &c. which he met with; and this circumstance, most probably, intimated to him the first thought of furnishing the Public with a more copious compilation in the Chronicle of England. (Monthly Rev., LIX, 346)

The "more copious compilation", especially when some readers still considered the plates an embellishment rather than part of the intrinsic value of the work, was probably doomed from the outset. "What a

1 Taken from Brit. Lib. MS. Cott. Tiberius B.v.

business is that of a compiler! His industry is estimated at little; but he deserves better fate than he often meets with."¹ Once Strutt had built up a sufficient store of knowledge and drawings to produce works on a single subject, so that his book could be the most comprehensive guide available, he would again charm the public and sell his volumes in considerable numbers: but this, as we have seen, was to take him another twenty years.

Peardon sums up Strutt's contribution to the writing of history in the following words:

... in Joseph Strutt we see fully illustrated the new "romanticist" approach to what may be called social history, though a better name would perhaps be social antiquities. His interest was never in the arrangement of detail toward philosophical conclusions. He loved the past for its own sake, especially the picturesque details of everyday life, of kings and peasants -- dress, manners, arms, games, sports, pastimes, regal costumes -- all that gave history its glamour for Romanticists like Scott. Strutt was convinced that the British, Anglo-Saxon, and medieval periods, but especially the first two, had been slighted ... But he was not an historian in the full sense, for he lacked the desire, or at least the ability, to fuse his information into a connected narrative. Nor did he possess a sense of development, although many have been called historians who were lacking in this respect.²

Plan and Scope of the Work

Though the Chronicle was planned as a much larger venture, Strutt's strict chronological approach means that there is no imbalance in the work as it now stands (though the title, of course, the Chronicle of "England", is not quite an accurate indication of the contents).

1 Gough, Sep. Mons., I, 5.

2 Thomas Preston Peardon, The Transition in English Historical Writing, 1760-1830 (Columbia, 1933), p.157.

Earlier historians, when there was insufficient material for them to write a full account of a period, had sometimes succumbed to the method of "conjectural history", filling in the gaps with what seemed to them a likely sequence of events, and supplying cause and effect where these were not surely known.¹ It is to Strutt's credit, besides being an indication of changing historical fashion, that he seldom adopted this method even for subjects where he had the scantiest of material to use. As he had written in the Manners and Customs, "Since then the history itself is so little known; how much less shall it be possible to point out the manners and customs of a people, whose existence is all we can be certain of ... I have omitted those things that are not confirmed by good authority; chusing rather to leave matters that are doubtful, in the dark as they are, than by intruding on the patience of the public, as well as wasting my own time, to render them, perhaps, more confused by endeavouring to clear them up" (MC, I, 1).

The main reason, indeed, for the non-existence of an adequate pre-Conquest history was this very fact of the dearth of material. The first serious attempt to write a history including some account of the Britons and Saxons had been made only some twenty years before, with Hume's History of England. Even now our knowledge of the Britons comes more from archaeological than from documentary sources, and the science of archaeology was in its first infancy in the 1770's.² Inevitably, then, Strutt's liking for a formal plan caused him in this work a good deal of difficulty: there were times when he had very little material to include under a particular heading; and the occasional 'padding' (see, for example, pp 176 177 below), may have contributed to the relative failure of the book.

Volume I of the Chronicle is divided into five main parts. Part I (pp.1-61) deals with the Civil and Military History of the Britons from the invasion of Julius Caesar to the arrival of the Saxons; Part II (pp. 63-179) with the Civil and Military History of the Saxons (followed by eight pages of genealogical and similar tables); Part III (pp.189-239)

1 Peardon, pp.12-18.

2 See Peter Hunter Blair, Roman Britain and Early England, 55 B.C. - A.D. 871 (Edinburgh, 1963), p.2.

is an Ecclesiastical History of the Britons and Saxons; Parts IV and V (pp.241-308, and 309-360), Dissertations on the Manners, Customs, &c. of the Britons, and of the ancient Germans and Saxons to the end of the Heptarchy. The Appendices are An Account of the Plates (pp.361-363) and A Table, containing a general Reference to all the Kings of the Heptarchy (pp.364-365).

Volume II has three parts: Part I (pp.1-134) being a Civil and Military History of the Anglo-Saxons, from the accession of Egbert to the Norman Conquest. Part II (pp. 135-172) has two chapters: the Ecclesiastical History of the Anglo-Saxons, from the accession of Egbert to the Norman conquest; and the Ancient religion of the Danes, &c. Part III (pp.173-275), A Dissertation on the Government, Laws, Manners, &c. of the Anglo-Saxons, from the End of the Heptarchy to the Norman Conquest, is divided into ten chapters: 1. Government, constitution and laws of the Anglo-Saxons 2. State of architecture amongst the Anglo-Saxons 3. Art of War and military discipline of the Anglo-Saxons 4. State of agriculture 5. Navigation and Commerce 6. Art of working metals, and coinage of the Anglo-Saxon kings 7. Habits of the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes 8. State of learning amongst the Anglo-Saxons 9. State of the polite arts 10. Particular manners of the Anglo-Saxons and Danes. Appendices to Volume II are A Map of England, as it was divided by the Saxons, during the Heptarchy (pp.277-278); Specimens of the Anglo-Saxon Language (pp.279-283); and Description of the Plates (pp.284-291).

What of Strutt's general attitude to the Saxons? (By his own admission his treatment of the Britons could be no more than a compilation of the few known facts.) Here, though he gave a relatively straightforward reproduction of the material in his sources, the new approach was evident. It was only ten years since Lyttelton had felt it necessary to find excuse for his interest in early English history "by saying that it offered him an excellent opportunity to expose the errors of Popery",¹ and had regretted that others had written so well on ancient and modern history that he was left with little unused material beyond "Gothic ruins". and "the rubbish of Monkish Annals."² But a historian like Burke

1,2 Memoirs and Correspondence of George, Lord Lyttelton, ed. R. Phillimore (1845), I, 381, 184 ; cf. Peardon, Transition, p.129.

was beginning to be conscious of the past operating in the present, and drew attention to these early periods, "in which the foundations of the government had been laid but which had been hitherto somewhat slighted" (Peardon, p.107); and Strutt, though he had little such sense of historical cause and effect, knew from first-hand experience how full of interest a study of the early periods could prove: "it not only leads to extensive discoveries in ancient records but in great measure proves the truth and authenticity of those venerable remains; it brings to light many important matters, which (without this study) would yet lie buried in oblivion; and explains and illustrates such dark passages as would otherwise be quite unknown" (MC, I, i).

It would be useless to pretend that Strutt had anything like a modern appreciation of the Saxons: they were enveloped in a "universal cloud of ignorance and superstition" (II, 257); and though "good and virtuous people were very frequently to be met with", the manners of "the greater part" were "depraved" (II, 257); "fondness for a monastic life" had "greatly diminished" the "native valour" of the Anglo-Saxon, as well as his "enthusiastic love of liberty" (II,259). As for the manuscript illuminations on which Strutt spent so much of his time, "after all that can be said in favour ... it must be acknowledged, that they are in general stiff and inelegant, without any regard being paid to the proportion or perspective; and the ornaments with which they are frequently crowded, (though better drawn than the figures,) are for the most part heavy and void of taste" (II,251). Even the manuscript of the Lindisfarne Gospels received no higher praise than that "the writing is very fair, and it is enriched with a variety of curious ornaments" (II,252).

Yet Strutt, almost against his own reasoned judgement, could not deny the fascination of the period; from the Preface to the 1779 edition of the Chronicle: "The general opinion, that nothing can be found either amusing or instructive in those remote ages ... is surely a great mistake (I,iii); and in Volume III of the Manners and Customs: "In these rude and ancient delineations, we find no great idea of grace, nor the least mark of genius: besides, the evident disproportion, (as every figure, did he stand up, would be considerably too tall) the drapery is very stiff and unnatural, and the perspective of the stools or chairs which

they sit upon extremely deficient; yet, on the whole, these designs are not absolutely devoid of merit, especially if they are considered (as surely they ought to be) as the first dawn of the art amongst our Saxon sires" (p.181). He was, unlike most of his contemporaries, prepared to give the Saxons the benefit of any doubt: "The Anglo-Saxons were by no means so rude and barbarous as they are generally reported to have been ... many of the greatest princes were as ambitious of the laurel as of the royal crown" (MC, I,71); and though "[the] drawings and delineations in their MSS ... are exceedingly imperfect: yet, I dare say, that in their elegant buildings and stately monuments, there was shewn more genius, and greater care bestowed" (I, 71).

It is this Joseph Strutt, the man of singleminded enthusiasm for a neglected age, whom Isaac D'Israeli "witnessed at the British Museum, forgetting for whole days his miseries, in sedulous research and delightful labour",¹ who comes nearest to being an historian, helping other historians and novelists "to visualize their stories" and strengthening "the growing recognition that people had lived their lives through all the vicissitudes of politics."² "For why [asked Mallet] should history ... contain merely a heap of petty facts and dates, rather than a just picture of the opinions, customs, and even inclinations of a people?... great light may be thrown on the character and sentiments of a nation, by those very books, whence we can learn nothing exact or connected of their history."³

Strutt's use of his source material

Since Strutt planned the Chronicle as, at the very least, a re-ordering of the known facts on his subject, it is not unreasonable to look in some detail at his treatment of his source material, to detect how widely he had read and what degree of critical acumen he applied to what he found.

1 Isaac D'Israeli, Calamities of Authors, I, 263.

2 W.L. Renwick, English Literature, 1789-1815, p.236.

3 Northern Antiquities, transl. Thomas Percy (1770), I, 55-56.

Strutt and the British: Caesar's first landing, and the end of the Roman occupation

The settlement of the Romans in Britain is relatively well understood in the twentieth century, because of the wealth of archaeological evidence available.¹ Caesar's first landing, however, and the period of the earliest Saxon intrusions, left no evidence of this kind; the documentary sources which are our only key to what happened were also available to Strutt.

The main story of Caesar's landing, inevitably, was taken by Strutt from De Bello Gallico; with additions from Suetonius's De Vita Caesarum,² and from the Historia Romana of Dio Cassius.³ Reference was made to the antiquarian histories of England, though only for the purpose of identifying places which were uncertain in the classical writers.⁴ Strutt also took note of more recent writers on his subject: the date and time of Caesar's landing had been discussed in one of the early issues of the Philosophical Transactions,⁵ and the conclusion reached was incorporated in the Chronicle (I,3). Similarly, Strutt made reference to the newly-published first volume of Henry's History.⁶

Strutt told the story in a straightforward fashion, in much the same order as Caesar's own narrative. He added occasional conjectures

1 Peter Hunter Blair, Roman Britain, p.22.

2 For instance Chron., I, 4, details of the storm; cf. Suetonius, Life of Julius Caesar, cap.25: "in Britannia classe vi tempestatis prope absumpta..."

3 For instance, details of the landing of the infantry (Chron., I, 3).

4 Speed's History (1611), Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent (1576), in the discussion of Caesar's landing place (Chron., I, 3).

5 Edmund Halley, "A Discourse tending to prove at what time and place Julius Caesar made his first descent upon Britain," XVII, 193 (1691) 495-501.

6 Robert Henry, History of Great Britain, chapter 1: referred to in Chron., I, 3.

and frills: Caesar was motivated by "unbounded ambition" for "fresh laurels in remote climes" (I,2), though he also gave Caesar's stated reason for the expedition, that the Britons were providing troublesome help to his enemies in the continental campaigns. When Caesar brought his galleys into shore, with slings and other instruments of battle, "a sight so unusual dismayed the Britons, and they began to give back" (I,3). The probability is rather that the Britons knew a good deal about Roman warfare, if only from the Gaulish merchants who had told them of Caesar's invasion plans; and if the tale of the standard-bearer of the Tenth Legion has any authenticity, the Romans were the ones who were temporarily dismayed, by the several feet of water they had to negotiate under a barrage of stones, javelins and arrows from the unfamiliar British chariots.¹

Strutt's main addition was an attempt to see the situation from the British point of view. There is no doubt where his sympathies lay, even when the facts offered little justification for his fancies: "Rude indeed and unpolished, yet brave and hardy; blinded with superstition and clouds of error, yet hospitable and generous, is this venerable picture of Britain's ancient inhabitants" (I,1). The Britons could, in fact, have taken much more advantage than they did of Caesar's none-too-well prepared expedition. The bad weather which beset the Romans so late in the season should have prompted the Britons to make use of their knowledge of local terrain and conditions to prevent the Romans from foraging successfully; they were no match for the legions in battle array, but could have demoralised the invaders by provoking small encounters, or by bringing in support from further inland, to a much greater extent than they did. But in Strutt's view they showed "vast resolution and courage, to the great hurt and annoyance of the Romans" (I,3). Caesar's departure had more to do with winds and the state of repair of his ships than with British opposition, but to Strutt, "his precipitate departure, not even waiting for the delivery of the hostages which were demanded, and forsaking entirely those advantages which he had gained, seem strong indications of his having met with a much warmer reception

1 R.G. Collingwood and J.N.L. Myres, Roman Britain and the English Settlements (Oxford, 1936), p.38.

from the Britons than he had expected" (I,5). A close parallel to Strutt's view of the British is Macpherson's, written a few years earlier: "far removed from the deceit and duplicity of modern times ... always open, sincere, and undisguised; simple, good-natured, and void of malignity; and though cruel, and sometimes barbarous, to their enemies, they were kind and compassionate to the suppliant and unfortunate."¹

Similarly, Strutt's account of fifth-century Britain was pre-occupied with what he took to be the "character" of the British people. His tone was heavily moral: "For what avails the possession of strong places to those who have not courage sufficient for their defence[?]" he lamented on I, 59. During the respite in A.D. 447 from attacks by Picts and Scots, "could any one expect to find them so dull and stupid, as not to foresee of how short continuance this dawn of peace was like to prove ... [But they] quickly forgot the Being to whom they owed their preservation, and gave themselves up to idleness and vice" (I,59).

It could be said in Strutt's defence that he was merely elaborating hints which he found in his source material: censure of British weakness was already evident in Gildas, and to Bede the Britons were sluggish (segnis populo, i,12) and cowardly (ignavi propugnatores, i, 12).² But at its worst the approach led Strutt into flights of conjecture and purple prose:

With aching hearts, the wretched Britons beheld the departure of their guardian friends! with streaming eyes, they survey their native land naked and defenceless, laid open to the mercy

1 Introduction to the History of Great Britain, p.199.

2 Bede's account was itself dependent on Gildas: "Statuitur ad haec in edito arcis acies, segnis ad pugnam, inhabilis ad fugam, tremantibus praecordiis inepta, quae diebus ac noctibus stupido sedili marcebat" (De Excidio Britanniae, cap.19; ed. Hugh Williams [1899], p.44). The edition of Bede used throughout is Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, edited by Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969).

of their barbarous enemies! They now foresaw their inevitable destruction was at hand! Various were their councils, various their resolutions, yet little comfort resulted from either! A short time soon proved how just their apprehensions were, and brought to pass those miserable calamities which they expected daily: for ...void of military discipline, and having their spirits depressed by miseries, they were at least half overcome before the engagement was begun; whilst, on the other hand, the ferocious ravagers, hardy and inured to toil, their minds flushed with the hope of plunder, bore down their opponents, and returned home laden with their spoils. (Chron., I, 54)

Apart from Bede, Strutt named four sources for his account of the departure of the Romans, the Pictish/Scottish raids, and the arrival of the Saxons. These were Gildas, Nennius, and William of Malmesbury, with a few notes from Widukind. Most historians today would agree that the degree of reliance which can be placed on these authors differs from moderate to minimal. William of Malmesbury, for example, was sufficiently scholarly to study all the manuscripts he could find, but not very critical in his use of them; he constantly revised his work, but was all too ready to abandon his narrative to follow up some fascinating but irrelevant digression.¹ Gildas has the advantage of a text remarkably little altered through the centuries, and is a source of the first importance for his own lifetime (he wrote in the middle of the sixth century) and for the region he knew (either Brittany or Western Britain). But he was narrow and racially prejudiced in his views and seldom precise in his dating: the mention of his forty-fourth birthday, also forty-four years from the battle of Mons Badonicus, is a rare exception. His style is involved and easily open to misinterpretation, and sometimes he is deliberately obscure, as when he omits personal and place names from his account of the Saxon invasions. "Nennius" includes a number of legendary tales alongside his history, and also suffers from a badly mangled set of manuscripts; especially for the Roman period, distinct narratives are combined in one account.

1 See J.J. Bagley, Historical Interpretation, 1066-1540 (Harmondsworth, 1965), p.46.

On the other hand, it is likely that genuine British traditions are preserved in, for instance, his account of the arrival of the Saxons.¹

Bede, writing two centuries later than Gildas, carefully drew together facts from all the sources available to him: adding, for example, the names traditionally assigned to the Teutonic leaders (Hengist and Horsa), together with their pedigree, the fact that Horsa died in battle, and that his monument was still to be seen in Kent; these traditions he no doubt learned from the contacts at Canterbury whom he mentions as his informants on Kentish matters (Bede, "Praefatio").

Strutt's account of the death of Vortigern and the new Saxon supremacy used material from all five sources. His basic story came from Bede, by any standards the most reliable historian amongst his sources; additional colour was sometimes supplied from Gildas.² From William of Malmesbury Strutt added detail on the Saxon ships and the settlement on the Isle of Thanet.³ Widukind supplied the text of the

1 See notes in the best modern edition, Nennius: British History and the Welsh Annals, edited and translated by John Morris (1980); and also Ferdinand Lot, Nennius et L'Historia Brittonum: Étude Critique suivie d'une édition des diverses versions de ce texte (Paris, 1934); and pp.xvii-xviii of the editorial introduction to the English Historical Society edition of the Historia Britonum (1838).

2 Bede, for example, stated simply that the Britons feared "barbarorum inruptio" (i,12); to Gildas, the invasion was of "barbaricae ferae bestiae" (cap.18): something of Gildas' emotion is reflected in Strutt's "with hooks and other destructive instruments, they tore them trembling from the wall, and slew them in prodigious numbers" (I,57).

3 Chron., I, 61; De Gestis Regum Anglorum, I, cap.i, translated by J.A. Giles, William of Malmesbury's Chronicle [1847], pp.8-9).

letter sent by the Britons to the Saxons, and the Saxon reply, though Strutt suspected they were written by Widukind himself. Even Nennius (who had destroyed Vortigern with fire from heaven)¹ was not forgotten: "When Aurelius approached the castle, he girt it round with a close siege; and after a short space, by casting brands of fire into it, burnt it to the ground; and Vortiger, with all his adherents which were shut up with him, perished in the flames [foot-note: Some say, that it was burnt by lightning from Heaven]" (I,71).

Once again, Strutt's main addition to his sources was one of new emphasis. Bede, indeed, was critical of the Britons for their lack of resistance to invasion,² but mainly because their weakness hindered the spread of Christianity.³ Strutt, however (though moral judgement was certainly not excluded) condemned the Britons primarily for their lack of patriotism: "he exhorted them to exert the utmost of their courage, and stand bravely up in the defence of their native rights" (I,56); "it was hard to determine which was the most dangerous enemy,

1 Nennius, cap.47: "et in quarta nocte arx tota mediae circa noctis horam per ignem missum de caelo ex improvise cecidit, ardente igne caelesti; et Guorthigirnus cum omnibus qui cum eo erant et cum uxoribus suis defecit. Hic est finis Guorthigirni ..." (Morris, p.73).

2 The Picts and Scots "would prove too powerful for them only if they themselves were weakened by sloth" (i,12, translated by Colgrave and Mynors p.43); "those who survived could not be awakened from the spiritual death which their sins had brought upon them either by the death of their kinsmen or by fear of their own death" (i,14, translated p.49).

3 "They cast off Christ's easy yoke and thrust their necks under the burden of drunkenness, hatred, quarrelling, strife, and envy and other similar crimes ... [and] agreed that they should call the Saxons to their aid from across the seas. As events plainly showed, this was ordained by the will of God so that evil might fall upon those miscreants" (i,14, translated p.49).

the lawless northern plunderers, or the wretched natives themselves, now grown desperate, and driven to the highest pitch of despair" (I, 58). His conception of the distinct character of the British people meant that he was unable to view the arrival of the Saxons as anything less than a disaster: "now approached apace the fatal time, in which the total downfall of the miserable Britons should be made complete!" (I,60); "[the Britons] foresaw not the dreadful storm which was gathering over their heads, replete with ruin and destruction" (I,61).

In his anxiety to identify the British "character", Strutt was speaking with the voice of his generation: the question of national individuality and origin, especially as it related to language, was then at its height. In England, the scholarly investigation of the nation's foundations had begun with Sheringham's De Anglorum Gentis Origine (1670), though even so early a writer as Nennius had ventured into a discussion of the Trojan origin of the Britons, and of the Scythian noblemen's home in Egypt. Sammes in 1676 (Antiquities of Ancient Britain) used specimens of Old English to support his theory of a "Getish" extraction for the Saxons. From this time samples of language were regularly used to demonstrate degree of kinship between different races: "language, next to authentic records, [wrote Macpherson in 1771] is the best evidence of the extract of a people. The modern Europeans, deriving their blood from three very different nations, still preserve among them the three original tongues of their ancestors. These are the Celtic, the Teutonic, and Slavonic, all radically different from one another. Wherever any of these three languages is spoken with most purity, there the blood of the great nation, from which it takes its name, most prevails."¹ Percy, about the same time, pointed out that despite the proximity of England and Wales, modern English was still much more like German than it was like Welsh.² "Language

1 Introduction to the History of Great Britain, pp.19-20.

2 Thomas Percy, Northern Antiquities ... translated from Mons. Mallet's Introduction a L'Histoire de Dannemarc &c. with additional notes (1770), I, xxi.

is a most permanent matter, and not even total revolutions in nations can change it", concluded Pinkerton.¹

The pages of Archaeologia are a further indication of the wide interest in the matter. In 1776 and 1778 William Drake contributed spirited defences of the Teutonic/Gothic basis of English, as against Whitaker's Celtic/British claim (V, 306-317, 379-389); in 1789 he offered "Observations on the Derivation of the English Language" (IX, 332-361). Articles appeared in 1785 on the origin of the Gipsy Language, by Sir Joseph Banks and Jacob Bryant (VII, 382-386, 387-394); and a year later G.H. Glass wrote on the affinity with Hebrew of certain words in the languages of the Sandwich and Friendly Isles (VIII, 81-84). It was the urge to identify and characterise national origins, indeed, which led to the beginnings of scientific language study. In Germany, in particular, language came to be seen as "the most vital criterion of national uniqueness ... [and] led to the remarkable searches in philology associated with the names of Humboldt, Wolf, the brothers Grimm, and Lachmann."²

And just as each race had its natural and all but inalienable language, so there were certain natural traits or characteristics which distinguished the race or nation from all others; Percy again:

having thus informed ourselves concerning the manners of this people; why may we not proceed a step farther, to consider the general causes of their character. It does not seem impossible here to discover and persue the path which nature hath taken. A great abundance of blood and humours, strong and rigid fibres, together with an inexhaustible vigour, formed the constitutional temperament of the Scandinavians and Germans, as they do indeed of all savage people who live under a like climate.

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- 1 John Pinkerton, A Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians or Goths, (1787), p.109.
 - 2 Harry Elmer Barnes, A History of Historical Writing, 2nd edn. (Norman, Oklahoma, 1962), p.179).

Hence proceeded that impetuosity and violence of their passions when they were once roused; and hence in their calmer moments that serious, phlegmatic and indolent turn.¹

Percy is echoing the views of the rationalist historians, who had considered that differences of geographical environment accounted for differences in the activities of the human mind, which would otherwise have been essentially the same the world over; Voltaire, indeed, held that climate was one of the three great formative influences, the others being government and religion.²

John Logan (in his Elements of the Philosophy of History, Part First, 1781), developed the theory that national character was formed by a combination of physical and moral causes and, again influenced by the rationalists, that progress was an inherent characteristic of the human race. Horace Walpole, though he despised the study of national derivation, was equally sure of the advances made by his own generation and "the absurdity of the manners" of the early ages.³ Samuel Knight regretted that Pinkerton had abandoned "the bright and flowery paths of poetry, to wander among the dark and barren deserts of early history" (Dawson Turner, I, 100). Strutt shared a good many of the prevalent ideas: he had not abandoned the theory of "progress", though every new fact he learned about the Anglo-Saxons, in particular, was a step in that direction. It is not so great a distance from Percy's pompous comment, in the "Dedication" of the Northern Antiquities, that "it may possibly afford amusement ... to observe from what rude and simple beginnings our highest improvements have been derived" to Strutt's "darker periods ... heretofore neglected" and present "more improved age" (Chron. II, iii; MC, II, 112); though his more moderate tone is an indication of the coming shift of opinion.

The firm belief of Strutt and many of his contemporaries in the "character" of the groups making up the modern British nations gave

1 Northern Antiquities, I, 405-406.

2 See further, Barnes, A History of Historical Writing, p.150.

3 Letter to Pinkerton, 30 September 1785 (Yale Corr., XVI,282).

an added impetus to the study of the distinguishing features of the social and artistic life of each group. This close study inevitably led them to understand more about their predecessors, and encouraged the spread of "primitivism", that surge of enthusiasm for early societies which is increasingly marked as the second half of the century progresses. There were a number of reasons for the new appreciation. The political situation of the later eighteenth century, with its threats of foreign wars, led to an outburst of patriotism and consequent enthusiasm for all things British, however distant in time. The coming to light of such stores of new material from the arts and literature of our ancestors could hardly fail to waken new interest in their creators. Percy's Reliques, Gray's Norse and Celtic poems, even the poems of Ossian, all in their various ways brought "primitive" societies under public scrutiny; the work of historians like Henry, Mallet, Macpherson and Whitaker served to present the earlier periods to those of a less literary turn of mind. But primitivism extended beyond the bounds of country or even continent: if interest in the Norsemen and the Celts can be explained as an extended searching after the origins of eighteenth-century Englishmen, Lowth's enthusiasm for Hebrew literature, or the wide reading of the newly-translated Arabian Nights, indicates a more fundamental searching for the remote, whether in time or place, which is generally taken as an early herald of the romantic movement. To the neoclassicists earlier in the century, art was dominated by memory; whereas to later thinkers, art was a continual experience of developing knowledge: the most fundamental was the most noble.¹ Seen in this Rousseau-esque light, the artistic expressions of earlier generations took on a new significance. Primitive man was "in perfect possession of reason and speech", and "not an unobservant spectator of the beautiful fabric of the universe"; his art was "derived from nature alone", unsullied by modern sophistication (quotations Lowth, Lectures, XXV, 190).

Another aspect of the primitive mind was seen to be its love of the concrete, the particular; a perception which was a forerunner of

1 Brian Hepworth, Robert Lowth (Boston, 1970), p.90.

the romantic obsession with the individual. Hugh Blair, in his Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres (1783) wrote on the particularity beloved by the Biblical writers: "The style of the Old Testament is carried on by constant allusions to sensible objects. Iniquity, or guilt, is expressed by a 'spotted garment'; misery by 'drinking the cup of astonishment'; vain pursuits by 'feeding on ashes'; a sinful life by 'a crooked path'; prosperity by 'the candle of the Lord shining on our head'" (I, 114-115). In literature, the tendency to visualise and therefore to particularise can be traced back at least to Addison and Pope. Thomas Warton's natural inclination to visual imagery has already been mentioned (above, p. 153), and his brother praised Thomson's Seasons for the innumerable "little circumstances" which had been "totally unobserved by all his predecessors."¹ "To Generalize [as Blake was to blast a few years later] is to be an Idiot. To Particularize is the Alone Distinction of Merit. General Knowledges are those Knowledges that Idiots possess."² None of these instances is in any way exceptional; the tendency is part of the intellectual and cultural shift from the general to the individual. But it gives an added stature and significance to the work of the antiquaries, in that they were providing, in a number of fields, precisely the wealth of detail needed when so many creative artists sought to emulate the appeal of the best 'primitive' expression.

Alfred

Strutt's portrait of Alfred³ is an idealised one. Though modern historians accept Alfred's qualities of leadership and his distinctive contribution to the development of Anglo-Saxon learning, he is no longer considered a military genius, nor the outstanding writer and

1 Joseph Warton, The Genius and Writings of Pope (4th. edn., London, 1782), I, 43-46.

2 Manuscript note written in the margin of a copy of Reynolds' Discourse; against a passage on the need of generalising; noted by Morris Golden, Thomas Gray (New York, 1964), p. 133.

3 Chron., II, 26-40 (Alfred's life and military campaigns); see also II, 242-249 (Anglo-Saxon learning) and II, 250-256 (Anglo-Saxon arts, etc.) Cf. also MC, I, 70-74.

scholar whom we meet in the Chronicle: "in short, an eloquent orator, a great philosopher, an historian, a skilful musician and architect, and an excellent poet" (II, 244). There is indeed some doubt as to whether Alfred wrote more than a minor part of the literary works ascribed to him: some historians now incline to the view that they were commissioned by the king, but carried out by those scholars whom he brought to his court, in Asser's image, like a bee "flying away from home, alighting on diverse blossoms, taking what it fancies, and carrying it home."¹

But Strutt's sources themselves gave an idealised portrait of Alfred. Where there was a discrepancy, he was careful to point it out.² But the general concurrence of his authors on the virtues and talents of the king made it impossible for Strutt, in the absence of modern archaeological evidence and textual criticism, to do anything but reflect this adulation. When Ingulph could maintain that "in a short time peace flourished throughout the whole land to such a degree, that if a traveller in the evening left any sum of money, however large, in the fields and the public highways, whether he returned next morning, or whether a month after, he was sure to find it safe and untouched;"³ or Malmesbury, "the king gave his whole soul to the cultivation of the liberal arts, in so much that no Englishman was quicker in comprehending, or more elegant in translating;"⁴ Strutt's words seem mild enough in comparison: "All the interval, until his death, he employed for the welfare of his subjects, and their improvement; he regulated the laws, and paid the

1 The evidence is reviewed by Christopher Brooke, The Saxon and Norman Kings (1963), especially p.125. The reference is to Asser, cap.6, lines 62-67 (Asser's Life of King Alfred, transl. with introduction and commentary by William Henry Stevenson [Oxford, 1904], p.61).

2 In his account of the year 896, for example (II,37), he relates the loss of four English captains, but notes that Henry of Huntingdon says that four Danish chiefs were slain.

3 Ingulphus, Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland, translated with notes by Henry T. Riley (1893), p.56.

4 II, cap.4 (Giles, p.119).

strictest regard to the administration of justice: he arduously sought the advancement of learning in his dominions, and was a great encourager of religion and piety" (Chron., II, 38-39). The reputation of Alfred was also being enhanced at the time by the work of Continental scholars, who saw him as the father of the jury system.¹

More sources were available to Strutt for his study of Alfred than for either of the previous examples considered. His five named sources were Asser's and Spelman's Lives of Alfred, Ingulph's History of Croyland, William of Malmesbury, and St John Fisher (for the early history of Oxford University).² In addition he used material from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; from Ethelweard, Ailred of Rievaulx, Simon of Durham and Henry of Huntingdon; and from modern writers such as Speed, Brompton and Redbourne.

Strutt followed his sources closely: for instance, the section describing Alfred's battles of 895 is a near translation of the Chronicle entry for that year. His summary of Alfred's contribution to learning (quoted on p. 185 above) approximates closely to Spelman's: "He was counted a profound Scholar for those times, a Grammarian, a Rhetorician, a Philosopher, an Historian, a Musitian, the Prince of Saxon Poësy, and an Excellent Architect and Geometrician."³ He did, however, select

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- 1 The attribution is without foundation but was widely held until the modern examination of historical documents proved otherwise. See William Stubbs, Constitutional History of England (1874-78), Vol. I.
- 2 The specific work of Bishop Fisher is not named: Strutt's references are only to "Roffii.", "Johan. Roffii", and "J. Roff." (Chron., II, 210, 245, 246); but he was probably referring to Morning Remembraunce (1509). This funeral sermon for Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby (mother of Henry VII) is used elsewhere by Strutt (for example, MC, III, 169); and the preface added in 1708 by Thomas Baker contains "some account of the History of Learned Men" (Lit. Anecs., V, 112, 662).
- 3 John Spelman, The Life of AElfred the Great (ed. Hearne, 1709), p. 210.

which parts to use and which to reject: William of Malmesbury's story of Alfred's vision of St Cuthbert is given short shrift; and Strutt takes slight issue with Spelman on the purpose of Alfred's translations. "The King held it necessary [wrote Spelman, Hearne edition, p.140] to cause some Books (such as might be profitable and of most use to Church Men) to be translated into the Saxon Tongue, and accordingly set his Bishops and Clerks to the present Translating of them." Strutt, holding more closely to Alfred's own stated purpose in the Preface to the Cura Pastoralis, has it ~~that~~ the aim was to provide books for the use of the laity ("summa bec, Ða Ðe niedbeðearfosta sien eallum monnum to wiotonne"): "that they might be understood by the people, for whose use, and the encouragements of learning they were solely designed" (Chron., II, 244-245). Nor would Strutt be led into giving praise where none was due: in 878 the Danes reached Chippenham,

insomuch that many of the inhabitants left their estates, and fled to foreign parts. Neither was AElfred able to prevent their destructive ravages; for he, himself, with some few of his fast friends, were obliged to keep themselves secretly in the woods, marshes, and inaccessible places, where they supported themselves, as they could, by hunting, hawking, or fishing. Nor was their retreat known to the English themselves, who generally believed that their king was dead. It is indeed reported, that he was reduced to so miserable a condition as to be forced, in disguise, to seek protection in the house of a cottager in Somersetshire, named Dunwulf, where he remained for some time dependant upon him for his food, and subject to the various impertinencies of the peasant's wife. (Chron., II, 30)

As with the other examples discussed, Strutt's account of Alfred emphasised the national strengths and qualities of the English people; he saw himself as an ambassador for the good name of Anglo-Saxon civilisation. Anything which served to show the Saxons in a good light was eagerly seized upon: their writers were "all authors of good account", especially perhaps Caedmon, "whom Bede informs us was a very learned man, whose pious and godly zeal led him to translate the whole book of Genesis into the Saxon tongue" (MC, I, 70); and although it had to be admitted that "Learning was upon the decline towards the latter end of the eighth century, and, at the commencement of the

ninth, was almost totally extinguished" (Chron., II, 242), this fact served only to highlight Alfred's achievement in encouraging scholars, building monastic schools, and developing the "public schools on a more extensive plan at Oxford" (II, 245). The story of Dunwulf is used to illustrate Alfred's policy of "making [literature and learning] the road to preferment both in church and state" (II, 245; cf. II,30).¹ It is surely not without significance that Strutt hardly ever quoted a Latin source in the original (though Latin would have been well known to the majority of his readers), whereas he often included a few words of Old English (understood only by the few, and causing extra problems for his printers).² His aim was to familiarise his audience to the greatest extent possible with the achievements and qualities of its remote ancestors. If the reader could become as well acquainted with the work of the Saxons as Strutt was himself, surely he could not fail to share Strutt's admiration for them, or hesitate to pass on this national pride to a still wider audience?

Study of the language of the Anglo-Saxons was by Strutt's time a recognised discipline. Post-Reformation patriotism encouraged the first scholars in the field, men such as Archbishop Parker and his assistant John Joscelyn. The seventeenth century saw the establishment of the first lecture-ships in Anglo-Saxon, at Cambridge (1623), and Oxford (1679), with Rowe Mores's subsequent "profluvium of Saxonists" active there by the end of the century.³ It was, however,

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- 1 Taken from William of Malmesbury's De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum: "Deneuulfus, si famae creditur, ad multam aetatem non solum litterarum expertus, sed etiam subulcus fuit ... Et ne multis innectar, comperto ejus ingenio quod ad bonum spectaret, litteris informandum tradidit. Nec descivit ab officio donec perfectius institutum crearet episcopum, commentus rem dignam miraculo" (II, cap.75).
- 2 For example, Chron., I, 218; MC, I, 73.
- 3 Rowe Mores, English Typographical Founders, quoted ^{by} Eleanor N. Adams, Old English Scholarship in England from 1566-1800 (Yale, 1917), p.74.

still studied in depth only by the few: Warton all but ignored Saxon literature and began his history after the Conquest. Strutt's interest is typical of his period; with a burgeoning consciousness of literary riches lying in wait, he did not have the tools (in the days before the development of scientific language and dialect study) to satisfy more than a superficial curiosity. "There is not the least reason to imagine that any very great change was made in the Anglo-Saxon language during this period: we have no remains of it as it was spoken before their conversion to Christianity, therefore it is impossible to trace it so high" (Chron., II, 249).

Reviews

It is a measure of Strutt's acceptance by the literary and antiquarian world that both volumes of the Chronicle were reviewed by the Monthly Review within a relatively short time of their appearance.¹ The publication of a new Strutt volume was by then accepted as an event of some importance.

The reviews of the two volumes were once again written by Donaldson. The high note of praise which had greeted the three volumes of the Manners and Customs was, however, missing from Donaldson's survey on this occasion. The two chief points made in his criticism of the first volume were that the work was not a history proper, so much as "flowers culled with the nicest judgment, to adorn the page of the historian" (LVII,99); and that Strutt's style left much to be desired: "In plain, unscientific narratives, where patience triumphs over abilities, the elegance of diction is not so much attended to: but we wish our Author had attended a little more to its purity" (LVII,99).

It happened that the latest volume of Henry's History had reached the Review's critics at the same time as the Chronicle;² this no doubt

1 Monthly Rev., LVII (August 1777), 99-101; LIX (November 1778), 346-349.

2 The volume was reviewed in the same issue as the Chronicle (Monthly Rev., LVII [August 1777], 101-107).

served to heighten Donaldson's sense of a surfeit of historical writing. In the Chronicle, he noted, "The Reader will be sure to find what may be termed a very ample Index, filled with abundance of historical information; but if he expects to meet with those philosophical researches which explain the motive to every action, by true and natural inferences, he will be disappointed ... a Robertson or a Hume are phenomena that do not appear in every age" (LVII,99).

Most later commentators on the Chronicle have remarked on the similarities of scheme between Strutt's history and Robert Henry's. Since Henry's first volumes were published before the Chronicle, some have seen Strutt's work as an imitation of Henry's; though this is not how Strutt himself saw the relationship (see above, p. 49). The novelty of Henry's "New Plan" lay (in Wellek's words) in its "consistently carried out scheme of cultural history parallel to the political narrative ... [a plan] carried out so rigidly that one could read, for instance, all fifth chapters in every book as a continuous history of the arts."¹ Henry's plan itself had a French model, the 1761 work The Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, and their Progress among the most ancient Nations.²

Though Henry and Strutt shared an awareness of the need to extend their histories beyond the narrowly political, Strutt avoided some of Henry's over-mechanical chapter schemes. As indicated above (pp.170 171), Strutt too liked a formal plan, but he was prepared to vary it a little to suit his material; in Volume II of the Chronicle, for instance, Part III (the Dissertation on the Government, Laws, Manners, &c. of the Anglo-Saxons...) he rejected a formal scheme in favour of a number of short essays on a very wide range of subjects. And though Henry was interested in Anglo-Saxon history, he had

1 Rise of English Literary History, p.147.

2 Published Edinburgh (3 vols.); a translation from the French of the President de Goguet.

little time for the Middle Ages, apart from an admiration for chivalry and some medieval poetry; whereas Strutt had the kind of warm personal knowledge deriving only from daily contact with the literary works and artefacts of the periods concerned.

Donaldson then turned to Strutt's style, singling out for attack a passage from the first volume which reads: "Oppressed with grief, the unfortunate ambassadors return to Britain, and relate with tears their want of success. Who shall paint the horror of the surrounding natives? Deprived at once of their last beam of hope, and left in all the tortures of despair! The wretchedness of their state was augmented by their grief; and their daily increasing miseries hung heavy on their thoughts!" (I,59-60). The passage certainly included a good deal of conjecture, but this was not what Donaldson objected to; his criticism was of Strutt's turn of phrase: "'The wretchedness of their state was augmented by their grief.' -- A singular remark, and singularly expressed: grief was, no doubt, the consequence of the wretchedness of their state" (LVII, 101); whereas Strutt surely means that their physical distresses were made more insufferable by their realisation of the hopelessness of the situation. "'Dull and stupid' ... a very familiar way of expressing inertness of mind ... 'Following inordinate sluggishness' -- cannot be English" (LVII,101). The "very familiar" and "un-English" expressions were in fact Bede's; an author obviously a good deal better known by Strutt than by Donaldson.¹ There is more in the same vein, though Donaldson was patronisingly anxious not to discourage "this young Author", but "rather incline him to more attention in his future volumes"; so that "like the spear of Achilles, while the pen of Criticism wounds with one part, it may heal with the other" (LVII, 101, 99). Strutt was indeed given due praise for his "usual perseverance" and use of "the best authorities", and, as an afterthought, for "many good plates" (LVII, 99, 101).

1 Strutt does not seem to have been very impressed by Donaldson's strictures, since none of his corrections is included in the 1779 edition of the Chronicle, though other alterations are made.

By the time Donaldson came to review the second volume, Strutt had made his decision not to continue the work; the critic gave a slight hint of contrition for any part he might have played in the decision: "It is with concern that we apprise our Readers of a farewell preface, in which Mr. Strutt takes his 'leave of the Public' ... Literary men who give up their time and their labour to gratify the inquisitive temper of the age they live in, challenge at once our attention and acknowledgment" (LIX, 349, 346). He hastened to congratulate Strutt on his improved style: "The reputation Mr. Strutt acquired in his first performance, we presume hurried him on too fast in this last undertaking; which will account for those inaccuracies that are to be found in the first volume. In the present volume, the language is much more correct" (LIX, 346); though he still, rightly enough, maintained that the work offered, not history itself, but "matter for a more ample and copious history" (LIX, 349).

The Editions

According to Christy, the Chronicle was re-issued in the spring of 1779 "by fresh publishers, but without change in the matter" (xiv, 5). This is not strictly accurate, since the text (especially of Volume II) contains a good many alterations, though mostly of a minor stylistic or grammatical kind.

The two volumes are in a smaller format than the edition of 1777-78. Volume I was printed by "Joseph Cooper, for T. Evans in Pater-Noster-Row, and Robert Faulder, No.42. New-Bond-Street." Volume II was printed by Thomas Jones. The two printers were the same in 1779 as 1777-78, but Evans and Faulder replaced Walter Shropshire as publisher.

The most significant alteration was the addition of a new preface to each volume. The preface to Volume I is very similar to the original version, though Strutt omitted the description of himself as one "whose

profession is that of an engraver" (I, [ii]), and no longer claimed that "all the drawings for these engravings will be made by the author himself" (I, [i]). No doubt he was making increasing use of his apprentices; already in 1777 he had stated that "the plates will be all of them executed by, or under the immediate inspection of, the author" (I, [ii]). More important, the first two paragraphs have been rewritten. In the original paragraphs Strutt made the point that manners had been neglected by previous historians, a neglect which justified the appearance of his own history. His new paragraphs repeat the need for a history of manners, but he shows greater assurance in his claims for its place in the study of a period: "[the omission] is surely a great mistake; for a careful investigation of these important particulars will not only be pleasant, but even useful to the generality of readers" (Chron., 1779, I, iii-iv). There is also greater emphasis on the dearth of suitable materials for the study of the earliest periods: with justice, Strutt did not consider that sufficient allowance and credit had been given him for the difficulties he had to contend with:

the materials are so very imperfect (at least such as are authentic) that it is impossible to arrange them in such order as to furnish a regular history of the first six or seven centuries. This was the cause which induced our best authors, either entirely to neglect the annals of those times, or else to hurry through them as hastily as possible, in order to get forward to the Norman conquest, from which period the materials are more copious, clear and authentic; and hence it is, that our histories of the latter ages are so much more compleat and satisfactory: for few men of great abilities are possessed of patience equal to the task of turning over so many dry prolix records of barbarism and superstition as are absolutely necessary for the completing a history of the early ages. (1779, I, iii)

The new preface to Volume II also has a revised introductory section, together with minor alterations elsewhere, including a wry alteration in the final paragraph, when "The author hopes the perusal of [the work] may afford them some amusement" becomes "... afford

them at least some amusement" (both p.iv).¹ The new introductory section simply re-states Strutt's decision to limit the scope of the Chronicle to the pre-Conquest period, and once again refers to the lack of evidence: the hope is "that the history of our British and Saxon ancestors, which have been so much neglected by former writers, will here be found set forth in as clear a light as the imperfect materials for such a work would permit" (1779, II, iii).

The plates of the two versions of the Chronicle are identical. Volume I includes twenty-two plates, Volume II, twenty. A good many of the plates, few as they are compared with Strutt's earlier volumes, were not taken from manuscripts (another result of the dearth of documentary material for the early period);² and though Strutt made the best of what was available in the way of artefacts and buildings (the plates include, for example, drawings of Stonehenge and other stone circles), they were not particularly interesting. A map of the Saxon tribes, or a page of small Saxon coins, was of specialised rather than general appeal. Sometimes Strutt was forced to produce conjectural drawings, figures based on literary descriptions; for example in Volume I, Plate XVIII: "Ancient Germans, as described by Tacitus. An ancient Saxon (the figure leaning on his spear) as represented by Sidonius, Apollinaris, Paulus Diaconus, &c." Both landscape and figures in these plates have a distinctly eighteenth-century look.

There is no doubt that Strutt's writing was at its best when based on a thorough visual perception of the subject under discussion: every line of the Dress and Habits, for example (at least in its post-British chapters) reflects Strutt's experience of a wide range of illuminations. When he had insufficient visual material on which to draw, generalities and moralising tended to take the place of solid information. As Wellek

1 The preface bears (presumably by oversight) the date of the original version, 20 April 1778. The new preface to Volume I is dated February 1779.

2 Volume I: fourteen plates taken from manuscripts, eight not; Volume II: fifteen plates from manuscripts, five not.

points out, manners "assumed flesh and blood only when environment was analyzed in detail. Though great advances were made during the eighteenth century, much still remained very vague and general."¹

It is Strutt's contribution to historical studies that he was a pioneer in the provision of just such detailed analysis, in his case primarily a visual one.

1 Rise of English Literary History, p.54.

CHAPTER FIVE

"BY GOLDEN PROSPECTS LED": THE DRESS AND HABITS
AND THE SPORTS AND PASTIMES (1796-99, 1801)

Introduction

The continuing inclusion of Strutt's two final antiquarian works in present-day bibliographies is sufficient indication of their comprehensiveness and novelty when published. Later writers on sports and costume have also paid generous tribute to Strutt's innovatory work in their field. Hone bewailed the "increasing scarcity and price" of the Sports and Pastimes in 1827, which made it "scarcely attainable by the general reader."¹ By the middle of the century Planché could state of the Dress and Habits, then nearly fifty years old, that "no publication has subsequently appeared in England so full of information on the general subject of costume" (DH, 1842, I, [v]).

Strutt had certainly found the pattern for success in his twenty-year break from antiquarian publishing. He had more leisure than ever before to work on fine engravings, and sufficient financial backing to give his books the lavish presentation their subjects called for. The knowledge he had built up by a lifetime of reading and study of manuscript illuminations made him well-qualified to produce books which could claim to be the standard reference work on their subject. For anything like a full 'philosophy' of dress or recreation the reader must look to later works, and the findings of modern sociological research; but Strutt's writing, perhaps especially in the Dress and Habits, is not without thoughts of such matters. He was, for example, very interested in the differences between the English and French mores relating to hair styles: he could find no evidence that long hair was prohibited for the Anglo-Saxon lower classes, as it was in France (DH, 1842, I, 38). Similarly, from the Sports and Pastimes: "In the

1 Table Book, 1891 edn., p.503. The work had scarcely been attainable by the "general reader" when first published; in all his books Strutt was writing for an educated, gentlemanly audience. It is an indication of the changing readership for such works that Hone thought a popular edition was needed.

middle ages, the love of show was carried to an extravagant length; and as a man of fashion was nothing less than a man of letters, those studies that were best calculated to improve the mind were held in little estimation" (SP, 1969, p.xxx);¹ or (on p.303): "Trundling the hoop is a pastime of uncertain origin, but much in practice at present, and especially in London, where the boys appear with their hoops in the public streets, and are sometimes very troublesome to those who are passing through them." In any case, Strutt's work provided a sure factual basis for such research, in particular in its distillation into compact form of the diffuse riches of English manuscript illumination.

The greater assurance and sumptuousness of the later works owed something to Strutt's changed circumstances, much to his own age and maturity; but perhaps most of all to the changing position of the antiquary. It was a far cry from the days of Macpherson's lament in 1771: "Inquiries into antiquity are so little the taste of the present age, that a writer who employs his time in that way deceives himself if he expects to derive either much reputation or any advantage from his work. Prejudiced against the subject, we add contempt to its natural sterility, and seem to wish for no information from a province which we have been taught to assign to fiction and romance."² By the end of the century, even if the Jonathan Oldbucks of the scholarly circle still provided figures of fun, antiquarianism was no longer considered the province of the eccentric alone. The work of editors such as Ritson was giving the study an indisputable status in the world of learning, and the usefulness of the antiquaries' findings was no longer in question. By 1809, Malone could complain that "the whole world is to be 'bespread with the dust of antiquity' and what was formerly thought a good subject of ridicule, is now quite the fashion."³ Planché tells a good story which nicely points the contrast between the lingering image and the actual status of the antiquary. Francis Douce has been called in by John Kemble to advise him on scenery and costumes for his Roman plays:

- 1 This edition is used for quotations in the section following, except where 1801 is specified.
- 2 James Macpherson, An Introduction to the History of Great Britain, p. [1].
- 3 Percy-Malone Correspondence, ed. Tillotson [Baton Rouge, 1944], p.260.

This gentleman had assisted Mr. John Kemble when he introduced several alterations in the costumes of Shakespeare's plays, particularly those founded on Roman history; for which latter, however, he drew his materials from the columns and arches of the emperors, and not from the contemporaneous republican authorities. When urged to do so, and to "reform it altogether", he exclaimed to Mr. Douce, in a tone almost of horror, "Why, if I did, sir, they would call me an antiquary". "And this to me, sir!" said the dear old man, when he had told me of the circumstance, "to me, who flattered myself I was an antiquary".¹ Antiquarian publications had by the 1780's and 90's come to be accepted as works of general appeal, and were usually fine editions with good plates. Gough's splendid Sepulchral Monuments is an obvious example. Strutt's late works, excellent as they are in themselves, came at a time when public taste was ready to welcome them: a taste which he had, indeed, himself helped to form.

The Aim of the "Dress and Habits" and the "Sports and Pastimes"

By the 1790's Strutt knew his own strengths and weaknesses in a way which he did not when he published the Chronicle. It is no accident that the plates are so important to his two late works; Strutt had recognised that his forte was the visual. He had lost his ambition to be a social or political historian (or at least he had turned it into other channels: some of his literary work, notably the "Chronicle of a Revolution in the Land of the Lilies", was certainly intended as political comment on the events of his day). But he by no means thought of his work as second best to that of the 'serious' historian; in Peardon's words: "To the study of sports and pastimes, Strutt then turned, he says, because the character of a people is better displayed in their amusements than in war or policy."² He had come to see that study of the crafts and leisure activities of a people as revealed by

1 J.R. Planché, Recollections and Reflections, I, 54.

2 Transition, p.158. Cf. SP, p.xv: "In order to form a just estimation of the character of any particular people, it is absolutely necessary to investigate the Sports and Pastimes most generally prevalent among them."

artefacts and manuscript illuminations, sometimes served to balance the view of them given by documentary sources; as when he wrote of the Anglo-Saxons: "They were, it is true, a rude, unlettered, people; but it is equally certain, that they were by no means destitute of ingenuity ... we find that they were well acquainted with the manner of dressing and spinning of flax ... [and] their skill in the art of weaving, so far back as the latter end of the seventh century, was by no means inconsiderable" (DH, I, 1-2); or, in the "Introduction" to the Sports and Pastimes: "War, policy, and other contingent circumstances, may effectually place men, at different times, in different points of view, but, when we follow them into their retirements, where no disguise is necessary, we are most likely to see them in their true state, and may best judge of their natural dispositions" (p.xv). This theme had become something of a tradition in biographical writing, as in Dryden's Life of Plutarch, or Johnson's: "the business of a biographer is often ... to lead the thoughts into domestic privacies, and display the minute details of daily life".¹ The currency of the tradition gave an added significance to the information the antiquaries had to offer.

Neither costume nor sport was a subject new to Strutt. The Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities had been presented as a book in which artists could check the accuracy of their portrayal of historical costume; and the Manners and Customs and the Chronicle each included a few pages on the subject of costume.² The fact that Strutt was adding to his knowledge all the time is demonstrated by the additional detail given in the Chronicle, written only a couple of years later than the Manners and Customs.³ Sports and pastimes also appear in the

1 Rambler, No.60.

2 MC, I, 46-48 and 29-32; Chron., II, 237-242.

3 Especially details from the texts of manuscripts which supported the evidence of the illuminations: for example, II, 241, from the Croyland charter he takes the description of the royal garment depicting the destruction of Troy; and II, 241-242, the "bracelet-givers" of Anglo-Saxon poetry are related to the jewellery shown in Saxon illuminations. (Strutt presumably knew the Saxon term from the poem "The Battle of Brunanburgh", given in Year 937 of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Manuscript A).

early volumes.¹

Nor, of course, had the subjects been totally ignored by earlier writers: Walpole, thirty years before, had listed several works which might be found useful for the study of costume,² and had also given a number of references for the history of "games".³ The books and manuscripts which he thought important for the history of costume were three in number: all were used by Strutt in the Dress and Habits. The works were Peck's Desiderata Curiosa;⁴ the "Account of fashions in Harrison's treatise before Hollingshed's Chronicle";⁵ and the "MS. of lord Sandwich." The manuscript did not in fact belong to Sandwich, but to his relative George Montagu, 4th Duke of Manchester (1737-88). Sandwich had, however, written a description of the manuscript for Walpole, and later borrowed the roll itself from Kimbolton Castle for Walpole to see. The manuscript was the earlier of John Rous's two versions of the family tree of the Earls of Warwick, with many portraits,^{in which,} as Walpole realised, "the habits of all the times are admirably well observed" (Walpole to Gray, 26 February 1768, Yale Corr., XIV, 177). The manuscript was privately printed in 100 copies in 1845, and published in 1859 with an Introduction by William Courthope (Yale Corr., I, 133). For the history of sports and pastimes, Walpole had no particular printed works or manuscripts to suggest; but a few specimens or representations came to mind, such as "Number of small dice found under floor of Inner-Temple-Hall", or "Picture at Wroxton of prince Henry and lord Harrington in hunting-habits."

These notes of Walpole's were not intended as a full list of sources, but the paucity of the material which presented itself spontaneously, even to someone so widely read, demonstrates how little had been written. Nor had the situation changed much between 1762,

1 MC, I, 50-51; Chron., II, Plates X and XVII.

2,3 In the memorandum book mentioned on p.138 above.

4 Francis Peck, Desiderata Curiosa ... memoirs, letters, wills and epitaphs (1732, 1735; new edn. 1779).

5 William Harrison, "An historical description of the Islande of Britayne", in Holinshed's Chronicles, Vol. I (1577).

when Walpole made his notes, and the mid-1790's. A good many antiquarian notes on individual aspects of the subjects had appeared, for instance Pegge's notes on hunting;¹ and a major work such as Gough's Sepulchral Monuments (1786), though not chiefly concerned with costume, had obviously made a good deal of relevant material more readily available.² There were a number of works for other countries, notably Fabri's book on the costumes of Naples³ and, in French, the works by Le Hay⁴ and Duflos.⁵ Gough refers to a further work on costume, but again limited to France with little reference to English parallels: that of "Mons. le Grand Aussy ... [who] promises, from his valuable collection of drawings, copied from tombs, painted windows, and fronts of churches, and other antient monuments, a complete history of dresses and fashions in all parts, and among all

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- 1 Samuel Pegge, "On the Hunting of the Ancient Inhabitants of our Island, Britons and Saxons," Archaeologia, XIX (1792), pp.156-166. Other Archaeologia articles or references to costume are as follows: IV, 212-310 (Lort, 1775, on a manuscript account by Dr John Woodward of the ancient Egyptians, especially 233, on costume); V, 119-236 (Daines Barrington, 1776, on Patriarchal Customs and Manners, esp. 121, fn.1.); and XII, 215-216 (Douce, 1796, Observations on certain Ornaments of Female Dress). Archaeologia on sports and pastimes includes VII, 46-68 (Daines Barrington, 1783, on Archery in England); VIII, 134-146, 147-151, and 152-138* (Barrington, Bowle and Gough [1785?]-1786, on Card-Playing in England); XI, 81-82 (John Moir on peasant musical instruments); and two articles on chess or chessmen, IX, 16-38 (Barrington, 1787), and XI, 397-410 (Douce, 1793).
 - 2 Charles Alfred Stothard, son of Strutt's associate Thomas Stothard, began in 1811 to publish the first history of costume based entirely on monuments: The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain (1817-32; new edn. Hewitt, 1876).
 - 3 A. Fabri, Raccolta di varii vestimenti ed arti del regno di Napoli (1773).
 - 4 J. Le Hay, Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant (Paris, 1714).
 - 5 P. Duflos, Recueil des Estampes, représentant les grades les rangs et les dignités, suivant le costume de toutes les nations existantes (Paris, 1780).

orders and ranks in France" (Sep. Mons., I, 1). The only work to have been published in England was Thomas Jeffery's A Collection of the Dresses of Different Nations, Ancient and Modern, after the Designs of Holbein, Vandyke, Hollars, and others (1757-1772). Strutt no doubt knew and profited from Jeffery's writings, but his own work far outstripped Jeffery's in its detailed analysis of source material, especially medieval. The few plates depicting dress or pastimes in the works of the older antiquaries were specialised, for instance the illustrations of ecclesiastical garments in Dugdale's Monasticon (1655-73). He had no direct models for the Dress and Habits, still less for the Sports and Pastimes, in the way that the works of Montfaucon served as an inspiration for the Manners and Customs.

It is, therefore, no idle claim when Strutt says, in his preface to the Dress and Habits, "there is no such work in the English language; at least, none sufficiently extensive and regular to display the prevalent fashions of our ancestors through every century" (I, "Address", iii); or, in the Sports and Pastimes, "The task in truth is extremely difficult; and many omissions, as well as many errors, must of necessity occur in the prosecution of it; but none, I hope, of *any great* magnitude, nor more than candour will overlook, especially when it is recollected, that in a variety of instances, I have been constrained to proceed without any guide, and explore, as it were, the recesses of a trackless wilderness" (p.lv).

One manuscript work on costume may perhaps have influenced Strutt a good deal, since it was by his early friend and mentor Michael Tyson. The "History of Fashions and Dresses" is mentioned a number of times in the writings of other antiquaries. It is first referred to by Walpole, in a letter to Cole dated 11 August 1769 (Yale Corr., I, 189-192): he is outlining a scheme for a history of Gothic architecture, in which Cole is to "ascertain the chronologic period of each building -- and not only of each building, but of each tomb ... Mr Tyson could give great assistance. [His] history of fashions and dresses, would make a valuable part of the work, as in elder times

especially much must be depended on tombs for dresses" (191-192).¹

The work was never published,² and the manuscript appears to have been destroyed or lost. From what Walpole says of the work, and the fact that Gough, in Sepulchral Monuments, acknowledges his debt to its author,³ the implication is that the "History" was based on a study of monumental costumes, Tyson no doubt combining his twin loves of travel and drawing to record the tombs he met with on his journeys round the country. At the same time Strutt makes no reference to the work in the Dress and Habits, which suggests that it may not have been readily quotable. It seems quite possible that the "History" was a collection of drawings and notes rather than a completed written work; this would explain why the antiquaries were so interested in it yet Strutt could not quote from it directly. Even so it may well have had a considerable influence in fostering Strutt's interest in costume, and increasing his knowledge of its development.

The implications of the dearth of earlier material were clear to Strutt: "I am convinced, that in the prosecution of this extensive

- 1 See further, Cole's memoir of Tyson in his manuscript account of the "Benedictine Antiquaries of Cambridge" (Brit.Lib. Addnl. MS. 5886; cf. Lit. Anecs., I, 694). Cole had intended to bequeath the manuscript to Gough, but the latter, on a visit to Cole in 1782, "looking over the book with indifference, it may not be worth his acceptance; and therefore let it go with the rest of my MSS." (flyleaf).
- 2 Elliot says "never completed", but does not cite his evidence (Yale Corr., I, 191). Cambridge University Library has no knowledge of the manuscript.
- 3 "Had my ingenious friend Mr. Tyson been living, his taste in drawing, and his knowledge of these subjects, would have corrected innumerable errors, which now obtrude themselves. It is enough for me to bewail my loss by his death" (Sep. Mons., I, 10). Cole had shown Walpole's letter to Gough when the plan for the Sepulchral Monuments became known in 1781-82 (Yale Corr., I, 190, editorial note 10).

work many errors will be unavoidable. In numberless instances I am necessitated to labour, as it were, in the dark ... I have often considered myself, when engaged in the abstracted researches of Antiquity, in the situation of a traveller who has lost his way in a country totally unknown to him" (DH, I, "Address", iv,16). The "silence ... of the contemporary historians on these important subjects leaves us without the power of tracing them with the least degree of certainty" (SP, p.xv). The advantage was, of course, that Strutt was thrown back on his own resources, in particular on his vast knowledge of the subjects of dress and sports as they were shown in manuscript illuminations. "The engravings, which form the most material part of this publication, are taken from drawings in Manuscripts coëval with the times they are intended to illustrate, or other monuments of antiquity equally authentic; and they are faithfully copied from the originals, without an additional fold being made to the draperies, or the least deviation from the form of the garments" (DH, I, "Address", iii). "It is necessary to add, that the engravings, which constitute an essential part of this work, are not the produce of modern invention, neither do they contain a single figure that has not its proper authority" (SP, p.lv). The lists of manuscripts used in the Dress and Habits and Sports and Pastimes, as well as the printed works consulted, are referred to in the "Sources" Appendix (see below, p. 384^{ff}). The manuscripts considered included a very high proportion of those which were known and accessible at the time.

The Dress and Habits

Publication

The Dress and Habits, like its predecessors of the early 1770's, was published in numbers -- between thirty-six and forty, according

to the Specimen, at 2s 6d each, published monthly.¹ The only copy of the Specimen which appears to survive is in the Queenhoo-Hall manuscript,² where Strutt (always the "great Oeconomist of Paper", as a reader tired of his close writing has scribbled in one of his manuscripts),³ has written across the printed as well as the blank side of a spare copy. It was probably the second Specimen, a kind of mid-term advertisement to encourage the tardier buyers, since it was apparently published in April or May 1795, nine months after the first number had appeared: "Nine Numbers of the Work are now published, including the Space of Four Centuries" (Specimen). If there was indeed an earlier Specimen, no copy has been traced.

Coloured copies of the engravings were available as an optional extra, at a good deal of extra cost; but black and white prints were supplied with the letter-press for the basic cost of 2s 6d per number: "Four capital Engravings are given in each Number, with a sufficient Quantity of Letter-press to explain them in a full and copious Manner ... The Engravings, elegantly coloured in Imitation of the Originals, may be had at Five Shillings each Number: Specimens to be seen at the undermentioned Places ... Nichols, Red-Lion Passage, Fleet-street; Messrs. White, Fleet-street; Faulder, New Bond-street; Thane, Spur-street, Leicester-square; Robinsons, Pater-Noster Row; Edwards, and Harding, Pall-Mall" (Specimen).

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- 1 "... each Volume to consist of Eighteen Numbers -- and on no Consideration to exceed Twenty" (Specimen). The Specimen had promised that "Four capital Engravings are given in each Number." The final number of plates is 153, including eight unnumbered and two frontispieces, so there were probably nineteen numbers to each volume, with eleven to twelve pages per number in Volume I, and sixteen to seventeen average in Volume II. Publication of the first number apparently took place in August or September 1794: "Of this amusing publication four monthly numbers have appeared, and a fifth is announced" (Gent. Mag., LXIV [December 1794], 1127).
- 2 National Library of Scotland MS. 878; the Specimen sheet is used for a draft list of the novel's chapter headings.
- 3 "Chronicle of a Revolution in the Land of the Lilies", Essex Archaeological Society. Second of five introductory pages (see further below, p. 294).

The single-sheet Specimen makes two particular points in its appeal to the reader. The first is to his patriotism, while reassuring him that he will also find enjoyment in the reading. The second appeal is to Strutt's fellow-painters: "To the Artists in general this Work will be more than amusing -- it will be exceedingly useful, and to those especially who are engaged in Subjects taken from the History of England; for, without doubt, it is to the Want of proper Information that those striking Inaccuracies, relative to Dress and Manners, may be attributed, which so greatly obscure the Merits of many of the modern historical Pictures" (Specimen).¹

The Specimen suggests that the Numbers had begun with Saxon dress, and that the Introduction (a history of dress in ancient times) was to appear at a later stage. "The Work commences with the Habits of the Anglo-Saxons, as they appeared a thousand Years back; and the Introduction, placed at the Head of the First Volume, will contain a general Description of the Ancient Habits of every Nation in the World from the earliest Period of Time to the Eighth Century." Otherwise we are given little information which we do not already know from the work itself, though there had been some doubt in the early stages about the form the work would take: "from a careful Survey of Materials collected for the Purpose, [the author] is now enabled to ascertain its Extent. It is intended to comprise the Whole in Two Volumes, instead of Three as it was at first proposed."

A first draft for part of the Dress and Habits also survives, in one of Strutt's notebooks.² There is no indication of the date of the notes and draft, though the notebook seems to have been in use as early as April 1773, since a note on fol.44 apparently refers to Strutt's first visit to Oxford in that month: "To beg of Mr. Price to show me those antiquities of Oxford which are kept in the Bod. Lib. - To get a List of Hearn's Publicat: To enquire what plates of Hearn's are at Oxford which I have not."

1 For the use of historical costume in painting, see above, p.85.

2 Brit.Lib. MS. Egerton 888.2.

Plan and Scope

"Dress", at the time Strutt was writing, carried some implication of formal or ceremonial attire, whereas "habits" was the equivalent of our word "clothing".¹ In other words Strutt was aiming to produce a history of costume of all the English social classes, and including ceremonial and occupational dress.

Volume I is made up as follows: Frontispiece; Title-page; Address to the Public (pp.iii-iv); Contents of the First Part of the Introduction (two pages); Contents of the Work (four pages); Introduction (pp.i-lxxxviii); eight plates (unnumbered); Text (pp.1-124); Plates I-LXVIII.

Volume II has: Frontispiece; Title-page; Contents of the Work (four pages); Introduction ([lxxxix] -cxxxvi); Text (pp. [125] -378); "A List of the MSS. containing the chief part of the DRESSES given in this Work" (pp.i-iii); "A List of the PLATES contained in this Work; with Reference to the MSS. from which they were selected" (pp.iv-vii); Plates LXIX-CXLIII.²

The "Address" at once strikes a new note of confidence: "I shall not pretend to apologize for the introduction of this work to the inspection of the Public. If it possesses a sufficient portion of merit to recommend itself to notice, I am certain it will meet with a favourable reception: if it does not, undoubtedly it will be rejected with justice" (I, "Address", iii). Strutt then goes on to explain

1 See further, O.E.D., dress, habit.

2 There are minor variations from one copy to another: in the London University copy, for example (fLGWe Str), the plates of Volume I are all bound together, and in Volume II the Contents follows rather than precedes the Introduction. The description given is based on Brit.Lib. 687.h.21.

his treatment of his manuscript sources, especially the illuminations. As well as aiming for complete accuracy in his reproduction of the illuminations, he has tried to make the result as visually satisfying as possible, "by grouping [the figures] as pleasingly as the nature of the subject would admit" (I, "Address", iii).

The Introduction, spread over the two volumes, is a 136-page history of world costume before the Saxons. It does not, naturally enough, include material from the Americas or the Far East or other civilisations which were then little known in Europe. The sections in the first volume relate to the Egyptians and Israelites and their neighbours; the second volume gives a "General View of the Habits of the Greeks and the Romans." The plates, as Strutt explains, "are few [eight, in fact]; but taken from originals, undoubtedly authentic" (I, "Address", iv). Much of the information in the first volume comes from Biblical references; but classical writers such as Herodotus are also quoted, and the plates include drawings of mummies and jewellery. Strutt, as was usual at the time, interprets the Biblical references literally: he assumes that clothing and the processes of cloth-making were known to the Antediluvians, "and the knowledge of them preserved by Noah and his family" (I, "Introduction", ii). Even so, his Biblical scholarship, by the lights of his day, is considerable: he apparently knew Hebrew sufficiently well to discuss the finer points of interpretation when comparing one garment with another: "If I might offer a conjecture of my own, I should, from the very passage before me, conclude that the distinction made between these garments [burnoose and hyke] is perfectly needless" (I, "Introduction", xxxv, fn.1, on Micah, ii, 8); or: "the word ... in both places (Exodus, xxvii, 36 and xxxix, 30) certainly means a flower; and by no means a plate, as it is usually rendered" (I, "Introduction", xxxvi, fn.3). This achievement, though not unknown in the eighteenth century (both Dutens and the Duke of Northumberland had learned something of the language) was certainly not common; however Strutt's knowledge seems to have been something more than the learning of Hebrew letters for engraving purposes. The family papers record that "He acquired some knowledge of Hebrew from a Jew, who gave him lessons"; while William Strutt claims that he was "an excellent Greek and Hebrew scholar, from the latter of which languages he translated the Book of Job into English" (Memoir, p.71).

The text proper is divided into five chronological sections:
 I. The Civil, Military and Ecclesiastical Habits of the Anglo-Saxons, to the Conclusion of the Eighth Century II. The Anglo-Saxons from the beginning of the Ninth century to the arrival of the Normans III. The Anglo-Normans to the conclusion of the twelfth century. Parts IV and V (which come in the second volume) cover the Anglo-Normans from the end of the twelfth to the beginning of the fourteenth century; and the English from the end of the fourteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Strutt's complete familiarity with all the relevant manuscript illuminations is well demonstrated in the Dress and Habits: "Towards the conclusion of the ninth, or about the commencement of the tenth, century, a body-armour, differing from the coat of mail already described, was introduced among the Saxons; and, from the frequency of its appearance in the drawings of that period, we may fairly conclude that it was more generally adopted. I have selected two specimens which vary in some degree from each other" (I, 55).

His treatment of the early Saxon woman's "gown" is a good example of his method of working. He begins by explaining the difficulties of nomenclature. He compares himself to a traveller in a totally strange country; having lost his way and "finding no prospect of information," the traveller is "reduced to the necessity of depending upon his own judgement with respect to the path he ought to pursue; and never did I feel the force of this similitude more than in the compilation of the present chapter. Uncertain how far the names I apply to the different parts of dress, belonging to the females of this remote period, are consistent with reality, I am still necessitated, for brevity's sake, to adopt some names" (I,16). He has chosen the name "gown" because the Saxon drawings approximate more closely to the eighteenth-century garment of that name than any other. It is an overgarment, probably worn during the summer (one of the illuminations shows a tree in the background in full leaf, and the sleeves of an undergarment in the same drawing are apparently of a light material); it varies little from one illumination to the next, except that the sleeves can be wrist- or elbow-length (and in one instance it appears sleeveless); a girdle is always worn around the waist (one example

has a loose end floating); the gown can be adorned with different types of embroidery, which are described; the material, from the appearance of the folds, is "of some less pliant substance" than the undergarment -- etc., etc. (I, 16-18).

Strutt takes as much interest in the background to dress as in the clothes themselves, and in this way is a forerunner of the sociological students of the subject. His account of costume under Edward III, for example, includes references to acts relating to clothmaking; contemporary indictments of "immoral" fashions; a study of the uniform of officials as well as of special groups such as citizens and pilgrims (with particular reference to the Canterbury Tales). His net is cast wide: Aldhelm's manuscript in Lambeth Palace Library, "De Virginitate" [Lambeth MS. 200], might not at first seem a very likely place to find references to the vagaries of fashion, but Strutt did not miss the relevant passage: "Aldhelm, bishop of Shereburn, writing in praise of virginity, uses the following lines by way of simily: 'It is not the web of one uniform colour and texture, without any variety of figures, that pleases the eye and appears beautiful, but one that is woven by shuttles filled with threads of purple and various other colours, flying from side to side, and forming variety of figures and images in different compartments with admirable art" (I, 2).

The Sports and Pastimes

Publication

Not a great deal is known about the publication of the Sports and Pastimes. It almost certainly appeared in numbers, since this was Strutt's favoured method of publication for his more finely-illustrated works (and was, indeed, used even for posthumous editions of the Sports and Pastimes).¹ William Strutt says only: "Battling

1 Hone, in December 1829, noted a "forthcoming octavo edition ... [it] will be printed in a superior manner, on fine paper, with at least 140 Engravings. It will be published in Monthly Parts, price One Shilling each" (Table Book, 1891, p.846).

with ill-health, the indefatigable Antiquary, whose energies seemed exhaustless, produced yet another work, probably, the most popular he ever wrote, and that by which his name is most widely known: namely, The Sports and Pastimes, published 1801" (Memoir, p.67).¹

Many copies of the Sports and Pastimes were sold with coloured plates, but Cox argues convincingly that this was probably not Strutt's intention:

The numerous plates were hand coloured in the majority of the issues; but were evidently drawn by the author with sufficient care to be produced without any colouring adjunct. Indeed, from the style of the drawings it is debatable whether the colouring was not an afterthought of the publisher. It may safely be asserted that Joseph Strutt had nothing whatever to do with the colouring. He was ill at the time the work was produced, and died shortly afterwards. Though in the main an engraver, it will be recollected that Strutt was himself a colourist and won his first Academy medal by an oil painting ... But whoever was responsible for treating a large number of the copies of "Sports and Pastimes" ... never took the trouble to even glance at the originals ... After collating five coloured copies of the first edition, with the more important MSS. of the British Museum which furnished Strutt with his illustrations, it was found that each one differed absolutely in colours from the actual pictures. (SP, 1969, vi-vii)

Plan and Scope

The single-volume Sports and Pastimes begins with a substantial "Introduction" (1969 edn., pp.xv-lv), in which Strutt gives the outline of his subject, ranging from Roman Britain to Strutt's own day. The main text (1969, pp.1-313) is divided into four books: Rural Exercises practised by Persons of Rank; Rural Exercises generally practised; Pastimes usually exercised in Towns and Cities.

1 The Monthly Review in June 1802 (XXXVIII, 135) advertised the volume for three guineas plain, or five coloured.

or Places adjoining to them; and Domestic Amusements of Various Kinds: and Pastimes appropriated to particular Seasons.

The chapter scheme of the four books is as follows: Book I: Chapters 1-2. Hunting and hawking 3. Horse racing Book II: 1. Archery 2. Slings stones, bars, hammers; quoits; footraces; wrestling; swimming; skating; rowing and sailing 3. Ball games Book III: 1. Tournaments 2. Drama and puppets 3. Minstrels 4. Jugglers 5. Dancing and tumbling 6. Performing animals; mumming; sword and quarterstaff 7. Various, including bowls and skittles Book IV: 1. Music; bells; billiards etc. 2. Sedentary indoor games - dice, chess, cards etc. 3. Christmas; Mayday; fireworks 4. Children's games.

The scholarship of the Sports and Pastimes is of a relatively relaxed kind; in the "Introduction", for example, Strutt moves from era to era and subject to subject, more concerned with keeping the interest of his reader than with strict logical or chronological sequence. He gives free rein to some of his favourite notions, such as the existence of 'national characters', for example:

when the Romans first invaded Britain, her inhabitants were a bold, active, and warlike people, tenacious of their native liberty, and capable of bearing great fatigue; to which they were inured by an early education, and constant pursuit of such amusements as best suited the profession of a soldier; including hunting, running, leaping, swimming, and other exertions requiring strength and agility of body. Perhaps the skill which the natives of Devonshire and Cornwall retain to the present day, in hurling and wrestling, may properly be considered as a vestige of British activity. (1969, p.xvi)

Some of the scholarly trappings are missing from the Sports and Pastimes; there is no list of manuscripts consulted, and no index (the first index was added in Hone's edition of 1830). But the difference is one of style rather than substance: the sources consulted are no fewer for the Sports and Pastimes than for any of Strutt's major works (see the Sources Appendix, p.385 below). There

is the same ease with manuscript sources as was apparent in the Dress and Habits: "The pastime of bowling, whether practised upon open greens or in bowling-alleys, was probably an invention of the middle ages. I cannot by any means ascertain the time of its introduction: but I have traced it back to the thirteenth century. The earliest representation of a game played with bowls occurs on plate thirty from a manuscript of that century" (1969, p.216: the manuscript in question is Brit.Lib. MS. Royal 20 E.IV).

There is considerable use of official records: one wonders if Delarue's strictures on the Dress and Habits (see below, pp.215-216) had been taken to heart. The cited official records include many acts; for example: "In the preamble to the Parliamentary Statutes as early as the sixth year of Edward III., there is a clause prohibiting of boys or others from playing at barres, or snatch-hood, or any other improper games, in the king's palace at Westminster during the sitting of the parliament; neither might they, by striking, or otherwise, prevent any one from passing peaceably about his business" (1969, p.11).

Foreign examples are used to a greater extent than in Strutt's earlier works: his insularity had been one of the criticisms brought against the Biographical Dictionary of Engravers. Here, though, we find evidence of increased awareness of European parallels: "The game of hand-ball is called by the French palm play, because, says St Foix, a modern author, originally 'this exercise consisted in receiving the ball and driving it back again with the palm of the hand' "(1969, p.81).

Reviews and other reactions

To Nichols, the Sports and Pastimes was "a performance which, from the novelty of the subject, attracted the notice and admiration of readers of almost every class" (Lit. Anecs., V, 679). An identical description appeared in William Strutt's Memoir (p.67). The Dress and Habits, in William Strutt's view, was a work "more appreciated than his former ones" (Memoir, p.66). These statements may well be

true, but if so the appreciation was probably not a consequence of the critics' reactions, since the works were not particularly widely reviewed.

The Dress and Habits, in fact, was noticed by only one of the major literary magazines, the Gentleman's Magazine; and the notice is not so much a review as a statement of contents; it sounds as though a fuller review may have been intended, though it never appeared: "it will be sufficient, for the present, to say, that each number contains four curious plates, illustrative of the subject; and that, in those already published, the reader will find some entertaining remarks, expressed with a becoming diffidence."¹ A list of subjects considered in the book follows, without further comment.

The Sports and Pastimes was not reviewed by the Gentleman's Magazine, but received warm praise from the Monthly Review: "with respect to deep research, accurate knowledge, variety of matter, and entertaining narrative, the present work is in no degree inferior to any of its predecessors. Indeed, it not less excites our surprise than our praise, that so much has been effected in this branch of investigation, considering the indefatigable pains that are required in collecting the documents, in arranging the materials, in combining the relations, in elucidating the obscurities, and in completing the imperfections of decayed intelligence."² The reviewer was well aware of the difficulties of achieving a sure knowledge, when the only evidence "is derived from foreign writers, partially acquainted with them as a people, and totally ignorant of their domestic customs and amusements, (the contemporary historians of the country being entirely silent on these important subjects)" (p.135). The "informed and ingenious author", however, had, by his "laborious and unwearied exertions ... surmounted them all" (p.135).

1 Gent. Mag., LXIV (December 1794), 1127.

2 Monthly Rev., XXVIII (June 1802), 135-143. The quotation is taken from p.135.

As with the Manners and Customs, interest in the Dress and Habits and the Sports and Pastimes can probably be gauged better from the number of passing references than from the formal reviews. The two works made occasional appearances in the pages of the literary magazines long after Strutt's death. For instance, "Indagator" wrote to the Gentleman's Magazine on 12 July 1816, from Liverpool, to suggest a Lancashire name for a game which Strutt had been unable to identify in 1801 (p.297, Plate XXXVIII).¹ A proud father (no less than "John Thomas Smith, Keeper of the Prints in the British Museum") wrote in November of the following year to advertise his daughters' work: the girls were "engaged in the pleasant, though arduous pursuit of materials for a splendid display of English dresses ... which they are etching with a delicate and clear outline ... Much as the late Mr. Strutt has done as to dresses generally, and highly interesting as the labours of that worthy man must ever be; yet it is acknowledged by all those who have seen my daughters' drawings, that their articles of dress are not only more extensive, various, and beautiful, but, from their elaborate detail, far more likely to be of the highest importance to the Historian, the Artist, and the Actor."²

Notes in the Douce manuscripts give other indications of interest in the works; in particular, a letter on the subject of costume from "Votre tres humble et tres ob^t serviteur De la Rue", of 34 Windmill Street, written on 21 November 1796 (the letter is loose in the Douce copy of the Dress and Habits in the Bodleian Library). Delarue (L'abbé Gervais) was one of the most noted French historians of the late eighteenth century, specialising in the antiquities of his native Normandy and, later, in the history of the trouvères. He fled to England in 1793, losing most of his notes and manuscripts during the Terror; and spent some years here and in Holland, returning to France only in 1798. In England he spent many months working on the Anglo-

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- 1 Gent. Mag., LXXXVI (July 1816), 36. "Indagator" remains unidentified. A number of works under this pseudonym were published between 1810 and 1834, but none has obvious Liverpool connections, and the name does not appear in the dictionaries of pseudonymous authors.
- 2 Gent. Mag., LXXXVII (November 1817), 391-392.

Norman state papers, then kept in the Tower. He became a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and friend and correspondent of many of the leading English scholars.

The letter is critical of Strutt: "j'ai lhonneur de vous envoyer quelques pieces bien plus instructives sur ce point [les anciens costumes anglois] que toutes les gravures de Mr Strutt. tant qu'il n'aura pas des Regles sures pour distinguer les MSS anglois des MSS francois, ses publications n'auront jamais d'autre base que l'incertitude, et ne pourront par la meme fixer l'opinion d'un homme qui a de la Critique." Strutt should, says Delarue, have given more material from official records, especially since these records are so indisputably dated and provenanced: "il auroit surtout l'avantage de prouver l'authenticité de ses anciens costumes par des monumens historiques et ses publications auroient bien plus de merite." Delarue, of course, had ignored the primarily visual nature of the Dress and Habits.

Strutt's contribution to the development of stage costuming

Changes in stage costuming and setting in historical drama during the later years of the eighteenth century are a particularly interesting example of the practical influence of the antiquaries' researches. Strutt's works (notably the Dress and Habits, but also the Manners and Customs and the Antiquities) seem to have been of special significance in this field, probably because his plates provided precisely the kind of models which the managers and actors needed when looking for authentic representations of past dress and artefacts. Not that authenticity was as yet the over-riding consideration in the majority of instances: it was not until 1823, with Kemble's production of King John, that the stage reached "the climax of the struggle for realism in stage costuming, a realism evidenced in the use of real materials and in strict adherence to historically accurate designs."¹ For this 1823 production, not only

1 Lily B. Campbell, "A History of Costuming on the English Stage," repr. in The Collected Papers of Lily B. Campbell, 1907-52 (New York, 1968), p.131.

was the advice of Planché, Meyrick and Douce sought and followed by Kemble (despite the dismay and sulks of the cast)¹ but "Mr. Douce ... paid me also the great compliment of lending me his fine copy of Strutt's Dress and Habits of the People of England."² Even an author writing when the movement towards realism was well under way, and with stage representations specifically in mind, acknowledged Strutt's pioneering work:

It was evident that, notwithstanding the labours of the accurate Mr. Strutt, truth of costume was little regarded either by Painters or Actors; and it seemed that this inattention to so essential a part of historic representation arose from a prejudiced idea ... that to introduce upon the stage or upon the canvas materials derived from such a source [as antiquities], must naturally destroy all beauty and harmony, and produce an insipid if not a burlesque effect. But an inspection of the following specimens will tend to prove the notion groundless, and show that when the outline of the human form is preserved tolerably correct, the draperies and armour will not be wanting in beauty or grandeur. Far from diminishing the impression intended to be conveyed, an adherence to the Costume of the times represented will augment the illusion, and assist to explain the meaning.³

Garrick himself owned a copy of the Manners and Customs, along with Montfaucon's Monarchie Françoise and other works on costume.⁴

The treatment of stage costuming in the first half of the eighteenth century had been, to say the least, somewhat arbitrary. For many plays the cast simply wore their ordinary clothing -- though perhaps "ordinary" is hardly the appropriate word, since there was much competition to cut the finest and most fashionable figure. Dress allowances were paid to the most successful actresses, and George Anne Bellamy's delightful tale of Mrs Furnival's purloining of her

1 Campbell, op.cit., p.131.

2 Planché, Recollections, cited Campbell, p.130.

3 Charles Hamilton Smith, The Ancient Costumes of Great Britain and Ireland, from the Seventh to the Sixteenth Century (1814), Preface.

4 "R.", "On Dramatic Costume," Gent. Mag. XCV, i (January 1825), 3-4.

Cleopatra dress is often repeated.¹ Zoffany's portrait of Garrick as Macbeth, sporting silver-laced waistcoat, wig, and breeches, and Lichtenberg's jibe that the English Roscius liked the effect of a French suit for showing off his figure in a way that the cloak of a historical costume might not have done, give a similar picture for the actors. There were certain traditional accoutrements and attachments, such as the plume of feathers thought appropriate to heroes, or the dressing of empresses and queens in black velvet. But otherwise the whim of the leading members of the cast, or the ill-assorted and often shabby contents of the wardrobe provided by the managers for minor characters, ruled the day.

The situation was not entirely a result of managerial stinginess, nor of insensitivity to what was appropriate. As early as the 1730's and 1740's Charles Macklin was wearing a red hat as Shylock, because he believed them to have been worn by Venetian Jews; and thirty years later introduced Scots habits for Macbeth. Similarly, wardrobe expenditure at Drury Lane by the end of Garrick's time there took some 6% - 8% of the entire operating budget. In Burnim's words, "By 1774, Garrick could boast with as much truth as complacency that 'I never make any Objections to ye Expence of decorating a play, if I imagine that ye Performance will be of Service to the Author, & the Theatre'".²

In this remark lies the truth of the matter, that managers were not averse to making their scenery and costuming authentic, provided that the general result was to the advantage of the whole production. And it took a good many years and false starts before the professional theatre men were convinced that this would indeed be the result. The cast's doubts about the twelfth-century costumes for Kemble's King John have already been noted; and a long series of articles in the Gentleman's Magazine some years before had pointed out the same hesitation:

At the conclusion of a conference which I held with the manager

1 See, for instance, Allardyce Nicoll, A History of Late Eighteenth Century Drama 1750-1800 (Cambridge, 1952), p.37.

2 Kalman A. Burnim, David Garrick, Director, p.83.

(in 1795), for the professed purpose of expatiating on the antient costume of this country, and the necessity of its being adhered to on the stage; and, after having exhibited to him various specimens of drawings for scenery, dresses, and decorations, conformable to such purposes; the Manager was pleased to deliver his opinion on the business nearly to this effect: "That, if any historical drama was to be got up in strict compliance to antient times, it would never answer so as to please the public; and for his part, he judged it best to make a mixture of antient and modern manners, that our Gothic architecture (though misnomer) and the Roman and Grecian styles should go hand-in-hand together in the scenery; that fancy and modern dresses should distinguish the several dramatic characters; and that the decorations ought to be in such a way as the genius of the artist might devise. Then (he continued in an exulting manner) each auditor would find some object or other to please his own particular fancy;" &c.&c.¹

The managers were right in their judgement that change could only be introduced if it coincided with the public will. It was known that sumptuous and lavish productions would draw the crowds, but unfavourable stir had been caused, for instance, by Mrs Siddons leaving off hoop and wig in order to make her movements more expressive, or breaking with tradition by putting down her candle so that Lady Macbeth might seem to wash her hands. Given this conservatism on the part of audiences, the caution of the managers is understandable. Just as Percy hesitated to supply an unimproved ballad to his public, so the actor-manager had to be very sure that realism was what his audience wanted. And everything which was spent on presentation had to be set against the likely profits: even in Kemble's later days, corners were sometimes cut: "A pretty exact

1 "AN ARTIST and an ANTIQUARY," [John Carter], Gent. Mag. LXX, ii (Supplement, 1800), 1266. The full series of articles, most of them detailed criticisms of the setting and costuming of recent productions, appears as follows: LXIX, i (February 1799), 113-116; LXIX, i (June 1799), 468-472; LXIX, ii (November 1799), 935-938; LXX, i (April 1800), 318-321; LXX, i (June 1800), 519-523; LXX, ii (Supplement, 1800), 1266-1268.

representation of Hanover-square, and some very neat Bond-street shops appeared two, or three times, as parts of Rome ..."¹ Garrick, in particular, had something of a reputation for meanness; even his memorialist in the Gentleman's Magazine commented that he had a reputation for conducting himself "with too strict an oeconomy in the ornamental and decorative parts of theatrical exhibitions."² Cradock tells how he insisted on playing Lear in his Richard III costume, with only the addition of grey locks, rather than pay out so near his retirement for a new Lear outfit.³

With all these reasons for holding to the old ways, it is all the more remarkable that a number of attempts at historical realism were made in the later years of the century. They include Drury Lane's Edward, the Black Prince (1750), The Chances (1754), Shakespeare and Ben Jonson productions (see Burnim, p.77). It is perhaps noteworthy that Garrick seems to have been becoming more interested in historical costume towards the end of his career (though Cradock's story has also to be borne in mind). He planned a new production of Macbeth, which was not carried out, in which "I have a design to exhibit ye Characters in ye old dresses."⁴ He did produce a Lear, on 21 May 1776, of which the London Chronicle reported: "The play received considerable improvement last night, from the characters being judiciously habited in Old English Dresses. Lear's was more majestic than usual, and in our opinion much more in character. The disposition of the scenery was likewise varied on the occasion, so as to produce a pleasing effect, and heighten the general representation of the piece."⁵ No known print survives of the Garrick production, but a water-colour by Strutt, showing a scene from the Lear story, is discussed in more detail below (pp.224-225).

1 Review of Kemble's Coriolanus, Burney newspaper cutting quoted by Nicoll, p.35.

2 Gent. Mag., XLIX (1779), 226.

3 J. Cradock, Literary and Miscellaneous Memoirs (1828), IV, 249.

4 Letter to Sir Gray Cooper, 17 Dec 1775; Burnim, p.126.

5 London Chronicle, 21-23 May 1776, Burnim, p.151; cf. Nicoll, p.36.

In part the attempts at realism were a response to technical innovation; greater flexibility in scene-changing and lighting made for new 'natural' effects, which could only be heightened by the use of accurate scenery and costume. Garrick called in Reynolds and West to advise him on scenery so that the best use might be made of De Louthembourg's talents (Nicoll, p.36). But some credit must also go to the antiquaries; both those, such as William Capon, who involved themselves directly in the work of the theatre (Nicoll, p.30; Campbell, p.128); and others like Strutt who provided the materials for the managers to use. The antiquaries too had played their part in teaching the public to distinguish between the authentic and the concocted: "To make available the knowledge of costumes and customs of the ancients and of strange peoples was, of course, the work of the scholar. To interpret this knowledge to the audience at the theater was the task of the stage manager and his assistants. That this task became more and more a necessary one as the taste of the people was educated through their knowledge of the results of the work of these students of research is, of course, apparent" (Campbell, p.125). As in other instances, Strutt's influence would continue to be felt long after his death, and the results of his work show themselves in stage productions half a century after his books were published.

The Editions

The Dress and Habits was seen from the start as a luxury reference work, and, especially in its fine coloured form, sold to the well-to-do collector. Thus no new edition was to appear until Planché (author of The History of British Costume, 1834: see Christy, Appendix C [11]) published his revised edition in 1842. However, negotiations for an equally luxurious French edition began even before the final publication of Volume I of the English version, and the first volume appeared in 1797. For some reason not known the second volume was never published. One of Douce's notes throws a little light on the transaction: "Feb. 13. 1796. Edwards (Pall Mall) agreed to give S. 250 guineas for the like number of sets of the plates to his book on dresses for a French edition. E. to find the paper, & Strutt the plate printing" (MS. Douce f.10, fol.4).

The Planché edition of the Dress and Habits contained scarcely a

trace of the harsh criticism levelled by the same author against the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities. Though Sir Samuel Meyrick's work on the armour and weapons of the Middle Ages¹ had "superseded all former speculative and imperfect essays on the subject", and Stothard's Monumental Effigies had "greatly contributed to the knowledge we previously possessed of those unquestionable authorities", yet Strutt's work was still the most generally informative (DH, 1842, I, [v]). The errors of the work "were nearly all caused by the peculiar circumstances under which its pages were hurried through the press; and do not affect in any way the reputation or research of the author" ([v]). (If Planché knew of specific "peculiar circumstances" beyond the normal hazards of publishing by numbers, he does not reveal them.) The additional notes were few; corrections were usually limited to changes in page references to other authors. When Planché offered new information, he almost always pointed out that Strutt could not have known the facts presented (see, for example, I, "Introduction", xii, note 4, the discoveries of Egyptian travellers such as Rosellini and Wilkinson; or I, 13: "Mr. Strutt made this observation before Mr. Sharon Turner had published his excellent 'History of the Anglo-Saxons'"). Planché indeed, went out of his way to justify the tentative nature of Strutt's statements: as "he was in fact the pioneer of succeeding Antiquaries, we have only to wonder that so few errors should be discoverable" (Preface, vi). This is in striking contrast to his strictures on the Antiquities, where greater allowance for the youth of the author could have been expected; it seems quite possible that Planché regretted his fierce tone in the earlier work, and sought to redress the balance towards his "learned, patient and industrious author" ([v]).

The Sports and Pastimes, on the other hand, of somewhat smaller size and readily useable even with black and white illustrations, was more inviting to future editors. By 1810 the work was reissued with slightly larger and improved type and plates printed in a uniform terracotta, under the supervision of Joseph Strutt Junior (Christy, xvii, 6). A parody of the Sports and Pastimes appeared in 1816; a

1 A Critical Inquiry into antient Armour (1824).

sure sign of the book's popularity.¹ An octavo edition, with 136 woodcuts replacing the plates, was published in 1830 by William Hone at a price which "will not exceed one-sixth of the cost of the original;"² this edition was reissued five times during the course of the nineteenth century (1833, 1834, 1838, 1841 and 1875).³ In 1903 Charles Cox edited and enlarged the work in a new quarto edition, which makes a frequent appearance on the shelves of public libraries (the only one of Strutt's works which is now readily accessible). There have been a number of modern reissues of the edition, including one from Detroit;⁴ perhaps the one most commonly met with is the 1969 version by Firecrest Publishing Ltd. of Bath.

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- 1 A Set of Humorous and Descriptive Illustrations in Twenty-one Engravings, by Stephenhoff and others, of the Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, from Paintings of the XVII. and XVIII. Century, in continuation of Joseph Strutt's. Cf. Christy, xvii, 6-7.
- 2 Hone, Table Book, 1891, p.503.
- 3 Christy (Appendix C, [14]), lists more reissues by other publishers, notably Thomas Tegg.
- 4 Singing Tree Press, 1968.

CHAPTER FIVE

APPENDIX I

A NOTE ON STRUTT'S WATER-COLOUR OF KING LEAR

Strutt's paintings and drawings in the Print Room of the British Museum include the following water-colour (as described by Binyon in 1907, in Volume IV of his Catalogue):

LEAR AND CORDELIA. Lear sitting on a couch, recognising his daughter Cordelia, who kneels beside him right; behind, the doctor looks warningly at Cordelia; three servants in the background stand by a wall, between the pillars of which hang curtains; towards the left Kent stands looking at the King; a jug and goblet stand on a table near him. Water-colour stipple; roy; circle; diam. $12\frac{1}{8}$ in. Presented by W. Strutt, Esq., July, 1901.

As this work was shown at the Royal Academy exhibition of 1784, it was probably painted in or not long before that year. Strutt may, however, have seen and sketched Garrick's earlier productions of Shakespeare in "Old English Dresses", such as that of Lear in 1776.

The survival of a representation of Lear by a known expert in early dress is of some interest, in view of the remarks made above (p.216ff.) on the possible influence of the antiquaries on stage costuming. Burnim regrets the dearth of contemporary prints of Garrick productions, but it may be that untapped sources of information on the development of costuming are to be found in paintings and drawings, especially by those artists who worked on historical subjects and therefore considered costume with some care. In addition to this water-colour by Strutt, studies of Lear by Benjamin West and by Thomas Stothard are in existence, and an exhaustive search would almost certainly produce studies by other painters and of other plays. It may be that there are no certain representations of known theatrical productions, but the influence

of the painters on the directors, and of the experiments in stage costuming on the painters' view of a 'correct' representation, deserves closer study.

It is not entirely clear from the water-colour whether the scene is from a theatrical production. . Certainly there is a background of classical architecture which might well indicate painted scenery, and curtains drape the top and sides of the picture. The furniture is simple and of a kind which is often used in a stage production. But background and furniture could well have been kept simple merely to accentuate the figures for purposes of composition.

An expert in costume would be needed to draw all the implications from Strutt's use of dress in the painting, but he appears to have costumed his figures as closely to the date of Lear's setting as he was able, that is, as Saxons. The following notes may perhaps be helpful.

Of the seven figures in the scene, three have dress which can be studied in some detail. (The doctor and the three servants have only their top halves visible; two servants are apparently wearing short-sleeved tunics tied at the waist, the other servant -- possibly a woman -- and the doctor wear long-sleeved tunics; all have soft collarless V-necks). Lear wears a full-length draped tunic, with a long cowl neckline, and full-length loose sleeves. Cordelia has a long dress of some white satin-like material, with a low neck filled in by several rows of beads. Her waist is held by a belt, perhaps of leather, with a buckle. She has three-quarter sleeves over tighter sleeves below (see Strutt's description of the Saxon 'gown', pp.209-210 above). She wears a headband and sandals made of narrow thongs wrapped round the foot and fixed to a flat sole. Kent has a short striped tunic with square neckline and short fitted sleeves, with a sash knotted at one side. Over bare legs he has drawers reaching to just below knee level. His short cloak has a decorative border. His shoes, identical with Lear's except for colour, are flat but with a slight heel support, and rosettes.

CHAPTER SIX

"GREEN FIELDS AND HAPPY GROVES":
JOSEPH STRUTT'S LITERARY WORKS

We know from biographical evidence, as well as from the few early works that have survived, that Strutt was throughout his adult life an enthusiastic writer of poems, plays and other literary works. His surviving letters to his family often include a few lines of verse.¹ Douce mentions early dramatic writing: "In this year [1771] he appears to have begun his addresses to his cousin Ann Blower. Sends her an extract from a play he had written." Three entries later (undated but also c. 1771): "At this time he had written a play called Arthur [sic]" (f.10, fol.1). When living in Hertfordshire Strutt was apparently well-known as a midnight scribbler; see, for example, a letter to his sister-in-law of 10 March 1791, mentioning "the 6th of October, when, at about twelve at night ... I was amusing myself with writing -- you know writing sometimes amuses me" (Memoir, p. 54). Similarly, in the "Old Man's Tale", Strutt writes: "On that very night, according to my usual custom, I was sitting up long after the family was gone to bed, and brooding over my misfortunes. Having called the different circumstances of my life to my remembrance, I took my pen and composed the following lines ..."² But until his last years there is little to indicate that his writing was any more serious a hobby than his fishing or his tinkering with scientific experiment. The only work which had been published was the elegiac poem in memory of his wife.

Yet in the last ten years of his life -- possibly in a much shorter period -- Strutt produced a long narrative poem, at least one play, and a four-volume novel which were considered worthy of post-humous publication; and a further prose work which survives in manuscript. This increased output is in part a reflection of his reduced

1 See, for example, the lines to his mother (above, p. 22); or the various snippets recorded by Christy.

2 QFH, II, 223-225. For the "lines", see Appendix I to this chapter.

family responsibility as his sons left home, and his greater economic independence following the success of the late antiquarian works. However it seems also to have been an exploration by Strutt's ever-active mind of new ways of transmitting the antiquarian knowledge he had spent a lifetime in acquiring.

Strutt's interest in creative writing was known to his early biographers. Nichols (or perhaps Joseph Strutt Junior) commented: "Though the Author was unknown to the Publick as a Poet, his talents in that path of Literature were by no means left uncultivated" (Lit. Anecs., V, 671 fn.). Crosier (p.9) attributed to Strutt "a fine poetical mind"; and William Strutt considered his talents "of no mean order" (Memoir, p.31).

Such evidence as we have for the canon of Strutt's literary work comes from the pen of Joseph Strutt Junior. In the family papers is a note referring to "a work that will shortly appear before the public, intituled: - 'An account of the life & writings of the late Mr. Joseph Strutt' wherein his several published & unpublished writings will be particularly noticed: with an analytical and critical statement of the whole." This presumably refers to the work discussed by Strutt Junior in a letter to the publisher Murray, dated 20 March 1807.¹ The first two sections of the letter outline Strutt's plans for the biography of his father, and for "a statement and analysis of his several literary publications" (i.e. primarily the antiquarian works). Part III is a list of "such of his unpublished Writings as have not yet in any shape met the public eye." The list as given by Strutt Junior is presumably based on the manuscripts which came into his possession after his father's death, probably those which remained unsold after the auction at King & Lockies in 1805 (see below, p.295). He does not list Queenhoo-Hall, though the work is mentioned elsewhere in the letter: talking of Strutt's charitable work at Tewin, he adds, "which place is rendered famous by his Romance of the Fifteenth Century." The manuscript of the work may already have been in the hands of Scott, who visited London

1 The letter is included as part of the Queenhoo-Hall manuscript (National Library of Scotland MS. 878).

in the spring of 1807 to undertake research in the British Museum for the Life of Dryden. Nor does Joseph Strutt Junior make any mention of the "Chronicle of a Revolution in the Land of the Lilies." As his father's executor, he must have had every opportunity to examine the manuscripts before the 1805 auction; and he includes in his list other works which are much slighter and more fragmentary in nature. The explanation can only be that Strutt was listing those works which it was planned to publish along with his biography of his father; there were other plans for Queenhoo-Hall, and the "Chronicle of a Revolution" could not be included because it had passed into other hands (see further below, p.295).

The list reads as follows:

- "1. A dramatic illustration of Manners and Customs, under the title of "The Hero," or "Alfred," in which, besides an interesting plot, the origin of drinking healths, many beautiful similes; &c. &c., an air of authentic delineation pervades the whole: this piece is highly finished, being three several times written out. - This may be considered as an excellent Supplement to the "Chronicle" of Mr. Strutt.
2. The Test of Guilt, a Dramatic Romance, containing much authentic matter, and much heart-felt expression of sincere love, &c.
3. A Poetic fragment, or The Bumpkins' Mishap, founded on facts: containing a legendary account of Waltham Cross; a fairy scene; a Country Club; a whimsical adventure in St. James's Park, &c.
4. A few juvenile productions, and an invocation to a poem called "Abraham;" and to a piece called $\overline{\text{נִשְׁמָה}}$ (Nashomah), or the Travels of the "Soul;"¹ - &c."

Of these works, no trace has been found of those in Section 4. The Test of Guilt retained its title on publication; The Bumpkins' Mishap became The Bumpkins' Disaster; and The Hero or Alfred was published as Ancient Times, in the fourth volume of Queenhoo-Hall.

1 The Hebrew נֶפֶשׁ נְשָׁמָה נְשָׁמָה, spirit of man.

POETRY(i) Poem on the death of his wife, and other early poems

Strutt Junior's letter to Murray suggests that his father wrote more than one work in memory of Anne, following her death in 1778. The biographical section of the letter refers to the "loss of his wife (which afflicting event gave rise to several affecting literary productions)." Only one of these was published,¹ the "Elegiac [sic] Poem, In Different Measures, Without Rhyme. To the Memory of An Amiable and Virtuous Wife, Her Disconsolate Husband Offers this Proof of His Sincere Affection" (Memoir, p.31). No copy of the publication has been traced, so that details of exact date, publisher, printer, etc., are not known.² However, both Nichols and William Strutt printed the text in their biographical works, and there is no indication, external or internal, that the poem is not complete. The only other complete poems probably dating from the early period appear in Queenhoo-Hall. Amongst the many slight poems of that work are verses which Strutt, in the guise of the "Old Man", says he was writing when the warning came that his debtors were in pursuit. Two poems are given: one in the text, one as footnote; presumably Scott and Murray were uncertain from the manuscript which of the poems was intended for inclusion at this point, so printed them both. The poems may, of course, be later; but it seems entirely in keeping with Strutt's temperament to cite the actual verses which we know were written at that time. Since these poems, and the elegy, are not commonly met with, the three are given in Appendix I to this chapter (see below, pp. 286-293).

Elegy, like the letter or the love-poem, is one of the forms which satisfies a basic literary need, and is never therefore totally out of vogue. Even so, the eighteenth century was a time of particular activity in the genre. The Puritan addiction to elegy as one of the few acceptable forms of artistic expression had

1 Unless, perhaps, the doleful "What are the beauties of the opening morn" (see Appendix I) was also occasioned by Anne's death.

2 Cf. Nichols: "In consequence of the omission of the author's name, and from the confined distribution of the few copies that were printed, the Poem itself has been edited only rarely" (Lit. An , V, 671).

popularised the elegiac poem amongst a wide social range of readers;¹ the metrical experiments of Hammond, Shenstone and others saved it from formal stultification; and the cult of the 'graveyard poets' accentuated its appeal.

David Mallet's account of how he came to write William and Margaret gives a good idea of the prevailing interest in the melancholy. He relates how he sat reading an old ballad, "Fair Margaret and Sweet William", circulating in broadside: "These Lines, naked of Ornament, and simple as they are, struck my Fancy ... It was then Midnight. All, round me, was still and quiet. These concurring Circumstances work'd my Soul to a powerful Melancholy. I could not sleep; and at that Time I finish'd my little Poem" (The Plain Dealer, 1724, No.46).

"Gloomth" (to use Horace Walpole's term) became so much a part of the average reader's thinking that it found satisfaction in such extraordinary literary expressions as the Gothic romance; and a good deal of elegy ceased to have very much to do with the mourning for or eulogy of an individual, but rather expressed a general sadness, the lacrimae rerum. The best-known 'elegy' of all of those of the eighteenth century, Gray's "Stanzas wrote in a Country Church-yard",² comes into this category, since its sense of individual loss is muted; indeed its initial motivation in the death of West has never yet been proved.

None the less, the tradition of elegy as memorial and consolation for the loss of a loved individual continued in the majority of the century's elegiac poems; and Strutt's lament, mourning a woman, is

1 See further, John W. Draper, The Funeral Elegy and the Rise of English Romanticism (New York, 1929), p.315 ff.

2 The title of the Eton College manuscript, an early draft, written before Gray had decided (or been persuaded by Mason) to call the poem an Elegy. See further, John Butt, The Mid-Eighteenth Century (Oxford, 1979), pp.79-80; and Eric S ith, By Mourning Tongue Studies in English Elegy (Ipswich, 19), p.40.

nearer to the substance of the Roman elegiac poem than most, since Latin elegy on the whole had to do with love rather than death. Though his poem is contained within the neo-classical conventions, his grief makes it impossible for him to avoid some display of emotion -- the very quality which kept the elegiac poem in favour with the Romantic poets. Shenstone had maintained that the elegiac poet should communicate the affection he feels; and many eighteenth-century elegies suffered because their emotional force was insufficient to overcome the stunting and falsifying effect of the set style. Strutt keeps some measure of the "gentleness and tenuity" which Johnson sought in the elegy, whilst at the same time setting his mourning in the universal context offered by the use of known conventions.

The opening of the poem is a neo-classical set piece with a few Gothic touches. Strutt is entering the cemetery where Anne is buried; in figurative terms the "lonely dale" which is Death's abode. The "cruel king" is attended by a

melancholy throng
Of silent spirits hovering in the air
Over the relicks of mortality.

The "gloomy paths" and "drear abodes" are watched over only by the raven, "Forlornly perched on that tall, leafless tree"; and by other "midnight waking birds" who inhabit "yonder spire, / which rears above the grave its ruined brow." But Death, Night and the other sombre personifications¹ of the "solemn tombs" have no further power over him, having done their worst: the "blessed Spirit" is already "wing'd" to "realms of endless day" -- though the Christian hope is somewhat wan after the enveloping dreariness already painted.

The next section of the poem is a recollection of Ann's earthly life, and though much of the lament is stereotyped, some sense of loss is conveyed to the reader. The writing is a curious mixture of the contrived and the natural; Miltonic simile and a plainer, more

1 On personification in the elegy, see further, Cleanth Brooks, The Well Wrought Urn (1968), p.89.

conversational style:

But ye, whose eyes disdain not to declare
 The inward feelings of a generous mind,
 Drop, for compassion's sake, one tear with me;
 For, in a dark and fateful hour, I lost
 My life's companion -- truest, dearest friend!
 As when the rose, first opening to the sun,
 Is cropped by rustic hand, and fades ere noon --
 So, in the bloom of youthful innocence,
 My charming Anna bow'd her lovely head
 To death untimely and an early grave!
 Pathetic tears, which streamed from every eye
 At her decease, bore witness of her worth:
 And she deserved them all! True, unaffected love
 She thought my due; meekness and chastity
 Adorned her guiltless mind. A pleasing smile
 Of affability met all her friends,
 And bade them welcome.

In the third part of the poem, as was usual in elegy (for example the three concluding stanzas of Gray's Elegy) the poet addresses himself, and draws the moral of his ruminations. He begins by contrasting the joys of the early morning with his own sorrow, and though the rustic scene is given an emotional quality -- "All nature smiles refreshed! The world seems gay" -- it is interesting that he does not expect nature to follow his own moods, as in many other elegies of the period. In Collins' Ode on the Death of Thomson, for example, the tide is "sullen", the turf "cold" and night "Dun". Strutt's theme is nearer to Gray's in the Sonnet on the Death of Richard West (though he could not have known the poem directly):

In vain to me the smileing Mornings shine,
 And redning Phoebus lifts his golden Fire:
 The Birds in vain their amorous Descant joyn;
 Or chearful Fields resume their green Attire:
 These Ears, alas! for other Notes repine,
 A different Object do these Eyes require.

The rustic scene which is next portrayed also has elements in common with Gray's writing, notably the Elegy. Strutt's scene, like Gray's, is idealised; the lament for a distant golden age, so common in pastoral poetry, was frequently adopted for elegy, to heighten the sense of loss and regret; Strutt writes:

from each spray in woodland gloom or dell,
Or on the bank of cool, translucent springs,
The feathered choristers responsive join
In warbling harmony: the dews disperse,
And fragrant breezes, breath of opening morn,
Sport o'er the meads and wanton through the groves ...

But there is also an attempt, reminiscent of Thomson's Seasons, to give realistic touches to the scene, and therefore relate to Ann's everyday world, so recently described:

The village cock erects
His head majestic, and proclaims aloud
The rustic's usual summons; he, refreshed
With care-dispelling sleep, forsakes his cot,
And whistles rudely, as across the glebe
He stalks along, his labour to resume.

The "moral" of the elegy is the familiar one of death the leveller, in the image of Everyman:

But all thy pleasures and thy boasted gifts
Are various vanities; they follow not
The proud possessor to the gloomy grave,
But on the brink desert him.

The "consolation", apart from the therapy of writing the poem itself, is that of Thomson's ode, "Tell me, thou soul of her I love"; indeed Strutt's elegy has several echoes of that poem: compare Thomson's,

Should then the weary eye of grief,
Beside some sympathetic stream,
In slumber find a short relief,
Oh visit then my soothing dream!

with Strutt's,

count the tedious moments as they pass,
 Till gentle sleep shall steal upon my eyes,
 Fatigued with watching -- when some pleasing dream
 May for a moment give me back my love!
 In such sweet visions, oh, that life would pass
 Serenely onward! like the gentle stream
 Which glides incessant through yon fertile mead,
 Unruffled by the sportive breeze of morn!

The sentiments may be Thomson's, but the technique is more often akin to Young's. The metre is that of Night Thoughts, and Strutt has a tendency to use the half-lines so characteristic of Young; compare the following (from Night Thoughts, I, 55-58):

The bell strikes one. We take no note of time,
 But from its loss. To give it then a tongue,
 Is wise in man. As if an angel spoke,
 I feel the solemn sound;

and Strutt's lines,

These gloomy paths,
 To solemn silence and Terrific Death
 Are sacred! There the Spectre stalks,
 In awful solitude! here horror dwells,
 His dreadful Harbinger!

Both Strutt and Young were fond of alliteration: see the last Strutt quotation on the previous page, and Young's,

Of man's miraculous mistakes, this bears
 The palm, 'That all men are about to live.'

For ever on the brink of being born (Night Thoughts, I, 399-401).

To Strutt, the elegy gained in stature by being associated with other like tributes. His anguish was "bitter" and condolence "sweet" not because he was incapable of using less common adjectives, but because their use reminded the reader of all other literary memorials in which they occurred, and elevated his lament from the immediate and personal into the universal. The pursuit of individuality was not yet current. Young had already written those statements on poetry which were to be taken out of context in Germany, and from there returned to become part of English romantic

doctrine, statements such as: "thoughts, when become too common, should lose their currency; and we should send new metal to the mint, that is, new meaning to the press";¹ or, "Originals extend the republic of letters, and add a new province to its dominion.

Imitators only give us a sort of duplicate of what we had, possibly much better, before; increasing the mere drug of books, while all that makes them valuable, knowledge and genius, are at a stand."²

But though Strutt's antiquarian and literary work helped to popularise the medieval and thus promote one of the formative themes of romanticism, in matters of literary theory he was content to follow well-trodden tracks. Indeed his other 'serious' poetry, exemplified by the two poems given below, is more conventional and impersonal than the elegy. He seems to have been interested to try his hand at different verse forms (just as, in Queenhoo-Hall, he includes many ballads, songs and other light verses, in a variety of metres). On the whole he succeeds better with light verse than with serious, since it hardly matters in comedy whether there is much substance, so long as it is well expressed. Certainly the only other long poem which he wrote, a mock heroic epic of the 1790's, is more entertaining reading than any of his early work.

(ii) The Bumpkins' Disaster

The Bumpkins' Disaster is not only unrevised but incomplete, a "Collection of Fragments", as Strutt Junior described it in his preface to the poem. In fact the narrative of the poem reads quite coherently, and apart from the abrupt ending, the editor had little need to apologise for the "defective state" of the work. The fragments are longish episodes, adventures which befell the heroes on their travels, and (with the exception of the last) are complete in themselves, lacking only the linking passages between them. The digression on the Council of the Fairies (Part II) is certainly out of proportion to the rest of the poem as it stands, but would very likely have received a good deal of pruning in a final version,

1 Edward Young, Conjectures on Original Composition, 1759, ed. Edith J. Morley (Manchester, 1918), p.8.

2 op. cit., pp.6-7. See further, P.W.K. Stone, The Art of Poetry 1750-1820 (1967), p.85 ff; and John Butt, The Mid-Eighteenth Century, pp. 79-81.

however long or short the work proved to be.

Strutt is relating a true story, or at least a story with a factual basis, which happened some twenty years before he wrote the poem, and long before he knew the participants. The "heroes" are John Carrington, Strutt's landlord at Bacon's Farm (Ploughshare) and his friend and neighbour at West End Farm, William Hunsdon (Clodpoll; Hunsdon died in October 1796, so there was no risk of offending him by publishing the name). The narrative describes a journey which the two "bumpkins" made to London some time in the late 1770's.

The circumstances of the journey are thus described by Strutt Junior: "During the late American war, when parties ran high, and politicks almost exclusively engrossed the attention of men in every class of society; no meeting was convened, but public measures usually became the theme of discussion; -- from the tavern to the pothouse, from the barber's shop to the carpeted parlour; from town to country, the uproar extended, and houses and streets rang with the clamours of the disputants: and blows not unfrequently terminated the wordy strife" (Preface, p. [v]). Ploughshare and Clodpoll, "being lovers of good cheer, and constant friends to the full-charged glass" (Preface, p. vi) were distressed at the animosities in their former convivial circle, and decided there was nothing for it but to bring personally to the King's attention the situation in the shires of England, which was clearly unknown to him:

But when I shall our latent griefs express,
 The King will hear and grant us all redress;
 This foreign war shall stop, when I declare
 The voice of Truth, and warn him to forbear;
 The people shall rejoice in new-born peace,
 Trade smile again, and taxes all decrease. (p. 11)

In the rest of Part I the heroes plan their journey: it is arranged that they shall meet the following morning to begin their journey in Ploughshare's cart.

Part II is the "Council of the Fairies", held among "the sad remains / Of Waltham's grandeur" (p. 16). The chief spirits of fire

and air, Flame and Breeze (joined later by Robin Goodfellow) discuss their recent japes, and the troubles of the country. Robin has overheard the plans of Ploughshare and Clodpoll and thinks "what glorious sport / We may indulge with two great oafs at Court" (p.24); he proposes to look after Ploughshare, while Clodpoll is to be in Flame's care. So far the narrative has run without a break. The first "fragment" follows, "The Irish Echo", a love lament for Clodpoll.

"Not slender is my love, but tall and stout." --

He sings and dances: -- "Echo, you are out;

His toes turn inwards, and he cannot dance." --

... The parish all love PLOUGHS/H/ARE; -- "What care I?

For CLODPOLL, lovely CLODPOLL 'tis I die." (p.26)

Part III relates the start of the journey, and in particular Clodpoll's difficulties with his domineering wife. He finally wins possession of his Sunday suit, and the adventure can begin:

"I'll fool you, saucebox:" -- and as thus she spake,

Seiz'd on her shoe, the vengeance due to take.

"Go, and be hang'd," said she, "the loss is thine;

Go, drunkard, spend, and guzzle like a swine" ... (p.30)

As they travel Ploughshare tells Clodpoll the legend of Waltham Cross.

Part IV begins with a four-page exposition of the significance of omens. Episodes which occurred when the bumpkins reached London are then related, with the titles "The Parade Adventure" (in which they are waylaid and robbed); and "Ploughshare's Adventure with the Cobler" (to quote Christy, "more amusing than delicate" [xviii, 167]).

Part V, of four pages only, is entitled "The Visit to Saint James's". Ploughshare and Clodpoll go in to see the state rooms of the palace, when some Yeomen enter, resplendent in their uniforms. The work ends abruptly as the bumpkins mistake them for the royal party:

Old CLODPOLL, frighted, ran full hastily

Behind his comrade, and aloud did cry:

'His Honour's gracious Majesty himself

Is coming out! Bow down, thou silly elf;

Down humbly on your knees as I do now,

And doff your hat, and make a proper bow'. (p.55)

Strutt Junior, in the preface, gives an outline of the rest of the story, partly from other manuscript fragments, partly from the tale as told by Carrington and Hunsdon, for "in their own village, and before their rustic companions, even to the present time, the wiseacres talk of the services that they would have rendered their King and Country, with as much self-importance as though the mad-headed scheme they projected (though baffled by adverse fate) really had been calculated to have rescued the State from impending ruin: and among the listening boobies they acquire no little applause" (Preface, p.vi). On leaving St. James's, the two farmers proceeded as far as the Mansion House, where they were told the King would be, and there were sumptuously entertained by the Lord Mayor's servants, until they were too drunk to provide any further sport. Having by now spent or lost all their money, they returned to Hertfordshire to make plans for a second journey, which was, perhaps fortunately, never undertaken.

Though there is no doubt that the story was based on an actual incident, the image of the yokel awed by the city's sophistication was a popular literary theme of the day. Garrick's immensely successful interlude, The Farmer's Return from London, comes immediately to mind, but is only one of many such examples:

The city's fine show, - but first the coronation!
 'Twas thof all the world had been there with their spouses;
 There was street within street, and houses on houses!
 I thought from above (when the folk filled the pleaces)
 The streets moved with heads and the walls made of feaces.
 Such justling and bustling! 'twas worth all the pother.
 I hope, from my soul, I shall ne'er see another.¹

1 The Plays of David Garrick, Vol.I, ed. Pedicord and Bergmann (Illinois, 1980), 243-251. The quotation is taken from p.250.

The rhyming couplets of the Bumpkins' Disaster, though to all appearances a convenient metre to control, can quickly become monotonous. It is a mark of Strutt's advance in handling verse that the momentum of the story (except perhaps in the Council of the Fairies) never loses pace. Even the "digressions" retain the reader's interest; for example, from the passage on omens:

The morning dram, by ancient usage, due
 To belly, CLODPOLL claim'd, for ever true
 To belly's call: -- Soon as the glass was fill'd,
 By chance 'twas broken, and the liquor spill'd!
 Thrice three times PLOUGHSHARE sneez'd, and stumbled o'er
 The rising threshold of the tap-room door. --
 "Bad luck to both," a passing fish-drab cry'd,
 As they came forth. (p.38)

The mock-epic manner of the poem is a main element in its success. The grandeur of the imagery and the suggestion that great events are taking place is a splendid joke at the expense of the blundering protagonists -- though not an unkind one, since they are allowed to retain most of their illusions. To Ploughshare and Clodpoll, a band of soldiers at drill has the excitement of a real battle:

On the Parade, all powder'd spruce and fine,
 Our Heroes found the soldiers in a line:
 The drums were beating; and the merry fife
 Full loud and shrill, pleas'd CLODPOLL to the life:
 Nor less was PLOUGHSHARE with delight inspir'd,
 When, first, the troops approach'd him; then retir'd;
 Then subdivided, overspread the plain;
 Now swift, now slow; and clos'd at length again. (p.40)

The hand of Fate is to be seen at work throughout the lives of the bumpkins, preparing them for their destined moment of glory:

On them serenely yellow Ceres smil'd,
 And with increasing wealth their toils beguil'd:
 Foreseeing, haply, what in future days
 By Time was destin'd, and to them what praise,
 She lent to Fortune her assistant hand,

Fill'd all their barns, and fertiliz'd their land. (p.3)

The image of Clodpoll as the soaring, singing bird is great fun, so soon after the description in "The Irish Echo" of the lumpish farmer:

Lout's voice is hoarse and rough: but then, 'tis true,
He speaks but little: give him then his due (p.26) --
but as we enjoy the joke we can see some of Strutt's liking for the sturdy good-humoured bumpkins:

Rejoic'd at his escape, with haste he strode
Along the plain, and sought his friend's abode. --
So the poor bird, ensnar'd by human art,
Moans in its cage, and views with panting heart
The distant woods: Beset around with fears,
It pines with grief, and from its food forbears:
But if, perchance, restor'd by milder fate
To native freedom and its wonted mate,
Proud of its liberty, it cleaves the skies
With eager joy, and carrols as it flies. (p.31)

The Bumpkins' Disaster is far too gentle to be taken as an attempt at satire, the castigation of men's follies; though perhaps it has a touch of Horace, using humour as a revelation of character.¹ Strutt was enjoying over again a story he had to listen to often enough: "And if [in Strutt Junior's words], on the whole, the whimsical traits of character exhibited in the Tale, and the droll adventures that befel the heroes of it, excite the smile of satisfaction; and if the graver parts of it, where the Author borrows his remarks from history or tradition, be calculated to please; the only end that was aimed at in making it public, will be answered" (Preface, p.viii).

1 See J.A.K. Thomson, Classical Influences on English Poetry (1951), p.205.

DRAMATIC WORKS

(i) Ancient Times

There is not a great deal to be said in favour of Ancient Times. A five-act drama, in blank verse, it relates a series of incidents during Alfred's wars against the Danes. Some of the characters are historical figures, others imaginary. The play seems to have been printed mainly as a makeweight for the final volume of Queenhoo-Hall.

The play has little originality, incorporating a number of the set themes of eighteenth-century drama -- mistaken identity, kidnap, misunderstanding between lovers, the king believed dead but in reality attending his court in disguise, etc. The minor characters are difficult to distinguish in the reading, and there is little reason to suppose they would come to life on stage. Strutt's verse, though competent, is often monotonous, for example:

The man, who boasts when present fortune smiles,
He fears no future frowns, -- or prides himself
Above his peers, because prosperity
Shines round his path, is weak and insolent
But, if experience has not taught him yet
The vast uncertainty of human good,
Let him survey this dreadful scene of woe;
And, from a kingdom's fall, learn how to judge
Of life more justly. (Act I, Scene 3, pp.115-116);

and sometimes unfortunate:

Old age, like thine, unable to afford,
Demands itself, assistance. See the bard,
Whilom our welcome guest, approaches now. (Act I, Sc.1, p.102);
while the major speeches (such as Bercher's on the onset of battle, in Act V, Sc.2) are all too conventional:

a thousand men
Approved in war, and bearing on their shields
The trophies of their valour, Edward leads;
Himself, in panoply of arms arrayed,
Pants for the battle. Silently and slow
I saw our armies move, and at their head
Great Elfred, like the fabled god of war,
With gloomy brow majestic, marked the way

For death himself to follow. (p.187)

The action hinges on Alfred's adoption of the disguise of an aged minstrel, Eldol, to gain admittance to the Danish camp near Frome, where he overhears plans for a night attack on the Saxons. This was a story often told; Strutt could have learned it from any of a number of older authors -- Speed, Ingulph and William of Malmesbury all have the story, to go back no further. Percy had cited it as proof that minstrels were held in high estimation,¹ and Pegge had attempted to show that it proved no such thing.²

Strutt takes the opportunity to impart a little antiquarian information, though even this is of a kind commonly known. The Danish king gives details of the Viking after-life, familiar from such writers as Mallet:

If I forsake the battle, let me fall
 Disgraceful as a captive, without hope
 To meet, in thy domains, the mighty souls
 Of heroes dead; and quaff celestial streams
 Of hydromel in skulls of those I hate. (Act I, Sc.2, p.106)

The importance of the revenge motive is described:

(Godrun) Ye sons of Lodbroc, from the sacred hill
 Embow'ed with many a tree, beneath whose shade
 Your murdered father's breathless body lies,
 Nocturnal shrieks and frightful cries are heard,
 Exciting to revenge; the warrior's spirit,
 Besmeared with gore, arises to complain
 How slow the mighty flood of ruin flows.
 (Hubba) Sleep, sleep in peace, my father; great revenge
 Shall calm thy troubled spirit. Edmund bled,
 To thee devoted; and our swords have laid
 His kingdom, all the wide East Angles, waste. (Act I, Sc.2, p.106)

1 "Essay on Minstrels," Reliques, Vol.I.

2 Archaeologia, II (1773), 100-106; III (1775), 310.

The deficiencies of Ancient Times are in large part those of the contemporary drama as a whole. The later eighteenth century, though it loved the theatre and saw great acting and important technical developments, produced very few plays of merit, especially in tragic and heroic drama. As the Oxford History of English Literature has it: "No other branch of eighteenth-century literature had sunk so far beyond any reasonable hopes of rescue."¹ Strutt himself enjoyed an evening watching Garrick (though, to his son's annoyance, they always left the theatre before the pantomime began). But his surviving plays give little indication that he had made a serious study of the practicalities of the theatre, any more than had most of his contemporaries (Garrick's many disputes with his playwrights demonstrates how few of them understood even the rudiments of stagecraft). Whatever interest Ancient Times may have lies in the view it gives of the Saxons rather than in any long-hidden dramatic merit.

A number of dramatists of the day sought to bring a little novelty to their plays by giving them remote or exotic settings, this of course influenced by the emphasis in the other arts on the 'sublime'. Strutt's was not the first play with a Saxon background: Mason had written a tragic Saxon drama called Elfrida as early as 1752; and the plays of John Home were frequently set in the early eras. The theme of disguised identity was also much favoured, for the opportunities it offered for emotional reunions, and because the audience enjoyed the sense of superior knowledge which it afforded. Prince Edward, in Ancient Times, speaks more openly to Eldol the minstrel than he would have done to his father the king (and incidentally gives Alfred a splendid occasion for a speech on duty and patriotism):

Exalted rank

Claims from expectance public services

Proportionably great. The man who dares

Against adversity make bare his heart,

1 John Butt, The Mid-Eighteenth Century, p.169. Possible reasons for the depressed state of dramatic writing are given by Renwick, op.cit., pp.229-234.

And struggle bravely through the rising storm,
 His country's good supporting, and disdains
 All meaner views, to late posterity
 Shall blaze in glory, like the noon-tide sun,
 By stars surrounded, and eclipse their fame.

(Act III, Sc.2, p.156)

This enables Alfred to plot his next moves, and further his control over the course of events. Indeed much of the play is to be read as a tribute to Alfred's ability and foresight when compared with others' small concerns and lack of public spirit.

As in the novels of the period, women were coming to play a more important part in drama; both manifestations of the new emphasis on the importance of the emotions, what Nicoll describes as "the break-down of classical chill."¹ In Dodsley's Cleone (1758), the Othello-figure Sifroy is replaced as the centre of interest by his wife Cleone. Though she has no particular beauty or strength of character, she is a female in distress; her unprotected and slandered state is enough to arouse sympathy in the audience. The heroines of Ancient Times, Egvina and Elfrida, play a similar role. They are prototypes of Matilda and Eleanor in Queenhoo-Hall: the one beautiful, gentle and retiring; the other just as beautiful and gentle but slightly less inclined to fainting and deeds of self-effacing charity. The women are in no way rivals in themselves with Alfred and Edward for the attention of the reader, but Edward's love for Egvina (of course declared in the guise of a peasant) plays a significant part in the plot -- if only in distracting him temporarily from the path of duty, and allowing Alfred to draw the appropriate moral.

The real hero of the play remains the Saxon character, in particular as it was embodied in Alfred. The entire aim of the warring Saxon lords is the restitution of the known social order:

1 Allardyce Nicoll, A History of Late Eighteenth Century Drama 1750-1800, p.97.

Now from her native heaven shall Peace descend,
 To walk with us, and Plenty by her side,
 To bless the rustic's toil. He, unalarmed
 By war's rude clamour, shall with cheerful heart
 Warble his early matins, as he tills
 The yielding glebe; returning joy shall crown
 The festive board, and hospitality,

Long lost to us, revive her languid head (Act V, Sc.2, p.189);
 and Alfred's parting address to his son reiterates his hopes for
 his country, and Strutt's for eighteenth-century England:

Give me thy hand; and let our wishes join
 For England's welfare. May her valiant sons,
 By conquest glorified, when war demands
 The bloody conflict, make the blessings sure
 Of future peace; and in her fair domain
 May undegenerated freedom take
 Deep root, and flourish, and for ever bloom. (Act V, Sc.3, p.195)

The play could have been written at almost any stage of Strutt's life after he became interested in the Saxons, though its awkwardness marks it out as a relatively early work. The appeal to patriotism suggests a background of foreign conflict, but this is no particular clue in the disturbed political atmosphere of the later eighteenth century. The chances are that the play was written sometime after the mid-1770's, when Strutt abandoned his time-consuming antiquarian researches, but before the most active period of his literary work in the 1790's.

(ii) The Test of Guilt

Strutt's second surviving play, The Test of Guilt, has a somewhat unorthodox structure. The five sections into which it is divided are called "parts", not acts; and there is no subdivision into scenes, though the action does move from one place to another, and this is indicated by stage directions. Strutt Junior, in his preface, remarks on the fact that the work was uncorrected by his father: "Had Mr. Strutt's life been spared, he would doubtless have made some improvements in this piece: for, it never underwent a revised transcript from his pen" (p.vi). But Strutt could hardly have superimposed an

Act and Scene structure on a drama already written; the likelihood is that he planned the piece as a kind of 'closet drama'.

It can be called the "second" surviving play with little hesitation, even though neither play is dated. In the first place, The Test of Guilt is set at Tewin Green in Hertfordshire, a village which Strutt is unlikely to have known before the early 1790's, when he went to live at nearby Bacon's. More importantly, so much about the play is akin to Queenhoo-Hall that the two cannot be far apart in date, and we know from external as well as internal evidence that Strutt was working on the novel immediately before his death. Much in The Test of Guilt, indeed, was re-used in Queenhoo-Hall. Not only are the names of many of the characters adopted for the novel (amongst the less common names of the rustics, Gregory, Sampson, Ralph and Pierce appear in both works), but the main groups of characters have much in common. The Baron, Eleanor and Matilda in the play become Lord Edward Boteler, Eleanor and Matilda in the novel, with much the same characters and roles (though the girls exchange names); and Jenny the servant-girl ("You will find / The diamond brighten as the rust wears off", p.37) blossoms into "Margery ... the handsomest lass on the Green [who] on this account possessed no small portion of vanity" (QHH, I, 112). The argumentative, wise-cracking rustics of The Test of Guilt practise a style of repartee which reappears in Queenhoo-Hall; and some of Strutt's antique phrases are re-used: the "holy saints", for example, are called upon to "forefend" some disaster in more than one instance in both works.

The plot is the least satisfactory part of The Test of Guilt. Strutt Junior considered that it was intended as a kind of morality: "vice, though a while triumphing, is at last bought to condign punishment" (Preface, p. [v]). The difficulty is that the comic side of the plot seems to have taken over as Strutt wrote the play, and the levity sits ill with the brutish story, robbing the motivation of any credibility it might have had.

In Part I, Grim, a ruffian of Tewin, has just murdered Dorothy.

The noble and well-favoured Henry Fitzhugh passes him on his way to an assignation with the Baron's daughter Eleanor. Henry leaves his cloak behind, and Grim takes the opportunity to have him arrested on suspicion of the murder. In Part II, Henry escapes from prison, with the aid of the gaoler. He persuades Eleanor of his innocence; but in the next Part he gives himself up again, when the gaoler is arrested. Henry refuses to explain away the presence of his cloak for fear of sullyng Eleanor's reputation. The Baron, formerly hoping for a match between his daughter and Henry, now believes that he has murdered "her, before seduc'd, / To make way for my child" (p.74; the irony is that this was indeed the murderer's motive, though the new love was the servant-girl Jenny). In Part IV, the priest Benedict devises an ordeal: the murderer and his accusers are to touch the corpse as it lies before the altar. There is no change when Henry touches the body, but as Grim does so, "See, where Grim touch'd, the blood has gush'd afresh!" (p.82; Strutt, no doubt deriding superstition in himself, appears later to change this to incrimination by Grim's betrayal of a guilty conscience). Jenny claims that the murder weapon was one which belonged to her father, taken from her by Grim as a forfeit. In the final Part, Grim takes poison after admitting his guilt. The happy pair and the gaoler win the Baron's blessing. Grim revives and is granted a short stay of execution for confession and absolution.

Apart from the plot, The Test of Guilt has a number of successful features. Strutt's blank verse is a good deal better handled than in Ancient Times. Quite apart from the diversion provided by occasional drinking songs and the processional dirge of Part IV (pp.80-81), the blank verse itself is less rigid than in the earlier work: when the verse is regular, it is usually chosen to suit the sentiments being expressed:

The waining sands left in my glass are few,
 And nothing boots it to futurity,
 If sooner by an hour or two than's due,
 A poor old man like me bids life farewell -- (p.60)

For every such example, there are others where the metre is used much more flexibly:

So, so, my young gallant, you're housed at last,
 And left your skin behind! --

So, my silken spark,

You'd soar apart to greatness: but I'll clip
Your wings, brave master Henry; faith, I will. (p.4)

There are still passages which would give quite the wrong effect on stage: "And better to effect her ruin too, / He murder'd Dorothy: -- Indeed, indeed he did!" (p.110);

but some of the repartee is adroitly handled:

(Jenny) ... that I was handsomer than she.

(Eleanor) That made thee proud, perchance?

(Jenny) No, no, indeed.

(Eleanor) Sometimes, at least, thou might'st have been in fault.

(Jenny) Poor people, lady, always are in fault. (pp.31-32);

and the imagery is less conventional than in Ancient Times:

'Tis thus with all high spirits, when once cow'd;

Like flies, in sun-shine ever on the wing,

You buz most wantonly; -- come the first frost,

With pinions pinch'd, alas! ye mount no more,

But creep in crannies, and die there o' the hip. (p.95)

The rustics' use of folk phrases is not obtrusive:

Huzza! Come, Lancelot, good Lancelot,

Broach a full butt: you shall not find us flinch! (p.111)

or,

Oh, make good the boast!

I veil my bonnet to thee! -- no, thou rogue,

I'll shake thee first to ribbands (p.63);

and such pieces of antiquarian knowledge as are imparted are worked well into the action:

bear hence the murderer,

And in the first cross-way dig out a grave,

And therein be his breathless carcass thrown:

The post that pierces through him, shall be cas'd

With plates of iron, and thereon engrav'd

The blazon of his crimes. (pp.117-118)¹

1 Several of the antiquarian references are to items of dress ("houpland", kirtle" etc.), another indication that the play was probably written in the 1790's, the decade of the Dress and Habits.

The skimpy nature of the plot means that the characters have little chance of development. Grim, the villain, is the most credible figure, villainy and guilt being relatively easy qualities to portray:

How now, what's that? --
 Methought I heard the fall of footsteps near; --
 Yes, and again: -- No, no; 'tis no such thing; --
 Nay, but I dream not: -- sure, a human form
 Ascends the stile: -- In goblins I've no faith: --
 It is a man. (p.2)

Of the minor characters, probably Jenny the servant-girl is most successful. Her inconsequential chatter about the blue silk embroidery on Grim's shirt rings true enough, as does this:

he said,
 "How sweetly, Jenny, do you sing to-night!"
 (For I was singing) -- (p.85)

The opportunity for comedy seems to have been more to Strutt's taste than the heroic drama of the earlier play, and one or two of his jokes would be quite effective on stage. for example:

(Pierce) And why did he take poison?
 (Dick) -- To be sure,
 To save himself from death (p.106);

or:

And if we catch the dog, we'll hamper him.
 He shall be hang'd; --
 And quarter'd; --
 Aye, and tortur'd after that (p.11);

or Eleanor's

No, no! -- Farewell. -- I pray thee do not come;
 Indeed I must not see you. -- Should you come,
 Do it with caution. -- (p.18)

PROSE WORKS(1) "A Chronicle of a Revolution in the Land of the Lilies"

The "Chronicle of a Revolution" is Strutt's only real attempt at political comment. (The "political" motivation of Clodpoll and Ploughshare, in the Bumpkins' Disaster, is little more than a contrivance to explain the heroes' travels.) The "Chronicle" is Strutt's immediate response to events in France during the summer of 1793. The unrevised state of Strutt's musings gives added force to the text as a contemporary view of revolutionary France, though careful revision of Strutt's usual kind (see above, p. 228, on the play Alfred) could only have improved the text as a work of literature. It seems quite probable that Strutt wrote it to relieve some of the alarm and anger with which he, and most of his countrymen, viewed the horrifying events of that summer: and that when he came back to it later, he realised that the occasion was past, the narrative too spontaneous and slight an affair to warrant the work of revision. None the less the work has a literary interest too, in that it shows Strutt experimenting with aspects of characterisation and language which were to recur in Queenhoo-Hall.

The events of the final chapter of the "Chronicle of a Revolution" have a clear reference to the assassination of Marat, which took place on 13 July 1793.¹ On the other hand, Strutt makes no mention of the death of Marie Antionette, which occurred in October of the same year: he could hardly have failed to use it had it already taken place. It seems very probable that the whole work was written during the three months of the summer and early autumn of 1793.

Since Strutt was living in rural retreat in Hertfordshire, it is clear that most of his information on the course of the Revolution must have come from newspaper reports. It was all very well for a

1 "Justice Marked out an early victim from among them as a presage of their approaching destruction. He fell by the hand of an assassin, and his death increasd the fears of the bloody fraternity" (p. 371).

man like Horace Walpole to be lofty about such information: "what I learn comes from newspapers, that collect intelligence from coffee-houses; consequently, what I neither believe nor report."¹ Walpole had highly placed overseas contacts, and friends closely involved with affairs of state: Strutt, and thousands like him, hung on the word of every traveller with first-hand news to offer, and failing that, waited eagerly for each issue of the papers.² Strutt, indeed, was in a better position than many; he had French acquaintances such as Louis Dutens, who probably wrote from France some of the Times articles on the Revolution.³ Among the Strutt family documents are six French newspapers of the Revolutionary period; four of them date from about the time that Strutt was writing the "Chronicle", and it may well be that they were sent to Strutt by one of his French or French-speaking friends.⁴ The papers do not give an account of any of the particular events which Strutt used in the "Chronicle", but others, since lost, may have provided him with more immediate material.

There are a number of instances in the "Chronicle of a Revolution" when Strutt appears to make use of first-hand reports which were in circulation at the time. Compare Strutt's account of the King's

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- 1 Walpole to the Countess of Upper Ossory, 15 January 1797 (Yale Corr., XXXIV, 231).
 - 2 Examples of the circulation of newspapers in the 1790's in a rural area (Tiverton, Devon) are given by E.S. Chalk in Notes and Queries, CLXIX (9 Nov 1935), 336.
 - 3 He is credited with three articles, dated 20 and 28 July 1789, and 27 July 1791, or at least with providing the material on which the articles are based. Events used by Strutt and covered in the articles include the escape of the Royal family and their recapture at Varennes (see Joseph W. Lorimer, "The Life and Works of Louis Dutens" [unpubd. Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1952], p.241).
 - 4 The Gazette Nationale, ou Le Moniteur Universel, for 5 and 7 April 1791, 30 May and 9, 18 and 27 June 1793 (Nos. 95,97,150, 160,169,178).

execution with that of a French doctor, Philippe Pinel. From Pinel's letters: "The drum-beats were hushed for a moment by a gesture from Louis himself, but at a signal from the adjutant of the General of the National Guard, they recommenced with such force that Louis's voice was drowned and it was only possible to catch a few stray words like 'I forgive my enemies'."¹ From the "Chronicle of a Revolution": "The Constable beheld the dreadful apparatus of death with the composure of conscious innocence, and approaching the side of the Scaffold, attempted to speak to the Populace, who were assembled to behold his sufferings. But the moment he opened his lips, the Monster Noland gave a signal to his merciless bandittis, and all of them instantly set up a hideous Cry, like the yelling of wild beasts or the dissonant hootings of Savages provoked to anger: all that could be heard distinctly, in a short interval of silence were these memorable words: 'I die innocently -- I forgive you all'" (pp. 366 367 below).

Similarly, the breaking of the news to the King of his death sentence, as related by Cléry, Louis's valet-barber, who had voluntarily joined him in prison:

On Thursday January 17th, M. de Malesherbes came in about nine in the morning. I went to meet him. "All is lost," he said, "the King has been sentenced to death." The King seeing he had arrived, got up to greet him. The Minister threw himself at the King's feet. He was stifled by his sobs and for a while could not speak. The King lifted him up and gave him an affectionate hug. M. de Malesherbes then informed him of the decree, sentencing him to death. The King made no movement expressing surprise or emotion. He only appeared moved by the sorrow of this worthy old man and sought to console him.²

1 Letters of Philippe Pinel (Paris, 1859), p.202. It is of course highly improbable (in this and the next instance) that Strutt knew the account in question, but the similarities suggest that he made use of such first-hand accounts whenever possible.

2 Jean Baptiste Hanet-Cléry, Diary of Events in the Tower of the Temple during the captivity of Louis XVI (1798), p.187.

Strutt's account, though partly based on the expectation of 'nothing common nor mean' on the part of a king, bears similarities which suggest he had read some report of the meeting. M. de Malesherbes is represented by Strutt's character Indor: "Charged with this tremendous commission from the Sons of Rebellion, I sought the unfortunate victim of their malice ... I could not speak -- tears flowed from my Eyes, & I sighed as though my Heart would burst ... He took me by the hand, and gently pressing it in his, conjured me to hide nothing from him ... 'Why then, I must die, Indor,' said he meekly, and added after a short pause, 'this sentence does not surprise me. I have long expected it' (pp. 364-365). On this kind of evidence, Strutt seems to have been sufficiently closely acquainted with the course of events in France that his occasional departures from historical fact are likely to be deliberate, and designed to accentuate his moral -- for instance in his treatment of Thomas Paine (see further below, pp. 264-265).

Strutt's view of the Revolution

In its early stages, the Revolution was generally welcomed in England. The centenary celebrations of England's own "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 were fresh in the public mind. John Newton, who knew all about oppression, voiced the opinion of many when he wrote, "I suppose no human person was sorry, when the Bastille was destroyed, and the pillars of their oppressive Government shaken. The French had then a great opportunity."¹ Revolutionary clubs formed for the

1 To "a clergyman" and quoted by Bernard Martin, John Newton: A Biography (1950), p.345. Burns, too, had been France's "enthusiastic votary at the beginning of the business ... [but] I altered my sentiments" (quoted by W.L. Renwick, op. cit., p.2). Gibbon mourned the loss of "their glorious opportunity to erect a free constitutional monarchy on the ruins of arbitrary power and the Bastille." (Letter to his stepmother, 1 August 1792; Letters, II, 308-309, quoted by Constantia Maxwell, The English Traveller in France, 1689-1815, p.37.)

a riv rsary celebrations struck up a c r e dence with the poli i l clubs in Fran e, with a view to pro oting de ocratic government.

Attitudes began to change with the increasing disorder in France. It turned out that the Bastille had not after all been filled with untried prisoners: the seven men there at the time of the storming consisted of four forgers, two madmen, and one put there at the request of his family.¹ Uncomfortable memories began to stir of the Gordon Riots of 1780, when mob violence had reached new and alarming levels.² When George III opened Parliament in December 1792, he declared that "the destruction of our happy constitution and the subversion of all order and government were being compassed by incendiaries and preachers of sedition, who were in league with French revolutionists."³ Burke warned that the "warm and inexperienced enthusiasts" across the Channel would plunge France into anarchy⁴ -- to which Paine, in one of his telling phrases, replied that Burke "pities the plumage, but forgets the dying bird."⁵ The massacres of September 1792, when hundreds of prisoners suspected of hostility to the Revolution were murdered, further alienated English opinion; the earlier idea, as voiced by Pitt, that England could view the Revolution "as a spectator", was shattered in the autumn of the same year by France's proclamation that she would give assistance to any foreign group that rose for its liberty. France occupied the Austrian Netherlands, and opened the river Scheldt to commerce: this river had for many years been closed in order to develop the trade of Holland and Great Britain, and the action demonstrated France's disregard for international

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- 1 The New Groundwork of British History, ed. Warner, Marten and Muir (1943), p.670 fn.1.
 - 2 See Christopher Hibbert, King Mob: The Story of Lord George Gordon and the Riots of 1780 (1958).
 - 3 Quoted by H.R. Fox Bourne, English Newspapers (1887), I, 320.
 - 4 Edmund Burke, Reflections on the Revolution in France (1790); published in Works, II, 289-292.
 - 5 Thomas Paine, The Rights of Man, Part I (1791), p.24. Both this and the previous quotation taken from Alfred Cobban, The Debate on the French Revolution 1789-1800 (1950), pp.79 and 88.

treaty rights.¹ By the time of Louis XVI's execution in January 1793, and France's declaration of war on England the following month, the majority of Englishmen were more than ready to settle scores with their old enemy. Clive Emsley notes: "Fears of popular turbulence probably exceeded any fears which British gentlemen had about war."² Walpole voiced the general feeling in his letter of 29 January 1793 to the Countess of Upper Ossory. He has read in the London Chronicle of the execution of Louis, which took place on 21 January; the news reached London three days later (see London Chronicle, 24-26 Jan., LXXIII, 94-96):

Indeed, Madam, I write unwillingly; there is not a word left in my dictionary that can express what I feel. Savages, barbarians, etc., were terms for poor ignorant Indians and blacks and hyenas ... it remained for the enlightened eighteenth century to baffle language and invent horrors that can be found in no vocabulary. What tongue could be prepared to paint a nation that should avow atheism, profess assassination, and practice massacres on massacres for four years together; and who, as if they had destroyed God as well as their King, and established incredulity by law, give no symptom of repentance? These monsters talk of settling a constitution -- it may be a brief one, and couched in one law, "Thou shalt reverse every precept of morality and justice, and do all the wrong thou canst to all mankind." (Yale Corr., XXXIV, 177-178)

In June, the extreme section of the Convention, the Jacobin or Mountain party (headed by Danton and Robespierre) overthrew the more moderate Girondins; the formation of the Committee of Public Safety began the year-long "Reign of Terror". It is against this background that Strutt wrote his "Chronicle".

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- 1 For Strutt's version of the episode, see below, p.344: "they opened a Large Dyke which had been filled up for the space of several hundred Moons; and promised to reestablish a great fair at the Citadel of the Marshes, which had been removed from thense at the filling up of the Dyke ... "
- 2 Clive Emsley, British Society and the French Wars, 1793-1815 (1979), p.11.

Strutt was a convinced and conservative Tory and as such had no time for the egalitarian principles which first activated the Revolutionaries: from the "Chronicle", Chapter Three:

It seems natural upon the establishment ofa Society that those who had the stoutest hearts and Wisest heads should be considered as the best able to watch over and protect the rest; of necessity it will follow that the gaurdians of the Society will require some peculiar privileges to be granted to them to secure the enforcement of the excecutive Power committed to their Charge, and enable them to act with Vigour & dispatch in the defence of the Community ... it is totally impossible that there can exist in any State a perfect equallity of its Members: their external & internal qualifications strongly deny it; the Powers of the Mind & the powers of the Body are by no means equally distributed; and Nature herself without the Aid of revelation points out the absolute necessity of a subordination. (pp.322-323)

His view of monarchy is summed up on p.323: "A Monarchal Government, where the Nobles & the People by their proper representitives have a due proportion of Power to restrain any advancement towards Arbitrary Authority, experience has proved is best calculated for this salutary purpose." This statement of political philosophy finds its literary parallel in the story in the Exordium of the brick foundation supporting the marble upper storey and golden roof, each dependent on the other for the survival of the "Tower of exquisite workmanship" (p.307).

Added to Strutt's natural conservatism was a dread, shared by all the antiquaries, of what civil disorder might do to the fragile materials they sought to cherish; see Gough's letter to Cole of 6 June 1780, written just after he was an eyewitness of the Gordon Riots: "We can only lament that we live at the ends of the age of British Glory and Good-sense. Our duty as Antiquaries is, to prepare for the worst, and treasure up all we can come at, before popular Rage, heightened by Faction, anticipates Time in his ravages. I wish our friend Essex would feel a little of this reasoning, and

get his Gothic Architecture engraved" (Lit. Anecs., II, 732).¹

Another strong element in Strutt's political thinking is his dislike of Roman Catholicism. The strength of the Roman church in France was, for historical reasons, a source of anxiety in England; and many an Englishman hoped in the early days of the Revolution that the downfall of totalitarian government would also bring an end to church abuse and priestly power. The Protestant fear seems in retrospect excessive and ignorant, and crudely expressed: Henry, for example, referring to the Pope as "the old gentleman at Rome" (History of Great Britain, VII, 320). Strutt was no exception; as early as the Manners and Customs we read of what was to remain a lifelong prejudice: "Blindness and superstition always marked out this religion; for unless the wileful priests could keep the people in profound ignorance, how could they expect to force such horrid impositions upon their reason, as the long train of miracles, and other religious juggles? It is true indeed (to give everyone their due) that they did all they could to discourage vice, in any but themselves; for they painted the pains of Hell in the most horrid manner" (MC, II, 10). By the time of the "Chronicle": "the Pontiff ... Damned to all Eternity Every one who would not confess that he was The God (of) that Planet: that he could make the People happy or Miserable for ever, cure diseases, raise the dead to Life; and that the gift of immortality depended upon his pleasure" (p.3/2). It is easy to forget how innate a part of English Protestantism Anti-Romanism had come to be. We are sharply reminded by its appearance, quite casually, in a children's story of the period: Mrs Sarah Trimmer, in The Two Farmers, describes the prints hanging on the farmhouse wall: "The first of them was a print representing our Saviour's humility, and the pope's pride; over this he hung the Golden Rule, and the summary of the law and the prophets..."² Even so genial a man as Scott, normally tolerant of other men's foibles, was full of dislike for what he saw as religious extremism: he

1 Cf. Walpole's letter to Cole of 11 August 1769 (Yale Corr., I, 189-192) and above, p.202.

2 Quoted by W.K. Lowther Clarke, Eighteenth-C ntury Piety (1944), p.123.

and even evangelical preachers and, in the Jurist for 8 Feb 189, confessed that: "I hold popery to be such a mean and depriving superstition that I am not clear I could have found myself liberal enough for voting for the repeal of [the anti-Papist laws] as they existed before 1780. They must and would in course of time have smothered popery and I confess I should have seen [in] the old Lady of Babylon's mouth stop with pleasure" (525; quoted by A.N. Wilson, The Laird of Abbotsford [Oxford, 1980], p.104). Such examples as these help to explain, if not excuse, some of Strutt's wilder statements on the "spiritual Tyrant, that vile imposter", whose priests were "An Idle Vermin swarming in every Country, & like Caterpillars preying upon the labours of Industry" (p.338, p.312).

There were more tolerant minds, sometimes in surprising quarters, though they often reserved their moderation for private expression. Cole, who could be intolerant enough when he chose, none the less confessed to having "a smack of Mother Church myself." The Gordon Riots, which might have been expected to accentuate suspicion of the Roman Catholics, brought the following response from him, in a letter to Walpole of 2 July 1780: "It is matter of astonishment to me in this enlightened age to observe the intolerant spirit of the Dissenters. I am sure we want no proof that if the Catholics are bigots, the fanatics of this island are on a par with them, as also, which are the peaceable and which the factious, seditious subjects" (Yale Corr., II, 226).

Outline of the Plot

The "Chronicle of a Revolution" is written in three books and nine chapters. Strutt changed his mind about the method of numbering the chapters, but the sequence and division is quite clear (see further below, p.297).

The work is introduced by a section entitled "The Translator's Preface". The reign of Arthur is described as a golden age, when British courage and prowess was at its height. The travels of Merlin are described, among which "the most remarkable were those which he made to the Moon"; and we hear of his writings, "valuable treatises upon various subjects." Giraldus Cambrensis is said to have included

in his list of Merlin's writings an account "relative to a revolution which hapned in one of the greatest Provinces of the Moon." The Translator describes how he came upon the long-lost manuscript of the work "among a large quantity of Parchments consigned to destruction."¹

The simulation of careful scholarship is maintained in the description of the manuscript: "The Manuscript is fairly written in Latin Verse, and nearly perfect ... The defects which were found in the original, where the writing was by some accident obliterated, he has not presumed to fill up, but has left them in the same state that posterity may be assured of his fidelity" (p.303). The Translator states his intention of committing "the whole work to the public inspection, declaring that the translation is made with the greatest accuracy" (pp.303-304).

Book One begins with a short Exordium. Another sage is introduced, Odon the son of Morah (or Norah; Strutt uses both names at different places in the text). Odon reminds of what we can learn from the study of history, and Strutt points the moral that however remote the revolution on the Moon may seem to be, "the same Passions which stimulated the Minds of Mankind in the remoter ages are neither enfeebled by time nor changed by accident, but still continue to be the only springs of Action to the present Day" (p.306).

1 "Chronicle", p.303. No doubt such a discovery was every antiquary's dream since Percy's rescue of the manuscript ballads which were the basis of the Reliques of English Poetry. As Percy noted on the cover of the folio, 7 November 1769: "This very curious old manuscript, in its present mutilated state, but unbound and sadly torn, &c., I rescued from destruction, and begged at the hands of my worthy friend Humphrey Pitt, Esq., then living at Shiffnal, in Shropshire ... I saw it lying dirty on the floor, under a Bureau in y^e Parlour: being used by the m ds to light the fire."

Chapter the First begins the purported translation. As a "Leson for futurity" Merlin gives his account of the "Revolution of a great & potent people." He describes the oppression of the people of the Land of the Lilies, and the building of "a large dark Dungeon" by the tyrant Constable. The second half of the chapter is devoted to an attack on "the Pontiff who resided in the land of the Keys," who added "a Labrinth of endless error" to the "bodily subjection" imposed by the Constable (quotations, pp. 309-311).

Chapter Two opens with an account of the Reformation, and the Pope's alliance with the French kings. The setting-up of the "Provincial Club" is next described; its division into factions; and the loss of law and order until "the will of a Licencous Mob was the law of the Province." The King is imprisoned, and an attempt at escape is foiled (quotations, p. 317).

Chapter Three begins with a lecture from Merlin on the superiority of the English brand of liberty, and a warning to "resist like Men the Chimerical attempts of Insanity to graft the inovations of foriegn Enthusiasm upon a Stock so sacred." From the general Strutt proceeds to a particular attack, on the leader of "several attempts made to excite the flames of Sedition in the Island of the Lions." This "very turbulent fellow" is given the name of Boutefeu,¹ "and the by-name of Anguish." Strutt's attack on Paine occupies the rest of the chapter and brings Book One to a close.

Book Two, Chapter Four, relates the declaration of war on France by neighbouring powers, and the consequent developments in the Assembly.

1 Boutefeu, described by the New English Dictionary (I [1888], 1028) as "Very common in the 17th. c." From French bouter to put and feu fire. "An incendiary, a firebrand; one who kindles discontent and strife." Paine was occasionally nicknamed Firebrand.

The Girondin and Jacobin factions became the Benchers and the Mountain. Chapter Five gives another long speech by Boutefeu.

Chapter Six relates attempts by the Revolutionaries to invade neighbouring territories under their military leader Jack-a-Lantern. (Strutt once adds "Napoleon" over this nickname, but at the time of writing he may not have intended Napoleon so much as Lazare Carnot: Napoleon was in Corsica when Carnot led the invasion of Holland in the spring of 1793; and for the rest of the year, still a junior officer, he was engaged in helping to repel the British and allied forces from Toulon.)

Book Three, Chapter Seven, tells of a mob attack on the Assembly's meeting-place. Boutefeu is chosen to placate the crowd; he enjoys a dramatic rescue at the last moment by the military. As he sees himself safe he twists his flattering of the crowd to abuse -- akin to some of the twists of action in the sub-plot of Queenhoo-Hall. The chapter ends with the murder of one of the mob, and the establishment of the Terror by the Assembly.

In Chapter Eight, the Assembly's troubles increase, with further mob violence and news of insurrection in the army. It is decided to divert the people's attention by the public execution of the Constable. Some slight resistance is made by one faction of the Assembly (though Boutefeu's protests, which happened historically, are written off as crocodile tears ¹).

The ninth and final chapter takes the form of a letter written to Merlin by Indor, the son of Isphan. Indor is a nobleman of the

1 At considerable risk to himself, Paine voted for the King's detention during the war, to be followed by his banishment, excusing Louis as the victim of bad training, and warning France that she would lose the support of America if the death sentence were pronounced. What now seemed an act of justice would later appear only an act of vengeance. See further, John Alger, Englishmen in the French Revolution (1889).

Moon, and friend of the Constable. To him is committed the task of acquainting the Constable with the sentence passed upon him.

The morning of execution arrives.. We have a grim account of the journey to the gallows, of the murder of a royal sympathiser, and of the execution itself. Indor's account ends at this point. In the few remaining paragraphs Strutt relates the Assembly's devotions to the Demon of Discord, and their plans to "subjugate the whole world & exterminate ... all the enemies of Anarchy." War is declared on the Constable of the Lions. Troubles begin to thicken around the Assembly: mob discontent increases, one of the Members is assassinated; "till at length, being ripe for every act of desperation, they rose and ..." (quotations, pp.369-371)

No more of Merlin's manuscript can be deciphered. Strutt neatly rounds off the story:"the translator thinks this much may be justly added: ... & revenged the calamitous sufferings of the Constable & his family upon his Murderers, & placed his Son upon the seat of his Father, as the Governor of a Free and faithful people" (p.372).

Characterisation

Most of the personalities of the "Chronicle" are, indeed, caricatures rather than rounded characters; but after the totally wooden figures of Ancient Times and The Test of Guilt, there are some signs of life and individuality. This is in part because Strutt was drawing on a real personality in his leading character: he may have heard Paine speak, and in any case the publicity Paine received was so widespread that Strutt could hardly have failed to pick up a good deal of information about his physical characteristics and manners and some idea of his thinking. But the portrait of the King also carries some conviction, and one or two of the minor characters are drawn with a vigorous pen, for instance the "sturdy Amazon" who heckles Boutefeu in Chapter Seven. She, too, may be based on an actual character, who played a significant part in the hunger march of 5-6 October 1789, when the women of Paris advanced on Versailles to compel the King and the States-General to return to Paris. The events, as related by Etienne Dumont, the friend of Mirabeau, were

as follows: "the Deputies began to discuss calmly certain aspects of the Penal Code. I was in a gallery, where a harridan was directing the movements of about a hundred women and a number of young people who shouted or kept silence as she ordered them. She addressed the deputies with coarse familiarity: "Who's that talking down there? Make the chatterbox shut up. That's not the point: the point is that we want bread. Tell them to put our little Mother Mirabeau up to speak. We want to hear him."¹ Strutt's "Heroine" makes herself just as plain: she thinks herself "damnably humbugged by you and your gang". The changes brought about by the Revolution have produced "the Devil a bit of mending"; and "if you do not give us something to keep both our insides & our outsides warm & comfortable, we will ring such a peal in your ears as shall make the boldest of you wish himself at the devil" (all quotations p.349). Her personality is revealed not only by what she says, but by her actions: "Then down she sat, screwing up her mouth and winking to her companions, who grinned and nodded in token of their applause" (p.350).

Similarly, Strutt gives as dramatic a quality as he can to his account of the bringing to the King the news of his death sentence. The King's movements are described in some detail, as though Strutt were visualising the meeting taking place on a stage: "his Head was inclined upon his left hand, & his eyes were intent upon the sacred roll which his right hand kept unfolded. My approach interrupted his study. He raised his Head from his hand, & turning towards me fixed his eyes earnestly upon mine; he said nothing, but his look pierced me to the Soul" (p.364). After the farewell meeting with his family: "'Oh My Father!' 'Oh My Children!'" were the last words which passed, & the door was closed upon him for ever! When he reached his Chamber, he cast himself upon a Sopha, and fixed his eyes earnestly upon the Door which led to the apartment he had just quitted; and for a considerable time, sat without motion, buried in deep reflection" (p.366).

1 Recollections of Mirabeau and the two first Legislative Assemblies (Paris, 1832); quoted by Georges Pernoud and Sabine Flaissier, The French Revolution, transl. Richard Graves (1960), p.60.

The portrait of Paine combines fact and Strutt's additions, some perhaps made for literary effect but most to emphasise the dangerous nature of Paine's philosophy. The first and second parts of The Rights of Man had been published in the Februarries of 1791 and 1792, as an answer to Burke's Reflections on the state of affairs in France, and as an expression of the political and social philosophy formulated by Paine during his work for the cause of American Independence in the 1770's. He was also a leading supporter of such bodies as the Revolution Society, which, though aimed generally at modest constitutional reform, seemed to the English government dangerously akin to the Jacobins in France. The Rights of Man did not, in fact, advocate revolution in England; but the English newspapers seized on Paine as representing the revolutionaries, and "during the years 1791-2 there was scarcely a single issue of any London newspaper which failed to mention Paine in one way or another, for the most part unfavourably."¹ In September 1792 Paine took up the seat voted him in the French Assembly. The Rights of Man was due for prosecution in December, but Paine's move was hardly the ignominious flight which Strutt portrays: "the vile incendiary found it necessary for him to make a precipitate escape from his Native land in order to avoid his advancement in a manner which was not altogether so congenial with his feelings ... Nothing could happen more fortunately for Anguish than this invitation. He accepted of it with much Joy, and in that blessed Asylum took refuge & secured him Self from the punishment justly decreed him in his own Country" (p.324).

Strutt's interpretation of The Rights of Man is parody of none too subtle a kind: "the absurd doctrine that the will of a licentious Mob ought to be the Law of the Land was what he chiefly inculcated (p.324) ... there can be no Rebellion but a Rebellion of the Constable & his Tyranical Party when they oppose the Will of the Sovreign People" (p.326). As the Encyclopaedia Britannica puts it:

1 A.O. Aldridge, Man of Reason (1960), p.156. See also L.T. Werkmeister, The London Daily Press, 1772-1792, and A Newspaper History of England, 1792-1793 (Nebraska, 1963 and 1967).

Those who know the book only by hearsay as the work of a furious incendiary will be surprised at the dignity, force and temperance of the style; it was the circumstances that made it inflammatory. Pitt "used to say," according to Lady Hester Stanhope, "that Tom Paine was quite in the right, but then he would add, 'What am I to do? As things are, if I were to encourage Tom Paine's opinions we should have a bloody revolution.'"¹

To Strutt and most of his generation, Paine's writings threatened to bring a step nearer the dreaded breakdown in social order: "Anarchy signifies a glorious disturbance raised by the Sovereign People assembled together to assert their native rights, that is, to plunder the rich Landholders, to turn the Landlords out of their estates, & murder all who usurp the title of governors or dare to make any resistance" (pp. 325-326). "Anarchy & confusion are much lesser Evils than peace & Good order, if purchased at the expence of Heaven-born Liberty and Equality" (pp. 321-322).

Strutt's satiric intention, though not altogether successfully effected, is to ridicule Paine by showing his known characteristics absurdly magnified. It is a somewhat gross portrait, saying that his aims were primarily mercenary, and including comments on Paine's laziness (which may have been fair subject for attack) and his "very mean parentage" and his charity education (which certainly were not). Paine never learned to speak French with any fluency, and regularly greeted his French admirers by placing his hand on his heart. In the "Chronicle" we find him "laying his hand upon his breast with the easy Motion of a Tragic actor", and grinning "an uncouth smile" (p. 349). Paine had something of a reputation for washing none too frequently, and this becomes "an effluvia exhaled from him by no means resembling the scent of violets or Roses" (p. 351). The problem is, of course, that the picture which emerges is of a hobgoblin rather than a human being; Paine's power over a crowd, and the devotion he roused in radical circles, become hardly credible, and much of the dramatic interest is lost.

1 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edn. (New York, 1910-11), XX, 457.

Language

Strutt began in the "Chronicle" to explore the idea of a special language for his common folk, which was to be more fully developed in the rustics' talk in Queenhoo-Hall. In part this special language is demonstrated by rich turns of phrase, like those of the insurgents on pp. 348-351 -- "'That's a damn'd Lie to begin with,' exclaimed one of the Mob, 'for the people, as you call us, are as poor as Rats in an Empty Granary'" (p. 348); "'Damn your Parlarver ... I'll tell you what, Mr. what-do-call-um Equal, You and your Club folks (whom God confound) have told us a pack of impudent Lies'" (p. 349) -- and in part by the use of uncommon words. Such words and phrases had always interested Strutt: his notebooks list anything unusual which came his way, and there are other examples in the notes in the Queenhoo-Hall manuscript.¹ There are a dozen or more examples in the "Chronicle": the "Amazon" of Chapter Seven thought herself "Choused and Bamboozled"; other specimens are fraudful, dinar, hogoo. All these words have eighteenth-century uses quoted in the Oxford English Dictionary, but were certainly not in common use. It is significant that in one of the few sections of the "Chronicle" which was revised by Strutt (pp. 326-327) the following passage: "And what, my pretious Solomons, would be the blessed consequences ..." is replaced by: "But now, my pretious Jobbernows, let us examine what will be the blessed consequences ..." Indeed the whole of the speech of Boutefeu from which this is taken is lively and full of unconventional phrases. His rivals' writings are "like the gaudy Butterflies born from vile Maggots"; he has "proved that the whole world were Fools and doltheads untill I pointed out the path which leads to wisdom" (p. 325). Similar phrases make an appearance in other of Boutefeu's speeches: talking to the French mob, he sympathises that their sour wine "by continually scouring your Bodies made you as thin as Rotten Herrings", and that their "credulous forefathers, like tadpolls in a stagnated lake, were confind and contented to be so. But you, like a new created set of superior beings, emerge from the stinking waters and bask in the sunshine of Liberty & equality" (pp. 337-338). In part, Strutt was trying to demonstrate Paine's

1 See, for example, Brit.Lib. MS. Egerton 888.2, fol.45; and National Library of Scotland MS. 878, foll.87-90.

fascination for the mob: having drawn him in a way which made him an unlikely figure for adulation, he thought perhaps his charisma could be explained by his use of the compelling phrase. But he was also toying with the idea that the common people, with Boutefeu as their spokesman, had access to a folk vocabulary which was lost in the more 'correct' language of the upper classes.

Conclusion

The "Chronicle of a Revolution" is not a long-lost literary work of great merit. It too nearly resembles a political harangue to carry conviction as a story, and Strutt's use of ridicule and parody is ill-suited to the seriousness of the subject. The speeches are far too long, and the appeal to ancient authorities, real and invented, far too complex to retain the reader's interest; the plentiful reference (especially in the Translator's Preface and the Exordium) to past sages and minor historians is out of proportion to the rest of the work, and has no real part to play in the plot, since Merlin alone could have satisfied that need. But the "Chronicle" did not have the advantage of revision; and it has lively patches -- there is on p. 309 a good joke at Strutt's own expense: "... if your Majesty will turn to the nintieth Chapter of the seventeenth Book of my Lunar Topography, you will find a compleat account of this noble province." Strutt was obviously well aware of the impression that the more laborious work of the antiquaries made on the general reader. Above all, as an early indication of Strutt's interest in the question of adapting his linguistic and antiquarian knowledge to literary ends, the "Chronicle" is a useful precursor to study of Queenhoo-Hall.

(ii) Queenhoo-Hall

By Nichols' account, work on Queenhoo-Hall was within a month of completion at the time of Strutt's death (Lit. Anecs., V, 680). This must be the estimate of Joseph Strutt Junior, who had worked on the manuscript for a time before passing it over to the publisher Murray. The circumstances are described by Isaac D'Israeli:

Poor STRUTT, at the close of life, was returning to his own first and natural energies, in producing a work of the imagination. He had made considerable progress in one, and the early parts which he had finished, bear the stamp of genius ...

but he was called off from the work to prepare a more laborious one.¹ "Queenhoo-Hall" remained a heap of fragments at his death; except the first volume, and was filled up by a stranger who had no interest in the work; but there is no doubt this laborious author was a man of the finest genius and sensibility. (Calamities, I, 270-271)

Queenhoo-Hall was Strutt's most deliberate attempt to present his antiquarian knowledge in literary form. His stated purpose was to convey "much useful instruction, imperceptibly, to the minds of such readers as are disgusted at the dryness usually concomitant with the labours of the antiquary" by way of "a lively and pleasing representation of the manners and amusements of our forefathers, under the form most likely to attract their notice" (QHH, I, i-ii). Other antiquaries had sought to apply their discoveries to modern literature -- Percy's rewriting of the ballads, and translations from Norse poetry, are only the most obvious examples. But no-one except Strutt appears to have set himself, in quite so conscious a way, the task of transmitting antiquarian and historical information in the form of a romance. It is no wonder that the novelty of the enterprise aroused the interest of Scott, with all the attendant consequences.

There was, of course, a widespread literary interest in the Middle Ages, an interest which has already been noted in the fields of history and the visual arts. To Heine in 1832 the tendency provided the basis for his definition of Romanticism: "Sie war nichts anders als die Wiedererweckung der Poesie des Mittelalters, wie sie sich in dessen Liedern, Bild- und Bauwerken, in Kunst und Leben, manifestiert hatte."² With writers such as the horror school, or Walpole in The Castle of Otranto, the most powerful influence lay

1 The projected new edition of the Manners and Customs.

2 Die romantische Schule, quoted by Henry A. Beers, A History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century (1916), p.2; and cf. Frankl, The Gothic, p.448.

in an imagined 'atmosphere' of medieval life: a sense of pervasive darkness, convolution, mystery, which some interpreters see as a rejection of the changing social patterns of the later eighteenth century: "The return to the Middle Ages was much more than an artistic game: it involved an attempt to transform the whole quality of life, and to recover spiritual values in the wreckage of an industrial age."¹ For other minds, and Strutt's among them, it was the new possibilities of a portrayal of medieval life which were most powerful. The ballads and romances were full of descriptions of manners and customs, perhaps more idealised than real, "but even if, in the middle ages, one would rarely have found ... such a feast of delights as the king in The Sqyr of Lowe Degre offers to his daughter, from such a list we can discover what delights could be offered."² The first literary attempts were being made to show what it must have been like to be a man or woman living in the thirteenth, fourteenth or fifteenth century. Home's dramas have been mentioned above (p.243); there was Chatterton, who made the imaginative leap so successfully that he all but persuaded himself that he and his poems were indeed medieval; and the curious Longsword of Thomas Leland.

Longsword is worth considering in a little more detail, since it is the nearest parallel found to Queenhoo-Hall.³ Leland describes it on the title-page as "an historical romance", and the "Advertisement" claims that: "The out-lines of the following story, and some of the incidents and more minute circumstances, are to be found in the antient English historians." It is set in the thirteenth century; the Earl of the title is one of Henry III's knights, and the story relates his adventures in France and England. The plot is of an intricacy and convolution which gives Queenhoo-Hall, by comparison, the symmetry and restraint of a Greek tragedy: the ingredients are disguise, treachery, mistaken identity, false news of death, kidnap,

1 A.N. Wilson, The Laird of Abbotsford, p.148.

2 Johnston, Enchanted Ground, p.13.

3 Longsword, Earl of Salisbury, generally attributed to Thomas Leland, DD (1722-85). The 1762 edition was printed for W. Johnston of London; a reprint (2 vols in 1) was published in 1974 by Garland Publishing Inc.

sanctuary -- etc., etc.; all themes of which Strutt makes use in Queenhoo-Hall, but which were part of the general stock of literary devices of the time. The style does little to make the romance more readable; our first introduction to the Earl will serve as a typical passage:

His garb was that of an humble pilgrim, whose holy vows were leading him to some scene of devotion; and by his side hung a large and trenchant weapon befitting the son of honourable war, rather than the votary of religion; his look was pale and squallid; but his port erect; and a secret greatness and manly dignity seemed to break thro' all the gloom of adversity which surrounded him. No sooner had he touched the strand, than he stood for a moment, as it were, in a still and motionless surprize; then falling on his knees, with arms crossed, and eyes raised up to heaven, his looks expressed the most rapturous gratitude and thankfulness, as if for a deliverance from some great calamity; whilst some others of the crew, with all appearances of tender regard, conveyed a young and beautiful personage to shore... (I, 3-4)

Like Queenhoo-Hall, and the "Chronicle", Longsword makes use of known historical events as a background to the plot. A minor character is put in charge of a royal company at the seige of Rochester Castle; others set off "engaged by solemn vows to visit the lately erected shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury" (I, 122). There are occasional attempts to give colour to the story by adding details of contemporary architecture, language, or literature: "It's windows crowded with the foliage of their ornaments, and dimmed by the hand of the painter; it's numerous spires towering above the roof, and the christian ensign on it's front, declared it a residence of devotion and charity" (I, 27); "With a sudden warmth, he swore by the foot of God, (his usual oath) ..." (I, 183); "I heard my own native lays, sweetly rehearsing the renowned deeds of Arthur valiant prince, the antient wars of Ambrose the Armoric knight, and the triumphs of British valour" (I, 123). If Strutt knew Longsword, this kind of example may have encouraged him to his own much more detailed and meticulous use of antiquarian information. But there is no clear evidence that he did; even the use by Leland of one of Strutt's favourite expressions in Queenhoo-Hall may have been no more than two writers drawing on a common stock of expressions: from II, 24, "heaven forefend but that it should meet the just return of praise". The importance of Longsword lies

not so much in any direct influence it may have had on Strutt, as in the indication it gives of further, and early, interest in medieval settings for literary works. It is notable too for demonstrating how much Strutt had to offer in terms of specialist knowledge; all the references to manners and customs are of a very general kind, whereas Strutt was in a position of particular strength when it came to writing of the middle ages. He knew the romances well, but unlike most of the literary scholars had also spent a lifetime studying the illuminated manuscripts of the period. This gave him a knowledge of the style and accoutrements of daily living which hardly another man of his generation could equal. If he were to write a story set in the fifteenth century, the reader would have little cause to doubt the authenticity of what he read.

This authority was perceived from the earliest appearance of Queenhoo-Hall. For an unfinished work, it received a great deal of attention. The Gentleman's Magazine thought that it "cannot be perused without great interest; and there are some animated descriptions of ancient manners on which the most fastidious must bestow their meed of approbation."¹ Miller Christy thought at one time that he would be paying as worthy a tribute to Strutt's memory by publishing a new edition of Queenhoo-Hall as by writing his biography.² Even now, information from the work appears in unlikely places: five pages from the first volume are quoted in a postwar book on history in the primary school, the author stating: "I quote in full to prove what a genuine source of real, living history such an odd scrap of reading may provide."³

The Plot

The first volume opens in Queenhoo Hall, the home of Lord Boteler.

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- 1 Gent. Mag., LXXVIII [October 1808], 919-920.
 - 2 Strutt family papers, news cutting from Essex County Chronicle, 8 March 1895, recording a meeting of the "Chelmsford Odde Volumes."
 - 3 Sybil Marshall, an Experiment in Education (Cambridge, 1963, repr. 1966), pp.50-51. The author took her quoted passage from the version published by Hone in the Every-day book, but believed it to be an eyewitness medieval account.

His daughter Lady Matilda, with her cousin Lady Eleanor, arrives home unexpectedly to find the servants preparing their May Day celebrations. The games are allowed to proceed, but are interrupted by an unknown challenger who defeats the village champions and gives a fine chaplet to Matilda, swearing undying love, at which "Eleanor smiled ... but Matilda blushed, and assumed an air of great seriousness" (p.43). The gossip in the Crown afterwards declares him to be Jaques Duseday, a well-known prize fighter. The next morning the ladies visit the ranger's daughters at the Park Lodge, to collect some embroidery. They are surprised to find the work completed with great skill, and discover it has been carried out by a lady, "one more couthful at the needle than we be" (p.99), staying with the family. Eleanor and Matilda take such a liking to the stranger, Emma Darcy,¹ that she goes to stay with them at the Hall; however, when she sees the chaplet, she faints, crying out that: "The man who possessed that chaplet is a murderer -- is Darcy's murderer!" (p.108). The scene reverts to Tewin, where two village girls, Margery and Rose, take advantage of their elders' absence to visit the local witch and fortune-teller. Margery is given old customs to follow at midnight in order to see her future husband. Ralph, one of her admirers, has overheard the scheme and of course appears when she carries out the instructions. The volume closes as Emma Darcy begins her story. She relates how she and her brother, travelling in France, stayed at an inn. Her brother disappeared during the night, the innkeeper accusing him of robbery.

Almost the whole of Volume II is devoted to a continuation of Lady Emma's story. She is rescued from the inn by an unknown English nobleman, who has her looked after in a convent close by. Lord Boteler (who has been exclaiming at intervals throughout her account) reveals that he was that nobleman. He relates how he suspected the circumstances of her brother's disappearance, but being called away on business, had to leave the case to the local justice. Emma's

1 The name provides Strutt's own title for the work, used throughout the manuscript.

brother is at length assumed murdered, and she returns, with many adventures on the way, to England, to seek the help of her cousin, Gaston de Saint Clere.¹ He, however, suggests that she is an impostor: Emma, having lost all her papers and possessions in a fire, appeals to her old nurse to prove her claim. Even the evidence of a scar will not win over Saint Clere. It becomes obvious that he has no intention of providing for Emma; his meanness is evident in the whole appearance of his mansion, Gay Bowers, and in the meagre fare provided. He tries to force Emma to sign away her rights to the estate, and imprisons her when she refuses to do so, staging mock hauntings and other horrors to weaken her will. She discovers that he plans her murder, and escapes to join her nurse, again with many misadventures before reaching a place of safety with the ranger's family. Lord Boteler assures Emma of legal help and his protection meanwhile. A visitor is announced, at which Emma withdraws, "as her various sufferings had rendered her unequal to the task of meeting a stranger" (p.193). The visitor is the young Baron Fitzallen of Marden, with an invitation to join him for dinner; the Boteler family accompanies him home. On their arrival Fitzallen is asked to adjudicate on a dispute between a hunting party and an old man, who is alleged to have frightened away a hawk. The volume closes with the "Old Man's Tale", Strutt's autobiography.

The first chapter of Volume III contains a dinner-party discussion of romances. Eleanor talks of the delights promised to the king's daughter in the Sqyr of Lowe Degre, and Fitzallen counters with the

1 As so often, Strutt was using a piece of Essex local history. Cole wrote to Walpole, 1 November 1779, transcribing part of a letter he had received from Tyson: "From Hatfield I paid my respects to the old cross-legged knights at Danbury, which Mr Strut points out to show how early we were advanced in sculpture [he means in MC, II, 25] ... There are three of them, commonly called St Clair's" (Yale Corr., II, 175). Gough gives the figures in Sep. Mons., I, Part I, facing p.30. On the Danbury sculpture, see above, p. 156 . Darcy is another Essex family name.

story of Bevis of Hamtoun. The baron's chaplain sees the romances as a moral danger for a young audience.¹ In Chapter Two, the knight of the May games visits Queenhoo Hall, leaving a letter for Matilda and promising to return later the same day. A friend and neighbour arrives: the "Chevalier Saint Clere".² Towards the end of the day he retires to the library to write letters. The knight of the games is then announced, and is challenged to explain how he came by Emma's chaplet, stolen from her at the inn. (Emma is at hand, but veiled). He declares it belonged to his dead sister, and throws up his visor to reveal himself as the Chevalier Saint Clere -- at which Emma cried, "'Tis, 'tis my brother! and fainted" (p.58).

The rest of the volume is occupied with Darcy's story of the events which befell him at the inn and afterwards. Attacked in the inn and left for dead in the woods, he had been rescued by a band of English soldiers. By the time he had recovered sufficiently to enquire for Emma, she had left for England: he wrote to her (a letter which Gaston had intercepted) and joined the soldiers for a campaign. Commissioned by the Duke of York to buy him a piece of precious jewellery, he visits the town of Ponthein. While with the jeweller, a man tries to sell Emma's chaplet, and other items stolen from the inn. He is arrested and proved to be the hostler. Darcy/Saint Clere returns to England, where he defeats Gaston in law and tries to find Emma, but at length assumes her dead. The rest of the volume is a continuation

- 1 The passage on romances is very little altered from Strutt's draft. It must have been of particular interest to Scott, as editor of Sir Tristrem.
- 2 The whole of this section is fraught with difficulties and inconsistencies: clearly Strutt had not fully worked out his plans for this part of the work, and the editing must have been hastily done. The existence of two "Saint Cleres" is confusing. Even if justified by the fact that the two were related, it is odd that the Botelers had not mentioned their new neighbour to Emma, whose mother they knew to be a Saint Clere. Nor is the knight's identification in Volume I as Jaques Duseday explained. Similarly, Emma in this passage is consistently referred to as the "stranger" (which she had not been for the last two volumes, and though she is regularly called Emma in earlier references).

of the story of the rustics, in particular a trial of strength between Margery's two admirers, Ralph and the jester, Gregory. As Margery's father comments to Ralph: "I wist not that the old grudge 'twixt you and his honour's jester would have been abroad with so much bickerment. I shall not twiten thee for thy hardiment, but am right glad you have made him cry, craven" (p.186).

Tales are told in the local inn. The volume ends as Gregory, who feels he has been made use of by Margery, lies in wait for her dressed up as a ghost. He is caught by two soldiers who chase him into the river.

The final volume contains only four brief chapters: a further tale told in the inn; Gregory's disgrace made public; an account of a hunt, during which Emma is waylaid by Gaston and his ruffians; and the settling of all outstanding affairs. Gaston hangs himself, and the heroes and heroines are paired off: Henry Darcy with Matilda; Eleanor with Fitzallen; Margery and Ralph; Rose and Gregory; and Emma (who has had a mysterious helper at various points throughout her adventure) with that helper, now revealed as yet another aristocratic neighbour, Baron Fitzosborne of Diggswell. The account of the hunt and all that follows is Scott's completion of Strutt's unfinished manuscript (see further below, p. 278).

Characterisation, and Language

It will be evident from this account that the plot is involved and often very contrived. The same is unfortunately true of the characters, who lack much individuality, or at least are 'types' already met in Strutt's work -- for example the Lady Eleanor, "who, to the graces of innocence and simplicity, united an arch turn of mind" (III, 63); or the prattling nurse of II, 98-101 (a stock character in Gothic fiction). But many individual parts of the novel¹

1 It is difficult to know how to describe Queenhoo-Hall other than as a novel. Since it was set in the past, and was treated with much digression, it would have seemed a romance to Strutt's own age (he described it in the manuscript as a "legendary romance", just as Scott described Ivanhoe and his other similar works). But "novel" probably describes its character more accurately for the modern reader.

are full of interest and entertainment. Strutt told a story well, and some of his attempts to show the life of the fifteenth century are quite successful; the course of the May games, for example, or the superstition of the village girls over observing old customs. The feature of the work which must first impress itself, however, on a new reader, is the language, especially perhaps the dialogue of the villagers. Strutt's own account of what he planned to present is as follows: "The different degrees of the people, from the nobleman to the peasant, have their places in the romance; their characters are marked by their language and deportment; the speeches are, in general, sufficiently modernised, to make them perfectly intelligible; but, at the same time, they contain enough of the phraseology of the age, to give them an air of antiquity" (I, iii).

At least three different styles of language are attempted. The first is the speech of the upper classes: to use Scott's phrase, "not gothicized, if the reader will permit the expression, in the same proportion [as the rustics']. Lord Boteler, his daughter, and visitors, talk nearly like people of rank in the present day, while their domestics use the language of the feudal ages" ("Advertisement", QHH, I, iv). An example is Eleanor and Matilda's conversation just before they first encounter Emma: "she called to her cousin ... and desired to know if a walk before breakfast would be agreeable. 'The sky,' said she, 'is unclouded; the little birds are singing in the thickets; and every thing that is charming in rural retirement invites us abroad.' 'With all my heart,' replied the Lady Eleanor; 'it is indeed a delightful morning, and I have been awake some time listening to the notes of a thrush that is carolling in the garden, not far removed from my window'" (QHH, I, 97).

A second style of language appears in the speech of the fop, in Volume II, 195-204. An upstart tailor who has come into a little money and assumed the style of a gentleman, his manner of speech is intended to point his silliness and lack of education: "'Why, there it is, my lord,' answered the beau: 'the raptril is poor, and ought to be humble, and suspect his betterers. I warrant me, out of your lordship's hearing, he would call me a fool or a dotterel, and

mayhap laugh at me to my beard. Is these things befitting to a man of wealth and corpulence? shall such a crack-halter, without one cross in his pouch, be permitted to answer a gentleman, and make a May-game of me? I trow not; I trow your lordship will say not' " (pp.197-198).

The language of the rustics is by far the most fully developed of the three styles. The villagers have a vocabulary and grammar which is theirs alone: "'By'r Lady,' said she, grasping my hand, 'I beseech you be not adawed; it shall go hard with me if I do not let the naughty baron in his seekings' " (II, 185); or, " 'Out upon thee for a lozel!' said Tossopot; 'dost think we be such seely lobs as not to know a crab?'" (I, 70).

These attempts to suit particular linguistic styles to certain groups were no mere whim on Strutt's part. He had, as noted above, tried something along the same lines in the "Chronicle of a Revolution"; and the Queenhoo-Hall manuscript includes many pages of glossary and notes on folk phrases. Scott, of course, was to delve deep into the use of 'antique' language in his medieval and Renaissance novels; and there are interesting parallels and distinctions between the two writers.

Strutt, Scott and the use of archaisms

It would perhaps be as well to begin with some comment on Scott and the manuscript of Strutt's novel. Students of Scott have in recent years shown a new interest in Queenhoo-Hall, as the earliest instance in which Scott was involved with the writing of historical fiction. On Scott's own evidence it was Queenhoo-Hall which first interested him in the possibilities of such work:

In the year 1807-8, I undertook, at the request of John Murray, Esq. of Albemarle street, to arrange for publication some posthumous productions of the late Mr Joseph Strutt, distinguished as an artist and an antiquary, amongst which was an unfinished romance, entitled "Queen-Hoo-Hall." ... As the Work was unfinished, I deemed it my duty, as Editor, to supply such a hasty and inartificial conclusion as could be shaped out from the story, of which Mr Strutt had laid

the foundation.¹ This concluding chapter is also added to the present Introduction, for the reason already mentioned regarding the preceding fragment. It was a step in my advance towards romantic composition; and to preserve the traces of these is in a great measure the object of this Essay.²

At the Scott Bicentenary Conference in 1971, the American scholar, Professor William Ruff, claimed that critics studying Scott's emergence as a historical novelist had mistakenly ignored his contribution to Queenhoo-Hall, which he took to be far greater than the addition of a concluding chapter alone. If such an involvement on Scott's part were to be proved, it would obviously undermine any comparison of Strutt's work with Scott's, or at least make it impossible to point^{to} any examples where Scott may have taken words or usages from the older writer. But the claim does not seem to be borne out by the Queenhoo-Hall manuscript. There is not a great deal which can be established as Scott's: indeed he seems to have edited with a relatively light touch.

The manuscript as it now exists is most likely to be those parts of Strutt's draft which were not considered suitable for sending to the printer (this is the view of the compiler of the National Library of Scotland's catalogue entry for the manuscript). The more finished sheets, together with whatever additions and emendations Scott thought necessary, were probably sent to Ballantyne and subsequently destroyed, as was customary.

When more than one draft of a passage appears in the manuscript (there are a good many such examples), the differences between them, and

1 Scott's contribution, as printed in the 1829 Waverley, covers Chapters IV and V of Queenhoo-Hall's fourth volume (pp.43-79).

2 General Preface to the 1829 edition of Waverley, ed. Claire Lamont (Oxford, 1981), p.353. Warm thanks are due to Miss Lamont for her suggestions on the manuscript of QHH, and for information on Scott.

between the drafts and the printed version, are usually minor; which does not suggest that Scott added much material of his own. D'Israeli was not very impressed by Scott's work (though there had been some kind of disagreement between Strutt Junior and Murray, which may explain the slight note of acrimony. D'Israeli, as Nichols' friend, could be expected to adopt the Nichols/Strutt family view of any altercation, though he is unjust to Scott. However, D'Israeli's comment reinforces the likelihood that Scott's involvement was as slight as was consistent with doing what Murray required of him).¹

Scott was so busy at this period that he could hardly have spared the time for a major revision of Queenhoo-Hall. His activities during 1807-08 included the publication of the Life of Dryden, work on editions of the Sadler Papers and the Somers Tracts, plans for his edition of Swift, the writing of Marmion and contributions to the Edinburgh Annual Register. There are many inconsistencies in the novel which suggest hasty work.² And even if it could be proved that major sections of the

1 For D'Israeli's comment, see p. 268 above. The disagreement may explain how Scott came to be involved with the project, when Joseph Strutt Junior had edited all the other works for publication (Scott's reference to "posthumous productions", in the plural, is puzzling, unless he played some small part in preparing Ancient Times for the press). Strutt Junior described the consequences of the argument with his publisher in a letter to Douce of 24 November 1807: "I may mention also, that Murray the bookseller has refused my terms for the Memoir, Portrait, &c.: and I am afraid I shall not have it in my power to get any more sheets of the Novel" (Bodl. MS. Douce d.21, Letters 1800-09, fol.114).

2 See above, p. 274 fn. 2; and the following examples: "Pierce" on II, 237, is given as "Price" on II, 238. On III, 218, Gregory is annoyed because Margery had pretended to be fond of him (if she did, the reader was not told of it). Lady Treacy's "one only daughter" (II, 32) is joined on II, 55 by her "other daughter". Some of these may, of course, be compositor's errors; and correction of this kind of discrepancy was never Scott's strongest point (see Mary Lascelles, "Scott and the Art of Revision," pp. 139-156 of Imagined Worlds. Essays on some English Novels and Novelists in Honour of John Butt, ed. by Maynard Mack and Ian Gregor [1968]).

story were not by Strutt, it would be no sure indication that they were from Scott's pen: there are comments in the manuscript in a hand which is neither Strutt's, nor his son's, nor Scott's, but which suggest a close involvement with the preparation of the manuscript for publication; for example: "Story of Murder: I can find no place for this", or "The inclosed to be added to Mr S. if possible."

On the whole, then, it is fairly certain that the first three volumes of Queenhoo-Hall, and the first three chapters of the fourth volume, are from Strutt's pen. Some analysis of the languages of the tailor and of the villagers confirms the impression that Strutt's experiments were not only a search for an antique flavouring, which was common enough, but a careful attempt to reproduce the essence of the way of speech of his fifteenth-century countrymen. There is little doubt that Strutt perceived the customs and language of the common people as the true vehicle of what was most unsullied and long-lasting in our national heritage. He was not, after all, alone in holding such an idea: it was in line with much of the antiquarian thinking, and the novels of some of the minor Scots and Irish writers of the period (such as Maturin, or Lady Morgan) present a similar view. Maria Edgeworth, indeed, made a considerable feature of the eloquent and rich speech of her Irish country folk, unhampered by literary restraints.¹

The speech of the tailor differs from that of the villagers in that it takes up only a short part of the narrative, and is clearly designed to indicate an individual personality. The use of archaisms is in line with the language used by Scott's rustic ;

b t th nu be of K l p p' (s h a , i the pa g q o d o pp.276-
277 , s p t a d corp le) is obvi ly intended to show
th t ilor's i g r and p ' r. Ot re ple r "i le
f .19 , ' t f h' v' l " (l), "t k h'
i (. T t h d b ' u l
s ' c a ' i d i ' i

comprehend for "apprehend, arrest" (Kenilworth, Border Edition 1898-99, 185). The misuse of grammatical forms-- to been, Is these things -- probably serves the same purpose, since the device is not often used in the rustics' language, except with similarly deflationary intent (" 'Indeed but he shant though,' said Rose, angrily withdrawing her hand" [I, 138]). Usually the tailor mistakes the tense or person of his verbs -- "I desires him to discover" (p.199), "he ought to have see that I are a gentleman" (199), "they says as how" (200). But sometimes he is simply ignorant of the correct form -- "I teld him" (199); or falls into common inaccuracies -- "that there hawk" (200); or lapses into tautology, especially in his comparatives -- "more better than himself" (197), or the splendid "there are not a man in the king's communion wears bettrer or more fashionality garments than I; my clothing are all of the newest cut, made of the more better stuffs, and put together with the most finest silks that the Cheap can deduce" (202).

The villagers' language, on the other hand, runs right through the novel, their story and repartee alternating with the main plot and the relatively modern speech of the aristocrats. Here, it is primarily the vocabulary which is of interest. Strutt was not so inventive in his use of 'period' grammar as was Scott, though he has a number of archaic constructions which appear with some regularity: "if it liketh you" (I, 158); "withouten hickerment" (III, 177), "withoutten any lett" (III, 192); "I thought how it would be, my masters" (I, 72), "I guessed how 'twould be" (I, 87). One usage, indeed, which Graham Tulloch claims as a Scott original, was apparently devised by Strutt, and adopted by Scott for his own use:

One possible fake must be mentioned. The reflexive use of the verb warrant as in 'I warrant me' (Talisman 748) meaning 'I'll be bound', is completely unknown before Scott. The OED neatly describes it as 'quasi-archaic'.¹

¹ Graham Tulloch, The Language of Sir Walter Scott (1980), p.132, cf. p.166.

Strutt uses the construction several times (including the example quoted in the tailor's speech, p.276 above). Other grammatical oddities which Strutt makes use of are obsolete or analogous verb forms: "yclad" (III, 200), "yclept" (III, 201); "old records tellen us" (III, 190); "I will proven you devoid of achievement" (I, 58). As with Scott, there is an intermingling of "thou", "ye" and "you" forms, apparently decided only on the basis of the sound of the sentence. " 'Hark-ye, my hearts,' said the Tailor, 'if you all speak at once, I cannot tell which of ye to answer first. Go to; and, if it be possible, cease your clamour; and I will sing ye a short fit' " (IV, 17); or, " 'Murrain on thee!' said Christopher: 'you are so full of your quirks and your japes, there is no knowing how to take thee' " (IV, 14).¹ As with most writers of antique usage, and certainly with Scott, the verb 'to be' is frequently used in an obsolete form; most interestingly when it occurs in a phrase well known in its modern dress -- "as sure as eggs be eggs" (I, 145) -- or when combined with other grammatical archaisms, such as, "certes ye be in no couthly plight" (III, 202), "an it be for drinking" (I, 80), or "I care not he be an elf, a ghost, or the man o' the moon" (I, 87).

Tulloch's admirable book includes a glossary of Scott's archaic and dialect words (pp.345-351); and a similar, though incomplete, list is given in Volume IV of Queenhoo-Hall (pp.200-211). The two lists have the following words in common, and used by the two writers with the same meaning:

baldrick	ken
bandog	leven
basnet	losel
carl	lustihood
certes	roister(er)
clary	scathed
craven	tregetour
emprise	trou
guerdon	waes hael
hest	weird (fr. OE wyrd, fate)
hilding	wight
jape	

¹ Cf. Tulloch on Scott's usage, pp.135-138.

To these may be added borrel, crack-halter (Scott crack-rope), haply. On the evidence of the OED, it seems possible that Scott's use of some of these words may have been encouraged by discovering them in Queenhoo-Hall, even if both writers also came across them in much earlier works. Certain words (such as certes, emprize, guerdon, leven, losel, lustihood) had been kept in use by the Spenserian imitators; but others must have fallen very strangely on eighteenth-century ears. The OED lists the following as obsolete by the beginning of the century, and Strutt's revival of them seems to have been one of the earliest. Bandog, borrel, clary, crack-halter, craven, haply, hest, jape, roister, tregetour. To these may be added the technical terms baldrick and basnet/bassinnet. Tulloch does not list borrel as a Scott archaism, but the OED's only eighteenth-century reference is to a dictionary entry, and Scott's use in The Fair Maid of Perth -- "A coarse, ignorant, borrel man like me" -- is well in line with Strutt's "this same borrel beetle" (I, 84), "the borrel knight" (I, 87). Tulloch suggests Southey as the origin of Scott's use of cry craven, obsolete except in legal works; but it also appears in Queenhoo-Hall.

On the whole, as one would expect, Strutt's usage is more concerned with antiquarian accuracy than is Scott's. Scott was an occasional coiner of new words, or at least of new compounds and variations -- roisterer, from the original roister (as in Queenhoo-Hall); spoil-sport, free-lance -- whereas Strutt seldom used a word which he had not found in some source contemporary with his story. There, in Piers Plowman, is losel; craven in Morte Arthure; even dotterel with examples as early as the fourteenth century, though Strutt may have stretched the period of its use as an adjective. All the Strutt words which have been checked have been found to have fifteenth or very early sixteenth-century counterparts, whereas Scott would happily (though not very commonly) use in the late fourteenth/early fifteenth century Fair Maid of Perth words such as moss-trooper, proof (plate armour), secret (coat of mail) which date from many years later.

It was in their attitudes to historical accuracy that Scott

and Strutt were most at odds. Scott considered that Strutt's meticulousness was the reason for the lack of popular appeal of Queenhoo-Hall: "[I] supposed that, by rendering his language too ancient, and displaying his antiquarian knowledge too liberally, the ingenious author had raised up an obstacle to his own success. ... I conceived it possible to avoid this error; and by rendering a similar work more light and obvious to general comprehension, to escape the rock on which my predecessor was shipwrecked" (1829 Preface, Lamont, pp.353-354). It is as though Scott could hardly credit that Strutt should consider the genuineness of his fifteenth-century customs and vocabulary of equal importance with their literary effect. His own view was that he would not "allow that the author of a modern antique romance is obliged to confine himself to the introduction of those manners only which can be proved to have absolutely existed in the times he is depicting, so that he can restrain himself to such as are plausible and natural, and contain no obvious anachronism" (Ivanhoe, Note C). He thought that Strutt would, on revision, have brought his three types of language into line with each other: "It seems probable, that the author intended, at his leisure, to harmonise these jarring parts of his picture, and that the present narrative only presents the outline and main plan of his building, without the gothic façade, which should have given a character to the whole" ("Advertisement", QHH, I, iv-v).

It is somewhat extraordinary to find so sensitive a man as Scott misunderstanding Strutt to this extent. The clue must surely lie in their distinct views of the Middle Ages. All Strutt's experience had led him towards a fuller understanding and appreciation of the medieval period than many other men of his day enjoyed, an understanding which he now sought to convey in literary form; whereas to Scott the Middle Ages were still basically barbarous. It is, therefore, more than a little ironic that it should be Scott's medieval novels which have had the greatest influence, not only on other novelists, but on poets, architects, even historians -- though, as Barnes points out, Scott's emphasis on local colour was really anti-historical, in that it "aimed primarily to portray episodes from the past in such a manner as to make them have the vividness and intimacy of contemporary events" (A History of Historical Writing, p.185). The reason for the

popularity of the medieval novels is that the way of life depicted lent itself to just the kind of lavish detailed treatment which Scott's well-stocked memory allowed and which fitted in so well with the developing taste for the particular and the individual. To Scott, as to Blake, there was little virtue in the general; in literary terms it tended to be dull.

Here, then, is the basic difference between Scott's approach and Strutt's: Scott could never treat of antiquarian matters in general, but only as they served to illuminate a particular episode or bring to life an individual character. An account by Scott of the May Day games at Tewin would probably have viewed the events through the eyes of one of the spectators or participants -- just as, in the third chapter of Old Mortality, we learn a little about the conduct of "the game of the popinjay", but a great deal about the green adventurer and the other participants. Strutt was no doubt aiming for a similar personalisation -- the prowess of his strange knight, for instance, is demonstrated through the sufferings of his unfortunate rustic opponents. And in the final analysis the distinction between the two writers has to be seen much less as a matter of perception than of literary understanding and experience. Much of the antiquarian detail and antique language of Queenhoo-Hall can be seen only as a hindrance to its effect as a literary work; but as an indication of the temper of the times it takes on a new significance. Strutt's archaism, and Scott's in its turn, are steps in a shift of taste which occupied three-quarters of a century and reached its culmination only in the work of the nineteenth-century romantic writers.

CHAPTER SIX

APPENDIX I

THREE OF STRUTT'S POEMS

MEMOIR OF JOSEPH STRUTT.

31

his talents in that direction were, as will be seen, of no mean order.

AN ELEGIAIC POEM,

IN DIFFERENT MEASURES, WITHOUT RHYME.

*To the Memory of**In Imitable and Virtuous Wife,*

*Her Disconsolate Husband Offers this Proof of
His Sincere Affection.*

No more, thou woe-foreboding bird, no more,
With baleful screams, disturb this lonely dale:
But, winging hence thy flight, deep darkness seek,
And Night, thy patroness! These gloomy paths,
To solemn silence and Terrific Death
Are sacred! There the Spectre stalks,
In awful solitude! here horror dwells,
His dreadful Harbinger! Ye drear abodes,
Deserted by the living, where no sounds
Of joy are heard—but sorrow's plaintive voice
Perhaps by day—and loud, nocturnal shrieks
Of midnight waking birds from yonder spire,
Which rears above the grave its ruined brow,
Or else the raven's harsh, ill-omened song,
Forlornly perched on that tall, leafless tree;
A wretched Son of Sorrows enters now
Your consecrated walls—but not, O Death,
With rude profaneness to molest thy reign,
Or else to chase the melancholy throng
Of silent spirits hovering in the air
Over the relicks of mortality.
In peace, therefore, receive me, cruel King
Of soul-felt terror! Thy remorseless hand
Tore from my bosom all my heart held dear!
And now I come, with these my little Babes,
To seek her fleeting spirit: that, thy dart
Can never wound! Ye hallowed manes, hail!
Ha! all ye pensive ghosts, who fan the breeze
With new-born pinions, and majestic glide
Around the solemn tombs, to watch the dead;

But where, beloved spirit, where art thou,
 In search of whom I tread these dreary paths?
 Oh, fruitless search! For, if indeed she hear
 My fond complaint, or stand before my eyes,
 I see her not: for dull humanity
 Has veiled the sight of my embodied soul,
 Bound fast in prison! Now, perhaps, she smiles
 On me, and you, dear pledges of her love,
 Delighted to behold us once again!
 Advance, sweet Innocents, and view that grave!
 Beneath that rising dust your Mother lies:
 A clay-cold, silent corpse: pale as the shroud
 That now she wears! Oh, blessed Spirit, hear
 Thy lover's call! And if, perchance, thou art
 Yet gliding through the air about this spot,
 To bid the earth, enlivened once by thee,
 Farewell for ever; oh, accept these tears,
 A tribute to thy memory justly due!
 But, if from hence to realms of endless day
 Thou hast already wing'd thine airy flight,
 And now, amongst unnumbered multitudes
 Of angels and the spirits of the just,
 Art ranked in glory, ever to proclaim
 Thy Great Creator's praise! peace be with thee!
 Eternal peace, and blessings without end!

Unhappy Babes! No more shall ye behold
 Your tender parent! From the caves of Death
 There's no return; but in the dark confines
 The senseless body sleeps, and moulders into dust!
 No more for me those transient scenes of joy;
 When, as with fond embrace, repeated oft,
 She pressed you to her bosom; then when first
 She taught your infant lips to lisp my name!
 Those happy hours, like visions of the night,
 Are fled away! Your mother comes no more
 To kiss and bless you! Do ye smile, my Babes?
 Alas! alas! Ye are as yet too young
 To feel your grief, or mourn a mother's loss.
 Hark! Heard I not the mournful voice of woe?
 Responsive woe! Ye breezes, wept ye not
 Some gentle murmurs? None! No sound returns
 Of sympathetic sorrow: mine alone
 Disturbs the awful silence! and the shade
 Of my beloved hastens far away!

Return ! return ! O, vain, delusive hope !
 She hears me not ! The frozen hand of Death
 Has closed her ears, and on her lovely lips
 Impressed his heavy seal ! All my complaints
 In empty air, unnoticed float away.
 So, oft, in woodland grove or gloomy dell,
 The wakeful nightingale repeats unheard,
 In warbling notes, her solitary song.
 I sought for comfort in this hallowed spot ;
 And here I hoped to find her ; but in vain :
 Horror and death, these solemn confines claim ;
 Kind comfort enters not ! The time was once,
 When soft endearments from a tender heart,
 Beloved and loving, hushed the rising gusts
 Of temporal grief, and to my anxious mind
 Restored tranquility ! Now I feel
 Thy loss indeed, my Anna ! Now, no ear
 Listens like thine, obsequious to my plaint ;
 No tongue, like thine, with sweet condolence soothes
 The bitter anguish boiling in my heart !
 To gentle souls will I direct my song,
 To breasts more tender, Pity rears her throne ;
 For they will listen, they will sympathise ;
 Whilst hearts more rugged may reject my lays,
 And scorn the plaintive language of distress.
 But ye, whose eyes disdain not to declare
 The inward feelings of a generous mind,
 Drop, for compassion's sake, one tear with me ;
 For, in a dark and fateful hour, I lost
 My life's companion—truest, dearest friend !
 As when the rose, first opening to the sun,
 Is cropped by rustic hand, and fades ere noon—
 So, in the bloom of youthful innocence,
 My charming Anna bow'd her lovely head
 To death untimely and an early grave !
 Pathetic tears, which streamed from every eye
 At her decease, bore witness of her worth :
 And she deserved them all ! True, unaffected love
 She thought my due ; meekness and chastity
 Adorned her guiltless mind. A pleasing smile
 Of affability met all her friends,
 And bade them welcome. From the voice of woe
 She turned not, but ministered relief
 With sweet benevolence. Her pious prayers
 Ascended daily, and before the Throne

Of Everlasting Majesty appeared
 To witness for her, and prepare the way
 From this dark region of incessant woe
 To endless life, and happiness supreme !
 She was—but wherefore make I these complaints ?
 Or can a private loss like mine affect
 The busy world ? Ah, no ! The scene's the same,
 And nature still assumes her usual garb :
 The rosy Morn dispels the shades of Night,
 And lucid dew-drops sparkle o'er the lawn :
 Arising early from her humble bed,
 The lark soars high, and hails with cheerful voice
 Returning day. The village cock erects
 His head majestic, and proclaims aloud
 The rustic's usual summons ; he, refreshed
 With care-dispelling sleep, forsakes his cot,
 And whistles rudely, as across the glebe
 He stalks along, his labour to resume :
 Whilst from each spray in woodland gloom or dell,
 Or on the banks of cool, translucent springs,
 The feathered choristers responsive join
 In warbling harmony : the dews disperse,
 And fragrant breezes, breath of opening morn,
 Sport o'er the meads and wanton through the groves,
 Yet this fair, tranquil scene delights no more ;
 My tears flow still : my soul is sick with grief.
 All nature smiles refreshed ! The world seems gay ;
 And mirth and innocence make glad the hearts
 Of yonder rustic group ; where cheerful songs
 Forbid the rude approach of wrinkled care.
 Oh, happy souls ! pursue your pleasures still ;
 Whilst I, the child of woe, with willowed brow,
 Will wander here alone, and here complain ;
 Or count the tedious moments as they pass,
 Till gentle sleep shall steal upon my eyes,
 Fatigued with watching—when some pleasing dream
 May for a moment give me back my love !
 In such sweet visions, oh, that life would pass
 Serenely onward ! like the gentle stream
 Which glides incessant through yon fertile mead,
 Unruffled by the sportive breeze of morn !
 And thou, O World, inconstant World ! farewell !
 For, by severe experience, now I find
 Thou hast no comfort for the grief-sick soul.
 But all thy pleasures and thy boasted gifts

Are various vanities ; they follow not
 The proud possessor to the gloomy grave,
 But on the brink desert him ; while alone,
 And naked, he descends the doleful cave,
 Where ghastly Death his wide dominion holds,
 In horrid silence, and o'erwhelmed with night !
 The busy scenes of life disgust my soul ;
 For Sorrow has unplumed Ambition's wings,
 And chilled the warm expanding ray of hope :
 The World has now no pleasure left for me !

Such were the feelings of the bereaved husband—a bereavement never forgotten ; a wound never to be healed. Alone he was henceforth to travel the rugged path of life. Nevertheless, we may rejoice that the “rays of hope” did once more “expand,” and fresh “plumed Ambition's” pinions soared, where “hope” had little dreamed.

The *Chronicle of England*, Strutt's last work, as hinted, failed to meet with the encouragement he anticipated and it so well deserved. This must have been a very serious loss and discouragement to the author.

Nevertheless, he applied himself to work afresh, “leaving off” (for a time) “all his publications,” which he (John) was little able to appreciate, and resuming his better paying engraving for the publishers.

Strutt's fair-speaking but inconsiderate brother, whose ambition and dishonesty had completely led him astray, was now assuming a state beyond his income, in order to acquire more consequence in the world. Thus, the estates which he possessed, as well as those which should have been Joseph's, were of little service to him. His plans were disconcerted, and, in a short time, the properties were deeply mortgaged and sold. Of this there is ample proof through the correspondence—still existing—between himself and Mr. John Strutt, of Terling Place, Essex, concerning the disposal of the estates. Indeed, at this very time he was negotiating with a person named Bullen for the sale of the Danbury Mill, his birthplace. Of this man, Bullen, he wrote as follows:—

“To such a wretch was I obliged to sell my mill, the place of my nati:ity, at £1,600. When one sees that riches may

my misfortunes. Having called the different circumstances of my life to my remembrance, I took my pen, and composed the following lines; * which, perhaps, will better express

I.

“ Who calls ?”— A stranger passing by ;
 Benighted, weary, and astray ;
 He asks relief, for charity,
 And shelter till return of day.”—

II.

“ What help, in such a woful shed,
 Canst thou expect so late to find ?
 The night is cold, and I'm in bed ;
 To wake me, stranger, was unkind.”—

III.

“ Forlorn, and fainting, here I lie ;
 A fellow-creature's claim I make :
 Permit me not for want to die,
 But help ! oh, help ! for mercy's sake !”—

IV.

“ Hold on your way, and you shall find
 A wealthy lordling's open gate.
 Go, friend ! and be your welcome kind !
 He banquets oft, and revels late.”—

the melancholy turn of my mind, than I can do it by a simple narrative :

I.

What are the beauties of the opening morn .
 To one, whose soul is sickening with its grief !
 If the sad heart by comfort be forlorn,
 No splendor can administer relief !
 The noon-tide glories of the day
 Are lost to me, or bring dismay ;

V.

“ Must I, then, perish at thy door ?”—
 “ Not so ; the rich man's board is spread.”—
 “ Alas ! he spurneth thence the poor !”—
 “ And I have but one crust of bread ;—

VI.

“ Of barley bread, full coarse and stale ;
 My children's breakfast that, and mine :
 Cheese I have none, nor beer, nor ale,
 Nor bacon-hock, nor flesh of kine.”—

VII.

“ One crust is all that I require,
 For dainty eates are not my due ;—
 'Tis cold and wet ; a little fire—
 Permit, and saints shall comfort you.”—

Nor less I dread returning night:
 My care-worn mind
 Courts darkness now, and now the light,
 Nor ease can find;
 Alternately
 From both I fly,
 And seek, I know not what, new remedy:

VIII.

"May woe betide the churlish wight,
 Whose ruthless heart no pity knows!
 I will arise, the fire I'll light,—
 Come in, for chill the north gate blows.

IX.

"See, here 'tis all the bread I've got."—
 'Enough, enough! I ask no more:
 Hereafter be thy labours less;
 May favouring saints increase thy store!"—

X.

"Holy Saint Thomas, is it true!
 The scraps of bread, both small and stale,
 Have loaves become, full large and new;
 The pitcher foams with mantling ale!

XI.

"The fire, too, blazes high and free,
 Yet small of wood is its supply;
 Nor aught consumed it seems to be,
 Although the boughs be old and dry!

II.

Nor can I find in solitude relief,
 Sequestered from the haunts of human kind,
 In humble life; there is no cure for grief:
 I fly in vain; I fly not from my mind:
 With dire turmoil grief rankles there,
 And broods in anguish o'er despair.
 Delusive is all hope, and vain,
 In life to find
 The remedy for soul-felt pain:
 The troubled mind

XII.

"Thou art no beggar; but, I wench,
 Some fairy elf, or favouring sprite!
 Or, in disguise, some angel sheen,
 Descended from the realms of light."—

XIII.

"Enquire no farther where I dwell,
 Nor who I am. For thee to know
 Let it suffice, thou hast done well,
 And I my blessing will bestow:

XIV.

"Good health shall make thy labours light,
 And plenty at thy board attend;
 Stern death shall not thy soul affright,
 For Charity shall thee befriend."

No soft repose
 Nor pleasure knows,
 But longs the tedious term of life to close.

III.

Yet with untimely death comes black dismay :—
 The thought pervades my agitated soul !
 Shall I to ceaseless horror wend my way,
 And seize the fatal dagger, string, or bow ?—
 Forbid, ye guardians of mankind !
 And saints, to mercy most inclined,
 Forbid the deed ! Unarm the hand,
 That dares rebel,
 Incited by the nefarious band .
 Of fiends from hell.
 They would rejoice,
 If, by such choice,
 I fell below the reach of mercy's voice !

IV.

Protecting angels ! with rebuke severe,
 Crush those rebellious thoughts that haunt my mind ;
 And from my heart expel each guilty fear,
 The dregs impatience forms and leaves behind :
 My hope, now ready to expire,
 Revive, and fan the latent fire !
 Oh, bid her live to soothe my care ;
 And manifest
 A future prospect, calm and fair,
 Where, ever blest,
 From sorrow's night,
 Withdrawn to light,
 My God I shall behold in glory bright !

"I had scarcely completed this poem, (which pardon me for reciting,) when I heard the outer-gate open, and the footsteps of a horse coming up the yard. The barking of the dogs announced the approach of a stranger ; I went immediately to the window, but the night was too dark for me to discover who it was. I had not stood there long, before I heard my name called twice or thrice. I opened the window, and a voice, I was well acquainted with, requested me to come down. "It is my friend, Julian, the host of the Bull, or my ears deceive me," said I. "You are not deceived," answered he ; "Come down quickly, for I have something of importance to communicate."

"I hastened down ; when he, alighting from his horse, came into the parlour, and thus addressed me :

"There were two strangers from London, who sleep at my house this night. They made much enquiry after you, which led me

CHAPTER SEVEN

"A CHRONICLE OF A REVOLUTION IN THE LAND OF THE LILIES"

EDITORIAL NOTE

The manuscript

The manuscript of Strutt's "Chronicle of a Revolution in the Land of the Lilies" is a slender octavo volume, seven inches by five, made up of one hundred and two leaves, roughly stitched together between marbled paper covers. Written on the back cover is "Catalogue of Subscribers to the Biographical Di[ct]ionary of Engraver[s]". Strutt was apparently making use of part of a notebook left over from the transactions for the Dictionary, published 1785-86.

The work is written throughout in Strutt's hand. A note at the beginning by "T.F.P." (Sir Thomas Phillipps, former owner of the manuscript) reads: "I have compared Ms. with Strutts letters & find it is correct." The degree of legibility, and the style of the hand, show considerable differences from one part of the manuscript to another: these variations are useful for indicating the points at which Strutt broke off his work for other activities. He is more adept than most at adjusting the size of his writing to suit the available space, probably because of his years of graphic work: in one of his letters of the 1770's he had remarked that his craft work had radically changed his hand.¹ More often than not, considering that the manuscript is no more than a draft, the hand is reasonably legible; but another note on the manuscript, by an unidentified but weary reader, comments that "it requires some attention to follow the writing on the backs of the Leaves -- The author seems to have been a great Oeconomist of Paper." One reason for this economy is that Strutt left the verso leaves of his notebook blank, at least in the earlier part of the manuscript, apparently with the intention of turning his work into verse (it purported to be a translation of

1 "Pray excuse the shocking hand: I am a sad writer. What is extraordinary, when I first began to draw, I wrote a good hand, but drawing spoiled it entirely" (Memoir, p.11).

"a manuscript ... fairly written in Latin verse"). A few draft passages in verse are written on the verso leaves of the Translator's Preface, and of Book I, to parallel the main prose text on the recto leaves.

The prose text is complete. It is written straight through with relatively few deletions, additions or revisions: perhaps five per cent of the lines have significant alterations. The manuscript contains virtually no punctuation, though beginnings of sentences are usually capitalised, along with most nouns and some adjectives; however, one page is fully punctuated (it seems to have been rewritten by Strutt at a later stage). For ease of reading, the transcript is lightly punctuated along the lines of Strutt's own usage in that example (see below, pp. 302-303).

Ownership of the manuscript

The manuscript has had almost as eventful a history as the one Strutt purports to be translating. On Strutt's death in 1802 his manuscripts were taken over by his elder son Joseph, and, according to a note in the unidentified hand mentioned above, "exposed to Sale at King & Lockies in Octo 1805 ... but as the Sums offered for them were not what was expected they were almost all bought in except this which I think was the first Lot."¹

This accident of being the first lot, and therefore sold, is probably the main reason that the work was never published. Shortly after the sale the remaining manuscripts passed into the hands of the publisher Murray, who arranged for Joseph Strutt Junior to prepare editions of the other literary works -- Queenhoo-Hall, Ancient Times, The Test of Guilt and The Bumpkins' Disaster. These were duly published in 1808. The "Chronicle of a Revolution" is a much slighter

¹ Another note at the beginning of the manuscript gives the date of the sale as 10 April 1805. The purchaser was Robert Lang, of Portland Place, a friend of Douce. Christy ascribes to him the title-page, table of contents, and notes, but at least three different hands have added introductory matter (Christy, i, 7). Lang's library, mainly of French literature, was sold by Evans in 1828.

work than the first of these, but the manuscript is more complete; and the other three works are similar to the "Chronicle" in literary merit: it would almost certainly have been published along with the rest had the manuscripts remained together.

In 1828 the manuscript passed into the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, who catalogued it as No 3670, "Strutt's Satire on the French Revolution."¹ After Phillipps' death, the manuscript was included in the sale of part of the collection which took place at Sotheby's during the summer of 1893. It passed on 19 June to Sir Thomas Brooke. The bookplate of "Thomas Brooke F.S.A. Armitage Bridge" appears inside the front cover. The manuscript's next moves are not yet fully documented. It was sold at Sotheby's in 1921 to the bookseller Elliott; but it may also have changed hands about 1908, when Sir Thomas Brooke died.

At this point the manuscript appeared to vanish without trace. Elliott's had gone out of business leaving no annotated catalogues. The only clue was that Elliott at the 1921 sale had also purchased a collection of 150 letters from Strutt to his future wife, and that an entry in the Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society in 1932 recorded the presentation to the Society of just such a collection, by an anonymous donor (N.S. xxi, 186). The Society could find no accession record of any other Strutt manuscript material donated at that time, but the Honorary Librarian kindly undertook to make a full search of the muniment room. This was a time-consuming and difficult task and warm thanks are recorded to the Librarian, Mr J.H. Sims, for his patient work.

The search finally proved successful; it seems that at some time in or shortly after 1921, the manuscript, together with Strutt's letters, had been sold by Elliott to Mr J.J. Holdsworth: a printed slip inside the front cover reads: "From the Library of J.J. Holdsworth.

1 The Phillipps Manuscripts, 1837-71 (1968).

Essex Collection." Holdsworth was the "anonymous donor" who presented the Strutt manuscripts to the Essex Archaeological Society in 1932. The manuscript of the "Chronicle" is at present still with the Society, but there are plans to deposit it in the County Record Office at Chelmsford.

Notes on the editing

Foliation. Strutt's foliation is given in square brackets, and new folios are indicated in the text by an oblique stroke. Each book has separate foliation. At one stage Strutt planned three books, each with Chapters the First, Second and Third. This numbering is retained on the title-pages which exist for Books Two and Three. In the text itself, however, he numbers the chapters from First through to Ninth. Book One has thirty-one folios, numbered 1-31; Book Two also has thirty-one, numbered 1-31, but includes the first chapter of Book Three. Book Three numbers 1-22, even though it starts at Chapter Two. Folios 19-22 are, in fact, the versos of folios 15-18.

Spelling. Strutt's spelling is retained throughout.

Capitalisation. Strutt's usage is retained, except in the rare instances where he has failed to indicate the beginning of a new sentence by a capital: in these cases the capital is supplied. "And" or "But" begins a sentence only when this seems to have been Strutt's intention.

Punctuation. See note on p. 295

Manuscript Alterations. All significant alterations by Strutt are indicated in the text or footnotes. Interpolations are indicated by the symbols \lrcorner \lrcorner .

"A CHRONICLE OF A REV LUTION IN THE LAND OF THE LILIES"

The Translator's Preface

[2] In the romantic Ages of Chivalry a Monarch mighty
in deeds of Arms sat upon the British Throne. His Name
was Arthur and he was the Son of Uter pendragon, whose
memorable conquests over the Saxon invaders of his
Country are so justly Celebrated in the Legends of
Antiquity. (The Court of Arthur abounded with Warriors
who dedicated their Lives to atchievements of Glory, and
the renouned Heros of the Round Table were the Constant
companions of that Prince. In his days the pitiable
tale of the loveloren Damsel claimed the attention of 10
the Sons of Valour--the tears which flowed from the
bright Eyes of beauty melted the heart of her devoted
Champion and the timorous Maiden without the least
distrust called forth the dauntless Warrior from the
festive board & soft indulgences of Ease, and conducted
him clad in the full Panoply of Arms through lonely
Woods and Barren Deserts to enchanted Castles, where
Monstrous Giants waited to be slain; or wandered with
him Day and Night without the least [infringment of her
[3] Modesty¹ over inaccessible Mountains into / impassable 20
Vallies by Lakes of flaming Sulphur & through plains
of scorching sand in the midst of summer to Horrible
Caverns and Dens of Darkness, where he was to
destroy huge Dragons vomiting fire or combat
courageously with fearful Hobgoblins & defeat the
powers of Hell combined against him). Geofry the Monk
of Monmouth, the most estimable of all the British
Historians, has recorded the wonderful Actions of King
Arthur, as well as those of his unconquerable
Companions [the Knights of the round Table] (and those 30

Line 16 lonely] altered.

Line 19 him ... least] altered from six words, the
added in margin.

Line 22 scorching] altered from b[urning?].

Line 29 his] altered.

who know the indisputable veracity of that accurate Author will have a double reason for rejoicing: first because such mighty Men existed in this Land, & secondly because so just and able an Historian undertook to be the Chronicler of their exploits). We learn from undoubted Authorities, among which may be placed the assertions of faithful Geofry, that in the Heroic reign of Arthur A Sage skilful in every species of Learning, and especially famous for his profound knowledge in the occult Sciences, whose name was Merlin, resided in Britain. The Biographers of this extraordinary Philosopher, 10
it must be owned, are divided in their Opinions concerning his Parentage--several of them (taking the illnature side of the Question) have asserted that he was the offspring of an illicit amour, and forged a tale to that purpose altogethr/
[4] inconsistant with credibility; they tell us that the Devil or one of his imps fell in love with an Old Beldam of the woods and from that unnatural Conjunction sprang the sage Philosophr. But I am happy to affirm that the Monk of Monmouth, whose sole authority is in my opinion sufficient to counter act the Malevolence of inferior writers, disavows 20
the whole story, and assures us that Merlin was the lawful Son of a fair Lady of honor, the wife of a valiant Knight belonging to the Court and related as some say to great Pendragon; certain it is howevr that he stood high in the favor of that Prince. Waveing all ancient Authority I think it is Clear according to the Philosophy of the present Age that the Monk has greatly the advantage of his adversaries. I shall only add upon this subject that it does not appear to me [reasonable] that King Arthur the Son of Uter pendragon, who added the Character of a christian to that 30
of a Soldier, should have made the devils bastard his privy councillor: and Merlin acted in that capacity to prince Arthur,

Line 5 among] altered from and.

Line 6 the (first)] altered from that.

Line 8 and especially] altered from three words and superscription.

Line 30 Character] altered.

Line 32 and] altered from for .

as the introduction to the following curious performance sufficiently demonstrates.

Geofry confesses, it is true, the wonderful extent of Merlins Nicromantic Art. He affirms that Spirits were obedient to his Command, that they revealed to him the secrets of futurity, and occasionally conveyed him from place to place with a rapidity almost equal to that of thought--but then he totally denies all agency with the devil, and positively asserts that the Spirits in Question were Spirits of Good Character, for, says he, "The Sage Merlin owed all his Art 10 to his profound erudition. He was well versed in the Cabala of the ancient Druids & knew how to pronounce their secret [5] Charms. / He studied with the greatest attention the Powers and influences of the Planets, and was perfectly acquainted with the harmony & Combination of numbers, nor were the occult virtues of Herbs and minerals concealed from him. He first used the Herb Sagapan in his suffumigations; the spirits he conversed with and who assisted him in his [wonderful] Journies were not Devils, as has been maliciously asserted by the ignorant, but an intermediate 20 Species of beings between Angels & Men, called in the Roman Language Larvæ, but by us Britons Goblins or Fairies." I thought it proper for the readers satisfaction to give this important passage in the Monks own Words; they prove his learning and his Philanthropy and I verily believe with him that all the conjurations of the justly Celebrated Sage Merlin were perfectly innocent.

I glory much in being able to affirm that all the British Historians agree with honest Geofry in this Momentous particular, namely that among the various 30

Lines 9-11 of Good Character ... in the Cabala] added in margin.

Lines 17-18 and deleted between suffumigations and the spirits.

Line 29 Between Historians and agree, 3 words erased and 3 words deleted.

perigrinations which were performed by Merlin with the assistance of his Goblins, the most remarkable were those which he made to the Moon, for he frequently visited that Planet and was perfectly well acquainted with the History & Customs of its Inhabitants. From the same source of [6] Authentic intelligence we learn / that Merlin left behind him many valuable treatises upon various subjects, among which the abstruse Science of Necromancy formed a considerable figure. Bacon and Bungay, two celebrated Beadsmen of the thirteenth Century, and who to the Glory 10 of this Island were English Men, Studied I doubt not with great attention the Magical works of the British Sage, and drew from them their superlative knowledge in the mysteries of Conjuraton, and were thereby enabled to construct the famous enchanted Head of Brass concerning which stupendous performance our best Historians have writtin so many valuable volumes. The sententious truths which it uttered the only time it deigned to speak prove to a demonstration that had it persevered in talking it would have greatly excelled its Makers in profundity of Wisdom. The two Friars fell 20 asleep, as it is said the greatest geniuses in the World somtimes do, or else this wonderful Oracle might perchance have been preserved to the present day. [The head, as we are informed], being vexed that no answer was given to its sage observations--burst [suddainly] into pieces, and the labour of fifty Years was lost in a moment. The German Conjurer Dr John Faustus, whose surprising exploits have excited the astonishment of the whole World, and Cornelius Agrippa his Countryman, were, as one may fairly conjuncture, well acquaintd with the works of Merlin. Agrippa was an 30

Line 1 with] altered from by.

Line 2 the assistance of ... remarkable] altered from about 9 words.

Line 5 its] altered from the.

Line 18 had] deleted after that.

Line 23 day] but deleted after day.

Line 25 --] altered from it.

admirable Author, and has written four curious treatises upon
 the Occult Sciences, in which doubtless are contained the
 principle doctrines of the Ancient Briton, but at the same time
 [7] he has/ handled the mysterious Subject with so much
 ambiguity that his performance is literally a sealed book to
 the generality of Mankind. Dr. Dee, a Man of great erudition
 well known in the last Century, was either fortunate enough to
 find the key of Agrippas grand Arcanum, or to possess some of
 the original performances of Merlin; for I cannot devise by
 what other means he could acquire the astonishing Art of 10
 corking up intelligences & inferior Goblins in glass Bottles
 and imprisoning them in transparent Stones that he might more
 easily converse with them upon any emergency. It is equally
 clear to me that the famous Manuscript which Count Cagliostro
 boasted to have had in his possession, by means of which he
 effected the ruin of several Lottery Office keepers in London,
 was neither more nor less than one of the treatises composed
 by the British Wizard upon the wonderful power and secret
 influence of Combined Numbers in calculations. I am aware
 that he affirmed it to have been written in Arabic, a 20
 language, as far as we can judge, unknown to Merlin, but I
 attribute this assertion to his want of Candour and a wish to
 deprive this Nation of an Honor so justly its due. Whether
 Animal Magnetism, an Art in such high estimation among our
 Modern Philosophers, derived its Origin from the same
 inexhaustable source of information I shall leave to the
 decision of the Learned, and proceed to matters more
 immediately concerning the present Publication.

Giraldus Cambrensis, a British Author of Antiquity and
 [8] great Veracity, After giving a copious / Catalogue of the 30
 Works of Merlin, concludes the subject with the following
 remarkable words. "Oh what an inestimable treasure was lost
 to Mankind when the Topographical writings of the great British
 Philosophr Merlin perished! He had seen and traversed the

Line 3 principle] altered from principal.

whole Globe of the Moon and as we find upon record presentd to the Magnanimous Monarch Arthur King of the Britons a compleat description of all its Continents Islands Seas Lakes & Rivers: some few remnants of this valuable Works, and which I suppose formed only a small appendage to it, I have seen-- they contain a variety of Historical Anecdotes relative to a revolution which hapned in one of the greatest Provinces of the Moon. My curiosity was wonderfully excited by the perusal of the admirable fragments. I searchd the libraries of the curious, and exerted all my endeavours to recover 10 the whole work, but unfortunately my labourous researches were not attended by success." So far Giraldus; and now, my dear reader, picture to thyself the Joy a poor needy Creature must feel who has expended his last Mite at a venture, upon recieving intelligence that the sixteenth of a thirty thousand is the gift of his good fortune: and then thou mayst form some Idea of my pleasure when I recognised the very Historical Work of Merlin which Giraldus lamented as lost for ever among a large quantity of Parchments consigned to destruction. The Manuscript is fairly written in Latin 20 [Verse], and nearly perfect; at the head of it there is an entry in a hand of no small antiquity which assures us that the work itself is a faithful transcript from the original [9]production of the British Sage, without a single / Word being added or rescinded by the transcriber. The defects which were found in the original, where the writing was by some accident obliterated, he has not presumed to fill up, but has left them in the same state that posterity may be assured of his fidelity.

I shall now commit the whole work to the public 30 inspection, declaring that the translation is made with the

-
- Line 4 Works] sic, i.e. Works as opposed to work which the context suggests.
- Line 8 wonderfully] altered.
- Line 11 labourous] The underlining probably by a later hand.

greatest accuracy; and make the following general observations only for the conveniency of the Reader.

The Provinces of the Moon appear to take their Names from Animals of various species, or the vegetative production of Nature, [or devices adopted by the people] which I suppose were depicted upon their Military Standards, or carved out upon the Gates of their Citadals--As the Land of the Eagle, the Land of the Lillies, the Land of the Keys, &c; we must except from this Rule the Land of the Marshes which seems to have recievd its name from its situation, & the Land of 10 the Lakes so called from the number of Lakes or Canals with which it abounds. The Constables of Castles are the [chief Magistrates or] Kings of the different districts, and so called from their residing in the strongholds & citadels of their dominions. The Landlords appear to be equal to our Nobility. The Bramins are their priests and consist of several Orders, as the Clergy do with us.

At the end of the first Canto the following explanatory Note occurs in prose, which we May justly conclude to have been written by the British Sage himself for the better 20 cont the Prose notes.

Line 3 The] All deleted, the corrected to The.
 Line 6 their] altered from thier.
 Line 21 cont] sic.

Book the first

Exordium

Which may be considered by some as unnecessary, and by others as foreign to the Subject of this Book: and therefore the Reader may pass it hastily over or totally omit the perusal of it if he thinks proper.

Odon the Son of Morah, in one of his discourses upon moral rectitude, asserts that amusement and improvement may be drawn at once from the same source, and proposes the Study of History as the inexhaustible fountain for both. "Is it possible for us," says he, "not to be amused when we unroll the venerable pages of Antiquity and survey the varigated Scences of former 10 Times? We raise as it were the Spirit of our Ancestors before us; we converse with them, we view their Actions and examine their Manners; their foibles may perchance sometimes move our pity or sometimes excite our ridicule. However at all times we shall find ourselves highly [interested] in their great & noble exploits.

Causes and Effects are drawn by the Historian into so narrow a compass that the one may be easily compared with the other, and consequently the Judgment improved by the very means that afford it amusement; for there is no method of forming 20 a juster estimation of Human Life superior to a careful examination of the various contingencies to which experience proves it is obnoxious."

Title	The Exordium occupies three unnumbered pages.
Line 2	of this Book] altered from <u>which is treated upon in the following Chapters.</u>
Line 4	if] altered from <u>as.</u>
Line 10	Scences] sic.
Line 14	or] altered from <u>May.</u>
Line 21	superior] altered from <u>equal.</u>

From these general observations of Odon the following reflections naturally occurred to me: that the same Passions [] which stimulated the Minds of Mankind in / the remoter ages are neither enfeebled by time nor changed by accident, but still continue to be the only springs of Action to the present Day; and the same causes we find continually & unavoidably producing the same effect, so far at least as the contingent circumstances are the same; and the general tendency of great events may be fairly deduced from the History of the world at large & the Consequences [often] adjudged with no small degree 10 of propriety. Civil Commotions in a state are [like an Earthquake], suddain and often fatal in their progress, and may it is true annihilate all order for a short time. Yet they are too violent to be of long duration. They are generally excited among the lower class of People and originate from a restlessness of temper & a love of change rather than from intolerable grievances. But as Anarchy is the constant attendant upon Rebellion, & Experience at all times has proved that no Community can be happy in a state of tumultuous equality, [therefore] so soon as Reason resumes her dominion in the 20 Minds of an Unruly People Subordination is naturally restored; for however they may be infatuated by the delusion of the Moment, the Miseries which owe their being to disorder are too severe not to bring conviction with them.

The supposition that a State can be supported without a due subordination of its Members is as preposterous as to imagine that a Human being can exist all Head, all Leg, or all Arm, without the other necessary component parts to perform the proper functions of Life.

Lines 3-4 the remoter ages are] 3-4 words have been cut off at the top of this leaf, but are re-written below the cut, in Strutt's hand.

Line 9 word] sic.

Line 13 Yet] altered from But.

"On the Plains of Iphram," says Odon, "there once stood a
 [] Tower of exquisite workmanship. / It consisted of three
 different kinds of Materials; the foundation & lower part of
 the superstructure was built with beautiful red bricks,
 curiously baked in the Sun and laid with the Whitest Mortar.
 The second story was constructed of the finest Marble, highly
 polished; and the third part consisted of a splendid Roof
 adorned with Gold, [which] was large enough to shelter the
 whole edifice from the inclemency of the Weather: a Spider
 crawling upon the foundation took occasion to instill into 10
 the Bricks a jealous discontentment concerning their situation,
 which the reptile insinuated was too low & humble to attract
 the notice of travelers; and that while they contentedly bore
 the weight of the whole building, the Marble story and the
 Golden roof especially were the only parts [of it] esteemed
 worthy of admiration.

The Bricks, believing the insidious report, began to
 consider themselves as hardly [treated], & petitioned their
 Mother the Earth to move herself and cast down the two stories
 which were [now become] so burthensome to them; the Earth 20
 granted their petition, & the upper parts of the Tower were
 overthrown. The Bricks sustained a violent shock when they fell,
 and being exposed without the least shelter to the sudain
 transcions of the climate, were soon cracked to pieces &
 reduced to dust."

Line 5 Whitest] altered from ?palest.

Line 8 was] altered from and.

Line 10 foundation] altered from ?first foundation.

Lines 17

- 18 believing .. hardly] altered.

[11]

Chapter the first

Containing Predictions more true than any of the
Prophesies of Michael Nostrodamus, and abundantly
more easy of Interpretation.

Merlin the Briton to the Noble, Magnanimous and illustrious
Champion Arthur, King of the Britons, greeting.

I much rejoyce that the instructions which my Art enabled
me to lay before you were so attentively follow'd and attended
with such brilliant success. I foresee indeed that the Saxon
Arms must at last prevail, like a deluge which flows from the
Mountains and inundates the valleys. But all these Evils
originate from the enervations & sloth of the Britons
themselves; the effeminate Luxuries which the Pagan Romans
introduced into this Island have already greatly weakend its 10
internal Powers, and will [in] the end subjugate its Inhabitants
to the Yoke of foriegn Lords. Even its name will be changed by
its new Masters. From the Combination of the Cœlestial
influences, however, I learn that these grievous Misfortunes
shall not happen in this Age, rendered illustrious by your
Warlike Atchievements. But when the Valiant Knight of the forrest
with his train fall a Sacrifice to the treachery of the Raven
bearers, then [shall] they enchanted sword be taken from the
Scabbard and thrown into the streams which surround the Island
of Avalona: thrice shall it Thunder. Thrice shall the Island 20
be shaken by earthquakes; and the Lady of the Lake shall arise
[12] from / the water to recieve the fatal weapon, & the gallant
Warriors of the Round table shall then be dispersed, and the name
of Englishmen substituted for that of Britons. But in ages
[far remote] this Island shall become the Wonder of the World --

-
- Line 11 its] altered from the.
Line 12 its] altered from the.
Line 13 Masters] followed by will not be sparing of the Blood
of their opponents, deleted.
Line 17 fall] sic.
Line 18 they] sic.
Line 25 ages far remote] altered from the distant ages.

for Riches, for comerse, and renown in Arms. Hail Happy Island!
 Hail happy people! Merlin the Briton rejoyces in your Glory.
 If Danger threatens you 'it' arises from your own restlessness
 under a just & mild government, and a capricious desire of
 changing your Masters. 'For many turbulent Spirits and false
 teachers shall spring up hereafter like evil weeds in a thrifty
 Soil, and delude whole multitudes to their utter destruction.'
 However, as a Leson for futurity, I have penned the following
 history of 'the Revolution of' a great & potent people; and as
 I was an eye witness to the chief part of the facts contained 10
 in it, and have recieved the rest from undoubted authority,
 Your Majesty, I trust, will not hesitate to give it the credit
 it deserves; and I hope that Posterity will follow your example.
 In a former Volume which I presented to your Majesty a few
 years back, is containd a clear and full account of the various
 Countries and Provinces in the Moon: How far they extend and
 what Rivers of Note run through them. The vast Lakes which are
 so famous in that planet, its stupendous Mountains, its Seas and
 its Islands, I also described with the greatest precision, and
 acquainted your Highness with the general Manners and local 20
 Customs of its Inhabitants.

The revolution I speak of hapned about thirty Moons agoe in
 [13] the Land of the Lillies, / and if your Majesty will turn to
 the nintieth Chapter of the seventeenth Book of my Lunar
 Topography, you will find a compleat account of this noble
 province. The inhabitants of the Land of the Lillis had from
 time immemoral suffered under very severe Laws and restrictions
 of the most arbitrary kind, which depended entirely upon the
 will of the Constable of the Castle, '& often' without any
 appeal to even a show of rational justice. For the Constable 30
 possessed an unlimited power, and the Landholders 'themselves'

-
- Line 3 If] altered from The only.
 Line 3 Danger] followed by which then, deleted.
 Line 3 you] followed by must, deleted.
 Line 6 hereafter] altered from at that Time.
 Line 7 whole] altered from many.
 Line 31 and] followed by even, deleted.

& inferior Governors were obliged to submit to his decision, altho' it might be founded upon manifest injustice. Many struggles were made [by the People] to throw of the Yoke of arbitrary Power, but those struggles being only the result of unadvised desperation provd in general not only ineffectual to the purpose, but often added a considerable wight to the public grievances. One of the former Constables, after having subdued a powerful party of insurgents, contrived a new Mode of Punishment to terrify his subjects into absolute submission to his will. He caused a large dark Dungeon to be made 10 under the vaults of his Castle, and dispersed Spies throughout all his territories to sound the general sentiments of the People; and if any one was hasty enough to Complain of the grievances which he endured, he was instantly siezed upon and shut up in the Dungeon. And what became of him afterwards was a secret never to be revealed; no doubt he perishd Miserably. For seven thousand Moons and upwards the people groaned under/ [14] these heavy afflictions, and with a Spanial like Spirit appeared to prise their Constable more highly, in proportion as his exactions were more severely laid upon them. 20

But the entire submission of the people by no means lessened the tyranny of their haughty Master; he was not

Line 6 purpose] altered from disign.

Line 21 But the ... very large (p.311)] altered from the following version:

Neither was the Tyrant contented with the entire submission of the People to his Will, but he also encouraged a foriegn despot to fetter their Minds with ten thousand groundless fears concerning the dispensations of Providence, and the state of their souls in a future Life. For the inhabitants of the Moon in general believe in the resurection of the dead & the immortality of their Souls; in order to convey a clear Idea of the nature & extent of this cruel mental imposition, it will be necessary to say something concerning its Author and his pretentions to the right of prescribing the Rule of Faith to Inhabitants of the Moon. 1

contented with their bodily subjection, and to make them completely slaves he called in the assistance of the Pontiff who resided in the land of the Keys, with his foreign delusions to fetter their minds with ten thousand superstitious fears concerning their well being in a future Life: indeed the Calamities they experienced in the present life lead them to suppose that the good and benign being to whom they owed their existence was as rigorous a taskmaster as the Constable, and these gloomy Ideas were encouraged by the Pontiff, as best suited to his purpose, which was to impose upon their understandings and lead them into a Labrinth of endless error. Oh heavens! will it be believed in after Ages that not only the people of the Land of the Lillies but that two thirds also of the Inhabitants of the Moon were so blind, so weak, so infatuated as to imagine that a Mortal like themselves was infallible; to suffer a Human despot to prescribe the Rule of their faith, and expect Salvation or Perdition at the hands of a sinful imposter. Can the Words of the Briton Merlin meet with evidence in futurity?

The ancestors of the Pontiff of the Keys were Paupers, and lived upon the Contributions of Charity. But in process of time, he having ingratiated himself with a celebrated Champion called the Knight of the Cross, who presided over several very large provinces situated in the Eastern parts of the Moon, pretended to be the lawful Heir of an Holy Man who had been slain by the Infidels for his piety many thousand Moons before; and having prevailed upon his Patron to admit of his Claim, he entered upon the Estate in defiance of all opposition from the true Heirs, and built a strong Citadel in the Land of the Keys, where he usually resided. He strengthened himself by alliances, and by his artful disimulation increased his power to such a degree that began

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- Line 1 and] altered from but.
 Line 6 Life] altered from State.
 Line 15 imagine] altered from believ.
 Line 32 that began] sic, no he.

to treat the Constables of the Provinces round about him with Contempt; called himself the strong Rock of the Moon, and
 [15] Damned to all Eternity / Every one who would not confess that he was The God that Planet: that he could make the People happy or Miserable for ever, [cure diseases, raise the dead to Life], and that the gift of immortality depended upon his good pleasure. His arrogance increased in proportion to the ascendancy he gained over the Minds of the deluded people, & he began to give himself intolerable Airs. He assumed the title of Pontifex Maximus, insisted upon the Constable & 10
 Governors ministring to him & performing the most servile offices, while he boasted of the honor he did them in permitting them to kiss his ----- . Among other vagaries he contrived a new fashioned Cap or Bonnet in the form of a Cone, bearing great resemblance to the fools Cap which is put upon the heads of naughty Children in the sublunary seminaries .of learning, and upon it he caused three hoops or diadems of Gold to be placed, and this Coverchief he wore on State days to the great wonder & admiration of the infatuated people: and hence he recieved the appellation of the Pontiff of the three Hoops. 20
 His Court officers were called the Bramins of the Hat, & they were his domestic members of Mischief; the Bramins of the Cap (& the Bald pated Bramins) were inferior officers, and dispersed in all the chief provinces of the Moon, when, partly by the mistaken piety of weak Governors, partly through the infatuation & delusion of the People in general, & partly by their fraudulent jugling, they got into their Hands nearly half
 [16] the Revenues of those provinces into which they / admited. The Bald pated Bramins were the lower Class of his pernicious Harpies; An Idle Vermin swarming in every Country, & like 30
 Caterpillars preying upon the labours of Industry. Such was the Pontiff, and such were his hopeful associates, with whom the Constable of the Land of the Lillies entred into strict alliance.

Line 4 The God that] sic, no of.

Line 10 Pontifex Maximus] Arch Bramin of Bramins superscript.

Line 28 they / admited] sic, no were.

Chapter the second

Equal in sublimity of Subject and in Truth to the
Wonderful Rhapsodies and astonishing dreams of Emanuel
Swedenbourg.

For four thousand Moons and upwards the People who
inhabited the North Western parts of the Moon ground under the
cruel persecutions of the Tyrannicl Pontiff. He not [only]
domineerd over their Consciences, but called upon the Secular
Arm to support him & his Agents in thier infamous practises,
and with heavy imprecations anathematized all such Magistrates
as refused to assist him. His vengance indeed was chiefly
directed against the true Heirs of the Holy Martyr whose
Estates he possessed. He persecuted them with the utmost
rigour. Torments of the most cruel kind were practised upon 10
them, and fire and faggot were in general the [ultimate] means
of their destruction; all which they bore with such fortitude
as amazed their Tormentors, and the Claimants increased in
proportion to the efforts of the Pontiff to suppress them. At
length there came into the territories of the Eagle A Martin
and a Dove, who brought with them the Original Will of the
[17] Martyr to whom the Estates belonged, and clearly / proved
that the Tyrant of the three Hoops was an impudent imposter:
that he had not [even] the [shaddow] of a right or title to the
Estates, but on the contrary that he was a Thief, an Infidel, 20
& a Murderer. Words cannot express the Rage & Madness which
actuated the Tyrant when this discovery took place; he invoked
all the Powers of Hell to his assistance & cursed them all in
their turns because they could not exterminate the race of
rightful Heirs & secure the title to him. Many of the Constables
and chief Magistrates of the surrounding provinces, who had been
in the interest of the Pontiff, being now convinced by the right
of the will that great injustice had been [done] to the true
Heirs of the Martyr, took them under their protection and
declard against the Tyrant; and hence two violent parties were 30
formd, one for the just execution of the Will, & the other for

Line 19 shaddow] overwritten on a pencilled word.

the Pontiff; and among the latter was the Constable of the Lillies, who contind his friendship to the Tyrant, and they formd a close alliance swearing to support each others Intrest to the utmost of their power. The cruelties, the Murders ...

But notwithstanding all the efforts of the allied parties, the credit & Authority of the Pontiff of the three Hoops from this period gradually declined; and the Sage Norah, a writer of great eminence among the Lunar Historians, assigns three reasons for it [which are here given in his own words].

[18] "First, the steady adherence of the true Heirs to / the 10
recovery of their estate, suffring Death gladly rather than resign their title or give the Usurper any reasonable cause of alienation. Secondly, the invention of a New Art, by means of which [true] Copies of the Original Will were hastily multiplied and dispersed, not only among the Rich & great, but also among the lower order of People: that the whole territories of the Moon were calld upon to witness, as it were, the justice of their pretensions; and lastly the kind reception the claimants met with in the provinces of those Constables who espoused their Cause, where they were 20
permitted to write upon & fully explain all the passages of the will which were thought to have any obscurity in them, and by that means made their appeal to Justice more clear and determinate. The Pontiff and his faction, on the other hand, exerted all their power to decry the Will and the true translation of it, and forbid the perusal of it on pain of
Damnation, and threatend immediate destruction to all who should pronounce it to be genuine. They also Made a counterfeit Will to blind the people, swearing by all that was good & holy that it was a faithful transcript of the 30
Original, of which it was said to contain some partial extracts, but those were always read in an unknown tongue.

Line 3 swearing] altered from and vowed.

Line 4 The cruelties, the Murders ...] sic.

Line 8 assigns three] these deleted before three.

However all their efforts proved abortive, and as the truth gradually develope'd the impious & detestable Artifices of the Pontiff and his adherents became daily more manifest. In process of time the alliance between the Constable of the Lillies & the pontiff was loosened. Their friendship cooled, [19] and the people taking / the advantage of the lukewarmness of the Constable with respect to His Old Friend, began by degrees to shake [of] the Load with which their Consciences had been so long burthened; and at last running from one extreme to the other, from Bigots the became infidels, and in their 10 detestation of superstition rejcted the truth. So that all religion ----- was presently extinguishd among them.

The Constable who presided in the Land of the Lillies at this awful deracination [of Piety] was remarkable for his mildness, and if he did not possess those Brilliant abilities which shone in some of his Predecessors, it is certain that nothing of the Tyrant marked his Character; his humanity and forbearance at last proved fatal to himself and his family. The People, conceiving no time Could be more [favorable than the present] to throw of the Yoke of slavery and make 20 themselves free, began to [manifest the turbulancy of their dispositions by] invectives against Tyranny in general; they censured freely the imperious Actions of the Former Constables who had rulled over them, & proceded to Question the Authority of him under whose government they now lived, expressing various Marks of their disapprobation of his Conduct. These lively symptoms of revolt were mildly overlookd by the Constable; he readily relaxed the reigns of oppression and wishd to make his people happy: the spirit of faction, instead of being suppressed by repeated acts of kindness, increased; and the first Act 30 of open Violence performd by the populace was the destruction of the Dark vault wherein so many of their Predecessors had miserably perished. The Constable did not appear to have

Line 2 detestable Artifices] forei(gn) deleted before Artifices.

Line 8 Load with] altered from load of t----- f-----

Line 10 the] sic, not they.

disapprovd of this deed though some slight show of resistance/
 [20] was made. He possessed too much Philanthropy in his Nature
 ever to put in force a Mode of Punishment so cruel and unjust,
 and it is said that he privately expressed his satisfaction
 that they had so compleatly put it out of the power of any
 future Constable so far to abuse the Authority which Heaven
 had entrusted into his hands. The leaders of the insurgents
 formed themselves into a club. They assumed to themselves the
 title of the "Provincial Council" and promised to the
 Mobillity, their Ellectors, full redress from all their 10
 grivances; protesting that it was for their Sakes & for the
 sake of the public benifit only that they Had recourse to
 Violence; they also pledged themselves to the People in general
 and to the whole World at large that [all] their proceedings
 should be guided by Reason and Moderation, and accordingly the
 first decrees which were formed by the Council wore great
 appearance of Equity. The arguments of its Members were
 supported upon the principles of Liberty and the neighbouring
 provinces &c beheld them with respect, for they seemed in
 reality to have the good of thir Country at Heart: a short 20
 time however produced a very opposite method of proceeding.
 Violent parties divided the Assembly into seperate Cabals, and
 interest and ambition were the forerunners of the Anarchy
 which followd. The Mobillity by degrees broke in upon the
 Council and Claimed a place there, which the strength of their
 faction easily obtained. The more abject the State of slavery
 is from which a People emerge on a suddain, the More cruel and
 imperious that people will be when they become their own
 Masters: the Rabble who had from time immorially never dared to

Line 7 The leaders ... provinces &c (Line 19)] altered from
 the following version:

The first decrees of the Provincial Council [upon this
 emergency] wore great appearance of reason and equity; the
 Arguments of [altered from by] its Members were supported upon
 the principles of Liberty and the Neighbouring Provinces ...

Line 8 into a club] followed by which was afterwards called
the ----- club though, all deleted.

Line 29 immorially] followed in MS. by had.

utter a syllable of complaint against the conduct of thir former Governors, now became exceedingly clamorous: every one assumed the right of doing what seemd good in his own Eyes, & the will of a Licencous Mob was the law of the Province. So long as the proceedings of the Council were according to the dictates of Reason, the Constable acquiesced with all their [21] demands: but a / very little time convinced him that even his acquiescence could not assure his safety. Nor can we wonder that he could not afterwards place any confidence in the assembly, when the members themselves placed little or none 10 in each other: the whole was distracted by the violence of parties; and the voice of the rabble was the voice of murder. At first, they restricted the authority of the Constable; afterwards in a most arbitrary manner they deprived him of all his titles, and brought him to a level with themselves; they then proceeded to treat him with indignities; and, last of all, abolished all his power: so that, in the course of a few moons, an absolute governor was reduced to the humiliating state of a captive, and almost considered as a non-entity. "He", says the Sage Norah, moralising on this occasion, "who trusts to the 20 brightness of the morning, often meets with a shower before the noontide sun passes over his head; and the clouds of adversity may reach the prosperous man even on the borders of the grave."

From this period, the unfortunate Constable and his family were treated with repeated insults; his life was threatened; and the calamities of his situation were heightened by the most alarming uncertainty and suspense. Some of his near relations, who had fled from the insurrection at the moment of its breaking out, took refuge in the territories of the Eagle:

Line 7 fo.21] This is written not on a new recto (as is normal in this manuscript) but on the verso of 20 - followed by the stub of a cut-out page, then fo.22. Probably the original 21 (recto) became muddled or untidy and Strutt tore it out and rewrote 21 on the blank verso of 20. The ink is blacker and the writing clearer than most of this section.

Line 5 Council] Club written on facing page.

and, having found an asylum, they meditated his escape; the plan was formed and put into execution: but, unfortunately his flight was discovered and his person secured within sight of [22] the land of security. The abuse of the Populace was redoubled upon this occasion. The Constable & his family were ignominiously reconducted to their former Prison, where they were more closely confined, & the appellation of Traytor to his Country was conferred upon him for endeavouring to save himself & his family from the insanity of an enraged Mob.

Chapter the third

More instructing if not more entertaining than
Mother Shiptons last Legacy, or the fourth Book of
Cornelius Agrippa's Occult Philosophy.

Merlin the Briton, having consulted the Planetary
Influences and formed a true Horoscope of the Heavens at the
Hour he [was] writing this Chapter, foresaw that the present
History will be preservd to late Posterity, and read with
astonishment for many Hundred years to come: therefore he
Addresses himself to the Sons of futurity. Let the People of
England always remembr that welfare consists in Unanimity.
The greatest blessing that Heaven confered upon the Island is
Liberty; Valour & Generosity of Mind are the Characteristics
of its Inhabitants. 10

The Liberty of Englishmen is not a meerly speculative
Good, existing only in Theory. It is a substantial blessing
founded upon the Basis of sound wisdom and sanctioned by
long Experience. Happy Islanders, preserve your Native Rights
unblemishd, as you recieved them from your valiant Ancestors;
and resist like Men the Chimerical attempts of Insanity to
[23] graft the inovations of foriegn Enthusiasm upon a / Stock so
sacred. The Glory of England depends upon the Union of her
Members. Party divisions will weaken her executive Powers,
and if ever she should fall a prey to foriegn depredations, 20
which Heaven of its Mercy forefend, Her own Sons must first
plant the Dagger in her Bosom. If they unite to support her
[cause] she will Stand to the End of Time, like a Rock in the
midst of Mighty Waters, firm on her own Basis, defying the
fury of the Tempest; and the Wind and the Waves shall war in
vain against Her.

Line 3 was writing] altered from wrote.

Line 24 Mighty] altered from the.

At the time the great revolution already spoken of took place in the Land of the Lillies, there were several attempts made to excite the flames of Sedition in the Island of the Lions; and a very turbulent fellow, who was a native of that province, took the lead of the faction upon himself. His real name was Boutefeu, and the by-name of Anguish was given to him from a natural cause: Anguish, in the Language of that Country, signifies the meeting together of the eyebrows in an ugly scowling Manner, Which is a strong indication of a persons suffering Pain.

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Boutefeu originated from very mean Parentage, and was bred in early life to an occupation by no means superior to the Humble station of his Progenitors, He possessed, it is certain, much more ability to do Mischief than Industry to acquire the means of subsistance by any laudable permit. Having nothing to loose, and being full as low in reputation as he was in pocket, Necessity made him desperate. He vented his Spleen against the govemors of the Island, and for some time picked up a miserable subsistance by vending lampoons upon the state 'Councilors'; at last however he determined

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Line 1 At the time ... possessed (Line 13) altered from the following version:

At the time the great revolution spoken of in the preceding Chapters took place in the Land of the Lillies, a turbillient fellow, who was a Native of the Island of the Lions and resided there, began to promote seditions among the People; his real Name was Anguish, & the byname Tomm. was also given to him, which in the language of that province signifies the Meeting together of the Eyebrows in an ugly scowling manner. Anguish (Boutefeu superscript) originated from (altered from was of very) mean Parentage & 'was' bred to an occupation by no means superior to his birth, but he possessed ...

Line 20 he] repeated in manuscript.

to lanch deeper into Political abuse, and setting the Halter on one hand, and the prospect of filling his Pockets on the other, he boldly ran the hazard of incurring the former in order to [24] obtain the latter, and spake out with the most / barefaced impudence, seasoning his Pamphlets pretty highly with literary treason of the rankest kind. His [chief] design was to impose upon the Understandings of the Vulgar; and every delusive argument that might tend to decieve them he dressed up in a plausible manner, and dispersed his poisons like the nauseous Pills of a Mountebank, curiously gilded over to tempt the patient to swallow them. The principles which he disseminated in his Publications were of the most dangerous kind: they lead to the total subversion of all order and distinction among the inhabitants of the Island, and the absurd doctrine that the Will of a licentious Mob ought to be the Law of the Land [was] what he chiefly inculcated. His arguments are founded upon the primitive equality of all human beings, everyone of which, says he, possesses Native rights which no other can alienate; for which cause a Law made or consented to by the Father has nothing binding in it with respect to the Son, nor can it by any possible means become a Law to him untill his own free consent has given it that power. For the Father can no more impose a law upon the Son than the Son can upon the Father; therefore the Son has an undoubted right to suspend or abrogate any Law which his Father has made, so far at least as it lays him under any restraint: and of course all laws enforcing obedience from the Son to the Father are contrary to the divine right of Nature, which requires the perfect unequivocal & distinct freedom of every Individual. Hence it neccessarily follows that the restraining Laws of large communities are so many Acts of high treason against the Sovereignty of Individuals: that is, such of them as have not been concerned in or consenting to the Makeing such Laws. They are the steps by which Tyrants asscend the Throne of [25] dominion; / and if it be argued that they are the neccessary bonds of Order and regularity, His answer is that Anarchy & confusion are much lesser Evils than peace & Good order, if

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purchased at the expence of Heaven-born Liberty and Equality. "In the beginning of Time," says the Sage Norah, "our Ancestors" (be it rememberd that this Celebrated Philosophr & Historian was a Native of the Island of the Lions) "were divided into distinct families, & the Father of each Family was the chief Mastrate who presided over it; as the number of Familis increased and they became near neighbours to each other, some of the more powerful, with the view of extending their possessions or for the sake of plunder, made war upon those who were weaker or less courageous than themselves: the only rescourse in this emergency was for the weaker 10 party to call in the assistance of other families & to form a Union with each other. It seems natural upon the establishment of such a Society that those who had the stoutest hearts and Wisest heads should be considered as the best able to watch over and protect the rest; of necessity it will follow that the gaurdians of the Society will require some peculiar privileges to be granted to them to secure the enforcement of the excecutive Power committed to their Charge, and enable them to act with Vigour & dispatch in the defence of the Community: of course a compact must be made between those who are to protect and those who are to be protected. But 20 if the children of each individual be not restrained by that Compact, and it be granted that they havē a just unalienable right to withhold their obedience to the regulations which the excecutive Power shall judge necessary for the good of the Society, and insist upon new [27] Laws & new / Governors at their pleasure, a very few Moons would put an end to all regulation & order: for every Son of every individual claiming an equal right to Make laws for the society, the laws required by some would not only disagree with but frequently flatly contradict those requird by others; and if the elders of the Society refused to submit to the speculations of the Younger 30 lawgivers, whether they should be wise or unwise, right or wrong, fit or unfit, according to the abominable Hypothesis of Boutefeu, they ought to be considerd as Usurpers, Villians and Traytors to the Commnty; [what he calls] Justice would then arm the Son with the Sword of Vengance to destroy his Father, & war & destruction

Line 25 [27] sic, no page 26.

Line 31 lawgivers] wether deleted after lawgivers.

would prove the blessed & glorious efforts of Freedom: such are the true Ideas of this Incendiary concerning Liberty & Equality. On the other hand, it is totally impossible that there can exist in any State a perfect equality of its Members: their external & internal qualifications strongly deny it; the Powers of the Mind & the powers of the Body are by no means equally distributed; and Nature herself without the Aid of revelation points out the absolute necessity of a subordination.

No reasonable being can expect perfection in any System of Government formed and executed by fallible Agents. That form of Government, therefore, which best secures the Liberty, the safety & the property of each individual ought to be supported. Despotism authority on the one hand, and the licentious Anarchy of a Democracy on the other, are two dangerous extremes. A Monarchal Government, where the Nobles & the People by their proper representatives have a due proportion of Power to restrain any advancement towards Arbitrary Authority, experience has proved is best calculated for this [salutary purpose]. In the early ages, when every Family formed a distinct Society, every Family was a little Monarchy within itself; [28] and when various contingent circumstances/required the union of 20 Familis, a delegated power was necessarily lodged in the hands of a Chieftain. So that the origin of a Monarchal form of government seems to be the most ancient, and that it is the most natural appears to be equally certain, because not only the most polished but the most rude & uncultivated People naturally embrace it. If the speculations of Novelty can ever be put in practice with the least probability of success, it must be in an Infant State whose executive Powers are not perfected. None but Madmen can indulge an Idea [for a moment] that a People habituated to a long-established form of Government, which by [full] experience they find secures to them 30 the permanent blessings of Liberty and protection, should be easily wrought upon to change it for an uncertain benefit founded upon Theory only."

The event proved the truth of the Sage Norahs observations, for tho' many of the Mobillity, & some few of higher class of People,

applauded the Doctrines of Boutefeu, and caused his publications to be distributed throughout the Island 'of the Lions' ; yet the generality of the Inhabitants treated both him & his Writings with the Contempt they justly deserved: the latter were considered by the executive powers as infamous Libels upon the government, & the vile incendiary found it necessary for him to make a precipitate escape from his Native land in order to avoid his advancement in a manner which was not altogether so congenial with his feelings. His Fame, however, reachd the Land of the Lillies, and his superior talents were acknowledgd with great applause by the Provincial Council. They highly approved of his doctrines, and [29] invited him / to come over to them and accept of a Place in their Assembly. Nothing could happen more fortunately for Anguish than this invitation. He accepted of it with much Joy, and in that blessed Asylum took refuge & secured him Self from the punishment justly decreed him in his own Country. Previous to his departure from the Island of the Lions, the following Oration was deliverd by him to an assembly of the Mob composed chiefly of his own favorite partizans.

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"My dear fellow Citizens and equals: You are the Just & natural Sovrigns of the Island; the Chief Constable and his satalites are all of them Usurpers. The Taxes they impose upon you are as illegal as they are burthensome, and while you tamely submit your Necks to the Yoke, your Cruel taskmasters will daily add to its weight: for shame! Show your courage, resolve to be a free People, & you are a free People; 'for' your voice is the true law of the Country. You are called, it is true, Plebeians, Blockheads, Vulgar fellows & the Scum of the Earth by your imperious Masters; but I will undertake to prove that you are as Wise, as well born, as Virtuous & as fit to govern as any Chief Constable, Landlord 'or' Landholder among them.

True genius is only to be found among the Mob. I myself am a striking instance of the truth of this observation: my Parents were Plebeians, exceedingly Poor & exceedingly ignorant; all the learning I have now to boast of I picked up at a seminary of Charity, and yet you see, in despite of all these unfavourable circumstances, I am become so great & so wise a Polititian that no one among the whole Crew of Constables, Landlords, Landholders or Bramins can equal me, neither are all of them put to gether able to answer my Writings. Ten thousand copies ten times told have been purchased of my Glorious System of Equality, [and] it is impossible that a stronger proof can be given of the excellency of the doctrines contained in it. I have proved that the whole world were Fools and doltheads untill I pointed out the path which leads to wisdom: some few aristocratical Blockheads, at the instigation of their more blockheaded Masters, have it is true attempted to answer my publications and to confute my reasoning. But their works, like the gaudy Butterflies born from vile Maggots, exist for the day only, then die and are forgotten for ever. They have not sold ten copies of their trash, where I have sold ten thousand of Mine: this sufficiently proves that my arguments are unanswerable, and may the devil take me if I will put my stile to the wax in reply to them, 'till one among them has sense enough (& that never will be the case) to produce a work the sale of which shall equal the sale of Mine. The despots tell you indeed, my dear Mobillity, that the heavy Taxes which are Moon by Moon exacted at your hands are for the preservation of peace & good order, but I can prove that good order is by no means conducive to Peace, & a thing totally useless among us. It is by Anarchy and Confusion only that You and I can hope to fill our Pockets. Now, my exquisite Wiseacres, considering that you may not perchance know what the word Anarchy means (Confusion indeed I believe is pretty well understood among you) I will explain it. Anarchy signifies a glorious disturbance raised by the Sovreign People

Line 1 True genius] The whole of this section, up to heavy Taxes (Line 25) is added on the verso page facing 29, replacing the deleted version "They tell you indeed that the heavy Taxes"...

Line 10 Equality] can deleted after Equality.

Line 26 at] as in manu cript.

assembled together to assert their native rights, that is, to plunder the rich Landholders, to turn the Landlords out of their [30] estates, & murder all who usurp the title of / governors or dare to make any resistance. But perchance there may be some among you ignorant enough to call such proceedings on your part a Rebellion against the State: now, my dear Equals, there can be no Rebellion but a Rebellion of the Constable & his Tyranical Party when they oppose the Will of the Sovreign People. [In such a case] therefore you rise in [the] defence of your [just] priveledge, that is, doing what you please: & such an insurrection is the 10 Noble exertion of [Natural] Liberting in your Hearts to crush the Rebellion of Unnatural Tyrants. But now, my pretious Jobbernowls, let us examine what will be the blessed consequences resulting to you from such a superlative undertaking. Why, simply these: You will then have strong liquours for Nothing; all the Corn in the Granaries of the rich will be your own; The Cows, the Oxen, the Sheep, the Goats, the turkies, the geese & the fowls you will divide among you; all taxes & imposts will be abolished; you will live like lords without work; you may eat your fill, drink your fill, go to bed when you please, Rise when you please, and do as 20 you please. Now if there be any poor dastardly Rogue among you so immensely stupid as not to desire a Life so Angelical, may the devil take him for a fool, with all my heart say I.

Methinks I hear some of you enquiring how all this is to be brought about. I'll tell you how, my dear Sovreign Ragamuffins: follow but the admirable example which the wisest of all wise people have set you in [a nighbour Parish], and the same exertions

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- Line 4 But perchance / This section, up to simply these (Line 14) is added on the verso facing page 30, replacing the deleted version "and what, my pretious Solomons, would be the blessed consequences [of deleted] [resulting to you from] such a superlative undertaking? why, simply these."
- Line 9 your / Natural deleted after your.
- Line 27 a nighbour Parish / altered from the Land of the Lillies.

on your parts will produce the same pretious effects. There is no poor Man among them, no childish distinction of Titles; they are all equal, the Honest Man with the Thief, The Hangman with the Landholder, the Clown with the Constable and the Atheist with the [Rector]. The word [Rector], by the by, brings me to mention another wonderful advantage arising from Anarchy, and it is this: The [Church] will then be at your service, to make Stalls for Cattle or stables for Horses; for you may depend upon it, when the [Parsons] are no longer paid for their labour, The devil of any more prayers will be made in them. To make you amends for the 10 loss, the doors of the Pothouses shall be set open upon all Holy days, where evy Man may drink without the least restraint, & worship God, or the Devil, or neither as he thinks proper. But I must tell you, my dear equals, that religion of any kind is entirly useless in so benign & laudable an undertaking as this is which I have laid before you. In order to carry so glorious a design into [31] execution, / you must first begin to associate yourselves together in all parts of the [Parish]. Abuse the [Castle Keepers], Curse the Laws, Damn the [justices] & hang the [Parson]. Say that all the Bramins are Hypocrites, all the Constables Tyrants, all 20 the Governors Fools & [when you have learnd this excellent Lesson perfectly] I will furnish you with further instructions. Do you

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- Line 5 Rector / altered from Bramin (both instances).
 Line 7 Church / altered from Temples.
 Line 9 Parsons / altered from Bramins.
 Line 11 loss / of your (the superscript) superstitious ceremonies of the Bramins all deleted after loss.
 Line 18 Parish / altered from Island.
 Line 18 Castle Keepers / altered from Government.
 Line 19 justices / altered from Magistrates.
 Line 19 hang / altered from sink.
 Line 19 Parson / altered from Bramins.
 Line 21 Governors / altered from Laws.
 Line 21 & / Rogues and all the Constables Tyrants deleted after &.
 Line 22 instructions / from the Fountain head of wisdom over the great ass mbly in the Land of the Lillies all deleted after instructions; & such all that pretend to rule over you call them all fools Rogues tyrants & superscript.

not begin to percieve that I have pointed out to you the only way to be Wise? for when there are none greater nor richer than yourselves, depend upon it there cannot possibly be any Wiser than yourselves. I now strongly recommend to you the purchasing of my writings in order to fill my pockets, that I may be enabled to do you abundantly more and more good. Let such of you as can read, study them carefully; and such as cannot listen attentively to those who can. Be bold, be impudent; I have set you a noble example; speak freely and be happy: but if hereafter you should like doltheads & cowards break away from so blessed a cause, may 10 you die in a ditch like a pack of lousy pitiful sons of whores and be Damned!"

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[1]

Chapter the Fourth

Containing many curious incidents more worthy of Belief than any Chapter in the Koran of Mohammed or all the Prophetical Visions of Al Aswad Ebn Caab.

About the Time that Boutefeu was banished from the Island of the Lions, the Constable of the Black Eagle (who was nearly related to the Consort of the [unfortunate] Constable of the Lillies) interceded with the Provincial Council in his behalf: finding however that no hope remained of obtaining his release, He made use of every tender and persuasive argument to prevail with them to moderate their resentment, and render the situation of the miserable Captive more tolerable by an abatement of the indignities with which he was personally treated, and to moderate the causeless severities which his whole Family suffered. But the rancourous seeds of 10
Rebellious Malevolence were too deeply rooted in the Hearts of the Faction for any Mitigation of Cruelty to be adopted; the Vengeance of Slaves possessd with arbitrary power is never restrand by any resonable bonds of Moderation. It gratifis itself in the most Cowardly and most atrocious Acts of Inhumanity, widely differing from the suddain resentment of generous Minds which never indulges the distant Idea of Cruelty.

Very little time convinced the Constable of the Black Eagle that all his [mild] remonstrances were not in the lest likely to produce any salutary effect. He therefore proceeded to Menance 20
them with all the Miseries of War, and formed an allianc with several of the Neighbouring Potentates. It was determined that no exertions of force should be spared to bring the enemies of his unfortunate Relation to reasonable terms of accomodation. The Rebill faction
[2] affected to treat the Menances / of the Confederate Potentates with the most ineffable Contempt: however they prevailed upon the Captive Constable to ratify their Councils, and even to declare war against [his] Friends. Yet the Confederation justly concluded that these acts were by no means sanctiond by his free consent, but were such as the dangerous exigency of his present situation compelled him 30

Line 1 Boutefeu / altered from Anguish.

to execute; [therefor] they paid no regard to them, resolving to release him from his Confinement and if possible to reestablish him in the Government.

The Rebellious faction on the other hand, forseeing that the Storm which was gathering around them was likely to overwhelm them with suddain ruin, exerted every endeavour to guard against it, and shelter themselves from the dreadful inundation. They assembled the Mobillity together and harangud them with all the eloqunce they were mastrs of upon the superlative blessings of Liberty & Equality. Their promises were without bounds: all that was great & glorious 10 was reserved for their reward, when by their Noble exertions their Despotic Foes were chastised for their temerity in daring to pity the Tyrant they had so justly dethroned, and attempting to procure his Liberation.

All the real grievances their Ancestors had suffered under the Tyrannic rule of the former Constables were set forth with every exaggeration that could add horror to the narative; the deplorable Miseries which had been inflicted upon those unfortunate Victims of inhumanity who langushd in the dark dungeon were painted in the strongest colours, in order to excite the indignation of the 20
 [3] People & inflame their Minds with a strong desire of Vengeance. /
 On the other hand, every flattering and insinuating Art was practised to persuade them that all hope of Freedom depended upon their exertions against the armies of the Confederate potentates, who were represented to them as tyrannical beings, delighting in the Miseries of their Subjects, and whose only Motive for invading the territories of the Lillies was to reestablish the Horrors of Despotism and restrain by acts of barbarity & violence the exertions of a distressd people strugling to free themselves from the curse of Arbitrary Power. The success of the Tyrants, said 30
 the orators, ensures to you a triple weight of wretchedness, and the most abject slavery; while Victory, the bright goddess of Glory, presents Golden prospects, Golden Harvests & a Golden Age. Under her sacred auspices the Land of the Lillies shall shine with all the
 splendor of a Coelestial Paradice, and the blossoms of Licencous

Liberty shall adorn the thrifty Thistle of Anarchy for ever. These fallacious Arguments, addressd to the passions of the Multitude, had the desired effect. Infatuated by the flattring hope of future^l Glory with an Enthusiasm almost bordering upon Insanity every one of them vowed to spend the last drop of his blood in the Cause of freedom. They took the field with the most determined resolution to maintain their ground; and not doubting of success, every individual indulged the bewitching Idea that in the course of a Few Moons he should become himself a Monarch. A variety of fortuitous circumstances occurrd in the prosecution of the war 10 to retard the progress of the Confederate Armies, while those of the faction were successful in the outset, and extended their depredations beyond the limits of their own territories; but in the/

[4] midst of all their Glory they suffered severely from the Want of every necessary. Hungry, Naked, Cold and Wet, exposed to the rigour of an inclement season, Their hardships increasd evy Moon; and instead of the Brilliant Comforts of Ease & Luxery, they found that all the Miseries of War and Poverty were entailed upon them: for the Confederate powers entered into new alliances and resolved upon a ^lsuddain^l & Vigourous renewal of Hostilities. But in the 20 mean time the Rebel Council were highly elated by the temporary successes of their heroic Proselites, and set no bounds to their Pride & Insolence. They reviled the Confederate Constables with the most indecent language, and breathed forth difiance to every potentate that should enter into alliance with them: they declared publicly that all Constables were tyrants & traytors, that the whole race of them ought to be exterminated, that all their Laws should be abolished and all their Ministers ^l&^l officers Hanged. Their unfortunate captive Master and his family were made the victims of their Malevolence; they were treated with the most 30 wanton indignities; they were put into still closer Confinement and their Lives were Hourly threatned. Many of their faithful Servants were masacred in cool blood, & the Mangled Carcasses were exposed to the view of the wretched Captives; every insult which Cowardisce & cruelty could invent to wound their feelings was eagerly practised,

Line 20 suddain / with Vigour deleted after suddain.

Line 20 Hostilities / the Lillies with deleted after Hostilities.

Line 25 them / And by deleted after them.

and neither rank, order or Sex afforded protection to their friends.

The Rebel faction, having divested themselves of every Sentiment of Humanity, concluded in their great Wisdom that even the form of Religion was altogether Useless; they therefore siezed upon the extensive revenues of the Bramins, turned them out of their Houses without the least previous notice, and piously divided [5] the plunder among themselves. The Images / and ornaments of Gold and silver which decorated the Temples dedicated to the Deity were appropriatd to the same laudable purpose. The miserable Bramins, without daring to remonstrate upon the injustice of such 10 proceedings, were glad to escape with their Lives; many of them however were cruelly massacred without any offence on their part, and those which took refuge in the neighbouring territories trusted meerly to the Charity of the Benevolent to prevent them from starving. The Pontiff of the three Hoops was greatly exaspered when he heard of the indignant treatment which the Bramins had experiencd: and as he was unable to reinstate them in their possessions, very cordially damned their persecutors, and imprecated the devil to take them all for their sacrilegious impiety; but the faction, who neither feared God nor Devil, paid very little regard to the Maledictions 20 of a known Jugler.

Nothing is more conducive to Union among a Factious people than a danger which threatens equally every individual; while such a danger exists their private fueds and animosities will subside, and hand & heart be united against the Common Enemy. But such a Union, originating from general necessity only, will rarely outlive the exigencies upon which it was formed.

At the Commencement of the War, when the Enemy was approaching towards the Citadel of the Lillies, the meetings of the provincial Councils wore some appearance of Unity; the obstinate and 30 rancourous disputations which had subsisted among them were moderated, and the contending parties, as though they had been actuated by a suddain phrenzy, started from their seats soliciting a [6] thorough reconciliation; / and rushing towards each other like friends & Brothers, met with open Arms; and kissing & Embracing and sighing and crying compleated the sublime Farce. They vowed an

eternal Union & friendship, and wished the devil might take him who first endeavoured to dissolve the sacred knot; yet no sooner was the threatening danger removed to a distance, but new disentions were hourly fomented among them: they became jealous of each other's power, divided anew into factions, and a violent spirit of opposition on all sides embroild their Councils & weakend their determinations. There was one party especially more outrageous than the rest, and which in general prevaild by the [violent] vociferations [of its members], which its [Members adopted] upon all occasions by way of Argument, and [they] were so daring as 10 to threaten the Lives of those who opposed them. They took it into their heads to sit upon seats elevated above the rest of the assembly, and from that circumstance they were called The Mountain of the Convention. The componant Members [of the Mountain], from their ferocity and blood thirsty disposition, were entitled the Tygers & the Hyenas of the Mountain. Being thus distinguishd they proceeded to the election of a chief, who was to stand forth at the head of their party upon all desperate occasions: the qualifications which they thought indispensably requisite for their Chieftain were such as renderd him a disgrace to Humanity. Their Choise fell 20 upon Filipp the Bastard, a grandee of the province and said to be nearly related to the Captive Constable; previous to the

-
- Line 7 passage following determinations / The following draft or alternative version is written on the verso page opposite: (JS's dashes) "It was by no means -- for the -- every species of abuse & blows and the -- of the Council was determined by the -- that was the assembly of great & enlightend philosophrs degraded into the tumultous representation of a Bear Garden."
- Line 8 by the / ouargeous deleted after by the.
- Line 9 Members / used deleted after Members.
- Line 14 passage following the Convention / The verso page opposite has the following draft or alternative version: "the Mountain of the Ant But those who sat below & who constituted the Majority of the Society were nominated Benchers a word in the language of that province expressive of their more hu ble situation."
- Line 14 The / altered from and the.

Confirmation of his election Filipp solely renounced his birthright & forswore his family Name. The baseness of his disposition confirmed the general report that he was illegitimately begotten by [one of] his reputed Father's Menial Servants. It is / [?] certain that his feelings were callous to every Noble sentiment of generosity, and his actions proved his delight in cruelties of most wanton & cowardly kind. The Choise of the Mountaineers could not have fallen upon a person more proper for their purpose, because he had not penetration enough to perceive that they only trusted him with the shadow of Power, which they could easily 10 withdraw upon any emergency, and confound the fool with the Villian in his destruction. However they caressed him while their dirty work remained to do, and he in gratitude never [refused] to engage in any enormity which they found it convenient for him to undertake.

Chapter the Fifth

A Lunar Philippic equal if not superior to any of the learned Orations of ^rJohn Ball or of his more famous Deciples ^rWat Tyler & Jack Straw.

Anguish Boutefeu, having narrowly escaped the halter in the Island of the Lions, arrived safe in the Land of the Lillies, where he was recieved with much Joy by the Members of the provincial Council; but before it was permitted him to take his seat in the assembly, it was judged necessary that he should harangue the Sovreign People and obtain the sanction of their consent to confirm his election: accordingly the next morning was agreed upon for him to make his appearance before the People. A prodigious concourse of the Mobillity were assembled upon this august occasion, and silence being demanded, expectation raised itself on tiptoe: the Orator 10
 [8] hemmed thrice, stroked his Chin with self / importance, and thus began.

"Citezens & Equals! Destroyers of Despots! Sons of Liberty! Brave, Free, Sovreign People! You see before your Honours A Man who, tho a foriegnr by Birth, is desireous of being enlisted Under the Hallow'd banner of Freedom & Equality. If turbulency of Spirit, if ardency of desire to incite the glorious principles of Anarchy & Confusion, if utter detestation of all laws & Constitutions but what we ourselves think just to frame, can give me a title to your Approbation; My writings, my discourses, & my Actions will all of 20 them severally or jointly speak loudly in my behalf. In my Native Land I have stired up the blessed spirit of commotion, which brought upon me the unjust rigour of a Tyranical Aristocracy. I seek refuge in this happy land, the Land of Liberty and equality.

Highly honoured by the previous choise of the Parish Club, I stand forward for your approbation to join them: and if Lying, Swearing, Blasphemiy or any thing but fighting will do you any service, I shall at all times be ready at your soverign Command to practice any or all of these benign Virtues. I fear neither God nor Devil, nor will I believe that any thing can be just & 30

praiseworthy which does not conduce to our own comfort and indulgence. Hear the doctrine of truth & wisdom! We are all equal: the Infant of the poor man is equal to the infant of the rich Man; and when a child is born, its own natural rights are born with it, which no one, not even its father nor its Mother, can alienate. It is to a variety of fortuitous Circumstances, which the ambitious [9] policy of Tyrants / have taken the advantage of to enslave their fellow creatures, that we owe the present inequality in despotic governments; therefore it becomes every one of us in justice to watch over our own Natural rights [&] to protect them. If any 10 one be base enough to affirm that the Constables of Castles, Landlords, Land holders, Bramins of every order, and all the crew which support them, are internally or externally superior to the lowest of you, my dear sovriign People, he is a traytor and ought to be hanged or damnd or anything that is worse.

The People are naturally, and ought only to be, the governors of Provinces: it is they only that can make Laws, and they may suspend or abrogate them at their sovriegn pleasure; every Man is literally and truely his own Master, and he who submits to be the subject of another Man, debases the glory of his own natural 20 rights and is a traytor to himself -- for, my dear & glorious wise acres, we are all equal.

It is with horror that I take a retrospective view of your former sufferings, before the genuine principles of freedom excited the heavenly commotion which has reinstated you in that Power which is so justly your due. Alass, poor afflicted People, in those dark hours of persecution the hard Morcel upon which you subsisted was hardly earned by continual Labor & the sweat of your Brows. Coarse & scanty was your allowance; your Wine was poor, and sower into the bargain, and by continually scouring your Bodies made you as 30 thin as Rotten Herrings; while your merciless task masters wanteded [10] in all kinds / of Luxery. Dainties of every kind enriched their festive boards, and their Glutony encreased in the same proportion as your oppressions were Multiplied. If you dared to complain, poor souls, the whip was your reward; perhaps the rack, perhaps the

Halter. Indeed, indeed, fellow equals, you have been an oppressed, a cruelly oppressed people.

To the slavery of the Body was added that of the Mind: how have you been tormented by the Lying, Hypocritical, indolent Crew of Bramins, the abominable emissaries of a spiritual Tyrant, that vile imposter the Pontiff of the three Hoops, whose damnable opium has lulled the senses of your Ancestors to sleep for many thousand Moons! He & his vermin filled their pockets in proportion as they filled the minds of the People with the gloomy and superstitious dreams of Hell and Purgatory. Your credulous forefathers, like tadpolls in a 10 stagnated lake, were confind and contented to be so. But you, like a new created set of superior beings, emerge from the stinking waters and bask in the sunshine of Liberty & equality; you exert the long dormant powers of reason, & are become the wonder of all Nations.

What has the Will of the Pontiff of the three hoops, or the more antiquated Will of the Martyr so much talked about, to do with free & sovriegn beings? break the chains of superstition, consult your own reason: the Hell they threaten you with is a non-entity, & no future Heaven is equal to the present enjoyment of the good things which are 20 [11] set before us. You did wisely, and exerted your / Powers to noble purpose, when you determind to be no longer the Dupes of Hypocracy, and drove the pestlental drones the Bramins from your territories: let the name of Bramin be execrated, doomd as they are by you to the only Hell they feared, a total privation of wealth & power. My dear equals, my advice is that every one of you should make his own God and worship him in his own way. All hail to the blessed Epoque which brings me before you to claim your protection! all Hail to the sacred Aera of Equality! for we are all equals. I find you in the Zenith of your Glory. You have now no Constable to punish you, No superiors to oppress you, no Masters to command you, 30 No Bramins to fettr your consciences, No Lawyers to pick your Pockets, No tythes, No taxes. All hail to the auspitious Hours which give birth to genuine Liberty! You may now, my Citizen Equals,

Line 8 they filled / the filled in manuscript.

Line 24 they feared / the fe red in manuscript.

Line 29 to / repeated in manuscript.

Eat, Drink, Whore, Thieve, Swear & Blaspheme, & all with impunity.
 You are your own Law makers. I glory in the repetition, for your
 own Will is Law: all tyrannical subordination ceases from this Hour.
 For ever & for ever you are a soveriegn and a free People.

But as your glorious Worships well know that it is impossible
 for you all to sit individually in the Clubb room, you have in your
 wondrous Wisdom justly delegated full power to your faithful
 representatives to act in your name. Therefore the voice of the
 assembly is your Voice. They watch night & day for your benifit.

[12] You are / the only Gods they serve, nor have they the least 10
 expectation of any other reward than your gracious approbation:
 they are stimulated to action by the glorious Cause of Anarchy &
 Equality; all labour & solicitude is taken from you. Go then, Happy
 people, wanton in ease & luxery: the faithful gaurdions of your
 peace are ever vigilant on your behalf. I can only add on my own
 part, that my will to serve you is infinitely beyond my ability in
 performance, great as that may be: but if the dedication of all my
 Powers, Mental & Corporeal, to the cause of Licentious Liberty can
 recommend me to gacious Favor, you will confirm the Choice of the
 provincial Council. And I pledge myself to spend the last drop of 20
 my blood to secure your Welfare, & prevent any infringement upon
 your glorious & natural Priviledges." He ended, and bowed
 obsequiously to his Auditors, and the [soveriegn] Mob were affected
 by [the Powers of] his Oratory to a degree of insanity defying all
 rule and order; they broke in upon him & half stifled him with
 Congratulations & welcoms. They then placed him astride upon a Cowl
 staff, a dignity confered only upon the grandees of that province,
 and carried him triumphantly upon their shoulders round the Citadel,
 with loud shouts and acclamations proclaiming their adoration of the
 Idol: some few there were indeed who retird from the throng, shook 30
 their heads in silence, while they secretly wishd the new electd
 Membr had been hanged.

Line 5 well / altered from must.

Line 6 in your / altered from if your.

Line 13 you / altered from your, should deleted.

Line 31 secretly wishd / three words deleted after secretly wishd.

Line 32 had been / altered from fairly.

The applause of the soverign Mobillity having sanctiond the
 [13] Choise of the Provincial Club, Anguish Boutefeu was / admitted to
 his seat in the Club Room with extra-ordinary Honors. The whole
 assembly now resolvd, in thir superlative wisdom, to admit all the
 Rogues, Villians and Traytors of every description & of every Nation
 into their Citadel: and those among them who were the most seditious,
 & whose clamours against all rule & order had rendrd them most
 conspicuous, they electd members of thir Club. And it is
 astonishing what a number of worthies, who had escaped from the
 merciless hands of the Hangman in their native provinces, flocked 10
 round the standard of Anarchy & took shelter in the bosom of the
 August assembly. These Paragons of Wisdom & Virtue, the better to
 ingratiate themselves with the Tygers of the Mountain, falsely
 represented the Provinces from whence they emigrated to be in a
 state of fermentation; that the principles of Anarchy were prevalent
 among the Multitude, and that a helping hand was only wanting to set
 Confusion afloat & excite a general revolt. The Sons of Wisdom
 therfore agreed to publish an edict from the Clubb, declaring thir
 resolution to assist the turbulent & seditious Mobillity of any of
 the neighbouring provinces whose courage & whose Virtue might 20
 lead them to rebell againt their Governors, [&] to support them in
 all their unlawful depredations; every encouragement was held forth
 to promote the total subversion of Justice & Order, and to
 anihiliate all Idea of subordination: It being their avowed
 intention to make all the people of the Moon equal, that is, fill
 all its territories with Commotion, and glory in the extension of
 their beloved System of Anarchy.

This Wise and benevolent Edict was ordered to be translated
 into all the different dialects used by the People of the Moon, and
 Copies of it multiplied in great abundance, in order to be 30
 [14] dispersed through / every Province: that the whole world might
 know that the Soverign council of the Soverig People of the Land of
 the Lillies were the friends of Rebels, the Promoters of Sedition,
 the Auxilliarities of Robbers & the lovers of Murder: but on the other
 hand, that they were the implacable enemies of Peacce, Industry,
 regulation, subordination, Justice & Piety.

Chapter the Sixth

Abounding with events not quite so wonderful as the great Arabian Prophet's famous Journey to Heaven, but almost as inconsistant with Reason.

The sagacious Members of the Provincial Club at this period thought it just to take a retrospective view of their proceedings; and being astonished at the Sublimity of their own Orations, and the admirable Incongruity of their Councils, they concieved that all the Wisdom of the Universe was concentrated in themselves; and therefore without the least hesitation [they] assumed the Pompous title of Enlightned Philosophers.

In the vast profundity of their Understanding it was resolved that, as their beloved System of Anarchy could not be compleatly established with out sacrificing Reason & Religion upon its Altar, 10 a great reward by general consent should be offerd to him who should on an appointed Day produce to them the largest and most thrifty Thistle in full bloom. The seeds of this Noxious Weed were in every respect Typical of their own pernicious principles: both of them were easily disseminated, both impoverishd the Soil which produced them, and both of them equally Choakd up & destroyd the [15] growth of all that was useful & worthy of / Cultivation; having procurred such a one as perfectly answered their purpose, a day was dedicatd to the Adoration of the Demons of darkness. The Members of the Club, accompanied by a prodigious assemblage of the 20 Mobillity, paraded the Streets of the Citadel with all the Pomp of a triumphal procession: the sacred Plant was carried before them in a beautiful Vase of Christal ornamentd with Ribbands of various colours [&] fringd with Gold. About noon they reached a large Pleasure Ground, which formerly had belonged to the Constable of the Castle, and in the midst of it the Thistle was planted with the greatest solemnity; while this cerimony was performing, The August Legislators sprinkled it with the blood of the friends of the Constable who had been [previously] murdrd upon this [awful] occasion, and it was denominatd the Thistle of Anarchy. Then 30

Line 13 bloom / having ... perfectly answers thier purpose
deleted after bloom.

Line 28 s. rinkel'd / altered fr spr'ling.

they invoked the powers of Hell, to preserve this pretious pledge of thir adoration and cause it to flourish; while on the other hand they denounced the most blasphemous & bitter execrations against those who should cut it down or deface it. To compleat this segacious Farce every species of excess was encouraged, and the Frantic Mobillity, with Bachanalian Orgies, bowed down and worshipd their vegetative Idol.

Some Days after the celebration of this Solemnity, the venerable Solons of the provincial Club, being recovered from their pious intoxication, resumed their legislative functions; they took 10 it into consideration that many Moons had elapsed since they had published their charitable edict in favor of Rebellion, but the success did not appear to have been in any respect adequate to /
 [16] their Expectation. It exceeded the utmost limmits of / their Understanding to account for this defection on any other principle than that of Fear predominating [over the love of Liberty] in the Minds of [ye] Neighbouring Mobillity, or a slugish Stupor which prevented their examining into the Heavenly blessings of Equality. It was a thing incredible to them that rational beings, enjoying full powers to think and judge for themselves, should be so 20 infatuated by the love of [what they called] slavish tranquillity, & so contented with the paltry advantages of equitable Liberty, as to reject the glorious reverse which was presented to them under the specious titles of Natural right and absolute independance. The assembly therefore adjudged it to be perfectly consistant with their Wisdom and benevolence to attempt by coercive Measures the [thorough] reformation of the Lunar World: for, as they believed themselves to be the Wisest and most enlightend people among the inhabitants of the Moon, of course it followed in their opinion that those who refused to embrace thir principles were fools or 30 Cowards, & those who dared to resist them were knaves: the conclusion was that folly should be corrected by the Miseries of War & desolation, Cowardism by a scourge of Iron, & knavery by deliberate Murder. "Let us prove," said one of the ferocious Hyenas of the Mountain, "the true benignity of our Hearts, and in defiance of reason impose the blessings of Equality & licentiousness upon all Lunar beings. It is our duty as votaries to the Demons of darkness to plant the sacred thistle of Anarchy in

every province of the Moon: [our Deities] have put fire into one [of our hands], & the sword into the other, commanding us to extend the limits of their wide Dominion; & shall not we, the faithful

[17] Missionaries of Mischief, / implicitly obey the supreme Mandate?

yes, we [will] proceed to open the Eyes of those which Truth has made blind to the axioms of Anarchy; to prove by the confusion of endless sophistry that Ideal Evils are more grievous and

intolerable than those which really exist; that heavy exactations from the Mob without the legal form of taxation are no oppression;

that all the Miseries incident to extreme poverty, softend by the 10

blessings of Equality, are equal to the Comforts of Paradise; That every individual ought to consider himself in a state of Nature --

go naked, eat roots, drink Water, or even labour without food at all, for the benefit of the Soverign Club, or be condemned as a

traytor to be hanged upon the first Lamp post without the least hope of mercy. And if any individual shall refuse to assent with

all his Soul to these equitable & Philanthropic resolutions, he shall be considered as a Rebellious Rogue, opposing the Wisdom &

Justice of his soverign Ligeslators;" this elaborate Harangue was recieved with universal approbation by the whole assembly, and 20

Copies of it were orderd to be dispersed in every province in

which the principles of Anarchy should be deseminated. It now remaind for the Armis of the Lillies to put in practice the

benevolent edict of their sovriegn Legislators; and accordingly they invaded several of the Neighbourng Provinces, which from their

weakness were not able to resist them. In the Land of the Marshes they were recieved by the people in general as the real Friends of

Liberty, and many of the Landholders & Landlords also joind with

[18] the Populace / to admit them as the gaurdians of thir property.

But in the space of a very few Moons they were woefully convined 30

that they had been imposed upon by fair promises, to which the

practice of their pretended protectors was by no means conformable.

It [appeared] that they had changed a situation Obnoxious to some

Line 1 Moon / they deleted after Moon.
Line 3 shall not we / altered from as.
Line 5 Truth has / Truth as in manuscript.
Line 23 to put / to repeated in manuscript.
Line 32 by no means / no omitted in manuscript.

tempory inconveniencies for a state of absolute slavery, and had
 subjected themselves to every distress which Tyranny could invent or
 cruelty impose. The subsidies demanded by their former Masters had
 often been the causes of complaint, but the Contribution levied by
 their new Lords were beyond all suffrance. Jack a Lantern (a
 byname given to the Captain of the Lilly Ragamuffins) set no bound
 to his Avaritious Claims upon the [Inhabitants of the] conquerd
 districts, and fire and sword were the unfailing arguments he made
 use of without hesitation to convince them that no refusal could be
 admitted. But in return for all the grievous exactions imposed 10
 upon the People of the Marshes [by the Legislators of the Lillies],
 they opened a Large Dyke which had been filled up for the space of
 several hundred Moons; and promised to reestablish a great fair at
 the Citadel of the Marshes, which had been removed from thense at
 the filling up of the Dyke, and held in the Land of the Lakes. The
 people of the Lakes were alarmd at such an unprecedented infringement
 of their priviledges, and remonstrated strongly against the
 injustice of it; but finding that they were not likely without the
 assistance of the Neighbourg Potentates to obtain redress, they had
 [19] recourse to them, & particularly solicited the mediation of / 20
 the Constable of the Lions in their behalf: his protection was
 easily obtained, for he was ever ready to espouse the Cause of
 Justice & oppose the progress of Tyranny & oppression.

When the Members of the provincial Club of the Lillies heard
 that the Constable of the Lions had declared in favor of the People
 of the Lakes, they were greatly terrified, and irresolute with
 respect to their future proceedings. But taking it at length into
 consideration that they had gone too far already to recede with any
 degree of credit, it was resolved that they should boldly run all
 hazards, [indulging the] hope that Fortune would favor the 30
 proceedings of desperation. Conformablee to this Idea they effectd
 to treat the Mediation of the Constable with contempt, and returnd
 for Answer: "If the People of the Island of the Lions be willing to

Line 4 complaint / complain in manuscript.

Line 21 the Constable / the omitted in manuscript.

Line 21 behalf / and deleted after behalf.

Line 30 hazards / in deleted after hazards.

join with us, we are ready to take them by the hand as Brothers and equals: but if they obstinately chuse to oppose us in the propogation of the glorious doctrines of Liberty & equality, they may be damned & take the consequence; on our parts we are determined to reduce the inhabitants of the whole Globe of the Moon to one common standard of Equality, or perish nobly in the glorious tumult & confusion we have excited to effect so laudable an Enterprize."

When the Solons of the Club had thus sagaciously concluded the important negotiation between themselves and the Constable of the Lions, they passed to the order of the day, without the least 10
[20] reflection upon the consequence of such an insolent message: & tho / their Country was declar'd to be in danger, and evy exertion of wisdom & precaution was requisite to provide for the exigences which daily became more alarming, they posponed the Momentous Subject, and indulgng their Usual Apathy entered into a frivilous discussion concerning the etiquette of compliment; and after a long debate in which all the profundity of Knowledge and Learning of the Members was powerfully displayed to their great edification and Amusement, It was determin'd that all the Complimentary excressences such as Obedient Friend, or Humble Servant, or the like, which had 20 usually been subscribd to Epistles written by one individual to another, should be abolishd for ever under the penalty of inditment for High treason against the State; and that the words "I am thine Equal," without any addition whatever, should be substituted in their stead.

Two Original Letters, written soon after this important innovation took place, having accidentally fallen into my hands, I shall transcribe them verbatim for the instruction of the future generations; and to convince them ([& through them the] whole world) how justly the Members of the Club deserved the titles of 30 Prodigies of Wisdom, Enlightnd Philosophrs, and Stupendous

Line 8 the / altered from this important.
Line 30 Club / of the Lillies deleted after Club.
Line 30 deserved the / pompous deleted after deserved the.
Line 30 titles / they assumd to themselves deleted after titles.

Legislators. The first Epistle was superscribed "To his Honor's
Glory, Citezen Boutefeu, Citezen Sartor sendeth greeting"; and its
contents are as follows: "May it please your Lordship's worship
mercifully to take into your benevolent consideration this /

[21] humble petition of a poor creditor of your Grace's Honor. I am
very poor, and I have got a Wife with eight small children, all of
which are now crying for bread: but I have not a Morsel to give
them, nor one singlar dinar to purchase any: the Clerk of the district
writes this Epistle for me out of charity, because I cannot write
myself, and [he] Can witness that I and my poor family are 10
absolutely starving. I do beseech your grace's holyness benignly to
think upon your obsequous Petitioner, and out of your superabundant
abundance pay me at least some small part of the Bill which I deliverd
to your Worship's Honour ten Moons agoe. I have made Cloths for your
Mightiness for ten times ten Moons, and now my Money is all gone, &
my credit is totally at an end: and your Worship knows I have never
reivd one dinar from you. The Clothier I deal with swears he will
take all my stock in trade, which is now reducd to a Goose, a pair of
shears, some rusty needles & a broken thimble. Have compassion upon
me, and please your Honor, and do not suffer me to rot in a Jail, 20
and my miserable family to be starvd to Death. I am thine Equal."

The Answer is superscribed "Citizen Boutefeu & Citezen Sartor
greeting"; and its [contents run] thus: "Do you know, seditious
Rascal, that the demand you make upon me for payment is an
infringment upon the priveledges of the provincial Club, and rank
treason against the state? It proves that you are a fellow of no
principles, that is, of no good ones; and if the blessings of Liberty
[22] and / Equality be not sufficient to supply your wants and the wants
of your Family, you & they are Rebels & ought to be hanged. The
Clerk of the district is a lousy pitiful Knave. Your Clothier is 30
a Rogue like yourself, and you may all three be damned, so get paid
how you can. I am thine Equal."

Line 2 Boutefeu / altered from Anguish.

Line 3 follows / follow in manuscript.

Line 23 its / runs deleted after its.

Chapter the Seventh

Containing An Adventure as perilous, and atchieved as
 successfully, as any of the memorable exploits of St.
 George, the illustrious Champion of England.

The merciless impositions which the Venal Sovreign of the
 Lillies day after day imposed upon the deluded People of that
 Province was born by them with incredible patience for the space
 of many Moons: every Individual Enthusiastically sacrificed his
 Wealth, his Religion & his Humanity to the ambitious but
 preposterous Idea of becoming Induividually a Monarch. Woeful
 Experience, however, deducd from all the Miseries of Want &
 wretchedness, roused them at length from the golden dream which had
 lulled their senses into a state of torpitude: and the return of
 reflection made them desperate, for it convincd them the change
 they had made in the form of their Governmt was infinitely to
 their disadvantage. The domination of one Tyrant (granting the
 Constable of the Castle to be a Tyrant) was at any rate more
 endurable than the unmerciful oppressions of several hundred
 Tyrants plundering them at one time. The Mob of the Citadel, half
 naked & more than half starved, began to grow outrageous. Tumults
 were hourly fomented, & Murders commttd with impunity. In a
 [23] paroxisma of their fury the enraged / populace surroundd the ale
 house where the provincial Club was held, and with loud cries &
 execrations demandd Relief from their grievances without
 equivocation or Delay, threatning instantly to have recourse to
 violence & destruction in case of refusal. The enlightend Solons
 of the Club were dreadfully alarmed by so suddain & unexpected an
 insurrection of the Sovereign Mob. The only Gaurd thay had at that
 time to protect them were the train Bands of the Castle, and it
 requird some time to collect a sufficient body of them together to
 repell the insurgents, who were exceedingly numerous: but as the
 present Contingincys admitted of no delay, messengers were instantly
 dispersed to expedite their approach. In the mean time it was
 adjudged requisite to appoint one of their best orators to amuse

Line 18 surroundd the / Hall deleted after the.

Line 22 refusal / It was not without reason that the deleted
 after refusal.

Line 25 Ca tle / altered from Citadel.

the Populace with flatteries and fair promises, until such time as the Military succours should arrive; the Choice of the August assembly fell upon Boutefeu the emigrant: & the tongue doughty Hero did not dare to refuse the high commission, though his Countenance sufficiently manifestd how willing he would have been to have escaped the superlative Honor confered upon him. However, making a Virtue of Necessity, he assumed the Air of importance, and stalked [forth] like a giant among the Sovereign Ragamuffins, who, nothing abashed at his appearance, encompassed him about, groaning and hissing. He turned pale through fear, for the danger seemed to be 10 inevitable, but [had recourse to] bowing & cringing with all the marks of complacency, as far at least as his ill favord countenance could express complacency, [&] at last prevailed upon the turbulent insurgents to abate their outcries and listen to his harangue: when [24] with an awkward grin, / his best attempt to smile, he thus began.

"Dear fellow Citezens & Equals! Dear, glorious Sovereign People, for in the People all the Wisdom -- all the Power -- all the Wealth --" "That's a damn'd Lie to begin with," exclaimed one of the Mob, "for the people, as you call us, [are] as poor as [Rats in an Empty Granary.]" "Dear fellow Citezens & Equals," continued the 20 Orator, "hear me out before you condemn Me. I say that you, the Sovereign People, are the true point where all the Wealth of the universe ought to be, and indeed eventually must be, Centered." "Hear him, hear him, hear him!" was now vociferated from every quarter; and when they were silent enough for him to proceed, He [thus] went on: "I repeat it, my dear Equals: it is you [and you

-
- Line 3 Boutefeu / altered from Anguish.
- Line 10 hissing / & indulging every species of clamourous insults deleted after hissing.
- Line 13 express / those marks he deleted after express.
- Line 13 prevailed / he superscript.
- Line 17 for in the People / altered from in whom.
- Line 19 for / we are all of us deleted after for.
- Line 21 I say / altered from I would have said.
- Line 23 Centered / altered from sett ...
- Line 25 and / it was some time before deleted after and.
- Line 26 is / among deleted after is.
- Line 26 is you / that all deleted after you.

only that ought to share^T the wealth of the Universe. Believe me, your Honors, I am your best friend; and when I cease to be your best friend, may the great devil damn me! I am deputed by your dear Countrymen, assembled together in the Club Room, to consult upon the means of giving every one of you ample satisfaction; to relieve all your wants; to make you all happy. I am deputed, I say, as your friend, your Brother, your Equal, to enquire carefully into all your grievances, and to lay them before the Wise and Virtuous Members of the Sovreign Council." "Damn your Parlarver," replyd a sturdy Amazon, "I'll tell you what, Mr. what-do-call-um Equal, 10 You and your Club folks (whom God confound) have told us a pack of impudent Lies. You made us believe that when the Constable of the Castle was put out of office, and the Landlords & Landholders were under our thumbs, that all our Taxes should cease; and that we should be well Cloathed, well Fed, and drink Wine instead of Water. Now, do you see, we have been Choused and Bamboozled by you with a [25] vengeance; we / were in hopes that when we had destroyed the damnd dark vault of the Castle and given the Constable into your Custody that Matters would have mended, but the Devil a bit of mending. Now do you see as how as that I am appointed by the Women of our 20 Squad to make a noration in the name of them all, and I thinks I am as able as any of your Club men to speak to my equal. I says in plain words that we are damnably humbugged by you and your gang, And if you do not give us somthing to keep both our insides & our outsides warm & comfortable, we will ring such a peal in your ears as shall make the boldest of you wish himself at the devil." Boutefeu bowed low to his fair opponent, and laying his hand upon his breast with the easy Motion of a Tragic actor, grined an uncouth smile and thus proceeded: "Dear, Soverieign Lady Equal, Your eloquence has convinced me that it is neither Birth, nor 30 wealth, nor any fortuitous accident can bestow true genius: the sublimity of your diction, the justness of your expressions, the --" "Avast," cried the Heroine, starting up in a passion, "None of your tricks upon travellers! a fart for all your high larnt gibberish! I speaks the true Language of my Country, and none of your foreign

Line 1 Universe / ought to be & must be divided deleted after
Universe.

Line 10 what-do-call-um / altered from Son of Bitch.

Line 27 Boutefeu / altered from Angui h.

lingo will go down with me. If you can answer me, do; if not you may go to the devil for what I care; for, do see, I always speaks plainly & to the purpose, and that's -- all." Then down she sat, screwing up her mouth and winking to her companions, who grinned and nodded in token of their applause. Boutefeu, bowing again, continud his discourse: "I was proceeding to tell you, dear sovereigns of the Universe, that your wise Legislators, the adorable [26] Members of the provincial club, always attentive / to your true interest; have voted you Liberty; even in the extreme you may do whatever seems good in your own eyes with impunity; and if the 10 Blood of the [Tyrant] Constable or of his friends be your demand, it shall be sprinkled upon you. Your freedom is for ever, & the blessings of Equality are shared among you. Remember that when all order shall be [totally] abolished you shall be made eternaly Happy, and --" "And what?" interrupted hastily one of the leaders of the insurgents, whose aspect indicated an understanding superior to the rest of his fraternity. "What is the whole amount of all your Airy promises? may you and your Doctrines be damned together! Do you call this incongruous harangue an answer to our grievances? can your inflated orations fill our empty Bellies? can your pompous 20 phrases support our wives & children? can insubstantial Promises annihilate the cravings of want or alleviate the presure of Misery and distress? you tell us that we are all upon an equal footing; you tell us, so I dare you to prove the truth of this assertion: let us share with you, if not the Luxeries, at least the comforts of Life: for if Liberty & Equality be blessings, woeful experience demonstrates that Nakedness & Hunger are not. The truth is you & your Colleagues of the Club sowed seditions to reap the spoils of plunder and support yourselvs in Luxery and Idleness; the evils we experienced in what you call our state of Slavery were infinitely 30 more bearable than those we suffer now your damnable System of equality is imposed upon us. Before you were endued with power, you were fluent in promises: we were to be put into possession of such blessings as should make a Heaven of our state, & render us the envy [27] of Angels. Oh miserable reverse! Alass, my unfortunate / fellow Citezens, our own credulity has undone us. Tell us, Catif, was it 1

Line 5 Boutefeu / altered from Anguish.

Line 31 we / now deleted after we.

not promised (& promised by you on the day our suffrages secured your seat in the provincial Club) that our Taxes should be annihilated? But are they not doubled? -- that peace & tranquillity should smile upon us? and does not War & desolation stare us in the face? -- that all property should be equally divided? Yet what portion has fallen to our Share? -- by the great God of Heaven, you are a Liar! You & your fraternity have plundered the rich indeed without mercy; you have committed Sacrilege with impunity; and what has been the result of all your impious Roberies? I'll tell you what! You have filled your Pockets without allowing us any share. 10

May, you have added to our distress the heart breaking reflection that, duped by your vile sophistry, we have wantonly abused a mild Master to raise up & support a whole gang of insolent Tyrants." The honest Citezen expressed the sentiments of his Soul with so much energy that the Mobillity began to feel the justness of his declamation, and cried out with one accord. "To the sign post with the deciever. Let the emigrant Rebel be hanged!" The Crest fallen Orator now wishd all politics at the Devil, and expecting every minute to be his last, would gladly have compoundd for his safty by the Loss of a Leg or an Arm. His knees smote each other as he 20

stood bowing and suplicating for Mercy in dumb show, because the clamor of the Populace was too violent for him to be heard: an effluvia exhaled from him by no means resembling the scent of violets or Roses, & he was near fainting. But the devil, who wishd to preserve him for future mischief, stood his friend in this emergency; and just as the enraged Multitude were about to sieze upon him, the Military appeard. The Culprit saw them at a distance, [28] and comforted himself with the hope of a / suddain reprieve. It was necessary, however, for him to amuse the Mobillity till such time as his protectors were come near enough to preserve him from 30

Danger; he therefore redoubld his supplications, and having with great dificulty pacified the Mobillity for a Moment, he thus addressed them. "If, my dear, valuable and best of friends, you can hesitate one moment in Judgment concerning the integrity of my Soul towards you, give that moment to consideration, and in your benign goodness & mercy hear me speak, clearly and impartially. If I do not convince you that I am and ever will be your best friend, let me endure the most infamous death your vengance can impose --" seeing him self in s curity, surrounded by the Soldiers, he continued:

"but give me leave to tell you that I will see you all damned, like a pack of pernicious vermin as you are, before I will trust myself to your mercy again. You poor beggarly Scoundrels, scum of the ground & the refuse of Humanity, must I and your liege Lords, the members of the provincial club, be called to an account by rogues like you? Sovereign People, do you call yourselves? Sovereign blockheads rather! is it consistant, think you, with reason or Justice that such contemptable wretches should be the rulers of the world? You say that I promised you an exemption from taxes: yes, my pretious logerheads, from paying them for the support of your Constable, I did; but not payment of the last mite for the support of us, your ellected Lords & friends. But, you outrageous brutes, vilefaction of Aristocracy & upholders of Tyrants, is it unknown to you that your valiant fellow Citezens, who are reaping Laurels in the field of Battle for your security, do now endure ten thousand [29] hardships more than you experience? / They have neither Shoes nor stockings Nor Coats nor shirts; some are without breeches, and those that have Breeches are very little better for them; they are so ragged that their nakedness is hardly concealed: and yet these monuments of patience are hurrieing here & there in search of Your Enemies without murmuring or Complaint. 'Tis Liberty & equality, blessings which such indolent vermin as yourselves are unworthy of, that animate their minds & support them thro every dificulty. Freedom, you doltheads, is the genial heat which warms them when the keen blasts of Winter blow upon them; it is a cool brieze to refresh them when the meridian Sun shines unclouded upon them. It is Meat & Drink & shoes & Breeches & Coats & shirts to them. It sets frost & snow at defiance, it makes fatigue a pleasure, & all the Miseries of War a delightful pastime; in short it is a glorious succedaneum for all their Wants, & the blessed source of all their pleasures: and shall such useless vagabonds as yourselves, the meer tag rag & bobtail of the World, who wallow in voluptousness at home, presume to complain? do you not enjoy yourselves under the shaddow of your own Vines & fig trees? are not you permitted to call me your Equal, or Filipp the bastard your equal? nay all the August assembly of Wise legislators & Philosophers your equals?"

Line 5 account by / such deleted after by.

"Heavens!" exclaimed a poor, naked, half starved wretch, boldly interrupting the Orator's harangue, "Is it possible for beings endued with reason to hear such barefaced falsehoods & impudent absurdities without reply? If it be true, thou son of prevarication, that the blessings of Liberty & Equality can cloth the Back, feed the Belly, turn Winter into Summer & support the human frame with extraneous assistanc, Why are we burthened with increasing imposts for your Maintenance? why is the miserable pittance which we had [30] provided for our half famished families taken from / us to supply your tables? If you be sensible of the truth of the doctrines 10 which you promulgate with so much assurance, set theory aside, & convince us by practice that they are just & reasonable, & we will cease to complain: or else, as you permit us to call ourselves your equals, let us be your equals in every point of view; let us be as well fed, as well clothed, & as well lodged as you are, and I will pledge my life that we shall be contented, that we shall be Happy." An interruption so unexpected, accompanied with reasons so cogent, — excited the indignation of Boutefeu, and the applause which the mob bestowd upon the speaker provoked him beyond endurance. "Hark a me, Ragamuffin," cried he furiously, "you are, I suppose, some idle 20 prating Blockhead, whose eloquence has been held in high esteem among the ignorant blackgaurds your companions: & now, emerging from the Pothouse, you have the impudence to give Laws to the Deities of your Adoration. You have learned too, it seems, the devil knows how, to huddle together a jargon of words without possessing the ability to place them in proper connection with each other; & therefore you do not see, Mister Numpscull, that your whole discourse is rank nonsense, & what is still worse, rank treason. I and my Colleagues, the Sons of Wisdom who constitute your sovereign Club, were ellectd by your own voices; and all the power naturally resident in yourselves is by 30 you delegatd to us. It follows of consequence, my pretious boobies, that our Voice is virtually your Voice; for we are the Head, aye, & the Body [too], of the Constitution: & you -- what are you but the Meaner members, the very fundament of the Community, & like beasts of

Line 8 the miserable / the omitted in manuscript.

Line 11 you / so boldly deleted after you.

Line 18 Boutefeu / altered from Anguish.

Line 27 that / all deleted after that.

burthen all your Labours ought to be, & shall be dedicated to our ease & conveniency; & if Gratitude on your parts be not a sufficient [31] stimulative to keep you in your / Duty, you shall be Phlebotomised and flogged and purged till impalment shall be invoked as a blessing." "Hear this, Oh Heaven," exclaimed the ragged Patriot, "Hear this, my fellows sufferers & Citizens. But wherfore do I appeal to Heaven? Our crimes have shut the Gate of Mercy; wherfore do I appeal to you, my deluded Companions? you are betrayed, you are ruined." "Throttle the traytor! stab him! Murder him!" cried Boutefeu in a panic, "the vilian rebels against the Sovereign Legislators of the province. I 10 swear by all the powrs of darkness, dear soldiers, that the pay of this day shall be doubled to you all in return for the Blood of that daring miscreant." The merciless Sons of Rapine obeyed the command of thir Lawgiver, & the Champion of the People was murdered in an instant. His dastardly companions forsook him in his extremity, and fled with the utmost precipitation; but many of them were woundd in the rear by the valiant Soldiers for their Sport, as they were endeavouring to effect their escape. [Anguish] Boutefeu, having purified himself from the unsavory Hogoo to which his fears had given Birth, returned boldly to the Club Room, where he failed not with 20 vast pomposity to magnify the perils he had undergone for the safty of the Community. His wonderful segacity & address in procrastinations: the fury of the Mobillity: and his astonishing prowess when securd from danger, affordd ample scope for self commendation; and it is but justice to declare that no circumstance, however minute, escaped the inflated eloquence of the Heroic Egotist. The August Assembly heard him with silent rapture, & when he concluded with the Description of the Murder of the naked Patriot, all the Members shouted applause, & it was universally declar'd that so Noble an Action deserved at least the honors of a triumph. 30

In order to prevent all alarm of danger for the future, the [/] Members of the Club unanimously agreed to hire / a desperate Banditti, called Bludgeoneers from the Bludgeon, a weapon they used

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- Line 9 Boutefeu / altered from Anguish.
 Line 21 for the / general deleted after for the.
 Line 28 all the Members / altered from they.
 Line 32 page unnumbered.

with great dexterity. Their whole livelyhood depended upon plundr, & Murders of the most atrocious kinds were committed by them daily. These hopeful gaurdians of Liberty were every one of them furnished with a dagger at the expence of the Club, which they were to keep concealed in their bosoms for the worst of purposes. Citezen Noland was elected by the members of the Assembly for thir Captain, and had they ransackd Hell for an officer, they could not have found one more proper to take upon him the high Commission. It was a moot point with the electors themselves whether Ignorance, Impudence, Impiety or barbarity presented the most prominent feature in Noland's 10 character. He and his Gang were deputed to parade the Streets of the Citadel Night and Day; & if they overheard any of the Citezens complaining of the hardships they endured, or expressing the least compassion for the unfortunate Constable or his family, they were commissioud to fall upon them with fury, & not only bastonade them very severely, but even to Murder them if they presumed to make the least resistance; and the latter was often the result, especially if it appeared to the Bludgeoneers that the miserable Culprits had any thing of worth about them: so that the streets of the Citadel were continually deluged with blood By those who pretended to be the 20 protectors of Peace & good order.

Line 7 Hell / itself deleted after Hell.

[1]

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 Chapter the Eighth

In which is given a strong proof that Goblins, Giants and Nicromancers, the Hero makers of Antiquity, are not the only beings that set Justice & Mercy at defiance.

The observation frequently found in the Mouths of our British Sages, that one misfortune seldom comes alone, was verified by experience to the Sovereign legislators of the Lillies. Before they were well recovered from the panic into which they had been thrown by the sedition of the Mobility of the Citadel, information was recieved that similar insurections were taking place in many divisions of the province, which required every exertion of fraud & of force to repell. In addition to these disastres, it appeared that the Ragamuffins of the Army, worn out by the excessive hardships they Endured without even a distant hope of their conclusion, had remonstrated strongly 10 with their officers, peremptorily demanding instant redress; & threatned upon refusal to forsake the Standard of Liberty & restore the ancient & more tolerable form of Government. This was an evil of prodigious magnitude, and required the application of a remedy without delay; but as it was totally impossible for the Wise acres of the Club [to comply] with the urgent demands of the Soldiers, some few

 Line 10 their conclusion / altered from relief.

donations were judged [to be] immediately necessary: to which were added promises unlimited in number, & the rewards they held out were equally boundless; their next step was to divert if possible the attention of the People in general from the consideration of the [3] miseries they endured. The formal murder of the Constable / was proposed as a deed of sufficient magnitude to produce the desired effect, and the Tygers of the Mountain resolved to shed his blood as a peace offering to suppress the tumultuous Cry of Sedition. "In the life of our Tyrant," said one of the Mountaineers, "is concentrated all our external & internal enemies. His death will terrify all 10 the Confederate despots and their slavish Satalites; they will look upon us," continued he, "with Horror, and as soon run headlong to the Devil as reapproach the confines of our territories after his blood is sprinkled upon our garments. His Ghost will wander through the Land of the Lillies, & haunt with unspeakable terrors the Dwellings of Sedition; it will disconcert the insubstantial projects of the Aristocratical traytors; it will set faction at defiance, put an eternal conclusion to all our troubles. Violence, rapine & murder ought not to terrify our Consciences: they are the only sources of our security; we have already proceeded so far that all retreat 20 with safety is become impossible. Piety would be our destruction, & Honesty would consign us all to the Land of the Hangman. But why talk we of Murder? the killing a Tyrant is no Murder. Have not thousands of the Mob from time to time been sacrificed without remorse, to Advance the interests of one single Despot? by a strong parity of reason it is, therefore, clear, the death of one single Despot sacrificed to our security, who are the Head of the whole Mobility, is neither Cruel, Disloyal nor dishonest, but a noble Act of [4] just & reasonable retribution." He ended, and the / applause of the Mountain, like thunder near at hand, overawed the whole Senate, & 30 the silence which succeedd in the assembly foreboded the destruction of the Constable; at last, however, some faint efforts were made in his favor by the more reasonable partizans of the Club. The premeditated Condemnation was deferred, and a Trial was acceded to. But it was such a Trial as Justice never presided at; the Body of the Convention took upon themselves to Act as Legislators, lawyers, Judges

Line 2 unlimited in / the deleted after in.

Line 36 lawyers / probable reading.

& Jurors: the voice of reason, which declared these Characters to be inconsistent with each other, was [soon] silenced by the ferocious Mountaineers, one of which put an end to all dispute by asserting that he & every individual of the Club Members was endued with unlimited powers to arraign, to Judge, to condemn & to execute: [and indeed these infallible Solons made new Laws & abrogated the old ones, creating or annulling just as their own unsettled imaginations led them, or as their tyrannical purposes were best united.] From this moment the friends of the unfortunate Captive, well knowing what sort of Witnesses and Judges the Hyenas of the Mountain 10 would make, abandoned every shadow of hope for his Safety; and foreseeing that his destruction was inevitable, they submitted to the decrees of injustice. The better to compass their design, the ferocious Legislators of the Mountain caused a law to pass, by which an individual might be criminated for a Transaction prior to the existence of that Law, & which at the time of its commitment was not obnoxious to any penal Code. More than once the Constable of the Castle during his mock trial complained of this absurd injustice, and proved that no such Law as was then exhibited for his condemnation existed at the time specified in his accusation to restrain his 20 actions, and therefore of consequence could not have been infringed by him. The principal Articles of indictment against the Constable of the Lillies were:

- [5] 1 First, that he had placed no confidence in the Members of the provincial Club; it was equally true that the members of the Club placed little or none in each other.
- 2 Secondly, that he had falsified his Oath to support the decrees of the Provincial Club; which indeed the inconsistency of its members, and the instability of their decrees, rendered it impossible for him to keep. 30
- 3 Thirdly, that he had traitorously endeavoured to escape from the blood hounds which sought his Life.
- 4 & Fourthly, that he had been grateful enough to reward, so far as lay in his power, the Friends who had faithfully ventured their Lives & fortune in his service.

When the awful tribunal was assembled, & these heavy accusations were prefixed against the Constable, it was moved as the last efforts of a forlorn Hope by himself & his adherents, that the assistance of

Council Learned in the Laws of the province might be granted to him. The clamors of the Mountaineers exceeded all bounds of common decency upon this requisition being made: if, said they, the Constable be innocent of the Charges alledged against him, we deserve hanging; an acknowledgment of our error demands the cruel scourge of retaliation; therefore an acknowledgment of error is inconsistant with the Wisdom & justice. But on the other hand, if we be right, the Constable must be guilty; & the [whole] wisdom of the Universe is centerd in us, [so that we] cannot be wrong: therefore the Constable of the Castle is guilty. He 10 deserves death, & all his Satalites damnation. The Conclusion of this sublime syllogistic argument met with the highest approbation [6] from the Tygers of the Mountain, / and a vote for the immediate extermination of Tyranny by the murdr of the Constable was demandd; some were found among the Benchers who dared to speak in favor of common justice, & opposd the celerity of Judgment: nay they even proceedd so far as to censure the Demand of the Mountaineers as arbitrary & unjust. "The sentence of the Constable," said they, "is predetermind on your part, for we can prove that more than six times ten of your Fraternity are bound by oaths & execrations to 20 assassinate him in cool blood if justice should triumph over malevolence & declare herself in his favor. The words of Isa the son of Admah are applicable to the present circumstances, where he says that the Murder of a Tyrant does not always effect the subversion of Tyranny, but rather, often produces a multiplicity of Tyrants, & renders the Chain of servitude more galling." Notwithstanding the clamour which succeeded from the outrageous vociferations of the Mountaineers, the Benchers persisted in granting Council to the Constable; and after repeated threatnings, & much virulence of speech from the opposite party, they carried 30 their point. The Council having duely examined the ground of the accusations brought against the Constable, they were convinced with respect to the three first charges. His proceedings, so far as they tended in the least to criminate him, were occasioned rather by the apprehension of danger from the Contingencies in which he found

Line 7 with the / followed by space in manuscript.

Line 9 Univer e / which deleted after Univer e.

Line 31 point / after deleted after point.

himself involved than any Motives of treachery or oppression. To be guilty of the fourth charge they conceivd to be no impeachment of his probity or Justice, so that upon a thorough consideration of the whole Indictment, they did not hesitate to declare that he ought to [7] be Honourably acquitted. The Tygers of / the Mountain lost all patience upon hearing this declaration of the Council in favor of their Client. They execrated them as fools & Rogues, & swore that the Constable was a traitor justly devoted to destruction, & denounced vengeance against all those who presumed to speak in his favor: they insisted upon Judgment being immediatly passed upon Him. 10 The majority of the Members of the Club were overawd by the execrations & Menances [of the] ferocious Mountaineers, And acquiescd with the unjust demand; the most merciful voted for [his] Banishment or imprisonment, if [retaliatory] vengeance required it, upon the very spot where the dark Vault once stood, in which so many victims of Despotism had formerly languished without hope of release. But nothing less than his blood could satisfy the Hell hounds of the Mountain, and without further cerimony he was declared a Traytor and condemned to die; those among the Benchers who had not totally lost all sensations of Humanity shudderd with horror when the awful 20 sentence was passed, & one more bold than the rest rose from his seat & pathetically addressd the whole assembly in the following Manner. "While your proceedings were guided by reason & justified by any degree of moderation, I concurred with you, & believed that we were acting for the public Welfare. The destruction of the dark dungeon, & the redeeming a great people from the slavery of Arbitrary power, were actions deserving of beings who called themselves true patriots. But when I see all Laws moral & divine trampled under foot, when I see barbarity usurp the place of Justice, I shudder with horror: take time for reflection before you dip your hands in the 30 blood of one who is now only eminent for his Misfortunes. Let the [8] insults / which have already been heaped upon him suffice. Save yourselves from his Murder: let him live a monument of your Justice and of your Mercy: do not Crave the vengeance of Omnipotence by a deed so desperate, nor blight the opening blossoms of liberty by Murder so

Line 3 a / altered from the.

Line 5 of / repeated in manu cript.

Lin 9 den nc d / altered from d u ing.

atrocious as would put the untutored Savage to the blush. Consider, oh my Friends, it is against the arbitrary power, & not against the Person of the Unfortunate Constable, that the Sword of Justice is raised --" the outcries of the Mountaineers prevented the Orator from proceeding. He was execrated as a Traitor, & commanded instantly to depart from the Club room. "Yes," replied he, "I will go, since you will no longer listen to reason or justice. I will go & deprecate the evils which I fear are ready to fall upon my unhappy Country." Tears glistened in his eyes while he pronounced the last sentence, & he left the club room regardless of the contemptuous 10 Clamours which [ensued]. His departure, [however], spread a gloom of horror upon the assembly; & among the benchers were many members who insisted upon it very strenuously that some appearance at least of moderation ought to be preserved; & altho they acknowledged the justice of the Sentences passed upon the Constable, [they] earnestly solicited the suspension of its execution: others, invoking eternal justice & sacred Humanity to [assist] their arguments, declared that the final sentence ought to be refered to the determination of the Soverign People, "who," added they, "have not delegated to us the power of Murdering until our verdict is ratified by their consent; 20 & if we set ourselves above the Laws & above the rights of our Constitution, we are [ourselves] to all intents & purposes despots & tyrants, & obnoxious to the very sentence we have passd upon the

[9] Constable. To these arguments the barbarians / of the opposite party tauntingly reply'd: "Know you not, incorrigible blockheads as you are, that an appeal from us to the people is beneath the dignity & wisdom of Sovereign Legislators? nay more, it is an insult offered to the very Mob itself: on the one hand it supposes that our sentence is a flagrant Act of injustice, [for it could not otherwise] require so mean an apology; on the other hand it holds forth a doubt 30 injurious to the faith of the Populace, for if they do not approve of the sentence which we have passd upon the Tyrant, they are the enemies of true Liberty, and despicable Slaves unworthy of divine Freedom & equality: away with such base suppositions! they are derogatory to the honor of this sagacious assembly, & to the Honor of the brave Mobillity. By all the infernal powers of darkness, it is

Line 12 & amo g / altered from And.

Line 30 ap logy / or deleted after apology.

as clear as the Sun at noonday that our glorious System of Equality is but a castle of Cards, while the Head of the Tyrant Constable remains upon his shoulders. Delay only adds fewel to the Fire of Faction: therefore instead of manifesting the least desire to save his Life, we ought rather to wish that all the Constables existing with their Satalites were united into one Body with him, that at one glorious Blow we might give Liberty to the whole Globe of the Moon, & annihilate every Idea of subordination: however, what stands within the reach of possibility becomes us to atchieve. The Murder of our Tyrant will shine as a noble example to all the other provinces of 10 the Moon, & all the world will view with admiration the justice of our proceedings." Sentiments so congenial with the ferocious dispositions of the Mountaineers could not fail of exciting violent clamours of applause. And having worked themselves up to an enthusiastic paroxism of phrensy, Blood, Murder, death & /

[10] destruction were vociferated from every quarter. In vain the Benchers urged the existance of a Law enacted by the Sovereign Legislators themselves, which expressly forbad the condemnation of any Culprit without the concurrance at least of two thirds of his Judges: and proved, by the examination of the Votes of the assembly, 20 that out of several Hundreds, the small majority of five members only declared for the death of the Constable. The blood thirsty faction, deaf to all reason, increased their clamours, abusing their opponants with the most insulting language: & from threatning proceeded to Blows, so that the august Convention of Philosophers & legislators was degraded into a Boxing School, & exhibited such a scene of Confusion as would have disgraced a bear Garden. The Mountaineers, however, prevailed; the Law cited in favor of the Constable, contrary to all justice was suspended; & his execution insisted upon as soon as the necessary preparations for that 30 barbarous purpose could be made.

When it was known that Fillipp the Bastard not only ranked among the Murderers of his relation, but that he was the principal instrument of his immediate destruction, even the Hyenas of the

Line 1 as clear / a clear in manu cript.

Line 3 adds few l / add fe el in manuscript.

Line 28 prev iled / & deleted after pre iled.

Mountain shuddered with horror, & secretly cursed him in their Hearts; the lower assembly hesitated not to accuse him of having [traytorously] formed a party to raise himself to Arbitrary power upon the Ruin of his Sovereign: they pointed at him as a disgrace to humanity, and several motions were made for his Banishment from the Land of the Lillies for the space of one hundred & fifty moons, as a more dangerous enemy to the community than the Constable himself. These Motions were overruled by the Opposite faction, & Fillipp the Bastard was reserved for future acts of desperation. /

[11] During the whole of this unruly contest the Emigrant, Anguish 10
 [Boutefeu], manifested a proceeding which proved his Hypocrisy to be every way equal with his Villiany. He was apprehensive that when the Phrensy of the Multitude subsided, & their increasing Calamities awakend them from thir political lethargy, that a counter revolution would be the natural consequence of a Murder so atrocious: and having too much of the Coward in his Composition to hazard a glorious fall in the Ruins of that Anarchy he had so strenously assisted to establish, He thought it most prudent to trim in between the two opponant Parties; and like the insiduous Crocodile weeping over its prey, intreated Mercy for the Captive Constable, when he was 20
 morally certain that the poison of his doctrines was working most strongly in the Minds of the infatuated barbarians of the Convention, and that even his entreaties were the indubitable incitement to confirm [them] in their bloody purpose. "I exerted all my ability to preserve the life of the Unfortunate Captive," will be the Dastard's Plea in a future hour, when Vengance persues the Murderers. But gracious heaven! in that just hour of retribution, [Permit not] This double Villian to escape the Halter!

Line 13 Multitude / had deleted after Multitude.

Line 15 and having / not deleted after and.

Line 26 Murderers / Murders in manuscript.

Line 27 heaven! / forbid deleted after heaven.

Indor, the Son of Isphan, to Merlin the Son of Adam, greeting: at your request, my greatly venerated friend, I have taken up the Stile, & inscribed upon the ductile wax the words of truth. But oh Heavens! will the woeful narative be credited in future ages? will not the writings of Indor appear improbable to posterity? Who will believe that the Sanguinary ferocity of wild beasts & the Malignity of evil Demons could be united in the hearts of the Sons of Mortality? Humanity revolts at the humiliating Idea, & weeps while I record the depravity of beings endued with reason.

When the awful sentence of Death was passd upon the Constable 10 of the Lillies by the Hyenas of the Mountain, they also insisted upon its being speedily put into execution: a few hours delay was only granted, not out of Mercy towards Him, his friends or his family, but to make the necessary preparations for exhibiting him as a public Criminal to the infatuatd Mobillity.

I was chosen by the provincial club to communicate to my dear loved Lord the sentence of Death. I hesitatd to comply with the harsh requisition, but when I found that one of his inveterate enemies had undertaken the awful charge in case of my refusal, I acquiesced with the cruel mandate, & resolved to sacrifice my own 20 [13] feelings rather than expose my Master to the / bitter reproaches of a Monster. I indulged at least the hope that the commisseration of a friend might aswage those sorrows which the malevolence of Brutality could not fail to increase.

Charged with this tremendous commission from the Sons of Rebellion, I sought the unfortunate victim of their malice. He was seated at a table, & the Will of the Holy Martyr was opened before him; his Head was inclined upon his left hand, & his eyes were intent upon the sacred roll which his right hand kept unfolded. My approach interruptd his study. He raised his Head from his hand, & turning 30 towards me fixed his eyes earnestly upon mine; he said nothing, but his look pierced me to the Soul: it demanded my Message. I could not sp ak -- tears flow d from my Eyes, & I sigh d as though my Heart

would burst: seeing my confusion, he gently waved his head, & looking towards Heaven elevated his hands clasped together, & said: "Why then, 'tis past; speak, Indor," added he after a short interval, "speak without reserve; there is nothing terrible in death to one already wedded to misfortune." "My Lord, my Master," cried I -- but I could proceed no further. He took me by the hand, and gently pressing it in his, conjured me to hide nothing from him, "for," added he, "suspense is more distressing than the knowledge of Misfortune in its fullest extent." Encouraged by his calm solicitation, I wiped the tears from my Eyes, and replied: "the 10 Menaces of the Mountaineers have prevailed; they demanded your Life: the majority of the Council have decided against you, and I am the unwilling Messenger of the sorrowful tidings." "Why then, I must [14] die, Indor," said he meekly, and added after a / short pause, "this sentence does not surprise me. I have long expected it: the Malice of mine Enemies, & the reiterated insults which I and my Family have experienced, pointed me out as a Victim devoted to destruction." "But the time, my Lord --" "What," cried he, interrupting me hastily, "is cruelty added to injustice? must I linger?" "No, on the contrary," said I, "the Tygers of the 20 Mountain, thirsting for blood, have limited the awful Sentence: tomorrow's rising Sun --" and here I paused, "To morrow's rising Sun, thou wouldest say, Oh Son of Isphan, shall witness the Death of thy Master: but may I not see my unhappy family before I die?" "So much, my Lord," returned I, "even inhumanity permits; you may see them, & I have commission to conduct you to the place of their confinement." "Delay not, my Friend," cried he, as he arose from his seat & caught my hand, "Delay not to conduct me thither; the time is pretious, let us sieze upon the favourable moment to bid my dear, dear relatives farewell for ever, lest the mallice of my enemies should forbid 30 me that Heart breaking satisfaction." I bowed my head without reply, and instantly obeyed the mandate; the unfortunate partakers of his afflictions had been previously informed of the sentence which had been passed upon him. But, all gracious Heaven! what language has energy sufficient to describe the doleful interview? His Lady fainted in his Arms. His Children, with their eyes overflowing with [15] tears, Clung round his knees. His Sister, dejected with grief, / In a paroxism of Melan h ly stood motionless, & Looked on with silent Horror. "I die," said he, "but He v n, the ga rdian of Vir 7&

innocence¹, will protect you. Weep not for me: I soon shall reach that blessed asylum where the hand of rebellion can no more molest me." No one could answer him. Sighs & Groans suppressed their speech, but the ineffable dictation of Woe pierced him to the Soul, and was insupportable to Humanity: he exerted every power within him to suppress the strong sensations which rent his heart asunder, and when he found the task exceeded all his efforts, he imprinted a farewell kiss upon the palid lips of his beloved Consort: he clasped his little offspring in his Arms, & blessed them: He embraced his Sister most affectionately, & then, leaning upon my Arm, he left 10 the Room. "Oh My Father!" "Oh My Children!" were the last words which passed, & the door was closed upon him for ever! When he reached his Chamber, he cast himself upon a Sopha, and fixed his eyes earnestly upon the Door which led to the apartment he had just quitted; and for a considerable time sat without motion, buried in deep reflection: when his Mind became more composed, he betook himself to his devotions, & with the assistance of a faithful Bramin, piously recommended his Soul to Heaven.

On the fatal morning, when the ferocious Satalites of the more ferocious Mountaineers arrived to put the cruel sentence in 20 execution, He recieved them with a dignity of Soul becoming his exalted rank; And without manifesting the least terror he told them that he was ready to accompany them to the place appointed for his [16] Death: the way was long, & the / journey teidous, and profound silence added to the solemnity of the awful procession. When he had ascended the scaffold, a tender hearted Citezen, who had pressed through the savage Phalanx of surrounding Bludgeoneers, with tears in his eyes exclaimed: "alass, my Sovereign Lord!" Noland, who had placed himself at the foot of the Scaffold, heard the voice of humanity, and with an horrible execration replied: "What, Vilian, 30 dare you pity the Tyrant? die then, & be damned!" so saying he stabbed him to the heart with his dagger, & the poor creature fell a sacrifice to the tenderness of his sensations. The Constable beheld the dreadful apparatus of death with the composure of conscious

Line 15 without motion / altered from motionless.

Line 25 When he had / he had omitted in manuscript.

Line 32 to the h art / the omitted in m cript.

innocence, and approaching the side of the Scaffold, attempted to speak to the Populace, who were assembled to behold his sufferings. But the moment he opened his lips, the Monster Noland gave a signal to his merciless bandittis, and all of them instantly set up a hideous Cry, like the yelling of wild beasts or the dissonant hootings of Savages provoked to anger: all that could be heard distinctly, in a short interval of silence, were these memorable words: "I die innocently -- I forgive you all." He then meekly submitted himself to his Fate, & the Murder was committed without remorse. The barbarians below pressed forward to the edge of the Scaffold to be sprinkled with his blood, and rent the air with their inhuman exclamations. His breathless body was treated with every mark of indignity, and at last thrown, without any ceremonial rites, into a deep Pit which had been dug for that purpose at no great distance from the place of his execution. Here ends the narrative of Indor, the Son of Isphan. Fare thee well! / 10

[17] While the murder of the Constable was perpetrating, the Members of the faction were assembled in the Club room, and a fearful presagement of retributive Justice filled the stoutest heart with horror; & a universal stupor prevailed among them, & they sat 20 surveying each other with silent dejection. At last one of the Mountain Tygers, actuated by a suddain phrensy, arose from his seat, & falling upon his knees offered up the following humble supplication to the Demon of discord, the acknowledged patroness of the august assembly: "Oh thou fruitful Mother of Mischief, [darling] ospring of Night & ancient Anarchy, for ever honourd Discord! forsake not thy devoted subjects in the hour of Danger, but hear with attention the earnest orations which they now offer before thee: pass thou over the whole Globe of the Moon, influence the minds of all its inhabitants, promote sedition & Rebellion in every province, & annihilate the 30 disgraceful Idea of subordination: accept the exalted sacrifice which we are now offering to thy deityship, and may the blood which streams from the heart of our Tyrant secure thy protection. Let not reason prevail to our destruction, but involve the senses of the Hu an sp cies in a glorious confusion, & secure our safety by the .

Line 11 hi / altered fr n the.

Line 16 I . / Iq' i in m n ri. t.

extension of thy turbulent dominion. At these words every one of the faction, moved by sympathetic power, laid his hand upon his heart, & bowing his head in token of obeysance to the infernal fiend, pronounced the "So be it" with all his Soul. These profane imprecations were but just concluded, when Noland arrived and announced the Death of the Constable to the convocation: the welcome tidings were recieved as a propitious Omen, and the whole assembly /

[18] concluded that the Fury had heard their invocation. A loud shout of Joyful applause exhilarated the Hearts of the faction. "The Death of our Tyrant," exclaimd one of their Orators, "is the warning 10 voice of vengance to all the Tyrants upon the face of the Moon: & as every Constable is a Tyrant, our challenge extends to them all. Every species of Contempt, hatred & execration will be poured upon us if we do not persue our great Emprise with unbating energy, regardless of all the remonstrances of Consience or Humanity. Nay, the very Mob, inflamed by our declamations to demand this day the Blood of the Tyrant, will demand our own blood with equal avidity tomorrow, should we prove un sucessful; we must lead the populace by the delusive arguments of Liberty & equality, or pull off the Mask at once, & restrain them with a rod of Iron. The force of our 20 arguments diminishes daily, & the Glories of Equality fade away, eclipsed by Hunger & thirst, & all the miseries incident to extreme poverty. The Mob begin to consider us as Tyrants rather than Friends, and now we have made them rullers, where is our power sufficient for restraint? if we hope for safety, it must be found in [continual] Commotions: our business is therfor to excite them in every quarter, that the Minds of the Mob may be distractd by constant alarms, so that no time may be granted for the exertion of reason among them; for if the Mob have leisure & think Judge for themselves, that Moment fixes the Halter upon all our necks. Let us therefore 30 quarrel with every potentate, & wage War with every provinc of the moon, rather than meanly submit to infamy, & suffer ourselves to be hanged up like Dogs." The Demon of Discord now ascendd from the

Line 8 invocation / And deleted after invocation.

Line 19 off / of in manuscript.

Line 29 leisure / to judge deleted after leisure.

Line 29 & think Judge / sic.

Line 32 rather than / than omitted in manuscript.

Regions of profound Darkness, and presided unseen in her favorite
 [19] Convention; she spread her baleful wings / over all the members,
 and every individual felt the impulse of the infernal Pest: War, War,
 War was the reiterated outcry; the Land of the Marshes, [said one] ,
 is all our own; the Land of the Lakes, exclaimed another, shall soon
 be our own; & a third declared that the Island of the Lions, tho
 destined to a future Conquest, was equally their own. These
 sagacious assertions originated from the inflated representations of
 the temporary advantages which had been gained by the Armies of the
 Lillies at the Commencement of the War with the Confederate 10
 potentates, under the Command of their renowned Chieftain Jack a
 Lantern: who, pompously boasting of his wonderful exploits in his
 epistles to the Sage philosophers of the Club, exceeded all bounds of
 reason or modesty, and declared himself to be invincable. "I will
 [subjugate the whole world &] exterminate," said he, "all the enemies
 of Anarchy. I will sup this Moon in the Citadel of the Land of the
 Marshes; Three Moons after I will dine in the Citadel of the Land of
 the Lakes; & before three times three Moons are passd, I will dine &
 sup in the Citadel of the Island of the Lions." These impious
 Gasconades, which set the decrees of Heaven & the powers of 20
 Humanity at defiance, and which proved the Vanity of the daring
 Bragadocio at the expene of his wisdom, were recieved with great
 applause as the presages of future Conquest by the august assembly;
 and as he had [actually] penetrated into the Land of the Marshes,
 according to one of his asseverations, they readily gave him Credit
 for all the rest of his blustering promises.

However, even the successes of Jack a Lantern in a few moons
 became a great source of inquietude to Many of the Sons of Wisdom.
 He was accused, and some say with great justice, of extorting from
 [20] the / conquered Inhabitants of the Land of the Marshes 30
 prodigious sums of Money which he never brought to the public account;

Line 2 after [18], work continues on versos, with book turned
 upside down.

Line 3 Pest / and deleted after Pe t.

Line 12 Lantern / Napol on superscript (by Strutt: later addition,
 in pencil).

Line 29 accu ed / acc r d in m us ript.

& with which it was thought he intended to secure the favor of the Soldiery, that with their assistance at some future period he might assume the office of Constable himself, and turn all the Members of the provincial assembly out of the Club Room. But as they did not dare to supersede him in the present posture of affairs, they watched over his proceedings with the eye of Jealousy, and wisely weakend his powers by throwing every impediment in his way which fraudulent policy could invent. Yet notwithstanding the disentions which the prevalence of these unfavourable suspitions occasiond in the Club Room, between the partizans of Jack a lantern & those who 10 opposed him, it was held on all hands expedient to acquesce with his grand requisition, the Declaration of War against the Constable of the Lions: & to give some colour of Club justice for such a proceeding, the following formula was drawn up and published to the World.

The Sovereign People of the Land of the Lillies are at war with the Constable of the Island of the Lions:

- 1 first, because the Constable of the Lions & his Council refused to acknowledge the Herald electd by the Sovering provincial Council [& endwd by them with full power] to 20 be the lawful Herald of the province of the Lillies;
- 2 Secondly, because the Constable of the Lions & his Satalites considrd the Murder of the Tyrant of the Lillies as an act of open Rebellion, & thereupon caused the Herald of the Lillies to quit the Island of the Lions;
- 3 thirdly, because the aforesaid Constable of the Lions & his council had not only commiserated the fate of the Tyrant of the lillies, & interested themselves in the /
[21] behalf of his family, but had promised protection to the Land of the Lakes, which the provincial Club had 30 devoted to destruction, and had actually made Military preparations for that purpose;
- 4 Fourthly, that a prohibition had been laid upon the exportation of provisions & Military stores to the land of

Line 2 with] altered from by.

Line 9 the] altered from these.

Line 27 commis ated] altered from cor rated.

the Lillies by the Constable of the Lions and his council,
under the pretence that such Provisions & stores were
likely to be wanted at Home;

5 fifthly, that pieces of paper to which an Ideal value had
been given by Members of the provincial Club were not
permitted to be exchanged in the Island of the Lions for
real Coin of Gold and Silver;

6 and Sixthly, that the people of the Lions had kindly &
benevolently saved from starving several thousand of the
Unfortunate Emigrants who had been obliged to fly from 10
the Land of the Lillies to avoid being murdered in the
most cruel manner because they refused to join the Rebel
faction.

「Some part of the MS appears to be lost in this place」. The joy
which had difused itself among the Members of the provincial Club,
upon the report of the death of the Constable, was but of short
continuance: the hour soon returnd which brought with it the
awakened torments of a wounded conscience. It painted the prospects
of futurity with the sombre pencil of Guilt, and pointed to the
bleeding Spectre of the Murdered Constable denouncing speedy 20
vengeance. They were terrified by their own Shaddows, & the sullen
horrors of desperation overcloudd every Countenance. Justice /

[22] Marked out an early victim from among them as a presage of their
approaching destruction. He fell by the hand of an assasin, and his
death increasd the fears of the bloody fraternity; the Visions of the
night were filled with fatal omens, & Whips, racks & Halters the
subjects of their dreams. The Soverign Mob, dissatisfied with the
airy food of Liberty & Equality, excited Seditions in the Citadal.
Famine & the diseases incident to want & Misery made them outrageous;
the Tyrants of the provincial Cabal appeared to be the only 30
Authors of the calamities which oppressed them, & the disasters of an
unsuccessful war were added to their afflictions: till at length,
being ripe for every act of desperation, they rose and --

The remainder of the MS is so much obliterated that it is

Line 14 Some part ... this place / a later addition by Strutt.

Line 34 The / altered from Fr the.

impossible for it to be literally decyphered, but the translator thinks
thus much may be justly added:

-- & revenged the calamitous sufferings of the Constable & his
family upon his Murderers, & placed his Son upon the seat of his
Father as the Governor of a Free and faithful People.

FINIS.

Line 4 Murderers / Murders in manuscript.

Transcripts of Verso Pages
The Translator's Preface

Verso 5:

potent German wine
& burst the Cellar doors for
sets all the Soul affloat

Verso 9:

Sufficient were these evils to endure
without a pause or distant hope of Cure
Yet from another Tyrant more refine
In skill to torment & enslave the Mind
They suffered greater ills from truth misled
The Errors all from superstition bred
Supportd by infatuating Lies
- Delusive Cheats & gorgeous Mumeries
Were on their minds impressd & fraudulent Art
- The reason blinded & debased the Heart

10

Book the FirstVerso 11:

attempts without success to burst the Chain
of Bondage & tyranic rule restrain
Arm with increase of pow'r the state
And add to Slavery exciss of weight

the emissars of the Giant exc ? d by his
which the poet thus describes

Rebellious Spirits fraught with foul deceit
Parents of Lies & teachers formd to cheat

20

-
- Line 7 skill / altered from art.
Line 12 & / altered from by.
Line 13 altered from: To blind the reason & debase the Heart.
Line 16 increase / altered from access.
Line 20 fraught with foul deceit / altered from & the Sons of Lies
 that.

Verso 11 (ctd.)

Spring up like weeds 「uncheqd」 on thrifty Land
 which overrun the Soil on which they stand
 from small beginnings waxing proud & great
 a Race accursd & dang'rous to a State
 Bewre ye sons of Liberty beware
 & shun with diligenc the snare

The Lilly Castel a large Structure with Iron bars
 to restrain & but little light the Bramin of the
 Castle kept the people by a glimmering taper &
 persuded them superior light to Its Sun

10

Keep up entirly the Metaphor of the Castle for
 the constitution the Bastile a prison

first beat down the court end where the warden
 resided & the superior parts of the Castle where
 the sub governors had their table & issud orders
 to the Commonility or Mob.

at last overturned the whole Castle razed the
 foundations & built up a monstrous structure &
 Kickd the bramins out of doors

The tree of Liberty planted in the Castle yard

20

Verso 12:

From ages far remote in Lilley Land
 the wardens rulld with absolute command
 「Castle」 Wardens of the Land
 with the rod of absolute command

-
- Line 1 Spring up like / evil deleted after like.
 Line 1 Land / altered from soil.
 Line 1 Whole line rewritten incorporating changes as above.
 Line 2 which / altered from &.
 Line 4 a State / altered from the State.
 Line 23 Ca tle / altered from Time past the.
 Line 23 of the / Lilley deleted after of the.
 Line 24 with th / Rulld d leted before with the.

Verso 12 (ctd.)

Their will was Law by no restriction bound
 & death became obedient when they frown'd
 Their passive Servants tamely acquesc'd
 & wore the smile of ease when most oppress'd
 A wretched People born in evil Hour
 to feel the curse of arbitrary pow'r
 The voice of freedom call'd. oft call'd in vain
 For Slaves by birth they danc'd & hug'd the chain
 Like Spaniels fawning most when most chastis'd
 The Rod they Kiss'd the tyrant Idoliz'd 10
 Some daring few from time 'to time' arose
 By phrensy urg'd oppression to oppose
 Or unadvis'd by desperation led
 without the prudent Councils of the head
 But vainly was the dark assassin Arm'd
 By Heartless Mobs the State in vain allarm'd
 For bootless were the efforts so unwise
 To cope with power or work the great Emprise
 Such restless Spirits are a People's curse
 For what was bad before they make still worse 20
 Attempts without success to burst the chain
 Of Bondage & tyrannic rule restrain
 Arm with increase of pow'r the Sons of State
 And add to slavery excess of weight
 Time past a Warden rul'd whose haughty Soul
 Brook'd no advice admitted no controul
 For ever plotting & it was his boast
 The nerest way to plague his people most
 By dint of endless grievances impell'd
 His Hapless Subjects partially rebelld 30

Line 3 Servants/ altered from Subjects.

Line 5 A/ altered from What.

Line 6 to/ altered from Who.

Verso 14:

An easy conquest on the Warden's part
 Maturd the vengance brooding in his heart
 The aggressors first without respect of age
 Fell wretchd victims to his barbrous Rage
 Whips racks & torments strange of every kind
 Pregnant with horror to appall the Mind
 By sad example in their turn were tried
 To urge confession ere the wretches died
 That vengance might with show of Justice spread
 & without Mercy reach each guilty head 10
 But to prevent such future enterprise
 & crush the infant treason in its rise
 He all his skill exertd to contrive
 a dreadful mask to bury those alive
 Who dard ^{perchance} complain immurd from Light
 They languishd Life away in endless night
 Deep in the Earth a dungeon dark & wide
 with pits & caverns delv'd on every side
 He then constructed & throughout the Land
 A servile herd of Spies at his command 20
 watchd for the murmers from oppression born
 The wretched Murmerer at once was torn
 From family & Friends untried & cast
 Hopeless without remorse to breath his last
 In that black residence of dire dismay
 & horror worse than death shut out from day
 Such direful evils did they long endure
 Without a pause or distant hope of Cure
 Till recent times to strong resistance gave
 Licencousness a birth to peace a Grave 30
 Had Reason or Religion then prevaild
 or Gratitude when other Virtues faild
 Inclind the Vulgar Minds to think aright
 When Liberty displayd her Heav'nborn light

Verso 15:

How great how happy with full pardon blessed
 Guiltless of blood with all their wrongs redressd
 Had been the Lilly Race but wayward Fate
 Sent black sedition to disturb the state
 & Hell itself the smiles of peace opposd
 & in rebellious Souls her pow'r disclosd
 The impulse felt each Heart with fury glowd
 athirst for Blood & triumphd as it flow'd
 Nor ended here excess of Human Pride
 Th'impious Sons of Clay their God deny'd

10

Verso 18:

But recent times to strong resistance gave
 Licencousness a birth -- to peace a Grave --

Verso 22:

The Island of the Lions
 Near to the Lilly Land an Island is ^{to} found
 called

The Lion Island famous in that Isle
 The Seat of freedom & her native Soil
 an old stately castle built on a firm foundation clear
 Light & enjoys the full sunshine -- the structure of
 Ages & finishd by the most skilful Architects

20

Drawn from the lowest drggs of all Mankind)
 Humankind)

Verso 23:

This Boutefeu was the Bully of the Mob & like all

Line 3 Race / altered from Land.

Line 21 all Mankind/Humankind / Strutt's brackets.

Verso 23 (ctd.)

bullies a rank coward his associates dressd in a
 Habit not customary to be worn & mountd him on a pair
 of stilts that he might appear to be of extraordinary
 stature when he came to insult the Warden & Governore
 of the Castle this ridiculous whim was at first lookd
 upon as the effect of folly or rather insanity: but
 when the Mob encourgd by his impudent Harangues
 began to discover principls of sedition the alarm was
 given the following Speech he delivered to the Mob in
 the Castle Yard this speech coming to the Ears of the 10
 Warden & Governore of the two towers it was determind
 to bring him to punishment but he hearing being informd
 of their intention got away secretly under covert of a
 borowd name & made his escape to the Castle of the
 Lilies where he was recivd with open Arms

Verso 25:

Grand festival of Truth & Pleasure celebratd in the
 Cathedral of Paris in ? church erectd Mount
 on it a very plain temple the facade bore inscription
A. la Philosophie before the Gate busts celebrated
 Philosophers torch of truth on summit of Mountain 20
 upon altar of Reason ? ? Convention &

Many pajents
 Liberty came out temple season & after foolish
 ceremonies returned again

Verso 27: with them the learned rullers of the Land
 The Nations wisdom & the Countris hand

-
- Line 1 his associates / altered from the Mob.
 Line 9 given / & particularly deleted after given.
 Line 9 Speech / which deleted after Speech.
 Line 10 Yard / determind which deleted after Yard.

Verso 27 (ctd.)

David. a monument composd with the wrecks of the
 Statues of Kings erectd on Pont neuf -- an Image of
 the Victorious french People rendrd striking by force
 & simplicity of its Character on its forehead light
 on its breast Nature Severity on its arms Force
Conquest Let the figurs of Liberty & equality
 embracing each other & ready to extend themselves
 over the whole world be placd on one of its hands to
 show to every one that they confide only in the
 virtue & genius of the People In its other hand the 10
 terrible & real club of which Herules's was only the
 symbol To be woshipd on their Days of National Fetes --
 Monument of the Glory of the People & the abasement of
 Kings --

Verso 28:

[4 lines pencil, much corrected:

of all one sound are not confound
 ? your rights & still maintain
 To lords & Wardens and ? ? marchd
 so tells

Written over this in ink: a dismal ? for ?
 from day 20

Deep in the earth

- then continues in pencil:]

Nor may you speak tis treason to complain
 Your Voice is Law give but the ? proposed
 Abid dis ? to the lords of Court
 Win as your Lords by Nation full as great
 ? your rights & make ? ?

He thus began as loud as he could bawl

Dear fellow Citizens & Equals all

Line 19 di mal] altered from dredful.

Verso 28 (ctd.)

the natural Sovrigns you of any state
 By birthright rullers virtuous wise & great
 The titled fools & slaves of Lawless power
 By foul d ? roning in an evil hour
 Genius is not to tell ? confind
 But put our air to all subjects blind

Verso 29:

The giant [when his daughter was bou ? ed] got his
 song composed & set to music & sent his companies to
 ring it under Johns own door -- but [nearly all] the
 all the Parishes scouted such a mean persuaded 10

Tis rank rebellion on our part to try
 for Sovrign Powr some dastards may reply
 If in this patriotic Crowd there be
 ----- such Lilly-Livered slaves as wont be free
 To them I speak & blockheads all attend
 The admonitions of your faithful friend
 Tis not rebellion when the people rise
 to claim thir rights & tyranny chastise
 Tis nobleness of Spirit which imparts
 The Love of Liberty to all their Hearts 20
 Tis they rebell Who impiously oppose
 The Peoples Will & are the Peoples foes
 For when the sovrign mob itself to please
 Confounding Rank & levelling all degrees

-
- Line 6 air / wealth or place superscript.
 Line 8 music / to be sung in the parishes where deleted after
music.
 Line 9 under / altered from in every. 3 deletions after under:
parish near; that where; Jack.
 Line 20 their / altered from your.
 Line 20 Hearts / & bold defiance bids to freedoms foes deleted
 after Hearts.
 Line 21 Who impiously / altered from who dare the Mob.
 Line 22 The / Sovreign deleted after The.
 Line 22 & are the Peoples foes / altered from who when they please.

Verso 29 (ctd.)

Do in ^{their} mighty wisdom judge it right
 To rule themselves & crush the Sons of Might
 The Scepter Tyrant if he dare contend
 with all the slaves that on our pow'r depend
 are Rebels rank unnat'ral Reballs all
 & ought to die by justice doomd to fall.

Verso 30:

What benifits from such an entrprise
 so full of danger can to us arise
 Another says my fine wiseacre hear
 The voice of truth & bid adieu to fear 10
 The cellars of the rich belong to you
 Burst then the doors my friends & claim your due
 The granaries of corn the luscious juse
 Of clustring grapes are destind for your use
 The Cows the Oxen sheep & all the Store
 Of turkies, geese & fowls that crowd the door
 Of Haughty affluence for you are sent
 Divide them fairly who shall dare prevent
 Your taxes then shall cease & you shall live
 Like Lords to claim the whole & nothing give 20
 No Labour then shall call you from your rest
 Eat drink & sleep with peace & plenty blest
 for no controulment shall affect your ease
 A soverign Mob youll be do what you please
 Curse on the heartless Lilly Liverd slaves
 who crouch with servile fear to fools & knaves

-
- Line 1 Do in / their, its deleted after in.
 Line 3 if he dare contend / altered from & his ? Crew.
 Line 3 contend / 3 lines deleted after contend: Low knaves &
parisites with hearts untrue / To ^{natural} Lib rtys fair
Cause are Rebels all (if they should dare superscript) / If
they r ist & for full vengance call /.
 Line 9 Another ys / altered from Some o e will s y.
 Lin 24 A sov r' ... be / alt r d fr A fr b M b y u are.

Verse 30 (ctd.)

& dare not join in such a Cause as this
 To die like Hero's or to live in Bliss
 The Lilly Land a bright example shows
 What Mobs can do when nobly they oppose
 Tyrannic Rule -- and all resolve to be
 A sovrega people equal all & free
 Childish distinctions titles & the train
 of gaudy Poms ridiculous & vain
 Exist not there. divided wealth makes store
 for all the Mob & not a soul is poor
 The Clown is Equal to the Haughty chief --
 Nor does the Judge in ought excel the thief
 The lowest blackgaurd claims as high a place
 As all the Courtier tribe & Warden race
 The letterd Bramin too his Creed forget
 _____ Blasphemes his God & joins thunletterd Set

10

[Now continues on page 31, following the end of Book 1].

All Gloomy superstition they despise
 & freedom gives them spirit to be wise
 These glorious priviledges must attend
 On Anarchy the Peoples surest friend --
 The Hallowd Temples idly dedicate
 To useless bigotry & quirks of State
 Shall be your stables then you'll find it true
 Withold the tythes & all the Bramin Crew
 will quit the sacred Fanes & roundly say
 Die & be damn'd -- No prayers if no pay

20

-
- Line 16 Blasphemes ... Set] altered from Joins hand in hand with
the unlettered Set.
 Line 17 All] altered from For.
 Line 19 must] altered from do.
 Line 20 Peoples] altered from blackgaurds.
 Line 21 The Hallowd] altered from Then all.
 Line 23 then] altered from for.

Verso 31:

But the word Bramin brings into my Mind
 Whats due to those cursd pests of Human kind
 a Lazy insolent & lying brood
 The Sons of Lucary for nothing good
 Mark well my Words for you will find them true
 Withold their pensions & the Bramin crew
 Will quit the sacred Fanes & roundly say
 Be damn'd my Sons unpaid we will not pray
 Away with them their needless incomes seise
 & worship God or Devil as you please 10
 But what have we the Sons of Liberty
 To do with prayr's or solemn Bigotry
 They add no value to our native rights
 But make us whining fools or Hypocrites
 Then no religion shall perplex my brain
 My Mind is free as Air & spurns the chain --
 But to become a sovreign Mob & free
 Be bold be impudent nay cobby me
 Abuse the Government -- resist the Laws
 The Tyrant ruler curse -- he gives you cause 20
 Rogues fools & Villians call the Courtier train
 & curse the Rectors for their God is Gain
 This glorious Lesson first practisd proceed
 To greater lengths & add to words the Deed
 Rise to a Man & with one Mind unite
 The Cause is liberty your Native right
 But should some dastard from the trial fly
 Cursd may he live & hated may he die
 In some foul ditch unseen by all fo'lorn
 & blast his grave with everlasting scorn 30

I have only to add & that in plain prose my dear dear friends that
 I think it my duty strongly to recomnd to you the perusing of my
 writings ? to ? ? you -- to those who can but all of
 you have a [One leaf cut out, before start of Book II].

-
- Line 20 ruler curse -- he / altered from Wardens curse -- they.
 Line 22 curse ... their / altered from Bramins hypocrites whose.
 Line 29 unseen by all / altered from & forlorn.
 Line 30 grave / altered from Monument.

SOURCES A INDEX

By Strutt's time, the practice of giving references to the source of information, either by marginal notes or by footnotes, was well established (the lack of such references was one reason why Robertson found Voltaire's historical writing old-fashioned).¹ Strutt's first model, Montfaucon, gave detailed references, at least in his Latin and more scholarly texts; and Strutt makes a virtue of the method in more than one of his prefaces. An analysis of the type of source material used by the writers of a period is something of an indication of what was common knowledge at the time; for this reason, and as an indication of Strutt's own reading, an index has been made of all the references given in Strutt's antiquarian works (that is, excluding the Biographical Dictionary as well as the literary works).² For reasons of bulk, the analysis of only two works is given here; but a card index of references in all the books is available.

Strutt's references are sometimes far from full. He often thought it sufficient to name, say, "William of Malmesbury" as his source, with no reference to book or chapter, sometimes not even to which work of the author was intended: this happened most often when he was using a quotation from the source, a full kind of reference in its own way. Even when there is no quotation, it is sometimes clear from the subject matter which source is intended, though some attributions in the analysis are still tentative. More difficult are the allusions to works or authors differently understood in Strutt's day and our own. Along with his generation, for example, he thought that the Testament of Love was a work by Chaucer. It is easy to pick out wrong ascriptions of the work to Chaucer, but what does one do with the references (in the Sports and Pastimes) to "Chaucer's Dream of Love"? Does Strutt mean the

1 Denys Hay, Annalists and Historians, p.173.

2 Joseph Strutt Junior planned something of the sort; in the letter to Murray of 20 March 1807: "Each Work I shall end with Mr. S's authorities whence he took his materials ..."

Testament of Love, or Chaucer's Romaunt of the Rose? Similarly, references in the Manners and Customs to "Brad." no doubt made immediate sense to the small and close circle of Strutt's readers, but it takes a good deal of searching through biographical dictionaries and library catalogues to decide that the source intended was probably one of Robert Brady's historical works. When Strutt writes of Ole Worm's "Hist. Dan.", does he mean the Danicorum monumentorum libri sex, or the Antiquitates Danicae?

Strutt's later works are, on the whole, provided with more accurate references than the earlier ones; and the works of the 1790's and 1800's (the Dress and Habits and the Sports and Pastimes) have many more references.¹ Strutt uses more manuscript sources as the years go by.² The dependence on classical sources, which inevitably formed a large part of the reading of a young man in the eighteenth century, lessens with the years.³ Strutt kept well up to date with new writing and refers to recent as well as established authors.⁴

The references for the two works analysed, the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities and the Manners and Customs, are divided into Printed and Manuscript Sources. Manuscripts are

-
- 1 The index for the DH takes up about 650 cards, some with 50 or more references, the SP index about 600 cards; whereas of the earlier works, only the MC has anywhere near the same number (about 400; the Chron. has some 100, the REA 50 or so).
 - 2 MC, perhaps 15%; DH, 30%.
 - 3 MC, about 12% classical sources; SP, 4%. This figure is, of course, influenced by the subject of the work -- the Chron. is much more dependent on the classical writers, who have as many as 25% of the references.
 - 4 The SP, for example, makes use, among others, of Hawkins' History of Music (1776), Mrs Piozzi's Retrospection of Eight an Hurdred Years (1801), and the later volume of Perry's Hist.

given alphabetically, by collection, and by number within the collection. There is no subdivision in the brief list of printed sources for the Antiquities, but the much longer list for the Manners and Customs is divided into chronological periods, with authors alphabetically within each.

With printed books, some indication is given when possible of the edition likely to have been used by Strutt. When he cites a manuscript containing more than one work, an attempt has been made to decide which part he used, on the basis of the subject matter of his note.

Non-documentary sources have not been listed, but all Strutt's works include information derived from such sources, and serve as a reminder that most of the antiquaries were also collectors, architectural historians, and archaeologists as occasion required. The Manners and Customs mentions, among others, a seal of Edward the Confessor in the possession of Thomas Astle; John White's "most curious and capital collection of British and Saxon coins", two "door-panels from Bury St Edmunds abbey", acquired by John Ives; and Strutt's own digging for archaeological specimens at Burrough Hills, Maldon, in 1773.

Note on the Appendix

The form and details of the citation (author, date, title -- whether English, Latin or French) are taken whenever possible from the following authorities:

<u>Classical</u>	<u>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</u>
<u>Saxon and medieval</u>	<u>The Encyclopaedia Britannica,</u> 11th edition
<u>Printed books, 16th.</u> <u>to 18th. centuries,</u> <u>and manuscripts</u>	The catalogues (printed and manuscript) of the major collections

The following works have been found especially useful in the preparation of these lists:

1. The facsimiles which have been published of important manuscripts such as Queen Mary's Psalter and Bodley 264's Romance of Alexander; and the Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum (pubd. by order of the Trustees, 1873-78). 4 vols.
2. KER, N.R. Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon (Oxford, 1957).
3. WATSON, Andrew G. Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c.700-1600 in the Department of Manuscripts, the British Library (British Library, 1979). 2 vols. (text, and plates).
4. BIRCH, Walter de Gray. Early Drawings and Illuminations. An Introduction to the Study of Illustrated Manuscripts; with a Dictionary of Subjects in the British Museum (1879).
5. KUNBY, A.N.L. Convolutions and Medieval Manuscripts, 1750-1850 (Oxford, 1972).

SOURCES USED IN THE REGAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES

A. PRINTED WORKS

The figures in brackets give the date of the edition, and the number of references to the work.

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| AMES, Joseph | <u>Typographical Antiquities</u> (1749)
(1773: 1) |
| BAKER, Sir Richard | <u>A Chronicle of the Kings of England</u>
(1643) (1777: 1) |
| CASLEY, David | <u>A Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the King's Library</u> (1734) (1793: 1) |
| DART, John | <u>History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury</u> (1726)
(1793: 1) |
| ERASMUS, Desiderius | Work not specified (1793: 1) |
| FABYAN, Robert | <u>The New Chronicles of England and France</u> (1516) (1777: 1) |
| GRAFTON, Richard | <u>A Chronicle at Large</u> (1568) (1777: 4) |
| GRANGER, James | <u>A Biographical History of England</u>
(1769) (1773: 1) |
| HALL, Edward | <u>The Union of the Noble and Illustre Fanelies of Lancastre and York</u> (1542)
(1777: 1) |
| HOLINSHED, Raphael | <u>The Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande</u> (1577)
(1773: 2; 1777: 12) |
| LYTTELTON, George (Lord) | <u>The History of the Life of Henry the Second</u> (1767) (1793: 1) |
| SPEED, John | <u>The History of Great Britaine</u> (1611)
(1773: 1; 1777: 11) |
| STOW, John | <u>Annales</u> (1592) (1773: 2; 1777: 11) |
| VERTUE, George | Work not specified, but entry probably refers to one of his engravings in the Society of Antiquaries' <u>Vetusta Monumenta</u> (1773: 1) |
| WALPOLE, Horace | <u>A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England</u> (1758) (1773: 1)
<u>Historic Doubts</u> (1760) (1777: 1) |

WEEVER, John

Ancient Funerall Monuments (1631)
(1777: 1)

The following works appear to have been used by Strutt in printed form, since he gives no manuscript references for them.

BEDE. Strutt must have known the two eighth-century Cotton manuscripts of the "Historia Ecclesiastica" (Tiberius A.xiv and Tiberius C.ii), but possibly used the edition published by Smith in 1722.

(1793: 2)

BROMPTON. Similarly, he may have used the printed version of the "Chronicle" which was published in 1652 in Twysden's Decem Scriptorum.

(1793: 2)

HIGDEN, Ranulf. Strutt used the thirteenth-century "Polychronicon" in Caxton's 1482 printed version.

(1773: 1; 1777: 2)

"ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER". The "Chronicle" was published by Hearne in 1724.

(1777: 1)

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY. The "Gesta Regum Anglorum" was published in 1596 in Savile's Scriptores post Bedam.

(1793: 1)

B. MANUSCRIPTS

BODLEIAN, Oxford

Digby 232 Strutt extracts the portrait of Henry VI being presented by Lydgate with the manuscript of the "Seige of Troy".

Digby 233 Strutt compares the hands of the two works included in this manuscript (Hoccleve's "De Regimine Principum" and Vegetius' "De re militari"). The Vegetius was known to date from the reign of Henry IV and Strutt decides that the Hoccleve (and therefore its portrait of the king) is also contemporary. (1773: 1; 1777: 2 -- or the second reference may be taken from the Hoccleve MS. Harl. 4866.)

BRITISH LIBRARY, London

Nine Cottonian manuscripts are used in the 1773 edition of the Antiquities. They are:

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| Claudius D.ii | References to portraits of Stephen, and of Henry II from "the head of a forrest charter" (3 references). |
| Domitianus A.xvii | Richard II's psalter. Strutt compares its portrait of the king with that of Nero D.vi (1 ref.) |
| Julius A.xi | A manuscript from Byland Abbey which includes a Life of Becket, whose portrait Strutt reproduces (1). |
| Julius E.iv | The Life of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, with illustrations by John Rous (1). |
| Nero D.vi | An important heraldic MS. Strutt reproduces a portrait of Edward III taken from the head of the articles of peace known as the Treaty of Bretigny, 1360 (5). |
| Nero D.vii | A late 14th.c. catalogue of the benefactors of St Albans Abbey, compiled by Thomas Walsingham, providing biographical details and portraits (6). |
| Tiberius A.iv | Strutt takes a portrait of Gower from this manuscript of the "Vox Clamantis" (1). |
| Vespasianus A.viii | The New Minster Charter, granted to Winchester by Edgar in 966. The miniature of the king marks the beginning of the "Winchester School" of illumination (1). |

Vitellius A.xiii A miscellaneous manuscript which includes a history of Abingdon, and a version of Nennius from Rochester Cathedral. At the beginning are four folios with royal portraits -- probably French thirteenth-century illuminations (10).

Five Harleian manuscripts are used by Strutt:

- 1319 A history, in French, of the later years of Richard II, which Strutt traces as a source used by Stow and Holinshed. A number of portraits are reproduced (3 refs; the 1777 edn. offers a further 9).
- 1498 Four grants made by Henry VII to the Abbey of Westminster (1).
- 2278 The portrait of Henry VI shows him receiving the manuscript (of works by Lydgate, including the "Life of St Edmund"), from William Curteis, abbot of St Edmunds (1).
- 4826 Various works of Lydgate; the illumination shows the author presenting the book to Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury (1).
- 4866 A manuscript of Hoccleve's "De Regimine Principum" with a portrait of Chaucer (1, with an additional reference in the 1777 edn. -- which may, however, be from MS. Bodl. Digby 233).

The Royal manuscripts in the REA are:

- 2 E.vii Queen Mary's Psalter. The MS. from which Strutt took almost all the material for his 1793 Supplement (1793: 12).
- 13 E.vi Ralph de Diceto's "Ymagines Historiarum" (1793: 1).
- 15 E.iv Wavrin's "Chronicles of England" (1773: 1).

- 15 E.vi French poems and romances, presented to Margaret of Anjou by John Talbot, 1st Earl of Shrewsbury; probably on the occasion of her marriage to Henry VI in 1445 (1).
- 18 E.ii A fifteenth-century manuscript of Froissart (2; with an additional ref. in 1777).
- 20 E.vi A letter addressed to Richard II, with an allegorical interpretation of a dream, by Philippe de Maizières, Chancellor of Cyprus, who joined the Celestine order in 1380 (1).

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, Cambridge

- 213 A manuscript formerly in the possession of Henry V: Jehan Galopes' translation of Bonaventura's Life of Christ (1).

LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY

- 265 Anthony Woodville's "Dictes and sayings of the Philosophers". The illumination of the presentation gives portraits not only of Woodville and Edward IV, but of Caxton (as Woodville's printer), the Queen, and the future Edward V (1).

WESTMINSTER ABBEY LIBRARY

- 37 Abbot Lytlington's Missal, perhaps used at the coronation of Richard II in 1377 (1).

SOURCES USED IN THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

A. PRINTED WORKS

CLASSICAL AND BIBLICAL

- | | |
|--|---|
| AUGUSTINE | Work not specified (according to Wormald and Wright, p.88, the order of frequency of Augustine's works in medieval libraries was <u>Confessiones</u> , <u>De Civitate Dei</u> , <u>De Anima</u> , <u>De Doctrina Christiana</u> , and the <u>Enchiridion</u> -- but all were known and used in the 18th. c.) (1 ref.) |
| CAESAR, Gaius Julius | <u>De Bello Gallico</u> (26)
<u>De Bello Civili</u> (1) |
| DIO CASSIUS
(of Nicaea) | <u>Historia Romana</u> (6) |
| DIODORUS SICULUS | <u>World History</u> (4) |
| FLORUS, Lucius Annaeus | <u>Epitome Bellorum Omnium Annorum DCC</u> (1) |
| HEGESIPPUS
(Strutt "Argysippus") | <u>De Bello Judaico et Excidio Urbis Hierosolomytanae</u> (the 4th.c. adaptation of Josephus' <u>Jewish War</u>) (1) |
| HERODIAN OF SYRIA | <u>History</u> (3) |
| HOMER | <u>Iliad</u> (Strutt uses Pope's translation for quotations) (9) |
| ISIDORE OF SEVILLE
(Isidorus Hispalensis,
Bishop of Seville) | Work not specified-- probably the <u>Etymologiae</u> (1) |
| LUCAN (Marcus Annaeus
Lucanus) | <u>Bellum Civile</u> ("Pharsalia") (2) |
| LUCIAN OF SAMOSATA | <u>Dialogues</u> (1) |
| LYCURGUS | <u>Against Leocrates</u> (1) |
| MARCELLINUS | <u>Life of Thucydides</u> (2) |
| MAXIMUS OF TYRE | <u>Dialogues</u> (1) |
| MELA, Pomponius | <u>De Chorographia</u> (2) |
| PAULUS DIACONUS
(Paulus Warnefridus) | <u>Historia Gentis Langobardorum</u> (2) |
| PAUSANIAS OF LYDIA | <u>Description of Greece</u> (1) |

PLATO	Work not specified (when the medieval catalogues entered simply "Plato", it was the <u>Timaeus</u> they intended. Wormald, pp. 94-95) (1)
PLINY THE ELDER	<u>Naturalis Historia</u> (5)
PLUTARCH	<u>Parallel Lives</u> (2)
"POLYHISTOR" (L. Cornelius Alexander)	Fragments (1)
SENECA THE YOUNGER	<u>De Clemencia</u> (1)
SERVIUS	<u>Commentary on the Aeneid</u> (2)
SICULUS FLACCUS	Treatise on land-tenure (1)
SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS	<u>Carmina</u> (1) <u>Epistulae</u> (2)
SOLINUS, Gaius Julius	<u>Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium</u> (an early 3rd.c. work, largely derived from Pliny's <u>Natural History</u> , which Strutt also uses) (1)
SOPHOCLES	<u>Ajax</u> (3) <u>Antigone</u> (2)
STRABO	<u>Geography</u> (4)
TACITUS	<u>Agricola</u> (6) <u>Annals</u> (6) <u>Germania</u> (13) <u>Histories</u> (1)
VARRO	<u>Antiquitatum rerum humanorum et divinarum</u> (1)
VIRGIL	<u>Aeneid</u> (Trapp's translation used for quotations) (6)
VITRUVIUS POLLIO	<u>De Architectura</u> (1)
ZOSIMUS	<u>Historia Nova</u> (1)
OLD TESTAMENT	(31)
NEW TESTAMENT	(8)
<u>SAXON AND MEDIEVAL</u>	
ADAM OF BREMEN	<u>Ecclesiastical History of Hamburg and Bremen</u> (1)
ALFRED	Translation of Gregory's <u>Pastoral Care</u> (1)
ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE	Strutt probably used Gibson's edition of 1692 (1)

- ASSER Annales rerum gestarum Alfredi magni
(first printed by Parker, 1574) (9)
- BEDE Ecclesiastical History (Smith's edition
of 1722, though Whelock's Old English
and Latin edn. of 1643 is specified in
one ref.) (29)
Life of St Cuthbert (Smith, 1722) (1)
- CAXTON, William Mirroure of the world or thymage of the
same (1481). Transl. by Caxton from the
prose Image du monde, based on a 13th.c.
poem (1)
Polychronicon: see HIGDEN
- CHAUCER Canterbury Tales. One ref. specifies
the 1598 edn., another the 1602, i.e.
the reprints by Speght of Thynne's 1532
edn. Elsewhere Strutt uses Tyrwhitt's
edn. of 1775-78 (3)
- CHEVY CHACE (1)
- DOMESDAY BOOK One instance at least is taken from Du
Fresne (3)
- EDDIUS Life of Wilfred (Strutt specifies
Thomas Gale's edition in Scriptores
Quindecim, 1691) (1)
- ENCOMIUM EMMAE Edns. published 1619 and 1773 (2)
- ETHELWEARD Chronicle (printed by Savile in
Scriptores post Bedam, 1596) (1)
- FROISSART, Jean Chronicles (28)
- GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH Historia Britonum (first printed Paris,
1508) (2)
- GILDAS De Excidio Britanniae (the best edn.
available to Strutt was Gale's in
Scriptores Quindecim, 1691) (3)
- GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS Works unspecified (though one ref.
mentions Camden, who edited the
Topographia Hibernica, the Expugnatio
Hibernica, and the Itinerarium Cambriae
(3)
- GRAY, Sir Thomas Scalacronica (summarised by Leland) (2)
- HARTMAN Registrum huius operis libri cronicarum
(The Nuremberg Chronicle, printed 1493)
(5)
- (SCHEDEL, Hartmannus)

- HENRY OF HUNTINGDON Historia Anglorum (printed by Savile in Scriptores post Bedam, 1596) (4)
- HIGDEN, Ranulf Polychronicon, transl. into English by John Trevisa, and ed. and ctd. from 1357-1460 by William Caxton, 1482 (31)
- HISTORIA ELIENSIS Printed by Gale in Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Quinque, 1684 (2)
- HISTORIA RAMIENSIS Gale, 1684 (1)
- HOVEDEN, Roger Chronica (printed Savile, Scriptores post Bedam, 1596) (15)
- INGULPHUS History of Croyland (edns. by Savile, 1596, and Gale, 1684) (10)
- LANGLAND, William Piers the Plowman (first printed by Crowley, 1550) (3)
- LYNDWOOD, William Provinciale (completed 1433, first printed 1470-80) (5)
- MARIANUS SCOTUS Chronicon (first printed Basle, 1559) (1)
- "MATTHEW OF WESTMINSTER" Flores Historiarum (printed Parker, 1567) (14)
- MATTHEW PARIS Chronica Majora (5)
Historia Anglorum (18)
Vitae duarum Offarum (5)
Unspecified (21). Strutt cites William Watts's editions of 1640 in a few instances.
- MURIMUTH, Adam Continuatio Chronicarum (1303-47, with an anonymous continuation till 1380: both parts first published by Anthony Hall in 1722) (1)
- NENNIUS Historia Britonum (Gale, 1691) (2)
- PATRITIUS, Franciscus De Interpretatione Scripturarum Sacrarum
Xaverius (1)
- POLYDOR VERGIL De Inventoribus Rerum Historia Anglica (3)
- ROBERT DE BRUNNE The Story of Inglande (the "Chronicle"), published by Hearne, 1725, as Peter Langtoft's Chronicle (8)
(Robert Mannyng)

- "ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER" Chronicle (Strutt specifies Hearne's edition of 1724) (7)
- ROBERT OF SWAFFHAM Continuation of Hugh's History of Peterborough Abbey (1)
- ROGER OF WENDOVER Flores Historiarum (2)
- THE SQUIRE OF LOWE DEGRE (From Warton's History) (1)
- SYMEON OF DURHAM The History of the Church of Durham (2)
- TRIVET, Nicholas Annales sex regum Angliae (pubd. Oxford, 1719) (1)
- WACE, Robert Roman de Rou (1)
- WALLINGFORD, John Chronicle (pubd. Gale, 1691) (3)
- WALSINGHAM, Thomas Work unspecified but probably the Historia Anglicana, pubd. Parker, 1574 (6)
- WIDUKIND Res Gestae Saxonicae (first pubd. Basle, 1532) (4)
- WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae (pubd. Gale, 1691) (3)
- Gesta Regum (22)
- Gesta Pontificum (2)
- Historia Novella (1)
- Unspecified (11)
- YPODIGMA NOSTRIAE (1)
- PRINTED WORKS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY
- ABRAHAM IBN EZRA Abrahe Avenaris Judei . . . in re iudiciali opera (pubd. Venice, 1507) (1)
- "ANT. HIBERN." Not certainly identified but possibly Strutt was making an additional ref. to Holinshed's Chronicles (1)
- BALE, John God's Promises (morality, first English edn. 1577, but taken by Strutt from Dodsley) (1)
- BRACON, Henricus de De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae (1569) (4)

- CICUTA, Aurelius Disciplina Militare (Venice, 1572)
(1)
- DURANDUS, Guilielmus Rationale divinatorum officiorum (1)
- FABYAN, Robert The New Chronicles of England and France (1516) (19)
- FISHER, St John Morning Remembraunce (funeral sermon for Henry VII's mother, 1509) (1)
- FOX, John Actes and Monuments of these Latter and Perillous Dayes (the Book of Martyrs, 1563) (7)
- GLANVILLE, Ranulph de Tractatus de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Regni Angliae (1555) (1)
- GRAFTON, Richard A Chronicle at Large (1568) (41)
- GUICHARD, Claude Funerailles (1581) (1)
- HALL, Edward The Union of the Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and York (1542) (12)
- HARDYNG, John Chronicle (1543) (13)
- HOLINSHED, Raphael The Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande (1577) (91)
- HOTMAN, François Commentarius de Verbis Juris (1569) (1)
- JAMES I Daemonologie (1599) (1)
- LAMBARDE, William Archaeonomia (1568) (1)
- A Perambulation of Kent (1576) (8)
- LELAND, John De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea (pubd. Hearne, 1715) (3)
- Itinerary (Hearne, 1710) (5)
- Unspecified (5)
- "MAGNA CARTA" "A book entitled Magna Carta, printed by Petyt, in the year 1543" (5)
- MAGNUS, Olaus Unspecified, but probably Historia . . . de . . . Gothorum Sueonumque Regibus (1554) (2)
- MORE, Sir Thomas The History of King Richard the Third (pubd. in Hardyng's Chronicle) (1)
- NEW CUSTOM Morality, printed 1573 (taken from Dodsley's Collection, 1744) (1)
- NORTON, Thomas Gorboduc (acted 1565, taken from Dodsley) (1)
- POMARIUS, John Chronica der Sachsen under Nider-Sachsen (1588) (1)

- SAXO, Grammaticus Danorum Regum Heroumque Historia (1514)
(5)
- SEGAR, William Baronagium Genealogicum (the original
16th.c. work was ctd. and pubd. 1764-84
by J. Edmondson) (1)
- SHAKESPEARE, William Merry Wives of Windsor (1)
- SPENSER, Edmund Shepherd's Calendar (1)
- STOW, John The Chronicles of England (1580) (64)
A Survey of London (1598) (30)
- WEST, William Symbolaeographia (1590) (1)

PRINTED WORKS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

- "ASSIZE OF BREAD"
and
"BOOK INTITULED RULES
FOR ASSIZING BREAD"
HACON, Sir Francis Certain considerations touching the better
pacification and edification of the Church
of England (1604) (1)
- BAKER, Sir Richard A Chronicle of the Kings of England (1643)
(1)
- BEAUMONT(AND FLETCHER) Cupid's Revenge (pr. 1615) (1)
The Knight of the Burning Pestle (Beaumont,
pr. 1613) (1)
The "Passionate Madman, of Beaumont and
Fletcher" (? = The Mad Lover) (1)
- BINGHAM, John The Tactiks of Aelian (transl., with notes,
1616) (6)
- BRADY, Robert A Complete History of England (1685-1700)
(3)
An Introduction to the Old English History
. . . Together with . . . a glossary (1684)
(2)
- CAMDEN, William Britannia (1586) (45)
The Annales (1615, 1627) are not mentioned,
though some of the references to "Camden"
may perhaps refer to this work. Gibson's
"Additions" to Britannia (1695) are
mentioned in 6 instances.

- CAMDEN, William (ctd.) Remaines of a Greater Worke (1605) (10)
- CAREW, Richard The Survey of Cornwall (1602) (1)
- CHARLETON, Walter In Chorea Gigantum or . . . Stone-heng . . . restored to the Danes (1663) (1)
- CHRISTMAS "Christmas, a pamphlet, pub. 1651" (1)
- COKE, Sir Edward The Third Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England: concerning high treason (1644) (1)
- COMENIUS, Johann Orbis Sensualium Pictus (1659). One of the most popular children's books of all time, of which a new edition appeared in 1777 (3)
- COMPLEAT GAMESTER Pr. 1674 (1)
- COTTON, Sir Robert Cottoni Posthuma; divers choice pieces (1651) (1)
- COUNTRY CONTENTMENTS "an old book, intituled Country Contentments" (1)
- DANIEL, Samuel The Collection of the Historie of England (1618) (6)
- DAVENANT, Sir William The Witts (1636, though Strutt gives date as 1665) (2)
- DEKKER, Thomas The Untrussing of the Humorous Poet (play unidentified) (2)
- DU FRESNE, Charles
(Seigneur du Cange) Glossarium ad Scriptores mediae et infimiae Latinitatis (1678) (2)
- DUGDALE, Sir William The Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated (1656) (7)
- FULLER, Thomas The History of Waltham Abbey (1655) (1)
- GALE, Thomas Commentary on the Itinerarium of Antoninus (pubd. Roger Gale, 1709) (3)
- GAMMER GURTON'S NEEDLE First pr. 1661, but taken by Strutt from Dodsley (1)
- GOFFE, Thomas The Couragious Turke, or, Amarath the first (1632) (1)
- The Raging Turke, or, Bajazet the second (1631) (2)
- GREAVES, John Pyramidographia: or, a description of the pyramids in Aegypt (1646) (2)
- HAKEWELL, William The Manner of holding Parliaments in England (1641). Strutt calls it Book de Modus tenendi Parliamentum, a title first used in 1659 (4)

- HERBERT, Sir Thomas A relation of some yeares travaile, begunne Anno 1626, into Afrique and the greater Asia (1634) (1)
- HICKES, George "Dr. Hikes's Gram. Sax." (probably the Institutiones Grammaticae Anglo-Saxonicae, 1689, 88) (1)
- JENKINS, Sir Leoline (attrib.) An Exact Collection of the most considerable Debates in the honourable House of Commons (1681) (4)
- JOLLIE, Thomas The Note Book of the Rev. T. Jolly, 1671-1693 (1)
- JONES, Inigo The most notable antiquity of Great Britain, vulgarly called Stone-Heng (ed. J. Webb, 1655) (1)
- JONSON, Ben Cynthia's Revels (1)
Epicoene (Strutt uses the title The Silent Woman) (1)
Every Man in his Humour (1)
Every Man out of his Humour (1)
The Staple of News (1)
The Tale of a Tub (1)
- JONSON, FLETCHER and MIDDLETON The Widow (pr. 1652) (1)
- LANCELOT, Claude Work unspecified but probably Quatre Traitez de Poësies (1663) (1)
- ?LEUPOLD, Jacob "Compilatio Leupoldi de Astrorum Scientia" (of Leipzig) (1)
- MARKHAM, James The Dumb Knight (pr. 1608, taken by Strutt from Dodsley) (1)
- MASSINGER, Philip The City Madam (1)
A New Way to Pay Old Debts (2)
- MILTON, John Paradise Lost (1667) (1)
- PLOT, Robert The Natural History of Oxfordshire (1677) (3)
The Natural History of Staffordshire (1686) (3)
- PUFENDORF, Samuel von "Antiq. & Orig. of the Saxons" (probably An Introduction to the History of the Principal Kingdoms and States of Europe; 1748 edn. enl. and ctd. to 1743 by Martinière) (1)

- SAMMES, Aylett Britannia Antiqua Illustrata (1676) (8)
- SELDEN, John Titles of Honour (1614) (8)
- SERRES, Jean de Inventaire general de l'Histoire de France (1600) (1)
- SHERINGHAM, Robert De Anglorum gentis origine disceptatio (1670) (7)
- SOMNER, William The Antiquities of Canterbury (1640) (1)
A Treatise of the Roman Ports and Forts in Kent (1693) (1)
- SPEED, John History of Great Britaine (The "Chronicle", 1611) (45)
- SPELMAN, Sir Henry Concilia, Decreta, Leges, Constitutiones, in re Ecclesiarum Orbis Britannici (1639-64) (1)
Glossarium Archaologicum (1664) (9)
Of the Law Terms (1684) (1)
- VERSTEGAN, Richard
(pseud. Richard Rowlands) A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence: in Antiquities (1605) (41)
- WALLACE, James Description of Orkney (1693) (2)
- WEEVER, John Ancient Funerall Monuments (1631) (4)
- WHARTON, Henry Anglia Sacra, sive, Collectio Historiarum (1691) (2)
- WINGATE, Edmund An Exact Abridgment of All Statutes . . . in Force and Use (1655) (2)
- WORM, Ole Strutt's refs. do not always identify the work, but the subject matter suggests the following attributions:
Antiquitates Danicae (1651) (1)
Danicorum Monumentorum libri sex (1643) (4)

PRINTED WORKS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

- ANCIENT UNIVERSAL HISTORY (2)
- ANDERSON, Adam An Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce (1764) (3)
- ARCHAEOLOGIA (1770) 16th.c. churchwardens' accounts of St Helen, Abington, Berkshire (1)

- BAXTER, William Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum
(1719) (1)
- BORLASE, William Observations on the Antiquities,
Historical and Monumental, of the
County of Cornwall (1754) (21)
- CHAUNCY, Sir Henry The Historical Antiquities of
Hertfordshire (1700) (8)
- DALIN, Olaf von Svea rikes historia (1747-62) (1)
- DODSLEY, Robert A Select Collection of Old Plays (1744)
Strutt's refs. are to the Preface (3)
- DUCAREL, Andrew Anglo-Norman Antiquities (1767) (6)
- DUTENS, Louis An Inquiry into the Origin of the
Discoveries attributed to the Moderns
(1766, English edn. 1769) (5)
- GLOSSOGRAPHIA
ANGLICANA NOVA
- HENRY, Robert History of Great Britain (1771-93) (5)
- THE HISTORY OF JACK
OF NEWBURY
MARTIN, [? Martin] A Description of the Western Islands
of Scotland (1703) (1)
- MONTFAUCON, Bernard de Monarchie Françoise (1729-33) (8)
- MORANT, Philip The History and Antiquities of the County
of Essex (1768) (5)
- MURATORI, Lodovico Antiquitates Italicae medii aevi (1738-
42) (2)
- NORDEN, John Speculi Britanniae Pars; a topographical
and chorographical description of
Cornwall (1728) (1)
- PEGGE, Samuel An Essay on the Coins of Cunobelin (1766)
(1)
- PERCY, Thomas Northern Antiquities (1770) (18)
Reliques (1765) (3)
- SPECTATOR
Vol. VII, 1 (1)
- STUKELEY, William Abury, a Temple of the British Druids
(1743) (4)
The History of Carausius (1762) (1)
A Concise Account of Stone-Henge (?1750) (3)
Unspecified (1)
- THANE, John "Miscellaneous Plates of Antiquity publish'd
by J. Thane" (= Thane's catalogues?)

- TORFAEUS, Thormod Historia Rerum Norvegicarum (1711) (1)
(Torfaeus' Universi Septentrionis Antiquitates was used with some frequency by Scott)
- VERTUE, George Unspecified, but probably A Description of four Ancient Paintings (1740) (1)
- WARTON, Thomas History of English Poetry (1774-81) (1)
- WHOLE DUTY OF MAN (1)

B. MANUSCRIPTS

ASEMOLEAN, Oxford

- 328 Byrhtferdh's "De Universis Antiquis Tempus Computandi Methodis Opus Miscellaneum" (1)

BODLEIAN, Oxford

- Junius 11 The "Pseudo-Caedmon"; including the Old English poems of Genesis, Exodus, Daniel and Christ and Satan (3)

BRITISH LIBRARY, London

COTTONIAN

- Augustus II A collection of charters, mostly from Canterbury. The two which Strutt uses here are a 7th.c. charter of foundation from Ulfere, king of Mercia, to the monastery of Medeshamsted [probably forged]; and an 11th.c. grant of land to the monks of St Edmundsbury (2)
- Augustus III An early 16th.c. portfolio of some 120 drawings and prints, primarily of arms, camps, buildings and dress (6)

- Caligula A.ii Old English poems, with some prose tracts. The item Strutt uses is No.7, "Sir Launfal", a translation from the French, probably by Thomas Chestre (the French original is in MS. Vespasian A. xiv and in the Harl.MS. 978) (1)
- Claudius A.ii Ecclesiastical documents, beginning with "Liber festialis" by Johannes Mirkus. Strutt uses a poem, c.Henry VI, bidding priests not to engage in hawking, hunting or dancing (5)
- Claudius A.viii Ecclesiastical documents, etc., beginning with The Chronicle of King Henry V (1)
- Claudius B.iv The Anglo-Saxon Heptateuch. Strutt uses the "Genesis" (3)
- Claudius D.ii Includes the Laws of Athelstan; or the refs. may be to Julius C.ii or Nero A.i, which also give the Laws. Strutt has only "MS. Cott." (2)
- Julius B.xii Charters, etc. Item 3 is the ordering of a funeral for a noble person in Henry VIII's time (2)
- Julius E.iv Rous's Life of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick (1)
- Nero C.ix Miscellaneous. Item 12: "The Ordynauce of a Kynge, when he shall goo in his Processione" (1)
- Nero D.i Matthew Paris's manuscript of "Liber addamentorum". In his own hand except for material added after his death. Dated 1250-59, St Albans (1)
- Nero D.vi Anglo-French treaties, etc. In one ref. at least Strutt uses Item 10, De exequiis regalibus (4)
- Nero D.vii Catalogue of the benefactors of St Albans Abbey. See list for REA (p.390) (1)
- Tiberius B.viii The "Ordo coronationis regis et reginae Francia", 1365; signed by Charles V, and entered in the 1411 inventory of his library (1)

- Tiberius E.viii Ceremonies, etc. Item 40: "Orders formerly observed when the King was in the field" (2)
- Titus B.i Royal letters, etc. Strutt uses Item 2: Henry VII's order for the celebration of his daughter's marriage, 1507 (1)
- Titus C.i A collection of papers on duels (2)
- Vitellius XXVIII Misc. bundle of fire-damaged items. Strutt uses Item 1: "Inventory of the great bark" by Christopher Morres, 1531; and Item 36: "An inventorye of ... Richardo Fermers"; and Item 37: "An inventory ... of Sir Adrian Foskewe" (4)

HARLEIAN

- 24 The Dunstable Chronicle, or, Brute of England, temp. Edward III (6)
- 53 Genealogies, etc. Item 2: "An Old Chronicle, in English, from Brute to K. Henry VI" (5)
- 69 "The Booke of certaine Triumphes" (2)
- 78 Miscellaneous. Item 20: "The Byble off Englisshe Polecy" (1)
- 116 Misc. Item 15: Lydgate's "Diatory" (1)
- 219 Misc. Item 6: "Explication de quelques mots François" (1)
- 279 Cookery manuscript. Item 6: "Convivium Regis supradicti [Henry IV] in Nupcijs" (1)
- 310 Translation of part of Abbot Lytlington's Missal, Westminster Abbey MS.37 (2)
- 321 Calendars; feasts, moons, etc. (1)
- 367 Misc. Item 43: Lydgate's "London Lyckpeny" (2)
- 847 Misc. Item 6: "The Order of a Campe or Armye Royall", 1578 (2)
- 913 Poems. Item 2: "The Land of Cokayngne" (3)
- 980 Collection made by Thomas Gybbons. Strutt uses various items, including 7: "Regum Angliae Series ex Holinshedo deprompta" and 206: "Of Dunmow-Facon" (10)

- 1231 The will, funeral arrangements, etc., of Sir John Rudstone, d. 1531. Strutt's ref. on MC, III, 159 -- "I find the following dimensions for a hearse in the Harleian Library" -- is included here, though it may refer to another Harleian MS. (2)
- 1419 Inventory of the household goods of Henry VIII (2)
- 1776 "An Heraldical Book" (1) .
- 1882 "Howe to perfume Gloues; To make Perfumes & Swete Waters" etc. (1)
- 2057 "The Maiors of Chester. The Charters of the Citty, with other things about the same", collected by the second Randle Holmes (3)
- 2251 Lydgate's Poems. Item 125: "A Ballad in praise of Queen Catherine, Mother of K. Henry VI" (1)
- 2252 "The Collections, Observations, & Memorandums of John Colyn Citizen and Mercer of London", temp. Henry VIII. Items used by Strutt include an act "against forestallers and pedlars"; "Ordynaunces of the Cete of London"; and "an old poem intituled 'King Arthur' " (5)
- 2255 Fragments of Lydgate's poems (1)
- 2278 "The Book of K. Henry VI. wherein are contained divers of the Poems of Dan John Lidgate Monk of Bury". 3 of the refs. could be to other MSS. (Harl. 367, 2251 or 2255: Strutt gives only such refs. as "MS. Lydgate Bib. Harl." (4)
- 2301 The glossary of navigation, "Nomenclator Navalis" (3)
- 2353 Strutt refers to the MS. for a love poem temp. Edward I (1)
- 2371 "A Sett of Homilies" (1)
- 4690 The "Brute"; and a "Poem in Old English Verse on the acts of Richard 1st." Strutt uses both items. Following an annotation in the manuscript he calls the "Brute" an "old MS. chronicle of Douglas, Monk of Glastonbury" (11)

- 5931 "A vast Collection of Title-pages,
Frontispieces, Head-pieces, Tail-pieces, etc.
etc." (3)
- 6910 Poems transcribed c. 1596. Strutt quotes
"an old song ...by W. Warner" (1)

ROYAL

- 7 C.xvi State papers, temp. Henry VIII (1)

LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY

- 200 11 items, of which No.5 is Aldhelm, "De
Laudibus Virginitatis" (1)

TRINITY COLLEGE, Cambridge

- R.17.1 The "Canterbury Psalter" of Eadwine (1)

WESTMINSTER ABBEY LIBRARY

- 37 Abbot Lytlington's Missal (2)

PRIVATE COLLECTIONS

- JOHN IVES Manuscript "Chronicle" (1)
Folio MS: "the expences for such creations
[nobility], as in the time of Henry the
Seventh; which I copied from a large folio
MS. then in the possession of the late
worthy gentleman" (1)

Queries outstanding:

1. The "Bishop of Ely's Treatise" (1)
2. "Johnson's Canons" (1)
3. "Steirnhook" (2)

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

The bibliography does not include the usual works of reference, or general background reading; and lists only the chief works consulted. Further references are given in the footnotes.

The arrangement is as follows:

- A. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES
- B. WORKS OF JOSEPH STRUTT - EDITIONS
- C. PRINTED WORKS - BOOKS
- D. PRINTED WORKS - PERIODICALS

A. MANUSCRIPT SOURCESBRITISH LIBRARY

- 10824.k.15 Robert Miller Christy's unpublished work, "Joseph Strutt, a Biography" (1912). One other copy of the typescript is known to survive, in the possession of Lord Rayleigh.
- Additional MS. 5886 William Cole's account of the antiquaries of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
- Additional MS. 34652 Folios 51-57 of this manuscript are the "Specimen" for the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities.
- Additional MS. 22936 Correspondence between Richard Gough and Foote Gower.
- MS. Egerton 888, 1-4 Four of Strutt's notebooks, with sketches and drafts for his antiquarian works.

BODLEIAN LIBRARY

- MS. Douce d.21 Francis Douce's correspondence, 1800-1809.
- MS. Douce f.10 "Memoranda relating to Joseph Strutt the engraver, collected from his own papers & lent me by his son William, 1804."
- MS. Douce e.18 "Mr. Strutt's account of the MSS that have illuminations, as they occur in various English libraries (With corrections) and additions by F.D."

ESSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Unnumbered manuscript; Strutt's "Chronicle of a Revolution in the Land of the Lilies."

ESSEX RECORD OFFICE

- D/ABR 20 Transcript of the Chelmsford Registry proceedings, Commissary Court, Essex and Herts., 1728-31 (fol. 267, will of Joseph Strutt's grandfather).

ESSEX RECORD OFFICE (ctd.)

D/DU 243/5-7 Deeds relating to the mill at Great Canfield.
T/A 387 Transcript of the Diary of John Crosier.

HERTFORDSHIRE RECORD OFFICE

D/EX 3/1-13 The Diary of John Carrington.
D/EX 3/15 Carrington's Memorandum Book.

LIVERPOOL CITY LIBRARIES

Roscoe Papers, Letters from Strutt to William Roscoe.
4731-4741

LONDON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Unpublished Ph.D. thesis; Joseph W. Lorimer, "The Life and Works of Louis Dutens," 1952.

MITCHELL LIBRARY, Sydney, Australia

MS. 867 Folios 1-97B are papers of William Strutt, Joseph's grandson, and were formerly in family possession.

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND

MS. 878 Strutt's draft of Queenhoo-Hall.

ROYAL ACADEMY LIBRARY

"Entry Book" to
Academy Schools

NOR/1-190 The letters of James Northcote.

A number of papers in family possession have also been consulted, notably those in the collections of the Hon. Guy Strutt and Mrs. Margaret Strutt Davies. These papers are uncatalogued and unnumbered but it should be possible to identify any piece from the details given.

B. WORKS OF JOSEPH STRUTT - EDITIONS

THE BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGRAVERS

A Biographical dictionary; containing an historical account of all the engravers, from the earliest period of the art of engraving to the present time; and a short list of their most esteemed works. With the cyphers, monograms, and particular marks, used by each master, accurately copied from the originals, and properly explained. To which is prefixed, an essay on the rise and progress of the art of engraving, both on copper and on wood. With several curious specimens of the performances of the most ancient artists. London: printed by J. Davis, for Robert Faulder, 1785. 8°. 2 vols.

- Also in L.P. London: R. Faulder, 1785, 86. 4°. 2 vols.

THE BUMPKINS' DISASTER

The Bumpkins' disaster; or, The Journey to London: containing the whimsical adventures of Ploughshare and Clodpoll; incidental to which are described, a consultation of the fairies; including also the legendary history of Waltham Cross. A collection of fragments. London: printed for Appleyards, and Scatterd and Letterman, 1808. 4°.

THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND

The Chronicle of England. From the arrival of Julius Caesar to the end of the Saxon Heptarchy (to the Norman Conquest). London: printed by Joseph Cooper, for Walter Shropshire, 1777, 78. 4°. 2 vols.

- Another edition. London, 1779. 4°. 2 vols.

THE DRESS AND HABITS

A Complete view of the dress and habits of the people of England, from the establishment of the Saxons in Britain to the present time,

illustrated by engravings taken from the most authentic remains of antiquity. To which is prefixed an introduction, containing a general description of the ancient habits in use among mankind, from the earliest period of time, to the conclusion of the seventh century. London: printed by J. Nichols, for J. Edwards, R. Edwards, B. and J. White, G.G. and J. Robinson, and J. Thane, 1796, 99.
2 vols.

- A Complete view of the dress and habits of the people of England from the establishment of the Saxons in Britain to the present time. A new and improved edition, with critical and explanatory notes, by J.R. Planché. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1842. 4°.

- Tableau complet des costumes et vêtements des Anglois depuis l'établissement des Saxons dans la Grande-Bretagne jusqu'au temps présent; enrichi des gravures, etc., précédé d'une introduction, contenant une description générale des vêtements en usage dans le monde depuis son origine jusqu'à la fin du septième siècle. Londres, 1797. 4°.
Tom. 1. [No more published].

THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

Horda Angel-cynnan: or a compleat view of the manners, customs, arms, habits, &c. of the inhabitants of England, from the arrival of the Saxons, till the reign of Henry the Eighth. With a short account of the Britons, during the government of the Romans. In two volumes. London: Benjamin White, 1775, 76. 4°.
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QUEENHOO-HALL

Queenhoo-Hall, a romance: and Ancient Times, a drama. In four volumes. Edinburgh: printed by James Ballantyne, for John Murray and Archibald Constable, 1808. 16°.

4 vols.

THE REGAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES

The Regal and ecclesiastical antiquities of England: containing, in a compleat series, the representations of all the English monarchs, from Edward the Confessor to Henry the Eighth. Together with many of the great persons that were eminent, under their several reigns. The figures are principally introduced in antient delineations of the most remarkable passages of history; and are correctly copied from the originals, which particularly express the dress and customs of the time, to which each piece respectively relates. The whole carefully collected from antient illuminated manuscripts. London: published for the author, by J. Thane, 1773. 4°.

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THE SPORTS AND PASTIMES

Glig-Gamena Angel-Deod. Or, The Sports and pastimes of the people of England: including the rural and domestic recreations, May-games, mummeries, pageants, processions, and pompous spectacles, from the earliest period to the present time: illustrated by engravings selected from ancient paintings; in which are represented most of the popular diversions. London: printed by T. Bensley, for J. White, 1801.

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D. PRINTED WORKS - PERIODICALS

Three periodicals are referred to many times: Archaeologia (the journal of the Society of Antiquaries); the Gentleman's Magazine; and the Monthly Review. Major articles include:

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II (1773), 100-106 and III (1776), 310: Percy and Pegge on Saxon minstrels.

II (1773), 194-197: Michael Tyson's "Account of an Illuminated Manuscript"

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XXIV (1832), 33: "A Dissertation on St Aethelwold's Benedictional."

GENTLEMAN'S
MAGAZINE

LXIV (December 1794), 1127: review of the Dress and Habits.

LXXII (October 1802), 982: obituary notice.

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MONTHLY REVIEW

LI (August 1774), 100-110: review of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities and Volume I of the Manners and Customs.

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LV (September 1776), 184-189: review of Volume III of the Manners and Customs.

LVII (August 1777), 99-101: review of Volume I of the Chronicle.

LIX (November 1778), 346-349: review of Volume II of the Chronicle.

XXXVIII (NS, June 1802), 135-143: review of the Sports and Pa tims.

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