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DOMESTIC EVERYDAY LIFE, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS IN THIS COUNTRY, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY GEORGE HARRIS, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.

[Read before the Royal Historical Society.]

PART V.—FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SIXTEENTH TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

THE history of civilization generally, and of the mode of life of our forefathers, embraced by the present paper, is a record rather of progress than of actual change in the condition of this country. No external circumstances operated to affect the latter through invasion by a foreign foe, as was the case during each of the periods of history considered in my former discourses. Civil war between contending parties for the crown of England, had now ceased ; but contests not less fierce followed, arising out of differences of opinion in religious matters, which were productive of great moral and social results. To these succeeded angry political contentions, and a long and bloody civil war, which occasioned also extensive changes in the general condition of the nation. Happy it is for us who live in the present age, that, although contests rage as fiercely as ever in the political world, the only weapon used against an adversary is that fiery, unruly, and untameable assailant, termed the tongue. Parties are nowadays, as in the times of which I am about to speak, by turns overthrown ; but waste of breath only, instead of waste of blood, is the worst calamity that ensues.

Factions, not bodies, are what in this mild age are deprived of their heads. And politicians who do not please the dominant party, instead of being shut up in prison, are now only shut out from place.

A very humorous and amusing account of the appearance of London, and of the pursuits and mode of life of the people it contained at the beginning of the seventeenth century, is afforded in a ballad called the "London Lickpenny," by John Lydgate, setting forth the adventures of a poor countryman who came to the metropolis to seek legal redress for certain grievances. Perhaps even in our day, the adventures of a simple-minded person, arriving from the country on so hopeless an errand, might not be without either amusement or instruction. In the by-gone times, however, of which I am now speaking, the street thieves were much more daring than at present; for as soon as our adventurer entered Westminster, and long before he came within the dangerous precincts of the lawyers in Westminster Hall, his hood was snatched from his head in the midst of the crowd, and in broad daylight. At Westminster Gate, at the hungry hour of midday, there were bread, ale, wine, ribs of beef, and tables fairly set for such as had wherewith to pay. Proceeding along the Strand, which was at that time merely a public road, studded on each side with the palaces of the nobility, he entered London. Having cleared his way through the press, and arrived at Cheapside, he found a crowd much larger than he had encountered, and shopkeepers plying before their respective shops or booths, who seized him by the hand, that he might turn in and buy. At Cornhill, which at this period was a noted place for receivers of stolen goods, he might see his own lost hood exposed for sale.

The buildings in the towns of this period still continued to retain the form which had before distinguished them. Nothing can be better calculated for giving endurance to a perishable material, than the protection each overhanging story affords to that below it; and this is the origin of the

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mode of edifice then adopted, which continued unaltered so long as timber was the principal material used.

An illustration of the style of building in vogue at this period is afforded by the diagrams among the archives of this Society, representing houses of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, such as were abundant in London, and all our large towns at the period of which I am now speaking, but very few of which, I regret to say, now remain.

In my former papers I endeavoured to trace the origin and progress of London, until our vast capital became a city of great importance, though far below many ordinary towns of the present day. London went on increasing during the period of which I am now speaking, although repeated proclamations were from time to time published by Queen Elizabeth, James the First, and Charles the First, in the hopeless expectation of checking the further enlargement of the metropolis.

The Strand is mentioned, in the year 1657, as formerly consisting of mud walls and thatched cottages, but as having then acquired a perfection of building. St. Giles's-in-the-Fields is referred to as a town separate from London. Drury Lane, leading from St. Giles's to the Strand, is described as "of late years, by occasion of the continual road there, and often carriages, become deep, foul, and dangerous to all that pass those ways." But before the beginning of the civil wars, St. Giles's had become completely united to the main body of London. St. Martin's Lane was at this time a quickset hedge, High Holborn and Drury Lane were filled with noblemen's and gentlemen's houses.*

Persons afflicted with the leprosy were not allowed to remain in the city, but were removed to lazaret-houses or hospitals provided for them in the suburbs. The one at Holborn was the hospital of St. Giles's-in-the-Fields; the Lock was in Southwark, at the end of Kent Street. A district in the neighbourhood is still called Locks's Fields.†

* See Anderson's "History of Comm." ii. 390.

† Stow's Surrey, pp. 444—500.

The improvements of the dwellings in London do not appear to have kept pace with the increase in its size. The greater part of the houses were still sheds of wood, or of wood and brick, the wretchedness of which was only brought into strong relief by the stately buildings that here and there intervened. The streets were crooked and narrow, and generally overshadowed by a perpetual twilight, from the abutments overhead, that rose, story above story, until they almost closed upon each other; and being unpaved, they were damp and dirty even in dry weather, and in rainy, were almost knee-deep in mud.*

As regards the domestic arrangements of this period, I find the following good and wholesome, though somewhat quaint regulations, laid down for the government of the household of the Archbishop of Canterbury during the sixteenth century:—

“For uttering an oath, a fine of 1*d*. The same for leaving a door open.

“A fine of 2*d*. from Lady-day to Michaelmas, for all who are in bed after six, or out after ten.

“A fine of 1*d*. for any man waiting without a trencher, or who is absent at a meal.

“For any follower visiting the cook, 1*d*.” †

People of rank and fashion lived at this time in the Strand, Drury Lane, and the neighbourhood of Covent Garden, which was as yet only an inclosed field. Merchants resided between Temple Bar and the Exchange. Bullies, broken spendthrifts, and criminals of every shade, collected in Whitefriars. Alsatia, as it was called, possessed the right of sanctuary, and the avenues of it were watched by scouts, who, on the approach of the messengers, sounded a horn, and raised the cry of “an arrest,” ‡ to warn the Alsatians for flight or resistance. The chief place of common resort at this

* On this subject, see Moryson, Stow, Lord Somer's “Tracts,” and “Pictorial History of England.”

† “Shakespeare's England,” by Thornbury

‡ Shadwell's “Comedy of the Squire of Alsatia.”

period was the middle aisle of St. Paul's, the hours of public concourse there being from eleven to twelve at noon, and after dinner from three to six in the evening. Here, lords, merchants, and men of all professions; the fashionable, the busy, and the idle, were wont to meet and mingle; and he who had no companion, might amuse or edify himself with the numerous placards and intimations suspended from the pillars.*

Disorder of every kind appears to have prevailed in the streets of London at this period; and when night came on, and the decently disposed citizens were housed, and the throngs of links and torches had given place to the solitary twinklings of the watchmen's lanterns, we are told that Alsatia disgorged its refugees, and the taverns their inmates. Stray passengers were insulted, wounded, and often killed; and the roofs of rich citizens were untiled for the purposes of plunder. It was unsafe to walk in the streets of London after nine o'clock.† Indeed, the streets were never lighted after this hour, even in winter, and not at all during the summer months. Every person whose house fronted the street was, however, ordered to "hang out candles or lights in lanterns or otherwise, in some part of his house next the street," every night between Michaelmas and Lady-day, from dark until nine o'clock in the evening, under the penalty of one shilling. Things did, however, a little improve in this respect in course of time; and in the last year of the reign of Charles II. a person obtained a patent, securing to him for a term of years the exclusive privilege of lighting up London. He undertook, for a moderate consideration, to place a light before every tenth door, on moonless nights, from Michaelmas to Lady-day, and from six to twelve of the clock.‡

The continued progress of building in London during the time of which I have been speaking, overflowed the ancient fields and vacant spaces within and around the city, so that

* See Osborne's "Letters to his Son."

† See Lord Somers' "Tracts."—First fourteen years of King James' reign.

‡ Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i. c. 3, p. 356.

tilt-yards, shooting-grounds, and race-courses, were covered with streets and alleys ; and thus active civic sports were, of necessity, in a great degree laid aside.

The citizens, however, betook themselves to quiet lounges on Sundays, with their wives and families to the villages in the neighbourhood of London, where they might enjoy cakes and ale, and the fresh breezes of the fields.

While the places set apart for public out-of-doors sports eventually decreased, those for indoors and sedentary amusements multiplied in still greater proportion. Besides the cockpit, the theatre, and the bear-gardens, eating-houses, taverns, tennis-courts, dicing-houses, bowling-greens, and smoking-ordinaries were to be found in every street. Hunting and hawking still, however, continued to be followed ; and in shooting the game, the long-bow and cross-bow were used indifferently, as well as the musket, until the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

During the present period, hawking both attained its height and fell into disuse. The amusement was found too expensive for any but the wealthiest, and after the reign of Queen Elizabeth, it was but little followed. Horse-racing, however, appears to have commenced about this time. Dancing, too, was reckoned one of the chief accomplishments of the age. And Henry VIII., notwithstanding his great size, as also Queen Elizabeth, were famous dancers. High leaping and stately movements were considered essentials in fashionable dancing at that time, though both of these feats must have been rather difficult of accomplishment in the case of burly King Harry. Merrymakings and fairs had also their dances ; and, we are told, made up in noise and agility for the want of more refined graces. Bear-baiting and bull-baiting were fashionable out-door amusements, and Queen Elizabeth was enthusiastically devoted to these sports. Sometimes the bear was baited, hood-winked, or blindfolded. Apes were also occasionally baited. Bear-gardens abounded in London ; and in the public places of the principal towns and villages of England, rings to which the bull was fastened were

not long ago to be seen.* A part of Birmingham still goes by the name of the Bull-ring.

Christmas was accustomed, at this period, to be celebrated with very boisterous mirth, and England rang from one end to the other with festivity and jollity. Christmas carols were trolled in every street ; masquerades and plays took possession of houses and churches indifferently ; a Lord of Misrule, whose reign lasted from All-Hallow Eve till the day after Pentecost, was elected in every noble household, to preside over the sports. Both the houses and churches were dressed with ivy and holly. The boar's head was a dish peculiar to Christmas, and was placed upon the table in a large silver platter, amidst a flourish of musical instruments.

Plough Monday, which fell on the first Monday after Twelfth-day, was the holiday of the ploughmen, who used to go about from house to house begging for plough-money to drink, while one of the party, called the Bessey, was dressed for the occasion like an old woman ; and another, who was the fool of the pageant, was almost covered with skins, and wore the tail of some animal dangling down his back. This custom is still kept up in many parts of the country. What was termed the yule-log consisted of the largest log of wood that could be found, and which was placed on the hearth on Christmas Eve ; and if it continued to burn for the whole night and the ensuing day, it was a happy omen for the household ; if it burned out or ceased to burn before that time, this was regarded as an unlucky omen.†

Next to Christmas, May-day was considered as the most important festival. On the midnight preceding the first of May, the people of each parish assembled, and after dividing themselves into companies, repaired to the woods, groves, and hills, where they spent the rest of the night in sports and pastimes. When they returned, they brought with them birch-boughs and branches of trees, with which they adorned the places where they meant to hold their festival.

* Stubbs, Strutt.

† Brand, Strutt.

"But," says an old writer,* "the chiefest jewels they bring from thence is the May-pole, which they bring home with great veneration, as thus : They have twenty or forty yoke of oxen, every ox having a sweet nosegay of flowers tied to the tip of his horns ; and these oxen draw home the May-pole, their stinking idol rather, which they covered all over with flowers and herbs, bound round with strings from the top to the bottom ; and sometimes it was painted with variable colours, having two or three hundred men, women and children following it with great devotion. And thus equipped, it was received with handkerchiefs and flags streaming on the top ; they straw the ground round about it ; they bind green boughs about it ; they set up summer halls, bowers, and harbours hard by it ; and then fall they to banqueting and feasting, to leaping and dancing about it, as the heathen people did at the dedication of their idols."

In London, one of the festivities of May-day was to set up the great shaft, or principal May-pole, in Cornhill, before the parish church of St. Andrew ; and as the pole was higher than the steeple itself, the church was called St. Andrew Undershaft. A Lord and Lady of May were chosen to preside over the festival, who were richly decorated with scarfs, ribbons, and other finery. Other festivals were also observed, of which we have still some remains in the rural districts.

Among the miscellaneous papers of the celebrated philosopher Locke, is the following notice of the sports of England in the year 1679 :—

"At Marebone and Putney a curious stranger may see several persons of quality bowling two or three times a week, all the summer ; wrestling in Lincoln's Inne-Field every evening, all the summer ; bear and bull-baiting, and sometimes prizes, at the Bear Garden ; shooting in the long-bow and stob-ball, in Tothill Fields ; cudgel playing, in several places in the country ; and hurling in Cornwall."†

As regards other amusements which were followed at this time, I may mention that the court of Henry VII., during the earlier part of the period embraced by the present paper, was distinguished for the most splendid tilts, joustings, and tournaments, in which the king himself frequently took a part,

* Stubbs, Strutt.

† Lord King's "Life of Locke," p. 134.

though the drama had then made but little advance. The entertainments called pageants increased from this period, and usually consisted of a high stage bearing some great figure, as a ship, castle, or mountain, with persons richly or quaintly dressed, who held an allegorical dialogue to welcome the sovereign in his progress through the country. They were retained in England down to the seventeenth century, and often exhibited a great degree of splendour.*

The court of James I. was particularly distinguished for its pageants and masques, which made, as Wilson terms it, "a continual masquerado," in which the queen and her ladies frequently appeared as nymphs or nereids, in various dresses, "to the ravishment of her beholders." In the reign of Charles I. this taste had not waned, and in the year 1633, the four Inns of Court, the Middle and Inner Temple, Lincoln's Inn, and Gray's Inn, united in exhibiting a masque before the king and queen at Whitehall, the poetry of which was written by Ben Jonson. The scenic decorations were designed by Inigo Jones; Lord Bacon and Mr. Selden settled the dresses and devices; and Whitelocke, afterwards Lord Keeper, had the care of the music. In his Memorials he says, "it was so performed that it excelled any previously heard in England. The dances, figures, properties, voices, instruments, songs, airs, composures, and actions, passed without any failure."

The harshness, want of feeling and of refinement, which characterized our worthy forefathers, even down to the end of the period of which I am now speaking, is remarked by Lord Macaulay, who tells us that at this time, "masters, well born and bred, were in the habit of beating their servants . . . husbands, of decent standing, were not ashamed to beat their wives."

I have hitherto considered mainly the condition of London during the period embraced in the present paper. I will now, however, proceed to refer to the state of the different provincial towns, and of the country generally. Plymouth is described, in the year 1607, as having grown up in the last

* Thompson's "Illustrations of History of Great Britain," vol. ii. p. 314.

age from a small fishing village. Birmingham, called Bremicham, is mentioned as already "swarming with inhabitants, and echoing with the work of anvils." Liverpool is merely noticed under the name of Litherpoole, commonly shortened into Lirpool, as "the most convenient and usual place for setting sail into Ireland."* Pepys, who visited Bristol about the year 1660, noted down as a wonder the circumstance that, in Bristol, a man might look round him and see nothing but houses. It appears that in no other place with which he was acquainted, except London, did the buildings completely shut out the woods and fields. The late Thomas Hood remarked, however, of London in our day, which will I believe be found on examination to be strictly true, that there was no street in it from which a tree might not be seen in some part. In Bristol, at the period of which I am speaking, a few churches of eminent beauty rose out of a labyrinth of narrow lanes built upon vaults of no great solidity. If a coach or a cart entered those alleys, there was danger that it would be wedged between the houses, and danger also that it would break in the cellars. Goods were therefore conveyed about the town almost exclusively in trucks drawn by dogs; and the richest inhabitants exhibited their wealth, not by riding in gilded carriages, but by walking the streets with trains of servants in rich liveries, and by keeping tables loaded with good cheer. The pomp of the christenings and burials at Bristol far exceeded what was seen at any other place in England.† Norwich is said at this time to have possessed quite a court in miniature. In the heart of the city stood an old palace of the Dukes of Norfolk, asserted to be the largest town house in the kingdom out of London. In this mansion, to which was annexed a tennis-court, a bowling-green, and a wilderness, stretching along the banks of the Wansum, the noble family of Howard resided, and kept a state resembling that of petty sovereigns.

In the age of which we are now speaking, it was seldom that

* See "Pictorial History of England," vol. iii. pp. 655, 656.

† Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i. c. 3, pp. 330, 331.

a country gentleman went up with his family to London. The county town was his metropolis. He sometimes made it his residence during part of the year.* In many of our county towns may yet be seen fine stone-built mansions, which were once the winter houses of the nobility and principal gentlemen of the neighbourhood.

Some of the domestic customs of the period, of which I am now speaking, appear to us somewhat harsh and barbarous. The absolute authority exercised by the head of a house over the members of his family, as also the extensive hospitality which was wont to be lavished on certain domestic occasions, is strikingly exhibited by some documents now before me belonging to the Catesby family, in the time of James I., which are still preserved among the archives of Chastleton House, in Oxfordshire, formerly the property of that family. It is here mentioned that arrangements have been made by the parents, without however, it seems, consulting the immediate parties to the transaction, for the marriage of Mr. Catesby's eldest daughter with the son of a neighbouring squire; and it is provided by the marriage settlement, that in case of the young lady, on the arrangements being announced to her, objecting to the choice made of her future husband, the offer shall be passed on to the second, third, and other daughters in succession, for whom the stipulations as to the settlement of the property shall be made applicable. Provisions are also inserted in the documents relating to the marriage, not only for an entertainment on a very large scale to be given to the neighbouring families, and the tenants on the estate, but as to the precise mode in which the expenses of the feast are to be defrayed, and also as to the parties by whom it is to be borne.

Lord Macaulay has humorously and graphically described the adventures which a country squire who visited London early in the last century, was apt to encounter:—

“When the lord of a Lincolnshire or Shropshire manor, appeared

* Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i. p. 333.

in Fleet Street, he was as easily distinguished from the resident population as a Turk or a Lascar. His dress, his gait, his accent, the manner in which he stared at the shops, stumbled into the gutters, ran against the porters, and stood under the waterspouts, marked him out as an excellent subject for the operations of swindlers and banterers. Bullies jostled him into the kennel. Hackney coachmen splashed him from head to foot. Thieves explored with perfect security the huge pockets of his horseman's coat, while he stood entranced by the splendour of the Lord Mayor's Show. Money-droppers, sore from the cart's tail, introduced themselves to him, and appeared to him the most honest friendly gentlemen that he had ever seen. Painted women, the refuse of Lewkner Lane and Whetstone Park, passed themselves on him for countesses and maids of honour. If he asked his way to St. James's, his informants sent him to Mile End. If he went into a shop, he was instantly discerned to be a fit purchaser of everything that nobody else would buy, of second-hand embroidery, copper rings, and watches that would not go. . . . Enraged and mortified, he soon returned to his mansion, and there, in the homage of his tenants, and the conversation of his boon companions, found consolation for the vexations and humiliations which he had undergone. There he once more felt himself a great man ; and he saw nothing above him except when at the assizes he took his seat on the bench near the judge, or when at the muster of the militia he saluted the Lord Lieutenant." *

The gentry of Derbyshire and of the neighbouring counties repaired to Buxton, where they were crowded into low wooden sheds, and regaled with oat-cake, and with a viand which the hosts called mutton, but which the guests strongly suspected to be dog.†

Bath was, at this period, a maze of only four or five hundred houses, crowded within an old wall in the vicinity of the Avon. Pictures of what were considered as the finest of those houses are still extant, and greatly resemble the lowest rag-shops and pot-houses of Ratcliffe Highway. Hedgerows intersected the space which is now covered by the Crescent and the Circus. The poor patients, to whom the waters had been

* Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i. c. 3, p. 340.

† *Ibid.* pp. 364, 365.

recommended, lay on straw in a place which, to use the language of a contemporary physician, was a covert rather than a lodging. One writer assures us that the gentlemen who visited the springs, slept in rooms hardly as good as the garrets which he lived to see occupied by footmen. The floors of the dining-rooms were uncarpeted, and were coloured brown with a wash made of soot and small beer, in order to hide the dirt.*

As regards the general costume and mode of dress during the period now under consideration, it may be mentioned as a ridiculous instance of the servility with which people of fashion occasionally ape the manners and customs of the Court, that, when the person of King Henry VIII. increased in size, the clothes of his courtiers were often stuffed out to make them resemble him ; and this custom extended even to their servants, and is still partly commemorated in the habits of the Yeomen of the Guard.

About the year 1565, the enormous trunk breeches introduced under Henry VIII. began to disappear ; but whilst they lasted, they were carried to such an absurd degree of magnitude, that in the Parliament House there were certain holes about two inches square in the walls, having posts in them, supporting a scaffold all round the building, for those Members to sit upon who wore great breeches stuffed with hair, like woolsacks. Swords were, during this period, generally worn, but they were forbidden to be above a certain length.† From what we have already heard of the manners of the times, these weapons must have been found serviceable, not only for ornament but for protection.

An interesting manuscript is among the archives of this Society, being the ledger kept by a maker of Court dresses during the seventeenth century, and which sets forth the costumes prepared for the members of the royal, and for those of various leading families at the time.

The English tables in the sixteenth and following centuries

* Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i. c. 3, pp. 341, 342.

† Thompson's "Illustrations of Great Britain," vol. ii. pp. 316—318.

were in general hospitable and well supplied, but salted provisions still continued to form a very principal article of food between Michaelmas and Whitsuntide; not only pike, sturgeon, and venison were served up at table, but also peacocks, swans, and herons*, the two latter of which must, I suspect, have proved rather tough and coarse-flavoured.

In Locke's Diary, already quoted from, he mentions :—

"The veal and beef are excellent good in London; the mutton better in several counties in England. A venison pasty and a chine of beef are good everywhere, and so are crammed capons and fat chickens. Railes and heath-polts, ruffs and reeves, are excellent meat wherever they can be met with. Puddings of several sorts, and creams of several fashions, both excellent, but they are seldom to be found, at least in their perfection, at common eating houses." †

It is pleasant to find that our excellent philosopher had so proper a regard for creature comforts.

Among the vegetables in use at this period potatoes are spoken of as not uncommon. John Gerarde, an eminent botanist, who was born in 1545, describes them as "a meate for pleasure, being either roasted in the embers, or boiled and eaten with oile, vinegar, and pepper, or dressed some other way by the hand of a skilful cooke." ‡

An Englishman visiting Scotland about the year 1688 made the following note on the habits of the people at this period :—

"Their drink is beer, sometimes so new that it is scarce cold when brought to table. But their gentry are better provided, and give it age, yet think not so well of it as to let it go alone, and therefore add brandy, cherry brandy, or brandy and sugar; and this is the nectar of their country at their feasts and entertainments, and carries with it a mark of great esteem and affection." §

The "esteem and affection" of these good people for whisky does not appear to have been at this period developed.

On the subject of the beverages of various kinds in use in England during this period, Locke says, in his Diary :—

* Thompson's "Illustrations of Great Britain," vol. ii. p. 317.

† Lord King's "Life of Locke," p. 134.

‡ Thompson's "Illustrations of Great Britain," vol. ii. p. 180.

§ Chambers's "Domestic History of Scotland," vol. ii. p. 494.

"Home-made drinks of England are beer and ale, strong and small; those of most note, that are to be sold, are Lambeth ale, Margaret ale, and Derby ale; Herefordshire cider, perry, meed. There are also several sorts of compounded ales, as cock-ale, worm-wood-ale, lemon-ale, scurvy-grass ale, college-ale, &c. These are to be had at 'Hercules' Pillars,' near the Temple; at the 'Trumpet' and other houses in Sheer Lane, Bell Alley; and, as I remember, at the English Tavern, near Charing Cross." *

One writer records of a banquet given by the Earl of Carlisle of that day, to the French Ambassador, at Essex House, that fish of such huge size were served up, which had been brought all the way from Russia, that no dishes in England could hold them, until several were made for the express purpose.†

An inventory, lately in my possession, of the household goods and effects of a country squire, who died in the early part of the reign of Charles I., affords some notion of the style of living and domestic arrangements of the period. Of all the apartments the kitchen appears to have been by far the best stocked; and the value of the utensils there considerably exceeded that of the books in the library. The cellars were amply supplied with beer—"beare," as it is spelt—but I find no account of mad-dog, or dragon's milk, or any of the startling names of the tippie in use at that time. In the men's chamber are "armes for a horsman, two petronells, and two old halberds." A "pudding coffin" is among the articles enumerated in the kitchen utensils.

One of the most interesting topics connected with the domestic life of our forefathers is the mode of travelling adopted by them, when the roads across the country were little better than rude tracks, very uneven, and consequently perilous for vehicles of any description to attempt to pass.

In former papers I alluded to the early mode of travelling in this country, and the contrivances adopted for the purpose, illustrating the subject by diagrams.

* Lord King's "Life of Locke," p. 135.

† See Gascoigne's "Delicate Diets," Edis's "Collection," Decher's "Gull's Farmbook."

For a long time travelling in England continued to be both difficult and dangerous. During the period of our history embraced by the present paper—

“The high-roads in this country (observes Lord Macaulay) appear to have been in a much worse condition at this time than might have been expected from the degree of wealth and civilization which the nation had even then attained. On the best lines of communication the ruts were deep, the descents precipitous, and the way often such as it was hardly possible to distinguish in the dusk from the unclosed heath and fen which lay on both sides. It was only in fine weather that the whole breadth of the road was available for vehicles with wheels. Often the mud lay deep on the right and the left, and only a narrow track of firm ground rose above the quagmire. It happened, almost every day, that coaches stuck fast until a team of cattle could be procured from some neighbouring farm to tug them out of the slough. On the roads of Derbyshire, travellers were in constant fear for their necks, and were frequently compelled to alight and lead their beasts. The great route through Wales to Holyhead was in such a state that, in 1685, a viceroy going to Ireland, was five hours in travelling fourteen miles, from St. Asaph to Conway. Between Conway and Beaumaris he was forced to walk great part of the way, and his lady was carried in a litter; his coach was, with great difficulty and by the help of many hands, brought after him entire. In general, carriages were taken to pieces at Conway, and borne on the shoulders of stout Welsh peasants, to the Menai Straits.*

“On the best highways heavy articles were, in the time of Charles the Second, generally conveyed from place to place by stage waggons. In the straw of these vehicles nestled a crowd of passengers who could not afford to travel by coach or on horseback, and who were prevented by infirmity, or by the weight of their luggage, from going on foot. On by-roads, and generally throughout the country north of York and west of Exeter, goods were carried by long trains of pack-horses.†

“The rich commonly travelled in their own carriages, with at least four horses. People, in the time of Charles the Second, travelled with six horses, because with a smaller number there was great danger of sticking fast in the mire. Nor were even six horses always sufficient. Vanbrugh, in the succeeding generation, described

* Macaulay's “Hist. of England,” vol. i. c. 3, pp. 366—368. † *Ibid.* 370.

with great humour the way in which a country gentleman, newly chosen a Member of Parliament, went up to London. On that occasion all the exertions of six beasts, two of which had been taken from the plough, could not save the family from being imbedded in a quagmire." *

As regards the origin of the introduction of carriages for travelling, into this country, it is recorded in Howes' "Chronicle," that—

"In the year 1564, Guiliam Boonen, a Dutchman, became the Queen's coachman, and was the first that brought the use of coachen into England. After a while, divers great ladies, with as great jealousy of the Queen's displeasure, made them coaches, and rid in them up and down the countries, to the great admiration of all the beholders; but then, by little and little, they grew usual among the nobility and others of sort, and within twenty years became a great trade of coachmaking." †

"Public carriages had, however, been recently much improved. During the years which immediately followed the Restoration, a diligence ran between London and Oxford in two days. The passengers slept at Beaconsfield. At length (says Lord Macaulay) in the spring of 1669, a great and daring innovation was attempted. It was announced that a vehicle, described as the Flying Coach, would perform the whole journey between sunrise and sunset. This spirited undertaking was solemnly considered and sanctioned by the heads of the university, and appears to have excited the same sort of interest which is excited in our own time by the opening of a new railway. The Vice-Chancellor, by a notice affixed in all public places, prescribed the hour and place of departure. The success of the experiment was complete. At six in the morning the carriage began to move from before the ancient front of All Souls College, and at seven in the evening the adventurous gentlemen who had run the first risk were safely deposited at their inn in London. At the close of the reign of Charles the Second, flying carriages ran thrice a week from London to the chief towns. But no stage coach, indeed, no stage waggon appears to have proceeded farther north than York, or farther west than Exeter. The ordinary day's journey of a flying coach was about fifty miles in the summer; but in winter,

* Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i. c. 3, p. 371.

† Chambers's "Domestic Annals of Scotland," vol. i. p. 20.

when the ways were bad and the nights long, little more than thirty. The Chester coach, the York coach, and the Exeter coach generally reached London in four days during the fine season, but at Christmas not till the sixth day. The passengers, six in number, were all seated in the carriage, for accidents were so frequent that it would have been most perilous to mount the roof.*

"This mode of travelling (continues Lord Macaulay), which by Englishmen of the present day would be regarded as insufferably slow, seemed to our ancestors wonderfully and, indeed, alarmingly rapid. In a work published a few months before the death of Charles the Second, the flying coaches are extolled as far superior to any similar vehicles ever known to the world. Their velocity is the subject of special commendation, and is triumphantly contrasted with the sluggish pace of the continental posts." †

A good many clamours, however, appear to have been raised against this dangerous innovation on settled sober habits in the way of travelling, which was denounced as fatal to horsemanship, and injurious to trade, especially to that of innkeepers. It was further objected that these new-fangled—

"Carriages were too hot in summer and too cold in winter ; that the passengers were grievously annoyed by invalids and crying children ; that the coach sometimes reached the inn so late that it was impossible to get supper, and sometimes started so early that it was impossible to get breakfast. On these grounds, it was gravely recommended that no public carriage should be permitted to have more than four horses, to start oftener than once a week, or to go more than thirty miles a day. It was hoped that, if this regulation were adopted, all except the sick and lame would return to the old mode of travelling. Petitions, embodying such opinions as these, were presented to the king in council from several companies of the city of London, from several provincial towns, and from the justices of several counties." ‡

Nevertheless, Lord Macaulay observes that—

"In spite of the attractions of the flying coaches, it was still usual for

* Macaulay's "Hist. of England," vol. i. c. 3, pp. 371, 372.

† *Ibid.* pp. 372, 373. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 373.

men who enjoyed health and vigour, and who were not encumbered by much baggage, to perform long journeys on horseback. If the traveller wished to move expeditiously, he rode post. Fresh saddle-horses and guides were to be procured at convenient distances along all the great lines of road." *

A traveller in Scotland in 1688, tells us,

"Stage coaches they have none. . . . The truth is, the roads will hardly allow them those conveniences, which is the reason that their gentry, men and women, choose rather to use their horses. However, their great men often travel with coach and six, but with so much caution, that besides their other attendance, they have a lusty running footman on each side of the coach, to manage and keep it up in rough places." †

Lord Macaulay observes that—

"Whatever might be the way in which a journey was performed, the travellers, unless they were numerous and well-armed, ran considerable risk of being stopped and plundered. The mounted highwayman, a marauder known to our generation only from books, was to be found on every main road. The waste tracts which lay on the great routes near London were especially haunted by plunderers of this class. Hounslow Heath, on the Great Western Road, and Finchley Common, on the Great Northern Road, were perhaps the most celebrated of these spots. At one time it was announced in the *Gazette* that several persons, who were strongly suspected of being highwaymen, but against whom there was not sufficient evidence, would be paraded at Newgate in riding dresses; their horses would also be shown; and all gentlemen who had been robbed were invited to inspect this singular exhibition." ‡

At this period, indeed, there was still in the North of England a large body of lawless people called moss-troopers, whose calling was to plunder dwellings, and to drive away whole herds of cattle. Laws of great severity were found necessary for the prevention of these outrages. The magistrates of the northern counties were authorized to raise

* Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i. c. 3, p. 374.

† Chambers's "Domestic Annals of Scotland," vol. ii. p. 392.

‡ Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i. c. 3, pp. 374, 375.

bands of armed men for the defence of property and order. The parishes were required to keep bloodhounds for the purpose of hunting the freebooters.

"Many old men (says Lord Macaulay), who were living in the middle of the eighteenth century, could well remember the time when those ferocious dogs were common. Yet, even with such auxiliaries, it was often found impossible to track the robbers to their retreats among the hills and morasses." *

The seats of the gentry, and the larger farmhouses, at this period, were fortified.

"Oxen were penned at night beneath the overhanging battlements of the residence. The inmates slept with arms at their sides. Huge stones and boiling water were in readiness to crush and scald the plunderer who might venture to assail the little garrison. No traveller ventured into that country without making his will. The judges on circuit, with the whole body of barristers, attornies, clerks, and serving-men, rode on horseback from Newcastle to Carlisle, armed and escorted by a strong guard under the command of the sheriffs. It was necessary to carry provisions; for the country was a wilderness which afforded no supplies. The spot where the cavalcade halted to dine, under an immense oak, is not yet forgotten." †

So late as the year 1685, only about half the land in England was in cultivation. The rest consisted of moor, forest, and fen—

"Many routes which now pass through a succession of orchards, hay-fields, and bean-fields, then ran through nothing but heath, swamp, and warren. In the drawings of English landscapes, made in that age for the Grand Duke Cosmo, scarce a hedgerow is to be seen, and numerous tracts, now rich with cultivation, appear as bare as Salisbury Plain. From Abingdon to Gloucester, a distance of forty or fifty miles, there was not a single inclosure, and scarcely one inclosure between Biggleswade and Lincoln. At Enfield, hardly out of sight of the smoke of the capital, was a region of five-and-twenty miles in circumference, which contained only three houses,

* Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i. c. 3, p. 280.

† *Ibid.* p. 281.

and scarcely any inclosed fields. Deer, as free as in an American forest, wandered there by thousands."

The last wild boars in this country, which had been preserved for the royal diversion, were slaughtered during the civil wars. The last wolf in this island was slain in Scotland, a short time before the end of Charles the Second's reign.

"Wild bulls at this time wandered in some of the southern forests, and wild cats were frequently heard by night wailing round the lodges of Whittlebury and Needwood. Fen eagles, measuring more than nine feet between the extremities of the wings, preyed on fish along the coast of Norfolk. On all the downs, from the British Channel to Yorkshire, huge bustards strayed in troops of fifty or sixty, and were often hunted with greyhounds. The marshes of Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire were covered during some months of every year by immense clouds of cranes." *

As the rude farmers of these days were not sufficiently skilful to be able, without great difficulty, to keep their cattle alive during the winter, they killed and salted them—

"in great numbers at the beginning of the cold weather; and during several months, even the gentry tasted scarce any fresh animal food except game and river fish, which were consequently much more important articles in housekeeping than at present. It appears from the 'Northumberland Household Book,' that, in the reign of Henry the Seventh, fresh meat was never eaten even by the gentlemen attendant on a great earl, except during the short interval between Midsummer and Michaelmas. But in the course of two centuries an improvement had taken place; and under Charles the Second, it was not till the beginning of November that families laid in their stock of salt provisions, then called Martinmas beef." †

The first establishment of a regular post in this country for the conveyance of letters, appears to have taken place in the year 1635. Up to this time, it was observed in a proclamation on the subject, that there had been no certain intercourse between England and Scotland; wherefore, His Majesty commanded his postmaster of England for foreign parts to

* Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i. c. 3, pp. 306—308.

† *Ibid.* pp. 309, 310.

settle a running post or two, to run night and day between Edinburgh and London, to go thither and come back again in six days, and to take with them all such letters as should be directed to any post town in or near that road. Bye-posts were at the same time ordered to be connected with several places on the main line. In the reign of Charles the Second, however, a penny post was set up which delivered letters and parcels six or eight times a day in London; but it was strenuously denounced, the placards announcing it were pulled down, and a cry was raised that it was a Popish contrivance. In the end, however, it was found so useful that all opposition to it was overcome, and the post office was eventually established on a regular system.*

Lord Macaulay observes that—

“No part of the load which the old mails carried out was more important than the news-letters. In 1685, nothing like the London daily papers of our time existed. The *London Gazette* came out only on Mondays and Thursdays. The contents generally were a royal proclamation, a description of a highwayman, an announcement of a grand cock-fight between two persons of honour, and an advertisement offering a reward for a strayed dog. The whole made up two pages of moderate size. Whatever was communicated respecting matters of the highest moment, was communicated in the most meagre and formal style. To the capital, the coffee-houses supplied in some measure the place of a journal. Thither the Londoners flocked, as the Athenians of old flocked to the market-place to hear whether there was any news. But people who lived at a distance from the great theatre of political contention, could be kept regularly informed of what was passing there only by means of news-letters. To prepare such letters became a calling in London, as it now is among the natives of India. The news-writer rambled from coffee-room to coffee-room collecting reports, squeezed himself into the Sessions House at the Old Bailey if there was an interesting trial—nay, perhaps obtained admission to the gallery of Whitehall, and noticed how the King and the Duke looked. In this way he gathered materials for weekly epistles destined to enlighten

* Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i. c. 3, pp. 280, 281.

some country town, or some bench of rustic magistrates. That was a memorable day (observes Lord Macaulay) on which the first news-letter from London was laid on the table of the only coffee-room in Cambridge. At the seat of a man of fortune, in the country, the news-letter was impatiently expected. Within a week after it had arrived, it had been thumbed by twenty families. It furnished the neighbouring squires with matter for talk over their 'October.' Many of these curious journals might, doubtless, still be detected by a diligent search in the archives of old families. It is scarcely necessary to say that there were then no provincial newspapers. Indeed, except in the capital and at the two Universities, there was scarcely a printer in the kingdom. The only press in England north of Trent, appears to have been at York.*

The mention of travelling, and of coffee-houses also, reminds me to say something about the inns of those days. Lord Macaulay states that—

“From a very early period the inns of England had been renowned. Our first great poet had described the excellent accommodation which they afforded to the pilgrims of the fourteenth century. Nine-and-twenty persons, with their horses, found room in the wide chambers and stables of the Tabard, in Southwark. The food was of the best, and the wines such as drew the company on to drink largely. Two hundred years later, under the reign of Elizabeth, William Harrison gave a lively description of the plenty and comfort of the great hosteleries. The Continent of Europe, he said, could show nothing like them. There were some in which two or three hundred people, with their horses, could without difficulty be lodged and fed. The bedding, the tapestry—above all, the abundance of clean and fine linen—was matter of wonder. Valuable plate was often set on the tables. Nay, there were signs which had cost thirty or forty pounds. In the seventeenth century, England abounded with excellent inns of every rank. The traveller sometimes, in a small village, lighted on a public-house, such as Walton has described, where the brick floor was swept clean, where the walls were stuck round with ballads where the sheets smelt of lavender, and where a blazing fire, a cup of good ale, and a dish of trout fresh from the neighbouring brook, were to be procured at small charge. At the larger houses of entertainment

* Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i. c. 3, pp. 383—385.

were to be found beds hung with silk, choice cookery, and claret equal to the best which was drunk in London. The innkeepers, too, it was said, were not like other innkeepers. On the Continent, the landlord was the tyrant of those who crossed the threshold; in England he was a servant. Never was an Englishman more at home than when he took his ease in his inn. Even men of fortune, who might in their own mansions have enjoyed every luxury, were often in the habit of passing their evenings in the parlour of some neighbouring house of public entertainment. They seem to have thought that comfort and freedom could in no other place be enjoyed in equal perfection. This feeling continued, during many generations, to be a national peculiarity. The liberty and jollity of inns long furnished matter to our novelists and dramatists. Johnson declared that a tavern chair was the throne of human felicity; and Shenstone gently complained that no private roof, however friendly, gave the wanderer so warm a welcome as that which was to be found at an inn." *

In a former paper I alluded to the mode of dealing with criminals in this country during the fifteenth century, and exhibited some diagrams illustrative of this part of my subject, which are now deposited among the archives of this Society. Crime appears to have gone on increasing with the increase of the population, and the number of offenders increased also. Hanging was the usual mode of punishment of criminals for serious offences. On this subject and the prevalence of crime in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially in the metropolis and its neighbourhood, and the mode of dealing with criminals, I shall have much to say, quoting from authentic historical sources on this head, in my next paper.

Closely connected with the subject now under consideration is that of the application of torture to criminals, which was long practised both in this country and on the Continent. I am proud, however, as a lawyer, to be able to state that the infliction of this punishment in England was always contrary to law; though as a lawyer I am ashamed to confess that the

* Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i. c. 3, pp. 377, 378.

judges, who declared its illegality, frequently sanctioned its infliction. It was resorted to both for extorting confessions from prisoners, and discoveries from witnesses. It is supposed to have been first used in England about the year 1468, and that a Lord Mayor of London, Sir Thomas Coke, was one of the first who suffered from it. In 1628 the judges unanimously resolved that Felton, who had murdered the Duke of Buckingham, "ought not to be tortured by the rack, for no such punishment is known or allowed by our law." * And yet several of the judges who joined in this resolution, had themselves executed the warrants for torture when they held ministerial offices under the crown. The famous Chief Justice, Sir Edward Coke, declared, "there is no law to warrant tortures in this land, and there is no opinion in our books, or judicial record for the maintenance of them." † But Coke many times acted as a commissioner for interrogating prisoners by torture. There is no doubt, indeed, that, from the time of its introduction until the Commonwealth, torture was frequently resorted to. Indeed, honest John Selden, who lived in times when torture was in use, says that the rack was nowhere used as in England, for here they take a man and rack him, not for any legal purpose, but merely because somebody bids them do it. ‡ The last instance on record occurred in 1640, when one Archer, a glover, who was supposed to have been concerned in the riotous attack upon Archbishop Laud's palace, at Lambeth, was "racked in the Tower to make him confess his companions." A copy of the warrant under the Privy Seal, authorizing the torture in this case, may be seen at the State Paper Office. The rack was said to have been brought into the Tower by the Duke of Exeter, in the reign of Henry VI., and was thence called the Duke of Exeter's daughter.* In Scotland, the use of torture was not abolished until the year 1708.

Torture was in general use all over the Continent, and a species of torture was employed in Germany to a very great

* Rushworth's "Collections," vol. i. p. 638.

† 3 "Inst." 35.

‡ "Table Talk."—Trial.

* 3 "Inst." 36.

extent during the Middle Ages, of which there are traces and traditions connected with the torture chambers and instruments still exhibited in Nuremberg, Salzburg, and Ratisbon, each of which I have seen, and representations of several of which I have deposited among the archives of this Society. The torture chamber at Salzburg, of the interior of which the diagram will afford a notion, is a small square chamber with one window, in a tower of the castle, formerly the archiepiscopal palace of that city. Two perpendicular racks are seen still standing in it, to which victims were attached, and a beam passes through one of them, by which the unhappy victim was raised, while the large stone with a ring attached to it was tied to his feet. There is also a ring in the wall, to which persons confined there were chained. An iron grating may be observed which covers the opening to the *oubliette*, or deep well, down which the mangled victims were at last thrown, at the bottom of which was a wheel armed with blades, by which they were cut to pieces, and they were then left to die there, being out of hearing of all who could relieve them. Torture, however, was not resorted to in chambers of this kind for legal or judicial purposes, but for the proceedings of those secret religious tribunals which abounded at that period.

Torture of the ordinary kind, for legal and judicial purposes, continued in several countries on the Continent until the middle of the last century. In France, it was abolished only in 1789; in Russia, not until 1801; in Bavaria, torture formed part of the laws until about fifty years ago.

A representation of a rack of the ordinary kind, termed the horizontal rack, copied from that in the dungeon at Ratisbon, in Bavaria, is among the archives of this Society. It somewhat resembles a mangle. The person to be punished was stretched upon it and bound. Cords were then attached to his extremities, and a windlass was gradually turned, till the operation dislocated the joints of the wrists and ankles. The spiked roller in the middle, termed the "larded Sara," caused additional agony by moving round as the victim was drawn over it, and tearing the skin off.

Certain other instruments of torture are also represented by the diagrams. The wooden triangle, or "bad Bess," in which a person was suspended, with the stone having the ring attached tied to his feet: the spiked chair, termed the "confessional," or "maiden's lap," in which he was made to sit with heavy weights on his knees; and the wooden collar and handcuffs, which were fastened round his neck and wrists.

Another species of punishment, which was very nearly allied to torture, and the infliction of which was sanctioned by our laws, was what was termed the "*peine fort et dure*," and which was exercised on criminals who refused to plead either guilty or not guilty. The culprit was stripped and laid on his back, and his limbs were secured by cords, and stretched out to staples in the floor: he was laid in a low chamber with little air or light, then a weight of iron, or a board with weights upon it, as much as he could bear, was placed upon him, and he was fed upon black bread, and water from the nearest puddle, until he either pleaded or died. This custom continued until the year 1772, when it was finally abolished. A great many persons have suffered death in this mode. The object of refusing to plead was that thereby the prisoner escaped trial, and so no forfeiture of his goods and chattels could take place, which were, therefore, saved to his family. It is from this circumstance that the "press yard," in Newgate, and several other prisons, takes its name.*

The execution of malefactors was, during the present period of our history, a matter of very common occurrence. Besides common criminals, who weekly and almost daily were exhibited on the gibbet, there were the heads of traitors over the City gates, and sometimes the bodies of heretics burning in the flames. Independently, too, of the rope and the axe, there were the cleaver, the branding-iron, and the scourge, all kept in restless activity for the punishment of minor offenders. One strange refinement in capital punishment was used at Halifax, where criminals were beheaded by

* "Horrors of the Gallows." By the late Chaplain of Newgate.

an instrument called the "Maiden," which was similar to the French guillotine. Executions were performed there on the market days; and when the condemned person had placed his head on the block, those who stood by put their hands to the rope and drew out the pin by which the axe fell, thereby signifying their consent to the carrying out of the sentence by becoming its executioners. A custom still more singular was followed, where the person to be put to death had incurred this fate by stealing an animal. In this case, the rope was fixed to the animal in question, so that it was made to cause the death of the criminal whenever it moved from its position.*

Throughout the Middle Ages, and down to the commencement of the eighteenth century, a belief in witchcraft and witches, and persecutions of persons suspected of crimes of this nature were generally prevalent. In two of the diagrams, now belonging to this Society, which are copied from drawings of the time preserved in the British Museum, you have a representation of a sorceress in her cave during the fifteenth century, exercising her enchantments. The outline of the form of a spirit is dimly seen through the flames from the torch which she holds in her hand. The altar, with the sacred vessels upon it, is observed in the foreground, and the magic jar in the centre of the picture. The other compartment represents the baptism of a child. In our early liturgies exorcism, or casting out the evil spirits, always preceded the rite of baptism.

Burning witches and placing others in the pillory is represented in the other diagram, which is of the same period. The youthful appearance of some of the witches will excite surprise; but children as well as old women occasionally suffered for this crime.

A belief in witches, after the accession of James I. became the master superstition of the age in this country. James had indeed embarked in a personal quarrel with the whole race

* Hollinshed's "Chronicles."

of witches. During his matrimonial voyage to Denmark, he chanced to encounter a violent storm. This was not a very unusual, or by any means an unnatural occurrence. An impression, however, was created in the royal mind, by what means history fails to record, that the storm in question had been raised by witches in consequence of their baptizing a cat; and so from that period he lost no opportunity of denouncing witchcraft, and persecuting witches. Professed witch-finders came into fashion, and numerous innocent victims suffered in consequence of the superstition of the king.

Although the consideration of politics, and the record of political events, are by design excluded from these discourses on the pursuits and mode of life of our forefathers, yet, at the conclusion of the present period of our history, I may not do amiss in pointing out that it was mainly through the mighty political convulsions by which this country was for a time distracted and tortured during the era we have now passed through—when the billows of popular turbulence and disaffection burst their accustomed bounds, and for a time spread desolation far and wide over the land, until they were at length brought back and made to flow smoothly and regularly through their proper channels, in which they have ever since kept their course—that the grand and magnificent constitutional fabric of this country, the pride of this great nation and the wonder of the civilized world, the guardian of our rights and the fortress of our liberties, uprose and assumed its present shape, and acquired those noble and beauteous proportions it now possesses. Out of anarchy sprung order, and misrule became the parent of good government. Like the splendid and venerable fabric, Westminster Abbey, whose rise is so associated with our national history, and whose aisles contain the ashes of the greatest men by whom that history has been adorned, our constitutional and jurisprudential system uprose, by small beginnings, and gradually acquired symmetry and order. Even now are we able to trace the uncouth hand of the almost barbaric Saxon, who in the one case exercised his rude ingenuity in the arches which he reared and the sculp-

tures which he carved ; and in the other exhibited his penetration and sagacity in the framing of those wise and subtle rules of policy which have ever since served as the superstructure on which a more refined and complete jurisprudential code has been erected. By slow degrees, by the labour of successive ages, and by the genius of various minds, the fabric has in each case at length been brought to its full maturity, and to attain that stupendous majesty and sublimity it now possesses. Defects may belong to each, as to everything human, and are what mainly attest their origin from man ; although these very defects are in turn eclipsed by the varied excellences of each, and by the perfection of the whole. To lasting ages may these stupendous structures continue to endure, not only undefaced by time, but by us corrected and repaired from the defects which time may have effected in them—a duty we owe alike to our progenitors and our posterity—and to the remotest periods which time reaches may they stand, by age becoming not only more venerable but more solid ; monuments alike of the genius and wisdom of those who upraised them, and no less so of the piety and patriotism of those who spared no sacrifice to prevent their falling into ruin.