

Vol. V. No. 14. WESTMINSTER, JULY 1887.

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WESTMINSTER AND INDIA.

THAT Westminster supplied, during the last and a good portion of the present centuries, a comparatively large number of servants to the East India Company is a fact probably well known to such of our readers who possess an 'Alumni.' That more than one O.W. obtained high or even supreme distinction in that service all Westminsters are, we hope, aware. The names of Hastings, Impey, and Markham will doubtless occur to the minds of those who take an interest in illustrious O.WW.; and such of these who have not been unduly blinded to the merits of the first two of these great men by the somewhat virulent denunciations of Macaulay will think with pride of the great Governor-General and Chief Justice. In the 'Census Alumnorum' a large number of K.SS. are recorded as having left to go to Haileybury, at that time the East India Company's College; and as K.SS. would, as a rule, have many more inducements, in the shape of University emoluments, to remain in England than T.BB., we shall probably not be far wrong in putting the number of Westminsters in India at the end of the last century as having been very large. Nor did they forget their love to the School. We learn from entries in various Oriental books now in the Scott Library that for many years it was the custom for the Westminsters residing at Fort William in Calcutta to send an annual present of books to the School. This connection with India was probably the cause of the study of the Oriental languages, which seems to have been prosecuted vigorously until the beginning of the present century; and the volumes thus sent from India seem to be all, or nearly all, editions of Persian, Bengalee, and Sanscrit classics printed at Fort William College. Nor are these the only records left to us of the patriotism of Westminsters, though so far removed from the School. Two pieces of plate, given to the K.SS. by Indian O.WW., still remain to us, one of which -- a magnificent piece of plate known as the 'Elephant Cup'—was presented by several O.WW., whose names are inscribed upon it. Among these occur the names of Hastings, Impey, and Markham. A smaller cup, also given by Old Westminsters in Bengal, daily graces the table in Hall. In 1826 and 1829 the Right Hon. Sir Charles Watkin Wynn gave a writership for a member of the School. Little record exists of the doings of Old Westminsters in India beyond the three most notable names above mentioned. The memories of Hastings and Impey have been well vindicated in these pages before now. An ample defence of the action of the latter in the much vexed question of the trial of Nuncomar will be found in the fourth volume of The Elizabethan, on page 228. At any rate, both Impey and Hastings triumphantly cleared their conduct before Parliament.

But it is not our intention to go into this question. Little record as we have of the doings of O.WW. in India, we may be sure that in them the self-devotion and patriotism for which Westminsters are always conspicuous, were pre-eminent.

Since writing the above we have heard that two more Old Westminsters have passed into the Indian Civil Service. C. A. Sherring and C. Bompas, who left at last election, passed 16th and 24th respectively. We beg to offer to them our heartiest congratulations.

WESTMINSTER WORTHIES.

JOHN LOCKE.—No. 2. (Continued from page 161.)

Towards the end of 1675 Locke again left England. On this occasion his travels were owing to the state of his health (he suffered throughout his life from weak lungs), and now he took the opportunity afforded by his release from office to make a protracted stay on the Continent. At this time, and long afterwards, Montpelier seems to have been a favourite resort for English residents in France. Atterbury went there in his exile; and now Locke stayed there, or in the neighbourhood, continuously, for over a year. During this period he wrote a short treatise, which, strangely enough, was not published for ninety years afterwards, entitled 'Observations upon the Growth and Culture of Vines and Olives, the Production of Silk, and the Preservation of Fruits.' His journal is full of interesting observations on all sorts of topics, ranging from the philosophy of Des Cartes to the local police news. France then, as now, seems to have been the land of sensational murders. Locke mentions several instances—one, in particular, being that of a gentleman who sacrificed a child to the devil, 'upon a design to get the devil to be his friend, and help him to get some money.' Another good story is told of the Bishop of Bellay, who discovered that a certain lady, being on her death-bed, was persecuted by the Carmelites into making a will in their favour. The Bishop contrived to introduce two notaries, disguised as physicians, to the sick-room; and the lady executed another will, which she committed to the custody of the Bishop. On her death the Carmelites exulted over their will till the Bishop produced his, with the dry remark, 'Mes frères, you are the sons of Elijah, children of the Old Testament, and have no share in the New.'

It was not till 1679 that Locke returned to England, having passed some time at Paris. Events of interest had taken place during his absence. The Popish Plot, the discovery of the King's negotiations with Louis XIV., the Impeachment of Danby, were now matters of history; and Shaftesbury, who had passed a year in the Tower, was now again in office. But he did not retain office long; and shortly after the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament (during which Locke was again in residence at Christ Church) Shaftesbury was arrested in London on a charge of high treason, and again committed to the Tower. On his trial the grand jury threw out the bill, and he was released on bail. After vainly trying to foment an insurrection, he escaped to Holland in the summer of 1682, where he shortly afterwards died. never saw him after his flight; but he was, no doubt, deeply implicated in the subterranean politics of the period. Curious evidence of the suspicion with which he was regarded at this time is afforded by the correspondence of two men, whom, as they were both Old Westminsters, we may pause to deal with a little in detail.

Humphrey Prideaux was admitted into College at Westminster in 1665, and elected to Christ Church in 1668; he was a celebrated orientalist, and became Dean of Norwich in 1702. At this time he was a tutor of Christ Church, and among his letters, which have been recently published by the Camden Society, occur several written to John Ellis. John Ellis was the eldest of six brothers who were all in College at Westminster; he was elected to Christ Church in 1664, and remained a student of the House till his death in 1738, at the age of 93. During the reign of Anne he was for some time Comptroller of the Mint, and Under-Secretary of State; at this time he was in the employ of the Government, who seem to have kept an eye on Locke. Prideaux was no friend of Locke's politically, although the only ground for inferring a personal enmity between them rests on the fact that when Locke, about 1675, obtained a faculty studentship of Christ Church, Prideaux spoke of him as 'having wriggled into Ireland's faculty place.' The following particulars of Locke's manner

of life at Oxford at this time were communicated by Prideaux to Ellis:-

'March, 14, 1681 (o.s.). - John Locke lives a very cunning and unintelligible life here, being two days in town and three out, and no one knows where he goes, or when he goes, or when he returns. Certainly there is some Whig intrigue or managing; but here not a word of politics comes from him, nothing of news or anything else concerning our present affairs, as if he were not at all concerned in them.

'March 19, 1681 (o.s.). - Where J. L. goes I cannot by any means learn, all his voyages being so cunningly contrived. He hath in his last sally been absent at least ten days, where I cannot learn. Last night he returned; and sometimes he himself goes out and leaves his man behind, who is then to be often seen in the quadrangle to make people believe his master is at home, for he will let no one come to his chamber, and therefore it is not certain when he is there or when he is absent. I fancy there are projects affoat.

October 24, 1682.—John Locke lives very quietly with us, and not a word ever drops from his mouth that discovers anything of his heart within. Now his master is fled, I suppose we shall have him altogether. He seems to be a man of very good converse, and that we have of him with content; as for what else he is he keeps it to himself, and therefore troubles not us with it nor we him,'

But Prideaux was wrong. Christ Church was not to 'have' Locke 'altogether' or at all: for in the course of the following year (1683) he found it advisable to leave England, and, like Shaftesbury, take refuge in Holland. Although Shaftesbury was dead his faithful adherent probably found himself the object of too much suspicion in England; and it was not well in those days to be too much suspected. Prideaux suspected him (no doubt most unjustly) of being mixed up with the Rye House Plot; and others besides Prideaux accused him of writing pamphlets against the Government. After his flight this last suspicion grew; and, according to Prideaux, he was now charged with having written 'a most bitter libel, published in Holland, in English, Dutch, and French, called a Hue and Cry after the Earl of Essex's Murder,' which was surreptitiously brought over and circulated in England. The Government was moved by this or some similar report to take proceedings; and Lord Sunderland signified to Dr. Fell, Dean of Christ Church, and Bishop of Oxford, that it was the King's pleasure that Locke should be removed from his studentship. Fell had undergone the same fate himself; he had borne arms during the civil war in the garrison at Oxford, and held the commission of ensign in the royalist service; and had therefore been removed from his studentship in 1648 by the Parliamentary visitors. There is no ground for believing that he had any animus against Locke; Christ Church was a royal foundation, and he probably regarded himself as bound to carry out the orders of the Crown, which certainly had a better title to interfere than the Parliamentary commission. He accordingly placed a 'moneo' upon the screen in the Hall, summoning Locke to appear on the 1st of January following to answer the charges against him. At the same time he wrote to Sunderland, stating that evidence in Locke's case (that of a faculty student) was not com-

pulsory, and that he was then abroad, a fact of which Sunderland was probably well aware. The letter then proceeds: 'Notwithstanding that, I have summoned him to return home, which is done with this prospect, that if he comes not back, he will be liable to expulsion for contumacy; if he does, he will be answerable to your lordship for what he shall be found to have done amiss.' But Sunderland did not expect Locke to put his head into the lion's mouth by returning, and thought that he might as well be turned out at once without waiting till the 1st of January for a formal expulsion. Accordingly the following letter, the original of which is still preserved in the Christ Church Library, was sent down to Oxford:-

'To the Right Reverend Father in God, John, Lord Bishop of Oxon., Dean of Christ Church, and our trusty and well beloved the Chapter there.

'Right Reverend Father in God and trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we have received information of the factious and disloyall behaviour of one of the students of that our Colledge; we have thought fit hereby to signify our will and pleasure to you, that you forthwith remove him from his said student's place, and deprive him of all the rights and advantages thereunto belonging. For which this shall be your warrant. And so we bid you heartily

'Given at our Court at Whitehall, 11th day of November, 1684, in the six and thirtieth year of our Reigne,

'By his Majesty's command,

'SUNDERLAND.'

On the 16th of November the Dean signified that His Majesty's command was done; and His Majesty expressed his pleasure at the college's ready obedience. Fell had had an eye on Locke for several years; but he confirms Prideaux's account of his taciturnity and prudent reserve on dangerous subjects. 'Although very frequently,' he writes to Sunderland, 'both in public and in private, discourses have been purposely introduced to the disparagement of his master, the Earl of Shaftesbury, his party and designs, he could never be provoked to take any notice or discover in word or look the least concern; so that I believe there is not in the world such a master of taciturnity and passion.'

Even in Holland, however, Locke was not entirely out of danger. He had the sense to keep clear of Monmouth's escapade; but his name was on a list of suspects which the English Government forwarded to the States-General in 1685, and his surrender was demanded as being a dangerous person. He went into concealment for a time; but this appears to have been done rather with a view to making matters easy for the Dutch Government than from any actual apprehension of arrest. Meanwhile at home William Penn the Quaker and the Earl of Pembroke, to whom Locke subsequently dedicated the Essay on the Human Understanding, were moving for a pardon for him, and this seems to have been actually granted; but Locke preferred remaining abroad till the Revolution. He stayed at Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht, and Cleves, and passed much time with his friends Limborch and Le Clerc. He worked hard at his

writings, though still much occupied with politics; and in January 1687-8 there appeared an epitome of the *Essay* translated into French by Le Clerc, which was published at Amsterdam. It was at this period, too, that Locke first made the acquaintance of William of Orange, with whom he had frequent interviews; and when he eventually sailed for England on the 11th of February, 1688-9, it was in the company of the Princess Mary.

Immediately on his return home Locke was offered the post of Ambassador to Frederick the First, Elector of Brandenburg. This he declined, on account of the cold climate, and also, as he himself says, on account of the 'warm drinking' which was then in vogue at the Electoral Court. He was shortly afterwards named a Commissioner of Appeals. Later, towards the end of 1695, the Government decided to revive the Council of Trade and Plantations, of which Locke had formerly been secretary; and he was appointed a commissioner thereof with a salary of £1,000 a year. But finding the air of London disagree more and more with his health, he resigned this post in the year 1700; his place was filled by another Old Westminster, Matthew

Prior, the poet.

But Locke had other things to interest him besides politics on his return to England. Hitherto he had written much and published little; for the rest of his life, from this time, he published boldly. Early in 1690 The Essay on the Human Understanding was given to the world in a fine folio, 'printed by Eliz. Holt, for Thomas Basset, at the George, in Fleet Street, near St. Dunstan's Church.' For the copyright Locke received the modest sum of f, 30. Shortly afterwards appeared the Two Treatises of Government, the former of which constituted an answer to the Patriarcha of Sir Robert Filmer, and both of which had been written some years before. The Epistle on Toleration, which had been previously published in Holland, was now translated into English, having originally appeared in Latin. provoked a warm controversy, in which Locke took an active part up to his death in the succeeding Letters on Toleration. During the year 1691 Locke was also engaged in editing Boyle's General History of the Air; and in the same year appeared the treatise entitled, 'Some considerations on the Lowering of Interest and Raising the Value of Money, in a letter sent to a member of Parliament, 1691.' The Thoughts concerning Education were published in July 1693; and a year or two later appeared the Essay on the Reasonableness of Christianity as delivered in the Scriptures, which gave rise to another controversy, in which Locke had to defend himself from the charge of Socinianism. With the exception of the letters which arose out of the attack made by Bishop Stillingfleet on certain principles contained in the Essay on the Human Understanding, which were deemed anti-Trinitarian, and of two other treatises on the currency question, the remainder of Locke's writings were published posthumously.

Locke passed the latter years of his life principally

at Oates, in the parish of High Laver, in Essex, the seat of his friends Sir Francis and Lady Masham; the latter was the daughter of the well-known Ralph Cudworth, Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, and author of the Treatise concerning Eternal and Immutable Morality. During his visits to London he lived first at Westminster, and afterwards in Lincoln's Inn Fields. It was about this period that Locke's acquaintance with Newton, which probably began through their membership of the Royal Society, ripened into friendship. Their correspondence, which was frequent, was much taken up by theological questions; but it is curious to find them on one occasion, at least, dabbling in alchemy. Boyle had left some red earth, with directions to his literary executors for its transmutation into gold. seems to have had some faith in the experiment; Newton was throughout incredulous. But their association bore more practical fruit in the matter of the reform of the currency. A graphic picture has been drawn by Macaulay of the amount of quiet misery to which the perpetual clipping and paring of the old hammered money gave rise. Newton was at this time Master of the Mint; and Locke's treatises, already alluded to, paved the way for the financial legislation, which was the only remedy for the evil which the wholesale hanging of coiners and clippers seemed powerless to deal with. Only a short time previously (in 1695) we also find him holding one of the foremost places in the controversy which ended in the repeal of the Licensing Act, which practically brought about the freedom of the English press. In the conference which took place on the subject between the two Houses of Parliament the paper of reasons which was tendered by the Commons' managers is said to have been the work of Locke. Later, again, the encouragement of the Irish linen manufactory occupied his industry.

John Locke died on the 28th of October, 1704, and was buried in the churchyard at High Laver, on the south side of the church, where there is a Latin epitaph to his memory written by himself. His will was proved by his executor and residuary legatee, Peter King, who had married his cousin, and after-

wards became Lord Chancellor.

In this brief sketch any attempt at a survey of the effect of Locke's writings would be an impossibility. Von Ranke in a luminous passage of his English history, comparing Locke with Hobbes, has pointed out that, as the latter belonged to the great agonies of the seventeenth century, so the former was one of the chief forerunners of the eighteenth. Hume and Berkeley in England, Voltaire and Diderot in France, head the long list of his disciples, and developed the principles which he was the first to enunciate. In the eloquent words of Professor Fowler, 'To sound every question to the bottom; never to allow our convictions to outstrip our evidence; to throw aside all prejudices and all interests in the pursuit of truth, but to hold the truth, when found, in all charity and with all consideration towards those who have been Head and Second Masters of Westminster School were somewhat anarchical.

WESTMINSTER UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH .-The Governors of Westminster School are, I suppose, commonly thought of as dating from the changes introduced by the Public Schools' Act Commission. I find, however, that in the pamphlet entitled 'A True and Perfect Narrative of the Differences between Mr. Busby and Mr. Bagshawe, the First and Second Masters of Westminster School' (published by Bagshaw in 1659), reference is continually made to 'Governours' as the supreme authority. They are addressed as 'The Honourable, the Governours,' and are clearly not the Dean and Chapter. The names of certain of them who favoured Bagshaw in his contest with Busby are given as 'My Lord Bradshaw, Sir Wm. Brereton, Mr. Say, Dr. Stephens,' &c. (Narrative, p. 12); and again (p. 24): 'Lord Bradshaw, Sir James Harrington, Dr. Stephens, Mr. Say, Mr. Browne, Mr. Edwards.' Further, Bagshaw expressly states: 'The Governours of Westminster School, by the Act of Parliament which constitutes them, are obliged to govern the School, and the members of it, according to the Statutes of the School' (p. 24). This, then, must mean that when the Parliament got the upper hand in the Civil War, the constitution of the School was so far changed that the government was taken out of the hands of the Dean and Chapter and vested in a Body of Governors. Can any of your readers say when precisely the change took place, and how these Governors were constituted?

Correspondence.

To the Editor of ' The Elizabethan.'

DEAR MR. EDITOR,—Will you allow me, as one who has seen something of Westminster cricket in the past four years, to mention some points in which our system seems to me to be defective? The ordinary first game is never interesting enough; chiefly, I think, because it is always a pick-up. Who cares very much whether Sandilands' side beats Probyn's, or vice versa? In the lower games, too, cricket might be made more attractive and exciting to the younger fellows. They also play an endless round of nameless pick-ups, in which victory and defeat are matters of indifference. And so small boys tell one that they don't care for cricket, and probably, when they grow up, they will play croquet and commit other crimes.

Again, for several years the XI. has been very weak in bowling. At this moment it seems that we shall continue weak for some years more. You cannot train a good bowler in a couple of seasons. If we are to get good bowling in the XI. we must have a lot of bowlers in every part of the School who are always bowling their best. To make them bowl their best we must put them to play in games in which they will be really

To bring about this result I advocate a very great change, viz. the abolition of all games below the first, and the substitution in their place of a system of form matches, in which no one should be allowed to play who was wanted for the first game. Make each form—linking two small forms together if necessary—elect a captain, and let him be responsible for getting up a form match every half-holiday. Let each form

keep a score book, and submit it with bowling analyses occasionally to the pinks, and let it be known that success in form matches may get a fellow his third XI. colours.

If such a plan were adopted every fellow would have his cricket looked after by the rest of his form XI.; he would get the applause and encouragement, which now he is without, and the bowling and fielding throughout the School would gradually improve.

This system of form matches could, I am afraid, be adopted only on half-holidays, as few home boarders live near enough to play in the evenings; but it is especially on half-holidays that

the School cricket seems to me open to criticism.

I anticipate the objection that this scheme would force every one in his form XI. to play cricket every Wednesday. But with our small numbers we cannot really expect to beat Charterhouse often unless boarders and home boarders alike will spurn invitations to tea or to tennis, and spend half-holidays up fields. In the first game itself I would substitute for pick-ups, such games as XI. v. XXII., Sixth v. School, Classical v. Modern, and have, if possible, the scores printed in The Elizabethan. It also seems to me doubtful whether our system of Junior House matches does as much good as House Second Eleven matches would do. The winners of junior matches are now usually junior only in name.

In the days of 'Water' our present system was no doubt the only possible one. But the abolition of Water has changed all the conditions of the case, and we could put our cricket on a new basis without casting any slur on the wisdom of our predecessors. It is of course easier to criticise than to reconstruct, and the plan which I have—somewhat dogmatically—advocated has no doubt weak points of its own; if, however, this letter leads to anything being done to increase the interest in the lower games where the bowlers of the future are now successfully hidden, I shall be well content.

I am, yours very truly,

E. L. Fox,

To the Editor of ' The Elizabethan.'

DEAR MR. EDITOR,-It is with deep regret that I have noticed during the last two or three matches at Vincent Square, with the exception of the Charterhouse match, what a very small attendance the School made. There were on the whole, I think, a fair number of the elder fellows, considering how near Election is getting; but what I am now complaining of is the small number of the younger ones. I think I am right in stating that on one Saturday at least there were not 20 boys below the Sixth present. Thus it is not only the home boarders who thus desert the School, but it struck me that the boarders and Q.SS. were little better. Of course, as it is getting near Election now, there naturally is a small attendance of the Sixth; but why there should be so few present who could have had no possible inducement to stay away, except perhaps invitations out, I am at a loss to see. And, as I see a correspondent to this number remarks, they should spurn invitations to tea and tennis, and spend their half-holidays up fields, and at least do what they can by their applause to give the eleven that confidence which the Charterhouse match showed was apt to fail so lamentably. But boarders and Q.SS. are not the only culprits. On the occasion I speak of there were only six home boarders up fields, and one of them was scoring. home boarders now compose more than half the School, and yet there must be nearly 50 of them who never come near Vincent Square, except for the Charterhouse match. I must say that a general slackness throughout the School is observable, and that all are falling off in their attendance more than was the case a year ago. I see, Mr. Editor, that in a former leader you indignantly deny that want of patriotism is the cause of this; but if the patriotism is present the attendances up fields on match days would seem to show that the patriotism is not sufficiently strong.

I am, Sir, yours sorrowfully,

ERRATA.

JUNE NUMBER.

P. 161, line 49, For 'Collier' read 'Coller.'

P. 167, 6th line from bottom, for 'Constantinopotitani' read "Constantinopolitani."

Our Contemporaries.

WE beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following Contemporaries: Rossalian, Meteor, Durham University Fournal, Carthusian, Wellingtonian, Marlburian, Wykehamist, Blundellian, Newtonian, Cliftonian, Melburnian, Bradfield School Chronicle, Sherburnian, Elizabethan (Barnet).

NOTICES.

All contributions to the September number of The Elizabethan to be sent in by September 30 to the Editor, St. Peter's College, Westminster.

All other communications must be addressed to the Secretary of *The Elizabethan*, St. Peter's College, Westminster, and on no account to the Editor or printers.

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Florent.