

## SEVENTH MEETING.

*Royal Institution, 5th May, 1853.*

DAVID THOM, D.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

### PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Certificates of two Candidates for Membership were read for the first time.

The following gentlemen were duly elected :—

John Lawler Bagot, Great Orford Street, Liverpool.  
Benjamin Witham Booth, Swinton, Manchester.  
William Harrison, Ballachrink, St. John's, Isle of Man.  
John Wrigley MacRae, Edge Lane, Liverpool.  
Alexander Henry Wylie, 6, Catherine Street, Liverpool.

The following DONATIONS were laid upon the table :—

#### 1. From the *Authors*.

From M. de Perthes Abbeville, France, Hon. Mem.	Nineteen vols. of his own works, viz.— De la Creation, Essai sur l'origine et la progression des Etres ..... 5 vols. Hommes et Choses ..... 4 „ Petit Glossaire ..... 2 „ Sujets Dramatiques ..... 2 „ Emma ou Quelques Lettres de Femme... ..... 1 „ Satires Contes et Chansonnettes .. 1 „ Opinions de M. Christophe ..... 1 „ Chants Armoricaux ..... 1 „ Nouvelles ..... 1 „ Romances, Ballades, et Legendes .. 1 „
From Dawson Turner, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., &c., Hon. Mem.	Descriptive Index of the contents of MS. vols., illustrative of the History of Great Britain, 8vo., 1851.

Kirkpatrick's History of the Religious Orders  
in Norwich, 8vo., 1845.

Lichenographia Britannica (privately printed),  
8vo., 1839.

Muscologiae Hibernicae Spicilegium, 12mo.,  
1804.

From Charles Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iii, part 1.  
Esq., F.S.A.

The following articles were EXHIBITED :—

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| By William Nisbet,<br>Esq., Egremont.           | A selection from the collection of the late Thomas Binns, Esq., consisting of (1) a catalogue of 30 vols. of prints and drawings, illustrative of the History and Topography of Lancashire; (2) the ninth vol. of the collection, consisting chiefly of charts and views of Liverpool and the Mersey. |
|   | Part I of Roscoe's work on Monandrian Plants.   |
|   | Fifteen published portraits of Roscoe, inlaid with other portraits of local interest, all previous to 1830.   |
| By J. Stonehouse, Esq.                          | A play bill, and three concert bills, referring to Liverpool about 1767, and 1768.  |
| By Rev. Thomas Moore,<br>M.A.                   | A descriptive catalogue of 107 diamonds in the cabinet of the late Sir Abraham Hume, Bart., M.P., written in French by Count Bournon, with plates; shewing the various modes of crystallization, 4to., 1815.  |
| By John Orr.                                    | The <i>Historie of the Life and Death of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland</i> , 16mo., London, 1686.  |
| By Dr. Hume.                                    | Various Brass Rubbings from Sefton, &c.   |
| By John Ireland Blackburne, Esq, Hale.          | A collection of letters and papers relating to the Liverpool Election of 1670, including one from the Duke of Monmouth.   |
| By Dr. Kendrick, from<br>the Rev. P.A. Hampson. | A printed sermon by Martin Luther. There were several MS. corrections of the text, and on a blank page at the end, was written "Martin Luther, Wirtemberg."   |

Attention was drawn to the first two numbers of a 12mo periodical published at Manchester, edited by T. Worthington Barlow, Esq., F.L.S., styled "The Cheshire and Lancashire Historical Collector."

## PAPERS.

### I.—ON THE HISTORY OF NAVAL TERMS.

*By the Rev. J. S. Howson, M.A., Principal of the Collegiate Institution.*

I need not begin this paper by an argument in praise of the study of words. That words, considered merely as words, are full of instructive phenomena; that language contains in its very texture a manifold record of the past; that endless stores of suggestive associations are laid up in our commonest phraseology,—all this is so readily recognised by all who have ever thought on the subject, that it would be a needless delay to attempt to prove it. This truth has been expressed in a manner so lively and so well adapted to our present topic, by a writer in an American periodical, that I will adopt the passage as my introduction to this paper.

“To the scholar, words seem instinct with meaning and life, even when they stand alone. Each one of them has, in the first place, a parentage from which it springs according to laws almost as settled as those of physical generation. They reflect, too, the image of their parent, and carry the marks of relationship upon their faces. Differ they may greatly in moral characteristics, in importance and frequency of use, from their venerated progenitors; but they can never escape from the resemblance in sound and sense which their birth has *enstamped upon them*. Sometimes they are settlers on a foreign soil, and trace back to an ancestry in some older land, perhaps to an ancestry now dead, at least to a dead language. But the philologist comes, and by a few strokes of his pen clears up the family genealogy, shows, perhaps, when they changed their domicile, and how by degrees they acquired the rights of citizens. Sometimes a single straggler or two comes from the antipodes, led away from his fireside in the course of trade, as a solitary merchant will settle at some trading post among the Indians. Perhaps they find it necessary to suit foreign ears by a considerable alteration of external appearance, so that a relative at home would scarcely recognise them in their transformation. But the master of languages is a spy upon them, from whom they can seldom escape. Those few who are sons of nobody, and whose parentage cannot be traced, are more badly off than their brethren in this—that philologists, instead of letting them alone, torment them with a thousand exploring questions, offer impertinent conjectures as to who their fathers were, and often give them an unpleasant prominence by inventing for them a very improbable or absurd genealogy.”

These are the remarks of a writer in the "New Englander." Now, looking at language from this point of view, we at once see the value of the study of provincialisms. Such local peculiarities of speech are not to be despised as mere vulgarisms; and a fondness for research of this kind is not to be laughed at as idle antiquarianism. The patois of a language is not always its deterioration: it is often "a prior state which circumstances have induced and enabled some favoured orders to desert;" it exhibits "not the scoria of the furnace, but some of the first, though perhaps grotesque shapes, of the fused ore."\* Thus it will often be found to manifest old types and analogies which have disappeared in the more refined tongue of common life, and hence to aid us in our enquiries respecting the affinities of languages, besides illustrating the progress of manners and customs and the history of social life.

What is true of a provincialism, or the dialect of a district, is at least equally true of the dialect of a class. It is very curious to observe how a peculiar language is formed among any class of men who are separated from their fellows, and united among themselves by a peculiar interest or occupation. Hence the origin of *slang*, which it is perhaps difficult to define in any other way, and of *cant*, which may be briefly described as religious slang. But the point which it is of importance to us to notice on this occasion is, that these class peculiarities may contain materials drawn from very various and very ancient sources, and preserve them unaltered, when they have been elsewhere either lost or entirely transformed. I believe that the conversation of the London cabmen, or even the rude terminology of the navvies who made our railroads, may contain forms of pronunciation and expression of extreme interest to the philologist; just as I should expect remote provincialisms in Ireland or in America to contain illustrations which might be useful to the critical student of Chaucer or Shakspeare.

Of all classes, there is none whose language is so well worth considering in this point of view as that of our seafaring countrymen. In the first place it is a very ancient language. An English sailor's phraseology is not of yesterday; but it is connected with the greatest passages of our history from Raleigh to Nelson. In the course of its formation, also, it has drawn its

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\* See an Essay on the Yorkshire Dialect, in the *Nugæ Literariæ* of Rev. R. W. Hamilton, of Leeds.

materials from various parts of our coast, each characterised by its own local dialects and customs. But in appreciating the philological importance of our nautical phraseology, we must travel more remotely into antiquity, and far beyond our own coasts. How many of our technical seafaring terms came from the Mediterranean, and how many from the opening of the Baltic? How many have we in common with France, and how many with Holland? It is evident that we cannot reflect long on this subject without our thoughts being brought to the first Saxon invasions and to the Danish pirates, to Alfred and Canute and William the Conqueror, to the Crusades and the acquaintance thus effected between our own ancestors and the traders of Venice and Genoa, and to the time when our navigators in the Atlantic were brought into rivalry with those who sailed from the Spanish Peninsula. These topics, in their practical bearing on our general subject, may perhaps be alluded to in some future paper.

In further illustration of the interest and value of our nautical dialect I would mention its strongly marked and emphatic character. The language of the British tar, however he may have found it convenient to borrow from all nations of the world, is peculiarly his own; whatever it expresses, it expresses decidedly; its features are clear and positive, and can be easily examined and scrutinized. Another reason why it is worthy of our examination is that it is widely spread, and ever spreading more widely with every new effort of British enterprise; so that it is tending to become the universal language of the seas. And, lastly, this wide extension is attended with hardly any liability to change. With the exception of such slight alterations as may be expected to result from modifications in the practice of shipbuilding and navigation, so long as wind and water, timber and canvas, remain the same, the language of the English sailor will remain the same for centuries to come, in all the creeks of the Asiatic seas, and among all the islands of the Pacific.

Yet, with all these interests associating themselves with that seafaring life of which we are nationally proud, I cannot find that any one has subjected our maritime patois to a careful philological examination. No one, so far as I know, has made it the occasion of a separate work. Among our grammarians we have a full recognition of the importance of dialectical forms; we have books published on the dialects of nearly every county; but the dialect of the sea has escaped the attention which was due to it. In Mr. Halliwell's Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words, which brings

together scattered contributions from every district, I find nothing in the introduction except the following remark, which appears to be made in a MS. communication:—"The language of our seamen in general is well worth a close investigation, as it certainly contains not a few archaisms; but the subject requires time and patience, for in the mouths of those who call the Bellerophon and the Ville de Milan the *Billy Ruffian* and *Wheel-em-along* there is nothing

"But doth suffer a sea-change  
Into something new and strange."

To which Mr. Halliwell replies with justice, that the remark "must be received with some limitation, and perhaps applies almost entirely to difficult modern terms not easily intelligible to the uneducated. Many of the principal English nautical terms have remained unchanged for centuries."\* Yet, in the body of the dictionary, very little light is thrown upon our subject; the number of nautical terms quoted is small, and there is no attempt to elucidate them on any general principles. We cannot expect to find philological inquiries in any of the dictionaries which are intended to explain the usage of nautical terms; though in Falconer's well-known work † many judicious remarks in this direction are made incidentally. As regards the general dictionaries of the English language, we are equally at fault; nor can we be surprised. We know that Johnson was weak in etymology; and we should hardly expect that the hero of St. John's-gate and the Mitre Tavern, who is said to have studied not the *genus homo*, but the *species* Londoner, would have extended any peculiar sympathy to the *species* sailor. As regards Richardson's dictionary, which is of the highest etymological merit, it will be generally allowed to be very defective in what relates to technical terms of all kinds. And similar remarks might be extended, I believe, to all our published vocabularies.

We seem, then, to be treading on new and unbroken ground when we proceed to inquire into the history of nautical terms. To do this at all thoroughly would require a remarkable union of great qualifications. It would demand, in the first place, a thorough knowledge of the terms themselves, and the mode of using them, which cannot possibly be obtained except in the experience of a seafaring life. With this ought to be united a full acquaintance with the dialectic peculiarities on the different parts of

\* Halliwell, pp. xv, xvi.

† *Universal Dictionary of the Marine*, to which is added, a Translation of the French Sea-terms, &c., 1766.

our coasts. But far more than this would be required. The subject could not be thoroughly mastered by any one without an adequate knowledge of various European languages, both in their earlier and later forms, and especially with Anglo-Saxon, whence the parentage of many naval expressions must be sought. Nor, lastly, could he proceed with safe steps in his inquiry, unless he were well trained in the linguistic principles which have been established by the great philological writers of Germany and other countries.

Now, I am very conscious that I possess not merely not all these qualifications, but not even one of them. Though I have been much on the water, I am always too sea-sick to hold a tiller or handle a rope; and though I am fond of the study of language, I have been almost forced to be content with looking on the outside of the great works of Grimm and Bopp. Yet it may be possible to indicate a line of inquiry which is interesting, or at least, amusing, and which may be afterwards followed up more systematically by others. In a town like this it may be expected that some may take more than usual interest in the subject, and may perceive some prospect of connecting useful results with the study of this branch of nautical antiquities. Burke observes, in his *Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful*, that "the English language is peculiarly framed for purposes of business." And if it is true, as the compiler of one of the comparative marine dictionaries which I have used says, in his preface—"that many an English ship is in the most imminent danger of being lost, from the commander or master not understanding the foreign pilot who is to conduct her into port; and that our navy officers and shipmasters are frequently at a loss to express their wants in foreign ports, and to examine accounts of repairs, &c., drawn up in foreign idioms; and that our merchants, ship-owners, and underwriters are often necessitated, in regard to the true sense of the most important ship papers, implicitly to rely on the imperfect, unguided knowledge of translators;"\* it seems by no means impossible that something useful might result from any study which induces us to place in juxtaposition, for the purpose of comparison, the naval terms of different countries.

Before proceeding to mark out the lines of division, by help of which I conceive the whole subject might most conveniently be examined, I will take

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\* H. Newman, *Marine Pocket Dictionary of the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and German Languages*. London, 1800.

a single example to illustrate the nature of the inquiry, and to show how much historical and philological interest may be connected with a nautical term. When a subject is new, a single example often clears away more obscurity than could be dissipated by a long explanation.

I take the word *binnacle*—the common name of the box or covered place which contains the compass, within sight of the steersman, and which is carefully illuminated by night. I make no apology for defining what is known to almost every one; for, in an essay on technical terms, it is always better to assume that elementary explanations may be useful to some one present. There is no one who has gone on a dark night by steam-boat from Liverpool to Glasgow who is not familiar with the appearance of the *binnacle*; but few, perhaps, have ever thought of inquiring into the derivation of the word. From its form we might be disposed to guess, at first sight, that it is a true old-fashioned English word, or, at least, that it is of northern origin. This, however, is not the case. The corresponding terms in German are *Kompass-haus* or *Nacht-haus* (night-house), which explain themselves at once; and the latter of these terms is also the customary expression in Danish, Swedish, and Dutch. But if we look to the languages of southern Europe, we find at once the derivation of our English word. For its synonym in French is *habitaclé*, in Spanish *bitacora*, in Portuguese *bitacola*, which are merely the two Peninsular varieties of the same word. The origin of the term is, in fact, the Latin *habitaculum*, and since the first syllable is already dropped in Spain and Portugal, I should imagine that it has come to us from thence rather than from France, where the word is used more nearly in its original form—an opinion which seems the more reasonable when we consider that the compass itself was unknown to our Anglo-Norman ancestors, but was familiarly known to those who patronised Columbus, and those who were the countrymen of Vasco de Gama. But again, this word invites us to a little further research: what was this Latin *habitaculum*, or “small house,” which became the title of that enclosed box which protects the compass from storm and darkness? I cannot help conjecturing that it was, in its original sense and in heathen times, a small chapel, or shrine, in which an image of the ship’s patron deity was placed; and that it received its new application when the compass was found more worthy to occupy the place of a dumb idol, which could rescue the mariner from no danger, and guide him in no difficulty; and I am confirmed in this conjecture by observing

that the modern Italian term for the binnacle is *chiesola*—"little church." But a difficulty might still be started in reference to our proposed derivation. It might be said that the change of *t* into *n* is an objection to the theory. No one, however, will feel any difficulty here who has ever closely watched the phenomena of a cold in the head—and here I may make the incidental remark, that in all such inquiries as that in which we are engaged, it is of the utmost importance that we should attend closely to the organs with which different consonants are pronounced, if we wish to be accurate in tracing their interchanges between one language and another. I make this remark in reference to the subject generally, for, as regards the word binnacle, we find it stated by Falconer that the old English mode of pronouncing it was *bittacle*, and so, indeed, it is spelt in Captain Marryat's novels.

This one word, then, is a very full illustration of the manifold associations, historical and philological, which may be grouped round a nautical term. It may also conveniently illustrate the method according to which I would propose to examine the subject generally. This method is, in fact, based on the comparison of our own nautical terms with those of other nations. I would take four northern languages, Dutch, German, Swedish, and Danish (or Norwegian), as means of tracing the Teutonic or Scandinavian elements of our maritime phraseology;—and four of southern Europe, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and French, as representing the influence of the Romance languages,—and trace the synonyms of our various seafaring terms in all of them.

The whole subject might be conveniently thrown into two divisions, *philological* and *historical*. If we were prosecuting a comprehensive and minute inquiry, some further subdivisions would be necessary, in order to avoid confusion; but at present I can only describe the general features of the subject: and in the rest of this paper, which at best is only introductory and suggestive, I will limit myself to a few philological illustrations, reserving what is properly historical for another occasion.

Under the head of what is merely *philological*, I consider nautical terms simply as words—as components of language; and the questions before us relate to the passing of words from one language to another, and the modifications, as to consonants and vowels, which they undergo in the process. We are brought here among considerations of the highest interest. Our inquiries are within the domain of "Grimm's Law," and the whole field of

comparative etymology is opened before us. But, happily, no ambitious attempt can be made in a paper like this. In what remains, I can do little more than suggest such questions as these:—by what links our nautical vocabulary is connected with those of other nations,—and how far it contains archaic forms which elsewhere are almost obliterated—how far we can distil from this salt water any pure drops of Saxon undefiled.

We should expect, in the first place, to find in the English sailor's language that facility of adaptation, combined with sturdy independence, which is characteristic of the English language generally. The Englishman borrows from every side, and yet he always remains an Englishman. So with his language; and so, not less, with his nautical dialect.

The very first word that crosses the mind supplies us with an illustration. The word "*ship*" is Teutonic. We use it in common with all the four northern languages which I have selected for comparison (*schip*, D.; *schiff*, G.; *skift*, D.; *skepp*, S.), and yet our adjectives are "*naval*" and "*nautical*," words derived from the Greek and Latin, and exhibiting our relation to the other four languages which represent the south (*navire*, F.; *nave*, I.; *navio*, S.; *nao*, P.) How completely are we seen, even at this stage of the inquiry, to stand at the meeting point of north and south, where we can appropriate what we like and yet retain our independence.

As a further illustration of this position, let us select a few parts of the gear of a ship, and examine the words by which we call them. The symmetry of a ship's arrangements may enable us to do this without confusion. Let us take three ropes which belong to the yard of a sail—*braces*, *lifts*, and *halyards*. The first word denotes the rope by which the yard is turned in a direction parallel to the horizon; the second the rope which supports the yard, and causes it to hang in proper equilibrium; the third the rope by which the yard is hoisted or lowered vertically on the mast. Now, if we compare our vocabulary with that of other nations, we find the first of these terms appearing in every one of them. It is, in fact, the Latin word *brachium*, "an arm," and no term could be more appropriate. In the case of the other two terms, the English sailor has disdained to use a word common to any other language, though for *halyards* all the four northern languages agree in using one common word, and the four southern languages agree in using another; and the same remark may be extended, with a slight modification, to the third word, *lifts*.

I had collected many examples of this kind, for the purpose of showing the curiously wilful way in which our marine vocabulary sometimes harmonises with the north, sometimes with the south, and sometimes with neither; and also for the purpose of showing how this dialect often contains links of connection with other countries which are lost in our general language. But I must hasten to show, by a few illustrations, how it contains relics of our own older tongue, which are otherwise extinct, or at least very partially retained. We ought here properly to make a division between archaic forms and archaic significations; but I am content to give my examples without any precise attention to order.

*Swab*, the mop made of old rope, with which decks are cleaned, is an old form of *sweep*. *Swain*, which we seldom use now, except in pastoral poetry, appears in its old meaning of a servant, in *boatswain* and *coxswain*. *Tide* is the Anglo-Saxon for *time* (German, *Zeit*), and explains its own derivation from the periodicity of the daily phenomena on our coasts. The proverb, "time and tide wait for no man," must be comparatively modern in its present form, and is a curious exemplification of the composite nature of the English language, *time* and *tide* being really the Latin and Teutonic words for the same thing, coming respectively through the Anglo-Norman and the Anglo-Saxon. *Taut* is only an older form of *tight*, and I cannot but regret that one naval writer whom I have consulted (Lieutenant Fordyce) spells it *tort*, thus entirely concealing its etymology. The *hull* is the part of the ship which is covered with the waves, unless, indeed, it is more properly synonymous with *hold*, the planking which covers and conceals the cargo. At all events, it is derived from a well-known Anglo-Saxon verb which means "to cover," and it is still in familiar use in our northern provincial dialects, in the sense of "a covering;" pea-pods, nutshells, and potato-skins are all called "*hulls*" in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Westmorland. *Tow* and *tug* (more properly pronounced *toog*, as we do pronounce it in the north) are the same word, and I find another form of it in my native dialect of Craven, where the exertion of any laborious and fatiguing effort is expressed by the word *tew*. This dropping of the *g* is quite according to rule. Thus the *bow* of a ship appears as *boeg* in Dutch; and the pronunciation of some of our northern sailors, who speak of the *boos* of their vessel, preserves the link of connexion. *Adrift* is an old adverb, of which we have but few examples, connected with *drive*. The word *bitts*, denoting the perpendicular pieces of timber on deck, to which

the cables are fastened, is connected with *bite* (A.-S. *bitan*), and may be compared with the *bit* we place in a horse's mouth, and with the *bait* upon a fish-hook. *Roadstead*, a place of anchorage, is instanced by Horne Tooke, in the "Divisions of Purley," as one of the few instances where the old word *stead*, "a place," is retained in the language. *Tiller*, the handle by which the rudder is moved, denotes, in some of the southern dialects, the stalk of a cross-bow; and in Suffolk it is used for the handle of any instrument.

Instances of this kind might be multiplied to a very great extent; but I will limit myself to three others, which seem to deserve a more special notice.

The word *luff*, which often puzzles those who have never been at sea, and which denotes the bringing of the vessel's head towards the quarter from which the wind comes, is, in fact, the same old word as the German *Luft*, "the air." It appears copiously in the naval vocabulary of other nations; thus, the French *lowoyer* means "to beat up against the wind," and the Dutch *loeven* means "to go to the weather side." We retain the word in the term *loft*, which we apply to an upper room. The sailors' word *aloft* is familiar to us all; and I think the same root is to be traced in another expression used at sea, namely, when a ship is sailing near the wind and a fluttering motion is caused by the air in the edge or leech of the sail, which is then said to *lift*.

The next word is *shrouds*, by which is meant the aggregate of ropes which come down from the mast-head to the ship's side. We have serious and solemn associations with another use of the word *shroud*; but at first sight there appears no connection between the two. There is, however, real connection. *Scrudan*, in Anglo-Saxon means "to clothe;" and *shroud* (*scrud*) is the dress of the ship. In "Guy of Warwick" we find the following line:—

"In a kirtle of silk he 'gan him schrede."

In the case before us the difference is, that the kirtle is of hemp and not of silk.

The last word is *frap*—a term not in very common use, but not without considerable interest; for it denotes that operation of undergirding a ship which is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, xxvii, 17. In the other Euro-

pean languages the synonymous term is expressive of the operation; \* and we might well be perplexed to explain the origin of the English phrase. We find, however, good reason to believe that it is an old Saxon word, when we discover that in the Devonshire dialect *fraped* means "drawn or fixed tight." Thus it would seem that the Torquay fishermen have preserved to us this curious relic of the language of the West Saxons.

I am compelled to conclude this paper abruptly, without entering on the *historical* branch of the enquiry. But the Society will probably allow me to resume the subject, and perhaps it will be prosecuted by others.

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## II.—LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE MEN IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

*By the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A.*

[The meeting at which these papers were read was held during the day, for the convenience of country members. The members of the Literary and Philosophical Society were invited to attend; together with those of the Polytechnic Society, the Architectural and Archæological Society, and the Chemists' Association. The visitors in attendance also included ladies. The Paper of which the following is an abstract, was a popular account of the subject, written specially for a meeting of that kind.—ED.]

The ancient and beautiful church of Sefton, in this neighbourhood, contains several monumental brasses, and among them those of Sir William Molyneux and his two wives. He was an ancestor of the present Earl of Sefton, and died in 1548, or in the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. When the brasses were in a perfect state, the arms of the knight were above his head, and those of each wife over hers; while an elaborate achievement, containing twelve quarterings, shewed as many families of distinction whose blood and representation he had inherited.

At the bottom is an inscription, from which we learn that William Molineux, soldier (*miles* not *eques*), Lord of Sefton, was three times engaged in battle during the reign of Henry VIII.; on each occasion he bore himself bravely, but especially at Flodden, where, with his own hand, he captured and bore away two standards from the Scots, though he was valiantly opposed.

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\* See these synonyms in "The Life and Epistles of St. Paul," by the Rev. W. J. Conybeare, M.A., and the Rev. J. S. Howson, M.A., vol. ii, p. 311, n. 5.

There is nothing particular in the arrangement of the dress of the ladies, but there is something deserving of marked attention in the appearance of the knight. Instead of being represented in the costume of his own time, which was the plan usually followed, he is in that of an age from two to three centuries older. On the breast is borne the *cross-moline*, the "canting coat," with which the name of "Molineux" is connected; a circumstance of itself very unusual. The head is covered with a coif of ringed mail of the time of Henry III. or Edward I.; and, apparently, the same article shews itself underneath the breastplate,—reaching to his knees.\*

The question naturally occurs, how is it that he was so equipped, for there is reason to believe that the figure represents the actual armour which he wore? It is thought that this was his armour on the most eventful day of his life, the day of the battle of Flodden Field, in September, 1513. This view is corroborated by the fact that the monumental brass originally contained the representation of the two pennons which he bore away, and which are mentioned in the inscription. It is supposed, therefore, that he was hastily summoned to the mustering by Sir Edward Stanley; and that, coming from the banquet or the hunting field, he rushed to horse in the armour that came most readily to hand. There would be various suits of various periods; for it is recorded of the old courtier of the time of Queen Elizabeth, now represented by "The Fine Old English Gentleman," that

"His old hall was hung about with pikes, guns, and bows,  
With old swords, and bucklers, that had borne many shrewde blows." †

Probably this very suit had seen good service, while protecting the person of some of his distinguished ancestors.

The victory of Flodden was so important, and is so intimately connected with many families in this part of the country, that it may be well to say a few words respecting it, in connexion with this subject.

King Henry VIII., who ascended the throne in 1509, was in 1513 at Tournay, in France, when his brother-in-law, King James IV. of Scotland, entered England. The Earl of Surrey, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, was entrusted by the king with the command of the army against the Scots;

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\* An interesting account of this brass is given by J. A. Waller, Esq., in the *Journal of the Archeological Association* for 1849, p. 262. See also, *Proceedings and Papers of the Historic Society*, vol. ii., p. 248.

† Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, vol. ii., p. 352.

but it was very unequal in numbers, and raised almost exclusively from the northern counties. The English minstrel says that the Scotch army was 100,000 strong, and that the English amounted to 23,000; but there is no probability that there was such a great disparity in numbers. Lindsay of Pitscottie says there were 50,000 on the English side, and only 20,000 on that of the Scottish King, the rest having returned home. One account states that Lancashire contributed 1,000, and another says that the two shires on the banks of the Mersey sent 10,000. The former is probably the true account. These were led on by Sir Edward Stanley, a younger son of the first Earl of Derby, the Earl himself being with the King in France. It is generally admitted that the Cheshire men were practically beaten in the fight, but that their companions assisted them; Sir Walter Scott, in his death-scene of *Marmion*, giving a fair view of the occurrences. But, at a subsequent and critical moment, the archers of Lancashire and Cheshire turned the tide of the battle, and thus secured the liberties of England, while they influenced in a most important manner the destinies of Scotland. The story has been told in numerous ballads and poems, the principal of which have been collected by Weber\* and other editors. In modern times, Sir Walter Scott has associated the facts of the battle with the fortunes of an individual, and ordinary readers are familiar with the poem of *Marmion*.† But comparatively few are acquainted with the older poems, though they contain numerous passages of extreme interest.

The arming for the fight is characteristic of the times. Some made mallets of lead and bound them round with iron; some made helmets, or ground the points of their halberts; others polished their battle-axes or bills, or formed rude lances and sharpened "pike-forks." The task of turning the sword into a ploughshare was inverted, and men made head-pieces out of the irons of their ploughs.

The enumeration of Stanley's men is so interesting, locally, that it deserves to be quoted entire. The reader will observe the alliteration in each of the verses:—

Most liver lads in Lonsdale bred,  
With weapons of unwieldy weight;

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\* "The Battle of Flodden Field; a Poem of the Sixteenth Century, with the various readings of the different copies, historical notes, a glossary, and an appendix containing ancient poems and historical matter relating to the same event. By Henry Weber, Edinburgh, 1808."

† See also notices of other accounts in "The Stanley Papers, Part I.," by Thomas Heywood, Esq., F.S.A., printed for the Chetham Society, 1853.

All such as Tatham-Fells had fed  
 Went under Stanley's streamer bright.  
 From Bolland bill-men bold were boun,  
 With such as Botton-Banks did hide ;  
 From Wharemore up to Whittington,  
 And all to Wenning water side.  
 From Silverdale to Kent-Sandside,  
 Whose soil is sown with cockle shells ;  
 From Cartmel eke and Conny side,  
 With fellows fierce from Furney's fells.  
 All Lancashire, for the most part,  
 The lusty Stanley stout did lead—  
 A stock of striplings, strong of heart,  
 Brought up from babes with beef and bread.  
 From Warton unto Warrington,  
 From Wigan unto Wiresdale,  
 From Wedicar to Waddington,  
 From old Ribchester to Ratchdale,  
 From Poulton and Preston with pikes  
 They with the Stanley forth stout went ;  
 From Pemberton and Pilling Dikes,  
 For battle bill-men bold were bent.  
 With fellows fresh and fierce in fight,  
 Which Horton fields turned out in scores ;  
 With lusty lads, liver and light,  
 From Blackburn and Bolton-i'-the-Moors.  
 With children chosen from Cheshire,  
 In armour bold for battle drest ;  
 And many a gentleman and 'squire  
 Were under Stanley's streamers prest.\*

It appears, from an allusion, that the slogan or battle-cry of Stanley was "Stanley Stout;" every principal clan or family having such a slogan † at the period. The movement of Stanley's men consisted in their climbing up the steep side of a hill, so that they could throw themselves with great physical force, and with a tremendous discharge of arrows, upon their antagonists. In ascending the hill they were forced to creep on all fours; some leaving their boots at the bottom, and others throwing the shoes from their feet, "that toes might take the better hold."

The result of the battle is well known. The Scotch king was killed, and his subjects tried to fix blame upon some of his nobles, instead of upon their headstrong master himself. It was even said that he had escaped, and some believed for years that he did not fall in the fight; but in the "Letters Illustrative of English History," published by Sir Henry Ellis,

\* Lines, 1337--1368.

† Some curious details are given in the "Slogans of the North of England," by Michael Hislabe Denham, Esq.; and respecting those on the other side of the Border in Mr. Robert Chambers' "Popular Rhymes of Scotland."

there is one from Queen Catherine to Henry VIII., mentioning that the coat, as well as the sword and dagger of James, had been brought to London. The desolation of certain parts of Scotland by this disastrous battle is also well known; the young men of Ettrick Forest, for example, were nearly all cut off. The beautiful ballad, entitled "The Flowers of the Forest," published in Sir Walter Scott's "Minstrelsy of the Border,"\* alludes to this fact, each stanza concluding with the pathetic burden—

"The flowers of the forest are a' wede awae" (weeded out.)

False intelligence was, in the first instance, sent to the king in France, alleging that Lancashire and Cheshire had behaved badly, and that Stanley, their leader, had disgraced himself. Sir Ralph Egerton, and others, defended them; but the grief of the "King of Man" was excessive. Next day, however, a true message arrived from the queen, which set aside that caused by the Earl of Surrey's jealousy. In Lord Derby's distress, he bids adieu to the persons and places most dear to him, some of which are interesting. "Lancaster, that lytill towne;" "Latham, that bright bower, which nine towers beareth on high;" "Knoweslay, that lytill tower;" "Tokestaffe, that trustie park, and the fair river that renneth there beside;" and "bolde Byrkenhead, where he was borne," to which he gave the "tythe of Beeston trulye." He also takes leave of Westchester (Chester), and the Watergate, West Harden, Hope and Hope's Dale, and Mouldes Dale. While in this mood, a young man, called James Garsye, yeoman of the guard, ran to him for protection. At the hour of supper the soldiers had taunted him with the supposed cowardice of Lancashire and Cheshire, and he "sticked two and wounded three." He was tried by the king on the spot, and pardoned; but a proclamation was made at the same time, that whoever rebuked Lancashire or Cheshire should have his judgment on the next tree. The minstrel, who probably wrote in the reign of Mary or Elizabeth, concludes thus:—

"Nowe, God, that was in Beathleam born,  
And for vs dyed vpon a tree,  
Save our nowble prynces that weareth the crowne,  
And have mercy on the Earle's sowle of Derby. +

A few words in conclusion. Three centuries and a half have passed, and a monarch, who unites the blood both of the Scottish and English royal lines, rules on both sides of the Border. The sword has become a plough-

\* Vol. iii., p. 129. + Printed by Weber from the Harl. MSS., 293 and 367.

share; and the descendants of Scottish knights, who found a grave with their people at Flodden, are proud and happy to sympathise with the men of the palatine counties, and are as jealous for the honour of the district as the children of the soil. But though the people of our own island are one in heart and interest at present, it is well to revert to the troublous times of the past. Whatever we may say of the aggressors, let us honour the memory of the stout-hearted patriots; and while we record their gallant deeds, let us learn to imitate them in similar circumstances. There was lately a little cloud like a man's hand, rising in the south beyond the channel, which may even yet be the forerunner of a storm; but if so, and if the battle of Hastings must be fought again, the story of it shall be told like that of Flodden or of Bannockburn.

In the centuries that have passed, our island empire has been consolidated at home and extended abroad, yet the two counties of Lancashire and Cheshire have increased instead of diminished in relative importance. Lancashire alone outnumbered Middlesex in population; and the two together, will probably in after years, equal the whole of Scotland. Nor is their importance limited to mere numbers; that is one of the smallest elements in the calculation. Two prominent parties in the State are both identified with this one shire; and, to use the language of the law, the cross case recently tried before the Supreme Court was, Manchester *versus* Knowsley, Knowsley *versus* Manchester.

Our own neighbourhood, too, modern as it is, has links of interest that connect us with the past; for the Hall of Speke contains the trophy of Norres, and the Church at Sefton proclaims the prowess of Molyneux. It is interesting, too, to trace a stream of noble blood, pure and distinct, amid centuries of change;—to follow it like a thread of gold or silver, amid the complicated tissue of a more homely fabric. Thus, the representative of Molyneux is at this hour the military head, the Lord Lieutenant of this great county; while the representative of Stanley, still keeping his position in the race of honourable ambition, has stood foremost in the councils of his Sovereign.

Nor is the soil of the district exhausted yet. It produces fruits which are rare and valuable in themselves, and still more rare in their combination; commerce and manufacture, agriculture and mining. And, though last not least, it possesses another union of rare and valuable qualities; for while history has been delighted to honour the valour of its sons, tradition

and poetry have been at least equally zealous in proclaiming the witchery of its daughters. But in whatever degree persons of different parties, tastes, or habits, may differ respecting the importance of these, on one subject we will be agreed,—that the unknown minstrels who have handed down to us such a glowing and minute account of these events, deserved a much more enduring record than either history or tradition has preserved with the public in general.

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### III.—DRAMATIC PLACES OF AMUSEMENT IN LIVERPOOL A CENTURY AGO.

*By James Stonehouse.*

The earliest notice we have of public amusements in Liverpool in the shape of the drama, we find occurring about the year 1571, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, when Shakspeare, Ben Jonson, and other great dramatists produced their time-enduring works; but, whether any of their plays were represented in so remote a place as Liverpool, and at that period so insignificant a town, we have no accurate data to refer to, by which we can arrive at a satisfactory conclusion.

That dramatic representations, as well as performances in the shape of mysteries, were common long before this period, there is, of course, no doubt; that they were brought forward occasionally in the town is clear by the manifesto issued by the authorities at this date (1571):—"That no jugglers, strollers, visions voyde and wayne, shall exhibit without an order or permission from the maior." This order shows that the graceless varlets whom the Roman poet calls "The tribe of minstrels, strollers, quacks, and mummers" had been in the habit of frequenting the town, and perhaps not conducting themselves in so seemly and becoming a way as they ought to have done.

Doubtless the great families of Molineux and Stanley, at their houses, the Tower in Water Street, and the Castle, gave occasionally those pageants, in which the people of the time so much delighted, not only from the pleasure they produced of themselves, but because they could be enjoyed at the expense of other persons.

In an old chronicle there is some allusion made to the Stanleys having players at the Castle, on which occasion the principal gentry of the town were invited to witness the performances.

The first theatre, however, or building devoted exclusively to dramatic performances, of which there is any positive mention made, was erected about 1641 (*temp.* Charles I), on the ground now occupied by a portion of the Coalbrookdale Company's premises, at the back. It stood, therefore, between the present James Street and Redcross Street, or Tarleton's New Street, as it was formerly called. This building, of which, however, we have but very imperfect notice, was constructed of frail materials, and was only used occasionally by strolling companies, who came to Liverpool from the north in their route to Chester and other places. The interior of this theatre would present to view the same aspect as do the old prints of the Globe at Bankside, where we find the most distinguished of the audience seated in a sort of boxes at the sides, or on chairs on the stage, while the pit is unboarded, and the audience there, are standing on the bare ground. Shakspeare alludes to the people in the pit in his advice to the players in *Hamlet*, where he speaks of a roaring actor "splitting the very ears of the groundlings," that is, the people standing on the ground or unboarded floor of the theatre. When this theatre was taken down, a company of strolling players opened a barn in Moor Street for dramatic representations. This barn adjoined a place used as a cockpit, a favourite place of resort at that time as well as in later days. After being here some time they removed to a house in the Old Ropery.\* Here the drama was represented until a regular theatre was built and opened in 1759, in Drury Lane, a street which then ran into the Old Ropery. Drury Lane was called, previous to the erection of the theatre, Entwistle Street, being named after an old and highly respectable as well as influential family of Liverpool, of which two members held the high office of recorder for many years. Mr. J. Entwistle was appointed recorder in 1660, and held the office until he resigned from age and infirmity in 1709, when he was succeeded by his son, Mr. Bertie Entwistle, who continued in it till his death, in or about 1723. Another

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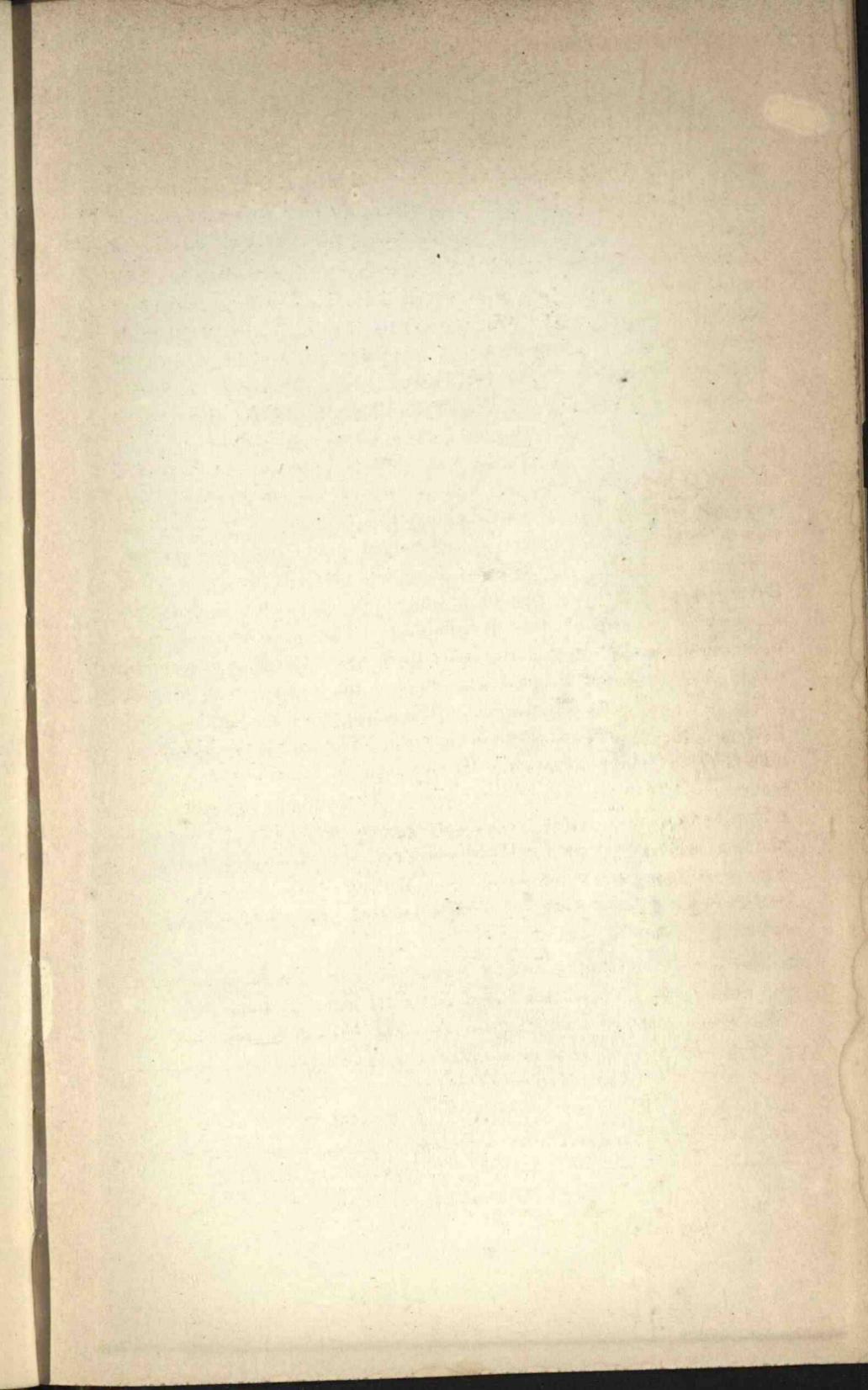
\* On the formation of Brunswick Street, projected about 1786, this thoroughfare was carried down, what was called "Smock Alley," through the houses on the west side of Chorley Street, thence through Drury Lane, sweeping away a portion of the north end of the theatre, thence through Old Custom House Yard,—on the site of which stand the Goree Piazzas—to the formerly called "New," but now George's Dock.

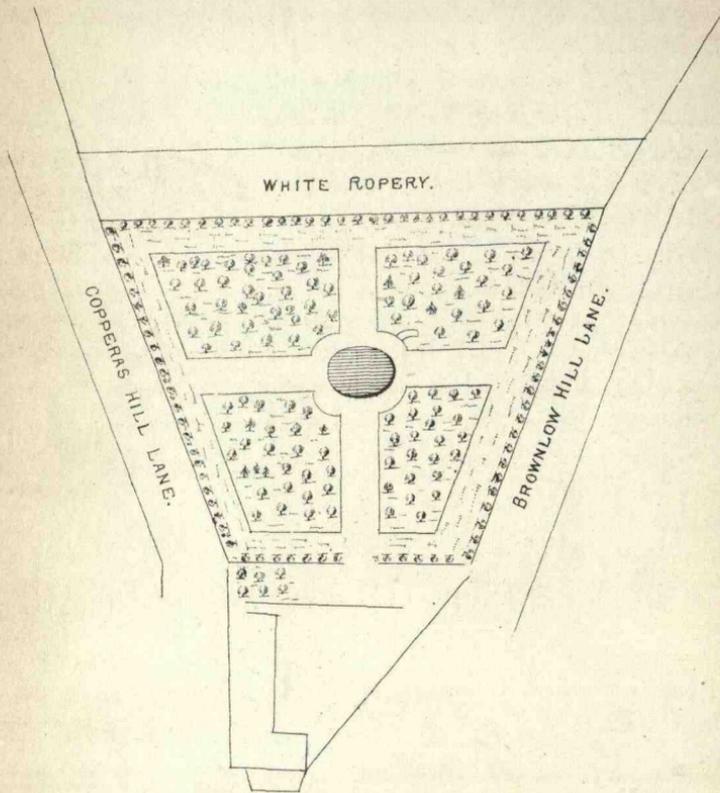
of Mr. Entwistle's sons was, in 1731, churchwarden of Liverpool, an office at that time of some dignity. It is to be regretted that the name of the street was changed, as it seems a good thing to perpetuate the memory of old inhabitants and worthy people of a town, as well as tried and long trusted public servants. On the completion of the theatre, the name of Entwistle was "expunged from the calendar," and the present name of the street was given, in imitation of the whereabouts of the great temple of Thalia and Melpomene in the metropolis. This theatre stood on the site of the present Corn Exchange, Brunswick Street, opposite the upper corner of Drury Lane. It is described as being a handsome structure, 20 yards in front and 16 deep. The interior was elegantly decorated, and the scenes are said to have been extremely well painted by London artists. There was a pit, boxes, and gallery, and by the prices, 3s., 2s., and 1s., it appears that the admission was similar to that charged at the theatres at present. The house held, when full, £80, so that we may conclude that it was about the size of the late Liver Theatre, in Church Street, which held about £80 at precisely the same charges of admission. The house was only open three times a week. Behind the boxes there was a refreshment room, in which a young woman presided, who supplied the audience with tea and coffee, wine, and other refreshments. The manager was the facetious Ned Shuter, of whom many odd anecdotes are told. The bill \* before us is dated July 13, 1767, being five years after the opening of the theatre. The company seems to have been a good one, as we find several names of metropolitan celebrity appearing in the cast of the Tragedy of *Romeo and Juliet*. Mr. Bensley and Mr. King were London favourites, while Mrs. Mattocks and Mrs. Parsons were equally prominent members of the London boards. Mrs. Mattocks was an excellent and charming actress, and was highly spoken of by the critics of her time.

The next bill to which attention is drawn is one announcing a musical performance or concert at the theatre in Drury Lane, for the benefit of a Miss Brent. It is dated 20th September, 1762. It will be seen that it is divided, as our modern concerts are, into two parts. Miss Brent had evidently some pretensions to be a vocalist, by the quality of the music she selected; and it will be noticed that amongst the performers appears a Mr. Arne, jun., a relative, doubtless, of the celebrated Dr. Arne, whose compositions

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\* See objects exhibited.





**RANELAGH GARDENS**

Now occupied by the Adelphi Hotel.

are predominant in the vocal portion of the concert. This theatre or "play house" as it was termed, was taken down about the close of the last century. It had previous to its removal been used as a carrier's warehouse, and for similar purposes.

The next bill is an advertisement of a concert to take place at the Ranelagh Gardens, for the benefit of Mrs. Ellis. It is dated August 27, but the year is not given. We may, however, infer that it was issued about the same period as Miss Brent's bill, as we find that the paper, type, and imprint, being that of a man named Sadler, are similar in each case. The Ranelagh Gardens were a very favourite resort of the people of the last century. The tavern, which was formerly called the "White House," stood upon a portion of the ground where the Adelphi Hotel now stands. The premises had a frontage of about 60 feet. In the interior there was ample accommodation for the public, and the house was well furnished with every requisite to conduce to the comfort of the guests. In it there was a spacious concert-room, in which, doubtless, the concert, advertised by Mrs. Ellis, was given. When the gardens about the house were converted into a place of amusement, the name of the "White House" was changed to Ranelagh or Ranelagh Gardens, in imitation of the celebrated place of public resort at Chelsea, in Middlesex, then so much in fashion. The proprietor was a man named Gibson, whose brother kept the "Folly," in Islington, which stood on the site of Christ Church. The gardens were laid out very tastefully, with an abundance of flowers and shrubs. In different parts were alcoves, or arbours, for the reception of company, in which refreshments were supplied.

In the centre of the gardens there was a large fish-pond, in which were great numbers of carp, tench, and other fish. The gardens were a favourite resort of ladies in the afternoon, when the fish were fed by the fair visitors, much amusement being created by the struggles of the finny tribe to secure whatever was thrown to them. Near the fish-pond was an orchestra, where in a band of music played constantly during the evenings. At the close of the evening a display of fire-works occasionally took place. The bill before us gives a list of the pieces to be fired.

When these gardens were in existence the neighbourhood was scarcely built upon. Where Warren Street and the streets adjacent now are, was at that period all open country. Lime Street was then called Lime Kiln

Lane, from the lime works then in operation in it. Ranelagh Street takes its name from the Gardens. It was called formerly the Road to Wavertree. The last concert that took place at Ranelagh was about 1796. Some years previous to this, a portion of the upper part of the gardens had been taken off and converted into a ropery, called "the White Ropery."

The fourth and last bill bears date January 22, 1768, and advertises a performance at the Golden Lyon, in Dale Street, one of the four inns then only established in the town. The entertainment is to be given in the Buck's Room, and the admission is 1s. 6d. This "Lecture on Heads" was very popular at that period, and had attracted crowds of persons in London when first produced. It is surprising that some of those whose talents enable them to entertain an audience single-handed have not resuscitated this clever lecture. We must, however, rejoice that lectures now are given on subjects of more importance, which, while they occupy the public mind, tend to amuse and at the same time instruct; and in conveying information they also awaken a spirit of enquiry into the subjects which are brought under notice.